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# 4 Personal pronouns

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## 4.1 Introduction

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

## 4.2 Forms and functions

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

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

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

**Table 4.1. Personal pronouns in PT**

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

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

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

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

#### 4.2.1 First-person pronouns

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- [The speaker is talking to a group of friends who are older than him]
- (4) *təmpeʔ* *kantai* *kulijah* *uenpe* *neh*  
 place.O 1.SG lecture UNP<sup>48</sup> neh  
 ‘That’s the place where I studied, Padang State University’  
 [fc7.019]
- [A woman is casually talking to a man]
- (5) *toh* *akau* *atao* *use* *no*  
 toh 1.SG tell.A to 3.SG  
 ‘That was what I told her earlier’  
 [fc3.010]

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<sup>48</sup> *Universitas Negeri Padang* (‘Padang State University’).

#### 4.2.2 Second-person pronouns

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### 4.2.3 Third-person pronouns

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

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

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

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

- [A scene in The Pear Story: two kids are waiting for their friend who is giving a hat to another kid]
- (16) *no ηə ba-duwea toh nantei? ke?*  
 3.PL REL STAT-two.A toh ACT.wait.O at
- itoh. ηə s-uha alo ηanta*  
 itoh REL one-CLF go.O ACT.deliver  
 ‘They, [the kids] in a group of two wait there. One [kid] gives [it]’  
 [P4\_PV\_HAL\_OLD\_FEMALE.075]
- [A scene in The Frog Story: the frog parents look at their babies]
- (17) *no ηimo? ano? no*  
 3.PL ACT.see.O child.O 3.PL.POSS  
 ‘They look at their babies’  
 [P1\_FS\_DAS\_OLD\_MALE.103]

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

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

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<sup>49</sup> Truncated from *budua?/budo?*.



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

*di-pasa uha toh ali?*  
 PASS-put.on 3.SG.M back.O  
 ‘So, that bandana was put back on by him’  
 [P4\_PV\_HAL\_OLD\_FEMALE.016]

**4.2.4 The use of *awa?***

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

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

**Table 4.2. The use of *awa?***

### 4.3 Positions of personal pronouns

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

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

<i>Object of preposition</i>	(33)	<i>guru mənəih ŋuse ikao</i> teacher ACT.angry.A to 2.SG 'The teacher was mad at you'
	(34)	<i>akau dapua? surae? dari ŋo</i> 1.SG get.A letter.A from 3.SG 'I received a letter from him'
<i>Complement following adjective or intransitive verb</i>	(35)	<i>sarupo udo? itoh</i> similar.O 3.SG.F 'Like her'
	(36)	<i>ba-subo? uhan itoh</i> VBLZ-meet.O 3.SG.M 'To meet him'
<i>Possessor following noun phrase</i>	(37)	<i>umoh gədon kamai</i> house.O big.O 1.PL.EXCL.POSS 'Our big house'
	(38)	<i>uto bahu uha itoh</i> car new.O 3.PL.POSS 'Their new car'
<i>Head of phrase followed by a demonstrative<sup>50</sup></i>	(39)	<i>akau neh duto</i> 1.SG neh doctor 'I am a doctor'
	(40)	<i>ŋo toh tuka</i> 3.SG toh mason.A 'He is a mason'
<i>Subject followed by a cardinal numeral</i>	(41)	<i>kamai duwea ŋə dapua?</i> 1.PL.EXCL two.A REL get.A 'It's both of us who got [it]'
	(42)	<i>ikao duwea tuhau? akau</i> 2.PL two.A follow.A 1.SG 'You both, follow me!'

**Table 4.3. Positions of personal pronouns**

#### 4.4 Possessive constructions

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

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<sup>50</sup> In this context, the demonstrative is used as a pragmatic marker.

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

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

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

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

#### 4.4.1 with OBL

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

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

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

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

#### 4.4.2 with *kamai*

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

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

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

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

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

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

*dalon*     *imbe*  
 inside    bucket

‘Our water inside the bucket is finished’

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

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

‘Our rice has all been eaten by a cat’

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

- (54) *ila*                ***golon*** (\**gəlua*)     ***akau,***  
 disappear.A    bracelet.O            1.SG.POSS

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

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

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

#### 4.4.3 with *atai/atei* ‘heart’

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

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<sup>53</sup> See Steinhauer and Usman (1978) on this phenomenon in SP.

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

#### 4.5 Kinship terms and alternative pronouns

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

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

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

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

**Table 4.4. Kinship terms**

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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