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Phrasal Alternation in Kerinci

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de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus prof. mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker,
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door

Ernanda

geboren te Pondok Tinggi
in 1983

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مَنْ جَدَّ وَ جَدَّ

Kuto keraeh mangganton padoi

Uha manumbauk ka sunge tena

Keraeh atai kaau neh badua

Lao tatumbauk lao atai sena

For My Parents

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Conventions and abbreviations

1	The first person
2	The second person
3	The third person
A, AGT	Agent
ABL	Abilitative
ABS, .A	Absolute form
ACT	Active marker
ADJ, <i>adj.</i>	Adjective
<i>adv.</i>	Adverb
ADV	Adversative passive
AGT	<i>see</i> A, AGT
AP	Adjective Phrase
ART	Article
C	Consonant
CAUS	Causative
CLF	Classifier
COLL	Collective
COMP	Comparative
<i>conj.</i>	Conjunction
CS	Core Structure
D1	Ditransitive construction type 1
D2	Ditransitive construction type 2
DEM, <i>dem.</i>	Demonstrative
dO	Direct object
Dyn.	Dynamicity
EXCL	Exclusive
F	Female
FRAC	Fraction
G, G-word	Words with non-prenasalized voiced obstruents
G-phoneme	Non-prenasalized voiced obstruents (b, d, g and ɟ)
iO	Indirect object

INCL	Inclusive
INT	Intensifier
K, K-word	Words without non-prenasalized voiced obstruents
L	Liquid consonant
Lit.	Literal meaning
LOC	Locative
M	Male
<i>n.</i>	Noun
N	Nasal prefix
NEG, <i>neg.</i>	Negator
NMLZ	Nominalizer
NP	Noun Phrase
NUM, <i>num.</i>	Numeral
NUMP	Numeral Phrase
O, OBJ	Object
OBL, .O	Oblique form
ORD	Ordinal
P	1) Preposition, 2) Patient
P1	Passive construction type 1
P2	Passive construction type 2
PART, <i>part.</i>	Particle
PASS	Passive marker
PAT	Patient
PAV	Patient-Agent-Verb
PERF	Perfective marker
PL	Plural
PN	Proper Name
POSS	Possessor
PP	Prepositional Phrase
PREP, <i>prep.</i>	Preposition
PROG	Progressive marker
<i>pron.</i>	Pronoun
PS	Predicate-Subject
<i>quest.</i>	Question words
R	Recipient-like argument
RC	Relative Clause
RECP	Reciprocity
RED	Reduplication
REL	Relative marker
S	Subject
SFP	Sentence-final particle
SG	Singular

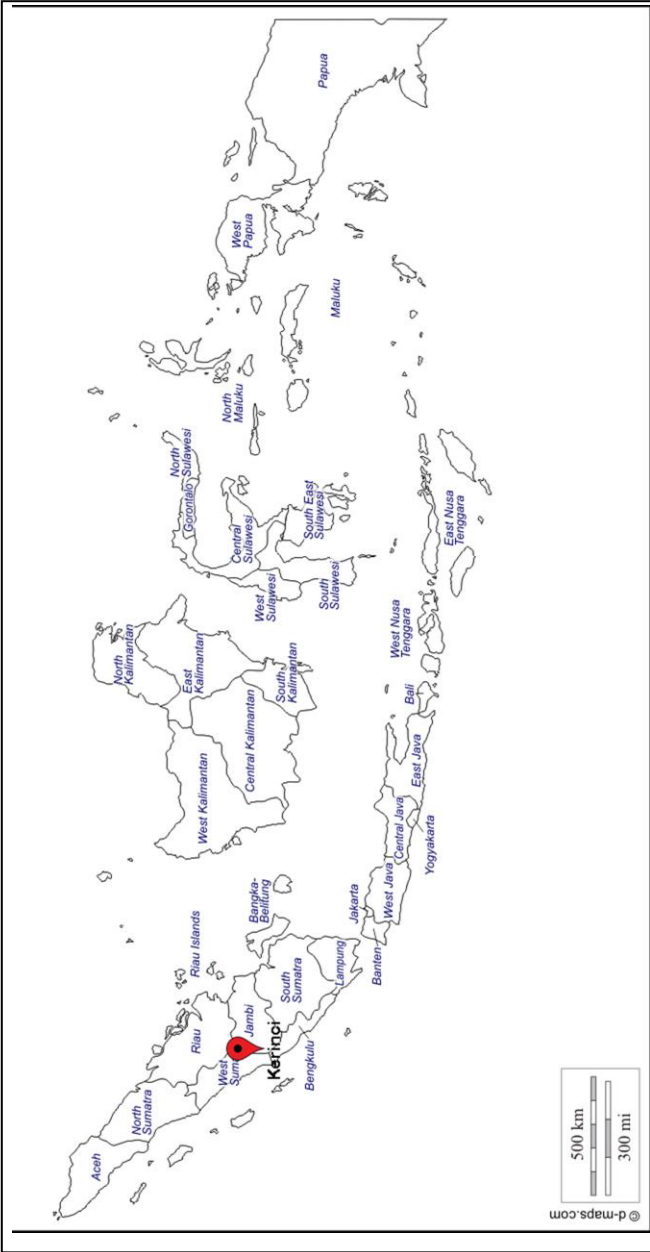
so.	Someone
SOV	Subject-Object-Verb
SP	Subject-Predicate
STAT	Stative
sth.	Something
SUPL	Superlative marker
T	Theme argument
TAG	Tag question
TOP	Topic marker
v.	Verb
V	1) Verb, 2) Vowel
VBLZ	Verbalizer
VET	Vetative
VP	Verb Phrase
.A	<i>see</i> ABS, .A
.O	<i>see</i> OBL, .O
*...	Ungrammatical form
---	Loanword
...~...	Free variation without change in meaning
...-...	Morpheme boundary
.../...	Absolute-oblique alternation
/.../	Phoneme
[...]	The context of an utterance
{...}	Rime ending
(...)	Optional
'...'	English translation

Toponyms and Indonesian terms

ABRI	Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia ('Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia')
BBM	Bahan Bakar Minyak ('Oil-Based Fuel')
DB	Dusun Baru
KK	Koto Keras
KR	Koto Renah
MK	Minangkabau
MT	Melayu Tinggi ('High Malay')
PKI	Partai Komunis Indonesia ('Communist Party of Indonesia')
PRRI	Pemerintah Revolusioner Republik Indonesia ('Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia')
PT	Pondok Tinggi
RW	Rawang
SD	Sekolah Dasar ('Elementary School'), Sungai Deras

SMA	Sekolah Menengah Atas ('Senior High School')
SMP	Sekolah Menengah Pertama ('Junior High School')
SP	Sungai Penuh
SR	Sekolah Rakyat ('People's School', old name for SD)
STM	Sekolah Teknologi Menengah ('Vocational Secondary School')
TK	Taman Kanak-kanak ('Kindergarten')
TPM	Tanjung Pauh Mudik
UNP	Universitas Negeri Padang ('Padang State University')

Maps

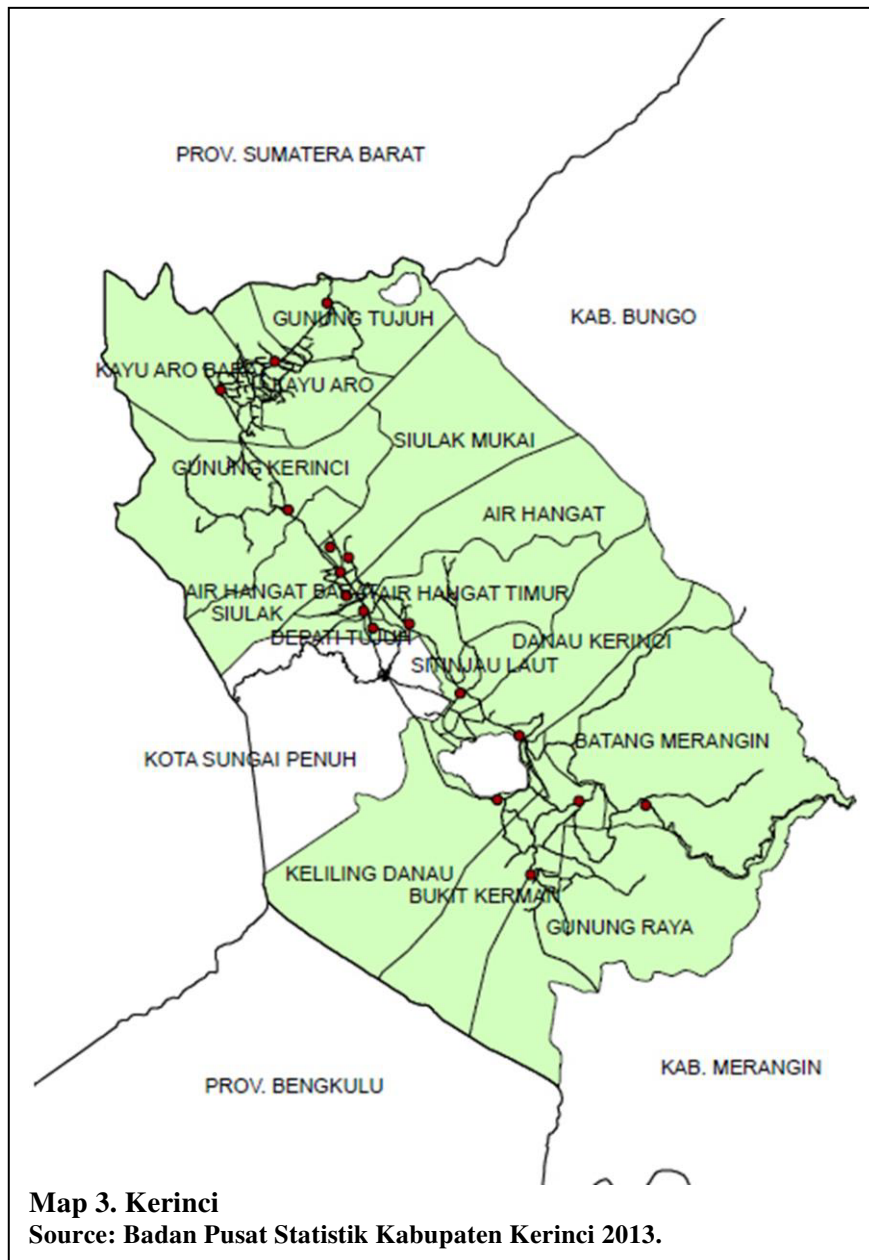


Map 1. Indonesia
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Map 2. Sumatra
Source: d-maps.com.



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1 General introduction

*Kerinci, land of promise, where the roses smell sweet in astonishing abundance, where European crops flourish luxuriantly.*¹

1.1 Introduction

This dissertation is a description of the Pondok Tinggi dialect of Kerinci, a language of Indonesia. The name Kerinci refers to a broad Malayic dialect continuum spoken in the Kerinci area of Sumatra, whereas Pondok Tinggi (henceforth, PT) refers to the specific dialect described in this dissertation. The Kerinci language is referred to by its native speakers as *baso kincai*, regardless of the precise subdialect. This dissertation focuses on the characteristics and distribution of its most salient grammatical phenomenon: *phrasal alternation*. I aim to provide a descriptive analysis of natural spoken language as used by the Pondok Tinggi speech community.

This first chapter contains general information about the language under study and other aspects of the research. It consists of the following sections: background (1.2), history (1.3), culture (1.4), dialect variation (1.5), sociolinguistic profile (1.6), typological features (1.7), review of previous literature (1.8), aim of the dissertation (1.9), data collection (1.10) and outline of the dissertation (1.11).

1.2 Background

This section discusses the geographical setting (1.2.1), speech community (1.2.2) and subgrouping of the Pondok Tinggi variety (1.2.3).

¹ “Koerintji, land van belofte, waar de rozen zoetelijk te geuren staan in verbijsterende talloosheid, waar Europeesche gewassen met graagte willen gedijen” (De Reflector 1920: 752).

1.2.1 Geographical setting

The village of Pondok Tinggi borders on the Sungai Bungkal subdistrict to the north, the Kumun Debai subdistrict to the south, the Tanah Kampung subdistrict to the east and the province of West Sumatra to the west.

PT is one of the subdistricts (I prefer to call them ‘villages’) belonging to the administrative area of Sungai Penuh (henceforth, SP). SP is little more than a town, yet administratively it is currently classified as an independent city (*kota*). This ‘city’ has grown out of several villages, each with their own distinct Kerinci dialect (see section 1.5). The name Sungai Penuh also refers to a specific quarter within the Sungai Penuh city.

Sungai Penuh was historically an administrative subdistrict of Kerinci. After the fall of the Soeharto Regime in 1998, when Indonesia moved towards a policy of regional decentralization, the Kerinci area was split into the Kerinci Regency and the city of Sungai Penuh. The latter was declared an independent city by the Ministry of Home Affairs on October 8th 2008. Although Kerinci and Sungai Penuh are separate administrative areas today, their culture, language, folk beliefs and other aspects of life remain identical. Hence, in this dissertation, I use the term ‘Kerinci’ to cover both administrative areas.

After a series of administrative rearrangements, Kerinci currently falls under the Jambi province. As Watson (1984: i) observes:

[...] prior to its incorporation within Jambi in 1958 it was in the initial post-independence period, part of the larger province of central Sumatra. During the Dutch colonial period from 1903-1942 it had been administered first from Sumatra’s West Coast, then incorporated into Jambi, and finally, in 1922, shifted once more under the administrative control of Sumatra’s West Coast. These various administrative changes to which it has been subject over the past eighty years reflect the uncertainty of officials concerning how best to define Kerinci administratively.

The historical Kerinci Regency occupied an area of $\pm 4200 \text{ km}^2$ and was located along the Sumatran Barisan Mountains. Kerinci bordered on West Sumatra’s Solok Regency to the north, the Merangin Regency of Jambi to the south, the Bungo Regency of Jambi to the east, and the North Bengkulu Regency of the Bengkulu Province to the west.

Kerinci has a tropical climate with an average humidity of 81.8%. During the day, the average temperatures are $22.3^\circ\text{C} - 28.9^\circ\text{C}$ and fall to $15^\circ\text{C} - 17^\circ\text{C}$ at night and in the morning. The elevation is between 500m – 1500m above sea level (Badan Pusat Statistik Kota Sungai Penuh 2013). Kerinci is famous for its Kerinci Seblat National Park, also known as ‘the Lungs of the World’ because of the large amounts of oxygen produced by its

trees. It is the largest conservation area in Southeast Asia. According to a report from the Agriculture Operations Division Country Department III East Asia and Pacific Region (1996: 4):

The Park is remarkable for its species richness with more than 4000 plants (1/60 of the world total), 180 birds (1/50 of all birds), including at least 14 of the 20 Sumatran mainland endemics, and 144 mammals (73 percent of the Sumatran mammal fauna and 1/30 of the world total, including five island endemics).

Kerinci is also known for having Southeast Asia's highest volcanic Crater Lake, the Gunung Tujuh Lake. It is located almost 2 km above sea level and encircled by seven mountains. One of them, Mount Kerinci (3805m), is the highest volcano in Indonesia. The Kayu Aro tea plantation is one of the largest tea plantations in the world. Kerinci is also the world's main cinnamon producer. Ladeh Panjang is Southeast Asia's highest wetlands (2000m). It is also the presumed home of the legendary *uhan panda?* ('short human'), a cryptozoological humanoid purportedly inhabiting the mountainous forests (Eberhart 2002; Freeman 2011). Its existence remains controversial.

1.2.2 Speech community

According to official statistics,² the total number of Sungai Penuh residents is 85.270. In the village of Pondok Tinggi, the total number of residents is 16.620.³ This number includes transmigrants from other areas. The total number of native speakers of Pondok Tinggi is therefore unknown because ethnicity is not surveyed statistically.

People belonging to the Kerinci speech community work in several sectors, such as social service (37.33%), agriculture (13.45%), industry (4.05%), trade (24.34%), etc. Common crops include *padoi/padi* 'paddy',⁴ *jageu/jagun* 'maize', *ubi kajau/ubi kajou* 'cassava', *ubi dudeu?/ubi dudu?* 'sweet potato', and *kaca/kacan* 'peanuts'. Commonly cultivated vegetables

² Statistic information is taken from Badan Pusat Statistik Kota Sungai Penuh (2013), since Pondok Tinggi is an administrative part of the Sungai Penuh City.

³ This information is based on my interview with one of the employees at the Pondok Tinggi sub-district office in January 2015.

⁴ Names are given in the PT dialect.

include *kuboi?/kubi?* ‘potato’, *kol* ‘cabbage’, *bawua/bawon* ‘onion’, *bawon putaih/bawon puteih* ‘garlic’, and *saboa/sabe* ‘chilli pepper’. Popular fruits are *pukat* ‘avocado’, *manga* ‘mango’, *lansa?/lənsat* ‘lanson’, *lima/limo* ‘orange’, *durijua/durijon* ‘durian’, various species of *jambu ajai/jambu ajei* ‘rose-apple’, *jambeu/jambu* ‘guava’, *tədua?/tədo?* ‘jackfruit’, *sapilao/sapilo* ‘papaya’, and *pisa/pisan* ‘banana’. The Kerinci people further grow *kulit manaih/kulit maneih* ‘cassia vera’, *kupai/kupei* ‘coffee’, *coklat* ‘cacao’, *kəmiri* ‘candlenut’, *təbeu/təbu* ‘sugarcane’, etc. Various kinds of fish are farmed, such as *bahua/bahon* ‘barb’ (*Hampala macrolepidota*), *maeh/meh* ‘carp’ (*Cyprinus carpi*), *muair* ‘tilapia’ (*Tilapia mossambica*), *nila* ‘parrot fish’ (*Pseudodax* spp.), *limbae?/limbe?* ‘catfish’ (*Clerius melanoderma*), *səmah* ‘river carp’ (*Tor douronensis*), *mədoi?/mədi?* ‘cyprinid fish’ (*Labiobarbus* spp.), and *koan* ‘grasscarp’ (*Ctenopharyngodon idellus*). In terms of livestock, they breed *jawoi/jawi* ‘cattle’, *kəbua/kəbo* ‘buffalo’, *kudea/kudo* ‘horses’, *kambae?/kambe?* ‘goats’, *biri-biri* ‘sheep’, *aja/ajan* ‘chickens’,⁵ *itai?/itei?* ‘ducks’, and *pujauh/pujouh* ‘quails’. Industrial products include cane sugar, soybean cakes (*tempe*), taro chips, potato chips, salted eggs, bricks, woven products, and embroidery.

People in Kerinci plant a variety of rice cultivars, including *Pajao/Pajo*, *Cimilis*, *Solok Putaih/Solok Puteih*, *Sarendoh Putaih/Sarendoh Puteih* and *Nona Maja*. Among these, *Pajao/Pajo* is considered exquisite. It is famous for its rather sweet taste, soft texture and fragrant smell. Although this variety was widespread in the past, nowadays it is only planted in Lempur, the southern part of Kerinci. *Pajao/Pajo* is harvested once a year, whereas the other varieties can be harvested twice a year. In the past, rice cultivation was swamp-based, but at present irrigated paddyfields are used.

School enrollment per age group is relatively high (Badan Pusat Statistik Kota Sungai Penuh 2012). The highest percentage of school enrolment is among 7-12 years olds (99.87%). The numbers are 95.27% for the age group of 13-15 and 75.47% for 16-18. The overall literacy rate is 97.25%. As elsewhere in Indonesia, basic and secondary education for children is an obligatory twelve years.

1.2.3 Subgrouping

Kerinci is an Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian dialect continuum spoken primarily in the Kerinci Regency. Linguistically, it is quite divergent from

⁵ (*ajan patəlau* are ‘laying hens’, *ajam poton* are ‘broilers’)

surrounding Malayic varieties. Up to the 1950s, the classification of Kerinci was unresolved because nothing on Kerinci languages had been published (Voorhoeve 1955). Today, all scholars agree that Kerinci is a Malayic variety (Dyen 1965; Nothofer 1975, 1988; Blust 1981, 2010; Adelaar 1992, 2004, 2005; Van Reijn 1976; Prentice and Usman 1978).

The term ‘Malayic’ was adopted by Blust (1981), and in addition to Kerinci, the term originally referred to Malay, Minangkabau, Iban, Selako, Kendayan, Malayic Dayak, Sundanese, Maloh, Rejang, Acehese and Chamic. In a later publication, Blust proposes a revised sub-grouping that excludes Maloh and Rejang but includes Madurese and ‘perhaps Lampung’ (1984). Nothofer (1988) adds Maloh and Rejang to the Malayic sub-group alongside Kerinci, Selako, Iban, Standard Malay, Minangkabau, Banjarese, Middle-Malay, Bacan Malay, Menado Malay and Moluccan Malay. He excludes Sundanese, Acehese and Chamic. Adelaar (1992, 2004, 2005) groups Kerinci, Minangkabau, Iban, Kendayan, Kelantan Malay, Jakarta Malay, Banjar, Brunei Malay and various lects of inland western Borneo into the ‘Malayic’ subgroup.

1.3 History

This section discusses the history of Pondok Tinggi and the wider Kerinci area, including its archeological heritage (1.3.1), the origin of Pondok Tinggi (1.3.2), colonialism (1.3.3) and post-independence history (1.3.4).

1.3.1 Archeological heritage

Some archeological sites have been found in Kerinci. Van der Hoop (1940: 204) identifies a beautiful bronze urn found near Lolo Gedang as belonging to the Bronze Age. The finding of a vessel nearby the Air Merangin, he suggests, also points to Bronze Age settlement. Bronson et al. (1973) report the finding of 40 pieces of obsidian at Kebon Baru, dated around 100-200 BC based on their proximity to bronze drums of that age. Schnitger (1989) speculates that a bronze cuff and a bronze vase found on the south of Lake Kerinci were from Neolithic times. For a recent overview of Kerinci archaeology, see Miksic (2015).

1.3.2 The origin of Pondok Tinggi

Oral traditions have it that the founder of Pondok Tinggi was a Sungai Penuh man named Sutan Kamat, born in 1312. He was known under the title *depati pajau*. Because of a conflict, he ran away from Sungai Penuh, brought some

people with him, and cleared the forest to found a new village: Pondok Tinggi. It is also said that when he ran to PT, he angrily took his dagger (*kəreih*) with him but forgot its sheath. Thus, the dagger became the heirloom (*pusako*) of the PT community and its sheath remains in the possession of the SP community.

1.3.3 Colonialism

Dr. Charles Campbell was the first European to explore Kerinci in 1800 alongside Thomas Barnes, another British official who conducted a second expedition to Kerinci in 1818 (Kathirithamby-Wells 1986). During the British period, Kerinci was believed to be a source of gold, cattle and cinnamon. After centuries of Dutch colonialism elsewhere in Indonesia, the distant, mountainous and isolated Kerinci lands were only colonized in 1903. Because of the area's richness in natural resources, mass migration into Kerinci – especially from the Minangkabau regions – started in the 1920s when a road from the Sumatra's west coast to Kerinci was built (Watson 1984). The migration from Minangkabau had already started before the 1920s, yet became considerably more intensive afterwards. Migration also came from the south and other regions.

According to Watson (1992), what unites the diverse Kerinci communities are the acceptance of Islam and a shared sense of belonging that emerged under Dutch colonial rule.

1.3.4 Post-independence history

From 1958 to 1961, a civil war – known as *Perang ABRI* – between the Indonesian central government (ABRI)⁶ and a local government (PRRI)⁷ raged over West Sumatra and Central Sumatra, including Kerinci and Bangko (Kahin and Kahin 1995). No historical research has been done on the impact of this bloody conflict in the Kerinci area. The PRRI was established as the result of widespread disappointment concerning the interregional disparities in late 1950s Indonesia. The central government

⁶ *Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia* ('Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia').

⁷ *Pemerintah Revolusioner Republik Indonesia* ('Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia').

prioritized the economic development of Java and neglected regions outside of Java. According to Doeppers (1972: 187):

Conflicting interests between Java and the major outer islands are a fact of Indonesian life. Java supports a population of extraordinary density and must import many of its basic requirements. On the other hand, Sumatra, Borneo, and Sulawesi are very large islands with much lower population densities and considerable export surpluses.

PRRI leaders disagreed with the pro-communist activities of Sukarno, Indonesia's first president (Ricklefs 2008). The influence of Indonesia's Communist Party (PKI)⁸ on the central government fueled the establishment of this counter-government, which was supported by people from various backgrounds in Central Sumatra and West Sumatra (i.e. politicians, the army, scholars, students, etc.). Sukarno instructed the ABRI to exterminate PRRI. As a result, much of Sumatra's key infrastructure was bombed and PRRI supporters were forced to withdraw to the mountains and into the jungle. Sukarno-allied PKI members participated in the wholesale extermination of the PRRI. The atrocities committed in this 'war' live on in the memories of many Sumatrans.

Sadly, history has a tendency of being rewritten in a way that serves the agenda of the contemporary authorities. The main goals of the PRRI were to criticize the injustices committed under Indonesia's central government and to demand regional equality in Indonesia's national development. Up to now, however, it is taught at Indonesian schools that PRRI was a rebel group devoted to the destruction of the nation's unity and integrity.

1.4 Culture

This section discusses religion (1.4.1), written traditions (1.4.2), emigration patterns (1.4.3), marriage (1.4.4), matrilocal residence (1.4.5), and teknonymy (1.4.6) in the Kerinci area.

1.4.1 Religion

The majority religion in Kerinci is Islam, but a small number of Protestants, Buddhists, Catholics, Hindus, and Confucianists also live in Kerinci. Most of

⁸ *Partai Komunis Indonesia* ('Communist Party of Indonesia').

them are transmigrants from other Indonesian areas. Despite the fact that Islam is the dominant religion of the Kerinci speech community, some people retain animistic beliefs.

During the Fasting Month (*Ramadan*), large groups of Kerinci people go to the mosque to perform the *tarawaih/taraweih* prayer. This popular religious activity takes place before the *Shalat Isya*. *Shalat Isya* is the night prayer; the fifth of the five daily prayers in Islam.

1.4.2 Written traditions

Kerinci was written in the so-called *incung* script prior to the arrival of the Arabic-Malay script (*jawi*) introduced in the wake of Islam (Voorhoeve 1970).⁹ Next to *incung* and *jawi*, Kerinci has also been written in the Javanese and Roman scripts (Kathirithamby-Wells 1986: 5).¹⁰

Historically, Malay was also used as a written language. The oldest extant example of the Malay manuscript tradition hails from the Kerinci area; it was found and still kept in the Kerinci village of Tanjung Tanah. The manuscript is written in Old Sumatran Malayu script and can be dated to the second half of the 14th century AD (Kozok 2015). This is the earliest preserved evidence of a Malay manuscript tradition and predates the introduction of Islam. As such, the Tanjung Tanah manuscript provides '[...] information about ancient Indonesian civilization in general' (Miksic 2015: 17).

Kerinci manuscripts have been preserved as heirlooms. Almost all villages keep these documents. Writing materials include bamboo, buffalo horns, goat horn, paper and palm-leaf. In the words of Kathirithamby-Wells (1986: 5):

Most Kerinci villages possess, or at least did so until very recently, i.e. within the last fifteen years, documents and objects, spears, parasols, crises, which are regarded as sacred and which are known collectively as *pusaka*. On the occasion of periodically held ritual celebrations known as *kenduri sko* these objects are brought out for public display, and on that occasion the historical traditions of the village are rehearsed.

⁹ Note that Kerinci's *incung* script is different from that of Rejang and the so-called Middle Malay areas (Voorhoeve 1970).

¹⁰ Note that what Kathirithamby-Wells refers to as 'Javanese script' corresponds to Uli Kozok's 'Old Sumatran Malayu script'.

This ritual celebration, known as *kanuhei skao* in the PT dialect, continues to be held to this day. However, some details such as traditional dresses, decorations, etc. have been adapted to more modern tastes. In the past, traditional dresses were in red and/or black. At the last *kanuhei skao* in 2014, however, other colors were used. In the past, pandanus mats (*tikan bigua*) were spread out in traditional houses (*umah gədua*). At present, a beautiful type of rug (*pərmadani*) is used. These changes were debated during the last *kanuhei skao* in 2014. Some old people criticized them and demanded that the young organizers stuck to the old traditions without changing a single detail.

1.4.3 Emigration patterns

Maranta literally means ‘to emigrate’ and has become a tradition in Kerinci since the 19th century, when people started to think about pilgrimages to Mecca (Watson 1992). To start this journey, they travelled to West Sumatra through the forest on foot. From West Sumatra, they continued to British Malaya and stayed there for a while to earn enough money to fulfill the hajj.

Some Kerinci people decided to stay permanently in what is now Malaysia. The place where they settled down is called *Kampung Kerinci*. Beside Kampung Kerinci, they also live in Pantai Dalam, Hulu Langat, Kuala Kubu, and many other areas in Malaysia. The majority of Kerinci migrants in Malaysia trace their origins to Tanjung Tanah. Some are from other villages in Kerinci. A large number of them have become Malaysian nationals and some have become permanent citizens. Since they have migrated in large groups to Malaysia more than a century ago, and since interethnic marriages have taken place ever since, some of them have lost their proficiency in Kerinci, especially those born and raised in Malaysia. However, Kerinci is still spoken in Malaysia, especially during religious meals (*kenduri*) and meetings of *Persatuan Waris Kerinchi* (‘Kerinci Heritage Society’).

1.4.4 Marriage

The concept of marriage in Kerinci culture has changed over time. In the past, people got married at a very young age. Cross-cousin marriage was preferred in order to preserve the culture, and perhaps also the language. A girl was allowed to marry the son of her mother’s brother or the son of her father’s sister. Marriage was arranged by the families and children were expected to obey their parents’ choice for a marriage partner.

Nowadays, the concept of cross-cousin marriage still exists, but it is less rigid than in the past. It is no longer taboo to refuse a proposal. Early-

age marriages are no longer common, although some people still get married at a young age. Kerinci people have generally become more open-minded in these regards and have no problems sending girls to schools and universities.

1.4.5 Matrilocal residence

The long house (*umoh lahai?*) is the traditional house type in PT. It consists of a row of several interconnected houses. Historically, they were presumably built in order to preserve the culture and language of the village. Long houses accommodate matrilineal descent groups. The lower parts of the long house were used for cattle, the middle level was for human residence, and the attic for storage of sacred heirlooms (*pusakao*). Watson (1992: 19) describes this house type as follows:

The long-house consists of individual sections belonging to separate households each having private access to their homes, but with a small door in the common partition between sections which can be opened to connect the households. In the center of the village known as the *dusun* there are several rows of these long houses called *larik*.

PT still has long houses, but at present people tend to build new houses separately because of the increasing population.

In the past, women were expected to be housewives, serving their husband and children. They had to cook, clean and do domestic chores. Despite the matrilineal kinship system of the Kerinci people, '[...] the notion of man as provider, woman as housekeeper, is strongly rooted in the mentality of the society' (Jufri and Watson 1998: 28).

The British official Thomas Barnes reports after his 1818 expedition that Kerinci and Minangkabau display environmental and economic similarities (Kathirithamby-Wells 1986). Although both Kerinci and Minangkabau apply a construction of matrilineal descent, the systems differ on a detailed level (Watson 1992).

1.4.6 Teknonymy

The practice of *teknonymy* is very common in Kerinci. In line with this practice, parents tend to be referred to by the names of their first-born child, replacing their original names. Teknonymy is applied both for mothers and fathers.

- (1) *indou?* *kandar*
 mother.O PN
 ‘The mother of Kandar’

- (2) *po?* *pit*
 father.O PN
 ‘The father of Pit’

This practice occasionally leads to misunderstandings in conversations with people from other cultures. It is not uncommon for non-Kerinci speakers to assume that parents are divorced when they hear Kerinci speakers use teknonymy (including when they speak Malay).

1.5 Dialect variation

According to Usman (1988), around eighty dialects are spoken in the Kerinci area. However, this estimate is based on cartographic rather than fieldwork-based considerations. In reality, the exact number of dialects is unknown. We do know that dialect diversity in Kerinci is astonishing. It appears from my personal observation that each village has its own dialect.

Regional variation is most apparent in the final rimes of words. Table 1.1 gives the absolute and oblique forms (on which, see the discussion in chapter 3) of some Kerinci dialects next their Malay equivalents.

Malay	PT	KR	KK	SP	DB	RW	SD	TPM
gəlas ‘glass’	gəloah gələh	gəloah gələh	gəloh gələh	gələh gələyh	gəloah gələh	gəloah gələh	gəloah gələyh	glih gliyh
duri ‘torn’	duhoi duhi	duhui duhi	duhu duhi	duhoi duhi	duhui duhi	duhiw duhew	duhuh duhi	duhæ duhiy
batu ‘stone’	bateu batu	bati batu	batu batu	batew batu	batu batu	batew batiw	bati batu	bateo batiw

Table 1.1. Dialect variation in Kerinci

Interestingly, Koto Renah (KR) is only about two kilometers from PT (separated by a market place), Koto Keras (KK) borders on Koto Renah, with no clear boundaries between the two villages. Pondok Tinggi is separated by a market place (where Minangkabau is used) from Sungai Penuh, which is only one kilometer away. Dusun Baru (DB) is next to Sungai Penuh and only separated by a ten meter long bridge. About two kilometers north-east of Sungai Penuh is Rawang (RW), and Sungai Deras (SD) is about four kilometers east of Rawang. Tanjung Pauh Mudik (TPM)

is about 7 kilometers south of Pondok Tinggi. Figure 1.1 shows a map of the geographic locations discussed in Table 1.1.

Although these Kerinci dialects are spoken in villages that are geographically contiguous, they show differences on almost all linguistic levels (i.e. phonology, morphology, syntax). In other ways, however, they seem to be remarkably similar. Further research is needed to come to grips with the differences and similarities between Kerinci dialects. In this dissertation, I occasionally contrast PT with the relatively well-documented SP and TPM varieties.

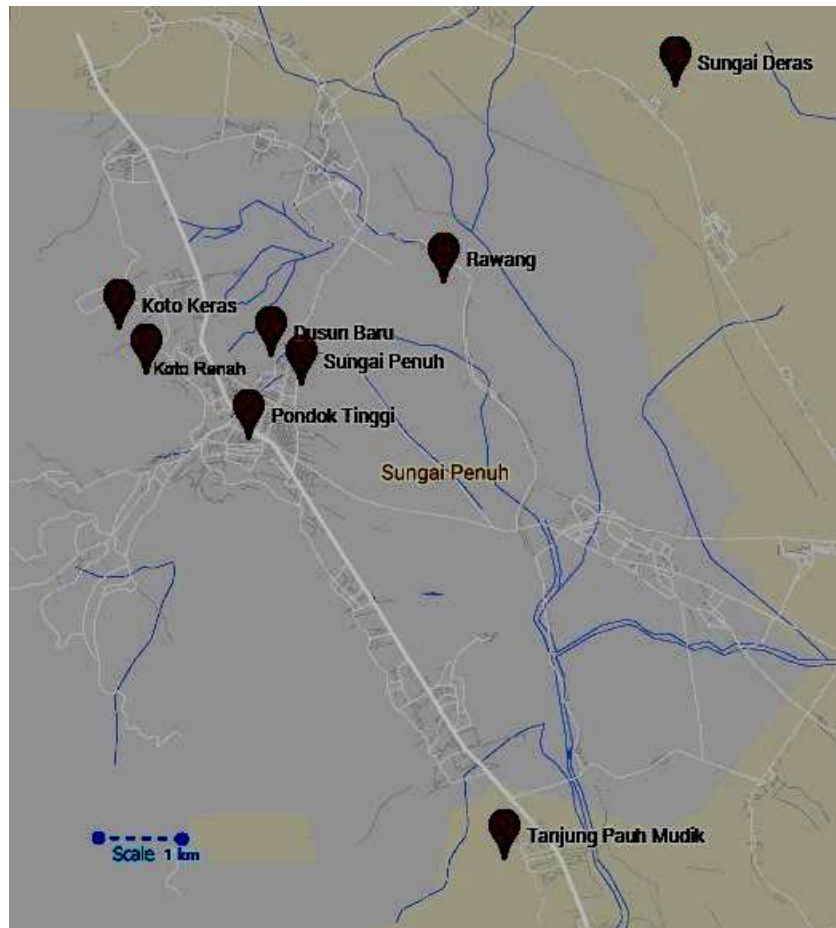


Figure 1.1. A map of dialect variation in Kerinci

Ernanda and Steinhauer (2012) propose that this unexpected density of regional variation is related to the aforementioned traditions of cross-

cousin marriage and matrilocal residence in longhouses. They propose the following scenario:

In these longhouses several matrilineally related families lived together, which may have given rise to real ‘mother tongues’. The husbands could have had another ‘mother’ tongue but their fathers had grown up in the extended family their newly married sons moved into, so the ‘father’ tongue of the sons was the same as the current ‘mother’ tongue in their new residence. On the one hand this guaranteed a degree of language maintenance, while on the other hand the influx of men from a possibly deviating ‘mother’ tongue may not have been without effect, the result being that the extended families in different longhouses came to develop different language varieties. (p.5)

1.6 Sociolinguistic profile

Most native speakers of PT are multilingual. They speak Pondok Tinggi, Minangkabau (henceforth, MK), Melayu Tinggi (henceforth, MT),¹¹ and Malay, typically with Kerinci features. The rising intonation on final syllables, which is a special feature of Kerinci in general, characterizes the Kerinci accent when speaking Malay. Additionally, PT people may speak, to a certain degree, Kerinci varieties other than their own. Some speakers are bilingual in PT and (Kerinci-influenced) Malay but are unable to speak MK. I have not met any PT monolinguals during my fieldwork. If they exist at all, I suspect they are elderly.

The language contact situation in PT is extremely complex. The neighboring Minangkabau people continue to immigrate into Kerinci in large numbers. The Minangkabau and Kerinci people show not only a close relationship linguistically but also culturally, making it easier for the two groups to get along (Ermanto 2003). Most of the Minangkabau live in the city center of Sungai Penuh, but there is also a large number in Pondok Tinggi. As most traders in Kerinci are Minangkabau, their language has become the trade language in the Kerinci region, especially in the city center. Almost all Kerinci people can speak Minangkabau, but Minangkabau people rarely speak Kerinci.

A second widely used language is Malay. The Malay language is used at schools, offices and on other formal occasions. In naturalistic data, it is

¹¹ What is known to PT speakers as *Melayu Tinggi* (‘High Malay’) is essentially Jambi Malay – the provincial lingua franca – spoken with a Kerinci accent.

very common to come across Malay loanwords and/or Malay code-switching. In this dissertation, I underline Malay and other loanwords in PT, as they do not follow the general patterns of phrasal alternation.

Other immigrant languages are Javanese and Batak varieties. A lot of Javanese immigrants live in the Kerinci area, mostly in Kayu Aro, and work as farmers. Quite a large number of them live in PT and work as street vendors. They speak Javanese among themselves and Malay with the PT people. There is also a sizeable Batak community from North Sumatra. They work in a variety of sectors. They speak Batak languages among themselves and Malay with PT people and others.

In terms of inter-village communication, Kerinci speakers tend to diminish the most salient features of their own dialect. This strategy of accommodation yields a so-called ‘interdialect’, a new variety that does not belong to any of the existing dialects (Trudgill 1986). To date, no work has been published on this Kerinci interdialect.

PT is a relatively low-prestige variety used in a limited number of contexts. The overall vitality of PT is very low. According to a sociolinguistic questionnaire sent out by me to fifty native speakers of PT, none of the informants speaks PT to their children and grandchildren. Instead, they speak Melayu Tinggi at home, which they view to be more prestigious than PT. Table 1.2 displays the status of the languages in the PT area.

Group	Status	Overall vitality
Malay	High	High
Minangkabau	Medium	High
Melayu Tinggi	Medium	High
Pondok Tinggi	Low	Low
Other Kerinci dialects	Low	Low

Table 1.2. The status of the languages

The heavy language contact situation, involving several related Malayic varieties, has threatened PT. The younger generation does not get much exposure to the PT language. MT is used at home, Malay is used at schools, and MK is preferred among peers. Only adults still speak PT and the aforementioned interdialect. PT itself is undergoing contact-induced language change (Ernanda 2015a). Since the younger generation has started to abandon PT, the variety is definitively endangered according to UNESCO’s definition of language endangerment (2003: 5).

The language is no longer being learned as the mother tongue by children in the home. The youngest speakers are thus of the parental generation. At this stage, parents may still speak the language to their children, but their children do not typically respond in the language.

In Malaysia, it is not known whether Malaysian Kerinci speakers use the interdialect to speak to other Kerinci people or whether they keep speaking their own dialect. In my social media communication with three Malaysian Kerinci speakers of Tanjung Tanah origins, I still found traces of the absolute-oblique alternation. I will not jump to premature conclusions by claiming that the phrasal alternation is still intact in their language; further research is needed on Malaysian Kerinci.

1.7 Typological features

This section briefly outlines the typological features of Pondok Tinggi: phonology (1.7.1), morphology (1.7.2), word categories (1.7.3), alternation (1.7.4), truncation (1.7.5), word order (1.7.6), demonstratives (1.7.7), subject repetition and subject drop (1.7.8).

1.7.1 Phonology

PT has nineteen consonants: nine stops (/p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /c/, /ɟ/, /k/, /g/, and /ʔ/), two fricatives (/s/ and /h/), four nasals (/m/, /n/, /ɲ/ and /ŋ/), one lateral (/l/), one trill (/r/), and two glides (/w/ and /j/). It has six vowels: two high vowels (/i/ and /u/), three mid vowels (/e/, /ə/ and /o/) and one low vowel (/a/). There are twelve diphthongs: four opening diphthongs (/ia/, /ua/, /oa/ and /ea/) and eight closing diphthongs (/ai/, /au/, /ae/, /ao/, /eu/, /ei/, /oi/ and /ou/). Word stress in PT is non-phonemic and occurs on the final syllable. See chapter 2 for a more detailed discussion.

1.7.2 Morphology

Verbs are not marked for tense. To indicate past time, adverbs of time are used (3). The absence of the adverb of time enables two interpretations: present time or past time (4). There is no subject-verb agreement. The verb of a singular subject (4) is similar to that of a plural subject (5).

- (3) *no* *nulaih* *pətan*
 3.SG ACT.write.A yesterday
 ‘S/he wrote yesterday’

- (4) *no* *nulaih*
 3.SG ACT.write.A
 ‘S/he writes’
 ‘S/he wrote’
- (5) *kamai* *nulaih*
 1.PL.EXCL ACT.write.A
 ‘We write’
 ‘We wrote’

Unlike Malay, PT is a strictly non-copulative language. Sentences without copula are perfectly grammatical (6).

- (6) *apo?* *no* *guru*
 father.O 3.SG.POSS teacher
 ‘Her/his father is a teacher’

PT is relatively rich in derivational morphology. Word formation occurs through reduplication, compounding and prefixation. Some prefixes, such as *N-*, *maN-* and *paN-*, converge phonologically with the root-initial phoneme of the prefixed element (Table 1.3), as will be discussed in detail in section 8.4.1.

Root-initial phoneme	Realization with <i>N-</i>
c, ʃ, s	ɲ
k, g	ŋ
l, r	ma + l, r
monosyllabic root	ŋə + monosyllabic root
N	N
p, b	m
t, d	n
V	ŋ + V

Table 1.3. The realization of *N*-prefixation

PT lacks suffixes. Where other Malayic varieties use suffixes in a variety of functions,¹² PT generally uses the oblique form. Examples (7)-(11) juxtapose suffixless PT sentences with their suffixed Malay equivalents.

(7)	PT	<i>no</i>	<i>mandei</i>	<i>kucae?</i>
	Malay	<i>dia</i>	<i>memandi-kan</i>	<i>kucing</i>
		3.SG	take.a.bath.O	cat
		'S/he bathes a cat'		
(8)	PT	<i>duto</i>	<i>ꞑubot</i>	<i>pasien</i>
	Malay	<i>dokter</i>	<i>mengobat-i</i>	<i>pasien</i>
		doctor	cure.O	patient
		'A doctor gives a treatment to a patient'		
(9)	PT	<i>kamai</i>	<i>kadaton</i>	<i>tamu</i>
	Malay	<i>kami</i>	<i>kedatang-an</i>	<i>tamu</i>
		1.PL.EXCL	arrive.O	guest
		'We have a visitor'		
(10)	PT	<i>tingai</i>	<i>ka-duwo</i>	
	Malay	<i>tinggi</i>	<i>ke-dua-nya</i>	
		high	two.O	
		'Both are high'		
(11)	PT	<i>sa-kajo-kajo</i>	<i>uha</i>	<i>uleu</i>
	Malay	<i>se-kaya-kaya-nya</i>	<i>orang</i>	<i>dulu</i>
		RED-rich.O	people	in.the.past.A
		<i>toh</i>	<i>lampou</i>	<i>gantun</i>
		<i>itu</i>	<i>lampu</i>	<i>gantung</i>
		DEM	lamp	hang
		'However rich people were in the past, [they used] hanging lamps'		
		[fc4.118]		

¹² See Adelaar (1984) on suffixes in Standard Malay.

1.7.3 Word categories

Open word categories in PT are verbs, nouns and adjectives. Closed word categories are pronouns, numerals, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, interjections, demonstratives and discourse particles.

Gender is typically unmarked, also for some kinship terms. A gender-specific adjective may follow certain nouns; *ano? janton* ‘a male child; son’, *ano? batino* ‘a female child; daughter’. Of the pronouns, only the second person singular – which refers to an addressee of the same age or younger than the speaker – exhibits lexical gender: *əmpao* ‘you’ (singular masculine) and *kaau* ‘you’ (singular feminine) (see chapter 4).

Plurality must be inferred from the context. It can, however, be marked with indefinite quantifiers, e.g. *baɲua?/baɲo?* ‘many’, *sagalo* ‘all’. Reduplication expresses plurality with diversity, such as *umah-umah* ‘(all kinds of) houses’. PT does not use articles in combination with nouns.¹³ A noun can be interpreted as singular or plural (12). Often, however, the context makes it clear whether a noun is to be translated into English as singular or plural.

- (12) *mɨɲua*
 table.A
 ‘Table’ [Lit.]
 ‘A table’
 ‘Tables’

1.7.4 Alternation

Perhaps the most striking feature in PT (and most other Kerinci varieties) is that the majority of roots in the language exhibit morphophonological alternation in the final-syllable rime. This morphophonological process is known as ‘phrasal alternation’. It is conditioned by the position of a word within a phrase. Most words exhibit two forms, termed ‘absolute’ (henceforth, .A) and ‘oblique’ (henceforth, .O), which differ in the shape of their final-syllable rime (Table 1.4).

¹³ For articles preceding names, see section 5.8.1.

PT		Malay	Gloss
Absolute	Oblique		
matao	mato	mata	‘eye’
ahai	ahei	hari	‘day’
baheu	bahu	baru	‘new’

Table 1.4. Absolute and Oblique forms

In combination with the absolute and oblique (henceforth, ABS-OBL) alternation, PT exhibits a second phonological process which determines the shape of final rimes. The presence of a non-prenasalized voiced obstruent (/b/, /d/, /g/ or /ʝ/) also affects the final rime of a root (Table 1.5). In this dissertation, words containing such a voiced obstruent are called *G-words*, whereas those that do not are called *K-words*.¹⁴

Rime	Example K-word	Gloss	Example G-word	Gloss
*ah	tanah.A/tanoh.O	‘soil’	muduah.A/mudoh.O	‘easy’
*i	kupai.A/kupei.O	‘coffee’	bəloi.A/bəli.O	‘to buy’
*u	kajau.A/kajou.O	‘wood’	bateu.A/batu.O	‘stone’

Table 1.5. Syllable rimes in K-words and G-words

A detailed overview of phrasal alternation and the phonological differences between K-words and G-words is presented in chapter 3. Before discussing the phrasal alternation in detail, I will first examine the general patterns and rules of phrasal alternation. The absolute form is used with generic and neutral reference (neutral as to specificity). The oblique form is used when the speech participants share contextual information about what is being discussed. The oblique form has a restricted referent, whereas the absolute form does not. The restricting specification occurs on a phrasal level. For instance, in active constructions the referent of the verb is restricted by a patient, whereas in passive constructions the referent of the verb is restricted by an agent. In a noun phrase, the referent of the head noun is restricted by a modifier (i.e. an adjective, a possessor, a demonstrative, etc.). Such a restricted specification triggers the oblique form of the preceding element, which can be expressed, but also omitted when it is clear from the context.

¹⁴ These terms were first used by Prentice and Usman (1978).

It should be kept in mind that there are numerous exceptions across grammatical domains to the general patterns discussed above. Throughout the chapters of this dissertation, attention will be given to these exceptions.

1.7.5 Truncation

PT exhibits numerous truncated forms. The linguistic phenomenon of *truncation*, also called *clipping*, has been described as follows:

Clipping consists in the reduction of a word to one of its parts (Marchand 1969: 441)

Cross-linguistically, full forms and truncated forms tend not to be interchangeable in the same speech context. Cohn (2005) examines truncation in Indonesian terms of address and personal names. She shows that a CVC (closed final syllable) is the most typical truncated pattern in Indonesian.

In PT, however, truncation is a phonological phenomenon. Contrary to Marchand (1969), who argues on the basis of English data that reduced forms exhibit a particular value, truncation in PT does not change the semantics of the words it affects, nor serves any clear grammatical purpose. Both lexically and grammatically, full forms and truncated forms have exactly the same meaning.

Truncation in PT involves several competing phonological mechanisms. Most parts of speech and types of phonemes can be affected. The following generalizations can be made:

- 1) Truncation occurs in non-stressed syllables.
- 2) Word-initial bilabial stops are particularly susceptible.
- 3) In disyllabic words, the initial onset or syllable is frequently dropped.
- 4) Truncation can also occur on a phrase level.
- 5) For words with more than two syllables, there is a tendency to drop the word-medial syllable.

On the phrase level, truncation can interfere with the phonological processes related to K-words and G-words (Table 1.6). For example, a locative marker (*di*) or prefix (*ba(r)-*)¹⁵ added to a noun root can change the

¹⁵ A more detailed discussion on the prefix *ba(r)-* is presented in 3.4.2 and 9.5.

newly formed compound into a G-word. This stage is where the inserted G-phoneme triggers vowel raising. The resultant trisyllabic compound, then, is susceptible to the common PT processes of medial-syllable truncation and word-initial consonant truncation.

Stage 1 Prefixation	Stage 2 G-word formation	Stage 3 Truncation	Stage 4 Truncation
<i>di-umah</i> LOC.home.A	<i>di umuah</i> ‘at home’	<i>dumuah</i>	<i>umuah</i>
<i>bar-ana?</i> STAT-child.A	<i>baranua?</i> ¹⁶ ‘to give birth’	<i>banua?</i>	<i>anua?</i>

Table 1.6. Truncation in G-words

Even without their historical G-phonemes, the Stage-4 words in Table 1.6 do not ‘change back’ into K-words. At this stage, the loss of their G-phonemes – which would normally trigger vowel rising – no longer affects the word shape.

The competing PT mechanisms of phrasal alternation, G-word interference and truncation thus leave us with contrastive pairs such as: *umah* ‘house.A’ vs. *umuah* ‘at home’ and *ana?* ‘child.A’ vs. *anua?* ‘to give birth’.

1.7.6 Word order

PT exhibits Subject-Predicate (SP) and Predicate-Subject (PS) word orders. The latter are used to emphasize predicates that carry central information. Such constructions foreground the expressed event as the most significant information of an utterance. PS constructions also convey a nuance of dynamicity.

The prominence of PS constructions is not unique to Kerinci varieties. Several authors have observed a historical word-order shift in Malay (Rafferty 1983, 1987; Hopper 1987; Cumming and Wouk 1987; Cumming 1991). They argue that in traditional Malay, the common word order was PS. Due to the influence of ‘colonial’ languages, Dutch and English, the preferred word order shifted from PS to SP. Malay now has a basic Subject-Verb-Object word order, especially in the written language. This usage

¹⁶ It is also possible that this form has been borrowed in its entirety from Malay *beranak* ‘to give birth’.

eventually also influenced the spoken language, leading to a situation of ‘alternating syntax in the direction of stable SVO word order’ (Hopper 1987: 472).

As Malay became widely used all over Indonesia, native speakers of Kerinci and other Malay varieties became accustomed to the Malay SP word order and gradually applied it to their local Malayic varieties. As a result, elicitation through Malay typically yields SP sentences in PT, while naturalistic language often exhibits PS orders.

In Malay varieties, the PS word order is still commonly found in combination with *di-* passive markers, especially in narratives. This type of passive is not defocusing the agent. As Kroeger (2014: 22) observes:

[...] the Malay ‘Passive of Narrative Sequence’ is used most often for describing a series of actions by a single actor. In other words, this use of the passive is most common precisely when the agent, rather than the patient, is the discourse topic (highest in topic continuity).

In this dissertation, the *di-* verb-initial construction is translated as a passive in order to distinguish it from its active counterpart. That being said, the *di-* verb-initial also conveys an element of dynamicity which cannot be expressed by the regular passive. To mark the dynamicity, I use ‘Dyn.’ in translations of a PS word order.

Three auxiliaries in PT normally precede the subject: *pandae* ‘able’, *bisua* ‘can’ and *əmbauh* ‘want’. Pre-subject auxiliaries differ from those following the subject. In (13)-(15), I provide the literal meanings (henceforth, Lit.) alongside a more natural English translation. Throughout this dissertation, I continue to do so whenever the context requires it.

- (13) *pandae* *ku* *ba-jalua* *toh* *aman*
 able.A 1.SG VBLZ-road.A toh safe.A
 ‘Can, I walk; that’s safe’ [Lit.]
 ‘Everything is under control if I could walk normally’ [Dyn.]
 [fc3.015]

- (14) *bisua* *jo* *dudeu?*
 can.A 3.SG sit.A
 ‘Can, he sit’ [Lit.]
 ‘He can sit’ [Dyn.]
 [P1_FS_DAS_OLD_MALE.082]

- (15) *ambauh no akan sajou akan gule*
 want.A 3.SG eat.O vegetable eat.O dish.O
- saboa sihat no*
 chilli.A healthy.O 3.SG
 ‘Wants, he eats vegetables, eats chili; healthy he is’ [Lit.]
 ‘If he is willing to eat vegetables and to eat chili, he will be
 healthy’ [Dyn.]
 [fc12.008]

1.7.7 Demonstratives

Now follows a brief discussion on PT demonstratives.¹⁷ Distal demonstratives in PT are *itoh* ‘that’ (full form) and *toh* ‘that’ (reduced form), whereas proximal demonstratives are *ineh* ‘this’ (full form) and *neh* ‘this’ (reduced form). The full forms are mainly used referentially, to refer to persons, things, locations, etc. Both full and reduced forms can function as a determiner and as a demonstrative pronoun and have as such undergone grammaticalization. In the non-referential domain, they can function as a sentence-final particle, topic marker, enumerating device, attention-getter, etc. When the occurrence of a demonstrative does not trigger the oblique form of the preceding element, it is not a part of the noun phrase and/or carries other pragmatic functions, as further discussed in 5.4.4.

In some contexts, the demonstrative may carry two functions which show us that it is at an intermediate stage of grammaticalization. Therefore, the glosses *(i)toh* and *(i)neh* are used to represent both the full and reduced form.

The ABS-OBL alternation of the preceding noun indicates whether a demonstrative is a part of the same noun phrase or not. The demonstrative in (16) is a part of a noun phrase, as the noun preceding it occurs in the oblique form. In (17), the demonstrative functions as a topic marker and the noun preceding it appears in the absolute form. The topic marker can be dropped while still leaving the clause perfectly acceptable (18).

¹⁷ A comprehensive analysis of the referential and non-referential functions of PT demonstratives is discussed in Ernanda and Yap (2016).

- (16) *ahei meih (i)neh*
 day.O Thursday.O (i)neh
 ‘This Thursday’
- (17) *ahei maih (i)neh kitao lalau*
 day.O Thursday.A (i)neh 1.PL.INCL go.A
 ‘On Thursday we will go’
- (18) *ahei maih kitao lalau*
 day.O Thursday.A 1.PL.INCL go.A
 ‘On Thursday we will go’

1.7.8 Subject repetition and subject drop

In naturalistic speech, subject repetition is common although optional in PT. There seems to be a tendency to repeat the subject in cases of auxiliaries, aspectual, or negation, but this is not always the case. The subject can be repeated twice or three times in one utterance (19)-(20).

- (19) *akau agoi ku tina toh*¹⁸
 1.SG still 1.SG remember.A toh
 ‘I still remember that’
 [fc8.023]
- (20) *no idia na no andae ankoï? no*
 3.SG NEG really 3.SG able.A wake.A 3.SG
 ‘He really couldn’t wake up’
 [fc10.269]

The same phenomenon has been reported in the Semerah dialect of Kerinci (Yasin 1983). However, the author seems to imply that this phenomenon is predictable, which is not supported by my data on PT.

My naturalistic data also displays a tendency of subject-dropping. The subject can only be dropped when it is obvious from the context (21)-(25).

¹⁸ Note that it would also be possible to use the truncated version *ku* as a first subject: *ku agoi akau tina toh*.

- (21) [A conversation about an ancestor]
 ☞ *paləsau?* *dea?*
 ☞ grumpy.A TAG
 ‘[He was] grumpy, wasn’t he?’
 [fc0.026]
- (22) [Students were allowed to go to school barefoot in the past]
 ☞ *buloih* *iyua?* *pake* *səlop* *kakei* *ajan*
 ☞ may NEG wear.O sandal foot.O chicken.O
 ‘[We were] allowed not to wear sandals, barefeet’
 [fc0.040]
- (23) [A conversation about school in the past]
 ☞ *alau* *lo* *sula* *tərəmpo* *kajau*
 ☞ go.A to school.A sandal wood.A
 ‘[We] went to school [wearing] wooden sandals’
 [fc0.041]
- (24) [A conversation about life in the past]
 ☞ *mandai* *ke?* *aton* *ajai*
 ☞ take.a.bath.A in stem.O water.A
 ‘[We] took a bath in a river’
 [fc4.193]
- (25) [Describing how honest the speaker’s grandchildren are by
 comparing them to other children]
suhauih ☞ *lei* *saben*
 ask.A ☞ buy.O soap.A
- ☞ *roi* *ipe* ☞ *limo* *ribeu*
 ☞ give.A money.O ☞ five.O x10³.A
- loi?* *ipe* *tigo* *ribeu*
 return.A money.O three.O x10³.A
- idia* ☞ *mula*
 NEG ☞ return
- palin-palin* *sa-ribeu*
 RED-SUPL one.x10³.A

ineh əndua? no limo
 ineh NEG 3.SG five.O

ratauh na ipe di-pula no
 x10².A even money.A PASS-return 3.SG
 ‘[If another kid is] asked to buy soap; [someone from her/his family will] give money [to her/him], five thousand rupiah; [if that kid gets] change, three thousand; [s/he will] not give back [anything]; [and if s/he does, it is] no more than one thousand; [but] that’s not him/her; [even if the change is only] five hundred; the money [is] given back by him/her’
 [fc11.134]

1.8 Review of previous literature

There are some published sources on PT and other Kerinci varieties. Isman (1958) focuses on Kerinci phonology in a thesis describing some of the phonological features of Pondok Tinggi, such as syllabic structures, prosodic features, length, stress, phonemes, consonants and vowels. The grammar (i.e. phonology, morphology and syntax) of Pondok Tinggi is explored by Nikelas et al. (1979). In their research, some data from other varieties are also discussed, including Sungai Penuh, Dusun Baru, Debai and Kumun. Another study by Nikelas et al. (1981) is a description of the morphology and syntax of Kerinci. They simultaneously highlight the Kerinci phonology and its richness in diphthongs and prefixes. Observations on nouns and adjectives in Pondok Tinggi are published in Anwar et al. (1984).

Ernanda (2015a) compares the language, in particular the phrasal alternation, used by two PT generations. She finds a tendency among younger speakers to use the absolute form as the default form, concluding that the heavy language contact situation in PT partly causes the loss of phrasal alternation. In another paper, Ernanda (2015b) describes the demonstratives in PT in relation to phrasal alternation. Dutton and Ernanda (2015) conduct a psycholinguistic experiment in PT, focusing on the effect of animacy on sentence production. In another paper, they apply a descriptive approach to examine animacy in different constructions (Ernanda and Dutton 2016). Winarto and Ernanda (2016) investigate the relative clause in PT and Indonesian. Ernanda and Mckinnon (2016) present an analysis of the foot structure in Kerinci, arguing that the foot plays a role in conditioning numerous phonological and morphophonological processes.

There are also a number of studies on the Sungai Penuh dialect. Steinhauer and Usman (1978) describe the distribution of absolute and oblique forms, arguing that phrasal alternation is determined by semantic

and syntactic factors. Their work has become one of the fundamental sources for Kerinci research. Prentice and Usman (1978) compare SP and Malay lexicostatistically. They conclude that Kerinci is a Malayic dialect, which differs from Malay in its phonology and morphology. They also discuss the ABS-OBL opposition. Usman (1976) is a Kerinci-Indonesian dictionary, again focusing on SP. Usman's dissertation (1988) examines the morphology of SP, supported by a phonological analysis. Steinhauer (2002) presents sixteen hypothetical sound changes which transformed Proto-Malay/Kerinci into the SP dialect, as documented by him in the 1970s, concluding that the sound changes are largely regular but with some exceptions.

Van Reijn (1974) compares the historical sound innovations in the dialect of north Kerinci with those of other languages of Sumatra, such as Acehnese, Minangkabau, Rejang, Pasemah-Serawai and Lampung. He shows that the sound shifts resemble '[...] certain phonetic developments occurring in the Mon-Khmer languages of Further India (and also in the Austronesian Cham and Selung dialects)' (p.130). In a later publication, Van Reijn (1976) illustrates the reduction of diphthongs to cardinal vowels in some dialects of north Kerinci. Another work by Van Reijn (2001) records a folktale in the Kumun dialect and proposes a tentative inventory of Malay-Kumun sound correspondences, showing that – in the dialect he describes – vowels and consonants in stressed syllables are different from those in non-stressed syllables.

Yasin (1983) describes the syntactic structures of the Semerah dialect. His work focuses on phonemic and morphophonemic systems, pronominal systems, basic word order of sentences, auxiliaries, active and passive sentences, WH-questions, topicalizations, and afterthought formations. Mckinnon (2011) analyses the phonology and the syntactic distribution of the ABS-OBL opposition in his dissertation on the Tanjung Pauh Mudik dialect of Kerinci. Yulisman et al. (1995) focus on active and passive constructions in Kerinci. Their samples are taken from two informants, yet they do not mention which of the numerous Kerinci dialects they describe; they appear to treat Kerinci as a monolith. There is also no description of the ABS-OBL opposition, so that their work must be regarded as a poor representation of Kerinci.

According to ongoing research on Malay varieties spoken in the Jambi province, it can be argued that Kerinci shares some features with Rantau Panjang Malay, which also exhibits word alternations. Yet, Mckinnon et al. (2012) reports that the distribution of alternation in Rantau Panjang Malay differs from that of Kerinci.

1.9 Aim of the dissertation

The aim of this dissertation is to describe the unique process of phrasal alternation in the Pondok Tinggi dialect of Kerinci and to document the distribution of absolute and oblique forms across various constructions and lexical categories. Constructions will be treated independently from each other; one construction does not derive from another (cf. Fried and Östman 2004). The role of the aforementioned K-words and G-words is also examined.

Since this dissertation focuses on the distribution of phrasal alternation, words with no ABS-OBL opposition (i.e. function words, particles, some adverbs and some loanwords) are not discussed in as much detail.

This dissertation attempts to reveal the phrasal alternation phenomenon synchronically. The historical development of this complex flexional morphology merits a separate in-depth research. A description of the phenomenon of phrasal alternation, as provided in this dissertation, is a prerequisite for such a historical linguistic research.

1.10 Data collection

I started my research by compiling a word list to analyze the PT phonology. Then, I examined the distribution of the absolute and oblique forms. The rough drafts of the chapters of this dissertation were written prior to my first fieldwork trip in the summer of 2013, based on my intuition as a native speaker of PT. During the first fieldwork period, I tested my hypotheses with the native speaker consultants. Another focus at that time was on the sociolinguistic research of PT. Afterwards, I spent some months in Leiden to revise my draft. During my second fieldwork trip (winter 2014), I conducted elicitation and recorded naturalistic data to expand my corpus. During my third fieldwork trip (summer 2015), I further expanded my corpus and double-checked the data and analyses I had already incorporated in my draft.

All fieldwork was conducted in the village of Pondok Tinggi. I spoke the Pondok Tinggi dialect with my consultants. Only during the sociolinguistic research of my first fieldwork trip, I sometimes had to switch to Melayu Tinggi or Malay when I interviewed younger PT speakers.

This dissertation draws upon naturalistic and elicited data. For the first category, I recorded casual conversations among two or more speakers, including narrative data (the Frog Story and the Pear Story; see Appendix). Elicitation was conducted through semi-structured interviews with questions prepared in advance. During these interviews, I occasionally asked follow-up

questions which were not prepared beforehand to assess the responses of my informants.

All data were recorded using a Zoom H4N device and videotaped with a Sony digital camera. The recordings and videos were transcribed by me, using Elan software. Toolbox was used to gloss the transcriptions. Afterwards, I translated the sentences into English.

All sentences in the data are numbered. The abbreviation ‘fc’ stands for ‘Free Conversation’ and is followed by the number of the recording. ‘P’ stands for ‘Participant’. Thus, ‘P1’ means Participant One. ‘FS’ stands for ‘Frog Story’, whereas ‘PV’ stands for ‘Pear Video’. The code after either ‘FS’ or ‘PV’ refers to the name of the recorded speaker. ‘OLD’ stands for ‘older generation’. The code following it is the gender of the participant, either Female or Male.

1.11 Outline of the dissertation

All chapters aim to describe the distribution of phrasal alternation. I do so by highlighting specific parts of the PT grammar, before examining the distribution of absolute and oblique forms. The following topics are addressed per chapter.

Chapter 2 provides a phonology sketch of PT. The phonemes and phonological rules form the basis to understand its morphology and other parts of the grammar.

Chapter 3 introduces in detail the notions of phrasal alternation, K/G-words and the influence of non-prenasalized obstruents on the shape of word-final rimes. The chapter also demonstrates how derivational processes such as prefixation and nasalization can change the word class, so that K-words become G-words and vice versa.

Chapter 4 discusses personal pronouns. Although personal pronouns do not alternate themselves, their occurrence in certain environments affects the phrasal alternation of the preceding element.

Chapter 5 focuses on nominal constructions, exploring the canonical structure of nominal constructions in detail. It also describes noun-related topics, such as derived nouns, compound nouns, and nominalizations.

Chapter 6 examines adjectival constructions. This chapter addresses the functions of adjectives, the ABS-OBL distribution of adjectives, compound adjectives, degrees of quality, derived adjectives and reduplication of adjectives.

Chapter 7 focuses on phrasal alternation in numeral constructions. It addresses cardinal numerals, classifiers, and partitives. It also discusses derivation of numerals and other related topics.

Chapter 8 discusses verbal constructions. It examines intransitives, transitives, ditransitives and other related issues, such as secondary predicates, imperatives, non-alternating verbs and verbs in free variation.

Chapter 9 discusses derived verb constructions. This chapter analyses all PT prefixes (*maN-*, *N-*, *di-*, *pa-*, *ba-*, *ta-*) and the circumfix *ka-OBL*.

Finally, chapter 10 summarizes the descriptions of phrasal alternation in previous chapters.

2 Phonology

2.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the phonology of the Pondok Tinggi dialect. It discusses the way absolute and oblique forms are marked (2.2), the phoneme inventory of consonants (2.3) and vowels (2.4), word stress (2.5) and syllable structure (2.6).

Before discussing consonants and vowels in more depth, I first provide some background information regarding the transcription system and terminology used throughout this study.

2.2 Marking of absolute and oblique forms

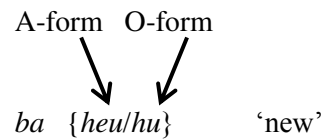
As mentioned previously, PT roots nearly always have two (or more) forms. In general, three syntactic environments can be distinguished: 1) only the absolute form can be used, the oblique form is ungrammatical 2) only the oblique form can be used, the absolute form is ungrammatical, and 3) either the absolute or the oblique form can occur without difference in meaning (free variation).

Throughout this dissertation, alternating roots will be transcribed twice, in the absolute and the oblique form respectively. In this chapter, curly brackets ('{...}') will be used for the two rime endings at the end of each transcribed root; the rime on the left corresponds with the A-form and the rime on the right with the O-form.¹⁹ Some roots occur in free variation and are displayed by indicating both the marker 'A' and 'O' after the English gloss.²⁰ I indicate the ungrammatical form by using a star marker (*). Thus, the marking of absolute and oblique forms follows the patterns indicated in (1)-(5).

¹⁹ I follow Mckinnon (2011) in marking the absolute and oblique alternation in this way.

²⁰ A more detailed discussion on free variation is presented in 8.9.

- (1) Transcription of alternating forms in this chapter.



- (2) Transcription of alternating forms in the other chapters.

baheu/bahu ‘new’

- (3) Transcription of alternating forms in glosses.

baheu ‘new.A’

kantei ‘friend.O’

- (4) Transcription of non-alternating forms in glosses.

kajo ‘you’

- (5) Transcription of Absolute and Oblique in free variation

buwea/buwo ‘bring.A ~ O’

2.3 Consonants

There are nineteen consonants in PT (Table 2.1).

CONSONANTS		Labial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	vl.	p		t		c	k	ʔ
	v.	b			d	ɟ	g	
Fricatives	vl.		(f)		s	(ʃ)	(x)	h
	v.				(z)			
Nasals		m			n	ɲ	ŋ	
Laterals					l			
Trills					r			
Glides		w				j		

Table 2.1. Consonant inventory

2.3.1 Distribution of consonants

The distribution of all native consonants in PT is outlined in Table 2.2. Note that some of the examples listed below are non-alternating loanwords, in particular those displaying word-final consonants (/p/, /k/, /s/, /m/, /ŋ/, /l/ and /r/).

C	Word-initial (#CV)	Word-medial (VCV)	Word-final (VC#)
p	<i>pak</i> {ae/e} ‘to wear’ <i>pag</i> {oi/i} ‘morning’	<i>ap</i> {ai/ei} ‘fire’ <i>lup</i> {ao/o} ‘to forget’	<i>səlop</i> ‘slippers’ <i>sirup</i> ‘syrup’, ²¹
b	<i>bas</i> {euh/uh} ‘to wash’ <i>bin</i> {oi/i} ‘wife’	<i>rəb</i> {eu/un} ‘bamboo shoots’ <i>cab</i> {oi?/i?} ‘torn’	
t	<i>tib</i> {ea/o} ‘to arrive’ <i>tand</i> {ao/o} ‘sign’	<i>bat</i> {eu/u} ‘stone’ <i>dat</i> {eu/un} ‘aunt’	<i>atat</i> ‘roof.O’ <i>cubit</i> ‘to pinch.O’
d	<i>dah</i> {uah/oh} ‘blood’ <i>dap</i> {eu/u} ‘kitchen’	<i>pad</i> {oi/i} ‘paddy’ <i>sud</i> {eu/u} ‘spoon’	
k	<i>kuk</i> {auh/ouh} ‘firm’ <i>kac</i> {ao/o} ‘glass’	<i>kak</i> {ai/ei} ‘leg’ <i>luk</i> {ao/o} ‘wound’	<i>cek</i> ‘to check’ <i>lok</i> ‘seat’, ²²
g	<i>gul</i> {ea/o} ‘sugar’ <i>gant</i> {eu/un} ‘to hang’	<i>tag</i> {oih/ih} ‘to dun’ <i>jag</i> {ua/o} ‘merchandize’	
ʔ		(<i>saʔat</i> ‘moment’) (<i>maʔaoh</i> ‘sorry.A’) ²³	<i>pənaʔ</i> ‘broom.A’ <i>jinoʔ</i> ‘tame.O’
s	<i>sah</i> {aʔ/at} ‘garbage’ <i>sag</i> {eu/u} ‘sago’	<i>bis</i> {eu/un} ‘ulcer’ <i>sis</i> {aiʔ/eiʔ} ‘fish scale’	<i>gratis</i> ‘free’ <i>tas</i> ‘bag’, ²⁴
h		<i>dah</i> {uah/oh} ‘blood’ <i>tah</i> {a/an} ‘to keep’	<i>um</i> {ah/oh} ‘house’ <i>bat</i> {oah/eh} ‘boundary’
c	<i>cab</i> {ua/on} ‘branch’ <i>cub</i> {ea/o} ‘to try’	<i>cac</i> {an/in} ‘worms’ <i>cuc</i> {ai/ei} ‘to wash’	
ʃ	<i>jah</i> {ua/on} ‘rare’ <i>jaw</i> {oi/i} ‘cow’	<i>kəʃ</i> {ua/o} ‘to chase’ <i>ray</i> {on/in} ‘diligent’	
m	<i>mak</i> {a/an} ‘to eat’ <i>min</i> {an/un} ‘to drink’	<i>sum</i> {au/ou} ‘well’ <i>bum</i> {oi/i} ‘earth’	<i>lem</i> ‘glue’ <i>bom</i> ‘bomb’, ²⁵
n	<i>nan</i> {aeh/eh} ‘pineapple’ <i>nas</i> {ai/ei} ‘cooked rice’	<i>pən</i> {aʔ/at} ‘tired’ <i>pən</i> {an/in} ‘dizzy’	<i>ajan</i> ‘chicken.O’ <i>daen</i> ‘leaf.A’

²¹ Both are borrowed from Dutch.

²² Both borrowed from Malay.

²³ Both borrowed from Arabic.

²⁴ Both words borrowed from Dutch through Malay.

²⁵ Both words borrowed from Dutch through Malay.

C	Word-initial (#CV)	Word-medial (VCV)	Word-final (VC#)
ɲ	<i>ɲat</i> {ao/o} ‘real’ <i>ɲam</i> {au?/ou?} ‘mosquito’	<i>səɲ</i> {a?/at} ‘silent’ <i>baɲ</i> {ua?/o?} ‘many, much’	
ŋ	<i>ŋ</i> {ao?/o?} ‘breath’ <i>ŋaŋ</i> {ao/o} ‘open’	<i>aŋ</i> {an/in} ‘wind’ <i>laŋ</i> {ai?/it} ‘sky’	<i>taŋ</i> ‘tongs’ <i>riŋ</i> ‘(boxing) ring’, ²⁶
l	<i>lup</i> {ao/o} ‘to forget’ <i>ləm</i> {ah/oh} ‘weak’	<i>bəl</i> {oi/i} ‘to buy’ <i>gul</i> {ea/o} ‘sugar’	<i>pəl</i> ‘to mob’ <i>səl</i> ‘prison’, ²⁷
r	<i>raɣ</i> {on/in} ‘diligent’ <i>rat</i> {ao/o} ‘flat’	<i>bər</i> {oah/eh} ‘rice’ <i>gur</i> {on/in} ‘to fry’	<i>kamar</i> ‘room’ <i>kantor</i> ‘office’, ²⁸
w	<i>wakt</i> {au/ou} ‘time’ <i>war</i> {aih/eih} ‘inheritance’, ²⁹	<i>ɲaw</i> {ao/o} ‘soul’ <i>buw</i> {ea/o} ‘to bring’	
j	<i>jat</i> {an/in} ‘orphan’ <i>jas</i> {an/in} ‘name of one of the chapters of the Quran’, ³⁰	<i>saj</i> {ao/o} ‘to order’ <i>tuj</i> {au/un} ‘to pour’	

Table 2.2. The distribution of the consonants

2.3.1.1 Voiceless palatal stop /c/

The voiceless palatal stop /c/ can alternate with /s/ in initial position with words consisting of two or more syllables:

c/sab{oa/e} ‘chili’
c/sib{oi?/it} ‘to pinch’
c/suk{au?/ou?} ‘enough’

However, words that historically had /s/ show no alternation with /c/:

sikat/**cikat* ‘brush’
*suara*o/**cuarao* ‘voice’

²⁶ Both words borrowed from Dutch through Malay.

²⁷ Both words borrowed from Dutch through Malay.

²⁸ Both words borrowed from Dutch through Malay.

²⁹ Both words borrowed from Arabic.

³⁰ Both words borrowed from Arabic.

In a number of roots displaying a historical /c/, alternation with /s/ is unattested.

<i>cubea</i> /* <i>subea</i>	‘to try’
<i>caŋkai</i> /* <i>saŋkai</i>	‘cup’

2.3.1.2 Voiceless glottal fricative /h/

In some words, the phoneme /h/ is optionally dropped in medial position between vowels:

<i>jahoiʔ/ɟaoiʔ</i>	‘to sew.A’
<i>mahae/maae</i>	‘let’

It is retained in other words:

<i>jah</i> { <i>uaʔ/ot</i> }	‘naughty’
<i>sih</i> { <i>aʔ/at</i> }	‘healthy’
<i>mah</i> { <i>a/an</i> }	‘expensive’

In word-final position, the phoneme is always pronounced:

<i>bas</i> { <i>uah/oh</i> }	‘wet’
<i>pən</i> { <i>auh/ouh</i> }	‘full’
<i>put</i> { <i>aih/eih</i> }	‘white’

2.3.1.3 Alveolar trill /r/

The alveolar trill is optional in initial position of disyllabic words. This /r/ is especially pronounced in literary style, i.e. poetry, songs, and storytelling:

(<i>r</i>) <i>amb</i> { <i>auʔ/ut</i> }	‘hair’
(<i>r</i>) <i>unt</i> { <i>auh/ouh</i> }	‘to collapse’
(<i>r</i>) <i>ad</i> { <i>oiʔ/iʔ</i> }	‘younger sibling’
(<i>r</i>) <i>at</i> { <i>ai/ei</i> }	‘heart’
(<i>r</i>) <i>akau</i>	‘1.SG’
(<i>r</i>) <i>ineh</i>	‘this’

In monosyllabic words, this ‘literary’ alveolar trill is followed by /a/:

<i>(ra)no</i>	‘3.SG’
<i>(ra)mbauh</i>	‘to be willing to, want’
<i>(ra)ndo?</i>	‘want’

In colloquial speech, /r/ rarely appears in word-initial position. In a limited set of words, however, it is always pronounced:

<i>rib{eu?/ut}</i>	‘noisy’
<i>raj{ea/o}</i>	‘king’

In some words, the phoneme /r/ alternates with /h/ between vowels:

<i>sər/h{ae/e}</i>	‘lemon grass’
<i>pər/h{au?/ut}</i>	‘stomach’
<i>kir/h{ai/ei}</i>	‘left’

It is preserved in a number of other words:

<i>suar{ao/o}</i>	‘voice’
<i>karit{a/o}</i>	‘bicycle’
<i>karam{a?/at}</i>	‘holy’

2.3.1.4 Alveolar lateral /l/

In word-final position, the historical alveolar lateral /l/ occasionally appears as a glottal stop /ʔ/ in PT:

Malay	PT	Meaning
<i>kəcil</i>	<i>kəc{ai?/ei?}</i>	‘small’
<i>ambil</i>	<i>amb{ai?/ei?}</i>	‘to take’
<i>cunkil</i>	<i>cuk{ai?/ei?}</i>	‘to dig out’

In most cases, however, the historical /l/ appears as zero or /n/ in word-final position:

Malay	PT	Meaning
<i>timbul</i>	<i>timb{au/ou}</i>	‘to come up’
<i>juwal</i>	<i>juw{ua/on}</i>	‘to sell’
<i>tingal</i>	<i>tiŋg{a/an}</i>	‘to leave’
<i>panggil</i>	<i>pang{ai/in}</i>	‘to call’

2.3.2 Minimal pairs of consonants

Most minimal pairs are found in initial and medial positions. Only minimal pairs for /h/ versus /ʔ/ occur in final position.

/p/ vs. /b/

<i>pagoi</i>	‘morning.A’	vs	<i>bagoi</i>	‘to divide.A’
<i>apih</i>	‘to remove.O’	vs	<i>abih</i>	‘finish.O’

/t/ vs. /d/

<i>təbeu</i>	‘sugarcane.A’	vs	<i>dəbeu</i>	‘dust.A’
<i>kanda</i>	‘cage.A’	vs	<i>kanta</i>	‘potato.A’

/c/ vs. /ɟ/

<i>cas</i>	‘charger’	vs	<i>ɟas</i>	‘coat’
<i>ancau</i>	‘broken.A’	vs	<i>anɟau</i>	‘bridge.A’

/k/ vs. /g/

<i>kabeu</i>	‘blur.A’	vs	<i>gabeu</i>	‘to combine.A’
<i>dakoi</i>	‘to climb.A’	vs	<i>dagoi</i>	‘finished.A’

/h/ vs. /ʔ/

<i>buŋkeuh</i>	‘package.A’	vs	<i>buŋkeuʔ</i>	‘hunch-backed.A’
<i>atah</i>	‘bran.A’	vs	<i>ataʔ</i>	‘roof.A’

/m/ vs. /n/

<i>maka</i>	‘to eat.A’	vs	<i>naka</i>	‘naughty.A’
<i>lumaʔ</i>	‘pulverized.A’	vs	<i>lunaʔ</i>	‘soft.A’

/m/ vs. /ɲ/

<i>matao</i>	‘eye.A’	vs	<i>ɲatao</i>	‘real.A’
<i>amauʔ</i>	‘increased.A’	vs	<i>aɲauʔ</i>	‘drift.A’

/m/ vs. /ŋ/

<i>ləmah</i>	‘weak.A’	vs	<i>ləŋah</i>	‘careless.A’
<i>bumoi</i>	‘earth.A’	vs	<i>buŋoi</i>	‘sound.A’

/n/ vs. /ɲ/

<i>namo</i>	‘name.O’	vs	<i>ɲ-amo</i>	‘to equalize.O’
<i>pənaʔ</i>	‘tired.A’	vs	<i>pəɲaʔ</i>	‘broom.A’

/n/ vs. /ŋ/

<i>nanta</i>	‘grandfather.A’	vs	<i>ŋ-anta</i>	‘to deliver’
<i>naheh</i>	‘unlucky’	vs	<i>ŋ-aheh</i>	‘to paw’

ɲ/ vs. /ŋ/

<i>ɲ-ajaʔ</i>	‘to slice.A’	vs	<i>ŋ-ajaʔ</i>	‘to sieve.A’
<i>ɲatao</i>	‘real.A’	vs	<i>ŋ-atao</i>	‘to tell.A’

/r/ vs. /l/

<i>tirau</i>	‘to imitate.A’	vs	<i>tilau</i>	‘lisp.A’
<i>bureu</i>	‘bird.A’	vs	<i>buleu</i>	‘fur.A’

/w/ vs. /j/

<i>liwaʔ</i>	‘to pass through.A’	vs	<i>lijaʔ</i>	‘soggy.A’
<i>bawua</i>	‘onion.A’	vs	<i>bajua</i>	‘spinach.A’

2.3.3 Borrowed phonemes

Voiceless fricatives typically come from Arabic. The phoneme /f/ is usually pronounced as [p] and /x/ is usually pronounced as [k] or [h]. The voiced alveolar fricative /z/ remains /z/ or turns into /j/ in the syllable onset. In a very limited number of words, /z/ turns into /s/ in the syllable onset. The voiceless palatal fricative /ʃ/ can also be pronounced as /s/. Only a limited number of speakers are faithful to the original pronunciation of these sounds. These speakers are familiar with Arabic and/or have more contact with Malay.

Voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/

<i>{f/p}itnah</i>	‘slander’
<i>{f/p}atwa</i>	‘a rule in Islamic law’
<i>man{f/p}aat</i>	‘benefit’

Voiceless velar fricative /x/

<i>a{x/k/h}iraʔ</i>	‘hereafter’
<i>a{x/k/h}laʔ</i>	‘moral’
<i>{x/k/h}itan</i>	‘circumcision’
<i>bar{z/s}a{x/h}</i>	‘separation’

Voiced alveolar fricative /z/

{z/ɲ}at	‘substance’
{z/ɲ}akat	‘alms’
a{z/ɲ}an	‘calls for ritual prayer’
alɣa{z/s}air	‘Algeria’
wi{z/ns}a ³¹	‘a name’
hafī{z/s}	‘someone who has completely memorized the Qur’an’
lafa{z/s}	‘word’

Voiceless palatal fricative /ʃ/

{ʃ/s}arat	‘condition’
mu{ʃ/s}awarah	‘discussion’

The word-final /f/ in Arabic borrowings is typically changed to /h/ in PT.

Arabic	PT	Meaning
maʃaf	maʔãõh	‘apology’
insaf	insah	‘to be aware of’
huruf	urouh ³²	‘letter’

2.3.4 Consonant assimilation in numerals

In compounds with numerals ending in /n/ – i.e. (ə)nan ‘six’, lapan ‘eight’ and sambilan ‘nine’ – homorganic assimilation takes place with the following consonant, as shown below:

ənan bəloah	>	ənam bəloah ‘16’
lapan pulauh	>	lapam pulauh ‘80’
sambilan ratauh	>	sambilar ratauh ‘900’
ənan buwuah	>	ənam buwuah ‘six pieces’
sambilan lapa	>	sambilal lapa ‘98’

These numeral compounds are technically two separate words, but there is no phonological boundary. Since the consonant sequences /nb/ and

³¹ I have found no other examples of /n/ insertion.

³² Besides *urouh* there is also the lexical doublet *urup*.

/np/ are not permitted in PT, the compound numerals are phonotactically adjusted.

2.3.5 Consonant sequences

Obstruent stops can appear as part of a consonant sequence preceded by a homorganic nasal stop. They can only occur in word-medial position. The permitted sequences are /mp/, /mb/, /nt/, /nd/, /ŋk/, /ŋg/, /ɲc/ and /ɲj/.

/mp/	<i>kəmp</i> { <i>auh/ouh</i> }	‘soft’
	<i>kalimp</i> { <i>a/an</i> }	‘to get something in the eye’
/mb/	<i>gəmb</i> { <i>eu/un</i> }	‘bloated’
	<i>kamb</i> { <i>aeʔ/eʔ</i> }	‘goat’
/nt/	<i>palənt</i> { <i>an/in</i> }	‘catapult’
	<i>kamint</i> { <i>a/an</i> }	‘candlenut’
/nd/	<i>und</i> { <i>an/in</i> }	‘to negotiate’
	<i>cind</i> { <i>au/ou</i> }	‘a kind of porridge’
/ŋk/	<i>jaŋk</i> { <i>oi/i</i> }	‘a kind of bag made of rattan’
	<i>baŋk</i> { <i>eu/un</i> }	‘to torture’
/ŋg/	<i>paŋg</i> { <i>a/an</i> }	‘to burn’
	<i>puŋg</i> { <i>au/un</i> }	‘back’
/ɲc/	<i>kəɲc</i> { <i>a/an</i> }	‘fast’
	<i>uɲc</i> { <i>an/in</i> }	‘sharpened to a point’
/ɲj/	<i>tuɲj</i> { <i>auʔ/ouʔ</i> }	‘to point’
	<i>səɲj</i> { <i>ao/o</i> }	‘twilight’

PT also features other consonant sequences attested exclusively in words borrowed from Arabic, Dutch or Malay (Table 2.3). However, upon closer inspection most of these sequences do not occur in the same syllable.

b	r	<u>o.bral</u>	‘sale’
g	r	<u>gra.tis</u>	‘free of charge’
h	l	<u>pah.la.wan</u>	‘hero’
k	b	<u>tak.boi</u>	‘an Islamic saying’
	l	<u>co.klat</u>	‘chocolate’
	s	<u>rak.sa.sa</u>	‘giant’
	t	<u>wak.tau</u>	‘time.A’
	j	<u>rak.ja?</u>	‘people’
l	m	<u>il.mau</u>	‘knowledge.A’
p	l	<u>plas.tik</u>	‘plastic’
	s	<u>nap.sau</u>	‘desire.A’
r	b	<u>kur.bua</u>	‘sacrifice.A’
	c	<u>par.cu.ma</u>	‘useless’
	d	<u>mar.di.kea</u>	‘freedom’
	g	<u>gar.ga.joi</u>	‘saw.A’
	j	<u>kər.ɟea</u>	‘to work.A’
	l	<u>par.la?</u>	‘mattress protector sheet’
	m	<u>par.ma.da.ni</u>	‘rug’
	n	<u>war.nao</u>	‘color.A’
	p	<u>mar.pa.tai</u>	‘pigeon.A’
	s	<u>kur.sai</u>	‘chair.A’
	t	<u>tar.tai?</u>	‘orderly.A’
	w	<u>ar.wah</u>	‘spirit.A’
s	b	<u>tas.boih</u>	‘prayer rope.A’
	j	<u>mas.joi?</u>	‘mosque.A’
	k	<u>mis.kan</u>	‘poor.A’
	l	<u>i.sla</u>	‘Islam.A’
	p	<u>span.duk</u>	‘banner’
	t	<u>pas.tai</u>	‘definitely.A’
t	n	<u>pit.nah</u>	‘slander’
	r	<u>pi.trah</u>	‘a religious tax’
	w	<u>pat.wa</u>	‘rules concerning Islamic law’

Table 2.3. Consonant clusters of loanwords

2.3.6 Phonotactic restructuring

Phonotactic restructuring occurs in names of people. Note that the CC sequences /mr/ (1) and /zh/ (2) are not permitted in PT, prompting metathesis.

- 1) Amran > M(a)ran > Məran
- 2) Azhar > Z(a)har > Zəhar

2.4 Vowels

There are six vowels in PT: two high vowels, three mid vowels, and one low vowel (Table 2.4).

Vowels	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e	ə	o
Low		a	

Table 2.4. Vowel inventory

2.4.1 Distribution of vowels

Table 2.5 illustrates the distribution of the vowels.

Vowel	Initial position	Medial position	Final position
i	<i>is</i> {aʔ/at} ‘to suck’ <i>it</i> {au/un} ‘to count’	<i>sij</i> {ao/o} ‘to rent’ <i>pis</i> {a/an} ‘banana’	<i>biji</i> ‘seed.O’ <i>bagi</i> ‘to divide.O’
u	<i>um</i> {au/ou} ‘age’ <i>uʔ</i> {ea/o} ‘wide’	<i>bum</i> {oi/i} ‘earth’ <i>suŋ</i> {ae/e} ‘river’	<i>bulu</i> ‘fur.O’ <i>bahu</i> ‘new.O’
e		<i>daen</i> ‘leaf.O’ <i>kərtəh</i> ‘paper.O’	<i>sabe</i> ‘chili.O’ <i>gawe</i> ‘work.O’
ə	(ə)l{a/an} ‘eagle’ (ə)m{aeh/eh} ‘gold’	<i>g(ə)dua</i> ‘big.A’ <i>s(ə)na</i> ‘happy.A’	33
o		<i>daloʔ</i> ‘to search for’ <i>baron</i> ‘goods’	<i>carito</i> ‘story.O’ <i>mato</i> ‘eye.O’
a	<i>aj</i> {a/an} ‘chicken’ <i>aŋk</i> {auʔ/ut} ‘to lift’	<i>bant</i> {oa/e} ‘meat’ <i>ʔag</i> {ea/o} ‘to watch’	<i>ima</i> ‘tiger.A’ <i>tala</i> ‘tray.A’

Table 2.5. The distribution of the vowels

The mid-front and mid-back vowels /e/ and /o/ are realized lowered to respectively [ɛ] and [ɔ] in closed syllables. Since the pronunciation of these allophones can be predicted from their position in a syllable, I use /e/ and /o/ throughout this dissertation.

2.4.2 Minimal pairs for vowels

Note that the vowels /e/ and /o/ are only found in word-final position.

³³ The only instance in my corpus of a word-final schwa is *ŋə* ‘REL; and, with’.

/i/ vs. /e/

<i>bali</i>	‘an Indonesian island’	vs	<i>bale</i>	‘hall.O’
<i>padi</i>	‘paddy.O’	vs	<i>gade</i>	‘to pawn.O’

/i/ vs. /a/

<i>tina</i>	‘to remember.A’	vs	<i>tana</i>	‘to cultivate.A’
<i>ima</i>	‘tiger.A’	vs	<i>ama</i>	‘safe.’

/i/ vs. /u/

<i>ila</i>	‘lost.A’	vs	<i>ula</i>	‘snake.A’
<i>gilea</i>	‘crazy.A’	vs	<i>gulea</i>	‘sugar.A’

/i/ vs. /o/

<i>buji</i>	‘sound.O’	vs	<i>bujo</i>	‘flower.O’
<i>gili</i>	‘turn.O’	vs	<i>gilo</i>	‘crazy.O’

/e/ vs. /a/

<i>kuweh</i>	‘cake’	vs	<i>kuwah</i>	‘gravy.A’
<i>kiceʔ</i>	‘saying’	vs	<i>kicaʔ</i>	‘to taste’

/e/ vs. /u/

<i>abe</i>	‘to ignore.O’	vs	<i>abu</i>	‘ash.O’
<i>banʔke</i>	‘carcass.O’	vs	<i>banʔku</i>	‘stool.O’

/e/ vs. /o/

<i>tuwe</i>	‘to harvest.O’	vs	<i>tuwo</i>	‘old.O’
<i>bale</i>	‘hall.O’	vs	<i>balo</i>	‘disaster.O’

/a/ vs. /u/

<i>aha</i>	‘charcoal.A’	vs	<i>uha</i>	‘people.A’
<i>taha</i>	‘to keep.A’	vs	<i>tuha</i>	‘God.A’

/a/ vs. /o/

<i>aka</i>	‘mind.A’	vs	<i>ako</i>	‘root.O’
<i>maha</i>	‘expensive.A’	vs	<i>maho</i>	‘danger.O’

/o/ vs. /u/

<i>tibo</i>	‘to arrive.O’	vs	<i>dəbu</i>	‘dust.O’
<i>gulo</i>	‘sugar.O’	vs	<i>bulu</i>	‘fur.O’

2.4.3 ‘Double’ /a/

Some words display a ‘double’ /a/. These vowels belong to different syllables and are pronounced as such:

<i>ba.apoi</i>	‘to produce fire.A’
<i>ba.asuah</i>	‘having been sharpened.A’
<i>ka.aŋat</i>	‘suffering from overheating.O’
<i>ka.au</i>	‘you’ (singular feminine)
<i>ma.ae</i>	‘to play.A’
<i>ja.aiʔ</i>	‘to sew.A’
<i>sa.aʔ</i>	‘to close.A’
<i>ta.an</i>	‘year.A’
<i>ta.au</i>	‘to know.A’

2.4.4 Diphthongs

PT exhibits twelve vowel sequences occurring within the same syllable, which I therefore consider to be diphthongs: four opening diphthongs and eight closing ones (Table 2.6.). These diphthongs occur in medial and final position. They are considered as one segment [V].

Opening diphthongs	ia	ua	oa	ea				
Closing diphthongs	ai	au	ae	ao	eu	ei	oi	ou

Table 2.6. Diphthong inventory

Table 2.6. Diphthong inventory

The distribution of the diphthongs is presented in Table 2.7.

		Open final syllable	Closed final syllable
Opening diphthongs	ia	<i>ijia</i> ‘nothing’	
	ua	<i>ladua</i> ‘field.A’ <i>jalua</i> ‘road.A’	<i>gaguah</i> ‘handsome.A’ <i>banuaʔ</i> ‘to give birth.A’
	oa	<i>dəroa</i> ‘scattered.A’ <i>guloa</i> ‘dish.A’	<i>jəloah</i> ‘clear.A’ <i>gəloah</i> ‘glass.A’
	ea	<i>buŋea</i> ‘flower.A’ <i>dadea</i> ‘chest.A’	<i>təgeaʔ</i> ‘well-built.A’ <i>deaʔ</i> ‘TAG’
Closing diphthongs	ai	<i>matai</i> ‘to die.A’ <i>cucai</i> ‘to wash.A’	<i>laŋaiʔ</i> ‘sky.A’ <i>sihaih</i> ‘betel.A’
	au	<i>kalau</i> ‘necklace.A’ <i>cucau</i> ‘grandchild.A’	<i>ambauʔ</i> ‘hair.A’ <i>kukauh</i> ‘firm.A’

		Open final syllable	Closed final syllable
	ae	<i>pakae</i> ‘to wear.A’ <i>lantae</i> ‘floor.A’	<i>kapaeh</i> ‘cotton.A’ <i>kambae?</i> ‘goat.A’
	ao	<i>warnao</i> ‘color.A’ <i>natao</i> ‘real.A’	
	eu	<i>abeu</i> ‘ash.A’ <i>sudeu</i> ‘spoon.A’	<i>tədeuh</i> ‘shaded.A’ <i>kəjeu?</i> ‘to surprise.A’
	ei	<i>cucei</i> ‘to wash.O’ <i>pikei</i> ‘to think.O’	<i>itei?</i> ‘duck.O’ <i>puteih</i> ‘white.O’
	oi	<i>ganyoi</i> ‘odd.A’ <i>guloi</i> ‘to roll on.A’	<i>baloi?</i> ‘to come back.A’ <i>bətoi?</i> ‘calf.A’
	ou	<i>kajou</i> ‘wood.O’ <i>tipou</i> ‘to cheat.O’	<i>kukouh</i> ‘firm.O’ <i>maŋkou?</i> ‘bowl.O’

Table 2.7. The distribution of the diphthongs

2.4.5 Minimal pairs of diphthongs

Note that the diphthong /ia/ is only attested in *ijia* ‘nothing’.

/ia/ vs. /ua/
ijia ‘nothing’ vs *ijua* ‘green.A’

/ua/ vs. /oa/
badua ‘body.A’ vs *badoa* ‘anchovy.A’
sabua ‘patient.A’ vs *saboa* ‘red pepper.A’

/ua/ vs. /ea/
butua ‘to owe.A’ vs *butea* ‘blind.A’
ijua ‘green.A’ vs *ijea* ‘to spell.A’

/ua/ vs. /oi/
bukua? ‘to open.A’ vs *bukoi?* ‘hill.A’
jahua ‘rare.A’ vs *jahoi* ‘finger.A’

/ua/ vs. /ei/
lahua ‘to forbid.A’ vs *lahei* ‘to run.O’

/ua/ vs. /eu/
təgua ‘tense.A’ vs *təgeu* ‘to greet.A’
tuquah ‘to stab.A’ vs *tuyeu* ‘seven.A’

/oa/ vs. /ea/ <i>guloa</i> ‘dish.A’	vs	<i>gulea</i> ‘sugar.A’
/oa/ vs. /eu/ <i>aboa</i> ‘neglected.A’	vs	<i>abeu</i> ‘ash.A’
/ea/ vs. /oi/ <i>gulea</i> ‘sugar.A’ <i>ubea</i> ‘dumb.A’	vs vs	<i>guloi</i> ‘to roll on.A’ <i>uboi</i> ‘cassava.A’
/ea/ vs. /eu/ <i>bahea</i> ‘coals.A’ <i>gulea</i> ‘sugar.A’	vs vs	<i>baheu</i> ‘new.A’ <i>guleu</i> ‘roll.A’
/ao/ vs. /ae/ <i>mulao</i> ‘beginning.A’	vs	<i>mulae</i> ‘to start.A’
/ao/ vs. /ai/ <i>matao</i> ‘eye.A’	vs	<i>matai</i> ‘to die.A’
/ao/ vs. /au/ <i>tandao</i> ‘sign.A’ <i>timbao</i> ‘to draw.A’ <i>asao</i> ‘flavor.A’	vs vs vs	<i>tandau</i> ‘sedan chair.A’ <i>timbau</i> ‘to arise.A’ <i>asau</i> ‘to expel.A’
/ae/ vs. /ou/ <i>pakae</i> ‘to wear.A’ <i>ramae</i> ‘crowded.A’	vs vs	<i>pakou</i> ‘nail.O’ <i>ramou</i> ‘ingredient.O’
/ae/ vs. /au/ <i>tandaeh</i> ‘miserable.A’ <i>sərae</i> ‘lemongrass.A’	vs vs	<i>tandauh</i> ‘infertile.A’ <i>sərau</i> ‘to exclaim.A’
/oi/ vs. /eu/ <i>caboi?</i> ‘torn.A’ <i>gantoi</i> ‘to change.A’	vs vs	<i>cabeu?</i> ‘to pull out.A’ <i>ganteu</i> ‘to hang.A’
/ei/ vs. /ai/ <i>apei</i> ‘fire.O’ <i>kakei</i> ‘leg.O’	vs vs	<i>apai</i> ‘fire.A’ <i>kakai</i> ‘leg.A’

/ei/ vs. /ou/				
<i>lakei</i>	‘husband.O’	vs	<i>lakou</i>	‘marketable.O’
/ai/ vs. /ou/				
<i>kakai</i>	‘leg.A’	vs	<i>kakou</i>	‘rigid.O’
/ai/ vs. /au/				
<i>ləŋaiḥ</i>	‘thin.A’	vs	<i>ləŋauḥ</i>	‘daydream.A’
<i>səpaiḥ</i>	‘chipped.A’	vs	<i>səpauḥ</i>	‘plating.A’
/ou/ vs. /au/				
<i>cucou</i>	‘grandchild.O’	vs	<i>cucau</i>	‘grandchild.A’
<i>tipou</i>	‘to cheat.O’	vs	<i>tipau</i>	‘to cheat.A’

2.4.6 Nasality

Nasality is marginally contrastive in PT. Vowels are only nasal in certain restricted word classes. In general, there is no phonemic contrast between nasal and oral vowels. There are four environments where vowels are nasalized by default:

- 1) Directly following nasals: *samao* [samão] ‘to follow’ (cf. *sapao* ‘to greet’).
- 2) The particles *hoo* [hõ], *haa* [hã] and *hee* [hẽ].
- 3) Personal names consisting of two repeated vowels and ending in /n/: *Iin* [iĩn], *Aan* [aãn].
- 4) The expletive *ooʔ* [õõʔ] ‘shit’.
- 5) Arabic loanwords containing a voiced pharyngeal approximate vowel /ʕ/, which in PT is realized as a pre-glottalized nasalized vowel: *maʔãõḥ* (< Arabic *maʕaf*) ‘apology’, *saʔãʔ* (< Arabic *saʕat*) ‘moment’, *taʔãʔ* (< Arabic *taʕat*) ‘obedient’, *duʔũã* (< Arabic *duʕa*) ‘pray’.

2.5 Word stress

Unlike Malay,³⁴ PT exhibits word stress. In this dissertation, word stress will not be marked since it is non-phonemic and predictably falls on the final syllable. Like other Kerinci varieties, the final syllable of both underived and derived words is stressed (Steinhauer and Usman 1978). In the words of Steinhauer (2002: 4):

Kerinci today has a clearly observable word stress and consequently phrase stress, namely on the final word syllable and on the final syllable of the phrase.

Three strands of evidence support the historical validity of this observation. First, a greater variety of vowels is permitted in final syllables. Given that stressed syllables allow for more contrast than non-stressed syllables, final syllables in PT prove to be more prominent than initial syllables. Second, the schwa /ə/ – which characteristically only occurs in unstressed syllables – is not attested in word-final syllables.³⁵ Third, word-final stress is clearly observable when PT speakers speak other languages. Hence, Kerinci speakers can easily be ‘detected’ when they speak Malay because of this tendency.

2.6 Syllable structure

This section examines the syllable structures in PT,³⁶ giving examples for monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic and quadrisyllabic structures. The possible syllable combinations in PT can be seen in Table 2.8.

³⁴ Goedemans and Zanten (2007) argue that there is no word stress in Indonesian. Discarding earlier theories of an alleged penultimate syllable stress, they argue that patterns of word stress found by previous scholars were due to different substrate languages. Similarly, Van Zanten and Van Heuven (1998: 130) claim that Indonesian is a non-stress language.

³⁵ The only exception in my corpus is *ηə* ‘REL; and; with’.

³⁶ See also Mckinnon and Ernanda (2015) on *Syllabic C Analysis*. They demonstrate how the process of syllabification works in some Kerinci dialects.

1	CV	<i>gu.de</i>	‘to bother.O’
2	CVC	<i>gan.teu</i>	‘to hang.A’
3	CCVC	<i>plas.tik</i>	‘plastic’

Table 2.8. Syllable combinations

As mentioned previously, PT diphthongs are classified as one segment. The possible syllabic segments in PT are illustrated in Table 2.9.

Monosyllabic	CV	<i>no</i> ‘3.SG’
	CVC	<i>jon</i> ‘watch’
Bisyllabic	CCVC.CVC	<i>plas.tik</i> ‘plastic’
	CV.CV	<i>ba.so</i> ‘language’
	CV.CVC	<i>pi.ka?</i> ‘to bait.A’
	CVC.CV	<i>pan.ja</i> ‘long.A’
	CVC.CVC	<i>tim.ba?</i> ‘to shoot.A’
Trisyllabic	CV.CV.CVC	<i>ka.lu.pa?</i> ‘petal.A’
	CV.CV.CV	<i>ba.ha.jea</i> ‘danger.A’
	CV.CV.CVC	<i>sa.li.mau?</i> ‘blanket.A’
	CV.CVC.CV	<i>pa.lan.da</i> ‘to hit.A’
	CV.CVC.CVC	<i>pa.rin.toh</i> ‘command’
	CVC.CV.CV	<i>san.da.wa</i> ‘mushrooms.A’
	CVC.CV.CVC	<i>cam.pə.dua?</i> ‘jackfruit.A’
Quadrisyllabic	CV.CV.CV.CV	<i>sə.lo.pa.do</i> ‘red ants.O’
	CV.CV.CV.CVC	<i>ma.la.ji.ka?</i> ‘angel.A’

Table 2.9. Syllable structures

3 Alternation

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the four-way split of morphophonological marking in PT, which consists of the absolute form, the oblique form, K-words and G-words. This four-way split is prominent in almost all aspects of PT grammar and cannot be examined in isolation.

This chapter discusses the shape of the phrasal alternation in all possible final-syllable rimes (3.2), K-words and G-words (3.3) and the effect of voiced obstruents on phrasal alternation (3.4).

3.2 Phrasal alternation

As mentioned in 1.7.4, the morphophonological process of phrasal alternation is so called because most words in PT exhibit an absolute and oblique form, which differ in the shape of their final-syllable rime. Phrasal alternation is conditioned by the position of a word within a phrase.

The terms absolute and oblique were introduced by Steinhauer and Usman (1978) and have been taken over by later researchers working on Kerinci varieties (Prentice and Usman 1978; Mckinnon 2011; Ernanda 2011, 2016). The forms have also been called Pausal and Non-Pausal (Van Reijn 1974) and Bentuk I and Bentuk II (Usman 1988). Throughout this dissertation, I use the terms absolute and oblique as this is presently the most common way to refer to these forms.

It should be pointed out that the terms ‘absolute’ and ‘oblique’ are used in a different sense from what can be found cross-linguistically in the wider typological literature (Comrie 1989; Payne 1997; Song 2012; Dixon 2012). To avoid confusion, I underscore that the terms absolute and oblique in this dissertation refer to the phenomenon of phrasal alternation specific to

the Kerinci language. In other words, I am applying these labels in a purely language-specific sense.³⁷ To quote Croft (2001: 312):

All grammatical constructions are language-specific; the names used for constructions in particular languages are arbitrary from a theoretical point of view.

In noun phrases, the absolute form denotes genericity and/or neutrality. Depending on the context, I use the articles ‘the’ or ‘a’ or the plural marker -(e)s to translate absolute forms into English. The oblique form generally expresses a specific interpretation. Therefore, I use the article ‘the’ in English translations of oblique forms. It is worth pointing out that there is no one-to-one way to translate all the nuances of phrasal alternation into English.

Table 3.1 shows all possible root-final rimes; *-V(C). Malay examples are presented in the standard orthography.

	Malay	PT (G-words)		Malay	PT (K-words)	
		ABS	OBL		ABS	OBL
*a	<i>buaya</i> ‘crocodile’	<i>buajea</i>	<i>buajo</i>	<i>luka</i> ‘wound’	<i>lukao</i>	<i>luko</i>
	<i>dua</i> ‘two’	<i>duwea</i>	<i>duwo</i>	<i>lima</i> ‘five’	<i>limao</i>	<i>limo</i>
*ah	<i>lidah</i> ‘tongue’	<i>liduah</i>	<i>lidoh</i>	<i>muntah</i> ‘to vomit’	<i>mutah</i>	<i>mutoh</i>
	<i>gajah</i> ‘elephant’	<i>gajuah</i>	<i>gayoh</i>	<i>patah</i> ‘broken’	<i>patah</i>	<i>patoh</i>
*ai	<i>gadai</i> ‘to pawn’	<i>gadoa</i>	<i>gade</i>	<i>pantai</i> ‘beach’	<i>pantae</i>	<i>pante</i>
	<i>damai</i> ‘peace’	<i>damoa</i>	<i>dame</i>	<i>pandai</i> ‘smart’	<i>pandae</i>	<i>pande</i>
*ak	<i>badak</i> ‘rhinoceros’	<i>badua?</i>	<i>bado?</i>	<i>anak</i> ‘child’	<i>ana?</i>	<i>ano?</i>
	<i>jinak</i> ‘tame’	<i>jinua?</i>	<i>jino?</i>	<i>sesak</i> ‘densely’	<i>səsa?</i>	<i>səso?</i>
*al	<i>jual</i> ‘to sell’	<i>juwua</i>	<i>juwon</i>	<i>akal</i> ‘mind’	<i>aka</i>	<i>akan</i>
	<i>tebal</i> ‘thick’	<i>təbua</i>	<i>təbon</i>	<i>mahal</i> ‘expensive’	<i>maha</i>	<i>mahan</i>

³⁷ Dryer (1997) shares his view ‘[...] the choice of labels is entirely one of convenience, and ultimately questions of what label to use are terminological’ (p. 123).

Malay		PT (G-words)		Malay	PT (K-words)	
		ABS	OBL		ABS	OBL
*am	<i>garam</i> 'salt'	<i>gahua</i>	<i>gahon</i>	<i>ayam</i> 'chicken'	<i>aja</i>	<i>ajan</i>
	<i>tajam</i> 'sharp'	<i>tayua</i>	<i>tayon</i>	<i>hitam</i> 'black'	<i>ita</i>	<i>itan</i>
*an	<i>bulan</i> 'moon'	<i>bulua</i>	<i>bulon</i>	<i>halaman</i> 'page'	<i>lama</i>	<i>laman</i>
	<i>hujan</i> 'rain'	<i>uyua</i>	<i>uyon</i>	<i>kanan</i> 'right'	<i>kana</i>	<i>kanan</i>
*ang	<i>udang</i> 'shrimp'	<i>udua</i>	<i>udon</i>	<i>kacang</i> 'peanut'	<i>kaca</i>	<i>kacan</i>
	<i>belang</i> 'stripe'	<i>bəlua</i>	<i>bəlon</i>	<i>kurang</i> 'less'	<i>kura</i>	<i>kuran</i>
*ap	<i>tegap</i> 'strapping'	<i>təgea?</i>	<i>təgo?</i>	<i>atap</i> 'roof'	<i>ata?</i>	<i>atat</i>
	<i>gagap</i> 'stammer'	-	<i>gago?</i>	<i>asap</i> 'smoke'	<i>asa?</i>	<i>asat</i>
*ar	<i>sabar</i> 'patient'	<i>sabua</i>	<i>sabo</i>	<i>akar</i> 'root'	<i>aka</i>	<i>ako</i>
	<i>kejar</i> 'to chase'	<i>kəjua</i>	<i>kəjo</i>	<i>tengkar</i> 'to quarrel'	<i>təŋka</i>	<i>təŋko</i>
*as	<i>beras</i> 'rice'	<i>bəroah</i>	<i>bəreh</i>	<i>talas</i> 'taro'	<i>talaeh</i>	<i>taleh</i>
	<i>jelas</i> 'clear'	<i>jəloah</i>	<i>jəleh</i>	<i>panas</i> 'hot'	<i>panaeh</i>	<i>paneih</i>
*at	<i>dawat</i> 'ink'	<i>dawua?</i>	<i>dawot</i>	<i>sikat</i> 'brush'	<i>sika?</i>	<i>sikat</i>
	<i>bulat</i> 'round'	<i>bulua?</i>	<i>bulot</i>	<i>cepat</i> 'fast'	<i>cəpa?</i>	<i>cəpat</i>
*au ³⁸	<i>kerbau</i> 'buffalo'	<i>kəbua</i>	<i>kəbo</i>	<i>harimau</i> 'tiger'	<i>ima</i>	<i>imo</i>
	<i>hijau</i> 'green'	<i>iyua</i>	<i>ijo</i>	<i>rantau</i> 'abroad'	<i>ranta</i>	<i>ranto</i>
*i	<i>babi</i> 'pig'	<i>baboi</i>	<i>babi</i>	<i>api</i> 'fire'	<i>apai</i>	<i>apei</i>
	<i>padi</i> 'paddy'	<i>padoi</i>	<i>padi</i>	<i>tinggi</i> 'tall'	<i>tiŋgai</i>	<i>tiŋgei</i>
*ih	<i>lebih</i> 'more'	<i>ləboih</i>	<i>ləbih</i>	<i>sirih</i> 'betel'	<i>sihaih</i>	<i>siheih</i>
	<i>bersih</i> 'clean'	<i>bərsoih</i>	<i>bərsih</i>	<i>putih</i> 'white'	<i>putaih</i>	<i>puteih</i>
*ik	<i>baik</i> 'good'	<i>baoi?</i>	<i>bai?</i>	<i>itik</i> 'duck'	<i>itai?</i>	<i>itei?</i>

³⁸ An exception is *pisao/piso* 'knife' (Malay: *pisau*).

Malay		PT (G-words)		Malay	PT (K-words)	
		ABS	OBL		ABS	OBL
*ik	<i>cabik</i> 'torn'	<i>caboi?</i>	<i>cabi?</i>	<i>petik</i> 'to pick'	<i>pətai?</i>	<i>pətei?</i>
*il	<i>bedil</i> 'rifle'	<i>bədoi</i>	<i>bədin</i>	<i>kancil</i> 'mouse deer'	<i>kancai</i>	<i>kancei</i>
	<i>ganjil</i> 'odd'	<i>ganyoi</i>	<i>ganyin</i>			
*im	<i>garim</i> 'mosque attendant'	-	<i>garin</i>	<i>kirim</i> 'to send'	<i>kihan</i>	-
*in	<i>dingin</i> 'cold'	<i>diŋon</i>	<i>diŋin</i>	<i>cincin</i> 'ring'	<i>cincan</i>	<i>cincin</i>
*ing ³⁹	<i>gunting</i> 'scissors'	<i>gunton</i>	<i>guntin</i>	<i>piring</i> 'plate'	<i>pihan</i>	<i>pihin</i>
	<i>daging</i> 'meat'	<i>dagon</i>	<i>dagin</i>	<i>miring</i> 'skew'	<i>mihan</i>	<i>mihin</i>
*ip	<i>kedip</i> 'wink'	<i>kədoi?</i>	-	<i>selip</i> 'to skid'	<i>salai?</i>	<i>salit</i>
*ir	<i>bibir</i> 'lips'	<i>biboi</i>	<i>bibi</i>	<i>kincir</i> 'mill'	<i>kincai</i>	<i>kincei</i>
	<i>gilir</i> 'turn'	<i>giloi</i>	<i>gili</i>	<i>cair</i> 'liquid'	<i>cajai</i>	<i>cajei</i>
	<i>gulir</i> 'to roll on'	<i>guloi</i>	<i>guli</i>	<i>hilir</i> 'downstream'	<i>ilai</i>	<i>ilei</i>
*is	<i>gadis</i> 'girl'	<i>gadoih</i>	<i>gadih</i>	<i>lapis</i> 'layer'	<i>lapaih</i>	<i>lapeih</i>
	<i>najis</i> 'unclean'	<i>najoih</i>	<i>najih</i>	<i>manis</i> 'sweet'	<i>manaih</i>	<i>maneih</i>
*it	<i>bukit</i> 'hill'	<i>bukoi?</i>	<i>bukit</i>	<i>pipit</i> 'sparrow'	<i>pipai?</i>	<i>pipit</i>
	<i>jahit</i> 'sewing'	<i>jaoi?</i>	<i>jait</i>	<i>sakit</i> 'ill'	<i>sakai?</i>	<i>sakit</i>
*u	<i>abu</i> 'ash'	<i>abeu</i>	<i>abu</i>	<i>ilmu</i> 'knowledge'	<i>ilmau</i>	<i>ilmou</i>
	<i>baru</i> 'new'	<i>baheu</i>	<i>bahu</i>	<i>kayu</i> 'wood'	<i>kajau</i>	<i>kajou</i>
*uh ⁴⁰	<i>buluh</i> 'bamboo'	<i>buleuh</i>	<i>buluh</i>	<i>suluh</i> 'torchlight'	<i>sulauh</i>	<i>sulouh</i>
	<i>gaduh</i> 'noisy'	<i>gadeuh</i>	<i>gaduh</i>	<i>rapuh</i> 'fragile'	<i>rapauh</i>	<i>rapouh</i>

³⁹ For a number of domestic animals, *-iŋ corresponds to final-syllable -ae? (ABS) and -e? (OBL), i.e. Malay *anjing* 'dog' vs. PT *anyae?*/*anye?*; Malay *kucing* 'cat' vs. PT *kucae?*/*kuce?*, Malay *kambing* 'goat' vs. PT *kambae?*/*kambe?*.

⁴⁰ An exception is *buneah/bunuh* 'to kill' (Malay: *bunuh*).

Malay		PT (G-words)		Malay	PT (K-words)	
		ABS	OBL		ABS	OBL
*uk	<i>lubuk</i> 'bottom'	<i>lubeu?</i>	<i>lubu?</i>	<i>mangkuk</i> 'bowl'	<i>maŋkau?</i>	<i>maŋkou?</i>
	<i>duduk</i> 'to sit'	<i>dudeu?</i>	<i>dudu?</i>	<i>masuk</i> 'to enter'	<i>masau?</i>	<i>masou?</i>
*ul	<i>bisul</i> 'ulcer'	<i>biseu</i>	<i>bisun</i>	<i>siul</i> 'a whistle'	<i>sijau</i>	<i>sijou</i>
	<i>bakul</i> 'basket'	<i>bakeu</i>	<i>bakun</i>	<i>tumpul</i> 'blunt'	<i>tumpau</i>	<i>tumpou</i>
*um				<i>minum</i> 'to drink'	<i>minan</i>	<i>minun</i>
				<i>cium</i> 'to kiss, to smell'	<i>cian</i>	<i>ciun</i>
*un	<i>daun</i> 'leaf'	<i>daen</i>	<i>daun</i>	<i>racun</i> 'poison'	<i>acan</i>	<i>acun</i>
	<i>terjun</i> 'plunge'	<i>tərjen</i>	<i>tərjun</i>	<i>turun</i> 'to go down'	<i>tuhan</i>	<i>tuhun</i>
*ung	<i>burung</i> 'bird'	<i>bureu</i>	<i>burun</i>	<i>payung</i> 'umbrella'	<i>pajau</i>	<i>pajun</i>
	<i>jagung</i> 'corn'	<i>jageu</i>	<i>jagun</i>	<i>karung</i> 'sack'	<i>kahau</i>	<i>kahun</i>
*up	<i>hidup</i> 'to live'	<i>ideu?</i>	<i>idut</i>	<i>tutup</i> 'to close'	<i>tutau?</i>	<i>tutut</i>
*ur	<i>dapur</i> 'kitchen'	<i>dapeu</i>	<i>dapu</i>	<i>kasur</i> 'mattress'	<i>kasau</i>	<i>kasou</i>
	<i>kabur</i> 'blur'	<i>kabeu</i>	<i>kabu</i>	<i>hancur</i> 'broken'	<i>ancau</i>	<i>ancou</i>
*us ⁴¹	<i>bungkus</i> 'package'	<i>bunkeuh</i>	<i>bunkuh</i>	<i>kukus</i> 'to steam'	<i>kukauh</i>	<i>kukouh</i>
	<i>tebus</i> 'to redeem'	<i>təbeuh</i>	<i>təbuh</i>	<i>halus</i> 'smooth'	<i>alauh</i>	<i>alouh</i>
*ut	<i>ribut</i> 'noisy'	<i>ribeu?</i>	<i>ribut</i>	<i>semut</i> 'ant'	<i>səmau?</i>	<i>səmut</i>
	<i>cabut</i> 'to pull out'	<i>cabeu?</i>	<i>cabut</i>	<i>takut</i> 'afraid'	<i>takau?</i>	<i>takut</i>

Table 3.1. All root-final *-V(C) in Pondok Tinggi

Certain word categories generally lack ABS-OBL opposition:⁴² adverbs, function words, loanwords, words combined with prefixes, personal pronouns, inalienable words and historically petrified words (Table 3.2).

⁴¹ An exception is *luheih/luhuh* 'straight' (Malay: *lurus*).

Categories		Non-alternating words
Adverbs		<i>woa</i> ‘only’, <i>sagərea</i> ‘soon’, <i>na</i> ‘really’, <i>ago?</i> ‘rather’, <i>kuwa?</i> ‘often’, <i>ajon</i> ‘once’, <i>jugea</i> ‘also’, <i>tadeh</i> ‘just now’
Function words	Prepositions	<i>untu?</i> ‘to, for’, <i>dari</i> ‘from’, <i>ŋə</i> ‘with’, <i>di</i> ‘at, in, on’, <i>ka</i> ‘to’, <i>wot</i> ‘by’, <i>salamo</i> ‘for the duration of, during’, <i>daripado</i> ‘than’, <i>ŋuse</i> ‘to’, <i>antaro</i> ‘between, among’, <i>ke?</i> ‘at, in, on’, <i>banjo</i> ‘around’
	Conjunctions	<i>ŋə</i> ‘and’, <i>kalo</i> ‘if’, <i>apo</i> ‘or’, <i>tapi</i> ‘but’, <i>səbot</i> ‘because’, <i>karno</i> ‘because’, <i>supajo</i> ‘in order to’
	Particles	<i>lah</i> , <i>kan</i> , <i>ke?</i> , <i>hee</i> , <i>haa</i> , <i>ndeh</i> , <i>waih</i> ‘wow’, <i>alah</i> ‘oh my God’, <i>aih</i> ‘my Goodness!’, <i>indau?</i> <i>aih</i> ‘my goodness me’, <i>jea</i> ‘yeah’, <i>apao</i> ‘what!’
	Demonstratives	(i) <i>toh</i> ‘that’, (i) <i>neh</i> ‘this’
	Question words	<i>apo</i> ‘what’, <i>sapo</i> ‘who’, <i>pijao</i> ‘why’, <i>manan</i> ‘how’, <i>manao</i> ‘which’, <i>bilea</i> ‘when’
Loanwords ⁴³	Portuguese	<i>ban̄ku</i> ‘stool’, <i>boneka</i> ‘doll’, <i>bola</i> ‘ball’
	Dutch	<i>kantor</i> ‘office’, <i>uto</i> ‘car’
	Arabic	<i>fitnah</i> ‘slander’, <i>halal</i> ‘legitimate (according to Islamic law)’
	Persian	<i>pasa</i> ‘market’, <i>pijala</i> ‘trophy’
	Chinese	<i>kuweh</i> ‘cake’
	other	<i>unda</i> ‘Honda, a motorcycle brand’
Words combined with prefixes	<i>ka</i> -OBL	<i>karamin</i> ‘crowdedness’ (< <i>ramae/rame</i> ‘crowded’), <i>kalakun</i> ‘behaviour’ (< <i>lakau/lakou</i> ‘act’)
	<i>pa</i> -OBL	<i>pancahin</i> ‘earnings’ (< <i>cahai/cahei</i> ‘to search for’)
	<i>maN</i> -ABS	<i>majunan</i> ‘to become yellow’ (< <i>kunan/kunin</i> ‘yellow’), <i>maŋədua</i> ‘to become big’ (< <i>gədua/gədon</i> ‘big’)

⁴² Note that some roots that are non-alternating in PT are alternating in other Kerinci varieties.

⁴³ Some loanwords do display oppositions, e.g. *andau?*/*andou?* ‘towel’ (< Dutch *handdoek*), *mijua*/*mijo* ‘table’ (< Portuguese *mesa*; note that the intervocalic /s/ in Portuguese is pronounced as /z/). They were presumably borrowed prior to the development of phrasal alternation in PT.

Categories		Non-alternating words
	N-OBL	<i>nidu</i> ‘to make someone sleep’ (< <i>tideu/tidu</i> ‘to sleep’)
	ba-ABS	<i>bakantai</i> ‘to be friends’ (< <i>kantai/kantei</i> ‘friend’)
Personal pronouns		(chapter 4)
Inalienable words (always oblique)		<i>tapei</i> ‘edge of a forest, side of a road, outskirts of a town’, <i>sabəloh</i> ‘next to, at the side of, in that direction, over there, on this side, over here’
Historically petrified words	(always absolute)	<i>kihan</i> ‘to send’, <i>ajua</i> ‘to teach’, <i>kapa?</i> ‘to place’, <i>tamau?</i> ‘to put into’, <i>naka</i> ‘naughty’, <i>pasa</i> ‘to put on’, <i>anta</i> ‘to deliver’, <i>kəna?</i> ‘to wear’, <i>muka?</i> ‘to open’, <i>amba</i> ‘tasteless’, <i>rəbuah</i> ‘to collapse’, <i>langa</i> ‘to bump’, <i>buŋkua</i> ‘to destroy’, <i>taau</i> ‘to know’
	(always oblique)	<i>dalo?</i> ‘to look for’, <i>lampou</i> ‘lamp’, <i>maso</i> ‘time’, <i>ujun</i> ‘group’, <i>caro</i> ‘way’, <i>sajou</i> ‘vegetable’, <i>tərampo</i> ‘sandal’, <i>tumban</i> ‘level’, <i>cihe</i> ‘to scatter’

Table 3.2. Non-alternating words

3.3 K-words and G-words

As mentioned in 1.7.4, Kerinci varieties exhibit a morphophonological process of vowel splits conditioned by obstruent phonation. Prentice and Usman (1978) first called attention to this two-way split in words containing a non-prenasalized voiced obstruent (b, d, g and ɟ), the so-called G-words. Words which do not contain a non-prenasalized voiced obstruent are called K-words (Prentice and Usman 1978; Steinhauer and Usman 1978; Steinhauer 2002; Mckinnon 2011).

G-phonemes typically prompt higher vowels. To illustrate the difference between K-words and G-words, consider the reflexes of the historical root-final rimes *-at and *-it in Table 3.3, taken from Prentice and Usman (1978). It should be noted that the Malay –V(C) is more conservative, reflecting the historical *-V(C) from which the present Kerinci final rimes have developed.

*-at	G-words	K-words	*-it	G-words	K-words
Malay	<i>tebat</i>	<i>tepat</i>	Malay	<i>jahit</i>	<i>pahit</i>
SP.A	<i>təbeʔ</i>	<i>təpaʔ</i>	SP.A	<i>jaoiʔ</i>	<i>paayʔ</i>
English	‘dam’	‘accurate’	English	‘sew’	‘bitter’

Table 3.3. K-words and G-words in SP

Voiced obstruents directly preceded by homorganic nasals do not change K-words into G-words. This only happens if there is another G-phoneme in the word, as shown in Table 3.4 taken from Prentice and Usman (1978).

*-ang	K-words	G-words
Malay	<i>telanjang</i>	<i>gelanggang</i>
SP.A	<i>talanyaŋ</i>	<i>gəlaŋgeŋ</i>
English	‘naked’	‘arena’

Table 3.4. The presence of a homorganic nasal in SP

Table 3.5 illustrates the same phenomenon for PT. Final –i in Malay corresponds to PT –oi (ABS) and –i (OBL) in G-words and final –ai (ABS) and –ei (OBL) in K-words, while final –u in Malay corresponds to –eu (ABS) and –u (OBL) in G-words and final –au (ABS) and –ou (OBL) in K-words.

*-i	G-words	K-words	*-u	G-words	K-words
Malay	<i>daki</i>	<i>kaki</i>	Malay	<i>bulu</i>	<i>malu</i>
PT.A	<i>dakoi</i>	<i>kakai</i>	PT.A	<i>buleu</i>	<i>malau</i>
PT.O	<i>daki</i>	<i>kakei</i>	PT.O	<i>bulu</i>	<i>malou</i>
English	‘to climb’	‘leg’	English	‘fur’	‘shy’

Table 3.5. K-words and G-words in PT

As is the case in SP, the presence of a homorganic nasal before the voiced obstruent does not trigger this change in PT (Table 3.6).

*-ah	K-words	G-words
ABS	<i>pindah</i>	<i>gunduah</i>
OBL	<i>pindoh</i>	<i>gundoh</i>
Malay	<i>pindah</i>	<i>gundah</i>
English	‘to move’	‘depressed’

Table 3.6. The presence of a homorganic nasal in PT

In general, vowels in G-words are higher than those in K-words in PT.⁴⁴ The diphthongs *-oi*, *-eu* and *-ua* in G-words correspond to *-ai*, *-au* and *-a* in K-words respectively (Figure 3.1).

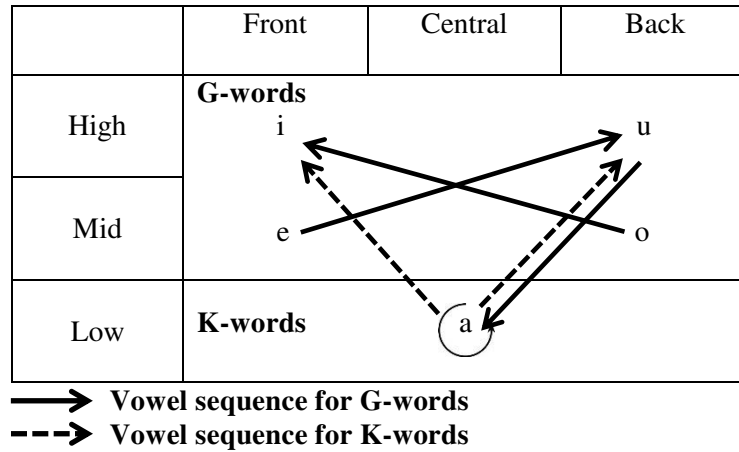


Figure 3.1. Most common vowel sequence reflexes in A-forms

It can be seen that G-phonemes trigger vowel rising (Figure 3.1). The reflex of **-a* in G-words is a segment containing the high vowel /u/, whereas it contains a low /a/ in K-words, **-i* corresponds to a segment with mid /o/ in G-words and has a low /a/ in K-words, **-u* becomes a diphthong with a low /a/ in K-words and with a mid /e/ in G-words.

As mentioned above, the reflex of **-a* in absolute forms is typically -ea. However, in some loanwords the historical **-a* in absolute forms has become *-ua* (Table 3.7). This reflects a relatively late stage of borrowing into the Kerinci language, yet still prior to the development of phrasal alternation.

⁴⁴ This is similar to Mckinnon's findings in TPM (2011).

Absolute	Oblique	Gloss	Origin
<i>bandirua</i>	<i>bandiro</i>	‘flag’	Portuguese
<i>bisua</i>	-	‘can’	Malay
<i>dunijua</i>	<i>dunijo</i>	‘world’	Arabic
<i>duɽua</i>	<i>duɽo</i>	‘pray’	Arabic
<i>mijua</i>	<i>mijo</i>	‘table’	Portuguese

Table 3.7. Unexpected reflexes of *-a in loanwords

Most loanwords, however, display the expected ABS-OBL oppositions (Table 3.8).

G-words	Gloss	Origin
<i>rajea/rajo</i>	‘king’	Sanskrit
<i>agamea/agamo</i>	‘religion’	Sanskrit
<i>bahajea/bahajo</i>	‘dangerous’	Sanskrit
<i>dāndea/dāndo</i>	‘fine’	Sanskrit

Table 3.8. Expected reflexes of *-a in loanwords

3.4 Voiced obstruents within prefixes

The acquisition or loss of voiced obstruents through prefixation can influence the final-syllable rime, as will be discussed below.

3.4.1 with *di-*

The passive prefix *di-* in combination with roots beginning with a sonorant changes K-words into the corresponding G-words (Table 3.9).

Word class	K-words	G-words (with passive prefix <i>di-</i>)
Verbs	<i>alaih/aleih</i> ‘to switch’	<i>dialoih/dialih</i> ‘be switched’
	<i>ambaiʔ/ambeiʔ</i> ‘to take’	<i>diamboiʔ/diambiʔ</i> ‘be taken’
	<i>aŋkaʔ/aŋkat</i> ‘to lift’	<i>diaŋkuaʔ/diaŋkot</i> ‘be lifted’
	<i>asah/asoh</i> ‘to sharpen’	<i>diasuah/diasoh</i> ‘be sharpened’
	<i>əmpaeh/əmpeh</i> ‘to smash’	<i>diəmpoah/diəmpeh</i> ‘be smashed’
	<i>əntai/əntei</i> ‘to stop’	<i>diəntoi</i> ‘be stopped’

Word class	K-words	G-words (with passive prefix <i>di-</i>)
	<i>əntaʔ/əntoʔ</i> ‘to stamp’	<i>diəntuaʔ/diəntoʔ</i> ‘be stamped’
	<i>ihaiʔ/ihit</i> ‘to drag’	<i>diihoiʔ/diihit</i> ‘be dragged’
	<i>ihan/ihin</i> ‘to accompany’	<i>diihon/diihin</i> ‘be alongside with s.o.’
	<i>impaiʔ/impit</i> ‘to squeeze’	<i>diimpoiʔ/diimpit</i> ‘be squeezed’
	<i>itau/itun</i> ‘to count’	<i>diiteu/diitun</i> ‘be counted’
	<i>lilaiʔ/lilit</i> ‘to coil around sth.’	<i>dililoiʔ/dililit</i> ‘be coiled up’
	<i>maka/makan</i> ‘to eat’	<i>dimakua/dibakon</i> ⁴⁵ ‘be eaten’
	<i>minan/minun</i> ‘to drink’	<i>diminen/diminun</i> ‘be drunk’
	<i>ukau/ukou</i> ‘to measure’	<i>diukeu/diukou</i> ‘be measured’
Nouns	<i>ihaih/iheih</i> ‘slice’	<i>diihoih/diihih</i> ‘be sliced’
	<i>isai/isei</i> ‘content’	<i>diisoī/diisi</i> ‘be filled’
	<i>lataʔ/latoʔ</i> ‘place’	<i>dilataʔ</i> ‘be placed’
	<i>mimpai/mimpei</i> ‘dream’	<i>dimimpoi/dimimpi</i> ‘be dreamed of’
	<i>upah/upoh</i> ‘wage’	<i>diupuah/diupoh</i> ‘be hired, be employed’

Table 3.9. *di-* passive + roots beginning with a sonorant

The petrified locative prefix **di-* also changes a small number of K-words into the corresponding G-words when it is combined with roots beginning with a sonorant (Table 3.10).

K-words (noun roots)	G-words (with locative prefix <i>di-</i>)
<i>ilai/ilei</i> ‘lower area’	<i>diloi/dili</i> ‘downstream’
<i>umah/umoh</i> ‘house’	<i>dumuah/dumoh</i> ‘in the house’
<i>umau</i> ‘rice field’	<i>dumea</i> ‘in the rice field’

Table 3.10. *di-* locative + roots beginning with a sonorant

⁴⁵ The *di-* prefix combined with the root *maka/makan* yields a root-initial /b/, hence a G-word. This is a lexical exception.

In roots beginning with an obstruent, the change from K-words into G-words is blocked (Table 3.11).

K-words (verb roots)	G-words (with passive prefix <i>di-</i>)
<i>cian/ciun</i> ‘to kiss’	<i>dician/diciun</i> ‘be kissed’
<i>cucai/cucei</i> ‘to wash’	<i>dicucai/dicucei</i> ‘be washed’
<i>hambao/hambo</i> ‘servant’	<i>dihambao/dihambo</i> ‘be treated like a servant’
<i>kunah/kunoh</i> ‘to chew’	<i>dikunah/dikunoh</i> ‘be chewed’
<i>pakae/pake</i> ‘to use, to wear’	<i>dipakae/dipake</i> ‘be used, be worn’
<i>pankau/pankou</i> ‘to hold’	<i>dipankau/dipankou</i> ‘be held’
<i>pikai/pikei</i> ‘to think’	<i>dipikai/dipikei</i> ‘be thought’
<i>sarah/səroh</i> ‘to give’	<i>disarah/disəroh</i> ‘be given’
<i>sipaʔ/sipoʔ</i> ‘to kick’	<i>disipaʔ/disipoʔ</i> ‘be kicked’
<i>tana/tanan</i> ‘to cultivate’	<i>ditana/ditanan</i> ‘be cultivated’
<i>tulaih/tuleih</i> ‘to write’	<i>ditulaih/dituleih</i> ‘be written’

Table 3.11. *di-* + roots beginning with an obstruent

3.4.2 with *ba-*

The prefix *ba-* (or *bar-*), the functions of which are discussed in detail in section 9.5, can also alter K-words into the corresponding G-words (Table 3.12). The resultant G-words tend to occur in the absolute form. Some roots followed by complements can additionally take an oblique form.

Word class	K-words	G-words
Verbs	<i>alaih/aleih</i> ‘to switch’	<i>baraloih/baralih</i> ‘be switching’
	<i>ambaiʔ/ambeiʔ</i> ‘to take’	<i>baamboiʔ.A</i> ‘be taken’
	<i>asah/asoh</i> ‘to sharpen’	<i>baasuah.A</i> ‘be sharpened’
	<i>əmpaeh/əmpəh</i> ‘to smash’	<i>baəmpoah.A</i> ‘be smashed’
	<i>əntaiʔ/ənteiʔ</i> ‘to stop’	<i>barəntoi.A</i> ‘be stopping’
	<i>əntaʔ/əntoʔ</i> ‘to stamp’	<i>baəntuaʔ.A</i> ‘be stamped on’
	<i>ihaiʔ/ihiʔ</i> ‘to drag’	<i>baihoiʔ.A</i> ‘be dragged’
	<i>ihan/ihin</i> ‘to accompany’	<i>baihon.A</i> ‘be alongside someone’
	<i>impaiʔ/impit</i> ‘to squeeze’	<i>baimpoiʔ.A</i> ‘be squeezed’
	<i>itau/itun</i> ‘to count’	<i>bariteu.A</i> ‘be counting’
	<i>lahai/lahei</i> ‘to run’	<i>balahoi/balahi</i> ‘be running’
Adjectives	<i>lilaiʔ/lilit</i> ‘to coil around sth.’	<i>baliloiʔ.A</i> ‘be coiled up’
	<i>ukau/ukou</i> ‘to measure’	<i>baukeu.A</i> ‘be measured’
	<i>anaʔ/anat</i> ‘warm’	<i>baanuaʔ.A</i> ‘be warming, be warmed’
	<i>laan/lain</i> ‘different’	<i>balaon.A</i> ‘be different’
Nouns	<i>lapa/lapo</i> ‘hungry’	<i>balapua.A</i> ‘be hungry’
	<i>ajai/ajei</i> ‘water’	<i>barajoi.A</i> ‘to have water’
	<i>aka/ako</i> ‘root’	<i>baakua/baako</i> ‘to have roots’
	<i>apai/apei</i> ‘fire’	<i>baapoi/baapi</i> ‘to produce fire’

Word class	K-words	G-words
	<i>asaʔ/asat</i> 'smoke'	<i>baasuaʔ/baasat</i> 'to produce smoke'
	<i>ihaih/iheih</i> 'slice'	<i>baihoih/baihih</i> 'be sliced'
	<i>isai/isei</i> 'content'	<i>barisoi/barisi</i> 'be filled, have content'
	<i>lakai/lakei</i> 'husband'	<i>balakoi/balaki</i> 'to have a husband'
	<i>lihaiʔ/liheiʔ</i> 'row'	<i>balihoiʔ/balihit</i> 'in rows'
	<i>mala/malan</i> 'night'	<i>bamalua.A</i> 'staying overnight'
	<i>mimpai/mimpei</i> 'dream'	<i>bamimpoi/bamimpi</i> 'to dream'
	<i>umah/umoh</i> 'house'	<i>baumuah/baumoh</i> 'to have a house'
	<i>untau/untun</i> 'profit'	<i>barunteu/baruntun</i> 'to have profit'
	<i>upah/upoh</i> 'wage'	<i>baupuah/baupoh</i> 'to have wage'
	<i>uta/utan</i> 'debt'	<i>barutua/baruton</i> 'to have debt'
	<i>utaʔ/utoʔ</i> 'brain'	<i>bautuaʔ/bautoʔ</i> 'to have brains'
	<i>uwa/uwan</i> 'money'	<i>bauwua.A</i> 'to have money'

Table 3.12. *ba-* with changes in the final root syllable

The prefix *ba-* does not change K-words into G-words when the verb root begins with an obstruent or sonorant (Table 3.13).

Word class	K-words	G-words
verb	<i>tanaʔ/tanoʔ</i> 'to cook'	<i>batanaʔ/batanoʔ</i> 'be cooking rice'
	<i>tinyau/tinyou</i> 'to punch'	<i>batinyau.A</i> 'to punch each other'
	<i>papah/papoh</i> 'to support'	<i>bapapah/bapapoh</i> 'to be supported while walking'
	<i>pikai/pikei</i> 'to think'	<i>bapikai.A</i> 'to be thinking, to reflect'
	<i>cəhae/cəhe</i> 'to divorce'	<i>bacəhae/bacəhe</i> 'be qualified by being divorced'
	<i>cian/ciun</i> 'to kiss'	<i>bacian.A</i> 'to kiss each other'
noun	<i>kukau/kukou</i> 'nail'	<i>bakukau/bakukou</i> 'to have nails'
	<i>santa/santan</i> 'coconut milk'	<i>basanta/basantan</i> 'to have coconut milk'
	<i>kantai/kantei</i> 'friend'	<i>bakantai.A</i> 'to be friends'
	<i>musauh/musouh</i> 'enemy'	<i>bamusauh.A</i> 'to be enemies'

Table 3.13. *ba-* + roots beginning with an obstruent and a sonorant

The prefix *ba-* is realized as *bar-* with some roots beginning with a vowel (i.e. *bar-isoi*, *bar-iteu*). Some of these exhibit optional deletion of the segment /ar/ (Table 3.14). The presence of the prefix *bar-* changes a K-word into a G-word.

K-words	G-words	Truncated form
<i>isai/isei</i> 'content'	<i>barisoi</i>	<i>bisoi</i> 'to have contents'
<i>ajai/ajei</i> 'water'	<i>barajoi</i>	<i>bajoi</i> 'to have water'
<i>uta/utan</i> 'debt'	<i>barutua</i>	<i>butua</i> 'to have debt'
<i>alaih/aleih</i> 'to switch'	<i>baraloih</i>	<i>baloih</i> 'be qualified by switching'

Table 3.14. *ba-* + roots beginning with vowels

3.4.3 with N-

In the process of nasalization through the prefix *N-*, which is discussed in section 8.4.1, a G-word can change into a K-word due to the loss of the initial voiced obstruent (Table 3.15).

<i>N- + G-word</i>	<i>K-word</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
<i>N- + baleuʔ/balut</i>	<i>malauʔ/malut</i>	‘to wrap’
<i>N- + baŋkeu/baŋkun</i>	<i>maŋkau/maŋkun</i>	‘to torture’
<i>N- + baŋkoiʔ/baŋkit</i>	<i>maŋkaiʔ/maŋkit</i>	‘to wake up’
<i>N- + bəloi/bəli</i>	<i>məlai/məlei</i>	‘to buy’
<i>N- + bəloiʔ/bəlit</i>	<i>məlaiʔ/məlit</i>	‘to wound around’
<i>N- + bənua/bəno</i>	<i>məna/məno</i>	‘to make’
<i>N- + bəŋoih/bəŋih</i>	<i>məŋaih/məŋeih</i>	‘to be angry at’
<i>N- + buneah/bunoh</i>	<i>munauh/munoh</i>	‘to kill’
<i>N- + buŋkua</i>	<i>muŋka</i>	‘to destroy’
<i>N- + buwea/buwo</i>	<i>muwao/muwo</i>	‘to bring’
<i>N- + dakoi/daki</i>	<i>nakai/nakei</i>	‘to climb’
<i>N- + dəŋua/dəŋo</i>	<i>nəŋa/nəŋo</i>	‘to hear’
<i>N- + jaouiʔ/jait</i>	<i>jaaiʔ</i>	‘to sew’
<i>N- + jəmea/jəmo</i>	<i>jəmao</i>	‘to dry in the sun’
<i>N- + jiluaʔ/jilot</i>	<i>jilat/jilot</i>	‘to lick’
<i>N- + jinjaʔ/jinjeʔ</i>	<i>jinjaʔ</i>	‘to lift, to carry’
<i>N- + gaheu/gahu</i>	<i>ŋahau/ŋahou</i>	‘to disturb’
<i>N- + galoi/gali</i>	<i>ŋalai/ŋalei</i>	‘to dig’
<i>N- + ganteu/gantun</i>	<i>ŋantau</i>	‘to hang’
<i>N- + gapoa/gape</i>	<i>ŋapae/ŋape</i>	‘to reach’

Table 3.15. The effect of the loss of voiced obstruents

Note that the word *bacea/baco* ‘to read’ is an exception; it becomes *macea/maco* (**macao/maco*) in prenasalized form.

4 Personal pronouns

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on personal pronouns in PT. Section 4.2 describes the forms and functions of personal pronouns. Section 4.3 shows the positions of personal pronouns in constructions. Section 4.4 examines possessive constructions. Section 4.5 discusses kinship terms and alternative pronouns.

4.2 Forms and functions

The term pronoun refers to a closed set of items which can be used as substitute for a noun phrase or a single noun (Crystal 1980). Personal pronouns differ from nouns. They can only be followed by a demonstrative which functions as a pragmatic marker, while nouns can be followed and preceded by many word categories such as adjectives, demonstratives, classifiers and numerals. A pronoun is by definition referential because it has to substitute someone or something. It is definite when it substitutes for a referent that is identifiable to the hearer.

Personal pronouns in PT lack the ABS-OBL opposition. However, the presence of pronouns may affect the alternation the preceding or following words. Table 4.1 lists the personal pronouns in PT.

Person	Singular			Plural
	Neutral	Formal	Informal	
First	<i>akau</i> ⁴⁶	<i>kantai</i>		<i>kamai</i> (EXCL) <i>kitao</i> (INCL)
Second	<i>ikao</i>	<i>kajao</i>	<i>əmpao</i> (M) <i>kaau</i> (F)	<i>ikao</i> (<i>sado ineh</i>)
Third	<i>no</i>	<i>dijea</i>	<i>uhan</i> (<i>i</i>) <i>toh</i> / <i>(i)neh</i> (M) <i>udo?</i> (<i>i</i>) <i>toh</i> / <i>(i)neh</i> (F)	<i>no</i> / <i>uha</i> (<i>i</i>) <i>toh</i>

Table 4.1. Personal pronouns in PT

⁴⁶ The variations *akeu* and *aku* are also attested, as is the truncation *ku*.

Plural pronouns only have a neutral sense in PT, whereas singular pronouns also have neutral, formal and informal options. The use of the neutral, formal and informal pronouns is determined by age, social distance, power relationship between the interlocutors and the rank of imposition. We may call attention to a comment by Koh (1990: 109) on Malay:

The choice of address forms may be seen to be dependent on politeness requirements based on social distance between the speakers in any interaction. The greater the distance between the speakers, the more polite the interaction between them.

As can be seen in Table 4.1, some noun phrases can be used as pronouns, such as *uhan* *(i)toh/(i)neh* '[Lit.] that/this person', *udo?* *(i)toh/(i)neh* '[Lit.] that/this slave' and *uha* *(i)toh* '[Lit.] those people'. The singularity or plurality of *ikao* and *no* is context-dependent, since there is no marker that differentiates them. The next section discusses the forms and functions of each personal pronoun.⁴⁷

4.2.1 First-person pronouns

Kamai 'we' (exclusive) and *kitao* 'we' (inclusive) mark the first person plural. Example (1) and (2) illustrate the use of exclusivity and inclusivity. In example (1), only the parents go to the rice field, therefore *kamai* is used. In example (2), both the parents and the children go to the rice field, hence, *kitao* is used.

- (1) Parents: *ana?-ana?* *kamai* *alo* *k-umau*
 RED-child.A 1.PL.EXCL go.O to.rice.field.A
- ikao* *məna* *pe er*
 2.PL make.A homework
 'Children, we go to the rice field. You finish your homework!'

⁴⁷ Pronouns can be combined with the prefix *ka-* and *ba-* to express collectivity (see 7.6.3 and 7.6.4).

- (2) Parents: *anaʔ-anaʔ* ***kitao*** *alo*
 RED-child.A 1.PL.INCL go.O
k-umau *samao*
 to.rice.field.A follow
 ‘Children, we go to the rice field. Do you want to join us?’
- Children: *samao*
 follow
 ‘Yes, [we want to join you]!’

Kitao can also be used to refer to the first person singular pronoun (3).

- (3) *kitao* *kan* *pisik* *lah* *ləmah*,
 1.SG KAN physic already weak.A
kakei *neh* *lah* *sakaiʔ*
 leg.O neh already ill.A
 ‘I... [My] physical condition is weak. This leg was painful’
 [fc10.037]

The first person singular pronoun, *kantai*, is used in formal circumstances with people who are older or of the same age as the speaker (4), whereas *akau* is used in a neutral sense (5).

- [The speaker is talking to a group of friends who are older than him]
- (4) *təmpeʔ* ***kantai*** *kulijah* *uenpe* *neh*
 place.O 1.SG lecture UNP⁴⁸ neh
 ‘That’s the place where I studied, Padang State University’
 [fc7.019]
- [A woman is casually talking to a man]
- (5) *toh* ***akau*** *atao* *use* *no*
 toh 1.SG tell.A to 3.SG
 ‘That was what I told her earlier’
 [fc3.010]

⁴⁸ *Universitas Negeri Padang* (‘Padang State University’).

4.2.2 Second-person pronouns

The second singular pronouns *kajao* (formal) (6) and *ikao* (neutral) (7) are used to refer to people of either gender who are older or of the same age as the speaker and to people who are respected. To refer to people who are younger than the speaker, the proper name is typically used (8).

- (6) [Giving advise to an old woman who still goes to work]
ənti gih kajao ba-gawoa
 NEG again 2.SG VBLZ-work.A
 ‘You are not supposed to work anymore’
 [fc10.076]
- (7) *ikao əndo? ba-kədoa pulao*
 2.SG want STAT-kiosk.A too
 ‘Now, you also want to work as a retailer’
 [fc8.077]
- (8) *suduah caca minun susu tadeh*
 already.A PN drink.O milk just.now
 ‘Have [you], Caca, drunk the milk?’

Besides using a proper name, the second-person singular pronouns (*kaau* F / *əmpao* M) can also be used to refer to people younger than the speaker. Therefore, the proper name in example (8) could be replaced by the second person singular pronoun (9).

- (9) *suduah kaau minun susu tadeh*
 already.A 2.SG.F drink.O milk just.now
 ‘Have you drunk the milk?’

The use of a masculine second person singular and a feminine second person singular can be seen in example (10) and (11). Social distance, again, determines the use of these pronouns. The closer the relationship between the interlocutors, the higher the probability these pronouns are used. These pronouns are typically used among friends (12).

- (10) *akau cinto matai ŋə əmpao udin*
 1.SG love die.A with 2.SG.M PN
 ‘I am madly in love with you, Udin!’

- (11) *akau cinto matai ɲə kaau rita*
 1.SG love die.A with 2.SG.F PN
 ‘I am madly in love with you, Rita!’

- [I’m nervous about going on a plane]
 (12) *əmpao ɲantei akau*
 2.SG.M ACT.friend.O 1.SG
 ‘You accompany me’

Ikao ‘you’ can also be used to refer to the second person plural pronoun (13). *Sado ineh* ‘all this’ is optionally added.

- [A teacher coaches his students]
 (13) *lulauh idua? lulauh ikao ke? ikao ijon*
 pass.A NEG pass.A 2.PL on 2.PL stay.O
 ‘Whether you pass the exam or not depends on you’
 [fc7.062]

4.2.3 Third-person pronouns

The third person singular pronouns are *no* and *dijea* for both genders; *no* is used in neutral situations (14), whereas *dijea* is formal (15).

- (14) *no guru ɲajua adua?*
 3.SG teacher ACT.teach customary.law.A
 ‘He is a teacher who teaches the customary law’
 [fc0.037]

- (15) *ahei maih neh dijea itoh*
 day.O Thursday.A neh 3.SG itoh
 ‘This Friday is her turn’
 [fc4.065]

The pronoun *no* can also be used as the third person plural pronoun (16)–(17). The context makes it clear whether *no* should be translated with a singular or plural pronoun in English. The examples below are taken from naturalistic data.

- [A scene in The Pear Story: two kids are waiting for their friend who is giving a hat to another kid]
- (16) *no ηə ba-duwea toh nantei? ke?*
 3.PL REL STAT-two.A toh ACT.wait.O at
- itoh. ηə s-uha alo ηanta*
 itoh REL one-CLF go.O ACT.deliver
 ‘They, [the kids] in a group of two wait there. One [kid] gives [it]’
 [P4_PV_HAL_OLD_FEMALE.075]
- [A scene in The Frog Story: the frog parents look at their babies]
- (17) *no ηimo? ano? no*
 3.PL ACT.see.O child.O 3.PL.POSS
 ‘They look at their babies’
 [P1_FS_DAS_OLD_MALE.103]

As mentioned previously, *uhan (i)toh/(i)neh* ‘that/this person’ (M) and *udo? (i)toh/(i)neh* (F) ‘that/this slave’⁴⁹ are noun phrases used pronominally for the third person (18). These pronouns are used for people younger than the speaker or to common people who are not that respected. *Uha itoh/ineh* or its truncated form *uha toh/neh* is a noun phrase that can be used as the third person plural pronoun (19), but also for the third person singular masculine (20).

- (18) *uhan toh ηə udo? toh datua gea*
 3.SG.M and 3.SG.F come.A also
 ‘He and she also came’
- (19) *adea sa-jua uha toh istirahat*
 exist.A one.clock.A 3.PL rest
 ‘It’s about one hour for them to rest’
 [fc3.072]

⁴⁹ Truncated from *budua?/budo?*.

- (20) *adi* *pam-balut* *lijei* *toh*
 so NMLZ-bandage.O neck.O toh

di-pasa *uha toh* *ali?*
 PASS-put.on 3.SG.M back.O
 ‘So, that bandana was put back on by him’
 [P4_PV_HAL_OLD_FEMALE.016]

4.2.4 The use of *awa?*

The word *awa?* ‘body’ displays a versatile pronominal use; it can be used as first, second and third person singular and plural (Table 4.2).

1SG	<i>awa?</i> <i>toh</i> <i>mulae</i> <i>esde</i> <i>toh</i> 1.SG toh start.A SD toh <i>lah</i> <i>bal-ajua</i> <i>alo</i> <i>dea?</i> already VBLZ-learn all TAG ‘When I started going to elementary school, [I] had learnt so many things, hadn’t I?’ [fc11.038]
1PL	<i>awa?</i> <i>duwea</i> <i>toh</i> 1.PL two.A toh <i>lah</i> <i>ba-ikeu-ikeu</i> PART VBLZ-RED-tail.A ‘The two of us went everywhere together’ [fc9.018]
2SG	<i>awa?</i> <i>alo</i> <i>kijun</i> <i>gea</i> 2.SG go.O there also ‘You also go there’
2PL	[A teacher is mad at his students] <i>awa?</i> <i>əndua?</i> <i>nəŋo</i> 2.PL NEG ACT.listen.O ‘You didn’t listen to me!’
3SG	<i>pankat</i> <i>tingai</i> <i>untu?</i> <i>awa?</i> <i>lah</i> position high.A for 3.SG only ‘The high position is only for him(self)’ [fc9.005]
3PL	<i>pijao</i> <i>awa?</i> <i>ηatao</i> <i>nitoh</i> why 3.PL ACT.tell.A like.that ‘Why did they say that?’

Table 4.2. The use of *awa?*

4.3 Positions of personal pronouns

Personal pronouns have the same form in different positions in a sentence, including those of subject, object and possessor. The sentences in Table 4.3 illustrate the use of the personal pronouns in different positions and different constructions as presented in the next chapters.

Subject of active construction	(21)	akau <i>nukun</i> <i>anyae?</i> 1.SG ACT.hit.O dog.A 'I hit a dog'
	(22)	kantai <i>maco</i> <i>buku</i> 1.SG ACT.read.O book 'I read a book'
Subject of P1 construction	(23)	jo <i>di-kəjo</i> <i>anyae?</i> 3.SG PASS-chase.O dog.A 'S/he was chased by a dog'
	(24)	kamai <i>di-tantei?</i> <i>jo</i> 1.PL.EXCL PASS-wait.O 3.SG 'We were waited by her/him'
Non-subject agent of P2 construction	(25)	<i>pintou</i> <i>itoh</i> akau <i>saa?</i> door.O itoh 1.SG close.A 'That door was closed by me'
	(26)	<i>imbe</i> <i>toh</i> ikao <i>ayka?</i> bucket toh 2.SG lift.A 'That bucket was lifted by you'
Subject of intransitive construction	(27)	kamai <i>dudeu?</i> 1.PL.EXCL sit.A 'We are sitting'
	(28)	kitao <i>maka</i> 1.PL.INCL eat.A 'We are eating'
Subject of non-verbal clause	(29)	akau <i>mahasiswa</i> 1.SG student 'I am a student'
	(30)	ikao <i>baoi?</i> <i>ja</i> 2.SG good.A really 'You are very nice'
Object of active construction	(31)	<i>rudi</i> <i>maykun</i> əmpao PN ACT.torture.O 2.SG.M 'Rudi tortured you'
	(32)	<i>siti</i> <i>nulun</i> kaau PN ACT.help.O 2.SG.F 'Siti helped you'

<i>Object of preposition</i>	(33)	<i>guru mənəih ŋuse ikao</i> teacher ACT.angry.A to 2.SG 'The teacher was mad at you'
	(34)	<i>akau dapua? surae? dari ɲo</i> 1.SG get.A letter.A from 3.SG 'I received a letter from him'
<i>Complement following adjective or intransitive verb</i>	(35)	<i>sarupo udo? itoh</i> similar.O 3.SG.F 'Like her'
	(36)	<i>ba-subo? uhan itoh</i> VBLZ-meet.O 3.SG.M 'To meet him'
<i>Possessor following noun phrase</i>	(37)	<i>umoh gədon kamai</i> house.O big.O 1.PL.EXCL.POSS 'Our big house'
	(38)	<i>uto bahu uha itoh</i> car new.O 3.PL.POSS 'Their new car'
<i>Head of phrase followed by a demonstrative⁵⁰</i>	(39)	<i>akau neh duto</i> 1.SG neh doctor 'I am a doctor'
	(40)	<i>ɲo toh tuka</i> 3.SG toh mason.A 'He is a mason'
<i>Subject followed by a cardinal numeral</i>	(41)	<i>kamai duwea ŋə dapua?</i> 1.PL.EXCL two.A REL get.A 'It's both of us who got [it]'
	(42)	<i>ikao duwea tuhau? akau</i> 2.PL two.A follow.A 1.SG 'You both, follow me!'

Table 4.3. Positions of personal pronouns

4.4 Possessive constructions

The use of pronouns determines the shape of the preceding word. The word preceding the pronoun is mostly oblique (43).

⁵⁰ In this context, the demonstrative is used as a pragmatic marker.

- (43) *umoh* (**umah*) *akau*
 house.O 1.SG.POSS
 ‘My house’

The truncated form of the first person singular pronoun is *ku*. Only before this form does the preceding noun appear in the absolute form (44).

- (44) *kakai* (**kakei*) *ku* *sakai?*
 leg.A 1.SG.POSS hurt.A
 1. ‘My legs hurt’
 2. ‘My leg hurts’
 [fc0.020]

The next section discusses possessive constructions with the oblique form (4.4.1), with *kamai* (4.4.2), and with *atai/atei* ‘heart’ (4.4.3), all of which show atypical uses of the phrasal alternation.

4.4.1 with OBL

The oblique form marks possession on its referent. As examples (45) and (46) demonstrate, possessive constructions in the third-person singular can be expressed overtly through *jo* or covertly through the oblique form.⁵¹ The use of an absolute form in the same construction denotes unspecificity, rather than possession (47).

- (45) *ali* *mərseih.O* *umoh jo*
 ali *mərseih.O* *umoh.O* (**umah*)
 PN ACT.clean house
 ‘Ali cleans his house’
- (46) *ali* *mərseih.O* *umoh.O* *bahu. jo*
 ali *mərseih.O* *umoh.O* *bahu.O* (**baheu*)
 PN ACT.clean house new
 ‘Ali cleans his new house’

⁵¹ The same phenomenon has been observed in SP (Steinhauer and Usman 1978) and TPM (Mckinnon 2011). Malay uses the third pronominal clitic *-nya* in this function.

- (47) *ali marseih umah (*umoh)*
 PN ACT.clean.O house.A
 ‘Ali cleans a house/houses’

4.4.2 with *kamai*

The exclusive first plural pronoun in possessive constructions behaves differently from other pronouns.⁵² This pronoun requires the absolute form when the possessed entity is not physically present. *Kamai* requires the oblique form if the possessed entity is physically present (48)-(50).

- (48) *kapa? gəlon (*gəlua) kamai dalon laci*
 place bracelet.O 1.PL.EXCL.POSS inside drawer
 ‘Put our bracelet inside the drawer!’
- (49) *no nimbo ajei (*ajai) kamai*
 3.SG ACT.draw.O water.O 1.PL.EXCL.POSS
 ‘S/he draws our water’
- (50) *rini nano? nasei (*nasai) kamai*
 PN ACT.cook.O rice.O 1.PL.EXCL.POSS
 ‘Rini cooked our rice’

The absolute form is used when the possessed element is absent and therefore abstract (51)-(53).

- (51) *ila gəlua (*gəlon) kamai*
 disappear.A bracelet.A 1.PL.EXCL.POSS
- di-cilo? uha*
 PASS-steal.O people.A
 ‘Our bracelet is gone; it’s been stolen by someone’

⁵² This has also been observed in the Sungai Penuh dialect (Steinhauer and Usman 1978).

- (52) *aboih* *ajai* (**ajei*) *kamai*
 finish.A water.A 1.PL.EXCL.POSS

dalón *imbe*
 inside bucket

‘Our water inside the bucket is finished’

- (53) *aboih* *nasai* (**nasei*) *kamai*
 finish.A rice.A 1.PL.EXCL.POSS

di-bakon *kucae?*
 PASS-eat.O cat.A

‘Our rice has all been eaten by a cat’

Note that personal pronouns other than *kamai* would still require an oblique form in this context (54) and (55).

- (54) *ila* *gálon* (**gálua*) *akau,*
 disappear.A bracelet.O 1.SG.POSS

di-cilo? *uha*
 PASS-steal.O people.A

‘My bracelet is gone; it’s been stolen by someone’

- (55) *aboih* *kajou* (**kajau*) *no* *di-panga*
 finish.A wood.O 3.SG.POSS PASS-burn.A
 ‘All her/his wood is burnt’

4.4.3 with *atai/atei* ‘heart’

Another unexpected pattern is the use of *atai/atei* ‘heart’ in combination with personal pronouns.⁵³ The third-person and first-person plural exclusive pronouns require the oblique form (56)-(57), whereas all other pronouns are used in combination with the absolute form (58)-(60).

⁵³ See Steinhauer and Usman (1978) on this phenomenon in SP.

- (56) *sakai?* *atei* (**atai*) *no* *nulun* *kamai*
hurt.A heart.O 3.SG.POSS ACT.help.O 1.PL.EXCL
‘Hurt is her/his heart helping us’ [Lit.]
‘S/he is annoyed helping us’
- (57) *səna* *atei* (**atai*) *kamai*
happy.A heart.O 1.PL.EXCL.POSS
- ŋimo?* *no*
ACT.look.O 3.SG
‘Happy is our heart to see him/her’ [Lit.]
‘We are happy to see him/her’
- (58) *sakai?* *atai* (**atei*) *akau*
hurt.A heart.A 1.SG.POSS
- narimo* *sure?* *itoh*
ACT.receive.O letter.O itoh
‘Hurt is my heart receiving that letter’ [Lit.]
‘I was sad to receive that letter’
- (59) *səna* *atai* (**atei*) *ikao*
happy.A heart.A 2.SG.POSS
- nəŋo* *akau* *dapua?* *bejasiswa*
ACT.hear.O 1.SG get.A scholarship
‘Happy was your heart to hear that I got the scholarship’ [Lit.]
‘You were happy to hear that I got the scholarship’
- (60) *toh* *usauh* *atai* (**atei*) *kitao* *dea?*
toh anxious.A heart.A 1.PL.INCL.POSS TAG
‘That makes our heart anxious, doesn’t that?’
[fc3.033]

4.5 Kinship terms and alternative pronouns

The pronominal use of kinship terms in PT is an important issue to take into account, since issues of politeness often prove to be a constraint in daily interaction (cf. Ernanda 2011). We may call attention to the following definition of kinship in a Malay context, which equally applies to PT:

There is no single commonly understood word or phrase in the Malay language that covers the semantic terrain of the English term ‘kinship’, but the related Malay concepts of closeness and weight of social relationships serve similar functions. The dimension of closeness is contrasted with distance and refers to the degree of positional relationship between two actors in the social field. Weight, that is, heaviness or lightness of relationship, refers to the degrees of moral obligation entailed by a given positional relationship. Closeness may have a number of determinants as may weight. (Banks 1983: 47)

Kinship terms can be used in reference to the first, second and third person singular (Table 4.4). They are usually combined with names. It is considered impolite (*kasa tutou*) not to address adults by their appropriate kinship terms. Hence, PT speakers who are studying abroad tend to avoid using the names of their teachers or professors, even if doing so is acceptable in their host culture.

Kinship terms	The use of the kinship terms
<i>uwo</i>	oldest child
<i>əŋoh</i>	second child
<i>ənsou</i>	third child or youngest child
<i>uteih</i>	fourth child
<i>nantan</i>	grandfather
<i>tino</i>	grandmother
<i>nine?</i>	grandmother
<i>ajoh</i>	father’s male sibling
<i>mamo?</i>	mother’s male sibling
<i>datun</i>	father’s female sibling
<i>ite?</i>	mother’s female sibling
<i>apa?</i>	father
<i>əma?</i>	mother

Table 4.4. Kinship terms

These kinship terms frequently appear in the oblique form since they are typically followed by names (61)–(62). These kinship terms are inalienable and always have a ‘possessor’, either overt or covert.

- (61) *uwo* *ahir* *nəbon* *kajau*
 old.O PN ACT.cut.O wood.A
 ‘Brother Ahir cut the wood’

- (62) *mamo?* *pindi* *maco* *koran*
 uncle.O PN ACT.read.O newspaper
 1. 'Uncle Pindi read a newspaper'
 2. 'Pindi's uncle read a newspaper'

These kinship terms can be interpreted as the first, second and third person singular pronoun depending on the context (63)-(64).

- (63) *nantan* *alo* *pasa*
 grandfather.O go.O market
 1. 'I went to the market' [an old man speaks]
 2. 'You went to the market' [an old man is spoken to]
 3. 'He went to the market' [an old man is spoken about]
- (64) *ite?* *lah* *tibea*
 aunty.O already arrive.A
 1. 'I have arrived' [an aunty speaks]
 2. 'You have arrived' [an aunty is spoken to]
 3. 'She has arrived' [an aunty is spoken about]

Examples (65) and (66) are from an elderly woman who narrates her life story. The kinship term 'grandmother' refers to the person of a certain age, who happens to be the speaker.

- (65) *no* *nimba?* *ka* *asrama* *polisi*
 3.PL ACT.shot.A to dormitory police
- ahot,* *haa* *itoh* *nine?*
 upstream.O PART itoh grandmother.O
- jagua* *s-ahai* *toh*
 merchandize.A one-CLF.A toh
 'They shot at the Police dormitory upstream. I was
 selling [rice] on that day'
 [fc.10.010]

- (66) *jago* *pisa* *lao* *gawe* *ine?*,
 merchandize.O banana.A too work.O grandmother.O
- lamao* *jago* *pisa* *toh* *lamao*, *lah*
 long.A merchandize.O banana.A toh long.A already
- sampae* *po?* *pit* *neh* *hee* *pindah* *muwaro*
 until.A father.O PN neh PART move.A muaro
- bunaea*, *toh* *aku* *gih* *jago* *isa*
 bungea.A toh 1.SG still merchandize.O banana.A
 ‘Selling bananas was my job. For a long time [I] sold
 bananas. Until Pit’s father had moved to Muaro Bungea, I
 was still selling banana’
 [fc10.017]

Instead of using the names, the place where someone lives can also be used after the kinship term (67).

- (67) *tino* *dahot* *ɲunoh* *sihaih*
 grandmother.O upstream.O ACT.chew.O betel.leaves.A
 ‘Granny (from) Upstream chews betel leaves [Lit.]’
 ‘The elderly lady who lives upstream chews betel leaves’

As mentioned in section (1.4.6), *teknonymy* is generally applied to parents, replacing whatever their original proper name may have been: *indou?* ‘mother’ or *apo?* ‘father’ are used, followed by the name of the first child (68)–(69).

- (68) *indou?* *rina* *juwon* *umah*
 mother.O PN ACT.sell.O house.A
 ‘The mother of Rina sold the house’
 ‘Rina’s mother sold the house’
- (69) *apo?* *ar* *ɲitun* *kipae*
 father.O PN ACT.count.O money.A
 ‘The father of Ar is counting money’
 ‘Ar’s father is counting money’

Without a proper name, the oblique form *apo?* can also refer to ‘the father of the children’ or ‘husband’ (70). It is normally used when a wife talks about her husband. The same oblique form is used when the ‘possessor’

can be understood from the context (71). The absolute form *apa?* is often used by children to refer to their father (72).

- (70) [A wife is talking about her husband]
apo? *alo* *kərjea*
 father.O go.O work.A
 1. ‘The father [of the children] is at work’
 2. ‘The husband is at work’
- (71) *harto* *indou?* *ŋə* *apo?* *lah* *aboih*
 wealth.O mother.O and father.O already finish.A
 ‘The wealth of [her/his] mother and [her/his] father has gone’
 [fc7.048]
- (72) [A child is asked by the speaker to talk to her father]
toh *suhauih* *apa?* *nuwe?* *dea?*
 toh ask.A father.A ACT.ask TAG
 ‘Tell father to ask [her]!’
 [fc4.008]

In example (73), which is taken from the naturalistic data, the speaker asks the interlocutor to talk to her father using the oblique form *apo?* ‘husband’. In the same clause, when she realizes her ‘mistake’, she corrects herself and uses the absolute form *apa?* ‘father’.

- (73) *suhauih* *apo?*, *anau* *apa?*
 ask.A father.O thingy.A father.A
- k-awoh* *ta* *gin* *atao*
 downward.O afternoon.A later tell.A
 ‘Ask [your] husband... I meant [your] father to go to [their house] to tell them this afternoon’

Besides kinship terms, personal names are commonly used to refer to a speech partner in PT for children, good friends or others to whom polite language is not required. Personal names can be interpreted as first, second, or third person singular pronouns depending on the context (74)–(75).

- (74) *ana mǎlei bawua*
 PN ACT.buy.O onion.A
 1. 'I bought onions' [Ana is speaking]
 2. 'You bought onions' [Ana is being spoken to]
 3. 'She bought onions' [Ana is being spoken about]
- (75) *ripin ŋantei əmaʔ d-umuah*
 PN ACT.friend.O mother at.home.A
 1. 'I accompany mother at home' [Ripin is speaking]
 2. 'You accompany mother at home' [Ripin is being spoken to]
 3. 'He accompanies mother at home' [Ripin is being spoken about]

5 Nominal constructions

5.1 Introduction

The term ‘noun’ describes a class of lexical items whose prototypical members refer to entities, substances, and named individuals or locations (Crystal 2008). Nouns exhibit ‘the most time-stable concepts’ (Payne 1997: 33; Givón 2001: 8). Based on their forms, nouns can be classified as monomorphemic (basic nouns) or polymorphemic (reduplicated nouns, nouns with affixes, compounds).

Nouns in PT display ABS-OBL opposition, with the exception of names of individuals, recent loanwords and some categories of derived nouns. This chapter will explore the distribution of ABS-OBL in the nominal context.

Noun phrases exhibit the general rules of word order presented in 1.7.4. A head noun occurs in the oblique form when its referent is restricted by a modifier (i.e. an adjective, an overt or covert possessor, a demonstrative, etc.). The absolute form is used in neutral and generic contexts.

Besides this general rule, there are other rules and several exceptions and details. Therefore, this chapter will cover noun roots (5.2), noun phrases (5.3), word order (5.4), derived noun constructions (5.5), compound nouns (5.6), reduplication of nouns (5.7), nominalization (5.8) and the use of *uha/uhan* ‘people’ (5.9).

A noun heads a noun phrase, which can function as a subject argument (1), object argument (2), predicative complement (3), or object of a preposition (4). These properties make nouns different from other word categories.

- (1) *[kucaeʔ]_{NP} naŋkat məncaiʔ*
 cat.A ACT.catch.O mouse.A
 ‘A cat catches a mouse’
- (2) *rina ŋaŋat [nasai]_{NP}*
 PN ACT.heat.O rice.A
 ‘Rina heats rice’

- (3) *umar ba-jago* [bəroah]_{NP}
 PN STAT-merchandise.O rice.A
 ‘Umar sells rice’
- (4) *uha nanan padoi ke?* [sawah]_{NP}
 people.A ACT.plant.O paddy.A in rice.field.A
 ‘People plant paddy in the rice field’

5.2 Noun roots

Table 5.1 lists examples of PT noun roots. Named individuals and recent loanwords do not show ABS-OBL opposition. Some geographical names familiar to Kerinci speakers show this opposition, most others do not.

Entities	Substances	Named individuals	Locations	Recent borrowings
<i>kursai.A</i> <i>kursei.O</i> ‘chair’	<i>dahuah.A</i> <i>dahoh.O</i> ‘blood’	<i>Hasan</i> (male name)	<i>kincai.A</i> <i>kincei.O</i> ‘Kerinci’	<i>presiden</i> ‘president’
<i>umah.A</i> <i>umoh.O</i> ‘house’	<i>ajai.A</i> <i>ajei.O</i> ‘water’	<i>Ira</i> (female name)	<i>jəpua.A</i> <i>jəpon.O</i> ‘Japan’	<i>uto</i> ‘car’
<i>buŋea.A</i> <i>buŋo.O</i> ‘flower’	<i>təpau.A</i> <i>təpun.O</i> ‘flour’	<i>Rike</i> (female name)	<i>balandea.A</i> <i>balando.O</i> ‘Holland’	<i>tipi</i> ‘television’
<i>ima.A</i> <i>imo.O</i> ‘tiger’	<i>bəduaʔ.A</i> <i>bədoʔ.O</i> ‘face powder’	<i>Tono</i> (male name)	<i>paris</i> ‘Paris’	<i>təlepon</i> ‘telephone’

Table 5.1. The noun roots

5.3 Noun phrases⁵⁴

A noun phrase (NP) is a phrase headed by a head noun. A simple NP consists of one head noun. This section illustrates the word order of noun phrases, including with modifiers and in different orders. It also examines the distribution of the ABS-OBL alternation.

A head noun can be modified by pre-modifiers (preceding the head noun) and post-modifiers (following it). I refer to a head noun with the post-

⁵⁴ The organization of this section partly follows Mckinnon (2011).

modifiers Adjective $\pm$ Possessor as a *Core Structure*. Throughout this chapter, I use the term Core Structure (henceforth, CS) for any element of this basic NP structure. Outside the CS, there is a slot for what I call Extended Modifiers. The possible modifiers a head noun can take are shown in Figure 5.1.

NUM/CLF $\pm$ [Noun $\pm$ Adjective $\pm$ Possessor] $\pm$ PP/REL $\pm$ DEM

Figure 5.1. A head noun with modifiers

5.4 Word order

5.4.1 The Core Structure (CS)

The word order inside Core Structure or CS is fixed: [Noun $\pm$ Adjective $\pm$ Possessor].

Noun $\pm$ Adjective

An adjective modifies the head noun and, as a modifier, follows it (5). The reverse order is ungrammatical as a noun phrase, yet acceptable as a clause (6).

- (5) [kursei baheu]_{NP}
 chair.O new.A
 ‘A new chair’
- *[baheu kursei]_{NP}
 new.A chair.O
 ‘A new chair’
- (6) [baheu]_{VP} [kursei]_{NP}
 new.A chair.O
 ‘New is the chair’ [Lit.]
 ‘The chair is new’

Noun $\pm$ Possessor

A possessor follows the noun (7)–(8). The reverse order is not acceptable as a phrase, but acceptable as a clause (9).

- (7) [kursei ani]_{NP}
 chair.O PN
 ‘Ani’s chair’

- (8) [kursei akau]_{NP}
 chair.O 1.SG.POSS
 ‘My chair’
- *[akau kursei]_{NP}
 1.SG.POSS chair.O
 ‘My chair’
- [The room is too crowded. The baby cannot sit]
- (9) [akau]_{NP} [kursei]_{NP}
 1.SG chair.O
 ‘I [functions as] a chair’

Noun ± Adjective ± Possessor

This order is fixed for the Core Structure (10)-(11).

- (10) [kursei bahu ani]_{NP}
 chair.O new.O PN
 ‘Ani’s new chair’
- *[kursei ani bahu]_{NP}
 chair.O PN new.O
 ‘Ani’s new chair’
- (11) [kursei bahu no]_{NP}
 chair.O new.O 3.SG.POSS
 ‘Her/his new chair’
- *[kursei no bahu]_{NP}
 chair.O 3.SG.POSS new.O
 ‘Her/his new chair’

In general, a head noun can only be modified by one adjective (12). Additional adjectives should appear within a relative clause as a predicative adjunct (13).⁵⁵ The occurrence of the relative marker *ŋə* enables a construction to be expanded with more adjectives.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Simin (1983) calls this phenomenon ‘supplemental predicate’ and also uses the term ‘adjunct’ (i.e. ‘thing added’) (p. 271).

⁵⁶ A similar phenomenon has been observed in Malaysian Malay (Mees 1969).

- (12) [kuceʔ putaih]_{NP}
 cat.O white.A
 ‘A white cat’
- *[kuceʔ putaih naeʔ]_{NP}
 cat.O white.A small.A
 ‘A small white cat’
- (13) [[kuceʔ putaih]_{NP} [ɲə naeʔ]_{RC}]_{NP}
 cat.O white.A REL small.A
 ‘A white cat which is small’

In some cases, more than one adjective can modify a noun.⁵⁷ These adjective-adjective constructions are compounds (14)-(15).

- (14) [ɟanton ɡədon tiŋɡai]_{NP}
 male.O big.O tall.A
 ‘A well-built guy’
- (15) [ɡadih itam manaih]_{NP}
 girl.O black.O sweet.A
 ‘A black sweet girl’ [Lit.]
 ‘An attractive girl of dark-brown complexion’

The possessor slot may contain one or more possessor expressions. The possessed entity precedes the possessor (16)-(18).

- (16) kipe kantei tina
 money.O friend.O PN
 ‘The money of Tina’s friend’
- (17) kipe kantei adiʔ tina
 money.O friend.O younger.sibling.O PN
 ‘The money of Tina’s sister’s friend’

⁵⁷ This is different from TPM, which shows more restriction in this respect (Mckinnon 2011).

- (18) *kipe* *lakei* *kantei* *adi?* *tina*
 money.O husband.O friend.O younger.sibling.O PN
 ‘The money of the husband of Tina’s sister’s friend’

5.4.2 ABS-OBL alternation within the CS

Additional elements to the CS generally trigger the oblique form of the preceding element. Oblique forms typically occur in phrase-medial position. They can also occur phrase-finally when there is an understood possessor or other specifying entity restricting the referent of the noun in question, as briefly mentioned previously. This issue is further explored in the following discussion.

5.4.2.1 with nouns

In the default position, nouns occur in the absolute form (19).⁵⁸ Nouns followed by an overt or covert possessor expression or another construction restricting the referent of the noun occur in the oblique form (20)-(21). A head noun can be followed by another noun and occurs in the oblique form (22).

- (19) *mijua* (**mijo*)
 table.A
 ‘Table’
- (20) *mijo* (**mijua*)
 table.O
 ‘[Her/his/their/our/my/your/the] table’
- (21) *mijo* (**mijua*) *no*
 table.O 3.SG.POSS
 ‘Her/his table’

⁵⁸ Note that my usage of the term ‘default’ to refer to lexical items standing on their own does not imply that I believe that oblique forms are historically derived from absolute forms.

- (22) *mijo kajau (*kajou)*
 table.O wood.A
 ‘A wooden table’

A head noun in phrase-final position may occur either in the absolute or in the oblique form. The oblique form is used when the referent of the noun is anaphorically recoverable from the context, for example in the case of an omitted possessor (23)-(24).

- (23) *ηaaih no ηimbo kaηkun (*kaηkau).*
 ACT.shout.A 3.SG ACT.call.O frog.O

*kaηkun (*kaηkau) lao gea dapua?*
 frog.O not.yet also get.A
 ‘He calls [his] frog, shouting. [His] frog has not been found yet’
 [P1_FS_DAS_OLD_MALE.025]
- (24) *muwao pukat alon uncan (*unca)*
 ACT.bring.A avocado inside pocket.O
 ‘[He] brings avocados in [his] pocket’
 [P4_PV_HAL_OLD_FEMALE.086]

The absolute form is used when the noun in question is generic. It is typically used when the speaker introduces the entity at the first time (25). When the oblique form is used, the interlocutor has to interpret the referent of the noun as more restricted (26)-(27).

- (25) *udin ninje? kucae? dalon kahau*
 PN ACT.carry.O cat.A inside sack.A
 ‘Udin carried a cat inside a sack’
- (26) *di-tukun no kuce? toh*
 PASS-hit.O 3.SG cat.O toh
 ‘Was hit by him that cat’ [Lit.]
 ‘That cat was hit by him’ [Dyn.]
- (27) *sijan akau ηimo? kuce?*
 pity 1.SG ACT.see.O cat.O
 ‘I feel pity for the cat’

Absolute and oblique forms may occur in the same word order, but exhibit different meanings. The absolute form is used for general statements (28), whereas the oblique form conveys more specific statements (29).

- (28) *kudea* (**kudo*) *sando* *itoh*
 horse.A like itoh
 1. 'A horse is [generally] like that'
 2. 'Horses are [generally] like that'
- (29) *kudo* (**kudea*) *sando* *itoh*
 horse.O like itoh
 1. '[The/his/her specific] horse is like that'
 2. '[The/his/her specific] horses are like that'

The same rules apply for possessors carrying a generic nuance (30) or a specific nuance (31). The reverse order is only acceptable as a clause (32).

- (30) *pinang* *guloa* (**gule*)
 plate.O dish.A
 'A deep plate' [for wet dishes like *guloa*]
- (31) *pinang* *gule* (**guloa*)
 plate.O dish.O
 1. 'The deep plate'
 2. '[My/our/your/their/her/his] deep plate'
- [A magician seemingly eats a plate]
- (32) *pinang* *gule*
 plate.A dish.O
 'A plate is [her/his] dish'

The possessor may be followed by a possessor, which requires the preceding possessor to occur in the oblique form (33).

- (33) *pinang* *gule* *lusi*
 plate.O dish.O PN
 'Lusi's deep plate'

All possessive personal pronouns in PT trigger the oblique form.⁵⁹

5.4.2.2 with adjectives

Adjectives generally exhibit the same rule of ABS-OBL alternation as that of nouns.⁶⁰ The adjective takes the absolute form in phrase-final position (34) and the oblique form when the referent of the noun phrase is restricted by a possessor known from the context (35). The adjective can be followed by a possessor, triggering the oblique form (36).

- (34) *kursei nae?*
 chair.O small.A
 ‘A small chair’
- (35) *kursei ne?*
 chair.O small.O
 ‘[The/her/his/its] small chair’
- (36) *kursei ne? no*
 chair.O small.O 3.SG.POSS
 ‘Her/his small chair’

5.4.3 Categories outside the CS

As shown earlier in this section, the addition of an element within the CS triggers the oblique form of the element it follows. However, elements outside the CS cannot affect ABS-OBL alternation within the CS. This is seen in constructions with a numeral and a classifier, prepositional phrases, and relative clauses.

NUM/CLF + CS

A numeral in combination with a classifier can occur either before a CS or after it. As discussed in more detail in chapter 7, NUM/CLF constructions can float to another position. Note that in numeral constructions, the numeral

⁵⁹ This is unlike SP, in which only the third-person possessor triggers the oblique form (Steinhauer and Usman 1978).

⁶⁰ Adjective constructions are discussed in detail in chapter 6.

is obligatory whereas the classifier is optional. In example (37) and (38) the numeral and classifier precede the head noun.

- (37) [[*duwo buwoh*]_{NUMP} [*kuboiʔ*]_{CS}]_{NP}
 two.O CLF.O potato.A
 ‘Two potatoes’
- (38) [[*duwo buwoh*]_{NUMP} [*kubiʔ gədua*]_{CS}]_{NP}
 two.O CLF.O potato.O big.A
 ‘Two big potatoes’

CS + Prepositional Phrase

- (39) [[*kuboiʔ*]_{CS} [*dari kaju aro*]_{PP}]_{NP}
 potato.A from kaju aro
 ‘Potatoes from Kayu Aro’
- (40) [[*kubiʔ gədua*]_{CS} [*dari kaju aro*]_{PP}]_{NP}
 potato.O big.A from kaju aro
 ‘Big potatoes from Kayu Aro’

CS + Relative Clause

- (41) [[*kuboiʔ*]_{CS} [*ŋə gədua*]_{RC}]_{NP}
 potato.A REL big.A
 ‘Potatoes that are big’
- (42) [[*kubiʔ gədua*]_{CS} [*ŋə akau bəloi*]_{RC}]_{NP}
 potato.O big.A REL 1.SG buy.A
 ‘Big potatoes that I bought’

While phrasal alternation in the CS is not triggered by *outside* elements, the general rules of phrasal alternation (see 1.7.4) apply for elements *within* the CS.

NUM/CLF + CS

- (43) [[*duwo buwoh*]_{NUMP} [*kubiʔ*]_{CS}]_{NP}
 two.O CLF.O potato.O
 ‘Two of the potatoes [mentioned before]’
- (44) [[*duwo buwoh*]_{NUMP} [*kubiʔ gədon*]_{CS}]_{NP}
 two.O CLF.O potato.O big.O
 ‘Two of the big potatoes [mentioned before]’

CS + Prepositional Phrase

- (45) [[*kubi?*]_{CS} [*dari kaju aro*]_{PP}]_{NP}
 potato.O from kaju aro
 ‘The potatoes from Kayu Aro’
- (46) [[*kubi?* *gədon*]_{CS} [*dari kaju aro*]_{PP}]_{NP}
 potato.O big.O from kaju aro
 ‘The big potatoes from Kayu Aro’

CS + Relative Clause

- (47) [[*kubi?*]_{CS} [*ŋə gədua*]_{RC}]_{NP}
 potato.O REL big.A
 ‘The potatoes that are big’
- (48) [[*kubi?* *gədon*]_{CS} [*ŋə akau bəloi*]_{RC}]_{NP}
 potato.O big.O REL 1.SG buy.A
 ‘The big potatoes that I bought’

In the syntactic position of a clause, the CS occurs either in the absolute or in the oblique form. The element outside the NP occurs as the predicate of the clause. The general rules of phrasal alternation presented in 1.7.4 apply.

CS + Prepositional Phrase outside the NP

- (49) [[*kuboi?*]_{CS}]_{NP} [[*dari kaju aro*]_{PP}]_{VP}
 potato.A from kaju aro
 ‘Potatoes are from Kayu Aro’
- (50) [[*kubi?*]_{CS}]_{NP} [[*dari kaju aro*]_{PP}]_{VP}
 potato.O from kaju aro
 ‘The potatoes are from Kayu Aro’
- (51) [[*kubi?* *gədua*]_{CS}]_{NP} [[*dari kaju aro*]_{PP}]_{VP}
 potato.O big.A from kaju aro
 ‘Big potatoes are from Kayu Aro’
- (52) [[*kubi?* *gədon*]_{CS}]_{NP} [[*dari kaju aro*]_{PP}]_{VP}
 potato.O big.O from kaju aro
 ‘The big potatoes are from Kayu Aro’

CS + Relative Clause outside the NP

- (53) [[*kuboi?*]_{CS}]_{NP} [[*ηə gədua*]_{RC}]_{VP}
 potato.A REL big.A
 ‘It’s potatoes that are big’
- (54) [[*kubi?*]_{CS}]_{NP} [[*ηə gədua*]_{RC}]_{VP}
 potato.O REL big.A
 ‘It’s the potatoes that are big’
- (55) [[*kubi? gədua*]_{CS}]_{NP} [[*ηə akau bəloi*]_{RC}]_{VP}
 potato.O big.A REL 1.SG buy.A
 ‘It was big potatoes that I bought’
- (56) [[*kubi? gədon*]_{CS}]_{NP} [[*ηə akau bəloi*]_{RC}]_{VP}
 potato.O big.O REL 1.SG buy.A
 ‘It was the big potatoes that I bought’

CS + NUM/CLF outside the NP

A numeral combined with a classifier after the CS occurs as a clause. This structure is often used for inventory or listing purposes.

- (57) [[*kuboi?*]_{CS}]_{NP} [[*duwo buwuah*]_{NUMP}]_{VP}
 potato.A two.O CLF.A
 ‘Potatoes are two’
 ‘Potatoes: two’
- (58) [[*kubi?*]_{CS}]_{NP} [[*duwo buwuah*]_{NUMP}]_{VP}
 potato.O two.O CLF.A
 ‘The potatoes are two’
 ‘The potatoes: two’
- (59) [[*kubi? gədua*]_{CS}]_{NP} [[*duwo buwuah*]_{NUMP}]_{VP}
 potato.O big.A two.O CLF.A
 ‘Big potatoes are two’
 ‘Big potatoes: two’
- (60) [[*kubi? gədon*]_{CS}]_{NP} [[*duwo buwuah*]_{NUMP}]_{VP}
 potato.O big.O two.O CLF.A
 ‘The big potatoes are two’
 ‘The big potatoes: two’

5.4.4 Demonstratives as adnominal modifiers⁶¹

The demonstrative is always the last element on the right edge of a noun phrase. If the demonstrative modifies the head noun, the latter occurs in the oblique form (61). Adjectival modifiers preceding demonstratives take the oblique form (62). It is worth underscoring at this point that demonstratives function as determiners that modify preceding mono-morphemic roots. Further below, we will see environments where the demonstrative cannot modify a complex attribute.

- (61) [*kursei itoh*]_{NP}
 chair.O itoh
 ‘That chair’
- (62) [*kursei ne? itoh*]_{NP}
 chair.O small.O itoh
 ‘That small chair’

Demonstrative cannot occur between a noun and a possessor.

- (63) [*pingan gule itoh*]_{NP}
 plate.O dish.O itoh
 ‘That deep plate’
- *[*pingan itoh gule*]_{NP}
 plate.O itoh dish.O

It is possible for elements preceding demonstratives to occur in the absolute form (64)-(65). In these cases, the demonstrative does not modify the noun phrase, but functions as a pronoun.

- (64) [*kursei nae?*]_{NP} *itoh*
 chair.O small.A itoh
 ‘A small chair is that’ [Lit.]
 ‘That is a small chair’

⁶¹ The functions of demonstratives in PT have been investigated by Ernanda and Yap (2016). They argue that the demonstrative has been grammaticalized and expanded from the referential to non-referential domain.

- (65) [pingan guloa]_{NP} ineh
 plate.O dish.A ineh
 ‘A deep plate is this’ [Lit.]
 ‘This is a deep plate’

Demonstratives used as pragmatic markers (i.e. topic marker, sentence-final particle, etc.) do not trigger the oblique form of the preceding constituent (1.7.7; also Ernanda and Yap 2016). Demonstratives functioning as pronouns also do not trigger the oblique form.

As noted above, demonstratives also do not trigger the oblique form in environments with complex attributes: after a derived form (5.4.4.1), after a relative clause (5.4.4.2) and after a possessor (5.4.4.3).

5.4.4.1 after a derived form

Derived forms functioning as attributes appear in the absolute form even if they occur in the same position as regular attributive adjectives which normally take the oblique form. The occurrence of a demonstrative does not interfere with this rule (66)-(67).

- (66) gadih ba-pəlauh (*ba-pəlouh) itoh
 girl.O STAT-sweat.A itoh
 ‘That sweaty girl’
- (67) bujon pa-malaeh (*pa-maleh) itoh
 young.man.O NMLZ-lazy.A DEM
 ‘That lazy young man’

The same is true for derived forms functioning as nouns (68). However, when the demonstrative is preceded by a nominal complement, the demonstrative triggers the oblique form of that preceding element (69).

- (68) pa-man̄kau (*pa-man̄kun) itoh
 NMLZ-torture.A itoh
 ‘That torturer’
- (69) pa-man̄kun ano? itoh
 NMLZ-torture.O child.O itoh
 ‘That child torturer’

5.4.4.2 after a relative clause

After a relative clause, the demonstrative does not trigger the oblique form of the preceding element (70), as would be the case in a simple NP (71). Note that the demonstrative modifies the head noun, which occurs in the oblique form even if intervened by a relative clause.

- (70) *umoh ηə gədua (*gədon) itoh*
 house.O REL big.A itoh
 ‘The house which is big’

- (71) *umoh gədon (*gədua) itoh*
 house.O big.O itoh
 ‘That big house’

5.4.4.3 after a possessor

A complex NP with a possessor also blocks the demonstrative from triggering the oblique form of the preceding element (72), as would be the case in a simple NP (73).

- (72) *umoh ʃanton tiŋgai (*tiŋgei) itoh*
 house.O male.O tall.A itoh
 ‘The house of that tall man’
 ‘That house of the tall man’

- (73) *ʃanton tiŋgei (*tiŋgai) itoh*
 male.O tall.O itoh
 ‘That tall man’

5.4.5 The order of the constituents of the noun phrases

This section examines in more detail the order of the constituents of the basic NP structure given in Figure 5.1.

A relative clause can follow an adjective (74) or a possessive (75). Note the slightly different nuance in meaning if the same elements occur as clauses (76)-(78). Adjectives can take both the absolute and the oblique form in the latter construction.

- (74) [[*nasei basoi*]_{CS} [*ηə di-campaʔ*]_{RC}]_{NP}
 rice.O stale.A REL PASS-throw.A
 ‘Stale rice which was thrown away’
- (75) [[*nasei no*]_{CS} [*ηə di-campaʔ*]_{RC}]_{NP}
 rice.O 3.SG.POSS REL PASS-throw.A
 ‘Her/his rice which was thrown away’
- (76) [[*nasei basoi*]_{CS}]_{NP} [[*ηə di-campaʔ*]_{RC}]_{VP}
 rice.O stale.A REL PASS-throw.A
 ‘It was stale rice which was thrown away’
- (77) [[*nasei basi*]_{CS}]_{NP} [[*ηə di-campaʔ*]_{RC}]_{VP}
 rice.O stale.O REL PASS-throw.A
 ‘It was the stale rice which was thrown away’
- (78) [[*nasei no*]_{CS}]_{NP} [[*ηə di-campaʔ*]_{RC}]_{VP}
 rice.O 3.SG.POSS REL PASS-throw.A
 ‘It was her/his rice which was thrown away’

The relative clause may occur between a head noun and an adjective, in which case the adjective is the predicate of the clause (79). Personal pronouns occurring in the latter position function as agents (80). Here, too, the same elements can occur as clauses, permitting an absolute (81) and oblique (82) construction. In these latter constructions, the third person functions as an agent, not a possessor.

- (79) [[*nasei*]_{CS} [*ηə di-campaʔ*]_{RC}]_{NP} [[*basoi*]_{AP}]_{VP}
 rice.O REL PASS-throw.A stale.A
 ‘The rice which was thrown away was stale’
- (80) [[*nasei*]_{CS} [*ηə di-campoʔ no*]_{RC}]_{NP}
 rice.O REL PASS-throw.O 3.SG
 ‘The rice which was thrown away by her/him’
- (81) [[*nasai*]_{CS}]_{NP} [[*ηə di-campoʔ no*]_{RC}]_{VP}
 rice.A REL PASS-throw.O 3.SG
 ‘It was rice which was thrown away by her/him’

- (82) [[*nasei*]_{CS}]_{NP} [[*ŋə* *di-campo?* *no*]_{RC}]_{VP}
 rice.O REL PASS-throw.O 3.SG
 ‘It was the rice which was thrown away by her/him’

Prepositional phrases, likewise, can follow adjectives (83) or possessors (84). They may intervene between the head noun and the adjective, in which case the construction is a clause with the adjective as its predicate (85).

- (83) [[*kəbo* *gədua*]_{CS} [*ke?* *imbao*]_{PP}]_{NP}
 buffalo.O big.A in forest.A
 ‘A big buffalo in the forest’
- (84) [[*kəbo* *akau*]_{CS} [*ke?* *imbao*]_{PP}]_{NP}
 buffalo.O 1.SG.POSS in forest.A
 ‘My buffalo in the forest’
- (85) [[*kəbo*]_{CS} [*ke?* *imbao*]_{PP}]_{NP} [[*gədua*]_{AP}]_{VP}
 buffalo.O in forest.A big.A
 ‘The buffalo in the forest is big’

As is the case for relative clauses, the constructions with prepositional phrases can also form clauses (86)-(88), yielding different meanings. In adjectival constructions, both absolute and oblique forms are permitted.

- (86) [[*kəbo* *gədua*]_{CS}]_{NP} [[*ke?* *imbao*]_{PP}]_{VP}
 buffalo.O big.A in forest.A
 ‘A big buffalo is in the forest’
- (87) [[*kəbo* *gədon*]_{CS}]_{NP} [[*ke?* *imbao*]_{PP}]_{VP}
 buffalo.O big.O in forest.A
 ‘The big buffalo is in the forest’
- (88) [[*kəbo* *akau*]_{CS}]_{NP} [[*ke?* *imbao*]_{PP}]_{VP}
 buffalo.O 1.SG.POSS in forest.A
 ‘My buffalo is in the forest’

The same rules apply for constructions with numerals and classifiers (89)-(91). This happens especially when speakers are listing items, animals or people. A translation into grammatical English is difficult to provide in these cases.

- (89) *[kambe? tuwao]_{CS} [duwo ikeu]_{NUMP}*
 goat.O old.A two.O CLF.A
 ‘Old goats: two’
- (90) *[[kambe? tuwao]_{CS}]_{NP} [[duwo ikeu]_{NUMP}]_{VP}*
 goat.O old.A two.O CLF.A
 ‘Old goats are two’
 ‘Old goats: two’
- (91) *[[kambe? tuwo]_{CS}]_{NP} [[duwo ikeu]_{NUMP}]_{VP}*
 goat.O old.O two.O CLF.A
 ‘The old goats are two’
 ‘The old goats: two’

5.4.6 Prepositional phrases and relative clauses

Prepositional phrases and relative clauses precede demonstratives. With regard to each other, their position is interchangeable; a prepositional phrase can either precede or follow a relative clause. Note that the demonstrative can modify the object of a preposition, so that the NP creates a PP (92). Alternatively, the demonstrative can precede the PP, modifying the head noun (93).

- (92) *no [[ŋəcat]_V*
 3.SG ACT.paint.O

[mijua]_{CS} [[ke?]_P [[dapu]_{NP} [itoh]_{DEM}]_{NP}]_{PP}]_{VP}
 table.A in kitchen.O itoh
 ‘S/he paints a table in that kitchen’
- (93) *no [[ŋəcat]_V*
 3.SG ACT.paint.O

[[mijo]_{CS} [itoh]_{DEM}]_{NP} [[ke?]_P [dapeu]_{NP}]_{PP}]_{VP}
 table.O itoh in kitchen.A
 ‘S/he paints that table in the kitchen’

In accordance with the canonical PT word order, relative clauses precede demonstratives (94). PP might precede NUM+CLF (95). It is also possible for NUM+CLF to precede the PP. Example (96) implies the presence of other cows in other places. The intonational break is between the head noun *jawoi* and the numeral *tigo*.

- (94) *akau juwon*
1.SG ACT.sell.O

[[*jawi*]_{CS} [*ɲə tɪŋgai*]_{RC}]_{NP} [*itoh*]_{DEM}]_{NP}
cow.O REL tall.A itoh
'I sold that cow which is tall'

**akau juwon* [[*jawi*]_{CS} [*itoh*]_{DEM} [*ɲə tɪŋgai*]_{RC}]_{NP}
1.SG ACT.sell.O cow.O itoh REL tall.A

- (95) [[*jawoi*]_{CS} [*d-umuah*]_{PP}]_{NP} [[*tigo ikeu*]_{NUMP}]_{VP}
cow.A at.home.A three.O CLF.A
'Cows at home are three'

- (96) [[*jawoi*]_{CS} [*tigo ikeu*]_{NUMP}]_{NP} [[*d-umuah*]_{PP}]_{VP}
cow.A three.O CLF.A at.home.A
'Cows, three of them are at home'

Relative clauses normally precede numerals combined with classifiers (97). The opposite order implies the presence of other occurrences of the noun that are not modified by the adjective (98).

- (97) [[*bateu*]_{CS} [*ɲə gədua*]_{RC}]_{NP} [[*əmpe? buwuah*]_{NUMP}]_{VP}
stone.A REL big.A four.O CLF.A
'Stones which are big are four'

- (98) [[*bateu*]_{CS} [*əmpe? buwuah*]_{NUMP}]_{NP} [[*ɲə gədua*]_{RC}]_{VP}
stone.A four.O CLF.A REL big.A
'Stones, four of them are big' [but the others are small]

A relative clause may precede or follow a prepositional phrase, resulting in different meanings (99)-(100). Note how phrasal alternation is of additional influence to the meaning of the sentence (101)-(102).

- (99) *ani* [[*ɲəcat*]_V]
PN ACT.paint.O

[[*mijua*]_{CS} [*ɲə gədua*]_{RC}]_{NP} [*ke? dapeu*]_{PP}]_{VP}
table.A REL big.A in kitchen.A
'Ani paints a table which is big in a kitchen'

- (100) *ani* [[*ŋəcat*]_V
 PN ACT.paint.O

 [*mijua*]_{CS} [[*keʔ*]_P [[*dapeu*]_{CS} [*ŋə gədua*]_{RC}]_{NP}]_{PP}]_{VP}
 table.A in kitchen.A REL big.A
 ‘Ani paints a table in a kitchen which is big’
- (101) *ani ŋəcat miʔo (*mijua) keʔ dapeu*
 PN ACT.paint.O table.O in kitchen.A
 ‘Ani paints the table in the kitchen’
- (102) *ani ŋəcat mijua (*miʔo) keʔ dapeu*
 PN ACT.paint.O table.A in kitchen.A
 ‘Ani paints a table in the kitchen’

A relative clause can mark different nouns without a change in word order (103)-(104).

- (103) [[*anoʔ toni*]_{NP} [*ŋə pa-malaeh*]_{RC}]_{NP}
 child.O PN REL NMLZ-lazy.A
 ‘It’s Toni’s child who is lazy’ [the child is lazy]
- (104) [*anoʔ [toni ŋə pa-malaeh]*]_{RC}]_{NP}]_{NP}
 child.O PN REL NMLZ-lazy.A
 ‘It’s a child of Toni, who is lazy’ [Toni is lazy]

5.4.7 Noun + modifier

The head noun may consist of a noun followed by another noun. This specifying noun-noun construction can be ‘item+material’, ‘container+content’, ‘classifier+item’, ‘status+name’ and ‘agent+nominal complement’ (105)-(107). The head noun occurs in the oblique form, whereas the noun modifier is subject to the general patterns of phrasal alternation presented in 1.7.4.

- item + material**
 (105) *kandan bəsoi*
 cage.O iron.A
 ‘An iron cage’

- (106) **container + content**
 kahun *bəroah*
 sack.O rice.A
 ‘A rice sack’
- (107) **agent + nominal complement**
 *paj-juwon*⁶² *bantoa*
 NMLZ-sell.O meat.A
 ‘A meat seller’

PT, like Malay, indicates terms pertaining to flora, fauna and geography by a categorizer noun followed by a specification (i.e. ‘the river Rhine’, ‘the city of Birmingham’, etc.). Followed by such an item, a head noun occurs in the oblique form.

- (108) **classifier + item**
 sujə *musi*
 river.O musi
 ‘The river Musi’

In a number of Noun₁-Noun₂ constructions, Noun₁ denotes someone’s status within the family, the religion, or the political or professional hierarchy, whereas Noun₂ is the person’s name or profession. The first noun either occurs in oblique form or lacks the ABS-OBL opposition (109).

- (109) **Status term + name**
 poʔ *erik*
 father.O PN
 1. ‘Erik’s father’
 2. ‘The father of Erik’

5.5 Derived nouns

This section discusses affixation to derive nouns: the prefix *paN-* (5.5.1), the historical suffix **-an* (5.5.2), the circumfix *ka-OBL* (5.5.3), the circumfix *paN-OBL* (5.5.4), and the circumfix *pa-OBL* (5.5.5).

⁶² A more detailed discussion about the prefix *paN-* is presented in 5.5.1.

5.5.1 *paN-*

The prefix *paN-* is productive and forms derived nouns from verbs and adjectives. The realization of the nasal *N-* depends on the initial phoneme of the root, as discussed in (8.4.1). Roots prefixed with *paN-* often behave like adjectives. This section illustrates the usage of *paN-* in combination with adjective roots (5.5.1.1), the expanded construction *sa- + paN- ... itoh pa no* (5.5.1.2), monovalent verb roots (5.5.1.3), and bivalent verb roots (5.5.1.4).

5.5.1.1 with adjective roots

A limited set of adjective roots can be combined with the prefix *paN-*, expressing the meaning ‘someone for whom / something for which X is a typical feature’. This type of derivation functions as a predicate and an attribute. Some examples are listed in Table 5.2.⁶³

Adjective root	Derivational form
<i>bəŋjoih/bəŋih</i> ‘angry’	<i>paməŋaiih/paməŋeih</i> ‘a hothead’
<i>cəmaeh/cəmeih</i> ‘worried’	<i>paŋcəmaeh/paŋcəmeih</i> ‘a worrier’
<i>ibeal/ibo</i> ‘sad’	<i>paŋibeal/paŋibo</i> ‘an emotionally sensitive person’
<i>kumauh/kumouh</i> ‘dirty’	<i>paŋumauh/paŋumouh</i> ‘an unclean person’
<i>mabeu?/mabu?</i> ‘drunk’	<i>pamabeu?/pamabu?</i> ‘drunken person, a drinker’
<i>malau/malou</i> ‘shy’	<i>pamalau/pamalou</i> ‘shy person’
<i>rusa?/ruso?</i> ‘broken’	<i>parusa?/paruso?</i> ‘a destroyer’
<i>səŋa?/səŋat</i> ‘quiet’	<i>pasəŋa?/pasəŋat</i> ‘a taciturn person’
<i>takau?/takut</i> ‘afraid’	<i>panakau?/panakut</i> ‘a coward’

Table 5.2. *paN-* + adjective roots

In a predicate position, derived nouns with *paN-* appear in the absolute form in phrase final position (110), including if the noun phrase is closed by a demonstrative which is used attributively (111)-(113). A prefixed root is considered a complex attribute, so that the demonstrative does not trigger the oblique form as would be the case for monomorphemic roots.

⁶³ Also note the counterintuitive meaning of *paŋakai?/paŋakit* ‘illness’ (< *sakai?/sakit* ‘ill’), cf. *penyakit* ‘illness’ from *sakit* ‘ill’ in Malay.

- (110) *apo? jo pa-məŋaiħ*
 father.O 3.SG.POSS NMLZ-angry.A
 ‘Her/his father is a hothead’
- (111) *gadiħ paŋ-ibea ineh*
 girl.O NMLZ-sad.A ineh
 ‘This emotionally sensitive girl’
- (112) *ano? pa-malau itoh*
 child.O NMLZ-shy.A itoh
 ‘That shy child’
- (113) *buŋon pa-mabeu? itoh*
 young.man.O NMLZ-drunk.A itoh
 ‘That young drinker’

5.5.1.2 *sa- + paN- ... itoh ja jo*

The derived nouns mentioned in the previous section can occur in the expanded construction *sa- + paN- ... itoh ja jo*, expressing ‘excessive quality of X / so X’. In this construction, the oblique form is used (114)-(115).

- (114) *sa-pa-nakut itoh ja jo*
 COMP-NMLZ-afraid.O itoh really 3.SG
 ‘S/he is so scared!’
- (115) *sa-pa-lupo itoh ja jo*
 COMP-NMLZ-forget.O itoh really 3.SG
 ‘S/he is so forgetful!’

5.5.1.3 with monovalent verb roots

The prefix *paN-* can be combined with monovalent verb roots, expressing ‘someone who typically does X’. The number of constructions of this type is limited (Table 5.3). This derivational process is further discussed in 8.4.1.

Root	Derivational form
<i>judoι/judi</i> ‘to gamble’	<i>paŋjudoι/paŋjudi</i> ‘a gambler’
<i>tideu/tidu</i> ‘to sleep’	<i>panideu/panidu</i> ‘a sleepyhead’
<i>gəluaʔ/gəloʔ</i> ‘to laugh’	<i>paŋgəluaʔ/paŋgəloʔ</i> ‘a jovial person’

Table 5.3. *paN-* + monovalent verb roots

Predicatively used, the prefix *paN-* triggers the absolute form (116), including before demonstratives when it functions as a head noun (117). In combination with the aforementioned prefix *sa-*, the oblique root has to be used (118) (see 5.5.1.2).

- (116) *no pa-nideu*
3.SG NMLZ-sleep.A
‘S/he is a sleepyhead’
- (117) *pa-nideu itoh kamai tiŋga*
NMLZ-sleep.A itoh 1.PL.EXCL leave.A
‘We left that sleepyhead behind’
- (118) *sa-pa-nidu itoh na no*
COMP-NMLZ-sleep.O itoh really 3.SG
‘S/he is such a sleepyhead!’

5.5.1.4 with bivalent verb roots

The prefix *paN-* can be combined with bivalent verb roots, expressing ‘the tool or agent for X’ (Table 5.4).

Root	Derivational form
<i>apauh/apouh</i> ‘to erase’	<i>paŋapauh/paŋapouh</i> ‘an eraser’
<i>cian/ciun</i> ‘to kiss, to smell’	<i>paŋcian/paŋciun</i> ‘a kisser’
<i>tukau/tukun</i> ‘to hit’	<i>panukau/panukun</i> ‘a beater’
<i>baŋkeu/baŋkun</i> ‘to torture’	<i>pamaŋkau/pamaŋkun</i> ‘a harasser’

Table 5.4. *paN-* + bivalent verb roots

The resultant affixed forms may occur both in the absolute and oblique form. The absolute form is used predicatively (119) or in combination with a demonstrative (120). The oblique form is used when it is followed by a nominal complement (121).

- (119) *no pa-maŋkau* (**pa-maŋkun*)
 3.SG NMLZ-torture.A
 1. ‘S/he is a harasser’
 2. ‘S/he likes to harass’
- (120) *pa-maŋkau itoh di-tukun uha*
 NMLZ-torture.A itoh PASS-hit.O people.A
 ‘That harasser was hit by people’
- (121) *pa-maŋkun ano? itoh*
 NMLZ-torture.O child.O itoh
 ‘The harasser of that child’

5.5.2 The historical suffix **-an*

It may be assumed that a suffix **-an* existed historically in PT, corresponding to Proto Malayic **(a,e)n* and Malay *-an*. It typically marks ‘a noun formed through X’. In most Kerinci dialects, the oblique form has taken over its functions (Steinhauer 2002; Mckinnon 2011). Traces of the suffix can still be seen in some roots ending in a vowel, e.g. *sajin* ‘offerings’ (< *sajoi/saji* ‘to serve food’), *titin* ‘bridge’ (< *titai/titei* ‘to walk on a narrow and long path’), *bukon* ‘food for breaking the fast during Ramadan’ (< *bukeal/buko* ‘to break the fast’), *tumpun* ‘a pedestal’ (< *tumpau/tumpou* ‘to be based on’), and *cucun* ‘the grandchild’ (< *cucau/cucou* ‘a grandchild’). Elsewhere, it is indistinguishable from the default oblique form. It is important to take into account that there is no absolute alternant here; these derived forms are frozen in the oblique form and always appear as such, as can be seen in (122)-(124).

- (122) [S/he is a suitable marriage partner]
ilau? putun
 attractive.A cut.O
 ‘Attractive is her/his appearance’ [Lit.]
 ‘Her/his appearance is attractive’
- (123) *jaŋloah tuleih*
 clear.A write.O
 ‘Clear is the writing’ [Lit.]
 ‘The writing is clear’

- (124) *moʔ ba-lahoi keʔ titin*
 VET VBLZ-run.A on bridge.O
 1. 'Don't run on the bridge!'
 2. 'Don't run on bridges!'

If these roots appear in the corresponding absolute form, they function as verbs. Compare example (125) and (126). Example (126) is an imperative construction.

- (125) *tuleih ineh*
 write.O ineh
 'This writing'
- (126) *tulaih ineh*
 write.A ineh
 'Write this!'

5.5.3 *ka* + OBL

The circumfix *ka*-OBL is used to form abstract nouns.⁶⁴ It only occurs with a limited set of roots.⁶⁵ Some of the examples underlined in Table 5.5 show signs of the aforementioned historical suffix **-an*, displaying a suffix *-n* with concomitant vowel change. Others are identical to generic oblique forms in their syllable rimes.

Root	Derivational form
<i>datua/daton</i> 'to arrive'	<i>kadaton</i> 'arrival'
<i>dijua/dijon</i> 'to stay'	<i>kadijon</i> 'residence'
<i>dudeuʔ/duduʔ</i> 'to sit'	<i>kaduduʔ</i> 'seat'
<i>jadoi/jadi</i> 'to become'	<i><u>kajadin</u></i> 'result'
<i>lakau/lakou</i> 'act'	<i><u>kalakun</u></i> 'behaviour'
<i>pandae/pande</i> 'be able'	<i>kapande</i> 'ability'
<i>rageu/ragu</i> 'hesitate'	<i><u>karagun</u></i> 'hesitation'
<i>ramae/rame</i> 'crowded'	<i><u>karamin</u></i> 'crowdedness'

Table 5.5. *ka*-OBL

⁶⁴ It corresponds to the circumfix *ke-...-an* in Malay.

⁶⁵ In most other cases, direct borrowing of the circumfix *ke-...-an* from Malay is preferred (i.e. *ke-baik-an* 'kindness', *ke-selamat-an* 'safety', *ke-benar-an* 'truth', etc.).

These derived morphological forms can only occur in the oblique form (127)-(128).

- (127) *ikao* *baɲua?* *ka-pande*
 2.SG many/much NMLZ-able.O
 ‘You have many talents’
- (128) *ka-pande* *no* *maso?* *guloa*
 NMLZ-able.O 3.SG.POSS cook.O dish.A
 ‘Her/his talent is cooking dishes’

5.5.4 *paN* + OBL

The circumfix *paN*-OBL occurs with verb roots and expresses ‘the result of X’. The rules of nasalization depend on the initial phoneme of the root to which *paN*- is attached and are identical to those of *N*- (8.4.1). Only one word reflects the historical suffix **-an* with a change of the final root syllable as underlined in Table 5.6; the rest are indistinctive from *paN*-OBL and extremely limited in number.

Root	Derivational form
<i>cahai/cahei</i> ‘to search for’	<i>pancahin</i> ‘earnings’
<i>ideu?/idut</i> ‘to live’	<i>paɲidut</i> ‘livelihood’
<i>cian/ciun</i> ‘to kiss, to smell’	<i>paɲciun</i> ‘olfaction’
<i>tina/tinan</i> ‘to remember’	<i>paɲinan</i> ‘remembrance’

Table 5.6. *paN*-OBL

Roots with this circumfix can only occur in the oblique form (129)-(131).

- (129) *paɲ-cahin* *no* *lah* *aboih*
 NMLZ-earning.O 3.SG.POSS already finish.A
 ‘Her/his earnings have been finished’
- (130) *pənan* *palo* *paɲ-cahin* *nae?*
 dizzy.A head.O NMLZ-earning.O small.A
 ‘It is difficult to have a low income’

- (131) *gaji apo? lah paŋ-idut*
 salary.O father.O only NMLZ-live.O
 ‘Her/his father’s salary is the only source of livelihood’

5.5.5 *pa* + OBL

The circumfix *pa*-OBL also nominalizes roots, combining with noun roots and typically denoting ‘a larger entity of which X is a part’.⁶⁶ Only three derivation forms are attested (Table 5.7).

Root	Derivational form
<i>bəkua/bəkon</i> ‘food or money for a journey’	<i>pabəkon</i> ‘stock, provisions’
<i>alaʔ/alat</i> ‘tool’	<i>paŋalat</i> ⁶⁷ ‘equipment, accessories’
<i>jalua/jalon</i> ‘road’	<i>paʔalon</i> ‘trip’

Table 5.7. *pa*-OBL

This construction can only occur in the oblique form (132)–(133).

- (132) *akau muwao paŋ-alat no*
 1.SG ACT.bring.A NMLZ-tool.O 3.SG.POSS
 ‘I brought her/his equipment’
- (133) *no ijia muwao paŋ-alat*
 3.SG NEG ACT.bring.A NMLZ-tool.O
 ‘S/he did not bring the equipment’

5.6 Compound nouns

Compound nouns in PT can be Noun₁-Noun₂, Verb₁-Noun₂, Noun₁-Verb₂, or Noun₁-Adjective₂ (Table 5.8.). These compounds produce new meanings which differ from the meanings of each word individually. For the first three types, the head noun appears in the oblique form whereas the second constituent follows the general rules of phrasal alternation presented in 1.7.4. In the fourth type, Noun₁-Adjective₂, both categories take the oblique form.

⁶⁶ It corresponds to the Malay circumfix *per*-...-*an*.

⁶⁷ Root-initial vowels are preceded by /ŋ/.

Compound	Example
Noun ₁ -Noun ₂	<i>baton ajai/ajei</i> stem.O water.A/O 'river'
Verb ₁ -Noun ₂	<i>paŋgan jageu/jagun</i> grill.O corn.A/O 'grilled corn'
Noun ₁ -Verb ₂	<i>ano? aŋka?/aŋkat</i> child.O lift.A/O 'foster child'
Noun ₁ -Adjective ₂	<i>ano? abon</i> child.O red.O 'newly born baby'

Table 5.8. Noun compounds

Special cases are the nominal compounds *uwan muko* 'advance payment' (< *uwa/uwan* 'money' + *mukao/muko* 'face'), *gulo pasei* 'granular sugar' (< *gulea/gulo* 'sugar' + *pasai/pasei* 'sand'), *kakei ajan* 'barefoot' (< *kakai/kakei* 'foot' + *aja/ajan* 'chicken') and *sabe pihei?* 'grinded chilly' (< *sabo/sabe* 'chilly' + *pihai?/pihei?* 'to grind'), in which both the first and the second constituents take the oblique form and do not alternate. In a limited set of compounds, the first word always takes the absolute form and the second word the oblique form:⁶⁸ *karita aŋin* 'bicycle' (< *karita/karito* 'cart' + *aŋan/aŋin* 'wind'), *karita apei* 'train' (< *karita/karito* 'cart' + *apai/apei* 'fire'). These forms were probably borrowed as a whole from Malay.

Note also that the construction Verb₁+Noun₂ may yield different meanings depending on the phrasal alternation of the noun; *minun kawao* (< *minun* 'drink.O' + *kawao* 'coffee.A') expresses the activity of 'taking a rest while enjoying snacks', whereas *minun kawo* (< *minun* 'drink.O' + *kawo* 'coffee.O') indicates the noun 'snacks'.

Sometimes, it is difficult to determine whether a group of nouns are part of a noun phrase or a compound. Combinations with *ana?/ano?* 'child', for example, can be interpreted in two ways: 1) the offspring of a human or an animal, or 2) a young human or animal, as can be seen in (134) and (135).

⁶⁸ The same phenomenon has been described for SP (Steinhauer and Usman 1978).

- (134) *ano?* *uha*
 child.O people.A
 1. ‘A human child’
 2. ‘Somebody’s child’

- (135) *ano?* *kucae?*
 child.O cat.A
 1. ‘A kitten’
 2. ‘A cat’s child’

A similar dual interpretation can be seen with the combination of *ana?*/*ano?* ‘child’ and *gadoih/gadih* ‘female’ (136). If both forms are oblique, it may be interpreted as a compound with the meaning ‘girl’ (137).

- (136) *ano?* *gadoih*
 child.O female.A
 1. ‘Female offspring’
 2. ‘A daughter’ [in general]

- (137) *ano?* *gadih*
 child.O female.O
 1. ‘A girl’
 2. ‘The daughter’ [of someone]

In combination with the adjectival modifier *nae?*/*ne?* ‘small’, *ana?*/*ano?* ‘child’ occurs in free variation; the absolute and oblique form can be used interchangeably without change of meaning (138)-(139).

- (138) *ano?* *nae?*
 child.O small.A
 ‘Small children/child’

- (139) *ana?* *nae?*
 child.A small.A
 ‘Small children/child’

5.7 Reduplication of nouns

Reduplication of nouns typically marks plurality with implied variety or similarity. The general rules of phrasal alternation presented in 1.7.4 apply. This section addresses reduplication indicating plurality (5.7.1), reduplication of compound nouns (5.7.2) and idiomatic reduplication (5.7.3).

5.7.1 Plurality

In this type of reduplication, both absolute and oblique forms can be used (140)-(142).

- (140) *ijia gahon-gahon səgi əmpa? toh*
 NEG RED-salt.O angle.O four.A toh
 ‘There were none of those salt cubes’
 [fc4.204]
- [All the furniture has to be removed]
- (141) *kamai ŋaŋkat kursei-kursei*
 1.PL.EXCL ACT.lift.O RED-chair.O
 ‘We lift the chairs’
- (142) *tuah-tuah toh tamau? lao su? loa?*
 RED-sap.A toh put.into too enter can.A
 ‘[All sorts of] sap were put into a can’
 [fc0.062]

With affixed noun roots, nominal reduplication explicitly indicates plurality with implied diversity. What is reduplicated is the full prefixed root; nasalization of the first consonant (according to the morphological rules described in 8.4.1) occurs in both roots (143).

- [In a conversation about a fight]
- (143) *no muwao panukau-panukau*
 3.SG ACT.bring.A RED-NMLZ-beat.A
 ‘S/he brought canes [i.e. tools used to beat someone]’

5.7.2 Reduplication of compound nouns

Reduplication of compound nouns also expresses plurality with implied diversity. The first constituent is reduplicated and appears in the oblique form, whereas the second constituent follows the general patterns of phrasal alternation presented in 1.7.4 (144)-(148). If the compound has a default OBL-OBL form, the reduplication also follows this pattern (149).

- (144) *kapan-kapan tərbua*
 RED-ship.O fly.A
 ‘Flights’

- (145) *daun-daun pintou baheu*
 RED-leaf.O door.O new.A
 ‘The new doors’
- (146) *tanoh-tanoh lapan toh di-kimo? no*
 RED-land.O large.O toh PASS-look.O 3.SG
 ‘Those town squares were examined by her/him’ [Lit.]
 ‘S/he examined those town squares’
- (147) *kipe-kipe paneh no di-imbo no*
 RED-money.O hot.O 3.SG.POSS PASS-hide.O 3.SG
 ‘Her/his illegal money is hidden by her/him’ [Lit.]
 ‘S/he hides her/his illegal money’
- (148) *kamai usoi? ke? baton-baton ajei*
 1.PL.EXCL play.A at RED-stem.O water.O
 ‘We play at [its] rivers’
- (149) *uwan-uwan muko di-baji no*
 RED-money.O face.O PASS-pay.O 3.SG
 ‘The advance payments were paid by her/him’ [Lit.]
 ‘S/he paid (back) the advance payments’

5.7.3 Idiomatic reduplication

In two lexical items, lexical reduplication of singular nouns yielded a changed meaning (Table 5.9).

Root	Reduplication form
<i>matao/mato</i> ‘eye’	<i>mato-mato.O</i> ‘spy’
<i>kudea/kudo</i> ‘horse’	<i>kudo-kudo.O</i> ‘easel’

Table 5.9. Idiomatic reduplication

These derived forms only occur in the oblique form (150)–(151).

- (150) *no mato-mato maso para duleu*
 3.SG spy time war.A in.the.past.A
 ‘S/he used to be a spy in the war’

- (151) *mato-mato balandea agoi inei*
 spy Holland.A still here
 ‘Dutch spies are still here’

In a limited number of cases, reduplication of oblique noun roots expresses a diminutive or imitation of what the root denotes.⁶⁹ This form is typically used to refer to toys, i.e. *umoh-umoh* ‘doll house’ (< *umah/umoh* ‘house’), *uto-uto* ‘toy car’ (< *uto* ‘car’).

A small number of seemingly reduplicated nouns consist of two identical elements which cannot stand alone as a single word. These are Malay loanwords, lacking the ABS-OBL opposition: *laba-laba* ‘spider’, *paru-paru* ‘lungs’ and *ramao-ramao*⁷⁰ ‘butterfly’. See the examples in (152)-(154).

- (152) *no duto spesialis paru-paru*
 3.SG doctor specialist lungs
 ‘S/he is a pulmonologist’
- (153) *paru-paru no kəno infeksi*
 lungs 3.SG.POSS ADV.O infection
 ‘Her/his lungs get infected’
- (154) *ramao-ramao k-umah toh tando*
 butterfly.A to.house.A toh sign.O
- adea məndah əndoʔ datua*
 exist.A guest.A want come.A
 ‘A butterfly entering a house is a sign that a guest will come to visit it’

5.8 Nominalization

This section examines nominalization in PT. As a non-suffixing language, PT uses the oblique form to nominalize words.⁷¹ Word categories that can be

⁶⁹ This usage corresponds to noun reduplication in combination with the suffix *-an* in Malay.

⁷⁰ *ramao-ramao* ‘butterfly’ is the original PT word.

⁷¹ Malay uses the suffix *-nya* for this purpose.

nominalized in this way are adjectives (5.8.1) and verbs and quantifiers (5.8.2) as will be demonstrated below. The nominal status of these words can be proven by passivizing the sentences in which they occur.

5.8.1 of adjectives

An adjective can form a noun either by using the oblique form (155)–(156), or by preceding it with the article *si* (157). With the article *si*, the adjective appears in the absolute form. Its usage is limited to the context of people making fun of someone for having the quality expressed by the adjective. The article *si* is also used in front of someone's name to express an intimate relationship.

- (155) *no ηukou [tiŋgei]_{NP}*
 3.SG ACT.measure.O tall.O
 'S/he measures the height of it'
- [tiŋgei]_{NP} di-ukou no*
 tall.O PASS-measure.O 3.SG
 'The height of it is measured by her/him'

- (156) *no ηimo? [gədon]_{NP}*
 3.SG ACT.see.O big.O
 'S/he considers the size of it'
- [gədon]_{NP} di-kimo? no*
 big.O PASS-look.O 3.SG
 'The size of it is considered by her/him'

- (157) *no nulun si duŋeu*
 3.SG ACT.help.O ART stupid.A
- ηə si cədoi?*
 and ART smart.A
 'S/he helps the stupid one and the smart one'
- si duŋeu ηə si*
 ART stupid.A and ART
- cədoi? di-tulun no*
 smart.A PASS-help.O 3.SG
 'The stupid one and the smart one were helped by her/him'

5.8.2 of verbs and quantifiers

Bivalent and monovalent verbs can be nominalized to form a construction resembling the English gerund. This type of nominalization yields the absolute form (158). This type of nominalization can also occur with the prefix *ba-* combined with a numeral (159).

- (158) [A plan to decrease air pollution]
pəmərintah *ɲərou* *ba-ɟalua*
 government ACT.promote.O VBLZ⁷²-road.A
 ‘The government promotes walking’
- ba-ɟalua* *di-sərou* *pəmərintah*
 VBLZ-road.A PASS-promote.O government
 ‘Walking is promoted by the government’
- (159) [A child responds to his parent’s announced divorce]
no *minto?* *ba-satau*
 3.SG ACT.ask.O STAT-one.A
 ‘He asks for them to be united’
- ba-satau* *di-pinto?* *no*
 STAT-one.A PASS-request.O 3.SG
 ‘[Them] being united was asked for by him’

The quantifier *baɲua?/baɲo?* ‘many, much’ occurs in the oblique form when it functions as a noun ‘the amount’ (160)-(161).

- (160) *no* *ɲimo?* *baɲo?*
 3.SG ACT.look.O many/much.O
 ‘S/he considers the amount’
- (161) *baɲo?* *di-kimo?* *no*
 many/much.O PASS-look.O 3.SG
 ‘The amount is considered by her/him’

⁷² A verbalized form can function as a noun.

5.9 The use of *uha/uhan* ‘people’

The word *uha/uhan* ‘people’ can occur both in the absolute and oblique form without change of meaning (162)-(164).⁷³

- (162) *uha/uhan* *dusen*
 people.A/O village.A
 ‘Villagers’
- (163) *uha/uhan* *dusun* *ineh*
 people.A/O village.O ineh
 ‘These villager(s)’
- (164) *uha/uhan* *dusen* *lah* *samao* *ugea*
 people.A/O village.A already follow also
 ‘The villager(s) had also joined’

In PT, the absolute and oblique forms of *uha/uhan* ‘people’ are not completely interchangeable. Phrase-finally, the oblique form is used for people known to the speaker (165), whereas the absolute form is used for people outside the speaker’s referential framework (166).

- [There is no one in the village]
 (165) *ijia* *uhan* (**uha*)
 NEG people.O
 ‘The people aren’t there’
- [The planet Mars is uninhabited]
 (166) *ijia* *uha* (**uhan*)
 NEG people.A
 ‘There are no people’

Furthermore, *uha* can be used as a classifier, whereas *uhan* cannot. Example (167) demonstrates the use of both *uha* and *uhan* in one clause.

⁷³ Steinhauer and Usman (1978) observed the same phenomenon in the Sungai Penuh dialect. The examples given below are taken from their study but replaced with the PT equivalents.

- (167) *no* *apo* *uha* *uhan*
 3.SG how.many.O CLF people.O
 ‘How many people [do you need]?’

In combination with third-person possessive pronouns, only the oblique form can be used (168). The same structure with the absolute form creates a clause (169).

- (168) *uhan* (**uha*) *no*
 people.O 3.PL.POSS
 ‘Their people’

- (169) *uha* (**uhan*) *no*
 people.A 3.SG.POSS
 ‘S/he is a human being’

Following *uha/uhan*, the words *janton* ‘male’ and *tino* ‘female’ always appear in the oblique form (170)-(171).

- (170) *uha/uhan* *janton*
 people.A/O male.O
 1. ‘Male’
 2. ‘Men’
- (171) *uha/uhan* *tino*
 people.A/O female.O
 1. ‘Female’
 2. ‘Women’

6 Adjectival constructions

6.1 Introduction

Adjectives are defined as ‘the grammatical classification of words to refer to the main set of items which specify the attributes of nouns’ (Crystal 2008: 11). Unlike verbs, the qualities denoted by adjectives have semantic time stability. Dixon (1982) categorizes adjectives in English into dimensions (big, little, long, short, thick, thin, etc.), physical properties (hard, soft, hot, cold, sweet, sour, etc.), colors (black, white, green, etc.), human propensities (happy, generous, clever, proud, etc.), age (old, young, new, etc.), value (good, bad, excellent, fine) and speed (fast, slow, quick, etc.). In another publication, Dixon (1999: 7) adds that ‘comparison of small adjective classes across the languages of the world reveals a remarkable similarity of semantic content’. Needless to say, it should be kept in mind that some languages do lack certain adjective classes. In a wider Austronesian context, the existence of adjectives as a separate word class is subject to debate. In PT, however, adjectives can be shown to be a separate word class.

PT has a relatively small number of adjectives. In some cases, it is difficult to distinguish between adjectives and stative verbs, as the categories partly overlap. There are two syntactic positions of adjectives as attributes. The first position is within a relative clause. In this position, it is difficult to distinguish between adjectives and stative verbs. *Gəpeu?* is an adjective and *lahai* is a stative verb, yet they behave syntactically identical (1)–(2).

- (1) *uha ŋə gəpeu? lah datua*
 people.A REL fat.A already come.A
 ‘People who are fat have come’
- (2) *uha ŋə lahai lah datua*
 people.A REL run.A already come.A
 ‘People who ran have come’

The second position is adjacently after a head noun. In this position, an adjective can adjacently modify a head noun (3), whereas a stative verb cannot (4).

- (3) *uha* *gəpeu?* *lah* *datua*
 people.A fat.A already come.A
 ‘Fat people have come’
- (4) **uha* *lahai* *lah* *datua*
 people.A run.A already come.A

There are three additional ways in which adjectives behave differently from other lexical categories:⁷⁴ 1) Adjectives can be combined with degrees of comparison (i.e. *ləbih* ‘more’, *kuran* ‘less’, and *palin* ‘most’) as well as modifiers indicating excessiveness (i.e. *sajat* ‘very’, *amat* ‘very’ and *talampo* ‘too’); 2) Adjectives can be negated by *idua?* ‘not’; 3) Adjectives can occur in a morphological construction with the meaning ‘as X as possible’, where they are reduplicated and prefixed with *sa-*.

Furthermore, adjectives may be the head of an adjective phrase and can as such be combined with expressions indicating degree, either as compared to a standard of comparison, or without such a specification.

Adjectives display the general patterns of phrasal alternation presented in 1.7.4. This chapter describes the functions of adjectives (6.2), the distribution of the absolute and oblique forms (6.3), compound adjectives (6.4), degrees of quality (6.5) and reduplication of adjectives (6.6).

6.2 The functions of adjective constructions

Adjective phrases can occur as attributes (6.2.1), predicates (6.2.2) and adverbs (6.2.3).

6.2.1 as attributes

There are two positions in which adjectives can modify nouns; 1) in the adjacent position (bare attributive adjectives), or 2) within a relative clause. In both cases they follow the noun they modify.

Adjectives in the adjacent position directly follow the noun (5)–(6). No element can intervene between the head noun and adjective (7)–(8).

⁷⁴ See Moeliono and Dardjowidjojo (1988) on the same phenomenon in Indonesian. The PT examples given here are based on the Indonesian examples in their study and behave identically.

Elements such as demonstratives or possessors can follow the adjective (9)-(10).

- (5) *no mælei [tugu? putaih]_{NP}*
 3.SG ACT.buy.O hat.O white.A
 ‘S/he bought a white hat’
- (6) *kamai muwo [miʝo gədua]_{NP}*
 1.PL.EXCL ACT.bring.O table.O big.A
 ‘We brought a big table’
- (7) **kamai muwo [miʝo itoh gədua]_{NP}*
 1.PL.EXCL ACT.bring.O table.O itoh big.A
- (8) **kamai muwo [miʝo no gədua]_{NP}*
 1.PL.EXCL ACT.bring.O table.O 3.SG.POSS big.A
- (9) *kamai muwo [miʝo gədon itoh]_{NP}*
 1.PL.EXCL ACT.bring.O table.O big.O itoh
 ‘We brought that big table’
- (10) *kamai muwo [miʝo gədon no]_{NP}*
 1.PL.EXCL ACT.bring.O table.O big.O 3.SG.POSS
 ‘We brought her/his big table’

PT allows multiple adjectives to occur in compound words (Anwar et al. 1984).⁷⁵ In some compounds, two adjectives may occur adjacently, as can be seen in examples (11)-(14).

- (11) *itam manaih*
 black.O sweet.A
 ‘Dark brown complexion [considered attractive]’
- (12) *gədon tiŋgai*
 big.O tall.A
 ‘Well-built’

⁷⁵ This is not possible in TPM (Mckinnon 2011).

- (13) *gəpuʔ pandaʔ*
fat.O short.A
'Plump'

- (14) *puteih kunan*
white.O yellow.A
'Olive-colored'

The second syntactic position in which adjectives can occur attributively is within a relative clause, in which the adjective follows the relative marker *ŋə* (15)–(16).

- (15) *tugeuʔ [ŋə putaih]_{RC}*
hat.A REL white.A
'A hat which is white'

- (16) *miʒua [ŋə gədua]_{RC}*
table.A REL big.A
'A table which is big'

The relative marker is also used when an adjective is 'extended' with another adjective, which cannot form a compound with the first one.⁷⁶ In this construction, *ŋə* intervenes between the first and the second adjective (17). Within a relative clause, adjectives need to be directly adjacent to the noun, as other elements such as a relative clause with a verbal predicate (18) or a prepositional phrase predicate (19) may occur in this position. The third-person possessor occurs directly after a head noun before a relative clause (20).

- (17) *talei panya ŋə ita*
rope.O long.A REL black.A
'The black long rope'

- [Someone was mad and threw things around her/him away]
(18) *no ŋimoʔ piŋga [ŋə [tərbua]_V]_{RC}*
3.SG ACT.look.O plate.A REL fly.A
'S/he saw a plate which was flying'

⁷⁶ Kaswanti Purwo (1983) observes the same phenomenon in Indonesian.

- (19) *no ηimoʔ tugeuʔ*
 3.SG ACT.look.O hat.A

[ηə [keʔ muko umah]_{PP}]_{RC}
 REL in front house.A
 ‘S/he sees a hat which is in front of the house’
- (20) *ali muwo [[mijo*
 PN ACT.bring.O table.O

no]_{CS} [ηə gədua]_{RC}]_{NP}
 3.SG.POSS REL big.A
 ‘Ali brought his table which is big’

In the adjacent position, the adjective modifies the head noun without additional implications (21). A relative clause puts contrastive emphasis on the quality of the noun it modifies (22).

- (21) *akau məlei mijo gədua*
 1.SG ACT.buy.O table.O big.A
 ‘I bought a big table’
- (22) *akau məlei mijua ηə gədua*
 1.SG ACT.buy.O table.A REL big.A

ijuaʔ ηə naeʔ
 NEG REL small.A
 ‘I bought a table which is big, not a small one’

In compound words, the omission of *ηə* can change the meaning of an utterance from a literal one (23)-(25) to a fixed metaphoric meaning alongside a literal one (24)-(26).⁷⁷ In these idiomatic noun phrases, the adjective does not alternate and always takes the absolute form (27), whereas in compositional noun phrases the oblique form is required under the general rules of phrasal alternation presented in 1.7.4 (28).

⁷⁷ On a similar vein, Steinhauer (1992: 432) observes that in Indonesian ‘the *yang*-less constructions often acquire a compound-like status’. *Yang* is the relative marker in Indonesian, more or less corresponding to PT *ηə*.

- (23) *baɟu ɲə iɟua*
 shirt.O REL green.A
 ‘The shirt which is green’
- (24) *baɟu iɟua*
 shirt.O green.A
 1. ‘A green shirt’
 2. ‘A soldier’
- (25) *baɟu ɲə kunan*
 shirt.O REL yellow.A
 ‘The shirt which is yellow’
- (26) *baɟu kunan*
 shirt.O yellow.A
 1. ‘A yellow shirt’
 2. ‘A policeman’
- (27) *baɟu kunan (*kunin) ɲo*
 shirt.O yellow.A 3.SG.POSS
 ‘Her/his policeman’
 *‘Her/his yellow shirt’
- (28) *baɟu iɟo (*iɟua) itoh*
 shirt.O green.O itoh
 ‘That green shirt’
 *‘That soldier’

6.2.2 as predicates

As predicates, adjectives typically occur in the absolute form (29)-(30).

- (29) *anoʔ ɲo pandae (*pande)*
 child.O 3.SG.POSS able.A
 ‘Her/his child is smart’
- (30) *apo ɲə di-pake ɲo iɟuaʔ ilauʔ (*ilouʔ)*
 what REL PASS-wear.O 3.SG NEG good.A
 ‘What s/he wore was not good’

6.2.3 as adverbs

Adjectives can be used adverbially, describing the manner an action is executed (31)-(32). This is known as ‘manner adverbial’ and will be discussed in detail in 8.7.3.

- (31) *burun itoh tərbon tɪŋgai*
 bird.O itoh fly.O high.A
 ‘That bird flies high’

- (32) *no makan nasai cəpaʔ-cəpaʔ*
 3.SG eat.O rice.A RED-fast.A
 ‘S/he eats rice fast’

6.3 ABS-OBL distribution of adjectives

This section discusses the distribution of the absolute forms (6.3.1) and oblique forms (6.3.2).

6.3.1 ABS adjective roots

The absolute form is used when an adjective root stands on its own without any preceding or following element (33). In this position, an adjective in the oblique form functions as a noun (34).⁷⁸

- (33) *panya (*panyan)*
 long.A
 ‘Long’

- (34) *panyan (*panya)*
 long.O
 ‘[Its] length’

In final position, adjectives can be used attributively (35) and predicatively (36), requiring the absolute form. If the adjective is predicative it is outside the noun phrase. The occurrence of *na* ‘really’ also requires the absolute form (37).

⁷⁸ The nominalization of adjectives is discussed in more detail in 5.8.1.

- (35) [What kind of rope do you need for rock climbing?]
talei panya
 rope.O long.A
 ‘A long rope’
- (36) *talei itoh panya*
 rope.O itoh long.A
 ‘That rope is long’
- (37) *ilau? na umoh kajao*
 good.A really house.O 2.SG.POSS
 ‘Very nice is your house’ [Lit.]
 ‘Your house is very nice’

6.3.2 OBL adjective roots

As discussed in 5.4.1, an attributive adjective is one of the basic constituents of the Core Structure of a noun phrase and can be followed by other constituents of the same NP, such as a possessor or a demonstrative. The adjective occurs in the oblique form when directly followed by other constituents (38)-(39). The oblique form is also used in combination with an omitted possessor understood from the context (40).

- (38) *baju bahu itoh*
 shirt.O new.O itoh
 ‘That new shirt’
- (39) *baju bahu na*
 shirt.O new.O 3.SG.POSS
 ‘Her/his new shirt’
- (40) *baju bahu*
 shirt.O new.O
 ‘[Her/his/their/our/my] new shirt’

An adjective preceded by an adverb of quality or degree, other than *na* ‘really’, triggers the oblique form. Examples include *maliwa?* ‘too’, *saŋat* ‘very’, *bukon maae* ‘remarkably’, *bijeh* ‘very’ and *talampo* ‘too’ (41)-(45).

- (41) *maliwa?* *ubo* *ira*
 too dumb.O PN
 ‘Ira is too dumb’
- (42) *saɲat* *pande* *ano?* *ikao*
 very.O able.O child.O 2.SG.POSS
 ‘Your child is very smart’
- (43) *bukon maae* *gədon* *umoh* *ɲo*
 remarkably big.O house.O 3.SG.POSS
 ‘Her/his house is remarkably big’
- (44) *bijeh* *suwe?* *tino* *itoh*
 very fussy.O grandmother.O itoh
 ‘That old woman is very fussy’
- (45) *kupei* *ineh* *talampo* *maneih*
 coffee.O ineh too sweet.O
 ‘This coffee is too sweet’

Morphological environments also trigger the oblique form, i.e. *kabəno?* ‘too many/too much’, *kailou?-ilou?* ‘to act as if s/he is pretty’, etc., as will be discussed later in this chapter.

6.4 Compound adjectives

As mentioned previously, adjective roots can form compounds. Note that some of these compounds consist of two antonyms and function as noun phrases (Table 6.1).

Root	Compound
<i>baoi?</i> / <i>bai?</i> ‘good’, <i>buheu?</i> / <i>buhu?</i> ‘bad’	<i>bai?</i> <i>buhu?</i> good.O bad.O ‘good and bad’ <i>*baoi?</i> <i>buheu?</i>
<i>tuwao/tuwo</i> ‘old’, <i>mudea/mudo</i> ‘young’	<i>tuwo</i> <i>mudo</i> old.O young.O ‘all ages’ <i>*tuwao</i> <i>mudea</i>

Table 6.1. Adjective₁-adjective₂ compounds

In these adjective₁-adjective₂ compounds, both words appear in the oblique form (46)–(47).

- (46) *bai?* *buhu?* *patau?* *di-pikei*
 good.O bad.O should.A PASS-think.O
 ‘The good and the bad sides should be considered’
- (47) *tuwo* *mudo* *lah* *nuhau?* *galo*
 old.O young.O already ACT.follow.A all
 ‘All ages have joined it’

The other compound adjective is Adjective₁-Noun₂, which can express either ‘ADJ with the character of Noun₂’ or ‘ADJ restricted to Noun₂’. The noun limits the referent of the adjective in the former type of compound, whereas it limits the applicability of the adjective in the latter. These compounds do not follow the general patterns of alternation presented in 1.7.4. Adjectives with the character of Noun₂ take the oblique form, whereas adjectives with restriction to nouns exhibit an adjective in the absolute and a noun in the oblique form (Table 6.2).

Adjective ₁ -Noun ₂ (ADJ with the character of noun ₂)	Adjective ₁ -Noun ₂ (ADJ restricted to nouns)
<i>gilo</i> <i>ajei</i> crazy.O water.O ‘Of unsound mind’ (* <i>gilea ajai</i>)	<i>panya</i> <i>muncun</i> long.A mouth.O ‘Loose-tongued’ (* <i>panyan muncau</i>)
<i>pako?</i> <i>bado?</i> deaf.O rhinoceros.O ‘Rather deaf’ (* <i>paka? badua?</i>)	<i>panya</i> <i>jahi</i> long.A finger.O ‘Light-fingered’ (* <i>panyan jahoi</i>)
	<i>alauh</i> <i>kice?</i> soft.A speech.O ‘Soft-spoken’ (* <i>alauh kicae?</i>)
	<i>buseu?</i> <i>atei</i> stink.A heart.O ‘Envious’ (* <i>busu? atai</i>)

Table 6.2. Adjective₁-Noun₂

6.5 Degrees of quality

PT constructions to express degrees of quality are discussed in detail in the following sections (Table 6.3). These degree constructions can only be used as predicates, with the exception of the superlative with the prefix *ta-*, which can also be used attributively.

‘More than’	
1	ADJ + <i>daripado</i> + X
2	<i>lābih</i> + ADJ (+ <i>daripado</i> + X)
‘Equal to’	
1	<i>samo</i> + ADJ (+ <i>diŋan</i> + X)
2	<i>sa-</i> + ADJ + X
‘Less than’	
1	<i>kuran</i> + ADJ (+ <i>daripado</i> + X)
‘Intensification over time’	
1	<i>makin</i> + ADJ
2	<i>makin</i> + ADJ ₁ + <i>makin</i> + ADJ ₂

Table 6.3. Degree of quality expressed by ADJ

6.5.1 ‘More than’

This construction indicates that the bearer of the quality expressed by the adjective has more of it than other entities, either mentioned or implied.

6.5.1.1 ADJ + *daripado* + X

This construction is ∞ -comparative. The adjective is used on its own without a degree of quality. The adjective occurs in the absolute form (48)-(50).

- (48) *tingai akau daripado ŋo*
 tall.A 1.SG than 3.SG
 ‘I am taller than her/him’

- (49) *tābua ineh daripado itoh*
 thick.A ineh than itoh
 ‘This is thicker than that’

- (50) *nona maja toh, toh muhah bəli ŋo*
 nona maya toh toh cheap.A buy.O 3.SG

 muhah nona maja toh pado solo? putaih
 cheap.A nona maya toh than solok putaih.A
 ‘Nona Maya, that is cheap. The price of Nona Maya is cheaper
 than Solok Putaih’
 [fc10.159]

6.5.1.2 *lambah* + ADJ (+ *daripado* + X)

This degree is formed by using *lebih* ‘more’. The adjective appears in the absolute form (51)-(52). Optionally, ‘*daripado* ‘than’ + X’ can be added. In this case, both entities are mentioned (53)-(54).

- (51) *uto* *no* *lambah* *maha*
 car 3.SG.POSS more.O expensive.A
 ‘Her/his car is more expensive’

- (52) *umoh* *no* *lambah* *tana*
 house.O 3.SG.POSS more.O quiet.A
 ‘Her/his house is quieter’

- (53) *ηə* *ineh* *lambah* *jəloah*
 REL ineh more.O clear.A

daripado *ηə* *itoh*
 than REL itoh
 ‘This one is clearer than that one’

- (54) *rini* *lambah* *tinggai* *daripado* *akau*
 PN more.O tall.A than 1.SG
 ‘Rini is taller than me’

6.5.2 ‘Equal to’

This construction indicates that the bearer of the quality expressed has this quality to the same degree as the standard of comparison. *Samo* ‘same’ is used when there are two entities with the same quality whereas *sa-* denotes reflexivity.

6.5.2.1 *samo* + ADJ (+ *diŋan* + X)

This degree compares two entities and is indicated by using *samo* + ADJ. The adjective appears in the oblique form (55)-(56). The preposition ‘*diŋan* ‘with’ + X’ can also be added (57).

- (55) *kamai samo pande*
 1.PL.EXCL same able.O
 1. 'We are equally clever [as each other]'
 2. 'We are equally clever [as someone else]'
- (56) *samo tingei uha duwea itoh*
 same tall.O people.A two.A itoh
 'Those two people are equally tall [as each other]'
- (57) *karita di balandea samo ilou?*
 cart.A in Holland.A same good.O

diʔan di ʔerman
 with in Germany
 'Trains in Holland are as good as in Germany'

6.5.2.2 *sa-* + ADJ + X

The construction with the prefix *sa-* also indicates that the bearer of the quality expressed by the adjective has that quality to the same degree as the standard. The standard can be a noun or pronoun, a noun phrase or an expression of place or time. This construction indicates reflexivity (58)-(60). The adjective appears in the oblique form.

- (58) *umoh no sa-gədon itoh*
 house.O 3.SG.POSS COMP-big.O itoh
 'Her/his house is as big as that'
- (59) *pajah nalo? uha*
 difficult.A ACT.search.for people.A

sa-bai? dijea
 COMP-good.O 3.SG
 'It is hard to find someone who is as kind as her/him'
- (60) *dano kincai sa-ilou? duleu*
 lake.O kerinci.A COMP-good.O in.the.past.A
 'Lake Kerinci is as beautiful as before'

6.5.3 ‘Less than’

This construction marks a lesser degree of the quality expressed by the adjective as compared to the standard of comparison.

6.5.3.1 *kuran* + ADJ (+ *daripado* + X)

After *kuran* ‘less’, the adjective appears in the oblique form (61)-(62). The preposition ‘*daripado* ‘than’ + X’ can be added to the construction (63)-(65).

- (61) *sapatou ineh kuran gədon*
 shoes ineh less.O big.O
 ‘These shoes are less big’
- (62) [An old lady can no longer hear well]
kalo uŋua-uŋua toh kuran jəleh
 if RED-soft.A toh less.O clear.O
 ‘If [a sound] is soft, it is less clear’
 [fc4.091]
- (63) *ladon no kuran bərsih*
 field.O 3.SG.POSS less.O clean.O

daripado ladon kamai
 than field.O 1.PL.EXCL.POSS
 ‘Her/his field is less clean than our field’
- (64) *uha sinei kuran kajo*
 people.A here less.O rich.O

daripado di jawea
 than in Java.A
 ‘People are less rich here than in Java’
- (65) *baŋu no kuran*
 shirt.O 3.SG.POSS less.O

bərsih daripada pətan
 clean.O than yesterday
 ‘Her/his shirt [today] is less clean than yesterday’

If the adjective has an antonym, the antonym in combination with *ləbih* ‘more’ can also be used. In this case, the antonym occurs in the absolute (66). Conversely, the use of *kuran* ‘less’ is often seen as more polite when dealing with adjectives with negative connotations.⁷⁹ For example, ‘less beautiful’ (67) is more polite than ‘uglier’ (68). The latter sentence is grammatically acceptable, but socially intolerable, as would be the case cross-linguistically.

- (66) *ujian pətan ləbih pajah*
exam yesterday more.O difficult.A

daripado ujian tadeh
than exam just.now
‘Yesterday’s exam was more difficult than the one just now’

- (67) *siti kuran ilou? di-bandin*
PN less.O good.O PASS-compare.O

diʔan adi? no
with younger.sibling.O 3.SG.POSS
‘Siti is less beautiful compared to her sister’ [but they’re both beautiful]

- (68) *siti ləbih buheu? daripado*
PN more.O ugly.A than

adi? no
younger.sibling.O 3.SG.POSS
‘Siti is uglier than her sister’ [they’re both ugly]

6.5.4 Intensification over time

The following two constructions express that a given quality or intensity decreases or increases over time.

⁷⁹ See Moeliono and Dardjowidjojo (1988) on the same phenomenon in Indonesian.

6.5.4.1 *makin* + ADJ

Preceded by *makin* ‘ever more’, the adjective appears in the absolute form (69), even if followed by a demonstrative (70).

- (69) *harto* *no* *makin* *baɲuaʔ*
 wealth.O 3.SG.POSS ever.more many/much.A
 ‘Her/his wealth increases ever more’
- (70) *harto* *ŋə* *makin* *baɲuaʔ* *itoh*
 wealth.O REL ever.more many/much.A itoh
 ‘The wealth that is ever increasing’

6.5.4.2 *makin* + ADJ₁ + *makin* + ADJ₂

This construction expresses increasing or decreasing degree of both the first and the second adjective, both of which occur in the absolute form (71)-(72).

- (71) *makin* *lamao* *no* *nulaih*
 ever.more long.A 3.SG ACT.write.A
- makin* *ilauʔ* *tuleih* *no*
 ever.more good.A write.O 3.SG.POSS
 ‘The more s/he writes, the better her/his writing becomes’
- (72) *no* *makin* *kajao*
 3.SG ever.more rich.A
- makin* *sumbau*
 ever.more arrogant.A
 ‘The richer s/he gets, the more arrogant s/he becomes’

6.5.5 Superlatives with *palin* and *ta-*

The superlative construction implies that one entity has the highest degree of a quality denoted by the adjective as compared to other bearers of the same quality in a given context or frame of reference. A superlative is formed either by *palin* + ADJ ‘the most ADJ’ with an oblique root (73)-(74), or by the prefix *ta-* + ADJ ‘the most ADJ’ with an absolute root (75). Although the latter occurs in PT, it is presumably borrowed from Malay; the former construction is preferred. *Palin* is also more productive than the prefix *ta-* since it can be combined with any adjective. The prefix *ta-* cannot precede a

number of adjectives, such as *bahajea* ‘dangerous’, *səna* ‘happy’, *buheu?* ‘ugly’ etc. (76)-(77).

- (73) *itoh lah palin ilou? kaae*
 itoh PART SUPL good.O clothes.A
 ‘Those were the best clothes’
 [fc4.175]
- (74) *...ineh sajou ŋə palin tiŋgei sərət*
 ...ineh vegetable REL SUPL high.O fiber
 ‘This is vegetable that has the highest amount of fiber’
 [fc6.026]
- (75) *kudo no ta-cəpa?*
 horse.O 3.SG.POSS SUPL.fast.A
 ‘Her/his horse was the fastest’
- (76) *gunun kincai ŋə*
 mountain.O kerinci.A REL

*palin bahajo (*ta-bahajea)*
 SUPL dangerous.O
 ‘Kerinci mountain is the most dangerous’
- (77) *no ŋə palin kəreh (*ta-kəraeh) kapalo*
 3.SG REL SUPL hard.O head.O
 ‘S/he is the most stubborn person’

6.5.6 Excessives with *ka*-OBL

The circumfix *ka*-OBL occurs with a small number of adjectives to indicate that the quality denoted by the adjectival root is excessive (Table 6.4). This derivational morphology only appears in the oblique form.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ It corresponds with the Malay circumfix *ke...an*; the oblique form in PT replaces the earlier suffix **-an* (also section 5.5).

Root	Derivational form
<i>baŋuaʔ/baŋoʔ</i> ‘many/much’	<i>kabaŋoʔ</i> ‘too many/too much’
<i>bəruaʔ/bərot</i> ‘heavy’	<i>kabərot</i> ‘too heavy’
<i>gədua/gədon</i> ‘big’	<i>kagədon</i> ‘too big’
<i>maha/mahan</i> ‘expensive’	<i>kamahan</i> ‘too expensive’
<i>manaih/maneih</i> ‘sweet’	<i>kamaneih</i> ‘too sweet’
<i>panya/panyan</i> ‘long’	<i>kapanyan</i> ‘too long’

Table 6.4. *ka-OBL*

The circumfix *ka-OBL* construction can appear predicatively (78). It also functions as a predicate within a relative clause (79).

- (78) *kupei* *ineh* *ka-maneih*
 coffee.O ineh too-sweet.O
 ‘This coffee is too sweet’

- (79) *umoh* *ŋə* *ka-mahan*
 house.O REL too-expensive.O

itoh *iŋuaʔ* *lakai*
 itoh NEG marketable.A
 ‘The house which is too expensive is unmarketable’

6.6 Reduplication of adjectives

This section addresses reduplication of adjectives: bare adjective reduplication (6.6.1) and reduplication with *ka-OBL* (6.6.2).

6.6.1 Bare reduplication

Reduplication of adjectives expresses plurality with implied variety of the quality expressed by the reduplicated adjective (80). Non-reduplicated adjectives, by contrast, mark unspecifiedness of number/variety (81). Both constituents occur in the absolute form.

- (80) *ladon* *uha* *rijo* *patai* *luwaeh-luwaeh*
 field.O people.A rio.O patai.A RED-wide.A
 ‘The fields of the Rio Patai people are wide’

- (81) *ladon uha rijo patai luwaeh*
 field.O people.A rio.O patai.A wide.A
 1. 'The field of the Rio Patai people is wide' [all share one field]
 2. 'The fields of the Rio Patai people are wide' [they have an unspecified number of fields]

A reduplicated adjective can occur predicatively (82) or attributively (83)-(84), in which case it adjacently follows the head noun or relative clause.

- (82) *ano? esteem jahua?-jahua?*
 child.O STM RED-criminal.A
 'STM students are immoral'
- (83) *gunoi alauh-alauh itoh kaan*
 gunny.A RED-soft.A itoh clothes.A
 'Soft gunnies were the clothes' [Lit.]
 'We wore gunny rags'
- (84) *ano? ηə jahua?-jahua? itoh*
 child.O REL RED-criminal.A itoh
- di-taŋkat pulisi*
 PASS-arrest.O police
 'The kids who were immoral were arrested by the police'

As part of a predicate, reduplicated adjectives can function adverbially. Both constituents of the reduplication occur in the absolute form (85)-(86).

- (85) *no ba-jalua koah-koah*
 3.SG VBLZ-road.A RED-fast.A
 'S/he walks fast'
- (86) *dijea ba-kicae? lamba?-lamba?*
 3.SG VBLZ-speech.A RED-slow.A
 'S/he speaks slowly'

6.6.2 Reduplication with *ka-* + OBL

6.6.2.1 with adjectives

The prefix *ka-* with a reduplicated adjectival root expresses that agent acts as if s/he has the quality denoted by the adjective, whereas in reality this is not the case. The derived reduplicated forms can only occur as oblique (Table 6.5).

Root	Reduplication form
<i>batinao/batino</i> ‘female’	<i>kabatino-tino</i> ‘to act feminine’
<i>jantua/janton</i> ‘male’	<i>kajanton-janton</i> ‘to act masculine’
<i>ilau²/ilou²</i> ‘good, attractive’	<i>kailou²-ilou²</i> ‘to act pretty’
<i>manjo</i> ‘spoiled’	<i>kamanyo-manjo</i> ‘to act spoiled’
<i>mudea/mudo</i> ‘young’	<i>kamudo-mudo</i> ‘to act young’
<i>ubea/ubo</i> ‘dumb’	<i>kaubo-ubo</i> ‘to act dumb’

Table 6.5. *ka-* + reduplicated adjectives

Ka- + OBL typically functions as a predicate (87)–(88). Besides, it also functions as a predicate within a relative clause. The relative clause, then, attributively modifies the head noun *gadih* ‘girl’ and *nantan* ‘grandfather’ respectively (89)–(90).

- (87) *no ka-ilou²-ilou²*
 3.SG ADJ-RED-good.O
 ‘S/he is acting [as if s/he is] pretty’
- (88) *nantan itoh ka-mudo-mudo*
 grandfather.O itoh ADJ-RED-young.O
 ‘That old man acts young’
- (89) *gadih ηə ka-ilou²-ilou² itoh naηaih*
 girl.O REL ADJ-RED-good.O itoh ACT.cry.A
 ‘The girl who is acting [as if she is] pretty is crying’
- (90) *nantan ηə ka-mudo-mudo*
 grandfather.O REL ADJ-RED-young.O
- itoh gatua*
 itoh flirt.A
 ‘The old man who acts young flirts’

6.6.2.2 with color adjectives

A reduplicated color adjective in combination with the prefix *ka-* expresses the reduced presence or intensity of a color (Table 6.6). Note that not all colors can occur in this construction (**kalabu-labu* ‘grayish’, **kabiru-biru* ‘bluish’).

Root	Reduplication form
<i>abua/abon</i> ‘red’	<i>kaabon-abon</i> ‘reddish’
<i>iyua/ijo</i> ‘green’	<i>kaijo-ijo</i> ‘greenish’
<i>ita/itan</i> ‘black’	<i>kaita-itan</i> ‘blackish’
<i>kunan/kunin</i> ‘yellow’	<i>kakunin-kunin</i> ‘yellowish’
<i>putaih/puteih</i> ‘white’	<i>kaputeih-puteih</i> ‘whitish’

Table 6.6. *ka-* + reduplicated color adjectives

The resulting forms can be used predicatively (91). In (92), *ka-* + OBL is a predicate within the relative clause. The relative clause is an attribute that modifies the head noun *daun* ‘leaf’. In both cases, they can only occur in the oblique form. Note that *kaita-itan* ‘blackish’ is exceptional; the first adjective occurs in the absolute form and the second in the oblique form (93).

- (91) *baɟu no ka-kunin-kunin*
 shirt.O 3.SG.POSS ADJ-RED-yellow.O
 ‘Her/his shirt is yellowish’

- (92) *daun ŋə ka-ijo-ijo*
 leaf.O REL ADJ-RED-green.O

itoh di-pətei? no
 itoh PASS-pick.O 3.SG
 ‘The leaf which is greenish was pick by her/him’

- (93) *kuwalei ka-ita-itan itoh kumauh*
 frypan.O ADJ-RED-black.A/O itoh dirty.A
 ‘That blackish fry pan is dirty’

6.6.2.3 with nouns

The prefix *ka-* in combination with a reduplicated noun yields an adjective denoting behavior in a way typical for the referent of the noun (Table 6.7).

Root	Reduplication form
<i>anjaeʔ/anjeʔ</i> ‘dog’	<i>kaanjeʔ-anjeʔ</i> ‘to act dog-like’
<i>binatua/binaton</i> ‘animal’	<i>kabinaton-naton</i> ⁸¹ ‘to act animal-like’
<i>indauʔ/indouʔ</i> ‘mother’	<i>kaindouʔ-indouʔ</i> ‘to act motherly’
<i>minan</i> ‘minangkabau’	<i>kaminan-minan</i> ‘to act Minangkabau-ish’ ⁸²

Table 6.7. *ka-* + reduplicated nouns

This form can function as a predicate (94)–(95). It is also a predicate within a relative clause (96). In both cases, only the oblique form is used.

- (94) *no ka-minan-minan*
 3.SG ADJ-RED-Minangkabau
 ‘S/he acts Minangkabau-ish’
- (95) *paraŋe no ka-anjeʔ-anjeʔ*
 behavior.O 3.SG.POSS ADJ-RED-dog.O
 ‘S/he behaves dog-like’
- (96) *nantan ŋə ka-minan-minan*
 grandfather.O REL ADJ-RED-Minangkabau
- itoh tideu inei*
 itoh sleep.A here
 ‘The Minangkabau-ish old man slept here’

⁸¹ Note that only the last two syllables are reduplicated.

⁸² In this context, it means using a Minangkabau-like intonation or lexicon.

7 Numeral constructions

7.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to present the distribution of phrasal alternation in numerals. The PT numeral system consists of a core of morphologically simple and compound words with a purely quantifying meaning (cardinal numerals) and several series of derived forms on the basis of these cardinal numerals by reduplication and/or affixation.

Phrasal alternation in numeral phrases generally behaves similar to noun phrases and adjective phrases, yet several details and exceptions make numeral phrases worth exploring in depth. This chapter covers cardinal numerals (7.2), classifiers (7.3), partitives (7.4), the phonological effects of G-phoneme (7.5), derived numeral constructions (7.6), indefinite quantifiers (7.7) and obsolete currencies (7.8).

7.2 Cardinal numerals

Cardinal numerals refer to the class of numerals *one*, *two*, etc. (Crystal 1980). They are used to specify the quantity of entities being counted. The cardinal numerals in PT consist of:

- 1) The Dutch loanword *nol* ‘zero’.
- 2) A set of free morphemes for the integers.
- 3) A bound morpheme meaning ‘+10’ (used for the numbers 11-19).
- 4) A set of bound morphemes for the following powers of 10: 10^1 , 10^2 , 10^3 and 10^6 .

The bound morpheme *sa-* ‘one’ can be prefixed to members of the latter two subsets, as well as classifiers (7.3) and partitives (7.4). All other cardinal numerals are combinations of the latter three subsets, as will be demonstrated below. First we will discuss the numbers 1-9 (Table 7.1).

	Absolute	Oblique
one '1'	<i>satau</i>	<i>satou</i>
two '2'	<i>duwea</i>	<i>duwo</i>
three '3'	<i>tigea</i>	<i>tigo</i>
four '4'	<i>əmpaʔ</i>	<i>əmpeʔ</i>
five '5'	<i>limao</i>	<i>limo</i>
six '6'	<i>əna</i>	<i>ənan</i>
seven '7'	<i>tɕeuh</i>	<i>tɕuh</i>
eight '8'	<i>lapa</i>	<i>lapan</i>
nine '9'	<i>sambilua</i>	<i>sambilan</i>

Table 7.1. Basic numeral units

The numerals '11-19' are compounds consisting of compounds of the bound form *bəloah.A/bəleh.O* '+10' preceded by one of the units of the first subset (Table 7.2). Note that *satau/satou* can only be used as a non-compound cardinal number. In compounds, the prefix *sa-* must be used instead for '1'. As mentioned in 2.3.4, the word-final /n/ in '6', '8' and '9' assimilates to the place of articulation of the initial consonant of the following numeral.

	Absolute	Oblique
eleven '11'	<i>sa-bəloah.A</i>	<i>sa-bəleh.O</i>
twelve '12'	<i>duwo.O bəloah.A</i>	<i>duwo.O bəleh.O</i>
thirteen '13'	<i>tigo.O bəloah.A</i>	<i>tigo.O bəleh.O</i>
fourteen '14'	<i>əmpeʔ.O bəloah.A</i>	<i>əmpeʔ.O bəleh.O</i>
fifteen '15'	<i>limo.O bəloah.A</i>	<i>limo.O bəleh.O</i>
sixteen '16'	<i>ənam.O bəloah.A</i>	<i>ənam.O bəleh.O</i>
seventeen '17'	<i>tɕuh.O bəloah.A</i>	<i>tɕuh.O bəleh.O</i>
eighteen '18'	<i>lapam.O bəloah.A</i>	<i>lapam.O bəleh.O</i>
nineteen '19'	<i>sambilam.O bəloah.A</i>	<i>sambilam.O bəleh.O</i>

Table 7.2. Numerals 11-19

The next subset consists of numerals of the types 'x 10', 'x 10²', 'x 10³' and 'x 10⁶' (Table 7.3). Note that there is no ABS-OBL opposition for 'x 10⁶', which is borrowed from Malay.

	Absolute	Oblique
ten 'x 10 ¹ '	<i>pulauh</i>	<i>puluh</i>
a hundred 'x 10 ² '	<i>ratauh</i>	<i>ratuh</i>
a thousand 'x 10 ³ '	<i>ribeu</i>	<i>ribu</i>
a million 'x 10 ⁶ '	<i>juta</i>	

Table 7.3. x 10¹, x 10², x 10³, x 10⁶

Table 7.4 displays the combination of the subsets. Note that the occurrence of G-phonemes affects the shape of the final numerals in the series 'x 10²', i.e. *duwo rateuh* 'two hundred' vs. *əmpe? ratauh* 'four hundred' etc. Curiously enough, a similar affect is not observed with '+10' nor with 'x 10¹', 'x 10³' and 'x 10⁶'.

	Absolute	Oblique
ten '1 x 10 ¹ '	<i>sa-pulauh</i>	<i>sa-puluh</i>
twenty '2 x 10 ¹ '	<i>duwo pulauh</i>	<i>duwo puluh</i>
thirty '3 x 10 ¹ '	<i>tigo pulauh</i>	<i>tigo puluh</i>
ninety '9 x 10 ¹ '	<i>sambilam pulauh</i>	<i>sambilam puluh</i>
a hundred '1 x 10 ² '	<i>sa-ratauh</i>	<i>sa-ratuh</i>
two hundred '2 x 10 ² '	<i>duwo rateuh</i>	<i>duwo ratuh</i>
three hundred '3 x 10 ² '	<i>tigo rateuh</i>	<i>tigo ratuh</i>
four hundred '4 x 10 ² '	<i>əmpe? ratauh</i>	<i>əmpe? ratuh</i>
six hundred '6 x 10 ² '	<i>ənar ratauh</i>	<i>ənar ratuh</i>
seven hundred '7 x 10 ² '	<i>tujuh rateuh</i>	<i>tujuh ratuh</i>
eight hundred '8 x 10 ² '	<i>lapar ratauh</i>	<i>lapar ratuh</i>
a thousand '1 x 10 ³ '	<i>sa-ribeu</i>	<i>sa-ribu</i>
three thousand '3 x 10 ³ '	<i>tigo ribeu</i>	<i>tigo ribu</i>
eleven thousand '(1+10) x 10 ³ '	<i>sa-bəleh ribeu</i>	<i>sa-bəleh ribu</i>
two hundred thousand '(2 x 10 ²) x 10 ³ '	<i>duwo ratuh ribeu</i>	<i>duwo ratuh ribu</i>
one million '1 x 10 ⁶ '	<i>sa-juta</i>	
four million '4 x 10 ⁶ '	<i>əmpe? juta</i>	
eleven thousand million '(1+10) x 10 ³ x 10 ⁶ '	<i>sa-bəleh ribu juta</i>	
two hundred thousand million '2 x 10 ² x 10 ³ x 10 ⁶ '	<i>duwo ratuh ribu juta</i>	

Table 7.4. The combination of the subsets

7.2.1 Composite numerals

Other numerals are compounds consisting of the numerals discussed above. The general structure is: $\pm$ (quantification. x 10⁶) $\pm$ (quantification. x 10³) $\pm$ (quantification. x 10²) $\pm$ (quantification. x 10¹) $\pm$ (unit + 10) $\pm$ unit. Note that

non-final numerals always occur in the oblique form, whereas phrasal-final numerals are absolute (1)-(6).

- (1) *sambilam puluh limao*
 nine.O $\times 10^1$.O five.A
 ‘Ninety five’
- (2) *tigo ratus tujuh puluh ana*
 three.O $\times 10^2$.O seven.O $\times 10^1$.O six.A
 ‘Three hundred and seventy six’
- (3) *tujuh ratus duwo pulauh*
 seven.O $\times 10^2$.O two.O $\times 10^1$.A
 ‘Seven hundred and twenty’
- (4) *enar ratus duwea*
 six.O $\times 10^2$.O two.A
 ‘Six hundred and two’
- (5) *tujuh ribu sambilar ratus lapa*
 seven.O $\times 10^3$.O nine.O $\times 10^2$.O eight.A
 ‘Seven thousand nine hundred and eight’
- (6) *kalo solo? putaih toh sa-ratus enam pulauh*
 if solok putaih toh one. $\times 10^2$ six.O $\times 10^1$.A

uleu nona.maja sa-ratus ampe? ulauh
 in.the.past.A PN one. $\times 10^2$ four.O $\times 10^1$.A
 ‘[The price of] *Solok Putaih* was one hundred and sixty
 [thousand rupiah] in the past [whereas the price of] *Nona*
Maya was one hundred and forty [thousand rupiah]’
 [fc10.160]

7.2.2 Cardinal numerals in use

Cardinal numerals are used for quantifying (7.2.2.1), calculating (7.2.2.2), ranking (7.2.2.3) and telephone numbers (7.2.2.4). They can also be used as nouns (7.2.2.5).

7.2.2.1 Quantifying

The main characteristic of cardinal numerals is their use as quantifiers. As such, they precede the quantified element and their final constituents appear in the absolute form. There is a clear intonational break between the numeral and the quantified element in example (7), whereas there is no break in examples (8) and (9). The presence of an intonational break indicates whether the numeral and the quantified element occur as a clause or as a phrase.

- (7) *lah* *limao* *umah* *ɲə* *aboih*
 already five.A house.A REL finish.A
 ‘Already five, houses that are finished’ [Lit.]
 ‘Five houses had burned down’ [Dyn.]
 [fc5.014]
- (8) *tigo* *ratuh* *tujəuh* *umah*
 three.O x10².O seven.A house.A
 ‘Three hundred and seven houses’
- (9) *limo* *ribu* *limo* *ratuh*
 five.O x10³.O five.O 10².O
- duwo* *puluh* *tigea* *ladua*
 two.O 10¹.O three.A field.A
 ‘Five thousand five hundred and twenty three fields’

As part of an ordered string, the numeral also appears in the absolute form (10)-(14). Note that in quantifying expressions, *puluh* ‘x10¹’ can be omitted if the context is clear (13). This is also the case in rankings (7.2.2.3).

- (10) *kəlas* *əna* *lah* *andae* *ɲəjoi* *uruh* *arap*
 class six.A already able.A ACT.recite.A letter arab
 ‘The sixth graders could recite Arabic letters [Al Quran]’
 [fc0.042]
- (11) *puku* *lapa* *ahu* *tibea* *ka* *ladua*
 clock eight.A new.O arrive.A at field.A
 ‘Only at eight o’clock [we] arrived at the field’
 [fc10.179]

- (12) *akau kəlahiran tanggal tujuh bulan lapa*
 1.SG to.be.born date seven.A month.O eight.A
taun tigo puluh sambilua
 year.O three.O x10¹.O nine.A
 ‘I was born on the seventh [day] of the eighth month of
 nineteen thirty nine’
 [fc3.016]
- (13) *umou duwo tigea*
 age.O two.O three.A
 ‘[She is] twenty three years old’
- (14) *ŋə nomor əmpa? kawan dijan*
 REL number four.A get.married.A with
məran adi? lamzah
 PN younger.sibling.O PN
 ‘The fourth [child] got married with Amran, Lamzah’s brother’
 [fc0.112]

7.2.2.2 Calculating

Compound cardinal numerals are used in counting and arithmetical operations (15)–(19). As usual, the oblique form is used in non-final positions and the absolute form is used in final positions.

- (15) *satau tambah tigea samo dijan əmpa?*
 one.A add three.A same with four.A
 ‘One plus three equals four’
- (16) *tigea kali duwea samo dijan əna*
 three.A time two.A same with six.A
 ‘Three times two equals six’
- (17) *lapa bagi əmpa? samo dijan duwea*
 eight.A divide four.A same with two.A
 ‘Eight divided by four equals two’

- (18) *limo bəloah kuran limao samo dijan sapulauh*
 five.O +10.A less.O five.A same with ten.A
 ‘Fifteen minus five equals ten’
- (19) *sa-ribu duwo ratuh satau kuran satau*
 10^3 .O two.O $\times 10^2$.O one.A less.O one.A
- samo dijan sa-ribu duwo rateuh*
 same with $\times 10^3$.O two.O $\times 10^2$.A
 ‘One thousand two hundred and one minus one
 equals one thousand and two hundred’

7.2.2.3 Ranking

Numerals are also used to evaluate achievement (20)–(21). Note the subtle difference between stating somebody’s grade (21) and listing different grades of somebody (22).⁸³

- (20) *juwaro tigea*
 champion.O three.A
 ‘The third best’
- (21) *baso ingris no əna*
 language England 3.SG.POSS six.A
 ‘Her/his [grade for] English is a six’
- (22) *no əna baso ingris*
 3.SG six.A language England
 ‘S/he got a six for English’

Demonstratives, whether used in a relative clause (23) or non-referentially (24), do not change the absolute status of numerals.

- (23) *ano? ηə juwaro tigea itoh*
 child.O REL champion.O three.A itoh
 ‘That child who was the third best’

⁸³ The latter construction is not permitted in Malay.

- (24) *[juwaro tigea]_{NP} itoh salamo duwo taan*
 champion.O three.A itoh for two.O year.A
 ‘The third best for two years’

For competition scores, the absolute form is used for basic numerals (25) and the oblique form followed by the absolute form in the final position is used for compound numerals (26).

- (25) *pərsəbaja lawan pərsib tigea kusau*⁸⁴
 PN versus.O PN three.A empty.A
 ‘The score of Persebaya versus Persib is 3:0’

- (26) *nanda lawan susi.susanti duwo satau*
 PN versus.O PN two.O one.A

limo bəloah duwo satau tujeuh
 five.O +10.A two.O one.A seven.A
 ‘The score of Nanda versus Susi Susanti is 21:15, 21:7’

7.2.2.4 Telephone numbers

Phrasal alternation in telephone numbers depends on how the numbers are arranged in the speaker’s mind; they can be presented in intonational strings of two or three numbers, of which the last one takes the absolute form (27)-(28). The absolute form is used when a telephone number is not pronounced in sets of conjoined numerals (29).

- (27) 0-24-27-53-98
nol [duwo əmpaʔ] [duwo tujeuh]
 ‘zero two.O four.A two.O seven.A
- [limo tigea] [sambila]⁸⁵ lapa*
 five.O three.A nine.O eight.A’

⁸⁴ *Kusau* ‘empty’ is used instead of *nol* ‘zero’ for competition scores.

⁸⁵ Note the assimilation of *-n* before *l-* following the same principles explained in section 2.3.4.

- (28) 0-24-275-398
nol [duwo əmpa?] [duwo tujuh limao]
 ‘zero two.O four.A two.O seven.O five.A’
 [tigo sambilal lapa]
 three.O nine.O eight.A’
- (29) 0-2-4-2-7-5-3-9-8
nol duwea əmpa? duwea tujuh limao
 ‘zero two.A four.A two.A seven.A five.A’
tigea sambilua lapa
 three.A nine.A eight.A’

7.2.2.5 Numbers as nouns

Unit numerals can be used as nouns, which take the absolute form even in positions normally requiring an oblique form (30)-(33).

- [A conversation about number-shaped birthday candles]
- (30) *duwea ηə abua itoh mihan*
 two.A REL red.A itoh skew.A
 ‘That ‘2’ which is red is askew’
- (31) *satau ineh kura jəleh*
 one.A ineh less.O clear.O
 ‘This ‘1’ is less clear’
- (32) *duwea itoh mihan*
 two.A itoh skew.A
 ‘That ‘2’ is askew’
- (33) *jo dapua? tujuh untu? ujian pe əmpa?*
 3.SG get.A seven.A for exam P four.A
 ‘S/he got a seven for the P4⁸⁶ test’

⁸⁶ P4 is an abbreviation of *Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila*, (‘Guidelines for Instilling and Implementing the Pancasila’), a class on the Indonesian state philosophy during Soeharto’s New Order Regime.

7.3 Classifiers

Classifiers may follow or precede the quantified element. They can be used to quantify the nominal referent (Table 7.5). Classifiers have alternating forms because Kerinci classifiers are derived from nouns.

Classifier	Use
<i>batua/baton</i> ‘stem’	For stick-like objects
<i>bijoi/biji</i> ‘seed’	For small round objects
<i>buwuah/buwoh</i> ‘fruit’	For most other items
<i>ikau~ikeu/ikou</i> ⁸⁷ ‘tail’	For animals
<i>uha</i> ‘people’	For humans

Table 7.5. Classifiers in PT

In combination with the aforementioned bound morpheme *sa-* ‘one’, some classifiers can be truncated as shown below:

<i>sa-batua</i>	>	<i>satua</i>
<i>sa-bijoi</i>	>	<i>sijoi</i>
<i>sa-buwuah</i>	>	<i>suwuah</i>
<i>sa-ikau</i>	>	<i>sikau</i>
<i>sa-uha</i>	>	<i>suha</i>

Other numerals preceding these classifiers take the oblique form, as does the classifier (34). The quantified element follows the general rules of phrasal alternation presented in 1.7.4 (35). As for the classifier ‘people’, only the absolute form *uha* can be used (36)-(37).

- (34) *əmpe?* *buwoh* *mijua*
 four.O CLF.O table.A
 ‘Four tables’

- (35) *əmpe?* *buwoh* *mijo*
 four.O CLF.O table.O
 ‘The four tables’

⁸⁷ *Ikau* and *ikeu* are both absolute forms. The former occurs after K-words, the latter after G-words.

- (36) *limo uha pan-juwon pisa*
 five.O CLF NMLZ-sell.O banana.A
 ‘Five banana sellers’
- (37) *tigo uha pam-bunoh ima*
 three.O CLF NMLZ-kill.O tiger.A
 ‘Three tiger killers’

In the case of an inventory of items, the quantified element can precede the NUM+CLF with an intonational break between them. The numeral preceding the classifier appears in the oblique form and the classifier and the quantified element appear in the absolute form (38). In this context, the use of a classifier is optional. Without a classifier, the numeral and the quantified element both appear in the absolute form without change of meaning (39).

- (38) [*mijua*]_{NP} *duwo* (**duwea*) *buwuah*
 table.A two.O CLF.A
 ‘Tables: two’
- (39) [*mijua*]_{NP} *duwea* (**duwo*)
 table.A two.A
 ‘Tables: two’

Numerals and classifiers may also precede the quantified elements for inventory purposes (40)–(41). While the classifier typically occurs in the oblique form, as was the case in example (34), in inventories it occurs in the absolute form, with an intonational break between the classifier and the quantified element.

- (40) *duwo buwuah* [*mijua*]_{NP}
 two.O CLF.A table.A
 ‘Two, tables’
- (41) *duwea* [*mijua*]_{NP}
 two.A table.A
 ‘Two, tables’

When the quantified element is already understood from the context, a classifier is not required. If it has been mentioned once (42), the use of the classifier is optional in further utterances (43). The same holds true for people (44)–(45).

- (42) Seller: *apo ikau aja*
 how.many.O CLF.A chicken.A
 ‘How many chickens do you want?’
- (43) Buyer: *duwea (*duwo) or duwo (*duwea) ikeu*
 two.A two.O CLF.A
 ‘Two [chickens]’ ‘Two [chickens]’
- (44) ...*bahu duwea ηə ta-taŋka?*
 ...new.O two.A REL PERF-arrest.A
 ‘Just two of them have been arrested’
 [fc5.021]
- (45) ...*ηə limao toh ijia dapua?*
 ...REL five.A toh NEG get.A
 ‘The [other] five have not been arrested yet’
 [fc5.022]

The numeral+classifier is not necessarily attached to the noun phrase. The segment displays flexibility on the syntactic position, a phenomenon sometimes referred to as a ‘floating quantifier’. The quantified element may precede or follow the numeral and classifier without a change in meaning (46)–(47); the focus is on what comes first. In (47), *duwo ijoyi gahon* is not a phrase as shown in (35). Instead it consists of two noun phrases, ‘two pieces’ and ‘(of) the salt’. The quantified element and the numeral take the oblique form, whereas the classifier appears in the absolute form. Nevertheless, there is no complete free variation for both orders. Only the first order is permitted in answering questions (48).

- [A conversation about how people in the past cooked rice]
- (46) *ba-tana? tamau? gahon duwo ijoyi*
 VBLZ-cook.A put.into salt.O two.O CLF.A
 ‘To cook [rice], [people] put two pieces of salt’
 [fc0.068]
- (47) *ba-tana? tamau? duwo ijoyi gahon*
 VBLZ-cook.A put.into two.O CLF.A salt.O
 ‘To cook [rice], [people] put two pieces of the salt’
 [fc0.068]

- (48) ‘What did you put into the rice?’
gahon duwo iyo
 salt.O two.O CLF.A
 ‘Two pieces of salt’

**duwo iyo gahon*
 two.O CLF.A salt.O

Naturalistic data also display examples of NUM+CLF following a quantified element other than for inventories. Both elements are absolute and are separated by an intonational break (49)–(50). Other elements, such as the existential marker *adea* (51) or a passive construction (52), may intervene between the quantified element and the NUM+CLF.

- (49) *nampa? no, adea lao kankau*
 ACT.visible 3.SG exist.A too frog.A

duwo ikeu awoh toh
 two.O CLF.A below.O toh
 ‘He sees [frogs], there are frogs, two, below’
 [P1_FS_DAS_OLD_MALE.097]

- (50) *kiroño adea umpun kajau sa-batua*
 apparently exist.A cluster.O wood.A one.stem.A
 ‘Apparently there is a tree, one’
 [P1_FS_DAS_OLD_MALE.029]

- (51) *anye? no adea pulao s-ikau*
 dog.O 3.SG.POSS exist.A too one-CLF.A
 ‘His dog, there is one’
 [P1_FS_DAS_OLD_MALE.010]

- (52) *gulea di-juwon no tigo kilo*
 sugar.A PASS-sell.O 3.SG three.O kilo
 ‘Three kilos of sugar were sold by her/him’

7.4 Partitives

According to Crystal (2008: 352), partitive is ‘a term used in grammar and semantics to refer to a part or quantity, such as *piece*, *ounce*, and *bar* (of soap)’. Sneddon (2010) points out that partitives are often confused with classifiers. He distinguishes them as follows: ‘Classifiers group nouns on the

basis of some perceived intrinsic characteristic, while partitives group nouns on the basis of how they are measured, assembled or processed' (p.137-138).

Adapted from Sneddon (2010), Table 7.6 illustrates the distinction between classifiers and partitives in PT. Both occur in the oblique form before the noun.

	Example	Meaning
Classifier	<i>sa-baton ukao?</i> 'one cigarette'	marking cigarettes as a member of the class of cylindrical objects
Partitive	<i>sa-buŋkuh ukao?</i> 'one packet of cigarettes'	identifying the quantity of cigarettes according to the way they are packaged

Table 7.6. Differences classifiers and partitives

Again, the use of a classifier is optional; it is used in example (53) and omitted in in example (54) without change in meaning. The absence of a partitive changes the meaning of a phrase or a clause (55)-(56).

- (53) *no ŋisat duwo baton ukao?*
 3.SG ACT.suck.O two.O CLF.O cigarettes.A
 'He smoked two cigarettes'
- (54) *no ŋisat duwo ukao?*
 3.SG ACT.suck.O two.O cigarettes.A
 'He smoked two cigarettes'
- (55) *no ŋisat duwo buŋkuh ukao?*
 3.SG ACT.suck.O two.O package.O cigarettes.A
 'He smoked two packets of cigarettes'
- (56) *no ŋisat duwo ukao?*
 3.SG ACT.suck.O two.O cigarettes.A
 'He smoked two cigarettes'

Partitives can be divided into four categories: 1) units of measurement, 2) containers for the referents of mass nouns, 3) groupings of the individual referents of countable nouns, and 4) parts of whole entities for count nouns. A non-exhaustive list of these categories is presented in Table 7.7.

Partitives	
Units of measurement for mass nouns	<i>mite</i> ‘meter’, <i>liter</i> ‘liter’, <i>kilo</i> ‘kilo’, <i>kilomite</i> ‘kilometer’, <i>ton</i> ‘ton’, <i>jəŋkua/jəŋko</i> ‘span’ (of the hand), <i>cumpau?/cumpou?</i> ‘pile’, <i>sukat</i> ‘2 liter’, <i>cupa?/cupo?</i> ‘1/2 liter’, <i>guleu/gulun</i> ‘roll’, <i>kumpa/kumpan</i> ‘roll’, <i>gəŋgua/gəŋgon</i> ‘handful’, <i>gantua/ganton</i> ‘2.8 kilogram’, <i>matao/mato</i> ‘100 grams’
Units of container for mass nouns	<i>pihan/pihin</i> ‘plate’, <i>gəloah/gəleh</i> ‘glass’, <i>imbe</i> ‘bucket’, <i>kahau/kahun</i> ‘sack’, <i>caŋkai/caŋkei</i> ‘cup’, <i>səndau?/səndou?</i> ‘spoon’, <i>luja/lujan</i> ‘metal tray’, <i>bəle?</i> ‘can’, <i>cantin</i> ‘small can’ or ‘1/4 kilogram’, <i>ambau/ambun</i> ‘rattan bag’, <i>kaleren</i> ‘tin’
Groupings of the individual referents of countable nouns	<i>sika?/sikat</i> ‘bunch’, <i>umpan/umpun</i> ‘cluster’, <i>buŋkeuh/buŋkuh</i> ‘package’, <i>tandau?/tandou?</i> ‘bunch’, <i>cuykauh/cuykəuh</i> ‘chunk’, <i>uŋgau?/uŋgou?</i> ‘bunch’, <i>məca/məcan</i> ‘kind’, <i>kəbua?/kəbot</i> ‘bundle’
Part of a whole entities	<i>ihaih/iheih</i> ‘slice’, <i>kəpan/kəpin</i> ‘piece’, <i>kəra?/kərat</i> ‘slice’, <i>putau/putun</i> ‘piece’, <i>bəluah/bəloh</i> ‘portion’

Table 7.7. Partitives in PT

Sa- or the oblique form of the cardinal numerals is used before the partitive. The partitive and quantified elements follow the general rules of phrasal alternation presented in 1.7.4. The following sections discuss in more detail units of measurement (7.4.1) and containers for mass nouns (7.4.2).

7.4.1 Units of measurement

Units of measurement can express volume, length, weight, or amount. The expressions of units of measurement can also be used for countable nouns (59).

- (57) *tigo mite talai*
three.O meter rope.A
‘Three meters of rope’
- (58) *tigo mite talei*
three.O meter rope.O
‘Three meters of the rope’
- (59) *duwo kilo kaleren*
two.O kilo marbles
‘Two kilos of marbles’

7.4.2 Containers for mass nouns

A container is the referent of a noun in which something can be stored or carried. According to Sneddon (2010: 142), a container is ‘any noun

indicating something which can contain something else [...]. I give some examples in (60)-(63).

- (60) *sa-cankei kupai*
one.cup.O coffee.A
'One cup of coffee'
- (61) *tigo kahun bəroah*
three.O sack.O rice.A
'Three sacks of rice'
- (62) [The speaker talks about what she could do in the past]
ŋaŋkut kuboi? sa-ambun panya
ACT.carry.O potato.A one.rattan.bag.O long.A
'[I] carried a big rattan bag of potatoes'
[fc8.033]
- (63) *kitao k-umau sa-kalai lapan*
1.PL.INCL to.rice.field.A one.time.A eight.O

ulua tapi hasil no sa-ratuh kalen
month.A but result 3.SG.POSS one.x10² can
'We planted paddies once in an eight month period, but the crop was one hundred cans'
[fc10.133]

A container can also be used for countable nouns (64). Additionally, countable nouns can occur in groups (collectives) (65)-(66) or as parts of whole entities (67)-(68).

- (64) *sa-pihin kaca*
one.plate.O peanut.A
'A plate of peanut'
- (65) *duwo sikat pisa*
two.O bunch.O banana.A
'Two bunches of banana'
- (66) *sa-uŋgou? təroaka*
one.bunch.O cherry.tomato.A
'A bunch of cherry tomato'

- (67) *duwo kəpin nijao*
two.O piece.O coconut.A
'Two pieces of coconut'

- (68) *əmpəʔ iheih rutei*
four.O slice.O bread
'Four slices of bread'

7.5 Occurrence of G-phonemes

The occurrence of a G-phoneme in numerals, namely /d/ in *duwea/duwo* 'two', /g/ in *tigea/tigo* 'three' and /j/ in *tɤeuh/tujuh* 'seven', causes a change in the final rime of quantifying expressions when they directly follow the numeral. The quantifying expressions affected by this rule are the absolute forms of: *ahai/ahai* 'day', *mala/malan* 'night', *ikau/ikou* 'tail', the aforementioned numeral *ratauh/ratuh* 'x 10²' and *umpan/umpun* 'cluster' (Table 8).⁸⁸ It should be stressed that other words used in combination with a numeral containing a G-phoneme do not exhibit this phenomenon.

		'day'	'night'	'tail'	'x 10 ² '	'cluster'
one	<i>s(a)-</i>	<i>ahai</i>	<i>mala</i>	<i>ikau</i>	<i>ratauh</i>	<i>umpan</i>
two	<i>duwo</i>	<i>ahoi</i>	<i>malua</i>	<i>ikeu</i>	<i>rateuh</i>	<i>umpen</i>
three	<i>tigo</i>	<i>ahoi</i>	<i>malua</i>	<i>ikeu</i>	<i>rateuh</i>	<i>umpen</i>
four	<i>əmpəʔ</i>	<i>ahai</i>	<i>mala</i>	<i>ikau</i>	<i>ratauh</i>	<i>umpan</i>
five	<i>limo</i>	<i>ahai</i>	<i>mala</i>	<i>ikau</i>	<i>ratauh</i>	<i>umpan</i>
six	<i>ənan</i>	<i>ahai</i>	<i>mala</i>	<i>ikau</i>	<i>ratauh</i>	<i>umpan</i>
seven	<i>tujuh</i>	<i>ahoi</i>	<i>malua</i>	<i>ikeu</i>	<i>rateuh</i>	<i>umpen</i>
eight	<i>lapan</i>	<i>ahai</i>	<i>mala</i>	<i>ikau</i>	<i>ratauh</i>	<i>umpan</i>
nine	<i>sambilan</i>	<i>ahai</i>	<i>mala</i>	<i>ikau</i>	<i>ratauh</i>	<i>umpan</i>
ten	<i>sapuluh</i>	<i>ahai</i>	<i>mala</i>	<i>ikau</i>	<i>ratauh</i>	<i>umpan</i>

Table 7.8. The effect of G-words on ABS quantifying expressions

⁸⁸ Mckinnon (2011) describes the same phenomenon in the TPM dialect of Kerinci, but some of the nouns affected are different. The words 'stone' and 'bundle' are affected in TPM but not in PT, whereas 'x 10²' and 'cluster' are affected in PT but not in TPM.

7.6 Derived numeral constructions

Derived numerals in PT are formed by reduplication and/or affixation of cardinal numerals. The following sections discuss ordinal numerals with *ka-* (7.6.1), fractional numerals through *pər-* (7.6.2) and collective numerals with *ka-* (7.6.3) and *ba-* (7.6.4). Finally, the reduplication of numerals (7.6.5) and verbalized numerals (7.6.6) will be addressed.

7.6.1 Ordinal numerals with *ka-*

Ordinal numerals are cardinal numerals (simple, complex and compound) preceded by the prefix *ka-*. The only exception is the word for ‘first’, which is *pərtamao*, not **ka-satau/ka-satou*. Ordinal numerals generally appear in the absolute forms at the end of a noun phrase (69)–(70). If the noun phrase is further specified by a demonstrative or the expression of a possessor, the oblique form is used (71)–(72).

- (69) *umoh* *ka-duwea*
house.O ORD-two.A
‘The second house’
- (70) *rajo* *ka-əna*
king.O ORD-six.A
‘The sixth king’
- (71) *umoh* *ka-duwo* *no*
house.O ORD-two.O 3.SG.POSS
‘Her/his second house’
- (72) *umoh* *ka-duwo* *itoh*
house.O ORD-two.O itoh
‘That second house’

The same is true when the possessor is covert (73). However, when only one numbered referent exists, the absolute form must be used (74). This is also the case when ordinal numbers are used in a temporal sense (75).

- (73) *no* *nuwon* *umoh* *ka-duwo*
3.SG ACT.sell.O house.O ORD-two.O
‘S/he sold [her/his] second house’

- (74) *rayo ka-əna di-timba?*
king.O ORD-six.A PASS-shoot.A
'The sixth king was shot'
- (75) *si laweh⁸⁹ toh pərtamao opərasɪ pərut*
ART large toh first.A operation stomach

ka-duwea opərasɪ ginjal
ORD-two.A operation kidney
'The big guy, at first his stomach got operated, the
second [time] his kidney got operated'
[fc8.156]

7.6.2 Fractional numerals with *par-*

Fractional numerals consist of two numerals: the numerator and denominator, the latter of which carries the prefix *par-*. Both numerals occur in the absolute form (76)-(77). In fractional numerals, the basic numeral *satau* 'one' is used for the numerator (78), although *sa-* can be used in colloquial speech (79).

- (76) *tigea par- əmpa?*
three.A FRAC four.A
'Three-fourth'
- (77) *sa-bəloah par- tigo puluh satau*
eleven.A FRAC three.O 10¹.O one.A
'Eleven-thirty first'
- (78) *satau par- duwea*
one.A FRAC two.A
'One half'

⁸⁹ *Laweh* is a Minangkabau word.

- (79) *kalo inin neh bəroah sa-par-əmpe?*
 if now neh rice.A one.FRAC.four.O
na pajah ku niŋje?
 even difficult.A 1.SG ACT.carry.O
 ‘As for now, even one quarter [can of] rice is too
 heavy for me to carry’
 [fc10.193]

Both the numerator and denominator take the oblique form when they are followed by a demonstrative (80), a unit of measurement (81), a classifier (82) or a noun (83). The expression for a divided whole entity also occurs in the oblique form when it is followed by the quantified element (84)-(85).

- (80) *duwo par- tigo itoh di-gade no*
 two.O FRAC three.O itoh PASS-pawn.O 3.SG
 ‘Two-thirds of that was pawned by him’
- (81) *tigo par- əmpe? mite*
 three.O FRAC four.O meter
 ‘Three quarters of a meter’
- [The amount of coconuts required in a recipe]
- (82) *duwo par- əmpe? biŋoi*
 two.O FRAC four.O CLF.A
 ‘Two quarters [of one piece]’
- [On the division of land between different people]
- (83) *duwo par- tigo tanah*
 two.O FRAC three.O land.A
 ‘Two-thirds of the land’
- (84) *duwo par tigo gəleh kupai*
 two.O FRAC three.O glass.O coffee.A
 ‘Two thirds of a glass of coffee’
- (85) *satəŋoh sikat pisa*
 half.O bunch.O banana.A
 ‘Half a bunch of bananas’

7.6.3 Collective numerals with *ka-*

Collective quantification is expressed by a cardinal numeral in combination with the prefix *ka-*. In contrast to ordinal numerals, which follow the expression for the entity ordered, collective numerals precede the collective expression.

Phrase-initially, collective numerals so formed require the oblique form (86). Note the difference in meaning with an absolute cardinal numeral in the same position (87). Phrase-finally, collective numerals with *ka-* also occur in the oblique form. In this position, they mark the preceding collective as a whole (88)-(89).

- (86) *ka-duwo umoh itoh*
 COLL-two.O house.O itoh
 1. 'Those two houses'
 2. 'That pair of houses'
- (87) [*duwea*]_{NUMP} [*umoh itoh*]_{NP}
 two.A house.O itoh
 'Those houses are two'
- (88) *paris dijan itali itoh ilau? ka-duwo*
 paris with italy itoh good.A COLL-two.O
 'Paris and Italy are both nice'
- (89) *uha itoh gaguah ka-tigo*
 3.PL handsome.A COLL-three.O
 'The men are handsome, all three of them'

7.6.4 Collective numerals with *ba-*

The prefix *ba-* combined with numerals also expresses collectivity. Collective numerals with the prefix *ba-* are verbal and adverbial: 'being with X collectively'. Collective numerals so formed may occur as predicates (90), adverbs (91) and attributes following a subject (92). Note that the addition of the prefix *ba-* does not cause K-words to change into G-words; the root always remains in the absolute form, even when followed by a demonstrative (93).

- (90) *uha itoh ba-duwea*
 3.PL STAT-two.A
 'They are in a group of two'

- (91) *uha itoh masau? ba-duwea*
 3.PL enter.A STAT-two.A
 ‘They entered [the room] in a group of two’
- (92) *kamai ba-duwea napou lantae*
 1.PL.EXCL STAT-two.A ACT.sweep.O floor.A
 ‘We both swept the floor’
- (93) *[ba-limao]_{NUMP} itoh labih koah*
 STAT-five.A itoh more.O fast.A
 ‘In a group of five is faster’

The prefix *ba-* cannot be combined with compound numerals or with numerals bigger than ‘6’ six. Instead, *uha* ‘people’ is used (94)-(96).

- (94) [Fourteen people have applied for scholarships]
kamai uha ampe? bəloah di-tarimao
 1.PL.EXCL people.A four.O +10.A PASS-accept.A
 ‘The fourteen of us got accepted’
- (95) *no uha lapa*
 3.PL people.A eight.A
- ampa? tino ampa? janton*
 four.A female.O four.A male.O
 ‘They are eight [siblings], four female, four male’
 [fc0.118]
- (96) *kalo ba-paykau sawoh kamai*
 if STAT-hoe.A rice.field.O 1.PL.EXCL.POSS
- ke? ankea toh uleu toh, uha*
 in Angkea.A toh in.the.past.A toh people.A
- sambilua maykou, uha sambilua maykou,*
 nine.A ACT.hoe.O people.A nine.A ACT.hoe.O
- uha salapa ma-lico? ηə ηihan,*
 people.A eight.A ACT-tremple.on.O and ACT.plant.O

uha duwo bəloah nijan
 people.A two.O +10.A ACT.weed.O
 ‘If our rice fields in Angkea were hoed, nine people hoed
 [it], nine people hoed [it], eight people trampled and planted
 [it], twelve people weeded [it]’
 [fc10.140]

While *ba-* and *ka-* can both form collective numerals, the resulting forms differ. *Ka*-+NUM emphasizes the collective and triggers the oblique form (97), whereas *ba*-+NUM functions adverbially and can only occur in the absolute form (98).

- (97) *ka-tigo ano? itoh*
 COLL-three.O child.O itoh

di-bəŋih kapalo sakula
 PASS-angry.O head.O school.A
 ‘Those three children were scolded by the head master’

- (98) [*ano? ba-tigea*]_{NP} *itoh*
 child.O STAT-three.A itoh

di-bəŋih kapalo sakula
 PASS-angry.O head.O school.A
 ‘Those three of the children were scolded
 by the head master’

7.6.5 Reduplication of numerals

The cardinal numerals larger than 1 ‘one’ can be reduplicated in the meaning of ‘in groups of X’. The final numeral of such reduplicated sets appears in the absolute form (99)-(100). The equivalent for ‘one by one’ is formed with the prefix *s(a)-*, not the cardinal numeral **satau*, in combination with the classifier. The compound is reduplicated as a whole, with both constituents appearing in the absolute form (101)-(103).

- (99) *uha itoh masau? duwea duwea*
 3.PL enter.A two.A two.A
 ‘They entered in pairs’

- (100) *uha itoh masau? limo pulauh limo pulauh*
 3.PL enter.A five.O x10¹.A five.O x10¹.A
 ‘They entered in groups of fifty’
- (101) *no nimban tɔpau sa-kilo-sa-kilo*
 3.SG ACT.weigh.O flour.A RED-one.kilo
 ‘S/he weighs flour by the kilogram’
- (102) *adi s-uha-s-uha woa kajao*
 so RED-one-CLF only 2.SG
 ‘So you can do it one at the time’
 [fc4.064]
- (103) *ku imo? adea*
 1.SG look.O exist.A
- tɔpei alua s-atua-s-atua*
 edge.O road.A RED-one-CLF.A
 ‘I saw a few at the side of the road’
 [fc6.017]

The prefix *ba-* can also be followed by a reduplicated cardinal numeral, in which case the reduplicated numerals both take the absolute form (104).

- (104) *mo? ba-duwea-duwea kə? təmpe? ŋə kəla*
 VET STAT-RED-two.A at place.O REL dark.A
 ‘Don’t go in pairs to a place which is dark!’

7.6.6 Verbalized numerals

Duwea/duwo ‘two’ can be prefixed with *maN-* yielding the intransitive verb ‘to become two, to be indecisive’, which is used specifically in the context of a love affair. Note that the root-initial /d/ is retained here, unlike the general patterns of nasal prefixation (8.4.1). This verbalized numeral occurs in the absolute form (105).

- (105) *atei* *no* *lah* *man-duwea*
 heart.O 3.SG.POSS already become-two.A
 ‘S/he cannot make up her/his mind’

Another incidental derivation consists of *satau/satou* ‘one’ in combination with the prefix *ba-*. This form, *ba-satau* ‘to be [as] one’, occurs in the absolute form (106). In combination with the prefix *N-*, *satau* forms the transitive verb ‘to unite’ (107). This nasal-prefixed verb, too, can only occur in the absolute form. It can also be made passive (108) a and (108) b, following the general patterns of P1 discussed in 8.4.3.

- (106) *uha itoh* *minin* *lah* *ba-satau* *bali?*
 3.PL now already STAT-one.A return
 ‘They now have got back together’

- (107) *natau* *duwo* *atei*
 ACT.one.A two.O heart.O
 ‘To unite two hearts’

- (108) a *uha itoh* *di-satau*
 3.PL PASS-one.A
 ‘They are being united’

- (108) b *uha itoh* *di-satou* *no*
 3.PL PASS-one.O 3.SG
 ‘They are being united by her/him’

7.7 Indefinite quantifiers

Indefinite quantifiers in PT are listed in Table 7.9. Only *sagalo* ‘all’ does not display ABS-OBL opposition. Indefinite quantifiers do not behave like nouns; the position within a phrase does not determine their alternation.

Indefinite quantifier	Meaning
<i>(bar)apea/(bar)apo</i>	‘how much, how many’
<i>bajua?/bajno?</i>	‘many, much’
<i>dikoi?/dikit</i>	‘few, a little’
<i>sagalo</i>	‘all’

Table 7.9. Indefinite quantifiers

Indefinite quantifiers typically occur in the absolute form, whether followed by the expression for the quantified entity or not (109)–(110). This is also the case when the quantified element is understood from the context (111), a condition normally triggering the oblique form. The oblique form is used when it functions as a noun (112). In some cases, it can be reduplicated in the meaning of ‘many people’ (113).

- (109) *baɲuaʔ məncaiʔ dalon dapeu*
 many.A mouse.A inside kitchen.A
 ‘Many mice [are] inside the kitchen’
- (110) *idia uha baɲuaʔ pa-ɲakit*
 NEG people.A many.A NMLZ-ill.O
 ‘People didn’t suffer from many illnesses’
 [fc8.042]
- (111) *baɲuaʔ dalon dapeu*
 many.A inside kitchen.A
 ‘Many [of them] are inside the kitchen’
- (112) *baɲoʔ kipe ɲə masauʔ duwo rateuh*
 much.O money.O REL enter.A two.O x10².A
 ‘The amount of money that has been received is two hundred’
- (113) *itoh baɲoʔ-baɲoʔ ɲə tuwan*
 itoh RED-many.O REL master
 ‘That belongs to many people’
 [fc8.177]

The indefinite quantifier *dikoiʔ* ‘few, a little’ occurs in the absolute form (114)–(115). As a noun, it occurs in oblique form (116).

- (114) *dikoiʔ kipae ɲə masauʔ*
 a.little.A money.A REL enter.A
 ‘The income is low’
- (115) *itoh ikoiʔ uha ɲə lulauh*
 itoh a.little.A people.A REL pass.A
 ‘That [was why there were] only few people who had passed’
 [fc5.008]

- [About people who violate a prohibition]
- (116) *no ganjoi kalo pantan neh*
 3.SG odd.A if forbidden.O neh
ηecat dikit
 ACT.taste.O a.little.O
 ‘Oddly enough, when it comes to forbidden food, [we tend to] taste it a little of it’
 [fc8.084]

The absolute form of *barapea* (truncated: *apea*) ‘how much, how many’ can precede the quantified element (117) or follow it (118). The oblique form *barapo* (truncated: *apo*) is used before a quantified element (119) or a partitive (120).

- (117) *apea umur apa? inin*
 how.much.A age father.A now
 ‘How old is your father now?’
 [fc4.309]
- (118) *gaji no apea*
 salary.O 3.SG.POSS how.much.A
 ‘How much is her/his salary?’
- (119) *barapo umah ikao bəloi*
 how.many.O house.A 2.SG buy.A
 ‘How many houses did you buy?’
- (120) *kalo roah limo le? toh*
 if rice.A five.O can toh
apo le? padi
 how.many.O can paddy.O
 ‘As for rice, if it is five cans, how many cans of the paddy are there?’
 [fc8.037]

The quantifier *sagalo* ‘all’, finally, does not alternate (121).

- (121) *sagalo uha samao*
 all people.A follow
 ‘All the people joined in’

7.8 Obsolete currencies

In the past, PT people used some currencies presently no longer in use, whose names are still retained in the language (Table 7.10).

Currencies	Values
<i>bilih</i>	10 cent
<i>pinang/pingou</i>	250 rupiah
<i>ringai?/ringei?</i>	250 rupiah
<i>sukau/sukou</i>	50 rupiah
<i>talai/talei</i>	25 rupiah

Table 7.10. Obsolete currencies in PT

These words have ABS-OBL opposition and display the general patterns of phrasal alternation presented in 1.7.4 (122)-(124).

- (122) *kipe* *no* *duwo* *ringai?*
 money.O 3.SG.POSS two.O 250.rupiah.A
 1. 'Her/his money is five hundred rupiahs' [Lit.]
 2. 'S/he has five hundred rupiahs'
- [An expression when someone is mad at someone else]
- (123) *sa-ringei?* *buheu?* *ja* *ijua?* *ku* *ando?*
 one.250.rupiah.O bad.A even NEG 1.SG want
 1. 'I don't even want [your] stinking 250 rupiahs' [Lit.]
 2. 'I want nothing to do with you'
- [To express that someone is crazy]
- (124) *no* *lah* *ta-lucal* *uwan* *talei*
 3.SG already PERF-fall.A money.O 25.rupiah.O
 1. 'S/he's lost her/his 25 rupiahs' [Lit.]
 2. 'S/he's lost her/his mind'

8 Verbal constructions

8.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to discuss the general syntactic properties of verb constructions, as well as the distribution of absolute and oblique forms within the verbal domain.

Verbal predicates are predicates headed by a verb. These constructions are complex, since they can appear in several voice constructions each of which displaying distinct morphological and syntactic properties. Phrasal alternation is crucial to understanding the properties of each of these constructions, as we shall see.

The general pattern of ABS-OBL opposition in verbal constructions is that the oblique form is used when the referent of the verb has a restricting specification either expressed or known from the context (see 1.7.4), whereas the absolute form occurs in neutral or generic contexts. However, a number of details and exceptions necessitate a topic-by-topic treatment of PT verbal constructions.

Notions of valency and transitivity as applied to PT are discussed first (8.2), followed by intransitive constructions (8.3), transitive constructions (8.4), ditransitive constructions (8.5), imperative constructions (8.6), secondary predication (8.7), non-alternating verbs (8.8) and verbs in free variation (8.9).

8.2 Valency and transitivity

Key to verbal constructions are the notions of valency and transitivity. Valency is the semantic relationship between a verb and the number of participants that can be bonded to it. According to their valency, verbs can be grouped into ‘monovalent’ verbs that take one participant, ‘bivalent’ verbs that take two participants and ‘trivalent’ verbs that take three participants. All types occur in PT.

Transitivity is the syntactic relationship between the participants or ‘arguments’ (Dixon 2010). Constructions can be classified into ‘intransitives’ that take one argument, ‘transitives’ that take two arguments and ‘ditransitives’ that take three arguments. Again, all types occur in PT.

8.3 Intransitive constructions

An intransitive construction has one core argument (Payne 2006; Dryer 2007; Foley 2007). The verb occurs in the absolute form (1)-(2).

- (1) *əla neh lah tərbua pulao*
 eagle.A neh already fly.A too
 ‘The hawk is already flying’
 [P1_FS_DAS_OLD_MALE.049]
- (2) *dari padua jo masau?*
 from Padang.A 3.PL come.A
 ‘From Padang, they came’
 [fc3.088]

In narratives particularly, the predicate typically appears in the initial position. The Predicate-Subject (PS) word order highlights the action expressed by the verb and expresses dynamicity (3)-(7). The particle *lah* can be added (7) for more emphasis (7).⁹⁰ The intransitive verb can also occur in the oblique form when followed by a complement (8).

- (3) *əntai jo sə-loh karanyan pukat*
 stop.A 3.SG next.to basket.O avocado
 ‘He stops next to the avocado basket’ [Dyn.]
 [P10_PV_ERM_OLD_FEMALE.019]
- (4) *manya? jo kateh umpun kajau*
 ACT.climb.A 3.SG up cluster.O wood.A
 ‘He climbs the tree’ [DYN]
 [P10_FS_ERM_OLD_FEMALE.022]
- (5) *ɲima? jo ɲadua? kateh*
 ACT.see.A 3.SG toward up
 ‘He looks at the upper side’ [Dyn.]
 [P10_PV_ERM_OLD_FEMALE.022]

⁹⁰ Note that *lah* has two separate functions. It functions as an emphasizing discourse marker and as a modal that marks past tense.

- (6) *ba-imbua* *no*
 VBLZ-summon.A 3.SG
 ‘He summons’ [Dyn.]
 [P4_FS_HAL_OLD_FEMALE.060]
- (7) *ba-lahoi* *lah* *no* *tigea* *toh* *kateh*
 VBLZ-run.A PART 3.PL three.A toh up
 ‘The three of them run to the top’ [Dyn.]
 [fc11.072]
- (8) *burun* *itoh* *tərbon* *tingai*
 bird.O itoh fly.O high.A
 ‘That bird is flying high’

8.4 Transitive constructions

Transitive verbs differ from intransitive verbs in their ability to form active and passive sentences. There are different ways to express an event, each of which occurs in different contexts and constructions and displays specific information packaging profiles (cf. Fillmore 1968, 1977; Anderson 1971; Goldberg 1995, 2006, 2013). These variants keep a discourse systematic and logical, as part of the information already known to the hearer (Lambrecht 1994). In the words of Foley (2007: 363-364).

A discourse is not merely a set of sentences randomly strung together, but is rather a structured series, the development of which constitutes a coherent whole and is recognized as such by speakers of a language. Speakers therefore employ the various packaging options for clauses in the languages in order to ensure the coherence of the discourse. Each conceptual event described in the discourse will be presented in such a way as to foster the coherence of the discourse.

As mentioned previously, the verb of a transitive construction is bivalent (9). Monovalent verb roots (10) can also occur in transitive constructions (11), in which case their valency increases. The English translations are identical, since there is no one-to-one correspondence between PT and English, yet the latter example expresses that the agent performs the action in an active way.

- (9) *tono* *nukun* *kucae?*
 PN ACT.hit.O cat.A
 ‘Tono hit a cat’

- (10) *tono dudeu? ke? mijua*
 PN sit.A on table.A
 ‘Tono sits on a table’ [he has no chair]
- (11) *tono man-dudu⁹¹ mijua*
 PN ACT-sit.O table.A
 ‘Tono sits on a table’ [he is rebelling against his teacher]

This section focuses on transitive constructions and discusses nasal substitution with *N-* (8.4.1), active constructions (8.4.2) and two different types of passive constructions (8.4.3)-(8.4.4). The paradigm of transitive constructions in PT is displayed in Table 8.1.

	Absolute Verb Form	Oblique Verb Form
Active	<i>N</i> -root.A	<i>N</i> -root.O
P1	<i>di</i> -root.A	<i>di</i> -root.O
P2	person marker + root.A	

Table 8.1. The paradigm of the transitive constructions

8.4.1 Nasal substitution with *N-*

The morpheme *N-* typically marks a verb as active. This morpheme exhibits a number of allomorphs whose distribution is determined by phonological properties of the word-initial phoneme of the segment to which it is prefixed. In the examples below, the monomorphemic root is given first, followed by the derived active verb formed by the prefix *N-*. As can be seen, PT does not prefer NC clusters in initial position and exhibits processes of nasal substitution whereby the root-initial consonant is replaced by a homorganic nasal.⁹²

⁹¹ Note that the retention of the root-initial /d/ in this particular word differs from the general pattern of nasal prefixation shown in 8.4.1.

⁹² Pater (1999: 311) observes the same phenomenon in Indonesian: ‘nasal substitution is just one of a range of processes that languages make use of to rid themselves of NC clusters’.

a) Root-initial velar stops (/k/, /g/) are replaced by /ŋ/

N-	+	<i>kəran/kərin</i>	=	<i>ŋəran/ŋərin</i>	‘to dry’ ⁹³
N-	+	<i>kalau/kalun</i>	=	<i>ŋalau/ŋalun</i>	‘to present’
N-	+	<i>guron/gurin</i>	=	<i>ŋurin.O</i> ⁹⁴	‘to fry’
N-	+	<i>ganteu/gantun</i>	=	<i>ŋantau.A</i> ⁹⁵	‘to hang’

b) Root-initial vowels are preceded by /ŋ/

N-	+	<i>asauh/asouh</i>	=	<i>ŋasouh.O</i>	‘to nurture’
N-	+	<i>ikaʔ/ikat</i>	=	<i>ŋikat.O</i>	‘to tie’
N-	+	<i>urauh/urouh</i>	=	<i>ŋurauh/ŋurouh</i>	‘to manage’

c) Root-initial nasals remain as they are

N-	+	<i>maka/makan</i>	=	<i>maka/makan</i>	‘to eat’
N-	+	<i>naaeʔ/naeʔ</i>	=	<i>naaeʔ/naeʔ</i>	‘to go up’
N-	+	<i>ŋaŋi</i>	=	<i>ŋaŋi</i> ⁹⁶	‘to sing’

d) Root-initial liquids (/l/, /r/) are preceded by /ma/

N-	+	<i>ləpaeh/ləpeh</i>	=	<i>maləpaeh/maləpeh</i>	‘to release’
N-	+	<i>lawə/lawan</i>	=	<i>malawə/malawan</i>	‘to oppose’
N-	+	<i>rusaʔ/rusoʔ</i>	=	<i>marusaʔ/marusoʔ</i>	‘to damage’

e) Root-initial palatal stops (/c/, /ɟ/) and sibilants (/s/) are replaced by /ɲ/

N-	+	<i>caŋkau/caŋkou</i>	=	<i>ɲaŋkau/ɲaŋkou</i>	‘to hoe’
N-	+	<i>cukaiʔ/cukeiʔ</i>	=	<i>ɲukeiʔ.O</i>	‘to poke’
N-	+	<i>ɟəmea/ɟəmo</i>	=	<i>ɲəmao.A</i>	‘to dry in the sun’
N-	+	<i>ɟəjuaʔ/ɟəjoʔ</i>	=	<i>ɲəjoʔ.O</i>	‘to set down’
N-	+	<i>saboiʔ/sabit</i>	=	<i>ɲaboiʔ/ɲabit</i>	‘to mow’
N-	+	<i>sijao/sijo</i>	=	<i>ɲijao/ɲijo</i>	‘to rent’

⁹³ I follow the convention in Malay linguistics of glossing forms as (English) infinitives.

⁹⁴ Some nasalized words only occur in the oblique form although the roots have absolute and oblique alternations.

⁹⁵ Note that nasally prefixed roots with word-initial G-phonemes change into K-words (3.4.3).

⁹⁶ The verb *ŋaŋi* does not have ABS-OBL opposition.

f) Root-initial bilabial stops (/p/, /b/) are replaced by /m/

N-	+	<i>pakau/pakou</i>	=	<i>makau/makou</i>	‘to nail’
N-	+	<i>pətaiʔ/pəteiʔ</i>	=	<i>məteiʔ.O</i>	‘to pick’
N-	+	<i>bacea/baco</i>	=	<i>macea/maco</i> ⁹⁷	‘to read’
N-	+	<i>bənua/bəno</i>	=	<i>məna/məno</i>	‘to make’

g) Root-initial dental and alveolar stops (/t/, /d/) are replaced by /n/

N-	+	<i>tulaih/tuleih</i>	=	<i>nulaih/nuleih</i>	‘to write’
N-	+	<i>tana/tanan</i>	=	<i>nana/nanan</i>	‘to cultivate’
N-	+	<i>tuwaiʔ/tuweiʔ</i>	=	<i>nuweʔ</i> ⁹⁸	‘to ask’
N-	+	<i>təmau/tə mou</i>	=	<i>nə mou.O</i>	‘to meet’
N-	+	<i>dakoi/daki</i>	=	<i>nakai/nakei</i>	‘to climb’
N-	+	<i>dəŋua/dəŋo</i>	=	<i>nəŋa/nəŋo</i>	‘to hear’

h) Monosyllabic roots are preceded by /ŋə/⁹⁹

N-	+	<i>bom</i>	=	<i>ŋəbom</i>	‘to bomb’
N-	+	<i>cek</i>	=	<i>ŋəcek</i>	‘to check’
N-	+	<i>pel</i>	=	<i>ŋəpel</i>	‘to swab’
N-	+	<i>cas</i>	=	<i>ŋəcas</i>	‘to charge’

Certain verbs, such as *dapuaʔ/dapot* ‘to get’ and *busuaʔ* ‘to wash one’s face’ cannot take nasal prefixes.

8.4.2 Active constructions

This section demonstrates the properties of the active construction and discusses the distribution of the absolute and oblique forms. In PT, the active transitive construction exhibits the following properties:

- 1) Agentivity: there is an active and deliberate agent occurring pre-verbally in subject position.
- 2) Affectedness: there is a concrete and affected patient occurring post-verbally in the object position.

⁹⁷ The nasal prefix would have normally yielded a K-word (3.4.3), yet *bacea/baco* is a lexical exception.

⁹⁸ Note the irregular syllable rime.

⁹⁹ All these words are borrowings from English or Dutch, probably through Malay. They do not display ABS-OBL opposition.

- 3) The verb is marked with the prefix *N-* (the morphophonological properties of which have been discussed in 8.4.1).
- 4) Auxiliaries and negations can precede the subject and/or intervene between the subject and the nasal-prefixed verb.

An active clause thus exhibits a pre-verbal agent–subject (property 1) and a post-verbal patient–object that is affected by the action denoted by the verb (property 2). The argument can be expressed (12) or left out when it is clear from the context (13)–(14). Note that the verb must be nasal-prefixed, the bare form is ungrammatical.

- (12) *no* *nukun* *kucae?*
 3.SG ACT.hit.O cat.A
 ‘S/he hits a cat’

- (13) [What did s/he do?]
 nukun *kucae?*
 ACT.hit.O cat.A
 ‘[S/he] hits a cat’

- (14) [What happened to the cat?]
 no *nukun*
 3.SG ACT.hit.O
 ‘S/he hits [it]’

**no* *tukun*
 3.SG hit.O

Auxiliaries or negations can intervene between the subject and the nasal-prefixed verb (15) or precede the subject (16). In natural speech, auxiliaries or negations are preferred clause-initially. Auxiliaries and/or negations cannot intervene between the verb and its object.

- (15) *no* *suduah* *nukun* *kucae?*
 3.SG already.A ACT.hit.O cat.A
 ‘S/he already hit a cat’

- (16) *ijia* *no* *nukun* *kucae?*
 NEG 3.SG ACT.hit.O cat.A
 ‘Did not s/he hit a cat’ [Lit.]
 ‘S/he did not hit a cat’

<i>*no</i>	<i>nukun</i>	<i>ijia</i>	<i>kucae?</i>
3.SG	ACT.hit.O	NEG	cat.A

The following sections delve deeper into the distribution of ABS-OBL alternation in active constructions: examining the oblique form (8.4.2.1), the absolute form (8.4.2.2), and object topicalization (8.4.2.3). Note that the broad patterns of phrasal alternation in PT are similar to those of SP (Steinhauer and Usman 1978; Usman 1988) and TPM (Mckinnon 2011). However, there are cross-dialectal differences on a detailed level, which will also be discussed in this section.

8.4.2.1 OBL in the active constructions

The use of the oblique form instructs the interlocutor to identify the restriction placed on the verb. In this context, the correlation between the verb and the object is not mentioned explicitly. Chafe (1987: 26), in line with my argument, expresses this correlation as follows:

Those concepts which are already active for the speaker, and which the speaker judges to be active for the hearer as well, are verbalized in a special way, having properties which have often been discussed in terms of ‘old’ or ‘given’ information. The general thing to say is that given concepts are spoken with an attenuated pronunciation. The attenuation involves, at the very least, weak stress. Typically, though not always, it also involves either pronominalization or omission from verbalization altogether.

The omission of an object is well attested cross-linguistically (cf. Mittwoch 1971, Sag and Hankamer 1984).¹⁰⁰ To Fillmore (1986: 97):

[...] cases where the speaker’s authority to omit a complement exists only within an ongoing discourse in which the missing information can be immediately retrieved from the context, and on condition that the omission is authorized by a particular lexical item or grammatical construction in the language.

What makes PT differ from other languages is that it makes use of phrasal alternation to mark the object or the complement in that position. Following the general rules of phrasal alternation presented in 1.7.4, the

¹⁰⁰ For example, the phenomenon has been observed in Japanese, Korean and Hungarian (Goldberg 1995: 59).

oblique form is required when the referent of a verb is restricted by an object, either overt (17)-(18) or unexpressed (19)-(21)

- (17) *uha nabut umpau? t̤pei ʒalua*
 people.A ACT.pick.O grass.A edge.O road.A
 ‘People pulled up grass at the side of the road’
- (18) *no ɲimo? kaŋkun no dalon ʔoples*
 3.SG ACT.look.O frog.O 3.SG.POSS inside jar
 ‘S/he looks at his frog inside the jar’
 [P1_FS_DAS_OLD_MALE.005]
- (19) *dijea lamao ɲa nuŋgou*
 3.SG long.A really ACT.wait.O
 ‘She awaited [you] for a long time’
 [fc4.025]
- [A group of people burnt some houses]
 (20) *ku duwea mala uha ɲundun*
 time two.A evening.A people.A ACT.burn.O
 ‘At 2 am, people burnt [them]’
 [fc5.028]
- (21) *anje? no neh t̤rauh*
 dog.O 3.SG.POSS neh continuous

ugea ɲagut
 also ACT.bark.O
 ‘His dog still barks at [the wasp nest]’
 [P1_FS_DAS_OLD_MALE.033]

The oblique form is also required in active constructions which take a clausal complement (22)-(24).¹⁰¹

- (22) *ani ɲiro lampou lah matai*
 PN ACT.reckon.O lamp already die.A
 ‘Ani reckons that the lamp was already turned off’

¹⁰¹ This is different in TPM, where a verb with a clausal complement occurs in the absolute form (Mckinnon 2011).

- (23) *aril nuwe? bilea ikao k-uwo*
 PN ACT.ask when 2.SG to.outside.O
 ‘Aril wonders when you go to the market’
- (24) *rini penjko¹⁰² uto numbou? kanda*
 PN ACT.think.O car ACT.hit.O cage.A
 ‘Rini thought that the car hit the cage’

In this regard, the verb *pilaih/pileih* ‘to choose, to vote for’ behaves idiosyncratically. The oblique form is used when the verb is followed by a nominal adjunct (25), but also when the verb is followed by a nominal complement functioning as an object (26).¹⁰³ In PT, *pilaih/pileih* ‘to choose, to vote’ cannot occur intransitively and has to take an overt or covert object, requiring the oblique form.

- [An election was held on Saturday]
 (25) *nanda mileih ahi satau*
 PN ACT.vote.O day.O Saturday.A
 ‘Nanda voted [for someone] on Saturday’
- [The day to hold an event was decided on]
 (26) *nanda mileih ahi satau*
 PN ACT.vote.O day.O Saturday.A
 ‘Nanda voted for Saturday’

We see clear cross-dialectal differences between PT and TPM in the domain of phrasal alternation in active constructions (Table 8.2).

PT		TPM
V-OBL	Nominal complement	V.OBL
V-OBL	Nominal adjunct	V.ABS
V-OBL	Clausal complement	V.ABS

Table 8.2. Comparison of verb roles in PT and TPM

¹⁰² In TPM, the verb root would have been required in this clause (Mckinnon 2011).

¹⁰³ In TPM, the absolute form takes a nominal adjunct, whereas the oblique form takes a nominal complement. Examples in PT below are adapted from TPM (Mckinnon 2011).

8.4.2.2 ABS in the active constructions

The absolute form can only occur in phrase-final position. Verbs occur in the absolute form when they do not take an object. This construction, therefore, is syntactically intransitive; a so-called ‘indefinite null complement’ (Fillmore 1986; Goldberg 1995).¹⁰⁴

Common nasal-prefixed verbs that can occur in the absolute form include *maka* ‘to eat’ (*maka/makan*), *minan* ‘to drink’ (*minan/minun*), *ɲubea* ‘to try’ (*cubea/cubo*), *ɲantau* ‘to hang’ (*gantau/gantun*), *ɲampau* ‘to mix’ (*campau/campou*), *nulaih* ‘to write’ (*tulaih/tuleih*) and *maɲkau* ‘to hold’ (*paɲkau/paɲkou*).

When these verbs take an object, they must occur in the oblique form. In other words, if the subject-agent performs an object-less or object-irrelevant activity, the absolute form is used (27)-(28). When the oblique form is used, the implication is that the referent of the verb is restricted by an object understood from the context (29)-(30).

- (27) *no minan (*minun) ke? kantin*
 3.SG ACT.drink.A in canteen.A
 ‘S/he drinks in the canteen’
- (28) *ite? suduah nuwae pətan*
 aunty already.A ACT.harvest.A yesterday
 ‘Aunty already harvested yesterday’
- [Where did s/he drink tea?]
- (29) *no minun (*minan) ke? kantin*
 3.SG ACT.drink.O in canteen.A
 ‘S/he drank [it] in the canteen’
- ‘What happened to the paddy?’
- (30) *ite? suduah nuwe pətan*
 aunty already.A ACT.harvest.O yesterday
 ‘Aunty already harvested [it] yesterday’

Some nasal-prefixed verbs occur in the absolute-like form and have no oblique counterparts, including *ɲawae* ‘to execute’ (< *gawoa/gawe* ‘work’),

¹⁰⁴ In the words of Fillmore (1986: 96), ‘[...] with *indefinite null complements* the referent’s identity is unknown or a matter of indifference’.

nampa? ‘to appear’ (< *tampa?* ‘visible’), *ɲumpau* ‘to collect’ (< *kumpau* ‘to collect’), *muka?* ‘to open’ (< *bukua?* ‘to open’), *ɲəla* ‘to give so./sth. a name’ (< *gəlua/gəlo* ‘name’), *ɲanda* ‘to lean up against sth.’ (< *sanda* ‘to lean up against sth.’), *muta* ‘to turn’ (< *puta* ‘to turn’), *nawa* ‘to recite a mantra in order to cure illnesses’ (< *tawa* ‘to recite a mantra in order to cure illnesses’) and *nuka* ‘to change’ (< *tuka* ‘to change’). Some examples are presented in (31)-(33).

- (31) *akau* *gi* *ɲawae* *gawe*
 1.SG PROG ACT.execute work.O
 ‘I’m doing the work’

- (32) *ɲo* *nuka* *kipae*
 3.SG ACT.change.A money.A
 ‘S/he changes money’

- (33) *laɲsuŋ* *ɲo* *ɲəna?* *tudun* *toh*
 direct 3.SG ACT.wear hat.O toh

 ka *kapalo* *ɲo*
 on head.O 3.SG.POSS
 ‘He directly wears his hat on his head’
 [P4_PV_HAL_OLD_FEMALE.077]

8.4.2.3 Object topicalization

Object topicalization in PT exhibits a series of properties, listed below. Constructions that do not exhibit these properties are considered ungrammatical.

- 1) Patient-Agent-Verb word order.
- 2) The patient is obligatory and precedes the agent.
- 3) The agent is obligatory and directly precedes the verb.
- 4) The verb is a nasal-prefixed oblique root.
- 5) All personal pronouns can function as the agent.
- 6) Auxiliaries may precede or follow the agent.

Object topicalization emphasizes the agent of an action. The verb is the nasal-prefixed oblique root (34)-(35). The patient is obligatory and precedes the agent. It needs to be definite. Without a patient, it is a simple active construction (36). Note that all pronouns can be used agentively in object-topicalized constructions (37).

- (34) *buku itoh akau nuleih*
 book itoh 1.SG ACT.write.O
 ‘That book, I wrote [it]’ [Lit.]
 ‘It was me who wrote that book’
- (35) *umoh itoh akau mælei*
 house.O itoh 1.SG ACT.buy.O
 ‘That house, I bought [it]’ [Lit.]
 ‘It was me who bought that house’
- *umah akau mælei*
 house.A 1.SG ACT.buy.O
- (36) *akau mælei*
 1.SG ACT.buy.O
 ‘I bought [it]’
- (37) *buku itoh jo nuleih*
 book itoh 3.SG ACT.write.O
 ‘That book, s/he wrote [it]’

Auxiliaries are not restricted (almost all types of auxiliaries can occur) in object topicalization. The aspect and modality markers *əmbauh* ‘want’, *bisua* ‘can’ and *suduah* ‘already’ can both precede and follow the agent yielding different interpretations (38)-(40). (38)a expresses a stronger affirmative value that the agent really wants to buy that house and s/he strongly confirms it. (38)b does not express the same affirmative value. (39)a denotes a stronger ability of the agent to buy that house whereas (39)b does not denote such ability as strong as (39) does. (40)a strongly emphasizes a completion of the action ‘buying that house’ by the agent whereas (40)b does not emphasize it.

The temporal related auxiliaries *lah* (past marker), *gi* (present marker) and *əndo?* (future marker) can only follow the agent (41)-(43).

- (38) a *umoh itoh əmbauh akau mælei*
 house.O itoh want.A 1.SG ACT.buy.O
- Or: b *umoh itoh akau əmbauh mælei*
 house.O itoh 1.SG want.A ACT.buy.O
 ‘That house, I want to buy [it]’

- (39) a *umoh itoh bisua akau mælei*
house.O itoh can.A 1.SG ACT.buy.O
- Or: b *umoh itoh akau bisua mælei*
house.O itoh 1.SG can.A ACT.buy.O
'That house, I can buy [it]'
- (40) a *umoh itoh suduah akau mælei*
house.O itoh already.A 1.SG ACT.buy.O
- Or: b *umoh itoh akau suduah mælei*
house.O itoh 1.SG already.A ACT.buy.O
'That house, I already bought [it]'
- (41) *umoh itoh akau lah mælei*
house.O itoh 1.SG already ACT.buy.O
'That house, I already bought [it]'
- (42) *umoh itoh akau gi mælei*
house.O itoh 1.SG PROG ACT.buy.O
'That house, I'm buying [it]'
- (43) *umoh itoh akau ændo? mælei*
house.O itoh 1.SG FUT ACT.buy.O
'That house, I will buy [it]'

On a comparative level, note that Malay requires a relative marker to emphasize that the agent is the focus of an object-topicalized construction (44). In PT it is semantically understood that the agent is being focus on. The patient is topicalized, whereas the next element (the comment) exhibits a focal point (the focus). Note also that where Malay requires the pronoun – *nya* to follow the verb, PT simply makes it oblique.

- (44) PT *lante itoh akau æ mæseih*
Malay *lantai itu aku yang membersihkannya*
floor.O DEM 1.SG REL ACT.clean
- | | | |
|--------------|--------------|----------------|
| topic | focus | comment |
| <hr/> | | |
- 'That floor, I cleaned it'

8.4.3 Passive type 1 (P1)

As stated previously, an event can be viewed from the perspective of the agent or the patient.¹⁰⁵ Passive constructions are patient-oriented (cf. Croft 2001). They carry meaning in its own right and are not just marked counterparts to active constructions (cf. Keenan and Dryer 2007).¹⁰⁶ In the words of Hilpert (2014: 42):

The fact that some examples of the Passive cannot be transformed into a corresponding Active clause makes it difficult to maintain the idea of a grammatical rule that systematically links both constructions. To be sure, speakers will be aware that the two constructions correspond in important ways, that they often paraphrase one another, and that they express similar states of affairs. All of this does not run counter to the idea that the Passive is a construction in its own right, a generalization that speakers have to learn as an independent unit of grammatical knowledge.

This section discusses the properties of the so called passive type 1 (P1),¹⁰⁷ focusing on the use of the oblique form (8.4.3.1) and the absolute form (8.4.3.2). Passive type 1 exhibits the following general properties:

- 1) The verb is marked with the prefix *di-*.¹⁰⁸
- 2) The patient occurs in the subject position. It usually precedes the verb, but may also follow it.
- 3) The agent occurs immediately after the verb and is optional.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ In the words of Jespersen (1951: 167), ‘as a rule the person or thing that is the center of the interest at the moment is made the subject of the sentence’.

¹⁰⁶ Quirk et al. (1985) posit the ‘passive gradient’ in English, distinguishing three passive categories: ‘central passive’, ‘semi-passive’ and ‘pseudo-passive’. Only central passives have the active counterpart expression, whereas semi-passive and pseudo passive do not. The examples they provide for semi passives are ‘We are encouraged to go on with the project’ and ‘Leonard was interested in linguistics’, whereas the example for pseudo-passives are ‘The building is already demolished’ and ‘The modern world is getting more highly industrialized and mechanized’.

¹⁰⁷ This term is used by Dardjowidjojo (1978) and Sneddon (2010) in reference to a ‘true’ passive (i.e. resembling passive constructions in English), as opposed to passive type 2 discussed in section 8.4.4. Chung (1976, 1978) and De Vries (1983) call it ‘canonical passive’.

¹⁰⁸ This construction is known as a ‘strict morphological passive’ (cf. Keenan and Dryer 2007), which is formed by prefixing and suffixing.

- 4) A preposition *duwot/wot* ‘by’ optionally follows the *di*-verb. The agent occurs within a PP headed by *duwot/wot* ‘by’.¹¹⁰
- 5) The agent may be the first, second, and third person pronoun.¹¹¹
- 6) Auxiliaries appear before the *di*-verb.

Three types of agents can occur after the *di*-verb in PT: 1) a personal pronoun, 2) a noun phrase, and 3) a prepositional phrase. A personal pronoun can be modified by a demonstrative, whereas a noun phrase can be modified by more elements (i.e. nouns, demonstratives, adjectives, numerals, and classifiers).

The subject-patient is generally required (45), but can be omitted if the context is clear (46). The agent may occur as a pronoun (47), a noun phrase (48) or within a prepositional phrase (49).

- (45) *mijua* *di-tukun* *no*
 table.A PASS-hit.O 3.SG
 ‘The table was hit by her/him’

- [What happened to the table?]
 (46) *di-tukun* *no*
 PASS-hit.O 3.SG
 ‘Was hit by her/him’

- (47) *pintau* *di-tutou?* *no*
 door.A PASS-close.O 3.SG
 ‘The door was closed by her/him’

- (48) *pintau* *di-tutou?* *apo?* *no*
 door.A PASS-close.O father.O 3.SG.POSS
 ‘The door was closed by her/his father’

¹⁰⁹ Note that agent defocusing is believed by some to be the main function of passive constructions (Shibatani 1985).

¹¹⁰ This is presumably due to the influence of Malay *oleh* ‘by’. The prepositional *by*-phrase is not allowed in other Kerinci varieties such as TPM (Mckinnon 2011).

¹¹¹ This has also been observed in other Malay varieties (Chung 1976; Yanti 2010). Prescriptive Standard Indonesian only allows the third-person pronoun as the agent.

- (49) *pintau di-tutau? wot no*
 door.A PASS-close.A by 3.SG
 ‘The door was closed by her/him’

The subject-patient typically precedes the verb+agent. However, in narratives, it is also common for the verb+agent to precede the patient.¹¹² This verb-initial structure puts emphasis on the event (50)-(52). To expand the clause, a relative clause can be added to modify the agent (53).

- (50) *di-juun [no]_{AGT} [sapatou bot no]_{PAT}*
 PASS-carry.O 3.SG shoes boot 3.SG.POSS
 ‘Are carried by him, his boots’ [Lit.]
 ‘He carries his boots’ [Dyn.]
 [P1_FS_DAS_OLD_MALE.012]
- (51) *di-siun-siun [anye? neh]_{AGT} [no]_{PAT}*
 PASS-RED-kiss.O dog.O neh 3.SG
 ‘Is repeatedly kissed by this dog, he’ [Lit.]
 ‘This dog kisses him repeatedly’ [Dyn.]
 [P4_FS_HAL_OLD_FEMALE.042]
- (52) *di-kimo? [no]_{AGT} [kangkun toh]_{PAT}*
 PASS-look.O 3.SG frog.O toh
 ‘Is examined by him, that frog’ [Lit.]
 ‘He examines that frog’ [Dyn.]
 [P13_FS_YUL_OLD_MALE.012]
- (53) *di-ambi? [uha ηə s-uha, ηə]*
 PASS-take.O people.A REL one-CLF REL

baju iyua]_{AGT} [tudun toh]_{PAT}
 shirt.O green.A hat.O toh
 ‘Was taken by one person who is in a green shirt, that hat’ [Lit.]
 ‘Someone in a green shirt took that hat’ [Dyn.]
 [P4_PV_HAL_OLD_FEMALE_073]

¹¹² This has also been observed in varieties of Malay (Kaswanti Purwo 1988; Kroeger 2014).

The preposition *duwot/wot* ‘by’ optionally appears following the *di*-verb. The clause is grammatical both with a preposition (54) and without it (55). Constructions of the latter type are more natural and preferred. The use of a PP shows the influence of Malay, which has itself undergone grammatical influence from Dutch.

- (54) *kucae?* *di-tukau* *wot* *ikao*
 cat.A PASS-hit.A by 2.SG
 ‘The cat was hit by you’

- (55) *kucae?* *di-tukun* *ikao*
 cat.A PASS-hit.O 2.SG
 ‘The cat was hit by you’

Although PT does not show restrictions on the agent a verb can take in the P1 construction (56), there is a preference for the third person.¹¹³ The first and second person are preferably combined with the preposition *duwot/wot*. In (57), the agent that occurs with *wot* is an NP.

- (56) *kucae?* *di-tukau* *wot* *akau/ikao/no*
 cat.A PASS-hit.A by 1.SG/2.SG/3.SG
 ‘The cat was hit by me/you/s/he’

- (57) *jadi* *anye?* *no* *neh*
 so dog.O 3.SG.POSS neh

di-kantan *wot* *sala*
 PASS-attack.O by wasp.A
 ‘So his dog was attacked by wasps’
 [P1_FS_DAS_OLD_MALE.046]

Auxiliaries appear adjacently before the *di*-verb (58), even in otherwise verb-initial clauses (59).

- (58) *kucae?* *lah* *di-tukun* *no*
 cat.A already PASS-hit.O 3.SG
 ‘The cat was already hit by her/him’

¹¹³ Other Kerinci varieties such as SP (Steinhauer and Usman 1978) and TPM (Mckinnon 2011) show more restrictions on the agent.

- (59) *lah* *di-tukun* *no* *kucae?*
 already PASS-hit.O 3.SG cat.A
 ‘Was already hit by her/him, the cat’ [Lit.]
 ‘The cat was already hit by her/him’

The next section discusses the environments of the oblique forms (8.4.3.1) and absolute forms (8.4.3.2).

8.4.3.1 OBL in P1 constructions

The oblique form is used when the referent of the verb is restricted by an agent, syntactically expressed or otherwise. P1 sentences may begin with the patient in subject position followed by the verb construction ‘*di-* + root’ and either the third-person pronoun *no* (60)–(61) or a noun phrase (62).

- [A conversation about the Dutch colonialism]
- (60) *tanah* *kitao* *di-ambi?*
 land.A 1.PL.INCL.POSS PASS-take.O

no *dea?*
 3.PL TAG
 ‘Our land was taken by them, wasn’t it?’
 [fc3.124]
- (61) *lumbun-lumbun* *padoi* *uha* *anyo* *dusen*
 RED-rice.barn.O paddy.A people.A around village.A

di-suykit *no*
 PASS-shovel.O 3.PL
 ‘People’s paddy barns around the village were
 shoveled by them’
 [fc4.140]
- (62) *jadi* *anye?* *no* *neh*
 so dog.O 3.SG.POSS neh

di-kantan *wot* *sala*
 PASS-attack.O by wasp.A
 ‘So his dog was attacked by wasps’
 [P1_FS_DAS_OLD_MALE.046]

The oblique form is also used with the second-person (63) and first-person agents (64), as well as agents that are clear from the context (65).

- (63) *uto no di-tumbou? ikao*
 car 3.SG.POSS PASS-hit.O 2.SG
 ‘Her/his car was hit by you’
- (64) *ano? no di-suwat akau*
 child.O 3.SG.POSS PASS-feed.O 1.SG
 ‘Her/his child is fed by me’
- (65) *kəreih toh di-cabut samo*
 dagger.O toh PASS-pull.O together

məŋaih lahai pundau?
 angry.A run.A pondok.A
 ‘That dagger was pulled out angrily [by him] and [he] ran to Pondok’
 [fc0.028]

It is possible for oblique verbs to appear in the order verb+agent+patient (66)-(67).

- (66) *di-angkot no jahi no kateh*
 PASS-lift.O 3.SG finger.O 3.SG.POSS up
 ‘Are raised up by him, his hands’ [Lit.]
 ‘He raises up his hands’ [Dyn.]
 [P1_FS_DAS_OLD_MALE.053]
- (67) *jadi di-kəleih no pukat neh*
 so PASS-look.O 3.SG avocado neh
 ‘Are watched by him, the avocados’ [Lit.]
 ‘He watches the avocados’ [Dyn.]
 [P4_PV_HAL_OLD_FEMALE.005]

8.4.3.2 ABS in P1 constructions

The absolute form is used phrase-finally when no other constituent follows it (68). The presence of only one argument makes this type of construction intransitive.¹¹⁴

- (68) *manao ana? gadoih-gadoih neh di-imbua,*
 whoever child.A RED-female.A neh PASS-hide.A
dua? uloih nampa?
 NEG may ACT.visible
 ‘Girls were hidden, [they] were not allowed to be visible’
 [fc0.082]

Some absolute-like verbs in fact lack ABS-OBL opposition (69)-(70).

- (69) *kakei no di-kapa?*
 leg.O 3.SG.POSS PASS-place
no ke? tandou? no
 3.SG on antlers.O 3.SG.POSS
 ‘His legs are placed by him upon his antlers’
 [P1_FS_DAS_OLD_MALE.065]
- (70) *pam-balut lijei toh*
 NMLZ-bandage.O neck.O toh
di-pasa uha toh ali?
 PASS-put.on 3.SG.M back.O
 ‘So, that bandana was put back on by him’
 [P4_PV_HAL_OLD_FEMALE.016]

By contrasting the absolute and oblique form in the same P1 word order, we can see the nuances of phrasal alternation in PT. In example (71), the patient is covert since it is understood from the context. The verb takes an oblique root. In example (72), the verb is absolute and *kudea* ‘horse’ functions as a patient affected by the action. Note that the occurrence of the patient after the verb does not trigger the oblique form.

¹¹⁴ Kroeger (2014) makes the same case for Malay.

- (71) *di-əntan (*ənta) kudea*
 PASS-kick.O horse.A
 [verb] [agent]
 ‘[Someone] was kicked by a horse’
- (72) *di-ənta (*əntan) kudea*¹¹⁵
 PASS-kick.A horse.A
 [verb] [patient]
 ‘Kicked was the horse’ [Someone kicked the horse]

8.4.4 Passive type 2 (P2)

A second passive construction, which I call passive type 2 (P2),¹¹⁶ displays the following paradigm.

- 1) The patient is obligatory and precedes the agent in subject position.
- 2) The agent is obligatory and directly precedes the verb.
- 3) The verb appears in the bare absolute form.
- 4) Only the first and the second person agent can be used
- 5) Auxiliaries occur in front of the agent.

The patient is obligatory and precedes the agent (73). A clause without a patient is only acceptable as an answer to a particular question (74). A P2 clause is not grammatical when the patient does not precede the agent. The agent is obligatory and directly precedes the verb. The verb appears in the bare absolute form; oblique and/or nasal-prefixed verbs are ungrammatical.

- (73) *umoh itoh akau bəloi*
 house.O itoh 1.SG buy.A
 [subject-patient] [nonsubject-agent] [verb]
 ‘That house was bought by me’

¹¹⁵ *Di-ənta kudea!* can also be a polite imperative: ‘Please, kick a horse!’ (see 8.6.3).

¹¹⁶ I follow Dardjowidjojo (1978) and Sneddon (2010) in my usage of the term ‘passive type 2’. It is also known as ‘noncanonical passive’ (De Vries 1983), ‘object preposing passive’ (Chung 1976, 1978) or ‘passive semu’ (Cole et al. 2006). The use of P2 has declined across Malay varieties (Cole et al. 2008).

- (74) [What happened to the house?]
 ☞ *akau bəloi*
 1.SG buy.A
 ‘[It] was bought by me’
- *akau umoh itoh bəloi*
 1.SG house.O itoh buy.A
- *umoh itoh akau bəli*
 house.O itoh 1.SG buy.O
- *umoh itoh akau məlai*
 house.O itoh 1.SG ACT.buy.A

Only the first-person (75) and the second-person (76) pronouns can be used agentively in this passive construction. A proper name or a kinship term can be used in this position (as discussed in 4.5) as long as it is interpreted as referring to the first or the second person (77)-(78).

- (75) *bəreh itoh akau tana?*
 rice.O itoh 1.SG cook.A
 ‘That rice was cooked by me’
- (76) *bəreh itoh ikao tana?*
 rice.O itoh 2.SG cook.A
 ‘That rice was cooked by you’
- *bəreh itoh jo tana?*
 rice.O itoh 3.SG cook.A
- (77) *bəreh itoh caca tana?*
 rice.O itoh PN cook.A
 1. ‘That rice was cooked by me’ [Caca is speaking]
 2. ‘That rice was cooked by you’ [Caca is being spoken to]
 3.* ‘That rice was cooked by Caca’
- (78) *bəreh itoh apa? tana?*
 rice.O itoh father.A cook.A
 1. ‘That rice was cooked by me’ [Father is speaking]
 2. ‘That rice was cooked by you’ [Father is being spoken to]
 3.* ‘That rice was cooked by father’

Auxiliaries occur in front of the agent. Only the temporal related auxiliaries *lah* (past marker), *gi* (present marker) and *ando?* (future marker) can be used (79).

- (79) *gule itoh lah ikao bənua*
 dish.O itoh already 2.SG make.A
 ‘That dish was already cooked by you’

The characteristics of P1 and P2 are summarized in Table 8.3.

	P1	P2
Verb form	ABS / OBL	ABS
Obligatory agent	No	Yes
Agent argument	Any person	Only 1 st and 2 nd person
Order of agent to verb	Immediately follows verb	Immediately precedes verb
Position of auxiliary	Before the verb	Before the agent
Types of auxiliary	Any	Temporal related
Obligatory patient	No	No

Table 8.3. Characteristics of P1 and P2

8.5 Ditransitive constructions

Ditransitive constructions have three arguments. Malchukov et al. (2010: 1) define the ditransitive construction as ‘consisting of a (*ditransitive*) *verb*, an *agent argument* (henceforth, A), a *recipient-like argument* (henceforth, R), and a *theme argument* (henceforth, T)’. It conveys a meaning of transferring not only concrete (physical) things but also abstract (mental) things (Atoyebi et al. 2010). Languages display various ways to mark ditransitivity (e.g. Dryer 2007).

PT employs two active ditransitive constructions, which I call D1 and D2. D1 focuses on the theme, whereas D2 focuses on the recipient.¹¹⁷ In D1, the theme argument is treated as the direct object (dO) and the recipient-like argument is expressed by a prepositional phrase. In D2, the recipient-like argument is treated as the indirect object (iO), whereas the theme argument is treated as the direct object (dO). An unexpressed argument is acceptable in some ditransitive verbs when it is anaphorically recoverable and understood from the context.

¹¹⁷ These construction types also occur in English (Dixon 2005).

D1: [S+V+dO_{NP}+PP]

D2: [S+V+iO_{NP}+dO_{NP}]

In P1 constructions, both theme and recipient arguments can occur in subject position. The agent argument occurs either adjacently after the verb or within a PP. P1 constructions can occur in three possible orders:

1. [T+*di*-V+A+*ηuse*+R]
2. [R+*di*-V+T+*wot*+A]
3. [R+*di*-V+A+T]

In P2 constructions, the subject-patient is the recipient-like argument. It is followed by a nonsubject-agent argument and a bare absolute verb. The theme argument adjacently occurs after the verb.

This is the case for all ditransitive verbs in PT: *bagoih/bagih* ‘to give’, *bəroi* ‘to give’ (8.5.1), *aqua* ‘to teach’ (8.5.2), *kihan* ‘to send’ (8.5.3), *imbua/imbo* ‘1) to call, 2) to summon’ and *səbeu?/səbut* ‘1) to call, 2) to mention’ (8.5.4). Finally, subsection 8.5.5 discusses unexpressed arguments in ditransitive constructions.

It must be highlighted that only *bagoih/bagih* ‘to give’ and *bəroi* ‘to give’ are purely ditransitive, as it can occur in both D1 and D2.¹¹⁸ Like in English and other languages, most PT ditransitive verbs can only occur in either D1 or D2.

This section examines the distribution of the absolute and oblique forms in active, P1, P2 and imperative constructions. Each verb is discussed separately because they behave differently.

8.5.1 with *bagoih/bagih* ‘to give’ and *bəroi* ‘to give’

The root *bagoih/bagih* ‘to give’ can occur both in D1 and D2. In D1, the agent argument can be any noun phrase or pronoun. It is followed by a nasal-prefixed verb occurring in the oblique-like form and then by the theme argument (80). This verb does not alternate when it is nasal-prefixed. The verb *mərai* in example (81) follows the same order, but does not exhibit the ABS-OBL alternation.¹¹⁹ Note that the meaning of *bagoih/bagih* and *mərai*

¹¹⁸ As Dixon (1973) points out, ‘to give’ can occur in all possible syntactic environments.

¹¹⁹ Both *bəroi* ‘to give’ and *mərai* ‘to give’ can only occur in a frozen absolute form.

is identical and the verbs can be interchanged. The recipient-like argument occurs within a prepositional phrase headed by *ηuse* ‘to’. Theme arguments mentioned previously can be omitted, in which case the oblique form is used (82). Both verbs can also occur in D2, again in the Oblique-like form (83)–(84).

- (80) *kamai* *magih* *kipae* *ηuse* *no*
 1.PL.EXCL ACT.give money.A to 3.SG
 ‘We gave money to her/him’
- (81) *kamai* *mərai* *kipae* *ηuse* *no*
 1.PL.EXCL ACT.give money.A to 3.SG
 ‘We gave money to her/him’
- (82) *no* *ηambeĩ?* *uwoh* *pukat* *toh,* *magih*
 3.SG ACT.take.O fruit.O avocado toh ACT.give
- se* *uha ineh* *tigo* *uwuah*
 to 3.SG.M three.O CLF.A
 ‘He takes those avocados, gives to him three’
 [P4_PV_HAL_OLD_FEMALE_079]
- (83) *əma?* *magih* *no* *kipae*
 mother ACT.give 3.SG money.A
 ‘Mother gave her/him money’
- (84) *əma?* *mərai* *no* *kipae*
 mother ACT.give 3.SG money.A
 ‘Mother gave her/him money’

In P1 constructions, both verbs can occur in the order [T+*di*-V+A+*ηuse*+R]. The theme argument occurs in subject position and is followed by a *di*-verb. The verb precedes the agent argument. The recipient-like argument occurs within a prepositional phrase (85)–(86).

- (85) *kipae* *di-bagih* (**bagoih*) *əma?* *ηuse* *no*
 money.A PASS-give.O mother.A to 3.SG
 ‘Money was given by mother to her/him’

- (86) *nasai di-bəroi tantara*
 rice.A PASS-give army
ŋuse korban gəmpea
 to victim earthquake.A
 ‘Rice was given by the army to the victims of the earthquake’

Another possible order is [R+*di*-V+T+*wot*+A], in which the recipient-like argument occurs in subject position and is followed by a *di*- passive marker with the oblique verb root. The theme argument occurs after the verb and there is adjacency between the *di*-root and the theme argument. The theme argument is followed by a prepositional ‘by-phrase’ containing the agent (87)-(88). This order is grammatical but less preferred by PT speakers.

- (87) *no di-bagih (*bagoih) umah wot əmaʔ*
 3.SG PASS-give.O house.A by mother.A
 ‘S/he was given a house by mother’
- (88) *no di-bəroi uto ŋə umah wot pəmərintah*
 3.SG PASS-give car and house.A by government
 ‘S/he was given cars and houses by the government’

A third order is [R+*di*-V+A+T], in which the recipient-like argument appears in subject position. The verb is marked with *di*- and takes the oblique form. The agent argument immediately follows the verb, which is adjacently followed by the theme argument (89)-(90).

- (89) *no di-bagih (*bagoih) əmaʔ kipae*
 3.SG PASS-give.O mother.A money.A
 ‘S/he was given the money by mother’
- (90) *di ujun antan andoʔ poʔ si nurdin*
 so group grandfather.O andok father.O ART PN
uleu deaʔ, di-bəroi no maka pagoi
 in.the.past.A TAG PASS-give 3.PL eat.A morning.A
 ‘So the group of Mr. Andok, the father of Nurdin, were in the past given breakfast by them in the morning’
 [fc0.105]

More flexible word orders are encountered in naturalistic data. Theme arguments can occur in a conditional clause,¹²⁰ in which case the recipient appears in the main clause and is followed by the *di*-oblique verb. Also note the truncation *bagih* > *agih* in example (91). A verb+agent word order is also common in ditransitive constructions (92). Here, the agent follows the verb, the theme and the recipient respectively. The prefix *di*- can be used in an interrogative construction (93) or if the agent argument is considered irrelevant (94).

- (91) *adea* *pəmbagian*, *kitao* *di-agih* (**agoih*)
 exist.A distribution 1.PL.INCL PASS-give.O
 ‘[When] there was distribution, we were given it’
 [fc0.116]
- (92) *kalo* *balandea* *uleu* *dea?*, *di-bəroi*
 if Holland.A in.the.past.A TAG PASS-give
- no* *kaan* *kitao* *dea?*
 3.PL clothes.A 1.PL.INCL TAG
 ‘As for the Dutch in the past, clothes were given by them to us’ [Dyn.]
 [fc0.123]
- (93) *kipe* *itoh* *di-bagoih* (**bagih*) *ηuse* *sapo*
 money.O itoh PASS-give.A to who
 ‘That money was given to whom?’
- (94) *uto* *itoh* *di-bəroi*
 car itoh PASS-give
 ‘That car was given’

The bare absolute form *bagoih* is used in P2 and imperative constructions, whereas *bəroi* does not display alternation (95)-(97).

¹²⁰ This clause is understood as a conditional clause even though the marker *kalo* ‘if’ can be omitted.

- (95) *akau ikao bagoih (*bagih) kipae*
 1.SG 2.SG give.A money.A
 ‘I was given money by you’
- (96) *bagoih (*bagih) kipae ηuse no*
 give.A money.A to 3.SG
 ‘Give money to her/him!’
- (97) *bəroi no kipae*
 give 3.SG money.A
 ‘Give her/him money!’

8.5.2 with *aqua* ‘to teach’

The verb *aqua* ‘to teach’ does not alternate and occurs in the frozen absolute form. It can occur in D1 constructions (98) and D2 constructions (99).

- (98) *rina ηaqua matematik ηuse ano? teka*
 PN ACT.teach math to child.O TK
 ‘Rina teaches math to kindergarten children’
- (99) *eni ηaqua akau matematik*
 PN ACT.teach 1.SG math
 ‘Eni teaches me math’

The P1 orders [T+*di*-V+A + *ηuse* R] (100) and [R+*di*-V+T+wot A] (101) are grammatical, but [R+*di*-V+A+T] is preferred (102). The same rules apply for P2 constructions (103), D1 imperatives (104) and D2 imperatives (105).

- (100) *matematik di-aqua rina ηuse ano? teka*
 math PASS-teach PN to child.O TK
 ‘Math was taught by Rina to kindergarten children’
- (101) *ano? teka di-aqua matematik wot rina*
 child.O TK PASS-teach math by PN
 ‘Kindergarten children were taught Math by Rina’
- (102) *ano? teka di-aqua rina matematik*
 child.O TK PASS-teach PN math
 ‘Kindergarten children were taught Math by Rina’

- (103) *ano? teka akau aqua matematik*
 child.O TK 1.SG teach math
 ‘Kindergarten children were taught Math by me’
- (104) *aqua matematik ηuse ano? teka*
 teach math to child.O TK
 ‘Teach Math to kindergarten children!’
- (105) *aqua akau matematik*
 teach 1.SG math
 ‘Teach me Math!’

8.5.3 with *kihan* ‘to send’

Kihan ‘to send’ also only occurs in a frozen absolute form. D1 constructions (106) and D2 constructions (107) are both permitted.

- (106) *apa? ηihan kipae əndo? no*
 father.A ACT.send money.A for 3.SG
 ‘Father transferred money for her/him’
- (107) *apa? ηihan no kipae*
 father.A ACT.send 3.SG money.A
 ‘Father transferred her/him money’

In P1 constructions, the orders [T+*di*-V+A+ *ηuse* R] (108) and [R+*di*-A+T] (109) are preferred, but [R+*di*-V+T+*wot* A] (110) is also grammatical. P2 constructions can also take *kihan* (111). Imperatives are possible for D1 (112), but not for D2.

- (108) *kipae di-kihan apa? əndo? no*
 money.A PASS-send father.A for 3.SG
 ‘Money was sent by father for her/him’
- (109) *no di-kihan apa? kipae*
 3.SG PASS-send father.A money.A
 ‘S/he was sent money by father’

- (110) *no di-kihan kipae wot apa?*
 3.SG PASS-send money.A by father.A
 ‘S/he was sent money by father’
- (111) *no akau kihan kipae*
 3.SG 1.SG send money.A
 ‘S/he was sent money by me’
- (112) *kihan kipae əndo? no*
 send money.A for 3.SG
 ‘Send money for her/him!’

8.5.4 with *imbua/imbo* and *səbeu?/səbut* ‘to call’

The verbs *imbua/imbo* ‘to call [D2]; to summon [transitive]’ and *səbeu?/səbut* ‘to call [D2]; to mention [transitive]’ are discussed simultaneously since they exhibit identical syntactic realizations.

Goldberg (1995) proposes that ditransitive should involve a transfer. The verbs *imbua/imbo* and *səbeu?/səbut* ‘to call’ do not involve a physical transfer. For the interpretation of these verbs, it is understood metaphorically that the agent gives a certain title to the patient and the patient receives the title from the agent.

In D2 constructions, both verbs appear in the nasal-prefixed oblique form in the active construction (113)–(114). Here, they are identical in meaning. Neither can occur in D1 constructions.

- (113) *uha ŋimbo pərajurit itoh ʔendəral*
 people.A ACT.call.O soldier itoh general
 ‘People call that soldier The General’
- (114) *uha ʔəbut no pa-məbeu?*
 people.A ACT.call.O 3.SG NMLZ-drunk.A
 ‘People call her/him a drinker’

Neither verb can occur in the P1 order [T-*di*-V+A+PREP R]. The order [R+*di*-V+T+*wot* A] (115) is grammatical but not preferred. Note that the verb *imbua/imbo* occurs in the oblique form, whereas *səbeu?/səbut* is generally in the absolute form, except in active transitive constructions (114). The preferred word order for P1 constructions is [R+*di*-V+A+T] (116). P2 constructions (117) and imperatives (118) are possible for both verbs, in requiring the bare absolute form.

- (115) *pəraqurit itoh di-imbo ɟendəral wot uha*
 soldier itoh PASS-call.O general by people.A
 ‘That soldier is called The General by people’
- (116) *no di-səbeu? uha pa-mabeu?*
 3.SG PASS-call.A people.A NMLZ-drunk.A
 ‘S/he is called a drinker by people’
- (117) *akau ikao imbua ɟendəral*
 1.SG 2.SG call.A general
 ‘I was called The General by you’
- (118) *səbeu? no pa-mabeu?*
 call.A 3.SG NMLZ-drunk.A
 ‘Call her/him a drunkard’

8.5.5 with unexpressed arguments

All the verbs discussed above can occur in ditransitive constructions. However, in terms of valency, *bagoih/bagih* and *bəroi* ‘to give’, *aqua* ‘to teach’ and *kihan* ‘to send’ are trivalent, whereas *imbua/imbo* and *səbeu?/səbut* ‘to call’ are bivalent verbs.

Valency and transitivity cannot always be mapped to each other. Bivalent verbs can increase their valency by adding one argument, forming ditransitives. However, when they occur with two arguments, they create monotransitive constructions. Trivalent verbs take three arguments by nature. Arguments may be unexpressed or not profiled; if they are anaphorically recoverable, they do not need to appear syntactically.¹²¹ However, on a word level, transitivity does not affect the valency of trivalent verbs, while retaining the ability to occur with three participants.

In D1 and D2 constructions, the unexpressed theme argument denotes that the theme is anaphorically recoverable (119). Along the same lines, the unexpressed recipient argument can be understood from the context regardless of whether it actually appears in the construction or not (120)-(121).

¹²¹ Goldberg (1995) terms this phenomenon ‘shading’. Also see Hilpert (2014) on the same phenomenon in English.

- (119) *apa? ŋihan əndo? ɲo*
 father.A ACT.send for 3.SG
 ‘Father sent it to her/him’
- (120) *rina ɲaɲua matematik*
 PN ACT.teach math
 ‘Rina teaches Math [to somebody]’
- (121) *eni ɲaɲua akau*
 PN ACT.teach 1.SG
 ‘Eni teaches me [something]’

For the verbs *imbua/imbo* and *səbeu?/səbut* ‘to call’, it is impossible to leave the theme argument unexpressed. Without it, they become homonymous monotransitive verbs with the meaning of ‘to summon’ (122) and ‘to mention’ (123) respectively.

- [He saw that the soldier accidentally dropped his wallet]
- (122) *ɲo ɲimbo pəraqurit itoh*
 3.SG ACT.summon.O soldier itoh
 ‘He summons that soldier’
- [An aspiring politician is number three on the list]
- (123) *ɲo ɲəbut ‘pileih 3’*
 3.SG ACT.mention.O vote for three
 ‘He mentions ‘Vote for 3’’

In P1 constructions of the type [T+*di*-V+A+*ɲuse*+R], the agent argument (124) and the recipient argument (125) can be left unexpressed when they can be understood from the context.

- (124) *matematik di-aɲua ɲuse ano? teka*
 math PASS-teach to child.O TK
 ‘Math was taught to kindergarten children’
- (125) *kipae di-kihan apa?*
 money.A PASS-send father.A
 ‘Money was transferred by father’

In P1 constructions of the type [R+*di*-V+T+*wot*+A], ditransitive verbs can feature an unexpressed theme argument (126) or an unexpressed agent argument (127)

- (126) *ano?* *teka* *di-ajua* *wot* *rina*
 child.O TK PASS-teach by PN
 ‘Kindergarten children were taught by Rina’

- (127) *no* *di-bagih* (**bagoih*) *umah*
 3.SG PASS-give.O house.A
 ‘S/he was given a house [by so.]’

In P1 constructions of the type [R+*di*-V+A+T], the trivalent verbs *imbua/imbo* and *səbeu?/səbut* with the meaning ‘to call’ cannot occur with an unexpressed argument. Only the bivalent verbs *imbua/imbo* and *səbeu?/səbut* with the meaning ‘to summon’ and ‘to mention’ respectively yield a monotransitive construction (128)-(129). The theme argument of the verb *ajua* ‘to teach’, on the other hand, can be left unexpressed if clear from the context (130).

- (128) *pəraqurit* *itoh* *di-imbo* *uha*
 soldier itoh PASS-summon.O people.A
 ‘That soldier is summoned by people’

- (129) *no* *di-səbeu?* *uha*
 3.SG PASS-mention.A people.A
 ‘S/he is mentioned by people’

- (130) *ano?* *teka* *di-ajua* *rina*
 child.O TK PASS-teach PN
 ‘Kindergarten children were taught by Rina’

With the trivalent verb *bagoih/bagih* ‘to give’ in the same construction, it is possible to omit the agent argument (131) or the theme argument (132) if clear from the context. In naturalistic data, this verb can also form an intransitive construction when leaving two arguments unexpressed (133).

- (131) *di-agoih* *pupu?* *di-ambau* *pupu?* *uleu*
 PASS-give.A fertilizer PASS-spread.A fertilizer first.A
 ‘Fertilizer is given, the fertilizer is spread out first’ [Dyn.]
 [fc10.093]
- (132) *no* *di-bagih* *əma?*
 3.SG PASS-give.O mother.A
 ‘S/he was given [it] by mother’
- (133) *sarden* *toh* *di-agih*
 sardine toh PASS-give.O
 ‘Sardines were given [by them to us]’
 [fc0.085]

Note that the bivalent verbs *imbua/imbo* ‘to summon’ and *səbeu?/səbut* ‘to mention’ can occur in P2 (134)-(135), whereas the trivalent verbs *imbua/imbo* and *səbeu?/səbut* ‘to call’ cannot. The theme argument of verb like *ayua* ‘to teach’, *bagoih/bagih* ‘to give’ and *bəroi* ‘to give’ can be unexpressed if understood from the context (136)-(137).

- (134) *akau* *ikao* *imbua*
 1.SG 2.SG summon.A
 ‘I was summoned by you’
- (135) *akau* *ikao* *səbeu?*
 1.SG 2.SG call.A
 ‘I was mentioned by you’
- (136) *ano?* *teka* *kitao* *ayua*
 child.O TK 1.PL.INCL teach
 ‘Kindergarten children were taught [it] by us’
- (137) *akau* *ikao* *bəroi*
 1.SG 2.SG give
 ‘I was given [it] by you’

8.6 Imperative constructions

In imperative constructions, the implied agent is an addressee which is absent in the expression. The absence of the expected agent, therefore, decreases the valency of the construction (cf. Hilpert 2014). In the words of Davies (1986: 1):

While grammarians have most typically used the term imperative to refer to a syntactic category, it has also been used, especially by philosophers, as a description of meaning, to designate the kind of directive meaning associated with commands and requests.

Imperative clauses emphasize the activity, not the agent, the transitivity or the effect on the patient. The imperative construction can be formed with monomorphemic monovalent verbs (8.6.1), monomorphemic bivalent verbs (8.6.2), the prefix *di-* (8.6.3), the verbs *tulau* ‘help’ (8.6.4) and *cubea* ‘try’ (8.6.5), the adhortative particle *mahae* ‘let’ (8.6.6) and the vetative particle *mo?* (8.6.7). Verbs in imperative constructions mostly occur in the bare absolute form, except in combination with the vetative *mo?* and the particle *mahae* ‘let’.

8.6.1 with monovalent verbs

Monovalent verbs appear in the bare absolute form (138)-(139).

- (138) *du?ua woa lah mo? ku siha?*
 pray.A only PART so that 1.SG healthy.A
 ‘Pray for my good health!’
 [fc3.014]

- (139) *dudeu? inei*
 sit.A here
 ‘Sit here!’

8.6.2 with bivalent verbs

The bivalent verb occurs in the bare absolute form if the object is mentioned (140)-(141) or implied (142).

- (140) *saa? pintou ateh*
 close.A door.O above
 ‘Close the upper door!’
 [fc1.007]

- (141) *...kunca pintau*
 ...key.A door.A
 ‘Lock the door!’
 [fc3.084]

- (142) [Are you hungry?]
maka (aja)
 eat.A (chicken.A)
 ‘Eat [chicken]!’

8.6.3 with *di-*

A more polite imperative combines the passive *di-*form (143)-(144) with the absolute verb, decreasing the nuance of command or instruction.¹²² In this construction, it is no longer explicitly the second person who is instructed to do something; the directionality of the command is concealed.

- (143) [Ladies and gentleman, the chicken is ready]
di-makua aja
 PASS-eat.A chicken.A
 ‘Please, eat some chicken!’
- (144) *di-kuncai pintau*
 PASS-key.A door.A
 ‘Please, lock doors!’

8.6.4 with *tulau* ‘help’

The word *tulau* ‘help’ occurs clause-initially in combination with an absolute verb root (145)-(146). *Tulau* is used for imperatives that benefit the speaker. It conveys a polite nuance and is therefore favored over direct imperatives. The object can be dropped when understood from the context, yet the verb still occurs in the absolute form (147)-(148).

- (145) *tulau bəloi saboa*
 help.A buy.A red.pepper.A
 ‘Would you please buy red pepper?’

¹²² The use of a passive marker *di-* for ‘polite imperatives’ is common in Malayic and other Malayo-Polynesian languages. See, among many other examples, Bauer (1993) on Maori.

- (146) *tulau saa? pintou itoh*
 help.A close.A door.O itoh
 ‘Would you please close that door?’
- (147) *tulau bəloi (*bəli)*
 help.A buy.A
 ‘Would you please buy [it]?’
- (148) *tulau saa? (*saat)*
 help.A close.A
 ‘Would you please close [it]?’

8.6.5 with *cubea* ‘please’

The verb *cubea* literally means ‘to try’ and can be used to persuade someone to do something. Unlike *tulau*, this construction is used for imperatives that benefit the speaker and/or the addressee (149).¹²³ The occurrence of the particle *lah* makes the clause even more polite (150).

- (149) *cubea tulaih namo ikao inei*
 try.A write.A name.O 2.SG.POSS here
 ‘Please write your name here!’
- (150) *cubea lah sajabo kantei mankou*
 try.A PART order.A friend.O ACT.hoe.O
 ‘Please ask [your] friend to hoe [the rice field]!’
 [fc10.138]

The first-person pronoun can also be used with *cubea*. In this context, the speaker asks permission to do an action (151). With the first-person plural inclusive, *cubea* is used when the speaker invites the interlocutor to do an activity together. The verb is nasal-prefixed and occurs in the oblique form when there is an object (152)-(153). When the object is not relevant, the verb occurs in the absolute form (154).

¹²³ See (Sneddon 2010) on the same phenomenon in Indonesian.

- (151) *cubea akau maco* (**macea*)
 try.A 1.SG ACT.read.O
 ‘Let me read it!’
- (152) *cubea kitao nuleih ineh*
 try.A 1.PL.INCL ACT.write.O ineh
 ‘Let’s write this!’
- (153) *cubea kitao manjat baton nijao*
 try.A 1.PL.INCL ACT.climb.O stem.O coconut.A
 ‘Let’s climb a coconut tree!’
- (154) *cubea kitao manja?*
 try.A 1.PL.INCL ACT.climb.A
 ‘Let’s go climbing!’

8.6.6 with *mahae* ‘let’s’

The verb *mahae* historically means ‘to come’. This verb can behave like a regular verb in declarative clauses. Clause-initially, however, it occurs when the speaker invites the interlocutor to do an activity together (hortative). The marker is followed by the subject and the intransitive or active transitive verb. The nasal-prefixed oblique verb precedes the object (155)–(156). When the specific action requested by the speaker is understood from the context, the verb can be dropped (157).

- [Two guards start closing the building after working hours]
- (155) *mahae kitao ηuncei pintau*
 let 1.PL.INCL ACT.key.O door.A
 ‘Let’s lock the doors!’
- (156) *mahae kitao ηuncei*
 let 1.PL.INCL ACT.key.O
 ‘Let’s lock [them]!’
- (157) *mahae kitao*
 let 1.PL.INCL
 ‘Let us [do it]!’

In addition to the first-person inclusive *kitao* ‘we’, PT also uses the second-person pronoun *ikao* ‘you’ in constructions with *mahae*.¹²⁴ In that case, its meaning is more archaic, encouraging the interlocutor to come closer toward the speaker (158).

- (158) [An old man asks children to listen to him telling a story]
mahae ikao ana? nae?
 let 2.PL child.A small.A
 ‘Come here children!’
 [P1_FS_DAS_OLD_MALE.001]

8.6.7 with *mo?* ‘don’t’

The negative imperative or ‘vetative’ expresses a command not to do something. The particle *mo?* ‘don’t’ occurs clause-initially, optionally followed by a second-person subject (159)-(160). The verb occurs in a nasal-prefixed oblique root when it is followed by an object, behaving like verbs in declarative clauses. The oblique form appears when the object is understood from the context (161). Otherwise, the absolute form is used (162).

- (159) *mo?* [*ikao*] *makan aja*
 VET 2.SG eat.O chicken.A
 ‘Don’t [you] eat chicken!’
- (160) *mo?* [*ikao*] *ηuncei pintau*
 VET 2.SG ACT.key.O door.A
 ‘Don’t [you] lock the door!’
- (161) *mo?* [*ikao*] *ηuncei*
 VET 2.SG ACT.key.O
 ‘Don’t [you] lock [it]!’
- (162) [You have to cook! Don’t be lazy!]
mo? [*ikao*] *maka woa*
 VET 2.SG eat.A only
 ‘Don’t [you] just eat!’

¹²⁴ In Indonesian, only the first-person inclusive *kita* ‘we, us’ is permitted (Dardjowidjojo 1978).

Optionally, the particle *lah* can be added after the vetative, adding a suggestive nuance to the expression (163)-(164).

- (163) *moʔ lah [ikao] makan aja*
 VET PART 2.SG eat.O chicken.A
 ‘Please, don’t [you] eat chicken!’

- (164) *moʔ lah [ikao] ηuncei pintau*
 VET PART 2.SG ACT.key.O door.A
 ‘Please, don’t [you] lock the door!’

8.7 Secondary predication

In clauses with two predicates, the first predicate is a verb denoting an action, while the second is an adjective denoting a state. The latter is known as the ‘secondary predicate’ (Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt 2005; Verkerk 2009; Irimia 2012; Ernanda, 2016).

In PT, this phenomenon determines the phrasal alternation of the verb. As we will see, secondary predication occurs in the same clause if there is a continuity of topic. Otherwise, a biclausal structure is required. A secondary predicate can be an adjective prosodically separated from the clause (i.e. active clause) or a separate clause that contains a proper predicate linked by juxtaposition to a passive clause. The ABS-OBL alternation displays mixed patterns (Table 8.4). This section, therefore, focuses on the distribution of phrasal alternation in sentences with secondary predication. Three types¹²⁵ occur in PT: depictive (8.7.1), resultative (8.7.2) and manner adverbial (8.7.3). Intransitives and imperatives can also occur with secondary predication, as will be shown below.

¹²⁵ These three types are also attested cross-linguistically (Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt 2005).

		Active	P1	P2
Depictive	Agent-oriented	AGT <i>ACT-V</i> . _{OBL} PAT ADJ	Requiring two clauses	Requiring two clauses
	Patient-oriented	AGT <i>ACT-V</i> . _{OBL} ADJ PAT	1. PAT <i>di-V</i> . _{OBL} AGT ADJ (with agent) 2. PAT <i>di-V</i> . _{ABS} ADJ (agentless)	PAT AGT <i>V</i> . _{ABS} ADJ
Resultative		AGT <i>ACT-V</i> . _{OBL} ADJ PAT	1. PAT <i>di-V</i> . _{OBL} ADJ (agentless) 2. PAT <i>di-V</i> . _{OBL} AGT ADJ (with agent)	PAT AGT <i>V</i> . _{ABS} ADJ
Manner adverbial		AGT <i>ACT-V</i> . _{OBL} PAT ADJ	1. PAT <i>di-V</i> . _{ABS} ADJ (agentless) 2. Requiring two clauses (with agent)	PAT AGT <i>V</i> . _{ABS} ADJ

Table 8.4. Patterns of secondary predication

8.7.1 Depictive

In depictive constructions, the verbal first predicate and adjectival second predicate occur simultaneously. According to Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt (2005: 4), '[...] depictives express a state that holds during the reference time of the event encoded by the main predicate'. Depictives can be agent-oriented or patient-oriented. Patient-oriented expressions are generally more natural, but there are some syntactic barriers.

In intransitive one-argument clauses, the verb occurs in the absolute form and is followed directly by the adjective (165). Active constructions exhibit the oblique verb followed by a secondary predicate in the form of an absolute patient. The intonational break is between the patient and the adjective (166). If the patient takes the oblique form, the adjective does not function as the secondary predicate but as modifier of the head noun. The adjective still occurs in the absolute form, but is now part of a noun phrase. The intonational break is between the verb and the noun phrase (167).

- (165) *no masau? (*masou?) basuah*
 3.SG enter.A wet.A
 'S/he entered [when s/he was] wet'

- (166) *no masou? (*masau?) [umah]_{NP} kumauh*
 3.SG enter.O house.A dirty.A
 'S/he entered a house [when s/he was] dirty'

- (167) *no masou?* (**masau?*) [*umoh kumauh*]_{NP}
 3.SG enter.O house.O dirty.A
 ‘S/he entered a dirty house’

P1 constructions cannot occur with a secondary predicate in depictive agent-oriented constructions, as the focus of the passive is the subject-patient, not the agent (168). With an intonational break between the agent and the adjective, this type of sentence could mark a sequence of events. However, a more natural alternative would involve a relative marker between the subject-patient and *di*-oblique verb, so that the verb occurs within the relative clause and exhibits an attributive relation with the head noun (169). This construction is no longer a secondary predicate construction. P1-type passivization would require two separate clauses, in which the patient occurs in subject position followed by *di*+OBL and the agent. The adjective occurs in a separate clause as the main predicate (170). This construction also does not feature a secondary predicate, as there is no continuity of topic.

- (168) *umah di-masou?* (**di-masau?*) *no kumauh*
 house.A PASS-enter.O 3.SG dirty.A
 1. ‘The house entered by her/him was dirty’
 2. ‘The house was entered by her/him and [then got] dirty’
- (169) *umoh [ɲə di-masou?* (**di-masau?*) *no*]_{RC} *kumauh*
 house.O REL PASS-enter.O 3.SG dirty.A
 ‘The house that was entered by her/him was dirty’
- (170) *umoh di-masou?* (**di-masau?*) *no. no kumauh*
 house.O PASS-enter.O 3.SG 3.SG dirty.A
 ‘The house was entered by her/him. S/he was dirty’

The same problem occurs in P2 constructions, which also require two clauses. Here, the subject-patient is followed by the non-subject agent and the bare absolute form of the verb. The adjective occurs in a separate clause as a predicate, not a secondary predicate (171).

- (171) *umoh kamai masau?* (**masou?*)
 house.O 1.PL.EXCL enter.A
- kamai kumauh*
 1.PL.EXCL dirty.A
 ‘The house was entered by us. We were dirty’

In patient oriented active constructions, the verb occurs in the oblique form and is followed by the secondary predicate and ultimately by the patient (172). In P1 constructions, the prefix *di-* is combined with the oblique root, followed directly by the agent and the secondary predicate (173). The absolute form is used when information about the agent is not relevant (174). In P2 constructions, the bare verb occurs in the absolute form and is followed by the secondary predicate (175). The imperative requires the verb to occur in the bare absolute form (176).

- (172) *akau makan (*maka) matah laou? itoh*
 1.SG eat.O raw.A fish.O itoh
 ‘I ate that fish raw’
- (173) *laou? itoh di-bakon (*di-makua) no matah*
 fish.O itoh PASS-eat.O 3.SG raw.A
 ‘That fish was eaten raw by her/him’
- (174) *umoh itoh di-bəloi (*di-bəli) baheu*
 house.O itoh PASS-buy.A new.A
 ‘That house was bought new’
- (175) *ajei itoh akau minan (*minun) aŋa?*
 water.O itoh 1.SG drink.A warm.A
 ‘That water was drunk warm by me’
- (176) *maka (*makan) matah laou? itoh*
 eat.A raw.A fish.O itoh
 ‘Eat that fish raw!’

8.7.2 Resultative

Resultative secondary predication is patient-oriented. The use of the secondary predicate in this construction is to express the state of the patient as a consequence of the action. It does not necessarily occur simultaneously with the main action denoted by the verb. In active constructions, the secondary predicate intervenes between the oblique verb and the patient (177).

- (177) *akau ŋəbih kəmpauh jagun itoh*
 1.SG ACT.stew.O soft.A corn.O itoh
 ‘I stewed that corn soft’

In P1 constructions, the verb can only be oblique, even when the agent is not specified (178)–(179). It differs from the general patterns of phrasal alternation which require the absolute form for agentless expressions. When there is an agent, it directly follows the *di*-OBL verb (180).

- (178) *sabe* *itoh* *di-gilin* *alauh*
 red.pepper.O itoh PASS-grind.O fine.A
 ‘That red pepper was ground fine’

- (179) *kəcuali* *kalo* *sawoh* *toh* *sawoh*
 except if rice.field.O toh rice.field.O

kəraeh, *toh* *ijea* *diŋan* *paŋkau,*
 hard.A toh yes with hoe.A

di-cincan-cincan *alauh* *dea?*
 PASS-RED-chop.O fine.A TAG
 ‘Unless the rice field is hard, [you use] a hoe. [It’s]
 crumbled fine, isn’t it?’
 [fc10.090]

- (180) *sabe* *itoh* *di-gilin* *no* *alauh*
 red.pepper.O itoh PASS-grind.O 3.SG fine.A
 ‘That red pepper was ground finely by her/him’

The verb preceding the secondary predicate appears in the absolute form in P2 constructions (181) and imperative constructions (182).

- (181) *sabe* *itoh* *akau* *gilon* *alauh*
 red.pepper.O itoh 1.SG grind.A fine.A
 ‘That red pepper was ground finely by me’

- (182) *boih* *kəmpauh* *ɟagun* *itoh*
 stew.A soft.A corn.O itoh
 ‘Stew that corn soft!’

8.7.3 Manner adverbial

A manner adverbial is event-oriented, not participant-oriented. It describes the manner of the main action, not the state of the agent or the patient. The secondary predicate occurs simultaneously with the main action denoted by the verb.

In intransitive constructions, the verb occurs in the absolute form (183). The verb occurs in the oblique form in active constructions, since it is followed by an expression for the patient (184). The secondary predicate cannot occur directly after the verb, but follows the patient. Note that semi-transitive verbs like *macea/maco* ‘to read’ can also occur with or without a patient. In the latter case, it occurs in the absolute form and is followed by the secondary predicate (185). When the patient is understood from the context, it takes the oblique form (186).

- (183) *ani* *tideu* *təna*
 PN sleep.A quiet.A
 ‘Ani sleeps quietly’
- (184) *akau* *maco* *buku* *itoh* *koah*
 1.SG ACT.read.O book itoh fast.A
 ‘I read that book fast’
- (185) *akau* *macea* (**maco*) *koah*
 1.SG ACT.read.A fast.A
 ‘I read fast’
- (186) *akau* *maco* (**macea*) *koah*
 1.SG ACT.read.O fast.A
 ‘I read [it] fast’

In P1 constructions, only the absolute form can occur, leaving the agent unspecified. The secondary predicate directly follows the verb (187). Two separate clauses are required when the agent is mentioned (188). In P2 constructions, the bare absolute verb is followed by the secondary predicate (189). The bare absolute verb is also used in imperative constructions (190).

- (187) *uhan itoh* *di-tinjau* (**tinjou*) *kasa*
 3.SG.M PASS-punch.A rude.A
 ‘He was punched aggressively’
- (188) *uhan itoh* *di-tinjau* (**tinjou*) *no*.
 3.SG.M PASS-punch.O 3.SG
- no* *ninjau* *kasa*
 3.SG ACT.punch.O rude.A
 ‘He was punched by her/him. S/he punched him aggressively’

- (189) *talai ke? kəben akau tahai? kəncə*
 rope.A in garden.A 1.SG pull.A taut.A
 ‘The rope in the garden is pulled taut by me’
- (190) *tahai? kəncə talai ke? kəben*
 pull.A taut.A rope.A in garden.A
 ‘Pull the rope in the garden taut!’

8.8 Non-alternating verbs

Non-alternating verbs, by definition, do not exhibit phrasal alternation. Such verbs are typically derived from loanwords, i.e. *ŋəcas* ‘to charge’ (< *cas* ‘charger’), *nəlepon* ‘to call’ (< *təlepon* ‘telephone’), *ŋojek* ‘to take a motor taxi’ (< *ojek* ‘motor taxi’).

Non-alternating forms occur in oblique and absolute environments. In active constructions, the object can be mentioned (191) or omitted (192), in which case it is either understood from the context or irrelevant. They further occur in object-topicalized constructions (193), imperative constructions (194), P1 (195) and P2 (196).

- (191) *ŋo ŋəcas hape*
 3.SG ACT.charge handphone
 ‘S/he charges the mobile phone’
- (192) *ŋo ŋəcas*
 3.SG ACT.charge
 1. ‘S/he charges it’
 2. ‘S/he is charging’
- (193) *hape ŋo ŋəcas*
 handphone 3.SG ACT.charge
 ‘The handphone, s/he charges it’
- (194) *cas hape neh!*
 charge handphone neh
 ‘Charge this handphone!’
- (195) *hape di-cas ŋo*
 handphone PASS-charge 3.SG
 ‘The handphone was charged by her/him’

- (196) *hape akau cas*
 handphone 1.SG charge
 'The handphone was charged by me'

8.9 Verbs in free variation

Some verbs are in free variation and may occur either in the absolute or oblique form without change in meaning: *muwao/muwo* 'to bring' (< *buwea/buwo*), *məna/məno* 'to make' (< *bənua/bəno*), *nəguaʔ/nəgoʔ* 'to build' (< *təguaʔ/təgoʔ*), *nana/nanan* 'to plant' (< *tana/tanan* 'to plant'), *maŋkau/maŋkou* 'to hold' (< *paŋkau/paŋkou*), etc.

Verbs in free variation occur in active constructions (197)-(199) and passive constructions (200)-(201).

- (197) *jo muwao~muwo anyeʔ toh asouʔ imbao*
 3.SG ACT.bring.A~O dog.O toh enter.O forest.A
 'He walks the dog to a forest'
 [P3_FS_NOR_OLD_FEMALE.043]
- (198) *uha məna~məno papa*
 people.A ACT.make.A~O plank.A
 'People are making planks'
 [fc1.012]
- (199) *umar nəguaʔ~nəgoʔ umah*
 PN ACT.build.A~O house.A
 'Umar builds a house'
- (200) *di-buwea~di-buwo jo uncan kaae*
 PASS-bring.A~O 3.SG purse.O clothes.A

jadi təmpeʔ uwoh pukat
 become.O place.O fruit.O avocado

jo toh
 3.SG.POSS toh
 'He brings a cloth purse as a place to put his avocados'
 [P4_PV_HAL_OLD_FEMALE.007]
- (201) *di-bənua~di-bəno jo gule toh*
 PASS-make.A~O 3.SG dish.O toh
 'He cooks that dish'

9 Derived verb constructions

9.1 Introduction

Verb derivation from other word classes is formed by adding prefixes to the roots. The verbalizing prefixes in PT are *maN-* (9.2), *N-* + OBL (9.3), *pa-* (9.4), *ba-* (9.5), *ta-* (9.6) and *ka-* (9.7). Verb reduplication is discussed in section 9.8.

Derivational morphology can be grouped into three types. The first type displays general patterns of phrasal alternation presented in 1.7.4. The second type, the ‘frozen oblique’, goes back to the historical suffix **-an*, which has converged morphologically with the oblique form in PT. The third type is a combination of a prefix with a compound. This type consists of existing compounds combined with derivational prefixes, so that patterns of phrasal alternation differ from one construction to another.

9.2 *maN-*

This section discusses the prefix *maN-* in combination with adjective roots (9.2.1) and noun roots (9.2.2).

9.2.1 with adjective roots

The prefix *maN-* with adjective roots expresses ‘to become X’ (Table 9.1). The realizations of *maN-* are slightly different from that of *N-* in active transitive constructions (8.4.1), in that root-initial voiced obstruents are preserved. Only roots have ABS-OBL alternation, whereas the derivational forms are morphologically frozen in the absolute form.

Root	Derivational form
<i>gədua/gədon</i> ‘big’	<i>maŋgədua.A</i> ‘to become big’
<i>kəran/kərin</i> ‘dry’	<i>maŋəran.A</i> ‘to become dry’
<i>kunan/kunin</i> ‘yellow’	<i>maŋunan.A</i> ‘to become yellow’
<i>putaih/puteih</i> ‘white’	<i>mamutaih.A</i> ‘to become white’

Table 9.1. *maN-* + adjective roots

The prefix *maN-* takes one argument intransitively (1)–(2). It can also occur as a nominalized intransitive predicate (3)–(4).

- (1) *padoi ke? sawah lah maʔunan*
 paddy.A in rice.field.A already ACT.yellow.A
 ‘Paddy in the rice field has become yellow’
- [After an accident]
- (2) *kakei ʔo maʔ-gədua*
 leg.O 3.SG.POSS ACT.big.A
 ‘Her/his leg was becoming bigger’
- [Comparing two colors]
- (3) *maʔunan toh ilau?*
 ACT.yellow.A toh good.A
 ‘Yellowish [turning yellow] is better than dark yellow’
- daripado kunin tuwao*
 than yellow.O old.A
 ‘Yellowish [turning yellow] is better than dark yellow’
- [A conversation about dough]
- (4) *maʔ-gədua toh ʔə ilau?*
 ACT.big.A toh REL good.A
 ‘Becoming big is good’

9.2.2 with noun roots

Combined with a small number of noun roots, the prefix *maN-* denotes ‘to be like X’ (Table 9.2).

Root	Derivational form
<i>bateu/batu</i> ‘stone’	<i>mambateu.A</i> ‘to harden’
<i>bukoi?/bukit</i> ‘hill’	<i>mambukoi?.A</i> ‘to form a heap’
<i>gunea/gunun</i> ‘mountain’	<i>maʔgunea.A</i> ‘to pile up’

Table 9.2. *maN-* + noun roots

These morphological forms are also frozen in the absolute form (5)–(6). In a limited number of cases, this prefixed form can appear in the oblique form when combined with a participant functioning as a complement (7).

- (5) *baɟu kumaʊh lah maŋ-gunea*
 shirt.O dirty.A already ACT.mountain.A
 ‘Dirty clothes are piling up’
- (6) *ajei dalon kulkas lah mam-bateu*
 water.O inside fridge already ACT.stone.A
 ‘Water inside the fridge is hardened [frozen]’
- (7) *baɟu kumaʊh lah maŋ-gunun tiŋgai*
 shirt.O dirty.A already ACT.mountain.O high.A
 ‘Dirty clothes are highly piled up’

9.3 N-+OBL

Monovalent verb roots and adjective roots can increase their valency by creating active causative verbs. This section describes the valency increasing derivation on the basis of monovalent verb roots (9.3.1) and adjective roots (9.3.2).

9.3.1 with monovalent verb roots

The nasal-prefixed oblique can form verbs that can take two arguments from monovalent verb roots. Examples of monovalent bare verb roots that increase valency through *N-+OBL* are: *tideu/tidu* ‘to sleep’ vs. *nidu* ‘to make someone sleep’, *mandai* ‘to take a bath’ vs. *mandei* ‘to bathe someone’, *matai* ‘to die’ vs. *matei* ‘to turn something off’, *aŋau?* ‘to drift’ vs. *ŋaŋou?* ‘to set adrift’.

In these derived active transitive constructions, the oblique form indicates that there is an agent which functions as the causee (8). Unlike intransitives (9), these derived forms do not alternate and can only occur in the oblique form, including when the object can be understood from the context (10).

- [Her 3-year-old sister is still awake at midnight]
- (8) *no nidu adi? no*
 3.SG ACT.sleep.O younger.sibling.O 3.SG.POSS
 ‘She is trying to make her younger sibling sleep’
- (9) *adi? no tideu*
 younger.sibling.O 3.SG.POSS sleep.A
 ‘Her/his younger sibling is sleeping’

- [What is she doing to her 3-year-old sister who is still awake at midnight?]
- (10) *no nidu*
 3.SG ACT.sleep.O
 ‘She is trying to make [her sister] sleep’

These constructions can be passivized with the P1 construction (11), which takes an oblique form, but not with the P2 construction. In the imperative construction, the bare absolute root is used with the prefix *di-* (12). Note that without the prefix *di-*, it forms an intransitive clause (13), not an imperative.

- (11) *adi? no di-tidu no*
 younger.sibling.O 3.SG.POSS PASS-sleep.O 3.SG
 ‘Her sister was put to sleep by her’
- *adi? no akau tideu*
 younger.sibling.O 3.SG.POSS 1.SG sleep.A
 ‘Her sister was put to sleep by me’
- (12) *di-tideu adi? no*
 PASS-sleep.A younger.sibling.O 3.SG.POSS
 ‘Put her sister to sleep!’
- (13) *tideu adi? no*
 sleep.A younger.sibling.O 3.SG.POSS
 *‘Put her sister to sleep!’
 ‘Her/his younger sibling is sleeping’

9.3.2 with adjective roots

With a number adjective oblique roots, *N*+OBL produces the meaning ‘to cause the patient to have the characteristics of X’ (14)-(15). The prefix *di-* can be combined with the oblique root in P1 constructions, when its referent is restricted by an overt (16) or covert agent (17). This type of causative cannot occur either in P2 or in imperative constructions.

- [What is the sewing machine for?]
- (14) *untu? ηəne? bajeu*
 for ACT.small.O shirt.A
 ‘To make the shirt smaller’

- (15) [What is s/he doing with the shirt?]
no ηəne?
 3.SG ACT.small.O
 ‘S/he makes it smaller’
- (16) *suwaro tipi di-ne? tino*
 voice.O television PASS-small.O grandmother.O
 ‘The TV volume was lowered by Granny’
- (17) *ano? itoh di-gədon*
 child.O itoh PASS-big.O
 ‘That child has been raised [by so.]’

9.4 *pa-*

The prefix *pa-* can be combined with adjective and noun roots without phonological change in the root-initial phoneme, yielding transitive verbs. The prefix *pa-* can be preceded by the prefix *mam-* in active and *di-* in passive constructions. *Pa-* with adjective roots is discussed in 9.4.1 and with noun roots in 9.4.2.

9.4.1 with adjective roots

The prefix *pa-* combined with adjective roots forms transitive stems with the meaning ‘to make something more X’. It implies that the patient already has the characteristic denoted by the adjective, which characteristic is increased further (Table 9.3).

Root	Derivational form
<i>cəpaʔ/cəpat</i> ‘fast’	<i>pacəpaʔ/pacəpat</i> ‘to speed up’
<i>ənaeʔ/əneʔ</i> ‘small’	<i>paənaeʔ/paəneʔ</i> ‘to minimize, to decrease’
<i>gədua/gədon</i> ‘big, large’	<i>pagədua/pagədon</i> ‘to enlarge’
<i>ilauʔ/ilouʔ</i> ‘good, attractive’	<i>pailauʔ/pailouʔ</i> ‘to make more attractive, to decorate’
<i>libua/libo</i> ‘broad’	<i>palibua/palibo</i> ‘to broaden’
<i>muduah/mudoh</i> ‘easy’	<i>pamuduah/pamudoh</i> ‘to make easier, to facilitate’
<i>panya/panyan</i> ‘long’	<i>papanya/papanyan</i> ‘to lengthen’
<i>sinʔkaeʔ/sinʔkeʔ</i> ‘short’	<i>pasinʔkaeʔ/pasinʔkeʔ</i> ‘to shorten’
<i>tingai/tingei</i> ‘high, tall’	<i>patingai/patingei</i> ‘to make taller, to heighten’

Table 9.3. *pa-* + adjective roots

In active constructions, the oblique verb is preceded by the prefix *mam-* (18). This form cannot occur in intransitive constructions, i.e. without an overt or covert object. It differs from *N*-+OBL, which lacks the nuance that the adjective already possesses the quality that is being increased (19).

- (18) *no mam-pa-panyan barih ineh*
 3.SG ACT.CAUS-long.O line.O ineh
 ‘S/he lengthens this line’

**no mam-pa-panya*
 3.SG ACT.CAUS-long.A

- (19) *no manyan barih ineh*
 3.SG ACT.long.O line.O ineh
 ‘S/he makes this line long’

The prefix *pa-* combined with adjective roots can also form P1 constructions (20). The general rules of phrasal alternation presented in 1.7.4 apply (21)-(22). Adverbial constructions following the verb do not affect the absolute form of the verb (23).

- (20) *jalon ineh di-pa-libo*
 road.O ineh PASS-CAUS-broad.O
 ‘This road was broadened [by so.]’

- (21) *gawe ineh di-pa-mudoh no*
 work.O ineh PASS-CAUS-easy.O 3.SG
 ‘This work was made easier by him/her’

- (22) *gawe ineh di-pa-muduah*
 work.O ineh PASS-CAUS-easy.A
 ‘This work was made easier’

- (23) *tijan ineh di-pa-tingai ka ateh*
 pillar.O ineh PASS-CAUS-height.A to above
 ‘This pillar was made taller upwards’

P2 constructions, which are discussed in 8.4.4, also follow this pattern. The prefix *pa-* combined with a verb root occurs in the absolute form (24)–(25). This is also the case with imperative constructions (26)–(27).

- (24) *siwan ineh akau pa-sijkae?*
 pants.O ineh 1.SG CAUS-short.A
 ‘This pair of pants was shortened by me’
- (25) *umoh ineh ikao pa-ilau?*
 house.O ineh 2.SG CAUS-good.A
 ‘This house was decorated by you’
- (26) *pa-gədua umoh ineh*
 CAUS-large.A house.O ineh
 ‘Enlarge this house!’
- (27) *pa-libua jalon itoh*
 CAUS-broad.A road.O itoh
 ‘Broaden that road!’

9.4.2 with noun roots

The prefix *pa-* in combination with a noun root implies ‘to treat the patient as X’. Only two examples show up in my corpus, neither of which exhibit ABS-OBL alternation (Table 9.4).

Root	Derivational form
<i>adoi?/adi?</i> ‘younger sibling’	<i>paadi?</i> ‘to regard as a younger sibling’
<i>budua?/budo?</i> ‘slave’	<i>pabudua?</i> ‘to enslave’

Table 9.4. *pa-* + noun roots

In active constructions, *pa-* is preceded by the prefix *mam-* (28)–(29). The prefix *di-* is used in passive constructions (30)–(31). P2 constructions are exemplified in (32)–(33). The bare form is used in imperatives (34). Note that *budua?/budo?* requires an absolute-like root and *adoi?/adi?* an oblique-like root.

- (28) *jəpua mam-pa-budua? kitao duleu*
 japan.A ACT.CAUS-slave 1.PL.INCL in.the.past.A
 ‘The Japanese enslaved us in the past’
- (29) *no mam-pa-adi? akau*
 3.SG ACT.CAUS-younger.sibling 1.SG
 ‘S/he regards me as a younger sibling’

- (30) *meman di-pa-budua? no na*
indeed PASS-CAUS-slave 3.PL really
‘[Our people] were really enslaved by them’
[fc4.229]
- (31) *akau di-pa-adi? no*
1.SG PASS-CAUS-younger.sibling 3.SG
‘I am regarded as a younger sibling by her/him’
- (32) *ano? jatan ikao pa-budua?*
child.O orphan.A 2.SG CAUS-slave
‘An orphan was treated by you like a slave’
- (33) *akau ikao pa-adi?*
1.SG 2.SG CAUS-younger.sibling
‘I am regarded as a younger sibling by you’
- (34) *pa-budua? uhan itoh*
CAUS-slave 3.SG.M
‘Treat him like a slave!’

9.5 *ba-*

The prefix *ba-* has been briefly introduced in 3.4.2. This morpheme typically marks ‘subject affectedness’, i.e. the subject is affected by the result of the action.¹²⁶ This prefix is mostly used in intransitive constructions.¹²⁷ As such, it occurs in the absolute form. *Ba*-+OBL constructions are possible in contexts where they take a complement or a stative property, or as a frozen oblique historically reflecting the suffix **-an*. If *ba-* is combined with a compound, the ABS-OBL opposition of the pre-existing compound remains intact.

This section discusses the prefix *ba-* in combination with noun roots (9.5.1) and verb roots (9.5.2). I then address the prefix *ba-* in constructions

¹²⁶ See Kemmer (1993) for a discussion on subject affectedness as a property of the middle voice.

¹²⁷ This has also been observed in Indonesian (Dardjowidjojo 1978; Vamarasi 1986).

denoting reciprocity (9.5.3) and random manner (9.5.4), followed by its use in compounds (9.5.5).

9.5.1 with noun roots

9.5.1.1 ‘to possess X’

The prefix *ba-* combined with noun roots yields stative verbs (STAT) expressing ‘to be qualified by the possession of X’ (Table 9.5). *Ba*-noun constructions can take a complement,¹²⁸ marking a ‘limitative relation’; the complement provides a limitation or specification about what kind of property is denoted by the prefixed root.¹²⁹

Root	Derivational form
<i>dahuah/dahoh</i> ‘blood’	<i>badahuah/badahoh</i> ‘to possess blood, to bleed’
<i>isai/isei</i> ‘content’	<i>barisoi/barisi</i> ‘to have content, filled’
<i>kipae/kiye</i> ‘money’	<i>bakipae/bakipe</i> ‘to have money’
<i>kudea/kudo</i> ‘horse’	<i>bakudea/bakudo</i> ‘to have a horse, to ride a horse’
<i>tugeu?/tugu?</i> ‘hat’	<i>batugeu?/batugu?</i> ‘to have a hat, to wear a hat’

Table 9.5. *ba-* expressing ‘to possess X’

The prefix *ba-* combined with a noun root can be used predicatively. It occurs in the absolute form intransitively (35) and in the oblique form when it takes a complement (36). It occurs in the absolute form within a relative clause, which indicates an attributive relation with the head noun (37). In this context, the prefixed root may also occur without a relative marker preceding it (38), but this construction is less preferred by PT speakers.

- (35) *gəleh ineh bar-iso* (**isi*)
 glass.O ineh STAT-content.A
 ‘This glass is filled’

¹²⁸ Adelaar (1984) labels it ‘complement’, whereas Steinhauer (1992) calls it ‘predicate adjunct’. Sneddon (2010: 274) holds that ‘a complement is a clause component which resembles an object but which cannot become the subject of a passive clause’.

¹²⁹ The same is true for Indonesian (Fokker 1980).

- (36) *gəleh ineh bar-isi (*isoi) ajai*
 glass.O ineh STAT-content.O water.A
 ‘This glass is filled with water/this glass contains water’
- (37) [*gəleh [ŋə bar-[isoi]_{NP}]_{RC}]_{NP} itoh jateuh*
 glass.O REL STAT-content.A itoh fall.A
 ‘The glass which is filled fell down’
- (38) [*gəleh bar-[isoi]_{NP}]_{NP} itoh jateuh*
 glass.O STAT-content.A itoh fall.A
 ‘That filled glass fell down’

Constructions with *ba-* + complement denote an attributive relation with the head noun.¹³⁰ The *ba*-prefixed noun adds additional information to the preceding noun and occurs in the oblique form. Attributively, *ba*-prefixed nouns can be used without a relative marker to post-modify the head noun (39).

- (39) [*gəleh bar-isi ajai*]_{NP}
 glass.O STAT-content.O water.A
 ‘The glass containing water’

Prefixed oblique roots followed by numeral complements can be used predicatively. Here, the numeral limits the possession expressed by the *ba*-prefixed root, determining the boundaries of the possessive construction (40)-(41).

- (40) *no bar-ano? tigea*
 3.SG STAT-child.O three.A
 ‘S/he has three children’
- (41) *no ba-bini duwea*
 3.SG STAT-wife.O two.A
 ‘He has two wives’

Absolute roots without a complement occur predicatively (42). When followed by a numeral complement, clauses of this type are used

¹³⁰ A similar construction exists in Indonesian (Steinhauer 1992: 434).

attributively within a relative clause (43)-(44). Attributive usage of the prefixed roots without a relative marker requires an oblique form (45)-(46).

- (42) *no ba-binoi*
 3.SG STAT-wife.A
 1. 'He has a wife'
 2. 'He is married'
- (43) *jando [ŋə bar-[ano? tigea]_{NP}]_{RC}*
 widow.O REL STAT-child.O three.A

itoh kantei akau
 itoh friend.O 1.SG
 'The widow who has three children is my friend'
- (44) *janton [ŋə ba-[bini duwea]_{NP}]_{RC}*
 male.O REL STAT-wife.O two.A

itoh ŋətu? pintau
 itoh ACT.knock.O door.A
 'The man who has two wives knocked on the door'
- (45) *jando bar-ano? tigea di-tino? no*
 widow.O STAT-child.O three.A PASS-target.O 3.SG
 'The widow with three children is targeted by him' [Lit.]
 'The widow with three children is the woman he has in mind'
- (46) *malaeh na no ŋimo?*
 lazy.A very 3.SG ACT.see.O

janton ba-bini duwea
 male.O STAT-wife.O two.A
 'S/he is fed up seeing men with two wives'

9.5.1.2 'to produce X'

The prefix *ba-* combined with a noun root can also express 'to produce X' (Table 9.6).

Root	Derivational form
<i>buŋoi/buŋi</i> ‘noise’	<i>babuŋoi/babuŋi</i> ‘to make a noise’
<i>pələuh/pələuh</i> ‘sweat’	<i>bapələuh/bapələuh</i> ‘to produce sweat, to sweat, to be sweaty’
<i>sijau/sijou</i> ‘a whistle’	<i>basijau</i> ‘to whistle’
<i>təlau/təlou</i> ‘egg’	<i>batəlau/batəlou</i> ‘to lay an egg’

Table 9.6. *ba-* expressing ‘to produce X’

Predicatively, the absolute form is used (47), resulting in two possible readings depending on whether or not there is an intonational break. With an intonational break, the prefixed root is interpreted as a post-subject predicate and therefore a clause. Without an intonational break, it is interpreted as an attribute and therefore a phrase. Attributively, the prefixed root can follow a relative marker and also occurs in the absolute form (48). When the relative marker is omitted, it is not clear whether the sentence is general or definite (49). The oblique form is only used when the prefixed root is followed by an adjectival complement, such as *ilau?* ‘good’ (50).

- (47) *uha* *ba-pələuh*
 people.A STAT-sweat.A
 1. ‘People are sweaty’ [with intonational break]
 2. ‘Sweaty people’ [without intonational break]
- (48) [In a context of doing sports]
uha *ŋə* *ba-pələuh* *itoh* *ilau?*
 people.A REL STAT-sweat.A itoh good.A
 ‘People who are sweaty are good’ [Lit.]
 ‘It’s good to work out’
- (49) *uha* *ba-pələuh* *itoh* *ilau?*
 people.A STAT-sweat.A itoh good.A
 1. ‘Sweaty people are good’ [‘It’s good to work out’]
 2. ‘That sweaty person is good-looking’
- (50) *no* *ba-pələuh* *ilau?*
 3.SG STAT-sweat.O good.A
 ‘S/he is sweating a lot’

Combined with the root *dahuah/dahoh* ‘blood’, the prefix *ba-* can be interpreted in two different ways: ‘to possess blood’ (as discussed in 9.5.1.1) and ‘to produce blood, to bleed’. This construction can occur attributively

within a relative clause (51) or predicatively (52), in both cases requiring the absolute form. It cannot be used adjacently after the head noun.

- (51) [*kakei* *ŋə* *ba-dahuah*]_{NP} *itoh* *sakai?*
 leg.O REL STAT-blood.A itoh ill.A
 ‘The leg which is bleeding hurts’
- **[kakei* *ba-dahuah*]_{NP} *itoh* *sakai?*
 leg.O STAT-blood.A itoh ill.A
- (52) *kakei* *no* *ba-dahuah*
 leg.O 3.SG.POSS STAT-blood.A
 ‘Her/his leg is bleeding’

9.5.1.3 ‘to use/wear X’

The prefix *ba-* combined with a noun root can convey the meaning ‘to use/wear X’ (Table 9.7).

Root	Derivational form
<i>bajeu/baju</i> ‘shirt’	<i>babajeu/babaju</i> ‘to wear a shirt’
<i>sapatou</i> ‘shoes’	<i>basapatou</i> ‘to wear shoes’
<i>tugeu?/tugu?</i> ‘hat’	<i>batugeu?/batugu?</i> ‘to wear a hat’

Table 9.7. *ba-* expressing ‘to use/wear X’

It occurs in the absolute form (53). The oblique form is used when the *ba*-prefixed noun root is followed by an adjectival complement (54).

- (53) *no* *ba-tugeu?* (**tugu?*)
 3.SG STAT-hat.A
 ‘S/he is wearing a hat’
- (54) *kamai* *ba-tugu?* (**ba-tugeu?*) *ita*
 1.PL.EXCL STAT-hat.O black.A
 ‘We wear black hats’

Attributively, the root appears in the absolute form within the relative clause (55) and in the oblique form when followed by an adjectival complement (56). The prefixed root cannot occur without being preceded by a relative marker in this context.

- (55) *akau nalo? ana? ηə ba-tugeu?*
 1.SG ACT.search.for child.A REL STAT-hat.A
 ‘I am looking for a child who is wearing a hat’

**akau nalo? ana? ba-tugeu?*
 1.SG ACT.search.for child.A STAT-hat.A

- (56) *ana? ηə ba-tugu? ita*
 child.A REL STAT-hat.O black.A

itoh ana? esde
 itoh child.A SD

‘Children who wear black hats are elementary school students’

The prefix *ba-* combined with the root *kudea/kudo* ‘horse’ can technically mean ‘to possess a horse’ (9.5.1.1) as well as ‘to use a horse’, i.e. to ride one (57). The latter is generally the most common interpretation (58). The absolute form is used in both constructions. The oblique form is used when it is followed by an adjectival complement (59). Non-alternating words can also occur in this construction (60).

- (57) *kamai ba-kudea*
 1.PL.EXCL STAT-horse.A
 ‘We have horses’
 ‘We ride a horse’

- (58) *no ba-kudea k-umoh ali*
 3.SG STAT-horse.A PREP-house.O PN
 ‘S/he rode on horseback to Ali’s house’

- (59) *no ba-kudo putaih k-umoh ali*
 3.SG STAT-horse.O white.A PREP-house.O PN
 ‘S/he rode on a white horse to Ali’s house’

- (60) *haa nəmpauh lah ana? nae? ba-səpeda*
 PART ACT.pass.A PART child.A small.A STAT-bike
 ‘Hmm... a small kid on a bike is going past’ [Dyn.]
 [P4_PV_HAL_OLD_FEMALE.028]

9.5.1.4 ‘to work as X’

The prefix *ba-* combined with a noun root expresses ‘to work as X’ (Table 9.8). On a semantic level, some derived forms only occur in the absolute form and therefore cannot take a complement, whereas others have ABS-OBL opposition and can take a complement.

Root	Derivational form
<i>jagua/jago</i> ‘merchandize’	<i>bayagua/bayago</i> ‘to work as a trader’
<i>kədoə/kəde</i> ‘kiosk’	<i>bakədoə.A</i> ‘to work as a retailer’
<i>ladua/ladon</i> ‘field’	<i>baladua/baladon</i> ‘to work as a farmer’
<i>tuka/tukan</i> ‘mason’	<i>batuka.A</i> ‘to work as a mason’

Table 9.8. *ba-* expressing ‘to work as X’

Predicatively, the prefixed root occurs in the absolute form (61)–(62). In a nominalized construction, the oblique form is used when the *ba*-prefixed noun root is followed by a nominal complement (63). Within a relative clause, the root occurs in the absolute form and is used attributively (64). This construction cannot occur without a relative marker. Attributively, the root occurs in the oblique form and is followed by a nominal complement (65).

- (61) *gawe* *no* *ba-tuka*
work.O 3.SG.POSS STAT-mason.A
‘S/he works as a mason’
- (62) *uha toh* *ba-kədoə* *deə?*
3.PL STAT-kiosk.A TAG
‘They work as retailers, don’t they?’
[fc4.001]
- (63) [The agent is telling about what she did to earn money]
ba-jago *pisa* *lamao* *lao*
STAT-merchandize.O banana.A long.A also
‘Selling bananas for a long time also’
[fc10.018]

- (64) *tino* *[ŋə ba-ʎagua]_{NP}RC*
 grandmother.O REL STAT-merchandize.A
- toh sakai?*
 toh ill.A
 ‘The old woman who works as a retailer is ill’
- *tino ba-ʎagua_{NP} toh sakai?*
 grandmother.O STAT-merchandize.A toh ill.A
- (65) *ikao nuwe? tino [ŋə*
 2.SG ACT.ask grandmother.O REL
- ba-ʎago pisa]_{NP}RC*
 STAT-merchandize.O banana.A
 ‘You asked [a question] to an old woman who sells bananas’

9.5.2 with verb roots

9.5.2.1 emphasizing verbality

The prefix *ba-* can also take verbal roots. In this construction, it emphasizes the verbal status of the word and makes what is being said sound more formal.¹³¹ The prefix *ba-* is not as productive as *N-* or *di-*, which can be combined with a much greater number of roots. The prefix *ba-* is only used in long-established derivations.¹³² Some derived forms only occur in the absolute (Table 9.9). Verbs that also occur in the oblique form can take a complement.

¹³¹ This is also the case in Indonesian (Alwi et al. 1998). In the words of Sneddon (2010: 65), ‘it is difficult to assign a meaning to *ber-* with such bases other than that its presence is necessary to produce a well-formed verb’.

¹³² This is also the case in Indonesian (Dardjowidjojo 1983).

Root	Derivational form
<i>jalua/jalon</i> ‘to walk, road’	<i>bajalua/bajalon</i> ‘to walk’
<i>labeuh/labuh</i> ‘to anchor’ ¹³³	<i>balabeuh</i> ‘to anchor’
<i>təmau/təməu</i> ‘to meet’	<i>batəmau</i> ‘to meet’
<i>tuwai?/tuwei?</i> ‘to ask’	<i>batuwai?</i> ‘to ask’

Table 9.9. *ba-* + verbal roots

The root ‘to walk’ can occur either in the absolute form (66) or in the oblique form when followed by an adjectival complement (67). Note, however, that certain roots only occur in the absolute form (68).

- (66) *kalo adea ηə əndo? ba-jalua ambi?*
if exist.A REL want VBLZ-road.A take.O

jalon tanah kampau
road.O Tanah Kampau.A
‘For those who want to walk, take the Tanah Kampau direction’
[fc5.016]

- (67) *kamai ba-jalon jaeuh*
1.PL.EXCL VBLZ-walk.O far.A
‘We walk far’

- (68) *tibea kapan tərbua ηanta*
arrive.A ship.O fly.A ACT.deliver

ba-labeuh lah tanoh lapa
VBLZ-anchor.A PART land.O large.A
‘When delivering flights arrived, [they] landed on the town square’
[fc4.247]

¹³³ Unlike Malay *labuh* ‘an anchor’, *labeuh/labuh* in PT only serves a verb ‘to anchor’, never a noun.

9.5.2.2 marking time-stable activity

The prefix *ba-* combined with absolute verb roots occurs in intransitive constructions expressing ‘to do a relatively time stable activity’. Derivational forms only take the absolute form (Table 9.10).

Root	Derivational form
<i>aqua</i> ‘to teach’	<i>bal¹³⁴qua</i> ‘to be learning, to study’
<i>ajan/ajun</i> ‘to swing’	<i>bar¹³⁴ajen.A</i> ‘to be swinging’
<i>mənaul/mənun</i> ‘to ponder’	<i>bamənaul.A</i> ‘to be pondering’
<i>pikai/pikei</i> ‘to think’	<i>bapikai.A</i> ‘to be thinking, to reflect’

Table 9.10. *ba-* expressing time-stable activity

This construction is used predicatively (69) or before an adjectival complement (70)–(71), in which case the absolute form is maintained. Intransitives also occur in the absolute form (72), including in a relative clause (73).

- (69) *salagi səna? jo ba-pikai*
 while quiet.A 3.SG VBLZ-think.A
 ‘As long as it’s quiet s/he is thinking’
- (70) *pusei? itoh bar-ajen kənca*
 toy itoh VBLZ-swing.A fast.A
 ‘That toy swings fast’
- (71) *jo ba-pikai kəraeh*
 3.SG VBLZ-think.A hard.A
 ‘S/he thinks hard’
- (72) *ba-mənaul woa gawe jo*
 VBLZ-ponder.A only work.O 3.SG.POSS
 ‘Pondering is her/his only activity’

¹³⁴ The prefix *bal-* (instead of *ba-*) only occurs in combination with the root *aqua* ‘to teach’, cf. Malay *bəlaajar* in the same meaning. The construction has probably been borrowed as a whole from Malay, otherwise one would expect **baqua*.

- (73) *uha* *ŋə* *ba-mənaʊ* *itoh* *ta-tideu*
 people.A REL VBLZ-ponder.A itoh PERF-sleep.A
 ‘The person who is pondering falls asleep’

9.5.3 with *ba*-+ABS

In combination with some noun or verb roots, the prefix *ba*- expresses reciprocity, i.e. two or more people sharing a relationship to each other as denoted by the noun root, or are simultaneously agent and patient of an action denoted by the verb root (Table 9.11). This construction requires a plural subject.

Root	Derivational form
<i>cian/ciun</i> ‘to kiss’	<i>bacian.A</i> ‘to kiss each other’
<i>kantai/kantei</i> ‘friend’	<i>bakantai.A</i> ‘to be friends’
<i>musauh/musouh</i> ‘enemy’	<i>bamusauh.A</i> ‘to be enemies’
<i>tinjau/tinjou</i> ‘to punch’	<i>batinjau.A</i> ‘to punch each other’

Table 9.11. *ba*- expressing reciprocity

These derivational forms only occur in the absolute form and can be used predicatively (74) and attributively (75).

- (74) *uha itoh* *ba-kantai*
 3.PL RECP-friend.A
 ‘They are friends’
- (75) *uha* *ba-kantai* *itoh* *səndo* *itoh* *ja*
 people.A RECP-friend.A itoh like itoh really
 ‘That’s what being friends with people is all about’

9.5.4 with *ba*-+OBL

For a limited number of roots, the construction *ba*-+OBL expresses an action carried out in a random manner, i.e. in an undirected motion and/or by many participants (Table 9.12).

Root	Derivational form
<i>ganteu/gantun</i> 'to hang'	<i>bagantun.O</i> 'to hang all over the place'
<i>tərbua/tərbun</i> 'to fly'	<i>batərbun.O</i> 'to fly everywhere'
<i>tərjen/tərjun</i> 'to fall'	<i>batərjun.O</i> 'to fall from every direction'

Table 9.12. *ba-* + OBL random manner

The derivational forms are frozen in the oblique form (76)-(77), which historically reflects the suffix **-an*.¹³⁵

- (76) *lala?* *ba-tərbun* *ke?* *təmpe?* *saha?*
 fly.A VBLZ-fly.O at place.O garbage.A
 'Flies fly everywhere at the garbage heap'
- (77) *uha* *ba-tərjun* *kalon* *danua*
 people.A VBLZ-fall.O into lake.A
 'People from all directions fell into a lake'

9.5.5 in compounds

The prefix *ba-* can be combined with existing compounds. This morphological process does not affect the ABS-OBL alternation of the compounds; OBL+ABS compounds (78) and OBL+OBL compounds (79) remain intact. When the same lexical roots do not form a compound, phrase-final elements can occur in the absolute form (80).

- (78) *no* *ba-tanan* *padoi*
 3.SG VBLZ-plant.O paddy.A
 'S/he is cultivating paddy'
- (79) *unda* *itoh* *ba-[lago* *kambe?]*_{VP}
 motorcycle itoh VBLZ-fight.O goat.O
 'The motorcycles were goat-fighting' [Lit.]
 'The motorcycles were bumping against each other'

¹³⁵ The corresponding Malay circumfix is *ber...an*.

- (80) *ba-[lagea]_{VP} kambe? jo*
 RECP-fight.A goat.O 3.SG.POSS
 ‘Fighting was what her/his goats did’

9.6 *ta-*

The prefix *ta-* marks unintentionality and/or potentiality.¹³⁶ It can be combined with monovalent and bivalent verbs. The patterns of phrasal alternation presented in 1.7.4 apply, but not all verbs prefixed with *ta-* can take a complement semantically. Hence, some verbs only occur in the absolute form. This section examines *ta-*constructions expressing unintentionality (9.6.1) and potentiality (9.6.2).

9.6.1 Unintentionality

The prefix *ta-* can be combined with a monovalent or bivalent verb root, indicating that the subject undergoes an activity without a willing agent (Table 9.13).

Root	Derivational form
<i>buwea/buwo</i> ‘to bring’	<i>tabuwea</i> ‘taken / brought unintentionally’
<i>dudeu?/dudu?</i> ‘to sit’	<i>tadudeu?/tadudu?</i> ‘fallen into a sitting position’
<i>jateuh/jatuh</i> ‘to fall down’	<i>tajateuh/tajatuh</i> ‘fallen suddenly’
<i>əmpaeh/əmpəh</i> ‘to smash’	<i>taəmpaeh/taəmpəh</i> ‘hurled, thrown down’
<i>galincai/galincai</i> ‘to slip’	<i>tagalincai/tagalincai</i> ‘come to slip’
<i>guloi/guli</i> ‘to roll on’	<i>taguloi/taguli</i> ‘rolled on, toppled’
<i>kima?/kimo?</i> ‘to see’	<i>takima?</i> ‘suddenly seen’
<i>maka/makan</i> ‘to eat’	<i>tamaka/tamakan</i> ‘eaten by accident’
<i>pandau?/pandou?</i> ‘to bang’	<i>tapandau?/tapandou?</i> ‘bumped into sth.’
<i>tideu/tidu</i> ‘to sleep’	<i>tatideu/tatidu</i> ‘fallen asleep’

Table 9.13. *ta-* + monovalent and bivalent verb roots

For monovalent roots, no situational transition is indicated (81). *Ta-*prefixed forms mark a situational transition caused by an internal factor (the subject commits the act involuntarily) or an external factor (the subject is unwillingly affected by the act). The situational change characterizing *ta-*

¹³⁶ The prefix *ta-* is cognate with the prefix *ter-* in other Malay varieties (Cf. Djiang 1988; Tajuddin 1993; Goddard 2003; Tjia 2007; Crouch 2009; Chung 2011).

constructions indicates a notion of perfectivity. The verb occurs in the absolute form (82)-(84).

- (81) *no dudeu?* (**dudu?*)
 3.SG sit.A
 ‘S/he is sitting’
- (82) *no ta-dudeu?* (**ta-dudu?*)
 3.SG PERF-sit.A
 ‘S/he fell into a sitting position’
- (83) *no ta-jateuh, ta-guloi,*
 3.SG PERF-fall.A PERF-roll.on.A

ta-əmpaeh palo
 PERF-smash.A head.O
 ‘He accidentally fell, toppled, [and had his] head smacked down’
 [P4_PV_HAL_OLD_FEMALE.055]
- (84) *no ta-dudu?* (**ta-dudeu?*) *ilau?*
 3.SG PERF-sit.O good.A
 ‘S/he fell into a perfect sitting position’

The absolute form is also required for bivalent verb roots (85). The oblique form is only used when it is followed by a complement (84). In terms of word order, note that *ta*-constructions can precede either the agent (86) or the patient (87). As a result, it must be determined from the context which element functions as the agent and which one functions as the patient (88).¹³⁷

- (85) *kərtəh itoh ta-buwea duwot akau*
 paper.O itoh PERF-bring.A by 1.SG
 ‘That paper was accidentally taken by me’

¹³⁷ This sort of construction is sometimes considered a passive (Salim et al. 1988; Cumming 1991). However, it is notoriously difficult to determine in which contexts the *ta*-construction is active or passive (cf. Adelaar 1992).

- (86) *jadi suduah itoh, ta-kəla?*
so already.A itoh PERF-asleep.A

ana? ne? neh
child.A small.O neh
'Then, after that, this small kid fell asleep' [Dyn.]
[P1_FS_DAS_OLD_MALE.007]

- (87) *tapi kadon-kadon kalo asam.urat neh,*
but sometimes if gout neh

kadon toh baŋkoi? jo, ta-maka
sometimes toh wake.up.A 3.SG PERF-eat.A

pantan dea? baŋkoi? jo
forbidden.O TAG wake.up.A 3.SG
'However, sometimes, as for [people with] gout, sometimes, it
relapses when forbidden food is unintentionally eaten, it
relapses' [Dyn.]
[fc10.044]

- (88) *haa kiroŋo ta-langa bateu, səpeda*
PART apparently PERF-bump stone.A bike
'Apparently, the bike accidentally hits a rock' [Dyn.]
[P4_PV_HAL_OLD_FEMALE.053]

It is also possible that the agent is a force of nature, not a human force. The process reading for the concept of 'accidentality' with non-human forces is more natural.¹³⁸ In this case, the agent is indicated by a prepositional phrase (89) and the verb appears in the absolute form, even if followed directly by an NP indicating the agent (90). However, according to my naturalistic data, the prefix *di-* combined with the absolute root is preferred in this position (91). In these cases, too, the non-volitional agent does not necessarily trigger the oblique form (91). On a pragmatic level,

¹³⁸ In Indonesian, too, the prefix is preferred to mark accidents involving non-human forces (De Vries 1983).

such constructions can be used to avoid responsibility for an action deemed intolerable (92).¹³⁹

- (89) *daun itoh ta-buwea duwot aŋan*
 leaf.O itoh PERF-bring.A by wind.A
 ‘That leaf was accidentally carried by the wind’

- (90) *daun itoh ta-buwea aŋan*
 leaf.O itoh PERF-bring.A wind.A
 ‘That leaf was accidentally carried by the wind’

- (91) *daun itoh di-buwea aŋan*
 leaf.O itoh PASS-bring.A wind.A
 ‘That leaf was carried by the wind’

- (92) *udo? ŋə sədon mandai itoh*
 slave.O REL PROG take.a.bath.A itoh

ta-kima? duwot ŋo
 PERF-see.A by 3.SG
 ‘The girl who was taking a bath was accidentally seen by him’

The prefix *ta-* can also convey an element of perfectiveness for the root *pilaih/pileih* ‘to vote’, triggering the oblique form (93) even when preceded by a relative marker (94). The prefix *di-* does not carry this element of perfectivity (95).

- (93) *SBY ta-pileih jadi presiden*
 PN PERF-vote.O become.O president
 ‘SBY was elected for president’

¹³⁹ The same has been argued for the equivalent Indonesian prefix *ter-*, which, in the words of Wouk (1980: 83), ‘[...] functions as a sort of morphological apology for socially unacceptable, inappropriate, or inadvertent behavior. It deemphasizes the agent by denying his responsibility for the action; thus, it is a defocus mechanism rather than a focus mechanism’. Example (92) is modified from her study.

- (94) *SBY* *ηə* *ta-pileih*
 PN REL PERF-vote.O
 ‘SBY was the one who got elected’
- (95) *SBY* *ηə* *di-pileih*
 PN REL PASS-vote.O
 ‘1. SBY was the one who got elected’
 ‘2. SBY is the one who gets elected’

Semantically, the prefix *ta-* can express a state resulting from a perfective action (96).¹⁴⁰ As such, it can be preceded by an intensifier such as *saηat* ‘very’ (97) or occur in comparative constructions (98) or relative clauses (99). In all cases, the absolute form is required. The oblique form is used when it is followed by an adjectival complement (100).

- (96) *umoh* *itoh* *ta-urauh*
 house.O itoh PERF-organize.A
 ‘That house is organized’
- (97) *umoh* *itoh* *saηat* *ta-urauh*
 house.O itoh very.O PERF-organize.A
 ‘That house is very organized’
- (98) *umoh* *ineh* *ləbih* *ta-urauh*
 house.O ineh more.O PERF-organize.A
- daripado* *umoh* *itoh*
 than house.O itoh
 ‘This house is more organized than that house’
- (99) *umoh* *ηə* *ta-urauh* (**ta-urouh*) *itoh* *di-juwua*
 house.O REL PERF-organize.A itoh PASS-sell.A
 ‘The house that was organized was sold’

¹⁴⁰ The same phenomenon has been observed with *ter-* in Malay (cf. Kwee 1965; Salim et al. 1988; Soh 1994).

- (100) *umoh ηə ta-urouh (*ta-urauh) ilau?*
 house.O REL PERF-organize.O good.A
 ‘The house that is well organized’

Syntactically, *ta*-derivations can be used as a predicate (101), as head of an RC (102), and as a complement (103).¹⁴¹ The root appears in the absolute form in all positions.

- (101) *kajou itoh lah ta-panga*
 wood.O itoh already PERF-burn.A
 ‘That wood was already burnt’

- (102) *pintou ηə ta-tutau?*
 door.O REL PERF-close.A
- itoh di-əntan no*
 itoh PASS-kick.O 3.SG
 ‘The door which was closed was kicked by her/him’

- (103) *uto toh di-bijua ta-impai?*
 car toh PASS-let.A PERF-squeeze.A
 ‘That car is allowed to be pressed [using a mechanical car press]’

9.6.2 Potentiality

The prefix *ta*- may also express that the subject has the potentiality and/or ability to carry out the action indicated by the root. This construction expresses an imperfective reading.¹⁴² The absolute form is used (104). Note the contrast with an active construction (105). Conversely, the verb can be negated to express inability, also requiring the absolute form (106)-(107).

- [A conversation about the ability to finish meal]
- (104) *no ta-aboih nasei toh*
 3.SG ABL-finish.A rice.O toh
 ‘S/he is able to finish that rice’

¹⁴¹ See Sasangka et al. (2000) on this construction in Indonesian.

¹⁴² Soh (1994) has observed the same phenomenon in Malaysian Malay.

- (105) *no ηabih nasei toh*
 3.SG ACT.finish.O rice.O toh
 ‘S/he finishes that rice’
- [A conversation about old people who cannot finish their meal]
- (106) *ijua? ta-aboih uha tuwao-tuwao neh*
 NEG ABL-finish.A people.A RED-old.A neh
 ‘It cannot be finished by old people’ [Dyn.]
 [fc12.006]
- [A conversation about having two interviews on the same day]
- (107) *kalo sampo? toh idua? ta-kəjua*
 if together toh NEG ABL-chase.A
 ‘Doing it together is not possible’
 [fc4.024]

Ta-constructions may cause some ambiguity, as they can express both potentiality (108) and unintentionality (109), as discussed in 9.6.1. The context usually provides clarity.

- (108) *apo ta-buwea ikao tas itoh*
 what ABL-bring.A 2.SG bag itoh
 ‘Could you carry that bag by yourself?’
 *‘Did you take the bag accidentally?’
- (109) *tas itoh ta-buwea duwot ikao*
 bag itoh PERF-bring.A by 2.SG
 ‘That bag was accidentally taken by you’
 *‘That bag could be carried by you’

9.7 *ka* + OBL

The circumfix *ka*-OBL expresses adversativeness or non-volitionality and occurs with the oblique form of verbal roots, nominal roots, or adjectival roots. The forms *kamatin* ‘to lose so. to death’, *kalupan* ‘to let sth. slip from one’s mind’ and *kamalun* ‘to be ashamed’ show signs of a historical suffix **-an*. Most other reflexes correspond to the oblique forms in the final-syllable rime. This construction is intransitive since it only exhibits one core argument and has no active-passive opposition. In Table 9.14, the derivations marked with √ might require a nominal complement.

Root	Derivational form
<i>aŋaʔ/aŋat</i> 'warm'	<i>kaaŋat</i> 'to suffer from the heat'
<i>datua/daton</i> 'to come'	<i>kadaton</i> √ 'to have so. coming'
<i>dijon/dijin</i> 'cold'	<i>kadijin</i> 'to feel cold'
<i>ila/ilan</i> 'lost'	<i>kailan</i> √ 'to suffer the loss of sth. or so.'
<i>kəla/kəlan</i> 'dark'	<i>kakəlan</i> 'to be overtaken by darkness'
<i>kura/kuran</i> 'less'	<i>kakuran</i> √ 'to lack sth.'
<i>lapa/lapo</i> 'hungry'	<i>kalapo</i> 'to be starving'
<i>lupao/lupo</i> 'to forget'	<i>kalupan</i> 'to let sth. slip from one's mind'
<i>mala/malan</i> 'night'	<i>kamalan</i> 'to be overtaken by night'
<i>malau/malou</i> 'shy'	<i>kamalun</i> 'to be ashamed'
<i>matai/matei</i> 'to die'	<i>kamatin</i> √ 'to lose so. to death'
<i>pajah/pajoh</i> 'difficult'	<i>kapajoh</i> 'to be exhausted'
<i>pədoah/pədəh</i> 'spicy'	<i>kapədəh</i> 'to suffer from sth. spicy'
<i>sakaiʔ/sakit</i> 'ill'	<i>kasakit</i> 'to be in pain'
<i>takauʔ/takut</i> 'afraid'	<i>katakut</i> 'to be terrified'
<i>uŋua/uŋon</i> 'rain'	<i>kauŋon</i> √ 'to be caught in the rain'

Table 9.14. *ka*-OBL with adversative meaning

This construction is used verbally (see 6.5.6 for the adjectival use of this circumfix) and expresses that the subject is affected in a negative way by an unexpected agent (110)-(112).¹⁴³ In (113), the prefixed oblique root is a predicate within the relative clause. The relative clause attributively modifies the preceding noun phrase. The whole clause is a subject followed by a predicate *lah sakaiʔ*.

- (110) *uha itoh ka-matin anoʔ*
 3.PL VBLZ-die.O child.O
 'They are in mourning over their child's death'
- (111) *suduah ka-uŋon petan jo sakaiʔ*
 already.A VBLZ-rain.O yesterday.O 3.SG ill.A
 'After getting caught in the rain yesterday, s/he felt ill'
- (112) *sakaiʔ aso ka-uŋon batu es*
 ill.A feel.O VBLZ-rain.O stone.O ice
 'It hurts to get hit by hail'

¹⁴³ See Dardjowidjojo (1978) on the corresponding circumfix *ke-...-an* in Indonesian. Unlike PT, this construction can also be nominal in Malay.

- (113) [ano? nae? [ŋə [ka-uyon]_{PRED} itoh]_{RC}]_S
 child.O small.A REL VBLZ-rain.O itoh

 [lah sakai?] _{PRED}
 already ill.A
 ‘The kid who was getting wet because of the rain is ill’

9.8 Reduplication of verbs

PT verb roots can be reduplicated in full. They behave morphosyntactically identical to non-reduplicated verbs. Verbal reduplication implies that the activity is performed repeatedly or for an extended period of time (114).¹⁴⁴ In the case of monovalent verbs, it can also express ‘doing something not seriously or leisurely’ (115)-(116).

- (114) *kamai gəlua?-gəlua?*
 1.PL.EXCL RED-laugh.A
 ‘We laughed on and on’
- (115) *no tideu-tideu*
 3.SG RED-sleep.A
 ‘S/he is dozing’
- (116) *kamai dudeu?-dudeu?*
 1.PL.EXCL RED-sit.A
 ‘We are lounging’

Reduplicated bivalent verbs can occur in active constructions (117)-(119), P1 constructions (120)-(121), P2 constructions (122), and imperative construction (123). The general patterns of phrasal alternation presented in 1.7.4 apply.

- [A conversation about a street vendor who sells roasted fish]
- (117) *...uha ŋipeh-ŋipeh ke? jalua*
 ...people.A ACT.RED-fan.O on road.A
 ‘People fan [it] repeatedly on the street’
 [fc6.009]

¹⁴⁴ The same is true for Jakartan Indonesian (Muhadjir 1981).

- (118) *jadi no ηusou?-ηusou? kakei tadeh*
 so 3.SG ACT.RED-rub.O leg.O just.now
 ‘So, he just now brushes his legs repeatedly’
 [P4_PV_HAL_OLD_FEMALE.057]
- (119) *s-uha toh nulun ηəpeih-ηəpeih*
 one-CLF toh ACT.help.O ACT.RED-brush.O

abeu di no tadeh
 dust.A on 3.SG just.now
 ‘One of them helps him dust himself off repeatedly’
 [P4_PV_HAL_OLD_FEMALE.062]
- (120) *əntah apo tanah, əntah apo bateu*
 perhaps what soil.A perhaps what stone.A

əntah, di-təpei?-təpei? no nitoh
 perhaps PASS-RED-beat.O 3.SG like.that
 ‘Hmm... either soil or stone was beaten repeatedly by
 him like that’
 [P4_PV_HAL_OLD_FEMALE.068]
- (121) *kulit kajau di-tukau-tukau dea?*
 bark.O wood.A PASS-RED-hit.A TAG
 ‘The tree bark was hit repeatedly, wasn’t it?’
 [fc4.172]
- [He stole my car]
- (122) *uhan itoh akau timba?-timba?*
 3.SG.M 1.SG RED-shoot.A
 ‘He was shot by me repeatedly’
- [The making of jerky beef]
- (123) *tukau-tukau denden ineh*
 RED-hit.A jerky.beef ineh
 ‘Hit this jerky beef repeatedly!’

10 Summary

Central to this description – and indeed the grammar – of Pondok Tinggi is the unique process of phrasal alternation, that is, the distribution of absolute and oblique forms across several word categories. This concluding chapter ties together the issues discussed in the previous chapters, all of which aimed to foreground naturalistic speech.

Almost all lexical items in PT exhibit two alternate forms, which in the existing literature have been labeled absolute and oblique. These forms differ in the phonological shape of their final-syllable rime. In addition, all lexical items in PT are either ‘K-words’ or ‘G-words’. A so-called G-word contains a non-prenasalized obstruent or ‘G-phoneme’ (/b/, /d/, /g/ and /j/), whereas a K-word does not. The occurrence of a G-phoneme typically triggers pronunciations realized in a higher place of articulation of the vowel in the final root syllable than those of K-words. Cumulatively, the shape of PT words involves four parameters: the absolute form, oblique form, K-class and G-class, all triggering distinct final-syllable rimes. The ABS-OBL alternation occurs on a phrasal level, whereas the phenomenon of G/K-words is morphophonological.

The phenomenon of the Absolute-Oblique alternation involves all basic linguistic domains. It is a morphophonological phenomenon; what alternates is the final syllable rime of lexical roots. As mentioned above, the alternation occurs on the level of the phrase. A word on its own appears in the absolute form. The (covert or overt) restricting element in a phrase triggers the oblique form of the preceding lexical item. On a broader syntactic level, the alternation displays greater complexity. Throughout this dissertation, examples have been provided in which the alternation determines whether a construction is a phrase or a clause.

Before summarizing the patterns of alternation which form the backbone of this dissertation, I should first briefly call attention to words that do not display regular phrasal alternation. These non-alternating words include adverbs, function words, some relatively recent loanwords, some words combined with affixes, personal pronouns, inalienable words and historically petrified words. All other word groups do alternate.

Furthermore, a limited number of lexical items can occur either in the absolute or the oblique form in the same environments without a change of meaning. I have termed words belonging to this class *words in free*

variation. It is worth mentioning that free variation is not systematic; these words occur predominantly in synchronic active and passive constructions.

Chapter 2 outlined the phonology of PT, discussing the phonemes of the language – consonants, vowels and diphthongs – their distribution, minimal pairs and other phonological phenomena.

Chapter 3 introduced the two patterns of alternation in PT: phrasal alternation and G/K-words, also discussing the effects of prefixation on word shape.

Chapter 4 described the personal pronouns: their forms, functions and position. It also called attention to possessive constructions, kinship terms and alternative expressions to refer to the speech participants

Chapter 5 focused on the nominal construction. In this domain, the absolute form is the default form for nouns standing on their own within a phrase (1). When the referent of the noun in question is restricted by the presence of a possessor overtly expressed or otherwise recoverable from the context, the noun occurs in the oblique form (2).

- (1) *kucae?* (**kuce?*)
 cat.A
 1. ‘A cat’
 2. ‘Cats’
- (2) *kuce?* (**kucae?*)
 cat.O
 ‘[Her/his/their/our/my/your/the] cat’

Phrasal alternation determines whether a construction is considered a phrase or a clause. The oblique form of a head noun marks a noun phrase (3), whereas absolute head nouns occur phrase-finally and can constitute a clause together with an adjective (4).

- (3) *kuce?* *kurauh*
 cat.O skinny.A
 ‘A skinny cat’
- (4) *kucae?* *kurauh*
 cat.A skinny.A
 ‘It is a cat which is skinny’

Within the *Core Structure* – the basic element of a noun phrase – PT exhibits the following basic word order: head noun > adjective > possessor. This canonical order cannot be intervened by other elements. Categories

outside the CS (i.e. NUMP, PP and RC) do not require the oblique form of the final element inside the CS. The occurrence of prepositional phrases and/or relative clauses is interchangeable; PP can precede or follow RC with no requirement of adjacency. Table 10.1 depicts the distribution of the phrasal alternation in the nominal domain.

Environment	Absolute	Oblique
Default form	√	-
Phrase–non-final position in CS	-	√
Phrase–final position in CS	√	√
Phrase–final position in CS (with specifying entity restricting the referent of the NP in question)	-	√
Nominalization	-	√
Replacing the function of the historical suffix <i>*-an</i>	-	√

Table 10.1. Phrasal alternation in nouns

Most deviations from the standard pattern outlined here have been observed in the arena of compounds. Local constructional specifications seem crucial to account for why the expected alternations do not surface in certain constructions. Further research is necessary to determine the various types of compounds and associated alternation patterns.

Chapter 6 examined adjectival constructions, which can function as attributes, predicates and adverbs. The ABS-OBL alternation for adjectives is roughly similar to that of nouns, since adjectives are also part of the Core Structure. Here, too, the position of the adjective within a phrase determines its alternation (Table 10.2).

Environment	Absolute	Oblique
Default form	√	-
Phrase–non-final position	-	√
Phrase–final position	√	√
Comparative degrees	ø-comparative	-
	<i>lābih</i> X ‘more X’	-
	<i>kuran</i> X ‘less X’	√
	<i>samo</i> X ‘same X’	√
	<i>sa-</i> X ‘as X as’	√
	<i>ta-</i> X ‘the most X’	-
	<i>palin</i> X ‘the most X’	√
ADJ + <i>na</i> ‘really’	√	-

Environment		Absolute	Oblique
Intensifying degree over time (<i>makin</i>)		√	-
Preceded by adverbs	<i>maliwa?</i> ‘too’	-	√
	<i>saŋa?</i> ‘very’		
	<i>bukon maae</i> ‘remarkably’		
	<i>bijeh</i> ‘very’		
	<i>talampo</i> ‘too’		
<i>ka-</i> + reduplicated noun or adjective roots		-	√

Table 10.2. Phrasal alternation in adjectives

Chapter 7 discussed numeral constructions. Numeral constructions – encompassing numeral units, (optional) classifiers, and partitives – also exhibit ABS-OBL alternation. Like nouns and adjectives, the use of phrasal alternation determines whether a construction of an NP combined with a numeral constitutes a phrase or a clause. The position of the quantified element in relation to the numeral/classifier is not fixed and can both precede and follow it. The numeral/classifier does not have to appear adjacently to the head noun and may ‘float’ anywhere in the construction. Table 10.3 displays the distribution of the phrasal alternation in numeral constructions.

Environment	Absolute	Oblique
Default form (not followed by other numerals or elements)	√	-
Numeral used as a noun or quantifier	√	-
Phrase-final position	√	-
Phrase-non-final position	-	√
With the prefix <i>ka-</i> in collective numerals	-	√
With the prefix <i>ka-</i> in ordinal numerals	√	√
With the prefix <i>ba-</i> in collective numerals	√	-

Table 10.3. Phrasal alternation in numerals

Chapter 8 examined the verbal domain, where the outcome of phrasal alternation is determined by the specific construction. Oblique active forms must take an object argument (5). Oblique forms can also occur in the phrase-final position (6), indicating that the referent of the verb is restricted by a covert object which is identifiable from the context. Absolute forms in phrase-final position cannot take an object and treat any following segment as an adjunct (7).

- (5) *no* *manjat* *dindon*
 3.SG ACT.climb.O wall.A
 ‘S/he climbed a wall’

- (6) *no manjat*
3.SG ACT.climb.O
'S/he climbed [it]'
- (7) *no manja? tapei gunea*
3.SG ACT.climb.A edge.O mountain.A
'S/he climbed at the side of the mountain'

Similarly, passives formed by the prefix *di-* take the oblique form when the verb is restricted by an overt agent (8) or covert agent (9). When the agent is irrelevant, the prefix *di-* takes an absolute root (10). Absolute elements directly following *di-* passives function as patients affected by the action expressed by the verb (11). Note that in the latter case, the same elements can also constitute a polite imperative.

- (8) *di-gigit anyae?*
PASS-bite.O dog.A
'[He/she/it] was bitten by a dog'
- (9) *akau di-gigit*
1.SG PASS-bite.O
'I was bitten by [it]'
- (10) *akau di-gigoi?*
1.SG PASS-bite.A
'I was bitten'
- (11) *di-gigoi? anyae?*
PASS-bite.A dog.A
1. 'A dog was bitten'
2. 'Please, bite a dog!'

In active, passive and other constructions, the alternation is determined by syntactic factors, specifically whether the verb is followed by an object or a complement. Table 10.4 presents an overview of the conditions triggering absolute and/or oblique forms.

Environment		Absolute	Oblique
Active	No object argument	√	-
	Clausal complement	-	√
	Overt nominal object directly following the verb	-	√

Environment		Absolute	Oblique
	Covert nominal object identifiable from the context	-	√
Canonical passive (P1)	Unspecified agent	√	-
	Overt agent directly following the verb	-	√
	Covert agent identifiable from the context	-	√
	<i>di-V + wot</i>	√	√
Passive type 2 (P2)		√	-
Intransitive		√	-
Imperative ¹⁴⁵		√	-

Table 10.4. Phrasal alternation in verbs

Chapter 9 discussed the derived verb constructions. Verbs are derived from prefixation processes. Prefixes that are used are *maN-*, *N-*, *pa-*, *ba-*, *ta-* and *ka-*.

Three general types of derived verb constructions can be distinguished with regard to use of the absolute and oblique alternation. The first type exhibits the regular absolute-oblique alternation. The second type consists of frozen oblique forms reflecting the historical suffix **-an*. Since this derivational process has taken place on a morphological level, these petrified forms do not alternate on a syntactic level. The third type are compounds, i.e. prefixed verb forms with an additional element, which do not show the regular absolute-oblique alternation. Oblique-absolute or absolute-oblique compound constructions are possible. Prefixation does not affect the ABS-OBL alternation of these compound forms.

Derivational processes do not only occur with verbal roots, but also with other roots. The patterns of all possible derivational processes with all types of roots in PT are presented in appendix 3.

Demonstratives typically trigger the oblique form of the element preceding it if they are part of the same noun phrase and if the preceding element is mono-morphemic. The demonstrative triggers the absolute form in three environments: 1) when the demonstrative is used as a pragmatic marker, 2) when it functions as an independent pronoun, and 3) when it is preceded by a complex attribute in the shape of a derivation, a relative clause or also an expression indicating a possessor. These constructions ‘block’ the rule that elements preceding a demonstrative must occur in the oblique form, which is true for regular mono-morphemic roots.

¹⁴⁵ Imperatives with *mo?* ‘don’t’ and *mahae* ‘let’s’ behave like other verbs in declarative clauses.

To sum up, the oblique form is used when its referent is restricted by a patient in active constructions, by an agent in passive constructions, or by a modifier (i.e. an adjective, an overt or covert possessor or a demonstrative) in nominal constructions. The oblique form is used when the speech participants share contextual information about what is being discussed. The absolute form is used with generic and neutral reference (neutral as to specificity).

There is an obvious similarity in the distribution of absolute and oblique forms in noun phrases and verb phrases. Furthermore, syntactic adjacency is a determining factor. Syntactically, elements that are in a closer position to each other tend to trigger the oblique form of the first element, whereas the elements that are more peripheral tend to yield the absolute form.

Typologically speaking, the phenomenon of phrasal alternation in Kerinci differs in significant ways from the so-called ‘construct state’ in Hebrew, Arabic, etc. Oppositions between construct and absolute states in these languages are chiefly morphological, although there might be phonological implications resulting from changes in stress patterns. In Kerinci, however, the opposition was primarily phonological in nature and presumably related to the language’s tendency of phrase-final stress, in which absolute forms reflect phrase-final and hence stressed words and oblique forms reflect phrase-non-final and hence non-stressed words. The opposition eventually became semantic, so that the oblique form can now occur phrase-finally in combination with an implied restricting specification.

This dissertation is only a first step to understanding the phenomenon of phrasal alternation, as there are great differences between Kerinci dialects, as shown throughout the dissertation (cf. Steinhauer and Usman 1978; Prentice and Usman 1978; Usman 1988; Steinhauer 2002; Mckinnon 2011; Mckinnon et. al 2012 inter alia). In future research, I hope to situate phrasal alternation in a wider typological framework on similar phenomena.

Appendix

1 Texts

This appendix contains samples of the main texts used for my data analysis. The first is a story entitled ‘Frog, where are you?’. The second story entitled ‘The Pear / Avocado Story’. The third is a dialogue between two speakers. The fourth text is a monologue.

1.1 Frog, where are you?

Frog, where are you? is a picture book without words created by Mercer Mayer (1969). It is a sequel to *A Boy, a Dog and a Frog*. The story goes as follows. A boy has a dog and a pet frog. One night the frog comes out of the jar where the boy usually keeps it and runs away while the boy and his dog are sleeping. The next morning the boy finds out that his frog is missing. He opens the window and calls the frog, ‘Frog, where are you?’. The boy and his dog search for the missing frog in a forest. On the way to find his pet frog, the boy and his dog meet various animals in the forest until they finally find the pet frog. This story was retold by a 61-year old male speaker of PT. I showed this informant the picture book and asked him to tell the story in PT.

1. *mahae ikao ana? nae?*
let 2.PL child.A small.A
‘Come here small children!’
2. *haa pado ikao usoi? jaeuh-jaeuh,*
PART than 2.PL play.A RED-far.A

 mahae kitao caritao inei neh
let 1.PL.INCL story.A here neh
‘Instead of playing far away [from home], come, listen to my story here!’
3. *kitao carito kanykau*
1.PL.INCL story.O frog.A
‘We will listen to a frog story’

4. *jadi adea s-uha ana? nae?*
so exist.A one-CLF child.A small.A
'So, there is a small kid'
5. *no ηimo? kaŋkun no dalon toples*
3.SG ACT.see.O frog.O 3.SG.POSS inside jar
'He is watching his frog inside a jar'
6. *jadi lah samao pulao anyae? ηimo?*
so already follow too dog.A ACT.see.O
'So, a dog is also watching [it]'
7. *jadi suduah itoh, ta-kəla?*
so already.A itoh PERF-asleep.A

ana? ne? neh
child.A small.O neh
'Then, after that, this small kid falls asleep'
8. *jadi ta-kəla? ana? ne?*
so PERF-asleep.A child.A small.O

neh. Hee ləpaeh kaŋkun no
neh PART free.A frog.O 3.SG.POSS
'So, this small kid falls asleep. Hmm... his frog escaped'
9. *jadi ləpaeh kaŋkun no*
so free.A frog.O 3.SG.POSS
'So, his frog escaped'
10. *səŋgo anyae? anye? no adea*
then dog.A dog.O 3.SG.POSS exist.A

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

no toh ləpaeh
3.SG.POSS toh free.A
'Then a dog, his dog, there is one [dog], sees that his frog escaped'
11. *səŋgo di-juun no sapatou bot no*
then PASS-carry.O 3.SG shoes boot 3.SG.POSS
'He carries his boots'

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

21. *dapua? anye? no toh, di-paykau no*
 get.A dog.O 3.SG.POSS toh PASS-hold.A 3.SG
 ‘[He] gets his dog and he carries him’
22. *no ηaaih pulao ηimbo kaηkun no*
 3.SG ACT.shout.A too ACT.call.O frog.O 3.SG.POSS
 ‘He calls his frog, shouting’
23. *ηaaih no ηimbo kaηkun.*
 ACT.shout.A 3.SG ACT.call.O frog.O
kaηkun lao gea dapua?
 frog.O not.yet also get.A
 ‘He calls the frog, shouting. The frog hasn’t been found yet’
24. *jadi adea guwa*
 so exist.A cave
 ‘So, there is a cave’
25. *adea no ηimo? guwa, imo? guwa toh*
 exist.A 3.SG ACT.see.O cave see.O cave toh
 ‘He looks at the cave, looks at the cave’
26. *kiroño adea umpun kajau sa-batua*
 apparently exist.A cluster.O wood.A one.stem.A
umpun kajau sa-batua,
 cluster.O wood.A one.stem.A
 ‘Apparently there is a tree, one, a tree, one’
27. *anye? neh pəgut anau sahan sala*
 dog.O neh ACT.bark.O thingy.A nest.O wasp.A
 ‘This dog barks at, uhm... a wasp’s nest’
28. *narabeu sahan sala*
 swarm.A nest.O wasp.A
 ‘The wasps swarm’
29. *narabeu sahan sala. Səŋgo no nundau?*
 swarm.A nest.O wasp.A then 3.SG ACT.bow.A
k-awoh. Nundau? no k-awoh
 downward.O ACT.bow.A 3.SG downward.O
 ‘The wasps swarm. So that he bows down. He bows down’

30. *jadi nundau? jo k-awoh. Anye?*
 so ACT.bow.A 3.SG downward.O dog.O
jo neh tərauh ugea jəgut
 3.SG.POSS neh continuous also ACT.bark.O
tərauh ugea jəgut
 continuous also ACT.bark.O
 ‘So he bows down. His dog still barks at [the wasp nest],
 still barks at it’
31. *adea məncai? s-ikau ŋimo?*
 exist.A mouse.A one-CLF.A ACT.see.O
jo məkat idun jo
 3.SG ACT.cover.O nose.O 3.SG.POSS
 ‘There is a mouse that is watching him covering his nose’
32. *halah pijao jo məkat*
 PART why 3.SG ACT.cover.O
idun jo ke?
 nose.O 3.SG.POSS PART
 ‘My God! Why does he cover his nose?’
33. *jadi səŋgo salan neh jərabəu, jərabəu*
 so then wasp.O neh swarm.A swarm.A
 ‘Then, the wasps swarm, swarm’
34. *anye? jo neh əndo?*
 dog.O 3.SG.POSS neh want
ŋalake umpun kajau
 ACT.climb.O cluster.O wood.A
 ‘His dog wants to climb a tree’
35. *di əncit neh ka-luwa ta lon sahan*
 so mouse.O neh to.outside.A from inside nest.O
 ‘So this mouse comes out from the hole’
36. *ka-luwa ta lon sahan rupopo*
 to.outside.A from inside nest.O apparently
 ‘Comes out from the nest apparently’

37. *jadi, jo neh, manja?*
so 3.SG neh ACT.climb.A

teh umpun kajau
above cluster.O wood.A
'So he climbs a tree'
38. *adea jo njimo? lubua itou*
exist.A 3.SG ACT.see.O hole.A there
'He sees a hole there'
39. *jadi adea lubua toh ke? sahan əla*
so exist.A hole.A toh at nest.O hawk.A
'So, there is a hole at a hawk's nest'
40. *səŋgo ka-luwa əlan toh*
then to.outside.A hawk.O toh
'Then that hawk comes out'
41. *jadi əlan neh ka-luwa, jo ta-jateuh*
so hawk.O neh to.outside.A 3.SG PERF-fall.A
'So this hawk comes out. He falls down accidentally'
42. *ta-kanya? njimo? əlan*
PERF-surprised.A ACT.see.O hawk.O

deh ka-luwa
just.now to.outside.A
'[He] is surprised to see the hawk coming out'
43. *jadi anye? jo neh*
so dog.O 3.SG.POSS neh

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

44. *waih* *di-kantan* *wot* *sala* *anye?*
 PART PASS-attack.O by wasp.A dog.O

 no. *ŋaŋaaih* *no* *ba-lahoi*
 3.SG.POSS RED-shout.A¹⁴⁶ 3.SG VBLZ-run.A
 ‘His dog is attacked by wasps. He runs away, shouting’
45. *jadi,* *səŋgo* *əla* *neh* *lah* *tərbua* *pulao*
 so then hawk.A neh already fly.A too
 ‘So the hawk flies’
46. *tərbua* *əla* *neh.* *no* *ŋimbo* *əlan* *toh*
 fly.A hawk.A neh 3.SG ACT.call.O hawk.O toh
 ‘The hawk flies. He calls that hawk’
47. *no* *ŋimbo* *əlan* *toh.* *Ka-takut* *əntah*
 3.SG ACT.call.O hawk.O toh VBLZ-afraid.O perhaps
 ‘He calls that hawk. Perhaps [he is] scared’
48. *no* *ŋaŋkat* *jahi* *no* *kateh*
 3.SG ACT.lift.O finger.O 3.SG.POSS up
 ‘He raises his hands up’
49. *di-aŋkot* *no* *jahi* *no* *kateh*
 PASS-lift.O 3.SG finger.O 3.SG.POSS up
 ‘He raises his hands up’
50. *di* *sasuduah* *no* *ŋaŋkat* *kateh*
 so after.A 3.SG ACT.lift.O up
 ‘So, after he raises [his hands] up’
51. *no* *naae?* *ateh* *anau,* *batu* *dua*
 3.SG go.up.A above thingy.A stone.O big.A
 ‘He climbs on a, uhm, a big stone’

¹⁴⁶ Note the partial reduplication (< *ŋaaih* ‘to shout’); **ŋaaih-ŋaaih* seems to be phonotactically exceptional.

52. *naae?* *teh* *tu* *gədua.* *no*
go.up.A above.O stone.O big.A 3.SG

ŋaaih. *no* *ŋimbo* *anye?* *no*
ACT.shout.A 3.SG ACT.call.O dog.O 3.SG.POSS
‘[He] climbs on the big stone. He shouts. He calls for his dog’
53. *ŋaaih* *ŋimbo* *anye?* *no.*
ACT.shout.A ACT.call.O dog.O 3.SG.POSS

anye? *no* *nun̄kau?*
ACT.dog.O 3.SG.POSS ACT.bow.A

awoh *no* *ke?*
below.O 3.SG PART
‘[He] calls his dog, shouting. His dog bows below him’
54. *idia* *no* *taau.* *Səŋko* *no*
NEG 3.SG know expect.O 3.SG

anye? *no* *gi* *jaeuh* *gea*
dog.O 3.SG.POSS still far.A also
‘He didn’t know. He thought his dog was far away from him’
55. *kiroŋo* *anye?* *no* *neh*
apparently dog.O 3.SG.POSS neh

di *bawoh* *no* *lah*
on below.O 3.SG only
‘Apparently his dog is below him’
56. *nun̄kau?* *anye?* *no*
ACT.bow.A dog.O 3.SG.POSS
‘The dog bows’
57. *jadi* *nun̄kau?* *anye?* *no* *neh*
so ACT.bow.A dog.O 3.SG.POSS neh
‘Then his dog bows’
58. *no* *tərauh* *pulao* *no* *na?*
3.SG continuous too 3.SG xxx

geu *naae?* *ateh* *pun̄gun* *usao*
stay.A go.up.A above back.O deer.A
‘He climbs on the back of a deer’

59. *uso neh lah tibe a ateh bateu*
 deer.O neh already arrive.A above stone.A
 ‘This deer is on the stone’
60. *naae? no ateh anau pungun usao*
 go.up.A 3.SG above thingy.A back.O deer.A
 ‘He climbs on, uhm, the back of the deer’
61. *haa kakei no di-kapa?*
 PART leg.O 3.SG.POSS PASS-place

no ke? tandou? no
 3.SG on antlers.O 3.SG.POSS
 ‘Hmm... his legs are placed by him upon his antlers’
62. *ka tandou? uso toh*
 upon antlers.O deer.O toh
 ‘On that deer’s antlers’
63. *di haa uso toh ba-lahoi*
 so PART deer.O toh VBLZ-run.A
 ‘So, hmm... the deer runs’
64. *ba-lahoi, adea pulao puraŋ ta itoh*
 VBLZ-run.A exist.A too cliff at itoh
 ‘Running, and then there is a cliff there’
65. *adea pulao puraŋ Uso*
 exist.A too cliff deer.O

toh ando? ma-lumpa?
 toh want ACT-jump.A
 ‘There is a cliff. The deer is about to jump’
66. *kiro no ta-jateuh*
 apparently 3.SG PERF-fall.A
 ‘Apparently he falls down accidentally’
67. *no ta-jateuh. Uso neh idua? jateuh*
 3.SG PERF-fall.A deer.O neh NEG fall.A
 ‘He falls down accidentally. The deer does not fall down’

68. *geu ateh tabin toh,*
 stay.A above cliff.O toh

ɲimo? no jateuh
 ACT.see.O 3.SG fall.A
 ‘The deer stops at the edge of the cliff looking at him falling down’
69. *jadi suduah itoh*
 so already.A itoh
 ‘So after that’
70. *haa tɔrauh lao uso neh*
 PART continuous too deer.O neh

ila anau alon imbo
 disappear.A thingy.A inside forest.O
 ‘Hmm... the deer disappears, uhm, in the forest’
71. *ila alon imbo. Dɲu*
 disappear.A inside forest.O NEG

uso dɲu nampa?
 deer.O NEG visible
 ‘Disappears in the forest. The deer is not visible’
72. *jadi lah tibe a alon imbo*
 so already arrive.A inside forest.O
 ‘So [it] has arrived in the forest’
73. *haa kiro ana? nae?*
 PART apparently child.A small.A

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

76. *uso neh ŋimo? no jateuh*
 deer.O neh ACT.see.O 3.SG fall.A
 ‘This deer sees him falling down’
77. *di suduah toh, haa kiroŋo lah*
 so already.A toh PART apparently already

tibea dalon tɔbua?
 arrive.A inside pond.A
 ‘Then hmm... [he] is inside the pond now’
78. *kiro tɔbot toh idua?*
 apparently pond.O toh NEG

no dalua ke?
 3.SG deep.A PART
 ‘Apparently that pond is not so deep’
79. *bisua no dudeu?*
 can.A 3.SG sit.A
 ‘He can sit [over there]’
80. *kiro anyae? neh naae? pulao.*
 apparently dog.A neh go.up.A too

anye? toh sətia ŋə no
 dog.O toh loyal with 3.SG
 ‘Apparently the dog goes up [his head]. That dog is very loyal to him’
81. *naae? lah anye? toh*
 go.up.A PART dog.O toh

ənta palo? no
 to head.O 3.SG.POSS
 ‘That dog goes up to his head’
82. *haa səŋgo no bər-təria? Anye?*
 PART then 3.SG BER.shout dog.O

neh lah ila ke?
 neh already disappear.A PART
 ‘Hmm... then he shouts. This dog disappears’

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

91. *anye?* *no* *ateh* *bane*
 dog.O 3.SG.POSS above log.O

 kajau *toh* *ugea*
 wood.A toh also
 ‘His dog is on the log too’
92. *nampa?* *no,* *adea* *lao* *kan̄kau*
 ACT.visible 3.SG exist.A too frog.A

 duwo *ikeu* *awoh* *toh*
 two.O CLF.A below.O toh
 ‘He sees [frogs], there are frogs, two, below’
93. *anye?* *no* *neh* *n̄gut* *kan̄kau*
 dog.O 3.SG.POSS neh ACT.bark.O frog.A
 ‘His dog barks at the frog’
94. *haa* *s̄ngo* *anye?* *neh* *n̄gut* *kan̄kau*
 PART then dog.O neh ACT.bark.O frog.A
 ‘Hmm... then, this dog barks at the frog’
95. *haa* *no* *lua?* *no* *ḡlua?*
 PART 3.SG laugh.A 3.SG laugh.A

 ateh *bane* *kajau*
 above log.O wood.A
 ‘Hmm... he laughs. He laughs [while standing] on top of the log’
96. *anye?* *no* *ateh* *bane*
 dog.O 3.SG.POSS above log.O

 kajau *toh* *gea*
 wood.A toh also
 ‘His dog is also on top of the log’
97. *adea* *kan̄kau* *duwo* *ikeu*
 exist.A frog.A two.O CLF.A
 ‘There are two frogs’
98. *indou?* *ŋə* *apo?* *Haa* *ano?*
 mother.O and father.O PART child.O

 no *adea* *ugea*
 3.PL.POSS exist.A also
 ‘The mother and the father. Hmm... there are also their baby frogs’

99. *no ηimo? ano? no*
 3.PL ACT.see.O child.O 3.PL.POSS
 ‘They look at their baby frogs’
100. *ano? toh adea ugea*
 child.O toh exist.A also
 ‘There are baby frogs’
101. *ano? no apo ikau*
 child.O 3.PL.POSS how.many.O CLF.A

ano? no toh
 child.O 3.PL.POSS toh
 ‘How many baby frogs are there?’
102. *ənan ikau ano? no*
 six.O CLF.A child.O 3.PL.POSS
 ‘[There are] six of their baby frogs’
103. *haa səŋgo no dudeu?*
 PART then 3.SG sit.A
 ‘Hmm... then he sits’
104. *dudeu? no anau, dalon təbua? anye?*
 sit.A 3.SG thingy.A inside pond.A dog.O

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

108. *kaŋkun toh lah ba-lihoi?*
 frog.O toh already STAT-line.up.O
ateh anau bane kajau toh
 above thingy.A log.O wood.A toh
 ‘Those frogs stay there in a row above, uhm, the logs’
109. *indou? diŋa apo? ano? no gea*
 mother.O with father.O child.O 3.PL.POSS also
 ‘The mother and the father, [and] also their children’
110. *ano? adea tujuh ikeu*
 child.O exist.A seven.O CLF.A
 ‘There are seven baby frogs’
111. *s-ikau awoh ano? no*
 one-CLF.A below.O child.O 3.PL.POSS
idua? pandae naae? kateh
 NEG able.A go.up.A up
 ‘One little frog below cannot jump to the log’
112. *səŋgo itoh carito kitao neh*
 then itoh story.O 1.PL.INCL neh
 ‘So that’s the story’
113. *əmbauh coco? toh*
 want.A suitable toh
 ‘Is that fine?’

1.2 The Pear / Avocado Story

The *Pear Story* is a wordless short film produced by Wallace Chafe (1980). It is about a man picking pears and a boy with a bike who steals a basket of pears. The boy falls from the bike, after which other boys come and help him. This film was designed to be understood universally, without cultural information, in order to elicit linguistic data. Note, however, that my participant understood the fruit, pear, as *pukat* ‘avocado’ – a Malay loanword – since pears are uncommon in the PT area. The consultant was a 68-year old female speaker.

1. *adea s-uha pətani*
 exist.A one-CLF farmer
 ‘There is a farmer’

2. *adea no ba-ladon pukat*
 exist.A 3.SG STAT-field.O avocado
 ‘He has a field filled with avocado trees’

3. *di ladon no toh*
 in field.O 3.SG.POSS toh

 adea baton pukat
 exist.A stem.O avocado
 ‘In his field there are avocado trees’

4. *ləbuaʔ na uwoh no*
 abundant.A really fruit.O 3.PL.POSS
 ‘The avocados are really abundant’

5. *jadi di-kəleih no pukat neh*
 so PASS-look.O 3.SG avocado neh

 lah patauʔ di-ambiʔ
 already should.A PASS-take.O
 ‘He watches the avocados that are ready to be picked’

6. *di sahingo no lalau ka ladon no*
 so so.that 3.SG go.A to field.O 3.SG.POSS

 ɲambeɪʔ uwoh pukat toh tadeh
 ACT.take.O fruit.O avocado toh just.now
 ‘He goes to his field to pick the avocados’

7. *di-uwea* *no* *uncan* *kaae* *jadi* *tampe?*
 PASS-bring.A 3.SG purse.O clothes.A become.O place.O
uwoh *pukat* *no* *toh*
 fruit.O avocado 3.SG.POSS toh
 ‘He brings a cloth purse as a place to put his avocados’
8. *haa* *jadi* *langsun* *no* *nambei?*
 PART so direct 3.SG ACT.take.O
uwoh *pukat* *no* *toh*
 fruit.O avocado 3.SG.POSS toh
 ‘Hmm... so, he directly picks his avocados’
9. *di-tamau?* *no* *asu?* *karanjan*
 PASS-put.into 3.SG into.O basket
ηə *di-uwea* *no* *tadeh*
 REL PASS-bring.A 3.SG just.now
 ‘[They] were put into a basket by him, which was brought by him’
10. *karanjan* *toh* *ta-kapa?* *awoh*
 basket toh PERF-place below.O
baton *pukat* *toh*
 stem.O avocado toh
 ‘The baskets are placed below the avocado trees’
11. *haa* *namau?* *su?* *karanjan.* *haa* *toh*
 PART ACT.put.into into.O basket PART toh
no *namau?*
 3.SG ACT.put.into
 ‘Hmm... putting [them] into the basket, hmm... he puts [them] into [it]’
12. *haa* *adea* *ηə* *jateuh* *s-uwuah* *tadeh*
 PART exist.A REL fall.A one-CLF.A just.now
 ‘Hmm... there was one that dropped just now’
13. *di-ambi?* *no* *pam-balut* *lijei* *no*
 PASS-take.O 3.SG NMLZ-bandage.O neck.O 3.SG.POSS
 ‘He takes his bandana’
14. *di-lap* *no* *anau,* *uwoh* *pukat* *toh* *tadeh*
 PASS-polish 3.SG thingy.A fruit.O avocado toh just.now
 ‘He wipes, uhm, the avocados’

15. *adi pam-balut lijei toh*
so NMLZ-bandage.O neck.O toh

di-pasa uha toh ali?
PASS-put.on 3.SG.M back.O
'So, that bandana was put back on by him'
16. *lan̄sun pulao uha toh manya?*
direct too 3.SG.M ACT.climb.A

ali? kateh aton pukat toh tadeh
back.O up stem.O avocado toh just.now
'That person goes back to climb up the tree directly'
17. *haa jadi uha toh tibeā*
PART so 3.SG.M arrive.A

ateh umpun pukat
above cluster.O avocado
'Hmm... so he is on the top of the avocado tree'
18. *adea uha n̄mpauh, muwao kambae?*
exist.A people.A ACT.pass.A ACT.bring.A goat.A
'There is a guy passing by with a goat'
19. *ɲihit kambae?*
ACT.drag.O goat.A
'Dragging a goat'
20. *n̄mpauh awoh umpun pukat*
ACT.pass.A below.O cluster.O avocado

uha toh d̄akot karanyan pukat
3.SG.M close.O basket avocado

tadeh, muwao kambae?
just.now ACT.bring.A goat.A
'He passes underneath the avocado tree, next to the avocado basket, dragging along a goat'
21. *haa uha uwao kambe?*
PART people.A ACT.bring.A goat.O

neh ba-jalua t̄rauh
neh VBLZ-road.A continuous
'Hmm... the person with the goat keeps walking'

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

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

uwoh pukat toh
fruit.O avocado toh
'So, he keeps picking the avocados'
25. *namau? asu? anau tadeh, təmpe?*
ACT.put.into into.O thingy.A just.now place.O

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

karangan pukat toh tadeh
basket.O avocado toh just.now
'This small kid comes to the avocado baskets'

31. *haa jadi ana? nae? nəmpauh itou*
 PART so child.A small.A ACT.pass.A there
 ‘Hmm... so, the small kid passes by’
32. *ŋimo? karanjaŋ pukat. Adea*
 ACT.see.O basket avocado exist.A

tadeh ta-kapa? ənta itoh
 just.now PERF-place.A at itoh
 ‘[He] looks at the basket of avocados. It was there just now’
33. *tuhan no dari ateh*
 go.down.A 3.SG from above

səpeda no toh
 bike 3.SG.POSS toh
 ‘He gets off his bike’
34. *tuhan dateh səpeda toh. Lanjsun no*
 go.down.A from bike toh direct 3.SG

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

ŋima?-ŋima? kateh umpun pukat toh
 ACT.RED-see.A up cluster.O avocado toh
 ‘[He] directly puts the bike down. He keeps looking at the avocado trees’
36. *apo adea uha tuwan pukat*
 what exist.A people.A master.O avocado

ŋimo? no apo idua?
 ACT.see.O 3.SG what NEG
 ‘To check whether the person who owns the avocados sees him or not’

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

44. *haa jo lan̄sun muwao*
 PART 3.SG direct ACT.bring.A
pukat toh lahai
 avocado toh run.A
 ‘Hmm... he directly takes the avocados away’
45. *uha tuwan pukat tadeh*
 people.A master.O avocado just.now
idia gea η̄leih tadeh
 NEG also ACT.look.O just.now
 ‘The person who owns the avocados does not see him’
46. *haa lan̄sun muwao lahai*
 PART direct ACT.bring.A run.A
 ‘Hmm... [he] directly takes [them] away’
47. *jadi tibeā ke? jalua. jalon*
 so arrive.A at road.A road.O
toh kura, bayua? bateu
 toh bad.A many.A stone.A
 ‘So, on the road. That road is terrible, full of stones’
48. *haa jadi adea uha batino*
 PART so exist.A people.A female.O
 ‘Hmm... so, there is a girl’
49. *arah dari ke? uko jo n̄mpauh*
 direction from in front.O 3.SG ACT.pass.A
muwao s̄apeda ugea
 ACT.bring.A bike also
 ‘Coming from the opposite direction where he passes, on her bike as well’
50. *haa tibeā di t̄ampe? jo toh hoo*
 PART arrive.A at place.O 3.SG toh PART
 ‘Hmm... [he] arrives at his place’
51. *haa kirōno ta-l̄nga bateu, s̄apeda*
 PART apparently PERF-bump stone.A bike
 ‘Apparently, the bike accidentally hits a rock’

52. *di jateuh pukat toh k-awoh.*
so fall.A avocado toh downward.O

Ba-cihe pukat toh
VBLZ-scattered avocado toh
'So, those avocados fall down,. Those avocados scattered'
53. *no ta-jateuh, ta-guloi, ta-əmpaeh palo*
3.SG PERF-fall.A PERF-roll.on.A PERF-smash.A head.O
'He accidentally fell, toppled, [and had his] head smacked down'
54. *səpɛda no toh ta-juŋkon*
bike 3.SG.POSS toh PERF-flip.over
'His bike turns upside down accidentally'
55. *haa jadi no ŋusouʔ-ŋusouʔ kakei tadeh*
PART so 3.SG ACT.RED-rub.O leg.O just.now
'Hmm... so, he bruises his legs at many places'
56. *lah sakaiʔ. Lah ta-rasao sakaiʔ.*
already ill.A already PERF-feel.A ill.A

di-anu no kaus no k-awoh
PASS-thingy 3.SG sock 3.SG.POSS downward.O
'It hurts. The pain can be felt. He, uhm, his socks down'
57. *haa di-apih no kakei no*
PART PASS-brush.O 3.SG leg.O 3.SG.POSS
'Hmm... he bruises his legs'
58. *haa suduah itoh tibeana anaʔ pulao*
PART already.A itoh arrive.A child.A too

ba-tigea ŋuse no
STAT-three.A to 3.SG
'Hmm... after that, kids arrive in a group of three approaching him'
59. *s-uha toh nulun ŋəpeih-ŋəpeih*
one-CLF toh ACT.help.O ACT.RED-brush.O

abeu di no tadeh
dust.A on 3.SG just.now
'One of them helps him to brush off all the dust'

60. *ŋə ba-duwea nulun ŋanou pukat*
REL STAT-two.A ACT.help.O ACT.thingy.O avocado
‘[The kids] in a group of two help him to, uhm, the avocados’
61. *haa toh lah, ba-tigea toh lah*
PART toh already STAT-.three.A toh already

samao nulun ŋuraih pukat, namau?
follow ACT.help.O ACT.manage.A avocado ACT.put.into

pukat no su? karanjan
avocado 3.SG.POSS into.O basket
‘[The kids] in a group of three help him to pick up the avocados
and put them into the basket’
62. *no nəgua? səpeda no*
3.SG ACT.erec.A bike 3.SG
‘He picks up his bike’
63. *haa uha ŋə s-uha, adea muwao*
PART people.A REL one-CLF exist.A bring.A

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

apo batmin apo toh tənīs meja deh
what badmin what toh tennis table just.now
‘Hmm... one kid brings a racket for playing feather... uhm, playing
what? Badmin...¹⁴⁷ what is that, table tennis’
64. *haa əntah apo tanah, əntah apo bateu*
PART perhaps what soil.A perhaps what stone.A

əntah, di-təpei?-təpei? no nitoh
perhaps PASS-RED-beat.O 3.SG like.that
‘Hmm... either the soil or stones were beaten repeatedly by
him like that’

¹⁴⁷ *Batmin* is an unfinished word. The speaker wanted to say ‘badminton’ but hesitated.

65. *haa suduah uha ineh nulun no*
 PART already.A 3.SG.M ACT.help.O 3.SG
 ‘They helped him’
66. *uha tigea neh lahai. no lahai*
 people.A three.A neh run.A 3.SG run.A
- pulao muwao pukat toh tadeh*
 too ACT.bring.A avocado toh just.now
 ‘The three [kids] go away. He goes away as well with the avocados’
67. *jadi idua? jaeuh uha ineh*
 so NEG far.A 3.SG.M
- ba-jalua, nampa? tudeu*
 VBLZ-road.A ACT.appear hat.A
 ‘Not far away they walk, [they] see a hat’
68. *haa kiro tudun uha ηə*
 PART apparently hat.O people.A REL
- tuwan pukat toh tadeh*
 master.O avocado toh just.now
 ‘Apparently, it’s the hat of the person who owns the avocados’
69. *di-ambi? uha ηə s-uha, ηə*
 PASS-take.O people.A REL one-CLF REL
- bayu ijua tudun toh*
 shirt.O green.A hat.O toh
 ‘Someone in a green shirt takes that hat’
70. *lalau lo ηanta bali? ka no*
 go.A to ACT.deliver back.O to 3.SG
 ‘Going back towards him [to give his hat]’
71. *no ηə ba-duwea toh nantei? ke? itoh.*
 3.PL REL STAT-two.A toh ACT.wait.O at itoh
- ηə s-uha alo ηanta*
 REL one-CLF go.O ACT.deliver
 ‘They, [the kids] in a group of two, wait [for him] there. One [kid] gives [his hat]’

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

tudun toh ka kapalo no
hat.O toh on head.O 3.SG.POSS
'As for him, he directly wears that hat on his head'
74. *suduah no nana? tudun toh*
already.A 3.SG ACT.wear hat.O toh
'He put that hat on'
75. *no nambei? uwoh pukat toh*
3.SG ACT.take.O fruit.O avocado toh

magih se uha ineh tigo uwuah
ACT.give.O to 3.SG.M three.O CLF.A
'He takes those avocados, gives him three avocados'
76. *no ba-jalua lahai. Uha ineh*
3.SG VBLZ-road.A run.A 3.PL

ba-jalua lahai pulao
VBLZ-road.A run.A too
'He walks across. They walk across too'
77. *tibea ke? kantei no, di-labuh no*
arrive.A at friend.O 3.SG.POSS PASS-anchoring.O 3.SG

kantei no s-iji s-uhan pukat toh
friend.O 3.SG.POSS one-CLF.O one-CLF.O avocado toh
'When he is close to his friends, he gives his friends one avocado for each person'
78. *haa no ba-jalua lah, samo ba-jalua*
PART 3.PL VBLZ-road.A PART same VBLZ-road.A

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

79. *haa jadi uha ηə s-uha neh,*
 PART so people.A REL one-CLF neh
di-ambei? jo pa-nəpei? anau tadeh
 PASS-take.O 3.SG NMLZ-beat.O thingy.A just.now
 ‘Hmm... so, this one person, he takes the racket uhm just now’
80. *haa nukun ηuse pukat jo.*
 PART ACT.hit.O to avocado 3.SG.POSS
muka? pukat, jo makan
 ACT.open avocado 3.SG ACT.eat.O
 ‘Hmm... hitting his avocado. [He] peels the avocado, he eats it’
81. *haa uha tuwan pukat neh*
 PART people.A master.O avocado neh
tuhan dari tangao tadeh
 go.down.A from ladder.A just.now
 ‘The person who owns the avocados goes down the ladder’
82. *muwao pukat alon uncan*
 ACT.bring.A avocado inside pocket.O
 ‘[He] brings the avocados in [his] purse’
83. *ηimo? tibe awoh, ta-kanya?*
 ACT.see.O arrive.A below.O PERF-surprised
ηitun. Pijao karanan pukat kau neh
 ACT.count.O why basket avocado 1.SG neh
tinga s-uwuah agih, s-uwuah kusau
 leave.A one-CLF.A still one-CLF.A empty.A
 ‘He is a bit surprised when he comes back and counts the baskets.
 Why do I only have one full basket and one empty basket?’
84. *ta-pikai manao gi*
 PERF-think.A where go.O
 ‘[He] was thinking, where did [the other basket] go?’

85. *haa toh lah ta-mənaʊ, toh*
 PART toh already PERF-ponder.A toh
lah dudeuʔ keʔ taŋgo toh
 already sit.A on ladder.O toh
tadeh, ta-mənaʊ, mikei
 just.now PERF-ponder.A ACT.think.O
 ‘Hmm... [he] ponders, sits on the ladder, broods
 about [the missing basket]’
86. *nəmpauh lah uha ŋə makan pukat*
 ACT.pass.A PART people.A REL eat.O avocado
tadeh, ba-tigea, keʔ uko uha itoh
 just.now STAT-three.A in front.O 3.SG.M
 ‘[Some people] pass by in a group of three, eating avocados in
 front of him’
87. *ta-laŋua woa uha toh leih. Idia*
 PERF-stun.A only 3.SG.M look.O NEG
uha toh nuweʔ
 3.SG.M ACT.ask
 ‘[He] is stunned, looking at them. He does not ask [questions]’
88. *manao ikao ambiʔ pukat, idia uha toh*
 where 2.PL take.O avocado NEG 3.SG.M
nuweʔ. Uha toh ba-laŋua
 ACT.ask 3.SG.M VBLZ-stun.A
woa uha toh leih
 only 3.SG.M look.O
 ‘‘Where did you get the avocados?’’ He does not ask. He
 is just stunned looking at them’
89. *haa jadi uha toh lah jaeuh*
 PART so 3.PL already far.A
 ‘Hmm... so, they are already far away’
90. *haa ŋgo itoh*
 PART until.O itoh
 ‘Hmm... that’s it’

1.3 Free conversation 1

The following text is a transcription of a free conversation among four participants. Two participants are PT native speakers who take a bigger part in the conversation than the other two. The first participant is a female speaker, aged 74 years at the time of recording. The second participant is a male speaker aged 63 years. The third participant is a native speaker of KK. The fourth participant is myself. My attendance was only to make sure the conversation kept going. Therefore, only the conversation between the two native speakers of PT is transcribed below. The first participant is called ‘N’, the second is called ‘A’. The topic of conversation is about life during the colonial era.

1. A: *sakulo waktu balandea uleu*
 school.O time Holland.A in.the.past.A
 ‘[On the topic of] schools during the Dutch era in the past’
2. A: *idia sempe idia uleu dea? Sema idia*
 NEG SMP NEG in.the.past.A TAG SMA NEG
 ‘There was no Junior High School in the past, wasn’t there? There was no Senior High School’
3. N: *idia, toh ku atao se no*
 NEG toh 1.SG tell.A to 3.SG
 ‘There was no such thing. That was what I told her’
4. N: *kamai uleu eser uleu,*
 1.PL.EXCL in.the.past.A SR in.the.past.A

idua? esde, esde minin neh
 NEG SD SD now neh
 ‘We, in the past, had SR, not SD like now’
5. N: *eser uleu kelas ana tama? kelas ana*
 SR in.the.past.A class six.A graduate.A class six.A
 ‘SR in the past, grade six. [We] graduated at the sixth grade’

6. A: *kalo ηə tu balandea uleu,*
if REL time Holland.A in.the.past.A

jea baso balandea Masulo
PART language Holland.A school.O

eshakel, apo haa
eshakel what PART
'As for the Dutch era, people [spoke] Dutch. It was
the Eshakel school, wasn't it?'
7. A: *haa idua? lao tingai sakulo dea? Idua?*
PART NEG too high.A school.O TAG NEG

uloih tər-batas, waktu balandea uleu
may PERF-limit time Holland.A in.the.past.A
'Hmm...it was not allowed to get higher education, was it? Not
allowed, it was limited in the Dutch era'
8. N: *nulaih diyan batu tulis*
ACT.write.A with stone.O write
'[We] wrote using slates'
9. A: *haa ano? karit, buku dade lah duli*¹⁴⁸
PART child.O rubber book NEG PART in.the.past
'Hmm... small erasers, no books in the past'
10. A: *idia uku, idia uku duleu*
NEG book NEG book in.the.past.A
'No books, no books in the past'
11. A: *buloih idua? pake səlop, kakei ajan*
may NEG wear.O slippers leg.O chicken.O
'It was allowed to not wear slippers; barefeet'
12. N: *alau lo sula tərəmpo kajau*
go.A to school.A sandal wood.A
'[You] went to school wearing wooden sandals'

¹⁴⁸ *Buku dade lah duli* is a KK clause.

13. A: *haa bayu basin woa, idia bayu səragam*
 PART shirt.O just.any only NEG shirt.O uniform
 ‘Hmm... [you could wear] any shirt, [as there were] no uniforms’
14. N: *tərəmpo kajau uleu alau sula*
 sandal wood.A in.the.past.A go.A school.A
 ‘[You] wore wooden sandals in the past to go to school’
15. A: *tapi uleu maʔaoh ku atao deaʔ kəlas*
 but in.the.past.A sorry 1.SG tell.A TAG class

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

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

inin neh tumban
 now neh level
 ‘Elementary schools in the past are comparable to
 Junior High School nowadays’
18. A: *bijua nulaih bijua uruh arap deaʔ*
 let ACT.write.A let letter arabic TAG
 ‘As for writing, as for [reciting] Arabic letters’
19. A: *ineh sema na iduaʔ taau uruh arap*
 ineh SMA even NEG know letter arabic
 ‘Right now, even SMA students do not know Arabic letters’
20. A: *bot uleu disiplin*
 because in.the.past.A discipline
 ‘Because [people] in the past were disciplined’

21. A: *manan caro guru ηajua, ankat tanan*
 how way teacher ACT.teach lift hand
di atas meja ηimo? kukou,
 on above table ACT.see.O nail.O
tukau anao ηə panya kukou
 hit.A whoever REL long.A nail.O
 ‘How teachers taught [pupils] in the past: ‘Put your hands on the table! Checking [their] nails, hitting [the hands of] whoever had long nails’
22. N: *kalo uha uleu əndo? masau? sula*
 if people.A in.the.past.A want enrol.A school.A
ukau jahi ηgo kaliyo? dea?
 measure.A finger.O until.O ear.O TAG
 ‘As for people in the past, to be able to enroll in schools, [they would] measure [your] arm: you should be able to touch your ear’
23. N: *sampae jahi ηuse kaliyo? neh*
 reach.A finger.O to ear.O neh
lah isua asau? sula
 already can.A enrol.A school.A
 ‘If [one’s] hand could reach one’s ear, [one] could enroll in school’
24. N: *kalo inin idua? Inin neh ηimo?*
 if now NEG now neh ACT.see.O
tanggal lahir. Uleu idia
 date birth in.the.past.A NEG
 ‘As for now, it does not work that way. [Schools now] check the date of birth. Not in the past’

25. N: *ukau jahi. Anao ηə panya*
measure.A finger.O whoever REL long.A
- jahi sampae dea?, anao ηə*
finger.O reach.A TAG whoever REL
- panda? jahi, dua? ampae*
short.A finger.O NEG reach.A
'Measuring [one's] arm length. Whoever had long arms, could reach [their ears]. Whoever had short arms, could not reach [their ears]'
26. N: *hee lah ikao kalo panderitaan*
PART PART 2.PL if hardship
- maso japua lah puwaeh*
time japan.A already satisfied.A
'Hmm... you know what, as for hardship during Japanese era, [I have gone] through that'
27. A: *hoo ηunjau jahi teh mijua,*
PART ACT.put finger.O above table.A
- imo? guru panya, tukang ηə*
see.O teacher long.A hit.A with
- rol disiplin toh tingai*
ruler discipline toh high.A
'Hmm... putting hands on a table, [if] the teacher spotted long [nails], [we] were hit with a ruler. The discipline was high'
28. N: *kalo maso balandea akau lah kəlas duwea*
if time Holland.A 1.SG already class two.A
'As for the Dutch era, I was in the second grade'
29. N: *maso japua toh lao sula*
time japan.A toh not.yet school.A
'During the Japanese era, [I hadn't enrolled] in school yet'
30. A: *balandea man-jayah kitao neh*
Holland.A ACT-colonize 1.PL.INCL neh
- tiga ratus lima puluh tahun*
three x10² five x10¹ year
'The Dutch colonized us for three hundred and fifty years'

31. A: *jəpua masau? balandea lahai*
japan.A come.A Holland.A run.A
'The Japanese came, the Dutch left'
32. A: *kalah balandea pəroa*
lose.A Holland.A war
'The Dutch was defeated in war'
33. A: *haa toh tərjadi anau*
PART toh happen thingy.A

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

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

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

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

hari pahlawan s-ahai toh
day hero one-CLF.A toh
'The English [army] came with ships and cannons, didn't they?
[The Surabayan heroes] fought there till the bitter end, didn't they? That's why we call that one day Heroes' Day'
36. A: *uha kitao baŋua? ŋə matai.*
people.A 1.PL.INCL.POSS many.A REL die.A

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

37. A: *jo əndo? baloi? man-ɬaɬ li?*
 3.PL want back.A ACT-colonize back.O
 ‘They wanted to colonize [us] again’
38. A: *uha kitao lah adea*
 people.A 1.PL.INCL.POSS already exist.A

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

balandea ɲə tingoa
 Holland.A REL left
 ‘Our people already had weapons. The Japanese weapons, the weapons of the Dutch who left’
39. N: *kamai balandea uleu,*
 1.PL.EXCL Holland.A in.the.past.A

lahai alo kateh ukoi?
 run.A go.O up hill.A
 ‘During the Dutch [era], we ran to the hills’
40. N: *jadi maso ɟəpua uleu toh, jadi*
 so time japan.A in.the.past.A toh so

kamai gi nae?-nae? dea?
 1.PL.EXCL still RED-small.A TAG
 ‘During the Japanese era, we were still small kids, weren’t we?’
41. N: *kamai kan dijua ke? umpun tarənda*
 1.PL.EXCL PART stay.A at umpun tarenda
 ‘We lived at Umpun Tarenda’
42. N: *ɲgo lah sija ahai toh,*
 until.O already afternoon.A day.A toh

kamai toh umuah woa
 1.PL.EXCL toh at.home.A only

ijon. Dua? uloih k-awuah
 stay.O NEG may downward.A
 ‘During the day, we were at home. We were not allowed to go outside’

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

maso balandea uleu
time Holland.A in.the.past.A
'They looked for females in the Dutch era'
44. A: *di koreja uha nuntut inin neh*
in korea people.A ACT.sue.O now neh
'In Korea, people now sue [those who kidnapped women]'
45. N: *manao ana? gadoih-gadoih neh di-imbua.*
whoever child.A RED-female.A neh PASS-hide.A

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

51. N: *jaŋua jo imo? idua? jo mala*
 NEG 3.PL see.O NEG 3.PL evening.A
ba-jalua jo ŋintai?-ŋintai? manao
 VBLZ-road.A 3.SG ACT.RED-peek.A where
adea ana? gadih
 exist.A child.A female.O
 ‘So that they did not see it. They would walk around in the evening, watching if there were girls’
52. A: *anau neh nuntau?, nagara koreja*
 thingy.A neh ACT.sue.A country korea
neh nuntut jəpua, korban pəran
 neh ACT.sue.O japan.A victim war
toh ja agoi gi ideu?
 toh even still.A still live.A
inin, uha tuwo-tuwo toh
 now people.A RED-old.O toh
 ‘Who sues them... Koreans sue the Japanese. The war victims who are still alive, the older people’
53. A: *uha tino toh di-kumpau-kumpau.*
 people.A female.O toh PASS-RED-collect
jo. Naka jəpua
 3.PL naughty japan.A
 ‘Women were taken. The Japanese were naughty’
54. A: *uha toh ja agoi ideu? Uha toh*
 3.PL even still.A live.A 3.PL
əndo? nuntut jəpua. əntah
 want ACT.sue.O japan.A perhaps
di-gəntoi əntah idua?
 PASS-change.A perhaps NEG
 ‘They are still alive. They want to sue the Japanese. Not sure whether [the victims will be] compensated or not’
55. A: *asau? uha kitao neh gea*
 include.A people.A 1.PL.INCL.POSS neh also
 ‘Including our people’

56. A: *kalo balandea idua? itoh. Balandea*
 if Holland.A NEG itoh Holland.A
səndo? ɲambi? hasil hasil bumi
 want ACT.take.O result result earth
 ‘As for the Dutch, they were not like that. The Dutch
 took agricultural products’
57. N: *balandea mewah kitao di-bagih no*
 Holland.A luxury 1.PL.INCL PASS-give.O 3.SG
 ‘[During the] Dutch [era] they gave us luxuries’
58. A: *toh adea sənən kitao*
 toh exist.A happy.O 1.PL.INCL
 ‘[At least] there were [things that made] us happy’
59. A: *cuma hasil bumi neh di-anʔkut*
 however result earth neh PASS-carry.O
 ‘However, the agricultural products were taken [by them]’
60. A: *cuma idua? ugea*
 however NEG also
 ‘However, it was not good’
61. N: *maso ʔəpua uleu gahon,*
 time japan.A in.the.past.A salt.O
gahon ingris don-don pel bajer
 salt.O England RED-big.O pil bayer
 ‘During the Japanese era in the past, [as for] salt, the
 English salt was as big as a Bayer aspirin’
62. N: *səndo itoh gahon*
 like itoh salt.O
 ‘The salt was like that’
63. N: *ba-tana?, tamau? gahon duwo iʔoi*
 VBLZ-cook.A put.into salt.O two.O CLF.A
 ‘To cook [rice], [we] put two salts into it’

64. N: *tana?* *campou kaca, campou kuboi?*
 cook.A mix.O nut.A mix.O potato.A
məndərɪta lah maso jəpua uleu
 suffering PART time japan.A in.the.past.A
 ‘Cooking [rice] mixed with nuts, mixed with potatoes. It
 was suffering during the Japanese era in the past’
65. N: *padoi di-ambi? no umea*
 paddy.A PASS-take.O 3.PL at.rice.field.A
 ‘Paddy was taken by them from the rice fields’
66. N: *biloi?-biloi? uha di-buŋkua*
 RED-room.A people.A PASS-destroy
no dea?
 3.PL TAG
 ‘People’s rooms were destroyed by them, weren’t they?’
67. N: *bansua? paraŋe jəpua*
 bastard.A behavior.O japan.A
 ‘Japanese acted like bastards’
68. N: *manao ŋə janton-janton neh di-tawan*
 whoever REL RED-male.O neh PASS-prison
 ‘Males were imprisoned’
69. N: *di-suhouh no muka? padon jageu*
 PASS-ask.O 3.PL ACT.open field.O corn.A
 ‘[We] were ordered by them to open up corn fields’
70. N: *di ujun antan ando? po? si*
 so group grandfather.O andok father.O ART
nurdin uleu dea?, di-bəroi no
 PN in.the.past.A TAG PASS-give 3.PL
maka pagoi aŋkoi?
 eat.A morning.A wake.up.A
dalon saja? toh aka
 inside half.a.coconut.A toh eat.A
 ‘So the group of Mr. Andok, the father of Nurdin, were in
 the past given breakfast in the morning [by the Japanese,
 after they] woke up, in [nothing more than] coconut shells.
 That was [how people] ate’

71. A: *səcaro idua? laŋsun. dəŋan*
 way NEG direct with

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

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

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

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

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

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

idua? əndojo jəpua no munoh dea?
NEG like japan.A 3.PL ACT.kill.O TAG
'Whoever fought against them would be killed by them,
but not in the way the Japanese killed us, they killed us,
didn't they?'

88. A: *masau?* *dari* *anau* *dea?*, *koreja*, *tailan*,
come.A from thingy.A TAG korea Thailand

di-jayah *no* *alo* *sampae* *malaisija*
PASS-colonize 3.PL all until malaysia
'All the way from, uhm, Korea, Thailand, [lands]
were colonized, everybody, up to Malaysia'
89. N: *kalo* *balandea* *uleu* *dea?*, *di-bəroi*
if Holland.A in.the.past.A TAG PASS-give

no *kaan* *kitao* *dea?*, *Pəmbagian*
3.PL clothes.O 1.PL.INCL TAG distribution

kaae. *jadi* *kaan* *marikan* *duleu*
clothes.A so clothes.O marikan in.the.past.A
'As for the Dutch in the past, clothes were given by them
to us, weren't they? Clothes distribution. The *marikan*¹⁴⁹
clothes of the past'
90. N: *sarden* *toh* *di-agih*
sardine toh PASS-give.O
'Sardines were given [by them]'
91. N: *kalo* *jəpua* *duleu* *kaan* *tərau?*
if japan.A in.the.past.A clothes.O terauk.A
'As for the Japanese [era] in the past, [we wore]
*terauk*¹⁵⁰ clothes'
92. A: *idia* *uha* *na?* *bəyeu*
NEG people.A wear shirt.A
'People did not wear shirts'
93. N: *gunoi-gunoi* *alauh-alauh.* *Itoh* *kaan*
RED-gunny.A RED-soft.A itoh clothes.O
'The thin gunnies. Those were the clothes'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

101. A: *tu balandea uleu idua?*
time Holland.A in.the.past.A NEG
no idua? kəjam, kaae adea
3.PL NEG cruel clothes.A exist.A
‘The Dutch era wasn’t [like that]. They were not
cruel. There were clothes’
102. N: *sabun nəsah je kaau, idia*
soap.O ACT.wash.A say 2.SG.F NEG
make saben əndo kitao
ACT.use.O soap.A like.O 1.PL.INCL
‘Soap for washing clothes was not like the
soap we have now, you know’
103. N: *buwoh limbau ηə buluaʔ-buluaʔ dua*
fruit.O limbau.A REL RED-round.A big.A
‘[We used] *limbaus*¹⁵² that were round and big’
104. N: *əndoʔ nəsah tukau-tukau lah,*
want ACT.wash.A RED-hit.A PART
tamauʔ suʔ imbe
put.into into.O bucket
‘To wash clothes, [we] smashed [the fruits] and put [them]
into a bucket’
105. N: *adea taau sabun limbau*
exist.A know soap.O limbau.A
‘Do you know *limbau* soap?’

¹⁵² *Limbau* is a kind of fruit with a yellowish peel and black seeds. The *limbau* tree is about 7-9 meters high and notoriously difficult to climb. The fruits are smashed and mixed with water. This mix produces foam that is used as a substitute for soap, including for washing clothes.

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

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

Adea nae?-nae?, don-don neh, buloa?-buloa?
 exist.A RED-small.A RED-big.O neh RED-round.A
 ‘Among silver workers. It is small, as small as this, and round’
108. N: *itoh jadi sabun*
 itoh become soap.O
 ‘That was the soap’
109. N: *idia sabən əndo kitao minin*
 NEG soap.A like.O 1.PL.INCL now
 ‘There was no soap like now’
110. N: *hee sansarao lah maso jəpua*
 PART suffering.A PART time japan.A
 ‘Hmm... it was very much suffering during the Japanese era’
111. N: *aka əndo toh pulao dea?*
 eat.A like.O toh too TAG
 ‘Also for eating’
112. N: *aka tana? sampu jageu,*
 eat.A cook.A mix.O corn.A

sampu uboi
 mix.O sweet.potato.A
 ‘For eating, [we] cooked [rice] mixed with corn,
 mixed with sweet potatoes’
113. N: *ti bəreh tamau? ubi*
 substitute.O rice.O put.into sweet.potato.O
 ‘The substitute of rice was sweet potatoes’

1.4 Free conversation 2

The participant of the following text is a female speaker, 74 years old. She tells about her work experiences since she was young. There were some other participants when it was recorded. I occasionally asked questions to the speaker. However, I treat the recording as a monologue since the speaker plays the most dominant part in it.

1. *mulae na pandae ba-gawoa*
start.A really able.A VBLZ-work.A

jea alo k-umau
PART go.O to.rice.field.A
'At the very beginning, when [I] started to work, [I]
was working at a rice field'
2. *adi lah ba-tani, lah umur, lah kəluarga*
so already VBLZ-farm.O already age already family.A

lah. Lah kəluarga toh masih gea k-umau,
PART already family.A toh still also to.rice.field.A

nanan padoi, mutau, ba-sija dea?
ACT.plant.O paddy.A ACT.cut.A VBLZ-weed.A TAG
'So [I was] a farmer when [I was] old enough, [and I] had a
family. Already having a family, [I] still went to the rice field,
planted paddy, cut and weeded'
3. *itoh gawe uleu. Di lah*
itoh work.O in.the.past.A so already

adea ano? ba-duwea tuka
exist.A child.O STAT-two.A craftsman.A

gawe. Toh jago bəroah
work.O toh merchandize.O rice.A
'That was work in the past. So, [when we had] two children [my
husband] worked as a craftsman. [Then we] sold rice'

4. *jago* *bəroah* *pasa* *neh* *hee* *ke?*
 merchandize.O rice.A market neh PART at
- anou,* *sumou* *bor* *neh,* *kato* *kitao*
 thingy.O well.O drilled neh tell.O 1.PL.INCL
- uleu* *dea?* *Itou* *jago*
 in.the.past.A TAG there merchandize.O
- roah* *uleu*
 rice.A in.the.past.A
 ‘Selling rice at the market, at, uhm, at the drilled well, we called it in the past, didn’t we? There [I] sold rice in the past’
5. *jago* *bəroah* *lamao* *pulao* *jago*
 merchandize.O rice.A long.A too merchandize.O
- bəroah,* *sampae* *suduah* *pəpəraŋan*
 rice.A until.A already.A war
- abri* *uleu* *dea?*
 ABRI in.the.past.A TAG
 ‘[I] sold rice for quite a long time, until the end of the ABRI war in the past’
6. *jo* *nimba?* *ka* *asrama* *polisi* *ahot,*
 3.PL ACT.shot.A to dormitory police upstream.O
- haa* *itoh* *nine?* *jagua*
 PART itoh grandmother.O merchandize.A
- s-ahai* *toh*
 one-CLF.A toh
 ‘They shot at the police dormitory upstream. I¹⁵³ was selling [rice] on that day’

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

7. *lah* *suduah* *jago* *roah* *toh*,
 already finish.A merchandize.O rice.A toh
- lahai* *ba-ladua*, *ba-ladua* *di* *anou*
 run.A STAT-field.A STAT-field.A at thingy.O
- gunun* *karənsao* *udi?*
 mountain.O karensao.A upstream.O
 ‘After selling rice, [I] worked as a farmer, worked at a field at, uhm, Mt. Karensao upstream’
8. *nana* *kantan*, *nana* *cabe*,
 ACT.plant.A potato ACT.plant.A red.pepper
- nana* *sajou* *anau*, *sajou*
 ACT.plant.A vegetable thingy.A vegetable
- bor* *kato* *kitao*
 bor tell.O 1.PL.INCL
- duleu.* *Itoh* *di-tana*
 in.the.past.A. itoh PASS-cultivate.A
 ‘Planting potatoes, planting red peppers, planting vegetables, uhm, *bor*,¹⁵⁴ that was what we called it in the past. Those were planted’
9. *lamao* *pulao*, *adea* *pulao* *tigo*
 long.A too exist.A too three.O
- taan* *ka* *ladan* *toh*
 year.A to field toh
 ‘It was quite a long time. It was about three years [I worked] at the field’

¹⁵⁴ *Bor* is known in English as ‘Napa cabbage’ (*Brassica rapa* subsp. *Pekinensis*).

10. *jadi na? sakula alo dea? Lah*
 so child.A school.A all TAG already
- dua-dua sakula, baloih lao, ba-jagua*
 RED-big.A school.A back.A too STAT-merchandize.A
- lao gawe, jago pisa*
 too work.O merchandize.O banana.A
 ‘So [my children went to] school, didn’t they? [When they had] grown up, [I went] back to selling stuff, selling bananas’
11. *ba-jago pisa lamao lao ku jago*
 STAT-sell.O banana.A long.A too 1.SG merchandize.O
- pisa k-uko toko habe ili*
 banana.A in.front shop habe downstream.O
 ‘Selling bananas for a long time. Selling bananas in front of the Habe¹⁵⁵ shop’
12. *jago pisa lao gawe ine?*
 merchandize.O banana.A too work.O grandmother.O
- lamao jago pisa toh lamao, lah*
 long.A merchandize.O banana.A toh long.A already
- sampae po? pit neh hee pindah muwaro*
 until.A father.O PN neh PART move.A muaro
- bunjea, toh aku gih jago isa*
 bungea.A toh 1.SG still merchandize.O banana.A
 ‘Selling bananas was my job. For a long time [I] sold bananas, until Pit’s father [my husband] had moved to Muaro Bungea, I was still selling banana’
13. *adi akhir-akhirno dea?, ano? na tama?*
 so finally TAG child.O REL finish.A
- sakula neh hee lahai kərjea di anau,*
 school.A neh PART run.A work.A at thingy.A

¹⁵⁵ *Habe* is a name of a shop.

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

burun jambi dea? jambatan
 burung jambi TAG bridge

aur *duri* *toh.* *Kəŋea* *itou*
 aur duri toh work.A there
 ‘So, finally, the child who graduated from school worked at, uhm,
 at Sarang Burung Inc., Plywood Inc., Sarang Burung Jambi, at the
 Aur Duri bridge. [He] worked there’

14. *əntai* *lao* *jago* *isa* *toh.* *Nuhau?*
 stop.A too merchandize.O banana.A toh ACT.follow.A

lah *no* *k-ilai.* *Adea* *pulao* *sa-taan*
 PART 3.SG to.downstream.A exist.A too one.year.A

nine? *nuhau?* *k-ilai*
 grandmother.O ACT.follow.A to.downstream.A
 ‘[I] stopped selling bananas. [I] followed him downstream. It
 was for one year that I followed [my son] downstream’

15. *haa* *doh* *toh,* *jea* *dua?* *tahan* *gih*
 PART finish.O toh PART NEG stand anymore

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

mudi? *ijon,* *kitao* *d-ili* *ijon*
 upstream.O stay.O 1.PL.INCL at.downstream.O stay.O
 ‘After that, [I] couldn’t take it anymore, could I? We were getting
 old. The Male [my husband] was upstream, I was downstream’

16. *di* *baɲua?* *gea* *lah* *anou-anou* *dea?*
 so many.A also PART RED-thingy.O TAG
 ‘So there were so many issues, weren’t there?’

17. *kato* *uha* *nantan* *udi?* *ijon*
 tell.O people.A grandfather.O upstream.O stay.O
 ‘People said ‘your man is upstream’’

18. *baloi?* *lao* *lah* *ine?* *kincai*
 back.A too PART grandmother.O kerinci.A
 ‘I went back to Kerinci’

19. *muka? kədoə. Kamai ba-kədoə*
 ACT.open kiosk.A 1.PL.EXCL STAT-kiosk.A
uleu ke? umah toh dea?
 in.the.past.A at house.A toh TAG
 ‘[I] opened a kiosk. We worked as retailers in the past at home, didn’t we?’
20. *uka? kədoə, toh po? pit*
 open kiosk.A toh father.O PN
gih muwaro buŋea gea, kuwa?
 still muaro bungea.A also often
muwao aja baloi? udi?
 ACT.bring.A chicken.A back.A upstream.O
 ‘[When I] opened the kiosk, Pit’s father was still in Muaro Bungea. [He] often brought chicken upstream’
21. *uka? kədoə lao. Lamao lao ine?*
 open kiosk.A too long.A too grandmother.O
uka? kədoə, sampae lah anau po, ano?
 open kiosk.A until.A PART thingy.A what child.O
ŋə indou? kandar toh nikah
 REL mother.O PN toh marry
 ‘[I] opened a kiosk, it was for a long time I opened a kiosk until, uhm, [my] child, the mother of Kandar got married’
22. *agih masih ba-kədoə gea, sampae lao*
 still still STAT-kiosk.A also until.A too
ba-rəloa? lao ŋə kawan ləmpau
 STAT-party.A too REL get.married.A Lempau.A
neh, agih masih ba-kədoə gea
 neh still still STAT-kiosk.A also
 ‘[I] still worked as a retailer. Until the one [child] who got married in Lempau got married, [I] still worked as a retailer’

23. *akhirŋo tutut kədoə toh hoo, bini*
 finally close.O kiosk.A toh PART wife.O
məran, məran kawan ŋə ini
 PN PN get.married.A with wife.O
 ‘Finally, [I] closed the kiosk. [When] Meran’s wife, [when] Meran got married to [his] wife’
24. *guru məran adi? mərin udi?*
 teacher PN younger.sibling.O PN upstream.O
toh dea?, kan kawan ŋə
 toh TAG KAN get.married.A REL
məndah kamai s-uha
 guest.A 1.PL.EXCL.POSS one-CLF
 ‘Teacher Meran, the younger brother of Merin [who lives] upstream got married with one of our children’
25. *suduah ŋo toh ba-rəloa?, idia*
 already.A 3.SG toh STAT-guest.A NEG
ba-jagua gih. Lah geu d-umuah woa
 STAT-merchandize.A anymore only stay.A at.home.A only
lah gih gawe, sampae lah kinai neh
 PART again work.O until.A PART now neh
 ‘After she got married [I] did no longer work as a retailer. I stayed at home up to now’
26. *ŋo ano? toh əndua? nuhouh dea?, dua? usah*
 3.PL child.O toh NEG ACT.ask.O TAG NEG don’t
gih əma? ka sawah, idua? usah gih
 anymore mother to rice.field.A NEG don’t anymore
 ‘They, the children, don’t allow [me to work], do they? ‘Don’t work at the rice field! [You] don’t need to do that’
27. *kitao kan pisik lah ləmah.*
 1.SG KAN physic already weak.A
kakei neh lah sakai?
 leg.O neh already ill.A
 ‘I... [My] physical condition was weak. This leg was painful’

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

ine? sakai? kakei
grandmother.O ill.A leg.O
‘[My] leg hurts. For two years my leg hurts’
29. *dua? na andae jalua, alo ka səjoi?*
NEG really able.A road.A go.O to mosque.A

Pasao sijan tarawaih, idia alau
fast.A pray.O tarawaih.A NEG go.A
‘[I] could not walk at all to go to the mosque. During the fasting month, [I] did not go for the Tarawaih prayer’
30. *kalo di-uwea təgua? sambija toh*
if PASS-bring.A stand.A pray.A toh

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

idia na ku andae
NEG really 1.SG able.A
‘[My] right leg was shaking. I could not do that’
32. *tapi sjukur Alhamdulillah, taan neh paso*
but thank.God praise.be.to.God year.A neh fast.O

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

2 Pondok Tinggi – English wordlist

This following wordlist represents forms which have appeared in the examples and discussions of the chapters (1-9). For each entry, I provide the absolute and oblique form, followed by their English translation. The absolute and oblique alternation is marked with a slash (/). Forms that are interchangeable are marked with a tilde (~). Some words only have one form; either absolute-like or oblique-like.

The column G-words in the following wordlist contains roots with a G-phoneme and roots without one but occurring with prefixes containing a G-phoneme. The column K-words consists of roots lacking a G-phoneme and polymorphemic words whose roots have lost their G-phoneme through nasalization of the root-initial voiced consonant. Some roots appear in both G-words and K-words. Some only occur either in G-words or in K-words. Truncated forms are followed by a cross-reference to the full form preceded by ‘see’.

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

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

G-words	K-words	English translation
aseuh	asauh/asouh	v. to nurture
asua?/asat	asa?/asat	n. smoke
	asu?	see masu?
	atah/atoh	n. bran (of rice)
	atai/atei	n. heart
	atao	see katao/kato
	ata?/atat	n. roof
	ateh	n. area above
aton		see batua/baton
atua		see datua/daton
	awa?	<i>pron.</i> (1 st person; 2 nd person; 3 rd person)
	awa?/awo?	n. body
awoh		see bawuah/bawoh
B		
bacea/baco		v. to read
badoa/bado		n. anchovy
badua/badon		n. body
badua?/bado?		n. rhinoceros
bajeu/baju		n. shirt
bagoi/bagi		v. to divide
bagoih/bagih		v. to give
bahajea/bahajo		<i>adj.</i> dangerous
bahea/baho		n. coals
baheu/bahu		<i>adj.</i> new
bahua/bahon		n. barb (kind of fish)
bajua/bajon		n. spinach
bake?		n. leftover
bakon		see makua/bakon
balandea/balando		n. Holland; <i>adj.</i> Dutch
balanjea/balanjo		v. to go shopping; n. expense
baleu?/balut	malau?/malut	n. bandage
baloi?/bali?		v. back; <i>part.</i> again
banjo		<i>prep.</i> around
bane		n. log
bansua?		<i>adj.</i> bastard
bantoa/bante		n. meat
bapua?/bapo?		<i>num.</i> many; much
bankea/bangko		n. a region in Jambi Province
bankeu/bangkun	mankau/mankun	v. to torture
bankea/banke		n. carcass
bankei?/banakit	mankai?/mankit	v. to wake up
bankeu		n. stool, bench
baoi?/bai?		<i>adj.</i> good

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

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

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

G-words	K-words	English translation
duwot duʔua/duʔo		<i>prep.</i> by <i>n.</i> pray
Ə		
əloaʔ/əleʔ	əla/əlan	<i>n.</i> eagle
	əmaeh/əmeɸ	<i>n.</i> party
	əmaʔ	<i>n.</i> gold
	əmbauh/əmbouh	<i>n.</i> mother
əmpoah/əmpɸɸ	əmpaeh/əmpɸɸ	<i>v.</i> want
	əmpao	<i>v.</i> to smash
	əmpaʔ/əmpɸʔ	<i>pron.</i> you (2 nd person singular male)
	əna/əna	<i>num.</i> four
	əncit	<i>num.</i> six
	əndah	see məncit
	əndoʔ	<i>adj.</i> short
	ənduaʔ	<i>v.</i> want; <i>prep.</i> for
	ənsou	<i>neg.</i> do not want
	ənta	<i>n.</i> the third child; the youngest child
	ənta/əntan	<i>prep.</i> at; to
	əntah	<i>v.</i> to kick
əntoi	əntai/əntɸi	<i>adv.</i> perhaps
əntuaʔ	əntaʔ/əntoʔ	<i>v.</i> to stop
	ənti	<i>v.</i> to stamp
ənua		<i>neg.</i> don't
		see bənua/bəno
G		
gadoa/gade		<i>v.</i> to pawn
gadoih/gadih		<i>n.</i> female; girl
gajoi/gaji		<i>n.</i> salary
gaguah/gagoh		<i>adj.</i> handsome
gaheu/gahu	ɣahau/ɣahou	<i>v.</i> to disturb
gahua/gahon		<i>n.</i> salt
galo		<i>num.</i> all
galoi/gali	ɣalai/ɣalei	<i>v.</i> to dig
ganjoi		<i>adj.</i> odd
ganteu/gantun	ɣantau	<i>v.</i> to hang
gantua/ganton		<i>n.</i> 2,8 kilogram (a partitive)
gapoa/gape	ɣapae/ɣape	<i>v.</i> to reach
gawoa/gawe	ɣawae	<i>n.</i> work
gea		see jugea
gədua/gədon		<i>adj.</i> big

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

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

G-words	K-words	English translation
jambeu/jambu		<i>n.</i> guava
jamboi/jambi		<i>n.</i> a province in Sumatra
jandea/jando		<i>n.</i> widow
jantua/janton		<i>n.</i> male
jaŋua		<i>neg.</i> don't
jaoi?/jait	jaai?	<i>v.</i> to sew
jateuh/jatuh		<i>v.</i> to fall
jawea/jawo		<i>n.</i> Java
jawoi/jawi		<i>n.</i> cow
jawua?/jawot		<i>v.</i> to answer
jəjua?/jəjo?		<i>n.</i> footprint
jəloah/jəleh		<i>adj.</i> clear
jəŋkua/jəŋko		<i>n.</i> span (of the hand)
jəmea/jəmo	jəmao	<i>v.</i> to dry in the sun
jəpua/jəpon		<i>n.</i> Japan, Japanese
jilua?/jilot	jilat/jilot	<i>v.</i> to lick
jinja?/jinje?	jinja?/jinje?	<i>v.</i> to lift; to carry
jinoa?/jino?		<i>adj.</i> tame
jon		<i>n.</i> watch
jo?		see səjo?
jubuah/juboh		<i>n.</i> robe, gown
judo?/judi		<i>v.</i> to gamble
jujeu/jujun		<i>v.</i> to carry on the head
jugea		<i>adv.</i> also
juwaro		<i>n.</i> champion
juwua/juwon		<i>v.</i> to sell
J		
	jatan/jatin	<i>adj.</i> orphan
	jea	<i>part.</i> yeah
K		
	ka	<i>prep.</i> to
	kaae/kaan	<i>n.</i> clothes
	kaaih/kaeih	<i>v.</i> to shout
	kaau	<i>pron.</i> you (2 nd person singular female)
	ka awoh	<i>adv.</i> downward
kabeu/kabu		<i>adj.</i> blurred
	kaca/kacan	<i>n.</i> nuts
	kacao/kaco	<i>n.</i> bottle; glass
kadon		<i>adv.</i> sometimes
	kahau/kahun	<i>n.</i> sack
	kajao	<i>pron.</i> you (2 nd person singular for a respected person)

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

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

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

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

G-words	K-words	English translation
	masau?/masou?	v. to enter; to put; to come; to enroll; to include
	masa?/maso?	v. to cook
masjoi?/masjit	masih	n. mosque
	maso	adv. still
	masu?	n. time
	matah/matoh	prep. into
	matai/matei	adj. raw
	matao/mato	v. to die
	ma?	n. eye; 100 grams (a partitive)
	ma?ãõh	n. mother
	məlai/məlei	n. apology
	məlai?/məlit	see bəloi/bəli
	məna/məno	see bəloi?/bəlit
	mənau/mənun	see bənuu/bəno
	məncai?/məncei?~	v. to ponder
	məncit	n. mouse
	məŋai?/məŋeih	see bəŋoi/bəŋih
	mərai	see bəroi
	mərseih	see bərsoih/bərsih
mijua/mijo		n. table
	mihan/mihin	adj. skew
mimpoi/mimpi	mimpai/mimpei	n. dream
minen	minan/minun	v. to drink
	minin	n. now
	mo?	neg. don't; conj. so that
mudea/mudo		adj. young
mudoi?/mudi?		n. upper area; prep. upstream
muduah/mudoh		adj. easy
	muhah/muhoh	adj. cheap
	muka?	see bukua?
	muko	n. front
	mulae/mule	v. to start
	mulao/mulo	n. beginning
	munauh/munoh	see buncuah/bunoh
	muncau/muncun	n. mouth
	muŋka	see buŋkua
	musauh/musouh	n. enemy
	muwao/muwo	see buwea/buwo
N		
	naae?/nae?	v. to go up
	nae?/ne?	adj. small
	naka	adj. naughty

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3 Morphological derivation in PT

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

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

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Samenvatting in het Nederlands

Kerinci is een complex van tientallen dialecten/variëteiten die elk uiteindelijk zijn voortgekomen uit het Proto-Maleis. Deze variëteiten die onderling qua vorm sterk verschillen worden gesproken in het Kerinci-district van de provincie Jambi op Sumatra. Restanten van 19^e-eeuwse transmigraties vanuit Kerinci zijn nog te vinden in de Maleisische deelstaat Selangor.

De hier beschreven variëteit is die van Pondok Tinggi, een buurdorp van de districtshoofdstad Sungai Penuh. Het is van Sungai Penuh (waar een ander Kerinci-dialect wordt gesproken) gescheiden door een marktplaats waar Minangkabau de voertaal is. De meeste, zoniet alle sprekers van Pondok Tinggi Kerinci zijn polyglot: ze beheersen ook Minangkabaus en Indonesisch, al of niet met Kerinci karakteristieken, zoals een markante intonatie.

Vergeleken met de meer bekende variëteiten van het Maleis, inclusief het Indonesisch alias Standaard Maleis, kenmerkt een Kerinci-dialect zich door een drietal innovaties.

1. Alle suffixen zijn verdwenen. De enige uitzondering is het restant van een suffix *-an (-an is zeer frequent en productief in het Indonesisch), dat in een paar Kerinci woorden nog zichtbaar is als -n.
2. Voor vrijwel ieder Indonesisch lexeem heeft het moderne Kerinci twee vormen, in de literatuur bekend als *absolute* (ABS) en *oblique* (OBL). Deze verschillen in de reflectie van de laatste *-V(C) van een woord en komen systematisch voor bij nomina, adjectiva, verba en numeralia. Ze ontbreken bij pronomina, adverbia, funciewoorden, (recente) leenwoorden en een aantal derivationele vormen.
3. Deze reflecties hebben bovendien twee varianten ontwikkeld, afhankelijk daarvan of ergens in het monomorfemische woord een niet geprenasaliseerde stemhebbende stop voorkwam of niet, in de literatuur respectievelijk *G-words* en *K-words* genoemd.

Als gevolg van deze innovaties, kan een Standaard Maleise eindlettergreep vier verschillende reflecties vertonen in een Kerinci dialect. Zo ook in Pondok Tinggi. De volgende Tabel geeft daar een voorbeeld van.

	PT (K-word)	Standaard Maleis	PT (G-word)	Standaard Maleis
*-ah	<i>tanah.A/tanoh.O</i>	<i>tanah</i> 'grond'	<i>muduah.A/mudoh.O</i>	<i>mudah</i> 'gemakkelijk'
*-i	<i>kupai.A/kupei.O</i>	<i>kopi</i> 'koffie'	<i>bəloi.A/bəli.O</i>	<i>beli</i> 'kopen'
*-u	<i>kajau.A/kajou.O</i>	<i>kayu</i> 'hout'	<i>bateu.A/batu.O</i>	<i>batu</i> 'steen'

De ABS-OBL oppositie is vermoedelijk ontstaan als gevolg van de typische Kerinci intonatie: een zwaar accent op laatste lettergreep van een frase, en een secundair accent op de laatste lettergreep van een woord, en met die intonatieverschillen gepaard gaande verschillende klankveranderingen

Frasen in Kerinci zijn *head-initial*. Ieder woord in het midden van een frase was dus nader gespecificeerd, en had daardoor een beperktere referentie dan een woord dat niet nader gespecificeerd was, ofwel op het eind stond van een frase. Er was daarmee een semantisch verschil tussen een woord op het eind van een frase (in de ABS-vorm) en hetzelfde woord in het midden van een frase (de OBL-vorm), en dit had tot gevolg dat OBL-vormen met de daarbij behorende specifiekere betekenis nu ook op het eind van een frase konden voorkomen.

Een OBL nomen of adjectief aan het eind van een frase impliceerde dat een bezitter van de referent van de betreffende frase kon worden afgeleid uit de context. Een OBL actieve werkwoordsvorm gaf aan dat er een object (patiëns) uit de context viel af te leiden (of dat nu expliciet werd uitgedrukt of niet). Een OBL passieve werkwoordsvorm met het prefix *di-* impliceerde dat er sprake was van een specifieke 3^e persoons agens (al of niet expliciet genoemd in de onmiddellijk volgende context). Vergelijk de volgende voorbeelden met het woord voor 'tafel'.

- (1) *mijua* (**mijo*)
tafel.A
'tafel' (in context ook generiek te interpreteren)
- (2) *mijo* (**mijua*) *no*
tafel.O
'zijn/haar/de tafel'

- (3) *mijo* (**mijua*)
 tafel.O
 ‘[zijn/haar/onze/de ...] tafel’ (de OBL-vorm geeft aan dat de referent van ‘tafel’ specifieker is)

In deze dissertatie worden vorm, functie en distributie van de ABS en OBL vormen in detail beschreven voor de diverse woordklassen waarvoor deze oppositie relevant is.

Hoofdstuk 1 geeft achtergrondinformatie over geografie, economie, cultuur, geschiedenis, taalgemeenschap, taalecologie en typologisch karakteristieken van Pondok Tinggi Kerinci. Hoofdstuk 2 behandelt de fonologie: inventaris en distributie van de fonemen, stress, minimale paren, etc. Hoofdstuk 3 geeft een uitputtend overzicht van de diverse reflecties van *-V(C) in ABS- en OBL-vormen, en in *G-words* en *K-words*. Hoofdstuk 4 behandelt de pronomina (die geen ABS-OBL oppositie vertonen), en hoofdstuk 5 nominale frasen en de distributie van ABS- en OBL-vormen daarbinnen, inclusief diverse uitzonderingen op de algemene regel, onder andere bij afgeleide nomina.

Hoofdstuk 6 beschrijft de adjectiva en adjectiefconstructies, en de ABS en OBL alternatieven en hun distributie. In hoofdstuk 7 worden de diverse categorieën van telwoorden behandeld, inclusief constructies met telwoorden en classifiërs – ook hier met beschrijving van de functie, vorm en distributie van de ABS en OBL varianten. Hoofdstuk 8 over verbale constructies behandelt onder anderen verschillen m.b.t. valentie (mono-, bi- en trivalent; actief- en passief constructies) en hun syntactische eigenschappen, en tenslotte secundaire predicaten. Steeds wordt gedetailleerd beschreven hoe de distributie is van de ABS en OBL vormen, wat daarbij regelmaat is en wat uitzondering. Hoofdstuk 9 is een aanvulling op hoofdstuk 8. Het is een uitputtende beschrijving van derivatieve verbale constructies. Hoofdstuk 10 tenslotte is een samenvatting, hetwelk gevolgd wordt door een drietal appendices: teksten met vertaling, een PT Kerinci woordenlijst met Engelse glossen en een algemeen overzicht van de derivatieve morfologie.

Waar dat in de context ter sprake kan komen wordt een vergelijking gemaakt met parallelle verschijnselen in de twee andere Kerinci dialecten die in de literatuur in enig detail beschreven zijn, Sungai Penuh en Tanjung Pauh Mudik. Beide zijn typische variëteiten van Kerinci, maar hun reflecties van *-V(C), in de ABS- en OBL-posities en in K- en G-words verschillen in hoge mate. Ook de regels voor de distributie van de ABS en OBL vormen verschillen. Eén van de verschillen betreft de effecten van prefixatie op de laatste lettergreep van een woord: nasalisatie van de eerste (en enige) stemhebbende stop in een stam kan een G-word in een K-word veranderen.

Een prefix met een stemhebbende stop (zoals *di-* of *ba-*) verandert een K-word in een G-word. De verschillende dialecten hebben echter verschillende beperkende condities.

De conclusie moet zijn dat meer Kerinci variëteiten verdienen te worden beschreven, o.a. om de grenzen van Kerinci en Maleis te kunnen bepalen, de onstaansgeschiedenis van de opvallende diversiteit tussen de dialecten te reconstrueren, en om vast te stellen in hoeverre de in deze dissertatie beschreven “phrasal alternation” typologisch uniek is of parallellen vertoont in andere taalgroepen. Ten slotte: ook het gegeven dat de Kerinci variëteiten een lagere status hebben vis-à-vis het Indonesisch en het Minangkabaus en daardoor in hun voortbestaan bedreigd worden maakt documentatie urgent.

Curriculum Vitae

Ernanda was born in Pondok Tinggi (Kerinci, Indonesia) on 23 March 1983. She finished her bachelor degree in Language Education at the Jambi University, Indonesia, in 2006. She then completed an MA in Linguistics at the Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen, the Netherlands, in 2011. The joy of doing linguistics research finally brought her to the Leiden University Centre for Linguistics, the Netherlands, to embark on a PhD programme. This dissertation is the outcome of her PhD research.