

## NOTES ON THE MORPHEMICS OF KERINCI (SUMATRA)<sup>1</sup>

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0. As is known from previous publications (see bibliography) Kerinci is spoken in the kabupaten Kerinci (province of Jambi, Sumatra), in the village Tanjung Morawa (North-Sumatra) and in a number of settlements in Malaysia. The estimated number of speakers is about 200,000. The dialectal differences are considerable as far as the phonic shape of the words is concerned.

The dialect we base this description on (hereafter to be referred to as SP for short) is the main dialect of Sungai Penuh, the capital of the kabupaten. It is spoken by approximately 6000 people, who are all to a certain degree bilingual or even trilingual: the official language and the only language of education is Bahasa Indonesia, the trade language is Minangkabau.

Prentice and Hakim Usman have shown in 'Kerinci Sound-changes and Phonotactics' (see pp.121-63 in this volume) that the vocabulary of SP is clearly Malay, but that especially the final syllables of proto-Malay lexical morphemes have changed beyond recognition. The SP suffixes which can be distinguished occur all but one in loanwords from Bahasa Indonesia or Minangkabau.

The most striking feature of SP is that it has a paradigm of two (sometimes four) forms, which differ in their final syllables, and which correspond to a single form in Malay.

The aim of this article is to formulate some rules for the distribution of the different forms of these paradigms.

In a forthcoming structural description of SP, Amir Hakim Usman will deal with many questions which below can only be mentioned briefly.

1. Word-stress in SP is non-phonemic: it falls always on the final syllable of a word.

The phonemes of SP are charted below (charts 1 and 2).

CHART 1

VOWELS	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e	ə	o
low	ɛ	a	ɔ

CHART 2

CONSONANTS	stops		fricatives		nasals	glides	trill	lateral
	voiceless	voiced	voiceless	voiced				
labial	p	b	(f)		m	w		
dental	t	d	s	z	n			
palatal	c	j			ɲ	y	r	l
velar	k	g	(x)		ŋ			
glottal	ʔ		h					

Below the phonemes /ɛ, ə, ɔ, ɲ, ŋ, x, ʔ/ will be orthographically represented by è, ě, ò, ny, ng, kh and q respectively.<sup>2</sup>

/e, ɛ, ɔ, o/ rarely occur in non-final syllables; apparently in loanwords only: indonesia, kolera 'cholera', òbral 'clearance sale' etc.<sup>3</sup>

Word-initial /ə/ is always optional: ěngang/nang 'six', ělang/lang 'eagle', etc.

The diphthongs /ey, ew, ɛw, ɔy, ow, ay, aw/ are frequent, but only in final syllables.

/f/ and /x/ occur only in loanwords.

/b, d, c, j, k, g, ɲ, z, f, x/ do not occur word-finally, /s, p, l, r, m/ do, but only in loanwords: siap 'ready' (the only example of a word-final /p/, Indonesian: siap), jas 'coat' (Dutch: jas) spesial 'special', gitar 'guitar', pilèm 'film'.

/ʔ/ is frequently found in word-final position. In word-medial position it is among others in opposition with /k/ and Ø: maqlawng 'know about', saqaq 'time', còklat 'chocolate', saaq 'close' (verb); within a word on a morpheme boundary [ʔ] is a juncture feature, not

the realisation of a phoneme. Nor is it the realisation of a phoneme at the beginning of a word before a vowel or a nasal followed by a consonant: it is pronounced regularly but not necessarily. A word-initial nasal (M) followed by a consonant (which is always homorganic) can be realised as [<sup>h</sup>əM], [əM], [<sup>h</sup>M] or [M].

The most frequent morpheme structures are (C)V<sub>1</sub>(C)V<sub>2</sub>(C) - in which C is a consonant, V<sub>1</sub> a vowel and V<sub>2</sub> a vowel or kiphthong - and (C)V<sub>1</sub>MCV<sub>2</sub>(C) - in which the medial consonant is preceded by a homorganic nasal M.

## 2. THE ABSOLUTE-OBLIQUE OPPOSITION

2.0. Most SP words occur in paradigmatic pairs, which we propose to call the absolute and oblique forms. Van Reijn (1974) seems to call them pausal and non-pausal forms; unfortunately he does not give examples.

Formally the absolute and oblique forms differ in their last vowel/diphthong and/or in their word-final consonant - if any.<sup>4</sup>

Functionally they differ roughly speaking in the following ways:

- i. they express a lexical semantic opposition;
- ii. they express the opposition "known third person possessor, agent or object" (oblique) versus other possibilities (absolute); for want of a suitable term this opposition will be referred to as 'definite'-'indefinite';
- iii. finally the absolute form may mark the end of many (pro-) nominal or verbal phrases, while the oblique form usually is found in the beginning or middle of such a phrase.

Below we will discuss each of these possibilities in more detail. But first we will make some remarks on the formal features of the opposition and on the restraints to its occurrence.

### 2.1. FORMAL FEATURES

2.1.1. Prentice and Hakim Usman give a list of absolute endings with their oblique pendants, as they occur in monomorphemic words (in this volume, table III). These paradigms are also valid for most polymorphemic forms.

In cases of reduplication both parts have the same ending, either absolute or oblique: *umah-umah* (absolute), *umoh-umoh* (oblique) '*various houses*'.

### 2.1.2. No Opposition

A number of words are not part of an absolute-oblique opposition. These are:

- a. Words which belong to minor word-classes (which is approximately the same as saying: words which do not occur in both final and non-final

position of a phrase), such as: ugě 'also', agi 'again', di 'in', dĕngan 'with', supayo 'in order to', tapey 'but', kalow 'when', ineh 'this', itoh 'that', ituh 'yonder', slney 'here', maay 'come on!', pĕse 'how is it possible!', barònkaley 'probably', mugě-mugě 'may', apo 'what', sapo 'who', piò 'why', etc.

b. Words which do occur in both positions but which have one of the following endings:<sup>5</sup> -al (7), -ar (6), -as (4), -èt (1), -èl (2), -èm (1), ès (1), -oh (7), -òr (3), -ir (3); these endings do not belong to the sets of absolute and oblique endings given in Prentice and Hakim Usman (in this volume, table III); most of the words of this group are easily recognisable as loanwords, e.g. pilèm 'film', ès 'ice' (Dutch ijs), hilèr 'rice husking machine' (cf. the German trade-mark Hüller) etc.

c. Words containing the prefix ka- and a number of words containing the prefix pa(N)- (in which N symbolises nasalisation or prenasalisation)<sup>6</sup> occur in both positions mentioned under a. but only have oblique endings, e.g. kalapo 'hunger, starvation' (cf. lapa, lapo 'hungry')<sup>7</sup>, kakunen-kunen 'yellowish' (cf. kunayn, kunen 'yellow'), kasĕdowq 'strangled' (cf. sĕdeq, sĕdowq 'strangle'), kaujòn 'stricken with rain' (cf. ujeng, ujòn 'rain'); pangiduw 'way of life, livelihood' (cf. idĕwq, iduw 'live, alive'). With both the prefixes pa(N)- and ka- sometimes the suffix -n with preceding vowel/diphthong change is found, e.g. pancahun 'livelihood, earnings' (cf. cahay, cahey 'seek one's fortune, earn a living'), kamaten 'bereaved' (cf. matay, matey 'die').

d. A number of words with endings which are either oblique or absolute are not part of an absolute-oblique opposition although they occur in both positions mentioned under a.; 24 words in -i, as well as an unknown number of loanwords with the suffix -i, belong to this group. Only one absolute form in -an has a different oblique pendant: bahan, bahòn 'material'; 25 words in -an and an unknown number of loanwords with the suffixes -an and -kan are not part of an absolute-oblique opposition; the same holds true for 13 words in -en, whereas only one absolute form in -en has a different oblique pendant: pĕdin, pĕdin 'rifle'. Most of the words of this group are apparently loanwords, e.g. telat 'late' (Dutch te laat), lisiin 'speech' (Dutch lezing), kolera 'cholera', modĕrèn 'modern', sèng 'zinc', pulisey 'police', etc.

e. A few nouns, which can be called inalienable, never occur without being immediately followed by an explicit third person 'possessor' (in the broad sense of the word), or in a linguistic or situational context in which a third person 'possessor' is known; they only have oblique

endings, e.g. *těpey 'its/the side (of a road or mountain), its/the bank (of a river)'*.

f. Personal pronouns only have one - absolute - form, which is also used when they are the head of a pronominal phrase: *akaw (ineh) dudewq 'I (here) am sitting'* (cf. *akaw 'I, me, my', ineh 'this', dudewq, duduq 'sit'*).

g. In compound words and petrified word combinations there are various restraints.

In most co-ordinative compounds the first word always has the oblique form, the other word is subject to the absolute-oblique opposition; cf.:

*cědeyq, cědiq 'clever', pandè, pande 'able', cědiq pandè, cědiq pande 'intellectual',*

*lakay, lakey 'husband', binòy, bini 'wife', lakey binòy, lakey bini 'husband and wife',*

*jantewng, jantun 'heart', atay, atey 'liver; soul', jantun atay, jantun atey 'beloved',*

*pěcah, pěcoh 'broken', běleh, bělowh 'split', pěcoh běleh, pěcoh bělowh 'in pieces',*

*umah, umoh 'house', tanggò, tanggo 'ladder, staircase', umoh tanggò, umoh tanggo 'household',*

*siang, sian 'day, morning', malang, malan 'night, evening', sian malang 'night and day' (not found in oblique position).*

Most subordinative compounds follow the lakey binòy type, such as:

*ayey matò, ayey mato 'tear', mato ayè, mato ayey 'source',*

*tando tangang, tando tangan 'signature', ubòt angayn, ubòt angen 'medicine for a cold' (cf. ayè, ayey 'water', matò, mato 'eye',*

*tandò, tando 'sign', tangang, tangan 'hand', ubeq, ubòt 'medicine', angayn, angen 'wind').*

A few subordinative compounds, however, always occur in the order absolute oblique:

*karita angen 'bicycle', karita apey 'train', anaq gadih 'female child' (cf. angayn, angen 'wind', karita, karito 'cart, coach', apay, apey 'fire', anaq, anoq 'child', gadòyh, gadih 'girl').*

A number of compounds consisting of a noun followed by an adjective have the form oblique-oblique, e.g.:

*anoq abòn 'newly born baby', anoq neq 'baby', uhan jantòn 'male, man' (cf. abeng, abòn 'red', nèq, neq 'small', uhang, uhan 'human being', janteng, jantòn 'masculine, male').<sup>8</sup>*

A few subordinative compound adjectives have an oblique-oblique construction:

*gilow ayey 'rather crazy', pěkoq badowq 'rather deaf' (cf. gilě, gilow 'crazy', ayè, ayey 'water', pěkaq, pěkoq 'deaf', badeq, badowq 'rhinoceros').*



h. The words for 'man', 'human being' and 'child' are exceptional in several ways. Our material suggests that in most contexts the oblique form uhan 'man' may be replaced by its absolute pendant uhang, without apparent change of meaning, e.g. uhang/uhan dusewng 'villager(s)', uhang/uhan Dusun ineh 'man of this village, men of these villages, this villager, these villagers' (cf. dusewng, Dusun 'village'), uhang/uhan jantòn 'male, man'.

The word for 'child' is anoq when it is a third person's offspring, e.g. anoq diě 'his/her (honorific) child', anoq anjèq 'puppy'; it is also anoq in a number of compounds: anoq darě , anoq darow 'bride', anoq bueh, anoq buowh 'member, follower' (cf. diě '(s)he (honorific)', darě, darow 'virgin', anjèq, anjeq 'dog', bueh, buowh 'fruit'). With first and second person possessive pronouns there are two possibilities: anoq akaw 'my child' but also anoq akaw; anoq kaaw 'your (sg.) child', but also anoq kaaw, etc. The difference between these forms is that the second ones emphasise the possessor, the first ones do not. Finally anoq is used in the meaning 'young human being' when it is followed by an attributively used adjective: anoq yatayn, anoq yaten 'child whose father has died', anoq nèq, anoq neq 'little child' (cf. yatayn, yaten 'with a dead father'. In other cases 'child' in the meaning 'young human being' is anoq, or - when followed by ineh 'this' or itoh 'that' - uhan (see below).

## 2.2. MORE DETAILED DISCUSSION OF THE FUNCTIONAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ABSOLUTE AND OBLIQUE FORMS

### 2.2.1. Lexical Semantic Differences

These are of two kinds.

1. Differences which arise as a consequence of the fact that one form of an opposition is homonymous with a word which is not part of an absolute-oblique opposition; e.g. kayò 'you(r) (polite)' (no opposition), kayò, kayo 'rich', kantay 'I, me, my' (no opposition), kantay, kantey 'friend', baliq 'again' (no opposition), baleyq, baliq 'return', malan 'last night' (no opposition), malang, malan 'night, evening', pětan 'yesterday, ago' (no opposition), pětang, pětan 'late afternoon'.

Since there are several morphological processes with the prefix pa(N)-, only one of which results in a form which is not part of an absolute-oblique opposition, this list can be extended with words such as pangiduq 'way of life, livelihood' (no opposition) and pangidèwq, pangiduq 'revivor, means of revival' (cf. idèwq, iduq '(a)live').

2. Semantic differences between two compounds or between a compound and a phrase: uhang itoh 'they there, those people', uhang ineh 'they

here, these people',<sup>9</sup> but uhan itoh '(s)he there, that human being, that child (!)'; uhan ineh '(s)he here, this human being, this child (!)'; anaq gadih 'female child' (no opposition), but anaq gaddyh, anaq gahid 'daughter'; anaq neq 'baby' (no opposition), but anaq nèq, anaq neq 'little child'; anaq abòn 'newly born baby' (no opposition), anaq abeng, anaq abòn 'red child'.

### 2.2.2. 'Definite'-'Indefinite' Opposition

There are three types of 'definite' use, dependent on word-class.

1. With transitive verbs in the object focus form with a third person singular agent<sup>10</sup> which is known from the situation or from the preceding linguistic context.

2. With transitive verbs in the subject focus form<sup>11</sup> when a third person singular object is known from the situation or from the preceding linguistic context.

3. With a noun when a third person 'possessor' - in the broad sense of the word - is known from the situation or from the preceding linguistic context (only when the translation 'their own' is possible the third person possessor may be plural). Examples:<sup>12</sup>

dikusowq ambowq adiq 'his/her younger sibling's hair was tangled by him/her' (kusawq, kusowq 'tangled', ambawq, ambowq 'hair', adeyq, adiq 'younger sibling'),

kakey kantay disintowh 'my leg was touched by him/her' (kakay, kakey 'foot, leg', kantay 'I, me, my' (no opposition), disintòh, disintowh 'be touched'),

nyo misoh dihi dahi kantey 'he/she separated him/herself from his/her friend' (nyo '(s)he, it(s), him, his, her' (no opposition), misah, misoh 'separate (subject focus)', dihòy, dihi 'oneself', dahi 'from' (no opposition),

nyo kawayn dèngan anaq mamòq 'he is married to the daughter of his mother's brother' (kawayn, kawen 'be married', dèngan 'with' (no opposition), mamaq, mamòq 'mother's brother'),

anoq mamaq buleyh kitò ngawen 'we may marry the daughter of our mother's brother' (buleyh, bulih (?) 'be allowed to',<sup>13</sup> kitò 'we (incl.)' (no opposition), ngawayn, ngawen 'marry with (subject focus)'),

didingòyn dulowh bahu buleyh ikò minon 'when it is cooled first, only then may you drink it' (dingòyn, dingin 'cold', dulowh 'first, formerly' (no opposition), bahu 'only then' (no opposition, but cf. bahèw, bahu 'new'), minawng, minon 'drink (subject focus)',

manan caro ngaloh *'how is the way to defeat him'* (manan *'how'* (no opposition), carò, caro *'manner, way'*, kalah, kaloh *'be defeated'*,

uhang itoh ngatat umoh *'they roofed their (own) house'* or *'they roofed his house'* (ataq, atat *'roof'*);

cf. also the following clauses, where there is no third person object, agent or possessor such as mentioned above:

sikaq ambowq adeyq *'comb the hair of the/your younger brother'* (sikaq, sikat *'brush, comb'*),

kamay misoh dihòy dahi kantay *'we (excl.) separate ourselves from our friends'* (kamay *'we, us, our (excl.)'* (no opposition),

kantay ideq buleyh minawng *'I am not allowed to drink'* (ideq, idowq *'not'*),

akey nyo ideq buleyh disintòh *'his leg may not be touched'*,

kantay ngatat umah *'I roof the/my house'*.

### 2.2.3. Differences in Syntactic Position

2.2.3.1. The object focus form of a transitive verb with the prefix di- must have the oblique form when it is directly followed by a (pro)nominal phrase indicating the agent; e.g.

itoh dilaròn agamě *'that is forbidden by religion'*, as opposed to itoh dilareng agamě *'that is forbidden in religion'* (dilarang/dilareng, dilaran/dilaròn *'be forbidden'*<sup>14</sup>), agamě, agamow *'religion'*)<sup>15</sup>

dipě̀lòq putay *'embraced was the princess'* versus dipě̀lowq putay *'embraced by the princess'* (dipě̀lòq, dipě̀lowq *'be embraced'*, putay, putey *'princess'*).

2.2.3.2. The oblique form is also required for the subject focus form of a transitive verb when it is directly followed by an expression denoting the object:

kamay ngaloh musòh *'we defeated the enemy'* (musòh, musowh *'enemy'*)

ikò nyikat ambowq adeyq *'you combed your younger sibling's hair'* (sikaq, sikat *'brush, comb'*),

agamě malaran itoh *'religion forbids that'* (malarang, malaran *'forbid (subject focus)'*),



nyo ngukow tēpey jaleng 'he is measuring the side of the road'  
 versus nyo ngukò tēpey jaleng 'he is measuring at the side of  
 the road' (ngukò, ngukow 'measure (subject focus)', jaleng, jalòn  
 'road'),<sup>15</sup>

moq deq mayoh dihòy 'do not trouble yourself' (moq 'do not' (no  
 opposition), deq emphasising particle (no opposition), payah,  
 payoh 'difficult, troublesome'),

nyo muteyh dindòyn 'he whitewashed the wall' (putèh, puteyh  
 'white', dindòyn, dindin 'wall'),

akaw ngan manggen mpòng 'it is me who is calling you' (ngan 'who,  
 which' (no opposition), manggèng, manggen 'call (subject focus)'),

kapande nyo malēbih ikò 'his skill exceeds yours' (kapande 'skill'  
 (no opposition, cf. pandè, pande 'able'), lēbeyh, lēbih 'more').

2.2.3.3. The oblique form of a noun is used when it is followed by an  
 attributive adjective, deictic or numeral, or by an attributive noun  
 phrase, prepositional phrase or a third person personal pronoun func-  
 tioning as a possessive. Compare the following sentences, in which the  
 oblique and absolute forms indicate the syntactic difference between  
 phrase and clause:

umoh gēdeng 'the big house', umah gēdeng 'the house is big';  
 umoh sagēdòn itoh 'a house as big as that', umah sagēdòn itoh 'the  
 house is as big as that'; bēhuq diē 'his/her (honorific) monkey',  
 bēhewq diē 'a monkey is (s)he (honorific)'; umoh ineh 'this house',  
 umah ineh 'this is a house'; umoh sitow 'the house there', umah  
 sitow 'the house is there'; umoh duē 'the two houses', umah duē  
 'there are two houses';

umoh baatat abeng 'the house with the red roof', umah baatat abeng  
 'the house has a red roof' (gēdeng, gēdòn 'big', sagēdòn 'as big  
 as' (no opposition), duē, duow 'two', sitow 'there' (no opposition),  
 ataq, atat 'roof');

bapowq tukang mèh 'the goldsmith's father, his/her father is a gold-  
 smith', bapeq tukang mèh 'father is a goldsmith' (bapeq, bapowq  
 'father', tukang, tukang 'expert', mèh, meh 'gold');

mēcang-mēcang burewng adē siney 'there are all kinds of birds here',  
 mēcang-mēcang burun siney 'the birds here are of all kinds'  
 (mēcang-mēcang, mēcang-mēcang 'of all kinds', burewng, burun 'bird',  
 adē, adow 'are', siney 'here' (no opposition));

jawi sěndo itoh 'a cow like that, his/her cow is like that',  
 jawòy sěndo itoh 'a cow is like that' (jawòy, jawi 'cow', sěndo  
 'be like' (no opposition)).

cf. also:

ikaq jawi dalòn kandang 'tether the cows which are in the stable'  
 and ikaq jawòy dalòn kandang 'tether the cows in the stable (i.e.  
 do not tether them somewhere else)' (ikaq, ikat 'tether, bind',  
 dalòn 'in(side)' (no opposition, but cf. daleng, dālòn 'deep'),  
 kandang, kandan 'stable').

2.2.3.4. The above-mentioned rules also hold true for nominal compounds  
 or noun phrases consisting of two nouns or a noun and an adjective:

baju bahèw 'new blouse', baju bahu nyo 'his/her new blouse' (bajèw,  
 baju 'blouse', bahèw, bahu 'new');

pintow suhay 'window', pintow suhey umoh 'the window of his/her  
 house' (pintaw, pintow 'door', suhay, suhey with unknown independent  
 meaning);

umoh gědeng 'the big house', umoh gědòn tinggay 'the high big house',  
 umoh gědòn itoh 'that big house' (tinggay, tinggey 'high');

batòn kayaw 'tree', batòn kayow sagědòn itoh 'a tree as big as that'  
 (bateng, batòn 'stem', kayaw, kayow 'wood');

burun (ě)lang 'eagle', burun (ě)lan itoh 'that eagle' (burewng,  
 burun 'bird', (ě)lang, (ě)lan 'eagle').

2.2.3.5. Nouns followed by an attributively used relative clause (i.e.  
 a clause beginning with the relative pronoun ngan) are used in the  
 oblique form, unless the plurality or diversity of the entity denoted  
 by the noun is marked explicitly; in this latter case the absolute form  
 is used. cf.:

děngan baju ngan putèh 'with a blouse which is white',

burun ngan inggaq dateyh dahòn kayaw 'a bird which perches on a  
 tree branch' (inggaq, inggat(?) 'perch', dateyh 'on top of' (no  
 opposition), daheng, dahòn 'branch'),

baton kayow ngan tinggay 'a tree which is high',

buowh ngan lah masaq 'a fruit which is already ripe' (bueh, buowh  
 'fruit', lah 'already' (no opposition), masaq, masoq 'ripe'), but

měcang-měcang burewng ngan adě siney 'the birds which are here are  
 of all kinds',

burewng-burewng ngan idèwq siney 'the various birds which live here',  
 banyeq binatang ngan tatimbaq 'many are the animals which got shot'  
 (banyeq, banyowq 'much, many', binatang, binatang 'animal', tatimbaq,  
 tatimboq 'get shot'),

ideq taitong mencayq ngan masoq parangkaq 'uncountable are the mice  
 which entered the trap' (taitòng, taiton 'countable', mēncayq,  
 mēnceyq 'mouse', masòq, masowq 'enter', parangkaq, parangkoq 'trap').

When such a ngan clause is used predicatively, however, the preceding  
 noun should have the absolute form, unless the oblique form is required  
 for some other reason; cf.:

umah ngan tinggay 'it is the house which is high',

umoh ngan tinggay 'the house which is high, it is his house which  
 is high'.

2.2.3.6. Nouns followed by a pronoun expressing the 'possessor' of the  
 entity denoted by the noun react in various ways. With the third person  
 pronouns nyo and diě the oblique form is always required: atey nyo/diě  
 'his liver, his soul', kakey nyo/diě 'his foot, his leg', ayan nyo/diě  
 'his chicken', umoh nyo/diě 'his house', jawi nyo/diě 'his cow'. Es-  
 pecially kamay 'we, us, our (excl.)', but also kantay 'I, me, my' are  
 in most cases combined with an oblique form: umoh kamay 'our house',  
 jawi kamay 'our cow', uan kamay 'our money' (uang, uan 'money'), kakey  
 kantay 'my foot, my leg', uan kantay 'my money', mamòq kantay 'my  
 mother's brother', ayan kantay 'my chicken', ayan kamay 'our chicken',  
 gawey kantay 'my work' (gawè, gawey 'work'), gawey kamay 'our work'.

Further research is necessary to explain the few cases of an absolute  
 form in combination with these pronouns; those with kamay suggest a  
 system, namely the absolute form seems to be used when the possessed  
 entity is no longer present (in any case for the purpose which the  
 speaker has in mind):

kihang lah padi kamay 'plant our (excl.) rice' (kihang, kihan  
 'plant' (verb), lah emphasising particle, paddý, padi 'rice-plant')  
 versus abòyh paddý kamay duòt ayey beh 'finished is our rice by  
 the flood' (abòyh, abih 'finish' (verb), duòt 'by' (no opposition),  
 beh, bowh 'inundation');

ideq bakěpaq agi ayan kamay 'our chicken has no longer wings'  
 (kěpaq, kěpoq 'wing', agi 'again, (with negation) longer' (no  
 opposition)) versus abòyh ayang kamay dimakòn biaweq 'finished  
 are our chickens, eaten by the iguanas' (dimakeng/dimakang,  
 dimakòn/dimakan<sup>14</sup> 'be eaten', biaweq, biawòt 'iguana');

dalòn kěbun kamay cuma adě cěngkěh 'in our garden there are only cloves' (kěběwng, kěbun 'garden', cuma 'only' (no opposition), cěngkěh, cěngkeh 'clove') versus lah abòyh kěběwng kamay dikaheh ayang 'our chicken has been rooted up all-over already by the chickens' (dikaheh, dikaheh 'be rooted up').

The second person pronouns, mpòng (masc.sg.) and ikò (sg./pl.), show the tendency to be combined with the absolute form of a noun in imperative clauses, and in other contexts with an oblique form: singkèq siwang ikò 'turn up your trousers' (singkèq, singkeq 'short', siwang, siwan 'trousers'), gěròyq jahòy mpòng dikòyq 'move your finger a bit' (gěròyq, gěrìq (?) 'move', jahòy, jahi 'finger', dikòyq, dikìq 'a bit'), versus tinggay niang batòn pinan ikò 'very high is your areca-nut palm' (niang 'very' (no opposition), pinang, pinan 'areca-nut'); lěngan baju mpòng sěmpayq 'the sleeves of your blouse are narrow' (lěngang, lěngan 'sleeve', sěmpayq, sěmpeyq 'narrow'). This tendency can be explained by the fact that the syntactic relation between the noun and the pronoun is looser in imperative constructions, since the pronoun is also felt to express the agent of the action. Our data were insufficient to establish tendencies for other pronouns than those mentioned.

It is curious that of a word pair like atay, atey 'liver, soul/heart', which occurs very frequently in our material, the absolute atay is consistently used with a first or second person pronoun, whereas atey is reserved for a third person: oh indòq, sampè atay kayò měngayh ngusey akaw 'o mother, how could you be angry with me' (indòq, indowq 'mother', sampè, sampe 'reach, until', kayò 'you(r) (polite)' (no opposition), měngayh, měngeyh 'angry', ngusey 'towards' (no opposition); sampè atay mpòng marěmòq atey indòq 'how could you break your mother's heart' (rěmòq, rěmowq 'broken'); rěmòq atay kantay něngo bitow diě 'it broke my heart to hear his story' (něnga, něngo 'hear, listen (subject focus)', bitě, bitow 'story'); but: sampè atey diě ngutowq anoq 'how could he curse his child' (ngutòq, ngutowq 'curse (subject focus)'), and bukòn maèng gědòn atey nyo 'he is extraordinarily brave' (bukeng, bukòn 'no' (followed by a noun), maèng, maayn 'play', bukòn maèng 'no joke, extraordinarily').

It is possible that the seemingly inconsistent use of the oblique and absolute forms preceding a first or second person possessive, is caused by the same opposition which was signalled above with anaq, anoq 'child': the oblique form is used when the possessor is emphasised, the absolute form otherwise.

2.2.3.7. Numerals have the oblique form when they directly precede the word which denotes the counted entity, except when this is a (modern ?)

unit of measurement:

duow anaq 'two children', umoh duě itoh 'those two houses', buowh nyo tigě 'it has three fruits', tigow buowh jambèw 'three rose-apples' (duě, duow 'two', tigě, tigow 'three'); but tigě kilomitey 'three kilometres', sapulòh mitey 'ten metres' (kilomitey 'kilometre', mitey 'metre' (both no opposition), sapulòh, sapulowh 'ten').

The oblique forms are also used for the non-final parts of compound numerals: tigow pulòh 'thirty', tigow pulòwh tigě 'thirty-three' (pulòh, pulowh 'decade').

2.2.3.8. Adjectives have the oblique form when they are preceded by an expression denoting degree, with the exception of lěbih 'more' (expressing comparative, cf. lěbeyh, lěbih 'more' (quantity)) and ageq 'rather' (no opposition):

bukon maèng gědòn umoh nyo 'extraordinarily big is his house';

(ma)liwaq gědòn umoh ineh 'too big is this house' ((ma)liwaq, (ma)liwat 'pass');

batòn pule itoh sangaq gědòn 'that pulai tree is very big' (pulè, pule 'pulai (tree)', sangaq/sangat 'very' (no opposition));

sailowq dulèw 'as good as formerly' (sa- (+ adjective + (pro)nominal phrase) 'as ... as', ilòq, ilowq 'good', dulèw, dulu 'former times');

sangaq ilowq putey itoh 'very pretty is that princess';

bapě banyowq bėheyh kamay 'how much rice do we have' (bapě 'how much' (no opposition), banyeq, banyowq 'much, many', bėheh, bėheyh 'uncooked rice');

nyo malumpa q satinggey itoh 'he jumps as high as that' (malumpa q, malumpat 'jump', tinggay, tinggey 'high');

batòn pule sagědòn itoh 'a pulai tree as big as that';

umoh ineh sapulòh mitey tinggey 'this house is ten metres high';

lěngan nyo samo gědòn děngan kakey kantay 'his arms are as big as my legs' (lěngang, lěngan 'arm', samo + adjective + děngan 'as ... as');

putey ineh kurang ilowq 'this princess is not so pretty' (kurang, kuran 'bad, not so'); but:

umoh ineh lěbih gědeng 'this house is bigger' and umoh ineh ageq gedeng 'this house is rather big'.



The absolute form is used when the qualification of degree follows the adjective: *gědeng niang umoh ineh* 'very big is this house'. The oblique form is also used when the adjective is a non-final part of a noun phrase (see above).

Finally adjectives can be nominalised, in which case they are followed by a third (? - our material lacks other examples) person 'possessor' or occur in a context in which the third person 'possessor' is known; cf. *gědeng umoh itoh* 'big is that house' and *gědòn umoh itoh* 'the size of that house', *kantay ideq taaw bapě gědòn* 'I do not know its size' (taaw, taow 'know', bapě 'how much' (no opposition)).

2.2.3.9. So far only the subject focus form and the object focus form with a third person agent (of course both of transitive verbs) have been discussed.

For the stem form of the transitive verb, used as imperative and as object focus form with a non-third person subject, we can say with certainty that the absolute form is used also when it is directly followed by the object. Meticulous syntactic study is required to establish the role of the absolute-oblique opposition with these forms. An indication might be the following pairs with intransitive verbs: *tarbeng tinggay* 'fly high' and *tarbòn tinggay* 'high-fly' (*tarbeng*, *tarbòn* 'fly'), *tidew těrawh* 'sleep all the time' and *tidu těrawh* 'go on sleeping' (*tidew*, *tidu* 'sleep', *těrawh* 'always, on and on' (no opposition), *lahay cěpaq* 'run without delay' and *lahey cěpaq* 'run fast' (*lahay*, *lahey* 'run', *cěpaq*, *cěpat* 'quick').

The difference between these sequences is similar to the one between a compound word and a syntactic construction; this is corroborated by the fact that in the sequences with an absolute first component both components are equally stressed, whereas in the sequences with an oblique form the stress of the second component is predominant.

It has to be investigated which verbal forms can occur in nominal syntactic contexts. Only then can a complete picture of the distribution of the absolute and oblique forms be given. Compare for example *nyo tidew* 'he is sleeping' and *tidu nyo* 'his sleeping' (*tidew*, *tidu* 'sleep').

2.2.3.10. A number of polymorphemic forms have been left out of our survey, mainly because of insufficient syntactic data. Most productive is prefixation with *ba-*, *ta-* or *pa(N)-*; cf. the following absolute forms:

*sapaw* 'broom, sweep',

*basapaw* (also *basapew*<sup>14</sup>) 'qualified by a broom (i.e. have a broom, with a broom), qualified by being swept, qualified by sweeping, should be swept',

tasapaw 'get swept, can be swept',<sup>16</sup>

panyapaw 'means/instrument of sweeping (i.e. something used as a broom), someone who sweeps';

kunayn 'yellow',

bakunayn 'qualified by being yellow, qualified by being made yellow, qualified by making yellow, should be made yellow',

takunayn 'get made yellow, can be made yellow, shining yellow, most yellow',

pangunayn 'means/instrument for yellowing, someone who makes yellow'.

### 3. MORPHOPHONEMIC CHANGES

3.1. Above we have seen some unexpected variants, such as basapèw next to basapaw (both absolute).

The reason is that the vocalic/diphthongic shape of the final syllable is to a high degree dependent on the presence or absence in the word of a voiced stop which is not preceded by a nasal belonging to the same morpheme. Words with such a stop (G) will be called G-words, those without one K-words. In monomorphemic words the distribution of the vowels/diphthongs existing in SP is in fact not only dependent on the place of the syllable in the word or on the absoluteness or obliqueness of the form in which they occur, but also on the presence or absence in the word of a G. See for example the list of vowels/diphthongs occurring in the final syllables of absolute and oblique forms of SP monomorphemic K- and G-words (Prentice and Hakim Usman, in this volume, table III).

The influence of such a G can be seen from the following examples: umah, umoh 'house', kumah, kumoh 'to the house, home', but dumeh, dumowh 'in the house, at home' (formed from ka- 'to' and di- 'in, at' + umah 'house'; ntay, ntey 'stop', but with the same meaning also bĕntòy, bĕnti; kumò, kumo 'to the wet rice-field', but dumĕ, dumow 'in the wet rice-field'. Even beyond the word boundary the influence is sometimes apparent: ahay, ahey 'day', but tigow ahòy, tigow ahi 'three days', next to tigow ahay, tigow ahey; gòy, gi 'go', lalaw, lalow 'go', but gòy lalèw 'in all directions' (no opposition).

3.2. It will be clear then that prefixation of ba- or di- may turn a K-word into a G-word: malarang, malaran 'forbid' (subj.foc.) but dilarang, dilaròn 'be forbidden'. Next to these latter forms, however, there also occur variants without vowel change: dilarang, dilaran 'be forbidden'. Other examples: ambò, ambo 'slave', diambĕ/diambò, diambow/

diambo 'be made a slave'; sapaw, sapow 'broom, sweep', basapaw/basapèw, basapow/basapu 'qualified by a broom, etc.'.

An extensive list of correspondences and possible restrictions to the occurrence of these variants will be given in Hakim Usman's forthcoming description.

3.3. The nasalisation process has been mentioned above. It is charted below (chart 3, there are no examples of initial kh).

CHART 3

Initial phonemes of the basic morpheme	Initial phonemes of the subject focus form
nasal (N) + consonant (C) vowel (V) r, l, w, y k, g, h, ng s, c, j, z, ny } + vowel t, d, n p, b, f, m	ngěNC- ngV- ma + r, l, w, y ng ny } + vowel n m

Since by nasalisation a voiced stop may be changed into a homorganic nasal, G-words which do not contain another G will turn into K-words. And as a consequence the final syllable will change. Examples:

děnge, děngow (?) 'listen, hear', něnga, něngo (subject focus) but jage, jagow 'plough' (noun), nyage, nyagow 'plough' (verb, subj.foc.); gawe, gawey 'work' (noun), ngawè, ngawe 'do' (subj.foc.) but gade, gadey 'pawn' (noun), ngade, ngadey 'pawn' (verb, subj.foc.); jaleng, jalòn 'way', nyalang, nyalan 'make go, do' (subj.foc.); buě, buow 'carry', muò, muo (subj.foc.) and, unexpectedly, bacě, bacow 'read', macě, maco (subj.foc.).

An extensive list will be published in Hakim Usman's forthcoming study.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

Van Reijn (1976) has suggested that the Kerinci diphthongised (i.e. absolute ?) forms occur sentence finally, whereas their variants with a full vowel (the oblique forms ?) are found at the beginning or in the middle of a sentence. As the above notes show, this seems not to be true for the SP variant of Kerinci.

The distribution of what we have called the absolute and oblique forms in SP is apparently dependent

1. on semantic distinctions;
2. with nouns indicating a possessed entity, on the fact whether a third person singular or plural ('*their own*') possessor is known from the situation or context, or not; and probably on the fact whether a first or second person possessor is emphasised or not;
3. with verbs, on the fact whether a third person singular agent (in case of the object focus form) or object (in case of the subject focus form) is known from the situation or context, or not;
4. on syntactic distinctions.

We based our discussion on syntax on a rough and provisional division into word-classes. Thorough syntactic study, however, is needed to arrive at a better founded and probably more detailed classification, in accordance with syntactic and morphemic valences.



N O T E S

1. A first draft of this paper was prepared by both authors in August-September 1977. Since that time Hakim Usman has done further fieldwork, which resulted in the necessity to reformulate (Padang, February 1978) a number of earlier statements. This revision has been carried out by the other author (Leiden, April 1978), who will therefore be responsible for possible omissions.
2. The only difference from the spelling used in Prentice and Hakim Usman 1978 is that their /ɔy/ is written as oy.
3. Since gender, tense and number are not categories of the word-form in SP, the use of these categories in the English translations is often arbitrary. The translations of longer units are often more literal than literary.
4. In the examples above only absolute forms have been given.
5. The frequencies of occurrence, given in parentheses, are based on Hakim Usman's dictionary (1976), which contains about 3000 main entries.
6. panjuddòy 'gambler' (cf. juddòy 'gamble') is an example of prenasalisation; pangahawq 'corruptor' (cf. kahawq 'in disorder') is an example of nasalisation.
7. Two SP forms separated by a comma are always an absolute form followed by an oblique one.
8. Next to uhan jantòn, however, uhang jantòn occurs as well (see h. below).



9. SP lacks a special third person plural pronoun; *uhang itoh* and *uhang ineh* are used instead.
10. In this case the form has the prefix *di-*.
11. The 'nasalisation' involved is charted below (see chart 3).
12. Below the examples are followed, where necessary, by an explanatory wordlist in parentheses; when the verbal form of the example has been derived from a noun or an adjective, we only give those.
13. A question mark behind a form means that we are not sure whether this form is used without a prefix.
14. About the endings of these forms, see 3. below (Morphophonemic Changes).
15. This is probably a productive opposition. Other words also can have a locative meaning without being preceded by a preposition.
16. A possibly productive opposition is: *umah tasapaw nyo* '*the house can be swept by him*' versus *umah tasapow nyo* '*the house got swept by him*'.

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