BASIC SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES
IN
STANDARD MALAY

THESIS
submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

by
Edward Maurice Frederick Payne

School of Oriental and African Studies

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ABSTRACT

The thesis aims to provide a set of Basic Structures for the description of Malay Syntax. Further substructures could be set up for a more delicate description of a part or the whole of the language.

A basic framework for Standard may be set up with the units Morpheme, Word, Phrase, Clause and Sentence. Morphemes are described as bound and free. The affixes are bound morphemes and may be prefixes or suffixes or simultaneously operating prefix and suffix. A small inventory of prefixes does service for a number of syntactic and semantic purposes. The distinction between prefix and prepositional particle is made. There are cases however in which the distinction cannot be too sharply held. A few prepositional phrases can take the affix ter- as though they were adjectives. Such are however restricted lexically. Some prefixes are homophones with directional particles.

Words in Malay are conveniently divided into two main groups, namely, Particles and Full words. In the word-class scheme these are called Particles and Non-particles respectively. Particles form a closed class and are small in number. Non-particles forming the main bulk of the lexicon, are divisible into classes the two main of which are Nominals and Verbals. These undergo the morphological processes of Affixation and Duplication, sometimes derivational and sometimes inflectional.

Three types of Phrases are described - Nominal, Verbal and Prepositional. The structure of the Nominal Phrase is of special
interest in that it allows of the use as exponent of Q in its structure, almost all members of the Verbal class or their syntactic equivalent, most of which are capable also of being exponent of P in clause structure. Among the syntactic equivalents of the verb are certain Prepositional phrases. The prepositional phrase may be divided into groups according to the preposed particle. The prepositional phrase with oleh is part of the diagnostic test for the passive clause.

In the verb system the two main categories of Transitive and Intransitive have been set up for Standard Malay. These do not correlate with the categories of Passive and Non-passive which are set up as inflections of the verb.

Two forms of Passive are described one with prefixed di- and one with prefixed tor-. The passive with prefixed tor- is found both in Transitive and Intransitive verbs but the passive with di- is found only with Transitive verbs. An inflectional opposition is set up for the Transitive verbs between mə(¬)- and ø prefixed forms.

Two types of clause are recognised in Standard Malay, namely the verbal clause in which the P element in structure has as its exponent a verb or its syntactic equivalent, and the Nominal clause in which the exponent of P is a noun or its syntactic equivalent.

The two relations of Co-ordination and Subordination are described. In clause relations these may be effected with particle alone or with particle and transformation; without particle, or without particle but with transformation. The included clause is a feature of Standard Malay. Such downgraded clauses may operate in more than one position in clause structure.
I record here my profound gratitude to my Supervisor Mr. R.H. Robins for his continued help and guidance in laying a foundation of an understanding of Descriptive Linguistics and for his advice and help in the research for and the preparation of this thesis.

My gratitude is also due to Mr. Z.A. Bador who has for the last three years been a helpful, willing and competent informant. Many other Malay friends also have contributed texts and recorded material which have been most helpful.

Here too is an opportunity to mention Che Jaafar bin Muhammad, my first munshi whose enthusiasm for his own language gave me too a lasting interest in Malay.
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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Language

1.1.1. The Malay language belongs to the "Malayo-Polynesian or Oceanic or Austronesian family, as it has been termed variously, which covers an area from Formosa to New Zealand, from Madagascar to Easter Island, and includes the languages of the Philippines, the Malay Archipelago, Micronesia, Melanesia excluding Papua, and Polynesia. To the western or Indonesian branch belong Malay; Malgasy; Tagalog; Bisaya and Bontok in the Philippines; Batak and Minangkabau in Sumatra; Sundanese, Javanese and Madures; Balinese; the Dyak "languages" of Borneo; Macassar and Bugis in the Celebes, and many other less-known tongues.  

1.1.2. The earliest records of Malay are in inscriptions of the Seventh Century written in an Indian script. An inscription from Pasai in 1330 was still using an Indian script while at the same time an inscription from Trengganu (on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula) was in Arabic characters.

There began to develop in this period a standard literary Malay preserved through the medium of the Arabic script. By tradition this standard classical pattern has "always been identified with the Malay of Johor and the Riau-Lingga Archipelago." 

1. Winstedt, Malay Grammar. p. 11.
2. Teeuw, Bijdragen, Deel X, Eerste Deel, pp. 115, p.150
1.1.3. The Malay language consists of many dialects, each with its currency in particular areas, particular social circumstances or in particular ethnological environments. Within the geographical area of the Malay Peninsular "There is one form of speech which is understood by educated people throughout the country known as Bahasa Sekolah or school language. This particular form of speech, which is based largely on the speech of the people of Johore and the Riau archipelago, will be referred to, for convenience, as 'Standard Malay'. There is no completely uniform pronunciation of Standard Malay though there will be an approximation to the pronunciation of Johore-Riau. Every speaker of what has now been termed Standard Malay will show in his or her speech traces of his or her own dialect; and most educated Malays are 'bilingual' in Standard and their own dialect."¹

1.1.4. The writer of this definition of Standard Malay has been the informant upon whose use of Standard Malay this present study has been based. He is a Malay of Negri Sembilan, a State whose people originate from Minangkabau in Sumatra, whose ancestral tongue was the Minangkabau dialect of Malay, (Winstedt lists it as a separate language but Van der Toorn in Minangkabausche Spraakkunst refers to it as one of the "chief branches of the Malay language), but as a result of education and circumstances is bidialectal.

1.1.5. The Standard language has become rather more than just "School language". Since 1955 it has been Bahasa Kebangsaan - the National

Language (just as Bahasa Indonesia is the National Language of the
Republic of Indonesia) of the Federation of Malaya and now of the
wider Federation of Malaysia. It will continue to be subjected to
many linguistic influences in addition to those of its widespread
neighbour Bahasa Indonesia. It is the language of Councils, of the
hustings; the medium of instruction for hundreds of thousands of
Primary school children; the adopted language of many more thousands
of Secondary school pupils and many thousands of adults. Through the
publications of the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka (Language and Cultural
Centre) and especially through its periodical "Dewan Bahasa" this new
norm is being crystallised. It is against this background or in this
context that this study seeks to set up Basic structures for "Standard
Malay".

1.2. The Scope of the Present Study

1.2.1. The purpose of the present study is to set up a structural frame­
work upon which more detailed studies of Malay Syntax could be based.
It is for this reason that the word Basic has been included in the title.
It will be possible on the basis of this description to make preliminary
analyses of utterances in Standard Malay although there will be a limit
to the extent of the delicacy\(^1\) of the subsequent description.

1.2.2. In this study the word "structure" will be used to refer to uni­
dimensional, linear abstractions at various levels (though in this work
mainly at the grammatical level) from utterances or parts of utterances.\(^2\)

A structure is a syntagmatic arrangement of elements. A structure is always a structure of a given unit.\textsuperscript{1} For the purpose of Malay syntax the units set up for description are:

- Sentence
- Clause
- (Phrase including Group)
- Word
- Morpheme

These units are set out in descending order of rank. A word must consist of one or more morphemes; a clause must consist of one or more words; and a sentence must consist of one or more clauses.

Phrase and group are placed in parenthesis since they are not obligatory units in the grammatical system, in that a clause may contain no phrase or group. They are sequences of two or more words below the rank of clause and "among these words there obtain certain interior relations".\textsuperscript{2} These phrases and groups are always syntactically equivalent to free words which may replace them in the appropriate places in structure.

1.2.3. The sentence is the unit abstractable from the stream of speech. It is this unit which is analysed into units of lower rank. The process of analysis proceeds therefore from sentence through clause and word (phrase/group) to morpheme. Although this is the procedure of analysis, it is convenient in this study to set out the description in ascending

\textsuperscript{1} Halliday, Categories of the Theory of Grammar. Word Vol.17.No.3 p.255
\textsuperscript{2} Halliday, The Language of The Chinese "Secret History of the Mongols" Publications of the Philological Society.XVII.1959
order of rank. Each of the descriptive chapters is prefaced by a summary for convenience of reading.

1.3. Symbols and Symbolic Usage

1.3.1. In Chapter Three the symbols C and V are used for Consonant units and Vowel units respectively. In other chapters they are used for Complement and Verb respectively. In Chapter Three the symbol (−) is used to separate affix from root. When an affix is quoted in isolation, the (−) is used after or before it to show that it is prefix or suffix.

1.3.2. In Chapter Four, V is the symbol for Verb and the subscript numbers and letters indicate the subclasses. Example: \( V_{A.II.1a} \) means a verb of Class A (i.e. non-derived subclass II (i.e. Intransitive) sub-subclass 1a (i.e. adjective). Where reference is made to the class of verb without using V (as is necessary in a formula of the type mc(−)\( V_{A.II.1a} \)) a simple class reference is given, thus B.2.iv. which means "A verb of derived form Intransitive and subclass iv. viz: mc(−)\( V_{A.II.1a} \)."

1.3.3. Phrase and clause structures are symbolised by the use of capital letters for the elements of structure. Thus it may be stated that the elements of clause structure are S, P, C, and A. It may also be stated that a verbal clause may have structure (S)P(C)(A). This means that the element P is an obligatory element in the verbal clause and that the elements S, C, and A are optional. In the case of the clause the traditional names of Subject, predicate, complement and
adjunct have been given to these elements. In the case of the phrase, the elements are adequately specified by the statement of their word class; furthermore, they can occur only in one fixed order. The traditional names have been avoided here because their use is likely to cause confusion.

\( N \) is used to symbolise the NOUN

\( \text{Pr.} \) is used to symbolise the PRONOUN

\( \text{Yg.} \) is used to symbolise the YANG PIECE (Chapter Five)

When a subscript is used as in \( C_1 \) and \( C_2 \) this will mean that there are two exponents of the element \( C \) in clause structure in two different clauses but it is not desired to give them restricted lexical forms.

\( S \) and \( C \) are used to symbolise subordinating particle and co-ordinating particle respectively.

\( \text{Cl} \) is used to symbolise a clause. \( \text{Cl}_1 \) and \( \text{Cl}_2 \) will be two different clauses. \( \text{Cl}_1 \circ \text{Cl}_2 \) will symbolise two simple clauses in co-ordinate relation with one another such co-ordination being marked by the presence of a co-ordinating particle.

In certain formations the symbol (\( \cdot \)) is used as a junction between a prefix and a root. This symbol indicates that there is potentiality of nasalisation according to the rules set out in \( 3.4.2 \).

The symbol (\( \cdot \)) is used in Malay examples only to indicate a
compound word. Example:

surat-khabar persurat-khabaran
newspaper journalism

Words are separated by spaces.
The symbol (?) is used at the end of a Malay clause (sentence) to indicate that the clause (sentence) carries interrogative intonation. Such a symbol is not used if the clause (sentence) is already marked as interrogative.
The symbol (!) is used at the end of an imperative clause (sentence) to show that the clause (sentence) carries imperative intonation if not otherwise marked as imperative.
Capital letters are used in Malay examples only for names of persons and places.
2.1. General

The symbols used in the transcription of the Malay material in this study are, with one or two exceptions, those used in the standard Romanised orthography for Malay. The reason for using this orthography is twofold. In the first place it will make the study more easily available to persons who are unaccustomed to phonetic scripts. Secondly, (and this is the more important reason) it would be unrealistic to use any transcription that was narrower than the orthography (which is closely phonemic) without carrying out a detailed phonological analysis of Standard Malay. Some difficulties involved in this analysis have been adverted to in Chapter One. The absence of a full phonological analysis does not preclude a grammatical analysis since the phonological and grammatical levels are not related hierarchically but are interpenetrating levels of analysis. Phonological statements are therefore necessary only in so far as they are syntactically relevant.

2.2. The Transcription.

2.2.1. The symbols used in this transcription and their phonetic equivalents are set out below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Phonetic Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symbol</td>
<td>Phonetic Equivalent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k (non-final)</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k (final)</td>
<td>ʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny</td>
<td>ɲ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng</td>
<td>ɲ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>th</td>
<td>ɬ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dz</td>
<td>ð</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sh</td>
<td>ʃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>h (in some Arabic loans h)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch</td>
<td>tʃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>dʒ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>j (medially ɬ after back vowel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>(i - in penultimate and final open syllables. (i in final closed syllable)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Symbol | Phonetic Equivalent
---|---
e | e / e
(a - penultimate or final closed syllable
\{ 3 - in final open syllable

\{ o / o
(u - in penultimate and final open syllable.
\} (u - in final closed syllable.

The presence in the orthography of r as the last symbol indicates vowel modification.

ir is realised as  [i]

or is realised as  [o]

ar is realised as  [a]

In a number of prefixes an 'r' is written in the orthography. This has been retained here in the transcription as (r) indicating that the presence of [r] or [k] is optional, depending upon the phonetic context and the style of speech. In careful deliberate speech [r] or [k] would be present.

2.3. Intonation

2.3.1. This section gives such account of Intonation in Standard Malay as may be necessary to give meaning to Intonational statements in later chapters. It is not a complete statement of Intonation in Standard Malay.
2.3.2. Malay utterances are accompanied by pitch changes which are a feature of the syllable. Each utterance ends finally with a prolonged pause or silence. During the utterance there may be other pauses which are not final. These are suspense pauses which are potential and may in certain styles of speech be realised as vowel or consonant lengthening. Such suspense pauses mark divisions in the intonation tune. The most common form of the tune divides into two. This type accompanies declarative sentences. The two parts of the tune may vary from sentence to sentence but are commonly:

a. Rising to suspense pause - falling to final pause

b. Level with a rise on the pre pause pitch - falling to final pause.

c. Either of the initial parts of tune (a) and (b) with rising-falling contour in the second half. The beginning of this second half is always below the final prepause high pitch. The tune rises over one or two syllables to fall away to final pause. If the number of syllables in the second half of the tune is large then most of them may be on a series of level tones with the final falling tone occurring on the last syllable.

2.3.3. The interrogative tune is one which shows a general rise ending at sentence final pause on a pitch higher than sentence initial.

2.3.4. The imperative tune shows overall a high initial and a low final pitch. Grammatical features may necessitate tune onset with a
series of level pitches but most frequently the fall occurs on the P element of the clause structure.

2.3.5. Paratactically co-ordinated clauses which are more than two in number may consist of a series of similar tunes each ending in a fall and suspense pause. The pitch level of the fall is always higher than that of the last fall which marks sentence end. A series of simple sentences may be also uttered with a level contour ending in a slight rise followed by suspense pause. Final pause is preceded by a fall which in turn is preceded by a tone higher than the preceding level series. These are listing intonation tunes.

The first of two simple clauses co-ordinated paratactically may have a level contour followed by a prepause rise or one of the declarative sentence combinations a, b or c (2.3.2). If the latter, then the final fall ends higher than in an isolated sentence. The second of the two simple clauses will have on the two last syllables of the emphasised word a high level tone followed by a lower tone (if final a low falling tone). This is the antithetic intonation tune. It is possible for more than one sentence to be uttered within one intonation tune.

2.3.6. A high fall tone on a single syllable may occur in a number of positions in the intonation tune. This tone has the semantic correlate of emphasis.

2.4. Correlation with Grammatical Divisions.

Only in simple sentences with minimal exponence of the elements of structure is there any predictable correlation between intonational
and grammatical units. In one case, namely, the downgrading of a sentence, the suspense pause is an important clue to syntactic division.

That man -is- walking (is) quick

is best analysed as in Chapter Seven because the intonational and suspense pause features are what they are viz. that suspense pause is potential at A but not at B.
CHAPTER THREE
MORPHOLOGY

3.1 Purpose of Chapter

3.2 Word Structure

3.2.1 Word Structure in Terms of C and V Units

3.2.2

3.2.3

3.2.4 Trisyllabic Roots

3.2.5

3.3 Morphological processes

3.4 Affixation

3.4.1 Prefixes and Suffixes

3.4.2 Nasalisation in some Prefix-root Junctions.

3.4.3 Derivational and Inflectional affixes

3.5 Derivation and Inflection

3.5.1 Verb Forming and Noun Forming Affixation

3.5.2 Inflectional Affixation

3.6 Duplication

3.6.1 Duplication with the Noun Class

3.6.2 Duplication with the Verb Class

3.7 Reduplication

3.8 Duplication with Affixation

3.8.1 A Commonly Occurring Form

3.9 Duplication with Phonetic Change
This chapter is not a full statement of Malay Morphology. It aims to provide a sufficient outline for the understanding of the basic chapters of the thesis.

3.2. Word Structure

3.2.1. The most frequently occurring structure in simple Malay words (See Chapter Four) is

\[(C)VCy(C)\]

where \(C\) is a consonant unit and \(V\) a vowel unit. The initial \(C\) may be any consonant in the inventory. Some roots have vowel initial forms in variation with forms having initial [2]. In some environments the two variants are in free alternation, in others the [2] initial form is obligatory. The medial \(C\) unit may be a single consonant or cluster, the first element of which is predictable from the second. The final \(C\) unit may be any of the consonants in the inventory other than (a) a voiced stop, (b) a fricative other than \(h\), or (c) an affricate.

3.2.2. A number of trisyllabic roots also exist in Malay. These if not loan words consist of two bound morphemes. Some of these contain infixes -em-, -sl-, -er-. These infixes are no longer productively used in word formation.

3.2.3. Some other trisyllabic forms are found

Example: gorobok

gurgle of a vessel dipped in water

---

1. Arabic loan words do contain these excepted consonants but such consonants are not always realised. This depends upon the speaker and the situation.
3.2.4. The prefixes be-; pe-; ke-; te-; se-; are found with bound morphemes. These prefixes are also found in the modern language with free morphemes.

3.2.5. New trisyllabic forms may now be found resulting from the deliberate creation of words from compounds. Such words usually form part of technical vocabulary.

Example: débu bunga - literally dust of flowers i.e. pollen alternates with débunga - pollen.

3.3. The morphological processes operating are:

Affixation

Duplication

Reduplication

Duplication with affixation

Duplication with phonetic change

3.4. Affixation.

3.4.1. Affixes are either prefixes or suffixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefixes</th>
<th>Suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pe(-) -</td>
<td>-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe(r) -</td>
<td>-kan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke-</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne(-) -</td>
<td>-nya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Duplication is used for the process where the whole word is repeated, e.g. rumahrumah from rumah. Reduplication is used for the process in which the first consonant is repeated followed by e, sometimes with nasalisation. tolong - tøntolong)
Morphological processes may involve prefixes or suffixes or the simultaneous affixation of a prefix and a suffix. Such a simultaneous affixation is:

Example: karajaan government ke-raja-an

This may be compared with:

Example: dibesarkan is increased

in which the processes are not simultaneous but successive. The addition of -kan forms the transitive verb besarkan - to make larger.

The prefix di- is a passive formant which can only be added to a transitive verb.

Examples of the simultaneous process are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefixes</th>
<th>Suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bo(r)-</td>
<td>-wan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te(r)-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.4.2. The symbol (~) is used to indicate that there is nasalisation, the form of which depends on the phonological structure of word initial in the underlying form. The following rules operate:

1. In simultaneous affixation of a prefix and a suffix the prefix and suffix are a single discontinuous morpheme distinct from the prefix morpheme or suffix morpheme of like phonemic shape.

2. The (r) indicates that the sound [r] or [ɾ] may or may not be present depending upon the initial unit in the first syllable of the underlying form.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voiced Stop</th>
<th>Unvoiced Stop</th>
<th>Voiced Fricative</th>
<th>Unvoiced Fricative</th>
<th>Voiced Affricate</th>
<th>Unvoiced Affricate</th>
<th>Nasal</th>
<th>Optical or Vowel or [h]</th>
<th>Obati - to give or apply medicine</th>
<th>Hiris - to slice</th>
<th>Lateral</th>
<th>Lompat - to jump over</th>
<th>[r,w,j]</th>
<th>Raut - to whittle</th>
<th>Warnakan - to colour</th>
<th>Yakinkan - to convince</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bacha - to read</td>
<td>tolong - to help</td>
<td>ziarah - to visit</td>
<td>sabit - to scythe</td>
<td>jadi - to become</td>
<td>chari - to search for</td>
<td>nyanyi - to sing</td>
<td>[2] or vowel or [h]</td>
<td>mengobati</td>
<td>menghiris</td>
<td>melompat</td>
<td>no nasality</td>
<td>no nasality</td>
<td>mewarnakan</td>
<td>meyakinkan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>membacha</td>
<td>menolong</td>
<td>menziarah</td>
<td>menyabit</td>
<td>menjadi</td>
<td>menchari</td>
<td>menyanyi</td>
<td>velar nasal</td>
<td>mengobati</td>
<td>menghiris</td>
<td>melompat</td>
<td>no nasality</td>
<td>no nasality</td>
<td>mewarnakan</td>
<td>meyakinkan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: In a secondary or tertiary process when mə(ə)-is added to a word already carrying a prefixed pə(r)- nasalisation is represented by -m- and there is a voiceless stop. perbaiki - cause to be made good, memperbaiki (mə-m-pər-baik-i). One word in which this rule is not followed is perhatikan, which forms memerahatikan following the rule set out for words with initial unvoiced stop.
3.4.3. Affixes may be listed as derivational and inflectional.¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Derivational</th>
<th>Inflectional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pe(−)−</td>
<td>di−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe(r)−</td>
<td>te(r)−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke−</td>
<td>me(−)−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me(−)−</td>
<td>ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se−</td>
<td>re(r)−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te(r)−</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke− .....−an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe(−) .....−an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe(r) .....−an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be(r) .....−an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>−kan</td>
<td></td>
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<td>−i</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>−an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>−nya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>−wan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ If a complex word is syntactically and for further morphological processes equivalent to a simple word, the complex word is said to be derived. If a complex word is not grammatically equivalent to any simple word in all the constructions where it occurs it is said to be inflected.
### 3.5. Derivation and Inflection

#### 3.5.1. Derivational Affixation

Derivational affixation may be verb-forming or noun-forming.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb-forming</th>
<th>Noun-forming</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mœ (~) -</td>
<td>pœ (~) ...... -an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bœ(r) -</td>
<td>pœ(r) - ...... -an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pœ(r) -</td>
<td>-nya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kan</td>
<td>kœ- ...... -an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pœ(~) -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kœ ...... -an</td>
<td>sœ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kœ- ......</td>
<td>-wan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bœ(r)- ...... -an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tœ(r)- ....</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pœ(~) -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sœ-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A small inventory of affixes is used in Malay to perform a number of functions. Reference is made to this point by Uhlenbeck in Lingua XI page 431.

### 3.5.2. Inflectional Affixation

#### 3.5.2.1. There are two declarative passive forms with prefixes di- and tœ(r)-

---

1. For definition of Verb and Noun see Chapter Four.
Example: kuohing itu dipukul oleh budak jahat
The cat was struck by the naughty boy
buah terjual oleh dia
Fruit was sold by him (perhaps unintentionally
rumah itu tidak terdatang oleh saya (intransitive)
The house cannot be visited by me

The di- forms are possible only with transitive verbs while ter-
passive forms are possible with both transitive and intransitive
verbs.

Not all classes of intransitive verbs have a te(r)- passive.
Although the adjectives have a te(r)- form this is a separate
derivational formation. There are two non-passive forms in opposition
me(~)- and φ-

3.5.2.2. me(~)- and φ-. The syntactic difference between these is
brought out elsewhere. (Chapter Six)

Example: dia jual buah sokarang
He sells fruit nowadays (i.e. He is a fruit seller
not a fishmonger as perhaps
he was formerly)
dia ménjual buah sokarang
He is selling fruit now (at this moment) i.e. his
present activity.

1. The opposition passive and non-passive is established on the basis
of the potentiality of a Complement with oleh for passive sentences and
a verb with di- or tor- as the exponent of P. The term active is not
used since this will in Malay create a confusion in the distinction
between the two non-passive forms me(~)-/φ. The terms transitive and
intransitive apply to those verbs which can or cannot respectively have
a di- form).
There are a number of aspectual distinctions made by this opposition some of these are lexically determined.

3.5.2.3. The $pa(r)$- form with transitive verbs forms a passive imperative which is in opposition to the non-passive imperative in $o$-

Example: *perbuat lah istana oleh mu akan daku*

Let there be made a palace by you for me! angkat barang itu!

Lift that article!

For completeness reference must be made to a category of person in the Pronouns. For a discussion of Pronouns reference may be made to Yunus Maris' M.A. Thesis.

The forms putara - prince and putari - princess, are forms that have long been used in the Malay language. On the analogy of these two the forms pemuda and pemudi are found. muda - young, by affixation of pe- gives pemuda a young person and by analogy pemudi a young female person. The forms tuan and puan are used in modern Malay for gentlemen and ladies respectively. datok and datin are used for male and female of that rank. It would not however be desirable on the basis of these examples to set up a formal category of gender.

1. It is not within the scope of this thesis to investigate and discuss the semantic correlates of the ma(-)/ $o$- opposition in non-passive clauses, or the di-/tor- opposition in passive clauses. The $o$ non-passive may have such aspects as habitual, conative, unintentional amorphous (all lexically determined) as opposed to the single aspect of the ma(-) form which may be described as active. This active is not the traditional active in opposition to passive but active in opposition to non-active. The tor- inflectional forms also display multiple aspects which are lexically determined e.g. conative, unintentional.

2. The Forms of Personal Address and Reference in Standard Spoken Malay.
3.6. Duplication

Duplication may be inflectional or derivational.

3.6.1. With the noun class it is inflectional. Duplicated noun forms cannot be used in a noun phrase or group if a member of the numeral class is present as an exponent of M in a phrase. The semantic correlations with duplicated and unduplicated forms are complex and often are contextually determined. The following examples bring out the possibilities.

Examples: kuching makan ikan
Cats eat fish
kuching itu makan ikan
That cat eats fish
Those cats eat fish
kuching dua ekor itu kena tembak
Those two cats suffered shooting (were shot)
kuching itu makan anak ayam
That cat eats chicks
Those cats eat chicks

The duplicated noun form always correlates with a semantic category of indefinite plural.

3.6.2. With the verb class duplication is derivational. There are certain semantic correlates with these duplicated forms but syntactically the duplicated forms are identical with the unduplicated forms.
An important phonological feature which must be mentioned here is that which is present when me(-) is prefixed to a duplicated form. This occurs most frequently with verb forms but is also possible with nouns taking me(-) in a derivational process. If in the unduplicated form the phonetic feature of the initial consonant is replaced by the nasalisation then in the duplicated form the nasalisation is also present in both parts of the duplicated form.

Example: tolong - to help tolongtolong to continue helping
with me(-) mənolong mənolongnolong
baacha - to read bachabacha to keep on reading
with me(-)
membacha membachabacha

3.7. Reduplication

3.7.1. This is not a frequently occurring process in Standard Malay as defined. It must however be noted that most speakers of Standard Malay are first and foremost speakers of one of the other dialects in some of which (that of my informant for example) this process is very common indeed. Syntactically and semantically however there is no difference between

lakilaki and lələki or tolongtolong and təntolong

1. Forms like tolong mənolong or jalan bərjalan will not be treated as examples of duplication but as co-ordination resulting from conjunctive transformation. dia tolong dia mənolong transforms to dia tolong mənolong. Such sequences cannot be interrupted.
3.8. Duplicate forms may themselves undergo affixation.

Example: dipanaspanasi (di-panaspanas-i)
was continuously heated
kokuningkuningan
from kuning kuningkuning
yellow very yellow: of a yellowish nature
kokuningkuningan
the quality of having much yellowness or sorts of yellow qualities.

Such forms occur more frequently in passages from or influenced by Bahasa Indonesia (the variety of Malay which is the official language of the Indonesian Republic).

3.8.1. A commonly occurring form which involves duplication with affixation is the form R-R-an. These most frequently have the meaning "kinds of ..."

Example: buah buahbuahan
fruit various kinds of fruit

This form cannot be used with the numerals and so forms a sub-class in the inflectional system of the nouns.

3.9. Duplication with phonetic change. This is only one way of treating this particular form.

Example: gunong gunonggan nga
a mountain a range of mountains; mountains in general.

1. In his M.A. Thesis "Word Forms in the Malay of Negri Sembilan," Z.A. Bador has treated forms of this type under Chiming and Rhyming words. p. 71.
kueh kuehmueh
a cake sweetmeats generally

The concern in this investigation is with the syntactic function of these forms. The examples given have syntactic function as nouns. Duplication of this type is also found in the verb class especially with the Adjective (see Chapter Four).

**Example:** bengkangbengkok
twisting and turning - zigzagging

There is a point where distinction between duplicates and compounds (and/or irreversible binomials - see *Lingua VIII.2.* page 113) is difficult to establish. It is sufficient here to say that bengkangbengkok operates in a verb clause as would bengkok, viz. as an Adjective as exponent of P in the structure.
CHAPTER FOUR

THE WORD

4.1. The Word

4.1.1. Criteria for Word Recognition

4.1.2. Types of Word

4.1.3. Word Classes

4.1.4. Definitions of the Main Classes

4.4.1. Particle/Non-particle

4.4.2. Non-particle Main Classes.

4.5. Definitions of Sub-classes

4.5.1. Definitions of Sub-classes of Particles

4.5.2. Definitions of Sub-classes of Non-particles.

4.6. Cross Classification of Verbs as Predicating/Non-predicating

               Imperative/Non-imperative

4.1. The word has been taken as a unit institutionalised by native speakers of Malay. The word in Malay may be recognised by the application of one or more of the grammatical criteria given below.

4.1.1. Independence. Other than particles have potentiality of occurrence as sentences.

4.1.2. Relative fixity of internal structure. The internal parts of Malay words may be grouped into prefixes, stems, suffixes. For this purpose duplication provides a class of prefix of unlimited extent, predictable however from the underlying form. The order prefix, stem, suffix is fixed for each word.

4.1.3. Relative constancy of internal structure. The word is not interrupted by the interposition of other forms or by pause.

4.1.4. Substitution. There is free mobility in sentences as contrasted with the relative fixity of internal structure in the word. The word is the unit which combines maximal freedom of external mobility with minimal internal mobility.

4.2. Types of Word

4.2.1. The following classification is made for Malay.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WORD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Full word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Composite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complex</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A Full word may exist alone as a sentence but a Particle cannot exist alone as a complete sentence (for definition of sentence see Chap. Seven).
A simple full word consists of a single free morpheme or two bound morphemes.

4.2.2. A composite full word consists of a simple full word with one or more affixes (including the duplication form as a prefix) when it is described as Complex or it may consist of two forms, each of which could be a full word, in which case it is described as Compound.

Examples: Full word. Simple. rumah - a house

apa nama tempat yang didiami orang. rumah

What is the name of the place where people live? A house.

Composite full word. Complex. pokataan (por-kata-an) word

rumahrumah (rumah-rumah) houses (indefinite)

Compound

surat-khabar (surat khabar) newspaper

4.3. Word Classes

4.3.1. The following is the scheme of word classes set up for the description of Standard Malay within the limits of this study.

I. PARTICLES

Preposition

Directive

Connective

Co-ordinating

Subordinating

Non-numeral quantifiers

Postposition

Positionally free

The Adjunctival particles

1. See Chapter One (1.3.1.) on the use of (-)
2. For definitions see 4.4. et seq.
II. NON-PARTICLES

1. Nominals

Nouns
Pronouns
Interrogative nominals
Determinatives (including deictic)
Adjuncts

2. Verbals

Verbs
A. Non-derived forms
B. Derived forms

A. Non-derived forms:
I. Transitive

II. Intransitive

Class 1. a. Adjective
     b. Numerals

Class 2. Forms having potentiality of be(r)-
     a. Reflexive
     b. Reciprocal

Class 3. Other Intransitive verbs
     a. Non-predicating with me(~)-
     b. Predicating with me(~)-
     c. Small sub-class capable of operating as auxiliaries.

1. For definition of Transitive and Intransitive see Chapter Three - Footnote p.25. For Definitions of Main Classes see 4.4. et seq.

2. The term 'predicating' indicates that the verb may be exponent of P in verbal clause structure. See Chapter Six.
B. Derived forms

I. Transitive

with suffix -kan or -i
or
with prefix pe(x) or duplication

II. Intransitive

i. ko-Va.II.1a.-an
ii. ko-Va.II.1b (numerals)
iii. mo( )-noun
iv. mo( )-Va.II.1a
v. mo( )-Va.II.3a
vi. mo( )-Va.II.3b
vii. te(x)-Va.II.1a
viii. Va.I.-an
ix. pe( )-Va.II.1a
x. se- noun
xi. be(x)-Va.II.3 -an or be(x)-Va.II.1a -an 2

3. Auxiliaries

1. Two forms are found in ko...an derived from Transitive verbs. These are kalihatan and kedengaran. Some forms in ko...an cannot have a following C element in clause structure but they can be exponent of Q in Noun phrase structure.

2. Duplication of the root is possible with intransitive verbs except B.II.v; B.II.vi and B.II.x. In the case of B.II.vii my informant could find no example in his own speech.
4.4. Definitions of the Main Classes

4.4.1. I. Particles:

Particles are those words which cannot exist alone as a complete utterance.

4.4.2. II Non-particles:

Non-particles are those words which can exist alone as a complete utterance. They are full words.

4.4.2.1. Nominals:

Nominals are full words which are not verbals as defined below or Auxiliaries as listed. They can occupy the S, C or A positions, according to their sub-class, in a verbal clause.

4.4.2.2. Verbals:

Those full words are Verbals which, preceded immediately by yang, can form a nominal piece which can function as exponent of S in verbal or nominal clause structure, or C in verbal clause structure, or as a second element in a noun group. Verbals, subject to certain restrictions (see Chapter Six) operate as exponents of P in verbal clause structure or as exponent of Q in phrase structure. The verb phrase (Chapter Five) also satisfies the condition for a verbal as do also certain prepositional phrases (Chapter Five)
Examples:

A. Non-derived forms

I. Transitive

orang yang membaca buku itu adek saya

The person reading the book (who is reading the book) is my younger brother (sister)

orang yang membaca matemanga guru besar

The person who reads it, the explanation is the head teacher

buku yang dibaca itu buku tawarikh

The book which is read is a history book

ikan yang terjual oleh Ahmad itu ikan parang

The fish which is sold by Ahmad is "ikan parang"

II. Intransitive

Class 1(a) Ahmad menerima basikal yang baharu

Ahmad received a new bicycle (which is new)

(b) saya ambil yang satu itu

I will take that single one

Class 2(a) orang yang berchukor itu memakai pisau chukor jenis Gillette

The person who is shaving is using a Gillette razor blade

(b) orang yang bertengkar dengan Ahmad itu ipar nya

The person who is quarrelling with Ahmad is his brother-in-law

Class 3(a) orang yang mendatang itu dari Siak

The people who are arrivals (the immigrants) are from Siak
Class 3(b) bukit yang menurun ke laut itu Bukit Langit

The hill which runs down to the sea is Bukit Langit

(c) siapa hendak buah saya yang hendak

Who wants fruit? I want (some)

B. Derived forms

I. Transitive

suffix -kan

orang yang menjalankan kereta itu orang Singapura

The person who is driving the car is a Singapore man

suffix -i

budak yang disusui oleh Aminah itu anak bongsu

The child who is suckled by Aminah is her youngest

II. Intransitive

i. yang kematian anak ketua kampong

(He) who has suffered—the-death of a child is the village headman

ii. saya menerima hadiah yang kedua pada hari itu

I received the second prize that day

iii. ikan yang melaut itu anak seluang

The fish which go out to sea are the young of the seluang

iv. padi yang mengijau itu membesarakan hati tuan nya

The rice which is growing green makes proud its owner

v. orang yang mendatang itu orang Siak

The immigrants are from Siak

vi. yang menurun itu jin nya

That which comes down is his familiar spirit.
vii. An oversalted curry is one of my pet aversions.

viii. The bridge which is forbidden to others (private) is mine.

ix. The dog which is cowardly belongs to Ah Kow.

x. The child who is the same age as me is Ali's child.

xi. People who travel with their families do not like to stay long in one place. Have careful consideration for their feelings so that they may not become people who are discouraged.

4.4.3. Auxiliaries

This small class of words has special function in the verb phrase. The members may be listed. They are:

akan implying that something will be done
belum not yet
masih still e.g. masih kecil - still young
pernah ever
sedang in the process of
Definitions of Sub-Classes

4.5.1. The Particles

The prepositions are those particles which stand before that grammatical constituent with which they are in immediate syntactic relation.

The postpositions are those particles which stand after the grammatical constituent with which they are in immediate syntactic relation. These are: lah; kah; tah; pun.

The positionally free particles may be in immediate syntactic relation with a word, phrase or clause. They are not restricted in position with relation to the grammatical element with which they are in immediate syntactic relation. They will be called Adjunctival particles. The most frequent of these are:

- sangat: very
- amat: very
- lagi: further, in addition
- sahaja: only
- balaku: completely
- langsung: at all
- juga: also
- pula: as well
- selalu: always

For examples of the use of Auxiliaries see Chapter Five (5.6.11).
Examples: sangat

hari ini səjok
This day is too

hari ini sangat səjok
This day is very

lengan baju itu laboh sangat
Its the sleeve of that coat which is too long;

laboh sangat lengan baju itu
Too long is the sleeve of that coat.

lengan baju itu sangat laboh (nampak nya)
The sleeve of that coat is very long (it would appear).

amat

budak itu berani amat
That child is too "brave" (venturesome).

budak itu amat berani (nampak nya)
That child is very brave.

lagi

dia lagi di rumah
He is still at home.

dia di rumah lagi
He is at home still.

1. My informant prefers this sentence to be followed by a parenthetic clause adjunct (See Chapter Six - 6.18.1.)
sahaja

He is reading a book (that is all).

or

He is reading just a book.

Only he reads a book.

[If sahaja is to be in syntactic relation with the P element in verbal clause structure the exponent of P is "]

He just reads books (he does not write them).

belaka

His children are quite clever, (a collection of clever/skilful ones).

I do not know at all Chinese talk, (i.e. how to speak Chinese)

Today it has rained too.

There is another word langsong which is not a particle.

Come straight to the house when you come here.
The Chinese child had also come.

*juga*

**dia diam di kampong itu juga**

He lives in that kampong still. (in the same place as before).

*Ahmad diam di Kampong X, Hussein pun diam di Kampong itu juga.*

Ahmad lives at Kampong X, Hussein lives there too.

**dia juga mendiami pondok itu**

It is still he (who) lives in that hut.

**dia diami juga pondok itu**

He lives too in a hut.

(The effect of juga is to emphasise the aspect of diami namely habitual and so to make the 0 form preferable).

**pun**

This particle frequently occurs paired with other adjunctival particles e.g. juga referred to above and also sahaja sampai sahaja hari pun hujan

arrived only - the day is a rainy one (I had barely arrived and even so it had started to rain).

4.5.1.1. The prepositions. This class is subdivided into:

1. pun alone or juga alone are possible but certain situations favour the two together.
a. Directive

b. Connective

i. co-ordinating

ii. subordinating

c. Non-numeral quantifiers

4.5.1. Directive particles are those which form exocentric constructions with Noun phrases (Chapter Five The Marbles).

They are:

i. ke, di, dari, be(r)

Example: orang itu ke pasar
That person is-going-to market.

orang itu di rumah
That person is-at-home.

orang itu dari Kuala Lumpur
That man comes-from Kuala Lumpur.

orang itu be(r) baju putih
That man has (is-wearing) a white coat.

ii. oleh

Example: kucing dipukul oleh budak yang nakal itu
The cat was beaten by that naughty boy.

iii. dengan, akan, bagi, untok

Example: Ahmad memukul Ali dengan roten
Ahmed beat Ali with a rattan stick.
dia momboli kasut akan adek nya
He bought some shoes for his younger brothers (sister).
dia memberi warg untok membuat rumah abang nya
He gave money for the building of his elder brother's (elder sister's) house.
dia memberi buku bagi guru
He gave a book to the teacher.

4.5.1.1.2. Connective particles are those which connect units of comparable status structurally, establishing either a co-ordinate or a subordinate relation. They may be listed as Co-ordinating or Subordinating.

**Examples:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subordinating</th>
<th>Co-ordinating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jikalau</td>
<td>dan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalau</td>
<td>serta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jika</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>supaya</td>
<td>in order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bila</td>
<td>when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sebab</td>
<td>because</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>supaya jangan lest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Co-ordinating:**

Ahmad mambeli sayor tetapi Ali mambeli buah
Ahmad bought vegetables but Ali bought fruit.

**Subordinating:**

jikalau dia datang besok saya memberi dia hadiah
If he comes tomorrow I will give him a present.

4.5.1.1.3. Non-numeral quantifiers. These form endocentric constructions with noun phrases. They can in such structures be preceded by
Directive particles to form Prepositional phrases (Chapter Five 5.7)

Examples of non-numeral quantifiers are:

seμua - all; segala - all; tiapțiap - every;

The class also includes words which reflect a different attitude to quantification. Included will be (for formal reasons) pada, bukan (a negative) and tiada. Traditionally 'pada' has been placed with its prefixes ko- and dari- in the prepositions. The syntactic behaviour however of ko pada in relation to ko demands a re-examination of the position.

It is proposed to state that pada is a non-numeral quantifier and that like semua, or segala it can precede a noun or noun phrase:

**Examples:**

seμua orang yang ceradak itu datang berbahath

All the bright people came to take part in the debate.

tiapțiap jajahan neg ri dilawati oleh yang Mahamulia

Every district in the State was visited by His Majesty.

orang itu bukan kstua kampong

That man is not the village headman (no village headman).

buku itu pada saya

The book is with me (is "in-the-sphere-me").

dia mendengar kata saya dengan tiada memberi nasihat apaapa

He listened to what I had to say without giving any advice whatever (with not-giving-advice of any kind).

When the noun phrase has a non-numeral quantifier preceding its head
there are restrictions on the function of a prepositional phrase formed with ke or di.

Example: dia ke pasar
He (goes) to market.

If pasar is preceded by a non-numeral quantifier then the prepositional phrase ke and noun phrase cannot be exponent of P in a simple clause but must be in a subordinate relation to the verb which is exponent of P in the clause.

Example: dia pergi ke semua kampong
He goes to all the villages.
dia datang ke pada saya
He came to me.

This restriction does not apply to the operation of the prepositional phrase containing a non-numeral co-efficient as exponent of Q in Noun Phrase structure.

Example: surat ke pada Mentari Besar belum be(r) jawab
The letter to the Chief Minister has not yet received a reply.

Where the particle preceding the Noun Phrase is dari there is no restriction.

Example: dia dari Kuala Pilah
He has come from Kuala Pilah (i.e. he has travelled from).
dia dari pada Kuala Pilah
He is from Kuala Pilah (i.e. he is an inhabitant of Kuala Pilah).
orang dari Kuala Pilah itu cherdekcherdek belaka

That chap who has come from Kuala Pilah is pretty bright.

orang dari pada Kuala Pilah itu cherdekcherdek belaka

Kuala Pilah people are pretty bright.

orang itu dari tiap tiap kampong jajahan Kuala Pilah

Those people are from every village of Kuala Pilah district.

orang dari tiap tiap kampong jajahan Kuala Pilah datang mengadap

People from every village in the Kuala Pilah district come to pay homage. 1.

A Noun Phrase with bukan cannot be preceded by a particle.

tiada

The writer's informant could not find a context in his speech which would allow of tiada being used alone as a complete utterance. It is therefore a particle. It has been stated in some grammars that tiada is a contraction of "tidak ada". If this were so it should be possible to use it as a complete utterance. "Tak ada" on the other hand can be so used. There are however contexts in which "tiada" seems

1. Traditionally only the particles ko and dari are stated to precede a noun phrase with pada (in fact kepada and daripada have always been treated as prepositions per se). Why is there no di pada? Two answers are available. Prof. N.C. Scott informs me that a Malay student with whom he worked did in fact utter di pada when she thought she was saying daripada, i.e. reading from an orthographic text with daripada. Secondly pada itself is used alone in such contexts as 'pada hari itu' - on that day - where di may be represented by $\phi$. My informant might be able to produce contexts which would separate dari from the so-called "careless" di = dari since in many Malay dialects "r" is a frictionless continuant often very difficult to isolate from the phonetic environment.
to alternate with "tidak".

**Example:** 1. dengan tiada menggunakan pisau without using a knife.
2. dengan tidak menggunakan pisau

Example 1 suggests that "tiada" is a non-numeral quantifier with the verb/noun "menggunakan".

Example 2 suggests that the verb group "tidak menggunakan" is operating as a noun. Auxiliaries cannot do this so "tidak" is not here performing auxiliary function.

The expression "yang tiada baik" recurs in a passage written by a Malay whose writing is held in very high regard. In this case it could be classed as an adjunctival particle. "tiada" can undergo affixation to ketiadaan (lack). This suggests the possibility of inclusion with the adjective or V\text{A.II.3a}. No attempt will be made herein to give a final decision on "tiada". The important facts have been stated.

4.5.2 Non-Particles

4.5.2.1 Nominals. This class includes:

a. The determinatives itu and ini. They may close a noun phrase.

**Example:** orang yang datang itu ........

The person who comes........

If determinative function alone is to be performed then itu is used.

1. cf. orang yang bukan Melayu

   a person who is a non-Malay.
Both words may perform deictic function as in:

**Example:**

- orang ini  this man
- orang itu  that man

Performing this function they may be exponent of S or C in a verbal clause; S or P in nominal clause.

**Example:**  Verbal Clause

S. itu nak menyukakan hati orang sahaja
   That is for pleasing people only

C. ini saya hendak
   This I want

Nominal Clause

S. itu kahwa kampong
   That is the village headman

P. kahwa kampong itu
   The village headman is that one
   (appropriate intonation and pause)

b. The noun. This may be defined as a word which collocates with itu, which may be the Head of noun phrase, and which may be exponent of S or C in clause structure.

The Pronouns are a subclass of nouns which can be listed. They can operate as Head of a noun group but not as Head of a noun phrase which has an exponent of Q.

**Example:**

- saya  saya yang hina ini
  I  I who am lowly

  NOT *saya hina ini
The pronoun forms ku; kau, are not discussed in this thesis as they do not strictly form part of the dialect under consideration. They are mentioned here because certain Dutch scholars have applied to these forms ku buat and kau buat the description "vervooded vormen" (conjugated forms). Winstedt says "the forms ku-buat and kau-buat are devised with the object of laying less stress on the agent than the full forms aku and angkau".

c. The adjuncts. These words cannot be exponents of S or C in verbal clause structure or of S or P in nominal clause structure. They can be listed. Like the nouns they collocate with itu/ini but they differ from the noun in not having potentiality of further expansion. There is a small lexically restricted group of nouns which can also operate as adjuncts.

Example: sakarang orang itu datang

Now the man comes.

d. The interrogative nominals. This is a small group of words which can operate as exponent of S or C in verbal clause structure or as exponent of S or P in nominal clause structure.

Example apa dia buat

What does he do.

siapa orang itu

Who is that man.

1. Emeis Inleiding tot de Bahasa Indonesia. Les XXX-XXXIII.
They do not collocate with itu or ini. The more frequent are: apa - what; siapa - who; mana - where; berapa - how many; mangapa - why; kenapa - why; bila - when; apabila - when.

4.5.2.2. Verbals

A. Non derived forms are those verbs which consist of one free morpheme.

B. Derived forms are those which are composite full words.

A. Non-derived base forms

I. Transitive verbs. These are verbs which can have a prefixed di-form.

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{bacha} & \text{dibacha} \\
&\text{to read} & \text{to be read}
\end{align*}
\]

II. Intransitive verbs. These are those verbs which cannot have a prefixed di-form. There are three classes of Intransitive non-derived verbs.

Class 1. Those intransitive verbs which cannot be included in Class 2 or Class 3.

a. Those which cannot collocate with kena. These are conveniently called Adjectives. Most adjectives collocate with sangat.

b. The numerals. A list may be made of the morphemes from which all numerals can be derived. The rules for derivation of the numerals from these may be found in Winstedt, Malay Grammar. Page 123 et seq.
Example a. pokok itu tinggi
The tree is tall.

orang itu kena penyakit (noun)
The man has-been-stricken-with illness.

But not * orang itu kena sakit (adjective)

pokok itu tinggi sangat
The tree is very tall.

b. See Chapter Five 5.5.1. where the numeral is treated.

Class 2. Forms having potentiality of bo(r)-


b. Reflexive - other bo(r)- forms.

Example Reciprocal Transformation.¹

i. Those having obligatory A element in the form
dengan + Noun phrase

orang itu bertonam dengan kawan nya
That man stabs with his friend

which transforms to

orang itu dan kawan nya bertonam
The man and his friend are stabbing (one another).

¹ For Transformation - see Chomsky N., Syntactic Structures.
ii. those having optional dengān
   orang itu bərjumpa dengān kawan nya
   or orang itu bərjumpa kawan nya
   The man met (with his friend.)

Transformation.
   orang itu bərjumpa dengān kawan nya
   transforms to
   orang itu dan kawan nya bərjumpa
   saya bərjumpa dengān dia
   I met (with) him
   also transforms to
   saya dan dia bərjumpa
   or kita bərjumpa
   we met

b. Reflexive
   i. No C element in clause structure
      saya bərchukor
      I shave.

   ii. The A element is dengān + Noun phrase but the
      reciprocal transformation is not possible.
      saya bərchukor dengān pisau
      I shave with a razor
      (* saya dan pisau bərchukor is not possible)

Class 3. The verbs of this Class can be listed. They cannot
   have forms with prefixed bə(r). Some may have
derived forms with `mo(\ldots)`. Sub-classes may be set up as

a. Those whose derived forms with `mo(\ldots)` may be the exponent of Q in phrase structure but may not be the exponent of P in verbal clause structure.

Example: datang to come

orang itu datang dari Kuala Lumpur

Those people come from Kuala Lumpur.

orang manda
tang itu dari Siak

The man coming (the immigrants) are from Siak.

b. Those whose derived forms can be exponent of P in verbal clause structure.

Example: turun to descend

Ahmad turun dari rumah

Ahmad descends from the house.

jin nya mna
turun

His familiar spirit comes down

(This is not the `mo(\ldots)`- form which is in opposition to the \(\emptyset\) form in the Transitive verbs and can undergo transformation to the di- form).

c. This is a small subclass of verbs which can operate as Class 3 verbs or can form a verb group (Chapter Five) with any other verb.
These are:

- tidak not
- sudah completed
- habis finished, and so - fully, completely
- dapat get, able

B. Derived Forms

These verbs do not require separate definition as they are recognisable by their morphological structure.

The Transitive derived forms are those derived from:

a. Nominal Forms.

Example nama namakan

tempat itu dinamakan oleh baginda

The place was given a name by His Highness.

anak itu disusui oleh mak nya

The child was suckled by his mother.

b. Intransitive verb forms by

i. Suffixation of -kan or -i

Example bərjalan jalankan to drive (to make to progress)

Ahmad menjalankan kəreta api

Ahmad is driving a train.

---

1. The verb kəna cannot be followed by an adjective. It can be followed by a noun.

Example Ahmad kəna pənyakit Ahmad is stricken with sickness.

But NOT Ahmad kəna sakit. The word sakit is an adjective; pənyakit is a noun.
datang datangkan
pokjaan itu mendatangkan bahaya ke pada orang lain
That action can be (make to come) a danger to other people.

besar besarkan
orang itu membesar kan sawah nya
That man enlarged his rice field.

ii. prefixation of pe(r)-

kuat parkan
strong cause to be strong - reinforce

soldadu memparkan kota nya
The soldiers reinforced (strengthened) their fort.

iii. secondary derived forms from duplication\(^1\) and suffixation of -kan or -i.

besar besarbesar besarbesarkan
(to be) great to exaggerate

orang itu membesarbesarkan diri
That person exaggerates his own importance (himself).

b. Transitive forms with benefactive -kan\(^2\). Such forms also exist with Intransitive forms transitivised by suffixation of -kan or -i. In such cases the benefactive -kan is represented by $\emptyset$.

---

1. When the term duplication is used it may be considered as including reduplication in the case of those speakers whose Standard Malay is influenced by their own dialect).

2. See Robins Lingua VIII 4 Nominal and Verbal Derivation in Sundanese for a similar form in Sundanese).
4.5.2.3. Auxiliaries (See 5.2.)

4.6. A cross classification of verbs can be made in terms of

Predicating v. Non-predicating

Imperative v. Non-imperative

Non-predicating are those which cannot operate as exponents of P in a verbal clause. Non-imperative are those which cannot operate as exponent of P in an imperative clause.

In Malay the verb has important function both as exponent of P in a verbal clause and as exponent of Q in the Noun Phrase. Not all verbs however can operate in both positions. The following verbals never fill the P position in verbal clauses; the numerals; the derived intransitive sub classes ii, v, viii. There are also other restrictions on other aspects of the behaviour of verbs but these are adverted to in Chapter Six (Clause).

Not all members of the Adjective class of verbs can be exponent of P in an Imperative clause. The restriction is a lexical one.

The following verbs cannot operate as exponent of P in imperative clause structure. A II.1b; A II.3o (when operating as auxiliaries) B II.1i; B II.1i; B II.1iv (except in limited poetical contexts); B II.1v; B II.1vi; B II.1vii; B II.1x; B II.1xi.

1. See footnote on page
2. See Chapter Six.
Table summarising the verbs in terms of their potentiality as Predicates in declarative verbal clauses and in imperative verbal clauses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>as Predicate in declarative clause</th>
<th>as Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. I</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. II.1a</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. II.1b</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. II.2a</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. II.2b</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. II.3a</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. II.3b</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. II.3c</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. I</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. II.i.</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. II.ii</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. II.iii</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. II.iv</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. II.v</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. II.vi</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. II.vii</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. II.viii</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. II.ix</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. II.x</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. II.xi</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.7. While there are many words which can easily and unambiguously be placed in a word class there are also many that must be allocated to more than one word class according to their syntactic behaviour.
The Verb class A.II.2 has some words which can be either verb or noun. *kerja* may be "to work" in which case it has potentiality of be(r) as a verb. It may also be a noun forming a noun group in *kerja kampong* - village work. This noun group with the particle be(r) forms a prepositional phrase which can operate as exponent of P in verbal clauses: orang itu be(r) *kerja kampong*

That man does village work.

So it is too with words in the class Non-numeral quantifiers. Both sesua and banyak (all and many) are in the following contexts Non-numeral quantifiers (N-NQ) or Noun or Verb.

N-NQ  

"dia memberi hadiah ke pada semua orang itu"

He gave prizes to all the people.

Noun  

"semua itu saya mahu"

All that I want.

N-NQ  

"Banyak mahu semua buah ini? semua (Noun)"

*Do you want all the fruit?* Yes, all of it.

Verb  

"Yang banyak itu orang china"

The greater number are Chinese.

(Note: banyak is a verb in the yang context)

N-NQ  

"banyak orang datang ke majilis itu"

Many people came to the assembly.

See also "tiada" 4.5.1.1.3.
CHAPTER FIVE

THE PHRASE

5.1. Phrase Types

5.2. The nominal phrase

5.2.1. The Structure of the nominal phrase

5.2.2. The noun group

5.2.3. The Yang piece

5.3. Exponents of Q in the Noun Phrase

5.3.1. Verbs as exponent of Q

5.3.2. Prepositional Phrases as exponent of Q

5.3.3. The Clause as exponent of Q

5.3.4. The Expanded verb phrase as exponent of Q

5.4. The verb form as Head of the Nominal Phrase

5.4.1. Exemplification of Verb forms as Head of the Nominal Phrase

5.5.1. The element M in the Noun Phrase

5.6. The Verb Phrase

5.6.1. The elements of the verb phrase

5.7. The Prepositional Phrase

5.7.1. Definition

5.7.2. Function

5.7.3. Particles ke, di, dari, and bo(r)

5.7.4. Particle oleh

5.7.5. Other particles

5.8. Ke pada and dari pada
5.1. Phrase types

5.1.1. Three phrase types are abstracted for the purpose of this description, viz.

The Nominal phrase which includes the Noun phrase and Noun group
The Verb phrase which includes the Verb group
The Prepositional phrase

5.2. The Nominal Phrase

5.2.1. The structure of the Nominal phrase is \((M \cdot H \cdot (Q) \cdot (D))\) in this fixed order. \(H\) is the Head and has as exponent either a Noun or its syntactic equivalent when it is called a noun phrase, or an adjunct.

The element \(M\) has as exponent a numeral or a non-numeral quantifier.

The element \(Q\) has as its exponent a verb or with certain restrictions a prepositional phrase. The element \(D\) has as its exponent a Determinative (itu or ini).

**Examples**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal phrase</th>
<th>M.H.Q.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noun as Head</td>
<td>Semua rumah besar itu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All the houses big (those).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dua buah rumah besar itu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The two big houses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjunct as Head (A)</td>
<td>Sekarang ini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Now (This now)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.2.2. The noun group which is one of the syntactic equivalents of a noun is of three forms. i.e., \((N-N-N-)_n\) in which the first noun is the head and succeeding nouns are in subordinate relation to it. Any two or

---

more of the nouns may form a head to a following subordinate noun and will within their own group be in head and subordinate relation to one another.

Example \[ N_1 \quad N_2 \quad N_3 \quad N_4 \]

ponding \[ \text{bahasa k}^2 \text{obangsaan itu} \]
The importance of the position of the Language of the Nation.

ii. N-Pr

Example rumah saya

my house.

iii. N-Yg

Example rumah yang b\(\text{o}^2\)sar

a (the) house which is big.

These can be further expanded as Noun groups and, as independent heads, further expanded as Noun phrases.

5.2.3. The yang piece (Yg.)

This is found in two forms, namely:-

a. One in which yang is a subordinating particle to a verbal clause which must have as exponent of P the zero form of a transitive verb and usually the zero form of verbs of A.II.2 or the be(r) form of A.II.2 Reciprocal subclass.

Example orang yang saya lihat itu datang dari Singapura

The man that I see comes from Singapore.
kawan yang dia jumpa itu memberi duit ke pada nya
The friend whom he met gave him some money.
harta yang saya berjumpa itu harta karun
The property which I came upon is property
whose-owner-cannot-be established.

b. One in which yang replaces the S element in a simple verbal
clause or is followed by verbs A.II.1b; or B.II.ii; or B.II.v;
or B.II.viii; or a prepositional phrase with particles ke,
di, dari, be(r).
For examples of yang followed by verbs - see 4.4.2.2.
Examples of use with prepositional phrases are:

ke orang yang ke pasar itu hendak membeli daging
The person going to the market is going to buy meat.
di budak yang di tepi sungai itu Ali
The child at the river's edge is Ali.
dari barang yang dari Siam itu mahal
The things from Thailand are costly.
be(r) orang yang be(r) baju Melayu itu Tunku Abdul Rahman
The person wearing Malay dress is Tunku Abdul Rahman.

The yang piece is syntactically equivalent to a noun.

Example
Yang datang itu memakai kuning
Those who are arriving are wearing yellow.
(i.e. are Royal persons).

C.f. orang itu memakai kuning
Those persons are wearing yellow.
5.3. Exponents of Q in the Noun phrase.

5.3.1. Verbs as exponent of Q.

Verb A.I.  
0  sa buah buku tulis itu (dichuri orang)  
That writing book (was stolen by someone).

mo(•) - semua orang mongaji itu (labai belaka)  
All those reading people (are labai entirely)

di- semua barang dichuri itu (hak ketua kampong)  
All the property stolen (is the property of the village headman.)

With di- form as exponent, H.Q and M.H.Q. structures are not acceptable without ambiguity. The determinative is necessary.

tar- semua harta tarkumpul itu (disimpan oleh karani)  
All the gathered together property (was put away) by the clerk.

The same restriction applies here as with the di-form.

Verb A.II.1a  This is the most frequently occurring form. It corresponds to what is traditionally called an Adjective.

semua buku merah itu (dibawa oleh guru besar)  
All the red books (were brought by the Head Teacher).

2. orang barchukor itu (luka)  
The man shaving himself (has a cut).
All shaving knives (razor blades) are expensive now.

These verbs with bar- must be followed by the determinative in the Noun phrase.

3a or 3b. semua orang datang itu (membawa hadiah).
All the arriving people (bring a present).

3c. Used in the Standard language but distinctly "modern" as in bulan sudah - last month. (In the expression bulan baharu habis ini ...... it is acceptable)

[The form waktu belum itu in which the auxiliary fills the Q position is unusual but is acceptable to my informant.]

Verb B I. The use of -kan and -i forms are possible but my informant prefers to use these in a noun group in which the verb is part of a Yg form.

kereta dijalankan itu (tak mengikut peratoran).
That car driven (is not following the regulations).

is possible but

kereta yang dijalankan itu tak mengikut peratoran.
That car which is being driven ....

is preferred.

B II. i. only for those which do not normally take a C element when used in the P position in clause structure.

orang kehujanan itu orang balek panggilan
The man who was caught in the rain (was someone returning from a party).
ii. orang kedua itu (naik tangga).
The two people came up the stairs.

iii. orang malaut itu (belum balek).
The people who have gone to sea have not yet returned.

iv. padi maggajau itu (sedap dipandang).
Rice growing green (is delightful to be looked upon.)

v. orang mandatang itu orang Siak.
The new immigrants are people of Siak.

vii. gulai tsmiasin itu (kicap tangan saya).
An oversalted curry (is my pet aversion).

viii. jambatan larangan itu (jambatan raja).
The forbidden (out-of-bounds) bridge (is a royal bridge)

ix. anjing penakut itu (anjing Ahmad).
The cowardly dog (belongs to Ahmad).

x. budak sebaya dangan dia itu (anak ketua kampong).
The child (who) is the same age as him (is the child of the village headman).

xi. orang berpargian itu orang Minangkabau.
The people who are travelling (The travelling people) are people of Minangkabau.

orang berkeshilan hati itu datang dari Kampong Baharu.
The people (who are) offended come from Kampong Baharu.

5.3.2. Prepositional Phrases as Exponent of Q.
be(r) NP orang ber baju Malayu itu (T.Abdul Rahman).
The person dressed-in-Malay-fashion (is T.Abdul Rahman)
ke NP orang ke pasar itu (hendak membeli daging).

That person on the way to market (is going to buy meat).

The importance of the determinative itu as a syntactic marker is brought out here. Without it this would have been a compound sentence.

di NP budak di tepi sungai itu (Ali).
The child at the edge of the river (is Ali).
dari NP barang dari Siam itu (mahal).
Things from Siam (are costly).

5.3.3. The Clause as exponent of Q

Clause

tempat biji durian ditanamkan oleh Ali itu (semaian nama nya).
The place (where) the seed of the durian is planted by Ali (is called a nursery).

5.3.4. The Expanded Verb Phrase as exponent of Q

orang belum masok itu (masok lah)
Those (who) have not yet entered, (please enter!)
corang sangat gemok itu ...
The very fat person ...
corang baharu datang itu
The just-arrived person ...

5.4.1. The Verb form as Head of the Nominal Phrase. 2

A general statement may be made on the verb forms in Head position in a Nominal Phrase in which case they are operating as Nouns.

1. This type of structure is limited to a small group of Nouns indicating place and time. These could be listed.
2. See page 63. Footnote Syntactic equivalents of the Noun.
i. Zero forms of Transitive verbs and zero forms of A.II.2 (forms having potentiality of be(r)-) must be nominalised by the nominalising suffix -nya.

ii. di- and tar- forms of Transitive verbs cannot operate as Head of a Nominal Phrase.

iii. $V_{A.II:1a}$ (Adjectives) and $V_{A.II:3}$ must be nominalised with -nya.

iv. Derived transitives can only operate in the me(\~\~)- form. (-kan and -i cannot be followed by any other suffix).

v. Verbs B.II.i and B.II.viii can operate in the head position in Nominal Phrase but members ii to x of the subclass B.II can only operate after addition of nominalising -nya.

vi. me(\~\~)- forms of transitive verbs and be(r)- forms of A.II.2 are the forms most commonly found as head in the Nominal Phrase. 

### 5.4.2. Exemplification of Verb forms as Head of Nominal Phrase

$V_{A.I}$ me- form

menchuri barang orang ditegah ugama.

Stealing the goods of another is forbidden by religion.

$V_{A.II:1a}$ tingginya pokok kelapa itu 50 kaki.

The height of that coconut tree is 50 feet.

2. s\~\~anamnya budak sekolah dapat pujian.

The drilling of the school boys received praise.

---

1. My informant whose native dialect is that of an area of Negri Sembilan thinks that in his dialect there is a distinction between the nasalised form of the transitive verb and the me(\~\~)- form. The nasalised form is used for the "verbal noun" and the me(\~\~)- form for the form which is in opposition to the zero form as a predica-ting verb.
berlatih itu guru yang sempurna.
Practice is the surest teacher.

terjumanya harta itu denga tidak sengaja.
The coming upon that property was without intent.

tibanya buku itu dari England terlewat sedikit.
The arrival of the book from England is somewhat delayed.

habisnya bulan puasa itu Hari Jumaat.
The finish of the fasting month is on Friday.

menjalankan kereta itu pekerjaan Ahmad.
Driving that car is the job of Ahmad.

menyembaluki kereta itu pekerjaan Ahmad.

Repairing (that) car(s) is the job of Ahmad.

kehilangan tongkat itu menimbulkan susah kepada orang buta itu.
The loss of his stick is a source of trouble to a blind man.

kotiganya itu anak raja.
The three are royal children.

malautnya anak seluang itu chuma sampai ke tepi beting.
The going to sea of the seluang fish was only as far as the edge of the sand bank.

mengijaunya padi itu mémunjokkan padi subor.
The growing green of the rice shows that the padi is healthy.

menurunnya bukit itu sampai ke tepi sawah.
The slope (the running down) of the hill reaches to the edge of the rice field.
vii. The excessive-saltiness of a curry is ruled out by the village "doctor".

viii. The forbidding was taken no notice of by people.

ix. The cowardice of the dog is like unto that of its master.

5.5.1. The element M in the Noun Phrase.

The numeral is treated as a subclass of the adjectives. A numeral must always precede a noun. If it stands before a noun which is the head noun of a noun phrase it may be followed by a numeral coefficient or one of a small lexically restricted group of nouns of length etc.

This numeral coefficient is itself a noun but has limited distribution. If the numeral follows the head noun it must itself be followed by the numeral coefficient, or one of the small restricted group mentioned above.

The numeral is classified as a verb because it can satisfy the yang test. It cannot be exponent of Q in Noun Phrase or P in verbal clause.

Examples

dia beli dua buah rumah itu.

He bought the two houses.
dia beli rumah dua buah itu.
He bought houses - those two.
dia beli kain dua ela.
He buys cloth - two yards (of it).

rumah dua buah itu is analysed as:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{N} & \text{Noun Phrase} \\
\text{rumah} & \text{dua buah itu} \\
\text{M. H. D.}
\end{array}
\]

dua buah rumah itu is analysed as
M. Noun Group D.
in which the Noun group consists of \(N_1 - N_2\) in which \(N_1\) is one of the nouns of restricted distribution.
The other exponent of M in Noun Phrase structure is the non-numeral quantifier. This is discussed in Chapter Four - 4.5.1.1.3.

5.6. The Verb Phrase.
This phrase in its minimal form is a verb which can be exponent of P in verbal clause structure.

5.6.1. The elements of the verb phrase structure are \(H_v\) and \(X\). With a restricted number of verbs, namely those of A.II.3.c, a verb group is formed in which \(H_v\) is preceded by one of the verbs of that subclass.
The verb group operates as a new \(H_v\) element for the phrase. The element \(X\) has as exponent one or more of the Auxiliaries.

5.6.1.1. The following scheme shows how the auxiliaries and \(V_{A.II.3c}\) may operate.
maseh can stand before belum but no other auxiliary can so do. The scheme above is subject to lexical restrictions. The verb phrase does not usually contain more than two or three words.

**Examples:**

\[
\text{V P} \\
\text{dia maseh belum sampai.}
\]

He has still not yet come.

\[
\text{V P} \\
\text{dia belum pernah naik kapal terbang.}
\]
He is still in-the-process-of writing.

He still has never seen television.

He has ever (always) travelled by aeroplane.

He has not ever seen a film.

He is not in-the-process-of sleeping.

He will not be accepted to be a son-in-law by the village headman.

He will ever look at television (if he goes to England).

Examples with tidak as part of verb group forming new head.

He still does not like watching television.

He was-in-a-state-of not-being accepted by the Government.
He is in-the-process-of not-cultivating the rice field.

He is ever not-getting work month-after-month of time.

He never did-not-get work.

5.6.1.3. With a small number of adjectives V.A.II.1a (e.g. pandai - skilful; suka, gēmar - like, enjoy; sēgan - shy; malu - shy, ashamed) constructions of the type exemplified below are possible.

He is skilful at reading books.
He likes playing.
He is shy of asking.

In such constructions pandai membacha; suka bermain are not to be analysed as verb groups.

The analysis will be:

1. Pandai is used as a noun in such contexts as pandai-besi - a blacksmith as compared with dia pandai membacha buku - he is skilful at reading a book. In the sentence the adjective pandai can have high fall tone to mark emphasis. This is not possible in the noun pandai in the compound pandai-besi.

2. See 7.5.
5.6.1.4. Examples of kena in a verb group.

V.A.I. ∅  saya kena bacha ya-sin.
It-falls-to-my-lot-to read the ya-sin
me(¬)- saya kena mambacha ya-sin.
as above with usual aspectual difference.
di- budak sakit kena dibawa ke rumah-sakit
The sick child had to be taken to hospital.
ter- (not possible)

V.A.II.1a (not possible)
ber- 2. dia kena berlari pulang.
he had to run home.
3. saya kena datang.
I had to come.

V.B.II.iii  only me(¬)- Noun can be used.
saya kena melaut (tahun ini)
I shall have to go to sea this year.
saya kena mendarat di Port Dickson.
I had to land at Port Dickson.

Kena can be used as a verb of V.A.II.3b and V.B.II.vi.
tangan saya kena pisau
my hand was-affected-by a knife
sakali jalan terkena dua kali jalan mengena
The first time I was-got-at the second time I got-at-someone else.

5.6.2. The verb phrase may be discontinuous when the exponent of X may precede the S element in clause structure.
Examples: saya belum membaca buku itu.
I have not yet read that book.
belum saya membaca buku itu.
Not yet have I read the book.

This latter order is more particularly found where the exponent of P in clause structure is a $\emptyset$ form.
belum saya baca buku.
I have not yet got to reading books.

5.7. The Prepositional Phrase

5.7.1. The prepositional phrase is an exocentric construction which consists of a noun phrase preceded by a directive particle.

5.7.2. The prepositional phrase may, subject to certain restrictions, operate as exponent of P or O in verbal clause structure or as A in clause structure generally.

5.7.3.1. The particles ke; di; dari; and be(r) with a noun phrase form prepositional phrases which can operate as exponent of P in verbal clause structure with the proviso that when the noun phrase has a non numeral quantifier in the M position only prepositional phrases with dari can operate as P in verbal clause.¹ (See Non-numeral Quantifier - Chapter Four).

¹. With a limited number of nouns the prepositional phrase with ke may take the prefix te(r)-

ke bawah to the bottom
te(r)- [kebawah] further down

This term form is like the te(r)- Vₐ.₈.₃a form [te(r) + adjective].

Other such nouns are belakang - back; atas - top; hadapan - front; tepi - edge. In Bahasa Indonesia the form ter ke muka [muka - face] is found and also mengemukakan:
muka; ke muka; kemukakan; mengemukakan. This is used by some speakers of Standard Malay.
Examples: orang itu ke pasar.
That person is going to market.
Ahmad di rumah.
Ahmad is at home.
ikan itu dari laut.
That fish is from the sea.
dia be(r) baju puteh.
He (is wearing) a white coat.

In a compound sentence (Chapter Seven) a prepositional phrase may be the exponent of P in a co-ordinated clause (Chapter Seven) with or without particle or with conjunctive transformation (Chapter Seven)

Ahmad datang ke Kuala Lumpur.
Ahmad comes to Kuala Lumpur.

If in such circumstances the exponent of P in main clause is an adjective (VA.II.1a) then a prepositional phrase with dari - if present - will be the exponent of A in the clause and not of the P element of a co-ordinate clause in the sentence.

nyior tinggi dari pinang
(VA.II.1a)
The coconut tree is taller than the betelnut palm.

chara dia menulisitu' ganjil dari biasa
(VA.II.1a)
The style in which he writes is more awkward than usual.

If the noun phrase with dari begins with pada the same restriction
5.7.3.2. Prepositional phrases with the particles ke; di; dari; bə(r) can also operate as exponent of Q in phrase structure.

**Examples:**

orang ke pasar itu Ahmad.
The person (who) is going to market is Ahmad.

orang bə(r) baju puteh itu pergi melihat anak nya.
The man wearing a white coat is going to see his child.

guru dari Seremban itu pandai melukis.
The teacher from Seremban is skilful at drawing.

rumah di kəmuncak bukit itu istana lama.
The building on top of the hill is the old palace.

5.7.4. Prepositional phrases with the particle oleh operate as exponent of C in clause structure in passive clauses.

**Examples:**
kuching itu dipukul oleh budak jahat.
The cat was beaten by the bad boy.

rumah itu tidak terdatang lagi oleh saya.
That house cannot-be-come-to anymore by me.¹

When kəna forms part of a verb group there is potentiality of complement with oleh.

The phrases oleh səhab itu; oleh kərana itu; oleh itu; are exceptions to the statement above. They are sentence appositive constructions and are referred to in Chapter Seven.

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¹. Complement with oleh together with a verb in the di- or tər form in declarative sentences or pər- in imperative sentences marks the passive — see 6.2.4. In Malay this applies to Intransitive as well as Transitive verbs. In this example one of the aspects conveyed by the prefix tər- is brought out, namely the conative.
5.7.5. Prepositional phrases with particles other than those cited above operate as exponents of A in clause structure.

**Example**  
**dia pukul budak itu dangan kayu**  
He struck the child with (a piece of) wood.

**dia membuat rumah akan adek nya**  
He built a house for his younger brother (sister).

**dia memberi wang itu untok membuat rumah abang nya**  
He gave the money for the purpose of building a house for his elder brother (sister).

5.7.5.1 The particle untok is frequently used with a noun phrase in which the Head is a verb form. The particle dangan can also be used in similar structural contexts.

**Example**  
**dia datang untok memberi salam kepada datok nya**  
He came to (for the purpose of) give(ing) a salutation to his grandfather.

**dia datang dangan tiada memberi tabek ke pada**  
He came without giving salutation to anyone.

**siapasiapa pun**

(He came with not having the giving a salutation to anyone).

5.7.5.2 The particle bagi can also be used in both contexts.

**Example**  
**dia memberi buku bagi guru**  
He gave a book for the teacher.

**dia datang bagi menjemput saya ke kanduri**  
He came for the purpose of asking me to a feast.
untok and bagi are to some extent similar to dalam and atas. These latter are not treated as prepositions in this thesis although traditional grammars treat them as such. They can best be treated as nouns and structures of the type "dalam rumah" can best be described as Noun groups. It follows that the structure di dalam rumah will best be described as a prepositional phrase. This phrase behaves syntactically in the same way as di rumah.

orang itu di rumah
The person (is) at home.

orang itu di dalam rumah
The person (is) inside the house.

Untok and bagi are like dalam and atas in forming transitive verbs by affixation of -kan

tompat itu diuntokan ke pada guru besar
That place is set aside for the headmaster.

bagikan buku itu ke pada nya!
Give the book to him.

They could be described in a manner similar to atas and dalam. They cannot however form prepositional phrases with di dari ke in the same way as atas or dalam.

For the purpose of this thesis it will be assumed that there are two homophous forms one of which is a particle and the other a noun albeit with restricted distribution and infrequent use.

5.8. For the purpose of this description kepada and daripada (to give them their traditional orthographic form) will not be treated
as particles in their own right. They will be considered as particle with non-numeral quantifier pada. This has already been adverted to in Chapter Four.

Example: dia memberi buku ke pada kawan nya

He gave a book to (the person of) his friend.

Some grammars of Malay say that "kapada" is used of persons while "ka" is used of inanimates. This is an oversimplification. Where the inanimate can be considered as having corporate existence e.g. a mosque, a school - "kapada" can be used.

Example: dia ke sekolah He goes to school.

dia memberi hadiah ke pada sekolah

He made a gift to the school.
CHAPTER SIX

THE CLAUSE

6.1. The Clause

6.2. The Verbal Clause

6.2.1. The Elements of the Clause Structure

6.2.2. Sentence and Clause (The Declarative Clause, the Imperative Clause, and the Interrogative Clause)

6.2.3. Exponents of Pin Declarative Verbal Clause. Exemplification of P exponents of Declarative Verbal Clause.

6.2.4. Passive and Non-Passive.

6.2.5. CSP Structures.

6.2.6. Two Complement Clause Structures.

6.2.7. The Imperative Clause.

6.3. The Nominal Clause

6.4. The Included Clause.

6.4.1. Downgraded Clause in S or C position in Clause.

6.4.2. Negative Imperative and the Imperative with Nominal Clauses.

6.4.3. Downgraded Clause in Q Position in Phrase.

6.5. Parenthetical Clause Adjuncts.
6.1. Clauses may be Verbal or Nominal. A verbal clause is one in which the P element in clause structure is a Verb or its syntactic equivalent. A nominal clause is one in which the P element in structure has as its exponent a Noun or its syntactic equivalent.

6.2. The verbal clause.

6.2.1. The elements of structure of the verbal clause are S - the subject; P - the predicate; C - the complement and A - the Adjunct.

6.2.1.1. The structures of the verbal clause are P; SP; PS; FC; CP; SPC; PCS; CSP. The element A except as limited in 6.2.1.5. has freedom of position in any of the available places in structure.¹

6.2.1.2. The subject is that element which can stand alone with the predicate in a declarative sentence (simple) in structures SP and PS.

Example saya datang
S P
I come
datang dia
P S
He comes

The subject must be a noun or its syntactic equivalent. The subject is that element which must immediately precede the Predicate in a CSP structure.

If S and C elements are both present and are separated by the predicate then the first element which has as its exponent a noun or its syntactic equivalent is the subject.

Example Ahmad memukul Ali
S P C
Ahmad is striking Ali.

1. Although SPC; PCS and CSP structures occur in the speech of the writer's informant the PCS is the least common. Another Standard speaker was ready to discard PCS as a structure in his own speech but admitted that it was possible but rare.
6.2.1.3. The Predicate. In the verbal clause the predicate is a verb or its syntactic equivalent. It is the only essential element of a verbal clause.

6.2.1.4. The Complement. This is the element other than the subject which must be a noun or its syntactic equivalent. When S and C elements are both present in the clause and separated by the P element, the element other than an adjunct which follows P is the complement. In non-passive clauses when S and C are not separated by the P element the C element must precede the S element in sequence. In Passive clauses the C element has potentiality of the particle "oleh" in pre-position.

6.2.1.5. The Adjunct. The place of element A in structure may be filled by -

an adjunct (a sub-class of nominals)
a prepositional phrase with a directive particle other than kep, di, dari, bo(r) or oleh
an adjunctival particle
a small list of nouns (e.g. hari - the day) with limited potential of expansion, viz. no Q element in phrase
One or more of these exponents may be present and the Adjunct may be discontinuous, different exponents filling different places in the sequence of elements.

Example  

*sakarang dia memukul kucing*

adjunct S   P   C

Now he strikes the cat.

dongan kayu sahaja

prepositional phrase/adjunctival particle

with a stick only.

When the exponent of A is an adjunct it cannot come between P and C in sequence.

The prepositional phrase as exponent of A has complete freedom of distribution in clause structure.

6.2.2. Sentence and Clause

The simple sentence consists of one clause. A Simple sentence may be Declarative, Interrogative or Imperative. The Declarative sentence may be simple or compound, as may also the Interrogative sentence. A compound sentence containing an imperative clause must have that clause as the main clause when the relation between the clauses is a subordinate relation. Two imperative clauses may occur together in
coordinate relation. The imperative clause is therefore treated here in the clause chapter.

The interrogative clause may be marked either by the presence of the particle kah (more rarely tah) or by an intonation tune the final tone of which is higher than the initial. With these modifications the interrogative clause may be described in the same terms as a declarative clause. What is said hereafter about the declarative clause may be taken as applicable to the interrogative clause (or simple sentence).

6.2.3. Exponents of \( P \) in Declarative verbal clauses.

Verb A.I. SPC; PCS Active \( \emptyset \) mə-
Passive di-
tər-
CSP Active \( \emptyset \)
Passive di-
tər- with repetition of \( C \) element or nya or oleh nya after the \( P \) element.

Further reference is made to CSP structures later especially with the cases where a mə form may be used.

Verb A.II SP
verb A.II SP 1a PS SPC PCS

Verb B.I As for A.I.
Verb B.II 1. SP(c) F(c)S (c)SP

Verb B.II 1. SP(c) F(c)S (c)SP

ii. Non-Predicating
iii. SP No C element possible
   PS
iv. SP
   PS
v. non predicating
vii. SPC:PCS (CSP doubtful)
   SP  PS
viii. non predicating
ix. SPC (doubtful)
x. SP (must be followed by dengen)
xii. SPC PCS

Prepositional phrases which can be exponent of P in a verbal clause structure.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{be(r)} & \quad \text{SP} \\
\text{ke} & \quad \text{PS} \\
\text{di} & \quad \text{SP} \\
\text{dari} & \quad \text{PS}
\end{align*}
\]

6.2.3.2. Exemplification of exponents of P in Declarative verbal clauses.

**Example** Verb A.I.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active</th>
<th>SPC Ø</th>
<th>SPC με(∼)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dia jual buah</td>
<td>saya membeli buah itu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He sells (habitually)</td>
<td>I am buying fruit (i.e. the fruit someone else is selling)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PCS Ø
jual ikan parang saya
I am the one who sells.
(ikan parang (as distinct from someone who sells ikan tinggiri))

Passive
SPC di-
buku itu dipinjam oleh Ahmad
The book was borrowed from Ahmad.

Active
CSP Ø
buah dia jual
This fruit he habitually sells.

Passive
CSP di-
oleh Ahmad buah itu dijual
By Ahmad fruit is sold.

Verb A.II
1a. SP
orang itu kaya
The man is rich.

SPC
orang itu sakit perut
That man is sick in the stomach

PCSØ
(dia jual buah tetapi) membeli buah itu saya
(He habitually sells fruit but) it is I who am actively buying it.

SPC te(r)-
rumah itu tak terbeli oleh dia
The house cannot be bought by him.

Active
CSP Ø
buah dia jual
This fruit he habitually sells.

PCS te(r)-
tak terbeli oleh Ahmad rumah ini
Cannot be bought by Ahmad this house.

Verb A.II
1a. PS
kaya orang itu
Rich is that man

PCS
sakit perut (pause) orang itu
stomach aching - that man.
(sakit (pause) perut orang itu is a PS structure).
2. SP

orang kampong itu berkumpul

The village folk have gathered together.

SPC

Ahmad berjumpa duit

Ahmad came across some money.

CSP

duit Ahmad jumpa (i.e.∅ form)

(My informant would not accept *"duit Ahmad berjumpa").

3a. SPC

dia naik kapal terbang

He boards an aeroplane

CSP

kapal terbang dia naik

An aeroplane, he boards

Verb B.I

As for A.I.

Verb B.II

i. SPC

orang itu kahilangan tongkat

That man has lost his stick.

PCS

kahilangan tongkat orang itu

That man has lost his stick.
iii. SP

anak seluang melaut

The small carp go out to sea.

iv. SP

padi itu mangijau

The rice is in the process of going green.

vii. SPC

Ahmad itu termashhor bəraninya

Ahmad's bravery is famed.

c.f. orang itu sakit perut.

Here bəraninya has nya as the nominalising affix. Literally then we have:- Ahmad is very famous in respect of bravery.

SP

baju itu terbesar

The coat is too big (not intentionally so).

ix. SPC

Ahmad itu pənarah orang nya

Ahmad is shorttempered as a person.

(My informant is by no means sure about this form. He accepts this example. The usual function of pə(-) is to form an agent. Pənarah might be thought to be "an angry person". He also has the same to say about pənakut from takut.)
This person is of an age with me.

These people are discouraged.

Prepositional phrases as exponent of P in verbal-clause structure.

That man has a pretty wife.

That man is going to sea.

That man is at the village headman's house.

That man is from Kuala Lumpur.
6.2.4. Passive and Non-Passive

The mark of the passive clause is the potentiality of a complement with oleh and a verb in the di- or tar- form as exponent of P in declarative sentences or pe(r) in imperative sentences.

Examples

Ahmad dipukul oleh Ali.

Ahmad was beaten by Ali.

The Declarative passive clauses may have as exponent of the P element of clause structure the di- or tar- forms of transitive verbs or the tar- forms of intransitive verbs other than V.B.II (vil) (i.e. tar- + adjective.

Example

V.A.I

di Ahmad dipukul oleh Ali
Ahmad was beaten by Ali.

ta(r) Ahmad terpukul oleh Ali
Ahmad was beaten by Ali.

V.A.II 2

ta(r) harta terjumpa (oleh X) itu harta karun
The property come upon (unexpectedly by X)
is property the ownership of which is in doubt.

V.A.II.3a/b

ta(r) Rumah itu tidak tar datang oleh saya
That house could not be arrived at by me

1. The term "non-passive" is used in preference to the traditional "active" for two reasons. 1. The traditional association in European languages of the active/passive opposition with transitive/intransitive does not hold in Malay. 2. The term "active" will be more useful as one member of the opposition in the Transitive verbs of ø-/me(¬).
In passive clauses when the complement is without oleh the complement must follow immediately the exponent of P.

Example
Ahmad dipukul dengan kayu oleh Ali
Ahmad was beaten with a stick by Ali.
Ahmad dipukul Ali dengan kayu
Ahmad was beaten by Ali with a stick.

6.2.4.2. Subject with akan in passive clauses

My informant has in his speech a structure in passive clauses which allows potentiality of akan with the S element of structure.

Example
akan surat itu dibacha oleh dia
(As for) the letter it was read by him.

This is possible in SPC, PCS and CSP structures provided that in CSP there must be repetition of the C or nya or oleh nya after the P element.

My informant agrees that while this is not an unusual form of the clause in his speech it is not the favourite form, this being -

Example
surat itu dibacha oleh dia
The letter was read by him.

6.2.4.3. In CSP structure the complement with oleh must be repeated after the P element of structure or there must be nya or oleh nya.

Example
oleh Ahmad rumah itu dibeli oleh Ahmad
oleh Ahmad rumah itu dibeli nya
oleh Ahmad rumah itu dibeli oleh nya
By Ahmad the house was bought (by him).
CSP structures are not possible when the exponent of P is a ter-verb.

When the exponent of P is a ter-verb form then oleh is obligatory with the complement.

PSC structures are possible with passive clauses but not with non-passive clauses.

Example

tidak terdatang rumah itu oleh saya
could not be visited- that house- by me.

\[ P \quad S \quad C \]

Passive imperative clauses have as exponent of P the per-form of the verb.

In a declarative passive clause in which the exponent of P is a verb which takes two exponents of C, there is potentiality of transformation to a structure in which \( C_2 \) has as exponent a prepositional phrase with pada as exponent of M in the noun phrase.

Example

saya diberi buku oleh Ahmad
I was given a book by Ahmad.

This sentence is to be analysed as -

\[ C_2 \quad P \quad S \quad C_1 \]

c.f. ke pada saya diberi buku oleh Ahmad.

6.2.5. CSP Structures with a me(termination) form as exponent of P

In general it may be stated that in these structures the exponent of P in active clauses will be the \( \emptyset \) form of the verb. ¹ There are however

¹. The whole question of the \( \emptyset/\text{me(termination)} \) opposition is one of considerable interest and will require more detailed investigation. This present analysis which is concerned with basic structures can do no more than indicate the most important syntactically relevant features which are necessary for a basic description.
special contexts in which a ṃ(~)-form may be used. In all such cases there is potentiality of nya or of repetition of the exponent of C. In this respect there is a parallel with the Passive Clause in the same structure. There are also phonological differences. These are brought out in the following examples.

These examples bring out the following point.

Where the ṃ(~)-form is used there is potentiality of repetition of the exponent of the C element or its equivalent.

**Example**

```
- - - - - - - - - - - 

sawah itu Ahmad changkul
```

That rice field Ahmad digs.

(Ahmad is the digger of that field.
no potentiality of nya.)

Adjunct in first position.

```
- - - - - - - - - - - 
tahun ini sawah itu Ahmad ṃenchangkul (nya)  
(potentiality of nya.)
```

This year - that ricefield - Ahmad tills (it)

but 

```
- - - - - - - - - - - 
tiap tiap tahun sawah itu Ahmad changkul
```

```
- - - - - - - - - - - 
```

or 

```
- - - - - - - - - - - 
tiap tiap tahun sawah itu Ahmad ṃenchangkul (nya)
```

Every year that sawah - it is Ahmad who tills it.

Adjunct in final position.

```
- - - - - - - - - - - 
sawah itu Ahmad changkul tiap tiap tahun
```

That ricefield Ahmad tills every year.
Adjunct in 2nd position.

That rice-field every year Ahmad tills.

Adjunct in 3rd position.

That rice-field Ahmad every year tills.

6.2.6. Two complement clauses

In verbal clauses with certain exponents of P which can be listed the element C may have two simultaneous exponents, which may be contiguous or maybe interrupted. C₂ is optional and has potentiality of transformation to a prepositional phrase. This phrase has ke in preposition and the particle pada as exponent of M in the noun phrase.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>SP₂C₁</th>
<th>mē(〜)-</th>
<th>dia membēri saya buku</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Φ</td>
<td></td>
<td>He gives me a book.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Φ</td>
<td></td>
<td>dia beri saya buku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Φ</td>
<td></td>
<td>He gives me books.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C₂SP₂C₁</td>
<td>Φ</td>
<td>saya dia beri buku</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(to) me he gives books.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C₂FC₂S</td>
<td>di-</td>
<td>saya diberi oleh dia buku</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>to me is given by him a book.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ter-</td>
<td>saya terberi oleh dia buku</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>to me is given by him a book.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C₁SP₂C₂</td>
<td>Φ</td>
<td>buku dia beri saya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a book he gives me.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C₁C₂SP</td>
<td>Φ</td>
<td>buku saya dia beri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a book (to) me he gives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>oleh dia saya buku terberi (oleh) nya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>by him (to) me a book is given by him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>oleh dia saya buku diberi (oleh) nya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>by him (to) me a book is given by him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C₂C₁SP</td>
<td>Φ</td>
<td>saya buku dia beri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. The writer's informant would not himself use C₂ in these structures but would use ke pada saya. He however feels that other Standard speakers could use the examples cited.
The structures given above are the only ones in which the second exponent of C may occur. In all other structures the prepositional phrase is used.

**Examples**

- **SFC**
  - dia memberi buku ke pada saya
  - dia memberi ke pada saya buku
  - dia ke pada saya memberi buku
  - ke pada saya dia memberi buku
  - memberi buku dia ke pada saya
  - memberi buku ke pada saya dia
  - ke pada saya memberi buku dia
  - buku dia beri ke pada saya

- **FGS**
  - buku ke pada saya dia beri
  - ke pada saya buku dia beri

6.2.6.2. Two complements are possible when the exponent of P in clause structure is the benefactive transitive with -kan.

**Examples**

- dia membelikan saya buku

\[ S \quad P \quad C_2 \quad C_1 \]

He bought-on behalf-of me a book.

with this may be compared

- dia membelikan buku akan saya

He bought-on-behalf-of a book for me.

In this case akan saya is best analysed as the exponent of A in clause structure.
6.2.7. The Imperative Clause

The imperative clause will have no S element (see Clause Structure) and structures will contain P; P and A; P and C; or P,C,A;.

In this the structures are similar to possible structures with non-initiating declarative sentences but the Intonation contours will be different.

Imperative clauses may have the following structures with or without lah. Examples are given in some cases with lah for comparison.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Example 1</th>
<th>Example 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>bacha</td>
<td>bacha lah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>bacha buku itu</td>
<td>bacha lah buku itu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CP</td>
<td>buku itu bacha</td>
<td>buku itu lah bacha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AP</td>
<td>sekarang ini bacha</td>
<td>sekarang ini lah bacha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA</td>
<td>bacha sekarang ini</td>
<td>bacha lah sekarang ini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCA</td>
<td>bacha buku itu sekarang</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAC</td>
<td>bacha sekarang ini buku itu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APC</td>
<td>sekarang ini bacha buku itu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPA</td>
<td>buku itu bacha sekarang ini</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. See 7.1.2. and 7.10.
The imperative clause is marked by a falling intonation contour if one element only is present. When more than one element is present in the clause the speaker may wish to give emphasis to one element in particular in which case the high fall which is the emphatic marker begins on the penultimate syllable of the word or phrase of the element. In an imperative clause this high fall which is especially significant is preceded and followed by a level or series of level tones with the proviso that sentence final syllable will carry a falling tone or the lowest tone of the clause.

In Malay the word or phrase on which emphasis is to fall is usually placed at the beginning of the clause in any sentence category. If however emphasis is required at another point in the clause than on the word or phrase in clause initial position, the particle lah is inserted to carry the high fall of emphasis in post position to the word or phrase to be emphasised.

```
buku itu bacha
```

that book read.

but not

```
* buku itu bacha
```

If a Malay wishes to place emphasis on bacha he will say either

```
bachă buku itu
```
or

```
buku itu bacha lah
```
What distinguishes the imperative sentence is the high fall with a single element of structure i.e. P or high fall preceded and followed by level tones. Although high fall can occur in other categories it is in a different intonational environment.

6.2.7.1 Exponents of P in Imperative clause structure.

Verbs A.I or B.I.

Transitive verbs have the $\emptyset$ form when exponents of P in imperative clauses.

- $P$ angkat! angkat lah Lift!
- $PC$ angkat bakul itu! angkat lah bakul itu

Lift that basket.

Transitive verbs have the $par-$ form when the imperative is passive. A passive clause is marked in addition by a complement with oleh or a complement having potentiality of oleh in pre-position.

Examples

- perbuat lah oleh engkau akan saya $se$ buah rumah
  Let there be made by you for me a house.
- perbuatkan lah oleh engkau akan baginda $se$ buah istana
  Let there be built by you for His highness a palace.
  (Here there is used the benefactive -kan)
- perbaiki oleh mu akan budi-pekerti mu!
  Let their be an improving by you of your behaviour.
- partajami oleh mu akan lambing itu!
  Let there be a sharpening by you of this spear.
- c.f. passive peristirikan lah oleh mu
  Let there be a taking to wife by you.
Verbs A.II

Class 1(a) chépat lah
Be quick!
bésar lah anak ku
Grow up, my child!
jangan } do not
jangan lah }

Class 2 bérchukor! bérchukor lah
(Go) and shave yourself!
chukor! chukor lah
(Go) and shave someone else!
bértikam lah (This would be said to two people waiting to start a content)
Stab at one another!
tikam lah (This would be said to someone who has stopped during a contest who is then told to "stab" on)

Class 3 (a or b) Class 3 (a/b)
pergi! pergi lah
Go!

Verbs B.II

Subclasses (i), (ii), (v), (vii). (viii). Subclass (iv) can occur in limited contexts such as poetry.

iii mélaut! mélaut lah
Go to sea!
iv. menguning lah, padi
Grow yellow (ripe), O padi
Vii. termulia lah hendak nya nama tuanku
Increased in honour may the name of his Majesty be!
ix penyayang lah anak ku
Be humane, my child!

Prepositional phrases which can be exponent of P in verbal-clause structure.

ber Noun Phrase ber kasut lah
Get your shoes on!
ke Noun Phrase ke tepi! ke tepi lah
Get to one side!

Prepositional phrases with di and dari do not operate in P positions in imperative clause structure.

6.2.7.2. A vocative piece
A vocative piece may occur by itself as a minor sentence or a part of an imperative sentence. The former is referred to in Chapter Seven. The vocative piece may comprise of a noun phrase or noun group, but more usually a single noun or pronoun. Such a piece has potentiality of pause before it or after it or both before and after it according to its position in the sentence. It may be uttered on a series of level tones or it may carry the imperative falling contour depending upon the emphasis desired. If it is sentence initial it will most usually carry the falling contour.
6.3. Nominal Clause

A nominal clause is one which does not contain a verb or its syntactic equivalent as a head constituent. Its structure can be defined in terms of the elements SP and A and the structures which are found are SP(A); (A)SP; S(A)P.

Both S and P places in structure are filled by nouns or their syntactic equivalents. S must always precede P in sequence. The element A has complete freedom of occurrence. The place of element A in structure is filled by an adjunct; a prepositional phrase or an adjunctival particle.

Example

SPA orang itu ketua kampong tahun ini

S P A

That man is the village headman this year.

ASP tahun ini orang itu ketua kampong

A S P

This year that man is the village headman.

SAP orang itu tahun ini ketua kampong

S A P

This man is the village headman this year.
Nominal clauses can be Declarative or Interrogative but not Imperative. Interchange of the exponents of S and P in a nominal sentence of SP structure. It has been stated that the order of the elements S and P in the nominal sentence is fixed and that S must always precede P. Compare the two nominal sentences:

Example

orang itu kātua kampong
That man is the village headman.

kātua kampong orang itu
The village headman is that man.

The change in sequence has not made an unintelligible sentence but it has made a different sentence with a different meaning.

6.4. The Included Clauses.
A clause may occupy a place in structure of lower rank than that of place in sentence. It may under certain circumstances fill the S or C positions in Clause structure or it may fill the Q position in Phrase structure.

6.4.1. A downgraded clause occupying the S or C position in clause structure.

i. Occupying the S position.

orang itu barjalan chōpat
downgraded clause

\[
\begin{array}{c}
S-----------P \\
S-----------P
\end{array}
\]

That-man-walks is fast.
ii. Occupying the C position

dia kata Ahmad nak datang

S-------P

S P C

He said Ahmad would come.

6.4.2. The negative imperative and the imperative with a nominal clause is an example of ii of 6.4.1. above.

Example

jangan dia datang

S----P

P C

Let it not be - he comes.

jangan membuat pekerjaan itu

P ------C-------------

Do not do that piece of work.

jangan dia kétua kampong

S---------C

P--------C--------

Let it not be - he is village headman.

biar lah dia kétua kampong

S---------P

P C

Let it be - he is village headman.

6.4.3. A downgraded clause occupying the Q position in phrase structure.

Example

waktu ia sampai itu saya pergi

The time he arrived - I went.

(When he arrived - I went).
Although the most convenient English translation suggests this is two clauses with subordinating particle the analysis of waktu ia sampai itu is as a complex adjunct in which the Head "waktu" is expanded by the downgraded clause "ia sampai".

Example: 

tempat biji durian ditanamkan oleh Ali itu samaian nama-nya
The place where the durian seeds have been planted by Ali is called a nursery

dalam pada nasi dijerangkan oleh Aminah itu gulai pun sudah menggugulak pula
When the rice was put on the fire by Aminah the curry was already bubbling.

The number of Heads which can be expanded in this way is not great and could be listed.

6.5. Parenthetical Clause Adjuncts.

There are a number of short phrases of the structure Noun nya which are of a parenthetic nature and have freedom of distribution in clause structure. They have potentiality of pause both before and after and are usually on a level intonation contour.

Example:

kanakkanak selalu suka makan buah durian mithal nya
Children always like to eat durian fruit, for example.

dia tak datang hari ini agak nya
He will not come today, the guess is (I think).
CHAPTER SEVEN

THE SENTENCE

7.1. Definition
7.2 Simple and Compound
7.3 Sentence Categories
7.4 Co-ordination

7.4.1 Co-ordination of Verbal Clauses
7.4.1.1 (a) by particle
7.4.1.2 (b) by parataxis

7.4.2 Co-ordination of Nominal Clauses
7.4.2.1 (a) by particle
7.4.2.2 (b) by parataxis

7.4.3 Co-ordination of Verbal and Nominal Clauses
7.4.4 Sentence Appositive Construction

7.5 Subordination

7.5.1 Subordination by Particle
7.5.1.1 In Verbal Clauses
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7.6 Other problems of Clause Relations

7.7 Some Limitations of Transformations

7.8 General Sentence Structures Involving Extended Co-ordination and Subordination

7.9 Progressive and Regressive Structures

7.10 Fragmentary Sentences

7.11 The Imperative Sentence

7.12 The Interrogative Sentence
7.1. Definition

7.1.1. The highest unit in rank which will be designated as a pattern carrier will be called the Sentence. The grammatical sentence is defined as that unit which has potentiality of indefinite silence both before and after it. It is grammatically complete and will not as a sentence be a constituent of a larger unit. A distinction will be drawn between the sentence as defined by grammatical criteria and the sentence as defined by phonological criteria. The latter has been referred to in Chapter Two. A sentence defined exclusively in phonological terms does not always coincide in extent with a sentence defined in grammatical terms. A single clause may be a grammatical sentence but more than one clause may be combined in one phonological sentence.

7.1.2. Fragmentary sentences are dealt with in 7.10. These are contextually bound and can be expanded to a sentence of one of the types described in this Chapter.

All other sentences which are not of the favourite sentence type dealt with in this chapter are minor type sentences or minority patterns. They may be:

Completive - which supplements a situation.

Example
yang itu - That one
siapa? - Who?
besok - tomorrow

Also included are the varieties of assent which depend upon the form of the preceding question.

Exclamatory - Includes interjections
Example wah - an exclamation of surprise
cheh si chalaka ini
bah! the knave.
Among the exclamatory minor patterns may occur vocative forms.
Example Ahmad - (calling) Ahmad.
Aphoristic
Example mandi tak basah
immersed but unwetted. (immune)
Such minority patterns are not contextually bound as are fragmentary sentences. They are non-productive and cannot undergo expansion. These minority patterns are excluded from this description as Basic Structures will be concerned with favourite sentence types only.

7.2. Simple and Compound Sentences
7.2.1. The sentence may be simple or compound. The simple sentence contains only one clause. The compound sentence contains more than one clause.Clauses may be of two types viz. Verbal and Nominal (See Chapter Six.)
The Compound Sentence
Clauses in a compound sentence may be linked co-ordinatively or subordinatively. A subordinate clause is one which has the same function as a single word in simple sentence structure. A co-ordinated pair will always make sense if reversed but interchange of main and subordinate clause will not always result in a possible sentence.
Dia membaca buku tetapi adiknya mendengar radio (Co-ordinate)
He is reading a book but his younger brother (sister) is listening to the radio.

or Adeknya mendengar radio tetapi dia membaca buku (Co-ordinate)
His younger brother is listening to the radio but he is reading a book.

Dia datang besok jikalau hari tak hujan (Subordinate)
He will come tomorrow if it is not a wet day.

But NOT *hari tak hujan jikalau dia datang besok
It will not be wet tomorrow if he comes.

7.3. Sentence Categories
The sentence categories set up will be -
(a) Declarative
(b) Imperative
(c) Interrogative

The declarative sentence is one which is not marked as Imperative or Interrogative. The Imperative sentence (as clause) has been dealt with in Chapter Six. The Interrogative sentence is dealt with in this Chapter in 7.12.

7.4. Co-ordination
7.4.1. Co-ordination of Verbal Clauses is effected (a) by co-ordinating particles or (b) paratactically.

7.4.1.1. Co-ordination with particle may be co-ordination of clauses containing all elements of structure viz. S, P, C and A. One clause may contain only one of the elements as for example when one clause is an Imperative clause. Compound declarative sentences which contain a clause without an S element may be considered as resulting from a
conjunctive transformation.\(^1\)

\[
SPCA \quad plus \quad SP_1 C_1 A_1
\]

transforms to

\[
SPCA \circ P_1 C_1 A_1
\]

**Example** without \(A\) element

saya membacha buku  
\(SPC\)

I read a book.

saya mengisap paip  
\(SP_1 C_1\)

I smoke a pipe.

transforms to

saya membacha buku serta mengisap paip  
\(SPC \circ P_1 C_1\)

I read a book and smoke a pipe.

\[
SPCA \quad plus \quad S_1 PCA \quad transforms \quad to \quad S \circ S_1 PCA
\]

Ahmad membacha buku sekarang  
adek nya membacha buku sekarang

Ahmad reads a book now  
his younger brother reads a book now

transforms to

Ahmad dan adek nya membacha buku sekarang

Ahmad and his younger brother read a book now.

\[
SP_1 C \quad plus \quad SP_2 C \quad transforms \quad to \quad SP_1 \circ P_2 C
\]

guru membacha karangan murid nya  
guru mengkritikkan karangan murid nya

The teacher read his pupils essay. The teacher criticised his pupils essay.

1. Chomsky N. Syntactic Structures *see Footnote on page 54.*
transforms to

guru membacha dan mangeritikkan karangan murid nya

The teacher read and critised his pupils essay.

S P C₁ plus S P C₂ transforms to S P C₁ o C₂

dia pandai menyanyi pantun    dia pandai menyanyi keronchong

He is good at singing pantun. He is good at singing keronchong.

transforms to

dia pandai menyanyi pantun dan keronchong

He is good at singing pantun and keronchong.

7.4.1.2. b. Paratactically

Clauses co-ordinated paratactically are marked by the Antithetic and Listing intonation tunes.¹

**Antithetic**
dia membacha buku dia mendengar radio

He is reading a book but he is listening to the radio.

**Listing**
dia menchangkul sawah orang Ahmad menjual ikan

Aminah tukang jahit

He hoes someone's ricefield, Ahmad sells fish; Aminah is a seamstress.

Each one of these clauses is a simple sentence grammatically and can be used separately. With the appropriate Intonation tune they form a compound sentence co-ordinated paratactically. This structure is not by any means an uncommon structure and is much favoured in certain situations.

1. See 2.3.5.
7.4.2. Co-ordination of Nominal clauses may be effected
(a) by co-ordination with particle
or (b) Paratactically

7.4.2.1. (a) Co-ordination by particle may be effected with clauses containing all elements of structure (see Clause Structure) or by conjunctive transformation with $S_P$ plus $S_1P$ structures or $S_P$ plus $S_{P1}$ structures. The resulting co-ordinated sentences being:

$$S_cS_1P$$ and $$S_PcP_1$$

**Examples**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dial dengan kampong tetapi Ahmad soldadu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>He is a village headman but Ahmad is a soldier.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dial dengan kampong dia setia usaha jawatan kuasa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>He is the village headman. He is the secretary of the committee.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

transform to

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dial dengan kampong dan setia usaha jawatan kuasa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>He is the village headman and secretary of the committee.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ahmadsoldadu Rahman soldadu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ahmad is a soldier Rahman is a soldier.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

transform to

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ahmad dan Rahman soldadu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ahmad and Rahman are soldiers.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.4.2.2. (b) Paratactically

Paratactic co-ordination is equally common with Nominal clauses
as with verbal clauses.

Ahmad guru sekolah Aminah tukang jahit
Ahmad is a teacher (but) Aminah is a seamstress.

or

Ahmad guru sekolah Aminah tukang jahit Rahman peladang.....
Ahmad is a teacher; Aminah a seamstress; Rahman a farmer.....

7.4.3. Co-ordination can also be effected with verbal and nominal clauses with a co-ordinating particle

Ahmad mengangkul sawah orang tetapi Aminah tukang jahit
Ahmad tills someone’s field but Aminah is a seamstress.

Co-ordination with particle involving the conjunctive transformation however is not possible between a verbal and a nominal clause.

7.4.4. Sentence Appositive Construction.

An appositive construction is a construction which is paratactically joined to a sentence and which is grammatically equivalent to it but is not equivalent in meaning. 1

Example dia bahru lagi sampai ke negeri ini oleh sebab itu dia
He is newly arrived in this country because of that he
tak tahu adat orang di negeri ini
does not know the customs of the people here.

oleh sebab itu is the sentence appositive construction. Other such are: oleh karna itu; oleh itu; fasal itu; sebab itu; karna itu;
A preceding sentence is implied with which the appositive construction

is grammatically equivalent.
The whole context can be re-ordered oleh sebab dia baharu datang ke negeri ini, dia tak tahu adat orang di negeri ini with two consequences—

(i) itu is omitted

(ii) the appositive construction is replaceable by a subordinated construction.

7.5. Subordination.
The main clause may precede or follow the subordinated clause when subordination is effected by particle. The subordinating particles can be listed. Structures may be Cl s Cl or s Cl Cl. Subordination may be effected without a particle but there is potentiality of the particle and of the S element of clause structure.

7.5.1. Subordination by particle

7.5.1.1. Subordination by particle with verbal clauses is effected with particles which may be listed. When two clauses are joined in subordinate relation one is the main clause, and the other, preceded by the particle is the subordinated clause.

Example  

ayah saya selalu marah kalau saya tidak membaca buku  
My father is always angry if I do not study my books.  
or  
kalau saya tidak membaca buku ayah saya selalu marah.  
If I do not study my books my father is always angry.

The subjunctive transformation is only possible when the two clauses have structures SPC and SP Cl which transform to SPC s P Cl or s P Cl. SPC

1. When the relation between the clauses is a subordinate relation, the term subjunctive transformation is used for a transformation similar to that which takes place between co-ordinated clause i.e. the conjunctive transformation (7.4.1.1.).
The subjunctive transformation is possible.

7.5.1.2. Subordination with nominal clauses can also be effected with the subordinating particles.

Example saya setiausaha kalau dia ketua kampong

I (will be) secretary if he (is) the village headman.

7.5.1.3. Compound sentences involving verbal and nominal clauses in subordinate relation.

Verbal main clause

Example saya datang kalau dia ketua kampong

I will come if he (is) the village headman.

Nominal main clause

Example Ahmad ketua kampong kalau dia dipilih oleh orang kampong

Ahmad will be the village headman if he is selected by the villagers.

The subjunctive transformation is possible.
Example Ahmad kota kampong kalau Ahmad dipilih oleh orang kampong

\[
S \quad P \quad S \quad S \quad P_1 \quad C_1
\]

Ahmad will be village headman if Ahmad is chosen by the kampong people.

transforms to

Ahmad kota kampong kalau dipilih oleh orang kampong

\[
S \quad P \quad s \quad P_1 \quad C_1
\]

Ahmad will be village headman if chosen by the Kampong people.

Example dia pakai korota besar kalau dia orang kaya
He uses a large motor if he is a rich man

dia pakai korota besar kalau orang kaya
He uses a large motor if (he) is a rich man.

7.5.2. Subordination without particle is only possible when the subordinated clause precedes the main clause, except when the exponent of P in the main clause is kata, and certain other listable verbs (See 7.6.3)

Example ada korota dia pergi
(if) there is a car he will go.

There is always the potentiality of insertion of the particle.

Example kalau ada korota dia pergi.
If there is a car he will go.

When the sequence is SPP₁C it is a co-ordinated structure in which the clauses are SP - P₁C these in turn having resulted from the transformation of SP(C) and SP₁C by the conjunctive transformation. A comparison of the two examples below will show the difference
Example
dia berylari mengambil buah
He runs and fetches fruits.
from
dia berylari dia mengambil buah
BUT.
mengambil buah dia berylari
(if) its to fetch fruits, he runs (as compared with "if its to work")
kalau dia mengambil buah dia berylari
If he fetches fruit he runs.
The following example shows how both paratactic co-ordination and sub-ordination without particle operate.
Example
kalau makan dia berylari tetapi kalau kerja dia berengsot
If its to eat he runs but if its to work he moves a little.
A sentence of comparable meaning without particles is -
makan berylari kerja berengsot
Example
orang kaya pakai kereta besar
(if he) is a rich man (he) uses a large vehicle
pakai kereta besar orang kaya
(if he) uses a large car (he) is a rich man.
The above example is of - Subordinate Nominal - Verbal main Subordinate verbal - Nominal main.

7.6. Other problems of clause relations

7.6.1. Paratactic Co-ordination within the same Intonation Contour is always accompanied by a transformation.
S P C plus S₁ C₁ transforms to S P C₁ C₁

Example

dia naik bus
dia mengikut orang lain
He boards a bus He follows other people.

transforms to

dia naik bus mengikut orang lain
He boards a bus (and) follows other people.
following other people.

dia berlari
dia mengambil buah
He runs. He fetches fruits.

transforms to

dia berlari mengambil buah
He runs and fetches fruits.

7.6.2. In some cases similarly ordered words may be differently structured in terms of immediate constituency. Potentiality of pause is the mark of immediate constituent division. The utterance

Example
dia melihat Ahmad menchangkul sawah orang
He sees Ahmad tilling someones rice field.
The immediate constituency may be represented as -

The ———— points towards the subordinate member in the relation.
This type of sentence may be compared with the sentence

dia naik kapal tèrbang mèngikut orang lain

the structure of which has already been given as

\[
S \quad P \quad C \quad P_1 \quad C_1
\]

having resulted from the transformation of

\[
S \quad P \quad C \quad S \quad P_1 \quad C_1
\]

In the case of this sentence the elements may be ordered as follows

mèngikut orang lain dia naik kapal tèrbang

following other people he boarded the aeroplane.

This cannot however be done with the sentence

dia mèlihat Ahmad mènochankul sawah

He saw Ahmad tilling the rice field.

* mènochankul sawah dia mèlihat Ahmad (not possible

as a variant of "dia mèlihat Ahmad mènochankul sawah").

It is, however, possible to have

mèlihat Ahmad mènochankul sawah dia which is a PCS

structure

\[
P \quad C \quad S
\]

So

dia mèlihat Ahmad mènochankul sawah

is

\[
S \quad P \quad C \quad H \quad \text{noun group} \quad H_2
\]

\[

\quad \text{Noun group} \quad \text{H}_2
\]

1. \( H \) and \( H_2 \) are symbols for the first and second

   1. \( H \) and \( H_2 \) are symbols for the first and second members

      of a noun group, \( H_2 \) in its turn being a noun group with

      head and subordinate members.
7.6.3. A special case of subordination.

Example dia kata Ahmad hondak datang besok
He said Ahmad would come tomorrow.

The part underlined is an included clause occupying the position of a post verbal C element. Verbs which in this context can be the exponent of the P element could be listed.

In the modern language a transformation may take place by which

\[ S P (S_{1} P_{1} C_{1}) \] transforms to \[ S P c_{1} S_{1} P_{1} C_{1} \]

(S and \( S_{1} \) can have the same lexical exponent)

Example dia kata Ahmad hondak membacha buku
He said (that) Ahmad would read a book.

transforms to

dia kata iaitu Ahmad hondak membacha buku
He said that Ahmad would read a book

or
dia kata dia nak datang besok
He said (that) he intended to come tomorrow.

dia kata bahawa dia nak datang besok
He said that he intended to come tomorrow.

The second clause i.e. the included clause may be a PC structure

Example dia suroh panggil Ahmad
He gave orders to call Ahmad.

\( c_{1} \) represents one of a limited number of particles used in modern Malay viz. iaitu, bahawa, yang. It is held by some that these particles are a translation of the English "that" in similar contexts. Whether
or not a speaker uses these forms will depend upon the situation. They are more likely to appear in a formal prepared speech or in a newspaper article than in a conversation between two friends. There is a limited class of verbs which will fill the P place in structure in the initiating clause. The initiating clause must be a verbal clause but the second clause may be verbal or nominal.

Example

dia kata dia nak datang besok
He said (that) he wished to come tomorrow.

dia kata abang nya kətua kampong
He said (that) his brother was the village headman.

Alternative to these are

dia kata yang abang nya kətua kampong

dia kata bahawa adek nak datang besok

This restricted class of verbs includes also the verb həndak when used alone i.e. not as an auxiliary.

Example
dia həndak Ahmed datang melihat anak nya.
He wants Ahmed to come and see his child.

7.7. The conjunctive transformation which has been mentioned in relation to co-ordination and a similar transformation operating in subordinate relations, is subject to certain limitations.

When one element only has a different exponent in the two sentences co-ordination can take place with the conjunctive transformation.

If two elements are different the transformation is only possible if
the two elements follow one another without interruption.

Example

\[ S_1 \quad P \quad C \quad S_2 \quad P \quad C \]

Ahmad is reading a book.  
Ali is reading a book.

transforms to

\[ S_3 \quad P \quad C \]

Ahmad and Ali are reading books.

Ahmad is holding a book.  
Ahmad is read a book.

transforms to

\[ S_3 \quad P_1 \quad C \quad S_3 \quad P_2 \quad C \]

Ahmad holds and reads a book.

Ahmad is planting rice.  
Ahmad is planting maize.

transforms to

\[ S_3 \quad P_3 \quad C \]

Ahmad is planting rice and maize.
Two elements with different exponents

Ahmad membacha buku Ahmad mendanggar radio

$$S \quad P_1 \quad C_1$$  $$S \quad P_2 \quad C_2$$

Ahmad reads a book.  Ahmad listens to the radio.

Ahmad membacha buku dan mendanggar radio

$$S \quad P_1 \quad C_1 \quad C \quad P_2 \quad C_2$$

With subordination, when the S element has the same exponent in both main and subordinate clauses the subjunctive transformation is possible except when the structure of the original subordinate clause is CSP.

Example  Ahmad menchangkul sawah kalau Ahmad dapat upah

Ahmad will till the rice field if Ahmad gets the pay.

transforms to

Ahmad menchangkul sawah kalau dapat upah

Ahmad will till the rice field if (he) gets the pay.

$$S \quad P \quad C \quad S \quad C \quad S \quad P$$

Ahmad menchangkul sawah kalau upah Ahmad dapat

Ahmad will till the rice field if pay is what Ahmad gets.

This cannot undergo the transformation.

When the P element only is common to main and subordinate clause the transformation is not possible whatever the structure of the clauses.

Ahmad membacha buku kalau Ali membacha surat khabar

Ahmad reads a book if Ali reads the newspaper.

This cannot transform to

*Ahmad membacha buku kalau Ali surat khabar
When the C element is common to main and subordinate clauses the transformation is not possible when the subordinate clause has PCS structure.

Ahmad mënulis surat kalau (surat Ali bacha
S     P    C
{               C    S    P
Ali mënmbacha surat
(S     P    C

transforms to

Ahmad mënulis surat kalau { Ali bacha

Ahmad will write a letter if Ali will read the letter.

Ahmad mënchabut padi kalau Ali mënananam padi.
S     P    C
S     P    C

Ahmad pulls up the padi (seedlings) if Ali is planting the seedlings.

transforms to

Ahmad mënchabut padi kalau Ali mënananam
Ahmad pulls up the seedlings if Ali plants.

or

Ahmad mënchabut kalau Ali mënananam padi
Ahmad pulls up if Ali plants the seedlings.

But

Ahmad mënchabut padi kalau mënananam padi Ali.
S     P    C
P     C    S

Ahmad pulls up the seedlings if planting the seedling is done by Ali.

cannot be transformed.
Transformations of this kind are also subject to lexical restrictions in the exponents of the elements of either clause.

7.8. General Structures in Co-ordination and Subordination

Subject to the limitations already set out three simple structures are possible -

\[ \text{Cl}_1 \text{ c } \text{Cl}_2; \quad \text{Cl}_1 \text{ s } \text{Cl}_2; \quad \text{sCl}_1 \text{Cl}_2. \]

\( \text{Cl}_1 \) and \( \text{Cl}_2 \) are clauses. \( \text{c} \) and \( \text{s} \) may be co-ordinating and subordinating particles respectively. \( \text{c} \) and \( \text{s} \) may also represent potentiality of particle where there are co-ordinate relations by parataxis or subordinate relations without particle.

In \( \text{Cl}_1 \text{ s } \text{Cl}_2 \) and \( \text{sCl}_1 \text{Cl}_2 \) structures, \( \text{Cl}_1 \) and \( \text{Cl}_2 \) places in sentence structure may be filled by any of the clause structures SPC; PCS; CSP.

The favourite sentence structures are however those in which the same clause structures are used both in subordinate and main clauses. \( \text{Cl}_1 \) and \( \text{Cl}_2 \) are capable of expansion each in terms of the three structures stated above. For example:-

\[ \text{Cl}_1 \text{ in the structure } \text{Cl}_1 \text{ c } \text{Cl}_2 \text{ may be replaced by } \text{Cl}_3 \text{ c } \text{Cl}_4 \]

making a new structure \( (\text{Cl}_3 \text{ c } \text{Cl}_4) \text{ c } \text{Cl}_2 \). Examples of such compound sentences are given below with the structure in terms of clause and clause relations.

\( \text{Cl}_1 \text{ c } \text{Cl}_2 \)  
saya membacha buku tetapi dia mendengar radio

I am reading a book but he is listening to the radio.

\( \text{Cl}_1 \text{ s } \text{Cl}_2 \)  
ayah saya selalu marah kalau saya tidak membacha buku

My father is always angry if I do not read books (study).
kalau saya tidak membacha buku ayah saya selalu marah

If I do not study my father is always angry.

dia tahu membacha dan abang nya tahu menaip tetapi mereka belum dapat gaji banyak.

He can read and his brother can type but they have not yet reached a good salary.

s saya nak tengok wayang kalau hari tak hujan tetapi mak saya tak benarkan.

I want to see a film if it does not rain but my mother will not give me permission.

kalau hari tak hujan saya nak tengok wayang tetapi mak saya tidak benarkan.

If it is not a rainy day I want to see a film but my mother will not give me permission.

Ahmad menchangkul sawah dan Aminah tukang jahit supaya anak nya dapat belajar.

Ahmad tills the rice fields and Aminah is a seamstress so that their child can study.

saya nak ke Kuala Lumpur kalau mak benarkan kerana hendak membeli barang.

I am going to Kuala Lumpur if my mother permits because I want to buy something.

kerana hendak membeli barang saya ke Kuala Lumpur kalau mak benarkan.

Because I want to buy something I am going to Kuala Lumpur if my mother will permit.

kalau mak benarkan dan ayah bori duit saya ke Kuala Lumpur.

If my mother gives permission and my father gives me some money I shall go to Kuala Lumpur.

kalau saya minta duit dari pada mak bila dia senang saya dapat pergi tengok wayang.

If I ask mother for money when she is not busy I shall be able to go to the film.
Cl<sub>1</sub> c[Cl<sub>5</sub> c Cl<sub>6</sub>] Ahmad membaca buku tetapi Awang bermain dan Aliah tidur.

Ahmad is reading a book but Awang is playing and Aliah is sleeping.

Cl<sub>1</sub> c[Cl<sub>5</sub>(sCl<sub>4</sub>)] saya datang ke rumah tetapi dia tak mahu jumpa sebab dia sakit.

I came to the house but he did not want to see me because he was unwell.

Cl<sub>1</sub> c[(sCl<sub>5</sub>)Cl<sub>6</sub>] saya datang ke rumah tetapi sebab dia sakit dia tak mahu jumpa.

I came to the house but because he was unwell he did not wish to meet (me).

Cl<sub>1</sub> s[Cl<sub>5</sub> c Cl<sub>6</sub>] saya datang jikalau Ahmad jumpat saya dan Aminah masak gulai ayam.

I will come if Ahmad invites me and Aminah cooks chicken curry.

Cl<sub>1</sub> s[Cl<sub>5</sub>(sCl<sub>4</sub>)] saya tunggu di rumah kalau dia nak pergi sebab mak nya sakit.

I will stay at home if he wants to go because his mother is unwell.

Cl<sub>1</sub> s[(sCl<sub>5</sub>)Cl<sub>6</sub>] saya tunggu di rumah dengan kereta kalau sebab bus tak jalan dia nak pergi ke Kuala Lumpur.

I will wait at the house with the car if because the bus does not go he wants to go to Kuala Lumpur.

sCl<sub>1</sub> [Cl<sub>5</sub> c Cl<sub>6</sub>] supaya anak nya dapat belajar Aminah tukang jahit dan Hassan menangkuk sawah orang.

So that their child may be educated Aminah is a seamstress and Hassan works on someone's rice field.

sCl<sub>1</sub> [Cl<sub>5</sub>(sCl<sub>4</sub>)] supaya anak nya dapat belajar dia pindah ke Kuala Lumpur sebab di situ ada banyak sekolah.

So that their child should be educated they shifted to Kuala Lumpur because there are many schools.
Cl_{1} [(sCl_{5}) Cl_{6}] supuya anak nya dapat belajar sebab ada banyak sekolah dia pindah ke Kuala Lumpur.

So that his child could be educated because there are many schools, they shifted to Kuala Lumpur.

$[Cl_{3} o Cl_{4}] c$

$[Cl_{5} o Cl_{6}]$

Ahmad tukang basi dan isteri nya tukang jahit tetapi Hassan menerbangkul sawah dan isteri nya membesa ayam.

Ahmad is a blacksmith and his wife is a seamstress but Hassan tills the fields and his wife raises chickens.

$[Cl_{3} (sCl_{4})] c$

$[Cl_{5} o Cl_{6}]$

orang kampong minta Ahmad atau Rahman menjadi ahli jawatan kuasa jikalau ada pilihan hari itu tetapi Ahmad tak mahu dan Rahman tak sempat.

The village people asked Ahmad or Rahman to become a committee member if there was an election on that day but Ahmad did not want to and Rahman was too busy (had no time).

$s (Cl_{3}) Cl_{4}] c$

$[Cl_{5} o Cl_{6}]$

jikalau ada pilihan hari itu orang kampong hendak Ahmad atau Rahman menjadi ahli jawatan kuasa tetapi Ahmad tak mahu dan Rahman tak sempat.

If there was an election on that day the village people wanted Ahmad or Rahman to be a member of the committee but Ahmad did not want to and Rahman had no time.

$s Cl_{1} [(sCl_{5}) Cl_{6}]$ saya masak nasi dan Aminah tukang saji jikalau Hassan mahu membosoh sayor dan awak membuat lauk.

I will cook the rice dan Aminah will serve it if Hassan will clean the vegetables and you will make the main dish.

$s Cl_{1} [(sCl_{5}) Cl_{6}]$ saya masak nasi kalau mak suka supaya abang dapat membacha buku dan adek dapat tidor.

I will cook the rice if mother (you) would like that so that my elder brother can study and my younger (brother) sister can sleep.

$[(sCl_{3}) Cl_{4}] s$

$[Cl_{5} o Cl_{6}]$

kalau mak suka saya masak nasi supaya abang dapat membacha buku dan adek dapat tidor.

If mother (you) wish (would like) I will cook the rice so that my elder brother can study and my younger sister can sleep.
supaya abang dapat membaca buku dan adek dapat tidur mak masak nasi dan saya ke pasar.

So that my elder brother can study and my younger brother can sleep mother will cook rice and I will go to market.

supaya ayah dapat tidur sebab dia sakit Aminah dudok membacah buku dan Hassan ke rumah kawan nya.

So that father can sleep because he is unwell Aminah sits reading and Hassan has gone visiting to the house of his friend.

kalau sebab ayah sakit dia nak tidor Aminah dudok membacah buku dan Hassan ke rumah kawan nya.

If, because father is sick, he wishes to sleep, Aminah sits reading and Hassan makes a visit to his friend's house.

Ahmad boleh monyanyi atau Awang boleh mendarai tetapi hendak lah orang lain buat lakunana kalau temasha hendak berjaya.

Ahmad can sing or Awang can dance but let someone else do the acting if the party is to be a success.

saya masak nasi kalau Aminah menolong dan awak boleh masak lauk kalau Aliah menolong.

I will cook the rice if Aminah helps and you can cook the main dish if Aliah helps.

kalau Aminah mahu menolong saya masak nasi dan awak boleh masak lauk sebab Aliah mahu tolong.

If Aminah wants to help I will cook the rice and you can cook the main dish because Aliah wants to help.

Ahmad menchangkul sawah orang dan Aminah tukang jahit supaya anak nya jangan lapar sebab dia kekurangan duit.

Ahmad works in someone's rice field and Aminah is a seamstress so that their child shall not be hungry because they have no money.

orang kampong hendak memanggil D.O. kalau orang kaya itu hendak mengadakan meshurat supaya anak orang kaya itu dipileh menjadi ketaua kampong sebab dia orang jahat.

The village people intend to call the D.O. if the rich man holds a meeting so that his son may be chosen as village headman because he (the son) is a bad lot.
[(sCl₃) Cl₄] s kalau orang kaya itu hendak mengadakan moshuarat orang kampong memanggil D.O. supaya anak orang kaya itu jangan dipilih menjadi ketua kampong sebab dia orang jahat.

If the rich man intends to call a meeting, the village people will send for the D.O. so that the son of the rich man may not be chosen as village headman because he is a bad lot.

[Cl₅ (sCl₆)] s[Cl₃ o Cl₄] kalau Ahmad boleh menyanyi dan Awang boleh menerima dia boleh mengambil bahagian dalam temasha kita kalau orang lain tidak sampai.

If Ahmad can sing and Awang can dance they can take part in our show if the other people do not turn up.

[Cl₅ (sCl₆)] s[(sCl₃) Cl₄] kalau dia tidor sebab dia sakit orang lain diam sahaja supaya dia dapat berehat.

If he is sleeping because he is unwell the other people will stay quiet so that he can get some rest.

[(sCl₃) Cl₄] s[(sCl₅) Cl₆] kalau sebab dia tidor orang lain diam sahaja supaya dia dapat berehat.

If because he is unwell, he is sleeping, the other people will stay quiet so that he may get some rest.

[Cl₅ c Cl₄] c Aminah menulis surat dan mendengar radio tetapi kalau mak nya panggil dia berbuat tak dengar sahaja.

Aminah is writing a letter and listening to the radio but if her mother calls she pretends not to hear.

[Cl₅ (sCl₆)] c [Cl₅ (sCl₆)] saya masak nasi kalau awak suka dan sebab awak pandai awak masak lauk.

I will cook the rice if it pleases you and because you are skilled you can cook the main dish.

[(sCl₅) Cl₆] c [(sCl₅) Cl₆] kalau Aminah mahu tolong saya masak nasi dan sebab Aliah chantek mahu tolong awak boleh masak lauk.

If Aminah wants to help I will cook the rice and because the pretty Aliah wants to help you can cook the main dish.
Amat menciangkul sawah orang dan Aminah ambil upah jahit supaya sebab dia orang miskin anak nya jangan lapar.

Amat works in another's rice field and Aminah gets a wage from sewing so that, as they are poor, their child shall not go hungry.

orang kampong hendak memanggil D.O. kalau orang kaya itu hendak mengadakan meshuarat supaya sebab anak nya jahat anak nya itu jangan dipilih menjadi ketua kampong.

The village people will send for the D.O. if the rich man calls a meeting so that, because his son is a bad lot, he may not be selected as village headman.

The village people will send for the D.O. if the rich man calls a meeting so that, because his son is a bad lot, he may not be selected as village headman.

If Ahmad can sing and Awang can dance, if the others do not want to, they can take part in our show.

If he is sleeping because he is unwell, so that he can get some rest the others will not make a noise.

If because he is unwell he is sleeping, so that he may get some rest the others will not make a noise.

Further complex sentences could be developed by expansion of the clauses by further subordination and/or co-ordination. There is no theoretical limit to co-ordination by particle or paratactically but there are limits of a practical nature if the resulting sentence is to be uttered or
understood.

Similarly progressive subordination will not be limited except for the same reason. Subordination involving regression however has limits in Malay.

An immediate constituent analysis of two Malay sentences will show the difference between progressive and regressive structures.¹ When a tree branches to the left it is described as a regressive structure and when it branches to the right it is called a progressive structure. In the two examples given below there are both progressive and regressive structures.

Sentence

orang itu membacha buku merah

That man reads a red book.

Sentence

orang yang datang itu membacha buku merah

The person who comes is reading a red book.

Below is given an example of co-ordination and subordination using the first progressive structures and secondly regressive structures.

**Progressive**

- saya mau jumpa dia
- tetapi
- saya datang besok
- kalau dia tidor
- sebab dia sakit

I wish to meet him but I will come tomorrow if he is asleep because he is unwell.

**Regressive**

- saya mau jumpa dia
- tetapi
- sebab dia sakit
- kalau dia tidor
- saya datang besok

**Incapsulated**

- saya mau jumpa dia
- tetapi
- kalau sebab dia sakit
- dia tidor
- saya datang besok.
7.10. Non-initiating utterances are fragmentary sentences of types already treated. Almost any part of the sentence may function in this way and is always replaceable by the complete (initiating) sentence of which the non-initiating fragmentary sentence then forms a part. Clauses with co-ordinating and subordinating particles in initial position in the clause may also operate as non-initiating utterances. These have potentiality of replacement by a compound sentence containing a main clause to which the non-initiating piece is co-ordinated or subordinated.

Example 1. dia ada buku kah
Has he a book?
c.f. dia ada buku kah

2. apa dia baca
What is he reading?
c.f. apa dia baca?

3. apa dia buat
What does he do?
c.f. apa dia buat

bila dia nak datang
When does he intend to come?
c.f. bila dia nak datang

siapa kota kampong
Who is the village headman?
dia kota kampong kah
Is he the village headman?
c.f. dia kota kampong kah
One point should be noted when considering this replaceability.
The tones used on the element or elements of the non-initiating piece are retained in the replacing clause.

\[ \text{dia κētua kampong} \quad \text{or} \quad \text{κētua kampong} \]

Is he the village headman

A. dah ajak dia kē rumah?
B. dah. tētapi dia tak mahu datang

\[ \text{Have you invited him home?} \quad \text{Yes. But he did not want to come.} \]

c.f. saya dah ajak dia tētapi dia tak mahu datang

A. datang lah kē rumah malam ini
B. kalau tak lētah sangat

\[ \text{Come to the house this evening.} \quad \text{if I am not too tired} \]

c.f. saya datang malam ini kalau tak lētah sangat

A. mari kita pērgi churi duit orang itu
B. tētapi dia orang miskin

\[ \text{Lets go and steal that man's money.} \quad \text{but he is a poor man.} \]

c.f. awak kata kita pērgi churi duit orang itu tētapi dia orang miskin

You say we will go and steal that man's money but he is a poor man.

A. kalau dia kētua kampong hendak kah jumpa dia
B. kalau dia kētua kampong

\[ \text{(If he is the village headman do you wish to meet him?)} \quad \text{(if he is the village headman)} \]

c.f. saya nak jumpa dia kalau dia kētua kampong

I wish to meet him if he is the village headman.

7.11. The Imperative sentence may be simple or compound. If simple the clause forming the sentence will be a verbal clause and will have the exponents of the category Imperative. If compound and the clauses are co-ordinated both may be Imperative. If however the relation
between the clauses is a subordinate one then the main clause will be marked as imperative. The imperative clause has been treated in detail under clause structure. (Chapter Six (6.2.7.)).

7.12. The interrogative sentence. A distinction must be drawn between those sentences which "ask questions" and those which are formally marked as interrogative. Those which are marked as interrogative do ask a question in some form or another but not all sentences which "ask a question" are formally marked as interrogative. This applies to the sentences which commence with a "question word" e.g. apa - what; bila - when; siapa - who. (See Interrogative nominals- Chapter Four). Such sentences have a declarative sentence intonation tune.

Example apa dia buat What does he do?

This is formally a declarative sentence and because its clause structure is CSP the exponent of the element P is the \( \emptyset \) form of the verb. If one wishes to use the \( \text{ma-} \) form of the verb then the utterance must be:

Example dia membuat apa He does what? What is he doing?

7.12.1. The interrogative sentence is marked by either or both of the following features.

a. the presence of the post position kah [\( \text{ko} \)] which can be added to any element of the clause with certain restriction in the case of the P element.

b. final high tone i.e. higher than the preceding tone or a final rising tone.
Example

A. Ahmad bahru dari Engeland. dia nak datang ke rumah petang ini.
   Ahmad has just returned from England. He will come to the house now in the evening.

B. dia datang? elok lah.
   He will come? Fine!

   There is someone wanting to meet Ali at the school.

B. datang? sudah lama pun dia sampai
   Come? (Indeed he has) He has been here some time.

3. A. kata orang ada polawat datang, tadi saya nampak orang putih
   They say a visitor has come. Just now I saw two Europeans.
   dua orang, dia kah datang
   Were these they?

A common form of the interrogative sentence is

Example ada kah dia datang Is he coming?
   This may be considered a variant of the clause dia ada datang in which
   ada is an auxiliary verb. The separation of auxiliary and head verb
   is dealt with in Chapter Five. Two forms of the clause are possible.

   dia ada datang
   ada dia datang

   The difference in sequence has the force of giving prominence in the
   first example to dia and in the second to ada. Each has a corresponding
   interrogative form. dia ada kah datang
   ada kah dia datang
7.12.2. The use of kah is limited in the clause in that it cannot follow the P element in an SPC structure if the exponent of this element is a mə(〜)-form as head verb. The restriction applies in compound sentences also. My informant would not accept kah after either of the mə(〜)-forms in -

Example: Ali mambacha buku dan Ahmad mandoeng radio

He has no objection to

Ali bacha kah buku

but will not accept

*Ali mambacha kah buku

7.12.3. Interrogative features in compound sentences

7.12.3.1. Co-ordinated. Final high tone or rising tone may occur in either or both of the clauses of a compound sentence when co-ordinated.

Example: Ali datang tetapi Ahmad tak datang

Ali came (did you say) but Ahmad did not come?

The particle kah (kə) may not be used more than once in each clause and it has then, subject to the restrictions referred to above, freedom of
distribution. The particle may occur in both clauses at the same time.

**Example**

Ali kah datang tetapi Ahmad tak datang

Ali datang tetapi Ahmad tak datang kah

Ali kah datang tetapi Ahmad kah tak datang

**7.12.3.2. Subordinated** Final high tone or rising tone may occur in either main or subordinate clause or both. The particle kah (kə) can occur in either the main clause or the subordinate clause but not in both.
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Bijdragen

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