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9 Derived verb constructions

9.1 Introduction

Verb derivation from other word classes is formed by adding prefixes to the roots. The verbalizing prefixes in PT are maN- (9.2), N- + OBL (9.3), pa- (9.4), ba- (9.5), ta- (9.6) and ka- (9.7). Verb reduplication is discussed in section 9.8.

Derivational morphology can be grouped into three types. The first type displays general patterns of phrasal alternation presented in 1.7.4. The second type, the ‘frozen oblique’, goes back to the historical suffix *-an, which has converged morphologically with the oblique form in PT. The third type is a combination of a prefix with a compound. This type consists of existing compounds combined with derivational prefixes, so that patterns of phrasal alternation differ from one construction to another.

9.2 maN-

This section discusses the prefix maN- in combination with adjective roots (9.2.1) and noun roots (9.2.2).

9.2.1 with adjective roots

The prefix maN- with adjective roots expresses ‘to become X’ (Table 9.1). The realizations of maN- are slightly different from that of N- in active transitive constructions (8.4.1), in that root-initial voiced obstruents are preserved. Only roots have ABS-OBL alternation, whereas the derivational forms are morphologically frozen in the absolute form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Derivational form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gədua/gədon ‘big’</td>
<td>maŋgədua.A ‘to become big’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kəran/kərin ‘dry’</td>
<td>maŋəran.A ‘to become dry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kunan/kunin ‘yellow’</td>
<td>maŋunan.A ‘to become yellow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>putaih/puteih ‘white’</td>
<td>maŋmutaih.A ‘to become white’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9.1. maN- + adjective roots
The prefix \textit{maN-} takes one argument intransitively (1)--(2). It can also occur as a nominalized intransitive predicate (3)-(4).

(1) \textit{padoi ke? sawah lah maŋunan}  
paddy.A in rice.field.A already ACT.yellow.A  
‘Paddy in the rice field has become yellow’

[After an accident]  
(2) \textit{kakei no maŋ-gədua}  
leg,O 3.SG.POSS ACT.big.A  
‘Her/his leg was becoming bigger’

[Comparing two colors]  
(3) \textit{maŋunan toh ilauʔ}  
ACT.yellow.A toh good.A  
\textit{daripado kunin tuwao} than yellow.O old.A  
‘Yellowish [turning yellow] is better than dark yellow’

[A conversation about dough]  
(4) \textit{maŋ-gədua toh ŋə ilauʔ}  
ACT.big.A toh REL good.A  
‘Becoming big is good’

### 9.2.2 with noun roots

Combined with a small number of noun roots, the prefix \textit{maN-} denotes ‘to be like X’ (Table 9.2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Derivational form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{bateu/batu} ‘stone’</td>
<td>\textit{mambateu.A} ‘to harden’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{bukoiʔ/bukit} ‘hill’</td>
<td>\textit{mambukoiʔ.A} ‘to form a heap’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{gunea/gunun} ‘mountain’</td>
<td>\textit{mangunea.A} ‘to pile up’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 9.2: \textit{maN-} + noun roots*

These morphological forms are also frozen in the absolute form (5)--(6). In a limited number of cases, this prefixed form can appear in the oblique form when combined with a participant functioning as a complement (7).
Derived verb constructions

(5)  \[bəɭu \ bəɭumuəh \ \la\ \ bəɭu \ -gunea\]
shirt.O dirty.A already ACT.mountain.A
‘Dirty clothes are piling up’

(6)  \[ajei \ dalon \ kəlkəs \ \la\ \ mam-bateu\]
water.O inside fridge already ACT.stone.A
‘Water inside the fridge is hardened [frozen]’

(7)  \[bəɭu \ bəɭumuəh \ \la\ \ bəɭu \ -gunun \ tingai\]
shirt.O dirty.A already ACT.mountain.O high.A
‘Dirty clothes are highly piled up’

9.3 \[N\+OBL\]

Monovalent verb roots and adjective roots can increase their valency by creating active causative verbs. This section describes the valency increasing derivation on the basis of monovalent verb roots (9.3.1) and adjective roots (9.3.2).

9.3.1 with monovalent verb roots

The nasal-prefixed oblique can form verbs that can take two arguments from monovalent verb roots. Examples of monovalent bare verb roots that increase valency through \[N\+OBL\] are: \[tideu/tidu ‘to sleep’ vs. nidu ‘to make someone sleep’, mandai ‘to take a bath’ vs. mandei ‘to bathe someone’, matai ‘to die’ vs. matei ‘to turn something off’, apau? ‘to drift’ vs. apaunou? ‘to set adrift’.

In these derived active transitive constructions, the oblique form indicates that there is an agent which functions as the causee (8). Unlike intransitives (9), these derived forms do not alternate and can only occur in the oblique form, including when the object can be understood from the context (10).

(8)  \[no \ \ nido \ \ adi? \ \ no\]
‘She is trying to make her younger sibling sleep’

(9)  \[adi? \ \ no \ \ tideu\]
younger.sibling.O 3.SG.POSS sleep.A
‘Her/his younger sibling is sleeping’
Phrasal Alternation in Kerinci

[What is she doing to her 3-year-old sister who is still awake at midnight?]

(10) ɲo nidu
     3.SG ACT.sleep.O
     ‘She is trying to make [her sister] sleep’

These constructions can be passivized with the P1 construction (11), which takes an oblique form, but not with the P2 construction. In the imperative construction, the bare absolute root is used with the prefix di- (12). Note that without the prefix di-, it forms an intransitive clause (13), not an imperative.

(11) adiʔ ɲo di-tidu ɲo
     ‘Her sister was put to sleep by her’

*adiʔ ɲo akau tideu
     younger.sibling.O 3.SG.POSS 1.SG sleep.A
     ‘Her sister was put to sleep by me’

(12) di-tideu adiʔ ɲo
     PASS-sleep.A younger.sibling.O 3.SG.POSS
     ‘Put her sister to sleep!’

(13) tideu adiʔ ɲo
     sleep.A younger.sibling.O 3.SG.POSS
     *‘Put her sister to sleep!’
     ‘Her/his younger sibling is sleeping’

9.3.2 with adjective roots

With a number adjective oblique roots, N-OBL produces the meaning ‘to cause the patient to have the characteristics of X’ (14)-(15). The prefix di- can be combined with the oblique root in P1 constructions, when its referent is restricted by an overt (16) or covert agent (17). This type of causative cannot occur either in P2 or in imperative constructions.

[What is the sewing machine for?]

(14) untuʔ nyaneʔ baye?
     for ACT.small.O shirt.A
     ‘To make the shirt smaller’
Derived verb constructions

[What is s/he doing with the shirt?]

(15) ɲo ne 3.SG ACT.small.O ‘S/he makes it smaller’

(16) suwaro tipi di-ne? tino voice.O television PASS-small.O grandmother.O ‘The TV volume was lowered by Granny’

(17) ano? itoh di-godon child.O itoh PASS-big.O ‘That child has been raised [by so.]’

9.4 pa-

The prefix pa- can be combined with adjective and noun roots without phonological change in the root-initial phoneme, yielding transitive verbs. The prefix pa- can be preceded by the prefix mam- in active and di- in passive constructions. Pa- with adjective roots is discussed in 9.4.1 and with noun roots in 9.4.2.

9.4.1 with adjective roots

The prefix pa- combined with adjective roots forms transitive stems with the meaning ‘to make something more X’. It implies that the patient already has the characteristic denoted by the adjective, which characteristic is increased further (Table 9.3).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Derivational form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɁəpaɁ/Ɂəpat ‘fast’</td>
<td>ɁpaɁɁəpaɁ/ɁpaɁɁəpat ‘to speed up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enaeʔ/eneʔ ‘small’</td>
<td>Ɂnaeʔ/ɁnaeɁ ‘to minimize, to decrease’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guðua/gudon ‘big, large’</td>
<td>Ɂgudua/Ɂgudon ‘to enlarge’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilau/ilou ‘good, attractive’</td>
<td>Ɂilau/Ɂilou ‘to make more attractive, to decorate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>libua/libo ‘broad’</td>
<td>Ɂlibua/Ɂlibo ‘to broaden’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mduah/mudoh ‘easy’</td>
<td>Ɂmduah/Ɂmudoh ‘to make easier, to facilitate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panaj/pananj ‘long’</td>
<td>Ɂpanaj/Ɂpananj ‘to lengthen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sinkeʔ/sinkeʔ ‘short’</td>
<td>Ɂsinkəʔ/Ɂsinkəʔ ‘to shorten’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tingai/tingei ‘high, tall’</td>
<td>Ɂtingai/Ɂtingei ‘to make taller, to heighten’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9.3. pa- + adjective roots
In active constructions, the oblique verb is preceded by the prefix *mam-* (18). This form cannot occur in intransitive constructions, i.e. without an overt or covert object. It differs from *N*+OBL, which lacks the nuance that the adjective already possesses the quality that is being increased (19).

(18)  \textit{ɲo mam-pa-panj\textsuperscript{a} barih ine\textsuperscript{a}} \\
\text{3.SG ACT.CAUS-long.O line.O ineh} \\
’S/he lengthens this line’

*\textit{ɲo mam-pa-panja} \\
\text{3.SG ACT.CAUS-long.A}

(19)  \textit{ɲo man\textsuperscript{a} barih ine\textsuperscript{a}} \\
\text{3.SG ACT.long.O line.O ineh} \\
’S/he makes this line long’

The prefix *pa-* combined with adjective roots can also form P1 constructions (20). The general rules of phrasal alternation presented in 1.7.4 apply (21)-(22). Adverbial constructions following the verb do not affect the absolute form of the verb (23).

(20)  \textit{ja\textsuperscript{a}lon ine\textsuperscript{a} di-pa-libo} \\
\text{road.O ineh PASS-CAUS-broad.O} \\
‘This road was broadened [by so.]’

(21)  \textit{gawe ine\textsuperscript{a} di-pa-mudoh po} \\
\text{work.O ineh PASS-CAUS-easy.O 3.SG} \\
‘This work was made easier by him/her’

(22)  \textit{gawe ine\textsuperscript{a} di-pa-muduah} \\
\text{work.O ineh PASS-CAUS-easy.A} \\
‘This work was made easier’

(23)  \textit{ti\textsuperscript{a}jan ine\textsuperscript{a} di-pa-tin\textsuperscript{a}i ka ateh} \\
\text{pillar.O ineh PASS-CAUS-height.A to above} \\
‘This pillar was made taller upwards’

P2 constructions, which are discussed in 8.4.4, also follow this pattern. The prefix *pa-* combined with a verb root occurs in the absolute form (24)–(25). This is also the case with imperative constructions (26)-(27).
Derived verb constructions

(24)  
\[ \text{siwan } \text{ineh } \text{akau } \text{pa-siŋkae?} \]
\[ \text{pants.O } \text{ineh } \text{1.SG CAUS-short.A} \]
\[ \text{‘This pair of pants was shortened by me’} \]

(25)  
\[ \text{umoh } \text{ineh } \text{ikao } \text{pa-ilau?} \]
\[ \text{house.O } \text{ineh } \text{2.SG CAUS-good.A} \]
\[ \text{‘This house was decorated by you’} \]

(26)  
\[ \text{pa-gədua } \text{umoh } \text{ineh} \]
\[ \text{CAUS-large.A house.O ineh} \]
\[ \text{‘Enlarge this house!’} \]

(27)  
\[ \text{pa-libua } \text{jąlon } \text{itoh} \]
\[ \text{CAUS-broad.A road.O itoh} \]
\[ \text{‘Broaden that road!’} \]

9.4.2 with noun roots

The prefix \textit{pa}- in combination with a noun root implies ‘to treat the patient as X’. Only two examples show up in my corpus, neither of which exhibit ABS-OBL alternation (Table 9.4).

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline
\textbf{Root} & \textbf{Derivational form} \\
\hline
\textit{adoiɁ/adiɁ} ‘younger sibling’ & \textit{paadiɁ} ‘to regard as a younger sibling’ \\
\textit{buduaɁ/budoɁ} ‘slave’ & \textit{pabuduaɁ} ‘to enslave’ \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\textit{Table 9.4. \textit{pa}- + noun roots}

In active constructions, \textit{pa}- is preceded by the prefix \textit{mam-} (28)–(29). The prefix \textit{di}- is used in passive constructions (30)–(31). P2 constructions are exemplified in (32)–(33). The bare form is used in imperatives (34). Note that \textit{buduaɁ/budoɁ} requires an absolute-like root and \textit{adoiɁ/adiɁ} an oblique-like root.

(28)  
\[ \text{jąpua } \text{mam-pa-buduaɁ} \text{ itao } \text{duleu} \]
\[ \text{Japan.A ACT.CAUS-slave 1.PL.INCL in.the.past.A} \]
\[ \text{‘The Japanese enslaved us in the past’} \]

(29)  
\[ \text{no } \text{mam-pa-adiɁ} \text{ akau} \]
\[ \text{3.SG ACT.CAUS-younger.sibling 1.SG} \]
\[ \text{‘S/he regards me as a younger sibling’} \]
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(30) memən̂ di-pa-budua?  no  na
indeed PASS-CAUS-slave 3.PL really
‘[Our people] were really enslaved by them’
[fc4.229]

(31) akau di-pa-adiʔ no
1.SG PASS-CAUS-younger.sibling 3.SG
‘I am regarded as a younger sibling by her/him’

(32) anoʔ jatan ikao pa-buduaʔ
child.O orphan.A 2.SG CAUS-slave
‘An orphan was treated by you like a slave’

(33) akau ikao pa-adiʔ
1.SG 2.SG CAUS-younger.sibling
‘I am regarded as a younger sibling by you’

(34) pa-buduaʔ uhan itoh
CAUS-slave 3.SG,M
‘Treat him like a slave!’

9.5  ba-

The prefix ba- has been briefly introduced in 3.4.2. This morpheme typically marks ‘subject affectedness’, i.e. the subject is affected by the result of the action.126 This prefix is mostly used in intransitive constructions.127 As such, it occurs in the absolute form. Ba-+OBL constructions are possible in contexts where they take a complement or a stative property, or as a frozen oblique historically reflecting the suffix *-an. If ba- is combined with a compound, the ABS-OBL opposition of the pre-existing compound remains intact.

This section discusses the prefix ba- in combination with noun roots (9.5.1) and verb roots (9.5.2). I then address the prefix ba- in constructions

126 See Kemmer (1993) for a discussion on subject affectedness as a property of the middle voice.
127 This has also been observed in Indonesian (Dardjowidjojo 1978; Vamarasi 1986).
denoting reciprocality (9.5.3) and random manner (9.5.4), followed by its use in compounds (9.5.5).

9.5.1 with noun roots

9.5.1.1 ‘to possess X’

The prefix ba- combined with noun roots yields stative verbs (STAT) expressing ‘to be qualified by the possession of X’ (Table 9.5). Ba-noun constructions can take a complement, marking a ‘limitative relation’; the complement provides a limitation or specification about what kind of property is denoted by the prefixed root.\(^{128}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Derivational form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dahuah/dahoh ‘blood’</td>
<td>badahuah/badahoh ‘to possess blood, to bleed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isai/isei ‘content’</td>
<td>barisoi/barisi ‘to have content, filled’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kipae/kipe ‘money’</td>
<td>bakipae/bakipe ‘to have money’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kudea/kudo ‘horse’</td>
<td>bakudea/bakudo ‘to have a horse, to ride a horse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tugeuɁ/tuguɁ ‘hat’</td>
<td>batugeuɁ/batuguɁ ‘to have a hat, to wear a hat’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9.5. ba- expressing ‘to possess X’

The prefix ba- combined with a noun root can be used predicatively. It occurs in the absolute form intransitively (35) and in the oblique form when it takes a complement (36). It occurs in the absolute form within a relative clause, which indicates an attributive relation with the head noun (37). In this context, the prefixed root may also occur without a relative marker preceding it (38), but this construction is less preferred by PT speakers.

\[(35)\] gəleh ineh bar-isoi (*isi) glass.O ineh STAT-content.A ‘This glass is filled’

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\(^{128}\) Adelaar (1984) labels it ‘complement’, whereas Steinhauer (1992) calls it ‘predicate adjunct’. Sneddon (2010: 274) holds that ‘a complement is a clause component which resembles an object but which cannot become the subject of a passive clause’.

\(^{129}\) The same is true for Indonesian (Fokker 1980).
Constructions with \textit{ba-} + complement denote an attributive relation with the head noun.\footnote{A similar construction exists in Indonesian (Steinhauer 1992: 434).} The \textit{ba-}prefixed noun adds additional information to the preceding noun and occurs in the oblique form. Attributively, \textit{ba-}prefixed nouns can be used without a relative marker to post-modify the head noun (39).

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{gǝleh ineh bar-isi (*isoi) ajai}
  \begin{itemize}
    \item \textit{glass.O ineh STAT-content.O water.A}
    \end{itemize}
  \begin{itemize}
    \item \textit{‘This glass is filled with water/this glass contains water’}
  \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{[gǝleh [ŋə bar-[isoi]{NP}_RC]NP itoh jateuh}}
  \begin{itemize}
    \item \textit{glass.O REL STAT-content.A itoh fall.A}
    \end{itemize}
  \begin{itemize}
    \item \textit{‘The glass which is filled fell down’}
  \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{[gǝleh bar-[isoi]{NP}_NP itoh jateuh}}
  \begin{itemize}
    \item \textit{glass.O STAT-content.A itoh fall.A}
    \end{itemize}
  \begin{itemize}
    \item \textit{‘That filled glass fell down’}
  \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

Prefixes oblique roots followed by numeral complements can be used predicatively. Here, the numeral limits the possession expressed by the \textit{ba-}prefixed root, determining the boundaries of the possessive construction (40)-(41).

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{no bar-ano? tigea}
  \begin{itemize}
    \item \textit{3.SG STAT-child.O three.A}
    \end{itemize}
  \begin{itemize}
    \item \textit{‘S/he has three children’}
  \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{no ba-bini duwea}
  \begin{itemize}
    \item \textit{3.SG STAT-wife.O two.A}
    \end{itemize}
  \begin{itemize}
    \item \textit{‘He has two wives’}
  \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

Absolute roots without a complement occur predicatively (42). When followed by a numeral complement, clauses of this type are used

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\footnote{A similar construction exists in Indonesian (Steinhauer 1992: 434).}
attributively within a relative clause (43)-(44). Attributive usage of the prefixed roots without a relative marker requires an oblique form (45)-(46).

(42)  no  ba-binoi
3.SG  STAT-wife.A
1. ‘He has a wife’
2. ‘He is married’

(43)  jando  [ŋə  bar-[anoʔ  tigea]NP]RC
widow.O  REL  STAT-child.O  three.A

itoh  kantei  akau
itoh  friend.O  1.SG
‘The widow who has three children is my friend’

(44)  janton  [ŋə  ba-[bini  duwea]NP]RC
male.O  REL  STAT-wife.O  two.A

itoh  ŋotouʔ  pintau
itoh  ACT.knock.O  door.A
‘The man who has two wives knocked on the door’

(45)  jando  bar-anoʔ  tigea  di-tinoʔ  no

‘The widow with three children is targeted by him’ [Lit.]
‘The widow with three children is the woman he has in mind’

(46)  malaeh  na  no ŋimoʔ
lazy.A  very  3.SG  ACT.see.O

janton  ba-bini  duwea
male.O  STAT-wife.O  two.A
‘S/he is fed up seeing men with two wives’

9.5.1.2 ‘to produce X’

The prefix ba- combined with a noun root can also express ‘to produce X’ (Table 9.6).
### Table 9.6. *ba*- expressing ‘to produce X’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Derivational form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>buŋoi/buŋi</td>
<td>‘noise’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>babuŋoi/babuŋi</td>
<td>‘to make a noise’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pəlauh/pəlouh</td>
<td>‘sweat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bapəlauh/bapəlouh</td>
<td>‘to produce sweat, to sweat, to be sweaty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sijau/sijou</td>
<td>‘a whistle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baśijau</td>
<td>‘to whistle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>təlau/təlou</td>
<td>‘egg’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>batəlau/batəlou</td>
<td>‘to lay an egg’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Predicatively, the absolute form is used (47), resulting in two possible readings depending on whether or not there is an intonational break. With an intonational break, the prefixed root is interpreted as a post-subject predicate and therefore a clause. Without an intonational break, it is interpreted as an attribute and therefore a phrase. Attributively, the prefixed root can follow a relative marker and also occurs in the absolute form (48). When the relative marker is omitted, it is not clear whether the sentence is general or definite (49). The oblique form is only used when the prefixed root is followed by an adjectival complement, such as *ilauʔ* ‘good’ (50).

(47)  

```plaintext
uha ba-pəlauh
people.A STAT-sweat.A
1. ‘People are sweaty’ [with intonational break]
2. ‘Sweaty people’ [without intonational break]
```

(48)  

[In a context of doing sports]  

```plaintext
uha ŋə ba-pəlauh itoh ilauʔ
people.A REL STAT-sweat.A itoh good.A
‘People who are sweaty are good’ [Lit.]
‘It’s good to work out’
```

(49)  

```plaintext
uha ba-pəlauh itoh ilauʔ
people.A STAT-sweat.A itoh good.A
1. ‘Sweaty people are good’ [‘It’s good to work out’]
2. ‘That sweaty person is good-looking’
```

(50)  

```plaintext
ɲo ba-pəlouh ilauʔ
3.SG STAT-sweat.O good.A
‘S/he is sweating a lot’
```

Combined with the root *dahuah/dahoh* ‘blood’, the prefix *ba*- can be interpreted in two different ways: ‘to possess blood’ (as discussed in 9.5.1.1) and ‘to produce blood, to bleed’. This construction can occur attributively
within a relative clause (51) or predicatively (52), in both cases requiring the absolute form. It cannot be used adjacently after the head noun.

(51)  
\[
\text{[kakei ŋə ba-dahuah]NP itoh sakai?}
\]
\[
\text{leg.O REL STAT-blood.A itoh ill.A}
\]
\`
The leg which is bleeding hurts’
\*\[
\text{[kakei ba-dahuah]NP itoh sakai?}
\]
\[
\text{leg.O STAT-blood.A itoh ill.A}
\]

(52)  
\[
kakei ɲo ba-dahuah
\]
\[
\text{leg.O 3.SG.POSS STAT-blood.A}
\]
\`
Her/his leg is bleeding’

9.5.1.3 ‘to use/wear X’

The prefix ba- combined with a noun root can convey the meaning ‘to use/wear X’ (Table 9.7).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Derivational form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baye/baŋu ‘shirt’</td>
<td>babaye/babaŋu ‘to wear a shirt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sapatou ‘shoes’</td>
<td>basapatou ‘to wear shoes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tugeu/tugu? ‘hat’</td>
<td>batugeu/tatugu? ‘to wear a hat’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9.7. ba- expressing ‘to use/wear X’

It occurs in the absolute form (53). The oblique form is used when the ba-prefixed noun root is followed by an adjectival complement (54).

(53)  
\[
\text{ɲo ba-tugeu? (*tugu?)}
\]
\[
\text{3.SG STAT-hat.A}
\]
\`
S/he is wearing a hat’

(54)  
\[
kamai ba-tugu? (*ba-tugeu?) ita
\]
\[
\text{1.PL.EXCL STAT-hat.O black.A}
\]
\`
We wear black hats’

Attributively, the root appears in the absolute form within the relative clause (55) and in the oblique form when followed by an adjectival complement (56). The prefixed root cannot occur without being preceded by a relative marker in this context.
Phrasal Alternation in Kerinci

(55) akau nalo? ana? ŋə ba-tugeu?
1.SG ACT.search.for child.A REL STAT-hat.A
‘I am looking for a child who is wearing a hat’

*akau nalo? ana? ba-tugeu?
1.SG ACT.search.for child.A STAT-hat.A

(56) ana? ŋə ba-tugu? ita
child.A REL STAT-hat.O black.A

itoh ana? esde
itoh child.A SD
‘Children who wear black hats are elementary school students’

The prefix ba- combined with the root kudea/kudo ‘horse’ can technically mean ‘to possess a horse’ (9.5.1.1) as well as ‘to use a horse’, i.e. to ride one (57). The latter is generally the most common interpretation (58). The absolute form is used in both constructions. The oblique form is used when it is followed by an adjectival complement (59). Non-alternating words can also occur in this construction (60).

(57) kamai ba-kudea
1.PL.EXCL STAT-horse.A
‘We have horses’
‘We ride a horse’

(58) no ba-kudea k-umoh ali
3.SG STAT-horse.A PREP-house.O PN
‘S/he rode on horseback to Ali’s house’

(59) no ba-kudo putaih k-umoh ali
3.SG STAT-horse.O white.A PREP-house.O PN
‘S/he rode on a white horse to Ali’s house’

(60) haa nampusah lah ana? nac? ba-sapeda
PART ACT.pass.A PART child.A small.A STAT-bike
‘Hmm… a small kid on a bike is going past’ [Dyn.]
[P4_PV_HAL_OLD_FEMALE.028]
9.5.1.4 ‘to work as X’

The prefix ba- combined with a noun root expresses ‘to work as X’ (Table 9.8). On a semantic level, some derived forms only occur in the absolute form and therefore cannot take a complement, whereas others have ABS-OBL opposition and can take a complement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Derivational form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jagua/jago</td>
<td>ba/jago ‘to work as a trader’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kədoa/kəde</td>
<td>bəkədo ‘to work as a retailer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ladua/ladon</td>
<td>baladua ‘to work as a farmer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuka/tukan</td>
<td>batuka ‘to work as a mason’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Table 9.8. ba- expressing ‘to work as X’

Predicatively, the prefixed root occurs in the absolute form (61)–(62). In a nominalized construction, the oblique form is used when the ba-prefixed noun root is followed by a nominal complement (63). Within a relative clause, the root occurs in the absolute form and is used attributively (64). This construction cannot occur without a relative marker. Attributively, the root occurs in the oblique form and is followed by a nominal complement (65).

(61)  
gawenono ba-tuka
work.O 3.SG.POSS STAT-mason.A
‘S/he works as a mason’

(62)  
uha toh ba-kədoa dea?
3.PL STAT-kiosk.A TAG
‘They work as retailers, don’t they?’
[fc4.001]

(63)  
[The agent is telling about what she did to earn money] 
bajago pisa lamao lao
STAT-merchandize.O banana.A long.A also
‘Selling bananas for a long time also’
[fc10.018]
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**Phrasal Alternation in Kerinci**

(64)  
\[ \text{tino} \quad \text{ŋə} \quad \text{ba-} \quad \text{ŋə} \quad \text{RC}\]  
\begin{align*}  
\text{grandmother.O} & \quad \text{REL} & \quad \text{STAT-merchandize.A} \\
\text{toh} & \quad \text{ill.A} \\
\text{tino} & \quad \text{ŋə}\text{ba-} & \quad \text{ŋə}\text{RC} & \quad \text{toh} & \quad \text{ill.A} \\
\text{The old woman who works as a retailer is ill’} & \end{align*}

(65)  
\[ \text{ikao} \quad \text{nuwe?} \quad \text{tino} \quad \text{ŋə} \quad \text{ba-} \quad \text{ŋə} \quad \text{RC}\]  
\begin{align*}  
\text{2.SG} & \quad \text{ACT.ask} & \quad \text{grandmother.O} & \quad \text{REL} \\
\text{ba-} \quad \text{ŋə} \quad \text{piso} \quad \text{RC}\]  
\begin{align*}  
\text{STAT-merchandize.O} & \quad \text{banana.A} \\
\text{You asked [a question] to an old woman who sells bananas’} & \end{align*}

**9.5.2 with verb roots**

**9.5.2.1 emphasizing verbality**

The prefix *ba-* can also take verbal roots. In this construction, it emphasizes the verbal status of the word and makes what is being said sound more formal.\(^{131}\) The prefix *ba-* is not as productive as *N-* or *di-*, which can be combined with a much greater number of roots. The prefix *ba-* is only used in long-established derivations.\(^{132}\) Some derived forms only occur in the absolute (Table 9.9). Verbs that also occur in the oblique form can take a complement.

\(^{131}\) This is also the case in Indonesian (Alwi et al. 1998). In the words of Sneddon (2010: 65), ‘it is difficult to assign a meaning to *ber-* with such bases other than that its presence is necessary to produce a well-formed verb’.

\(^{132}\) This is also the case in Indonesian (Dardjowidjojo 1983).
The root ‘to walk’ can occur either in the absolute form (66) or in the oblique form when followed by an adjectival complement (67). Note, however, that certain roots only occur in the absolute form (68).

(66) \text{if exist.A REL want VBLZ-road.A take.O} \\[ \text{jalon tanah kampau} \\]
\hspace{1cm} ‘For those who want to walk, take the Tanah Kampau direction’ \[\text{fc5.016}\]

(67) \text{1.PL.EXCL VBLZ-walk.O far.A} \\[ \text{We walk far} \]

(68) \text{arrive.A ship.O fly.A ACT.deliver} \\[ \text{ba-labeuh lah tanoh lapa} \\]
\hspace{1cm} ‘When delivering flights arrived, [they] landed on the town square’ \[\text{fc4.247}\]

133 Unlike Malay labuh ‘an anchor’, labeuh/labuh in PT only serves a verb ‘to anchor’, never a noun.
9.5.2.2 marking time-stable activity

The prefix *ba-* combined with absolute verb roots occurs in intransitive constructions expressing ‘to do a relatively time stable activity’. Derivational forms only take the absolute form (Table 9.10).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Derivational form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>aɟua</em> ‘to teach’</td>
<td><em>balaɟua</em> (^{134}) ‘to be learning, to study’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ajan/ajun</em> ‘to swing’</td>
<td><em>barajen:A</em> ‘to be swinging’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mənau/mənun</em> ‘to ponder’</td>
<td><em>bamənau:A</em> ‘to be pondering’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pikai/pikei</em> ‘to think’</td>
<td><em>bapikai:A</em> ‘to be thinking, to reflect’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 9.10. ba- expressing time-stable activity**

This construction is used predicatively (69) or before an adjectival complement (70)–(71), in which case the absolute form is maintained. Intransitives also occur in the absolute form (72), including in a relative clause (73).

(69) salagi səɲaɁ po ba-pikai
    while quiet.A 3.SG VBLZ-think.A
    ‘As long as it’s quiet s/he is thinking’

(70) puseiɁ itoh bar-ajen kəncəa
    toy itoh VBLZ-swing.A fast.A
    ‘That toy swings fast’

(71) po ba-pikai kəraeh
    3.SG VBLZ-think.A hard.A
    ‘S/he thinks hard’

(72) ba-mənau woa gawe po
    VBLZ-ponder.A only work.O 3.SG.POSS
    ‘Pondering is her/his only activity’

\(^{134}\) The prefix *bal-* (instead of *ba-*) only occurs in combination with the root *aɟua* ‘to teach’, cf. Malay *bəlajar* in the same meaning. The construction has probably been borrowed as a whole from Malay, otherwise one would expect *baɟua.*
Derived verb constructions

(73)  uha ŋə ba-mənau itoh ta-tideu
people.A REL VBLZ-ponder.A itoh PERF-sleep.A
‘The person who is pondering falls asleep’

9.5.3 with ba+-ABS

In combination with some noun or verb roots, the prefix ba- expresses reciprocality, i.e. two or more people sharing a relationship to each other as denoted by the noun root, or are simultaneously agent and patient of an action denoted by the verb root (Table 9.11). This construction requires a plural subject.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Derivational form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cian/ciun ‘to kiss’</td>
<td>bacian.A ‘to kiss each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kantai/kantei ‘friend’</td>
<td>bakantai.A ‘to be friends’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>musauh/musouh ‘enemy’</td>
<td>bamusauh.A ‘to be enemies’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tinaultinjou ‘to punch’</td>
<td>batinjau.A ‘to punch each other’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9.11. ba- expressing reciprocality

These derivational forms only occur in the absolute form and can be used predicatively (74) and attributively (75).

(74)  uha itoh ba-kantai
3.PL RECP-friend.A
‘They are friends’

(75)  uha ba-kantai itoh səndo itoh ɲa
people.A RECP-friend.A itoh like itoh really
‘That’s what being friends with people is all about’

9.5.4 with ba+-OBL

For a limited number of roots, the construction ba+-OBL expresses an action carried out in a random manner, i.e. in an undirected motion and/or by many participants (Table 9.12).
The derivational forms are frozen in the oblique form (76)-(77), which historically reflects the suffix *-an.135

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Derivational form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ganteu/gantun ‘to hang’</td>
<td>bagantun.O ‘to hang all over the place’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terbuu/torbon ‘to fly’</td>
<td>batərbon.O ‘to fly everywhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>torjen/torjun ‘to fall’</td>
<td>batərjun.O ‘to fall from every direction’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9.12. ba- + OBL random manner

The derivational forms are frozen in the oblique form (76)-(77), which historically reflects the suffix *-an.135

(76)  lalaʔ ba-tərbon keʔ təmpeʔ sahaʔ
fly.A VBLZ-fly.O at place.O garbage.A
‘Flies fly everywhere at the garbage heap’

(77)  uha ba-tərjun kalon danua
people.A VBLZ-fall.O into lake.A
‘People from all directions fell into a lake’

9.5.5 in compounds

The prefix ba- can be combined with existing compounds. This morphological process does not affect the ABS-OBL alternation of the compounds; OBL+ABS compounds (78) and OBL+OBL compounds (79) remain intact. When the same lexical roots do not form a compound, phrase-final elements can occur in the absolute form (80).

(78)  nə ba-tanən padoi
3.SG VBLZ-plant.O paddy.A
‘S/he is cultivating paddy’

(79)  unda itoh ba-[lago kambeʔ]VP
motorcycle itoh VBLZ-fight.O goat.O
‘The motorcycles were goat-fighting’ [Lit.]
‘The motorcycles were bumping against each other’

135 The corresponding Malay circumfix is ber…an.
(80) \( ba-\{lagea\}_{VP} \) kambe? \( \text{po} \)  
RECP-fight.A goat.O 3.SG.POSS  
‘Fighting was what her/his goats did’

9.6 \( ta- \)

The prefix \( ta- \) marks unintentionality and/or potentiality.\(^{136}\) It can be combined with monovalent and bivalent verbs. The patterns of phrasal alternation presented in 1.7.4 apply, but not all verbs prefixed with \( ta- \) can take a complement semantically. Hence, some verbs only occur in the absolute form. This section examines \( ta- \)-constructions expressing unintentionality (9.6.1) and potentiality (9.6.2).

### 9.6.1 Unintentionality

The prefix \( ta- \) can be combined with a monovalent or bivalent verb root, indicating that the subject undergoes an activity without a willing agent (Table 9.13).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Derivational form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( buwea/bowo ) ‘to bring’</td>
<td>tabuwea ‘taken / brought unintentionally’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( dudeu/dudu ) ‘to sit’</td>
<td>tadvdeu/tadowu ‘fallen into a sitting position’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( tateu/tatu ) ‘to fall down’</td>
<td>tagateu/tagatu ‘fallen suddenly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( empeh/empeh ) ‘to smash’</td>
<td>tagempeh/tagempeh ‘hurled, thrown down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( galincai/galincei ) ‘to slip’</td>
<td>tagalincai/tagalincei ‘come to slip’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( gul/o ) ‘to roll’</td>
<td>tagul/o ‘rolled on, toppled’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( kima/kimo ) ‘to see’</td>
<td>takima ‘suddenly seen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( maka/makan ) ‘to eat’</td>
<td>tamaka/tamakan ‘eaten by accident’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( pandau/pandou ) ‘to bang’</td>
<td>tapandau/tapandou ‘bumped into sth.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( tideu/tidu ) ‘to sleep’</td>
<td>tatideu/tatidu ‘fallen asleep’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 9.13. \( ta- \) + monovalent and bivalent verb roots**

For monovalent roots, no situational transition is indicated (81). \( Ta- \)-prefixed forms mark a situational transition caused by an internal factor (the subject commits the act involuntarily) or an external factor (the subject is unwillingly affected by the act). The situational change characterizing \( ta- \)-

\(^{136}\) The prefix \( ta- \) is cognate with the prefix \( ter- \) in other Malay varieties (Cf. Djiang 1988; Tajuddin 1993; Goddard 2003; Tjia 2007; Crouch 2009; Chung 2011).
constructions indicates a notion of perfectivity. The verb occurs in the absolute form (82)-(84).

(81) ɲo dudeu? (*dudu?)
3.SG sit.A
‘S/he is sitting’

(82) ɲo ta-dudeu? (*ta-dudu?)
3.SG PERF-sit.A
‘S/he fell into a sitting position’

(83) ɲo ta-jateuh, ta-guloi,
3.SG PERF-fall.A PERF-roll.on.A

\[\text{ta-}\text{mpaeh} \quad \text{palo}\]
PERF-smash.A head.O
‘He accidentally fell, toppled, [and had his] head smacked down’
[\text{P4}\_\text{PV}\_\text{HAL}\_\text{OLD}\_\text{FEMALE.055}]

(84) ɲo ta-dudu? (*ta-dudeu?) ilau?
3.SG PERF-sit.O good.A
‘S/he fell into a perfect sitting position’

The absolute form is also required for bivalent verb roots (85). The oblique form is only used when it is followed by a complement (84). In terms of word order, note that ta-constructions can precede either the agent (86) or the patient (87). As a result, it must be determined from the context which element functions as the agent and which one functions as the patient (88).\(^{137}\)

(85) k\text{orteh} itoh ta-buwea duvot akau
paper.O itoh PERF-bring.A by 1.SG
‘That paper was accidentally taken by me’

\(^{137}\) This sort of construction is sometimes considered a passive (Salim et al. 1988; Cumming 1991). However, it is notoriously difficult to determine in which contexts the ta-construction is active or passive (cf. Adelaar 1992).
It is also possible that the agent is a force of nature, not a human force. The process reading for the concept of ‘accidentality’ with non-human forces is more natural. In this case, the agent is indicated by a prepositional phrase (89) and the verb appears in the absolute form, even if followed directly by an NP indicating the agent (90). However, according to my naturalistic data, the prefix di- combined with the absolute root is preferred in this position (91). In these cases, too, the non-volitionary agent does not necessarily trigger the oblique form (91). On a pragmatic level,

138 In Indonesian, too, the prefix is preferred to mark accidents involving non-human forces (De Vries 1983).
such constructions can be used to avoid responsibility for an action deemed intolerable (92).\footnote{The same has been argued for the equivalent Indonesian prefix ter-, which, in the words of Wouk (1980: 83), ‘[…] functions as a sort of morphological apology for socially unacceptable, inappropriate, or inadvertent behavior. It deemphasizes the agent by denying his responsibility for the action; thus, it is a defocus mechanism rather than a focus mechanism’. Example (92) is modified from her study.}

(89) \begin{tabular}{lllll} daun & itoh & ta-buwea & duwot & aŋan \\
‘That leaf was accidentally carried by the wind’
\end{tabular}

(90) \begin{tabular}{lllll} daun & itoh & ta-buwea & aŋan \\
‘That leaf was accidentally carried by the wind’
\end{tabular}

(91) \begin{tabular}{lllll} daun & itoh & di-buwea & aŋan \\
‘That leaf was carried by the wind’
\end{tabular}

(92) \begin{tabular}{lllllll} udo? & ŋə & sədon & mandai & itoh \\
slave.O & REL & PROG & take.a.bath.A & itoh \\
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{lllll} ta-kima? & duwot & ɲo \\
PERF-see.A & by & 3.SG \\
‘The girl who was taking a bath was accidentally seen by him’
\end{tabular}

The prefix ta- can also convey an element of perfectiveness for the root pilaih/pileih ‘to vote’, triggering the oblique form (93) even when preceded by a relative marker (94). The prefix di- does not carry this element of perfectivity (95).

(93) \begin{tabular}{lllll} SBY & ta-pileih & jadi & presiden \\
PN & PERF-vote.O & become.O & president \\
‘SBY was elected for president’
\end{tabular}
Derived verb constructions

(94)  
\[
\begin{array}{lll}
  SBY & \eta & ta-pileih \\
  PN & REL & PERF-vote.O
\end{array}
\]
‘SBY was the one who got elected’

(95)  
\[
\begin{array}{lll}
  SBY & \eta & di-pileih \\
  PN & REL & PASS-vote.O
\end{array}
\]
‘1. SBY was the one who got elected’
‘2. SBY is the one who gets elected’

Semantically, the prefix ta- can express a state resulting from a perfective action (96). As such, it can be preceded by an intensifier such as sayat ‘very’ (97) or occur in comparative constructions (98) or relative clauses (99). In all cases, the absolute form is required. The oblique form is used when it is followed by an adjectival complement (100).

(96)  
\[
\begin{array}{lll}
  umoh & ioh & ta-urauh \\
  house.O & ioh & PERF-organize.A
\end{array}
\]
‘That house is organized’

(97)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
  umoh & ioh & sayat & ta-urauh \\
  house.O & ioh & very.O & PERF-organize.A
\end{array}
\]
‘That house is very organized’

(98)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
  umoh & ineh & \dot{\alpha} & ta-urauh \\
  house.O & ineh & more.O & PERF-organize.A
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{lll}
  daripado & umoh & ioh \\
  than & house.O & ioh
\end{array}
\]
‘This house is more organized than that house’

(99)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
  umoh & \eta & ta-urauh (*ta-urouh) & ioh & di-juwua \\
\end{array}
\]
‘The house that was organized was sold’

\footnote{The same phenomenon has been observed with ter- in Malay (cf. Kwee 1965; Salim et al. 1988; Soh 1994).}
Phrasal Alternation in Kerinci

(100) umoh ŋə ta-uroh (*ta-urauh) ilau?
house.O REL PERF-organize.O good.A
‘The house that is well organized’

Syntactically, ta-derivations can be used as a predicate (101), as head of an RC (102), and as a complement (103). The root appears in the absolute form in all positions.

(101) kajou itoh lah ta-panga
wood.O itoh already PERF-burn.A
‘That wood was already burnt’

(102) pintou ŋə ta-tutau?
door.O REL PERF-close.A

(103) uto toh di-bijua ta-impai?
car toh PASS-let.A PERF-squeeze.A
‘That car is allowed to be pressed [using a mechanical car press]’

9.6.2 Potentiality

The prefix ta- may also express that the subject has the potentiality and/or ability to carry out the action indicated by the root. This construction expresses an imperfective reading. The absolute form is used (104). Note the contrast with an active construction (105). Conversely, the verb can be negated to express inability, also requiring the absolute form (106)-(107).

(104) no ta-aboih nasei toh
3.SG ABL-finish.A rice.O toh
‘S/he is able to finish that rice’

---

141 See Sasangka et al. (2000) on this construction in Indonesian.
142 Soh (1994) has observed the same phenomenon in Malaysian Malay.
**Derived verb constructions**

(105)  \( \text{no} \ \text{ŋabih} \ \text{nasei} \ \text{toh} \)
3.SG ACT.finish.O rice.O toh
‘S/he finishes that rice’

[A conversation about old people who cannot finish their meal]

(106)  \( \text{ijua}\? \ \text{ta-abo}i\text{h} \ \text{uha} \ \text{tuwao-tuwao} \ \text{neh} \)
NEG ABL-finish.A people.A RED-old.A neh
‘It cannot be finished by old people’[Dyn.]
[fc12.006]

[A conversation about having two interviews on the same day]

(107)  \( \text{kalo} \ \text{s}^{\circ}\text{mpo}\? \ \text{toh} \ \text{idua}\? \ \text{ta-}k\text{ə}jua \)
if together toh NEG ABL-chase.A
‘Doing it together is not possible’
[fc4.024]

*Ta*-constructions may cause some ambiguity, as they can express both potentiality (108) and unintentionality (109), as discussed in 9.6.1. The context usually provides clarity.

(108)  \( \text{apo} \ \text{ta-}\text{buwea} \ \text{ikao} \ \text{tas} \ \text{ito}h \)
what ABL-bring.A 2.SG bag itoh
‘Could you carry that bag by yourself?’
*‘Did you take the bag accidentally?’

(109)  \( \text{tas} \ \text{ito}h \ \text{ta-}\text{buwea} \ \text{duwot} \ \text{ikao} \)
bag itoh PERF-bring.A by 2.SG
‘That bag was accidentally taken by you’
*‘That bag could be carried by you’

9.7 \( \text{ka} + \text{OBL} \)

The circumfix \( \text{ka} \)-OBL expresses adversativeness or non-volitionality and occurs with the oblique form of verbal roots, nominal roots, or adjectival roots. The forms kamatin ‘to lose so. to death’, kalupan ‘to let sth. slip from one’s mind’ and kamalun ‘to be ashamed’ show signs of a historical suffix \( *a, \) an. Most other reflexes correspond to the oblique forms in the final-syllable rime. This construction is intransitive since it only exhibits one core argument and has no active-passive opposition. In Table 9.14, the derivations marked with √ might require a nominal complement.
Phrasal Alternation in Kerinci

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Derivational form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aŋa/aŋat ‘warm’</td>
<td>kaaŋat ‘to suffer from the heat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>datua/daton ‘to come’</td>
<td>kadaton√ ‘to have so. coming’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diŋon/diŋin ‘cold’</td>
<td>kadiŋin ‘to feel cold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ila/ilan ‘lost’</td>
<td>kailan√ ‘to suffer the loss of sth. or so.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kola/kolan ‘dark’</td>
<td>kakolan ‘to be overtaken by darkness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kura/kuran ‘less’</td>
<td>kakur√ ‘to lack sth.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lapa/lapo ‘hungry’</td>
<td>kalapo ‘to be starving’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lupao/lupo ‘to forget’</td>
<td>kalupan ‘to let sth. slip from one’s mind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mala/malan ‘night’</td>
<td>kamalan ‘to be overtaken by night’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malau/malou ‘shy’</td>
<td>kamalun ‘to be ashamed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matai/matei ‘to die’</td>
<td>kamatin√ ‘to lose so. to death’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pajah/pajoh ‘difficult’</td>
<td>kapajoh ‘to be exhausted’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pǝdoah/pǝdeh ‘spicy’</td>
<td>kapǝdeh ‘to suffer from sth. spicy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sakaiʔ/sakit ‘ill’</td>
<td>kasakit ‘to be in pain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takauʔ/takut ‘afraid’</td>
<td>katakut ‘to be terrified’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uɟua/uɟon ‘rain’</td>
<td>kaɥon√ ‘to be caught in the rain’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Derivational form | Root            |

Table 9.14. ka-OBL with adversative meaning

This construction is used verbally (see 6.5.6 for the adjectival use of this circumfix) and expresses that the subject is affected in a negative way by an unexpected agent (110)-(112). In (113), the prefixed oblique root is a predicate within the relative clause. The relative clause attributively modifies the preceding noun phrase. The whole clause is a subject followed by a predicate lah sakaiʔ.

(110)  uha itoh  ka-matin  anoʔ
       3.PL  VBLZ-die.O  child.O
       ‘They are in mourning over their child’s death’

(111)  suduah  ka-ɥon  petan  po  sakaiʔ
       ‘After getting caught in the rain yesterday, s/he felt ill’

(112)  sakaiʔ  aso  ka-ɥon  batu  es
       ill.A  feel.O  VBLZ-rain.O  stone.O  ice
       ‘It hurts to get hit by hail’

See Dardjowidjojo (1978) on the corresponding circumfix ke-…-an in Indonesian. Unlike PT, this construction can also be nominal in Malay.
9.8 Reduplication of verbs

PT verb roots can be reduplicated in full. They behave morphosyntactically identical to non-reduplicated verbs. Verbal reduplication implies that the activity is performed repeatedly or for an extended period of time (114). In the case of monovalent verbs, it can also express ‘doing something not seriously or leisurely’ (115)-(116).

(114) \[ \text{ka} \text{ma}i \quad \text{gəl}\text{u} \text{a}-\text{gəl}\text{u} \text{a} \]

1.PL.EXCL RED-laugh.A

‘We laughed on and on’

(115) \[ \text{nɔ} \quad \text{tide} \text{u}-\text{tide} \text{u} \]

3.SG RED-sleep.A

‘S/he is dozing’

(116) \[ \text{ka} \text{ma}i \quad \text{dude} \text{u}-\text{dude} \text{u} \]

1.PL.EXCL RED-sit.A

‘We are lounging’

Reduplicated bivalent verbs can occur in active constructions (117)-(119), P1 constructions (120)-(121), P2 constructions (122), and imperative construction (123). The general patterns of phrasal alternation presented in 1.7.4 apply.

(117) \[ ...\text{u} \text{ha} \quad \text{n} \text{i} \text{p} \text{e} \text{h}-\text{n} \text{i} \text{p} \text{e} \text{h} \quad \text{k} \text{e} \quad \text{j} \text{a} \text{l} \text{u} \text{a} \]

...people.A ACT.RED-fan.O on road.A

‘People fan [it] repeatedly on the street’

[fc6.009]

144 The same is true for Jakartan Indonesian (Muhadjir 1981).
(118) ʒadi ɲo ŋusou-ŋusou? kakei tadeh
so 3.SG ACT:RED-rub.O leg.O just.now
‘So, he just now brushes his legs repeatedly’
[P4_PV_HAL_OLD_FEMALE.057]

(119) s-ʉha toh nulan ŋəpeih-ŋəpeih
one-CLF toh ACT:help.O ACT:RED-brush.O

dust.A on 3.SG just.now
‘One of them helps him dust himself off repeatedly’
[P4_PV_HAL_OLD_FEMALE.062]

(120) əntah apo tanah, əntah apo bateu
perhaps what soil.A perhaps what stone.A

əntah, di-təpe-i-təpe? ɲo nitoh
perhaps PASS:RED-beat.O 3.SG like.that
‘Hmm… either soil or stone was beaten repeatedly by him like that’
[P4_PV_HAL_OLD_FEMALE.068]

(121) kulit kajau di-tukau-tukau dea?
‘The tree bark was hit repeatedly, wasn’t it?’
[fc4.172]

(122) uhan itoh akau tlimba-tlimba?
3.SG.M 1.SG RED-shoot.A
‘He was shot by me repeatedly’

[He stole my car]

(123) tukau-tukau dende ineh
RED-hit.A jerky.beef ineh
‘Hit this jerky beef repeatedly!’

[The making of jerky beef]