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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>

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**Author:** Ernanda

**Title:** Phrasal alternation in Kerinci

**Issue Date:** 2017-05-23

# 3 Alternation

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## 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.<sup>37</sup> 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>

<sup>37</sup> 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>tajua</i>	<i>tajon</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>ujua</i>	<i>ujon</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>ʝəloah</i>	<i>ʝələh</i>	<i>panas</i> 'hot'	<i>panaeh</i>	<i>paneh</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 <sup>38</sup>	<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>ijua</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>bərsaih</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>

<sup>38</sup> 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>ganjin</i>			
*im	<i>garim</i> 'mosque attendant'	-	<i>garin</i>	<i>kirim</i> 'to send'	<i>kihan</i>	-
*in	<i>dingin</i> 'cold'	<i>diñon</i>	<i>diñin</i>	<i>cincin</i> 'ring'	<i>cincan</i>	<i>cincin</i>
*ing <sup>39</sup>	<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>gilo</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>ja</i> t	<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 <sup>40</sup>	<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>

<sup>39</sup> For a number of domestic animals, \*-ij 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?*.

<sup>40</sup> 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>maᅅkau?</i>	<i>maᅅkou?</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>jaᅅun</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 <sup>41</sup>	<i>bungkus</i> 'package'	<i>bunᅅeuh</i>	<i>bunᅅuh</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:<sup>42</sup> adverbs, function words, loanwords, words combined with prefixes, personal pronouns, inalienable words and historically petrified words (Table 3.2).

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

Categories		Non-alternating words
Adverbs		<i>woa</i> ‘only’, <i>sagærea</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>ηə</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>ηuse</i> ‘to’, <i>antaro</i> ‘between, among’, <i>ke?</i> ‘at, in, on’, <i>banjo</i> ‘around’
	Conjunctions	<i>ηə</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 <sup>43</sup>	Portuguese	<i>banju</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>ramæ/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>manunan</i> ‘to become yellow’ (< <i>kunan/kunin</i> ‘yellow’), <i>mangədua</i> ‘to become big’ (< <i>gədua/gədon</i> ‘big’)

<sup>42</sup> Note that some roots that are non-alternating in PT are alternating in other Kerinci varieties.

<sup>43</sup> 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>təpei</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>aɟua</i> ‘to teach’, <i>kapaʔ</i> ‘to place’, <i>tamauʔ</i> ‘to put into’, <i>naka</i> ‘naughty’, <i>pasa</i> ‘to put on’, <i>anta</i> ‘to deliver’, <i>kənaʔ</i> ‘to wear’, <i>mukaʔ</i> ‘to open’, <i>amba</i> ‘tasteless’, <i>rəbuah</i> ‘to collapse’, <i>langa</i> ‘to bump’, <i>buɟkua</i> ‘to destroy’, <i>taau</i> ‘to know’
	(always oblique)	<i>daloʔ</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>tərəmpo</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'

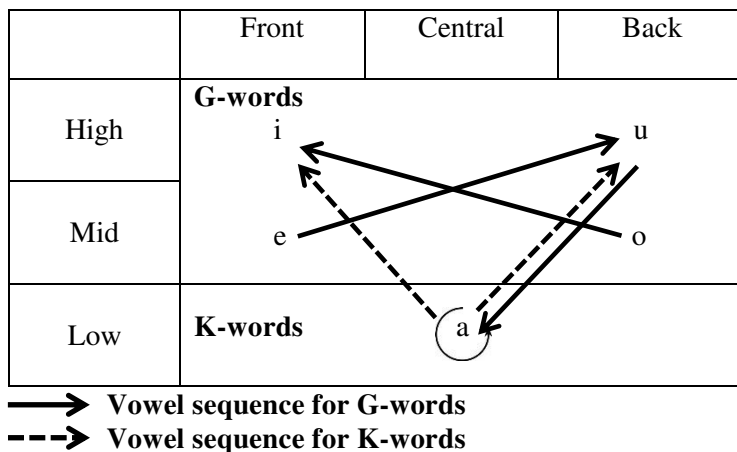
Table 3.5. K-words and G-words in PT

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.<sup>44</sup> 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.

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<sup>44</sup> 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>ambai?/ambei?</i> ‘to take’	<i>diamboi?/diambi?</i> ‘be taken’
	<i>aŋka?/aŋkat</i> ‘to lift’	<i>diaŋkua?/diaŋkot</i> ‘be lifted’
	<i>asah/asoh</i> ‘to sharpen’	<i>diasuah/diasoh</i> ‘be sharpened’
	<i>əmpaeh/əmpəh</i> ‘to smash’	<i>diəmpoah/diəmpəh</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>dililoʔ/dililit</i> ‘be coiled up’
	<i>maka/makan</i> ‘to eat’	<i>dimakua/dibakon</i> <sup>45</sup> ‘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>diisoʔ/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**

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<sup>45</sup> 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).

<b>K-words (verb roots)</b>	<b>G-words (with passive prefix <i>di-</i>)</b>
<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/saroh</i> 'to give'	<i>disarah/disaroh</i> 'be given'
<i>sipa?/sipo?</i> 'to kick'	<i>disipa?/disipo?</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.

<b>Word class</b>	<b>K-words</b>	<b>G-words</b>
Verbs	<i>alaih/aleih</i> 'to switch'	<i>baraloih/baralih</i> 'be switching'
	<i>ambai?/ambei?</i> 'to take'	<i>baamboi?.A</i> 'be taken'
	<i>asah/asoh</i> 'to sharpen'	<i>baasuah.A</i> 'be sharpened'
	<i>ampaeh/ampéh</i> 'to smash'	<i>baəmpoah.A</i> 'be smashed'
	<i>əntai/əntei</i> 'to stop'	<i>barəntoi.A</i> 'be stopping'
	<i>ənta?/ənto?</i> 'to stamp'	<i>baəntua?.A</i> 'be stamped on'
	<i>ihai?/ihit</i> 'to drag'	<i>baihoi?.A</i> 'be dragged'
	<i>ihan/ihin</i> 'to accompany'	<i>baihon.A</i> 'be alongside someone'
	<i>impai?/impit</i> 'to squeeze'	<i>baimpoi?.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>lilai?/lilit</i> 'to coil around sth.'	<i>baliloi?.A</i> 'be coiled up'
	<i>ukau/ukou</i> 'to measure'	<i>baukeu.A</i> 'be measured'
	<i>anja?/anjat</i> 'warm'	<i>baanja?.A</i> 'be warming, be warmed'
Nouns	<i>laan/lain</i> 'different'	<i>balaon.A</i> 'be different'
	<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>asa?/asat</i> 'smoke'	<i>baasua?/baasat</i> 'to produce smoke'
	<i>ihaih/iheih</i> 'slice'	<i>baihoih/baihih</i> 'be sliced'
	<i>isai/isei</i> 'content'	<i>barisoib/barisi</i> 'be filled, have content'
	<i>lakai/lakei</i> 'husband'	<i>balakoi/balaki</i> 'to have a husband'
	<i>lihai?/lihei?</i> 'row'	<i>balihoi?/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>uta?/uto?</i> 'brain'	<i>bautua?/bauto?</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>tana?/tano?</i> 'to cook'	<i>batana?/batano?</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-isoib*, *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>barisoib</i>	<i>bisoib</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-</i> + G-word	K-word	Gloss
<i>N-</i> + <i>baleuʔ/balut</i>	<i>malauʔ/malut</i>	‘to wrap’
<i>N-</i> + <i>baŋkeu/baŋkun</i>	<i>maŋkau/maŋkun</i>	‘to torture’
<i>N-</i> + <i>baŋkoiʔ/baŋkit</i>	<i>maŋkaiʔ/maŋkit</i>	‘to wake up’
<i>N-</i> + <i>bəloi/bəli</i>	<i>məlai/məlei</i>	‘to buy’
<i>N-</i> + <i>bəloiʔ/bəlit</i>	<i>məlaiʔ/məlit</i>	‘to wound around’
<i>N-</i> + <i>bənuə/bəno</i>	<i>məna/məno</i>	‘to make’
<i>N-</i> + <i>bəŋoih/bəŋih</i>	<i>məŋaih/məŋeih</i>	‘to be angry at’
<i>N-</i> + <i>buneah/bunoh</i>	<i>munauh/munoh</i>	‘to kill’
<i>N-</i> + <i>buŋkua</i>	<i>muŋka</i>	‘to destroy’
<i>N-</i> + <i>buwea/buwo</i>	<i>muwao/muwo</i>	‘to bring’
<i>N-</i> + <i>dakoi/daki</i>	<i>nakai/nakei</i>	‘to climb’
<i>N-</i> + <i>dəŋua/dəŋo</i>	<i>nəŋa/nəŋo</i>	‘to hear’
<i>N-</i> + <i>jaoiʔ/jait</i>	<i>jaaiʔ</i>	‘to sew’
<i>N-</i> + <i>jaŋmea/jaŋmo</i>	<i>jaŋmao</i>	‘to dry in the sun’
<i>N-</i> + <i>jiŋluaʔ/jiŋlot</i>	<i>jiŋlat/jiŋlot</i>	‘to lick’
<i>N-</i> + <i>jiŋjoaʔ/jiŋjeʔ</i>	<i>jiŋjaeʔ</i>	‘to lift, to carry’
<i>N-</i> + <i>gaheu/gahu</i>	<i>ŋahau/ŋahou</i>	‘to disturb’
<i>N-</i> + <i>galoi/gali</i>	<i>ŋalai/ŋalei</i>	‘to dig’
<i>N-</i> + <i>ganteu/gantun</i>	<i>ŋantau</i>	‘to hang’
<i>N-</i> + <i>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.