



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Phrasal alternation in Kerinci

Ernanda, N.

Citation

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

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

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

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

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

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



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

Author: Ernanda

Title: Phrasal alternation in Kerinci

Issue Date: 2017-05-23

6 Adjectival constructions

6.1 Introduction

Adjectives are defined as ‘the grammatical classification of words to refer to the main set of items which specify the attributes of nouns’ (Crystal 2008: 11). Unlike verbs, the qualities denoted by adjectives have semantic time stability. Dixon (1982) categorizes adjectives in English into dimensions (big, little, long, short, thick, thin, etc.), physical properties (hard, soft, hot, cold, sweet, sour, etc.), colors (black, white, green, etc.), human propensities (happy, generous, clever, proud, etc.), age (old, young, new, etc.), value (good, bad, excellent, fine) and speed (fast, slow, quick, etc.). In another publication, Dixon (1999: 7) adds that ‘comparison of small adjective classes across the languages of the world reveals a remarkable similarity of semantic content’. Needless to say, it should be kept in mind that some languages do lack certain adjective classes. In a wider Austronesian context, the existence of adjectives as a separate word class is subject to debate. In PT, however, adjectives can be shown to be a separate word class.

PT has a relatively small number of adjectives. In some cases, it is difficult to distinguish between adjectives and stative verbs, as the categories partly overlap. There are two syntactic positions of adjectives as attributes. The first position is within a relative clause. In this position, it is difficult to distinguish between adjectives and stative verbs. *Gəpeuʔ* is an adjective and *lahai* is a stative verb, yet they behave syntactically identical (1)–(2).

- (1) *uha* *ŋə* *gəpeuʔ* *lah* *datua*
 people.A REL fat.A already come.A
 ‘People who are fat have come’
- (2) *uha* *ŋə* *lahai* *lah* *datua*
 people.A REL run.A already come.A
 ‘People who ran have come’

The second position is adjacently after a head noun. In this position, an adjective can adjacently modify a head noun (3), whereas a stative verb cannot (4).

- (3) *uha* *gəpeu?* *lah* *datua*
 people.A fat.A already come.A
 ‘Fat people have come’
- (4) **uha* *lahai* *lah* *datua*
 people.A run.A already come.A

There are three additional ways in which adjectives behave differently from other lexical categories:⁷⁴ 1) Adjectives can be combined with degrees of comparison (i.e. *ləbih* ‘more’, *kuran* ‘less’, and *palin* ‘most’) as well as modifiers indicating excessiveness (i.e. *sajat* ‘very’, *amat* ‘very’ and *talampo* ‘too’); 2) Adjectives can be negated by *idua?* ‘not’; 3) Adjectives can occur in a morphological construction with the meaning ‘as X as possible’, where they are reduplicated and prefixed with *sa-*.

Furthermore, adjectives may be the head of an adjective phrase and can as such be combined with expressions indicating degree, either as compared to a standard of comparison, or without such a specification.

Adjectives display the general patterns of phrasal alternation presented in 1.7.4. This chapter describes the functions of adjectives (6.2), the distribution of the absolute and oblique forms (6.3), compound adjectives (6.4), degrees of quality (6.5) and reduplication of adjectives (6.6).

6.2 The functions of adjective constructions

Adjective phrases can occur as attributes (6.2.1), predicates (6.2.2) and adverbs (6.2.3).

6.2.1 as attributes

There are two positions in which adjectives can modify nouns; 1) in the adjacent position (bare attributive adjectives), or 2) within a relative clause. In both cases they follow the noun they modify.

Adjectives in the adjacent position directly follow the noun (5)–(6). No element can intervene between the head noun and adjective (7)–(8).

⁷⁴ See Moeliono and Dardjowidjojo (1988) on the same phenomenon in Indonesian. The PT examples given here are based on the Indonesian examples in their study and behave identically.

Elements such as demonstratives or possessors can follow the adjective (9)-(10).

- (5) *no mælei [tugu? putaih]_{NP}*
 3.SG ACT.buy.O hat.O white.A
 ‘S/he bought a white hat’
- (6) *kamai muwo [mijo gædua]_{NP}*
 1.PL.EXCL ACT.bring.O table.O big.A
 ‘We brought a big table’
- (7) **kamai muwo [mijo itoh gædua]_{NP}*
 1.PL.EXCL ACT.bring.O table.O itoh big.A
- (8) **kamai muwo [mijo no gædua]_{NP}*
 1.PL.EXCL ACT.bring.O table.O 3.SG.POSS big.A
- (9) *kamai muwo [mijo gædon itoh]_{NP}*
 1.PL.EXCL ACT.bring.O table.O big.O itoh
 ‘We brought that big table’
- (10) *kamai muwo [mijo gædon no]_{NP}*
 1.PL.EXCL ACT.bring.O table.O big.O 3.SG.POSS
 ‘We brought her/his big table’

PT allows multiple adjectives to occur in compound words (Anwar et al. 1984).⁷⁵ In some compounds, two adjectives may occur adjacently, as can be seen in examples (11)-(14).

- (11) *itam manaih*
 black.O sweet.A
 ‘Dark brown complexion [considered attractive]’
- (12) *gædon tingai*
 big.O tall.A
 ‘Well-built’

⁷⁵ This is not possible in TPM (Mckinnon 2011).

- (13) *gəpuʔ pandaʔ*
fat.O short.A
'Plump'
- (14) *puteih kunan*
white.O yellow.A
'Olive-colored'

The second syntactic position in which adjectives can occur attributively is within a relative clause, in which the adjective follows the relative marker *ŋə* (15)–(16).

- (15) *tugeuʔ [ŋə putaih]_{RC}*
hat.A REL white.A
'A hat which is white'
- (16) *mijua [ŋə gədua]_{RC}*
table.A REL big.A
'A table which is big'

The relative marker is also used when an adjective is 'extended' with another adjective, which cannot form a compound with the first one.⁷⁶ In this construction, *ŋə* intervenes between the first and the second adjective (17). Within a relative clause, adjectives need to be directly adjacent to the noun, as other elements such as a relative clause with a verbal predicate (18) or a prepositional phrase predicate (19) may occur in this position. The third-person possessor occurs directly after a head noun before a relative clause (20).

- (17) *talei panya ŋə ita*
rope.O long.A REL black.A
'The black long rope'
- [Someone was mad and threw things around her/him away]
(18) *no ŋimoʔ piŋga [ŋə [tərbua]_V]_{RC}*
3.SG ACT.look.O plate.A REL fly.A
'S/he saw a plate which was flying'

⁷⁶ Kaswanti Purwo (1983) observes the same phenomenon in Indonesian.

- (19) *no ηimoʔ tugeuʔ*
 3.SG ACT.look.O hat.A
 [*ηə [keʔ muko umah]*]_{PP}_{RC}
 REL in front house.A
 ‘S/he sees a hat which is in front of the house’
- (20) *ali muwo [[mijo*
 PN ACT.bring.O table.O
*no]*_{CS} [*ηə gədua*]_{RC}_{NP}
 3.SG.POSS REL big.A
 ‘Ali brought his table which is big’

In the adjacent position, the adjective modifies the head noun without additional implications (21). A relative clause puts contrastive emphasis on the quality of the noun it modifies (22).

- (21) *akau məlei mijo gədua*
 1.SG ACT.buy.O table.O big.A
 ‘I bought a big table’
- (22) *akau məlei mijua ηə gədua*
 1.SG ACT.buy.O table.A REL big.A
iyuaʔ ηə naeʔ
 NEG REL small.A
 ‘I bought a table which is big, not a small one’

In compound words, the omission of *ηə* can change the meaning of an utterance from a literal one (23)-(25) to a fixed metaphoric meaning alongside a literal one (24)-(26).⁷⁷ In these idiomatic noun phrases, the adjective does not alternate and always takes the absolute form (27), whereas in compositional noun phrases the oblique form is required under the general rules of phrasal alternation presented in 1.7.4 (28).

⁷⁷ On a similar vein, Steinhauer (1992: 432) observes that in Indonesian ‘the *yang*-less constructions often acquire a compound-like status’. *Yang* is the relative marker in Indonesian, more or less corresponding to PT *ηə*.

- (23) *baɟu ɲə ijua*
 shirt.O REL green.A
 ‘The shirt which is green’
- (24) *baɟu ijua*
 shirt.O green.A
 1. ‘A green shirt’
 2. ‘A soldier’
- (25) *baɟu ɲə kuan*
 shirt.O REL yellow.A
 ‘The shirt which is yellow’
- (26) *baɟu kuan*
 shirt.O yellow.A
 1. ‘A yellow shirt’
 2. ‘A policeman’
- (27) *baɟu kuan (*kunin) ɲo*
 shirt.O yellow.A 3.SG.POSS
 ‘Her/his policeman’
 *‘Her/his yellow shirt’
- (28) *baɟu ijo (*ijua) itoh*
 shirt.O green.O itoh
 ‘That green shirt’
 *‘That soldier’

6.2.2 as predicates

As predicates, adjectives typically occur in the absolute form (29)-(30).

- (29) *anoʔ ɲo pandae (*pande)*
 child.O 3.SG.POSS able.A
 ‘Her/his child is smart’
- (30) *apo ɲə di-pake ɲo ijuaʔ ilauʔ (*ilouʔ)*
 what REL PASS-wear.O 3.SG NEG good.A
 ‘What s/he wore was not good’

6.2.3 as adverbs

Adjectives can be used adverbially, describing the manner an action is executed (31)-(32). This is known as ‘manner adverbial’ and will be discussed in detail in 8.7.3.

- (31) *burun itoh tərbon tiŋgai*
 bird.O itoh fly.O high.A
 ‘That bird flies high’

- (32) *no makan nasai cəpaʔ-cəpaʔ*
 3.SG eat.O rice.A RED-fast.A
 ‘S/he eats rice fast’

6.3 ABS-OBL distribution of adjectives

This section discusses the distribution of the absolute forms (6.3.1) and oblique forms (6.3.2).

6.3.1 ABS adjective roots

The absolute form is used when an adjective root stands on its own without any preceding or following element (33). In this position, an adjective in the oblique form functions as a noun (34).⁷⁸

- (33) *panya (*panyan)*
 long.A
 ‘Long’

- (34) *panyan (*panya)*
 long.O
 ‘[Its] length’

In final position, adjectives can be used attributively (35) and predicatively (36), requiring the absolute form. If the adjective is predicative it is outside the noun phrase. The occurrence of *na* ‘really’ also requires the absolute form (37).

⁷⁸ The nominalization of adjectives is discussed in more detail in 5.8.1.

- [What kind of rope do you need for rock climbing?]
- (35) *talei panya*
 rope.O long.A
 ‘A long rope’
- (36) *talei itoh panya*
 rope.O itoh long.A
 ‘That rope is long’
- (37) *ilau? na umoh kajao*
 good.A really house.O 2.SG.POSS
 ‘Very nice is your house’ [Lit.]
 ‘Your house is very nice’

6.3.2 OBL adjective roots

As discussed in 5.4.1, an attributive adjective is one of the basic constituents of the Core Structure of a noun phrase and can be followed by other constituents of the same NP, such as a possessor or a demonstrative. The adjective occurs in the oblique form when directly followed by other constituents (38)-(39). The oblique form is also used in combination with an omitted possessor understood from the context (40).

- (38) *baju bahu itoh*
 shirt.O new.O itoh
 ‘That new shirt’
- (39) *baju bahu na*
 shirt.O new.O 3.SG.POSS
 ‘Her/his new shirt’
- (40) *baju bahu*
 shirt.O new.O
 ‘[Her/his/their/our/my] new shirt’

An adjective preceded by an adverb of quality or degree, other than *na* ‘really’, triggers the oblique form. Examples include *maliwa?* ‘too’, *sajat* ‘very’, *bukon maae* ‘remarkably’, *bijeh* ‘very’ and *talampo* ‘too’ (41)-(45).

- (41) *maliwa? ubo ira*
 too dumb.O PN
 ‘Ira is too dumb’
- (42) *saŋat pande ano? ikao*
 very.O able.O child.O 2.SG.POSS
 ‘Your child is very smart’
- (43) *bukon maae gədon umoh ɲo*
 remarkably big.O house.O 3.SG.POSS
 ‘Her/his house is remarkably big’
- (44) *bijeh suwe? tino itoh*
 very fussy.O grandmother.O itoh
 ‘That old woman is very fussy’
- (45) *kupei ineh talampo maneih*
 coffee.O ineh too sweet.O
 ‘This coffee is too sweet’

Morphological environments also trigger the oblique form, i.e. *kabaŋo?* ‘too many/too much’, *kailou?-ilou?* ‘to act as if s/he is pretty’, etc., as will be discussed later in this chapter.

6.4 Compound adjectives

As mentioned previously, adjective roots can form compounds. Note that some of these compounds consist of two antonyms and function as noun phrases (Table 6.1).

Root	Compound
<i>baoi?/bai?</i> ‘good’, <i>buheu?/buhu?</i> ‘bad’	<i>bai? buhu?</i> good.O bad.O ‘good and bad’ <i>*baoi? buheu?</i>
<i>tuwao/tuwo</i> ‘old’, <i>mudea/mudo</i> ‘young’	<i>tuwo mudo</i> old.O young.O ‘all ages’ <i>*tuwao mudea</i>

Table 6.1. Adjective₁-adjective₂ compounds

In these adjective₁-adjective₂ compounds, both words appear in the oblique form (46)–(47).

- (46) *bai?* *buhu?* *patau?* *di-pikei*
 good.O bad.O should.A PASS-think.O
 ‘The good and the bad sides should be considered’
- (47) *tuwo* *mudo* *lah* *nuhau?* *galo*
 old.O young.O already ACT.follow.A all
 ‘All ages have joined it’

The other compound adjective is Adjective₁-Noun₂, which can express either ‘ADJ with the character of Noun₂’ or ‘ADJ restricted to Noun₂’. The noun limits the referent of the adjective in the former type of compound, whereas it limits the applicability of the adjective in the latter. These compounds do not follow the general patterns of alternation presented in 1.7.4. Adjectives with the character of Noun₂ take the oblique form, whereas adjectives with restriction to nouns exhibit an adjective in the absolute and a noun in the oblique form (Table 6.2).

Adjective ₁ -Noun ₂ (ADJ with the character of noun ₂)	Adjective ₁ -Noun ₂ (ADJ restricted to nouns)
<i>gilo</i> <i>ajei</i> crazy.O water.O ‘Of unsound mind’ (* <i>gilea ajai</i>)	<i>panja</i> <i>muncun</i> long.A mouth.O ‘Loose-tongued’ (* <i>panyan muncau</i>)
<i>pako?</i> <i>bado?</i> deaf.O rhinoceros.O ‘Rather deaf’ (* <i>paka? badua?</i>)	<i>panja</i> <i>jahi</i> long.A finger.O ‘Light-fingered’ (* <i>panyan jahoi</i>)
	<i>alauh</i> <i>kice?</i> soft.A speech.O ‘Soft-spoken’ (* <i>alouh kicae?</i>)
	<i>buseu?</i> <i>atei</i> stink.A heart.O ‘Envious’ (* <i>busu? atai</i>)

Table 6.2. Adjective₁-Noun₂

6.5 Degrees of quality

PT constructions to express degrees of quality are discussed in detail in the following sections (Table 6.3). These degree constructions can only be used as predicates, with the exception of the superlative with the prefix *ta-*, which can also be used attributively.

‘More than’	
1	ADJ + <i>daripado</i> + X
2	<i>lābih</i> + ADJ (+ <i>daripado</i> + X)
‘Equal to’	
1	<i>samo</i> + ADJ (+ <i>diŕan</i> + X)
2	<i>sa-</i> + ADJ + X
‘Less than’	
1	<i>kuran</i> + ADJ (+ <i>daripado</i> + X)
‘Intensification over time’	
1	<i>makin</i> + ADJ
2	<i>makin</i> + ADJ ₁ + <i>makin</i> + ADJ ₂

Table 6.3. Degree of quality expressed by ADJ

6.5.1 ‘More than’

This construction indicates that the bearer of the quality expressed by the adjective has more of it than other entities, either mentioned or implied.

6.5.1.1 ADJ + *daripado* + X

This construction is ∞ -comparative. The adjective is used on its own without a degree of quality. The adjective occurs in the absolute form (48)-(50).

- (48) *tingai akau daripado ŋo*
 tall.A 1.SG than 3.SG
 ‘I am taller than her/him’

- (49) *tābua ineh daripado itoh*
 thick.A ineh than itoh
 ‘This is thicker than that’

- (50) *nona maja toh, toh muhah bali ŋo*
 nona maja toh toh cheap.A buy.O 3.SG

muhah nona maja toh pado solo? putaih
 cheap.A nona maja toh than solok putaih.A
 ‘Nona Maya, that is cheap. The price of Nona Maya is cheaper
 than Solok Putaih’
 [fc10.159]

6.5.1.2 *lambah* + ADJ (+ *daripado* + X)

This degree is formed by using *lebih* ‘more’. The adjective appears in the absolute form (51)-(52). Optionally, ‘*daripado* ‘than’ + X’ can be added. In this case, both entities are mentioned (53)-(54).

(51) *uto no lambih maha*
 car 3.SG.POSS more.O expensive.A
 ‘Her/his car is more expensive’

(52) *umoh no lambih tana*
 house.O 3.SG.POSS more.O quiet.A
 ‘Her/his house is quieter’

(53) *ηə ineh lambih jəloah*
 REL ineh more.O clear.A

daripado ηə itoh
 than REL itoh
 ‘This one is clearer than that one’

(54) *rini lambih tingai daripado akau*
 PN more.O tall.A than 1.SG
 ‘Rini is taller than me’

6.5.2 ‘Equal to’

This construction indicates that the bearer of the quality expressed has this quality to the same degree as the standard of comparison. *Samo* ‘same’ is used when there are two entities with the same quality whereas *sa-* denotes reflexivity.

6.5.2.1 *samo* + ADJ (+ *diyan* + X)

This degree compares two entities and is indicated by using *samo* + ADJ. The adjective appears in the oblique form (55)-(56). The preposition ‘*diyan* ‘with’ + X’ can also be added (57).

- (55) *kamai samo pande*
 1.PL.EXCL same able.O
 1. 'We are equally clever [as each other]'
 2. 'We are equally clever [as someone else]'
- (56) *samo tingei uha duwea itoh*
 same tall.O people.A two.A itoh
 'Those two people are equally tall [as each other]'
- (57) *karita di balandea samo ilou?*
 cart.A in Holland.A same good.O
- diʔan di ʔərman*
 with in Germany
 'Trains in Holland are as good as in Germany'

6.5.2.2 *sa-* + ADJ + X

The construction with the prefix *sa-* also indicates that the bearer of the quality expressed by the adjective has that quality to the same degree as the standard. The standard can be a noun or pronoun, a noun phrase or an expression of place or time. This construction indicates reflexivity (58)-(60). The adjective appears in the oblique form.

- (58) *umoh no sa-gədon itoh*
 house.O 3.SG.POSS COMP-big.O itoh
 'Her/his house is as big as that'
- (59) *pajah nalo? uha*
 difficult.A ACT.search.for people.A
- sa-bai? dijea*
 COMP-good.O 3.SG
 'It is hard to find someone who is as kind as her/him'
- (60) *dano kincai sa-ilou? duleu*
 lake.O kerinci.A COMP-good.O in.the.past.A
 'Lake Kerinci is as beautiful as before'

6.5.3 ‘Less than’

This construction marks a lesser degree of the quality expressed by the adjective as compared to the standard of comparison.

6.5.3.1 *kuran* + ADJ (+ *daripado* + X)

After *kuran* ‘less’, the adjective appears in the oblique form (61)-(62). The preposition ‘*daripado* ‘than’ + X’ can be added to the construction (63)-(65).

- (61) *sapatou ineh kuran gədon*
 shoes ineh less.O big.O
 ‘These shoes are less big’
- [An old lady can no longer hear well]
 (62) *kalo uŋua-uŋua toh kuran jəleh*
 if RED-soft.A toh less.O clear.O
 ‘If [a sound] is soft, it is less clear’
 [fc4.091]
- (63) *ladon no kuran bərsih*
 field.O 3.SG.POSS less.O clean.O

daripado ladon kamai
 than field.O 1.PL.EXCL.POSS
 ‘Her/his field is less clean than our field’
- (64) *uha sinei kuran kajo*
 people.A here less.O rich.O

daripado di jawea
 than in Java.A
 ‘People are less rich here than in Java’
- (65) *baŋu no kuran*
 shirt.O 3.SG.POSS less.O

bərsih daripada pətan
 clean.O than yesterday
 ‘Her/his shirt [today] is less clean than yesterday’

If the adjective has an antonym, the antonym in combination with *lābih* ‘more’ can also be used. In this case, the antonym occurs in the absolute (66). Conversely, the use of *kuran* ‘less’ is often seen as more polite when dealing with adjectives with negative connotations.⁷⁹ For example, ‘less beautiful’ (67) is more polite than ‘uglier’ (68). The latter sentence is grammatically acceptable, but socially intolerable, as would be the case cross-linguistically.

- (66) *ujian pətan lābih pajah*
 exam yesterday more.O difficult.A

daripado ujian tadeh
 than exam just.now
 ‘Yesterday’s exam was more difficult than the one just now’

- (67) *siti kuran ilou? di-bandin*
 PN less.O good.O PASS-compare.O

diḡan adi? no
 with younger.sibling.O 3.SG.POSS
 ‘Siti is less beautiful compared to her sister’ [but they’re both beautiful]

- (68) *siti lābih buheu? daripada*
 PN more.O ugly.A than

adi? no
 younger.sibling.O 3.SG.POSS
 ‘Siti is uglier than her sister’ [they’re both ugly]

6.5.4 Intensification over time

The following two constructions express that a given quality or intensity decreases or increases over time.

⁷⁹ See Moeliono and Dardjowidjojo (1988) on the same phenomenon in Indonesian.

6.5.4.1 *makin* + ADJ

Preceded by *makin* ‘ever more’, the adjective appears in the absolute form (69), even if followed by a demonstrative (70).

- (69) *harto* *no* *makin* *bajua?*
 wealth.O 3.SG.POSS ever.more many/much.A
 ‘Her/his wealth increases ever more’

- (70) *harto* *ŋə* *makin* *bajua?* *itoh*
 wealth.O REL ever.more many/much.A itoh
 ‘The wealth that is ever increasing’

6.5.4.2 *makin* + ADJ₁ + *makin* + ADJ₂

This construction expresses increasing or decreasing degree of both the first and the second adjective, both of which occur in the absolute form (71)-(72).

- (71) *makin* *lamao* *no* *nulaih*
 ever.more long.A 3.SG ACT.write.A

makin *ilau?* *tuleih* *no*
 ever.more good.A write.O 3.SG.POSS
 ‘The more s/he writes, the better her/his writing becomes’

- (72) *no* *makin* *kajao*
 3.SG ever.more rich.A

makin *sumbau*
 ever.more arrogant.A
 ‘The richer s/he gets, the more arrogant s/he becomes’

6.5.5 Superlatives with *palin* and *ta-*

The superlative construction implies that one entity has the highest degree of a quality denoted by the adjective as compared to other bearers of the same quality in a given context or frame of reference. A superlative is formed either by *palin* + ADJ ‘the most ADJ’ with an oblique root (73)-(74), or by the prefix *ta-* + ADJ ‘the most ADJ’ with an absolute root (75). Although the latter occurs in PT, it is presumably borrowed from Malay; the former construction is preferred. *Palin* is also more productive than the prefix *ta-* since it can be combined with any adjective. The prefix *ta-* cannot precede a

number of adjectives, such as *bahajea* ‘dangerous’, *səna* ‘happy’, *buheu?* ‘ugly’ etc. (76)-(77).

- (73) *itoh lah palin ilou? kaae*
 itoh PART SUPL good.O clothes.A
 ‘Those were the best clothes’
 [fc4.175]
- (74) *...ineh sajou ηə palin tiŋgei s̄arat*
 ...ineh vegetable REL SUPL high.O fiber
 ‘This is vegetable that has the highest amount of fiber’
 [fc6.026]
- (75) *kudo no ta-cəpa?*
 horse.O 3.SG.POSS SUPL.fast.A
 ‘Her/his horse was the fastest’
- (76) *gunun kincai ηə*
 mountain.O kerinci.A REL

*palin bahajo (*ta-bahajea)*
 SUPL dangerous.O
 ‘Kerinci mountain is the most dangerous’
- (77) *no ηə palin kəreh (*ta-kəraeh) kapalo*
 3.SG REL SUPL hard.O head.O
 ‘S/he is the most stubborn person’

6.5.6 Excessives with *ka-OBL*

The circumfix *ka-OBL* occurs with a small number of adjectives to indicate that the quality denoted by the adjectival root is excessive (Table 6.4). This derivational morphology only appears in the oblique form.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ It corresponds with the Malay circumfix *ke...an*; the oblique form in PT replaces the earlier suffix **-an* (also section 5.5).

Root	Derivational form
<i>baŋuaʔ/baŋoʔ</i> ‘many/much’	<i>kabaŋoʔ</i> ‘too many/too much’
<i>bəruaʔ/bərot</i> ‘heavy’	<i>kabərot</i> ‘too heavy’
<i>gədua/gədon</i> ‘big’	<i>kagədon</i> ‘too big’
<i>maha/mahan</i> ‘expensive’	<i>kamahan</i> ‘too expensive’
<i>manaih/maneih</i> ‘sweet’	<i>kamaneih</i> ‘too sweet’
<i>panya/panyan</i> ‘long’	<i>kapanyan</i> ‘too long’

Table 6.4. *ka-OBL*

The circumfix *ka-OBL* construction can appear predicatively (78). It also functions as a predicate within a relative clause (79).

- (78) *kupei ineh ka-maneih*
 coffee.O ineh too-sweet.O
 ‘This coffee is too sweet’

- (79) *umoh ηə ka-mahan*
 house.O REL too-expensive.O

itoh ijuəʔ lakau
 itoh NEG marketable.A
 ‘The house which is too expensive is unmarketable’

6.6 Reduplication of adjectives

This section addresses reduplication of adjectives: bare adjective reduplication (6.6.1) and reduplication with *ka-OBL* (6.6.2).

6.6.1 Bare reduplication

Reduplication of adjectives expresses plurality with implied variety of the quality expressed by the reduplicated adjective (80). Non-reduplicated adjectives, by contrast, mark unspecifiedness of number/variety (81). Both constituents occur in the absolute form.

- (80) *ladon uha rijo patai luwaeh-luwaeh*
 field.O people.A rio.O patai.A RED-wide.A
 ‘The fields of the Rio Patai people are wide’

- (81) *ladon uha rijo patai luwaeh*
 field.O people.A rio.O patai.A wide.A
 1. 'The field of the Rio Patai people is wide' [all share one field]
 2. 'The fields of the Rio Patai people are wide' [they have an unspecified number of fields]

A reduplicated adjective can occur predicatively (82) or attributively (83)-(84), in which case it adjacently follows the head noun or relative clause.

- (82) *ano? esteem jahua?-jahua?*
 child.O STM RED-criminal.A
 'STM students are immoral'
- (83) *gunoi alauh-alauh itoh kaan*
 gunny.A RED-soft.A itoh clothes.A
 'Soft gunnies were the clothes' [Lit.]
 'We wore gunny rags'
- (84) *ano? ηə jahua?-jahua? itoh*
 child.O REL RED-criminal.A itoh
- di-taŋkat pulisi*
 PASS-arrest.O police
 'The kids who were immoral were arrested by the police'

As part of a predicate, reduplicated adjectives can function adverbially. Both constituents of the reduplication occur in the absolute form (85)-(86).

- (85) *no ba-jalua koah-koah*
 3.SG VBLZ-road.A RED-fast.A
 'S/he walks fast'
- (86) *dijea ba-kicae? lamba?-lamba?*
 3.SG VBLZ-speech.A RED-slow.A
 'S/he speaks slowly'

6.6.2 Reduplication with *ka-* + OBL

6.6.2.1 with adjectives

The prefix *ka-* with a reduplicated adjectival root expresses that agent acts as if s/he has the quality denoted by the adjective, whereas in reality this is not the case. The derived reduplicated forms can only occur as oblique (Table 6.5).

Root	Reduplication form
<i>batinao/batino</i> ‘female’	<i>kabatino-tino</i> ‘to act feminine’
<i>jantua/janton</i> ‘male’	<i>kajanton-janton</i> ‘to act masculine’
<i>ilau?/ilou?</i> ‘good, attractive’	<i>kailou?-ilou?</i> ‘to act pretty’
<i>manjo</i> ‘spoiled’	<i>kamanjo-manjo</i> ‘to act spoiled’
<i>mudea/mudo</i> ‘young’	<i>kamudo-mudo</i> ‘to act young’
<i>ubea/ubo</i> ‘dumb’	<i>kaubo-ubo</i> ‘to act dumb’

Table 6.5. *ka-* + reduplicated adjectives

Ka- + OBL typically functions as a predicate (87)–(88). Besides, it also functions as a predicate within a relative clause. The relative clause, then, attributively modifies the head noun *gadih* ‘girl’ and *nantan* ‘grandfather’ respectively (89)–(90).

- (87) *no ka-ilou?-ilou?*
3.SG ADJ-RED-good.O
‘S/he is acting [as if s/he is] pretty’
- (88) *nantan itoh ka-mudo-mudo*
grandfather.O itoh ADJ-RED-young.O
‘That old man acts young’
- (89) *gadih ηə ka-ilou?-ilou? itoh naηaih*
girl.O REL ADJ-RED-good.O itoh ACT.cry.A
‘The girl who is acting [as if she is] pretty is crying’
- (90) *nantan ηə ka-mudo-mudo*
grandfather.O REL ADJ-RED-young.O
- itoh gatua*
itoh flirt.A
‘The old man who acts young flirts’

6.6.2.2 with color adjectives

A reduplicated color adjective in combination with the prefix *ka-* expresses the reduced presence or intensity of a color (Table 6.6). Note that not all colors can occur in this construction (**kalabu-labu* ‘grayish’, **kabiru-biru* ‘bluish’).

Root	Reduplication form
<i>abua/abon</i> ‘red’	<i>kaabon-abon</i> ‘reddish’
<i>iyua/ijo</i> ‘green’	<i>kaijo-ijo</i> ‘greenish’
<i>ita/itan</i> ‘black’	<i>kaita-itan</i> ‘blackish’
<i>kunan/kunin</i> ‘yellow’	<i>kakunin-kunin</i> ‘yellowish’
<i>putaih/puteih</i> ‘white’	<i>kaputeih-puteih</i> ‘whitish’

Table 6.6. *ka-* + reduplicated color adjectives

The resulting forms can be used predicatively (91). In (92), *ka-* + OBL is a predicate within the relative clause. The relative clause is an attribute that modifies the head noun *daun* ‘leaf’. In both cases, they can only occur in the oblique form. Note that *kaita-itan* ‘blackish’ is exceptional; the first adjective occurs in the absolute form and the second in the oblique form (93).

- (91) *baju no ka-kunin-kunin*
 shirt.O 3.SG.POSS ADJ-RED-yellow.O
 ‘Her/his shirt is yellowish’

- (92) *daun ηə ka-ijo-ijo*
 leaf.O REL ADJ-RED-green.O

itoh di-pətei? no
 itoh PASS-pick.O 3.SG
 ‘The leaf which is greenish was pick by her/him’

- (93) *kuwalei ka-ita-itan itoh kumauh*
 frypan.O ADJ-RED-black.A/O itoh dirty.A
 ‘That blackish fry pan is dirty’

6.6.2.3 with nouns

The prefix *ka-* in combination with a reduplicated noun yields an adjective denoting behavior in a way typical for the referent of the noun (Table 6.7).

Root	Reduplication form
<i>anɲaeʔ/anɲeʔ</i> 'dog'	<i>kaanɲeʔ-anɲeʔ</i> 'to act dog-like'
<i>binatua/binaton</i> 'animal'	<i>kabinaton-naton</i> ⁸¹ 'to act animal-like'
<i>indauʔ/indouʔ</i> 'mother'	<i>kaindouʔ-indouʔ</i> 'to act motherly'
<i>minanɲ</i> 'minangkabau'	<i>kaminanɲ-minanɲ</i> 'to act Minangkabau-ish' ⁸²

Table 6.7. *ka-* + reduplicated nouns

This form can function as a predicate (94)–(95). It is also a predicate within a relative clause (96). In both cases, only the oblique form is used.

- (94) *no ka-minanɲ-minanɲ*
 3.SG ADJ-RED-Minangkabau
 'S/he acts Minangkabau-ish'
- (95) *paranɲ no ka-anɲeʔ-anɲeʔ*
 behavior.O 3.SG.POSS ADJ-RED-dog.O
 'S/he behaves dog-like'
- (96) *nantan nɲə ka-minanɲ-minanɲ*
 grandfather.O REL ADJ-RED-Minangkabau
- itoh tideu inei*
 itoh sleep.A here
 'The Minangkabau-ish old man slept here'

⁸¹ Note that only the last two syllables are reduplicated.

⁸² In this context, it means using a Minangkabau-like intonation or lexicon.