

KERINCI SOUND-CHANGES AND PHONOTACTICS

D.J. PRENTICE and A. HAKIM USMAN

1. INTRODUCTION

In his *Critical Survey of Studies on the Languages of Sumatra*, Voorhoeve (1955:17) wrote "I do not know any publication on the dialect of Kerinchi". He went on to say (p.18) that he was unable to determine "whether it is a strongly Malay-icised language with an originally non-Malay core, or whether it is simply a Malay dialect". Although several short articles have since appeared on Kerinci (see the bibliography), there is still no reliable description of any aspect of the language, to say nothing of grammars or dictionaries. Nor has the question posed by Voorhoeve yet been satisfactorily answered. It is therefore the hope of the authors that this paper¹ will in some degree remedy these deficiencies by demonstrating that Kerinci, at least from the lexicostatistical viewpoint, is in fact a dialect of Malay, and by documenting the sound changes and re-alignment of phonemes which obscure the closeness of its relationship with that language.

Kerinci² is the name of the highest mountain in Western Indonesia, of a large lake which lies at its base, and of the mountainous region of western central Sumatra (part of Jambi province) where these are located. It is also the name of the people who live there and of their language, which exists in several regional variants, differing mostly in phonology. The dialect represented in this paper is that of Sungai Penuh (in Kerinci, *sungè pëndòh*), which is the cultural and commercial capital of the Kerinci region. It is the mother-tongue of one of the authors, A. Hakim Usman of the Institut Keguruan dan Ilmu Pengetahuan, Padang (Western Sumatra).

External linguistic influence comes mainly through Minangkabau (used as a trade language) and Indonesian (the variant of standard Malay which

forms Indonesia's official language and which is used in the Kerinci region as educational medium at all levels). Many Kerinci speakers are therefore trilingual in Kerinci, Minangkabau and Indonesian. Kerinci was formerly written in one of the 'rencong' scripts (see Voorhoeve 1955:17-18, and plate between pp.40 and 41) and Jaspan (1964:11) until about 150 years ago, when it began to be written in the 'Jawi' script, that is the Arabic alphabet as modified for writing Malay.

The phonemes of Kerinci are shown in Table I below:

TABLE I
Kerinci Phonemes³

CONSONANTS (C)					
		+ obstruent		- obstruent	
		+ voiced (G)	- voiced (K)	+ nasal (N)	- nasal (H)
bilabial		b	p	m	w, (f)
dental-alveolar		d	t	n	s, z
palatal		j	c	ɲ	y, r, i
velar & glottal		g	k, q	ŋ	h, (x)
VOWELS & DIPHTHONGS (V)					
front	central	back			
i		u			
e		o	ey	ow, ew	
ɛ	ə	ɔ	ɔy	ɛw	
	a		ay	aw	

The phonemes f and x occur only in loanwords, and are often replaced by p and h or k respectively. As in Malay,⁴ the original allophonic status of k and q (in which q occurred word-finally, and k elsewhere) has been disrupted by the influence of foreign borrowings. Although it is still possible to maintain that k and q are sub-phonemic in both Kerinci and Malay, it appears simpler to treat these segments as separate phonemes for the purposes of this study. The phonemes of Malay are identical to those of Kerinci, with the following exceptions: a) Malay has two additional consonant phonemes, v and ʒ, which occur only

in loanwords; b) the vowels e and ε are analysed in Malay as allophones of the phoneme e; similarly, o and ɔ are allophones of o; c) Malay has only three diphthongs, viz. aw, ay and oy/uy, of which the last is extremely rare.

The following orthographic conventions will be followed in the remainder of this paper when citing Kerinci or Malay words:

1. the consonants ñ, ŋ, x, ʒ are written ny, ng, kh, sy respectively;
2. the glottal stop is written q throughout (in Malay it is usually written as k, except intervocalically, where it is either unwritten or indicated by an apostrophe);
3. the Kerinci vowels e, ε, ə, o, ɔ are written e, è, ě, o, ò respectively, while the Malay vowels e, ə, o are written e, ě, o (e and ə are usually undifferentiated in Malay orthography, both being represented as e);
4. the glides w and y as members of diphthongs are so spelt throughout (in Malay they are spelt u and i respectively, a convention which obscures the distinction between diphthongs aw and ay, each constituting a single syllable nucleus, and vowel-sequences au and ai, each constituting two syllable nuclei); the Kerinci diphthong ɔy is spelt oy (not òy), since there exists no *oy-ɔy opposition.⁵

2. LEXICOSTATISTICS

A lexicostatistical comparison of Malay and Kerinci based on the Swadesh list of 200 items (see below) yielded a minimum percentage of shared vocabulary of 79.8 and a maximum percentage of 86.2. Furthermore, a study of 500 Kerinci words chosen at random from a corpus of about 4000 showed that about 96.5% of them (i.e. all but 18) had discoverable cognates either in Standard Malay or in at least one non-standard Malay dialect, although the cognates did not of course always have the same meaning or range of meaning. It therefore seems indisputable, at least as far as the lexicon is concerned, that Kerinci is a Malay dialect. However, the phonological changes to be described in the following pages are of such a striking nature, and, in combination with other changes such as the loss of all suffixes, have had such far-reaching effects on the Kerinci sound-system and morphology that mutual intelligibility with any known Malay dialect seems to be out of the question. It is of course possible that future research will reveal the existence of a chain of mutual intelligibility linking the Kerinci

dialects with the 'true' Malay dialects (e.g. via Minangkabau, to which the above remarks also apply in a lesser degree). Such a discovery would enable linguists of both the 'lexicon' and 'mutual intelligibility' schools to agree in classifying Kerinci and Minangkabau as dialects of Malay. For the moment, however, they must remain border-line cases in the 'language versus dialect' dispute. It is not our intention to contribute to this dispute; nor do we wish to abuse the tolerance of the English language (or the patience of the reader) by constantly using some elaborately neutral periphrasis as 'lexically Malay-based language' or 'non-mutually intelligible Malay dialect' when referring to Kerinci or Minangkabau. We therefore use the simpler phrase 'Malay dialect' to stand for both circumlocutions.

In the lexicostatistical list which follows, the following signs are used: '+' to indicate that the words compared are cognate, '-' to indicate that they are not, 'o' to indicate that no comparison could be made, owing to lack of information. The sign '±' is used a) to show that cognacy is doubtful, as in the case of Malay (Mly.) *tidaq*, Kerinci (Kr.) *ideq* 'not'; and b) in cases where a choice is available between a cognate and a non-cognate, as in Mly. *bėnih/biji*, Kr. *bėneh* 'seed'. Such cases are counted twice, once as positive and once as negative, thus yielding the maximum-minimum percentages referred to above. Cases where both languages display a choice, and where the alternatives are cognate with each other, are counted as single positive comparisons. An example is Mly. *sėjuq/dingin*, Kr. *sėjewq/dingoy* 'cold'.

Swadesh List (200 items)

English	Malay	Kerinci		English	Malay	Kerinci	
<i>all</i>	<i>sėmua</i>	<i>sadow</i>	-	<i>belly</i>	<i>pėrut</i>	<i>pėhawq</i>	+
<i>and</i>	<i>dan</i>	<i>dan</i>	+	<i>big</i>	<i>bėsar</i>	<i>gėdeng</i>	-
<i>animal</i>	<i>binatang</i>	<i>binateng</i>	+	<i>bird</i>	<i>burung</i>	<i>burewng</i>	+
<i>ashes</i>	<i>abu</i>	<i>abėw</i>	+	<i>bite</i>	<i>gigit</i>	<i>gigoyq</i>	+
<i>at</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>di</i>	+	<i>black</i>	<i>hitam</i>	<i>itang</i>	+
<i>back</i>	<i>bėlakang/ punggung</i>	<i>punggong</i>	±	<i>blood</i>	<i>darah</i>	<i>daheh</i>	+
<i>bad</i>	<i>jahat</i>	<i>jaheq</i>	+	<i>blow</i>	<i>tiup</i>	<i>tiawq</i>	+
<i>bark</i>	<i>kulit</i>	<i>kulayq</i>	+	<i>bone</i>	<i>tulang</i>	<i>tulang</i>	+
<i>because</i>	<i>sebab/ karėna</i>	<i>sėbeq</i>	±	<i>breathe</i>	<i>napas</i>	<i>napėh</i>	+
				<i>burn</i>	<i>nyala/ bakar</i>	<i>panggang</i>	-

English	Malay	Kerinci		English	Malay	Kerinci	
<i>child</i>	anaq	anaq	+	<i>foot</i>	kaki	kakay	+
<i>cloud</i>	awan	awang	+	<i>four</i>	ěmpat	(ě)mpaq	+
<i>cold</i>	sějuq/ dingin	sějewq/ dingoyñ	+	<i>freeze</i>	-	-	o
<i>come</i>	datang	dateng	+	<i>fruit</i>	buah	bueh	+
<i>count</i>	hitung	itòng	+	<i>give</i>	běri	běhoy	+
<i>cut</i>	potong	putòng	+	<i>good</i>	baiq	baeyq/ ilòq	±
<i>day</i>	hari	ahay	+	<i>grass</i>	rumpit	umpawq	+
<i>die</i>	mati	matay	+	<i>green</i>	hijaw	ije	+
<i>dig</i>	gali	kalay	-	<i>guts</i>	tali pěrut	-	o
<i>dirty</i>	kotor	kumòh	-	<i>hair</i>	rambut	ambawq	+
<i>dog</i>	anjing	anjeq	+	<i>hand</i>	tangan	tangang	+
<i>drink</i>	minum	minawng	+	<i>he</i>	dia	nyo	-
<i>dry</i>	kěring	kěhayñ	+	<i>head</i>	kěpala	kapalò	+
<i>dull (blunt)</i>	tumpul	tumpòng	+	<i>hear</i>	děngar	děnge	+
<i>dust</i>	abuq	abewq	+	<i>heart</i>	jantung	jantewng	+
<i>ear</i>	tělinga	talingò	+	<i>heavy</i>	běrat	běheq	+
<i>earth</i>	tanah	tanah	+	<i>here</i>	sini	siney	+
<i>eat</i>	makan	makang	+	<i>hit</i>	pukul	tukòng	-
<i>egg</i>	tělur	tělò	+	<i>hold</i>	pěgang	pěgeng	+
<i>eye</i>	mata	matò	+	<i>how</i>	bagaymana	manan	+
<i>fall</i>	jatuh	jatewh	+	<i>hunt</i>	buru	buhěw	+
<i>far</i>	jauh	jaewh	+	<i>husband</i>	suami/ laki	lakay	±
<i>fat</i>	lěmaq	lěmaq	+	<i>I</i>	saya	akaw	-
<i>father</i>	bapaq	bapeq	+	<i>ice</i>	-	-	o
<i>fear</i>	takut	takowq	+	<i>if</i>	kalaw	kalow	+
<i>feather</i>	bulu	bulěw	+	<i>in</i>	(di)dalam	(di)dalòn	+
<i>few</i>	sědikit	dikoyq	+	<i>kill</i>	bunuh	buněh	+
<i>fight</i>	kělahi	buloy/ basakaq	-	<i>know</i>	tahu	taaw	+
<i>fire</i>	api	apay	+	<i>lake</i>	danaw	dane	+
<i>fish</i>	ikan	laòq	-	<i>laugh</i>	tawa	gěleq	-
<i>five</i>	lima	limò	+	<i>leaf</i>	daun	daěwng	+
<i>float</i>	apung/ tĩmbul	tĩmbòng	±	<i>left</i>	kiri	kihay	+
<i>flow</i>	alir	ngilě	-	<i>leg</i>	kaki	kakay	+
<i>flower</i>	bunga	bungě	+	<i>lie</i>	baring	-	o
<i>fly</i>	těrbang	těbeng/ tarbeng	+	<i>live</i>	hidup	iděwq	+
<i>fog</i>	kabut	kaběwq	+	<i>liver</i>	hati	atay	+
				<i>long</i>	panjang	panjang	+

English	Malay	Kerinci		English	Malay	Kerinci	
<i>louse</i>	kutu	kutaw	+	<i>sea</i>	laut	laawq	+
<i>man</i>	laki-laki	janteng	-	<i>see</i>	lihat	kimoq/ kēleyh	-
<i>many</i>	banyaq	banyeq	+	<i>seed</i>	bēnih/ biji	bēneh	±
<i>meat</i>	daging	dagoyñ	+	<i>sew</i>	jahit	jaoyq	+
<i>mother</i>	ibu/ěmaq	indòq	-	<i>sharp</i>	tajam	tajeng	+
<i>mountain</i>	gunung	gunewng	+	<i>short</i>	pendeq	pandaq	-
<i>mouth</i>	mulut	mulawq	+	<i>sing</i>	nyanyi	nyanyi	+
<i>name</i>	nama	namò	+	<i>sit</i>	duduq	dudewq	+
<i>narrow</i>	sěmpit	sěmpayq	+	<i>skin</i>	kulit	kulayq	+
<i>near</i>	děkat	děkeq	+	<i>sky</i>	langit	langayq	+
<i>neck</i>	leher	lie	+	<i>sleep</i>	tidur	tidew	+
<i>new</i>	baru	bahèw	+	<i>small</i>	kěcil	neq	-
<i>night</i>	malam	malang	+	<i>smell</i>	bau	baèwng	+
<i>nose</i>	hidung	idewng	+	<i>smoke</i>	asap	asaq	+
<i>not</i>	tidaq	ideq	±	<i>smooth</i>	licin/ halus	alawh	±
<i>old</i>	tua	tuò	+	<i>snake</i>	ular	ula	+
<i>one</i>	satu	sataw	+	<i>snow</i>	salji	-	o
<i>other</i>	lain	laayn	+	<i>some</i>	běběrapa	-	o
<i>person</i>	orang	uhang	+	<i>spit</i>	ludah	ludeh	+
<i>play</i>	main	maèng	+	<i>split</i>	bělah	běleh	+
<i>pull</i>	tariq	ilò	-	<i>squeeze</i>	pěras	-	o
<i>push</i>	tolaq	tulaq	+	<i>stab</i>	tikam	tikang	+
<i>rain</i>	hujan	ujeng	+	<i>stand</i>	běrdiri	badihoy	+
<i>red</i>	merah	abeng	-	<i>star</i>	bintang	binteng	+
<i>right</i> (opp. <i>wrong</i>)	bětul/ běnar	bětewng/ běne	+	<i>stick</i>	kayu	kayaw	+
<i>right</i> (opp. <i>left</i>)	kanan	kanang	+	<i>stone</i>	batu	batèw	+
<i>river</i>	sungay	sungè	+	<i>straight</i>	lurus	luhawh	+
<i>road</i>	jalan	jaleng	+	<i>suck</i>	(h)isap	isaq	+
<i>root</i>	akar	aka	+	<i>sun</i>	matahari	matoahay	+
<i>rope</i>	tali	talay	+	<i>swell</i>	běngkaq	běngkeq	+
<i>rotten</i>	buruq/ busuq	buhewq/ busewq	+	<i>swim</i>	běrèngang	barèngeng	+
<i>rub</i>	gosoq	-	o	<i>tail</i>	ekor	ikò	+
<i>salt</i>	garam	gaheng	+	<i>that</i>	itu	itoh	+
<i>sand</i>	pasir	pasè/ kēsèq	±	<i>there</i>	sana	iòn	-
<i>say</i>	kata	katò	+	<i>they</i>	měreka	sidě	-
<i>scratch</i>	garuq	-	o	<i>thick</i>	těbal	těbeng	+
				<i>thin</i>	tipis	tipayh	+

English	Malay	Kerinci		English	Malay	Kerinci	
<i>think</i>	pikir	pikè	+	<i>wet</i>	basah	baseh	+
<i>this</i>	ini	inèh	+	<i>what</i>	apa	apo	+
<i>thou</i>	ěngkaw/ kamu	ikò/ (ě)mpòng	-	<i>when</i>	kapan/ bila	-	o
<i>three</i>	tiga	tigě	+	<i>where</i>	di mana	mano	+
<i>throw</i>	lempar/ buang	imbeh/ campaq	-	<i>white</i>	putih	putèh	+
<i>tie</i>	ikat	ikaq/ kěbeq	±	<i>who</i>	siapa	sapo	+
<i>tongue</i>	lidah	lideh	+	<i>wife</i>	istěri/ bini	binoy	±
<i>tooth</i>	gigi	gigoy	+	<i>wind</i>	angin	angayn	+
<i>tree</i>	pohon	kayaw	-	<i>wing</i>	sayap	sayòq	+
<i>turn</i>	beloq	ki lòq	-	<i>wipe</i>	sapu/ hapus	sapaw	±
<i>two</i>	dua	duě	+	<i>with</i>	děngan	děngan	+
<i>vomit</i>	muntah	mutah	+	<i>woman</i>	pěřempuan	batinò	-
<i>walk</i>	jalan	jaleng	+	<i>woods</i>	hutan	utang	-
<i>warm</i>	panas	panèh	+	<i>worm</i>	cacing	cacayn	+
<i>wash</i>	cuci	cucay	+	<i>ye</i>	kamu	-	o
<i>water</i>	air	ayè	+	<i>year</i>	tahun	taawng	+
<i>we</i>	kita/ kami	kitò/ kamay	+	<i>yellow</i>	kuning	kunayn	+

3. SOUND CHANGES AFFECTING INITIAL AND MEDIAL⁶ CONSONANTS

3.1. THE PHONEME h

In Malay this phoneme seems to be in the process of disappearing in both positions. In initial position it has disappeared without trace from a number of words (e.g. ayam 'fowl') but is preserved in others (e.g. hantu 'ghost'). In addition, there are many cases where two forms are current, one with h and one without (e.g. (h)isap 'suck') where the form without h is usually prevalent in Indonesian and the form with h is preserved in Malaysian. In Kerinci, initial h disappears in almost all cases, e.g.:

antaw	'ghost'	(Mly. hantu)
atay	'liver'	(Mly. hati)
idèwq	'live'	(Mly. hidup)
isaq	'suck'	(Mly. (h)isap)
itang	'black'	(Mly. hitam)
ujeng	'rain'	(Mly. hujan)

It is, however, retained in a few borrowed words:

- hargě 'price' (Mly. harga < Sanskrit (Skr.) argha)
 hartò 'goods' (Mly. harta < Skr. artha)
 hilèr 'mechanical ricemill' (< German Hüller [trademark])
 hirang 'surprised' (Mly. heran < Arabic (Ar.) ĥairān 'confused,
 startled')
 hòrmaq 'respect' (Mly. hormat < Ar. ĥurmāt (pl.) 'reverence')

In Malay, h has also disappeared medially when it occurred between unlike vowels (e.g. in tua 'old', bau 'smell'), even though it is often preserved in the spelling (as in bahu 'shoulder', lihat 'see', pahit 'bitter'). Such cases of orthographical h are pronounced only in extremely careful or formal speech, in loanwords (e.g. lahir 'be born' < Ar. zāhir 'visible, external' < zahara 'become visible, emerge'), and in the word Tuhan 'God'. In Kerinci, h is always lost between original unlike vowels (except in loanwords) and often between original identical vowels, e.g.:

- baèw 'shoulder' (Mly. bahu)
 jaoyq 'sew' (Mly. jahit)
 paayq 'bitter' (Mly. pahit)
 taawng 'year' (Mly. tahun)
 taay 'excrement' (Mly. tahi)
 liè 'neck' (Mly. leher)
 paaq 'chisel' (Mly. pahat)
 paò 'thigh' (Mly. paha)

Following are examples of words where h has been retained in Kerinci. They constitute some words in which h was originally flanked by identical vowels, many loanwords and the word for 'God':

- daheng 'branch' (Mly. dahan)⁷
 daheq 'phlegm' (Mly. dahaq)
 jaheq 'bad' (Mly. jahat)
 mahang 'expensive' (Mly. mahal)
 puhòng 'tree-trunk' (Mly. pohon 'tree')
 tahang 'bear, endure' (Mly. tahan)
 lahè 'be born' (Mly. lahir < Ar.; see above)
 rahayn 'womb' (Mly. rahim < Ar. raḥim)
 sahayq 'martyrdom' (Mly. syahid < Ar. shahīd 'witness, martyr')
 sihaq 'healthy' (Mly. sehat < Ar. ṣiḥḥa 'health')
 usahò 'effort' (Mly. usaha < Skr. utsaha 'energy, exertion')
 Tuhang 'God' (Mly. Tuhan)

In summary, therefore, we can say that in initial and medial positions, the regular correspondence is Mly. h = Kr. Ø, and that the correspondence Mly. h = Kr. h occurs only in non-Malay words and in some words where h is (historically) flanked by identical vowels.

3.2. THE PHONEME r

Malay r has two reflexes in Kerinci. In initial position and medially when followed by a consonant, r disappears in some words:

acawng	'poison'	(Mly. racun)
akayq	'raft'	(Mly. rakit)
antayn	'twig'	(Mly. ranting)
ima	'tiger'	(Mly. (ha)rimaw)
umpawq	'grass'	(Mly. rumput)
usò	'sambhur-deer'	(Mly. rusa)
běsoyn	'sneeze'	(Mly. běrsin)
pěgoy	'emigrate'	(Mly. pěrgi 'go')
tějèwng	'plunge, leap (into water)'	(Mly. těrjun)

but is retained as r in other words:

rahayn	'womb'	(Mly. rahim; see above, p.128)
rajě	'king'	(Mly. raja < Skr. rājan)
ratawh	'hundred'	(Mly. ratus)
razěkay	'livelihood'	(Mly. rězěki < Ar. rizq)
rěbeq	'fiddle'	(Mly. rěbab < Ar. rabāb)
rusaq	'damaged'	(Mly. rusaq/rosaq)
barsoyh	'clean'	(Mly. běrsih)
kardey	'stunted'	(Mly. kěrdil)
partamò	'first'	(Mly. pěrtama < Skr. prathama)
tarbeng	'fly' (v)	(Mly. těrbang) ⁸

Likewise, in medial position intervocalically, Mly. r corresponds to Kr. h in some words:

ahay	'day'	(Mly. hari)
jahoy	'finger'	(Mly. jari)
kěhayh	'kris'	(Mly. kěris)
nagěhoy	'country, settlement'	(Mly. nэгěri < Skr. nagarT 'town')
pěhawq	'stomach'	(Mly. pěrut)
sihèh	'betel-leaf'	(Mly. sirih)
suhòh	'command'	(Mly. suruh)

while in other cases it is retained as r:

karamaq 'holy man, saint' (Mly. kĕramat 'holy place (esp. saint's tomb)' < Ar. karāma 'nobility, esteem, favour, miracle (wrought by a saint)')

kariteq 'clove-cigarette' (Mly. k(ĕ)reteq < Javanese (Jv.) krètĕk)

mariang 'cannon' (Mly. mĕriam < ?)

nyarayn 'shrill' (Mly. nyaring)

piraq 'silver' (Mly. peraq)

suarò 'voice' (Mly. suara 'voice, sound' < Skr. svara)

This twofold correspondence with Mly. r can be summarised as follows:

1. Mly. r = Kr. r
2. Mly. r = Kr. $\left[\begin{array}{c} h \\ \emptyset \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} / \text{ V } _ \text{ V } \\ \text{elsewhere} \end{array} \right]$

Two possible explanations for this phenomenon present themselves: either the double correspondence is the result of large-scale borrowing in Kerinci, or it reflects the retention in Kerinci of a historical distinction lost in Malay. Under the first hypothesis, we may surmise that words in which Kerinci has r (hereafter the r-words) are loans, while the other group (the h-words) are inherited words showing the regular correspondence. The second hypothesis suggests that the r-words reflect Proto-Austronesian (PAN) *r, while the h-words reflect PAN *R, both of which have merged as r in Malay. Neither hypothesis, however, seems to be provable or disprovable, although the evidence is weighted more in favour of the first than of the second.

Thus, there is a much higher proportion of non-Malay words in the r-group (59 out of 163, i.e. about 36%) than in the h-group (9 out of 152, i.e. about 6%).⁹ The only certain loan-words in the latter group are (apart from nagĕhoy mentioned above) the following:

ageng 'temper, mood, tantrum' (Mly. ragam 'id., style, pattern' < Tamil (Tam.) irāgam 'tune, musical mode')¹⁰

asò 'feeling' (Mly. rasa < Skr. rasa)¹¹

kahayq 'friendly, intimate' (Mly. karib < Ar. qarīb 'close, near')

kanuhay 'religious feast' (Mly. kĕnduri < Persian (Pers.) kandūrī

'leathern cover for table; napkin; feast held in honour of Fatima')

muhah 'cheap' (Mly. murah < Jv. murah)

pacayò 'believe, trust' (Mly. percaya < Skr. pratyaya)

palahò 'tend, rear (livestock)' (Mly. pĕlihara/piara < Skr.

parigraha 'possession, household, occupation')¹²

On the other hand, there are many words in the r-group which are

difficult to accept as loan-words. These include:

anoq-darě	'bride'	(Mly. (anaq) dara 'maiden')
burewng	'bird'	(Mly. burung)
kurawh	'thin'	(Mly. kurus)
rapaq	'frequent, often'	(Mly. rapat 'dense, close together')
rěbewng	'bamboo-shoots'	(Mly. rěbung)
rěngèh	'tree sp. with irritant sap'	(Mly. rěngas)
sirayq	'fin'	(Mly. sirip)
tarnaq	'livestock'	(Mly. těrnaq)

The only conclusion that can be made with any certainty after testing this hypothesis therefore is that non-Malay words containing *r* almost always retain the *r* when borrowed into Kerinci, which can hardly be termed a revelation!

Preliminary testing of the second hypothesis - that Kr. *h* and *r* reflect the distinction between PAN **R* and **r* - yielded an even less clear-cut result, which will be discussed below. First, however, it should be pointed out that Kerinci is not the only Malay dialect which exhibits a dual correspondence for Malay *r*: the same is true also of the Besemah and Serawai dialects of the Bencoolen and Palembang highlands region as described by Helfrich (1904, 1915, 1921, 1927, 1933) under the somewhat inappropriate name of 'Midden Maleisch'.¹³ Helfrich writes the two sounds concerned in Besemah-Serawai (B/S) as '*r*' and '*gr*', from which may be inferred that the second is some kind of velar or uvular *r* (henceforth referred to as *g*).¹⁴

Both the Kerinci and the B/S reflexes of Malay *r* were compared with PAN **R* and **r*, using as a source Wurm and Wilson (1975), and also with Proto-Malayo-Javanic (PMJ) **R* and **r* as reconstructed by Nothofer (1975). In addition, the Kerinci and B/S reflexes were compared with each other. The time needed to investigate these possible connections in suitable detail has not been available to the authors; furthermore, the reporting of such investigations and their results, including presentation of all the data, would constitute a lengthy study itself and would be only marginally relevant to the aims of this paper. For these reasons, we shall content ourselves with giving a general outline of the results.

Once again, no clear confirmation or denial of the hypothesis has emerged, and the results can only be described in terms of 'tendencies'. Thus we can say that there is a tendency (in approximately 3 out of 4 cases) for Kr. *h* and B/S *g* to reflect PAN and PMJ **R*, and for Kr. and B/S *r* to reflect PAN and PMJ **r*, and that this tendency is stronger in the case of PMJ than in the case of PAN. A switch of viewpoint, however, often produces startling changes in the picture. For example, in

Kerinci there are 21 r-words for which PMJ etyma have been reconstructed, of which 17 (81%) have *r, 2 have *R and the remaining 2 are indeterminate. In other words, four-fifths of Kr. r reflect PMJ *r. But the corollary - that four-fifths of PMJ *r are reflected by Kr. r - is not true: out of 34 PMJ reconstructions with *r which are represented in Kerinci, only 17 (50%) have Kr. r, the remainder having either Kr. h (14 cases) or h-r doublets (3 cases). Table II below shows the relationship between Kr. h and r on the one hand and B/S ɣ, r and ɣ-r doublets on the other, and also the relationship between these various correspondences and the proto-phonemes *R and *r in PAN and PMJ. Thus the leftmost column indicates that 59 examples have been found of a correspondence between Kr. h and B/S ɣ, of which 44 have etyma reconstructed in PAN (24 with *R, 12 with *r and 8 with indeterminate or conflicting reconstructions) and 18 have etyma reconstructed for PMJ (16 with *R, one with *r and one with an indeterminate reconstruction).

TABLE II

Kerinci and Besemah-Serawai Reflexes of PAN and PMJ *R, *r

Kerinci		h				r				Grand
Besemah-Serawai		ɣ	ɣ-r	r	Total	ɣ	ɣ-r	r	Total	Total
No. of examples		59	23	49	131	19	8	106	133	264
total having PAN etyma		44	16	24	84	14	5	38	57	141
PAN	*R	24	7	2	33	2	0	7	9	42
	*R/*r	8	2	6	16	6	1	15	22	38
	*r	12	7	16	35	16	4	16	36	71
total having PMJ etyma		18	8	10	36	3	1	12	16	52
PMJ	*R	16	5	1	22	2	0	0	2	24
	*R/*r	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	2
	*r	1	3	8	12	1	1	12	14	26

3.3. SEQUENCES OF THE CLASS NG

Sequences of this class (i.e. pre-nasalised voiced stops), when occupying a position between the nuclei of the penultimate and

antepenultimate syllables,¹⁵ seem to be unstable in Kerinci. Most frequently the obstruent component is lost, leaving only the nasal. This has occurred inter alia in the following words:

camuhaw 'jealous' (Mly. cǎmburu)
 kanuhay 'religious feast' (Mly. kǎnduri)
 samiang 'pray' (Mly. sǎmbahyang)
 sanawang 'mushroom' (Mly. cǎndawan)
 sangulǒng 'kind of millipede' (Mly. sǎnggulung)
 sanudewq 'Singapore rhododendron' (*Melastoma malabathricum*)
 (Mly. sǎnduduq)
 tangǎlang 'sink, founder' (Mly. tǎnggǎlam)

Less frequently the sequence is left unchanged, as in:

mandadeq 'suddenly' (Mly. mǎndadaq)
 rumbiǎ 'sago palm' (Mly. rumbia/rǎmbia)
 sambileng 'nine' (Mly. sǎmbilan)
 sanjatǒ 'weapon' (Mly. sǎnjata)

while in the following cases the nasal component is lost:

kabiroy 'castrate' (Mly. kǎmbiri)
 sabaheng 'any, random' (Mly. sǎmbarang(an))
 tabakǎ 'tobacco' (Mly. tǎmbakaw)

3.4. THE SEQUENCE Ns

Although this sequence is usually spelt '-ngs-' in the standard Malay orthography, in practice the place of articulation of the nasal component can lie anywhere within the range dental - velar, depending on dialect and/or idiolect. In Kerinci, three different sound changes are associated with this sequence, viz. (in order of frequency) 1) voicing of s to z; 2) loss of N; and 3) centralisation of preceding a (if any) to ǎ.¹⁶ Where N is retained, it is often realised as dental-alveolar n. Examples follow:

(ǎ)zǒ 'goose' (Mly. angsa)
 bazeq/banzeq 'unruly, badly behaved' (Mly. bangsat 'villain')
 izǎ 'hinge' (Mly. engsel)
 kǎnzǒ 'zinc, tin (for kitchen utensils)' (Mly. kangsa 'brass')
 kuzey 'co-operative venture' (Mly. kongsi 'partnership, syndicate')
 lǎzaq 'langsar' (*Lansium domesticum*) (Mly. langsar)
 pizang 'faint, swoon' (Mly. pengsan/pingsan)
 razawng 'provisions, rations' (Mly. rangsum/ransum)
 sizayn/sinsayn 'roll up (e.g. a sleeve)' (Mly. singsing)
 unsay 'flee, evacuate' (Mly. ungsi)

4. SOUND CHANGES AFFECTING VOWELS IN NON-FINAL SYLLABLES

4.1. THE PHONEMES *e* AND *o*

In common with other West Indonesian languages such as Javanese and Sundanese, almost all Malay dialects have undergone a phonemic split whereby original **i* and **u* are each represented in the modern language by two phonemes: **i* by *i* and *e*, and **u* by *u* and *o*. This change, which seems everywhere to have operated randomly, affecting certain morphemes but not others (see Nothofer 1975:57-62, 67-71), is restricted in Malay to penultimate syllables.¹⁷ Only two dialects are known where it has not taken place, to wit Kerinci and Brunei Malay. In both these dialects Mly. *e* and *o* are always reflected by *i* and *u* respectively, even in the case of loanwords which presumably entered the Malay language after the change was complete (see examples in the lists below). It is also possible, though less likely, that both dialects did originally develop *i/e* and *u/o* distinctions, but subsequently re-merged the resulting phonemes independently.

Examples of the correspondence Kr. *u* = Mly. *o*:

guroyn	'fry'	(Mly. goreng)
kupay	'coffee'	(Mly. kopi < Dutch (Du.) koffie or English (Eng.) coffee)
kusòng	'empty'	(Mly. kosong)
padumeng	'compass'	(Mly. pèdoman < Jv. pandoman)
tungkaq	'walking-stick'	(Mly. tongkat)
uhang	'person'	(Mly. orang)

Examples of the correspondence Kr. *i* = Mly. *e*:

ihayq	'tug, drag'	(Mly. (h)eret)
ikò	'tail'	(Mly. ekor)
liè	'neck'	(Mly. leher)
mije	'table'	(Mly. meja < Portuguese (Port.) mesa)
pizang	'faint, swoon'	(Mly. pengan/pingsan)
sitang	'devil'	(Mly. setan/syaitan < Ar. shaiṭān 'demon')

4.2. THE PHONEME *ě*

In penultimate syllables this vowel is usually preserved as *ě*, as in:

běhewq	'macaque monkey'	(Mly. bėruq)
děkeq	'near'	(Mly. dėkat)
kěbeng	'invulnerable'	(Mly. kėbal)
pěcèq	'splash, sprinkle'	(Mly. pėrciq)
sěmpayq	'narrow'	(Mly. sėmpit)
těntaw	'certain'	(Mly. tėntu)

In word-initial position, however, ě often disappears, although it is optionally retained when followed by N(C):

- beh 'collapse' (Mly. rěbah)
 (ě)mpòng 'you [polite]' (Mly. *ěmpung < ěmpu 'master')¹⁸
 (ě)ndah 'low' (Mly. rěndah)
 haq 'close, tight' (Mly. ěrat)
 mah 'gold' (Mly. (ě)mas)
 (ě)nang 'six' (Mly. ěnam)
 (ě)nèq 'small' (Mly. rěniq 'small, shrubby (of trees)')

In penultimate syllables when followed by rC (or, in rare instances, by sC), and in all pre-penultimate syllables, ě is changed to a. Other Malay dialects exhibiting the same change are Minangkabau (Min.) and Brunei Malay,¹⁹ where, however, the change occurs in all environments:

- barsoyh 'clean' (Mly. běrsih)
 garmeng 'molar teeth' (cf. Min. garaman, Mly. gěr(a)ham)²⁰
 kartèh 'paper' (Mly. kěrtas)
 tarbeng 'fly' (Mly. těrbang)²¹
 tartayq 'orderly, peaceful' (Mly. těrtib)

 masjoyq 'mosque' (Mly. měsjid)

 kaluang 'fruit-bat' (Mly. kěluang)
 sakula 'school' (Mly. sěkolah)
 salěse 'finished, complete' (Mly. sělēsay)
 samantarò 'interim' (Mly. sěměntara)

The sequence -ěr- frequently disappears when ě is in original pre-penultimate position (presumably after r has first undergone the change to h). Examples are:

- banoy 'brave' (Mly. běrani)²²
 bitě 'news' (Mly. běrita)
 Kincay 'Kerinci' (Mly. Kěrinici)
 piòq 'cooking-pot' (Mly. pěriuiq)

The same change also occurs when the -ěr- sequence precedes or straddles a morpheme-boundary, as in:

- bayewq 'copulate' (Kedah (Kdh.) Mly. běr-ayuyq)
 bayey 'damp, moist' (Mly. běr-air 'containing water')
 běntoy 'stop' (Mly. běr-hěnti)
 mayağ 'crawling, creeping' (Mly. mě-rayap)
 puleyh 'acquisition' (Mly. pěr-oleh-an; with loss of suffix)²³
 pumang 'shape, appearance' (Mly. (pě-)roman)
 sumang 'similar in appearance' (Mly. *sě-roman)

Finally, three cases (all loanwords) are known of this change affecting penultimate syllables, in all of which the sequence -*ēr-* follows the consonant *t*:

- patay 'solder' (Mly. patēri < Hindi (Hi.) paṭrT/paṭr̥T 'narrow strip (of wood or metal)')
 putay 'princess' (Mly. putēri 'id., daughter' < Skr. putrT 'daughter')
 sutò 'silk' (Mly. sutēra < Skr. sūtra 'thread, cord')²⁴

4.3. THE PHONEME *a*

In the penultimate syllable of a number of words (almost all of them loanwords, and most of them originating from Arabic), Malay *a* becomes *ě* in Kerinci. The same change has already been mentioned in section 3.4. in connection with the change from -*Ns-* to -(*N*)*z-*. Examples follow:

- bēteng 'cancel' (Mly. batal < Ar. batal 'cut off, sever, settle')
 joy 'haji, one who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca' (Mly. haji < Ar. ḥājj)²⁵
 kěpang 'ship' (Mly. kapal < Tam. kappal)
 nějoh 'filth, ordure' (Mly. najis < Ar. najis 'filthy, dirty')
 pěsò 'compel, force' (Mly. paksa (with loss of -*k-*) < Skr. pakṣa 'opinion, insistence, compulsion')
 sěkaq 'tithes for charity' (Mly. zakat < Ar. zakāh 'alms')
 měcang 'sort, kind' (Mly. macam < Tam. maccam 'sample, specimen, type')

Only four words which cannot be positively identified as loanwords have undergone this change. They are:

- běkeng 'future, forthcoming' (Mly. bakal)²⁶
 gěntoy 'change, replace' (Mly. ganti 'id., take turns')²⁷
 lěgèw 'tune, melody' (Mly. lagu)
 padětoy 'cart' (Mly. pėdati)

4.4. SEQUENCES OF HIGH + LOW VOWEL

When one of the sequences *ia* and *ua* constitutes the nuclei of the antepenultimate and penultimate syllables (an occurrence which is restricted almost entirely to non-Malay words), the high vowel is sometimes lost. This has occurred in pasò 'fast, abstain' (Mly. puasa < Skr. upavāsa), in jadeh 'kind of sweetmeat' (Mly. juadah < Pers.) and in palahò 'tend, raise (livestock)' (Mly. pėlihara; see above p.130). The last word has undergone a number of changes: the change from *ě* to

a in pre-penultimate syllables (see 4.2.), loss of h between vowels (see 3.1.), change of r to h between vowels (see 3.2.) and finally conflation of ia to a. The change has not taken place, however, in *suarò* 'voice' (Mly. *suara*; see above, p.130) or in *biasè* 'usual' (Mly. *biasa* < Skr. *abhyāsa* 'study; exercise; familiarity').

5. SOUND-CHANGES AFFECTING FINAL CONSONANTS

5.1. PHONEMES OF THE CLASS G

Phonemes of this class (voiced stops) do not occur word-finally in any Malay dialect (except some forms of Jakarta Malay), although the standard Malay orthography preserves the spellings '-b, -d, -g' in foreign words where these sounds are replaced by their voiceless counterparts. Likewise, in Kerinci they undergo the same changes as final voiceless stops.

5.2. PHONEMES OF THE CLASS K

In final position the voiceless stops are all merged in Kerinci as q, as illustrated in the following examples:

akayq	'raft'	(Mly. rakit)
anaq	'child'	(Mly. anaq)
ataq	'roof'	(Mly. atap)
biseyq	'whisper'	(Mly. bisiq)
cukawq	'enough'	(Mly. cukup)
ikaq	'bind'	(Mly. ikat)
isòq	'tomorrow'	(Mly. esòq)
nasayq	'fortune'	(Mly. nasib)
sèbèwq	'mention, name'	(Mly. sebut)

The only exceptions to this rule appear to be a handful of foreign words in which p and t merge as t following an original a:

Arat	'Arab(ic)'	(Mly. Arab < Ar. 'arab)
cat	'stamp, seal'	(Mly. cap < Hi. chhāp 'print, impression, stamp') ²⁸
catat	'note'	(Mly. catat < Jv. cathēt)
còklat	'chocolate'	(Mly. cok(ě)lat < Eng. chocolate)
lat	'cloth, duster'	(Mly. lap < Du. lap '(piece of) cloth, rag')

Malay has borrowed a number of words ending in -f (mostly from Arabic). When these words are naturalised, the final -f usually becomes -p. In Kerinci, however, it often changes to -h, as in the following cases:

- hurowh 'letter (of the alphabet)' (Mly. huruf/hurup < Ar. ḥurūf [pl.] 'letters')
- insah 'aware' (Mly. insaf 'aware, understanding, fair' < Ar. inṣāf 'fairness, justice')
- kilèh 'error, slip' (Mly. khilaf/silap < Ar. khilāf 'discrepancy, disagreement')
- maqòh 'forgive' (Mly. maaf < Pers. mu'af 'absolved, excused, exempted' < Ar.)
- sareyh [title] (Mly. syarif < Ar. sharīf '[title of] descendant of Mohammed')
- wakòh 'charitable institution' (Mly. wakaf < Ar. waqf 'religious endowment')

5.3. PHONEMES OF THE CLASS N

In Kerinci word-final nasals are all merged as n following original i (or e) and as ng elsewhere:

- cəmayn 'mirror' (Mly. cərmin)
- guroyn 'fry' (Mly. goreng)
- joyn 'jinn, genie' (Mly. jin)
- kihayn 'send' (Mly. kirim)
-
- ciawng 'kiss, sniff' (Mly. cium)
- gutewng '(of several people) jointly carry something strung on pole' (Mly. gotong)
- kunawng 'story, tale' (Mly. konon 'it is said')
- pinang 'areca-nut' (Mly. pinang)
- tangəlang 'sink, founder' (Mly. tənggəlam)
- ubeng 'grey hair' (Mly. uban)

Exceptions include two words in which -n becomes -ng following original i, a group of words (probably recent borrowings from Malay) in which -ng is retained following Malay e (which in these words is also retained as è or e) and four words in which ng becomes q after i:

- kaèng 'cloth, sarong' (Mly. kain)
- maèng 'play' (Mly. main)²⁹
-
- bantèng/banteng 'wild buffalo' (Mly. banteng < Jv. banthèng)
- bintèng 'fort' (Mly. benteng)
- dungèng/dungeng 'story, fairytale' (Mly. dongeng)
- luncèng 'bell' (Mly. lo(n)ceng < Chinese (Ch.) 鬧鐘 (Hokkien) lāo-tseng, nāo-tseng, (Cantonese) naaû-chung, (Mandarin) nao-chung 'alarm-clock' [lit. 'noisy bell'])

- anjèq 'dog' (Mly. anjing)
 jinjeq 'carry (something hanging) in hand' (Mly. jinjing)
 kambèq 'goat' (Mly. kambing)
 kucèq 'cat' (Mly. kucing)

5.4. THE PHONEME r

Except in a few loanwords, final r has disappeared in Kerinci, as can be seen from the following examples:

- að 'bamboo sp.' (Mly. (h)aur)
 baluke 'undergrowth' (Mly. bēlukar)
 bibey 'lip' (Mly. bibir)
 bucew 'leak, have diarrhoea' (Mly. bocor 'leak')
 gamēnte 'tremble' (Mly. gēmēntar)
 mandò 'overseer, foreman' (Mly. mandur)
 pikè 'think' (Mly. pikir/fikir)
 ula 'snake' (Mly. ular)
 usè 'chase off' (Mly. usir)

Loanwords in which r has been retained include the following:

- bir 'beer' (Mly. bir < Du. bier or Eng. beer)
 daptar 'list, catalogue' (Mly. daftar < Ar. daftar 'notebook, ledger, register')
 hilèr 'mechanical rice-mill' (< Hüller [trademark])
 kamar 'room' (Mly. kamar < Du. kamer)
 kumpòr 'portable stove' (Mly. kompor < Du. komfoor 'brazier')
 sètòr 'deposit (money)' (Mly. s(ě)tor < Du. storten)

5.5. THE PHONEME l

Final l has undergone a more varied set of changes in Kerinci than any other final consonant. In order of frequency, these changes are: replacement by ng or n (i.e. merger with final nasals) in 82 cases out of 137; disappearance (presumably as a result of a merger with final r as in Minangkabau) in 36 cases; retention as l in 14 cases (following original a or i/e); and replacement by q in five cases (following original i/e).

In all but two cases, l becomes ng following original u/o:

- bětewng 'true' (Mly. bětul)
 cindòng 'kind of sweetmeat' (Mly. cendol)
 gaewng 'mix (socially)' (Mly. gaul)
 sampòng 'envelope' (Mly. sampul)
 susòng 'follow on' (Mly. susul)
 timbòng 'float' (Mly. timbul)

In the two exceptions, l becomes zero:

gumew 'wrestle' (Mly. gumul)
gundew 'bald' (Mly. gundul)

Preceded by original a, final l usually (in 60% of cases) merges with the nasals as ng:

apang 'learn by heart' (Mly. hafal)
běteng 'cancel' (Mly. batal)
jueng 'sell' (Mly. jual)
kěpang 'ship' (Mly. kapal)
kumpang 'clot, lump' (Mly. kumpal)
tinggang 'remain, stay' (Mly. tinggal)

In the remaining cases, final l either disappears or, more rarely, is preserved as l. The latter are probably recent loanwords:

jěngke 'span (measurement)' (Mly. jěngkal)
kide 'left-handed' (Mly. kidal)
kuma 'crumpled' (Mly. kumal)
pěge 'pins-and-needles' (Mly. pěgal)
taka 'pulleyblock' (Mly. takal)

modal 'capital (investment)' (Mly. modal < Tam. mutal 'capital, principle')

pical 'kind of vegetable salad' (Mly. pěcal/pecal < Jv. pěčěl)

It is following original i/e that final l exhibits the greatest variety of changes. In 15 cases (out of 37), it disappears, as in:

bingke 'workshop' (Mly. bengkel)
izè 'hinge' (Mly. engsel)
kardey 'stunted' (Mly. kěrdil)
karikè 'gravel' (Mly. kěrikil)
katè 'bedstead' (Mly. katil)
sabey 'holy war' (Mly. sabil)
timpè 'stick on' (Mly. tempel)

With almost the same frequency (i.e. in 13 cases) final l is replaced by a nasal. But whereas a final nasal usually becomes n following i/e (see section 5.3.), most final l become ng in the same environment:

kancèng 'mousedeer' (Mly. kancil)
panggèng 'call' (Mly. panggilan)
pě(n)cèng/pěncè 'isolated, remote' (Mly. pěncil)
wakèng 'representative' (Mly. wakil)

anden 'share (in company)' (Mly. andil)
 tampayn 'emerge, appear' (Mly. tampil)

In five instances following i/e, l becomes q:

ambèq 'take, fetch' (Mly. ambil)³⁰
 cikayq 'miserly' (Mly. cekel)
 cukèq 'prise out' (Mly. cu(ng)kil)
 kəcèq 'small' (Mly. kəcii)
 kuayq 'lever up' (Mly. kuil)³⁰

Finally, there are four instances (loanwords) in which word final l is retained unchanged:

dalil 'argument, evidence' (Mly. dalil < Ar. dalīl 'sign, proof, evidence')
 injil 'gospel' (Mly. injil < Ar. injīl)
 pèl 'pill, tablet' (Mly. pil/pel < Du. pil)
 tunèl 'play, drama' (Mly. tonil/tonel < Du. toneel)

5.6. THE PHONEME h

In contrast to l, word-final h is a stable phoneme and is invariably retained unchanged in Kerinci:

dahèh 'blood' (Mly. darah)
 këleyh 'see, look' (Mly. këlih 'glimpse, observe')
 lëbeyh 'more' (Mly. lëbih)
 pëcah 'shatter' (Mly. pëcah)
 tubèwh 'body' (Mly. tubuh)
 tumbòh 'grow' (Mly. tumbuh)

Only one exception is known: the word sakula 'school' (Mly. səkolah < Port. escola), in which final h is deleted.

5.7. THE PHONEME s

Word-final s is always replaced by h in Kerinci. Examples are:

běhèh 'husked rice' (Mly. bėras)
 bětòyh 'calf of the leg' (Mly. bėtis)
 bungkèwh 'wrap' (Mly. bungkus)
 kartèh 'paper' (Mly. kėrtas)
 kuboyh 'cabbage' (Mly. kobis/kubis)
 kurawh 'thin (of persons)' (Mly. kurus)
 panèh 'hot' (Mly. panas)
 tulayh 'write' (Mly. tulis)

5.8. THE PHONEMES *w* AND *y*

The two semivowels occur in final position in Malay only as part of the diphthongs *aw* and *ay*. They are both regularly lost in this position in Kerinci, as seen below:

bangke	'carcass'	(Mly. bangkay)
cakěha	'sp. of aquatic plant'	(Mly. cěkěraw)
cěhě	'separate'	(Mly. ceray)
dane	'lake'	(Mly. danaw)
due	'parents of child-in-law'	(cf. Mly. ipar duay 'brother-in-law')
kěbe	'water-buffalo'	(Mly. kěrbaw)
pisa	'knife'	(Mly. pisaw)
sungě	'river'	(Mly. sungay)

6. CANONICAL FORM

Before going on to discuss developments affecting final-syllable vowels in Kerinci, it is first necessary to describe the canonical form of the Kerinci base-morpheme as expressed in the formula below:

$$C_1(V_1C_2)V_2C_3V_3C_4$$

The segments within brackets can be repeated to produce polysyllabic structures. Leaving aside unassimilated loanwords, C_4 may be realised as *h*, *q*, *ng/n* or zero; C_3 and C_2 may be realised by any *c*, by zero or by a sequence belonging to one of the types *NG*, *NK*, *Ns* or *rc*; C_1 may be realised by any *c* (except *q*) or by zero; V_1 may be *a*, *i* or *u*; and V_2 may be *a*, *i*, *u* or *ě* (except that the last does not occur if C_3 is manifested by *rc* or zero). The possibilities for V_3 are discussed in the following section.

7. SOUND-CHANGES AFFECTING VOWELS IN FINAL SYLLABLES

At some stage in the history of Kerinci, there must have been a period when only the vowels *a*, *i*, *u* could occur in final syllables (since Kerinci did not develop *e* and *o* from *i* and *u* and since original *ě* in final syllables was merged with *a*, as in all Malay dialects except Jakartan). Subsequently, the language underwent a series of changes affecting vowels in this position which are certainly unique among Malay dialects and perhaps among Austronesian languages in general. As will become clear below, these developments preceded the changes to final consonants already described in section 5.

We will first present a simplified picture of these developments and their conditioning factors before proceeding to describe them in

more detail. The first change resulted in diphthongisation of the high vowels *i* and *u* to *ay* and *aw*, (presumably via some intermediate stage such as **ěi* and **ěu*) and left the low vowel *a* unaffected. The second change, which affected only a certain group of words, consisted broadly speaking of a vowel-raising process in which *a* became *e*, *ay* became *oy*, and *aw* became *ew*. The striking thing about the second change is that, although its operation is restricted to the final syllable, its conditioning factor is the presence of a G-class phoneme anywhere in the word. It is also noteworthy that in most cases the presence of an NG sequence does not trigger this change. The rule governing the second change can be stated in greater detail as follows: all bases obligatorily undergo the second change when C_3 and/or C_2 is manifested by G; tri-syllabic bases obligatorily undergo the change when C_1 consists of G and C_2 consists of NG, H or zero; and optionally when C_2 is NG regardless of what consonants occupy the other consonant positions. So Mly. *těpat* 'accurate' becomes Kr. *těpaq* while *těbat* 'dam' becomes *těbeq*, *pahit* 'bitter' yields *paayq* while *jahit* 'sew' yields *jaoyq*, *tělanjang* 'naked' gives *talanjang* while *gělanggang* 'arena' gives *galanggeng*.³¹ For the sake of convenience, words which undergo the second change will henceforth be labelled G-words and those which do not, K-words (although the latter is a somewhat inaccurate label).

7.1. THE VOWEL *a*

The regular changes which *a* undergoes are as follows. In K-words, *a* becomes *ò* word-finally, *è* before original *s* and *y* and remains *a* elsewhere; in G-words, it becomes *ě* word-finally and *e* everywhere else.

K-words:

<i>tuò</i>	'old'	(Mly. <i>tua</i>)
<i>kěhèh</i>	'hard'	(Mly. <i>kěras</i>)
<i>sikaq</i>	'attitude'	(Mly. <i>sikap</i>)
<i>těpaq</i>	'accurate'	(Mly. <i>těpat</i>)
<i>tapaq</i>	'sole, palm'	(Mly. <i>tapaq</i>)
<i>kahang</i>	'sink'	(Mly. <i>karam</i>)
<i>tahang</i>	'endure'	(Mly. <i>tahan</i>)
<i>susah</i>	'troubled'	(Mly. <i>susah</i>)
<i>sanda</i>	'lean'	(Mly. <i>sandar</i>)
<i>kěpang</i>	'take in fist'	(Mly. <i>kěpal</i>)
<i>salěsè</i>	'finished'	(Mly. <i>sělěsay</i>)
<i>langa</i>	'blowfly'	(Mly. <i>langaw</i>)

G-words:

duě	'two'	(Mly. dua)
děheh	'swift'	(Mly. dėras)
sigeq	'ready'	(Mly. sigap)
těbeq	'dam'	(Mly. těbat)
bapeq	'father'	(Mly. bapaq)
gaheng	'salt'	(Mly. garam)
da(h)eng	'branch'	(Mly. dahan)
duleng	'platter'	(Mly. dulang)
sudeh	'finished'	(Mly. sudah)
sabe	'patient'	(Mly. sabar)
kěbeng	'invulnerable'	(Mly. kěbal)
kalěde	'donkey'	(Mly. kělěday)
dange	'field nut'	(Mly. dangaw)

The most important exceptions to the above pattern are as follows:

a) In some 20 G-words, final a becomes e rather than the expected ě. Many of these words are borrowings. Examples: bandire '*flag*' (Mly. bėndera < Port. bandeira), duqe '*prayer*' (Mly. doa/do'a < Ar. du'ā '*call, prayer, plea*'), Jawe '*Java*' (Mly. Jawa), rage-rage '*agar-agar*' (Mly. agar-agar with metathesis).

b) Before original final p (eight cases) and w (five cases), a is occasionally changed to 0 in K-words. The first group may be borrowings from Min., which has -oq from original -ap in all words. Examples: ar0q '*hope*' (Mly. harap, Min. aroq); say0q '*wing*' (Mly. sayap); kamar0/kamah0 '*drought*' (Mly. kėmaraw); kinc0 '*mix (food with liquid)*' (Mly. kincaw [obsolete] '*mix, stir*').

c) Before original final p (four cases), r (two cases) and w (three cases) in G-words, a occasionally yields ě rather than e. Examples: bakěq '*fish sp.*' (Mly. bakap); gěněq '*complete*' (Mly. gėnap); pandikě '*champion*' (Mly. pėndekar); tabakě '*tobacco*' (Mly. těmbakaw).

d) In ten recorded K-words, a has become ě before original final t, rather than being retained as a. Examples: ulěq '*maggot, caterpillar*' (Mly. ulat); iměq '*thrifty*' (Mly. hemat); těmpěq '*place*' (Mly. těmpat).³²

7.2. THE VOWEL i/e

In K-words, Mly. i/e. corresponds to Kr. ě before original q, l, r, h and to Kr. ay elsewhere; in G-words it corresponds to Kr. ey and oy respectively in the same environments. Examples are:

K-words:

itèq	'duck'	(Mly. itiq)
katè	'bedstead'	(Mly. katil)
ayè	'water'	(Mly. air)
lètèh	'tired'	(Mly. lètiḥ)
kanaray	'tree sp.'	(Mly. kənari)
lancayq	'tapering'	(Mly. lancip)
paayq	'bitter'	(Mly. pahit)
kihayn	'send'	(Mly. kirim)
ingayn	'wish, desire'	(Mly. ingin)
kəhayn	'dry'	(Mly. kəring)
warayh	'heir'	(Mly. waris)

G-words:

giteyq	'throb'	(Mly. gitiq 'tremble')
kardey	'stunted'	(Mly. kərdil)
dayey	'riverbank'	(Mly. di air 'at the water')
lèbeyh	'more'	(Mly. lèbih)
jaramoy	'straw, stubble'	(Mly. jərami)
wajoyq	'obligatory'	(Mly. wajib) ³³
jaoyq	'sew'	(Mly. jahit)
garoyn	'mosque official'	(cf. B/S garem 'id.')
dingoyḥ	'cold'	(Mly. dingin)
jəhoyn	'tree sp.'	(Mly. jəring)
baroyh	'line, drill'	(Mly. baris)

The only noteworthy exception consists of five G-words in which the original ending -ih has become -oyh rather than the expected -eyh, perhaps by false analogy with words ending in -is which regularly becomes -oyh. The words are: barsoyh 'clean' (Mly. bərsih); buoyh 'foam' (Mly. buih); jənoyh 'clear, limpid' (Mly. jərnih); jəroyh 'toil, fatigue' (Mly. jəriḥ); and sambəloyh 'slaughter in ritual fashion' (Mly. səmbəliḥ).

7.3. THE VOWEL u/o

In K-words, Mly. u/o corresponds to Kr. ɔ before original q, ng, i, r, h and to Kr. aw elsewhere; in G-words it corresponds to Kr. ew and èw respectively in the same environments. Examples are given below:

K-words:

tunjòq	'show'	(Mly. tunjuq)
payòng	'umbrella'	(Mly. payung)
pikòng	'carry on back'	(Mly. pikul)
kapò	'lime, chalk'	(Mly. kapur)
tumbòh	'grow'	(Mly. tumbuh)
kalambaw	'mosquito-net'	(Mly. kělambu)
cakawq	'cover, include'	(Mly. cakup)
tuhawq	'follow'	(Mly. turut)
ukawng	'judge, punish'	(Mly. hukum)
sukawng	'breadfruit'	(Mly. sukun)
těrawh	'straight, through'	(Mly. těrus)

G-words:

sějewq	'cold'	(Mly. sějuq)
dukewng	'carry on the hip'	(Mly. dukung)
bakewng	'basket'	(Mly. bakul)
dapew	'hearth, kitchen'	(Mly. dapur)
tubewh	'body'	(Mly. tubuh)
kalabèw	'grey'	(Mly. kělabu)
bakèwq	'swollen (of eyes)'	(Mly. bakup)
sěbèwq	'mention'	(Mly. sěbut)
jarèwng	'needle'	(Mly. jarum)
dukèwng	'traditional healer'	(Mly. dukun)
těbèwh	'redeem'	(Mly. těbus)

Exceptionally, u/o yields ě rather than ew in a small group of G-words before original final q, h and r. These words are: jingěq 'look at; visit (the sick)' (Mly. jengoaq 'peep, look at'); suběq 'meet, encounter' (cf. Min. soboaq 'id.');

buděh 'stupid' (Mly. bodoh); buněh 'kill' (Mly. bunuh); and jěmě 'dry in the sun' (Mly. jěmur).

7.4. IRREGULAR RETENTION OF VOWELS

The vowels a, i, u are often retained unchanged in the final syllables of Kerinci words which are recent imports from standard Malay. The vowels e and o are also often retained as è or e and ò or o respectively. Such retentions, which are only rarely found before final stops, are frequently accompanied by irregular change or lack of change in the final consonant. Examples follow:

- garija 'church' (Mly. gěreja < Port. igreja)
 piama 'pyjamas' (Mly. piama < Du. pyjama)
 sambuyan 'slogan' (Mly. sěmboyan)
 jas 'jacket' (Mly. jas < Du. jas)
 daptar 'list' (Mly. daftar; see above, p.139)
 mudal '(financial) capital' (Mly. modal; see above, p.140)
 ataw 'or' (Mly. ataw < Skr. atha vā)
- tuke 'shopkeeper' (Mly. tawke < Ch. 頭家 (Hokkien)
 t'ao-ke, (Mandarin) t'óu-chia 'head of family')
 tuge 'beansprouts' (Mly. tawge < Ch. 豆芽 (Hokkien) taō-gê,
 (Mandarin) tǒu-yá)
 tuken 'sock' (Mly. sětoken < Eng. stocking)
 imbe 'bucket' (Mly. ember < Du. emmer)
 bingke 'workshop' (Mly. bengkel < Du. winkel '(work)shop')
- tunèl 'play, drama' (Mly. tonil/tonel; see above, p.141)
- luji 'wristwatch' (Mly. arloji < Du. horloge)
 hakim 'judge' (Mly. hakim < Ar. ḥākim 'ruler, governor; judge')
 lisiin 'speech' (Mly. lesing < Du. lezing 'lecture')
 injil 'gospel' (Mly. injil; see above, p.141)
- puto 'photograph' (Mly. foto < Du. foto or Eng. photo)
 tiko 'teapot' (Mly. teko < Ch. 茶壺 (Hokkien) tê-kó,
 (Cantonese) ch'ā-óo, (Mandarin) ch'á-hú)
- tuntòn 'watch (a spectacle)' (Mly. tonton < Jv. tonton)
 kumpòr 'portable stove' (Mly. kompor; see above, p.139)
- guru 'teacher' (Mly. guru < Skr. guru)
 kakuh 'latrine' (Mly. kakus < Du. kakhuis 'shit-house')
 timur 'east' (Mly. timur)

8. KERINCI ABSOLUTE AND OBLIQUE FORMS

8.1. FORM AND FUNCTION

Another feature which distinguishes Kerinci from its near relatives is the existence for almost every Kerinci word of two forms, labelled by Steinhauer and Hakim Usman (1978:485) 'absolute' and 'oblique'. All the examples cited hitherto have been in the absolute form which, generally speaking, was used in historical phrase-final position, while the oblique form was used elsewhere (e.g. with noun-heads followed by possessors, determiners, modifiers, etc.; with subject-focus verbs

followed by objects; and with object-focus verbs followed by agents).³⁵
 In the illustrative examples below, oblique forms are marked by a following hyphen:

binateng *'an animal'*
 binatòn- nyo *'his animal'*
 binatòn- (itoh) *'the animal'*
 binatòn- gědeng *'a big animal'*
 binatòn- gědòn- (itoh) *'the big animal'*
 binatòn- (itoh) minawng *'the animal is drinking'*
 binatòn- (itoh) minon- ayè *'the animal is drinking water'*
 binatòn- (itoh) minon- *'the animal is drinking it'*
 ayey- (itoh) diminawng *'the water is being drunk'*
 ayey- (itoh) diminon- binatòn- (itoh) *'the water is being drunk
 by the animal'*

The absolute-oblique distinction has become associated with such wider syntactic distinctions as indefinite-definite (in nouns) and intransitive-transitive (in verbs), as the functional load is borne more by the phonological distinctiveness of the oblique forms and less by the presence of, say, a following itoh (as determiner) or nyo (as possessor or as object pronoun). This circumstance gives rise to such contrasting sentences as binateng minawng *'an animal is drinking'* and binatòn minon *'the animal is drinking it'*.

The two forms, which differ only in the shape of the final $-V_3(C_4)$ sequence, are displayed in Table III below.

TABLE 111
Kerinci Absolute and Oblique Forms

V ₃ C ₄	a				i/e				u/o			
	K-words		G-words		K-words		G-words		K-words		G-words	
	abs.	obl.	abs.	obl.	abs.	obl.	abs.	obl.	abs.	obl.	abs.	obl.
ɔ	ò	o	ě	ow	ay	ey	oy	i	aw	ow	èw	u
p	aq	at	eq	òt	ayq	eyq	oyq	iq	awq	owq	èwq	uq
t	aq	at	eq	òt	ayq	eyq	oyq	iq	awq	owq	èwq	uq
q	aq	oq	eq	owq	èq	eyq	eyq	iq	òq	owq	ewq	uq
m	ang	an	eng	òn	ayn	en	oy	in	awng	on	èwng	un
n	ang	an	eng	òn	ayn	en	oy	in	awng	on	èwng	un
ng	ang	an	eng	òn	ayn	en	oy	in	òng	on	ewng	un
i	ang	an	{eng e}	{òn ow}	{èng è}	{en e}	ey	i	òng	on	ewng	un
r	a	o	e	ow	è	ey	ey	i	ò	ow	ew	u
s	èh	eh	eh	eyh	ayh	eyh	oyh	ih	awh	owh	èwh	uh
h	ah	oh	eh	owh	èh	eyh	eyh	ih	òh	owh	ewh	uh
w	a	o	e	ow								
y	è	e	e	ey								

8.2. POSSIBLE ORIGINS

It seems likely that the absolute-oblique distinction began as a distinction between free and bound forms such as is found with many wordbases in Minangkabau. So Mly. harap 'hope (v.)' and tutup 'close, cover (v.)' become aroq and tutuyq in Min., with replacement of -p by -q and accompanying vowel-change. In certain derived forms, however, the original -V₃C₄ configuration is preserved, e.g. in arap-an 'hope (n.)' (Mly. harap-an) and di-tutup-i (nyo) 'is closed (by him)' (Mly. di-tutup-i (nya)), but not in ma-arq-kan 'hopes for, expects' (Mly. mǎng-harap-kan) or ba-tutuyq-kan 'being closed with (something), having (something) as a lid' (Mly. bǎr-tutup-kan). The occurrence of Min. bound forms (e.g. arap- and tutup-) is restricted to cases where the wordbase is followed by a suffix beginning with a vowel; unlike the Kerinci oblique forms, they do not occur at word-boundaries.

The loss of all suffixes in Kerinci has already received mention. Yet evidence shows that this occurred after the development of the absolute-oblique distinction and that the oblique forms, like the Min.

bound forms, were employed in the presence of a suffix. The evidence consists of a number of items historically derived from a wordbase + -an or -nya (\pm certain prefixes), in which the suffix has disappeared, leaving only the distinctive phonological shape of the oblique form of the wordbase as evidence of its former presence. None of these items has an absolute form. After each of the examples given below, the Kr. wordbase (if it has an independent existence) is cited in both its absolute and oblique forms (in that order).

- kaijow-ijow 'greenish' (Mly. kĕhijaw-hijawan); ije/ijow 'green' (Mly. hijaw)
- kakunen-kunen 'yellowish' (Mly. kĕkuning-kuningan); kunayn/kunen 'yellow' (Mly. kuning)
- kagilow-gilow 'infatuated' (Mly. kĕgila-gilaan 'like a madman'); gilĕ/gilow 'mad' (Mly. gila)
- kadingin 'suffering from cold' (Mly. kĕdinginan); dingoyndinging 'cold' (Mly. dingin)
- kasudowh 'conclusion' (Mly. kĕsudahan); sudeh/sudowh 'finished' (Mly. sudah)
- kalapo 'hunger, starvation' (Mly. kĕlaparan); lapa/lapo 'hungry' (Mly. lapar)
- pangiduw 'way of life, livelihood' (Mly. pĕnghidupan); idĕwq/iduq 'live, alive' (Mly. hidup)
- panĕngo 'hearing' (Mly. pĕndĕngaran); dĕnge/dĕngow 'hear' (Mly. dĕngar)³⁶
- puleyh 'acquisition' (Mly. pĕrolehan); root occurs only with ba- (Mly. bĕr-): buleyh/bulih 'obtain' (Mly. bĕroleh)
- puseyq 'toy, game' (presumably < earlier *pĕrusikan); base occurs only with ba- (Mly. bĕr-): buseyq/busiq 'play' (cf. Mly. usiq 'tease, provoke, incite')
- jajĕt 'spoilt (of child)' (cf. Min. jajatan bunda 'mother's pet, favourite child'); base not recorded
- pĕlowq 'embrace (n.)' (Mly. pĕlukan); pĕlĕq/pĕlowq 'embrace (v.)' (Mly. pĕluq)
- panggen 'invitation' (Mly. panggilan 'call, summons'); panggĕng/panggen 'call, invite' (Mly. panggil 'call')
- satajĕn-tajĕn 'extremely sharp' (Mly. sĕtajam-tajamnya); tajeng/tajĕn 'sharp' (Mly. tajam)
- (sa)galow 'all (of it, them)' (Mly. sĕgalanya < sĕgala 'all')
- kaduow 'both' (Mly. kĕduanya); duĕ/duow 'two' (Mly. dua)
- dadĕ abih-abih 'unceasing' (Mly. tiada habis-habisnya); aboyh/abih 'finished' (Mly. habis)

In a smaller number of cases, where a wordbase originally ending in a vowel has received the suffix *-an*, the final *-n* of the suffix has been preserved although the *a* has been elided:

- kamaten '*bereaved*' (Mly. *kəmatian*); matay/matey '*die*' (Mly. *mati*)
 kamudòn '*lecherous (of old man)*' (< earlier **kə mudaan*); mudě/
 mudow '*young*' (Mly. *muda*)
 pancahen '*livelihood, earnings*' (Mly. *pəncarian*); base occurs
 only with *man-*: mancahay '*seek one's fortune, earn a living*'
 (Mly. (*mən*)*cari* '*look for*')
 bukòn '*special meal eaten at daily fast-breaking during Ramadan*'
 (< earlier **bukaan*); bukě/bukow '*break one's fast*' (Mly. *buka*
 '*open*', *buka puasa* '*break one's fast*')
 con '*mould (for cakes)*' (Mly. *acuan*); root not recorded
 imo jadin '*were-tiger*' (Mly. *rimaw (jadi-)jadian*); jadoy/jadi
 '*become, turn into*' (Mly. *jadi*)
 titen '*log-bridge*' (Mly. *titian*); titay/titey '*cross a bridge*'
 (Mly. *titi*)
 tumpoŋ '*ricefields nearest village*' (< **tumpuan*); tumpaw/tumpow
 '*starting-point, basis*' (Mly. *tumpu*)

The evidence supports the supposition that the absolute-oblique distinction, which now plays such a variety of important syntactic roles in Kerinci, originated as a purely phonologically conditioned allomorphic variation of base-morphemes.

8.3. DEFECTIVE WORDS

The corpus contains some 240 words which possess only one form; they are evenly divided between those which occur only in the absolute and those which occur only in the oblique form. In each case, a small proportion is made up of particles, interjections, prepositions, conjunctions and other function words, most of which are restricted to one structural environment and are therefore precluded from possessing both forms. Examples:

Absolute form only:

- mimang '*of course*' (Mly. *memang*)
 parnah '*ever*' (Mly. *pərnah*)
 lóng '*not yet*' (Mly. *bəlum*)
 pulò '*also, in addition*' (Mly. *pula*)
 uge '*also, likewise*' (Mly. *juga*)

Oblique form only:

- (bě)hòn '(on) the other side (of river)' (Mly. sě-běrang)
 dateyh 'on top of' (Mly. di atas)
 palen 'most (+ adj.)' (Mly. paling)
 supayo 'in order that' (Mly. supaya)

Most of the lexical items which have only an absolute form are foreign words which are unassimilated or only partially assimilated to Kerinci patterns. The decision to describe the single form of such words as 'absolute' rather than 'oblique' is purely arbitrary, since most of them have phonemic configurations which conform to neither pattern. For illustrative examples, see the words already cited in section 7.4., all of which are members of this group. Many of the words listed as having irregular C_4 exponents in section 5 also belong to this group.

In the case of those words which are here described as occurring only in the oblique form, the situation is somewhat different. They are phonologically completely regular, displaying all the expected phonemic shapes of normal oblique forms, and differing only in that they have no equivalent absolute form. Although the majority of words in this group consists of loanwords, there is also a considerable number of inherited words, and it is difficult to discover a plausible reason to explain why the latter should be restricted to the oblique forms. With some items it is possible to hypothesise that they once contained a suffix which has since disappeared (see 8.2. above), but such cases amount to no more than a small fraction of the whole. Some examples follow:

- anden 'share (commercial)' (Mly. andil < Du. aandeel)
 Arat 'Arab' (Mly. Arab; see above, p.137)
 asen 'profit, result' (Mly. hasil < Ar. ḥāṣil)
 biow 'intestinal worms' (Mly. biar-biar)
 bòn 'ball' (< Du. bal, perhaps through Jv. bal; Mly. has
 bola < Port. bola)
 campoq 'chickenpox' (Mly. campoq)
 dindin 'jerked meat' (Mly. dendeng)
 kahat 'rust' (Mly. karat)
 panitey 'pin' (Mly. pēniti < Port. alfinete)
 piren 'plate' (Mly. piring)
 pulisey 'police' (Mly. polisi < Du. politie)
 rutey 'bread' (Mly. roti < Hī. roṭī 'bread, pancake')
 sakërowq 'screw' (Mly. sěkërup < Du. schroef)
 sayow 'vegetable' (Mly. sayur)
 ungowh 'expenses' (Mly. ongkos < Du. onkosten)

8.4. DISTRIBUTION OF VOWEL PHONEMES

A striking feature of the distribution of vowels and diphthongs in Kerinci final syllables is the low degree of overlap among the four cells of the matrix formed by the categories absolute versus oblique and K-words versus G-words: ten of the fifteen possible vowels and diphthongs are restricted to one cell. In K-words the absolute forms display \acute{e} , \acute{o} , a , ay , aw and the oblique forms e , o , a , ey , ow ; while in G-words the absolute forms display e , \acute{e} , ey , oy , ew , $\acute{e}w$ and the oblique forms i , u , \acute{o} , ey , ow . This distribution for absolute and oblique forms is shown in the charts below (with asterisks for missing entities):

Absolute		Oblique	
*	*	i (G)	u (G)
e (G)	*	e (K)	o (K)
\acute{e} (K)	\acute{e} (G)	*	*
	\acute{o} (K)		\acute{o} (G)
	a (K)		a (K)
	ew (G)		*
ey (G)	*	ey	ow
oy (G)	$\acute{e}w$ (G)	*	*
ay (K)	aw (K)	*	*

9. CHANGES TO FINAL SYLLABLES IN OTHER MALAY DIALECTS

Table IV below compares $-V_3(C_4)$ reflexes in Kerinci and the following forms of Malay: standard Malay (Mly.); Besemah-Serawai (in this instance only the Serawai variant is employed) (B/S); Malacca (Mlc.); Kedah (Kdh.); Ulu Muar dialect of Negeri Sembilan (NS); Minangkabau (Min.); and Pasir Mas dialect of Kelantan (Kln.). Data on Besemah-Serawai, Negeri Sembilan and Kelantan has been extracted from Helfrich (1904 ff.), Hendon (1966) and Ajid Che Kob (1977) respectively; data on other Malay dialects is from the personal research notes of D.J. Prentice.

A comparison of final consonant changes shows the following characteristics shared by Kerinci and other dialects:

1) Merger of $-p$, $-t$, $-q$: Kr., Kln. and Min. merge all final stops as $-q$. In NS mergers are limited to $-t$ and $-q$ (which become $-q$ following a), and $-p$ and $-t$ (which become $-t$ following i).

2) Merger of $-m$, $-n$, $-ng$: total mergers are found in Kr. (as $-n$ following i and $-ng$ elsewhere) and Kln. (as nasalisation following a and $-ng$ elsewhere). Partial mergers have taken place in Min. (where $-m$ and $-n$ become $-n$ following a high vowel) and NS (where $-m$ and $-n$ become $-n$ following i).

3) Merger of -s and -h: found in Kr., Kln., Min., NS and Kdh., where -s and -h become -h.

4) Elision of -l and -r: found in Kr. (where some -l are also merged with final nasals), Kln., Min. and NS.

5) Elision of -w and -y: found in Kr. and Kln.

It is noteworthy that the dialect which has most in common with Kerinci in this respect is Kelantan, which is also the geographically most distant dialect from Kerinci.

10. CONCLUSION

This paper has attempted to show that Kerinci is sharply marked off from its relatives by a number of remarkable changes: extensive diphthongisation of high vowels in final syllables, further differentiation in the same area of words which contain a G-class phoneme from those which do not, development of distinctive phrase-final and phrase-medial forms, the assignment to this distinction of the role of marking a number of important syntactical functions and finally loss of all suffixes. These changes have perforce received only superficial treatment in the preceding pages. No attempt has been made, for instance, to determine the relative chronology of the changes, a study which might shed much light also on the historical phonology of other Malay dialects. Nevertheless, it is hoped that this paper might provide the basis for a much-needed deeper study of Kerinci.

TABLE IV
Final -VC Sequences in Kerinci and Some Other Malay Dialects

Mly.	B/S	Mlc.	Kdh.	NS	Min.	Kln.	Kerinci			
							Absolute		Oblique	
							K	G	K	G
a	aw	ě	a	o	o	ò	ò	ě	o	ow
ap	ap	ap	ap	ap	oq	aq	aq	eq	at	òt
at	at	at	at	eq	eq	aq	aq	eq	at	òt
aq	aq	aq	aq	aq	aq	òq	aq	eq	oq	owq
am	am	am	am	am	am	àn	ang	eng	an	òn
an	an	an	an	an	an	èn	ang	eng	an	òn
ang	ang	ang	ang	ang	ang	èn	ang	eng	an	òn
al	al	al	ay	a	a	a	ang	{eng e}	an	{òn ow}
ar	ar	aw	aq	a	a	a	a	e	o	ow
as	as	as	ayh	eh	eh	ah	èh	eh	eh	eyh
ah	ah	ah	ah	ah	ah	òh	ah	eh	oh	owh
aw	aw	aw	a ^u	aw	aw	a	a	e	o	ow
ay	ay	ay	a ⁱ	ay	ay	a	è	e	e	ey
i	i	i	i	i	i	i	ay	oy	ey	i
ip	ep	ep	iq	†t	iq	eq	ayq	oyq	eyq	iq
it	et	et	it	†t	iq	eq	ayq	oyq	eyq	iq
iq	eěq	eq	iq	†q	iěq	eq	èq	eyq	eyq	iq
im	em	im	im	†n	in	eng	ayn	oyn	en	in
in	en	in	in	†n	in	eng	ayn	oyn	en	in
ing	eng	ing	ing	†ng	iěng	ing	ayn	oyn	en	in
il	el	il	e	†	iě	e	{èng è}	ey	{en e}	i
ir	er	e	iěq	†	iě	e	è	ey	ey	i
is	es	is	ih	ih	ih	ih	ayh	oyh	eyh	ih
ih	eěh	eh	ih	†h	iěh	eh	èh	eyh	eyh	ih
u	u	u	u	u	u	u	aw	èw	ow	u
up	op	op	up	ap	uyq	uq	awq	èwq	owq	uq
ut	ot	ot	ut	at	uyq	uq	awq	èwq	owq	uq
uq	oěq	oq	uq	aq	uěq	oq	òq	ewq	owq	uq
um	om	om	um	am	un	ong	awng	èwng	on	un
un	on	on	un	an	un	ong	awng	èwng	on	un
ung	ong	ong	ung	ang	uěng	ong	òng	ewng	on	un
ul	ol	ul	uy	u	uě	o	òng	ewng	on	un
ur	or	o	òq	u	uě	o	ò	ew	ow	u
us	os	us	uyh	uyh	uyh	uh	awh	èwh	owh	uh
uh	oěh	oh	uh	ah	uěh	oh	òh	ewh	owh	uh

LIST OF LANGUAGE ABBREVIATIONS

Ar.	Arabic
Brn.	Brunei (Malay dialect)
B/S	Besemah-Serawai (Malay dialects)
Ch.	Chinese
Du.	Dutch
Eng.	English
Hi.	Hindi
Jv.	Javanese
Kdh.	Kedah (Malay dialect)
Kln.	Kelantan (Malay dialect of Pasir Mas district)
Kr.	Kerinci
Min.	Minangkabau
Mlc.	Malacca (Malay dialect)
Mly.	Malay
NS	Negri Sembilan (Malay dialect of Ulu Muar district)
PAN	Proto-Austronesian
Pers.	Persian
PMJ	Proto-Malayo-Javanic
Port.	Portuguese
Skr.	Sanskrit
Tam.	Tamil

N O T E S

1. This paper is the fruit of research which began in Tugu (West Java) in 1974 as a discussion of Kerinci lexicographical problems at a workshop on lexicography organised by the Language Development Centre of Indonesia. It was continued at the University of Leiden in the first half of 1977.
2. Spelt 'Kerintji' or 'Korintji' in the Dutch and former Indonesian orthography, and 'Kerinci' or 'Korinchi' in the English and former Malaysian orthography. The spelling 'Kerinci' used in this paper conforms to the common Indonesian-Malaysian orthography ('Ejaan Yang Di Sempurnakan'), in force since August 1972. The Kerinci version of the name is Kincay.
3. The letters C, V, G, K, N, H in Table I are symbols for categories of phonemes relevant to the description of Kerinci sound changes.
4. The 'Malay' which serves here as a point of comparison with Kerinci is 'Standard Malay', which exists in two dialects, Indonesian and Malaysian. Whenever a comparison is made with any of the numerous non-standard dialects, the fact will be clearly indicated.
5. Apart from the modifications listed here, the standard orthography of Malay is left unchanged. There are a few additional cases where the orthography is non-phonemic, but they are of minor significance.
6. The frame of reference for the terms 'initial', 'medial' and 'final' in this and subsequent sections is the word-base or stem consisting of a root-morpheme plus or minus derivational affix(es). Inflected words are not treated.

7. daheng also has a doublet daeng, without h.
8. tarbeng also has a doublet tǎbeng, without r.
9. Only words of definitely non-Malay provenance have been counted. Kerinci has also of course borrowed many words directly from Malay itself but, like all inter-dialectal borrowings, these are difficult to identify with certainty.
10. Besides ageng there exists also rageng from the same source, but with the meaning '*style, pattern*'.
11. asò has a doublet rasò with initial r.
12. See section 4.4. for an explanation of the Kerinci development of this word.
13. 'Central Malay' would be a closer rendering of the Dutch than the usual English translation 'Middle Malay', since the reference is not to some intermediate stage in the development of Malay (for which the correct Dutch term would be 'middel', not 'midden') but to the geographical position of these dialects in Central Sumatra.
14. Unlike Kerinci (see section 5.4.), Besemah-Serawai also maintains the distinction in word-final position.
15. That is to say, occupying position C₂ in the canonical formula discussed in section 6 (q.v.). Other changes involving NG sequences in the same position are also described in that section.
16. See also section 4.2.
17. The resulting i-e and u-o phonemic distinctions remain sub-phonemic in final closed syllables, in which environment i and u may be realised as any front or back vowel respectively in the range high - lower mid (i.e. [i-i-e-è] or [u-u-o-ò]). However, when one of the lowered variants e or o is present in the penultimate, the possible range of realisations is reduced to the mid vowels. This vowel harmony is reflected in the standard Malay orthography: cf. such pairs as burung '*bird*' versus borong '*wholesale*', and dinding '*wall*' versus dendeng '*jerked meat*'.

18. cf. such forms as Mly. *cucung* 'grandchild' from *cucu* (Kr. *cucòng*), *ading* 'younger sibling' from *adiq*, *datung* 'grandfather' from *datuq* (Kr. *datewng* 'aunt'), all forms described by Wilkinson (1959) as being restricted to classical Malayo-Javanese literature.
19. Because it participated in the merger of *ě and *a, but did not undergo the split of *i and *u into i/e and u/o (see 4.1.), Brunei Malay has only three vowel phonemes (a, i, u), i.e. fewer than any other Malay dialect.
20. The Kr. and Min. forms seem to have developed through loss of medial -h-, conflation of the resulting vowel sequence to ě (with subsequent change to a in Min. and to zero in Kr.), and addition of a derivational suffix -an.
21. In the doublet *těbeng*, r has been lost and ě retained.
22. Alongside *baranoy* with retention of r and regular change of ě to a.
23. See section 8.2. for discussion of loss of suffixes in Kerinci.
24. These three words may, however, be direct borrowings from Min. *pai*, *puti* and *suto* respectively.
25. Through regular loss of initial h-, the ě from original a came to stand in word-initial position, and has hence disappeared in accordance with the change described in section 4.2.
26. The Kerinci word may originate not from Mly. *bakal* but from the (presumably related) word *běkal* 'provisions, food (or other goods) reserved for future use'.
27. The meaning 'take turns' is conveyed in Kerinci by a doublet *gantoy* with regular shape.
28. cf. regular *caq* 'paint' (Mly. *cat* < Ch. 漆 (Hokkien, Cantonese) *ts'at*, (Mandarin) *ch'i* 'varnish, lacquer, paint').
29. cf., however, regular *laayn* 'other' (Mly. *lain*).
30. The final l in Mly. *ambii* and *kecil* is replaced by a glottal stop in a large number of dialects.

31. Inflection with the prefixes N-, di- and ba- can also play a role. Prefix N- for example is realised as replacement of an initial stop by a homorganic nasal. Thus Mly. goreng 'fry' produces Kr. guroyn; but the subject-focus form is ngurayn 'fries' and not *nguroyn, since the inflected form no longer contains a G-class phoneme. Similarly, inflection with di- or ba- of a wordbase which does not contain a G-class phoneme produces a word which does contain such a phoneme. In this case however, changes to the final syllable only occur if the wordbase has H, N or zero as C₁, and then only optionally. Thus Mly. lilit 'coil' yields Kr. lilayq, of which the object-focus form is dililoyq 'is coiled'.

32. There exists a doublet tēmpaq, showing the regular correspondence, but having the specialised meaning 'holy grave, tomb'.

33. Only three G-bases ending in -ip exist in the corpus, all of them borrowings from Ar. with original -ib. Apart from wajoyq (Mly. wajib < Ar. wājib 'obligatory; obligation, task'), there occur also ajaoyq 'wonderful' (Mly. ajaib < Ar. 'ajīb) and gaoyq 'magically disappearing' (Mly. ghaib 'invisible, mysterious' < Ar. ghaib).

34. This is the only G-base in the corpus with final -im. It is not known in Malay, and appears to have entered various South Sumatran languages and dialects (Kerinci, Besemah-Serawai, Lampung and possibly others) from Javanese, where it occurs as garim 'one who is meritoriously or at least lawfully in debt'. It is ultimately a loan from Ar. ghārīm 'debtor'. Its present meaning is seemingly interpretable as 'one who repays a spiritual debt by service in the mosque'.

35. See Steinhauer and Hakim Usman 1978 for a detailed synchronic description of the functions of the absolute and oblique forms.

36. Loss of initial d- through nasalisation converts the derived form panēngo to a K-word, even though the base dēnge is a G-word. See footnote 31 for further examples.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

AJID CHE KOB

- 1977 Dialek geografi Pasir Mas: fonologi dan leksikal. M.A. thesis, the University of Malaya.

HAKIM USMAN, A.

- 1976 *Kamus umum Kerinci-Indonesia*. Proyek Pengembangan Bahasa dan Sastra Indonesia dan Daerah. Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa.

HELFRICH, O.L.

- 1904 'Bijdragen tot de kennis van het Midden Maleisch (Bësëmahsch en Sërawajsch dialect)'. VBG 53.
- 1915 'Nadere aanvullingen en verbeteringen op de "Bijdragen tot de kennis van het Midden Maleisch": Woordenlijst'. VBG 61/3-4:1-28.
- 1921 'Supplement op de in deel LXI, 3^e en 4^e stuk, der *Verhandelingen* gepubliceerde "Nadere aanvullingen en verbeteringen op de 'Bijdragen tot de kennis van het Midden Maleisch (Bësëmahsch en Sërawajsch dialect)'''. VBG 63/1.
- 1927 'Nadere bijdragen tot de kennis van het Midden Maleisch (Bësëmahsch en Sërawajsch dialect)'. VBG 68/3.
- 1933 *Bijdragen tot de kennis van het Midden Maleisch (Bësëmahsch en Sërawajsch dialect)*. (Supplement op de "Nadere bijdragen" (1927)). The Hague: Nijhoff.

HENDON, Rufus S.

- 1966 *The Phonology and Morphology of Ulu Muar Malay (Kuala Pilah District, Negri Sembilan, Malaya)*. Yale University Publications in Anthropology, no.70. New Haven: Department of Anthropology, Yale University.

JASPAN, M.A.

- 1964 *Folk Literature of South Sumatra: Redjang KA-GA-NGA Texts*. Canberra: Australian National University.

MOHD. ISA FARHY YASSIN

- 1971 'Satu tinjauan ringkas: Sistim bunyi loghat Kerinci dan perbandingannya dengan Bahasa Melayu Standard'. *Dewan Bahasa* 15/4:162-9.

NOTHOFER, Bernd

- 1975 *The Reconstruction of Proto-Malayo-Javanic*. VKI 73.

REIJN, E.O. van

- 1974 'Some Remarks on the Dialects of North Kerintji: a Link with the Mon-Khmer Languages?'. *JMBRAS* 47/2: 130-8.
- 1976 'The Reduction of Diphthongs to Cardinal Vowels in the Dialects of North Kerintji (Sumatra)'. *Actes du XXIXe Congrès International des Orientalistes. Indonésie* 3:173-7.

RIVAI, A. (Yogi)

- 1954 'Bahasa Kerintji selajang pandang'. *Medan Bahasa* 4/3:26-8.

STEINHAUER, H. and A. HAKIM USMAN

- 1978 'Notes on the Morphemics of Kerinci (Sumatra)'. See pp. 483-502 in this volume.

TARIGAN, H.G. and A. BAKRI

- 1972 *Perbandingan Katatugas bahasa Kerinci dengan bahasa Karo*. Seri bahasa dan budaya Karo, no.9. Bandung.

VOORHOEVE, P.

- 1955 *Critical Survey of Studies on the Languages of Sumatra*. (Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Bibliographical Series, no.1). The Hague: Nijhoff.

WILKINSON, R.J.

1959 *A Malay-English Dictionary (romanised)*. 2 vols. London: Macmillan.

WURM, S.A. and B. WILSON

1975 *English Finderlist of Reconstructions in Austronesian Languages (post-Brandstetter)*. PL, C-33.

