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Phrasal alternation in Kerinci

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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)

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Title: Phrasal alternation in Kerinci

Issue Date: 2017-05-23

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?/lansat* ‘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, Acehnese 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, Acehnese 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), matrilineal 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 gəleh	gəloah gəleh	gəloh gəleh	gəleh gəleyh	gəloah gəleh	gəloah gəleh	gəloah gəleyh	gəlih gəliy
duri ‘torn’	duhoi duhi	duhui duhi	duhu duhi	duhoi duhi	duhui duhi	duhiw duhew	duhuh duhi	duhæ duhiy
batu ‘stone’	bateu batu	bati batu	batiu batu	batew batu	batiu 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.

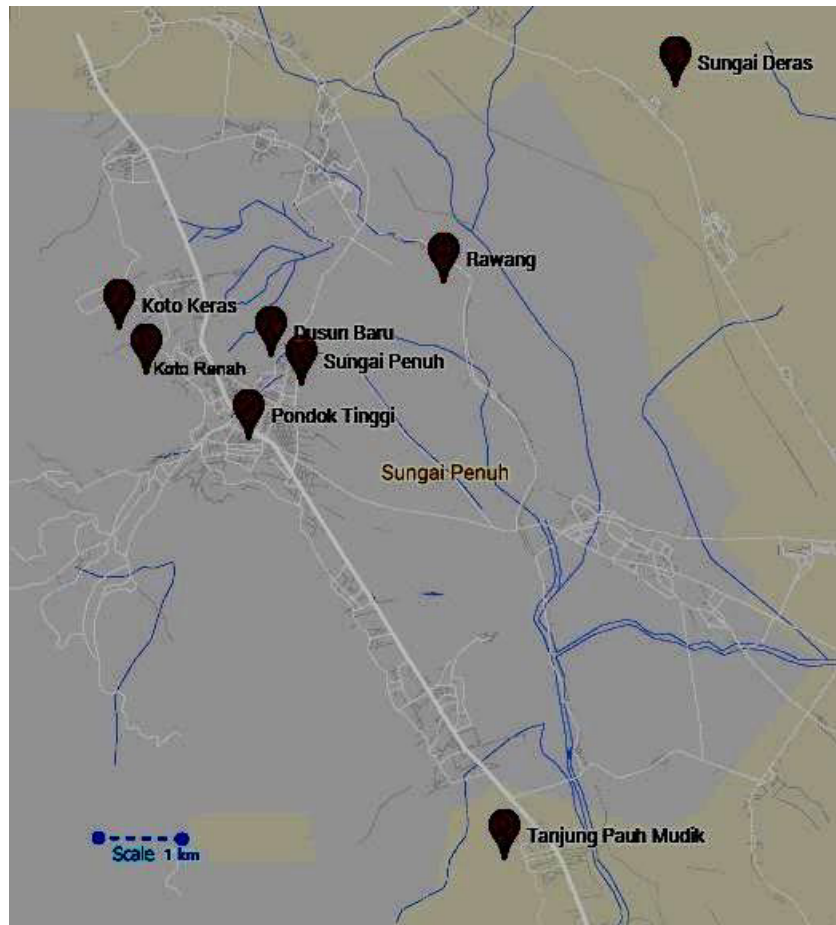


Figure 1.1. A map of dialect variation in Kerinci

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

cousin marriage and matrilineal 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
Malay | <i>no</i>
<i>dia</i>
3.SG
'S/he bathes a cat' | <i>mandei</i>
<i>memandi-kan</i>
take.a.bath.O | <i>kucae?</i>
<i>kucing</i>
cat |
| (8) | PT
Malay | <i>duto</i>
<i>dokter</i>
doctor | <i>ηubot</i>
<i>mengobat-i</i>
cure.O | <i>pasien</i>
<i>pasien</i>
patient
'A doctor gives a treatment to a patient' |
| (9) | PT
Malay | <i>kamai</i>
<i>kami</i>
1.PL.EXCL
'We have a visitor' | <i>kadaton</i>
<i>kedatang-an</i>
arrive.O | <i>tamu</i>
<i>tamu</i>
guest |
| (10) | PT
Malay | <i>tinggai</i>
<i>tinggi</i>
high | <i>ka-duwo</i>
<i>ke-dua-nya</i>
two.O
'Both are high' | |
| (11) | PT
Malay | <i>sa-kajo-kajo</i>
<i>se-kaya-kaya-nya</i>
RED-rich.O | <i>uha</i>
<i>orang</i>
people | <i>uleu</i>
<i>dulu</i>
in.the.past.A

<i>toh lampou gantun</i>
<i>itu lampu 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) *mijua*
 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 *ambauh* ‘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 anko? 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]
suhauh ☞ *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.