Summary of PhD thesis

Phrasal alternation in Kerinci

ERNANDA

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PhD in Linguistics
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INTRODUCTION
The thesis summarized here is a description of the Pondok Tinggi dialect of Kerinci, an Austronesian language of Indonesia. The name Kerinci refers to a broad Malayic dialect continuum spoken in the Kerinci area of Sumatra, whereas Pondok Tinggi (henceforth, PT) refers to the specific dialect described in this thesis. The monograph focuses on the characteristics and distribution of its most salient grammatical phenomenon: phrasal alternation.

Phrasal alternation is so called because most words in PT exhibit an absolute (henceforth, A) and oblique form (henceforth, O), which differ in the shape of their final-syllable rime; their distinction is conditioned by the position of a word within a phrase.

The terms absolute and oblique were introduced by Steinhauer and Usman (1978) and had been taken over by later researchers working on Kerinci varieties (Prentice and Usman 1978; Mckinnon 2011; Ernanda 2011, 2015, 2016). The forms have also been called Pausal and Non-Pausal (Van Reijn 1974) and

1 This summary was derived from my thesis that can be found at: http://www.lotpublications.nl/phrasal-alternation-in-kerinci and https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/en/research/research-output/humanities/phrasal-alternation-in-kerinci.

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Bentuk I and Bentuk II (Usman 1988). I use the terms absolute and oblique as this is presently the most common way to refer to these forms.

It should be pointed out from the onset that the terms “absolute” and “oblique” are used in a different sense from what can be found cross-linguistically in the wider typological literature (Comrie 1989; Payne 1997; Song 2012; Dixon 2012). To avoid confusion, I underscore that the terms absolute and oblique in this thesis refer to the phenomenon of phrasal alternation specific to the Kerinci language. In other words, I am applying these labels in a purely language-specific sense. To quote Croft (2001: 312): “All grammatical constructions are language-specific; the names used for constructions in particular languages are arbitrary from a theoretical point of view.” This thesis draws upon naturalistic and elicited data. For the first category, I recorded casual conversations among two or more speakers, including narrative data. Elicitation was conducted through semi-structured interviews with questions prepared in advance. During these interviews, I occasionally asked follow-up questions which were not prepared beforehand to assess the responses of my informants.

All data were recorded using a Zoom H4N device and videotaped with a Sony digital camera. The recordings and videos were transcribed by me, using Elan software. Toolbox was used to gloss the transcriptions. Afterwards, I translated the sentences into English.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Central to this description – and indeed the grammar – of Pondok Tinggi is the unique process of phrasal alternation. As mentioned previously, most words exhibit two forms, termed “absolute” and “oblique”, which differ in the shape of their final-syllable rime (Table 1). Examples in PT are written in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PT Absolute</th>
<th>Malay</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>matao</td>
<td>mata</td>
<td>‘eye’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahai</td>
<td>hari</td>
<td>‘day’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baheu</td>
<td>baru</td>
<td>‘new’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Absolute and Oblique forms.

In combination with the absolute and oblique alternation, PT exhibits a second phonological process which determines the shape of final rimes. The presence of a non-prenasalized voiced obstruent (/b/, /d/, /g/ or /ɟ/) also affects the final rime of a root (Table 2). In this thesis, words containing such a voiced obstruent are called G-words, whereas those that do not are called

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2 In the words of Matthew Dryer: “[…] the choice of labels is entirely one of convenience, and ultimately questions of what label to use are terminological” (1997: 123).
Ernanda, Phrasal alternation in Kerinci

K-words.3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rime</th>
<th>Example K-word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Example G-word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Table 2. Syllable rimes in K-words and G-words.

Cumulatively, the shape of PT words involves four parameters: the absolute form, oblique form, K-class and G-class, all triggering distinct final-syllable rimes. The absolute and oblique alternation occurs on a phrasal level, whereas the phenomenon of G/K-words is morphophonological.

I will first examine the general patterns and rules of phrasal alternation. The absolute form is used with generic and neutral reference (non-specified). The oblique form is used when the speech participants share contextual information about what is being discussed. The oblique form has a restricted referent, whereas the absolute form does not. The restricting specification occurs on a phrasal level. For instance, in active constructions the referent of the oblique verb is restricted by a patient, whereas in passive constructions the referent of the verb is restricted by an agent. In a noun phrase, the referent of the oblique head noun is restricted by a modifier (namely an adjective, a possessor, a demonstrative). Such restricted specifications can be expressed overtly, but also omitted when clear from the context.

Before summarizing the patterns of alternation which form the backbone of this thesis, I should first briefly call attention to words that do not display regular phrasal alternation. These non-alternating words include adverbs, function words, some relatively recent loanwords, some words combined with affixes, personal pronouns, inalienable words and historically petrified words. Non-alternating words are not marked with "A" or "O". All other word groups do alternate.

Furthermore, a limited number of lexical items can occur either in the absolute or the oblique form in the same environments without a change of meaning. I have termed words belonging to this class “words in free variation”.

Chapter 2 outlines the phonology of PT, discussing the phonemes of the language – consonants, vowels, and diphthongs – their distribution, minimal pairs, and other phonological phenomena.

Chapter 3 introduces the two patterns of alternation in PT: phrasal alternation and G/K-words, also discussing the effects of prefixation on word shape.

Chapter 4 describes the personal pronouns: their forms, functions, and position. It also calls attention to possessive constructions, kinship terms, and alternative expressions to refer to the speech participants.

Chapter 5 focuses on the nominal construction. In this domain, the absolute

3 These terms were first used by Prentice and Usman (1978).
form is the default form for nouns standing on their own within a phrase (1). When the referent of the noun in question is restricted by the presence of a possessor overtly expressed or otherwise recoverable from the context, the noun occurs in the oblique form (2).

(1)  \textit{kuce\textasciitilde? (\textit{kuce\textasciitilde?)}}
\begin{itemize}
  \item \text{cat.A}
  \begin{itemize}
    \item ‘A cat’
    \item ‘Cats’
  \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

(2)  \textit{kuce\textasciitilde? (\textit{kuce\textasciitilde?)}}
\begin{itemize}
  \item \text{cat.O}
  \begin{itemize}
    \item ‘[Her/his/their/our/my/your/the] cat’
  \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

Phrasal alternation determines whether a construction is considered a phrase or a clause. The oblique form of a head noun marks a noun phrase (3), whereas absolute head nouns occur phrase-finally and can constitute a clause together with an adjective (4).

(3)  \textit{kuce\textasciitilde? \textit{kurauh}}
\begin{itemize}
  \item \text{cat.O skinny.A}
  \begin{itemize}
    \item ‘A skinny cat’
  \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

(4)  \textit{kucae\textasciitilde? \textit{kurauh}}
\begin{itemize}
  \item \text{cat.A skinny.A}
  \begin{itemize}
    \item ‘It is a cat that is skinny’
    \item ‘Cats are skinny’
  \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

Within the “Core Structure” – the basic element of a noun phrase – PT exhibits the following basic word order: head noun > adjective > possessor. This canonical order cannot be intervened by other elements. Categories outside the CS (namely NUMP, PP, and RC)\textsuperscript{4} do not trigger the oblique form of the final element inside the CS. Relative positions of prepositional phrases and relative clauses are interchangeable; PP can precede or follow RC with no requirement of adjacency. Table 3 depicts the distribution of the phrasal alternation in the nominal domain.

\textsuperscript{4} For abbreviation of these terms see the list of abbreviation at the end of the paper.
Most deviations from the standard pattern outlined here have been observed in the area of compounds, for instance in the example text below *anaʔ naeʔ* (child.A small.A) ‘little child’, *uha batino* (human.A female.O) ‘woman’. Local constructional specifications seem crucial to account for why the expected alternations do not surface in certain constructions. Further research is necessary to determine the various types of compounds and associated alternation patterns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environment</th>
<th>Absolute</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Default form</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrase–non-final position in CS</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrase–final position in CS</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrase–final position in CS (with specifying entity restricting the referent of the NP in question)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominalization</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Replacing the function of the historical suffix <em>-an</em></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Phrasal alternation in nouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environment</th>
<th>Absolute</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Default form</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrase–non-final position</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrase–final position</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative degrees</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø-comparative</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labih X ‘more X’</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuran X ‘less X’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sama X ‘equally X’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa- X ‘as X as’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta- X ‘the most X’</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palin X ‘the most X’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADJ + <em>pa</em> ‘really’</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intensifying degree over time (<em>makin</em>)</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preceded by adverbs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maliwaʔ ‘too’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saŋaʔ ‘very’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bukon maae ‘remarkably’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bijeh ‘very’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talampo ‘too’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka- + reduplicated noun or adjective roots</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Phrasal alternation in adjectives.
Chapter 6 examines adjectival constructions, which can function as attributes, predicates, and adverbs. The absolute-oblique alternation of adjectives is roughly similar to that of nouns, since adjectives are also part of the Core Structure. Here, too, the position of the adjective within a phrase determines its alternation (Table 4).

Chapter 7 discusses numeral constructions. Numeral constructions – encompassing numeral units, (optional) classifiers, and partitives – also exhibit absolute-oblique alternation. Like nouns and adjectives, the use of phrasal alternation determines whether a construction of an NP combined with a numeral constitutes a phrase or a clause. The position of the quantified element in relation to the numeral/classifier is not fixed and can both precede and follow it. The numeral/classifier does not have to appear adjacently to the head noun and may “float” anywhere in the construction. Table 5 displays the distribution of the phrasal alternation in numeral constructions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environment</th>
<th>Absolute</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Default form (not followed by other numerals or elements)</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numeral used as a noun or quantifier</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrase–final position</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrase–non-final position</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With the prefix ka- in collective numerals</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With the prefix ka- in ordinal numerals</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With the prefix ba- in collective numerals</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. Phrasal alternation in numerals.

Chapter 8 examines the verbal domain, where the outcome of phrasal alternation is determined by the specific construction. Oblique active forms must take an object argument (5). Oblique forms can also occur in the phrase-final position (6), indicating that the referent of the verb is restricted by a covert object which is identifiable from the context. Absolute forms in phrase-final position cannot take an object and treat any following segment as an adjunct (7).

(5) ɲo manja`t dindon
     3 ACT.climb.O wall.A
     ‘S/he climbed a wall’

(6) ɲo manja`t
     3 ACT.climb.O
     ‘S/he climbed [it]’
Ernanda, *Phrasal alternation in Kerinci*

(7) `no manya? tapei gunea`
3 ACT.climb.A edge.O mountain.A
‘S/he climbed at the side of the mountain

Similarly, passives formed by the prefix *di-* take the oblique form when the verb is restricted by an overt agent (8) or covert agent (9). When the agent is irrelevant, the prefix *di-* takes an absolute root (10). An absolute NP directly following an absolute *di-*passive functions as a patient affected by the action expressed by the verb (11). Note that in the latter case, the same elements can also constitute a polite imperative.

(8) *di-gigit anjae?*
PASS-bite.O dog.A
‘[He/she/it] was bitten by a dog’

(9) *akau di-gigit*
1.SG PASS-bite.O
‘I was bitten by [it]’

(10) *akau di-gigoi?*
1.SG PASS-bite.A
‘I was bitten’

(11) *di-gigoi? anjae?*
PASS-bite.A dog.A
1. ‘A dog was bitten’
2. ‘Please, bite a dog!’

In active, passive, and other constructions, the alternation is determined by syntactic factors, specifically whether the verb is followed by an object or a complement. Table 6 presents an overview of the conditions triggering absolute and/or oblique forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environment</th>
<th>Absolute</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Active</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No object argument</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clausal complement</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overt nominal object directly following the verb</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Covert nominal object identifiable from the context</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 9 discusses the derived verb constructions. Verbs can be derived from the prefixes *maN-, N-, pa-, ba-, ta- and ka-. Derivational processes do not only occur with verbal roots, but also with other roots.

Three general types of derived verb constructions can be distinguished with regard to the use of the absolute and oblique alternation. The first type exhibits the regular absolute-oblique alternation. The second type consists of frozen oblique forms reflecting the historical suffix *-an. Since this derivational process has taken place on a morphological level, these petrified forms do not alternate on a syntactic level. The third type is compounds, namely prefixed verb forms with an additional element, which do not show the regular absolute-oblique alternation. Oblique-absolute or absolute-oblique compound constructions are both attested and prefixation does not affect the absolute-oblique alternation of these compound forms.

Demonstratives typically trigger the oblique form of the preceding element if they are part of the same noun phrase and if the preceding element is mono-morphemic. The demonstrative triggers the absolute form in three environments: 1) when the demonstrative is used as a pragmatic marker, 2) when it functions as an independent pronoun, and 3) when it is preceded by a complex attribute in the shape of a derivation, a relative clause or also an expression indicating a possessor. These constructions ‘block’ the rule that elements preceding a demonstrative must occur in the oblique form, which is true for regular mono-morphemic roots.

To sum up, the oblique form in the Pondok Tinggi dialect of Kerinci is used when its referent is restricted by a patient in active constructions, by an agent in passive constructions, or by a modifier (namely an adjective, an overt or covert possessor or a demonstrative) in nominal constructions. It is typically used when the speech participants share contextual information about what is being discussed. The absolute form is used with generic and neutral or non-specified reference.

Table 6. Phrasal alternation in verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environment</th>
<th>Absolute</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canonical passive (P1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unspecified agent</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overt agent directly following the verb</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Covert agent identifiable from the context</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>di</em>-Verb + <em>wot</em></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive type 2 (P2)</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Imperative
  \footnote{Imperative constructions with *mo* ‘don’t’ and *mahae* ‘let’s’ behave like regular verbs in declarative clauses.} | ✓        | -       |
Syntactic adjacency is another determining factor. Syntactically, elements that are in a closer position to each other tend to trigger the oblique form of the first element, whereas the elements that are more peripheral tend to yield the absolute form.

Typologically speaking, the phenomenon of phrasal alternation in Kerinci differs in significant ways from the so-called ”construct state” in Hebrew, Arabic, etcetera. Oppositions between construct and absolute states in these languages are chiefly morphological, although there might be phonological implications resulting from changes in stress patterns. In Kerinci, however, the opposition was primarily phonological in nature and presumably related to the language’s tendency of phrase-final stress, in which absolute forms reflect phrase-final and hence stressed words and oblique forms reflect phrase-non-final and hence non-stressed words. The opposition eventually became semantic, so that the oblique form can now occur phrase-finally in combination with an implied restricting specification.

This thesis is only a first step to understanding the phenomenon of phrasal alternation, as there are great differences between Kerinci dialects, as shown throughout the thesis (compare Steinhauer and Usman 1978; Prentice and Usman 1978; Usman 1988; Steinhauer 2002; Mckinnon 2011; Mckinnon et al. 2012 inter alia).

It should be kept in mind that there are numerous exceptions across grammatical domains to the general patterns discussed above. Throughout the chapters of this thesis, due attention is given to these exceptions.

**Abbreviations**

2 The second person  
3 The third person  
A Absolute form  
ACT Active marker  
ADJ Adjective  
CLF Classifier  
CS Core Structure  
G Words with non-prenasalized voiced obstruents  
INT Interjection  
K Words without non-prenasalized voiced obstruents  
M Male  
NEG Negator  
NMLZ Nominalizer  
NP Noun Phrase  
NUMP Numeral Phrase  
o Oblique form  
P1 Passive construction type 1 with di- prefix
The Pear / Avocado Story

The *Pear Story* is a wordless short film produced by Wallace Chafe (1980). It is about a man picking pears and a boy with a bike who steals a basket of pears. The boy falls from the bike, after which other boys come and help him. This film was designed to be understood universally, without cultural information, in order to elicit linguistic data. Note, however, that my participant understood the fruit, pear, as *pukat* ‘avocado’ – a Malay loanword – since pears are uncommon in the PT area. The consultant was a 68-year old female speaker.

(1) adea s-uha patani adea no ba-ladon pukat
exist.A one-CLF farmer exist.A 3 STAT-field.O avocado
‘There is a farmer. He has a field filled with avocado trees’.

(2) di ladon no toh adea baton pukat
in field.O 3 that exist.A stem.O avocado
‘In his field there are avocado trees’.

(3) lubua? na uwoh no
abundant.A really fruit.O 3
‘The avocados are really abundant’.

(4) jadi di-koleih no pukat neh lah patau? diambi?
so PASS-look.O 3 avocado this already should.A PASS-take.O
‘He watches the avocados that are ready to be picked’.
Ernanda, *Phrasal alternation in Kerinci*, 801

(5) \[\text{di } \text{ sahingo } \text{ no } \text{lalau } \text{ ka } \text{ ladon } \text{ no}\]
so \(\text{so.that} \) \(3\) \(\text{go.A} \) \(\text{to} \) \(\text{field.o} \) \(3\)
\(\text{ŋambei? } \text{uwoh } \text{ pukat } \text{ toh } \text{tadeh}\)
\(\text{ACT.take.o} \) \(\text{fruit.o} \) \(\text{avocado} \) \(\text{that} \) \(\text{just.now}\)

‘He goes to his field to pick the avocados’.

(6) \[\text{di-uwea } \text{ no } \text{ uncan } \text{ kaae } \text{ jadi } \text{ tampe}\]
\(\text{pass-bring.A} \) \(3\) \(\text{purse.o} \) \(\text{clothes.o} \) \(\text{become.o} \) \(\text{place.o}\)
\(\text{uwoh } \text{ pukat } \text{ no } \text{ toh}\)
\(\text{fruit.o} \) \(\text{avocado} \) \(3\) \(\text{that}\)

‘He brings a cloth purse as a place to put his avocados’.

(7) \[\text{haa } \text{jadi } \text{ lasuŋ } \text{ no } \text{ ŋambei? } \text{uwoh } \text{ pukat } \text{ no } \text{ toh}\]
\(\text{int} \) \(\text{so} \) \(\text{direct} \) \(3\) \(\text{ACT.take.o} \) \(\text{fruit.o} \) \(\text{avocado} \) \(3\) \(\text{that}\)

‘Yeah … so, he directly picks his avocados’.

(8) \[\text{di-tamauɁ } \text{ no } \text{ asuɁ } \text{ karanyaj } \text{ no } \text{ di-uwea } \text{ no } \text{ tadeh}\]
\(\text{pass-put.into} \) \(3\) \(\text{into.o} \) \(\text{basket} \)
\(\text{rel} \) \(\text{pass-bring.A} \) \(3\) \(\text{just.now}\)

‘[They] were put into a basket by him, which was brought by him’.

(9) \[\text{karanyaj } \text{ toh } \text{ ta-kapaɁ } \text{ awoh } \text{ baton } \text{ pukat } \text{ toh}\]
\(\text{basket} \) \(\text{that} \) \(\text{perf-place below.o} \) \(\text{stem.o} \) \(\text{avocado} \) \(\text{that}\)

‘The baskets are placed below the avocado trees’.

(10) \[\text{haa } \text{ namauɁ } \text{ suɁ } \text{ karanyaj, } \text{ haa } \text{ toh } \text{ no } \text{ namauɁ}\]
\(\text{int} \) \(\text{act.put.into} \) \(\text{into.o} \) \(\text{basket} \)
\(\text{int} \) \(\text{that} \) \(3\) \(\text{act.put.into}\)

‘Yeah … putting [them] into the basket, yeah… he puts [them] into [it]’.

(11) \[\text{haa } \text{ adea } \text{ ŋə } \text{ gateuh } \text{s-uwuah } \text{ tadeh}\]
\(\text{int} \) \(\text{exist.A} \) \(\text{rel} \) \(\text{fall.A} \) \(\text{one-CLF.A} \) \(\text{just.now}\)

‘Yeah … there was one that dropped just now’.

(12) \[\text{di-ambiɁ } \text{ no } \text{ pam-balut } \text{ lijei } \text{ no}\]
\(\text{pass-take.o} \) \(3\) \(\text{NMLZ-bandage.o} \) \(\text{neck.o} \) \(3\)

‘He takes his bandana’.

(13) \[\text{di-lap } \text{ no } \text{ anau, } \text{ uwoh } \text{ pukat } \text{ toh } \text{ tadeh}\]
\(\text{PASS-polish} \) \(3\) \(\text{thingy.A} \) \(\text{fruit.o} \) \(\text{avocado} \) \(\text{that} \) \(\text{just.now}\)

‘He wipes, uhm, the avocados’.

(14) \[\text{adi } \text{ pam-balut } \text{ lijei } \text{ toh } \text{ di-pasa } \text{ uha } \text{ toh } \text{ aliɁ}\]
\(\text{so} \) \(\text{NMLZ-bandage.o} \) \(\text{neck.o} \) \(\text{that} \) \(\text{PASS-put.on} \) \(3.M\) \(\text{back.o}\)

‘So, that bandana was put back on by him’.
(15) laŋsuŋ pulao uha toh manja?
direct too 3.M act.climb.A
ali? kateh aton pukat toh tadeh
back.Ø up stem.Ø avocado that just.now
'That person goes back to climb up the tree directly'.

(16) haa yadi uha toh tibea ateh umpun pukat
INT so 3.M arrive.A above cluster.Ø avocado
'Yeah ... so he is on the top of the avocado tree'.

(17) adea uha nəmpauh, muwao kambae?
exist.A people.A act.pass.A act.bring goat.A
'There is a guy passing by with a goat'.

(18) ŋihit kambae?
act.drag.Ø goat.A
'Dragging a goat'.

(19) nəmpauh awoh umpun pukat uha toh dokot
act.pass.A below.Ø cluster.Ø avocado 3.M close.Ø
karanyan pukat tadeh, muwao kambae?
basket avocado just.now act.bring goat.A
'He passes underneath the avocado tree, next to the avocado basket, dragging along a goat'.

(20) haa uha uwao kambe?
INT people.A act.bring goat.O
neh ba-jalua tərauh
this vBLZ-road.A continuous
'Yeah ... the person with the goat keeps walking'.

(21) idia uha toh əntai
NEG 3.M stop.A
'That person does not stop'.

(22) uha toh tərauh uha toh ŋihit kambe? toh
'He keeps dragging along that goat'.

(23) yadi uha ineh tərauh ŋambei? uwoh pukat toh
so 3.M continuous act.take.Ø fruit.Ø avocado that
'So, he keeps picking the avocados'.

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(24) namau? asu? anau tadeh, tampe?
ACT.put.into into.O thingy.A just.now place.O
put toh tadeh
avocado that just.now
‘Putting [them] into, uhm, the avocado place’.

(25) jadi tarauh yambei? itoh, pukat toh
so continuous ACT.take.O that avocado that
‘So, [he] keeps picking those, the avocados’.

(26) haa nampauh lah ana? nae? ba-sapeda
INT ACT.pass.A PART child.A small.A STAT-bike
‘Yeah … a small kid on a bike is going past’.

(27) uha ineh tarauh gea ambe? pukat
3.M continuous also take.O avocado
‘He keeps picking the avocados’.

(28) idia uha toh yima? k-awoh
NEG 3.M ACT.see.A downward.O
‘He does not look down’.

(29) ana? nae? neh nampauh tuyu tampe?
child.A small.A this ACT.pass.A to place.O
karayan pukat toh tadeh
basket.O avocado that just.now
‘This small kid comes to the avocado baskets’.

(30) haa jadi ana? nae? nampauh itoh
INT so child.A small.A ACT.pass.A there
‘Yeah … so, the small kid passes by’.

(31) yimo? karanyar pukat. Adea
ACT.see.O basket avocado exist.A
tadeh ta-kapa? anta itoh
just.now PERF-place.A at that
‘[He] looks at the basket of avocados. It was there just now’.

(32) tuhan no dari ateh sapeda no toh
go.down.A 3 from above bike 3 that
‘He gets off his bike’.
(33) tuhan dateh səpeda toh. Laysun ɲo
go.down.A from bike that direct 3
ŋəbuah səpeda ɲo tadeh
ACT.collapse bike 3 just.now
‘Getting off the bike. He puts his bike down’.

(34) laysun ŋəbuah səpeda ɲo
direct ACT.collapse bike 3
ŋimaʔ-ŋimaʔ kateh umpun pukat toh
ACT.red-see.A up cluster.O avocado that
‘[He] directly puts the bike down. He keeps looking at the avocado trees’.

(35) apo adea uha tuwan pukat
what exist.A people.A master.O avocado
ŋimoʔ ɲo apo iduaʔ
ACT.see.O 3 what NEG
‘To check whether the person who owns the avocados sees him or not’.

(36) kiro uha tuwan pukat
apparently people.A master.O avocado
neh idiaŋimoʔ ɲo
this NEG ACT.see.O 3
‘Apparently, the person who owns the avocados does not see him’.

(37) laysun ɲo ŋaŋkat karanɟaŋ pukat neh tadeh,
direct 3 ACT.lift.O basket avocado this just.now
taʔ keʔ uko səpeda neh tadeh
place.A in front.O bike this just.now
‘Directly he lifts the avocado basket, puts [it] in front of this bike’.

(38) haa laysun ɲo ŋaŋkat səpeda ɲo
INT direct 3 ACT.lift.O bike 3
‘Yeah … directly he picks up his bike’.

(39) ŋaŋkat səpeda ɲo toh
ACT.lift.O bike 3 that
‘[He] picks up his bike’.

(40) naaeʔ ɲo kateh səpeda ɲo
go.up.A up bike 3
‘He gets on his bike’.
(41) haa di-ajkot no karanyaŋ pukat toh. di-tua?
INT pass-lift.o 3 basket avocado that pass-place
no ke? uko sapeda no toh
3 in front.o bike 3 that
‘Yeah … he lifts the avocado basket. He places it in front of his bike’.

(42) di tampe? ke? uko ateh
at place.o in front.o above
basi ke? uko sapeda
iron.o in front.o bike
‘In front of, on a [tool made of] iron, in front of the bike’.

(43) haa no laŋsuŋ muwao pukat toh lahai
INT 3 direct act.bring avocado that run.a
‘Yeah … he directly takes the avocados away’.

(44) uha tuwan pukat tadeh
people.a master.o avocado just.now
idia gea yoleih tadeh
NEG also act.look.o just.now
‘The person who owns the avocados does not see him’.

(45) haa laŋsuŋ muwao lahai
INT direct act.bring run.a
‘Yeah … he directly takes [them] away’.

(46) jadi tibea ke? jala. jalon
so arrive.a at road.a road.o
toh kura, bagua? bateu
that bad.a many.a stone.a
‘So, on the road. That road is terrible, full of stones’.

(47) haa jadi adea uha batino
INT so exist.a people.a female.o
‘Yeah … so, there is a girl’.

(48) arah dari ke? uko no nəmpauh
direction from in front.o 3 act.pass.a
muwao sapeda ugea
act.bring bike also
‘Coming from the opposite direction where he passes, on her bike as well’.
Ernanda

(49) haa tibea di tempe? no toh hoo
INT arrive.A at place.O 3 that PART
‘Yeah … [he] arrives at his place’.

(50) haa kiroɲo ta-langa bateu, sapeda
INT apparently perf-bump stone.A bike
‘Apparently, the bike accidentally hits a rock’.

(51) di jateuh pukat toh k-awoh.
so fall.A avocado that downward.O
Ba-cihe pukat toh
vblz-scattered avocado that
‘So, those avocados fall down. Those avocados scattered’.

(52) no ta-jateuh, ta-guloi, ta-mpaeh palo
‘He accidentally fell, toppled, [and had his] head smacked down’.

(53) sapeda no toh ta-ɟuŋkon
bike 3 that perf-flip.over
‘His bike turns upside down accidentally’.

(54) haa jadi no jusou?-jusou? kakei tadeh
INT so 3 act.red-rub.O leg.O just.now
‘Yeah … so, he bruises his legs at many places’.

(55) lah sakaiʔ?. Lah ta-rasao sakaiʔ?
already ill.A already perf-feel.A ill.A
di-anu no kaus no k-awoh
pass-thingy.O 3 sock 3 downward.O
‘It hurts. The pain can be felt. He, uhm, his socks down’.

(56) haa di-apih no kakei no
INT pass-brush.O 3 leg.O 3
‘Yeah … he bruises his legs’.

(57) haa suduah itoh tibea ana? pulao
INT already.A that arrive.A child.A too
ba-tigea yuse no ba-tigea yuse no
stat-three.A to 3 stat-three.A to 3
‘Yeah … after that, kids arrive in a group of three approaching him’.
Ernanda, Phrasal alternation in Kerinci

(58) s-uha toh nulun ṱapeiŋ-ŋapeiŋ
one-clf that act.help.o act.red-brush.o
abeu di ṱo tadeh
dust.a on 3 just.now
‘One of them helps him to brush off all the dust’.

(59) ŋə ba-duwea nulun ɣanou pukat
rel stat-two.o act.help.o act.thingy.o avocado
‘[The kids] in a group of two help him to, uhm, the avocados’.

(60) haa toh lah, ba-tigea toh lah
int that already stat-three.a that already
samao nulun ɣuraih pukat, namauɁ
follow act.help.o act.manage.o avocado act.put.into
pukat ṱo suʔ karanyaj
avocado 3 into.o basket
‘[The kids] in a group of three help him to pick up the avocados and put them into the basket’.

(61) ṱo nاغ⁶ uha 3 act.erect bike 3
‘He picks up his bike’.

(62) haa uha ŋə s-uha, adea muwao
int people.a rel one-clf exist.a bring
pa-ŋapeiʔ, maae bulu anau toh, maae
nmlz-beat.o play.a feather.a thingy.a that play.a
apo batmin apo toh tanis meja deh
what badmin what that tennis table just.now
‘Yeah … one kid brings a racket for playing feather… uhm, playing what? Badmin…⁶ what is that, table tennis’.

(63) haa antah apo tanah, antah apo bateu
int perhaps what soil.o perhaps what stone.o
antah, di-tapeiʔ-tapeiʔ ṱo nitoh
perhaps pass-red-beat.o 3 like.that
‘Yeah … either the soil or stones were beaten repeatedly by him like that’.

(64) haa suduah uha ineh nulun ṱo
int already.a 3.m act.help.o 3
‘They helped him’.

⁶ Batmin is an unfinished word. The speaker wanted to say “badminton” but hesitated.
(65) uha tigea neh lahai. no lahai
people.A three.A this run.A 3 run.A
pulao muaao pukat toh tadeh
too ACT. bring avocado that just.now
‘The three [kids] go away. He goes away as well with the avocados’.

(66) jadi idua? jaeuh uha ineh ba-jalua, nampa? tudeu
‘Not far away they walk, [they] see a hat’.

(67) haa kiro tudun uha yo
INT apparently hat.O people.A REL
tuwan pukat toh tadeh
master.O avocado that just.now
‘Apparently, it’s the hat of the person who owns the avocados’.

(68) di-ambi? uha ya s-uha, yo
PASS-take.O people.A REL one-CLF REL
bayu ijuu tudun toh
shirt.O green.A hat.O that
‘Someone in a green shirt takes that hat’.

(69) lalau lo yanta bali? ka no
go.A to ACT. deliver back.O to 3
‘Going back towards him [to give his hat]’.

(70) no yo ba-duwea toh nantei? ke? itoh.
3 REL STAT-two.A that ACT. wait.O at that
yo s-uha alo yanta
REL one-CLF go.O ACT. deliver
‘They, [the kids] in a group of two, wait [for him] there. One [kid] gives [his hat]’.

(71) di-agih ka no
PASS-give.O to 3
‘It was given by him to him’.

(72) tibea no, lausuŋ no yona?
arrive.A 3 direct 3 ACT. wear
tudun toh ka kapalo no
hat.O that on head.O 3
‘As for him, he directly wears that hat on his head’.
(73) suduah no ɲəna? tudun toh
already.3 ACT.wear hat.O that
‘He put that hat on’.

(74) no ɲambei? uwoh pukat toh
3 ACT.take.O fruit.O avocado that
magih se uha ineh tigo uwuah
ACT.give.O to 3.M three.O clf.A
‘He takes those avocados, gives him three avocados’.

(75) no ba-jalua lahai. Uha ineh
ba-jalua lahai pulao
vblz-road.A run.A too
‘He walks across. They walk across too’.

(76) tibea ke? kantei no, di-labuh no
arrive.A at friend.O 3 pass-anchoring.O 3
kantei no s-iyi s-uhan pukat toh
friend.O 3 one-clf.O one-clf.O avocado that
‘When he is close to his friends, he gives his friends one avocado for each person’.

(77) haa no ba-jalua lah, samo ba-jalua
INT 3 vblz-road.A part same vblz-road.A
no makan pukat toh, samo ba-jalua
3 eat.O avocado that same vblz-road.A
‘Yeah … they continue walking while eating the avocados’.

(78) haa jadı uha no s-uhu neh,
INT so people.A rel one-clf this
di-ambel? no pa-npe? anau tadeh
pass-take.O 3 nmlz-beat.O thingy.A just.now
‘Yeah … so, this one person, he takes the racket uhm just now’.

(79) haa nukun ɲuse pukat no.
INT ACT.hit.O to avocado 3
mukaʔ? pukat, no makan
ACT.open avocado 3 ACT.eat.O
‘Yeah … hitting his avocado. [He] peels the avocado, he eats it’.
Ernanda, Phrasal alternation in Kerinci

80 (80) haa uha tuwan pukat neh
INT people.A master.O avocado this
tuhan dari tangao tadeh
go.down.A from ladder.A just.now
‘The person who owns the avocados goes down the ladder’.

81 (81) muwao pukat alon uncan
ACT.bring avocado inside pocket.O
‘[He] brings the avocados in [his] purse’.

82 (82) nyimo? tibea awoh, ta-kanya?
ACT.see.O arrive.A below.O PERF-surprised
Pijao karanyaj pukat kau neh
ACT.count.O why basket avocado 1.SG this
tingga s-uwuah agih, s-uwuah kusau
leave.A one-CLF.A still one-CLF.A empty.A
‘He is a bit surprised when he comes back and counts the baskets. Why do I only have one full basket and one empty basket?’

83 (83) ta-pikai manao gi
PERF-think.A where go.O
‘[He] was thinking, where did [the other basket] go?’

84 (84) haa toh lah ta-mənau, toh lah dudeu?
INT that already PERF-ponder.A that already sit.A
ke? tanggo toh tadeh, ta-mənau, mikei
on ladder.O that just.now PERF-ponder.A ACT.think.O
‘Yeah … [he] ponders, sits on the ladder, broods about [the missing basket]’.

85 (85) nəmpauh lah uha ṣo makan pukat
ACT.pass.A part people.A REL eat.O avocado
tadeh, ba-tigea, ke? uko uha itoh
‘[Some people] pass by in a group of three, eating avocados in front of him’.

86 (86) ta-ləŋua woa uha toh leih. Idia uha toh nuwe?
‘[He] is stunned, looking at them. He does not ask [questions]’.

87 (87) manao ikao ambii? pukat, idia uha toh nuwe?.
where 2.PL take.O avocado neg 3.M ACT.ask
Uha toh ba-ləŋua woa uha toh leih
‘“Where did you get the avocados?” He does not ask. He is just stunned looking at them’.
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Ernanda, Phrasal alternation in Kerinci

(88) haa ḗadi uha toh lah ḗaeuh

INT so 3.M already far.A

‘Yeah … so, they are already far away’.

(89) haa ḗго itoh

INT until.O that

‘Yeah … that’s it’.

REFERENCES


