Summary of PhD thesis¹

Phrasal alternation in Kerinci

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PhD Public Examination, 23 May 2017
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.² 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).

PT		Malay	Gloss
Absolute	Oblique		
<i>matao</i>	<i>mato</i>	<i>mata</i>	‘eye’
<i>ahai</i>	<i>ahei</i>	<i>hari</i>	‘day’
<i>baheu</i>	<i>bahu</i>	<i>baru</i>	‘new’

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 /ʝ/) 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

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).

K-words.³

Rime	Example K-word	Gloss	Example G-word	Gloss
*ah	<i>tanah.A/ tanoh.O</i>	'soil'	<i>muduah.A/ mudoh.O</i>	'easy'
*i	<i>kupai.A/ kupei.O</i>	'coffee'	<i>bəloi.A/ bəli.O</i>	'to buy'
*u	<i>kajau.A/ kajou.O</i>	'wood'	<i>bateu.A/ batu.O</i>	'stone'

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) *kucae?* (**kuce?*)

cat.A

1. 'A cat'

2. 'Cats'

- (2) *kuce?* (**kucae?*)

cat.O

'[Her/his/their/our/my/your/the] cat'

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) *kuce?* *kurauh*

cat.O skinny.A

'A skinny cat'

- (4) *kucae?* *kurauh*

cat.A skinny.A

1. 'It is a cat that is skinny'

2. 'Cats are skinny'

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)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.

⁴ For abbreviation of these terms see the list of abbreviation at the end of the paper.

Environment	Absolute	Oblique
Default form	√	-
Phrase-non-final position in CS	-	√
Phrase-final position in CS	√	√
Phrase-final position in CS (with specifying entity restricting the referent of the NP in question)	-	√
Nominalization	-	√
Replacing the function of the historical suffix <i>*-an</i>	-	√

Table 3. Phrasal alternation in nouns.

Most deviations from the standard pattern outlined here have been observed in the area of compounds, for instance in the example text below *ana? nae?* (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.

Environment		Absolute	Oblique
Default form		√	-
Phrase-non-final position		-	√
Phrase-final position		√	√
Comparative degrees	ø-comparative	√	-
	<i>lɛbih</i> X ‘more X’	√	-
	<i>kuran</i> X ‘less X’	-	√
	<i>sama</i> X ‘equally X’	-	√
	<i>sa-</i> X ‘as X as’	-	√
	<i>ta-</i> X ‘the most X’	√	-
	<i>palin</i> X ‘the most X’	-	√
ADJ + <i>ja</i> ‘really’		√	-
Intensifying degree over time (<i>makin</i>)		√	-
Preceded by adverbs	<i>maliwa?</i> ‘too’	-	√
	<i>saŋa?</i> ‘very’		
	<i>bukon maae</i> ‘remarkably’		
	<i>bijeh</i> ‘very’		
	<i>talampo</i> ‘too’		
<i>ka-</i> + reduplicated noun or adjective roots		-	√

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.

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

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) *no manjat dindon*
3 ACT.climb.O wall.A
'S/he climbed a wall'

- (6) *no manjat*
3 ACT.climb.O
'S/he climbed [it]'

- (7) *no manja? 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.

Environment		Absolute	Oblique
Active	No object argument	√	-
	Clausal complement	-	√
	Overt nominal object directly following the verb	-	√
	Covert nominal object identifiable from the context	-	√

Environment		Absolute	Oblique
Canonical passive (P1)	Unspecified agent	√	-
	Overt agent directly following the verb	-	√
	Covert agent identifiable from the context	-	√
	<i>di</i> -Verb + <i>wot</i>	√	√
Passive type 2 (P2)		√	-
Intransitive		√	-
Imperative ⁵		√	-

Table 6. Phrasal alternation in verbs.

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.

⁵ 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

P2	Passive construction type 2 with verb root
PASS	Passive marker
PART	Particle
PERF	Perfective marker
PL	Plural
PP	Prepositional Phrase
PT	Pondok Tinggi
RC	Relative Clause
RED	Reduplication
REL	Relative marker
SG	Singular
STAT	Stative
VLZ	Verbalizer

APPENDIX

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 pətani adea jno 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 jno toh adea baton pukat*
 in field.O 3 that exist.A stem.O avocado
 'In his field there are avocado trees'.

- (3) *ləbua? ja uwoh jno*
 abundant.A really fruit.O 3
 'The avocados are really abundant'.

- (4) *jadi di-kəleih jno pukat neh lah patau? di-ambi?*
 so PASS-look.O 3 avocado this already should.A PASS-take.O
 'He watches the avocados that are ready to be picked'.

- (5) *di sahingo jo lalau ka ladon jo*
 so so.that 3 go.A to field.O 3
ŋambeĩ? uwoh pukat toh tadeh
 ACT.take.O fruit.O avocado that just.now
 'He goes to his field to pick the avocados'.
- (6) *di-uwea jo uncan kaae jadi tampe?*
 PASS-bring.A 3 purse.O clothes.A become.O place.O
uwoh pukat jo toh
 fruit.O avocado 3 that
 'He brings a cloth purse as a place to put his avocados'.
- (7) *haa jadi laysuy jo ŋambeĩ? uwoh pukat jo toh*
 INT so direct 3 ACT.take.O fruit.O avocado 3 that
 'Yeah ... so, he directly picks his avocados'.
- (8) *di-tamau? jo asu? karanyaj ŋə di-uwea jo tadeh*
 PASS-put.into 3 into.O basket REL PASS-bring.A 3 just.now
 '[They] were put into a basket by him, which was brought by him'.
- (9) *karanyaj toh ta-kapa? awoh baton pukat toh*
 basket that PERF-place below.O stem.O avocado that
 'The baskets are placed below the avocado trees'.
- (10) *haa namau? su? karanyaj, haa toh jo namau?*
 INT ACT.put.into into.O basket INT that 3 ACT.put.into
 'Yeah ... putting [them] into the basket, yeah... he puts [them] into [it]'.
- (11) *haa adea ŋə jateuh s-uwuah tadeh*
 INT exist.A REL fall.A one-CLF.A just.now
 'Yeah ... there was one that dropped just now'.
- (12) *di-ambi? jo pam-balut lijei jo*
 PASS-take.O 3 NMLZ-bandage.O neck.O 3
 'He takes his bandana'.
- (13) *di-lap jo anau, uwoh pukat toh tadeh*
 PASS-polish 3 thingy.A fruit.O avocado that just.now
 'He wipes, uhm, the avocados'.
- (14) *adi pam-balut lijei toh di-pasa uha toh ali?*
 so NMLZ-bandage.O neck.O that PASS-put.on 3.M back.O
 'So, that bandana was put back on by him'.

- (15) *laysuy pulao uha toh manya?*
 direct too 3.M ACT.climb.A
ali? kateh aton pukat toh tadeh
 back.O up stem.O avocado that just.now
 'That person goes back to climb up the tree directly'.
- (16) *haa jadi uha toh tibea ateh umpun pukat*
 INT so 3.M arrive.A above cluster.O avocado
 'Yeah ... so he is on the top of the avocado tree'.
- (17) *adea uha nāmpauh, 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.O goat.A
 'Dragging a goat'.
- (19) *nāmpauh awoh umpun pukat uha toh dəkot*
 ACT.pass.A below.O cluster.O avocado 3.M close.O
karanyaj 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*
 3.M continuous 3.M ACT.drag.O goat.O that
 'He keeps dragging along that goat'.
- (23) *jadi uha ineh tərauh ŋambe? uwoh pukat toh*
 so 3.M continuous ACT.take.O fruit.O avocado that
 'So, he keeps picking the avocados'.

- (24) *namau? asu? anau tadeh, təmpe?*
 ACT.put.into into.O thingy.A just.now place.O
pukat toh tadeh
 avocado that just.now
 'Putting [them] into, uhm, the avocado place'.
- (25) *jadi tərəuh ŋambeɪ? itoh, pukat toh*
 so continuous ACT.take.O that avocado that
 'So, [he] keeps picking those, the avocados'.
- (26) *haa nəmpauh lah ana? nae? ba-səpeda*
 INT ACT.pass.A PART child.A small.A STAT-bike
 'Yeah ... a small kid on a bike is going past'.
- (27) *uha ineh tərəuh gea ambei? pukat*
 3.M continuous also take.O avocado
 'He keeps picking the avocados'.
- (28) *idia uha toh ŋima? k-awoh*
 NEG 3.M ACT.see.A downward.O
 'He does not look down'.
- (29) *ana? nae? neh nəmpauh tuju təmpe?*
 child.A small.A this ACT.pass.A to place.O
karanyan pukat toh tadeh
 basket.O avocado that just.now
 'This small kid comes to the avocado baskets'.
- (30) *haa jadi ana? nae? nəmpauh itou*
 INT so child.A small.A ACT.pass.A there
 'Yeah ... so, the small kid passes by'.
- (31) *ŋimo? karanyan pukat. Adea*
 ACT.see.O basket avocado exist.A
tadeh ta-kapa? ənta itoh
 just.now PERF-place.A at that
 '[He] looks at the basket of avocados. It was there just now'.
- (32) *tuhan ŋo dari ateh səpeda ŋo toh*
 go.down.A 3 from above bike 3 that
 'He gets off his bike'.

- (33) *tuhan dateh səpeda toh. Laysun jo*
 go.down.A from bike that direct 3
ḡəbuah səpeda jo tadeh
 ACT.collapse bike 3 just.now
 'Getting off the bike. He puts his bike down'.
- (34) *laysun ḡəbuah səpeda. jo*
 direct ACT.collapse bike 3
ḡima?-ḡima? 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
ḡimo? jo apo idua?
 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 idia ḡimo? jo
 this NEG ACT.see.O 3
 'Apparently, the person who owns the avocados does not see him'.
- (37) *laysun jo ḡaykat karanyay pukat neh tadeh,*
 direct 3 ACT.lift.O basket avocado this just.now
ta? ke? 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 jo ḡaykat səpeda jo*
 INT direct 3 ACT.lift.O bike 3
 'Yeah ... directly he picks up his bike'.
- (39) *ḡaykat səpeda jo toh*
 ACT.lift.O bike 3 that
 '[He] picks up his bike'.
- (40) *naae? jo kateh səpeda jo*
 go.up.A 3 up bike 3
 'He gets on his bike'.

- (41) *haa di-aykot jo karanyaj pukat toh di-tua?*
 INT PASS-lift.O 3 basket avocado that PASS-place
jo ke? uko səpeda jo toh
 3 in front.O bike 3 that

'Yeah ... he lifts the avocado basket. He places it in front of his bike'.

- (42) *di təmpe? ke? uko ateh*
 at place.O in front.O above
basi ke? uko səpeda
 iron.O in front.O bike

'In front of, on a [tool made of] iron, in front of the bike'.

- (43) *haa jo laysuj 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 n̄leih tadeh
 NEG also ACT.look.O just.now

'The person who owns the avocados does not see him'.

- (45) *haa laysuj muwao lahai*
 INT direct ACT.bring run.A

'Yeah ... [he] directly takes [them] away'.

- (46) *jadi tibeā ke? jalua. jalon*
 so arrive.A at road.A road.O
toh kura, banyua? 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 jo n̄mpauh*
 direction from in front.O 3 ACT.pass.A
muwao səpeda ugea
 ACT.bring bike also

'Coming from the opposite direction where he passes, on her bike as well'.

- (49) *haa tibeā di təmpe? jno toh hoo*
 INT arrive.A at place.O 3 that PART
 'Yeah ... [he] arrives at his place'.
- (50) *haa kirojno ta-layga 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) *jno ta-jateuh, ta-guloi, ta-əmpaeh palo*
 3 PERF-fall.A PERF-roll.on.A PERF-smash.A head.O
 'He accidentally fell, toppled, [and had his] head smacked down'.
- (53) *sapeda jno toh ta-junjon*
 bike 3 that PERF-flip.over
 'His bike turns upside down accidentally'.
- (54) *haa jadi jno ŋusou?-ŋusou? kakei tadeh*
 INT so 3 ACT.RED-rub.O leg.O just.now
 'Yeah ... so, he bruises his legs at many places'.
- (55) *lah sakai?. Lah ta-rasao sakai?.*
 already ill.A already PERF-feel.A ill.A
di-anu jno kaus jno 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 jno kakei jno*
 INT PASS-brush.O 3 leg.O 3
 'Yeah ... he bruises his legs'.
- (57) *haa suduah itoh tibeā ana? pulao*
 INT already.A that arrive.A child.A too
ba-tigea ŋuse jno ba-tigea ŋuse jno
 STAT-three.A to 3 STAT-three.A to 3
 'Yeah ... after that, kids arrive in a group of three approaching him'.

- (58) *s-uha* *toh* *nulun* *ŋəpeih-ŋəpeih*
 one-CLF that ACT.help.O ACT.RED-brush.O
abeu *di* *ŋo* *tadeh*
 dust.A on 3 just.now
 'One of them helps him to brush off all the dust'.
- (59) *ŋə* *ba-duwea* *nulun* *ŋanou* *pukat*
 REL STAT-two.A 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* *ŋuraih* *pukat,* *namau?*
 follow ACT.help.O ACT.manage.O avocado ACT.put.into
pukat *ŋo* *su?* *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) *ŋo* *nəgua?* *səpeda* *ŋo*
 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-nəpei? *maae* *bulu* *anau* *toh,* *maae*
 NMLZ-beat.O play.A feather.O thingy.A that play.A
apo *batmin* *apo* *toh* *tənis* *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* *əntah* *apo* *tanah,* *əntah* *apo* *bateu*
 INT perhaps what soil.A perhaps what stone.A
əntah, *di-təpei?-təpei?* *ŋo* *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* *ŋo*
 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 jo lahai*
 people.A three.A this run.A 3 run.A
pulao muwao 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*
 so NEG far.A 3.M VBLZ-road.A ACT.appear hat.A

'Not far away they walk, [they] see a hat'.

- (67) *haa kiro tudun uha ηə*
 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 ηə s-uha, ηə*
 PASS-take.O people.A REL one-CLF REL
baju ijua tudun toh
 shirt.O green.A hat.O that

'Someone in a green shirt takes that hat'.

- (69) *lalau lo ηanta bali? ka jo*
 go.A to ACT.deliver back.O to 3

'Going back towards him [to give his hat]'.

- (70) *jo ηə ba-duwea toh nantei? ke? itoh.*
 3 REL STAT-two.A that ACT.wait.O at that
ηə s-uha alo ηanta
 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 jo*
 PASS-give.O to 3

'It was given by him to him'.

- (72) *tibea jo, laysuj jo ηəna?*
 arrive.A 3 direct 3 ACT.wear
tudun toh ka kapalo jo
 hat.O that on head.O 3

'As for him, he directly wears that hat on his head'.

- (73) *suduah jno ɲəna? tudun toh*
 already.A 3 ACT.wear hat.O that
 'He put that hat on'.
- (74) *jno ɲambeɪ? 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) *jno ba-jalua lahai. Uha ineh*
 3 VBLZ-road.A run.A 3.M
ba-jalua lahai pulao
 VBLZ-road.A run.A too
 'He walks across. They walk across too'.
- (76) *tibea ke? kantei jno, di-labuh jno*
 arrive.A at friend.O 3 PASS-anchoring.O 3
kantei jno s-iji 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 jno ba-jalua lah, samo ba-jalua*
 INT 3 VBLZ-road.A PART same VBLZ-road.A
jno 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 jadi uha ɲə s-uha neh,*
 INT so people.A REL one-CLF this
di-ambei? jno pa-nəpei? 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 jno.*
 INT ACT.hit.O to avocado 3
muka? pukat, jno makan
 ACT.open avocado 3 ACT.eat.O
 'Yeah ... hitting his avocado. [He] peels the avocado, he eats it'.

- (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) *muwao pukat alon uncan*
 ACT.bring avocado inside pocket.O
 '[He] brings the avocados in [his] purse'.
- (82) *gimo? tibe awoh, ta-kanja?*
 ACT.see.O arrive.A below.O PERF-surprised
gitun. Pijao karanyaj pukat kau neh
 ACT.count.O why basket avocado 1.SG this
tinga 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) *ta-pikai manao gi*
 PERF-think.A where go.O
 '[He] was thinking, where did [the other basket] go?'
- (84) *haa toh lah ta-mənu, toh lah dudeu?*
 INT that already PERF-ponder.A that already sit.A
ke? tango toh tadeh, ta-mənu, 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) *nəmpauh lah uha ŋə makan pukat*
 ACT.pass.A PART people.A REL eat.O avocado
tadeh, ba-tigea, ke? uko uha itoh
 just.now STAT-three.A in front.O 3.M
 '[Some people] pass by in a group of three, eating avocados in front of him'.
- (86) *ta-lajua woa uha toh leih. Idia uha toh nuwe?*
 PERF-stun.A only 3.M look.O NEG 3.M ACT.ask
 '[He] is stunned, looking at them. He does not ask [questions]'.
- (87) *manao ikao ambi? pukat, idia uha toh nuwe?*
 where 2.PL take.O avocado neg 3.M ACT.ask
Uha toh ba-lajua woa uha toh leih
 3.M VBLZ-stun.A only 3.M look.O
 '“Where did you get the avocados?” He does not ask. He is just stunned looking at them'.

- (88) *haa* *jadi* *uha toh* *lah* *jaeuh*
 INT so 3.M already far.A
 ‘Yeah ... so, they are already far away’.
- (89) *haa* *ngo* *itoh*
 INT until.O that
 ‘Yeah ... that’s it’.

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