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5 Nominal constructions

5.1 Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.2 Noun roots

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

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

Table 5.1. The noun roots

5.3 Noun phrases⁵⁴

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

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

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

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

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

Figure 5.1. A head noun with modifiers

5.4 Word order

5.4.1 The Core Structure (CS)

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

Noun $\pm$ Adjective

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

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

Noun $\pm$ Possessor

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

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

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

Noun ± Adjective ± Possessor

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.4.2 ABS-OBL alternation within the CS

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

5.4.2.1 with nouns

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.4.2.2 with adjectives

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

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

5.4.3 Categories outside the CS

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

NUM/CLF + CS

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

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

⁶⁰ Adjective constructions are discussed in detail in chapter 6.

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

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

CS + Prepositional Phrase

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

CS + Relative Clause

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

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

NUM/CLF + CS

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

CS + Prepositional Phrase

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

CS + Relative Clause

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

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

CS + Prepositional Phrase outside the NP

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

CS + Relative Clause outside the NP

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

CS + NUM/CLF outside the NP

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

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

5.4.4 Demonstratives as adnominal modifiers⁶¹

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

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

Demonstrative cannot occur between a noun and a possessor.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.4.4.1 after a derived form

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

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

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

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

5.4.4.2 after a relative clause

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

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

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

5.4.4.3 after a possessor

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

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

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

5.4.5 The order of the constituents of the noun phrases

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.4.6 Prepositional phrases and relative clauses

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.4.7 Noun + modifier

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.5 Derived nouns

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

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

5.5.1 *paN-*

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

5.5.1.1 with adjective roots

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

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

Table 5.2. *paN-* + adjective roots

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.5.1.3 with monovalent verb roots

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

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

Table 5.3. *paN-* + monovalent verb roots

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

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

5.5.1.4 with bivalent verb roots

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

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

Table 5.4. *paN-* + bivalent verb roots

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

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

5.5.2 The historical suffix **-an*

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

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

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

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

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

5.5.3 *ka* + OBL

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

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

Table 5.5. *ka*-OBL

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

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

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

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

5.5.4 *paN* + OBL

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

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

Table 5.6. *paN*-OBL

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

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

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

5.5.5 *pa* + OBL

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

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

Table 5.7. *pa*-OBL

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

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

5.6 Compound nouns

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

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

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

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

Table 5.8. Noun compounds

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.7 Reduplication of nouns

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

5.7.1 Plurality

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

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

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

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

5.7.2 Reduplication of compound nouns

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

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

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

5.7.3 Idiomatic reduplication

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

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

Table 5.9. Idiomatic reduplication

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.8 Nominalization

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

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

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

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

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

5.8.1 of adjectives

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

- (155) *no ŋukou [tiŋgei]_{NP}*
 3.SG ACT.measure.O tall.O
 'S/he measures the height of it'

[tiŋgei]_{NP} di-ukou no
 tall.O PASS-measure.O 3.SG
 'The height of it is measured by her/him'

- (156) *no ŋimo? [gədon]_{NP}*
 3.SG ACT.see.O big.O
 'S/he considers the size of it'

[gədon]_{NP} di-kimo? no
 big.O PASS-look.O 3.SG
 'The size of it is considered by her/him'

- (157) *no nulun si duŋeu*
 3.SG ACT.help.O ART stupid.A

ŋə si cədoi?
 and ART smart.A
 'S/he helps the stupid one and the smart one'

si duŋeu ŋə si
 ART stupid.A and ART

cədoi? di-tulun no
 smart.A PASS-help.O 3.SG
 'The stupid one and the smart one were helped by her/him'

5.8.2 of verbs and quantifiers

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

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

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

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

⁷² A verbalized form can function as a noun.

5.9 The use of *uha/uhan* ‘people’

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

