



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Phrasal alternation in Kerinci

Ernanda, N.

Citation

Ernanda, N. (2017, May 23). *Phrasal alternation in Kerinci*. LOT dissertation series. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/49206>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/49206>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/49206> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation

Author: Ernanda

Title: Phrasal alternation in Kerinci

Issue Date: 2017-05-23

Phrasal Alternation in Kerinci

Published by
LOT
Trans 10
3512 JK Utrecht
The Netherlands

phone: +31 30 253 6111

e-mail: lot@uu.nl
<http://www.lotschool.nl>

Cover illustration: Andi Empe. All rights reserved.

ISBN: 978-94-6093-240-3
NUR 616

Copyright © 2017: Ernanda. All rights reserved.

Phrasal Alternation in Kerinci

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus prof. mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker,
volgens het besluit van College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op dinsdag 23 mei 2017
klokke 11:15 uur

door

Ernanda

geboren te Pondok Tinggi
in 1983

Promotores: Prof. Dr. Willem F.H. Adelaar
Prof. Dr. Hein Steinhauer
Co-promotor: Dr. Tom G. Hoogervorst

Promotiecommissie: Prof. Dr. Maarten P.G.M. Mous
Prof. Dr. K. Alexander Adelaar (University of Melbourne)
Prof. Dr. Helen de Hoop (Radboud University Nijmegen)
Prof. Dr. Lourens de Vries (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)
Dr. Felix K. Ameka
Dr. Aone T.P.G. van Engelenhoven

This research was fully funded by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs through Netherlands Fellowship Programmes.

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

Table of contents

Table of contents.....	vii
Acknowledgements.....	xiii
Conventions and abbreviations.....	xv
Maps.....	xix
List of figures.....	xxiii
List of tables.....	xxv
1 General introduction.....	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Background.....	1
1.2.1 Geographical setting.....	2
1.2.2 Speech community.....	3
1.2.3 Subgrouping.....	4
1.3 History.....	5
1.3.1 Archeological heritage.....	5
1.3.2 The origin of Pondok Tinggi.....	5
1.3.3 Colonialism.....	6
1.3.4 Post-independence history.....	6
1.4 Culture.....	7
1.4.1 Religion.....	7
1.4.2 Written traditions.....	8
1.4.3 Emigration patterns.....	9
1.4.4 Marriage.....	9
1.4.5 Matrilocal residence.....	10
1.4.6 Teknonymy.....	10
1.5 Dialect variation.....	11
1.6 Sociolinguistic profile.....	13
1.7 Typological features.....	15
1.7.1 Phonology.....	15
1.7.2 Morphology.....	15
1.7.3 Word categories.....	18
1.7.4 Alternation.....	18
1.7.5 Truncation.....	20
1.7.6 Word order.....	21
1.7.7 Demonstratives.....	23
1.7.8 Subject repetition and subject drop.....	24

1.8	Review of previous literature.....	26
1.9	Aim of the dissertation.....	28
1.10	Data collection.....	28
1.11	Outline of the dissertation.....	29
2	Phonology.....	31
2.1	Introduction.....	31
2.2	Marking of absolute and oblique forms.....	31
2.3	Consonants.....	32
2.3.1	Distribution of consonants.....	33
2.3.2	Minimal pairs of consonants.....	37
2.3.3	Borrowed phonemes.....	38
2.3.4	Consonant assimilation in numerals.....	39
2.3.5	Consonant sequences.....	40
2.3.6	Phonotactic restructuring.....	41
2.4	Vowels.....	42
2.4.1	Distribution of vowels.....	42
2.4.2	Minimal pairs for vowels.....	42
2.4.3	'Double' /a/.....	44
2.4.4	Diphthongs.....	44
2.4.5	Minimal pairs of diphthongs.....	45
2.4.6	Nasality.....	47
2.5	Word stress.....	48
2.6	Syllable structure.....	48
3	Alternation.....	51
3.1	Introduction.....	51
3.2	Phrasal alternation.....	51
3.3	K-words and G-words.....	57
3.4	Voiced obstruents within prefixes.....	60
3.4.1	with <i>di-</i>	60
3.4.2	with <i>ba-</i>	62
3.4.3	with <i>N-</i>	64
4	Personal pronouns.....	65
4.1	Introduction.....	65
4.2	Forms and functions.....	65
4.2.1	First-person pronouns.....	66
4.2.2	Second-person pronouns.....	68
4.2.3	Third-person pronouns.....	69
4.2.4	The use of <i>awa?</i>	71
4.3	Positions of personal pronouns.....	72
4.4	Possessive constructions.....	73
4.4.1	with OBL.....	74
4.4.2	with <i>kamai</i>	75

4.4.3	with <i>atai/atei</i> ‘heart’	76
4.5	Kinship terms and alternative pronouns	77
5	Nominal constructions	83
5.1	Introduction.....	83
5.2	Noun roots.....	84
5.3	Noun phrases.....	84
5.4	Word order.....	85
5.4.1	The Core Structure (CS).....	85
5.4.2	ABS-OBL alternation within the CS	88
5.4.3	Categories outside the CS	91
5.4.4	Demonstratives as adnominal modifiers	95
5.4.5	The order of the constituents of the noun phrases	97
5.4.6	Prepositional phrases and relative clauses	100
5.4.7	Noun + modifier.....	102
5.5	Derived nouns	103
5.5.1	<i>paN-</i>	104
5.5.2	The historical suffix <i>*-an</i>	107
5.5.3	<i>ka</i> + OBL	108
5.5.4	<i>paN</i> + OBL.....	109
5.5.5	<i>pa</i> + OBL	110
5.6	Compound nouns	110
5.7	Reduplication of nouns	112
5.7.1	Plurality.....	113
5.7.2	Reduplication of compound nouns	113
5.7.3	Idiomatic reduplication	114
5.8	Nominalization.....	115
5.8.1	of adjectives	116
5.8.2	of verbs and quantifiers.....	117
5.9	The use of <i>uha/uhan</i> ‘people’	118
6	Adjectival constructions	121
6.1	Introduction.....	121
6.2	The functions of adjective constructions	122
6.2.1	as attributes	122
6.2.2	as predicates	126
6.2.3	as adverbs.....	127
6.3	ABS-OBL distribution of adjectives.....	127
6.3.1	ABS adjective roots	127
6.3.2	OBL adjective roots	128
6.4	Compound adjectives.....	129
6.5	Degrees of quality	130
6.5.1	‘More than’	131
6.5.2	‘Equal to’	132

6.5.3	'Less than'	134
6.5.4	Intensification over time	135
6.5.5	Superlatives with <i>palin</i> and <i>ta-</i>	136
6.5.6	Excessives with <i>ka-OBL</i>	137
6.6	Reduplication of adjectives.....	138
6.6.1	Bare reduplication	138
6.6.2	Reduplication with <i>ka-</i> + <i>OBL</i>	140
7	Numeral constructions	143
7.1	Introduction.....	143
7.2	Cardinal numerals	143
7.2.1	Composite numerals.....	145
7.2.2	Cardinal numerals in use.....	146
7.3	Classifiers.....	152
7.4	Partitives	155
7.4.1	Units of measurement	157
7.4.2	Containers for mass nouns	157
7.5	Occurrence of G-phonemes.....	159
7.6	Derived numeral constructions	160
7.6.1	Ordinal numerals with <i>ka-</i>	160
7.6.2	Fractional numerals with <i>par-</i>	161
7.6.3	Collective numerals with <i>ka-</i>	163
7.6.4	Collective numerals with <i>ba-</i>	163
7.6.5	Reduplication of numerals	165
7.6.6	Verbalized numerals	166
7.7	Indefinite quantifiers.....	167
7.8	Obsolete currencies.....	170
8	Verbal constructions	171
8.1	Introduction.....	171
8.2	Valency and transitivity	171
8.3	Intransitive constructions	172
8.4	Transitive constructions	173
8.4.1	Nasal substitution with <i>N-</i>	174
8.4.2	Active constructions.....	176
8.4.3	Passive type 1 (P1).....	185
8.4.4	Passive type 2 (P2).....	192
8.5	Ditransitive constructions	194
8.5.1	with <i>bagoih/bagih</i> 'to give' and <i>bəroi</i> 'to give'	195
8.5.2	with <i>ajua</i> 'to teach'	199
8.5.3	with <i>kihan</i> 'to send'	200
8.5.4	with <i>imbua/imbo</i> and <i>səbeu?/səbut</i> 'to call'	201
8.5.5	with unexpressed arguments	202
8.6	Imperative constructions.....	205

8.6.1	with monovalent verbs	206
8.6.2	with bivalent verbs	206
8.6.3	with <i>di-</i>	207
8.6.4	with <i>tulau</i> ‘help’	207
8.6.5	with <i>cubea</i> ‘please’	208
8.6.6	with <i>mahae</i> ‘let’s’	209
8.6.7	with <i>moʔ</i> ‘don’t’	210
8.7	Secondary predication.....	211
8.7.1	Depictive	212
8.7.2	Resultative	214
8.7.3	Manner adverbial	215
8.8	Non-alternating verbs	217
8.9	Verbs in free variation	218
9	Derived verb constructions	219
9.1	Introduction.....	219
9.2	<i>maN-</i>	219
9.2.1	with adjective roots	219
9.2.2	with noun roots	220
9.3	<i>N+OBL</i>	221
9.3.1	with monovalent verb roots	221
9.3.2	with adjective roots	222
9.4	<i>pa-</i>	223
9.4.1	with adjective roots	223
9.4.2	with noun roots	225
9.5	<i>ba-</i>	226
9.5.1	with noun roots	227
9.5.2	with verb roots	234
9.5.3	with <i>ba+ABS</i>	237
9.5.4	with <i>ba+OBL</i>	237
9.5.5	in compounds.....	238
9.6	<i>ta-</i>	239
9.6.1	Unintentionality	239
9.6.2	Potentiality	244
9.7	<i>ka + OBL</i>	245
9.8	Reduplication of verbs	247
10	Summary	249
Appendix	257
1	Texts	257
1.1	Frog, where are you?.....	257
1.2	The Pear / Avocado Story	272
1.3	Free conversation 1	285
1.4	Free conversation 2.....	302

2	Pondok Tinggi – English wordlist	311
3	Morphological derivation in PT.....	335
	References.....	337
	Samenvatting in het Nederlands	349
	Curriculum Vitae	353

Acknowledgements

Finally, I have come to the end of my PhD journey. It has been tough but awesome! I have faced hard times and many obstacles, yet the ‘baby’ that I have cultivated and nourished has now been born. There are so many people to whom I owe much gratitude and without whom I could not have finished this dissertation.

‘Pak’ Hein Steinhauer, I have been indebted to you throughout my academic career. I can never thank you enough for your long-standing dedication and support in every situation. I also thank Mama Meilly, for her care and generosity. I thank Tom Hoogervorst for his careful attention to detail that helped me in editing this dissertation. Your invaluable guidance and endless encouragement have brought me to where I am today. I also thank Timothy Mckinnon, who has spent a considerable amount of time discussing the beauty of phrasal alternation. I owe a huge debt to Willem Adelaar for his support and help. I am thoroughly grateful to my reading committee members for giving me feedback and detailed review notes to enhance my dissertation.

This dissertation would not have taken its present shape without the ideas, suggestions and tips of several esteemed colleagues. First and foremost, I am deeply indebted to Felix Ameka, whose door has always been open for me for his useful feedback. I also thank Hooi Ling Soh for reading through my chapters. I have benefited greatly from the meaningful discussions with Peter Cole and Gaby Hermon, Paul Kroeger, Uli Kozok, Maarten Kosmann, Alexander Adelaar, Jaga Schreiber, Maarten Mous, Helen de Hoop, Ad Foolen, and the entire ‘ISMIL family’. The latter are so many in number that it is impossible to mention them one by one. May this unique conference on Malay linguistics have a long and prosperous future.

I am eternally grateful to my participants in Pondok Tinggi, especially my main participant Tino Noramah. Their willingness to spend their time answering my questions – which they may have found extremely boring – and the recordings they allowed me to make of their speech are the backbone of this monograph.

I would also like to thank my colleagues and friends in Leiden who have been there for me and have made my days fun and productive. With them, I realized that life is bigger than the office, home, and the Leiden

University Sports Centre. In particular, I really enjoyed my time with friends at LUSV Badminton Club. I want to give special thanks to my paranymphs, who are also my best friends, for the great times spent playing guitar, eating and working together. It was nice to hang out with you. And Elly, thanks for your quick response and help.

This journey would not have been realized without my sponsor, Nuffic. I am grateful to them for funding this research. In particular, I thank Cindy Schotte and Hester Bergsma for managing the financial aspects of my PhD.

Above all, I am blessed to have people in my life whose love is unconditional and who continues to be my source of courage. I thank Mama, Papa, my sisters and the rest of my family for always supporting me. This dissertation is dedicated to you.

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 j)
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

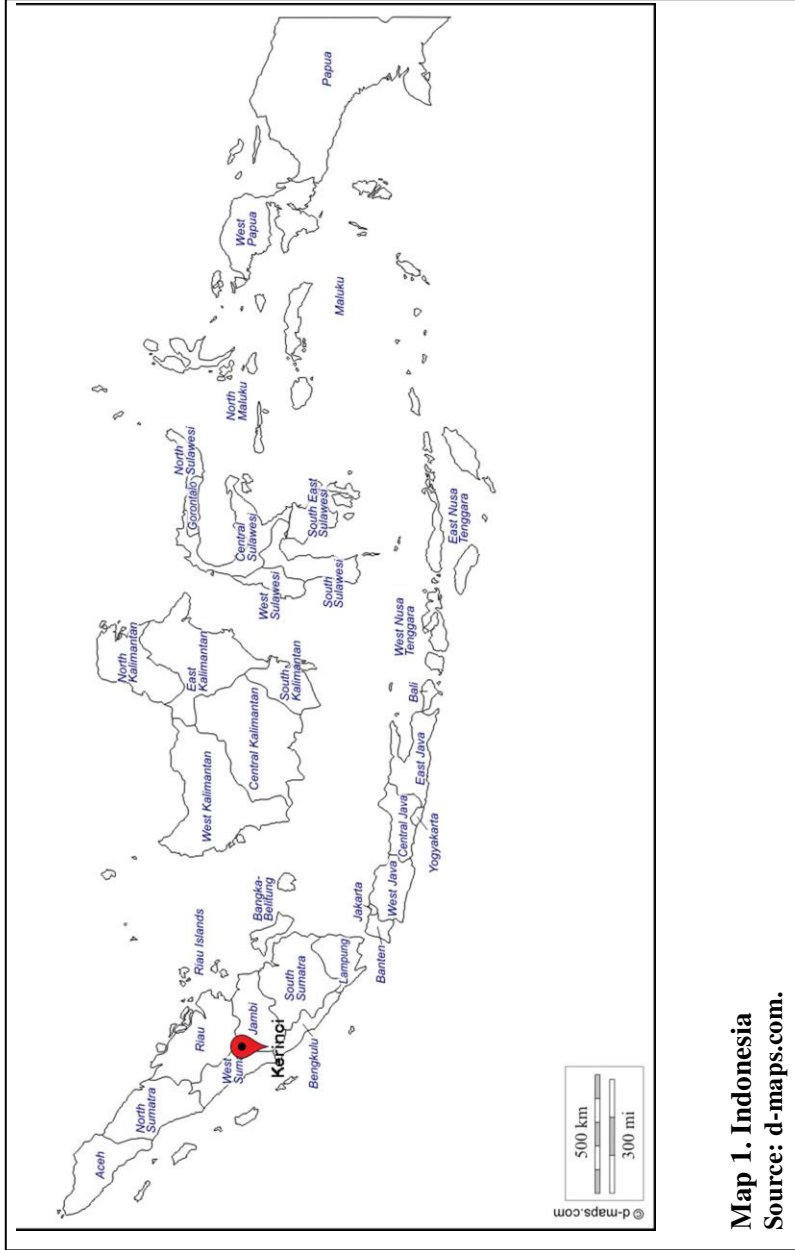
so.	Someone
SOV	Subject-Object-Verb
SP	Subject-Predicate
STAT	Stative
sth.	Something
SUPL	Superlative marker
T	Theme argument
TAG	Tag question
TOP	Topic marker
v.	Verb
V	1) Verb, 2) Vowel
VBLZ	Verbalizer
VET	Vetative
VP	Verb Phrase
.A	<i>see</i> ABS, .A
.O	<i>see</i> OBL, .O
*...	Ungrammatical form
---	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

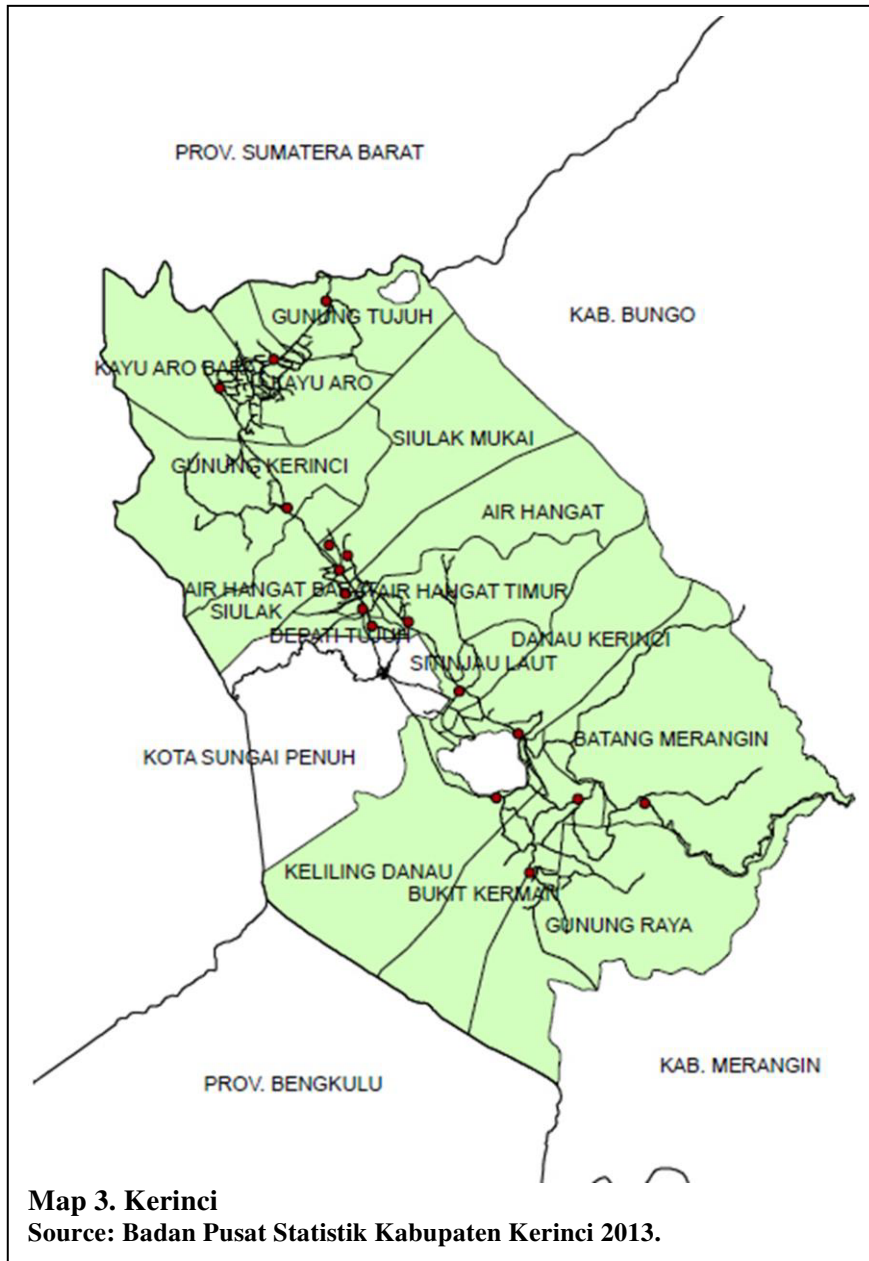


Map 1. Indonesia
Source: d-maps.com.

XX



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



List of figures

Figure 1.1. A map of dialect variation in Kerinci	12
Figure 3.1. Most common vowel sequence reflexes in A-forms	59
Figure 5.1. A head noun with modifiers	85

List of tables

Table 1.1. Dialect variation in Kerinci.....	11
Table 1.2. The status of the languages.....	14
Table 1.3. The realization of <i>N</i> -prefixation	16
Table 1.4. Absolute and Oblique forms	19
Table 1.5. Syllable rimes in K-words and G-words.....	19
Table 1.6. Truncation in G-words.....	21
Table 2.1. Consonant inventory	32
Table 2.2. The distribution of the consonants.....	34
Table 2.3. Consonant clusters of loanwords	41
Table 2.4. Vowel inventory	42
Table 2.5. The distribution of the vowels	42
Table 2.6. Diphthong inventory	44
Table 2.7. The distribution of the diphthongs.....	45
Table 2.8. Syllable combinations.....	49
Table 2.9. Syllable structures.....	49
Table 3.1. All root-final *-V(C) in Pondok Tinggi.....	55
Table 3.2. Non-alternating words	57
Table 3.3. K-words and G-words in SP	58
Table 3.4. The presence of a homorganic nasal in SP	58
Table 3.5. K-words and G-words in PT.....	58
Table 3.6. The presence of a homorganic nasal in PT	58
Table 3.7. Unexpected reflexes of *-a in loanwords	60
Table 3.8. Expected reflexes of *-a in loanwords.....	60
Table 3.9. <i>di</i> - passive + roots beginning with a sonorant	61
Table 3.10. <i>di</i> - locative + roots beginning with a sonorant	61
Table 3.11. <i>di</i> - + roots beginning with an obstruent	62
Table 3.12. <i>ba</i> - with changes in the final root syllable	63
Table 3.13. <i>ba</i> - + roots beginning with an obstruent and a sonorant.....	63
Table 3.14. <i>ba</i> - + roots beginning with vowels	63
Table 3.15. The effect of the loss of voiced obstruents	64
Table 4.1. Personal pronouns in PT	65
Table 4.2. The use of <i>awa?</i>	71
Table 4.3. Positions of personal pronouns	73
Table 4.4. Kinship terms.....	78
Table 5.1. The noun roots	84

Table 5.2. <i>paN-</i> + adjective roots.....	104
Table 5.3. <i>paN-</i> + monovalent verb roots	106
Table 5.4. <i>paN-</i> + bivalent verb roots	106
Table 5.5. <i>ka-OBL</i>	108
Table 5.6. <i>paN-OBL</i>	109
Table 5.7. <i>pa-OBL</i>	110
Table 5.8. Noun compounds	111
Table 5.9. Idiomatic reduplication	114
Table 6.1. Adjective ₁ -adjective ₂ compounds	129
Table 6.2. Adjective ₁ -Noun ₂	130
Table 6.3. Degree of quality expressed by ADJ	131
Table 6.4. <i>ka-OBL</i>	138
Table 6.5. <i>ka-</i> + reduplicated adjectives	140
Table 6.6. <i>ka-</i> + reduplicated color adjectives	141
Table 6.7. <i>ka-</i> + reduplicated nouns.....	142
Table 7.1. Basic numeral units.....	144
Table 7.2. Numerals 11-19	144
Table 7.3. $x 10^1$, $x 10^2$, $x 10^3$, $x 10^6$	145
Table 7.4. The combination of the subsets	145
Table 7.5. Classifiers in PT.....	152
Table 7.6. Differences classifiers and partitives	156
Table 7.7. Partitives in PT	157
Table 7.8. The effect of G-words on ABS quantifying expressions	159
Table 7.9. Indefinite quantifiers.....	167
Table 7.10. Obsolete currencies in PT	170
Table 8.1. The paradigm of the transitive constructions.....	174
Table 8.2. Comparison of verb roles in PT and TPM.....	180
Table 8.3. Characteristics of P1 and P2	194
Table 8.4. Patterns of secondary predication	212
Table 9.1. <i>maN-</i> + adjective roots.....	219
Table 9.2. <i>maN-</i> + noun roots	220
Table 9.3. <i>pa-</i> + adjective roots	223
Table 9.4. <i>pa-</i> + noun roots.....	225
Table 9.5. <i>ba-</i> expressing 'to possess X'	227
Table 9.6. <i>ba-</i> expressing 'to produce X'	230
Table 9.7. <i>ba-</i> expressing 'to use/wear X'	231
Table 9.8. <i>ba-</i> expressing 'to work as X'	233
Table 9.9. <i>ba-</i> + verbal roots.....	235
Table 9.10. <i>ba-</i> expressing time-stable activity	236
Table 9.11. <i>ba-</i> expressing reciprocity.....	237
Table 9.12. <i>ba-</i> + OBL random manner.....	238
Table 9.13. <i>ta-</i> + monovalent and bivalent verb roots	239

Table 9.14. <i>ka</i> -OBL with adversative meaning	246
Table 10.1. Phrasal alternation in nouns	251
Table 10.2. Phrasal alternation in adjectives	252
Table 10.3. Phrasal alternation in numerals	252
Table 10.4. Phrasal alternation in verbs	254

