TOPICS IN COLLOQUIAL MALAY

submitted in total fulfilment of the requirements for
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in Linguistics

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TOPICS IN COLLOQUIAL MALAY

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a description of some common linguistic features of Colloquial Malay, a spoken variety of the Malay language used by native Malay speakers of Malaysia among themselves in everyday unmarked speech situations. While linguistic works and grammars of Standard Malay (or, Bahasa Malaysia), the national language of Malaysia are numerous, there are very few works on the less formal varieties and dialects of Malay spoken in Malaysia. Little importance is given to studying Colloquial Malay and scholarly works on Colloquial Malay are very rare. This thesis seeks to explore and compare various formal properties of Colloquial Malay and Standard Malay and in doing so, to contribute to this largely unexplored area of study in the Malay language.

In this work I aim to provide a description of some of the major characteristics of CM in contrast with SM based on a comparison of one sizeable CM text with a comparable SM narrative text. An inductive method is used in analysing inter- and intra-textual shifts in register, that is, shifts in the degree of formality or informality, which correlate with the use of CM-like properties and SM-like properties. From this I build up a description of a set of CM features which can be expected to be characteristic of actual colloquial Malay usage, which will provide a basis for further study. The types of CM features described are diverse and include lexical, morphological and syntactic properties.

The lexical features examined include variant phonological forms, colloquial lexical roots, semantic shifts in the colloquial usage of some common roots, code-switching and English loans, the class of emotive, modal and illocutionary particles, and the classes of pronouns and prepositions in Colloquial Malay. Some typical Colloquial Malay expressions, phrases and constructions are dealt with briefly. Several grammatical features are considered: affixation and its frequency in Colloquial Malay relative to Standard Malay; 'passive' and causative constructions; the structure of the noun phrase; the Modifier-punya-Head construction, a typical Colloquial Malay construction; verbal auxiliaries; and typical uses of the adverbial saja/(a)je 'only, just' in Colloquial Malay. Clause combining strategies, which include subordination, coordination, verb serialization and juxtaposition, are discussed as well.
This thesis is less than 100,000 words in length, exclusive of tables, maps, bibliographies and appendices.
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PREFACE

Speaking and reading Malay will never be quite the same again for me. I have gained fresh insights and a renewed appreciation of the 'aliveness' of the language. I have learnt a lot about Colloquial Malay and have noticed a new ease in my own use of Malay during my recent trips to Malaysia, simply because I have learnt to say things in colloquial rather than standard Malay.

I wish to thank the following people for having played a part, whether directly or indirectly, in stirring my interest in Colloquial Malay: Geoffrey Benjamin, for pointing out the need for more studies of Colloquial Malay and the possibility of using Gila-gila magazines as a source of Colloquial Malay data; my friend, Nicole Kruspe, for showing me Gila-gila material used by Jim Collins in a course that he taught at SEASSI, 1989, and encouraging me to work on Colloquial Malay; and Bambang Kaswanti Purwo for encouraging me to work on non-standard varieties of Malay.

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I thank the Linguistics Department for its support in terms of wordprocessing facilities and other practical concerns. My research was made possible by University funds in the form of a Postgraduate Scholarship and a travel grant for a research trip to Malaysia and Singapore in January-February 1988.

I thank all the people at the Universiti Malaya, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia and the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, too numerous to mention by name, who so graciously received me and spent time speaking with me when I called on them. I especially thank Prof. Asmah Haji Omar for her hospitality and kindness.

I also thank the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur, for allowing me access to their library where I obtained valuable reference material.

I thank my friends Chris and Patricia who so generously loaned me their Macintosh for several weeks during the final stages of the preparation of this thesis.

Finally I thank my family for their patience and sacrifice without which I would not even have obtained a tertiary education, and for tracking down reference material for me. I especially thank my sister, Pat, whose love and support gave me strength across the miles over the years.

Ann Koh
1990
ORTHOGRAPHY, ABBREVIATIONS AND OTHER NOTES

ORTHOGRAPHY

All 26 letters of the English alphabet are used in the standard orthography. Each alphabetic symbol corresponds to their counterparts in IPA notation with the following exceptions:

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<td>x</td>
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<td>i</td>
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<td>ʊ, o r ɔ in some dialects or the schwa variety of SM in non-initial syllables</td>
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<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>r, o r ɹ in some dialects, or ɣ in some dialects and the schwa variety of SM. Syllable- and word-final ‘r’ may be omitted in some dialects.</td>
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Note:

* Words beginning with vowels in the orthography always begin with a glottal stop.
* An ‘aa’ sequence in the orthography represents the sequence [aʔa].
* Word-final ‘k’ represents a glottal stop.
* All voiceless stops are unaspirated.
* These orthographic rules did not normally apply in the case of loanwords. (The recent efforts to standardize pronunciation includes a move towards applying these rules to loanwords.)
# Abbreviations

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PN
PP
PP-Pred
Prep
PROG
Pron
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Q
Qpred
QUES
REDP
REL
RelCl
Sg
SM
V
VP

Proper noun
Prepositional phrase
Prepositional-phrase predicate
Preposition
Progressive aspect
Pronoun
Pronominal predicate
Quantifier
Quantifier predicate
Question particle
Reduplicated
Relativizer
Relative clause
Singular
Standard Malay
Verb
Verb phrase

PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTIONS

The IPA system is used for phonetic transcriptions.

TRANSLATIONS

In Malay some grammatical categories are not indicated overtly: tense on verbs, number on nominals, and gender on pronouns. I have relied on context in the texts to translate the examples. I have left some words and morphemes unglossed if there is no satisfactory English equivalent, or if their functions are unclear and still awaiting further research.
Chapter 1

Introduction

The Malay language is widely used in the regions of the Malay Archipelago which extends across the Malay Peninsula (West Malaysia), Borneo, Indonesia and the Philippines. It is the national language of four countries in this region: Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore and Brunei. In all of these countries except Singapore, Malay also has the status of official language, that is, it is the language of administration, politics, education and the media. In Singapore Malay has the status of a national symbol while English is used in official matters.

As with any language it is not possible to regard Malay as a single invariant system of linguistic features. Despite the standardization of Malay both in Indonesia and Malaysia, there still exist alongside these artificially constructed norms other varieties which have evolved naturally without intervention within the speech community. Each variety has its own characteristic features and is used in varying contexts depending on sociocultural factors such as the geographical background of the speaker, the setting, the purpose of the speech event, the topic being discussed and so on.

1.1. Varieties of Malay in Malaysia

In Malaysia what is referred to as the Malay language consists of a number of different varieties, including Bahasa Malaysia (Standard Malay). Malay
speakers switch between varieties when the need arises resulting in a polyglossic situation (to be discussed in Section 1.1.1).

Members of the royalty speak a different variety of Malay, Royal Malay (bahasa diraja ‘royal language’ or bahasa istana ‘palace language’), from the ordinary people, who speak Commoners’ Malay (bahasa orang kebanyakan ‘commoners’ language’). Members of the non-aristocracy are required to speak a form of ‘reciprocal’ Royal Malay, which involves extra respectful address terms and other terms when in contact with a member of royalty. Hence the royal person ‘meets’ (berjumpa) the commoner but the commoner ‘has an audience’ (mengadap) with a ruler; the royal person ‘commands’ (perintah) when he makes a request but the commoner ‘petitions’ or ‘supplicates’ (mohon) when he makes a request. However Royal Malay is not used extensively for communication purposes by the general Malay-speaking community.

Royal Malay, found not only in Malaysia, but traditionally also in other regions where Malay courts were established, for example, in Sumatra, has a rich written literary tradition in the form of classical Malay literature, which essentially consists of the literature and history of the courts, the language of which, according to Asmah (1987:85), is a “‘watered down’ version of royal Malay’. Commoners’ Malay, on the other hand, has an oral tradition. Differences between the Royal and Commoners’ varieties are mainly based on lexical items and phrases and ‘a more pronounced use of certain affixes which mark the royal variety’ (Asmah 1987:86).

Commoners’ Malay refers to a number of different varieties which are associated with their characteristic functions. Bahasa Malaysia, the national language of Malaysia, which I will refer to as Standard Malay (SM) is included in this category. It is the variety used for official matters such as administration, education and political activities. It is also the form of Malay

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1 The Royal-Commoner dichotomy is a reflection of the social exclusiveness of the aristocracy in traditional Malay society. The aristocracy had special rights and privileges and were required to be paid homage and obeisance, which were essential signs of submission and admission of inferiority (Tham 1981:254).
taught in schools to both Malay and non-Malay children. Furthermore it is the language of the media and modern literature.

On the other hand, in non-official contexts, the Malays use an informal colloquial form of Malay among themselves. This is what is commonly known as everyday language (*bahasa basahan*). I will refer to this everyday spoken form used by the Malays among themselves as Colloquial Malay (CM). It lacks a written tradition. Its use, although not actively discouraged, is not encouraged or acknowledged in current language policy. However it is prevalent among Malay speakers in their everyday dealings with each other despite campaigns aimed at encouraging Malaysians to increase their use of Bahasa Malaysia (SM).²

*Bahasa basahan*, which may be considered as a neutral variety, has associated coarse (*bahasa kasar* 'coarse language') or refined (*bahasa halus* 'refined language') styles. The differences between the styles are mainly lexical. They may be employed in various situations to communicate messages about social status, moods and the desired degree of intimacy. Hence a refined style (*halus*) is used in a marriage negotiation or a discussion on dividing property among family members but a coarse style (*kasar*) is used by familiar friends in casual conversations to show intimacy. A coarse style may also indicate low breeding or a confrontational attitude (Asmah 1987:83-97).

Finally there are varieties which differ according to the regional background of the speakers. Each regional variety or dialect has its own characteristic phonological features. There are also lexical forms which are dialect specific.

Other varieties of Malay which are not used by the Malays within Malay speech communities also exist. One such variety is Bazaar Malay or *bahasa*

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² A native Malay speaker from Malaysia studying at a tertiary institution in Melbourne whom I approached some years ago with a questionnaire on some aspects of Bahasa Malaysia (SM) told me she did not speak Bahasa Malaysia and therefore did not want to answer the questionnaire. It was quite obvious at the time that she was able to speak Bahasa Malaysia because she had been through the Malaysian school system which places a lot of emphasis on Bahasa Malaysia. I concluded that what she meant was that she did not wish me to assume that she used Bahasa Malaysia as an everyday language just because she was a native Malay person.
*pasar* 'market language', a pidginized form of Malay used as a lingua franca in inter-ethnic communication among the different groups, including the Malays, where English is not spoken. There is also an ethnic-based creole variety, Baba Malay or Straits (Peranakan) Malay spoken by Chinese who live mainly in the Malacca (south-western coastal areas) region who are known as Babas or Straits-born Chinese.

1.1.1. Polyglossia among Native Speakers of Malay

As mentioned Malay speakers switch among the various varieties of Malay according to the situation or need that arises resulting in polyglossia. A typical Malay speaker would have in his speech repertoire: his regional dialect; CM, which may be refined, neutral or coarse; SM; Bazaar Malay; and if he is English-educated, formal and colloquial Malaysian English. I will concentrate only on the Malay varieties in this section.

Here I propose a model of linear polyglossia among Malay speakers based on Platt's (1977) model of linear polyglossia and multi-lingualism for English-educated Malaysian Chinese cited in Fasold (1984:34-60). In Platt's model there exist High, Medium and Low speech varieties. These varieties are defined along a linear scale based on the following factors: public versus private interaction, degrees of formality and speaker attitudes such as prestige ratings given by speakers. The High varieties are associated with public interaction, a high degree of formality and high prestige ratings. The reverse is true for Low varieties. A SubLow classification is included for lingua francas and a Dummy High classification for speech varieties which are given prestige and held in high regard by the community but are not generally used for any real communicative purpose (Fasold 1984).

Figure 1.1 is a proposed model of polyglossia among Malay speakers based on Platt's model but omitting bilingualism considerations. In this model SM is a High (H) variety due to its extensive use in public, official and formal

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3 Where both parties speak English, Malaysian English is the preferred language in inter-ethnic contact.
contexts. Royal Malay is given a Dummy High (DH) classification since it is associated with prestige and held in high regard by Malay speakers but is not used extensively for normal communicative purposes like the other varieties. CM is a Medium (M) variety which is further sub-classified into M1 (refined CM), M2 (neutral CM) and M3 (coarse CM). CM is used in non-public, non-official, informal contexts and has low prestige. Of the three sub-varieties of CM, refined CM has the highest relative prestige rating and may be used in relatively more formal contexts than neutral and coarse CM. Coarse CM has the lowest prestige rating and is used in the least formal contexts among the three. Further down the scale are regional dialects, the Low (L) varieties which are normally used only at the local or regional level and have little prestige. Bazaar Malay, the lingua franca used exclusively for local level transactions is classified as a SubLow (L-) variety.

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<td>Bazaar Malay</td>
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Figure 1.1. Model of Linear Polyglossia among Malay Speakers

Key:

- **H** High variety
- **DH** Dummy High
- **M** Medium variety
- **L** Low variety
- **L-** SubLow variety
1.1.2. Regional and Non-Regional Varieties

According to Asmah (1987:83-97), the non-regional varieties, with the exception of SM, do not have their own distinguishing phonological systems. Instead they are subject to the phonological patternings of the regional dialects. Hence a member of royalty may choose to speak Royal Malay with SM pronunciation or with his regional accent. CM too, is first acquired by the child in his own regional accent. This implies that non-regional varieties, such as Royal Malay and CM, are merely lexical-grammatical systems with no phonological form of their own.

However it is more plausible to regard the varieties, both regional and non-regional, as sharing a common core of phonological properties. In addition the varieties, whether regional or non-regional, have their own distinguishing phonological properties. Hence a variety such as CM will have its own dialect neutral non-standard phonological features in addition to other general Malay phonological characteristics.

When Malays from different regional backgrounds meet, they tend towards a dialect-neutral form of CM rather than SM. This would mean that dialect-particular phonological forms are generally discarded in preference for the more neutral and ‘comprehensible’ forms. Benjamin (1986:9) confirms the existence of a pan-dialectal CM in his observation of a Malay politician who, in a public rally in Ulu Kelantan, began in standard literary Malay, passed by stages through ordinary non-regional colloquial Malay, and ended in the richest of regional Kelantan-Malay dialect.

1.1.3. Standard Malay

Bahasa Malaysia or SM (bahasa terpelajar ‘educated Malay’) is the product of an official attempt to unify the conglomerate of racial groups in Malaysia and to provide the country with its own national linguistic identity since its independence from British rule in 1957⁴.

⁴ Standardization policies are handled by the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Malaysia’s national/official language planning organization, which is a branch of the Kementrian Pelajaran Malaysia, the Department of Education.
At the time of Malaysia's independence Malay grammarians modelled their grammars of SM using Za'ba's (Zainal 1947, 1957, 1958) grammar as a reference point. Za'ba's grammar was based largely on the (courtly) language of the Sejarah Melayu which was thought to closely resemble the Johor-Riau dialect used in the seventeenth century. This has lead a number of scholars to treat SM as a modified version of the Johor-Riau dialect. Johor-Riau Malay as it stands today, is a 'somewhat artificially constructed variety which serves as the vernacular for very few people indeed' (Benjamin 1986:10). It is basically a traders' language (cakap dagang) and as such tends to have more formal characteristics. Since 1957 Bahasa Malaysia has undergone many stages of development and standardization in its lexicon, phonology, morphology and syntax, and what is now known as Bahasa Malaysia or Standard Malay is quite different from Johor-Riau Malay.

In order for standardization to be successful in a country such as Malaysia where not only a poly-glossic but a multi-lingual situation exists, a prescriptive approach has had to take precedence. This has produced a form of Malay which has a considerable degree of stability in its syntax. However the syntax of SM tends to have 'anglicized' properties due to writers who are influenced by an English education or by Malay translations of English works (Asmah 1987:83-97), such as the use of adalah as a copula, which in classical Malay is used to introduce a theme, and anglicized phrases such as merujuk kepada ('to refer to (something)') for 'with reference to' and berhubung dengan ('to get in touch with') for 'in connection to' (Asmah 1987:22-35).

The SM lexicon is constantly being developed with the addition of technical terms coined for use in the various branches of study such as science, economics and commerce. Attempts were made recently to standardize pronunciation in order to achieve bahasa baku 'standard language'.

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5 Benjamin (1986) suggests that there is a correlation between formality and outsider-orientation, that is, the Malay varieties used to speak to people who are considered to be outsiders tend to have more formal characteristics while informality is associated with insider-orientation.

6 Asmah (1987:83-97) notes that there are two 'phonological varieties' of SM: the a-variety and the schwa-variety. In the a-variety word-final 'a' in the orthography is realized as [ə] and word-final 'r' is realized as a trilled consonant or a flap. This variety occurs mainly in East Malaysia and the northern states of West Malaysia. In the schwa-variety word-final 'a' in the orthography is realized as [ə] and word-final 'r' is silent. This variety is found mainly in the
1.2. Linguistic Studies of Malay

Many studies of Malay have been carried out since the 1960s. However much to the lament of a number of scholars - Teeuw (1959) and Benjamin (1986) - most of the studies made have been of SM. Many modern grammars of SM have been written by Malaysian scholars, the most notable being Asmah (1986b) and Safiah et al (1987).

Linguistic works on SM include Safiah (1976), on SM syntax based on the transformational grammar framework, and Yeoh's (1979) work on SM syntax based on relational grammar. Other works on SM cover various aspects including phonology and morphology (Yunus 1963, Farid 1976 and Abdullah 1974), and discourse (Azhar 1983).

Works by foreign scholars consist mainly of grammars of the more formal varieties of Malay written before the 1960s such as Windstedt (1927), Marsden (1812), Shellabear (1889), Crawford (1852) and the more recent works by Lewis (1968) and Payne (1970). Some works on other aspects of Malay are available: Cumming (1988) on syntactic function and constituent order in Classical Malay, and Hopper (1983, 1986) on some aspects of Malay discourse.

The historical preoccupation with SM on the part of Malay scholars is understandable and to be expected at a period where it is still undergoing the process of standardization. Moreover SM is closely linked to national identity. However it is unfortunate that the study of the less formal varieties of Malay and the various dialects of Malay has largely been neglected and is often frowned upon by many Malay scholars as a trivial exercise.

Scholarly studies of the dialectal varieties are few. Studies on Ulu Terengganu Malay and Ulu Muar Malay are due to Collins (1983a) and Hendon (1966) respectively. Studies of various other dialects, both Malaysian

Southern and eastern parts of West Malaysia. The recent standardization of pronunciation involved adopting the a-variety in preference over the schwa-variety, together with a more or less uniform one-to-one correspondence between sounds and orthographic symbols, particularly in foreign loan words, eg. psikologi (psychology) which used to be pronounced [saizolodgi] is now [psikologi] and unit which was [junit] previously is now [?unit].
and Indonesian, are found in Collins (1983b & 1986). Asmah (1985) compares the sound systems of the Malay dialects as part of a reconstruction analysis.

Recent works on non-dialectal non-standard varieties of Malay are very few indeed. Benjamin (1986 & 1988) examines some sociocultural aspects of CM and provides an account of CM morphology. Asmah (1987:83-97) makes mention of the various sociolinguistic varieties of Malay and attempts to classify them according to Ferguson’s (1959) model of diglossia, but mentions very little of the characteristics proper of these varieties.

Some earlier works on CM and dialects include Mohamed & Coope (1952) on CM, Brown (1956) on Country Malay and Brown (1921) on Perak Malay.

Works on the relationship between Malay language, culture and cognition are due to Asmah (1986a, 1987) and Tham (1977).

A few works on the Malay creole, Baba Malay, exist - Pakir (1986) and Lim (1981) while a very brief paper on the Malay pidgin, Bazaar Malay or bahasa pasar is due to Abdullah (1969). Collins (1980 & 1983c) examines Ambonese, another Malay creole.

1.2.1. Problems Associated with Studying CM and SM

In studying CM one is not only confronted with the prospect of one’s scholarship being considered frivolous and the subject perhaps rather out-of-step with the current trends, at least from the perspective of the Malays themselves, but one also faces practical problems as well. There is a lack of texts and reference works on CM, and it is a documented fact that Malays prefer to use CM only among themselves. With non-Malays they switch to either SM or Bazaar Malay (Benjamin 1986, Mohamed Ali & Coope 1952), or English, if both parties speak the language. Coope is quoted by Benjamin (1986:8-9) concerning his frustrating experience in learning CM:

Malays themselves have a sort of inhibition against teaching colloquial Malay, that is, when they are consciously trying to teach; they teach a curious mixture of Bazaar and literary Malay. The reasons for this 'inhibition' are various and mixed: Malays have learned to take it for
INTRODUCTION

granted that a non-Malay speaks only Bazaar Malay; also it is the established practice in Malay literature to present conversations in formal, stilted language, not only in the old classical books but even in modern novels; indeed one notices that in translations of English stories colloquial English is turned into highly non-colloquial Malay; so if a Malay composes sentences for you, it is very, very unlikely that (unless you know enough to check him) you will get anything like colloquial Malay. Yet Malays alone have a perfect command of their rich and racy colloquial and a foreigner endeavouring to teach colloquial Malay may well feel: 'if I but could, if Malays but would!'.

As a Chinese Malaysian who has spent a substantial part of my life in Malaysia (the first nineteen years, to be exact), I have also been able to observe these difficulties first hand. It is true that Malays will generally only speak CM among themselves and it is very difficult indeed to get a Malay to speak CM with a non-Malay such as myself. Although I have acquired SM through the Malaysian education system, I have never been able to use the language in my normal everyday dealings with Malays. My most common and consistent experience is that when I use SM with Malays who know English, they tend to feel uncomfortable and rather than using SM or CM, they would often initiate a switch to English even though they may have difficulty speaking the language, or they will code-switch extensively between Malay and English. When I use SM with Malays who do not speak English they will tend to respond in Bazaar Malay. Therefore it is normally almost impossible to learn CM and/or observe it being used in a natural non-artificially constructed context as a non-Malay person.

I know of very few non-Malays who know CM. Those who do know CM spend considerable amounts of time interacting with Malays due to situational or circumstantial factors and often have close friends who are Malays. In fact many non-Malays appear not to be aware of the existence of a distinct colloquial variety of Malay used among the Malays themselves. From personal observation non-Malay Malaysians, including the educated ones who have acquired SM through the education system, who have little contact with Malays tend to equate CM with Bazaar Malay. Benjamin (1986:8) suggests that this is due the ease with which Malays switch to bahasa pasar (Bazaar Malay) when speaking to non-Malays. This situation is further compounded by national language policies which actively encourage non-Malays to use only Bahasa Malaysia (SM) and very rarely ever acknowledge the existence of CM.
Non-Malay scholars are often prevented from studying CM because of the difficulties involved in learning it and in obtaining oral data, and prefer to stay within the boundaries of Malay varieties that are more easily accessible, particularly, SM. Studies of CM undertaken by Malay scholars do not seem likely to take place at the present time due to the current attitude that it is 'somewhat shameful... to publish an account or portrayal of the colloquial speech of the Malays themselves: the standardizing pressures of nationalism and formal education work against it' (Benjamin 1986:9).

The study of SM is not without problems either. One problem that arises from an ongoing process of standardization of SM is that the official grammatical rules of the language are changed and new grammatical structures, rules and restrictions are introduced not too infrequently. Because of this, there is a discrepancy between the language used in what are regarded as SM texts and the grammatical descriptions of SM by various Malay grammarians who employ both a descriptive and prescriptive approach at the same time.

Hence the question of what the actual standard form is becomes a problem for the linguist who wishes to approach the grammar of Malay from a purely descriptive viewpoint. Should the description be based on the language used in actual texts, both oral and written, the question arises as to what form of Malay is being described since it may deviate from the 'standard' grammars prescribed by grammarians. On the other hand, if grammars of 'Standard Malay' are used as the basis for linguistic description, not only is the linguist faced with the prospect of describing some prescribed properties which may not be in use, (s)he will also produce a work which does not reveal very much more about the language in actual use than the prescriptive grammars themselves.

1.3. Aims and Methodology

In this work I aim to provide a description of some of the major characteristics of CM in contrast with SM. As noted earlier there are great difficulties in obtaining oral CM data, the ideal medium to work with.
However there exist genres of recent published narrative texts in the CM idiom which are easily accessible (to be discussed in Section 1.3.1). In view of the problems that exist in learning CM and obtaining oral data, I decided to use a text from this genre as the basis for my study.

This study is based on a comparison of one sizeable CM text with a comparable SM narrative text. An inductive method is used in analysing inter- and intra-textual shifts in register, that is, shifts in the degree of formality or informality, which correlate with the use of CM-like properties and SM-like properties (cf. Section 1.3.2). From this I build up a description of a set of CM features which can be expected to be characteristic of actual colloquial Malay usage, which will provide a basis for further study. The types of CM features described are diverse and include lexical, morphological and syntactic properties.

1.3.1. The Corpus

1.3.1.1. The CM Text: Aku Budak Minang (ABM)

Although spoken Malay does not have a written tradition, it has become popular among particular non-conformist groups of Malay writers in recent years to write in a form of Malay very similar to spoken Malay. This sort of literature is often of the humorous type and is popular among the younger generation of Malays. They normally consist of regular publications or magazines containing collections of comic strips. These magazines have a somewhat similar format to that of Mad Magazine, their contents tailored according to Malay tastes and the Malay brand of humour. Non-Malays often find the language rather incomprehensible at first reading and hence, seldom, if ever, read them.

The authors of these texts are first and foremost cartoonists and artists and they are not likely to have obtained formal training in literary writing, nor would they be especially concerned about literary style in the same way a 'serious' literary writer would be. This is not to say that the artist or cartoonist
is careless about his language but rather that it is less likely that his writing
would be influenced by standard prescribed literary practices.

Some of the magazines that appear regularly include Kelakar ('Funny'),
Gelak Ketawa ('Laughter'), Super Kreko ('Nuts'), Gelihati ('Amusement') and
Gila-gila ('Mad'). By far the most popular, most well-known and largest
selling magazine is Gila-gila. The magazines are generally targeted at Malay
school-age children, teenagers and young adults, much to the disdain of the
proponents of SM, who believe that children and young people should read
only material that is written in 'good' Malay, that is, SM.

Nevertheless an exhibition lasting over several days held in Kuala
Lumpur in January 1989 by the publishers of Gila-gila (which I attended)
proved that these magazines are really very popular among young Malays.
The exhibition was a great success judging from the good media coverage it
had and the crowds of young children and teenagers who queued for long
periods to get their copy of Gila-gila autographed by their favourite
author/cartoonist. It even succeeded in eliciting negative responses from
some members of the public, particularly, the older generation. A number of
letters decrying the publications for the 'coarse and unrefined' nature of the
language used and its negative effect on school-age children learning SM
were published in the local newspapers at the time of the exhibition.

I decided to use a Gila-gila text for the purpose of this study since the
popularity of the Gila-gila magazine indicates that not only is the humour the
sort that the Malays enjoy but also that the language used to communicate it
must be very close indeed to the colloquial form spoken by the Malays
themselves. Nevertheless, since oral data on spoken Malay is not readily
available for the reasons mentioned earlier, I do not have a clear indication of
the extent to which the language of the Gila-gila text resembles spoken Malay.

The text used in this study, Aku Budak Minang 'Tm a Minangkabau kid'
(ABM) by Ujang, consists of a narrative of 105 A4 pages long, in the form of
an extended comic strip. ABM is one of a series of publications produced to

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7 Comic strips in the magazines are usually less than ten pages long, so I was fortunate to obtain a text of this length.
promote the *Gila-gila* exhibition mentioned earlier. A page of the text typically consists of three sections or paragraphs of narration with three accompanying illustrations within which dialogue captions are included. Non-standard word forms are highlighted in the dialogue captions and placed in inverted commas in the narration section. A page from ABM is reproduced in Appendix 1 together with translations of the passages.

ABM is a humorous autobiographical narrative written by a native Malay speaker of Minangkabau descent, from Kuala Pilah, Negeri Sembilan. He recounts his rather sad childhood at his *kampung* (village/hometown), his subsequent running away to Kuala Lumpur and his reconciliation with his family in a very effective, simple, casual and light-hearted manner often managing to laugh at even the saddest and most disappointing situations. At times he addresses the reader directly in the second person.

SM orthography\(^8\) is used in ABM. However many words vary in spelling from their SM equivalents, clearly an attempt on the author’s part to represent variations in pronunciation.

1.3.1.2. The SM Text: *Hujan Pagi* (HP)

The SM text used in this study consists of a third (about 90 A4 pages or the first six chapters) of a novel entitled *Hujan Pagi* ‘Morning Rain’ (HP) written by A. Samad Said, a well-known writer in Malaysia, who has won many awards for his writing including the *Sasterawan Negara*, the National Literary Award, a most prestigious award given to the country’s best writers. HP is published by the *Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka*, Malaysia’s national language planning body, which plays a major role in the standardization and development of the Malay language, and the promoting of the use of SM. Therefore the language used in HP can be considered to be ‘good’ SM. The omission of the rest of the novel is only so that the length of the text would be comparable with that of ABM.

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\(^8\) See p. xi for a brief account of Malay orthography.
INTRODUCTION

HP is a serious fictional work written in the form of a third person narrative. It concerns a chief editor/journalist who suffers from recurring hallucinations, and, unable to cope with the present changing world, believes that he is back in the pre-World War II period. The structure of the narrative is such that continuity is interrupted intermittently, so that the chapters alternate between the ‘world’ of the journalist’s hallucinations and the ‘real’ world in which his brother, who tries to help him, is the protagonist. In contrast to ABM there is no humour in this narrative and it is written in the formal style characteristic of modern SM literary works.

1.3.2. Style and Register

The terms ‘register’ and ‘style’ are often defined in different, although not unrelated, ways in the literature. ‘Style’ may refer to the differing levels of formality associated with speech which are governed by circumstances and ‘register’ to sets of vocabulary items associated with discrete occupational or social groups (Wardhaugh 1986:48). However Saville-Troike (1982:51-107) uses the term ‘register’ to refer to differing levels of formality associated with topic and setting and the term ‘style’ to refer to the use of code-markers, that is, variable features associated with social and cultural dimensions such as sex, social class and the relationship between speaker. A third definition rather similar to Saville-Troike’s is found in Chaika (1989:40-74). According to her, ‘style’ refers to ‘the selection of linguistic forms to convey social or artistic effects’ (p.40) while ‘register’ is ‘style which is associated with particular social settings or occasions, that is, register is a functional variety of language’ (p.52).

In view of the non-uniformity of definition, it is necessary to define these terms as they are used in this study. I use the term ‘style’ in Chaika’s (1989) sense to refer to variation associated with social functions such as conveying ‘messages about social status, mood and the desired degree of intimacy between speakers’.

‘Register’, used in this study, refers to a set of linguistic properties indicating varying levels of formality often associated with the formal (SM)
and informal (CM) varieties of Malay. The definition of 'register' may overlap with that of 'style' in that varying levels of formality may be associated with different social functions in speech. Our definition also includes levels of formality in 'continuous discourse' activities such as speech-making, story-telling and religious talk in which shifts in the levels of formality are more frequent (Benjamin 1986:1).

Narrative texts are included in the category of continuous discourse. In this case, although formality is not related to social functions such as indicating social status and the degree of intimacy between speakers, it is related to the type of 'genre' involved. Within a narrative text there exists both narration and dialogue, which I consider as 'sub-genres' of the narrative genre\(^9\). The degree of formality may vary depending on whether dialogue or narration is involved. Dialogue is generally associated with a lower degree of formality due to the spontaneous nature of conversational exchange, even if it is only the author's conception of conversation rather than accurately recorded real conversation, while narration is generally more formal due to its descriptive, informative, literary and reflective nature.

Register or the degree of formality or informality in the texts may be seen to correlate with a cluster of characteristic features in each case. The degree of formality or informality of a particular stretch of discourse may be measured by the frequency of occurrence of formal or informal features within the discourse. Hence the larger the cluster of informal features, the more informal the discourse and the larger the cluster of formal features, the more formal the discourse. (See discussion of how features are isolated in Section 1.3.2.1.1.)

Characteristic features of informality coincide with the salient properties of CM since CM is an informal variety, while characteristic features of SM, a formal variety, are associated with a higher degree of formality. Hence the use of the term 'informal features' also refers to CM features and 'formal features' also refers to SM features and vice versa in the rest of this work.

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\(^9\) Note the difference in the use of the terms 'narrative' and 'narration', that is, 'narrative' refers to the textual genre as a whole while 'narration' refers to the sub-genre within the narrative as distinct from dialogue. This difference is preserved throughout this work.
1.3.2.1. Variation and Register in the Texts

Although I have labelled ABM as a CM text and HP as an SM text, there is in fact no clearcut dichotomy between CM and SM in the texts in the sense that ABM contains only CM characteristics and HP contains only SM characteristics. What is clear is that there is a regularity with which features of CM (informality) and features of SM (formality) cluster together in the texts, and there are consistent differences in overall formality levels between the texts. If a particular formal feature occurs, it is highly likely that other features marking formality will occur in its immediate environment. Similarly with the features of informality.

This regularity in the clustering of formal or informal features in the written texts makes their study credible and a description of CM versus SM possible, despite the fact that our description of CM, essentially a spoken form, is based on written material. The authors appear to work with a clear conception of what CM and SM characteristics are and control contexts in which register differences are distinguished.

Shifts in register, that is, in formality levels, occur in both ABM and HP, resulting in each text containing both CM and SM features. The classification of CM and SM in the texts as such really is a matter of register, that is, the degree of formality. In ABM there is a high frequency of clusters of informal features relative to the frequency of formal feature clusters while the reverse is true in HP, or in other words ABM is associated with a more informal register overall than HP and HP a more formal register overall than ABM. Hence ABM is labelled as a CM text and HP an SM text.

Within each text shifts in register are especially apparent between dialogue and narration. Dialogue tends to contain more informal features than narration, but in varying degrees in the two texts. Shifts in register may also occur according to the authors' conception of which register is normally used for a particular topic or setting whether in dialogue or narration. Significantly the intra-textual variations in formality occur at differing levels in the two texts. For example, the difference in formality levels between HP narration and dialogue is generally associated with the use of different phonological and lexical forms. In ABM, however, the difference in
formality levels between dialogue and narration extends to grammatical distinctions as well, such as, affixation and the use of particular syntactic constructions. Generally there is an almost total absence of SM-like features in the ABM dialogues while the narration may contain both CM and SM features depending on the particular mood or topic which the author is communicating.

This means that HP dialogue, although less formal than HP narration, nevertheless remains on the whole more formal than ABM narration, which is in turn more formal than ABM dialogue. In other words ABM dialogue has the greatest frequency of CM (informal) feature clusters, while ABM narration may contain a combination of CM (informal) and SM (formal) properties. HP dialogue contains relatively more CM (informal) features than HP narration but relatively less than ABM narration. HP narration has the highest frequency of SM (formal) feature clusters.

It may be said that ABM dialogue and HP narration, which represent the two extremes in register, are closest to 'pure' CM and 'pure' SM respectively. ABM and HP with their dialogue-narration distinctions may be seen as existing on a formal-informal continuum. Overlaps in register between narration and dialogue in each text may result from the mixing of levels within dialogue or narration itself depending on the authors' wish to communicate a particular mood, the setting of the dialogue or topic of discussion. In ABM mixing of levels is more common in narration than in dialogue while in HP mixing of levels is more common in dialogue than in narration. Overlaps in register may also sometimes occur between HP dialogue and ABM narration. The resulting situation is represented in Figure 1.2.
1.3.2.1.1. Isolating Formal/Informal Features

The formal/informal features in the texts are isolated on the basis of a number of criteria:

(1) If a feature occurs with significantly higher overall frequency in ABM than in HP, it is regarded as an informal (CM) feature. If the reverse is true, then the feature is a formal (SM) one.

(2) Informal vs formal features may be isolated by considering their absence in the extreme sub-genres: ABM dialogue and HP narration, that is, if a feature does not occur in HP narration but occurs frequently in ABM dialogue, it is considered an informal (CM) feature; and if it does not occur in ABM dialogue but occurs frequently in HP narration, it is considered a formal (SM) feature.
(3) If a particular feature is totally absent in HP, it is regarded as an informal (CM) feature. If it is totally absent in ABM, it is considered a formal feature.

I will also appeal to independent sources to confirm the classification of a feature as formal or informal wherever possible. These are:

(1) SM dictionaries. If particular lexical forms found in ABM are not listed in the dictionaries, I regard them as CM forms. Some forms may be listed in SM dictionaries but are marked as colloquial forms. I will consider these as CM forms as well.

(2) Recent SM grammars (e.g. Arbak 1981, Asmah 1986b, Safiah et al 1987). Where a particular grammatical feature found in ABM is not listed in an SM grammar, or it is listed as ungrammatical or wrong, I will consider it as a CM feature.

1.3.2.1.2. Indicators of Register Shift

As mentioned, the indicators of formality and informality coincide with the characteristic features of SM and CM respectively. The following is a representative sample of some major features. For a detailed commented list see Table 1.1 at the end of this chapter. The following chapters will be devoted to analyzing these differences.

Some indicators of informality as observed in the texts include:

(1) The use of phonologically-reduced or shorter lexical forms which have corresponding full forms (cf. Ch. 2).

(2) The use of colloquial words (cf. Ch. 2) and phrases (cf. Ch. 7) which are not generally used in a formal register.

(3) The preference for English loans over their Malay equivalents (cf. Ch. 2).
(4) The occurrence of emotive, modal and illocutionary particles of a colloquial nature (cf. Ch. 2).

(5) Less complex verbal and nominal morphology, that is, a general lack of affixation. The 'bare' verb or noun root is used without any derivational affixes and their grammatical categories are determined by syntactic position and context. There is also a lack of the use of the voice prefixes: meN- and di- (cf. Ch. 4).

(6) Ellipsis of particular grammatical categories that may be recoverable from context such as pronouns (zero anaphora - cf. Ch. 3) and prepositions (cf. Ch. 5).

(7) The preference for simple juxtaposition of clauses as a clause combining strategy over subordination and coordination (cf. Ch. 6).

Indicators of formality are generally the reverse of the above features:

(1) Full lexical forms are preferred over their phonologically-reduced counterparts.

(2) More formal or literary words and phrases are used.

(3) More formal sounding Malay words and phrases are preferred over English loans, if there are Malay equivalents.

(4) A lack of colloquial particles.

(5) More complex verbal and nominal morphology. Derivational morphology, for example, whereby verbs are derived from nouns and vice versa by affixation, is common. The use of the voice prefixes meN- and di- is consistent and frequent.

(6) Ellipsis is less frequent than in SM.

(7) Subordination and coordination are the preferred strategies in clause combining.
1.3.2.1.3. Examples from ABM and HP illustrating the 'Formal-Informal Continuum'

To illustrate the formality continuum associated with the texts, I examine some clear cases from ABM and HP. First I compare an ABM dialogue (Ex. (1.1)) and an ABM narration (Ex. (1.2)), and then a HP dialogue\textsuperscript{10} (Ex. (1.3)) and a HP narration (Ex. (1.4)) to show that dialogue in both texts are indeed less formal than narration. Then I compare the ABM narration (Ex. (1.2)) with the HP dialogue (Ex. (1.3)) to show that HP dialogue is more formal than ABM narration. It will follow from these comparisons that ABM dialogue is the least formal and HP narration the most formal, and that HP is on the whole more formal than ABM.

In (1.1), an ABM dialogue, there is a higher frequency of informal or CM features relative to (1.2), an ABM narration. In (1.1) there are instances of the more colloquial forms such as caya 'believe' in the place of percaya, tak 'not' for tidak, nak 'want' for hendak and apasal 'why' for mengapa (cf. Ch. 2). 'Sound' is an informal borrowed English form used to mean 'to tell'. (cf. Ch. 2). The less formal pronouns gua(1sg) and lu (2sg) are used (cf. Ch. 3). The use of the expletive cinabeng! is also an informal feature.

(1.1) also contains fewer morphologically complex forms than (1.2). No derived nominals are present and there are only two instances of derived verbs: tenang-kan 'to calm(cause)' from the adjectival root tenang 'calm' and baik-baik 'to be careful' derived by reduplicating the adjectival baik 'good'. However reduplication is not a marker of formality. No verbal prefixes occur. Related clauses are simply juxtaposed, for example, the clauses: tak caya tanya dia 'if you) don't believe (me), ask him' which have a conditional relationship, and lu balik-la dulu, lepak, tenang-kan fikiran 'why don't you) go home first, stay there for a while (and) calm your thoughts' which have a coupling relationship (cf. Ch. 6).

\textsuperscript{10} I have omitted those parts of the narration that interlace HP dialogues in this chapter for the sake of clarity.
(1.1) ABM Dialogue

Joe's: Gua sendiri nampak Jang - Carlos pun
girlfriend: 1sg self see Jang Carlos also
tengok, tak caya tanya dia...
look not believe ask 3sg
'I saw it myself, Jang - Carlos saw (it) too. If you don't believe (me), ask him...'

Ujang: Cinabeng! Apasal Carlos tak 'sound' gua
CINABENG why Carlos not tell 1sg
Lu balik-la dulu, lepak,
2sg return-EMPH past hang.out
tenang-kan fikiran, gua tau-la apa
calm-CAUS thoughts 1sg know-EMPH what
nak buat.
NAK do
'Cinabeng! (expletive) Why didn't Carlos tell me...
(Why don't) you go home first, stay there for awhile and calm your thoughts, I know what to do (about it).'

Joe's: Tapi lu baik-baik Jang! Jangan lu pulak
girlfriend: but 2sg good:REP Jang don't 2sg as.well
yang patah tengkuk nanti.
REL broken back.of.neck afterwards
'But you be careful, Jang. Don't you be the one to break (your) neck next.'

On the other hand (1.2), a section of ABM narration, contains a relatively higher frequency of indicators of a more formal register than (1.1), the ABM dialogue. It is marked by the occurrence of a larger number of more morphologically complex forms: ke-nakal-an 'naughtiness' a noun derived by adding the nominal circumfix ke- -an to the adjectival root nakal 'naughty', men-jadi-jadi 'increase' derived by reduplicating the verb jadi 'become' and adding the active voice prefix meN-; kena-meng-(k)ena 'connection' derived by reduplicating the verb kena 'affected by' and prefixing the second form in the reduplicated pair with meN-; and ber-gaduh 'to fight' and ber-tumbuk 'to punch (each other), both of which carry the reciprocal action prefix ber-.

Related clauses are combined by using subordinate adverbial clauses rather than merely juxtaposed. For example, the conditional clause ada perlawanan bola kat sekolah 'there was a ball match at school' is introduced by the
adverbial subordinating morpheme kalau ‘if’ and the concessive clause tak ada kena-mengena dengan kita-orang ‘(they) had nothing to do with us’ is introduced by the adverbial subordinator walaupun ‘although’ (cf. Ch. 6). All these features make it more formal than the ABM dialogue in (1.1).

(1.2) ABM Narration

Kenakalan-ku makin men-jadi-jadi. Hobi ber-gaduh naughtiness-1sg increase MEN-become:REDP hobby BER-fight
sejak dulu tak dapat aku kikis. Kalau ada since past not get 1sg disappear if EXIST
perlawanan bola kat sekolah, kita-orang gerenti competition ball at school 1pl.excl guarantee
hadir punya. Bukan-le nak tengok sangat. Cuma present FUNYA not-EMPH want look very just
nak tunggu ‘part’ ber-gaduh aje. Asal ada aje want wait part BER-fight only as.long.as EXIST only
pemain yang ber-gaduh kat tengah padang kita-orang player REL BER-fight at middle field 1pl.excl
pun turun-le - walaupun tak ada PUN descend-EMPH although not have
kena-meng-(k)ena dengan kita-orang. Saja je seronok connection with 1pl.excl only just enjoyable
nak ber-tumbuk.

COMP BER-punch
‘I became naughtier and naughtier. I could not get rid of my love for fighting. Whenever there was a ball match at school, we(excl) would be there without fail. (We) were not really interested in watching (the game) - (we) were waiting for the players to start fighting. The moment a player started a fight in the middle of the field, we(excl) would join them even though (they) had nothing to do with us. (We) just enjoyed fights.’

(1.3) and (1.4) are examples of HP dialogue and narration respectively. The dialogue in (1.3) contains a number of markers of informality; such markers are in general absent in the narration in (1.4). (1.3) contains the colloquial phonologically-reduced forms: tau ‘know’ which occurs alongside its corresponding full form tahu in the same dialogue. There is an instance of the illocutionary particle kan (cf. Ch. 2) and there is a lack of the use of the active voice prefix meN- in some cases where they would normally occur: musnah-kan 'destroy' (me-musnah-kan), fikir-kan 'think (about)' (mem-
(f)ikir-kan), pilih 'choose' (mem-(p)ilih), selamat-kan 'save' (meny-(s)elamat-kan) and sokong 'support' (meny-(s)sokong).

(1.3) HP Dialogue

Lajis: *Dan... dan kau tahu. Risah, penyu and and 2sg know Risah turtle meny-(s)ayang-i Florida dan Rantau MEN-love-l Florida and Rantau Abang. Di sini tempat mereka older.brother at here place 3pl mem-biak-kan zuriat mereka. Kau MEN-reproduce-KAN offspring 3pl 2sg tau? Tau? know know

'And... and you know, Risah, turtles love Florida and Abang 's (=my) Rantau (place name). This is where they reproduce. Do you know (that)? (Do you) know (that)?'

Norisah: *Aku kan penggemar telur penyu? 1sg KAN lover.of egg turtle 'Haven't I always been a lover of turtle eggs?'

Lajis: *Kau jangan makan... jangan musnah-kan telur 2sg don't eat don't destroy-CAUS egg itu lagi. Ya, kau tau. Penyu pilih that more yes 2sg know turtle choose Florida dan Rantau Abang! Cuba... Florida and Rantau older.brother try cuba fikir-kan sendiri.... dari seluruh pantai try think-KAN self from all shore di dunia ini pantai kita yang at world this shore 1pl.incl REL di-pilih-nya. Dan apa sepatuinya tanda DI-choose-3 and what should sign terima-kasih kita kepada-nya? Kita perlu thank.you 1pl.incl to-3 1pl.incl need
selamat-kan reptilia seperti ini.
safe-CAUS reptile like this

'Don't you eat... don't destroy those eggs anymore. You know, turtles choose Florida and Abang's (=my) Rantau (place name). Just think about it... of all the shores in the world, they choose our shores. And how should we show our gratitude? We need to save these reptiles (from destruction)'

Norisah: Aku sokong itu.
1sg support that
'I support that.'

In contrast full phonological forms are used in the HP narration in (1.4): tidak ‘not’ rather than tak and hadapan rather then depan, the usual colloquial forms. Verbal affixation occurs frequently, in particular, the active voice prefix meN- in mem-(p)egang [meN + pegang] ‘to hold’, meng-geleng [meN + geleng] ‘to shake the head’ and meng-henjut [meN + henjut] ‘to bounce, bob up and down’. Derivational morphology is also present in abundance, for example, the prefixing of meN- on the noun loceng ‘bell’ results in the verb me-loceng whose root is reduplicated to indicate iterativity: me-loceng-loceng ‘to ring a bell continuously’. Men-daki ‘sloping upwards’ is an adjectival derived from prefixing meN- to the verb daki ‘to climb’. In fact there are no unaffixed ‘true’ verbs in the passage except for the adjectival verb kendur ‘slack’.

In addition, subordination and coordination are the preferred strategies in clause-combining, for example, the reason clauses dua orang anak sedang ber-lari... ‘two children were running...’ and di hadapan-nya jalan sedikit mendaki ‘the road ahead of him sloped upwards slightly' are introduced by the subordinating morpheme kerana 'because', the sequential temporal clause menghenjut semula basikal-nya 'jerk/lift his bicycle once again' is introduced by the subordinating morpheme sebelum 'before'; and the alternative clause memarahi anak-anak dalam bisu 'scold the children silently' is introduced by the coordinator atau 'or'.

Juxtaposition of clauses does occur; but they are restricted to indicating event overlap: dua orang anak sedang ber-lari, menarik-narik tali layang-layang-nya 'two children were running tugging at the strings of their kites',
and event sequencing: *Lokman menggeleng, bercakap sesuatu 'Lokman shook his head (and then) said something*, which are the usual purposes associated with juxtaposition in SM (cf. Ch. 6). All these features make it more formal than the HP dialogue in (1.3).

(1.4) HP Narration

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Dia mem-(p)egang hendal basikal lebih kuat}, & \\
\text{3sg MEN-hold handle bicycle more strong} & \\
\text{me-loceng-loceng cergas, kerana dua orang anak sedang} & \\
\text{energetic because two CLFR child PROG} & \\
\text{ber-lari, men-(t)arik-tarik tali layang-layang-nya yang mula} & \\
\text{REL} & \\
\text{BER-lari} & \\
\text{MEN-pull:ITER string kite-3} & \\
\text{kendur. Anak-anak ini tidak mem-peduli-kan loceng,} & \\
\text{slack child:PL this not MEN-heed-KAN bell} & \\
\text{Se-buah beca-tarik ter-gencat. Lokman meng-geleng,} & \\
\text{one-CLFR rickshaw TER-stopped Lokman MEN-shake.head} & \\
\text{ber-cakap sesuatu, meny-(s)esal atau me-marah-i} & \\
\text{BER-say something MEN-regret or MEN-angry-I} & \\
\text{anak-anak dalam bisu, sebelum meng-henjut semula} & \\
\text{child:PL inside mute before MEN-bounce again} & \\
\text{basikal-nya kerana di hadapan-nya jalan sedikit} & \\
\text{bicycle-3 because at front-3 road a.little} & \\
\text{men-daki} & \\
\text{MEN-climb} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘He tightened his grip on the bicycle handle-bars and rang the bell loudly because (there were) two children running (ahead of him) tugging at the strings of their kites which were beginning to slacken. The children did not pay any attention to the ringing. A rickshaw came to a halt. Lokman shook his head muttering under his breath in regret or annoyance at the children before lifting (the front of) his bicycle again because the road ahead of him sloped upwards slightly.’

Both (1.2), the ABM narration, and (1.3), the HP dialogue contain a mixture of CM and SM features. In addition to the SM features in (1.2), the ABM narration, mentioned earlier, there are also CM features, for example, the use of the colloquial forms: the negator *tak* ‘not’, and the complementizer *nak* (cf. Ch. 6), the English loan gerenti [guarantee] ‘surely, certain to’ and the colloquial particle *punya* indicating certainty. The more formal pronominal clitic *-ku* ‘1sg’ is used in the place of its less formal corresponding full form *aku* (cf. Ch. 3) on the one hand and on the other, the informal pronoun *kita-orang* ‘1pl excl’ is used as well. Furthermore there is a typical CM
construction involving the sequence saja je 'only just' as well (cf. Ch. 4). CM features in the HP dialogue in (1.3) are restricted to a few colloquial forms such as the phonologically reduced form, tau 'know' and the illocutionary particle kan and the less frequent use of the active voice prefix meN- as mentioned. In addition to these CM features, it also contains SM features such as the full forms tahu 'know', occurring alongside tau, ini 'this' and itu 'that' instead of the reduced forms ni and tu, and the formal preposition seperti 'like' instead of the colloquial macam 'like'. Derivational morphology occurs quite frequently, such as the use of the causative and transitivizing suffixes -kan (e.g. selamat-kan [safe + kan] 'to save') and -i (e.g. menyayang-i [meN + sayang 'love' + i] 'to love'); and the nominalizing prefix peN- in peng-gemar 'lover of' derived from the verbal root gemar 'like'. The voice prefixes are not entirely absent: there is an instance of the 'passive' prefix di-: di-pilih-nya 'chosen by them', and two of the active prefix meN-: meny-(s)ayangi to love' and mem-biakkan 'to reproduce'.

Hence, although the ABM narration in (1.2) is more formal than the ABM dialogue of (1.1) due to the presence of SM features, it is less formal than the HP dialogue in (1.3) in that it contains a wider range of CM features alongside its SM features than does the HP dialogue. (1.2) contains not only more colloquial lexical forms than (1.3) but also a CM construction as well while (1.3) contains only a few colloquial forms.

This initial comparison then illustrates the way in which ABM and HP may be placed on a formal-informal continuum as discussed earlier, with ABM dialogue as the least formal of the sub-genres, HP narration the most formal, ABM narration more formal than ABM dialogue but less formal than HP dialogue and HP dialogue less formal than HP narration but more formal than ABM narration (cf. Figure 1.2).

1.3.2.1.4. Factors which Motivate Register Shifts

As mentioned, intra-textual register shifts are common, particularly, in ABM. It would be advantageous to carry out a statistical study of all occurrences of register shifts and the factors they correlate with. This in itself
is an interesting topic for research. However my aim in this study is first and foremost to isolate the distinguishing properties of CM. Hence I will not deal with this topic at length.

From my observation of the data, register shifts in ABM narration tend to coincide with particular moods or settings. For example, when the author of ABM is particularly reflective, such as when he is reflecting on his past, or where he recounts a serious event, he tends towards a more formal register. Where he recounts a sequence of events that occur quickly in succession or where he expresses his own attitudes and emotions, he tends to use a less formal register. In HP dialogue, register shifts tend to be associated with the social setting or background of the speaker(s). The author tends to shift to a less formal register where the speakers involved in the dialogue are not highly educated, for example, a bus-driver and a passenger, or where the speaker lives in a village and has little contact with town-people, such as a village ferryman. Conversations between educated people tend to sound more formal.

I will look at an example of register shift in an ABM narration in (1.5). (1.5) is a case where the author switches to a more formal register early in the passage and then switches back to an informal register later on. The first two sentences in (1.5) have a mixture of CM and SM features, for example, the juxtaposition of related clauses in the two sentences and the use of a phrase consisting of borrowed English words 'slow-slow sentimental' are colloquial features, and the occurrence of verbal morphology: *men-, ber-* and *-i*, and the use of the clitic pronoun *-ku* '1sg' are SM features. There is a transition from a narration of events that advance the narrative to a reflection of past events between the two sentences. Once the reflective mood begins, the author switches to a formal SM-like register (as evidenced in the occurrence of an abundance of morphologically complex words, an absence of colloquial forms and the use of formal forms such as *itu* 'that' and *ini* 'this' in the place of the colloquial reduced forms *tu* and *ni*) until he reaches the end of his reflections in the sentence *Kemudian aku tersedar aku dah pun sampai ke rumah* 'And then I realized I had arrived at the house'. From then on, he returns to narrating the events that follow and switches back to a colloquial register, as seen in the lack of morphologically complex words, for example, the
occurrence of *tongkat* 'walking-stick' in underived form meaning 'to prop' and the use of colloquial lexical forms such as the preposition *kat* 'at'.

(1.5) *Selesai meng-angkat susu-getah, aku pun ber-kayuh\*\* finish MEN-take milk-rubber 1sg PUN BER-pedal

balik *ke rumah*. ‘Slow-slow sentimental’ *je, fikiran-ku* return to house slow-slow sentimental just thought-1sg

men-(t)erawang jauh meng-ingat-i zaman silam-ku di MEN-day.dream far MEN-remember-I era past-1sg at

kampung. Di *sini-lah aku di-besar-kan dengan parut\* village at here-EMPH 1sg DI-big-CAUS with scar
dan *luka- di-dewasa-kan dengan sifat pilih kasih* and wound DI-adult-KAN with attitude choose love

Itu juga meny-(s)ubur-kan *dengki, iri-hati dan rasa* that also MEN-fertile-CAUS hate jealousy and feeling

ter-asing *di hati-ku. Kemudian aku jadi keras* TER-separated at heart-1sg and.then 1sg become hard

kepala. *Kemudian jiwa-ku mem-berontak. Kemudian aku* head and.then soul-1sg MEN-rebel and.then 1sg

lari dari kampung, kemudian aku *ter-lapar semula* run from village and.then 1sg TER-thrown again

ke desa Minang ini. *Kemudian aku ter-sedar,* to village Minangkabau this and.then 1sg TER-aware

aku dahi pun sampai *ke rumah. Aku tongkat basikal* 1sg already PUN arrive to house 1sg prop bicycle
dan *letak-kan tong susu-getah kat tepi tangga... [ABM] and put-KAN pail milk-rubber at side stair

'When I had collected the liquid rubber, I pedalled home (on my bicycle). Slowly, sentimentally, my thoughts drifted way back to my old days at the village. It was here that I was brought up with wounds and scars, and attitudes of favouritism. This sowed the seeds of hatred, jealousy and a feeling of isolation in my heart. And I became stubborn. My inner person rebelled, I ran away from home, and then I was thrown back into this Minangkabau village again. And (suddenly) I realized I had arrived at the house. I propped the bicycle and put the pail of liquid rubber next to the steps...'

An example of the use of an informal register in HP dialogue is given in

(1.6). (1.6) is a dialogue between a bus driver and a passenger. It contains markers of informality such as the colloquial phonologically-reduced forms: *nak* ‘want’ for *hendak*, *tu* ‘that’ for *itu* and *depan* ‘front’ for *hadapan*. There is
an instance of the illocutionary particle *ya* (cf. Ch. 2) and there is virtually no affixation in the dialogue.

(1.6) **Bus driver**: *Siapa yang kata tadi* *nak turun* who REL say awhile.ago want descend
*di selekoh depan tu?* *Tolong nyanyi* at bend front that please sing
*per-lahan-lahan sedikit, ya. Bas ini* softly a.little yes bus this
*pun ada radio sendiri.* also have radio self

'Who was it who said (she) wanted to get down at the corner ahead? Please sing a little more softly. This bus (already) has its own radio.'

**Woman**: *Kami yang nak turun di situ.* 1pl.excl REL want descend at there

'Ve(excl) are the ones who want to get down there.'

[HP]

In contrast (1.7) is a dialogue between two friends of similar professional and educational background. Both speakers are archaeologists. (1.7) lacks indicators of informality. It is characterized by generally more complex verbal morphology: the occurrence of the active voice prefix *meN-* , the prefix *ter-* and the suffix *-kan* on verbs. It also lacks typical colloquial forms. The formal enclitic pronoun *-mu* '2sg' is used instead of its corresponding colloquial free form *kamu*. Clauses are combined by subordination, such as the use of subordinate adverbial clauses introduced by *kerana* 'because' for reason/cause clauses, and *kalau* 'if' for conditional clauses.

(1.7) **Lajis**: *Biar aku yang ter-kenang-kan segala yang* allow 1sg REL TER-recall-KAN all REL
*pedih ini.* Maaf, Risah, kalau aku seperti painful this forgive Risah if 1sg like
*sengaja* men-(t)umpah-kan segala-gala yang intentional MEN-pour-KAN all:EMPH REL
*pedih ini* ke hati-mu. Kau-datang ke sini painful this to heart-2sg 2sg-come to here
bukan untuk itu, aku tahu. Maaf.
not for that 1sg know forgive

‘Let me be the one to recall all these painful
(memories). Forgive (me), Risah, if I appear to have
intentionally unburdened all this pain on you. I know
you didn’t come here for this. Forgive (me).’

Norisah: Mula-nya barangkali begitu. Tapi, aku
begin-NYA perhaps like that but 1sg
tidak keberatan untuk itu.
not weight for that

‘Perhaps, (it was) like that at first. But it’s not
important to me.’

Lajis: Mari kita me-lihat-nya sekali lagi
come 1pl.incl MEN-see-3 once more
sebelum kita ber-tolak.
before 1pl.incl BER-push

‘Let’s (go and) see him once more before I leave.’

Norisah: Pulang petang ini juga? Jangan-lah hanya
return evening this also don’t-EMPH only
kerana aku...
because 1sg

‘Are (we) going home this evening (already)? Don’t (do
it) just because of me...’

Lajis: Tidak, bukan kerana-mu, kerana keadaan-nya.
not not because 2sg because condition-3
Kau tahu aku tidak dapat men-(t)olong-nya
2sg know 1sg not able MEN-help-3
dari sini. Aku akan cuba mem-(p)ujuk-nya
from here 1sg will try MEN-persuade-3
pulang kalau dia sedia.
return if 3sg ready

‘No, (it’s) not because of you, it’s because of the
condition he’s in. You know I can’t help him here. I
will try to persuade him to come home (with us) if he is
ready.’

Norisah: Kalau dia sedar maksud kau?
if 3sg conscious meaning 2sg

‘Don’t you mean if he’s conscious?’
1.3.2.1.5. CM versus SM Features

Owing to the non-exclusive nature of CM and SM properties in the texts, the reader should bear in mind that what is described as a CM feature in this study may also occur in the SM text, especially in the dialogue sections, and an SM feature may occur in the CM text as well, particularly in the narration sections.

What is clear is that when a characteristic feature of CM occurs in HP, it marks a shift to an informal register and when a characteristic SM feature occurs in ABM, it marks a shift to a more formal register.

It is also the case that ABM contains many features which do not occur in HP at all. ABM narration exhibits more variation in register than HP dialogue, so that a situation results where ABM contains a relatively wider range of SM features overall whereas HP contains a relatively smaller range of CM features overall. SM features that occur in ABM are significantly less frequent than their equivalent CM forms. Similarly, when a CM feature occurs in HP, it is less frequent than corresponding SM forms in the text.

The variations in the written texts as demonstrated in the preceding sections enable us to access through written texts what is to some extent an oral versus literary distinction between CM and SM, with the oral character of CM features demonstrated by induction. This technique of accessing features of a spoken language variety through variations in written texts has proven to be extremely useful. It demonstrates that it is indeed possible to study spoken language through written texts in the Malay context. I believe it will prove to be a valuable tool for future studies, particularly, where the ideal situation of being able to access oral data easily does not exist. However, ultimate confirmation must await a comparison of the language of colloquial written dialogue with oral informal dialogue.
1.4. Outline of Thesis

This thesis is organized into seven chapters: the Introduction (this chapter) and the body comprising Chapters 2 to 7.

Chapter 2 looks at some of the more salient properties of the CM lexicon. I examine various lexical forms in ABM which either do not exist in SM or which are related to lexical roots in SM but differ phonologically, morphologically, semantically or functionally. In particular I look at lexical forms that differ phonologically from their counterparts in SM (Section 2.1), lexical roots that occur only in CM and their semantic equivalents in SM and also semantic variation in lexical roots common to both SM and CM (Section 2.2). Code-switching and lexical borrowing will be examined (Section 2.3) as well as a number of colloquial particles in CM. (Section 2.4).

Chapter 3 contains a discussion of pronoun forms in ABM and HP. I look at typical CM forms. These include the monomorphemic forms gua '1sg' and lu '2sg' and the orang plural forms (Section 3.1). Clitic forms are found to be significantly more frequent in HP and hence, more typical of SM while non-cliticized full forms are preferred in ABM and therefore more typical of CM (Section 3.1). The use of the CM pronouns gua 'I' and lu 'you' is examined in the context of the address system and the cultural factors governing the choice of pronouns and other terms of address (Section 3.2).

Chapter 4 deals with a number of aspects of grammar in CM and SM. I look at morphology with particular reference to affixation and reduplication (Section 4.2). In Section 4.3, I examine 'passivization' strategies in CM and SM, and in Section 4.4, I look at causative constructions. In Section 4.5 the structure of the noun phrase and some typical CM noun phrase constructions are examined. In Section 4.6, I look at a typical CM construction: the Modifier-panya-Head construction which also includes noun phrases. Verbal auxiliaries, in particular (su)dah 'already', a temporal modal auxiliary indicating Perfective aspect, and nak and dok, characteristic CM verbal auxiliaries, are dealt with in Section 4.7. Finally in Section 4.8, I consider the use of the adverbial saja/(a)je 'only, just' in CM and SM.
In Chapter 5 prepositions in CM and SM are examined with reference to their forms and semantics paying attention to typical CM forms (Section 5.1) and in Section 5.2 I look at prepositional ellipsis, a common feature of CM.

Chapter 6 deals with clause combining strategies in CM and SM, in particular, subordination (Section 6.1), coordination (Section 6.2), verb serialization (Section 6.3) and juxtaposition, a characteristic CM clause combining strategy (Section 6.4). In each case of subordination and coordination I discuss the typical CM forms involved as well as other forms and their functions.

Finally Chapter 7 is a brief chapter describing some typical CM phrases, expressions and constructions. These include tangkap 'catch' phrases (Section 7.1), the various ways of expressing concepts like iterativity or continuity, intensity, approval and refusal (Section 7.2), and constructions that involve the repetition of a variety of modifying elements in the clause (Section 7.3).

Appendix 1 contains a reproduction of a page from ABM and accompanying translations, Appendix 2 lists words occurring in ABM that are not found in the Malay dictionaries and Appendix 3 lists the English loans found in ABM.

The major CM features and SM features discussed in the following chapters are summarized in Table 1.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CM Features</th>
<th>SM Features</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>LEXICAL FEATURES (Ch. 2)</strong></td>
<td>Full forms preferred.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Phonologically reduced forms preferred.</td>
<td>Standard lexical roots used.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Colloquial lexical roots are preferred, if they exist.</td>
<td>Standard usage of similar lexical roots.</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Malay-English code-switching involves mainly single words or phrases.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>LEXICAL FEATURES (cont)</td>
<td>GRAMMATICAL FEATURES (Ch. 4)</td>
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<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. English loanwords are preferred over their SM equivalents. Loanwords are borrowed</td>
<td>1. Morphology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in an unplanned context. (cf. Section 2.3)</td>
<td>(i) Affixation is significantly less frequent in CM.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ii) The use of the prefixes <em>meN</em>- and <em>di</em>- for indicating voice is not obligatory.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(iii) Derivational affixes are less frequent.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(iv) 'Bare' root forms are often used. Their grammatical functions are inferred from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>context.</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Existence of many colloquial emotive, modal and illocutionary particles.</td>
<td>(v) Reduplication of nominals and adverbs is frequent.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(vi) 'Rhyming pairs' are relatively frequent.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(vii) Typical CM adverbials involving reduplicated forms.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2. 'Passive' constructions</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(i) Preference for the 'procliticized Actor passive' and the periphrastic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adverbial <em>kena</em> passive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ii) 'Procliticized Actor passive' may involve 3rd person Actors.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>similar particles are rare.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Do not occur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Use of quantifiers and adverbials such as <em>semua</em> 'all' or <em>sekalian</em> 'all' to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pluralize singular pronouns.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Preference for clitic forms over full forms in clitic positions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Does not occur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zero anaphora tends to occur mainly where clauses are coordinated or juxtaposed within the sentence.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### GRAMMATICAL FEATURES (cont)

3. The *kasi*-V and *bagi*-V periphrastic causative constructions are typical.

4. The noun phrase
   - (i) Head-final NPs are possible.
   - (ii) The reduced demonstrative forms *ni* for *ini* 'this' and *tu* for *itu* 'that' in NPs are preferred.
   - (iii) The Pronoun-Dem NP is typical.

5. The Modifier-panya-Head construction.

6. Verbal auxiliaries
   - (i) *Dah* 'already' is preferred over *sudah* as a verbal auxiliary.
   - (ii) *Dah* may occur in post-verbal or post-predicate position.
   - (iii) Occurrence of *udah*, related to *(su)*da as a particle.
   - (iv) *Nak* and *dok* as verbal auxiliaries.

7. *Saja*/*aje* 'only, just'
   - (i) The adverbial *(a)je* is common.
   - (ii) *Saja* may occur as a pre-verbal or pre-predicate modifier.

### Causatives

Causatives are normally formed by derivational morphology, i.e., the verbal suffix -*kan*.

- (i) Only head-initial NPs.
- (ii) Full forms of demonstratives in NPs are preferred.
- (iii) Pronoun-Dem NPs are infrequent.

### VERBAL AUXILIARIES

Only Head-(y)ang- Modifier constructions or Modifier-Head constructions.

- (i) *Sudah* is the preferred form.
- (ii) *Dah* occurs only in pre-verbal or pre-predicate position.
- (iii) *Sudah* is the equivalent form.
- (iv) Do not occur.

- (i) *Saja* is the preferred form.
- (ii) *Saja* occurs only as a pre-verbal or pre-predicate modifier.

### PREPOSITIONS (Ch. 5)

1. Occurrence of the prepositions *kat’at*, *Dative’, *tang* ‘from’ and *dek* ‘by’.
2. Unaffixed verbal prepositions *buat* ‘for’ and *ikut* ‘through’.
3. Occurrence of ‘nominal’ prepositions, i.e., prepositions which also occur independently as nouns: *macam* ‘like’, *as’, *pasal* ‘about’.
4. Prepositional ellipsis is common.

### Causatives

Do not occur.

Verbal prepositions tend to bear affixes, e.g., *ter-hadap* ‘towards’, *me-lalui* ‘through’.

‘Nominal prepositions’ are rare.

Infrequent and only restricted to certain types (cf. Section 5.2)

### CLAUSE COMBINING (Ch. 6)

1. Complementation
   - (i) Occurrence of *nak* as a complementizer.
   - (ii) ‘Zero strategy’ is common.
   - (iii) Direct quotation often used as complements of verbs of saying.

(i) Does not occur.

(ii) ‘Zero strategy’ is less frequent.

(iii) Direct quotation only in dialogue sections and following specific formulae.
# CLAUSE COMBINING (cont)

2. Adverbial clauses

(i) Simpler adverbial subordinating forms are preferred, if they exist, e.g. lepas 'after' for selepas and bila 'when' for apabila.

(ii) Preference for certain forms over others, e.g. kalau 'if' over jika 'if' and sebab 'because' over kerana 'because' etc. (cf. Ch. 6).

(iii) Occurrence of sedang 'while', tengah 'while' and (u)dah tu 'furthermore' as subordinating morphemes.

3. Juxtaposition of semantically related clauses is preferred. A large variety of semantic relationships between clauses may be represented by juxtaposed clauses.

(i) Simpler forms such as lepas do not occur. More elaborate forms are frequent.

(ii) Preference for jika 'if' and kerana 'because' etc. (cf. Ch. 6).

(iii) Do not occur.

Juxtaposition is generally restricted to event overlaps and event sequencing.

---

### CM EXPRESSIONS & CONSTRUCTIONS (Ch. 7)

1. **Tangkap** 'catch' phrases are quite productive.

2. Iterativity may be expressed by the (V)punya V (punya V) construction.

3. Intensity may be expressed by the punya-la/le V construction.

4. Refusal or unwillingness is often expressed using a **malas/maleh nak <Compl> lazy to <Compl>** sequence.

5. Approval or agreement may be expressed by the V, jangan tak V sequence.

6. Repetition of modifying elements in the clause is common.

**Tangkap** phrases occur as fixed idiomatic expressions.

Iterativity normally expressed by the use of the verbal suffix -i and reduplication.

Intensity is normally expressed using adverbials such as sangat ‘very’ and amat ‘very’.

Refusal is normally expressed by tidak mahu X ‘not want X’ or tidak sanggup X ‘not willing to X’.

Approval or agreement is normally expressed using affirmative particle ya ‘yes’, or other particles such as baik ‘good’ or bagus ‘good’.

Does not occur.

---

Table 1.1. Summary of CM vs SM Features Discussed
Chapter 2

Lexical Features

The differences between the varieties of a language are often easily and immediately noticeable in the lexicon. This chapter deals with selected aspects of the CM lexicon. It has been observed that the CM lexicon has a much larger number of distinct lexical roots than SM, evidenced in the fact that there are many roots not listed in the standard Malay dictionaries (Benjamin 1986). Indeed ABM contains a number of lexical roots not listed in the Malay dictionaries. However they are not frequent. A list of these roots with their approximate meanings as far as they are determinable from context is given in Appendix 2.

Apart from this, other more frequent properties are observed. Shared lexical roots may differ phonologically. This difference is represented in the orthographic forms in ABM. Phonological variation is discussed in Section 2.1. Shared lexical forms may exhibit semantic variation between CM and SM. Furthermore some lexical roots are associated with a high degree of colloquialism and informality and as such, they very rarely occur in SM. I look at some of these colloquial forms and semantic variation in Section 2.2. The lexical classes of pronouns and prepositions, which also contain some colloquial forms, will be discussed in Chapters 3 and 5 respectively. In Section 2.3, I examine instances of code switching and borrowing observed in the texts. The preference for English loanwords over their Malay equivalents is a salient feature of CM. In Section 2.4, I discuss a number of typical CM particles.
2.1. Phonological Properties of CM

The phonology of CM is thought to be largely determined by the phonological patterns of the local dialect (Asmah 1987:83-97). However there are some phonological forms that are clearly associated with the dialect-neutral CM (cf. Section 1.1.2 of Introduction) and are used by Malay speakers from the different regions when in contact with each other. Thus there are two ways in which CM differs phonologically from SM. CM phonological forms may have:

(1) Dialectal influence.
(2) Pan-dialectal characteristics.

Phonological variation in CM tends to be restricted to certain forms and does not apply across the board.

My observations are made on the basis of the orthographic representations of a relatively large number of words in ABM which deviate from standard SM representation. Although standard Malay orthography\(^1\) is used in ABM and the bulk of the words are spelt in the same way as their counterparts in SM, the author has spelt some words differently in order to show the difference in pronunciation\(^2\).

There are two classes of ‘deviant’ orthographic forms in ABM: the dialectal forms and the CM forms. Dialectal forms occur only in dialogue. In narration their usual corresponding standard or CM forms are used. The CM forms occur in both dialogue and narration replacing their corresponding standard SM forms.

Dialectal forms in dialogue represent code-switching between dialects and the forms used depend on the speaker’s geographical origins. In ABM speakers often code-switch between ordinary CM and the Kuala Pilah and

---

1 See p. xi for notes on standard Malay orthography.

2 I believe that the author of ABM, as far as possible, attempts to faithfully represent words that differ in phonetic realization from their SM counterparts through the orthography. Forms that deviate from the standard orthography in some way are highlighted in the dialogue indicating that the author is fully aware of the differences.
Minang (sub-)dialects (see Asmah 1985:ch18, ch10) since a large part of the
narrative is set in a Minangkabau kampung ('village') in Kuala Pilah. For
example, alternations between apa and apo ‘what’, dia and dio '(s)he', pecah
and pecah 'break' and beli and boli 'buy', that is, between standard form and
the Minang dialect form, are quite common in dialogue. I will not discuss
these variations any further. Instead I will concentrate on the CM forms.

2.1.1. CM Forms with Dialectal Influence

In this section I look at some common CM phonological features that have
dialectal origins. These phonological variations apply only to some lexical
forms. The variations include the following:

(1) Intervocalic [h] may be dropped resulting in a diphthong which is
characteristic of the Kuala Pilah sub-dialect (Asmah 1985:ch18). This is
indicated by the absence of the grapheme 'h'.

(2.1) ABM SM

mau [mau] mahu [mahu] 'want'
tau [tau] tahu [tahu] 'know'
kesian [kesian] kasihan [kasihan] 'pityful'

(2) Word-final [s] may be realized as [h] in the Kuala Pilah and Minang
(sub-) dialects (Asmah 1985:ch18, ch10).

(2.2) ABM SM

abi[ [abi] habis [habis] 'finish'

(3) A common difference is the ellision of syllable-final [r] if it follows a
schwa. Many Malay (sub-)dialects have this property, for example
Kuala Pilah, Kuala Lumpur (Asmah 1985:ch18, ch10), Pekan (Asmah
1985:ch15) and Kedah (Asmah 1985:ch13). This is reflected in the

3 A further vowel reduction in non-word-final position [a] to [a] occurs, which does not
appear to be related to any dialect.
orthographic forms of some words in the texts by the absence of ‘r’. (Ex. (2.3)).

(2.3) | ABM | SM |
-----|-----|----|
| pegi | [pəgi] | pergi | [pərgi] | ‘go’ |
| keja | [kədʒa] | kerja | [kərdʒa] | ‘work’ |

(4) Another difference involves the addition of a glottal stop to words ending in ‘a’ and ‘i’. This is a feature of Temuan, a Malay Orang Asli dialect spoken in Negeri Sembilan (Asmah 1985:ch18). Word-final glottal stops are represented by the grapheme ‘k’.

(2.4) | ABM | SM |
-----|-----|----|
| bawak | [bawaʔ] | bawa | [bawa] | ‘bring’ |
| mintak | [mintaʔ] | minta | [minta] | ‘ask for’ |
| biasak | [biasaʔ] | biasa | [biasa] | ‘normal’ |
| buak | [bukaʔ] | buka | [buka] | ‘open’ |
| jugak | [dʒuʔaʔ] | juga | [dʒuʔa] | ‘also’ |
| pulak | [pulaʔ] | pula | [pula] | ‘moreover, furthermore, yet’ |
| pedulik | [pəduliʔ] | peduli | [pəduli] | ‘heed’ |
| nasik | [nasıʔ] | nasi | [nası] | ‘rice’ |
| curi | [tʃuriʔ] | curi | [tʃuri] | ‘steal’ |
| jadik | [dʒədik] | jadi | [dʒədi] | ‘become’ |
| bijik | [biʃiʔ] | biji | [biʃi] | ‘seed; classifier for small objects’ |

(5) In a number of cases the [l] of a word-final [Il] sequence is replaced by a glottal stop. These are examples of the word-final [Il] variant of [Il] found in dialects such as the Perak (Asmah 1985:ch14) or Pahang (Asmah 1985:ch15) dialects.

(2.5) | ABM | SM |
-----|-----|----|
| kecik | [kətʃiʔ] | kecil | [kətʃi] | ‘small’ |
| ambik | [ʔambıʔ] | ambil | [ʔambıl] | ‘take’ |
2.1.2. Pan-dialectal CM Forms

Some differences observed in ABM reflect phonological differences that do not have dialectal origins. Many of the variations involve some sort of reduction in the phonological bulk of the word, that is, they involve the dropping of segments or syllables in certain environments. These processes apply to frequently occurring forms and common word combinations. They include the following:

(1) One common variation involves the replacing of [f] with [p]. [f] which occurs in Arabic loans is not a part of the original Malay consonant inventory. It is therefore often replaced by its closest equivalent available, the voiceless bilabial stop [p] in most dialects and varieties of Malay. This also occurs in Indonesian, for example, pikir [pikir] for fikir ‘think’ and paham [paham] for faham ‘understand’. The preservation of Arabic [f] appears to be a literary feature of SM.

(2.6) \begin{array}{ccc}
\textbf{ABM} & \textbf{SM} \\
pikir & [pikir] & fikir & [fikir] & \text{‘think’} \\
paham & [paham] & faham & [faham] & \text{‘understand’} \\
pasal & [pasal] & fasal & [fasal] & \text{‘matter’} \\
\end{array}

(2) Four types of phonological reductions are observed in ABM:

(i) Word-initial syllables are often dropped.

(2.7) \begin{array}{ccc}
\textbf{ABM} & \textbf{SM} \\
ni & [ni] & ini & [?ini] & \text{‘this’} \\
tu & [tu] & itu & [?itu] & \text{‘that’} \\
caya & [t.ja] & percaya & [pær.tja] & \text{‘to believe’} \\
gitu & [gitu] & begitu & [begtu] & \text{‘like that’} \\
dah & [dah] & sudah & [sudah] & \text{‘already’} \\
tah & [tah] & enthah & [?entah] & \text{‘don’t know’} \\
lak & [la?] & pula & [pula] & \text{‘furthermore, moreover, yet’} \\
gak & [ga?] & juga & [juga] & \text{‘also’} \\
\end{array}

\textsuperscript{4} The glottal stop represented by ‘k’ at the end of lak and gak is influenced by the Temuan dialect (cf. previous section).
(ii) In some words the vowel-consonant sequence following the initial consonant is dropped.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ABM} & \quad \text{SM} & \text{SM} \\
tak & [\text{taʔ}] & \text{tidak} & [\text{tidak}] & \text{‘not’} \\
sikit & [\text{sikit}] & \text{sedikit} & [\text{sediket}] & \text{‘few, a little’} \\
dulu & [\text{dulu}] & \text{dahulu} & [\text{dahulu}] & \text{‘past’} \\
kang & [\text{kang}] & \text{karang} & [\text{karaŋ}] & \text{‘afterwards’}
\end{align*}
\]

(iii) Initial syllables may be dropped from the second word in a common word combination. All the examples that occur in ABM involve the negator \( \text{tak} [\text{taʔ}] \) related to \( \text{tidak} \) ‘not’ (see Ex. (2.8)) as the first word in the combination.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ABM} & \quad \text{SM} & \text{SM} \\
takde & [\text{taʔdə}] & \text{tidak ada} & [\text{tidaʔ ada}] & \text{‘not have’} \\
takpe & [\text{taʔpe}] & \text{tidak apa} & [\text{tidaʔ apa}] & \text{‘It doesn’t matter.’} \\
takkan & [\text{taʔkan}] & \text{tidak akan} & [\text{tidaʔ akan}] & \text{‘will not (happen)’} \\
toksa & [\text{toʔsaʔ}] & \text{tidak usah} & [\text{tidaʔ usah}] & \text{‘not necessary’}
\end{align*}
\]

(iv) Some examples of haploglogies are found where the syllable [pa] of \( \text{apa} [\text{apa}] \) ‘what’ is dropped when it occurs before a bilabial consonant, and [la] of \( \text{kuala} [\text{kuala}] \) ‘mouth of river’ is dropped when it occurs before [l] in the place name Kuala Lumpur. See Ex. (2.10).

---

5 This form also exists in Indonesian.

6 The further change from [a] to [o] is related to a property of the Perak dialect (Asmah 1985:ch14) which involves the change of the diphthong [au] to [o].
(2.10) ABM | SM
--- | ---
apasa] [\textit{apasal}] | apa falsal [\textit{apa falsal}] \(^7\) 'What's the matter; why'  
amacam [\textit{amatjam}] | apa macam [\textit{apa matjam}] 'How's it going; how'  
amende [\textit{amende}] \(^8\) | apa benda [\textit{apa benda}] 'What's this (thing)?'  
Kolumpo [\textit{kolumpo}] \(^9\) | Kuala Lumpur [\textit{kualalumpur}] 'Kuala Lumpur'  

2.2. CM Lexical Roots

2.2.1. Colloquial Lexical Roots

This section looks at some lexical roots and root combinations that are associated with a high degree of colloquialism and informality. Although listed in the Malay dictionaries, they are very rarely, if ever, used in SM. Table 2.1 lists examples from ABM.

Some colloquial roots include the following:

\textit{Bikin} \(^{10}\) 'do, make' is used in ABM to mean 'to perform' (Ex. (2.11a)), 'to build' (Ex. (2.11b)) and even 'to draw, sketch' (Ex. (2.11c)). It generally refers to physical activities. \textit{Buat} 'do, make' in ABM is used for activities that are non-physical as well in ABM (Ex. (2.12)).

---
\(^7\) The initial [\textit{r}] in falsal is replaced by [\textit{p}] (cf. Ex. (2.6)).
\(^8\) Nasalization of the oral stop [\textit{p}] occurs as well.
\(^9\) The diphthong [\textit{ua}] is replaced by [\textit{o}], a change related to the Kedah dialect (see Asmah 1985:ch13). Final [\textit{r}] is dropped, a feature of the Kuala Lumpur sub-dialect (Asmah 1985:ch10) and the schwa variety of SM, and [\textit{u}] is replaced by [\textit{o}], a feature of the Kuala Lumpur and Johor (Asmah 1985:ch10) (sub-) dialects.
\(^{10}\) Bikin 'do, make' is used in Bazaar Malay in the place of \textit{buat} 'do, make'.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form in ABM</th>
<th>Form normally used in SM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bikin</td>
<td>'do, make, perform'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kasi</td>
<td>'do so that, cause' (cf. Ch. 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bagitau</td>
<td>'tell' [Not listed in SM dictionary]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karang/kang</td>
<td>'afterwards'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yang</td>
<td>'that (complementizer)' (cf. Ch. 6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apasal/apasal</td>
<td>'why'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amacamat/amacamat</td>
<td>'how'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amende/ama benda</td>
<td>'what; what's this (thing)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>macam</td>
<td>'type; like, as' (cf. Ch. 5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>buat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>membuat supaya, causative verbal suffix -kan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>beritahu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nanti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bahawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mengapa/kenapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bagaimana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>apa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>macam 'type', seperti 'like, as'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.1. Colloquial Forms in ABM

(2.11)

a. "...tunjuk 'skill' kau bikin 'blood sport' punya..." show skill 2sg perform blood sport PUNYA '...show your skill in fighting...'

b. 'Kita nak bikin 'court' takraw.' 1pl incl want build court takraw 'We want to build a takraw (ball game) court.'

c. "...baru bikin telinga pun dah nampak hensem." just sketch ear PUN already see good-looking '(you) have only just sketched (my) ear (and) it already looks good...'

---

11 Kang is a reduced form of karang. See Section 2.1.2.
(2.12)  
Rakan-rakan sedarjah men-jadi mangsa, walaupun friend:PL same.class MEN-become victim although 
mereka tak buat salah apa-apa. [ABM] 
3pl not do wrong what:REDP

'(My) classmates became (my) victims even though they did no wrong.'

Kasi 12 'do so that, cause' occurs in causative constructions in ABM (cf. Ch. 4). Examples are:

(2.13) a. "Tak boleh lari ni... kasi tunjuk 'terror' sikit.' 
not can run this do.so.that show terror little

'(I can't run (away) - (I) must show a bit of courage.' [ABM]

b. "...gua mau kasi lupa itu sedih-sedih punya 
1sg want do.so.that forget that sad:REDP PUNYA

cerita." [ABM]

'story

'. . .I want to forget those really sad stories.'

Bagitau 'tell' occurs in the place of SM beritahu 'tell', which does not occur at all in ABM.

(2.14)

a. Cawan pecah, bagitau mak. [ABM]
cup break tell mum

'(If I) broke a cup, (he would) tell mum (about it).'</n

b. ...mak Anor bagitau Anor dah balik ke mum Anor tell Anor already return to 
asrama. 
boarding.school

'. . .Anor's mum told (me) that Anor had already gone back to 
boarding school.'

In ABM k(ar)ang 'afterwards' is often used in the place of SM nanti 'afterwards'. Often the clause modified by k(ar)ang refers to some possible undesirable result or event (Ex. (2.15)).

12 Kasi occurs in Bazaar Malay in the place of beri 'give'.

LEXICAL FEATURES 47
(2.15) 
a. "Lukis cantik-cantik haa - kalau buruk, 
draw beautiful:REDP HAA if poor.condition(rotten) 
   kang aku tak nak bayar..." [ABM] 
   afterwards 1sg NEG want pay 
   'Make it a nice drawing, if it's no good, I won't pay (for it)....'

b. "Copek sikit balik... karang bising lagi omak kau 
   quick little return afterwards noisy more mother 2sg 
   kang." [ABM] 
   afterwards 
   'Come home quickly - otherwise your mother will start nagging 
   again.'

Yang which occurs only as a relativizer in HP occurs in ABM as a 
complementizer introducing a subordinate complement clause as well. Its 
corresponding form bah(a)wa in SM does not occur in ABM at all (cf. Ch. 6).

(2.16) 
a. Anor nak aku bukti-kan yang aku pun boleh 
   Anor want 1sg proof-KAN COMP 1sg PUN can 
   ber-jaya macam orang lain... [ABM] 
   BER-succeed like person other 
   'Anor wanted me to prove (to her) that I too could succeed like 
   other people.'

b. ...tapi dia tentu tak syak yang aku nak lari 
   but 3sg certain not suspect COMP 1sg want run 
   dari rumah... [ABM] 
   from house 
   '...but he surely would not suspect that I was running away from 
   home...'

The interrogative\textsuperscript{13} apasal 'why' is used frequently in ABM. SM kenapa 
'why' is used in ABM as well, but mengapa 'why' which occurs frequently in 
SM does not occur at all in ABM. (Ex. (2.17))

\textsuperscript{13} A number of interrogatives in CM are common word combinations to which phonological 
rules have applied (cf. Section 2.1.2). The resulting forms may be regarded as single 
phonological units.
(2.17) "...apasal lak nak jual, rugi-la..." why LAK want sell make.a.loss-EMPH
'...why (do you) want to sell (it), (you'll) lose money...'

SM bagaimana 'how' does not occur in ABM at all. In its place, amacam or
macam mana are used. In HP macam mana [type + which] is used minimally
in dialogue, and amacam does not occur at all.

(2.18) "Haa.. yang ni amacam Leman... mesti gempak
HAA REL this how Leman must loud.noise
punya bunyi ni...”
PUNYA noise this
'How about this (one), Leman... (I’m) sure (it will) make a
loud noise.'

(2.19) jadi aku belajar-le macam-mana nak masak
so lsg learn-EMPH how NAK cook
minyak - macam-mana nak meng-urut.
oil how NAK MEN-massage
'So I learned how to make (massage) oil and (the art of) massage.'

Amende 'what' which never occurs in HP is used frequently in the place of
SM apa in ABM.

(2.20) "Apa gelak-gelak... amende yang kelakau?" what laugh:REDP what REL funny
'What (are you) laughing at... what's so funny?'

Macam 'type; like, as' is used commonly in ABM as a preposition in the
place of seperti 'like, as', the preferred SM form in HP (cf. Ch. 5).

(2.21) Sampai kat rumah aku tengok Aca ter-baring kat
arrive at house lsg see Aca TER-lie.down at
tilam, muka pucat je macam kapur sirih.
mattress face pale just like chalk betel.plant
'When (I) got home, I saw Aca lying on the mattress, (his) face was
very pale - like kapur sirih.'
2.2.2. Semantic Variation in Shared Lexical Forms

A number of lexical forms shared by CM and SM exhibit semantic variation. Some phonological variations may exist between the shared forms as shown by orthographic differences. Examples from ABM together with their corresponding SM meanings are listed in Table 2.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CM Meaning</th>
<th>SM Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pakwe</td>
<td>'boyfriend, man'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>makwe</td>
<td>'girlfriend, woman, girl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garing</td>
<td>'attractive (of women, probably derogatory)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ingat</td>
<td>'to think, remember'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kisah</td>
<td>'care about, pay attention to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kira</td>
<td>'consider, care about, pay attention to, count'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bagi</td>
<td>'give'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cabut</td>
<td>'to go away'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>celah</td>
<td>'to go away, leave'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pakat</td>
<td>'to discuss'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lepak</td>
<td>'to hang out at; to stay (somewhere) for some time'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lingkup</td>
<td>'to fail an exam'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kio k</td>
<td>'to choke (on food)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cong</td>
<td>'to tell untruth, squeal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cakap</td>
<td>'tell, say, talk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mem-bebel</td>
<td>'grumble, complain, nag, talk continuously'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bebulu</td>
<td>'irritated, frustrated'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ber-tapis</td>
<td>'careful (of speech)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takde [tak ada]</td>
<td>'not, not have'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dok</td>
<td>'Prog. Asp.' (cf. Ch. 4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.2. Semantic Variation in Shared Lexical Roots
The following are examples from ABM:

(2.22) "Macam mana tak lingkup - asyik tulis
like where NEG fail.examination engrossed write
surat kat pakue je." [ABM]
letter to boyfriend only

'How could (you) not fail (the exam) - writing letters to (your)
boyfriend all the time.'

(2.23) Baru je aku nak cakap terima-kasih,
new just 1sg want say thank you
der-derau darah aku bila tiba-tiba
BER-sound.of.pouring.rain.etc blood 1sg when suddenly
je sorang makue ter-pacul kat muka
just one girl TER-appear.suddenly at face
pintu.
doors
'I was just about to thank (her) when a girl suddenly appeared at the
doorway, (making) my blood rush.'

(2.24) "Awak KL ni garing-garing kan, Joe..." [ABM]
woman KL this good-looking KAN Joe

'Don't you think these KL women are really good-looking, Joe...?'

(2.25) "Tepi sikit la 'brader' - orang nak tidur gak.
side a.little LA brother people want sleep also
Ingat ini kakilima lu punya ka?" [ABM]
think this sidewalk 2sg PUNYA QUES

'Hey brother, will you (move) a little (to the) side, - I want to sleep
as well. Do you think this sidewalk belongs to you?'

(2.26) Tu yang buat kita-orang selalu kena 'warning'
that REL make 1pl.excl always affected.by warning
dek 'warden' tu. Tapi kita-orang tak kisah. [ABM]
by warden that but 1pl.excl not pay.attention

'That made us get frequent warnings from the warden but we
didn't care.'

(2.27) a. ...abah bayar-kan duit asrama ni pun dah
dad pay-KAN money boarding.school this PUN already
kira 'allright' dah. [ABM]
considered alright already

'...having dad pay for (my) boarding school fees was good enough.'
b. *Jadi, aku tak kira je yang mana satu, asal so 1sg not care just REL where one as.long.as* Santana je, tibai aje-le. [ABM] Santana just beat.up just-EMPH

'So I didn't care who I was beating up, as long as (he) was a 'Santana' (gang name).'

(2.28) *...sebelum aku 'blah' aku bagi Roy jetet aku ...* before 1sg go.away 1sg give Roy jacket 1sg

'...before I left, I gave Roy my jacket...'

(2.29) *...gua ingat lu sudah cabut pegi KL tadi...* 1sg think 2sg already go.away go KL just.now

'...I thought you had gone away to KL...'

(2.30) *Aku ber-gegas turun ikut pintu dapur* 1sg BER-hurriedly descend through door kitchen
dan terus celah. [ABM] and straight.away leave

'I went down through the kitchen door hurriedly and left straight away.'

(2.31) *"Mak, tanah kebun tu tak boleh jual-ke mak?"* mum land orchard that NEG can sell-KE mum

"...Kamu pakat-le dengan dia. Aku malas nak* 2sg discuss-EMPH with 3sg 1sg lazy COMP
campur tangan aih..." mix hand AIH

'Mum, can't the orchard be sold?'

'...You discuss it with him... I don't want to get involved (Sigh)...'

(2.32)

a. *Aku tengok ramai budak-budak 'rock'* 1sg see many child:PL to.do.with.gangsters
lepak kat situ... [ABM]
hang.out at there

'I could see many street kids hanging out there...'

b. *Jadi, abah, mak dan keluarga semua tau-la aku* so dad mum and family all know-EMPH 1sg
lepak dengan atuk. [ABM]

stay with grandpa

'So, dad, mum and all the family knew that I was staying with grandpa.'
(2.33) "Besok ada 'test'-la tuk. Tak 'study',
tonight EXIST test-EMPH grandpa NEG study
nanti lengkap-lya gua." [ABM]
afterwards fail-EMPH 1sg
‘I have a test tomorrow, grandpa. If I don’t study for it, I’ll fail.’

(2.34) “Ha... minum oren ni Aca - kang ter-cekik
HA drink orange this Aca afterwards TER-choke
kang... kiok pulak...
[ABM]
afterwards choke PULAK
‘Drink this orange (juice), Aca - otherwise, you might choke.’

(2.35) Aku tak tau-la apa yang Aca dah cong
1sg not know-EMPH what REL Aca already squeal
kat mak. [ABM]
DAT mum
‘I didn’t know what Aca had told mum (about me).’

(2.36) a. Aku sorang je cakap nak jadi pelukis
1sg one.person only say want become artist
ter-kenal. famous
‘I alone said that (I) wanted to become a famous artist.’

b. “Kau cakap kat mak... pocah hidung kau...
2sg tell DAT mum break nose 2sg
Jangan nak jadi ‘busy-body’.” [ABM]
don’t NAK become busy-body
‘If you tell mum, (I’ll) break your nose. Don’t be a busy-body.’

(2.37) Mak terus mem-bebel - kata aku buat
mum straight.away MEN-nag say 1sg make
tohmah-lah. [ABM]
allegation-EMPH
‘Straightaway mum (began to) nag accusing me of making (false)
allegations.’

(2.38) Yang tambah bebulu tu bila Anor dan
REL increase frustrated that when Anor and
’member’-nya ketawa-kan aku. [ABM]
friend-3 laugh-KAN 1sg
‘What made it even more frustrating was when Anor and her
friends laughed at me.’
(2.39) "Tapi tu tak ber-adat - cakap tak ber-tapis." 
but that not BER-tradition talk not careful
‘But that’s not according to adat - (you) speak without thinking.’

Takde ‘not, not have’, a reduced form of tidak ada [not + have] (cf. Section 2.1.2), is regarded as a single unit, as evidenced in its orthographic form. It may take on the meaning of tidak ‘not’ in addition to tidak ada ‘not have’.

(2.40) Bila abah tanya ada duit tambang ke tidak, 
when dad ask have money fare or not
cepat-cepat aku kata ada - walaupun sebenar-nya 
fast:INTEN 1sg say have although in.fact
takde satu sen pun. 
not have one cent even
‘When dad asked (me) if (I) had any money for the (bus) fare, I quickly replied that (I) did even though (I) really didn’t have any money.’

(2.41) a. "Takde ke mana - saja je nak ‘jogging’." [ABM] 
not to where only just want jogging
‘(I) wasn’t going anywhere (in particular) - I was only going for a jog.’

b. Takde tunggu-tunggu lagi dah - takut tiba-tiba aje 
not wait:REDP more already afraid suddenly just
kang mak balik pulak... [ABM]
afterwards mum return PULAK
‘(I) didn’t wait around anymore - (I) was afraid that mum would return unexpectedly…’

(2.42) Dok tengah syok ber-sembang, Aca balik.
PROG middle engrossed BER-chat Aca return
‘While engrossed in conversation, Aca returned.’ [ABM]

2.2.2.1. Ingat and Fikir/Pikir in the Texts

In this section I look in detail at one word ingat ‘think/remember’ to show the semantic shift that occurs between its use in ABM and HP. In order to
examine ingat, I will look also at fikir/pikir 'to think' in the texts since ingat appears to take the meaning of SM fikir 'to think' as well. An interesting pattern emerges from the use of ingat and fikir/pikir in the texts.

In HP the distinction between ingat 'to remember' (Ex. 2.43) and fikir 'to think' (Ex. 2.44) is clearly defined without overlap.

(2.43) Dan Gazis ingat dia sendiri ber-semangat and Gazis remember 3sg self BER-spirit mem-balas... MEN-reply 'And Gazis remembered his own spirited reply...'

(2.44) "Kau... kau tak fikir nama itu sedikit ganjil?" 2sg 2sg NEG think name that a.little strange 'You... you don't think the name sounds a little strange?' [HP]

However in ABM, while fikir/pikir is used solely to mean 'to think', ingat may be used to mean 'to remember' (56%) and also 'to think' (44%) as well. Fikir/pikir in both texts has the meaning 'to think'. (See Table 2.3 for frequencies.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ingat</th>
<th>fikir/pikir</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ABM</td>
<td>HP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to think</td>
<td>30 (44%)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to remember</td>
<td>38 (56%)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>68 (100%)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.3. Differences in the Lexical Meanings of ingat and fikir/pikir in ABM and HP

For the two ABM meanings of ingat, the semantic distinction is reflected in the morphology. In ABM 34 of the 38 instances of ingat meaning 'to remember' carry verbal affixes. Of these 32 have the prefix ter- denoting unintentional, uncontrolled action, which normally characterizes the act of
remembering (Ex. (2.45)). One has the suffix -kan indicating intensity or deliberateness of action (Ex. (2.46)). Another has the circumfix meN- -i denoting deliberate and iterative action similar to SM (Ex. (2.47)). None of the instances of ingat used to mean ‘to think’ carry any affixes (Ex. (2.48)). Thus in most cases, ‘remember’ is ter-ingat and ‘think’ is ingat. Hence the affixed ingat forms, especially ter-ingat, are used in an SM-like register with the SM meaning ‘to remember’ but the use of the bare root ingat has a ‘true’ CM register.

(2.45) Baru aku ter-ingat bulan lepas tangkap gambar
new 1sg TER-remember month past catch picture
kat pekan dengan abah.
at town with dad
'I just remembered that (I) had (my) picture taken in town with dad last month.'

(2.46) ...itu tanda dia meng-ingat-kan aku.
that sign 3sg MEN-remember-KAN 1sg
'...it showed that she remembered me.'

(2.47) ...fikiran-ku men-(t)erawang jauh meng-ingat-i zaman
thought-1sg MEN-day-dream far MEN-remember-I era
silam-ku di kampung.
past-1sg at village
'...my thoughts were far away (I) was reminiscing my past at the village.'

(2.48) Mula-mula tu, aku ingat mak marah Aca...
begin:REDP that 1sg think mum scold Aca
'At first I thought mum was scolding Aca...'

In ABM ingat used to mean ‘to think’ and fikir ‘to think’ are not exactly synonymous. An obvious difference observed in ABM is that ingat is used to refer to a non-durative, punctual act (Ex. (2.49)) while fikir/pikir may refer either to a non-durative act like ingat (Ex. (2.50a),) or quite frequently (46% or 18 out of 39) to a durative, ongoing process of thinking (Ex. (2.50b)).

(2.49) ingat - non-durative, punctual

...aku ingat mak nak puji...
1sg think mum FUT praise
'...I thought mum was going to praise (me)...'
(2.50)  
a.  *fikir* - non-durative, punctual  
\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Mak } fikir \text{ aku meng-aduk kat atuk dan} \\
&\text{mum think 1sg MEN-report DAT grandpa and} \\
&\text{ada-ada-kan cerita...} \\
&\text{have:REDP-KAN story}
\end{align*}
\]  
[ABM]  
‘Mum thought that I had told grandpa stories (about her)…”

b.  *fikir* - durative  
\[
\begin{align*}
&Aku \text{ ber-sandar kat atas jejantas sambil} \\
&1sg \text{ BER-lean at top overhead.casting while}
\end{align*}
\]  
\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{ber-fikir mana-le nak cekau duit buat tambang.} \\
&\text{BER-think where-EMPH NAK find money for fare}
\end{align*}
\]  
[ABM]  
‘I leaned at the top of the overhead casting wondering where (I could) get money for (the bus) fare.’

*Fikir/pikir* may refer to a process of thinking while *ingat* always refers to something coming to mind at a particular moment. This is reflected in the grammar in that both *ingat* ‘think’ and *ter-ingat* ‘remember’ are always transitive (Ex. (2.51)) while *fikir/pikir* does not always need a complement (Ex. (2.52)). In fact, 56% (or 22 out of 39) of the instances of *fikir/pikir* occur without a complement.

(2.51)  
a.  *Atuk* ingat aku kena pukul...  
\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{grandpa think 1sg affected by hit}
\end{align*}
\]  
[ABM]  
‘Grandpa thought that I got hit…”

b.  *Tentu* dia-orang ingat aku gila.  
\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{certain 3pl think 1sg mad}
\end{align*}
\]  
[ABM]  
‘They must have thought that I was mad.’

c.  ‘*Last-last*’ ter-ingat Aca.  
\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{last:REDP TER-remember Aca}
\end{align*}
\]  
[ABM]  
‘Finally, (I) remembered Aca.’

d.  *...baru aku ter-ingat hari ini orang ‘start’*  
\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{new 1sg TER-remember day this people start}
\end{align*}
\]  
\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{ber-puasa} \\
&\text{BER-fast}
\end{align*}
\]  
[ABM]  
‘...I had only just remembered that today was the beginning of the fasting period.’
(2.52)

a. ...masa tu, mana boleh ber-fikir o
   time that where can BER-think o
   'at that time, how would (I) have been able to think (for myself).'

b. ...masa periksa sebenar-nya, aku lebih banyak pakai
   time examine actually isg more much use
   buah-dadu dari ber-fikir.
   guesswork from BER-think
   'at the time of the exam, I actually did more guesswork than
   brainwork.'

Based on the data, ingat may be regarded as having the more general
meaning 'come to mind, think of' in CM while it has a greater tendency to
the more specific meaning 'to remember' in SM.

2.3. Code Switching and Lexical Borrowing

As in any bilingual or multi-lingual situation, code-switching and
borrowing occurs frequently in spoken Malay. Bi- or multi-lingual Malays
switch between Malay and their second and/or third language. Borrowing
from both Austronesian (e.g. Javanese, Iban, Acehnese and Mandailing) and
non-Austronesian (e.g. Sanskrit, Arabic and English) languages has occurred
extensively in the development of the Malay language\textsuperscript{14}. However, at
present borrowing occurs most frequently from English in both CM and SM.

A large number of English words representing instances of code-switching
and borrowing are found in ABM. In contrast HP contains fewer instances of
code-switching and borrowing. Where loanwords occur in HP, they are the
forms regularly used and accepted in SM, and which are listed in the
dictionaries, unlike those in ABM, which are generally not listed in the
dictionaries.

\textsuperscript{14} See Asmah (1987:1-21) for a discussion on borrowing from other languages into Malay.
Code-switched and borrowed words not listed in the Malay dictionaries are placed in inverted commas in ABM narration and highlighted in ABM dialogue, indicating that the author is aware that these are non-standard forms. However the author does not adopt different conventions for representing instances of code-switched and borrowed words. In HP code-switched words and sentences are italicized. Borrowed words are not marked as different from the rest of the text.

As noted by Saville-Troike (1982), the distinction between code-switching and borrowing is not an absolute one. Although borrowed words are generally subject to the morphological and grammatical properties of the host language, it is possible to borrow words together with their foreign inflections, for example, the Latin terms *datum, data, alumnus, and alumni.* These are not examples of code-switching to Latin. Furthermore a borrowed word may be perceived as a code-switched element by a listener and vice versa depending on the speaker's linguistic background. As exemplified by Saville-Troike, if a non-Hebrew speaking person uses the term *kibbutzim* while speaking English, it is an instance of borrowing, but if a Hebrew speaker uses the term while speaking English, he is code-switching to Hebrew.

I have tried as far as possible to obtain clear examples from the data. The following criteria are used in determining whether a word is an instance of code-switching or of borrowing:

(1) Code-switched elements:

(i) These normally have Malay equivalents and are not listed in the dictionaries.
(ii) They are highlighted or placed in inverted commas in ABM and italicized in HP.
(iii) There is little or no modification to the phonology (as reflected in the orthographic representation) and no modification to the meaning and grammatical properties of the element.
(2) Borrowed words:

(i) These are listed in Malay dictionaries, and/or
(ii) They are subject to major phonological changes such as the dropping of syllables from the word; semantic shifts; and/or grammatical processes of Malay such as affixation and reduplication.

In the following sections I will look briefly at the role of English in Malaysia and then at Malay-English code-switching and borrowing from English as observed in the texts.

2.3.1. The Role of English in Malaysia

Asmah (1982:119-138) notes that interference and code-switching between Malay and English are common phenomena among bilingual Malays. Borrowing from English, both ‘planned’ and ‘unplanned’, occurs extensively as well. ‘Planned’ borrowing refers to the borrowing of words officially by the language planning authorities (Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka). Such words are listed in the Malay dictionaries. ‘Unplanned’ borrowing takes place spontaneously in everyday speech. These words may not be listed in the dictionaries.

This situation is a result of the importance placed on English in many aspects of Malaysian life. Asmah (1987:157-175) notes that English is second in importance only to Bahasa Malaysia in the education system and international relations. English is taught as a compulsory second language in schools up to the secondary level. Although Bahasa Malaysia is the official national language of Malaysia, English is still used ‘in the Law Courts, in Parliament, in keeping records in the hospital, and in communication between the government and foreign embassies and institutions’ (p.162). Many texts and references used in tertiary institutions are in English although the medium of instruction is SM, due to the lack of translated texts especially in the scientific field. English is also used widely in the non-
government commercial sector. On television English programmes dominate both the national and private stations. It is also the preferred language in both inter- and intra-ethnic communication if the parties involved are English-educated (Asmah 1987:71-82).

2.3.2. Malay-English Code-Switching in the Texts

Asmeh (1982:119-138) reports that code-switching between Malay and English is common at the intra-sentential level, that is, code-switching which involves words and phrases. However code-switching at the inter-sentential level, that is, code-switching which involves whole sentences, usually occurs only in formal and semi-formal situations such as discussions in official meetings, seminars and conferences where SM is used.

This situation is reflected in the texts in that ABM, the less formal text, contains only instances of intra-sentential code-switching while HP, the more formal text, contains instances of both intra- and inter-sentential code-switching. Inter-sentential code-switching in HP occurs in dialogue. This suggests that HP dialogue is more formal than ABM narration and dialogue (cf. Section 1.3.2 of Introduction).

When the Malay speaker code-switches to English, some interference from Malay, particularly in the phonology, can be expected. This is seen in the way some English words are spelt in ABM reflecting the difference in pronunciation, for example, boyfren [boifren] 'boyfriend', gelfren [gelfren] 'girlfriend' and opis [opis] 'office'. Examples of code-switching found in ABM and HP are:

(2.53) Intra-sentential code-switching in ABM
a. ...kat rumah aku mana-le ada 'cassette-player'...
   at house 1sg where-EMPH have cassette-player
   ' ...(I didn't have a) cassette-player at my place...'
b. Tapi atuk tidak meng-hampa-kan harapan-ku. Siap but grandpa not MEN-empty-KAN hope-1sg ready
je... terus bayar cash!! just straight.away pay cash
‘But grandpa didn’t disappoint me. The moment (it was)
completed, (he) paid (me) cash.’

(2.54)
a. Intra-sentential code switching in HP
Dia meng-angkat teddybear itu, men-cium hidung-nya 3sg MEN-pick.up teddybear that MEN-kiss nose-3
sebelum me-letak-kan-nya di sisi Shirley Gan semula. before MEN-put.down-3 at side Shirley Gan once.again
‘She picked up the teddybear and kissed its nose before putting it
down next to Shirley Gan again.’

b. Inter-sentential code-switching in dialogue\(^\text{15}\) in HP
Norisah : O... O, jangan ber-selindung. Di mana, hah? oh oh don’t BER-hide at where huh
‘Oh, don’t pretend. Where (is it), huh?’
Lajis : Di hadapan-mu. at front-2sg
‘(It’s right) in front of you.’
Norisah : That’s not correct!
Lajis : That’s correct.
Norisah : OK, kalau begitu minum air-nya, makan OK if like.this drink water-3 eat
kuih-nya. Ayuh, sila-kan. cake-3 AYUH welcome-KAN
‘OK, if that’s the case, have (your) drink and (this piece of) cake then... please.’

2.3.3. English Loanwords in ABM

Borrowing from English into SM in a ‘planned’ context at present centres on the coining of new technical terms especially in the scientific and

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\(^{15}\) I have omitted the narration parts that occur intermittently in the dialogue in this example.
commercial fields. However borrowing from English also occurs outside the language planning context. This generally involves the borrowing of words that refer mainly to material culture (Asmah 1987:1-21).

ABM contains a relatively large number of English loanwords which have not yet found their way into the SM lexicon proper. These words generally have equivalents in the Malay lexicon. Where English loanwords occur in HP, they are the regularly used and accepted English loans such as gas ‘gas’, coklat ‘chocolate; brown’, (moto)bot ‘(motor-)boat’, bas ‘bus’ and fesyen ‘fashion’, which are listed in the Malay dictionaries and which generally do not have Malay equivalents.

The English loanwords in CM are not in themselves characteristic features of CM. A borrowed word may at any time cease to be in use since its Malay equivalent exists. However the preference for English loanwords over their Malay equivalents in CM and frequent ‘unplanned’ borrowing is a rather salient feature of CM. Appendix 3 contains a list of borrowed English words in ABM.

English loanwords in ABM undergo phonological, grammatical and semantic adaptation to the system of the host language, CM. They are often adapted phonologically to the Malay sound system. In addition they become available to morphological processes in Malay, such as affixation and reduplication. Their grammatical category membership in English is not always preserved. They may undergo semantic shift as well. Here I look at some English loanwords in ABM and the adaptation processes they are subject to.

Phonologically-modified forms include frust [fras] ‘frustrated’ (Ex. (2.55)), spek [spe?] ‘spectacles’ (Ex. (2.56)) and kamsen [kamsen] ‘commission (fee)’¹⁶ (Ex. (2.57)).

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¹⁶ In SM kamsen exists but it is used to refer to an intermediary or broker.
(2.55) *Tapi* - *punya-la* 'frust' *bila mak Anor bagitau*
but *PUNYA-EMPH* frustrated when mum Anor tell

*Anor* *dah balik ke asrama...* [ABM]

Anor already return to boarding-school

But (I) was really frustrated when Anor's mum told (me) that Anor had gone back to boarding school...

(2.56) "*...mana kau dapat spek itam ni?*" [ABM]

where 2sg get spectacles black this

'*...where did you get these dark glasses?*

(2.57) "*Gua mana-mana jadi... asal gua punya*

1sg where:REDP become as.long.as 1sg PUNYA

*kamsen beres...*" [ABM]

commission go.well

'Anywhere will do as far as I'm concerned... as long as I get my commission...'

Most borrowed words undergo some semantic shift, for example, 'member' in CM means 'a very close friend, mate' (Ex. (2.58)), *raged* (from 'rugged') means 'good-looking; enjoyable, fun' (Ex. (2.59)) and 'set' in CM is used as an interjection expressing approval and agreement, rather similar to "That's great!" or "It's a deal!" (Ex. (2.60)). *Brader* (from 'brother') has been adopted as an address term used by males to address their equals. The speakers are mainly gangsters or street kids and the term is often used in confrontational situations, when addressing strangers or among friends. This would be a term that belongs to what Asmah (1987:83-97) refers to as coarse language, that is, the language used among the uneducated and poorly-educated (low-bred) or by people in confrontation. For example, (2.61) is spoken by a rough-looking character on the streets attempting to sell a pair of shoes which he had obviously stolen, to a stranger. 'Real' loses its original meaning and means 'good, great, terrific' in CM (Ex. (2.62)). 'Best' does not denote superlative degree but means 'good' instead and has to be used with *paling* 'the most' to indicate the superlative (Ex. (2.63)).

(2.58) *member 'mate, very close friend'*

*Member-member aku semua kaki-sukan.* [ABM]

mate:PL 1sg all lover.of.sport

'All my mates were lovers of sport.'
(2.59) raged ‘good-looking; fun, enjoyable’
   a. “Alaa, jangan buat muka sedih macam ni - tak
      ALAA don’t make face sad like this NEG
      raged-la.” [ABM]
      good-looking-EMPH
      ‘Come on, don’t put on such a sad face - it’s not very becoming.’
   b. “...apa-raa, jangan laju-laju - tak raged-la camni...”
      APA-RAA don’t fast:REDP NEG fun-EMPH like.this
      ‘Come on, what’s this - don’t (walk) so fast - it’s no fun (for me) like
      this.’ [ABM]

(2.60) set ‘That’s great! It’s a deal!’
   “Lu nak ambik STP? Bagus, ambik, jangan tak
      2sg want take STP good take don’t NEG
      ambik...”
      take
      “Set!” [ABM]
      set
      ‘You’re taking your STP (exam)? Good - go for it!’
      ‘That’s great!’

(2.61) brader ‘address term’
   “Brader!! Brader nak kasut? Tiga-puluh sen
      brother brother want shoe thirty cent
      je...” [ABM]
      just
      ‘Brother, want a pair of shoes? It’s only thirty cents (=thirty dollars:
      street-talk)...’

(2.62) real ‘good, great, terrific’
   “Timo-kasih, Jang - lu memang real-la...” [ABM]
   thank you Jang 2sg indeed terrific-EMPH
   ‘Thank you, Jang - you’re really terrific.’

(2.63) best ‘good’
   “…timo-kasih... kau-orang-le member aku paling
      thank you 2pl-EMPH mate 1sg the most
      best in the world.” [ABM]
      good in the world
      ‘...thank you... you are my best mates in the world.’
The grammatical category membership of borrowed words is not necessarily preserved in CM. For example, the nominal prefix ‘anti’ is used as an adverbial predicate (Ex. (2.63)); the participle form ‘dressing’ is used as a verb (Ex. (2.64)); the noun ‘glamour’ is used as an adjectival predicate (Ex. (2.65)); the intransitive stative predicate ‘ready’ is used as a transitive verb ‘to get (something) ready’ (Ex. (2.66)); the noun ‘story’ is used as a verb ‘to tell (story)’ (Ex. (2.67)); the suffix ‘-ing’ in ‘warning’ is reinterpreted as a part of the stem resulting in the use of the form ‘warning’ as a verb (Ex. (2.68)).

(2.63) \textit{anti} - used as an adverbial predicate rather than a nominal prefix
\begin{verbatim}
Tak macam mak yang cukup anti dengan hobi
NEG like mum REL very anti DAT hobby
aku.
1sg
\end{verbatim}

‘Not like mum who was so against my hobby.’

(2.64) \textit{dressing} - used as a verb
\begin{verbatim}
"Tak sempat aku nak dressing ni..."
NEG on.time 1sg AUX dress.up this
\end{verbatim}

‘(I) haven't got time to put this (clothing) on...’

(2.65) \textit{glamour} - used as an adjectival predicate
\begin{verbatim}
...aku tidak lagi glamour di kalangan
1sg NEG more glamourous at circle
keluarga...
family
\end{verbatim}

‘...I was no longer the centre of attention in my family...’

(2.66) \textit{ready} - used as a transitive predicate
\begin{verbatim}
"...tu-la aku ready je duit ni."
that-EMPH 1sg get.ready just money this
\end{verbatim}

‘...that's why I got this money ready.’

(2.67) \textit{story} - used as a verb: ‘to tell a story’
\begin{verbatim}
Aku pun story-le apa yang dah jadi kat
1sg PUN tell.story-EMPH what REL already happen at
rumah...
house
\end{verbatim}

‘So, I told (him) what had happened at home...’

\footnote{Used like \textit{cerita} ‘story; to tell (story)’.}
(2.68) *warning -ing* is reinterpreted as part of the stem

*Kalau kapten asrama warning budak-budak*

_if captain boarding school warn child:pl_

*yang langgar peraturan, kita-orang warning dia balik.*

REL collide rule 1pl excl warn 3sg return

*If the hostel captain warned the boys who went against the rules, we warned him back.* [ABM]

Some words undergo semantic shifts in addition to changes in grammatical category membership. For example, the noun ‘sound’ means ‘to suggest, tell, hint at’ in CM and is used as a verb (Ex. (2.69)). ‘Terror’ also undergoes a change in grammatical class from noun to adjectival together with a semantic shift. It means ‘fantastic, very good (at something)’ in CM (Ex. (2.70)).

(2.69) *sound ‘to suggest, tell, hint at’*

*Bila aku sound kai mak, dia*

when 1sg suggest DAT mum 3sg

*jeling se-macam je.* [ABM]

look.from.corner.of.eyes one-kind just

*‘When I suggested (it) to mum, she just gave me a (bad) look.’*

(2.70) *terror ‘fantastic, very good (at something)’*

*Cerita pasal ‘study’-la - strategi peperiksaan-la*

tell about study-EMPH strategy exam-EMPH

*macam terror sangat*

like very.good.at very

*‘(He) talked about studies and exam strategies - as if he was very good (at it).’*

Borrowed English words are typically available to the morphological patterns or processes that exist in Malay. The majority of the borrowed words are subject to processes such as reduplication to indicate plurality (Ex. (2.71a)), intensity (Ex. (2.71b)), or which results in a change in word class (Ex. (2.72)); and affixation (Ex. (2.73-4)).

(2.71)

a. Reduplication to indicate plurality

"..lu ada kerja bagus macam sister-sister lu...” [ABM]

2sg have work good like sister:pl 2sg

*‘..you have a good job like your sisters...’*
b. Reduplication to indicate intensity

\[ \text{Perasaan sayu slow-slow tangkap jantung aku.} \]  
\[ \text{feeling sad slow:REDP catch heart 1sg} \]  

Very slowly, I was overcome by a feeling of sadness.

(2.72) Reduplicaton resulting in change in word class

\[ \text{...last-last abah datang pujuk aku balik.} \]  
\[ \text{at last dad come persuade 1sg return} \]  

...at last, dad came to persuade me to go home.

(2.73) Suffixation with -kan, which has a causativizing effect

\[ \text{"Nek... tengok-la ni... gambar itu hari dah} \]  
\[ \text{grandma look-EMPH this picture that day already} \]  
\[ \text{siap dah... lawa tak nek... tapi Ujang belum} \]  
\[ \text{ready already nice not grandma but Ujang not yet} \]  
\[ \text{kaler-kan lagi..."} \]  
\[ \text{colour-KAN more} \]  

'Grandma, look, (I've) completed the drawing from that day - is it nice, grandma - but Ujang (=I) hasn't painted it yet...'

(2.74) Prefixation with ter- and reduplication to indicate extreme intensity

\[ \text{Aku 'happy' ter-over-over.} \]  
\[ \text{1sg happy TER-over:REDP} \]  

'I was extremely happy.'

In addition to borrowed English words, borrowed English phrases are found in ABM as well. For example, the expression aisey 'I say' is common in ABM. Aisey is used as an interjection expressing disappointment (Ex. 2.75)). Sometimes men 'man'\(^{18}\) is attached to the end resulting in aisey men (I say, man) meaning approximately "It should be obvious that..." (Ex. 2.76)).

(2.75) Sudah jual-le 'brader'. Aisey, kensel-la

\[ \text{already sell-EMPH brother 1say cancel-EMPH} \]  
\[ \text{rancangan-ku.} \]  
\[ \text{plan-1sg} \]  

'(It) has been sold, brother. I say, (I had to) cancel (my) plans.'

\(^{18}\) This use of 'man' at the end of an expression is a common occurrence in Malaysian English. In addition to 'I say man', expressions like 'Come on, man'; 'Yes, man'; 'No, man'; 'This is good man' are common occurrences. Basically, man is attached to the end of an exclamation about something which the speaker feels strongly in Malaysian English.
(2.76) "Manaku takaku kasi?"
where know 1sg at here
"Aisyemen, kampung kau kampung aku jugak."
I say man village 2sg village 1sg also
‘How did (you) know I was here?’
‘I say, man, (it’s obvious) I live in this village too.’ [ABM]

English phrases may be used in un-English-like syntactic categories, such as ‘bad mood’ which is used as a verbal predicate. In (2.77) ‘bad mood’ is modified by the temporal verbal auxiliary tengah ‘middle’ indicating Progressive Aspect.

(2.77) bad mood - used as a verbal predicate
Tambah-tambah, mak tengah ‘bad mood’. [ABM]
increase:REDP mum middle bad mood
‘Moreover, mum was in a bad mood.’

English phrases may also be reinterpreted as single words in CM, for example, donno from ‘don’t know’ has become a single word in CM and is used as a complement of buat ‘to make, do’ (Ex. (2.78)).

(2.78) Aku ber-diri kat depan pun dia buat ‘donno’ je.
1sg BER-stand at front PUN 3sg make don’t know just
‘Even when I stood in front (of her), she pretended not to notice.’ [ABM]

Compounding involving borrowed English words may also occur in CM, for example, slow-talk ‘to talk seriously, have a heart-to-heart talk’ (Ex. (2.79)).

(2.79) ...sorang ustazah tu
one.person religious.teacher(female) that
’slow-talk’ dengankatsu bilik
have.a.heart.to.heart.talk with 1sg at room
‘kauseling’...
counselling
‘...an ustazah had a heart-to-heart talk with me at the counselling room...’ [ABM]
2.4. Particles

This section examines a number of particles which occur frequently in ABM. They do not appear to have syntactic function but instead, are a means by which the speaker expresses his/her emotions, attitudes or opinions towards a given state of affairs or towards the propositional content of an utterance. A few of the particles occur in HP dialogue as well, but they either have a more limited range of functions or they occur only very sporadically. Since HP dialogue is partly the author's conception of a more colloquial form of Malay, the use of these particles represent a shift to an informal register, so I will not discuss their occurrence in HP.

The particles may be divided into three main categories (which may overlap) according to their functions:

1. Emotive particles (or interjections) - *fu$h$/fulamak, *(h)alamak, ala/(h)ele(h), apa-la/apa-le/apa-raa/laa, aih, ai$k$, ah, *(h)issy and *eh function to indicate the speaker's emotions and attitudes towards a given situation in a particular context.

2. Modal particles - *kot and punya indicate the degree of certainty the speaker attributes to the propositional content of an utterance.

3. Ilocutionary particles - *ka/ke, kan, ye(k), nah, and *eh. These particles have illocutionary force and may be used to get the hearer to respond in a certain way. Often their functions tend to overlap.

This categorization is merely for ease of presentation and does not hold any theoretical claims. However in the description of the individual particles I may, where appropriate, utilize some of the concepts of speech act theory (Austin 1962, Searle 1969, 1976) and Grice's (1975) theory of implicature.
2.4.1. Emotive Particles

Emotive particles, or interjections, indicate the speaker’s emotions or attitudes towards a particular situation.

2.4.1.1. fuh/fulamak

_Fuh/fulamak_ are used to express wonder, enjoyment and amazement, rather similar to ‘wow’ or ‘far out!’ in English, for example:

(2.80) _Aku lepak_ _kat bangku_ _di Puduraya men-_ 1sg hang.out at bench at Puduraya MEN-
_(p)erhati gelagat orang, macam-macam ’stail’._ Fuh...
observe action people types:PL style FUH
_kagum... kagum... ’daring’ sungguh Kulumpo ini._ amazed amazed outrageous very Kuala Lumpur this
'I sat on a bench in Puduraya observing the behaviour of the people - there were all kinds of styles. Wow... was I amazed - (these people at) Kuala Lumpur are so outrageous.' [ABM]

(2.81) _“Fulamak, tuk, gua dapat masuk ’form six’_  
FULAMAK grandpa 1sg get enter form six  
tuk.” grandpa
'Wow, grandpa, I (managed) to get into sixth form.' [ABM]

2.4.1.2. (h)alamak

_Alamak_ allows the speaker to express surprise, embarrassment, dismay or distress at a given situation, rather like ‘oh, no!’ or ‘oops!’ in English. This particle is generally not used in reported speech to indicate a third person’s surprise, embarrassment, dismay or distress. However, because ABM is a first person narrative, the use of _alamak_ is found to occur within the narration itself, indicating the author’s own reactions. For example, in (2.82) the author expresses embarrassment at having forgotten to remove his earring before he
returned to his home. (2.83) is an example of the author using *alamak* to express dismay at his exam results coming out. In (2.84) the speaker expresses his distress at not having known beforehand that his grandfather was coming. In (2.85) the author expresses surprise at seeing his ex-classmate unexpectedly after having lost contact with him for some time.

(2.82) 
...tiba-tiba aku ter-ingat. Alamak... subang aku
suddenly 1sg TER-remember ALAMAK earring 1sg
lupa bukak.
forget open
',...,Oops. I suddenly remembered that I'd forgotten to remove my earring,'

(2.83) 
...'result' SPM semakin hampir. Alamak... kecut
result SPM increasingly near ALAMAK contract
perut aku...
stomach 1sg
',...,the SPM results would soon be out. Oh no! I was terribly anxious,'

(2.84) 
"Halamak... apasal tak 'sound' nak datang tuk...?"
HALAMAK why NEG tell FUT come grandpa
'Oh, why didn't (you) tell (us you) were coming, grandpa?' [ABM]

(2.85) 
Alamak... Zaini! Geng aku masa kat sekolah dulu.
ALAMAK Zaini gang 1sg time at school past
'Hey, it was Zaini! - one of my gang from school.' [ABM]

2.4.1.3. *ala/(h)ele(h)*

With *ala* or *(h)ele(h)* the speaker expresses contempt or an unimpressed attitude. In effect the speaker indicates that he does not think much of a person or a given situation or context. This is somewhat similar to the English expressions 'it's no big deal!' or 'so what?'.

19 Phonological variants of *apa-lah*. 
(2.86) Abah dah beli motosikal. Ala... motor
dad already buy motor-bike ALA motor-bike
'secondhand' aje...
secondhand just
'Dad had bought a motorcycle. (It was no big deal - it was) only a
disecondhand bike....'

(2.87) "Jom kita main bola-sepak nak... (no reply) Aaa...
let's 1pl incl play football want AAA
tak pun main 'netball'... (no reply) Haa, hoki... (no
NEG PUN play netball HAA hockey
reply) nak... (no reply) nak? Eleh, sombong..." [ABM]
want want ELEH snobbish
'Let's play football (no reply), how about netball then (no reply)...
(how about) hockey? (no reply) See if I care, snob...'

(2.88) "Heleh... ketua konon - ingat orang gerun-le
HELEH head it seems think people fear-EMPH
tu..." [ABM]
that
'Huh, (so you are the) president, it seems - do (you) think people
(=we) are afraid...'

2.4.1.4. apa-le/apa-la/apa-raa/laa

Apa-le/apa-la/apa-raa/laa\(^{20}\) is used in complaints. For example, in (2.89)
the speaker complains about his classmate who would not stop hassling him;
in (2.90) the author complains about his brother's stinginess; in (2.91) the
speaker complains that his interlocutors are walking too fast for him to keep
top; and in (2.92) the author complains about the person next to him who
would not stop talking.

(2.89) "Apa-la keja dia ni - asyik kacau orang
APA-LA work 3sg this engrossed disturb people
je..." [ABM]
only
'What's wrong with him - he just can't stop being a nuisance..."
(2.90) *Aku basuh dia cukup-cukup, apa-le, kedekut benar.*
1sg wash 3sg enough:REDP APA-LE stingy true
'I really told him off (he was) so stingy.' [ABM]

(2.91) 'Oi... tunggu-la, o... apa-raa jalan laju-laju...'' [ABM]
OI wait-EMPH OI APA-RAA walk fast:REDP
'Hey, wait (for me) - come on, what's this - walking so fast...'

(2.92) "Laa... tak sudah-sudah - 'boring' betul aku..." [ABM]
LAA NEG finish:REDP boring right 1sg
'(He) just wouldn't stop (talking) - I was really bored.'

2.4.1.5. *aih*

*aih* is used to express sadness or a feeling of helplessness in a particular situation. It is somewhat similar to a sigh. For example, in (2.93) the author expresses sadness and helplessness at having to wear his old pants for the new school term. (2.94) is an example of the speaker expressing helplessness, that is, she is not able to do anything to change things, and therefore, she does not wish to be involved.

(2.93) ...*abah suruh pakai seluar sekolah dulu je.* Tapi,
dad ask wear pants school past just but
*malu aku aih - seluar tu aku dah*
embarrassed 1sg AIH pants that 1sg already
*jadi-kan pakaian harian-ku.* [ABM]
become-KAN clothing daily-1sg
'...dad said (I) should just wear my old school pants. But (I) was embarrassed...(Sigh)...(because) I was already using it for casual wear.'

(2.94) "*Kamu pakat-le dengan dia. Aku malas nak*
2sg discuss-EMPH with 3sg 1sg lazy COMP
campur tangan aih..." [ABM]
mix hand AIH
'...You discuss it with him... I don't want to get involved (Sigh)...'
2.4.1.6. aik

Aik is an expression of surprise at an event that occurs unexpectedly or at an event not occurring as expected.

(2.95) "Aik, kata malam tadi nak pegi Kuala Lumpur..." [ABM]
AIK say night just now FUT go Kuala Lumpur
'(I thought you) said last night (you) were going to Kuala Lumpur.'

(2.96) "Aik, bila lu sampai sini?" [ABM]
AIK when 2sg arrive here
'When did you get here?'

(2.97) "Aik, nak balik dah?" [ABM]
AIK FUT return already
'Going home already?'

2.4.1.7. ah

With ah\(^{21}\), the speaker expresses frustration or bewilderment over a state of affairs. The use of ah shows that the speaker is uncomfortable about a given situation and wishes to relieve himself of the feeling somehow\(^{22}\). Ah could be glossed as 'I don't care if X' where X refers to what the speaker is frustrated or bewildered about, usually expressed in the preceding clause. An expletive may be used following ah. For example, in (2.98) the speaker expresses his frustration and discomfort at the possibility of being thought to be mad by his friends and tries to relieve his frustration by saying he could not be bothered. In (2.99) the speaker expresses bewilderment at seeing his brother punching his pillow. Ah is followed by lantak-le, used rather like an expletive.

(2.96) ...dia-orang ingat aku gila - ah... pedulik-le. [ABM]
3pl think 1sg mad AH not.take.heed
'...they must have thought I was mad - I couldn't be bothered.'

---

\(^{21}\) Ah with a similar function also occurs in HP dialogue, but infrequently.

\(^{22}\) This is similar to the particle \(?ah\) in Betawi described by \(\text{Ikranagara (1975).}\)
(2.99) "...Tumbuk bantal pulak. Ah... lantak-le -
        punch pillow PULAK AH do.as.one.pleases-EMPH
        jangan tumbuk aku sudah!" [ABM]
        don't punch 1sg finish
        '...punching (his) pillow now. Who cares - as long as he doesn't
        punch me!'

2.4.1.8. (h)issy

(h)issy is an expression of (extreme) frustration. For example, in (2.100)
the author expresses great frustration over the fact that he was not allowed to
go to Kuala Lumpur for his school holidays and instead had to work at home.
In (2.101) the author again expresses great frustration over his mother's
refusal to buy him new clothes for the approaching Hari Raya celebrations
while she kept buying new items for his younger brother.

(2.100) Cuti penggal ketiga ada-lah waktu-waktu yang
        holiday term third COP time:PL REL
        meny-(-s)eksa-kan bagi aku. Men-(-t)oreh getah,
        MEN-torture-KAN for 1sg MEN-tap.rubber rubber
        men-(-t)ebas, ke sawah, tak jadi pegi
        MEN-cut.down.trees.etc. to rice.field not become go
        Kolumpo - Hissy, buat sakit jiwa je kalau
        Kuala.Lumpur HISSY make sick soul only if
        di-fikir-kan. [ABM]
        DI-think-KAN

'The third term holidays was a torturous time for me. (I had to) tap
rubber, cut down trees, (and work) at the rice fields. (I) did not
manage to go to Kuala Lumpur (after all). (It) would make me ill
(psychologically) just thinking (about it).'

(2.101) Itu hari Kak Ngah kirim duit kat mak, mak beli
        that day Kak Ngah send money to mum mum buy
        pakaian Aca lagi. Issy, pedih rasa dalam hati
        clothing Aca more ISSY painful feel inside heart
        aku tapi nasib baik atuk bagi lima ringgi
        1sg but fortune good grandpa give five dollar
        semalam buat beli selipar baru. Ter-ubat jugak
        yesterday for buy slipper new TER-medicine also
hati.
heart

'That day Kak Ngah sent money to mum (and) mum bought more clothes for Aca. (I) was really hurt but luckily, grandpa had given me five dollars to buy some new slippers the day before. (I guess) it made me feel better.'

2.4.1.9.  *eh*

*Eh*\(^{23}\) indicates the speaker's surprise over a particular situation. For example, in (2.102) the speaker is surprised that the 'rubber-sheet separators' have disappeared.

(2.102) "*Eh, mana lak mesin getah ni... dulu ada kat* sini...
EH where LAK machine rubber this past EXIST at here

'Where's the mesin getah (aluminium separators for making rubber sheets) - it used to be here in the past...'

*Eh* may also be used to attract a hearer's attention. This will be discussed in Section 2.4.3.4.

2.4.2.  Modal Particles

Modal particles indicate the speaker's attitude towards the propositional content of an utterance.

\(^{23}\) *Eh* with a similar function occurs in HP dialogue as well, but infrequently.
2.4.2.1. *kot*

*Kot* is a clause-final epistemic particle used to express uncertainty and/or doubt concerning the propositional content of an utterance. For example, in (2.103) the author uses *kot* to express his uncertainty and doubt about the possibility of another *kenduri* (feast) taking place. In (2.104) the author suggests that the reason for the person stammering (referred to in the preceding clause) could be that he had panicked but he is not certain that this is so. In (2.105) the speaker suggests that his hearer, Carlos, is joking but indicates that he is not certain through the use of *kot*.

(2.103) *Aik, bulan lepas dah balik, minggu ni balik*  
Aik month past already return week this return  
*lagi*. *Takkan nak kenduri lagi kot...*  
[ABM] more surely.not FUT feast more KOT  
'They just came home last month (but they’re) back again. Surely there can't be another feast (so soon).'

(2.104) *Sorang tu, bila aku tanya, ter-gagap-gagap*  
one.person that when 1sg ask TER-stammer:REDP  
*je cakap. Dah panik kot.*  
[ABM] only say already panic KOT  
'One (of them started to) stammer when I questioned him. I suppose he must have panicked.'

(2.105) "*Betul-ke ni, Carlos? Lu gurau kot.*"  
right-QUES this Carlos 2sg joke KOT  
'Is this true, Carlos? (I think) you must be joking.'

2.4.2.2. *punya*

In contrast with *kot*, *punya*, another epistemic particle, is used to indicate that the speaker is very certain about the propositional content of an utterance. Very often, adverbs such as *tentu* 'certain', *mesti* 'must' and *gerenti* 'guaranteed' are used in the clause concerned to further emphasize this certainty.
(2.106) ...kalau ambik dua-puluh ringgit, tentu dia tak
if take twenty dollar sure 3sg NEG
perasan punya. [ABM]
notice PUNYA
'...if (I) took twenty dollars, surely he wouldn't notice.'

(2.107) "...kalau nak minjam lagi, 'sound'-la. Aku
if want borrow more sound-EMPH 1sg
mesti tolong punya-lah." [ABM]
must help PUNYA-EMPH
'...if (you) need to borrow (money) again, just tell (me). I'll
certainly help (you).'

(2.108) Kalau tak, takde 'accident' punya. [ABM]
if NEG not.have accident PUNYA
'If not, there surely wouldn't have been an accident.'

2.4.2.3. ka/ke

Ka/ke has a number of functions:

(1) Ka/ke is generally a particle signalling the interrogative mood. It is
normally placed at the end of a declarative statement, turning it into a
question (Ex. (2.109)).

(2.109) "Ingat ini kakilima lu punya-ka?" [ABM]
think this sidewalk 2sg PUNYA-KA
'Do (you) think this sidewalk belongs to you?'

(2) Ka/ke may be used to question the appropriateness or desirability of
the propositional content of an utterance and to indicate that the
speaker does not agree with it. Ka/ke normally occurs with the
existential ada in such cases (Ex. (2.110-1))

24 The related interrogative particle kah is common in HP dialogue. Its function is restricted
to that of signalling the interrogative mood.
(2.110) *Ada-ke atuk suruh aku masuk persatuan* 
exist-ke grandpa ask 1sg enter club 
kompong. heh - tak sesuai 
traditional.Malay.drum HEH NEG appropriate 
langsung dengan jiwa aku. 
altogether with 1sg soul 
'(How could) grandpa ask me to join the kompong club - (it) totally does not suit me.' 

(2.111) "*...Ati busuk - ada-ka buat adik* 
heart stink exist-ka make younger.sibling 
macam tu!" 
like that 
'...you are cruel - how could you do this to your younger brother.' 

(3) *Ke/ka* may also be used in conjunction with *sikit* ‘a little’ to emphasize a positive quality in monologue. *Sikit* is used as a modifier to a particular quality such as *cantik* ‘beautiful’ or ‘excited’ in an adjectival phrase involving the use of *punya* to link the two together (cf. Ch. 4). The validity of the degree of the quality, that is, *sikit* ‘a little’ is questioned by the use of *ka/ka*, giving rise to the implicature that the speaker believes the contrary about the quality being spoken of. This results in the positive quality being emphasized. This is similar to the use of the English negative in expressions like, ‘wasn’t it beautiful!’ or ‘wasn’t half as beautiful’ (Ex. (2.112-4)).

(2.112) *...kubur ayam-nya sikit punya cantik ke, bersih* 
grave chicken-3 a.little PUNYA beautiful KE clean 
dan ter-pelihara sentiasa. 
and TER-care.for always 
'...the grave for his chickens - was it nice - (it was) always clean and well-kept.' 

(2.113) *Atuk sikit punya excited ke tengok aku datang.* 
grandpa a.little PUNYA excited KE see 1sg come 
'Was grandpa excited when he saw me coming.' 

(2.114) *...fulamak! Sikit punya 'real'-ke.... orang* 
FULAMAK a.little PUNYA fantastic-KE people
punya-\textit{le} \quad \textit{ramai}. \quad \textbf{[ABM]}

\begin{flushright}
\text{PUNYA-EMPH \quad many}
\end{flushright}

'Wow, was it fantastic - (there were) so many people.'

2.4.3. Illocutionary Particles

This section looks at particles which have illocutionary force. Some of these particles may have specific perlocutionary intent as well. There may be a certain amount of overlap in the functions of these particles with those already discussed.

2.4.3.1. \textit{ye}(k)

\textit{Ye}(k)\textsuperscript{25} has a number of functions:

(1) \textit{Ye}(k) is used generally as an affirmation particle. As an affirmation particle, \textit{ye}\textsuperscript{28} often occurs with \textit{la(h)} (Ex. (2.115)).

(2.115) \textit{Ye-la, ye-la, utang kira potong-la, pintas-nya. ye-EMPH ye-EMPH debt consider cut-EMPH cut.in-3}

'Yes, yes, (we'll) consider (your) debt as settled, he cut in.' \textbf{[ABM]}

(2) \textit{Ye}(k) may occur at the end of an imperative clause turning it into a tag question. It has the effect of 'softening' a request, at the same time indicating that the speaker would very much like the speaker to heed the request. This implicature arises through the turning of the request into a question whereby the willingness of the hearer is questioned (Ex. (2.116-7)).

(2.116) "\textit{Nanti dah sampai KL, hantar poskad, ye, afterward already arrive KL send postcard yes}

\textsuperscript{25} The related affirmative particle \textit{ya} is common in HP dialogue. Its function is restricted to that of affirmation in HP.

\textsuperscript{26} \textit{Ye}k is not used as an affirmation particle in ABM.
Jang..."
Jang
'When you get to KL, don't forget to send (me) a postcard, OK,
Jang...'

(2.117) "...jaga-la basikal tu baik-baik yek." [ABM]
take.care.of-EMPH bicycle that good:REDP yes
'...take good care of the bike, will you?'

(3) Another form of implicature that may arise from the use of ye(k) is
that the speaker seeks the approval or agreement of his/her hearer
over something that he is going to do. In this case ye is attached to the
end of a declarative statement again turning it into a tag question. The
implicature arises through the violation of a conversational principle,
in that the speaker appears to request an answer from his/her hearer to
something that he/she (the hearer) does not know about. For
example, in (2.118) ye turns the statement Ujang suap-kan 'I (Ujang)
will feed you' into a question, the answer to which the hearer does not
know. In (2.119) the speaker seeks the approval of his grandfather for
his returning to Rantau in the same way.

(2.118) "Mak, maken bubur ni, Ujang suap-kan ye." [ABM]
mum eat porridge this Ujang spoon-feed-KAN yes
'Mum, have (some of) this porridge - Ujang (=I)'ll feed (you),
okay?'

(2.119) "Ujang balik Rantau yek... yek tuk yek..." [ABM]
Ujang return Rantau yes yes grandpa yes
'Ujang (=I) is going back to Rantau, alright, grandpa?'

(4) Ye\textsuperscript{27} may have the illocutionary force of an accusation or the
pronouncing of judgement on a hearer. This results from the
questioning of a situation about which the speaker is certain, usually
when the speaker believes that the hearer is responsible for a misdeed.
This violates a cooperative principle of conversation in that the
speaker does not require an answer to his question, resulting in the
implicature that the speaker is making an accusation. For example, in

\textsuperscript{27} Again examples of yek used in this way are not found in ABM.
(2.120) uttered just before the speaker beats up his interlocutor, the speaker is certain that the hearer has poisoned his brother’s chickens and is not interested in obtaining a response from the hearer.

(2.120) "Ooo... main racun ye. Nah kau ambik ni-
       #OOO play poison yes NAH 2sg take this
harga racun kau." [ABM]
price poison 2sg

'Oh... (I see you’re) playing with poison? Here you, take this - the price of your poison.'

2.4.3.2. kan

Kan\textsuperscript{28} has the following functions:

(1) Kan is used to seek affirmation, often verbal, from the hearer, of the propositional content of an utterance. It is used in yes-no questions which are usually in the form of a declarative sentence beginning with or ending in kan. Kan may also occur immediately preceding a verb phrase or a predicate. The utterance is usually such that the speaker believes that the hearer would agree with its propositional content. Here the violation of a cooperative principle of conversation occurs in that the speaker questions the hearer about the truth of a proposition that he (the speaker) thinks the hearer would agree is true. The implicature that arises is that the speaker wishes the hearer to agree with him.

(2.121) is a good example of the speaker seeking verbal affirmation to his proposition that ‘women in KL were all very attractive’. When his hearer does not respond immediately, the speaker repeats kan several times to draw a response from him. In (2.122) the proposition in the preceding clause is a known fact to both the speaker and her hearer.

(2.121) "Awek KL ni garing-garing kan, Joe... kan... kan... woman KL this good-looking KAN Joe KAN KAN KAN

\textsuperscript{28} Kan has a corresponding homophone -kan, the verbal suffix.
"Garing, jangan tak garing..."  [ABM]
good-looking don't NEG good-looking

'Don't you think these KL women are really good-looking, Joe...?'
'Yes, for sure.'

(2.122) "Kalau ikut adat, kita yang patut dapat
if follow custom 1pl incl REL should get
rumah pusaka ni kan, 'sis'..."  [ABM]
house family.heirloom this KAN sis

'According to custom, we should be the ones to inherit this family
heirloom (i.e. the house), don't you agree, sis?'

(2) Kan may be used by the speaker to draw the attention of the addressee
to the fact that he (the speaker) has more information to give
concerning a particular topic. In such cases kan usually occurs
following a noun phrase which refers to the topic that he wishes to
talk about. The phrase containing kan may be viewed as a preliminary
to the disclosing of information. For example, in (2.123) the speaker
indicates that he has some information about his brother which he
wishes to disclose to his mother, the interlocutor. In (2.124) the
speaker teases his brother by pretending that he is going to tell their
grandfather about his (the brother’s) girlfriend. His utterance which
signals that he is about to say some more about the girlfriend results in
his (the speaker) being chased around and hit by his brother.

(2.123) "...ada orang tu-la... dia-la kan... dia-la
EXIST person that-EMPH 3sg-EMPH KAN 3sg-EMPH
tak puasa..."  [ABM]
not fast

'...someone here, you know - someone here did not fast (today)...'

(2.124) "Atuk... atuk nak tau tak... Gelfren dia
grandpa grandpa want know NEG girlfriend 3sg
kan... gelfren dia kan..."  [ABM]
KAN girlfriend 3sg KAN

'Grandpa... grandpa, you know his girlfriend... you know... his
girlfriend...'
2.4.3.3. nah

Nah is a particle used by the speaker to give notice that the addressee is about to receive something from him. The perlocutionary intent is usually that the hearer will accept the item. In (2.125) the speaker utters nah while handing some money to his interlocutor. In (2.126) and (2.127) the speakers utter nah just as they are about to hit their addressees. In these cases the speakers are not concerned about whether their interlocutors accept what they are about to give them. Rather, the use of nah announces that the addressees are about to be hit by the speakers.

(2.125) "Nah, lu angkat ni se-ratus - bayar yuran."
NAH 2sg take this one-hundred pay fee

'Here, take this hundred dollars for your (school) fees.' [ABM]

(2.126) "Nah... ambik kau...! Ati busuk... ada-ka buat
NAH take 2sg heart stink EXIST-KA make
adik macam tu! Macam adik-tiri
younger.sibling like that like step.younger.sibling
je pulak."
[ABM]
just PULAK

'Take this! (You have) a bad heart - how could you do that to your younger brother, as if he was your step-brother.'

(2.127) "Nah.. nah.. ambik kau - dah-la tak puasa
NAH NAH take 2sg already-EMPH not fast
me-rosak-kan puasa orang pulak."
[ABM]
MEN-break-KAN fast person PULAK

'Take this, and this! (You yourselves) may not be fasting but you don't have to spoil someone else's fast as well.'

2.4.3.4. eh

Eh, already mentioned in Section 2.4.1.9, may be used by the speaker with the perlocutionary intent of attracting the attention of the hearer.

(2.128) "Eh, Leman, pegi-la tolong lerai-kan..."
[ABM]
EH Leman go-EMPH help break.up.fight-KAN

'Hey, Leman, go and help break up the fight...'
(2.129) Bisik-ku pelan, eh, Aca mana?  
.say-1sg softly EH Aca where 
'I said softly, hey, where's Aca?"
Chapter 3

Pronouns and the Address System

In this chapter I examine the lexical class of pronouns in CM and SM and a related issue: the address system. Pronoun forms are examined in Section 3.1 and the use of pronouns and non-pronominal forms in interpersonal address is examined in Section 3.2.

3.1. Pronoun Forms

ABM and HP share many pronoun forms. However there are three main differences observed in the texts:

1. ABM has the additional pronoun forms: *gua* '1sg' and *lu* '2sg'.
2. CM has a pluralizing strategy which involves the use of the morpheme *orang* 'person, people'.
3. Independent pronouns are preferred over their corresponding clitic forms in clitic positions in ABM while the reverse is true for HP.

3.1.1. The Pronoun Inventory

Table 3.1 lists the pronouns found in ABM and HP and Table 3.2 the frequency of the individual forms in each text.
The common pronoun forms including clitics in ABM and HP are:

1. The first person pronouns: *saya* (sg), *aku* (sg), *kami* (pl excl), *kita* (pl incl) and the clitics *ku-* (sg) and -*ku* (sg).
2. The second person pronouns: *awak* (sg), *kau* (sg) and *kau orang* (pl).
3. The third person pronouns are *dia* (sg), *mereka* (pl) and the clitic -*nya* (sg/pl).

In addition to these pronouns, ABM has the singular pronouns *gua* ‘1sg’, *lu* ‘2sg’\(^1\) and *kamu* ‘2sg’, and the plural forms *kita orang* ‘1pl excl’, *lu orang* ‘2pl’ and *dia orang* ‘3pl’. *Gua*, *lu* and the plural *orang* forms are characteristic CM forms. HP has the additional second person singular pronoun *engkau*, a full form of *kau* and the enclitic -*mu* ‘2sg’. The absence of *engkau* and -*mu* in ABM and *kamu* in HP may be due to the personal preference of the authors or the general relatively low frequency of these forms.

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ABM</th>
<th>HP</th>
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<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
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<td><em>saya, aku, gua, ku-, -ku</em></td>
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<td></td>
<td>plural</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.1. Pronouns in ABM and HP

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\(^1\) It is commonly claimed that these pronouns originated from *gua* and *lu*, the first and second person singular pronouns of the Chinese dialect, Hokkian, spoken by some groups of Chinese in Malaysia (Safiah 1981b:114). Mohamed Ali & Coope (1952:71-72) states that *gua* and *lu* were used by Malays when addressing Chinese people during the time their study was carried out. However Malays use these pronouns among themselves as well as at the present time. Some Indonesian dialects such as the Jakarta dialect also have these pronouns.
3.1.2. Plural Forms

While the first and third person pronouns in both CM and SM have plural monomorphemic forms: *kami* ‘1pl excl’, *kita* ‘1pl incl’ and *mereka* ‘3pl’, the second person pronouns do not. Generally the quantifier *semua* ‘all’ or the adverb *sekalian* ‘altogether’ is used to indicate plurality, for example, *awak semua* ‘you all’, *kamu sekalian* ‘you all’ (Arbak 1981:37, Asmah 1986b:80). An example from HP is given in (3.1).
(3.1) “Saya harap _awak semua_ mengerti...” [HP]
1sg hope 2sg all MEN-meaning
‘I hope you all understand...’

The use of the quantifier _semua_ ‘all’ or the adverb _sekalian_ ‘altogether’
with second person pronouns to indicate the plural does not occur in ABM.
However an example of _semua_ used in conjunction with an _orang_ form is
found (Ex. (3.2)).

(3.2) “..._gua lebih ber-kualiti dari _lu-orang semua_...” [ABM]
1sg more BER-quality from 2pl all
‘...I’m better than you guys...’

_Awak, kamu_ and _kau_ may sometimes indicate plural as well (Arbak
1981:36-37) but this does not occur very often. (3.3) is an example of _kau_ used
as a plural pronoun. The speaker addresses his brother and a friend using
_kau._

(3.3) “_Ya, kau belum tahu lagi secara amali -_
yes 2pl not.yet know more by.way.of experience
_kau-orang baru pulang. Tiga empat bulan nanti_
2pl juat return three four month afterwards
_kau akan me-lihat-nya sendiri betapa_
2pl will MEN-see-3 self how.much
_bobrok-nya masyarakat kita...” [HP]
degenerated-NOM society 1pl.incl
‘Yes, you(pl) have not experienced it first-hand yet - you(pl) have
only just returned. A few months from now you will see for
yourselves the extent to which our society has degenerated...’

3.1.2.1. _Orang_ Forms

A characteristic feature of CM is the use of the morpheme _orang_
‘person/people’ to mark plurality on some pronouns\(^2\). These are the second

\(^2\) Mohamed & Coope (1952:72) reports a similar strategy whereby _orang_ may be used with
_sahaya_ (1sg) and _kita_ (1pl incl) resulting in the exclusive plural forms: _sahaya orang_ and _kita orang_. In colloquial Malaysian English ‘you people’ is commonly used to address more than one person.
person pronouns kau and lu and the third person pronoun dia: resulting in the forms: kau orang (Ex. (3.4)), lu orang (Ex. (3.5)) and dia orang (Ex. (3.6)). Orang may also be used with the plural first person pronoun kita ‘1pl incl’ to indicate exclusiveness (Ex. (3.7)).

(3.4) "Oii, cikgu suruh kutip sampah. Apasal kau-orang
rilek kat sini lak..."
[ABM]
relax at here LAK
'Hey, teacher asked (us) to pick up rubbish. Why are you hanging
around here...'

(3.5) "...ini petang gua belanja lu-orang!
this evening 1sg spend 2pl
'...I'll give you guys a treat this evening!'

(3.6) ...kalau-le dia-orang tau aku kerja pam minyak,
if-EMPH 3pl know 1sg work pump oil
tentu tak layan punya
sure NEG entertain PUNYA
'...if they knew I worked at the petrol station, they certainly wouldn't
have paid attention to me.'

(3.7) "Kutip sampah? Heh, ingat kita-orang ni Majlis
Perbandaran ke?"
[ABM]
gather rubbish HEH think 1pl.excl this council
town QUES
'((You want us to) pick up rubbish? (You must be joking.) Do you
think we're from the local council?'

Although the corresponding monomorphemic forms kami ‘1pl excl’ and mereka ‘3pl’ also occur in ABM, the orang forms are preferred over these forms, that is, the orang forms occur more frequently (see Table 3.2 for frequencies).

The use of orang as a pluralizing strategy is not a characteristic feature of SM. However two instances of kau orang are found in HP dialogue. In each case it may be argued that the author deliberately used a recognizably CM form to give the effect of a colloquial register (Ex. (3.8) and (3.9)).
3.1.3. Clitic pronouns

3.1.3.1. Preliminary Notes

Clitic pronouns are regarded as such by virtue of the fact that they never stand on their own and instead ‘lean’ onto other words for support, unlike their free pronoun counterparts. In other words they do not carry independent stress (Comrie 1981:21). They also occur in fixed positions in relation to other sentence elements (Schachter 1985:53). In contrast free pronouns generally have the same distribution as other nominals and may carry independent stress.

In Malay there are two types of clitic pronouns:

(1) Proclitics - these cliticize to the beginning of unprefixed verbs. No adverbial modifiers or verbal auxiliaries may intervene between the proclitic and the verb. There is one proclitic in ABM and HP: ku- ‘1sg’ whose corresponding independent form is aku (Ex. (3.10)).

(3.10)

a. ...Aca yang sering ku-sepak terajang...
Aca REL often 1sg-kick kick.with.heel
'...Aca whom I often kicked.'
b. "...alang-ka\h \ baik kalau dapat ku-pindah ke bahagian better-KAH good if get 1sg-move to section
bukit yang subur itu." [HP]
hill REL fertile that
'Wouldn't it be good if I could move to the fertile part of that hill.'

(2) Enclitics - these cliticize to the end of verbs, suffixed and non-suffixed,
prepositions and nominals. In ABM there are two enclitics: -ku '1sg'
(Ex. (3.11-3)) whose corresponding independent form is aku, and -nya
'3sg' (Ex. (3.14-6)) whose corresponding independent form is dia. In HP
there is an additional enclitic: -mu '2sg' (Ex. (3.17-9)) whose
corresponding independent form is kamu.

(3.11) -ku in post-verbal position
...dia pernah me-nasihat-ku supaya belajar...
3sg have.done.before MEN-advice-1sg so.that study
'...he used to advise me to study...' [HP]

(3.12) -ku encliticized onto prepositions
a. ... 'member' yang satu kepala dengan-ku. [ABM]
mate REL one head with-1sg
'...mates who were like-minded.'

b. "Aku sebenar-nya masih selalu ber-tanya tentang hal
1sg in.fact still often BER-ask about matter
itu," kata Lajis. "Kepada-mu atau kepada-ku?" tanya
that say Lajis to-2sg or to-2sg ask
Norisah...
Norisah
"'In fact, I often still ask questions about the matter,' said Lajis.
'(What, are your questions directed) to yourself or to me?' asked
Norisah...' [HP]

(3.13) -ku encliticized onto a nominal
a. Ingatan-ku pada Anor juga semakin berkurangan. thought-1sg at Anor also increasingly decrease
'My thoughts about Anor decreased.' [ABM]

b. "Untuk bangsa-ku, apa saja." [HP]
for race-1sg what just
'For my race, anything.'
(3.14) -nya in post-verbal position

Ayu suka-kan-nya. Ayu like-kan KAN-3

‘Ayu liked him.’

(3.15) -nya encliticized onto prepositions

a. ...bukan-kah Gazis yang ber-tanya kepada-nya tentang
not-QUEST Gazis REL BER-ask to-3 about

Shamsu’l-Din...
Shamsu’l-Din

‘...wasn’t it Gazis who asked him about Shamsu’l-Din...’

b. ...polis ber-tanya-kan tentang-nya.
police BER-ask KAN about-3

‘...the police questioned (him) about it.’

(3.16) -nya encliticized onto a nominal

a. Walaupun dia tak manja-kan aku tapi sikap
although 3sg not pamper KAN 1sg but attitude

sabar dan toleransi-nya buat-kan aku jadi
patient and tolerance-3 make KAN 1sg become

hormat dan sayang kat abah.
respect and love DAT dad

‘Although dad did not pamper me, his patient and tolerant attitude caused me to respect and love him.’

b. Lajis men-cuba-cuba punat radio-nya...
Lajis MEN-try REDP knob radio-3

‘Lajis turned the knob of his radio (in attempt to tune in to a station).’

(3.17) -mu in post-verbal position

“Aku meng-ajak-mu pulang...”
1sg MEN-invite 2sg return

‘I am inviting you to go home...’

(3.18) -mu encliticized onto prepositions

“Ramai yang seperti-mu juga...”
many REL like 2sg also

‘Many are like you too...’
(3.19) -mu encliticized onto a nominal

"Dengan bantuan-mu, tugas itu men-jadi mudah."

with help-2sg task that MEN-become easy

'With your help, the tasks become easy.' [HP]

Independent pronouns may also occur in clitic positions. I will treat these as clearly differentiated from free pronouns in CM as in SM due to the general lack of verbal affixation. Clear cases are where a full pronoun is procliticized to a prefixless verb in a clause containing a topicalized object in a 'procliticized Actor passive' construction (cf. Ch. 4) (Ex. (3.20a&b)), and where a normally pre-verbal auxiliary or adverb occurs clause-initially as a result of the procliticization of the pronoun to the prefixless verb (Ex. (3.20c&d)). Examples of encliticized full pronouns are given in Ex. (3.21).

(3.20) Independent pronouns in proclitic position

a. Apa-kah ini balasan kasih sayang yang aku
what-KAH this repayment love love REL 1sg
beri-kan pada-nya.
give-KAN to-3

'Is this what I get in return for the love I give her?'

[ABM]

b. "O, ya soal apa yang pernah aku
oh yes question what REL have.done.before 1sg
temu-i daripada bahan-bahan kesan lama..."
meet-I from substance:PL trace old

'Oh, yes - the question of what I have found from the archaeological diggings...'

[HP]

c. Tak sanggup aku hidup macam ni berterusan. [ABM]
not willing 1sg live like this continuous

'Idid not want to live like this anymore.'

d. "...tak payah aku hurai-kan bagaimana aku sampai
not difficult 1sg explain-KAN how 1sg reach
kepada penemuan itu..."
to finding that

'... (it) is not necessary for me to explain how I arrived at that conclusion...'

[HP]
(3.21) Independent pronouns in enclitic positions

a. Post-verbal

...rupa-rupa-nya atuk nampak aku kat 'bus-stop'
apparently grandpa see 1sg at bus-stop

semalam.
yesterday

'...apparently grandpa saw me at the bus-stop yesterday.'

b. Post-prepositional

"Apa hubungan-nya Hujan Pagi dengan aku?"
what connection-NYA rain morning with 1sg

'What has Hujan Pagi (a newspaper) got to do with me?'

[HP]

c. Post-nominal in NP

Dah tu... anak perempuan dia lawa pulak...
already that child girl 3sg pretty PULAK

'Moreover her daughter was pretty...'

[ABM]

3.1.3.1.1. The status of kau

The status of the second person singular pronoun kau, related to the independent form engkau, which is generally regarded as a proclitic form (see Asmah 1986:84) needs some discussion here. As a proclitic, kau should have properties similar to those of the proclitic ku-, that is, it does not carry independent stress and is always cliticized to the beginning of an unprefixed verb. However on examining the data from both texts, the status of kau as a proclitic appears to be questionable. From its distribution kau is more appropriately treated as an independent pronoun which may occur as a free pronoun or as a cliticized full pronoun in different contexts, that is, as having similar status to other independent pronoun forms such as saya '1sg', aku '1sg', awak '2sg', kamu '2sg' and dia '3sg'.

Apart from cliticizing to unprefixed verbs, kau often occurs in other environments similar to those of free pronouns as well. The following are the range of positions that kau may occur in:
(1) Proclitic position: Before unprefixed verbs (Ex. (3.22)).

(3.22) *Kau* in proclitic position

a. 

```
...rumah atau banglo itu ada di bahagian bukit
yang kau-idam-idam-kan itu."  [HP]
REL 2sg-desire:REDP-KAN that
```

'...the house or bungalow is (located) at the part of the hill that you
dream of.'

b. 

```
Sudah kau-bawa dia ke sini, kan?"  [HP]
already 2sg-bring 3sg to here KAN
```

'Haven’t you already brought him here?'

(2) Free pronoun positions:

i. Preceding verbs that are prefixed (Ex. (3.23)).

ii. Before an intervening pre-verbal modifier such as a verb

    auxiliary or an adverb (Ex. (3.24)).

(3.23) *Kau* preceding prefixed verbs

a. 

```
Kenapa ni Jang... kau ber-gaduh lagi ye?"
why this Jang 2sg BER-fight more yes
```

'Why, Jang - have you been fighting again?'  [ABM]

b. 

```
Kau... kau mengerti maksud-ku, Risah?""  [HP]
2sg 2sg MEN-meaning meaning-1sg Risah
```

'(Do) you... (do) you understand what I'm saying, Risah?'

(3.24) Intervening negator *tak*

```
...Kau tak layak main bola..."  [ABM]
2sg NEG qualified play ball
```

'...you're not fit to play ball...'

b. Intervening auxiliary *masih* 'Progressive aspect' and negator *tak*

```
...Kau masih tak tahu apa erti-nya semua ini?..."  [HP]
2sg PROG NEG know what meaning-3 all this
```

'...do you still not know the meaning of all this?...'

b. Intervening adverb *barangkali* 'perhaps' and negator *tak*

```
Kau barangkali tak tahu..."  [HP]
2sg perhaps NEG know
```

'Perhaps you don't know...'
(3) In enclitic position:
   i. Following a verb (Ex. (3.25))
   ii. Following a nominal in an NP (Ex. (3.26))
   iii. Following a preposition (Ex. (3.27)).

(3.25) Post-verbal position
"Aku nasihat kau toksah main bola-la..." [ABM]
1sg advise 2sg no.need play ball-EMPH
'I'm telling you - don't play ball...'

(3.26) Post-nominal position in an NP
"...Ada hubungan-nya dengan abang kau, EXIST connection-NYA with older.brother 2sg
barangkali..." [HP]
perhaps
'...Perhaps (it) has a connection with your older brother...'

(3.27) Following prepositions
   a. "...tak ada juga manfaat bagi kau.." [HP]
      NEGEXIST also benefit for 2sg
      '...(it) will not benefit you either.'
   b. "...aku jual-la balik kat kau..." [ABM]
      1sg sell-EMPH return to 2sg
      '...I will sell it back to you...'

3.1.3.1.2. -Nya

The third person enclitic -nya\(^3\) deserves special mention since it differs from the other clitic pronouns. There are two differences between -nya and the clitics ku- '1sg', -ku '1sg' and -mu '2sg':

\(^3\) -nya may be used as a nominalizer, for example:

"Cita-cita ambisi: REDP NAk take STP lost with
hilang -nya Abang Joe dari hidup-ku [ABM]
lost-NOM Abang Joe from life-1sg"

'My dream to take the STP (exam) disappeared together with the loss of Abang Joe from my life.'
(1) \(-nya\) may indicate the singular as well as the plural (Ex. (3.28)) while the other clitics indicate only singular number.

(3.28)
a. \(\ldots\text{budak-budak yang usia-nya dua hingga tiga tahun}\)
   child:PL \(\text{REL age-3 two to three year}\)
   \(\text{lebih tua dari-ku.}\)
   more old from-1sg
   '...boys who were two to three years older than me.'

b. \(\text{Mereka dalam nikmat-nya masing-masing.}\)
   3pl inside enjoyment-3 individual:RED
   'Each was (lost) in her own enjoyment.'

(2) \(-nya\) may be used with inanimate reference, although infrequently, while the other clitics may only have animate reference. For example, in (3.29) \(-nya\) refers to an inanimate object, a hut (iteratak) and in (3.30) \(-nya\) refers to a bicycle (basikal).

(3.29) \(\text{Iteratak buruk ini masih kuku. Mungkin}\)
   hut poor.condition this still sturdy perhaps
   \(\text{lantai dan tiang-nya dah ber-ganti.}\)
   floor and column-3 already BER-replace
   'This run-down hut is still sturdy. Perhaps its floor and columns have been replaced.'

(3.30) \(\ldots\text{bendera ber-kibar-kibar di hendal-nya.}\)
   flag BER-flap:RED at handle-3
   '...the flag on its handle was flapping.'

It is also used in certain expressions like sebenar-nya 'truly'.

\("\text{Se-benar-nya dia juga waras}\"
SE-true-NYA 3sg also sane

'It is true that he is also sane.'

See Asmah 1986b & Abdullah 1974 for a treatment of \(-nya\).
3.1.3.2. Clitics and Criticized Pronouns

In general criticized independent pronouns are preferred over their corresponding clitics in ABM. HP on the other hand, exhibits a preference for clitics over criticized independent pronouns. See Table 3.3 for overall frequencies and Table 3.4 for the frequency of individual pronouns in their individual clitic positions.

The preference for criticized independent pronouns in ABM is even clearer in second person forms where only the independent form kamu occurs but not its corresponding clitic form -mu. This is a mirror situation of HP where the clitic -mu but not the independent form kamu occurs. Given that second person pronouns are generally used for interpersonal address and therefore occur in dialogue in the texts, it is likely that the use of the enclitic -mu sounds too formal or literary to be used for addressing a hearer in CM. Hence -mu is associated with a more formal register than kamu. In HP dialogue -mu occurs quite freely and it is normally used in contexts similar to those where kau is used (cf. Section 3.2.3.2).

The association of the enclitic -mu with a more formal register in ABM extends to the other clitics as well which very rarely occur in dialogue. The first person clitics ku- and -ku never occur in dialogue and the third person clitic -nya occurs only twice in dialogue. Both the instances of -nya in ABM dialogue have inanimate reference (Ex. (3.31)) -nya refers to rumah ‘house’). In HP, however, clitics and independent forms occur freely in both dialogue and narration.

(3.31) “Jadi sekarang, rumah ni hak kamu-lah kira-nya. so now house this right 2sg-EMPH reckon-NYA
Tapi geran tanah-nya abah kamu-le simpan.” [ABM]
but grant land-3 dad 2sg-EMPH keep
‘So now, this house belongs to you. But your dad will keep the grant.’
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Table 3.3. Frequency of Clitics vs Cliticized Pronouns in ABM and HP**

4 Due to the difficulties associated with distinguishing cliticized pronouns in ABM, I have counted only the clear cases, that is, those occurring in 'procliticized Actor passive' constructions (cf. Ch. 4) and where a normally immediately pre-verbal modifier occurs clause-initially as a result of proclitization of the Actor to the verb.

** Key to abbreviations in Tables 3.3. and 3.4:

- **CliticPro**: Clitic pronouns
- **Encl**: Enclitical
- **EnclPron**: Encriticized independent pronoun
- **Post-N**: Post-nominal position in noun phrase
- **Post-P**: Post-prepositional position
- **Post-V**: Post-verbal position
- **Procl**: Proclitic
- **ProclPron**: Procliticized independent pronoun
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Table 3.4. Frequency of Individual Clitics and Cliticized Pronouns**

3.1.3.2.1. Clitics vs Cliticized Pronouns in Possessive Phrases

The possessor NP in a possessive phrase (cf. Ch. 4) may be a pronoun. In both ABM and HP the first person possessor pronoun may be a clitic or a cliticized full pronoun (Ex. (3.32)).

** See key to abbreviations on previous page.
(3.32)

a. *Agak-nya 'time' tu, kampung aku koman lagi*  
guess-NYA time that village 1sg common more  
kot.  
KOT  
'(I) guess at that time, my village was still common (i.e. ordinary).'

b. "*Ingat, datang ke pondok aku nanti!*"  
remember come to hut 1sg afterwards  
'Remember, come to my place after (this)!'

c. *...ter-masuk-le meng-(k)etuk kepala adik-ku*  
TER-enter-EMPH MEN-knock head younger.sibling-1sg  
dengan botol susu.  
with bottle milk  
'...including knocking my younger brother's head with the milk bottle.'

d. "*...aku percaya ada hubungan-nya dengan abang-ku itu.*"  
1sg believe EXIST connection-NYA with older.brother-1sg that  
'...I believe this has to do with my brother.'

In ABM the second person pronominal possessor is not normally a clitic  
(Ex. (3.33a)). The second person enclitic -mu does not occur in ABM. On the  
other hand the enclitic -mu occurs freely in HP dialogue (Ex. (3.33b)).

(3.33)

a. "*Pegi rumah atuk kamu kat Rantau! Nak ikut,*  
go house grandpa 2sg at Rantau want follow  
*pegi mandi cepat! Ajak Kak Cik kamu!*  
go bathe quick invite Kak Cik 2sg  
'(I'm) going to your grandfather's house in Rantau! (If you) want to  
come along, go and bathe quick. Ask your Kak Cik (to help you)!

b. "*...tapi makin jelas fikiran-mu jauh dari tempat*  
but increasingly clear thought-2sg far from place  
yang hendak kita pergi itu."  
REL want 1pl.incl go that  
'...but (it is) increasingly clear that your thoughts are far from the  
place we are going to.'
Where the possessor pronoun is a third person form, the full pronoun forms *dia* '3sg' and *mereka* '3pl' do not occur in HP. Only the clitic form *-nya* '3sg/pl' is used (Ex. (3.34a)). On the other hand, in ABM dialogue human possessors are always coded by independent pronoun forms (Ex. (3.34b&c)). The use of the independent full third person pronoun forms for the possessor NP in possessive phrases is a typical CM feature.

Generally, clitics are preferred in SM and cliticized full forms in CM, following the general preference for clitics. However in ABM the third person clitic *-nya* occurs more frequently than the independent form *dia* in possessive phrases (see Table 3.4), but this applies only to narration (Ex. (3.34d)).

(3.34)

a. *Dia men-(t)eguk air kopi-nya per-lahan-lahan.* [HP]
   3sg MEN-swallow water coffee-3 slowly
   'He sipped his coffee slowly.'

b. "*...kau tak caya, tanya kat mak dia...*" [ABM]
   2sg NEG believe ask DAT mum 3sg
   '...if you don’t believe (me), ask her mum...'

c. *Selesai je meng-urut, mak dia hulur duit*
   complete only MEN-massage mum 3sg hold.out money
   kat aku. [ABM]
   to 1sg
   'When (I) finished massaging (her foot), her mother held out some money at me.'

d. *Se-tahun juga aku tidak men-ziarah-i pusara-nya.* [ABM]
   one-year also 1sg not MEN-visit-1 grave-3
   'I had not visited her grave for a year (now).'

3.2. The Address System

This section looks at the Malay address system of which the CM *gua* '1sg' and *lu* '2sg' are a part. Generally the factors which determine the use of address forms do not differ greatly among CM, the regional dialects and SM.
However the actual forms used may vary according to the variety of Malay being used, as seen, for example, in the additional forms *gua* ‘1sg’ and *lu* ‘2sg’ in CM, which do not occur in SM. In order to provide a context in which to describe the use of *gua* and *lu* in interpersonal address, it is necessary to examine the use of the pronouns of address and other address forms in general.

The discussion of the factors that determine the choice of address forms in this section is based on my observation of the use of address forms in ABM and HP dialogue and various aspects of Malay culture which I will mention in Section 3.2.1. In other words my findings are based on a sort of ‘sociolinguistic’ study of the use of address forms by the characters in the texts.

There are three main ways of addressing an interlocutor in Malay:

(1) Through the use of first and second pronouns (Section 3.2.3).  
(2) Through the use of forms other than first and second person pronouns such as kin terms and titles, shifted (third person) pronouns and the generic term *orang* ‘person, people’ (Section 3.2.4.1-3).  
(3) Address forms may be omitted totally (Section 3.2.4.4).

The choice of the form of address to use is largely determined by sociocultural factors. Factors influencing choice are generally the same in CM and SM. However a wider range of distinctions are made in CM due to the larger range of address forms available.

Before looking at the address forms themselves, I will first examine some cultural aspects of Malay society which govern social interaction. These form the basis for determining the factors which influence the choice of address forms.
3.2.1. Cultural Aspects of Malay Society

3.2.1.1. Malay Kinship

Traditional Malay society places great importance on kinship ties between individuals. The Malays view kinship in two ways:

(1) Kinship is defined by consanguinity links between individuals. It is important as a determinant of closeness and the weight of social relationships. Basic Malay and Islamic moral tenets are prescribed and practised within the context of consanguineal relationships. Moral obligations between consanguineally-related individuals are compulsory. (Banks 1983)

(2) Malays also have a conception of a form of spiritual kinship which transcends blood relations. This spiritual kinship links 'the essences of individuality in persons as whole beings' and forms the basis for the working towards the goal of living together in affection and esteem towards each other (Banks 1983:48-49).

Hence all individuals within the Malay community are related in some way, whether through biological or spiritual kinship ties.

3.2.1.2. The Malay Ideational and Ethical System

According to Tham (1981), the ideational and ethical system of Malay society revolves around three major concepts: adat (Malay customs and code of behaviour), language (bahasa) and religion (agama).

Adat refers to a set of customs or practices relating to Malay social life and organization. Central to the practice of adat is the idea of budi which refers to a set of moral and behavioural codes (Nordin 1988). Budi prescribes as good and acceptable social and moral behaviour, the sharing of material wealth and possessions, the sharing of one's energies and abilities, courteous speech and the three-fold code of perketi: honouring one's elders, respecting one's peers and loving the young. A sort of reciprocal relationship results from the
practice of *budi* between people creating links stronger than blood ties. When one receives *budi*, one is obligated to return *budi*. Humility, modesty and a sense of shame in wrongdoing are regarded as important attitudes which help to prevent the individual from violating *adat* for fear of being disgraced in the eyes of society (Nordin 1988).

The term *adat* is often used synonymously with *budi*, hence, to *tahu adat* 'know *adat* 'is to be 'hospitalite, respectful, loyal, patient, good-mannered, helpful and cooperative' (Tham 1981:255), that is, to follow the rules of *budi*. *Adat* is regarded as a permanent and unchanging institution. Its destruction would spell the destruction of the entire social system (Tham 1981).

*Bahasa* 'language' is an important symbol of Malay identity. It is the 'soul of the nation' (*bahasa jiwa bangsa*). Not only does knowing one's *bahasa* involve a knowledge of the linguistic system, it also involves a knowledge of appropriate speech. By appropriate speech is meant courteous and good-mannered speech. 'To speak appropriately implies the possession of manners and breeding (Tham 1981:256). Traditionally, to exhibit good breeding meant being indirect in expression. 'Directness of expression was considered rude and uncouth, even in admonishing a child' (Asmah 1987:47). Hence it was more appropriate to make requests, suggestions and proposals in a roundabout manner rather than making one's intentions known immediately and directly. Indirectness in speech is still valued in Malay society although this has somewhat 'eroded' with the development of the language of media and academic writing which tend to favour precision and directness (Asmah 1987:36-55).

Another mark of courteous speech is the correct use of pronouns and other address terms, so that one does not sound 'impersonal' for 'to be impersonal in the traditional Malay way of life is to be impolite' (Asmah 1987:48-49). Asmah uses the term 'impersonal' to refer to the non-acknowledging of the individual status of the addressee and his relationship or status relative to the speaker, for example, through the use of the generic second person pronoun *anda* which occurs commonly in media. It 'sounds jarring to the Malay ear... it generalizes all its audience into one category and hence sounds impersonal' (Asmah 1987:48-49).
Religion (*agama*), specifically Islam, is a very important aspect of Malay society. Islam shapes the foundation of the Malay person's everyday life. The Islamic code dictates high moral standards, stringent religious rules and practices and prescribes humility, modesty and uprightness as a way of life. It forms an integral part of the Malay person's identity. It is a 'symbol of Malayness. To deny Islam is to reject one's social and cultural origins. Indeed a Malay is considered no more a Malay if he ceases to be a Muslim' (Tham 1981:256).

Of the three, *adat* and *bahasa* have direct consequences on the way language is used. *Adat* requires one to show courtesy and deference to one's elders and to respect one's equals. To use *bahasa* is to be courteous and polite in speech. In other words politeness is highly valued and forms the basis for social interaction in Malay society.

3.2.1.3. Politeness in Malay Society

In Malay society politeness may be seen as being centred around two things:

(1) Showing respect and a regard for the well-being and needs of another person, based on the threefold rule of *pekerti*: honour the old, show respect to one's peers and love the young. In other words politeness may be equated with showing respect, honour or deference. Certain groups in the community are regarded as deserving to be shown more respect than others:

(i) Women are considered to be sacred and beautiful and regarded as the source of love and of strength within the family structure and safety in the life after (Nordin 1988). Therefore the woman deserves to be shown respect and love by her family due to her important role in the home. However they are also the weaker sex, in other words, they should be submissive and recognize male authority (Nordin 1988). Women, being the 'weaker and fairer' sex, are generally more polite and less confrontational
than men in speech and attitudes, both with men and among themselves.

(ii) Men, on the other hand, are regarded as the stronger sex, capable of harder physical labour and providing for the home (Nordin 1988). Hence the man deserves to be shown respect by those 'weaker' than him who need his help, the women and children.

(iii) Age is an important indicator of wisdom and experience. The old are given an important place in Malay society. Therefore the old deserve to be shown honour and deference by the young.

(iv) Knowledge, religious or otherwise, is highly valued in Malay society (Nordin 1988). Therefore the knowledgeable, that is, the teachers and educators are given a place of honour and distinction in the community and are respected by all.

(2) Being polite also means being indirect, non-confrontational and not drawing attention to oneself.

One of the most obvious ways by which politeness is shown is through the Malay address system.

3.2.2. Politeness Variables in the Address System

The choice of address forms may be seen to be dependent on politeness requirements based on social distance between the speakers in any interaction. The greater the distance between the speakers, the more polite the interaction between them. Social distance may be determined by a number of variables:
(1) The existing vertical and horizontal\textsuperscript{5} relationship between speakers, that is, whether one speaker is 'above' or 'below' the other (vertical) and 'how close' they are (horizontal).

(i) Vertical distance is dependent on two variables: relative age and social or occupational status. Vertical distance exists when there is a difference between age or social or occupational status between speakers. A person who is younger than his addressee or lower in status is required to show respect and therefore be more polite to his addressee.

(ii) Horizontal distance between speakers is dependent on the degree of familiarity and the sex of the speakers. Horizontal distance exists when speakers are not familiar with each other or when they are of opposite sex. This requires a higher level of politeness.

(2) Formality of context - formal situations such as meetings, negotiations, proposals etc. tend to temporarily increase social distance between speakers, therefore requiring a higher level of politeness.

(3) Social distancing goals of speakers - this refers to the speaker's motives with regards to modifying social distance between himself and the addressee. A speaker may wish increase or decrease the distance between himself and the addressee. Generally speakers tend to seek to minimize distance when they wish to express empathy with the addressee and to maximize distance in confrontational situations. In a vertical relationship the person who is 'above' the other normally initiates the modification of social distance. In a horizontal relationship either speaker may initiate the modification.

In the following sections I will examine the choice of address forms observed in the texts based on politeness variables just discussed. In both ABM and HP the authors appear to work with a clear conception of the contexts in which the various address forms are used. Hence, while it may be

\textsuperscript{5} The concepts of 'vertical' and 'horizontal' relationships between speakers is due to Brown and Gilman (1960).
argued that a sociolinguistic analysis of the use of address forms in written texts may not be as desirable as a study based on oral data, written texts are nevertheless a reflection of the actual usage in the language.

3.2.3. The Pronouns of Address

Most of the pronouns of address in ABM and HP are the same with a few exceptions (see Section 3.1). The pronouns of address found in the texts are listed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ABM</th>
<th>HP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person (sg)</td>
<td>saya, aku, gua</td>
<td>saya, aku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person (pl excl)</td>
<td>kami, kita orang</td>
<td>kami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person (pl incl)</td>
<td>kita</td>
<td>kita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person (sg)</td>
<td>awak, kamu, kau, lu</td>
<td>awak, engkau, kau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person (pl)</td>
<td>kau orang, lu orang</td>
<td>kau orang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Generally the pronouns common to both CM and SM are used in the same way. However since SM has fewer pronouns of address than CM, it must express a more restricted range of distinctions. There are three distinct levels in pronoun choice as observed in the texts:

(1) A polite level involving the use of the ‘polite’ pronoun forms saya ‘1sg’, kami ‘1pl excl’ and awak ‘2sg’ in ABM and HP.

(2) A ‘non-polite’ level involving the use of the ‘non-polite’ forms aku ‘1sg’, kita orang ‘1pl excl’, kau ‘2sg’ and kau orang ‘2pl’ in ABM and HP. The term ‘non-polite’ is used in preference over ‘impolite’ as these forms do not indicate impoliteness when used correctly. They merely do not express extra politeness.

(3) A familiar level involving the use of gua ‘1sg’, lu ‘2sg’ and lu orang ‘2pl’ in ABM.
3.2.3.1. Polite forms

Polite pronoun forms are used in contexts where a vertical and/or horizontal distance exists between the speaker and addressee. Polite forms may also be used to increase social distance between the speaker and the addressee.

In both CM and SM the polite pronouns of address are saya ‘1sg’ and awak ‘2sg’. In CM kami ‘1pl excl’ is a more polite form than kita orang ‘1pl excl’.

3.2.3.1.1. Saya

Saya ‘1sg’ is used:

(1) Where vertical distance exists between speakers:

(i) Speaker is younger than the addressee.
For example, a grandson to his grandfather (Ex. (3.35)) and a young man to an elderly neighbour (Ex. (3.36)) in ABM; a man to an older brother who is more like a father to him (Ex. (3.37)) and a younger person to an older man in his village (Ex. (3.38)) in HP.

(3.35) Grandson to grandfather
“Apa-la tuk... saya nak belajar
APA-LA grandpa 1sg want learn
silat
pun tak bagi.” [ABM]
traditional.Malay.martial.arts.form PUN NEG give
‘Oh come on, grandpa... (you) won’t even let me learn silat.’

(3.36) Young man to elderly neighbour
“Ah... takpe-lah makcik, saya tolong ikhlas
AH doesn’t.matter-EMPH auntie 1sg help sincere
je.” [ABM]
just
‘It’s not necessary, makcik, I’m just helping out in sincerity.’
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(3.37) Man to older brother who is more like a father to him

"Abang, biar saya alih-kan bantal ini." [HP]

older.brother allow 1sg shift-KAN pillow this

'Abang, allow me to turn this pillow.'

(3.38) Younger man to an older man in his village

"O ya, boleh saya tahu di mana saya dapat mudah

oh yes can 1sg know at where 1sg get easy

meng-hubung-i pakcik nanti?" [HP]

MEN-contact-I uncle afterwards

'Oh, yes, may I know where pakcik (=you) can be contacted?'

(ii) Speaker is of a lower social or occupational status than the addressee.

For example, an errand-boy to the chairman's personal assistant in a newspaper company (Ex. (3.39)) in HP.

(3.39) Errand-boy to chairman's personal assistant

"O ya, ya. Jangan pergi ke tempat rumahapi

oh yes yes don't go to place lighthouse


that more add-3 Biman strong spirit-3

Kau...."

2sg

"Saya bukan ter-sampuk. Saya jatuh," Udin

1sg not TER-disturbed.by.a.spirit 1sg fall Udin

men-jelas-kan.

MEN-clear-CAUS

"'Oh, yes. Don't go to that lighthouse again,' he added. 'Biman has a strong spirit. (But) you...'

'I wasn't disturbed by spirits. I fell,' Udin explained.'

(2) Where horizontal distance exists between speakers:

(i) Speakers are of the opposite sex.

For example, (3.40) is an exchange between a man and his colleague's wife in HP.

(3.40) Man to his friend's wife

"Saya khuatir kalau-kalau Jirim meng-amuk. Dia... dia

1sg worried if:REDP Jirim MEN-amok 3sg 3sg

pernah meng-amuk. Dia sudah-lah

have.done.before MEN-amok 3sg already-EMPH
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*mudah hilang akal...*  
easy lose reasoning

"Ber-sabar-lah, ber-tenang,"  
BER-patient-EMPH BER-calm

'I am worried that Jirim might run amok. He... he has done that before. He already loses control of himself so easily.'

'Be patient, calm down.'

(ii) Speakers are not familiar friends, or are strangers.

For example, a young woman to an acquaintance (Ex. (3.41)),

and a ferryman to a passenger (Ex. (3.42)) in HP.

(3.41) Young woman to an acquaintance

"Dia Jamilah. Saya Niram, anak Basri, ingat?"  
3sg Jamilah 1sg Niram child Basri remember

'This is Jamilah, I'm Niram, Basri's daughter, remember?'

(3.42) Ferryman to passenger

"Besok saya tak dapat datang."  
tomorrow 1sg NEG get come

'I won't be able to come tomorrow.'

(3) Where distance is temporarily increased due to formality of context.

For example, a chairman at a staff meeting who is not normally required to use a polite pronoun form when addressing his colleagues (Ex. (3.43)) in HP.

(3.43) Chairman at staff meeting

"...Ber-syukur saya dapat mem-pengerusi-kan mesyuarat  
BER-thank.God 1sg get MEN-chairman-KAN meeting

kecil tapi penting ini..."  
small but important this

'...Thank God I am able to chair this small but important meeting...'

(4) Where a person of higher status wishes to decrease the existing distance between himself and the addressee, thereby, using a polite form rather than a normally expected non-polite form.

For example, an employer to an employee in a private conversation (Ex. (3.44)).
(3.44) Employer to employee

"Ya, awak percaya semua-nya tidak aman, saya tahu.
yes 2sg believe all-NYA not peaceful 1sg know

Saya.... saya tidak salah-kan awak," kata Lokman
1sg 1sg not wrong-CAUS 2sg say Lokman
ter-henti lama.
TER-stop long

"Yes, you don’t believe all is well, I know. I... I don’t blame you," said Lokman after a long silence.

(5) Where the speaker wishes to increase distance between himself and the addressee.

For example, where a young man meets a female friend from the past unexpectedly and feels embarrassed (Ex. (3.45)) in ABM.

(3.45) Awkward moment - young man meets a female friend from the past

"Err... kenal lagi tak? Gua... err... saya-le." [ABM]
ERR know more NEG 1sg ERR 1sg-EMPH

‘Err... (do you) still know me? It’s me...’

3.2.3.1.2. Awak

Awak ‘2sg’ is used:

(1) Where politeness is required due to an existing horizontal distance between speakers based on a lack of familiarity and/or their belonging to the opposite sex.

For example, between strangers or acquaintances of the same or opposite sex, for example a man to a young woman who is an acquaintance (Ex. (3.46) [HP]).

(3.46) Man to an acquaintance, a young woman

"Jadi, awak tidak senang dengan perkembangan dalam
so 2sg not at.ease with development inside
masyarakat kita sekarang?" [HP]
society 1pl.incl now

‘So, you feel uneasy about the current developments in our society?’
(2) Where a person of higher status wishes to decrease the existing distance between himself and the addressee, thereby, using a polite form rather than a normally expected non-polite form.

For example, an employer when teasing an employee (Ex. (3.47)) in HP.

(3.47) Employer teasing employee

“Ya,” Lokman turut meng-usik, “awak bukan
yes Lokman follow MEN-disturb 2sg not
wanita yang kalah, kan?”
woman REL lose KAN

“Yes,” Lokman joined in to tease (her), “you’re not a loser, are you?”

(3) Where the speaker wishes to increase distance, such as where a situation is potentially confrontational.

For example, a wife to her husband in a disagreement (Ex. (3.48)) in HP and a young man addressing his female friend in an awkward moment in which she has just accused him of staring at her (Ex. (3.49)) in ABM.

(3.48) Wife to husband in a disagreement

“Rezeki di tangan Tuhan. Awak sendiri
sustenance at hand God 2sg self
pernah ber-kata begitu,” kata isteri-nya...
have.done.before BER-say like.that say wife-3

‘Providence is in the hands of God. You yourself have said that before,” said his wife...’

(3.49) Young man to a female friend in an awkward moment

“Elehh, orang bukan tengok awak. Orang tengok
ELEHH people NEG look 2sg people look
dinding tu...”
wall that

‘Oh come on, people (=I) wasn’t looking at you. People (=I) was (just) looking at the wall...’

Generally awak ‘2sg’ is not used by younger persons to address older persons, especially those who are of a different generation or by speakers of a lower status to address someone of a higher social or occupational status. Instead kin terms or titles are used (see Section 3.2.4.1.1).
3.2.3.1.3. Kami

In ABM kami `1pl excl’ is used in situations where a vertical or horizontal distance exists between the speaker and addressee, for example:

(1) By a speaker of lower status to refer to himself and his friends, who are of equal status to him, to an addressee of higher status, such as a group of freshers to their seniors in boarding-school (Ex. (3.50)), and

(2) Some sisters offering help to their younger brother whom they have not seen for a long time, and whom they have never particularly cared about (Ex. 3.51)).

(3.50) Freshers to seniors in boarding-school

"Bang, kami nak balik kampung. Boleh older.brother 1pl.excl want return village can
tak?" [ABM]
NEG
‘Older brother, we want to go home, may we?’

(3.51) Sisters to younger brother

"Ujang, cakap je, nak apa, kami boleh ‘support’." Ujang say just want what 1pl.excl can support

‘Ujang, just tell us what you want, we’ll get it for you.’ [ABM]

There is no ‘non-polite’ alternative in HP.

3.2.3.2. Non-polite Forms

By ‘non-polite’ forms, I refer to the forms used in situations in which a higher degree of politeness is not called for and where the speaker does not wish to vary the social distance that already exists between himself and the addressee. Politeness is not required if a person is ‘above’ his addressee in a vertical relationship and if horizontal distance does not exist between the speakers.
Non-polite forms may be considered to be the more neutral forms. In the texts the forms are *aku* ‘1sg’, *(eng)*kau ‘2sg’, kamu ‘2sg’, kita orang ‘1pl excl’ and kau orang ‘2pl’.

Due to the ‘neutrality’ associated with these forms, they may be used in narration, in particular, *aku* ‘sg’. *Aku* is used in ABM narration (Ex. (3.52)), which is in the first person, and *kau orang* ‘2pl’ is used to address the reader directly (Ex. (3.53)). *Aku* is also the form that occurs in the representations of the thoughts of particular characters in the narrative, for example in (3.54) a young boy is thinking to himself about his brother who has just returned from boarding school.

(3.52) Jadi aku lebih banyak meng-habis-kan masa dalam so 1sg more much MEN-finish-KAN time inside
kawasan rumah je. area house just

'So, I spent most of my time in the vicinity of the house.'

(3.53) Kau-orang caya tak kalau aku cakap masa tingkatan 2pl believe NEG if 1sg say time form
satu, aku masuk sekolah Arab. one 1sg enter school Arab

'Would you believe it if I said that I went to Arabic school in form one?'

(3.54) "Aik bila masa pulak musuh aku ni balik
AIK when time PULAK enemy 1sg this return
dari asrama ni?" from boarding school this

'Now, when did this enemy of mine come home from boarding school?'

3.2.3.2.1. Aku

In dialogue *aku* ‘1sg’ is used where speakers are not required to show politeness or deference to their addressees:
(1) Where the speaker is ‘above’ the addressee in a vertical relationship, that is, where the speaker is older or of a higher status. For example, a grandmother to her grandson (Ex. (3.55)) or a mother to her daughter (Ex. (3.56)) in ABM; a religious teacher (a respected status in the community) to a visitor (Ex. (3.57)) and a senior person giving instructions to his subordinates at work (Ex. (3.58)) in HP.

(3.55) Grandmother to grandson

"Apa-la cikgu kau ni, sain aku pun dia nak tengok buat hapas...?" [ABM]
want look for what
‘What’s with your teacher - why would she want to look at my signature...’

(3.56) Mother to daughter

"...Kamu pakat-le dengan dia. Aku malas nak campur tangan aih..." [ABM]
mix hand AlH
‘...You discuss it with him... I don’t want to get involved (Sigh)...’

(3.57) Village religious teacher to visitor

“Aku percaya kau sendiri tahu dia benar-benar sakit...” [HP]
believe self know sick
‘I believe you yourself know that he is very sick...’

(3.58) Senior person giving instructions to subordinates at work

“Dan besok, kalau boleh kita mesyurat jam and tomorrow if can 1pl.Incl meeting clock
10.00. Zuhri belum habis cuti, aku kira? Tapi 10.00 Zuhri not yet finish holiday 1sg suppose but
10.00 Zuhri not yet finish holiday 1sg suppose but
cuba datap-kan. Kalau boleh biar dia ada sama dalam try get-KAN if can allow 3sg EXIST same inside
mesyurat penting ini.” [HP]
meeting important this
‘And tomorrow, if possible, call a meeting for ten o’clock. I suppose Zuhri is still on leave? But try to get him - if possible (I want) him at this important meeting.’
(2) Where there is no horizontal distance between speakers, that is, speakers are of equal status or are familiar friends.

For example, between workmates (Ex. (3.59) [HP]) or familiar friends (Ex. (3.60) [ABM] & (3.61) [HP]).

(3.59) Between workmates

"Kalau Encik Lokman datang, beritahu aku ke pangkalan."  
if mister Lokman come tell 1sg go pier

'If Encik Lokman comes in, tell him I've gone to the pier.'

(3.60) Between familiar friends (male to male)

"Woihh Jang, aku dengar kau lari dari kampung?"  
WOIHH Jang 1sg hear 2sg run from village

'Hey, Jang, I heard you ran away from home?'

(3.61) Between familiar friends (female to male)

"Aku kan penggemar telur penyu?"  
1sg KAN person.who.likes.something egg turtle

'Aren't I'm a lover of turtle eggs?'

3.2.3.2.2. *Kita orang*

In ABM *kita orang* '1pl excl' is used where no vertical or horizontal distance exists, for example, between familiar friends (Ex. (3.62)).

(3.62) "Dengan kita-orang tak nak ber-bual ke - asyik
with 1pl.excl not want BER-talk QUES engrossed
meng-(h)adap kat sana je."  
MEN-face at there just

'Hey, don't (you) want to talk to us? (You're) facing that side all the
time.'
3.2.3.2.3. *Kau, Kau orang* and *Engkau*

*Kau* '2sg' and *kau orang* '2pl' are used in similar contexts to *aku*, that is, where a speaker is not obligated to show politeness or deference:

(1) Where the speaker 'above' the addressee in a vertical relationship, that is, where the speaker is older or has a higher status.

For example, *kau* is used by a grandfather to address his grandson (Ex. (3.63)) in ABM, and by a religious teacher (a respected status in the community) to a visitor (Ex. (3.64)) in HP; and *kau orang* is used by an older brother to address his younger brother and a friend (Ex. (3.65)) in HP.

(3.63) Grandfather to grandson

"*Gi jumpa mak abah kau*..." [ABM]

go meet mum dad 2sg

'Go and see your mum and dad...'

(3.64) The village religious teacher to a visitor

"*Sepuluh tahun kau di luar, dia beritahu dengan* [HP]
ten years 2sg at outside 3sg tell with

*isyarat saja*..." signal only

'For the ten years you were away, he has only told us through (non-verbal) signs...'

(3.65) Older brother to younger brother and friend

"*Ya, kau belum tahu lagi secara amali...* [HP]

yes 2pl not.yet know more by.way.of experience

*kau-orang baru pulang*..."

2pl new return

'Yes, you have not experienced it first hand yet - you have only just returned...'

(2) Where horizontal distance does not exist, that is, where speakers are of equal status or are familiar friends.

For example, *kau* is used between workmates (Ex. (3.66)) in HP; between familiar friends (Ex. (3.67) [ABM] & Ex. (3.68) [HP]) and *kau orang* is used by a young man to his friends in (3.69) in ABM and a young woman to her flatmates in (3.70) in HP.
(3.66) Between work-mates
"Mengapa Encik Lokman?"
why mister Lokman
"Kau tak tahu?"
2sg NEG know
'What's the matter with Encik Lokman?'
'(You mean) you don't know?'

(3.67) Between familiar friends (male to male)
"...aku rasa-la kau sorang je ada baju macam
1sg feel-EMPH 2sg one.person only have shirt like
ni."
this
'...I think you are the only person who has a shirt like this.'

(3.68) Between familiar friends (female to male)
"Lihat, kau mudah ter-lupa peristiwa besar..." [HP]
look 2sg easy TER-forget event big
'Look, you forget important events so easily...'

(3.69) Young man to friends
"...timo-kasih.... kau-orang-le 'member' aku paling 'best
thank.you 2pl-EMPH mate 1sg most best
in the world.'"
'...thank you... you are my best mates in the world.'

(3.70) Young woman to her flatmates
"Ah, kau-orang tentu-nya tahu sendiri Lajis itu
AH 2pl sure-NYA know self Lajis that
lebih meng-gemar-i barang-barang antik daripada
more MEN-like-I thing:PL antique from
wanita moden seperti aku,"
woman modern like 1sg say Norisah
"‘Surely you yourselves know that Lajis is more interested in
antiques than in modern women like me," said Norisah.'

Engkau ‘2sg’ is the full form of kau and occurs only once in HP in the same context as kau, that is, between familiar friends (Ex. (3.71)).
(3.71) "Engkau yang mula-kan..."
2sg REL begin-KAN
'You are the one who started (this conversation)...'

3.2.3.2.4. Kamu

Kamu '2sg' does not occur in HP. In ABM it is used as an alternative to kau '2sg', by older persons to younger persons, for example, a mother to her daughter's friend (Ex. (3.72)). Kamu may have a slightly higher 'politeness value' than kau. This is seen in its use as compared to kau in one particular case in ABM. A mother who normally uses kamu with her children reverts to kau whenever she is angry, for example in (3.73a), she uses kamu when addressing her son in normal situations, when she is not angry, such as when she greets him as he walks into the house looking rather messy, but in (3.73b) she uses kau in a fit of anger when telling him to leave the house. However this distinction does not always hold with other speakers, who tend to use kamu and kau interchangeably.

(3.72) Mother to her daughter's friend
"Apasal kamu botak pulak ni, Jang?" [ABM]
why 2sg bald PULAK this Jang
'Why are you bald, Jang?'

(3.73)
  a. "Astaga budak ni...! Kenapa kamu ni hah??"
     Heaven.forbid child this why 2sg this HAH
     'Good heavens, child... what happened to you (why are you so dirty)?p [ABM]

  b. "Keluar, ambik kain baju kau ni - pegi-la ke mana
go.out take cloth shirt 2sg this go-EMPH to where
kau nak pegi..." [ABM]
2sg want go
'Get out, take your clothes and go wherever you want...'
3.2.3.3. ‘Familiar’ Forms

3.2.3.3.1. Gua and Lu

In CM there exists a further set of pronouns: gua ‘1sg’, lu ‘2sg’ and lu orang ‘2pl’. In ABM these forms are used most commonly among males of low social status, such as gangsters and street kids. As such, they tend to be associated with coarseness or low breeding,

6
and are seldom used by females. In non-confrontational situations, the use of these pronouns not only indicate an absence of horizontal distance between the speakers but more than that, it indicates a closeness and intimacy between speakers. These pronouns occur where:

(1) Speakers belong to an ‘in-group’, that is, they consider themselves to have close or intimate ties resulting from close friendship, a common background and a mutual dependence on one another for help and support. Generally only males are involved.

For example, the speaker and his addressee in (3.74a & b) are both street kids who are also close friends and housemates. The speaker and his addressee in (3.75) are close friends who have known each other for a long time and rely on each other for support. Lu orang ‘2pl’ is used by a young man to address his close friend in (3.76) and by an unemployed young man to a group of other unemployed young men whom he spends a lot of time with in (3.77).

(3.74) Street kids who are close friends and housemates

a. "Gua pun me-rempat jugak, Jang. Tapi
1sg also MEN-wander about aimlessly also Jang but
aa, gua cakap lu..."

[ABM]

AAH 1sg tell 2sg

'I'm also homeless, Jang, but (let) me tell you (this)...'

b. "...tapi gua dapat tau lu tarik, lu jadi
but 1sg get know 2sg pull 2sg become

6 Asmah (1987:83-97) notes the existence of a variety of Malay which she calls coarse Malay or bahasa kasar [kasar ‘rough’], which “marks coarseness of behaviour and low breeding”. She maintains that this variety is used either by speakers of low breeding or in confrontational situations. When used non-confrontationally, the coarseness is deemed to be an indicator of intimacy between the speakers. I regard this as a coarse style of CM (cf. Introduction).
kaki-'fit', gua pecah kepala lu." [ABM]

...but if I find out that you're taking drugs and you become an addict, I'll break your head.'

(3.75) Close friends who rely on each other for help and support

"Alamak, Jang, lu susah, gua tolong - mana ALAMAK Jang 2sg difficult 1sg help where
tau nanti gua lak susah, lu tolong." know afterwards 1sg LAK difficult 2sg help

'When you're in trouble, Jang,, I help (you) - who knows, I could be in trouble one day, (then) you (can) help (me)." [ABM]

(3.76) "...ini petang gua belanja lu-orang!" [ABM]
this evening 1sg spend 2pl

'...I'll give you guys a treat this evening!'

(3.77) "...gua lebih ber-kualiti dari lu-orang semua..." [ABM]
1sg more BER-quality from 2pl all

'...I'm better than you guys...'

(2) The speaker wishes to express empathy, closeness or affection.

For example, gua '1sg' and lu '2sg' are used by an older brother to his younger brother expressing concern and relief at seeing the younger brother who had left the house without telling anyone where he was going in (3.78).

(3.78) Older brother to younger brother expressing concern and relief

"...gua ingat lu sudah cabut pegi KL tadi..." 1sg think 2sg already go.away go KL just.now

'...I thought you had gone away to KL.' [ABM]

Closeness or intimacy between an older and younger person may take precedence over the age factor. A person who is 'above' the addressee in a vertical relationship may choose to ignore the vertical distance and place more importance on the closeness and intimacy that exists between himself and the addressee. The older person initiates the switch to gua '1sg' and lu '2sg', for example, gua '1sg' and lu '2sg' are used by a grandfather to his grandson when he wants to express
affection or concern. The grandson responds with gua '1sg' but does not use lu '2sg' (Ex. (3.79)).

(3.79) Grandfather to grandson

Grandfather: Aik, 'concentrate' nampak. Pukul-tiga
AIK concentrate appear three.o'clock
dah ni. Lu tak tidur lagi?
already this 2sg not sleep more
'(You're) working hard (surprised). It's already three o'clock. Aren't you going to bed yet?'

Grandson: Besok ada 'test'-la tuk. Tak
tomorrow exist test-EMPH grandpa not
'study' nanti lingkup-la gua.
study afterwards fail-EMPH 1sg
'(I) have a test tomorrow, grandpa. If (I) don't study,
(I'll) fail.'

[ABM]

It is interesting to note that the author uses aku '1sg' and kau '2sg' when addressing his younger brother early in ABM, when they were not on good terms but towards the end of the text he uses gua and lu after their relationship had greatly improved.

For example, kau is used in a hostile threat by the author early in the text (Ex. (3.80)) while gua and lu are used in (3.81), during a light-hearted bantering between the brothers towards the end of the text.

(3.80) "Kau cakap kat mak, pocha hidung kau..." [ABM]
2sg say DAT mum break nose 2sg
'If you tell mum, I'll break your nose...'

(3.81) "Aca... Acaaa...! Lu cakap, gua runtuh-kan reban
Aca Aca 2sg say 1sg collapse-kan coop
ayam lu..." [ABM]
chicken 2sg
'Aca... Aca... if you tell (them), I'll tear down your chicken coop...'

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7 Younger persons do not use second person pronouns to address older persons. Instead they use other forms of address. See Section 3.2.4.1.
One instance of the use of gua and lu between a female and a male occurs in ABM. This is a marked situation where the female involved is the girlfriend of the addressee's very close friend who had just died in an accident. Both the addressee and his friend were street kids. Closeness and solidarity is implied by the choice of these pronouns by two people sharing not only a similar background but a common loss and grief (Ex. (3.82)).

(3.82) Young man and his close friend’s girlfriend in a moment of grief and sorrow

Joe’s girlfriend: Gu sendiri nampak Jang - Carlos pun
look not see Jang Carlos also
tengok, tak caya tanya dia...
‘I saw it myself, Jang - Carlos saw (it) too. If you don’t believe (me), ask him...’

Ujang: Cinabeng! Apasal Carlos tak ‘sound’ gua
CINABENG why Carlos not sound gua
Lu balik-la dulu, lepak,
2sg return-EMPH past hang.out
tenang-kan fikiran, gua tau-la apa
calm-CAUS thoughts 1sg know-EMPH what
nak buat.
NAK do
‘Cinabeng! (expletive) Why didn’t Carlos tell me...
(Why don’t) you go home first, stay there for awhile and calm your thoughts, I know what to do (about it).’

Joe’s girlfriend: Tapi lu baik-baik Jang! Jangan lu pulak
but 2sg good:REDIP Jang don’t 2sg as.well
yang patah tengkuk nanti.
REL broken back.of.neck afterwards
‘But you be careful, Jang. Don’t you be the one to break
(your) neck next.’

[ABM]

Gua ‘1sg’ and lu ‘2sg’ may be used in confrontational situations as well. In these cases the speakers are normally strangers and of ‘low breeding’, that is, they are from a lower socio-economic background. Here the decreased horizontal distance implied by the use of these pronouns results in
impoliteness and a potentially confrontational situation because the speaker violates the boundaries of normal comfortable social distance. For example, a rough-looking character uses *gua* and *lu* when he tries to sell a pair of shoes to a young man sitting at a bus-stop in (3.83). The young man feels threatened and buys the shoes to avoid confrontation even though he does not want them.

\[(3.83)\] Rough-looking character to young man at bus stop

\[" Ini kalau kat kedai ni, seratus lebih ni, \\
this if at shop this one.hundred more this \\
gua cakap lu..." \] [ABM]

1sg tell 2sg

'This costs over a hundred dollars at the shops, I tell you...'

3.2.3.4. Malay-English Pronoun Code-switching

Malay-English code-switching involving the English pronouns 'I' and 'you' is reported to occur quite frequently among the younger educated Malays. Safiah (1981b:113) notes that the English pronouns 'I' and 'you' are often used in informal situations when the speaker wishes to avoid the traditional social implications associated with the use of the Malay pronouns. 'I' and 'you' are often used between people who have just met and are in the process of establishing or determining their individual standing in relation to the other person. This switch to English 'I' and 'you' is especially frequent between members of the opposite sex where allusions to familiarity and intimacy is an especially sensitive issue if the speakers do not know each other well.\(^8\)

However pronominal code-switching occurs minimally in ABM and does not occur at all in HP. One instance of 'I' and three of 'you' are found in ABM. One instance each of 'I' and 'you' occur quoted as a sentence in a letter from a young woman to her male friend, in which she declares her love for him (Ex. (3.84)). The other two instances of 'you' occur in dialogue spoken by

\(^8\) Tanner (1972:138) notes that English expressions are frequently used in flirtations between modern Indonesian youth as most would feel awkward and constrained in their own ethnic language or in Indonesian. English has become the language of romance for particular groups of Indonesian youth.
a young man flirting with a young woman whom he meets at a discotheque (Ex. (3.85)).

(3.84)  
Kat baris akhir surat tu, Anor tulis, I sayang you.
at line last letter that Anor write I love you
‘At the end of the letter, Anor wrote, “I love you”.’

(3.85)  
“Hiihi, you serius-ke ni you...”
HIHIHI you serious-QUEST this you
‘Hee hee hee, are you serious...’

3.2.4. Avoidance of First and Second Person Pronouns

In Malay there is a tendency to avoid using first and second pronouns in interpersonal address. This avoidance of ‘direct’ address through the use of the first and second person pronouns is related to the value placed on being indirect in Malay society (cf. Section 3.2.1).

Indeed Brown & Levinson (1987:190-206) claim that this tendency to avoid first and second person pronouns is a universal phenomenon and may be seen as a strategy for achieving indirectness, which is equated with politeness. It is a strategy for avoiding threatening the hearer’s ‘negative face’, that is, the hearer’s desire not to be impinged on and impeded in his actions. Some ways of avoiding the use of first and second pronouns include the ‘pluralization of the ‘you’ and ‘I’ pronouns’ (p.198) and the use of ‘reference terms’ to replace the ‘I’ and ‘you’ pronouns (p.203-4) among other phenomena.

In Malay a number of different strategies for avoiding the first and second person pronouns exist:

1. The use of non-deictic terms, that is, kin terms, titles and personal names. This strategy is shared by CM and SM.

2. The use of shifted pronouns, that is, the use of third person pronouns for first or second person address, and the use of plural pronouns for singular reference. This is a typical CM strategy.
(3) The use of the generic term orang ‘person, people’ for first and second person address, another typical CM strategy.

(4) The total omission of pronouns and other address terms. This occurs in both CM and SM but is more frequent in CM.

The avoidance of the use of pronouns is especially relevant in situations where:

(1) Politeness in interaction is required, particularly, where a vertical distance exists. Generally non-deictic terms such as kin terms and titles are used (see Section 3.2.4.1).

(2) The speaker wishes to be indirect, or to increase distance between himself and the addressee, for example, in confrontational and potentially confrontational situations. Indirectness and distancing are important in these cases as a means of avoiding or ‘softening’ the effects of the confrontational act, in attempt to preserve harmony in the relationship. Generally shifted pronouns and the generic term orang ‘person, people’ are used (see Sections 3.2.4.2 & 3.2.4.3). The omission of address forms is a secondary strategy for avoiding the use of pronouns. Indirectness is achieved through avoiding reference to person, status and kinship relations inherent in the use of pronouns and other address forms (see Section 3.2.4.4).

3.2.4.1. Non-deictic Terms

In both CM and SM the use of non-deictic terms such as kin terms, titles and personal names tend to be preferred where a vertical distance exists between the speakers.
3.2.4.1.1. Kin Terms

Kin terms may be used to refer to both family and non-family members where the speaker and the addressee differ in age. The use of kin terms imply both respect and affection. Their use reflect the importance placed on kinship, both consanguineal and spiritual in Malay society (cf. Section 3.2.1.1). Kin terms bring into focus the social relationship that exists between the speaker and the addressee. By their use the speaker acknowledges the fact he and the addressee are linked together by common membership within the community.

With non-family members, some of the terms used include:

(1) (a)bang ‘older brother’ and (ka)kak ‘older sister’ - to refer to members of the same generation who are older.
(2) (a)dik ‘younger sibling’ - to refer to members of the same generation who are younger.
(3) pakcik ‘uncle’ and makcik ‘auntie’ - to refer to persons belonging to the next generation upwards.
(4) (a)tuk ‘grandpa’ and nenek ‘grandmother’ - to refer to persons belonging to two or more generations upwards.

Kin terms may be used either for first or second person reference. For first person reference, kin terms are generally used by the older party. They may be used as an alternative to the first person pronoun aku for first person reference by the older speaker, for example, the use of atuk ‘grandpa’ by a grandfather to a grandson (Ex. (3.86)) and an old shopkeeper to a regular young customer (Ex. (3.87)); the use of mak ‘mum’ by a mother to her son (Ex. (3.88)); and the use of acik9 ‘youngest older sister’ by an older sister to a younger brother (Ex. (3.89)). The use of kin terms for self-address by the younger party is rare10.

9 Related to kakcik (Lit. ‘little older sister’).
10 The term adik ‘younger sibling’ may be used by a wife to refer to herself when addressing her husband (personal observation).
(3.86) Grandfather to grandson

"Atuk dulu macam kamu jugak. Tapi atuk 'try'
grandpa past like 2sg also but grandpa try
jugak. Lama-lama okey je. Sikit pun tak lapar."
also long:REDP OK just a.little also not hungry

'Grandpa (=I) was like you too in the past. But grandpa (=I) tried all
the same. Gradually, (I) was OK. (I) wasn't even a little bit hungry.'

[ABM]

(3.87) An old shopkeeper to a young customer

"Aa, Ujang... atuk dah nak tutup kodai,
Ah Ujang grandpa already FUT close shop
baru datang. Kau nak boli ubat nyamuk-ko?"
just come 2sg want buy medicine mosquito-KO

'Ah, Ujang... (you) come just when grandpa (=I) is about to
close the shop. Do you want some mosquito coils?'

[ABM]

(3.88) Mother to son

"Tolong urut kaki mak ni ha -
help massage leg mum this HA
sengal lak rasa-nya."
painful.(of.muscles.and.joints) LAK feel-NYA

'Please massage mum's (=my) leg, it's so sore.'

[ABM]

(3.89) Older sister to brother

"Jang, jom kita pegi 'round' -
Jang let.s 1pl.incl go go.around
Acik dah lama tak naik basikal ni."
youngest.older.sister already long NEG ride bicycle this

'Let's go for a ride around, Jang - Acik (=I) hasn't had a ride on this
bike for a long time now.'

[ABM]

For second person reference, kin terms are normally used by the younger
party, for example, the use of nenek 'grandmother' by a grandson to address
his grandmother (Ex. (3.90)), the use of atuk 'grandpa' to address his
grandfather (Ex. (3.91)), the use of mak 'mum' by a son to address his mother
(Ex. (3.92)), and the use of kakcik 'youngest older sister' by a child to address an
older sister (Ex. (3.93)). In general younger persons do not use second person
pronouns to address older persons.
(3.90) Grandson to grandmother

"Apa-la durian nenek tanam ni - dah
AFA-LA durian grandmother plant this already
dekat enam tahun dah, tak ber-buah pun..." [ABM]

near six year already NEG BER-fruit PUN

'What (sort) of durian is this that grandmother (=you) planted - it's already six years and (it) hasn't produced any fruit...'

(3.91) Grandson to grandfather

"Atuk kidal-la. Ni kalau main gitar
grandpa left-handed-EMPH this if play guitar
'rock' cepat popla ni tuk..." [ABM]

rock fast popular this grandpa

'Grandpa (=you) is left-handed, grandpa. (You) would become popular very quickly if (you) played rock guitar.'

(3.92) Son to mother

Mother: Jangan lari, setan!
don't run satan

'Don't run (away), (you) little rascal!'

Ujang: Tak lari kang mak sobat lak...
not run afterwards mum close.friend LAK

'If (I) don't run, mum (=you) will catch up with me...'

[ABM]

(3.93) Child to older sister

"Ujang pegi rumah atuk, Kakcik takde
Ujang go house grandpa youngest.older.sister not.have
'member'-le kat rumah, ya tak?" [ABM]
friend-EMPH at house yes not

'After Ujang (=I) has gone to grandpa's place, kakcik (=you) won't have anyone to play with at home, right?'

3.2.4.1.2. Personal Names

Personal names may be used to refer to first or second persons, but more frequently to the first person. Their use by older children and adults implies affection. This is likely to have originated from the use of personal names by very young children to refer to themselves before they acquire deictic forms
and by parents and other family members to refer to them (cf. Elliot 1981:140-163, Tanz 1980:49-69).

Personal names are generally used to refer to self by younger persons to older persons within the family, for example, a grandson to his grandfather (Ex. (3.94)) and a son to his mother in (3.95). In (3.95) the son, Ujang, attempts reconciliation with his mother who is ill, when he returns to his home after having run away for a year.

(2.94) "Ujang balik Rantau yek... yek tuk yek..." [ABM]
Ujang return Rantau yes yes grandpa yes
‘Ujang (=I) is going back to Rantau, alright, grandpa?’

(2.95) "Mak, makan bubur ni, Ujang suap-kan ye."
mum eat porridge this Ujang spoon-feed-KAN yes
‘Mum, have (some of) this porridge - Ujang (=I) will feed (you), alright?’

3.2.4.1.3. Titles

Titles are generally used for addressing the hearer if he is ‘above’ the speaker in a vertical relationship. Persons who are clearly of a lower status do not generally use second person pronouns to refer to addressees of a higher status.

Vertical relationships are common in the context of formal institutions where the individual’s status is defined by his relative position or rank within the organization. When one speaker is required to show respect to another, it becomes appropriate to acknowledge the position or status of the ‘respect-receiver’. Hence it is common for titles indicating the occupational status of the addressee such as cikgu ‘teacher’, profesor ‘professor’ and doktor ‘doctor’ to be used in the place of the second person pronoun. Where the position of the addressee is unclear or where specific address terms relating to the occupation of the addressee do not exist, other terms such as encik ‘mister’, cik ‘miss/mister’, tuan ‘master’ or puan ‘mistress’ may be used. (3.96) is an example of the use of the address term encik ‘mister’ by an employee to
address his employer in HP. Persons respected for their occupational status within the community, such as religious teachers, are also addressed by title by the rest of the community. (3.97) is an example of the use of the term ustaz ‘religious teacher’ to refer to a village ustaz by a visitor.

(3.96) Employee to employer

“Tapi soal Gazis bagaimana? Encik tak risau?”

but question Gazis how mister not worried

‘But, what about Gazis? Is mister (=you) not worried?’ [HP]

(3.97) Visitor to village religious teacher

“Seperti kata ustaz - sakit-nya luar-biasa, ganjil.

like say religious.teacher illness-3 unusual strange

Perlu cara lain.”

need way other

‘Like ustaz (=you) said, his illness is unusual, strange. Some other form (of treatment) is needed.’ [HP]

3.2.4.2. Shifted Pronouns

By ‘shifted pronouns’, I refer to the use of third person and plural pronouns for first or second person reference. Such pronoun shifts occur where the situation calls for some degree of distancing, often due to potential confrontation. The use of shifted pronouns occurs commonly in ABM but is rare in HP. It may be regarded to be typically CM.

3.2.4.2.1. The Use of Dia for Second Person Reference

The use of dia ‘3sg’ in the place of the second person pronouns increases distance between the speakers. In these cases vertical distance does not normally exist between the speakers.

Dia is often used where a speaker is annoyed with an addressee or where the speaker is accusing the hearer of a wrongdoing. However there is usually a lack of hostility in the exchange. The speaker is merely frustrated, annoyed
or irritated. Using *dia* in the place of a second person pronoun tends to lessen the degree of confrontation by creating a distance between the speaker and the addressee. The 'softening' effect is achieved by excluding the addressee as a direct participant in the conversation. The addressee is given the option to interpret the accusation as applying to someone else.

For example, in (3.98) an older sister tells her younger brother off for messing up her homework and in (3.99) a younger brother accuses his older brother of being nosy. In (3.99) the vertical distance between the brothers is virtually non-existent because of the small difference in their age and also because the older brother is financially dependent on the younger brother. In both cases the speakers are not actually hostile, merely annoyed and irritated.

(3.98) "Sodap jo *dio*11 conteng - ini buku Ilmu-Alam
enjoyable just 3sg smudge this book Geography
Acik ni tau tak? Esok cikgu
youngest.older.sister this know not tomorrow teacher
nak tengok!"
want look

'Was it so enjoyable making a mess - do (you) know that this is
Acik's (=my) Geography book? (My) teacher wants to look at (it)
tomorrow!'

(3.99) Older : Ha... baca surat cintan ye? Gua 'sound'
brother HA read letter love yes 1sg tell
kat mak ha - kecik-kecik dah pandai
DAT mum HA small:REDP already clever
simpan makwe ye?"
keep girlfriend yes

'Huh, reading love letters? I'll tell mum - (you're) so
young and (you) already have a girlfriend?'

Younger : Ala... orang dah akil-baligh-la -
brother ALA people already come.of.age-EMPH
meny-(s)ebok je dia ni...
MEN-busy only 3sg this

'Oh, come on... people (-I) have already gone through
akil baligh - isn't he (=you) nosy...'

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11 Dialectal variant of *dia* (cf. Ch. 2).
The use of *dia* as a distancing strategy is contrasted with the use of the second person pronoun *kau* in more hostile types of confrontations such as physical fights. In (3.100) *kau* is used by the speaker who is beating up his addressee, hence there is no necessity for indirectness and distancing.

(3.100) "Ooo... main racun ye. Nah kau ambik ni -

O0O play poison yes NAH 2sg take this

harga racun kau."

price poison 2sg

'Oh... (I see you're) playing with poison? Here you, take this - the price of your poison.'

3.2.4.2.2. Pluralizing First Person Reference

Brown & Levinson (1987:198-203) state that the pluralizing of singular pronouns is a common phenomenon in many unrelated languages and cultures. The use of a plural pronoun to refer to a single participant in a conversation is an indicator of deference or distance.

In Malay, particularly, CM, first person singular pronouns may be replaced by the plural first person inclusive pronoun *kita*. Through its use the speaker achieves a distancing effect by not involving himself directly as an individual participant. *Kita* has a generic sense attached to it when used this way, hence the identity of the participant is to some extent 'blurred' as it were. It is often used in confrontational or potentially confrontational situations, for example, in (3.101) the speaker uses *kita* when speaking to a close friend because she is angry that he did not attend her sister's wedding.

(3.101) "...orang tak sudi datang rumah kita... Apa nak

people NEG willing come house 1sg what want

buat."

do

'...people (=you) did not want to come to our (=my) house... What can (I) do?'

*Kita* may also be used an an exclusive pronoun. Its use also implies distance, for example, in (3.102) *kita* is used by the speaker when addressing
his grandfather whom he meets for the first time. The speaker is distressed at not having been told that his grandfather was coming. He communicates this distress through implying that his grandfather should have let him know beforehand through the question *apasa tak 'sound' nak datang, tuk 'why didn’t (you) tell (us you) were coming, grandpa' and then proceeds to 'soften' it by giving a reason for wanting to be told beforehand: so that they could cook a special dish for the occasion. In this clause he uses *kita* as an exclusive pronoun.

(3.102) "Apasa tak 'sound' nak datang, tuk... Boleh *kita*
why NEG sound want come grandpa can 1pl.excl
'ready' masak lomak cili api." [ABM]
ready cook tasty chilli fire

'Why didn’t (you) tell (us you) were coming, grandpa...
We(excl) would have made you lomak cili api (a traditional Malay hot dish).'

3.2.4.3. The Use of *Orang*

The generic term *orang* 'person, people' may be used in the place of first and second pronouns as a distancing strategy in a similar way to *dia* (cf. Section 3.2.4.2.1). Orang may also be used in the place of a third person pronoun. Generally this occurs when the third person being referred to is present at the scene of the conversation and is a potential participant. As with shifted pronouns, the use of *orang* occurs only in ABM and is therefore a typical CM feature.

In each case the use of *orang* is an attempt to avoid direct confrontation or to lessen the degree of confrontation. Again, as with *dia*, the speakers

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12 Asmah (1982:139-159) describes constructions involving the use of *orang* to refer to self as impersonal constructions which occur in 'dialogue which is taking a turn towards an unhappy or unsatisfactory relationship between the speakers, or which denotes an unpleasant feeling on the part of one speaker towards the other'. This use of *orang* has crept into Malaysian English as well. The term *people* is often used to refer to oneself in a confrontational or potentially confrontational situation and results in the same distancing effect between the speaker and the addressee, for example:

"Hey, shut up-lah. People not talking to you-lah."
[hei jadapia piap notokitu jula]
involved are not hostile but merely irritated or annoyed. The use of *orang* has the effect of turning a definite, specific reference to a particular person into a generic reference. Like the use of *dia*, this gives the hearer or the third person the option of interpreting the proposition put forward as applying to some other person.

In (3.103a) an irritated young man sleeping on the street uses *orang* to refer to himself when telling the person next to him to move over so that he can have more space and in (3.103b) a young man protests at being paid a very low price for a drawing that he had spent much time on. (3.104) is an example of the use of *orang* to refer to an addressee by a young woman who is angry that her friend did not attend her sister’s wedding at her home.

(3.103)

a. "Tepi sikit-la 'brader' - *orang* nak tidur gak..."
side a.little-EMPH brother people want to sleep also

'Hey brother, will you (move) a little (to the) side, - people (=I) want to sleep too...'

[ABM]

AIK twenty cent only people BER-watch until three morning

'What? Only twenty cents? But people (=I) stayed up until three in the morning,'

[ABM]

(3.104) "Eleh... takkan marah lagi kot... alaa... tak raged-le."
rugged-EMPH

"Ye-la... *orang* tak sudi datang rumah kita. yes-EMPH people not willing come house 1sg Apa nak buat."
what want do

'O come on, surely you can't be angry still - that's not nice.'
'Of course - people (=you) did not want to come to our (=my) house...
What can (I) do?'

In (3.105) a young woman responds to a question not directed to her. She uses *orang* to refer to the intended addressee who is too engrossed in talking to his girlfriend whom he has not seen for some time.
(3.105) Speaker A: *Dengan kita-orang tak nak ber-bual ke-*
with 1pl.excl not want BER-talk QUES
*asyik meng-(h)adap kat sana je.*
engrossed MEN-face at there just
‘Hey, don’t (you) want to talk to us? (You’re) facing
that side all the time.’

Young woman: *Alaa, bagi can-la, orang nak lepas*
ALAA give chance-EMPH 3sg want let.go
*rendu.*
longing.for.(someone/something)
‘Oh, come on, give (him) a chance, people (=he) want
to relieve (their = his) feelings of longing.’

[ABM]

The use of generic orang also occurs in the place of personal pronouns or
noun phrases referring to specific persons in ABM narration. A non-
interactional type of distancing is achieved, in this case, between the author
and the referent. In (3.106) the author uses orang to refer to Abang Joe, a very
close friend. A reason for the author wishing to create a distance between
himself and Abang Joe may be that the author wishes to disassociate himself
from Abang Joe’s opinion that he would pass his Art examination, the topic
being discussed. This is to disclaim the fact that he (the author) could be
bragging about himself and his abilities, an act which is shunned in Malay
society. In fact this is made explicit in the discourse preceding (3.106),
reproduced in (3.107).

(3.106) Abang Joe sendiri cakap, aku ada bakat -
older.brother Joe self say 1sg have talent
*STP nanti dah tentu ‘score’ punya. Orang *
STP afterwards already sure score PUNYA people
cakap macam tu, aku ‘confident’-le.
say like that 1sg confident-EMPH

‘Abang Joe himself said that I had talent - (I) would certainly score
(good marks) for the STP (exam). Since people (=he) had said that, I
felt confident.’

(3.107) Aku rasa aku mesti ‘pass’ punya ‘subject’ ini.
1sg feel 1sg must pass PUNYA subject this
Bukan-le nak cakap besar - Abang Joe
not-EMPH want say big older.brother Joe
sendiri cakap aku ada bakat...
selk say 1sg have talent

'I felt that I would certainly pass this subject. It's not that I'm bragging - Abang Joe himself said that I had talent...'

3.2.4.4. The Omission of Address Terms

The complete omission of address terms is another strategy for avoiding the use of the first and second person pronouns in address. Such omissions are related to zero anaphora, a common phenomenon in Malay.

3.2.4.4.1. Zero Anaphora

The term ‘zero anaphora’ refers to the absence or omission of a noun phrase and pronoun that refers to the semantic argument of a clause. My definition includes both the omission of NPs or pronouns that have anaphoric reference (Ex. (3.108)) and those that have deictic reference (Ex. (3.109)). I will refer to the omission of anaphoric NPs or pronouns as ‘anaphoric zeros’ and the omission of deictic NPs or pronouns as deictic zeros. In the texts anaphoric zeros generally occur in narration while deictic zeros generally occur in dialogue.

(3.108) ...dia cakap [baju aku i] busuk - sebab [o] i tak
            3sg say clothes 1sg stink because o NEG
          busuk [o] i
wash o

'...he would say that my clothes smelt because (I) did not wash (them)...'

(3.109) "Kalau ada masalah, bagitau [o]."
          if EXIST problem tell o

'If there is a problem, tell (me about it).'

Zero anaphora is non-obligatory and is a separate phenomenon from obligatory deletion under certain syntactic environments, for example, where the argument is contained in a subordinate complement clause introduced by
complementizers such as *supaya* 'in order to' (Ex. (3.110a)) and *untuk* 'for the purpose of' (Ex. (3.110b)), and in relative clauses (Ex. (3.111)).

(3.110)

a. *Lokman* meng-ingat-kan-nya*[i] supaya [ø][i]
Lokman MEN-remember-CAUS inorder.to ø
meng-as-ing-kan rencana yang sudah pun
MEN-separated-CAUS article REL already PUN
di-atur-huruf. [HP]

‘Lokman reminded him to put aside the typesetted articles.’

b. *Macam-macam cara aku*[i] laku-kan untuk
type:PL way 1sg perform-KAN for the.purpose.of
[ø][i] men-(t)arik perhatian mereka...
[ABM]
ø MEN-pull attention 3pl

‘I tried all sorts of ways to get their attention...’

(3.111) *Se-orang wanita*[i] ber-fesyen yang [ø][i] duduk di
one-CLFR woman BER-fashion REL ø sit at
belakang cepat me-lambai-lambai-kan topi-nya... [HP]
behind fast MEN-wave:REDP-KAN hat-3

‘A fashionable woman in the back seat quickly waved her hat...’

Anaphoric and deictic zeros occur in both ABM and HP. However the types of environments in which anaphoric zeros occur tend to differ. Deictic zeros occur in ABM and HP dialogue. They are more frequent in ABM than HP.

In HP anaphoric zeros tend to occur in coordinated or subordinate clauses which clearly share the same argument (Ex. (3.112)), and in a series of juxtaposed clauses which also share the same argument (Ex. (3.113)) within a sentence.

(3.112) *Sebelum* [ø][i] men-(t)inggal-kan pejabat tadi,
before ø MEN-leave-KAN office a.moment.ago
*Lokman*[i] kelihatan gamam...
Lokman appear anxious [HP]

‘Just before (he) left the office, Lokman appeared anxious...’
(3.113) Diai pergiki sisimi meja, [o]i me-letak-kan
3sg go to side table o MEN-put.down-KAN
pengering rambut-nya, [o]i mem-(p)ungut empat tin
dryer hair-3 o MEN-collect four can
bekas minuman, [o]i mem-bawa-nya ke dapur. [HP]
container drink o MEN-bring-3 to kitchen
‘She went to the table, put down her hair-dryer, picked up four
dry cans and took them to the kitchen.’

In addition to these environments, anaphoric zeros in ABM may extend
over separate sentences where the identity of participant may be ambiguous
in the absence of a clear context (Ex. (3.114)). The identity of the participant
has to be inferred. Anaphoric zeros rarely occur in such environments in HP.

(3.114)
a. ...ini-lah hari terakhir aku ber-sekolah. [o]i sedih-le
this-EMPH day last 1sg BER-school o sad-EMPH
jugak, tapi apa boleh buat...
also but what can do
[ABM]
‘...this was my last day of school. (I) was sad but what could (I) do...’

b. ...sapa nak ngaku sedara kalau singkek macam aku,
who want admit relative if outsider like 1sg
Mau tak mau, [o]i kena-la tebal-kan muka
want not want o required-EMPH thick-CAUS face
tinggal dengan Mie dan Stross. [ABM]
live with Mie and Stross
‘...who would recognize an outsider like me as a relative. Whether
(I) liked it or not, (I) had to swallow my pride and (continue) living
with Mie and Stross.’

Zero anaphora may be driven by a number of factors:

(1) ‘Anaphoric zeros’ are driven by the degree of topic accessibility of the
referent in discourse (in the sense of Givon (1983:16)). The more
accessible or continuous the referent in the discourse, the more likely it
is to be left unexpressed.\footnote{Average referential distance (see Givon 1983) for anaphoric zeroes in both ABM and HP was minimal, that is, 1.00.} Hence zero anaphora often occurs where the
referent is overtly expressed in immediately preceding or following
discourse (Ex. (3.115) & (3.116)).
(3.115) Referent is overtly expressed in immediately preceding discourse

Hari itu, aku, kira 'smart'-le jugak
day that lsg consider smart(of.appearance)-EMPH also
dari hari-hari lain. [s]i pakai 'T-shirt' belang-belang
from day:PL other Ø wear T-shirt stripe:PL
dan seluar pendek biru tua.
and pants short blue old
'That day, I looked considerably smarter than on other days. (I) wore a striped T-shirt and dark blue shorts.'

(3.116) Referent is overtly expressed in immediately following discourse

Semakin SPM hampir, fikiran [s]i makin tidak
increasingly SPM near thoughts Ø increase not
tenteram. Aku ter-ingat abah, [s]i ter-ingat
peaceful lsg TER-remember dad Ø TER-remember
mak...
[ABM]
mum
'As the SPM (examination) approached, (my) thoughts became increasingly disturbed. I thought about dad and mum...'

(2) In contrast ‘deictic zeros’ do not have antecedents in preceding or following discourse. They tend to occur in conversational exchanges as a result of mutual knowledge shared between the speaker and hearer. Pronouns and other terms of address are often omitted since identity is easily inferrable. For example, in (3.117) the first and second person pronouns are omitted in the reply of a young woman to her friend’s offer to lend her his class notes in ABM; and in (3.118) the second and first person pronouns are absent in a conversation between a ferryman and a passenger in HP.

(3.117) "Laa - [s] tak payah-le hantar - [s] dah
LAA Ø not difficult-EMPH send Ø already
ada nota dah. Kawan bagi [s]. Ah... letak je-la
have note already friend give Ø AH put just-EMPH
kat situ. Karang [s] ambik.”
[ABM]
at there afterwards Ø take

'Ooh, (you) didn’t need to bring (them) - I already have the notes. A friend gave (them to me). Just leave (them) over there. (I’ll) take them later.'
(3.118) Ferryman: Saya pun sudah beritahu [ø] juga semalam, 1sg PUN already tell ø also yesterday
[ø] ter-lupa?'
ø TER-forget
'I'd already told (you) last night - have (you) forgotten?'
Passenger: O ya, [ø] ingat.
oh yes ø remember
'Oh yes, (I) remember (now).'

In the case of a third person referent in a conversation, the pronoun may be omitted if its referent is present at the location or scene of the exchange. For example, in (3.119) the referent of the ellided pronoun dia '3sg' or noun phrase Aca, is at the location of the conversation.

(3.119) "Ini-le kemalangan jiwa yang paling dasat
this-EMPH accident soul REL most terrible
dalam tahun ni. Dalam se-minggu dua ni [ø]
inside year this inside one-week two this ø
mesti tangkap sensitif punya ni."
[ABM]
must catch sensitive PUNYA this
'This is the worst 'accident of the soul' this year. In these couple of weeks, (he's) going to be very sensitive.'

3.2.4.4.2. 'Deictic Zeros'

While the use of 'anaphoric zeros' is largely as an 'information management' tool which aids economical expression, the use of 'deictic zeros' may be seen as possessing a dual function. On one hand, like anaphoric zeros, it is an 'information management' tool which aids economical expression; on the other hand, it may be regarded as a secondary strategy for avoiding the use of the first and second person pronouns. Indirectness is achieved through omitting pronouns and address terms which 'neutralizes' the distinctions of person, status and kinship relations that the use of the pronouns and address terms imply.
However the omission of address terms does not appear to be dependent on politeness variables in the same way as the other forms of address. Their occurrence does not imply a higher level of politeness and does not have the effect of increasing or decreasing distance in an obvious way. The omission of address forms may occur in a variety of contexts. For example, terms of address may be dropped in conversations where a vertical or horizontal distance exists between the speaker and hearer calling for politeness to be shown as in (3.118), a conversation between a ferryman and a passenger and (3.119) a conversation between a father and son. Address terms may also be omitted in exchanges where politeness or deference is not a requirement, that is, where there is no existing vertical or horizontal distance, for example, between people of the same age group who are friends (Ex. 3.120)).

(3.119) Father and son

Son : [ə] pegi mana, bah?
   ø go where dad
   'Where are (you) going, dad?'

Father : [ə] pegi rumah atuk kamu kai
   ø go house grandpa 2sg at
   Rantau. [ə] nak ikut pegi mandi
   Rantau ø want follow go bathe
   cepat. Ajak Kakcik kamu.
   quick invite youngest.older.sister 2sg
   'I'm going to your grandpa's place at Rantau. If (you)
   want to come along, go and have (your) bath, quick.
   Ask your kakcik (to help you).' [ABM]

(3.120) Young man and male friend (same age group)

Student : Aik, lama [ə] tak datang, mana [ø]
   Aik long.time ø not come where ø
   pegi?
   go
   'You haven't been here for a long time now
   (surprised), where have (you) been?'

Young : [ø] sibuk noreh! Getah naik
   man ø busy tap.rubber rubber ascend
   harga-le.
   price-EMPH
   'I've been busy tapping rubber (because) the price of
   rubber has gone up.' [ABM]
Chapter 4

Selected Grammatical Features

This chapter looks at aspects of grammar in which CM differs from SM. As such, I will not give a complete account of Malay grammar. However where appropriate, I will look at general characteristics of both CM and SM in order to provide a context in which to discuss a CM feature. In Section 4.1 are some preliminary remarks concerning some terminology used. Then follow discussions of morphology (Section 4.2), 'passivization' strategies (Section 4.3), causative constructions (Section 4.4) and the structure of noun phrases (Section 4.5). I also look at a typical CM construction: the Mod-punya-Head phrase (Section 4.6). Finally I consider verbal auxiliaries, in particular, (s)udah 'already'; and nak and dok, both of which are CM forms (Section 4.7), and the use of the adverbial saja/(a)je 'just, only' (Section 4.8) in CM and SM.

4.1. Preliminary Notes: Terminology

The following are a number of terms used which may require some clarification:

'SUBJECT'
The notion of 'subject' is a problematic one for many East Asian and South East Asian languages (cf. Foley & Van Valin 1977). Malay is no exception. What is considered as 'subject' in Malay tends to more closely resemble a pragmatic topic or theme in some cases (cf. Cumming 1988). 'Subjects' in Malay do not necessarily have the properties associated with subjects cross-
linguistically such as animacy and agentivity (Keenan 1976). Cumming has chosen the term 'trigger' which is a syntactic role label for an obligatory core argument which is available to syntactic processes such as relativization and syntactic deletion. Foley & Van Valin (1984) use the term 'pivot' in a similar sense.

I use the term 'subject' to refer to a syntactic category rather similar to Cumming's 'trigger' or Foley & Van Valin's 'pivot'. This position is generally available to syntactic processes such as those mentioned above: it does not necessarily have strong correlations with semantic and pragmatic properties such as agency and topicality. 'Subjects' generally occur in clause-initial position preceding the verb phrase.

'DIRECT OBJECT'
'Direct object' refers to a normally immediately post-verbal position filled by a NP which is the direct argument of a transitive verb.

'OB LIQUE'
'Oblique' refers to NPs marked by prepositions in prepositional phrases. These can be peripheral arguments of the predicate.

'ACTOR'
The term 'actor' is used in the sense of Foley & Van Valin (1984:29). It refers to 'the argument of a predicate which expresses the participant which performs, effects, instigates, or controls the situation denoted by the predicate'.

'UNDERGOER'
This term is also used in the sense of Foley & Van Valin (1984:29). It refers to 'the argument which expresses the participant which does not perform, initiate, or control any situation but rather is affected by it in some way'.

'A', 'O' & 'S'
'A' refers to the Actor argument in a transitive clause, 'O' the Undergoer or patient argument in a transitive clause and 'S' refers to the single argument of an intransitive clause.
'PASSIVE'
The notion of 'passive' is a problematic one in Malay. There exist a number of constructions referred to as passives in Malay grammars (e.g. Arbak 1981, Asmah 1986b & Safiah et al 1987), which do not closely resemble the traditional 'passive' construction in terms of grammatical features. However they appear to share the general semantic and pragmatic properties associated with 'passives' cross-linguistically (see discussion in Section 4.3). Therefore I will retain the term 'passive' for these constructions despite its problems. I use the term 'passive' to refer to Patient- or Undergoer-initial clauses which share similar semantic and pragmatic functions to passives but which may not necessarily have the grammatical properties associated with the traditional passive.

'ADJECTIVAL'
Malay does not have a distinct class of adjectives although some SM grammars assume its existence (see Safiah et al 1987). However other works acknowledge the non-existence of clear distinguishing grammatical properties of adjectives in Malay and prefer to treat adjective-like predicates as stative verbs (see Asmah 1975:172-184, Abdullah 1974).

I use the term 'adjectival' to refer to predicates which describe qualities, such as besar 'big', pendek 'short', cantik 'beautiful' and baik 'good'. 'Adjectivals' are regarded as a sub-class of verbs.

4.2. Morphology

The major morphological processes in Malay are affixation, reduplication and compounding (Abdullah 1974:43). It is generally accepted that CM and SM differ most markedly in affixation, that is, there is a noticeable lack of affixation in CM compared to SM (Benjamin 1986). In other words CM words are generally less complex morphologically than SM words.

I will not give a detailed account and comparison of the morphological systems of CM and SM here. Such a study could take up a whole volume by itself. The reader is referred to the literature (e.g. Abdullah 1974, Asmah
1986b, Farid 1976) which contain detailed descriptions of Malay morphology. Benjamin (1986 & 1988) contain discussions on the grammatical, semantic and sociolinguistic aspects of the use of the major verbal affixes. Here I will look at affixation and reduplication in the texts.

4.2.1. Affixation

There are two major types of affixation in Malay: verbal and nominal. Verbal affixes are attached to either verbal or non-verbal roots to derive verbs, and nominal affixes are attached to nominal roots or non-nominal roots to derive nouns.

4.2.1.1. General Functions of Affixes

4.2.1.1.1. Verbal Affixes

The major verbal affixes are the prefixes meN-, di-, ber- and ter- and the suffixes -kan and -i.

meN- generally indicates the presence of an Actor as subject and occurs in clauses of AVO and SV word order (Ex. (4.1)). In Classical Malay meN- has a similar function indicating an ‘agent-trigger’ (Cumming 1988). The prefix di- indicates the presence of an Undergoer or patient argument as subject (Ex. (4.2)). di- is thus referred to as a ‘patient-trigger’ affix by Cumming.

(4.1)  
a. Gazis mem-buka rencana lidah-pengarang itu... [HP]  
Gazis MEN-open article editorial that  
‘Gazis opened up the editorial...’

b. Biman masih meny-(s)eringai... [HP]  
Biman still MEN-grin  
‘Biman was still grinning...’

(4.2)  
...bahu-nya cepat di-pegang oleh Norisah. [HP]  
shoulder-3 quick DI-hold by Norisah  
‘...Norisah quickly reached for his shoulder.’
Ber- generally indicates reciprocality, for example, ber-tumbuk ‘punch each other’ and ber-cakap ‘talk to each other’; reflexivity, for example, ber-cukur ‘to shave (oneself)’, ber-paling ‘to turn one’s own head’; and habituality, for example, ber-jual [ber- + sell] ‘to trade’. It is generally regarded as a marker of intransitive clauses (Asmah 1986b:127).

Ter- generally indicates non-volitional, unintentional or completed action, for example, ter-pengsan ‘faint’, ter-lelap ‘fall asleep’ and ter-sebar ‘be spread’.

The suffix -kan is generally regarded as a transitiveizer, that is, it raises peripheral arguments in a clause to core status (Ex. (4.3)). It may also indicate benefactive case (Ex. (4.4)) and may be used as a causitivizer (Ex. (4.5)). See Asmah (1986b:35-9).

(4.3) -kan as transitiveizer

a. ...
   aku lupa-s pada Anor.
   1sg forget DAT Anor
   ‘I forgot about Anor.’

b. ...
   aku cuba me-lupa-kan Anor.
   1sg try MEN-forget-KAN Anor
   ‘I tried to forget (about) Anor.’

(4.4) Dia-orang hadiah-kan aku satu set ‘water-colour’,
3pl present-BEN 1sg one set water.colour
berus lukisan dan ‘drawing pad’.
brush drawing and drawing-pad
‘They presented me with a set of water-colours, paint brushes and a
drawing pad.’

(4.5) Munif mem-(p)using-kan haluan perahu...
Munif MEN-turn-CAUS bow boat
‘Munif turned the boat...’

-i generally indicates iterative or continuous action (Ex. (4.6)) and locative case (Ex. (4.7)). It may also function as as a transitiveizer (Ex. (4.8)). See Asmah (1986b:139-43).
(4.6) "Sebenar-nya sudah lebih dari lapan bulan akhbar actually more from eight month newspaper mingguan kita ini di-awas-i..." [HP] weekly 1pl.incl this Dl-watch-I ‘In fact, our weekly has been (closely) monitored for the past eight months...’

(4.7) Beberapa ekor lalat saling ber-gilir several CLFR house.fly mutual BER-take.turns meng-hinggap-i tepi gelas susu... [HP] MEN-perch-LOC edge glass milk ‘A few flies took turns resting on the brim of the glass of milk...’

(4.8) -i as a transitivizer
a. “Abang Lokman ini... sedar akan older.brother Lokman this aware of tanggungjawab-nya.” [HP] responsibility-3 ‘Abang Lokman is aware of his responsibilities...’

b. “Dan dia meny-(s)edar-i keremajaan-ku itu.” [HP] and 3sg MEN-aware-I youthfulness-1sg that ‘And he was aware of my youthfulness (at that time).’

4.2.1.1.2. Nominal Affixes

The nominal affixes that occur frequently in both ABM and HP are the prefix peN-, the suffix -an, and the circumfixes ke-an, per-an and peN-an.

peN- may occur with nominal, verbal and adjectival roots and generally derives nominals that refer to human, concrete or abstract entities that are related to the meaning of the root, for example, pen-(t)ambang [peN + ferry] ‘ferryman, person who rows the ferryboat’, pen-(t)ampar [peN + slap(v.)] ‘(a) slap’, pen-(t)inju [peN + box/punch(v.)] ‘(a) box/punch’ and peny-(s)akit [peN + sick] ‘sickness’. See Asmah (1986b:52-55).

The use of -an generally derives nominals that refer to non-human, concrete or abstract entities that are related to the meaning of the root or to a result of the action indicated by the root, for example, gambar-an [picture +


Per- -an and peN- -an generally derive nominals which refer to the 'process of X', or 'achieving X' where X is the root, for example, per-bual-an [per + talk + -an] 'conversation', per-pindah-an [per + shift/move + an] 'shifting' and per-kembang-an [per + expand + an] 'expansion, development', pen-jajah-an [peN + colonize + an] 'colonization', pen-jelas-an [peN + clear + an] 'clarification, explanation' and pem-berontak-an [peN + revolt + an] 'revolt, revolution'. See Asmah (1986b:63-8).

4.2.1.2. Affixation in CM and SM

There is a distinction between the use of the voice prefixes meN- and di- on the one hand and the other affixes ber-, ter-, -kan and -i on the other in CM and SM.

4.2.1.2.1. meN- and di-

CM is characterized by a far lower frequency of the prefixes meN- and di- than in SM. This is supported by frequency counts of the prefixes in ABM and HP (cf. discussion in Section 4.2.1.2.4).

In SM meN- and di- are generally regarded as affixes which mark the active and passive voice respectively (Asmah 1986b, Safiah et al 1987). The

\footnote{The notions of voice and passive in Malay are not without problems. See discussion in Section 4.3.}
use of meN- is obligatory in active transitive clauses and di- in 'passive' clauses which contain third person Actors. Where the Actor is a first or second person pronoun, 'passive' is indicated by the 'procliticized Actor' construction (cf. Section 4.3).

The obligatoriness of the use of meN- as an active voice marker in SM is illustrated in Safiah et al's (1987:91-92) analysis of AVO clauses which contain unprefixed verbs such as, Saya tendang bola itu 'I kicked the ball'. The absence of the meN- prefix is regarded as an indicator that the clause is not in the active voice, even though the clause has AVO word order which is generally associated with active transitive clauses. Since passive clauses are generally of OV(A) order, Safiah et al analyze sentences such as Saya tendang bola itu as having been derived from an underlying 'passive' construction of OV order, that is the 'procliticized Actor' construction (cf. Section 4.3): Bola itu saya tendang 'The ball, I kicked (it)', where the pronoun saya 'I' is considered as a procliticized full form (cf. Ch. 3). Safiah et al regard sentences like Saya tendang bola itu as 'shifted passives' (pasif songsang 'upside-down passive').

In CM the use of meN- is far from obligatory. Distinguishing between the active and passive voice is not a major concern. Two main functions of the prefix meN- have been suggested. According to Benjamin (1988:26), the basic function of meN- in CM is as an 'optional connective element in serial verb constructions', that is, where the second verb in a sequence of two consecutive verbs is optionally prefixed with meN- for example, pegi men-(t)oreh [go + meN + tap.rubber] 'go and tap rubber' and keluar me-rayau [go.out + meN + roam.about] 'go out roaming (the streets)'. Liaw (1985) on the other hand, suggests that the use of meN- 'places importance or emphasis' (mengutamakan) on the Actor while the absence of meN- 'places importance' on the action or event represented by the verb. This is also the opinion of Za'ba (Zainal 1947, 1957, 1958) cited in Liaw (1985).

However my examination of ABM does not support either of these explanations. The use of meN- simply tends to be associated with a more formal register while the absence of meN- and other affixes in general indicates a less formal and more colloquial register. Thus the occurrence of
meN- and other affixes tend to cluster with other more formal register features.

For example, in (4.9) the clauses containing the verbs prefixed with meN-, men-jadi(-kan) ‘(cause to) become’, occur in an environment where there are other formal features as well: other affixes such as the verbal affixes ber- and -kan and the nominal suffix -an; the use of the formal locative preposition di instead of the colloquial kat (cf. Ch. 5); the use of the first person pronominal enclitic -ku in the place of the cliticized full pronoun form aku ‘1sg’ (cf. Ch. 3), and the formal form of the emphatic particle -lah instead of its colloquial variants -le/-la. On the other hand, in (4.10) the bare verb jadi 'become' occurs in the environment of other informal features, for example, the colloquial forms nak 'want' in the place of the formal hendak, ambik 'take' for ambil, and dah 'already' for sudah. In addition there is the colloquial modal particle punya indicating certainty (cf. Ch. 2).

(4.9) Di se-buah rumah dalam daerah Kuala Pilah, lahir-lah at one-CLFR house inside district Kuala Pilah born-EMPH
se-orang bayi lelaki yang men-jadi-kan bilang-an
one-CLFR baby male REL MEN-become-KAN count-AN
keluarga-ku ber-tambah men-jadi tujuh orang.
family-1sg BER-increase MEN-become seven person

'In a house in the district of Kuala Pilah, a baby boy was born, increasing the number of people in my family to seven.' [ABM]

(4.10) ...kalau dia nak ambik aku jadi menantu aku if 3sg want take 1sg become son-in-law 1sg
dah tentu rela punya.
already certain willing PUNYA

'...if she wanted me as a son-in-law, I would have definitely been willing.' [ABM]

There are also instances in ABM of the retention of the nasal component of the meN- prefix where me- is dropped. However this process is not frequent and tends to be restricted to particular lexicalized forms such as nangis [N + tangis] 'cry', noreh [N + toreh] 'tap rubber', and motong [N + potong 'cut'] which has the fixed meaning 'to tap rubber'.

Di- is infrequent in ABM. Instead the functions of the 'passive' clause may be expressed by other types of constructions (see Section 4.3).
4.2.1.2.2. ber-, ter-, -kan and -i

As with meN- and di-, so with the other affixes ber-, ter-, -kan and -i: CM is characterized by a higher frequency of unaffixed forms. Yet these affixes, in particular, ber-, ter- and -kan, are less prone to being dropped in CM than meN- and di-. This is supported by frequency counts of the affixes in ABM and HP (cf. discussion in Section 4.2.1.2.4).

An explanation for the tendency to retain these affixes in CM may be that, unlike meN- and di-, they tend to have more semantic content, for example, ber- indicating reciprocality and ter- non-volitionality (cf. Section 4.2.1.1), and are more frequently derivational in nature, that is, they are used more often to derive verbs from other parts of speech in CM. An example of the tendency to retain such affixes is given in (4.11). (4.11) involves the suffix -kan which is used derive the causative verb tinggal-kan ‘to leave’ from the stative verb tinggal ‘to be left (behind)’. The prefix meN- indicating active voice, which is normally attached as well in SM (men-(t)inggal-kan), is dropped but the suffix -kan is retained due to its more ‘indispensable’ function as a causativizer.

(4.11) ...ma.sa a.ku pe.rgi ma.ndi, a.bah ti.nggal-kan a.ku. [ABM]
        time 1sg go bathe  dad left-CAUS 1sg
        ‘...while I had my bath, dad left me.’

4.2.1.2.3. Absence of Affixation

In ABM, not only verb roots, but also other parts of speech may occur as verbs in their ‘bare’ forms. Their syntactic function has to be inferred from their syntagmatic relations with other words in the clause, for example, the noun cerita ‘story’ frequently occurs as a verb meaning ‘to tell (story)/talk about’ in its unaffixed form (Ex. (4.12)). However in HP only verbs may occur unaffixed. All non-verbal roots occur with verbal affixes when functioning as verbs.
(4.12)  
a. *cerita* used as a noun ‘story’

...ter-<b>ingat</b> cerita-cerita lama.  
TER-remember story:PL old

‘...(I) remembered the past (stories).’

b. *cerita* used as a verb ‘to tell/talk about’

Siang malam, pagi petang asyik cerita  
day night morning evening engrossed talk.about

pasal ayam.  
about chicken

‘All day long, (he) would talk about (his) chickens.’

4.2.1.2.4. Affix Frequencies in the Texts

Overall counts of the affixes in the texts support the view that affixation is less frequent in CM than in SM. HP has approximately three times as many affixed forms as ABM overall. The inventory affixes\(^2\) are also significantly higher in HP than in ABM. See Table 4.1.

The voice prefixes meN- and di- occur significantly more frequently in HP than in ABM. HP contains 4.3 times as many instances of meN- and 6.4 times as many of di- than ABM. On the other hand, the other affixes, although also more frequent in HP than ABM, are more ‘resilient’ than meN- and di-, in the sense that they are less likely to be dropped in ABM. This is reflected in the frequency counts. HP has only 1.9 times more occurrences of ber-, 2.3 times more of ter-, and 2.7 times more of -kan than ABM, which are lower than the meN- and di- figures. However the relative frequencies of -i resembles those of meN- and di- more closely: -i occurs 5.8 times more frequently in HP than in ABM.

Table 4.2 lists overall frequencies of affixed and unaffixed verb forms in the texts. In the counts of unaffixed verbs I have excluded verbs which normally

\(^2\) I have counted verbal prefixes and suffixes separately and not separated out circumfixes as it is not always clear whether a root carrying both a prefix and a suffix is derived first by prefixation and then suffixation (or vice versa) or whether the root is derived by adding a circumfix.
occur in 'bare' unaffixed form such as dalang 'come', pergi 'go' and mati 'die' and verbs to which proclitic(ized) pronouns are attached.

A count of unaffixed versus affixed verb roots in ABM and HP reveals a situation where ABM contains approximately 15 times as many unaffixed verbs as HP and only a third as many affixed verbs, whether prefixed, suffixed or both, or circumfixed. See Table 4.2.

In ABM the majority of the affixed verbs occur in narration. Dialogue contains only 1.5% of all the affixed verbs that occur in the whole text. A mirror situation exists in HP where the majority of the unaffixed verbs occur in dialogue. Only 1.9% of the total of unaffixed verbs in HP occur in narration excluding verbs which are normally always unaffixed in SM. Hence the absence versus presence of affixes is a particularly strong index of a colloquial versus formal register. The affix frequencies reflect the fact that narration is more formal than dialogue in both ABM and HP.

Nominals derived by affixation also occur more frequently in HP than in ABM (see Table 4.2). HP contains approximately 2.7 times more derived nominals than ABM.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ABM</th>
<th>HP</th>
<th>Ratio (Approx)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>meN-</td>
<td>458</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>1:4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di-</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>413</td>
<td>1:6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ber-</td>
<td>437</td>
<td>809</td>
<td>1:1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ter-</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>669</td>
<td>1:2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kan</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>858</td>
<td>1:2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>1:5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>1621</td>
<td>5015</td>
<td>1:3.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.1. Frequencies of Major Affixes
4.2.2. Reduplication

There are two major types of reduplication in Malay (see Abdullah 1974, Asmah 1986b):

1. Total or partial reduplication which involve either the total reduplication of a lexical root, for example, *budak-budak* 'kids, children' or the reduplication of a part of the root, for example, *segala-gala* 'all'.

2. 'Rhyming' (Abdullah 1974, Asmah 1986b - *pergandaan berima* 'rhyming reduplication'). This refers to a reduplication of the root which is accompanied by a modification of consonant(s) and/or vowel(s) in the reduplicated form, for example, *sekali-sekala* [sekali 'once'] 'once in a while', *huyung-hayang* [huyung 'sway'] 'swaying from side to side'. There are no simple rules for forming such 'rhyming pairs' and the change in sound segments is generally based on euphony.
4.2.2.1. Total/Partial Reduplication

The major word-classes that may undergo total or partial reduplication are nominals, verbs and adverbs. Conjunctions, quantifiers and pronominals may also be reduplicated. Generally reduplication functions as an indicator of plurality in nouns, of iterativity, intensity, continuity or uncertainty in verbs and of intensity in adverbs. Examples are:

(4.13) Nouns - plurality
   orang-orang  [orang ‘person(s)’]  ‘people’
   kakak-kakak  [kakak ‘sister(s)’]  ‘sisters’

(4.14) Verbs - iterativity/intensity/continuity/uncertainty
   meng-geleng-geleng  [geleng ‘shake the head’]  ‘keep shaking the head’
   me-rayau-rayau  [rayau ‘wander’]  ‘wander around’
   ber-lari-lari  [lari ‘run’]  ‘run around’
   tanya-tanya  [tanya ‘ask’]  ‘keep on asking’

(4.15) Adverbs - intensity
   perlahan-lahan  [perlahan ‘slow(ly), soft(ly)’]  ‘very slowly, softly’
   cepat-cepat  [cepat ‘fast, quick(ly)’]  ‘very quickly’
   ter-amat-amat  [amat ‘very’]  ‘extremely’

(4.16) Conjunctions
   sambil-sambil  [sambil ‘while’]  ‘while, simultaneously’
   kalau-kalau  [kalau ‘if’]  ‘if at all’

(4.17) Quantifiers
   banyak-banyak  [banyak ‘much’]  ‘a lot’
   segala-gala  [segala ‘all’]  ‘all, totally’

(4.18) Pronouns
   apa-apa  [apa ‘what’]  ‘whatever’
   bila-bila  [bila ‘when’]  ‘whenever’
   mereka-mereka  [mereka ‘they’]  ‘they, those’
Total or partial reduplication may also result in a change in word-class, for example, adverbs may be derived from reduplicating nominal (Ex. (4.19)) or verbal roots (Ex. (4.20)).

(4.19) Nominal root -> Adverb

\[ hati-hati \quad [hati \text{ 'heart, centre of emotions'}] \quad 'carefully' \]
\[ hari-hari \quad [hari \text{ 'day'}] \quad 'daily' \]

(4.20) Verbal root -> Adverb

\[ mula-mula \quad [mula \text{ 'begin'}] \quad 'initially' \]
\[ kira-kira \quad [kira \text{ 'count'}] \quad 'approximately; (also accounts, mathematics)' \]

The overall frequency of total and partial reduplication in ABM and HP do not differ significantly (see Table 4.3). HP contains approximately 1.3 times more reduplicated roots than ABM. However there is a marked difference in the distribution of reduplication. For most word classes reduplicated forms are more frequent in HP than in ABM except for adverbs, pronouns and adverbs derived by reduplicating nominal roots, which are more frequent in ABM.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ABM</th>
<th>HP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominals</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbs</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverbs</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjunctions</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantifiers</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronouns</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V -&gt; Adverb</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N -&gt; Adverb</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td>524</td>
<td>673</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.3. Frequency of Total and Partial Reduplication
In ABM nominals and adverbs are reduplicated frequently. 27% (or 143 out of 524) of the reduplicated forms in ABM involve nominals and 25% (or 132 out of 524) involve adverbs. These are followed by verbs (21%). For HP verb reduplication is by far the dominant group. 36% (241 out of 673) of the instances of reduplication in HP involve verbs. This is followed by 24% of nominals and 18% of adverbs.

4.2.2.2. ‘Rhyming’

‘Rhyming’ pairs tend to occur relatively infrequently compared to total and partial reduplication. They are especially infrequent in HP. HP contains only three ‘rhyming’ pairs: teka-teki [teka ‘guess’] ‘riddle’, senang-lenang [senang ‘easy’] ‘easy and comfortable’ and ulang-alik [ulang ‘repeat’] ‘go to and fro’. Two of these three pairs: teka-teki and senang-lenang, occur in dialogue. On the other hand, there is a total of 27 ‘rhyming pairs’ in ABM. Although not a significant number compared to total/partial reduplication frequencies, it is significantly higher than the frequency of ‘rhyming pairs’ in HP. Hence ‘rhyming’ may be regarded as having a tendency towards colloquialism or informality. Some examples are:

(4.21) beli-belah [beli ‘buy’] ‘to go shopping’
     lalu-lalang [lalu ‘pass by’] ‘passing by (of many people)’
     calar-balar [calar ‘scratch’] ‘marks and scratches’
     saudara-mara [saudara ‘relative’] ‘relatives’
     sedu-sedan [sedu ‘sob’] ‘sobbing and crying’
     hina-dina [hina ‘lowly’] ‘despicable’
     ber-detup-detap [detup ‘crackling sound’] ‘with an exploding sound’
     sekali-sekala [sekali ‘once’] ‘once in a while’
4.2.2.3. CM Expressions Involving Reduplicated Forms

There are also a number of characteristic CM adverbial particles and adverbs derived from reduplicated verbal roots and measure terms. Adverbial particles derived from reduplicated verbal roots include sedar-sedar [sedar ‘aware (of)’] ‘before (I/you/(s)he etc.) knew it’ (Ex. (4.22)), aih-aih [aih ‘change direction’] ‘unexpectedly’ (Ex. (4.23)), tambah-tambah [tambah ‘increase’] ‘furthermore’ (Ex. (4.24)) and silap-silap [silap ‘make a mistake’] ‘for all (I/you etc.) know’ (Ex. (4.25)).

(4.22) Hati aku ber-belah bagi, nak jumpa-ke tidak,  
heart 1sg BER-split divide want meet-KE not  
sedar-sedar aku dah pun ber-diri di  
before.(I).knew.it 1sg already PUN BER-stand at  
hadapan-nya. [ABM]  
front-3  
'I was in a dilemma, I could not decide whether to see her, but before I knew it, I was already standing in front of her.'

(4.23) Se-minggu lebih dah aku kat rumah, mak buat tak  
one-week more already 1sg at house mum make not  
tau je, aih-aih hari ni panggil lak. [ABM]  
know just unexpectedly day this call LAK  
'I had already been home for a week and mum had ignored me all this while, but today, out of the blue, she called (me).'

(4.24) Aku tak salah-kan Aca sebab dia kecil lagi,  
1sg not wrong-CAUS Aca because 3sg small still  
tambah-tambah pulak dia tu bengap sikit. [ABM]  
furthermore moreover 3sg that dull a.little  
'I did not blame Aca because he was still young, furthermore, he was a bit dull too.'

(4.25) Aku dapat agak apa akan ter-jadi kalau aku  
1sg get guess what will TER-become if 1sg  
tunggu. Tambah-tambah mak tengah 'bad mood'.  
wait furthermore mum middle bad mood  
'Silap-silap kang hidung aku lak ber-darah.  
for.all.(I).know afterwards nose 1sg LAK BER-blood  
'I could guess what would happen if I had waited. Moreover mum was in a bad mood. For all I know, I could end up with a bloodied nose.' [ABM]
Adverbs derived from reduplicated measure terms are common in CM. This is a more productive process than the previous cases. In these cases reduplication indicates ‘distributedness’. Examples include sorang-sorang [sorang\(^3\) ‘one (person)’] ‘alone; one by one’ (Ex. (4.26)) and sekor-sekor [sekor\(^4\) ‘one (animal)’] ‘one by one’ (Ex. (4.27)).

(4.26)
\[
\begin{align*}
a. & \quad \ldots\text{aku ter-kejar-kejar kat tengah padang. Main bola} \\
& \quad 1sg \ T E R - c h a s e : R E D P \ a t \ \text{middle field play ball} \\
& \quad \text{sorang-sorang.} \quad [A B M] \\
& \quad \text{alone} \\
& \quad \ldots\text{I ran around the field playing ball alone.}'
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
b. & \quad \text{Mata aku liar men-cari, lepas sorang-sorang aku} \\
& \quad \text{eye 1sg wild MEN-search past one.by.one} \\
& \quad \text{perati.} \quad [A B M] \\
& \quad \text{observe} \\
& \quad \ldots\text{I looked hard (for her), I observed (them) carefully, one by one.'}
\end{align*}
\]

(4.27)
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Senang benar di-pengaruh-i kalau lepas ke} \\
& \quad \text{easy true DI-influence-I if let loose to} \\
& \quad Kolu mpo. \quad \text{Sekor-sekor tu, dah tentu} \\
& \quad \text{Kuala.Lumpur one.by.one derog) that already certain} \\
& \quad \text{hancur-le.} \quad [A B M] \\
& \quad \text{crushed-EMPH} \\
& \quad \ldots\text{(They) would be so easily influenced if (they) were to go to Kuala Lumpur. One by one, they would be destroyed.'}
\end{align*}
\]

4.3. ‘Passivization’ Strategies

4.3.1. The Notion of ‘Passive’ in Malay

Malay grammars (e.g. Arbak 1981, Asmah 1986b & Safiah et al 1987) list up to as many as six ‘passive’ constructions. These may be classified into three types according to their formal properties:

---

\(^3\) sorang is related to the SM measure phrase se-orang [one-CLFR (for humans)].

\(^4\) sekor is related to the SM measure phrase se-ekor [one-CLFR (for animals)].
(1) Those that are distinguished by affixal verbal morphology: the *di-, ter, ber- and ke- -an* 'passives'.

(2) Those that are distinguished by an unprefixed root to which the Actor NP is procliticized.

(3) Those that are expressed periphrastically, with the lexical root *kena* 'be affected by'.

Asmah (1986b) describes two 'passives' in Malay: the true or canonical passive (*pasif jati* 'genuine passive') and the non-canonical 'passive' (*pasif semu* 'feigned passive'). Her analysis resembles Chung's (1976) analysis of the Indonesian 'passive'. The true or canonical passive construction involves the use of 'passive' morphology on the verb, that is, the prefix *di-*, the promoting of the direct object to subject position and the occurrence of an optional *oleh* agent phrase following the verb (Ex. (4.28)), *oleh* itself being optional as well (Ex. (4.28c)). This construction involves only third person Actors. In the non-canonical 'passive' the direct object is fronted and the first or second person subject pronoun (i.e. Actor) is procliticized onto the verb (Ex. (4.29)). This construction involves only first and second person pronominal subjects (or Actors). I will refer to it as the 'procliticized Actor passive'.

(4.28)

a. ...*bahu-nya cepat di-pegang oleh Norisah.* [HP]
   shoulder-3 quick DI-hold by Norisah
   'Norisah quickly reached for his shoulder.'

b. ...*sebelum di-tarik ke dalam air oleh Tengku Rizi.*
   before DI-pull to inside water by Tengku Rizi
   '...before (she) was dragged into the water by Tengku Rizi.' [HP]

c. ...*kata-kata itu di-petik Lokman daripada perengan rencana-nya yang ter-bengkalai.*
   word:PL that DI-pluck Lokman from paragraph
   article-3 REL TER-incomplete
   '...those words were taken by Lokman from a paragraph of the unfinished article.'

d. "...*rumah Lokman di-keliling-i semalam.*"
   house Lokman DI-around-I yesterday
   '...Lokman's house was surrounded yesterday.'
(4.29)

a. "...sepuluh pemuda yang ku-cari..."
   ten youth REL 1sg-search.for
   '...ten youths whom I am looking for...'

b. "...apa yang awak tulis ini..."
   what REL 2sg write this
   '...what you have written...'

In addition to these two constructions Arbak (1981) and Safiah et al (1987) recognize a further four 'passive' constructions: the ter- 'passive', the ber- 'passive', the ke- 'passive', and the kena 'passive'.

The ter- (Ex. (4.30)), ber- (Ex. (4.31)) and ke- (Ex. (4.32)) predicates are generally more stative-like and often do not have 'true' agents associated with them, that is, agents that are animate and actively involved in performing the action represented by the verb.

(4.30)

a. "...Pulau Pinang terjual kepada Kompeni Hindia Barat dan
   Penang TER-sell to Company India West and
   Singapura ter-tipu oleh muslihat Crawford dan
   Singapore TER-deceive by tactic Crawford and
   Raffles."
   Raffles
   '...Penang was sold to the West India Company and Singapore was
dceived by the tactics of Crawford and Raffles.'

b. ...Gazis ter-ganggu oleh suara garau penambang itu.
   Gazis TER-disturb by voice gruff ferryman that
   '...Gazis was disturbed by the gruff voice of the ferryman.'

(4.31)

...pisau toreh abak: tumpul macam se-tahun tak
   knife tap.rubber dad blunt as.if one-year not
   ber-asah...
   BER-sharpen
   '...dad's 'tapping knife' was blunt as if it hadn't been sharpened for a
year...'

(4.32)

   voice-3 KE-hear-AN until to here
   'His/her voice can be heard (up to) here.'
b. Bayang-bayang pun tidak ke-lihat-an oleh saya.
shadow:REDP PUN not KE-see-AN by 1sg
'I could not see even a shadow.' [Arbak 1981:247]

The *kena* 'passive' is a periphrastic construction of the form:

**Undergoer** *kena* V (Actor-phrase)

It generally implies adversity, that is, the patient is adversely affected in some way by the action of the verb, or at least that the effect of the action or event of the verb phrase is undesirable to the Undergoer-subject. For example, the events indicated in *kena pukul* 'get hit/beaten' (Ex. (4.33a)), *kena tangkap polis* 'caught by the police' (Ex. (4.33b)), *kena rotan* 'get caned' (Ex. (4.33c)) are all undesirable events with adverse or potentially adverse effects on the Undergoer. In (4.33d) the picture (*gambar*) is messed up (*kena conteng*) and therefore is 'adversely' affected.

(4.33)

a. ...

b. *Harap-harap aku tak kena tangkap polis.* [ABM]

   hope:REDP 1sg not KENA catch police
   'Hopefully, I don't get caught by the police.'

c. ...

d. ...

   picture deceased grandmother REL 1sg draw KENA conteng.
   'the picture of (my) late grandmother which I drew got messed up.'

The root *kena* itself means 'to be affected by; to be required to' and therefore has an inherent 'passive' sense. *Kena* on its own, may occur with a nominal argument (Ex. (4.34)) or a clausal complement (Ex. (4.35)). The nominal or complement usually refers to some state or action which has adverse or undesirable effects.
The verbs in *kena* 'passives' have a generally high level of transitivity (in the sense of Hopper & Thompson (1980)), for example, *pukul* 'to hit' in (4.33a), *tangkap* 'catch' in (4.33b) and *rotan* 'to cane' in (4.33c). Actors, if present in the clause, have a high degree of agency, that is, they are generally human, for example, *polis* 'police' in (4.33b) and *mak* 'mother, mum' in (4.33c).

From the many and varied 'passive' constructions listed, it is clear that the use of the term 'passive' by Malay grammarians does not resemble the use of 'passive' in the traditional sense where there is a clear binary distinction between active and passive morphology, and passivization involves the direct object assuming the status of grammatical subject and the original subject being demoted to an oblique position. The *ber-* and *ke-* -an 'passives' for example, do not have corresponding 'active' clauses, and tend generally not to have Actor or agent arguments at all.

The so-called 'true' or canonical passive in Malay involving the *di-* prefix is itself problematic in that *di-* verbs may occur in constructions in which the direct object NP is not promoted to subject position but remains in post-verbal position following an optional immediately post-verbal Actor NP (Ex. (4.36)). Such constructions may be used in imperative sentences as well (Ex. (4.37)). The construction has been labelled as an 'ergative passive' (e.g. Hopper 1983, Verhaar 1983). However Cumming & Wouk (1987) suggest that it would be more advantageous to relate the non-unitary nature of 'passive' morphology in Malay to other grammatical phenomena such as word order, affixation and cliticization than to simply apply a label.
(4.36)  
a. "...sudah di-hantar telegram."
      already Di-send telegram
      '...a telegram has been sent.'

b. ...jelas di-dengar-nya kiutan tapak-nya di atas
clear Di-hear-3 creaking step-3 di top
titan itu.
foot.bridge that
      '...the creaking of his footsteps on the foot bridge was clearly
hear.)'

(4.37)  
a. "Jangan di-cipta yang bukan-bukan..."
      don't Di-invent REL not:REDP
      'Don't make up stories...'

b. "Jangan di-sesia-kan kepercayaan dan
      don't Di-regard.as.useless-KAN trustworthiness and
      amanah seseorang."
honesty someone
      'Don't take a person's trustworthiness and honesty lightly.'

Ter- clauses too may contain direct object NPs which are not promoted to
subject position but remain in post-verbal position (Ex. (4.38)).

(4.38)  Ter-dengar panggilan Arfiah yang kusut rambut-nya.
TER-hear calling Arfiah REL tangled hair-nya
      'Arfiah, whose hair was in a mess, could be heard calling (out).'

What is clear from the types of 'passive' clauses listed is that although they
may not necessarily resemble traditional 'passives' in terms of morphological
or syntactic properties, their classification as 'passives' stems from the
observation that these constructions tend to share semantic and pragmatic
functions which resemble those of passives which have been identified in
recent cross-linguistic and functional studies. The functions associated with
passives cross-linguistically are summarized in Durie (1986:19) as:

1. The pragmatic patient foregrounding and agent backgrounding
effects of passives (e.g. Keenan 1986)

2. The semantic correlates involving decreased agency and increased
affectedness (e.g. Shibatani 1985)
Of the three functions listed, the Malay 'passives' share the first two: the pragmatic and semantic functions quite consistently but not the third, the syntactic function, in some cases. For example, as already mentioned, the ber- and ke-an clauses do not have corresponding active clauses and hence there is no promotion of direct object to subject or syntactic 'pivot' status.

The constructions labelled as 'passives' in Malay all appear to share similar semantic and pragmatic properties such as indicating decreased agency and/or increased affectedness, and patient foregrounding and agent backgrounding. For example, the ter- construction is generally non-agentive. Often there is no Actor or agent associated with the action represented by the predicate or the agent phrase is frequently omitted from the clause. Ber- predicates typically do not have agents and therefore agent phrases are not present in ber- clauses (Arbak 1981). Ber- and ter- predicates tend to have a stative meaning even though the verb root may be transitive originally (see previous Ex. (4.29-30)). The pragmatic function of foregrounding the patient and backgrounding the agent is also shared by the 'passive' constructions listed. The patient or Undergoer occurs in subject position and is generally more topical than the agent in discourse, if there is an agent. At the same time, the agent or Actor argument, which occurs near the end of the clause if present, is often totally omitted. (See previous Ex. (4.27-31)). Hence the reasons for the use of the term 'passive' for these constructions are not totally unfounded despite its problems.

4.3.2. 'Passives' in CM and SM

Table 4.4 lists the frequencies of the different 'passive' constructions that occur in ABM and HP. In the counts I have excluded the problematic di- and ter- clauses which contain unp romoted direct objects (see previous section - Ex. (36-8)).

HP contains a greater overall frequency of 'passive' clauses than ABM: HP has 1.9 times more 'passive' clauses than ABM. This indicates that the more
direct active voice is generally associated with a colloquial register while the more indirect passive voice correlates with a more formal register.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ABM</th>
<th>HP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Affixal morphology</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>di</em> (3rd person Actor)</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ter</em></td>
<td>31</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ber</em></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ke</em>- <em>an</em></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Procliticized Actor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st/2nd person Actor</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person Actor</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Periphrastic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kena</em></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>506</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.4. 'Passives' in ABM and HP

In HP the major 'passivization' strategy involves the use of prefixal morphology, in particular, the prefix *di*- (see previous Ex. (4.28)) which is used only where third person Actors are involved. *Ter-* 'passives' are also quite common but less frequent than *di-* 'passives'. The 'procliticized Actor passive' (see previous Ex. (4.29)) is infrequent. This correlates with the fact that this 'passive' involves only first and second person Actors and HP is a third person narrative in which dialogue makes up a relatively smaller portion of the text than narration. *Ber-* *ke*- *an* and *kena* 'passives' do not occur at all in HP.

In ABM the 'procliticized Actor passive' is by far the most frequent 'passive' construction. 'Procliticized Actor passives' may include third person Actors, which includes nouns, which are often kin terms or proper names.5

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5 Although nouns are generally not subject to cliticization, I have treated these cases as extensions of the 'procliticized Actor passive'. Proper names and kin terms are not so different from pronouns in Malay (cf. discussion on address forms in Ch. 3).
as well as first and second person Actors, unlike SM ‘procliticized Actor passives’ which only involve first and second person Actors. The occurrence of third person Actors in this construction in CM is a characteristic difference between CM and SM ‘procliticized passives’. Third person Actors may be pronouns (Ex. (4.39a&b)) or nominals (Ex. (4.39b&c)). ‘Procliticized Actor passives’ involving first person Actors are especially frequent in ABM. This is due to the fact that ABM is a first person narrative. Indeed the majority of the ‘procliticized Actor’ clauses involving first person Actors occur in ABM narration.

(4.39)

a. ...duit dua-puluh ringgit itu aku simpan dalam pocket seluar...
   money twenty dollar that lsg keep inside pocket pants
   '...the twenty dollars, I kept in my (pants) pocket.'

b. ...adik yang selalu aku tendang...
   younger.sibling REL often lsg kick
   '...(my) younger brother whom I kicked (so) often...'

c. ...elaun aku abah potong.
   allowance lsg dad cut
   '...my allowance, dad cut (it).'

d. ...kaset yang Anor kirim...
   cassette REL Anor send
   '(the) cassette which Anor sent...'

The proportion of di- ‘passives’, which involves only third person Actors (Ex. (4.40)), ter- ‘passives’ (Ex. (4.41)) and kena ‘passives’ (Ex. (4.42), see Ex. (4.32) as well) is fairly even (see Table 4.4). The ber- passive is rare (Ex. (4.43)) and the ke-an ‘passive’ does not occur at all.

(4.40)

a. ...te-rasa bahu-ku di-goncang oleh seseorang. [ABM]
   TER-rasa shoulder Di-shake by someone
   '...(I) felt someone shake my shoulder(s).'

b. ...kapalterbang kertas yang di-pegang-nya...
   aeroplane paper REL Di-hold-3
   '...(the) paper glider that he was holding...'
result SRP DI-public-CAUS
'(The) SRP results were announced.'

(4.41)

a. *Lepas tu aku ter-pilih pulak untuk sukan daerah.*
after that 1sg TER-choose PULAK for sport district
'After that, I was chosen (to play in) the district sports.'

b. *...kerbau tu pun ter-tangkap-lah.*
buffalo that PUN TER-catch-EMPH
'...the buffalo was (finally) caught.'

(4.42)

a. *Malam tu aku dan Mat No Kutin kena night that 1sg and Mat No Kutin KENA
angkut ke balai.*
lift.up.and.carry.away to police.station
'That night, Mat No Kutin and I were taken to the police station.'

b. *...'brader' yang jual kasut kat aku tadi kena
brother REL sell shoe to 1sg awhile.ago KENA
seret polis.*
drag police
'...the person who sold the shoes to me a moment ago was taken away by the police.'

c. *...sejak dari kecil aku dah kena rotan...*
since from small 1sg already KENA cane
'...from a young age, I was caned (frequently)'

(4.43) *Mungkin lantai dan tiang-nya dah ber-ganti.*
perhaps floor and post-3 already BER-replace
'Perhaps its floor and post(s) have been replaced.'

The periphrastic adversative *kena* 'passive' (see previous section) does not occur in HP. It is a characteristic 'passive' construction of CM⁶. Together with the 'procliticized Actor passive', it correlates with the general avoidance of prefixal morphology (cf. Section 4.2) in CM, exhibiting a preference for

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⁶ Periphrastic passives also occur in other non-standard varieties of Malay, for example, Ambonese, a Malay creole, where the lexical form *dapa* (related to SM *dapat* 'be able; get') is used (cf. Collins 1980). The *kena* adversative 'passive' is a feature of Bazaar Malay where the use of prefixal morphology for passives is not attested.
periphrastic (word + word) over synthetic (morpheme + morpheme) structures.\footnote{The avoidance of prefixal morphology in passive constructions is also common in other non-standard varieties of Malay, for example, Terengganu Malay in which the passive is expressed by inverting the agent and the object and inserting an optional preposition \textit{di} between the verb and the agent (cf. Collins 1980).}

4.4. Causative Constructions

The root of a causative construction is normally intransitive. The addition of \textit{-kan} to the root derives a transitive verb and introduces another argument, the Causer (Actor). The Undergoer (Causee) of the causative corresponds to the subject of the intransitive root (see Ex. (4.44)). Further examples of causative constructions from both HP and ABM are given in (4.45).

(4.44)
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textbf{Intransitive predicate}
\begin{quote}
\textit{Soal lama tak lama tidak timbul.}\quad [HP]
\end{quote}
\text{question old not old not arise}
\text{'(The) question of whether (it is) old or not does not arise.'}
\item \textbf{Causative predicate}
\begin{quote}
\textit{Saya tidak ber-niat men-(t)imbul-kan kemarahan-mu.}\quad [HP]
\end{quote}
\text{1sg not BER-intention MEN-arise-CAUS anger-2sg}
\text{'I had no intention to arouse your anger.'}
\end{enumerate}

(4.45)
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{...penunggang basikal itu kini semakin rider bicycle that now increasingly}
\begin{quote}
\textit{me-rancak-kan loceng basikal-nya.}\quad [HP]
\end{quote}
\text{MEN-lively-CAUS bell bicycle-3}
\text{'...the cyclist was beginning to ring his bell more loudly and quickly.'}
\end{enumerate}
4.4.1. CM Causatives

In CM there are two additional causative constructions. These are formed periphrastically using the lexical roots *kasi* and *bagi* ‘give; allow’. These constructions are not found in HP. Here again the tendency to periphrastic constructions in CM, rather than derivational morphology, is observed. The constructions are:

(1) **Causer kasi-V Causee** (Ex. (4.46))

The verb in this construction is often non-static, for example, *lupa* ‘to forget’ (Ex. (4.46a)) and *tunjuk* ‘to show’ (Ex. (4.46b)).

(4.46)

a. *gua mau kasi lupa itu sedih-sedih punya*
   
   1sg want CAUS forget that sad:REDP PUNYA
   
   *cerita.*
   
   story

   'I wanted to (make myself) forget those really sad stories.'

---

8 In Bazaar Malay *kasi* has a non-causative usage; it is used as a verb meaning ‘to give’. This use of *kasi* is not found in ABM. The verb *kasi* is related to the Indonesian *kasih* ‘to give’.

9 Periphrastic causative constructions are common in other non-standard varieties of Malay, for example, Terengganu Malay where the lexical root *beri* ‘give’ is used, and Ambonese, the Malay creole, where *kasi* is used (cf. Collins 1980).
b. "Tak boleh lari ni, kasi tunjuk 'terror' sikit."
not can run this CAUS show bravery a.little
'(I) can't run (away), (I) must show some courage.' [ABM]

(2) Causer bagi-V (Complement) (Ex. (4.47))
The predicate in this construction may be stative, for example, kering 'dry' in (4.47b).
Bagi when used on its own as a verb has the colloquial meaning 'to give' (Ex. (4.48)).

\[(4.47)\]
\[a. \quad \text{Petang tu aku pakai baju Melayu abah dan kain} \]
evening that 1sg wear shirt Malay dad and cloth
\[\text{pelikat. Saja nak bagi nampak baik sikit.} \quad [\text{ABM}]\]
pelikat only want CAUS see good a.little
'That evening, I wore dad's baju Melayu and kain pelikat (traditional Malay costume). (I) just wanted to look nice.'

\[b. \quad \text{Aku nak mesin getah jadi-kan getah} \]
want machine rubber become-CAUS rubber
\[\text{keping, jemur bagi kering dan jual.} \quad [\text{ABM}]\]
piece dry.in.sun CAUS dry and sell
'I wanted to process the rubber into rubber sheets, dry (them) in the sun and then sell (them).'

\[(4.48)\]
\[\text{Malam tu lesa makan, aku bagi surat tu kat} \]
night that after eat 1sg give letter that to
\[\text{Aca.} \quad [\text{ABM}]\]
Aca
'That night after dinner, I gave the letter to Aca.'

4.5. The Structure of the Noun Phrase

In this section I examine the structure of the noun phrase in CM and SM. I look first at NP structures that are common to both CM and SM (Section 4.5.1) and then at some features of NPs that are unique to CM (Section 4.5.2).
4.5.1. NP Structures in CM and SM

In general NPs in CM and SM are head-initial and may be optionally modified by following qualifiers such as adjectivals, adnominals, prepositional phrases, clauses and demonstratives. NPs may also occur with preceding measure phrases. The structure of the NP may be represented by the following schema:\(^{10}\):

(i) \[ NP \rightarrow \text{MeasP} \ N \ (\text{Adj}) \left( \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Cl} \\ \text{PP} \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right\} \right) \ (\text{Dem}) \]

(ii) \[ \text{MeasP} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Q} \\ \text{Num} \\ \text{Clfr} \end{array} \right\} \]

(iii) \[ \text{PP} \rightarrow \text{Prep} \ (\text{Locational Noun}) \ N \]

(iv) \[ \text{N: Common nouns, Proper nouns, Pronouns} \]

(v) \[ \text{Adj: Stative predicate which may be used attributively} \]

(vi) \[ \text{Cl: Relative clauses, Attributive clauses, Complement clauses} \]

(vii) \[ \text{Dem: \{ini, itu, ni, tu\}} \]

(viii) \[ \text{Prep: \{untuk, pada, di, ke etc.\}} \]

(ix) \[ \text{Q: \{banyak, ramai, s(ed)ikit etc.\}} \]

(x) \[ \text{Num: \{satu, se-, dua, tiga etc.\}} \]

(xi) \[ \text{Clfr: \{orang, biji(k), buah etc.\}} \]

Examples of NPs include:

(4.49) \[ NP \rightarrow N \]

a. \[ \ldots [[abah]_{\text{ComN}}]_{\text{NP}} \ tak \ pernah \ \text{pun} \ \text{me-ro} \ \text{tan} \]
   \[ \text{dad} \quad \text{NEG have.done.before} \quad \text{PUN MEN-cane} \]
   \[ [[aku]_{\text{Pron}}]_{\text{NP}} \]
   \[ 1sg \]
   \[ '\ldots \text{dad had never caned me before.'} \]

---

\(^{10}\) Note that although this schema indicates that a head noun is always present in an NP, measure phrases may occur on their own in an NP without a head noun.
b. \([\text{Carlos}]_{\text{PN}} \text{NP} \text{ dengan ter-cungap-cungap masuk}\). \[[\text{ABM}]\]
   Carlos with \text{TER-pant:REDP} enter
   'Carlos entered puffing and panting.'

c. \(\ldots \text{gadis itu} \text{ ber-ada di} \[[\text{ibukota}]_{\text{ComN}} \text{NP}\).
   \[\text{HP}\]
   girl that \text{BER-EXIST} at capital
   '...that girl was at the capital.'

(4.50) \(\text{NP} \to \text{N Adj}\)
   \([\text{kapal} \ [\text{kecil}]_{\text{Adj}} \text{NP}\)
   ship small
   'small ship'

(4.51) \(\text{NP} \to \text{N NP}\)
   a. \([\text{desa} \[[\text{Minang}]_{\text{PN}} \text{NP}\)
       village Minangkabau
   'Minangkabau village'

   b. \([[\text{kedai}]_{\text{ComN}} \ [\text{latuk}]_{\text{ComN}} \ [\text{Anor}]_{\text{PN}} \text{NP}\)
      shop grandfather Anor
   'Anor's grandfather's shop'

   c. \([\text{kepala} \ [\text{-ku}]_{\text{Pron}} \text{NP}\)
      head-1sg
   'my head'

(4.52) \(\text{NP} \to \text{N PP}\)
   \([\text{cerita} \ [\text{tentang}]_{\text{Prep}} \ [\text{diri-ku}]_{\text{NP}} \text{NP}\)
   story about self-1sg
   'stories about myself'

(4.53) \(\text{NP} \to \text{N CI}\)
   a. \([\text{Biman} \ [\text{yang semput}]_{\text{AttrCl}} \text{NP}\)
      Biman REL short.of.breath
   'Biman who was short of breath'

   b. \([\text{kes} \ [\text{aku} \text{hantar surat kat} \text{Anor}]_{\text{NCompl}} \text{NP}\)
      case 1sg send letter GOAL Anor
   'the case of me sending the letter to Anor'

   c. \([\text{dia-orang} \ [\text{yang kebanyakan kaki-`study`}']_{\text{RelCl}} \text{NP}\)
      3pl REL mostly person.who.loves.to.study
   'they who were mostly serious students'
(4.54) NP → N Dem
   a. [kali [ini]Dem]NP time this 'this time'
   b. [Abang Lokman [ini]Dem]NP older.brother Lokman this 'this Abang Lokman'
   c. [mereka [ini]Dem]NP 3pl this 'they'

(4.55) NP → N Adj NP

(4.56) NP → N Adj PP Dem

(4.57) NP → MeasP N
   a. [[banyak]Q cerita]NP many story 'many stories'
   b. [[beberapa]Q kali]NP several time 'several times'
   d. [[[satu]Num]MeasP hari]NP one day 'one day'
(4.58) \( NP \rightarrow \text{MeasP} \; NP \)
\[
\text{most} \quad \text{[pemimpin kita]NP} \quad \text{[HP]}
\]
'most of our leaders'

(4.59) \( NP \rightarrow \text{MeasP} \)
\[
a. \quad \text{[banyak]MeasP} \; \text{yang aku belajar} \quad \text{[ABM]}
\]
'much REL 1sg learn'

\[
b. \quad \text{[ramai]MeasP} \; \text{pula yang ber-pura-pura ter-kejut} \quad \text{[HP]}
\]
'many PULA REL BER-pretend:REDP TER-shocked'

4.5.2. NP Features in CM

There exists a number of differences in NP features between CM and SM:

(1) Head-final NPs exist in CM in addition to head-initial NPs. (Section 4.5.2.1.)

(2) The reduced forms of the demonstratives ini 'this' and itu 'that', ni 'this' and tu 'that' are preferred in N-Dem constructions in CM. (Section 4.5.2.2.)

(3) The Pronoun-Dem construction is typically CM. (Section 4.5.2.3.)

4.5.2.1. Alternative Structures

In CM there are head-final alternatives\(^\text{11}\) to the normally head-initial NPs:

(1) Dem-N

---

\(^{11}\) The constructions are also a feature of Bazaar Malay (or bahasa pasar (Abdullah 1969)), Ambonese, the Malay creole (Collins 1980, 1983c), and Baba Malay which has the phonologically modified form of punya, mta\(^b\) occurring in similar constructions (Pakir 1986).
(2) Mod-panya-N 
(3) N(Mod)-panya-N(Head)

None of these constructions occur in HP. They are not frequent in ABM and occur alongside the more frequent standard alternatives. However where they do occur, they represent shifts to a less formal register and tend to cluster together with other characteristic CM features. Most of the instances of these constructions in ABM occur in dialogue. Table 4.5 lists the frequencies of the constructions and their alternatives in the texts.

The Dem-N construction is examined in the following section. The punya constructions are included in the discussion of Mod-panya-Head constructions in Section 4.6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ABM</th>
<th>HP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dem-N</td>
<td>15 (1.6%)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N-Dem</td>
<td>923 (98.4%)</td>
<td>835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod-panya-N</td>
<td>12 (2.5%)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N-Mod</td>
<td>468 (97.5%)</td>
<td>722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N-panya-N</td>
<td>14 (2%)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N-N</td>
<td>686 (98%)</td>
<td>739</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.5. Frequencies of Alternative NP Constructions

4.5.2.1.1. The Dem-N Construction

In ABM the Dem-N construction (Ex. (4.60)) occurs as an alternative to and alongside N-Dem NPs (Ex. (4.61)). Generally the head consists of single nouns, for example, ini [petang]N ‘this evening’, itu [macam]N ‘that type/kind’. The ‘preposed’ demonstrative may occur in a more complex construction where the head has a modifier (Ex. (4.62)). (4.63) demonstrates a Dem-N construction embedded within a higher NP.
(4.60)  ...budak lelaki yang aku nampak [itu hari]NP  [ABM]
      child male REL lsg see that day
      '"the boy whom I saw that day"

(4.61)  Mungkin [kali ini]NP abah dah hilang sabar-nya.
      perhaps this dad already lose patience-3
      'Perhaps this time dad had lost his patience.'  [ABM]

(4.62)  a.  "Yeah... gua mau kasi lupa [itu [sedih-sedih punya
          yeah lsg want give forget that sad:REDP PUNYA
          cerita]NP]NP
          story
          'Yeah, I want to forget those really sad stories.'

            b.  ...sama [itu [borang [surat ber-anak]NP]NP]NP
                with that form letter BER-child
                '...with the birth certificate'

(4.63)  [gambar [itu hari]NP]NP
          picture that day
          'the picture of that day'

There are two differences between the Dem-N and N-Dem constructions:

(1) Proper names and pronominals do not occur as heads of the Dem-N
    constructions: *ini Kuala Lumpur 'this Kuala Lumpur', *ini aku 'this
    me'; although this is possible in N-Dem constructions: Anor ni 'this
    Anor', Kolumno ini 'this Kuala Lumpur',aku (i)ni12 'this me'

(2) The reduced forms of the demonstratives ni 'this' and itu 'that' do not
    occur in Dem-N constructions: *ni hari 'this day', *itu macam 'that
    type'. Both the full and reduced forms occur frequently in N-Dem
    constructions in ABM: budak tu 'that child', orang ni 'this person', hari
    ini 'this day, today', kali ini 'this time'.

12 As expected, (i)itu 'that' does not occur with the first and second person pronouns
    although it occurs with third person pronouns.
4.5.2.2. Preferred Demonstrative Forms in CM

As already mentioned, the demonstratives in CM and SM are *ini* 'this' and *itu* 'that' and their corresponding reduced forms *ni* and *tu*. Apart from occurring attributively in NPs (Ex. (4.64)), demonstratives may be used pronominally.

(4.64)

a. *sekolah ini*
   
   school this
   
   'this school'

b. *hari yang ber-sejarah itu*

   day REL BER-history that
   
   'that memorable day'

c. *malam ni*

   night this
   
   'tonight'

d. *‘time’ tu*

   time that
   
   'that time'

As pronominals, demonstratives are generally used:

(1) To refer anaphorically to an entity, state of affairs or proposition that has been mentioned in the preceding discourse, for example in (4.65) *ini* may refer to the allowance (*elaun*) mentioned in the immediately preceding clause or to the fact that the author's father offered him work, which is mentioned in the earlier clause: *abah 'offer' aku kerja* or to a combination of both. Similarly in (4.66) *itu* 'that' refers to the past events (*peristiwa-peristiwa yang pernah ber-laku*) or the possible future events (*kemungkinan-kemungkinan yang akan ber-laku*) or both.

---

13 Durie (1985:132-3) notes a similar feature of demonstratives in Acehnese.
(4.65) Abah 'offer' aku kerja - elaun satu hari tiga ringgit. Ini sudah kira bagus. [ABM]
dollar this already consider good
'Dad offered me work (with) a daily allowance of three ringgit. This
was good enough.'

(4.66) "Peristiwa-peristiwa yang pernah ber-laku,
 event:PL REL have.done.before BER-happen
 kemungkinan-kemungkinan yang akan ber-laku. Itu possibility:PL REL will BER-happen that
 yang men-(t)akut-kan aku." [HP]
REL MEN-afraid-CAUS 1sg
'The past events (and) the events that could take place in the
future - that's what frightens me.'

(2) As temporal (Ex. (4.67)) and locative (Ex. (4.68)) pronouns: (i)ni 'now, here', (ii)tu 'that time, there'.

(4.67) Temporal
tak tidur lagi." [ABM]
not sleep yet
'(You're still) working hard? It's already three o'clock (now). Arent you sleeping yet?'

b. "Sejak itu aku ber-janji, ber-sumpah untuk
 since that.time 1sg BER-promise BER-swear in.order.to
tidak makan telur penyu..." [HP]
not eat egg turtle
'Since then, I promised, (I) swore an oath not to eat turtle eggs...'

(4.68) Locative
a. "Tu ada almari lagi se-buah kat bawah
 there EXIST cupboard more one-CLFR at bottom
tu..." [ABM]
there
'There's still another cupboard down there.'

b. "Dan yang di sebelah ini, bunga-nya..." [HP]
and REL at side here flower-3
'And over here is her daughter14...'

14 Bunga 'flower' is used metaphorically to refer to a young woman.
(3) *(i)nii and *(i)tī may also be used deictically (Ex. (4.69)). In (4.69a) *ni ‘this’ is used to refer deictically to a bamboo stem (*buluh aur) that the speaker has just found. In (4.69b) *ni ‘this’ refers deictically to a woman at the scene of the conversation.

(4.69)

a. “Haa, yang *ni amacam Leman, mesti gempak punya
   HAA REL this how Leman must tremor PUNYA
   bunyi *ni…”
   noise this

   ‘How about this (one) Leman, it is sure to make a loud noise…’

b. “*Ini isteri Basri,” kata Idrus.
   this wife Basri say Idrus

   ‘“This is Basri’s wife,” said Idrus.’

Although the reduced forms *ni and *tu are not used attributively in Dem-N constructions (see Section 4.5.2.1.1), they may be used pronominally in the same distribution as the full forms (Ex. (4.70)). They may also occur with the emphatic particle *la(h)/le (Ex. (4.70a)).

(4.70)

a. *Kalau *dah bawak persalinan sekali tentu
   if already bring change.of.clothes as.well certain
   *nak jalan jauh. *Ini can baik, *ni-le
   FUT walk far this chance good this-EMPH
   peluang aku *nak tengok tempat orang. [ABM]
   opportunity 1sg NAK look place people

   ‘If (he’s) bringing extra clothing as well, (he) must be going away.
   This was a good chance - this was an opportunity for me to see
   someone else’s place.’

b. Peminat *perempuan pun ramai. *Tu yang buat
   admirer woman PUN many that REL make
   budak-budak lain jaki je kat ‘group’ kita-orang.
   child:PL other angry just at group 1pl.excl

   ‘(We) had many female admirers. That made the other guys angry
   at us.’ [ABM]
In ABM the preferred demonstratives are the reduced forms *ni* and *tu*. The full forms *ini* and *itu* are infrequent in dialogue and occur only pronominally. In narration the full forms may occur attributively as well, however, reduced forms are still more frequent. In HP the reduced forms occur only in dialogue. Table 4.6 lists the frequencies of the full and reduced forms in both texts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ABM</th>
<th>HP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ini</em></td>
<td>117</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>itu</em></td>
<td>114</td>
<td>680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ni</em></td>
<td>387</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tu</em></td>
<td>558</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td>1176</td>
<td>932</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.6. Frequencies of Demonstratives

4.5.2.2.1. CM Expressions Involving *Tu*

In ABM *tu* occurs in a number of fixed expressions: *dah tu*[already + that] ‘after that; moreover, furthermore’ (Ex. (4.71)), *abih tu* [finish + that] ‘furthermore; well?’ (Ex. (4.72)), *lepas tu* [past + that] ‘after that’ (Ex. (4.73)), and *se kali tu* [once + that] ‘all at once’ (Ex. (4.74)).

(4.71)

a. *Keluar modal sikit, cari rangka basikal buruk,* go.out capital a.little find frame bicycle broken.down
   *hantar kat kedai ‘welding’. Dah tu, pasang* send to shop welding already that fix
   ‘brek’ kaki. [ABM]
   brake leg

   ‘(I) took out some money for the capital, found a broken-down old bicycle frame (and) sent it to the welder’s. After that (I) put brakes on it.’
b. **Dia cukup suka kat aku. Dah tu, anak 3sg really like DAT 1sg already that child perempuan dia lawa pulak...** [ABM]
girl 3sg pretty PULAK

'She really liked me. Furthermore her daughter was pretty too.'

(4.72)

a. **...member semua pegi sekolah naik bas. Aku naik friend all go school ride bus 1sg ride basikal je, sebah Sekolah Arab tu tak jauh dari bicycle just because school Arab that not far from rumah. Abih tu orang kampung dah mula house finish that people village already begin panggil aku 'ustaz' pulak tu!** [ABM] call 1sg religious.teacher furthermore that

'...(my) friends all went to school by bus. I (had to) ride (my) bicycle because the Arabic school was not far from home. Furthermore the villagers were beginning to call me uestaz.'

b. **"Aik, nak balik dah?" AIK want return already

"Abih tu? Takkan nak tidur kat sini pulak." finish that surely.not AUX sleep at here PULAK

'Going home already? (Surprised)'

'Well (what do you expect?) - surely (I) can't be sleeping here (can I).'

(4.73) **Hari itu juga mak rotan aku macam orang hilang day that also mum cane 1sg like person lost akal. Lepas tu mak halau aku dari intelligence past that mum drive.away 1sg from rumah.** [ABM]

'house

'That day (itself), mum caned me like a crazy person. After that she drove me out of the house.'

(4.74) **Aku pun kemas-kemas-le rumah sementara tunggu 1sg PUN tidy:REDP-EMPH house while wait dia-orang balik dari be-ray. Sekali tu, aku 3pl return from BER-celebration once that 1sg ter-nampak surat 'register' yang Angah kirim kat TER-see letter register REL Angah send to
mak...
mum

'So I (began to) tidy up the house while waiting for them to return from celebrating raya. All at once, I saw the registered letter which Angah sent to mum...'

4.5.2.3. The Pronoun-Dem Construction

The Pronoun-Dem construction\(^{15}\) is a typical CM NP construction. This construction involves a pronoun occurring as the head with a following demonstrative (Ex. (4.75)). Clitic pronouns do not occur in these constructions. However the demonstratives are usually the reduced forms \(ni\) 'this' and \(tu\) 'that'. Full forms of the demonstratives may occur as well. In ABM full demonstrative forms in Pronoun-Dem NPs are found only in narration.

\[(4.75)\]
\[\begin{align*}
a. & \quad aku \ ni \\
& \quad 1sg \ this \\
& \quad 'this \ me' \\
\hline
b. & \quad kau \ ni \\
& \quad 2sg \ this \\
& \quad 'this \ you' \\
\hline
c. & \quad dia \ tu \\
& \quad 3sg \ that \\
& \quad '(s)he'
\end{align*}\]

In HP the Pronoun-Dem construction is rare. The instances of the Pronoun-Dem construction that occur in HP involve the third person plural pronoun \(mereka\) and the full demonstrative forms \(ini\) 'this' and \(itu\) 'that': \(mereka \ ini\) 'they (these people)' and \(mereka \ itu\) 'they (those people). They occur only in HP dialogue. In ABM the construction is relatively more frequent and involves a variety of pronouns (see Table 4.7).

\(^{15}\) A similar construction exists in Acehnese (Durie 1985).
Table 4.7 lists the frequencies of Pronoun-Dem NPs in the texts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ABM</th>
<th>HP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>aku ni</em></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>aku ini</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kita ni</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kita orang ni</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>awak ni</em></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kau ni</em></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lu ni</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dia ni</em></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dia tu</em></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dia orang ni</em></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dia orang tu</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mereka ini</em></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mereka itu</em></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>39</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.7. Frequencies of Pronoun-Dem NPs

In ABM the use of the Pronoun-Dem constructions appear to correlate with a number of semantic and pragmatic factors:

(1) In dialogue _aku ni_ 'this me' is generally used where the speaker is talking about some negative quality associated with himself (Ex. (4.76)) or where he implies that he could possess a negative quality (Ex. (4.77)). In (4.76) the speaker is embarrassed at having to borrow money from his friend and complains (and in complaining, apologizes) about his own frequent requests for loans. In (4.77) the speaker believes that other people might not think much of him and wishes to know if he really appears bad.

Where a second or third person pronoun followed by a demonstrative occurs, it is usually associated with a complaint about the referent (Ex.
4.78-9). In (4.78) a mother complains about her son’s bad behaviour and atti
ditudes and in (4.79) a young man high on drugs complains that his friend has interrupted his enjoyment by hitting him.

(4.76) "Aku ni asyik mem-(p)injam je. Dah naik tebal dah muka.”
1sg this engrossed MEN-borrow just already ascend thick already face

‘I am always borrowing money (from you). I have become thick- skinned.’

(4.77) "Aku ni teruk-ke?”
1sg this very.bad-QUES

‘I asked grandpa, “Am I all that bad?”’

(4.78) “Aku tengok anak orang lain tu tak-la
1sg see child people other that not-EMPH
macam kau, takde-la meny-(s)ubah-kan orang like 2sg not.have-EMPH MEN-difficult-CAUS people
tua. Kau ni memang jenis anak tak meng-(k)enang old 2sg this definitely type child not MEN-remember budi.”

good.character

‘Other children I know are not like you, (they) don’t create problems for (their) elders. You are such an ungrateful son.’

(4.79) “Adoi, apa ni Joe? Lu ni potong stim-la…”
ADOI what this Joe 2sg this cut steam-EMPH

‘Ouch, what’s this Joe? You’re interrupting my enjoyment (of drugs).’

(2) In narration aku ni ‘this me’ is often used where the author implies that he doubts that he possesses a particular negative quality or that a particular proposition applies to him (Ex. (4.80)). It also occurs in irrealsis clauses containing propositions which the author is quite sure are true (Ex. (4.81)). In (4.80) the author wonders if he is really so unimportant that his family will not tell him what he wants to know. In (4.81a&b) the author expresses certainty towards the propositions he makes in both cases through the use of the adverbial memang ‘indeed’.
(4.80) Kenapa dia-orang tak cakap kat aku? Apa, tak why 3pl not tell DAT 1sg what not penting-ke aku ni. [ABM]
important-QUES 1sg this

‘Why don’t they tell me (what’s going on)? What, am I not important?’

(4.81)

a. Agak-nya aku ni memang di-anugerah-kan dengan guess-NYA 1sg this indeed DI-blessing-KAN with sifat penyayang. [ABM]
characteristic person.who.loves

‘(I) guess I must be blessed with a loving nature.’

b. Boleh-lah kata aku ni memang tak layak can-EMPH say 1sg this indeed not suitable langsung jadi ‘boyfriend’ Anor. [ABM]
at.all become boyfriend Anor

‘It could be said that I was definitely not fit to be Anor’s boyfriend.’

4.6. Mod-punya-Head Phrases

In CM but not SM, there exists a head-final construction which involves the use of the particle punya to link the modifier and the head together. This structure is available to nominal phrases, adjectival and verb phrases, and adverbial phrases.

4.6.1. Mod-punya-Head NPs

The Mod-punya-N construction occurs as an alternative to and alongside the standard head-initial structure N-(yang)-Mod in ABM (see Section 4.5 for discussion of NPs). This construction is also available to the possessive phrase of N-N structure, a subset of the N-(yang)-Mod construction.
4.6.1.1. Mod-punya-Head NPs containing Non-adnominal Modifiers

Non-adnominal modifiers in Mod-punya-N constructions are generally clauses and interrogative pronouns. N-(yang)-Mod constructions containing clauses as modifiers generally also have the relativizer yang linking the Modifier to the Head (cf. Ch. 6). Examples are of both Mod-punya-N and N-(yang)-Mod are given below:

(4.82) Mod-punya-N
a. Cl-punya-N
   
   *dah janji nak belanja ‘member’ punya pasal*
   already promise NAK spend friend PUNYA matter
   ‘a matter of having promised to give (my) friends a treat’ [ABM]

b. IntPron-punya-N
   apa punya mimpi
   what PUNYA dream
   ‘what kind of dream’

(4.83)

a. N-yang-Cl
   waktu-waktu yang meny-(s)eksa-kan bagi aku [ABM]
   time:PL REL MEN-torture-KAN for 1sg
   ‘torturous times for me’

b. N-IntPron
   “*Kerja apa kita nak buat?*”
   work what 1pl.incl NAK do
   ‘What (kind of) work can we do?’

There are a number of differences between the Mod-punya-N construction and the N-(yang)-Mod construction:

(1) There is a restriction on the semantic type of modifier the Mod-punya-N construction may have. Where the modifier is a clause, it refers to a state (Ex. (4.84)).
In contrast the N-yang-Mod construction may contain clauses that refer to activities or change of state as modifiers (Ex. (4.85)). However this is true only where the relativizer yang is present.
N-Cl constructions are possible but infrequent and normally contain clausal modifiers which are stative predicates (Ex. (4.86)).

(4.84)

a. "Bodoh... 
   tara    baca    punya    budak!"  [ABM]
   stupid  not.have  read    PUNYA  child
   'Stupid... uneducated kid!'

b. ...dah     janji     nak     belanja  'member'    punya
   already  promise NAK spend    friend    PUNYA
   pasal...
   matter
   '...a matter of having promised to give (my) friends a treat...'

(4.85)

a. ...mata-ku  liar  mem-(p)erhati  orang    yang  lalu-lalang.
   eye-1sg  wild  MEN-observe  people    REL  passing.by
   '...I stared at the people passing by.'  [ABM]

b. ...orang  kampung  yang  datang  ber-urut  kat
   people village  REL  come   BER-massage  at
   rumah.
   house
   '...the village people who came to (our) house for a massage.'  [ABM]

(4.86) Surat  ber-bau  harum  itu  aku  bukak  'slow-slow'
   letter  BER-smell fragrant that  1sg  open slow:REDP
   'I opened the nice-smelling letter slowly...'  [ABM]

(2) The head of an Mod-punya-N construction is normally a common noun (Ex. (4.87)), unlike the head of the N-yang-Mod construction which may consist of proper nouns (Ex. (4.88)), pronouns (Ex. (4.89)) and interrogatives (Ex. (4.90)) as well as common nouns.

The heads of N-Mod constructions are normally not proper nouns.

(4.87) gred  berapa  punya  otak
   grade how.much    PUNYA  brain
   'what level of intelligence'
(4.88) *...ter-ingat Aca yang sering ku-sepak*
   TER-remember Aca REL often 1sg-kick
   *terajang...*
   kick.with.heel
   ‘...I remembered Aca whom I kicked so often...’

(4.89) *dia-orang yang kebanyakan kaki-study*
   3pl REL mostly person.who.loves.to.study
   ‘they who loved to study’

(4.90) *Tak ada apa yang men-(t)arik...*
   NEG have what REL MEN-pull
   ‘(There was) nothing interesting...’

(3) Modified NPs do not occur as heads in the Mod-*punya*-N constructions
   (Ex. (4.91)), unlike N-*yang*-Mod constructions (Ex. (4.92)). Modified
   NPs also do not occur as heads of N-Mod constructions.

(4.91) *...dulu punya sekolah (*aku)...*
   past PUNYA school 1sg
   ‘...old school...’

(4.92) *sekolah aku yang dulu...*
   school 1sg REL past
   ‘...my old school.’

(4) The Mod-*punya*-N construction may itself occur as the head of a
   higher level NP, usually one which involves a demonstrative (Ex.
   (4.93)). In (4.93) the Mod-*punya*-N phrase *sedih-sedih punya cerita*
   ‘very sad stories’ occurs as the head of a Dem-N construction *itu NP*,
   another typical CM construction.
   N-(*yang*)-Mod constructions normally occur as heads of higher N-Dem
   constructions (Ex. (4.94)).

(4.93) *...gua mau kasi lupa [itu sedih-sedih punya cerita]NP”*
   1sg want give forget that sad:REDP PUNYA story
   ‘...I want to forget those really sad stories...’
(4.94) \([\text{kelulusan yang tak di-duga}]_{\text{NP}} \text{ itu}_{\text{NP}}\)
passing.of.examination REL not Di-predict that
\(\text{the unexpected outcome (passing) of the examination}^{\text{[ABM]}}\)

(5) The modifier of the Mod-punya-N construction may sometimes be another nominal phrase. If the NP modifier contains a demonstrative, it is generally of the Dem-N structure (Ex. (4.95)).
In an N-(yang)-Mod construction, if the modifier is an NP containing a demonstrative, it is of the N-Dem configuration (Ex. (4.96)).

(4.95) "[\text{Ini macam punya ‘pesen’}]_{\text{NP}} \text{ orang tak pakai dah ni, tuk.}”
this type own fashion people NEG wear already
\(\text{this grandpa}^{\text{[ABM]}}\)
\(\text{‘No one wears (pants) of this fashion anymore, grandpa.’}^{\text{[ABM]}}\)

(4.96) \(\text{hidup anak Minang ini}^{\text{[ABM]}}\)
life child Minang this
\(\text{‘the life of this Minangkabau kid’}^{\text{[ABM]}}\)

4.6.1.2. N-punya-N Constructions: Possessive Phrases

The N-punya-N construction occurs in ABM alongside and as an alternative to possessive phrases of N-N structure. I use the term ‘possessive’ in a loose sense similar to Durie (1985:109-110), that is, to refer to a semantic relationship between two nominals where the ‘identity of the ”possessor” specifies the identity of the head’. Some types of such relationships include:

(i) Part-Whole
\(\text{e.g. kepala-ku ‘my head’}^{\text{[ABM]}}\)
head-1sg
tayar basikal ‘bicycle tyre’
tyre bicycle

(ii) Possession-Owner
\(\text{e.g. rumah atuk ‘grandfather’s house’}^{\text{[ABM]}}\)
house grandpa
ayam Aca ‘Aca’s chicken(s)’
chicken Aca
(iii) Thing-Maker/Doer
   e.g. *fikiran-ku* ‘my thoughts’  
        thought-1sg  [ABM]

(iv) Thing-User
   e.g. *motor abah* ‘dad’s motorcycle’  
        motorcycle dad  [ABM]

(v) Kin-Person (used as reference point)
   e.g. *mak aku* ‘my mother’  
        mum 1sg  [ABM]
        atuk Anor ‘Anor’s grandfather’  [ABM]
        grandpa Anor

In the N-N construction the ‘possessed’ entity is expressed in the initial N (Ex. (4.97)) while in the N-punya-N construction, the ‘possessed’ entity is expressed in the final N (Ex. (4.98)).

(4.97)
   a. *rumah atuk*  [ABM]
      house grandpa  
      ‘grandpa’s house’

   b. *tayar basikal aku*  [ABM]
      tyre bicycle 1sg  
      ‘the tyre of my bicycle’

(4.98)
   a. *Aca punya kerja*  [ABM]
      Aca PUNYA work  
      ‘Aca’s work’

   b. *mak aku punya cadangan*  [ABM]
      mum 1sg PUNYA suggestion  
      ‘my mum’s suggestion’

The N-punya-N construction differs from the N-N construction in a number of ways:
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(1) In general the N-punya-N construction contains human ‘possessors’, while the standard N-N construction may have non-human ‘possessors’ (see previous examples (4.97-8)).

(2) The head of the N-punya-N construction is not generally itself a modified NP (see previous example (4.98)) while both the head and modifier of N-N constructions may be modified NPs (Ex. (4.99)). However the modifier of the N-punya-N construction may be a modified NP (Ex. (4.100)).

(4.99)

a. \[\text{masa suspens} \text{aku}\] [ABM]
feeling suspense 1sg
‘my feeling of suspense’

b. \[\text{pintu [bilik-ku]} \text{NP}\] [ABM]
door room-1sg
‘the door of my (bed)room’

(4.100) \[\text{mak aku} \text{NP punya cadangan}\] [ABM]
mum 1sg PUNYA suggestion
‘my mum’s suggestion’

4.6.2. Other Mod-punya-Head Constructions

Apart from noun phrases, Mod-punya-Head constructions may also involve adjectival and verb phrases, and adverbial phrases. In these cases the modifier is normally a degree adverb such as sikit ‘a little’ (Ex. (4.101), (4.102a) & (4.103a)) or a noun phrase such as macam (i)ni ‘this kind’ (Ex. (4.102b) & (4.103b)). These constructions are not as frequent as Mod-punya-N constructions.

(4.101) Mod-punya-V
\[\text{Atuk sikit punya ‘excited’-ke tengok aku datang.}\]
grandpa a.little PUNYA excited-KE see 1sg come
‘Was grandpa excited when he saw me coming.’ [ABM]
4.102 Mod-punya-Adj

a. ...
   kubur ayam-nya sikit punya cantik-ke, bersih
   grave chicken-3 a.little PUNYA beautiful-KE clean
   dan ter-pelihara sentiasa. [ABM]
   and TER-care.for always
   '...the grave for his chickens - was it nice - (it was) always clean and
   well-kept.'

b. “Aik, bas macam ni punya besar, dua-puluh ringgit
   AIK bus type this PUNYA big twenty dollar
   pun takde tukar-ke...” [ABM]
   PUN not.have change-KE
   'What, a bus this big and (you) don't even have change for twenty
   dollars?'

4.103 Mod-punya-Adv

a. ...
   api me-nyala sikit punya besar-ke. [ABM]
   fire MEN-ablaze a.little PUNYA big-KE
   '...was it a big fire.'

b. “Gilo, tangkap ayam pun macam ni punya
   mad catch chicken PUN type this PUNYA
   kasar-ke...” [ABM]
   rough-KE
   '(He's) mad, catching chickens in such a rough manner...'

4.7. Verbal Auxiliaries

There exists a number of verbal auxiliaries which function as modifiers of
verbs indicating semantic categories such as aspect and mood. Verbal
auxiliaries generally precede the verb in a verb phrase. They include
negators, temporal auxiliaries and modal auxiliaries.

Negators include tidak (or tak) 'not', bukan 'not' and belum 'not yet'.
Temporal auxiliaries indicate aspect, for example, sedang 'Progressive', masih
'Progressive', sudah 'Perfective' and telah 'Perfective'. Modal auxiliaries may
be epistemic, for example, they may express certainty: tentu 'certainly, surely',
takkan 'surely not', and uncertainty/possibility: mungkin 'maybe'. They may
also be deontic, for example, they may express ability: boleh ‘can, able to’,
dapat ‘able to’; obligation: mesti ‘must’, patut ‘should’, harus ‘should’, and
willingness: sanggup ‘willing’.16

Generally the auxiliaries occur in the following order in a verb phrase
(VP):

\[
\text{VP} \rightarrow (\text{Asp}) \ (\text{Neg}) \ (\text{Modal}) \ V \ \{ \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{PP} \end{array} \} \ (\text{CompCl})
\]

Some examples are:

(4.104) Asp-V-X

a. \textit{Satu hari tu, aku tengok abah sedang}
\textit{one day that 1sg see dad PROG
ber-siap-siap.}
BER-prepare:REDP
'One day I noticed dad preparing (to go out).'

b. \ldots\textit{se-buah sampai lain sudah ber-lepas dari pulau itu.}
\textit{one-CLFR boat other PERF BER-let.go from island that}
'...another boat had left the island.'

(4.105) Neg-V-X

a. \textit{Aku tengok Kak Cik men-(t)angis, tapi aku tak}
\textit{1sg see Kak Cik MEN-cry but 1sg NEG
pedulik...}
take.notice
'I saw Kak Cik crying but I took no notice...'

b. \textit{Ruesli tidak mahu meng-ganggu-nya.}
\textit{Ruesli NEG want MEN-disturb-3}
'Ruesli did not want to interrupt him.'

---

16 There is an auxiliary akan which indicates Future. I have treated akan as a modal rather
than a separate tense category since its distribution is similar to that of modal auxiliaries.
(4.106) Modal-V-X

a. Sekarang 'target' cuma satu - aku mesti lulus now goal only one 1sg must pass [ABM]
   periksa.
   exam
   'Now (I) have only one goal - I must pass (the) exam.'

b. Mak tentu bangga, abah tentu rasa tak mum certainly proud dad certainly feel not sia-sia sekolah-kan aku. futile:REDP school-KAN 1sg [ABM]
   'Mum would surely be proud (of me, and) dad would surely feel that (he) had not put me through school in vain.'

c. "Saya boleh mem-bantu-nya," 1sg can MEN-help-3 [HP]
   'I can help him.'

d. "Aku tidak tahu mengapa dia harus jadi begitu." 1sg NEG know why 3sg should become like this [HP]
   'I don't know why he should become like this.'

(4.107) Asp-Neg-V-X

a. ...Anor masih tak nak tegur aku... Anor PROG NEG want greet 1sg [ABM]
   '...Anor was still not talking to me...'

b. Gazis sudah tidak men-dengar-nya lagi. Gazis PERF NEG MEN-hear-3 more [HP]
   'Gazis was already not listening to him.'

(4.108) Asp-Modal-V-X

a. ...pukul-sepuluh dah boleh balik... ten.o'clock PERF can return [ABM]
   '... (by) ten o'clock, (I) could already go home...'

b. "Ruesli masih boleh mem-(p)ilih anak Basri yang Ruesli PROG can MEN-choose child Basri REL jilieta." beautiful [HP]
   'Ruesli can still pick Basri's beautiful daughter.'
(4.109) Neg-Modal-V-X

a. *Tapi aku tak dapat meng-hadiah-kan apa-apa.*  [ABM]
   but 1sg NEG able.to MEN-present-KAN what:REDP
   'But I was not able to give (her) anything.'

b. *"Hujan Pagi tidak harus men-jadi pelapor saja..."*
   rain morning NEG should MEN-become reporter
   'Hujan Pagi should not merely inform...'

   only
   'Hujan Pagi should not merely inform...'

   c. *...dia tidak akan lemah semangat ...*  [HP]
   3sg NEG FUT weak spirit
   '...he would not be weak in spirit...'

(4.110) Asp-Neg-Modal-V-X

*"Abih, kalau dah tak buleh pegang macam-mana well if PERF NEG can hold how
nak urut...??"*  [ABM]
NAK massage
'Well, if (I) am already not allowed to touch (you), how can (I)
message (you),'

Temporal auxiliaries and negators may also occur as modifiers to other
predicate-types such as adjectival predicates (Ex. (4.111)), nominal predicates
(Ex. (4.112)), quantifier predicates (Ex. (4.113)) and prepositional phrases which
function as predicates (Ex. (4.114)).

(4.111) Adjectival Predicate

a. *Teratak buruk ini masih kukuh.*  [ABM]
   hut broken.down this PROG strong
   'This broken down hut is still strong.'

b. *Angin tidak begitu sejuk sebenar-nya*
   wind NEG like.that cold in.fact
   'The wind was not all that cold actually.'

(4.112) Nominal Predicate

a. *Agak-nya, sudah suratan-takdir.*  [ABM]
guess-NYA PERF fate
   '(I) guess it was already fated.'
   1pl.incl PERF half journey say Lajis weak
   'We have already come halfway,' said Lajis weakly.' [HP]

(4.113) Quantifier Predicate

"Tak ramai budak-budak muda yang pandai
not many child:REDP young REL clever
meng-urut sekarang ni ..." [ABM]
MEN-massage now this
'(There are) not many young people who are good at massage nowadays...'

(4.114) Prepositional Phrase Predicate

"Lokman sedang dalam dua dunia." [HP]
Lokman PROG inside two world
'Locman is in two (separate) worlds.'

4.7.1. (Su)dah

Su dah or its reduced form dah is a temporal auxiliary indicating perfective aspect. It may be translated as 'already'.

(Su)dah may occur as a modifier to most predicate types, for example, verb phrases (Ex. (4.115-6)), adjectival predicates (Ex. (4.117-8)), nominal predicates (Ex. (4.119)), prepositional phrase predicates (Ex. (4.120)), adverbial predicates (Ex. (4.121)) and quantifier predicates (Ex. (4.122)).

(4.115) sudah VP

a. Bulan tujuh sudah mari [ABM]
   month seven already come
   'It was already the seventh month.'

b. "Saya pun sudah beritahu juga semalam, ter-lupa?" [HP]
   1sg PUN already tell also yesterday TER-forget
   'I already told (you) yesterday, (have you) forgotten?'
(4.116) **daah** VP

a. *Keluar masuk bilik guru besaah daah jadi perkara biasa.*
go.out enter room teacher big already become
'matter ordinary

'Going in and out of the principal's office had become an everyday affair.'

b. *"Beritahu kakak, abang daah lepas!"*
tell older.sister older.brother already let.go
'Tell (your) older sister, abang (=I) has been freed!'

(4.117) **sudah** AdjPred

a. *Sudah cukup lumayan bagi aku.*
already enough sufficient for 1sg
'It was sufficient for me.'

b. *"...sekarang nampak-nya sudah terlalu berat."*
now see-NYA already overly heavy
'...now it appears that it has become too serious.'

(4.118) **daah** AdjPred

*...besok daah besar besok kam u tau-lah.*
tomorrow already big tomorrow 2sg know-LAH
'...when you grow up, you will understand.'

(4.119) **sudah** NomPred

a. *Agak-nya, sudah suratan-takdir.*
guess-NYA already fate
'(I) guess it was already fated.'

b. *Memang sudah masa-nya.*
indeed already time-NYA
'Indeed it was time.'

(4.120) **sudah** PP-Pred

*'Dia sudah di mingguan lain?"* 3sg already at weekly other
'Is he at another weekly (newspaper) already?'
(4.121) (su)dah AdvPred
   a. ...dah hampir enam bulan aku tinggal dengan
      already near six month 1sg live with
      atuk.
      grandpa
      '...(I) had been staying with grandpa for almost six months.'
   b. "...itu memang sudah lama kita laku-kan..." [HP]
      that indeed already long 1pl.incl do-KAN
      '...indeed we have been doing that for a long time...'

(4.122) dah QPred
   Kawan-kawan pun dah ramai.
   friend:PL PUN already many
   'I had many friends now.'

There is a clear preference for the form sudah in HP and for dah in ABM. In HP sudah occurs 126 times compared to dah which occurs 20 times. On the other hand, in ABM there are 372 instances of dah compared to 14 of sudah. (See Table 4.8.) Furthermore dah occurs only in dialogue in HP. Therefore, dah may be considered as a characteristic CM form and sudah a characteristic SM form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ABM</th>
<th>HP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sudah</td>
<td>14 (3.6%)</td>
<td>126 (86.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dah</td>
<td>372 (96.4%)</td>
<td>20 (13.7%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.8. (Su)dah in ABM and HP

4.7.1.1. Dah in CM

While (su)dah as a temporal auxiliary occurs in pre-verbal or pre-predicate position in both CM and SM (see previous section), dah in CM also occurs in post-predicate position, for example, following an adjectival predicate (Ex. (4.123)); and following a verb (Ex. (4.124)) or modal auxiliary (Ex. (4.125)) in a
verb phrase. *Dah* may also occur post-verbally in exclamations like *dapat dah* '(I've) got(it)' and *pegi dah* 'go away, be gone' (Ex. (4.126-7)).

(4.123) Following Adjectival Predicate

Buruk benar dah-la. Aku pun mati akal. [ABM]
bad true already-LA 1sg PUN die intelligence

'It was just too bad. I couldn’t think of a way out.'

(4.124) Following Verb

...kerja di rumah pun aku tak tolong dah-la... [ABM]
work at house PUN 1sg NEG help already-EMP!

'...(I) had already stopped helping with the housework...'

(4.125) Following Modal Auxiliary

Aku tak dapat dah men-(t)ahan perasaan. [ABM]
1sg NEG get already MEN-stop feeling

'I couldn’t control (my) feelings anymore.'

(4.126) "Hahah - dapat dah. Dapat dah...” [ABM]
HAAHHAH get already get already

'Haha, I've got it! I've got it!'

(4.127) Baju Melayu aku mana? Pegi dah - buat-buat tanya
shirt Malay 1sg where go already make:REDP ask
lak.
LAK

'Where was my baju Melayu (traditional Malay attire)? Oh, go
away - (they) were only pretending to be concerned.'

In addition to indicating perfective aspect, *dah* in these positions may
sometimes also indicate:

(1) The additional meaning 'now' where the predicate is not negated (Ex. (4.128)).

(4.128)

a. "...nak mem-bunuh orang pulak dah kojo kau?"
want MEN-kill people PULAK already work 2sg

'...(are you) trying to kill him now?' [ABM]
b. "Dia tau-la apa yang dia buat. Dah besar
3sg know-EMPH what REL 3sg do already big
panjang, boleh-la dah beza-kan yang buruk
long can-EMPH already different-KAN REL bad
dan yang baik.
and REL good

[ABM]

'He knows what he's doing. (He's) already old enough (now) to tell
the difference between right and wrong now.'

(2) The additional meaning 'not anymore' where the predicate or verb is
negated (Ex. (4.129), see also Ex. (4.124-5)).

(4.129) ...dia-orang tak marah kat aku dah...
3pl NEG angry DAT 1sg already

[ABM]

'...they were no longer angry with me...'

4.7.1.2. Other Uses of (su)dah

4.7.1.2.1. Sudah/Udah as a Particle

'Sudah' but not 'dah' also occurs as a particle meaning approximately 'That's
enough!', for example:

(4.130)

a. "...sudah, ber-henti dulu..."
that's.enough BER-stop past

[HP]

'...that's enough, stop first...'

b. "Sudah-le, lu-la buat sendiri kita-orang
that's.enough-EMPH 2sg-EMPH do self 1pl.excl

malas nak campur."
lazy COMP get.involved

[ABM]

'That's enough, you can do it yourself, we don't want to get
involved.'
In ABM there is a related form *udah* used in the same way:

(4.131)

a. "*Udah! Pegi dapur basuh badan!*..."
   that's.enough go kitchen wash body
   'That's enough! Go and wash yourself at the kitchen.'

b. "*Udah-le tu - ayam yang pergi tu, usah-lah di-kenang!*"
   that's.enough that chicken REL go that no.need-LAH
   DI-remember
   'That's enough... it's no use thinking about the dead chickens.'

4.7.1.2.2. *Sudah* as a Verb

*Sudah* may occur as a stative verb root on its own meaning 'complete, ready' (Ex. (4.132)). *Sudah* may also occur as the root of the derived verbs *sudah-kan* 'to complete' (Ex. (4.133)) and *sudah-i* 'to end (an activity)' (Ex. (4.134)).

(4.132) *Surat itu pun sudah-lah.*
   letter that PUN ready-EMPH
   'The letter was (finally) ready.'

(4.133) "*Kata aku: sudah-kan rencana Pemberontakan Saring tu dulu.*"
   say 1sg complete-CAUS article Revolution that beforehand
   'I said: complete that article on the Saring Revolution first.'

(4.134) *la meny-(s)udah-i nasihat-nya dengan umpatan.*
   3sg MEN-complete-I advice-3 with defamatory.remarks
   '(S)he concluded his/her advice with defamatory remarks.'
4.7.1.3. Expressions Involving (U)dah

4.7.1.3.1. (U)dah-le/la

(U)dah-le/la occurs as a subordinating adverbial clause marker (cf. Ch. 6) together with pulak ‘moreover, furthermore’ in constructions of the form:

(U)dah-le/la X, Y pulak

where la/le is an emphatic particle (see Asmah 1986b). Roughly translated, the construction means ‘not only X but also Y’. Some examples are:

(4.135) Udah-le bengap, degil pulak tu. [ABM]
already-LE dull stubborn PULAK that
‘Not only was (he) dull, (he was) stubborn as well.’

(4.136)

a. Dah-le jahat, bodoh pulak tu. [ABM]
already-LE naughty stupid PULAK that
‘Not only was (he) naughty, (he was) stupid as well.’

b. Dah-la bodoh, bega¹⁷ pulak tu. [ABM]
already-LA stupid PULAK that
‘Not only was (he) stupid, (he was) bega as well.’

(4.137)

a. Dah-le lapar, penat pulak lagi. [ABM]
already-LE hungry tired PULAK more
‘Not only was (I) hungry, (I) was tired as well.’

b. ...dah-la tak puasa, me-rosak-kan puasa orang
already-LA NEG fast MEN-spoil-KAN fast people
pulak. [ABM]
PULAK
‘...not only were (they) not fasting (themselves), (they) were spoiling someone else’s fast as well.’

¹⁷ A colloquial root. Meaning indeterminate.
4.7.1.3.2. Dah tu

*Dah tu* [already + that] is a fixed expression in CM which may be translated roughly as ‘moreover; after that’ (cf. Section 4.5.2.2.1). Examples are:

(4.138) ...*kepala aku bukan-nya bulat sangat - dah tu*
head 1sg not-NYA round very moreover
*ber-parut-parut pulak bekas luka.* [ABM]
BER-scar:PL PULAK trace wound
‘...my head wasn’t all that round, moreover there were scars from (past) wounds (on it).’

(4.139) ...*kemas rumah lebih kurang - dah tu cabut, me-rayap*
tidy.up house more less after.that go MEN-crawl
*keliling kampung.* [ABM]
around village
‘...I more or less tidied up the house, after that I went out roaming around the village.’

4.7.2. Nak

In CM there is a temporal verbal auxiliary indicating tense: *nak* ‘(imminent) future’. *Nak* has a number of other functions: it be used as a verb meaning ‘want’ (Ex. (4.140)), as a complementizer (cf. Ch. 6), and as a subordinating adverbial clause marker (cf. Ch. 6).

(4.140) ...*aku nak mintak ampun kat mak...* [ABM]
1sg want ask forgiveness DAT mum
‘...I wanted to ask mum for forgiveness...’

As a temporal auxiliary indicating (imminent) Future, *nak* is frequently used with nominal predicates referring to time such as *senja* ‘sunset’ (Ex. (4.141)), *Maghrib* ‘a Muslim prayer time’ (Ex. (4.142)) and *tengah hari* ‘afternoon’ (Ex. (4.143)). It may also be used to modify verbal predicates (Ex. (4.144)).
(4.141) ...pegi kedai atuk Anor walaupun nak senja.  
go shop grandpa Anor although FUT sunset 
'...(I) went to Anor's grandfather's shop even though it was nearing 
sunset.' [ABM]

(4.142) Dekat-dekat nak Maghrib aku pun keluar  
near:REDP FUT Maghrib 1sg PUN go.out 
men-(t)uju ke rumah Anor. [ABM]  
MEN-approach to house Anor 
'Close to Maghrib (Muslim prayer time), I went out to Anor's 
house.'

(4.143) ...aku ter-jaga dekat nak tengah-hari dah... [ABM]  
1sg TER-awaken near FUT afternoon already 
'...I woke up close to midday...' 

(4.144) 
a. Padahal baru tahun ni nak ambil SPM... [ABM]  
in.fact just year this FUT take SPM 
'In fact (he) was only sitting for the SPM exam this year...' 

b. Aku mesti tanya sendiri kat Anor kedudukan yang  
1sg must ask self DAT Anor situation REL 
sebenar. Apa nak jadi, jadi-la. [ABM]  
true what FUT happen happen-EMPH 
'I must ask Anor what the true situation is. What will happen will 
happen.'

Nak may also function as an auxiliary linking a modal auxiliary such as 
boleh 'can', sanggup 'willing' or takkan 'surely not' to the rest of the verbal 
predicate (Ex. (4.145-7)).

(4.145) ...Aca tak boleh nak eksyen-le dengen aku  
Aca not can AUX be.arrogant-EMPH with 1sg 
sekarang. now 
'Aca cannot be arrogant with me anymore.'

(4.146) ...tu-la yang aku tak sanggup nak hadap. [ABM]  
that-EMPH REL 1sg not willing AUX face 
'...that was (what) I didn't want to face.'
(4.147) 'Writing pad' aku dah habih lak tu, takkan
writing pad 1sg already finish LAK that surely.not
nak balas dengan kertas-kajang, tak romantik-la. [ABM]
AUX reply with foolscap.paper not romantik-EMPH
'I had used up my writing paper, surely (I) couldn't reply on foolscap
paper - that's not romantic (at all).'

4.7.3. Dok

Dok\(^{18}\) is another CM temporal verbal auxiliary. It is used to mark
progressive aspect. It generally occurs before a verb by itself or preceding
tengah 'middle', another temporal verbal auxiliary marking progressive
aspect. Examples from ABM are:

(4.148)
\begin{enumerate}
\item a. Tengah leka angkat-angkat kayu, aku ter-pandang
middle engrossed take:REDP wood 1sg TER-see
atuk dok perati aku se-macam je. [ABM]
grandpa PROG observe 1sg one-kind just
'While busy gathering (fire)wood, I noticed grandpa watching me
with a strange expression on his face.'

\item b. Dok lepak kat tepi tembok, kat jeket
PROG hang.out at side wall at jacket
dia-orang ter-tulis 'Santana'. [AGM]
3pl TER-write Santana
'While hanging around next to the wall, (I saw the word) 'Santana'
written on their jackets.'
\end{enumerate}

(4.149) ...Anor lak dok tengah tuang air minum. [ABM]
Anor LAK PROG middle pour water drink
'...and Anor was pouring drinks.'

\(^{18}\) Dok also occurs as a Progressive Aspect marker in the Kedah dialect (Asmah 1986a:95-
144).
4.8. The Adverbial Saja/(A)je

Saja/(a)je is an adverbial modifier\(^{19}\) meaning approximately ‘only, just’. It occurs as modifier to a preceding element, phrase or predicate in the following positions:

(1) Following predicates
   For example, following verb phrases (Ex. (4.150)), nominal predicates (Ex. (4.151)) and prepositional phrase functioning as predicates (Ex. (4.152)).

(4.150) VP saja/aje
   a. "Kita chow aje-lah." [ABM]
      1pl incl go just-LAH
      ‘Let’s just go.’

   b. Lajis ter-senyum saja... [HP]
      Lajis TER-smile only
      ‘Lajis smiled only...’

(4.151) NomPred je
   "Bukan durian je, compodak pun ado, Jang..." [ABM]
   NEG durian only Jack-fruit PUN EXIST Jang
   ‘(There) weren’t only durians but (there) were jack-fruit as well...’

(4.152) PP-Pred saja
   "Dia seperti ter-pukau saja." [HP]
   3sg like TER-drug only
   ‘It was like he had been drugged.’

(2) Following constituent phrases
   For example, following adverbial phrases (Ex. (4.153)), noun phrases (Ex. (4.154)) and prepositional phrases (Ex. (4.155)).

(4.153) AdvP aje
   Tapi aku syok gitu-gitu aje-la... [ABM]
   but 1sg enjoy like.that:REDP only-LA
   ‘But I didn’t enjoy it all that much...’

---

\(^{19}\) Asmah (1986b) classifies sa(haj)ja as a ‘supra-sentential’ element on the grounds that the meaning of sa(haj)ja may only be determined in the context of preceding sentences. However the meaning of sa(haj)ja ‘only, just’ does not generally differ very greatly although a context may be necessary to interpret sentences containing sa(haj)ja.
(4.154) **NP saja/je**

a. "...urat je ter-peleot, bukan patah." [ABM]
   vein just TER-sprain NEG broken
   '...it's just a muscle sprain - nothing's broken.'

b. "Rencana Arfiah saja yang batal," kata-nya. [HP]
   article Arfiah only REL cancel say-3
   'Arfiah's article is the only one cancelled,' he said.'

(4.155) **PP saja**

"...jangan meng-ambil segala se-mudah di hadapan mata saja." [HP]
   don't MEN-take all so.easy at front eye only
   '...don't just take everything at face value.'

(3) Within a constituent phrase

For example, within a verb phrase following the verb (Ex. (4.156)),
within a verb phrase following a verbal auxiliary (Ex. (4.157)).

(4.156) **[V saja/je X]_{VP}**

a. Masuk je pintu pagar rumah Zaini, mak-nya
   enter just door fence house Zaini mum-3
   terpa aku. [ABM]
   rush.forward 1sg
   'The moment I entered the gate of Zaini's house, his mother rushed (out to meet) me.'

b. "...kau bawa saja abang-mu ke hospital..."
   2sg bring just older.brother-2sg to hospital
   '...just bring your older brother to the hospital...' [HP]

(4.157) **[Neg saja V X]_{VP}**

"Akhabar kita ini bukan saja ter-paksa ber-
newspaper 1pl incl this NEG only TER-force BER-
saing untuk hidup dari segi perniagaan-nya." [HP]
   compete for live from angle trade-3
   'Our newspaper does not only have to compete to stay alive economically.'
4.8.1. *Saja/A)je* in CM

In ABM *saja/(a)je* occurs in the positions described in the previous section, modifying preceding elements. In addition *saja* may occur as a modifier of following elements, such as verb phrases (Ex. (4.158)) or adverbial clauses (Ex. (4.159)). It may be followed optionally by *je* which may be regarded as a reduced form or partially reduplicated form of *saja* (Ex. (4.160)). The *saja je* sequence is roughly translated as ‘only just’. It may occur on its own as an answer to a question as well (Ex. (4.161)).

(4.158) *saja* VP

*Kadang-kadang kalau ada masa ‘free’, aku tolong-la
sometimes if have time free 1sg help-LA
jugak bersih-kan kubur ayam tu - saja beli jiwa,
also clean-KAN grave chicken that just buy soul
nanti kalau ‘time-time’ sesak, boleh pinjam duit.
afterwards if time:PL stuck can borrow money

‘Sometimes when I had free time, I helped to clean the grave of those chickens - just to please him - if I got into financial difficulties later on, I’d be able to borrow money (from him).’

[ABM]

(4.159) *saja* AdvCl

*Basikal buruk abah, aku ‘modified’ cucup-cucup -
bicycle broken.down dad 1sg modify enough:REDP
saja buat isi masa lapang.
just for fill time free

‘I modified dad’s old bicycle completely - just to fill my spare time.’

[ABM]

(4.160) *saja je* VP

a. "Takde ke mana - saja je nak ‘jogging’.
not.have go where only just want jogging

‘I wasn’t going anywhere in particular - I was only just jogging.’

[ABM]

b. *Tapi atuk bukan-la nak jual sangat pun, saja*
but grandpa NEG-LA want sell very FUN only
*je tolong cucu.*
just help grandson

‘But grandpa was not looking to make money, he was just helping (his) grandson.’

[ABM]
Aku baik-i pondok itu, ganti atap baru, 'repair'
1sg good-I hut that replace roof new repair
apa-apa yang patut, atuk pun naik hairan.
what:REDP REL necessary grandpa PUN ascend surprise
Apa kena rajin beno ni? Takde - saja je,
what affected.by diligent true this not.have only just
jawab-ku. Biar-lah kenangan ni aku simpan
answer-1sg allow-LAH memory this 1sg keep
sendiri.
sendiri.

'I fixed up the hut - replaced the roof and made the necessary repairs, so much so that grandpa was surprised. How come you're working so hard? Oh, it's nothing, I answered. Let this memory remain my own.'
Chapter 5

Prepositions

This chapter looks at the lexical class of prepositions in CM and SM. Prepositional forms and their semantics are dealt with in Section 5.1, and Section 5.2 examines prepositional ellipsis which is common in CM.

5.1. Inventory of Forms and their Semantics

Prepositions mark non-core verbal arguments, for example, Dative or Benefactive arguments (Ex. (5.1-2)). They also occur as the head of prepositional phrases that are adjuncts to a clause (Ex. (5.3)), or which function as a modifier in a noun phrase (Ex. (5.4)). Prepositional phrases may also be predicates (Ex. (5.5)).

(5.1) Dative
a. Tengok pada 'dressing' dia-orang...
   see DAT dressing 3pl
   'Looking at the way they were dressed...'

b. ...me-rasa kagum akan sensitiviti gadi itu.
   MEN-feel amazed DAT sensitivity young.woman that
   '...(he) was amazed at the young woman's sensitivity.' [HP]
(5.2) Benefactive

a. ...beli baju Melayu untuk Aca...  [ABM]
   buy shirt Malay for Aca...
   '...(she) bought a baju Melayu (traditional Malay costume) for Aca...'

b. "Pergi cari wang untuk Laj!"  [HP]
   go find money for Laj
   '(I am going to earn money for Laj (you)!'

(5.3) PP as adjuncts

a. Selamba je Anor jalan men-(t)uju ke rumah
   casual just Anor walk MEN-head.for to house
   aku.  [ABM]
   1sg
   'Casually Anor walked towards my house.'

b. Pada saat itu, jelas di-dengar-nya kiutan tapak-nya...
   at second that clear Di-hear-3 creaking footprint-3
   'At that moment he could hear the creaking (caused by) his
   footsteps clearly...'  [HP]

(5.4) PP as NP modifier

"...rindu-ku akan telur itu begitu kuat..."  [HP]
   longing.for-1sg DAT egg that like.that strong
   '"...my craving for those eggs was that strong...'

(5.5) PP as predicate

a. Aku ke hulu ke hilir dengan basikal... [ABM]
   1sg to upstream to downstream with bicycle
   'I (went) back and forth on (my) bicycle...'

b. "Rezeki di tangan Tuhan."
   livelihood at hand God
   'Providience is in the hands of God.'

Prepositional phrases in Malay are of the form:

$$PP \rightarrow \text{Prep (Locational Noun) NP}$$

Locational nouns which further specify a location indicated by the NP, for example, atas 'top', bawah 'bottom', dalam 'inside', luar 'outside', tepi 'side',
belakang 'behind' and keliling 'around', may occur with some prepositions, in particular, di 'at' (Ex. (5.6)), ke 'to' (Ex. (5.7)) and dari 'from' (Ex. (5.8)).

(5.6)

a. ...be-rehat-rehat kat teratakan di tengah sawah. [ABM]
   BER-rest:REDP at hut at middle rice.field
   'resting at the hut in the middle of the rice field.'

b. ...di-dengar-nya kuantan tapak-nya di atas titian
   Di-hear-3 creaking footstep-3 at top foot.bridge
   itu.
   [HP]
   that
   'he heard the creaking of his footsteps on the foot bridge.'

(5.7)

a. ...aku terus me-luru ke atas rumah. [ABM]
   1sg straight:away MEN-dash at top house
   'straight away I dashed up to the house.'

b. Dia men-(t)uang kopi ke dalam cawan-nya...
   [HP]
   3sg MEN-pour coffee to inside cup-3
   'He poured coffee into his cup...'

(5.8) "Saya belajar dari belakang kotak huruf itu sendiri.'
   1sg learn from behind box alphabet that self
   'I learn on my own from behind the 'alphabet box' (typesetter's box).'
   [HP]

CM and SM share the majority of the prepositions available in Malay. In addition CM has its own characteristic prepositions. In HP there are also a few prepositions which do not occur in ABM. In CM, where there is an existing SM equivalent of a CM form, the CM form is preferred over the SM form. The use of the equivalent SM preposition in ABM marks a shift to a more formal register.

Three main types of prepositions are observed in the texts:

(1) 'True prepositions', that is, those which form a closed class and which occur only as heads of prepositional phrases (Section 5.1.1.).

(2) 'Verbal prepositions' which also occur as verbs (Section 5.1.2.).
(3) 'Nominal prepositions' which may function as nouns as well as prepositions. They are common in ABM and rare in HP (Section 5.1.3).

5.1.1. 'True Prepositions'

'True prepositions' form a closed class of approximately thirteen frequently used forms in Malay. Most of these prepositions are monomorphemic. A few occur as compounds consisting of two prepositions, for example, kepada [ke 'to' + pada 'at'] and daripada [dari 'from' + pada 'at'].

A large number of 'true prepositions' are shared by CM and SM. However, in some cases the types of arguments marked by the prepositions may differ between CM and SM. Table 5.1 lists the prepositions that occur in both ABM and HP and their semantics as observed from the texts.

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**Table 5.1. 'True Prepositions' in ABM and HP**

Generally the compound prepositions *kepada* 'to (Human)' and *daripada* 'from (Human)' are infrequent in ABM. Some of the functions of *kepada*, for example, of marking Dative arguments (see Ex. (5.42)), are assumed by *pada* in CM (see Ex. (5.16)). The function of marking Human and Concrete Sources by *daripada* in SM (see Ex. (5.44&46)) are taken over by *dari* in CM (see Ex. (5.22-3)).

---

1 SM grammars state that *pada* may mark only non-human arguments and that *dari* may mark only non-human arguments (see Safiah et al. 1987).
Examples of the prepositions listed in Table 5.1 are:

(5.9)  \( \text{di} \) - Spatial Location

a. \( \ldots \text{aku abih-kan sepenuh masa \text{di bilik kaunselling}} \ldots \)
   1sg finish-KAN all time at room counselling
   '...I spent all my time at the counsellor's office...' [ABM]

b. \( \text{Lokman masih tidak juga muncul \text{di titian}} \ldots \) [HP]
   Lokman still NEG also appear at foot.bridge
   'Lokman had still not appeared at the foot bridge...'

(5.10)  \( \text{di} \) - Temporal Location

a. \( \text{Aku tak nak gaduh-gaduh \text{di bulan yang mulia ini.}} \)
   1sg NEG want fight:REDP at month REL honour this
   'I did not want to fight during this month of honour.' [ABM]

b. \( \ldots \text{kedengaran suara orang ter-gerit \text{di waktu subuh}} \ldots \)
   heard voice person TER-shout at time dawn
   '...the voice of someone shouting was heard at dawn.' [HP]

(5.11)  \( \text{di} \) - Abstract Location

a. \( \text{Apa juga yang ter-lintas \text{di fikiran}}...\), \text{semua aku lulis...} \)
   what also REL TER-cross at thought all 1sg draw
   'I drew everything crossed my mind...'

b. \( \ldots \text{cuba mem-baca apa rahsia pedih \text{di sebalik wajah tenang Lokman itu.}} \ldots \)
   try MEN-read what secret painful at behind expression calm Lokman that
   '...(he) tried to read the distress behind Lokman's calm expression.' [HP]

(5.12)  \( \text{ke} \) - Goal of Motion

a. \( \ldots \text{aku pun keluar men-(t)uju ke rumah Anor.} \)
   1sg PUN go.out MEN-head.for at house Anor
   '...and so I went out heading for Anor's place.' [ABM]
b. Gazis ter-henti, ber-jalan ke kerusi-nya semula...
Gazis TER-stop BER-walk to chair-3 again
'Gazis stopped (and) walked to his chair again...' [HP]

(5.13) *ke* - Abstract Goal
Lajis men-cuba-cuba punat radio-nya, ter-kesan rentak
Lajis MEN-try:REDP knob radio-3 TER-trace rhythm
irama pantai timur, membesar-kan-nya ke paras yang
tempo coast east MEN-big-CAUS-3 to level REL
meny-(s)enang-kan...
[HP]
MEN-easy-CAUS
'Lajis turned the knob of his radio, tuned in to music of the east coast, turned the volume up to a comfortable level...'

(5.14) *ke* - Human Goal
...sesekali mem-(p)andang ke ketua pengarang-nya
once.in.awhile MEN-look to head writer-3
itu...
[HP]
that
'...once in a while (he) looked at the chief editor...'

(5.15) *pada* - Temporal Location
a. Aku tengok macam stall ada pada hari perpisahan
1sg see type style EXIST at day separation
itu...
[ABM]
that
'I saw all sorts of styles (of saying goodbye) on the day of departure...'

b. pada pagi-nya Lokman masih tidak juga muncul
at morning-NYA Lokman still not also appear
di titian...
[HP]
at foot.bridge
'...in the morning Lokman had still not appeared at the foot bridge...'

(5.16) *pada* - Dative
...aku malu pada diri sendiri.
1sg ashamed DAT self self
'...I was ashamed of myself.'
(5.17) *pada* - Benefactive/Goal

a. *...setiap surat yang aku sampai-kan pada Ayu.* [ABM]
   every letter REL 1sg arrive-CAUS to Ayu
   '...every letter that I passed on to Ayu.'

b. *...nenek wasiat-kan rumah pusaka-nya itu pada aku.*
   grandmother will-KAN house heirloom-3 that to 1sg
   '...grandmother bequeathed her house, the family heirloom to me.'

(5.18) *pada* - Concrete Location

*...poster yang ter-tampal pada papan khusus di hadapan pejabat.* [HP]
   poster REL TER-stick at board exclusive at front office
   '...the poster that was stuck on the noticeboard at the front of the office...'

(5.19) *dari* - Source of Motion

a. *...yang keluar dari kereta tu Anor...* [ABM]
   REL go.out from car that Anor
   '...(the person) coming out from the car was Anor...'

b. *Ada yang sedang ber-lari dari kilang.* [HP]
   EXIST REL PROG BER-run from factory
   'There) were some who were running from the factory.'

(5.20) *dari* - Temporal Source

a. *...aku dari pagi sampai ke petang asyik main aje.* [ABM]
   1sg from morning until to evening engrossed play only
   '...from morning till evening, all I did was play.'

b. *"Dari dulu lagi, saya meng-idam-kam awak untuk men-jadi se-orang wartawan."* [HP]
   From past more 1sg MEN-desire-KAN 2sg for MEN-become one-CLFR journalist
   'From a long time ago, I had wanted you to become a journalist.'
(5.21) dari - Locational Source

a. ...aku 'curi' buku dari pusat sumber. \[ABM\]
   1sg steal book from centre source
   '...I stole books from the resource centre.'

b. Biman meny-(s)eringai kepada-nya dari jauh. \[HP\]
   Biman MEN-grin to-3 from far
   'Biman grinned at him from afar.'

(5.22) dari - Human Source

Mak terima 'register' dari Angah. \[ABM\]
   mum receive register from Angah
   'Mum received a registered letter from Angah.'

(5.23) dari - Concrete Source

...basikal tu di-buat dari besi. \[ABM\]
   bicycle that DI-make from iron
   '...the bicycle was made of steel.'

(5.24) dari - Activity

Sejak ber-henti dari meng-ajar silat,
   since BER-stop from MEN-teach Malay.martial.arts.form
atuk tak banyak buat kerja. \[ABM\]
   grandpa NEG much make work
   'Since (he) stopped teaching silat, grandpa did not do much work.'

(5.25) dari - Comparative Theme

a. Subuh aku tidur lena dari hari-hari yang
   dawn 1sg sleep sound(of.sleep) from day:PL REL
   lepas.
   past
   'At dawn, I slept - more soundly than (I had for) the past (few)
   days.'

b. ...Anor jauh lebih matang dari aku. \[ABM\]
   Anor far more mature from 1sg
   '...Anor was far more mature than me.'

(5.26) untuk - Benefactive

a. ...bubur yang Aca masak untuk mak...
   REL porridge REL Aca cook for mum
   '...(the) porridge which Aca cooked for mum...'
b. "Faquhar _temu-kan_ Pulau Singapura _untuk_ Raffles."
   Faquhar meet-KAN island Singapore for Raffles
   'Faquhar discovered Singapore for Raffles.'
   [HP]

(5.27) _untuk_ - Purpose
a. ..._gotong-royong_ _untuk_ _persiapan_ _kenduri_...   [ABM]
   work.together for preparation feast
   '...(they were) working together for the preparations for the feast...'

b. "..._meng-gadai-kan_ tanahair _ini_ _untuk_ _kepentingan_
   MEN-pawn-KAN native.land this for importance
   peribadi dan keluarga."
   personal and family
   '...(they would) pawn their land for the interests of self and family.'

(5.28) _untuk_ - Theme
_Dia_ sanggup bayar seratus ringgit _untuk_ 3sg willing pay one.hundred dollar for
_se-keping lukisan aku._ [ABM]
one-CLFR drawing 1sg
'He was willing to pay a hundred dollars for a drawing of mine.'

(5.29) _untuk_ - Duration
_Mereka ter-diam _untuk_ beberapa detik._ [HP]
3pl TER-silent for several tick(of.time)
'They were silent for a few moments.'

(5.30) _dengan_ - Comitative
a. _aku tau dia ber-subahat dengan mak dan_
   1sg know 3sg BER-collaborator with mum and
dad
   '...I knew she collaborated with mum and dad.'

b. _sesuatu yang batiniah meng-ikat-nya dengan_
   _something_ REL mysticism MEN-tie-3 with
   Lokman.
   Lokman
   '...something mystical linked him to Lokman.'

(5.31) _dengan_ - Instrument
a. _aku ikat dengan tali._ [ABM]
   1sg tie with string
   '...I tied (it up) with (some) string.'
b. *Dia mem-beri-sih-kan tangan-nya dengan kain buruk...*  
3sg MEN-clean-CAUS hand-3 with cloth rotten  
'He cleaned his hand(s) with a rag....'  

(5.32) *dengan* - Dative  

a. *...aku pergi kerana tak tahan lagi dengan*  
1sg go because not withstand more DAT  
sikap. mak. attitude mum  
'*...I was leaving because (I) could no longer stand mum's attitude.*'  

b. *"Jadi, awak tidak senang dengan perkembangan dalam*  
so 2sg not easy DAT development inside  
masyarakat kita sekarang?"  
[HP]  
society 1pl.incl now  
'So you do not feel at ease with the current developments in our society?'

(5.33) *dengan* - Theme  

a. *...kita orang Minang ni kaya dengan*  
1pl.incl people Minang this rich with  
adat. custom/tradition  
'*...we, the Minangkabau people, are rich in tradition and customs.*'  

b. *Aca masam je, ber-lalu dengan satu*  
Aca sour just BER-pass.by with one  
jelingan tajam. look.from.corner.of.eye sharp  
'Aca was sour-faced (and) walked by with a sharp look (from the corner of the eyes).'</n
(5.34) *hingga* - Temporal Goal/Limit  

a. *...hingga kini aku masih tidak mem-punya-i apa-apa.*  
until now 1sg still not MEN-own-I what:REDP  
'*...until now I still had nothing.*'  

b. *"...men-jadi manusia ter-jajah hingga sekarang..."*  
MEN-become human TER-colonize until now  
"...became colonized people until now..."  
[HP]
(5.35) hingga - Abstract Goal/Limit
...usia-nya dua hingga tiga tahun lebih tua
age-3 two until three year more old
[dari-ku]
from-1sg
"...they were two to three years older than me."

(5.36) tentang - Theme
a. ...abad tak pernah pun cerita tentang
dad not have.done.before fun tell about
[atuk.]
grandpa
'...dad had never talked about grandpa before.'

b. ...mem-beritahu mereka tentang mesyuarat esok.
MEN-tell 3pl about meeting tomorrow
'...(he) told them about the meeting (scheduled for) the next day.'

(5.37) oleh - Agent/Actor
a. ...rakan-rakan-ku di-kunjungi oleh keluarga mereka.
friend:PL-1sg DI-visit-I by family 3pl
'...my friends' families came to see them.'

b. Norisah terganggu oleh suara Lajis.
Norisah TER-disturb by voice Lajis
'Norisah was troubled by Lajis's voice.'

c. ....akhbar yang di-asas-kan oleh datuk-nya
newspaper REL DI-foundation-KAN by grandfather-3
itu.
that
'...the newspaper (company) that was founded by his grandfather.'

(5.38) oleh - Cause
Keluarga-nya mati hampir se-keluarga oleh bom Jepun.
family-3 die almost one-family by bomb Japan
'Almost all of his family died as a result of the Japanese bombings.'

(5.39) seperti - Comparative
a. ...aku kembali seperti dulu.
1sg return like past
'...I returned to my old habits again.'
b. "Desa memang pelupa seperti bapa-nya."
   'Desa is indeed forgetful like his father.' [HP]

(5.40) **sebagai** - Theme

a. Di sini-lah ber-mula-nya zaman kegemilangan-ku
   at here-EMPH BER-begin-NYA era brightness-1sg
   sebagai pelajar.
   as student
   'This was where my 'golden age' as a student began.' [ABM]

b. "Kita memang bekerja sebagai satu keluarga."
   1pl.incl indeed BER-work as one family
   'Indeed we work as one family.' [HP]

(5.41) **kepada** - Goal

a. ...perhatian yang lebih di-beri-kan kepada adik.
   attention REL more Di-give-KAN to younger.sibling
   'more attention which was given to my younger brother.'

b. "...serah-kan dulu segala-nya kepada saya."
   surrender-KAN past all-3 to 1sg
   '...leave it all to me first.' [HP]

(5.42) **kepada** - Dative

...penulis ter-paksa ber-tanya kepada hati-nurani
   writer TER-force BER-ask DAT enlightened.heart
   sendiri.
   self
   '...writers should question their inner selves.' [HP]

(5.43) **daripada** - Comparative

a. ...kesihatan badan tu lebih mahal daripada
   health body that more expensive from
   duit.
   money
   '...health is more valuable than money.' [ABM]

b. "Lori lebih gagah daripada kereta-ku ini."
   truck more powerful from vehicle-1sg this
   'Trucks are more powerful then this car of mine.' [HP]
(5.44) daripada - Human Source
"
...saya ingin me-minta pandangan atau saranan
1sg wish MEN-request opinion or suggestion
atau... apa saja daripada saudara-saudara semua." [HP]
or what only from comrade:PL all
'...I wish to ask for your opinions, suggestions or anything at all.'

(5.45) daripada - Locational Source
...dan meng-humban-kan papan daripada kereta lembu
and MEN-toss-KAN board from vehicle cattle
yang lain. [HP]
REL other
'...and (he) tossed the board from another bullock-cart.'

(5.46) daripada - Concrete Source
...Gazis mem-(p)adam perkataan 'Bahaya!' yang
Gazis MEN-erase word danger REL
di-bentuk-nya daripada air tadi. [HP]
DI-form-3 from water just.now
'...Gazis erased the word "Danger!" that he had formed from the water a while ago.'

(5.47) daripada - Abstract Source
...bahawa kata-kata itu di-petik Lokman daripada
that word:PL that DI-pluck Lokman from
perenggan rencana-nya yang ter-bengkalai itu. [HP]
paragraph article-3 REL TER-incomplete that
'...that those words were taken by Lokman from a paragraph of his unfinished article.'

One SM preposition that does not occur in ABM is akan which marks Dative arguments (Ex. (5.48)).

(5.48) akan - Dative
a. Selama ini dia masih ragu-ragu akan kehadiran
as.long.as this 3sg still doubtful:REDP DAT existence
Hang Tuah. [HP]
Hang Tuah
'Until now (she) still doubted the existence of Hang Tuah.'
b. \textit{...manusia yang dewasa, yang sensitif akan keadaan semasa, sedar akan tanggungjawab-nya.} \[HP\]
\textit{...a mature person who is sensitive towards current affairs (and) aware of his responsibilities.}'

The frequencies of 'true prepositions' in the texts, including typical CM forms (cf. Section 5.1.1.1) are listed in Table 5.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CM/SM</th>
<th>ABM</th>
<th>HP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>di 'at'</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke 'to'</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pada 'at'</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dari 'from'</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>untuk 'for'</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dengan 'with'</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hingga 'until'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tentang 'about'</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oleh 'by'</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seperti 'like'</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sebagai 'as'</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kepada 'to'</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daripada 'from'</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SM</td>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akan 'Dative'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kat 'at; Dative'</td>
<td>542</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tang 'from'</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dek 'by'</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>1306</td>
<td>1150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.2. Frequencies of 'True Prepositions' in ABM and HP
5.1.1.1. CM 'True Prepositions'

Characteristic CM forms which do not occur in HP at all are:

kat  Locative (Spatial, Abstract, Human), Dative, Goal, Source (cf. Section 5.1.1.1.1)
tang Source (Locational (Ex. (5.49)), Temporal (Ex. (5.50)))
dek Human Agent (Ex. (5.51))

(5.49) tang - Locational Source
"Woi... nak tengok, tengok tang jauh je..." [ABM]
WOI want look look from far only
"Hey... if you want to have a look, do it from a distance..."

(5.50) tang - Temporal Source
...Anor ada kat dapur, tah tang bila dia
Anor EXIST at kitchen don't know from when 3sg
ada kat situ, aku pun tak tau. [ABM]
EXIST at there 1sg PUN NEG know
'...Anor was in the kitchen - I didn't know since when she'd been there.'

(5.51) dek - Human Agent
a. ...kita-orang selalu kena 'warning' dek 'warden'
1pl excl often affected by warning by warden
that [ABM]
"We often received warnings from the warden."
b. Kat sina-le dulu aku mem-bawa diri bila kena
at here-LE past 1sg MEN-bring self when affected by
cane by mum [ABM]
"It was here that I escaped to when I was caned by mum in the past."

5.1.1.1.1. Kat

Since the CM preposition kat occurs with high frequency in ABM (542 instances - see Table 5.2), it deserves special mention. Kat generally marks
Locative, Dative, Goal and Source arguments. It is frequently used in the place of the locative preposition *di* ‘at’ and the Dative prepositions, *pada* ‘at’, *kepada* ‘to’ and *dengan* ‘with’.

Benjamin (1986:16) considers *kat* as an abbreviated form of *dekat* ‘near, close (to)’. While this may be true diachronically, it is clear that *kat* has evolved into a preposition in present day CM, marking a range of other arguments besides physical location. A very small number of examples are found in ABM which suggests that *kat* has developed from *dekat* (Ex. (5.52)). In these cases the NPs associated with *dekat* refer to physical locations. However for the purposes of this discussion, I will regard *kat* as a preposition in its own right.

(5.52)  
a. "...Besok tangkap gunting-la dekat kedai...’ [ABM]  
tomorrow catch scissors-LA near shop  
‘...Go for a haircut tomorrow...’

b. Lepas mandi aku lepak dekat serambi ‘join’ abah  
after bathe lsg hang.out near verandah join dad  
dan atuk. [ABM]  
and grandpa  
‘After (my) bath I joined dad and grandpa at the verandah.’

*Kat* marks the following types of arguments: Spatial Location (Ex. (5.53)), Abstract Location (Ex. (5.54)), Human Location (Ex. (5.55)), Datives (Ex. (5.56)), Human Goal (Ex. (5.57)) and Human Source (Ex. (5.58)).

(5.53)  
Spatial Location  
*Aku nak rendam kaki kat sungai puas-puas.* [ABM]  
lsg want soak leg at river satisfied:REDP  
‘I wanted to soak my feet in the river until I was satisfied.’

(5.54)  
Abstract Location  
*Wajah arwah Abang Joe segera*  
face deceased older.brother Joe immediately  
*men-jelma kat kepala-ku.* [ABM]  
MEN-appear at head-lsg  
‘Immediately, Abang Joe’s image appeared in my mind.’
(5.55) Human Location

...barang peninggalan Abang Joe ada kat
thing deceased.estate older.brother Joe EXIST at
aku.
1sg
'
the belongings that Abang Joe left were with me.'

(5.56) Dative

Dia cukup suka kat aku.
3sg really like DAT 1sg
'
(S)he really liked me.'

(5.57) Human Goal

"...asyik tulis surat kat pakwe je ...."
engrossed write letter GOAL boyfriend only
'(you're) always busy writing letters to (your) boyfriend...'

(5.58) Human Source

Aku nak pinjam kat Abang Joe... segan...
1sg want borrow from older.brother Joe embarrassed
'I was too embarrassed to borrow (money) from Abang Joe...'

As with other prepositions, kat may occur with immediately following locational nouns that further specify the location, when it marks spatial locations (Ex. 5.59).

(5.59) a. Kalau setakat belukar kat keliling rumah tu
if to.the.extent.of forest at around house that
dah habis aku redah.
already complete 1sg cut.way.through.forest
'I had already explored as far as the forest surrounding the house.'

b. Tak dapat burung, ayam kat bawah rumah pun
NEG get bird chicken at under house PUN
jadi.
become
'If (I) didn't manage to get a bird, even the chickens under the house would do.'
5.1.1.1.1. Dative Arguments of *kat*

*Kat* may mark the following types of Dative arguments: arguments of verbs of saying (Ex. (5.60)), emotion verbs (Ex. (5.61)), perception verbs (Ex. (5.62)) and cognition verbs (Ex. (5.63)).

(5.60) Verbs of ‘saying’

a. *Nak tanya kat mak dia, malu lak rasa-nya*  
   COMP ask DAT mum 3sg embarrassed LAK feel-NÝA  
   ‘(I) was too embarrassed to ask her mum.’  
   [ABM]

b. *Aku tau dia-la yang ‘report’ kat mak.*  
   1sg know 3sg-EMPH REL report DAT mum  
   ‘I knew it was he who told mum.’  
   [ABM]

(5.61) Emotion verbs

a. “*Apasal semua marah kat aku..?*”  
   why all angry DAT 1sg  
   ‘Why is everyone angry with me?’  
   [ABM]

b. *Sayang jugak abah kat aku.*  
   love also dad DAT 1sg  
   ‘Dad did love me (after all).’  
   [ABM]

(5.62) Perception verbs

a. ...*kutu-kutu kat situ jeling je kat*  
   lice:PL at there look.from.corner.of.eye only DAT  
   aku...  
   1sg  
   ‘...the kids [lit. lice] there (kept on) looking at me...’  
   [ABM]

b. *Orang yang lalu-lalang kat jejatas tu semua*  
   people REL pass.by at overhead.crossing that all  
   pandang kat aku...  
   look DAT 1sg  
   ‘The people passing by on the overhead crossing were all looking at me...’  
   [ABM]

(5.63) Cognition verbs

a. *Aku tiba-tiba ter-ingat kat ‘family’ di kampung.*  
   1sg suddenly TER-remember DAT family at village  
   ‘I suddenly remembered (my) family at home.’  
   [ABM]
b. "...jangan lupa kat Anor pulak ye Jang."
don't forget DAT Anor PULAK yes Jang
'...don't forget Anor (=me) alright, Jang.' [ABM]

In SM the arguments of verbs of saying and perception verbs are generally unmarked. They occur in immediately post-verbal positions (Ex. (5.64-5)). However the preposition kepada may be used at times (Ex. (5.66-7)).

(5.64) Dia..., masuk kembali untuk mem-beritahu ø Basri...
3sg enter return for MEN-tell ø Basri
'He came in again to tell Basri...' [HP]

(5.65) Ruesli mem-(p)andang ø Arfiah dan Muayah pula...
Ruesli MEN-look.at ø Arfiah and Muayah PULAK
'Ruesli looked at Arfiah and Muayah instead...' [HP]

(5.66) ...bukan-kah Gazis yang ber-tanya kepada-nya tentang
NEG-KAH Gazis REL BER-ask to-3 about
Shamsu'l-Din...
Shamsu'l-Din
'...wasn't it Gazis who asked him about Shamsu'l-Din...'

(5.67) Mem-(p)andang tepat kepada Gazis, dia
MEN-look.at direct at Gazis 3sg
me-lanjut-kan...
MEN-advance-KAN
'Looking straight at Gazis, he continued...'

Arguments of emotion and cognition verbs are generally marked by prepositions in SM. In HP arguments of emotion verbs are generally marked by the prepositions akan or dengann\(^2\) (Ex. (5.68-9)). The arguments of cognition verbs are generally marked by akan (Ex. (5.70)). They may also be...\(^2\)

\(^2\) While all three prepositions occur with verbs of emotion in HP, Safiah et al (1987:93) are of the opinion that such verbs normally occur with akan. Akan is also often omitted and replaced by the verbal suffix -kan on emotion verbs in HP. However, Safiah et al state that this is not possible in SM.

\[\text{Kami} \text{ sekeluarga sayang akan} \text{ S1 Ali itu.}
1pl.excl one.family love DAT S1 Ali the/that
'The whole family loved S1 Ali.'\]

\[\text{*Kami sekeluarga sayang-kan S1 Ali itu.} \quad \text{[Safiah et al 1987:193]}\]
unmarked (Ex. (5.71)). Cognition verbs may also bear the suffix -kan, in which case no preposition occurs between the verb and the NP. In other words the suffix -kan functions as a transitivizer (Ex. (5.72)) - cf. Ch. 4).

(5.68) ...mem-(p)andang takut akan ustaz-nya... [HP]  
       MEN-look.at afraid DAT religious.teacher-3
       '...(he) looked fearfully at his ustaz.'

(5.69) "Jadi, awak tidak senang dengan perkembangan dalam so 2sg not easy with development inside
       masyarakat kita sekarang?" [HP] society 1pl.incl now
       'So you’re not at comfortable with the developments taking place in
       our society presently?'

(5.70) ...paling akrab dan paling mengerti akan most intimate and most MEN-meaning DAT
       diri-nya. self-3 [HP]
       '...the most intimate (friend) and (who) understood him most.'

(5.71) "Lihat, kau mudah ter-lupa ø peristiwa besar..." [HP]
       look 2sg easy TER-forget ø event big
       'See how easy you forget important events...'

(5.72) ...baru dia ter-ingat-kan rencana pendek new 3sg TER-remember-KAN article short
       terjemahan-nya dua hari dulu... [HP] translation-3 two day past
       '...he had only just remembered his translation of the short article
       of two days ago...'

5.1.2. Verbal Prepositions

It is generally accepted that verbal prepositions, that is, prepositions that may occur independently as verbs, arise as a result of their frequent occurrence as the second of a pair of serial verbs (see Durie 1988b). Indeed verb serialization is common in Malay (cf. Ch. 6) and there is little doubt that verbal prepositions in Malay have developed as a result of frequent
serialization with other verbs. However I will not be concerned with the
diachronic development of verbal prepositions in Malay here.

Verbal prepositions do not occur as frequently as 'true prepositions' in the
texts. The majority of the verbal prepositions exist alongside other
equivalent 'true prepositions' which have similar functions.

Verbal prepositions may occur in either 'bare' root, that is, unaffixed form,
or they may be verbal roots which bear fixed verbal affixes when they occur as
prepositions. Generally derived verbal prepositions do not occur as verbs in
the same derived forms. However I will still regard them as verbal
prepositions by virtue of the fact that they carry verbal affixes. Typical CM
verbal prepositions are in 'bare' verbal root form.

The verbal prepositions shared by CM and SM are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal Preposition</th>
<th>Equivalent Preposition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sampai 'arrive'</td>
<td>Goal/Limit (Ex. (5.73))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ter-hadap</td>
<td>Dative (Human (Ex. (5.74))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[hadap 'to face']</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ber-sama</td>
<td>Comitative (5.75)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[sama 'same']</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me-lalu-i</td>
<td>Passage of Motion (Ex. (5.76)),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[lalu 'pass']</td>
<td>Medium (Ex. (5.77))</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples are:

(5.73) sampai - Goal/Limit

a. Mak ber-leter dari pagi sampai petang. [ABM]
mum BER-nag from morning until evening
'Mum nagged from morning until evening.'

b. ...tebang-le sampai se-ratus batang... [ABM]
fell-LE until one-hundred CLFR
'...fell as many as a hundred trees...'

c. "Sampai bila pun nanti kerja ini tak siap..."
until when PUN afterwards work this NEG ready
'This work will never be finished...' [HP]
(5.74) terhadap - Human Dative
a. Sikap m a k  terhadap-ku tetap  tak ber-ubah.
attitude mu m towards-1sg permanent not BER-change
'Mum's attitude towards me did not change.' [ABM]
b. Lokman begitu meng-ambil-berat terhadap-nya. [HP]
Lokman like.that MEN-concerned towards-3
'Lokman was so concerned about him.'

(5.75) bersama - Comitative
a. ...seronok dengan kegiatan di luar bersama
enjoyable with activity at outside with
kawan-kawan. [ABM]
friend:PL
'...I was enjoying (my) activities outside with my friends.'
b. ...kapal Fame ter-bakar bersama khazanah sastera
ship Fame TER-burn with possession arts
dan budaya Melayu purba. [HP]
and culture Malay pre-historic
'...The Fame (a ship) was burnt together with its pre-historic Malay artistic and cultural works.'

(5.76) melalui - Passage of Motion
...aku lompat keluar melalui tingkap.
1sg jump go.out through window
'...I jumped out through the window.'

(5.77) melalui - Medium
a. ...aku curah-kan isi hati aku pada Anor melalui surat.
1sg pour-KAN content heart 1sg to Anor through
letter
'...I poured my heart out to Anor in a letter.'
b. Melalui rencana ter-akhir-nya itu, Ruesli through article TER-last-3 that Ruesli
mem-bongkar rahsia ini... [HP]
MEN-expose secret this
'In his last article Ruesli exposed this secret...'

Only me-lalu-i occurs in the texts as a verb as well in the same derived form (Ex. (5.78)). Although ter-hadap and ber-sama bear verbal affixes, they occur only in the distribution of prepositions. However the roots hadap 'to
face' and sama 'same' may occur as verbs with other affixes, for example, meng-hadap-i 'to face' (Ex. (5.79)) and meny-(s)ama-kan 'to treat as the same (as)' (Ex. (5.80)). Sampai 'arrive' may occur as a verb in 'bare' form in both ABM and HP (Ex. (5.81)).

(5.78) Kereta lembu yang pertama me-lalu-i di hadapan klub itu. [HP]

The first bullock cart passed by the front of the club.'

(5.79)

a. ...aku meng-hadap-i SPM dengan tenang. [ABM]
   1sg MEN-face-I SPM with calm
   '...I faced the SPM (exam) calmly.'

b. ...ketika dia meng-hadap-i mereka pagi tadi
   while 3sg MEN-face-I 3pl morning a.while.ago
   tidak sedikit pun dirinya te-rasa gementar... [HP]
   not a. little PUN self-3 TER-feel tremble
   '...when he faced them in the morning, he was not the least afraid'.

(5.80) "Meny-(s)ama-kan keberanian dengan kedunguan?" [HP]
   MEN-same-CAUS courage with ignorance
   'Are you) equating courage with ignorance?'

(5.81)

a. Aku nak cepat sampai ke rumah nak jumpa abah. [ABM]
   1sg want quick arrive to house want meet dad
   'I wanted to get home quickly to see dad.'

b. ...setengah jam lagi Lajis akan sampai. [HP]
   half hour more Lajis will arrive
   '...Lajis would be arriving in half an hour.'

There is one verbal preposition in HP that does not occur in ABM: meng-(k)ena-i derived from kena 'affected by, required to', which marks Themes (Ex. (5.82)). Its equivalent 'true preposition' is tentang. Like ter-hadap and ber-sama, meng-(k)ena-i does not occur as a verb in the same derived form. However the root kena may occur as a verb 'to be affected by, required to' in unaffixed form in ABM (Ex. (5.83) - cf. Ch. 4) or in affixed form, such as (meng)-(k)ena-kan 'to require, to put on' in ABM and HP (Ex. (5.84)).
(5.82) *mengenai* - Theme

*Dia men-(t)ulis mengenai Hang Kasturi di-cabar-i*  
3sg MEN-write about Hang Kasturi DI-challenge-I  
*harimau.*  
[HP]  
'He wrote about Hang Kasturi being challenged by a tiger.'

(5.83) ...*dah biru-le mata kena peninju.*  
already blue-EMPH eye affected by fist  
[ABM]  
'Their eyes would have been bruised as a result of (my) punches.'

(5.84) a. ...*aku kena-kan syarat...*  
1sg require-CAUS condition  
'I laid down a condition...'

b. *Lajis duduk, meng-(k)ena-kan cermin-mata-nya...*  
Lajis sat MEN-put.on-KAN glasses-3  
[HP]  
'Lajis sat down (and) put on his glasses...'

---

Table 5.3 lists the frequencies of the verbal prepositions in ABM and HP.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preposition</th>
<th>ABM</th>
<th>HP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CM/SM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sampai</em> 'until'</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>terhadap</em> 'towards'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bersama</em> 'with'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>melalui</em> 'through'</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bagi</em> 'for'</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mengenai</em> 'about'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>buat</em> 'for'</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ikut</em> 'through'</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.3. Frequencies of Verbal Prepositions in ABM and HP

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3 Not really a verbal preposition in SM (see Section 5.1.2.2).
5.1.2.1. CM Verbal Prepositions

CM has two verbal prepositions which are not found in HP. They occur in bare root form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal Preposition</th>
<th>Equivalent Preposition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>buat 'make, do'</td>
<td>Experiencer (Ex. (5.85)), Temporal Theme (Ex. (5.88)) untuk, bagi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikut 'follow'</td>
<td>Passage of Motion (Ex. (5.87)) melalui</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples are:

(5.85) *buat* - Experiencer

a. *...dah jadi perkara biasa buat-ku...* [ABM]
   already become matter common for-1sg
   ‘...had already become a common occurrence for me...’

b. *...hari yang paling 'galmour' buat aku.* [ABM]
   day REL most glamour for 1sg
   ‘...the most “glamourous” day for me.’

(5.86) *buat* - Temporal Theme

*...duit yang aku curi buat kali ketiga dari money REL 1sg steal for time third from Aca.* [ABM]

Aca

‘...(the) money which I stole from Aca for the third time.’

(5.87) *ikut* - Passage of Motion

a. *...aku pun keluar ikut tingkap.* [ABM]
   1sg PUN go.out through window
   ‘...and so I went out through the window.’

b. *Aku turun ikut tangga depan.* [ABM]
   1sg descend through stairs front
   ‘I went down by the front stairs.’

*Buat* ‘make, do’ and *ikut* ‘follow’ occur frequently as verbs in CM (Ex. (5.88-89)).
5.1.2.2. **Bagi**

*Bagi*, a verbal preposition in CM, marks Benefactives (Ex. (5.90)) and Experiencers (Ex. (5.91)). It occurs frequently as a verb meaning 'to give' (Ex. (5.92)).

(5.90) Benefactive

...*tak ada apa-apa bagi aku...* [ABM]
not have what:REDP for 1sg
‘...(there was) nothing for me...’

(5.91) Experiencer

...*waktu-waktu yang meny-(s)eksa-kan bagi aku.* [ABM]
time:PL REL MEN-torture-KAN for 1sg
‘...(those were) torturous times for me...’

(5.92) Malam *tu lepas *makan, *aku bagi *surat *tu *kat
night that after eat 1sg give letter that to
Aca.
Aca
‘After dinner that night I gave the letter to Aca.’
Bagi also occurs as a preposition but not as a verb in SM. The use of bagi as a verb is a typical CM characteristic (cf. Ch. 2). As a preposition in SM, it marks a wider variety of argument types than in CM: Benefactives (Ex. (5.93)), Experiencers (Ex. (5.94)), Temporal Themes (Ex. (5.95)), Datives (Ex. (5.96)) and Purpose (Ex. (5.97)). Bagi may also be used as a subordinating morpheme marking adverbiacl clauses (cf. Ch. 6).

(5.93) Benefactive

...mem-bawa-kan apa saja yang perlu bagi-nya... [ABM]
MEN-bring-KAN what only REL need BEN-3
‘...bringing whatever was needed for him...’

(5.94) Experiencer

"Dunia ini luas bagi mereka yang ber-cinta." [ABM]
world this wide for 3pl REL BER-love
‘The world (appears) vast to those who are in love.’

(5.95) Temporal Theme

...entak bagi kali ke-berapa Lokman me-rasa
don’t.know for time KE-how.many Lokman MEN-feel
seperti...
like
‘...Who knows how many times Lokman had felt like...’

(5.96) Dative

...orang yang begitu penuh harapan bagi
person REL like.that full hope for
bangsa-nya...
race-3
‘...someone who is so full of hope for his race...’

(5.97) Purpose

...Hujan Pagi yang akan ber-guna bagi khazanah
rain morning REL will BER-use for possession
dan kebangkitan bangsa...
and establishment race
[HP]
‘...Hujan Pagi (newspaper) which will be useful for the material gain and establishment of the race...’
5.1.3. 'Nominal Prepositions'

In CM there are two 'nominal prepositions', that is, prepositions which may also occur independently as nouns. These are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'Nominal Preposition'</th>
<th>Equivalent Preposition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>macam 'type, kind'</td>
<td>seperti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pasal 'matter'</td>
<td>tentang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples are:

(5.98) *macam* -Comparative

a. Aku ber-lari ke sana ke mari dalam sawah
   1sg BER-run to there to come inside rice-field
   *macam orang gila.*  
   like person mad 
   'I ran to and fro in the rice field like a mad person.'

b. Aku tak nak botak-kan kepala macam dulu.  
   1sg not want bald-CAUS head like past 
   'I did not want to shave (my) head like before.'

(5.99) *pasal* -Theme

a. ...aku tau sikit-sikit pasal urat ni.  
   1sg know a.little:REDP about tendon this 
   '...I knew a little about (sprained) tendons.'

b. ...cikgu tanya pasal cita-cita...  
   teacher ask about ambition 
   '...the teacher asked about (our) ambitions...'

*Macam* and *pasal* occur frequently as nouns in CM (Ex. (5.100-1)).

(5.100)

a. ...aku malas-la nak ungkit-ungkit pasal yang 
   1sg lazy-EMPH COMP bring.up:REDP matter REL 
   lepas-lepas.  
   past:REDP 
   '...I didn't want to bring up the past.'
b. 

...abah punya pasal, bela gajah pun aku sanggup.
dad PUNYA matter rear elephant PUN 1sg willing
'...where dad was concerned, I would even be willing to tend an
elephant.' [ABM]

(5.101)
a. "Gitu la manusia ni di-jadi-kan,
like:that-EMPH human.being this DI-become-CAUS
macam-macam sifat ada."
[ABM]
type:PL characteristic exist
'This is the way human beings have been created - with all sorts of
characteristics.'
b. "Ini macam punya 'pesen', orang tak pakai dah
this type PUNYA fashion people not wear already
ni tuk."
[ABM]
this grandpa
'No one wears (pants) of this fashion anymore, grandpa.'

Macam occurs once as a preposition in HP dialogue marking a
Comparative argument (Ex. (5.102)). Fasal 'matter', the SM equivalent of
pasal in CM also occurs once as a preposition in HP. In this case fasal occurs
in a stretch of discourse representing a person's thoughts (Ex. (5.103)). As
such the use of macam and fasal as prepositions may be considered to be the
author's representation of a more colloquial form of Malay.

(5.102) macam - Comparative

"Bila lagi akan ada cara moden
when more will exist method modern
meng-atur-huruf? Macam... macam mesin taip Encik
MEN-typeset like like machine type Mister
Lokman tu!
Lokman that
'When will there be a modern way of typesetting? Like...like Encik
Lokman's typewriter!'

(5.103) fasal - Theme

"Jangan cakap fasal kelemahan bangsa-nya tanpa
don't say about weakness race-3 without
alasan yang waras..."
[HP]
grounds REL reasonable
'Don't talk about the weakness of his race without reasonable
grounds.'
The frequencies of *macam* and *pasal/fasal* in the texts are listed in Table 5.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ABM</th>
<th>HP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>macam</em> 'like'</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pasal</em> 'about'</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fasal</em> 'about'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.4. Frequencies of 'Nominal Prepositions' in ABM and HP

5.2. Prepositional Ellipsis

Benjamin (1986) notes that the ellipsis of prepositions is a common feature in CM. Indeed this is true of ABM. In general three types of ellipsis are observed:

(1) Where a locational noun such as *atas* 'top', *dalam* 'inside' or *tepi* 'side' is present and only the preposition is ellipsed. Generally the prepositions *ke* 'to' and *di* 'at' are involved in this type of ellipsis (Ex. (5.104)). This type of ellipsis also occurs in HP but less frequently (Ex. (5.105)).

(5.104)

**a.** *...asyik main (di) keliling rumah aje.*  
engrossed play (at) around house just  
'...(I) just kept playing (in the area) around the house.'

**b.** *'Rock-rock' semua tolak (ke) tepi...*  
rock:REDP all push (to) side  
'(I) pushed aside everything to do with 'rock' (to do with ruffians and gangsters)...'
(5.105)

a. Lampu gas ter-padam di dalam pejabat itu...
   lamp gas TER-extinguished (at) inside office that
   'The gas lamp in the office was extinguished...' [HP]

b. ...se-orang separuh tua yang sedang duduk di atas pagar titian...
   one-person half old REL PROG sit (at)
   top fence footbridge
   '...a middle-aged person who was sitting on the fence of the foot
   bridge...'

(2) Where a preposition and locational noun are normally expected and
both are ellipsed. This occurs only in CM (Ex. (5.106-7)).

(5.106) Aku pun ambik seluar baju dua tiga helai, masuk
   1sg PUN take pants shirt two tiga CLFR enter
   (ke dalam) bag...
   (to inside) bag
   'So I took some clothes and put (them) into a bag...'

(5.107) ...dia-orang selalu ajak ber-borak - cerita pasal
   3pl always invite BER-talk.a.lot tell.story about
   lastik burung, mandi (di dalam) sungai. [ABM]
   catapult bird bathe (at inside) river
   '...they would always invite (me) to chat (with them) - (we would)
   talk about catapulting birds (and) swimming in the river.'

(3) Where no locational term is present originally. The preposition is
ellipsed resulting in the argument occurring in immediately post-
verbal position.

This type of ellipsis is common in CM and may involve a wide range
of prepositions, for example, di/kat 'at' (Ex. (5.108)), ke 'to' (Ex. (5.109)),
kepad/kat 'to' (Ex. (5.110)), pada/kat 'Dative; at' (Ex. (5.111)), akan/kat
'Dative' (Ex. (5.112)), dari 'from' (Ex. (5.113)), dengan 'with' (Ex. (5.114)),
sebagai 'as' (Ex. (5.115)) and melalui 'through' (Ex. (5.116)).
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(5.108)
a.  ...takkan  nak  duduk  (di/kat)  asrama  sampai
    surely.not  AUX  stay  (at/at)  hostel  until
    ber-anak  ber-cucu  ye  tak.
    BER-child  BER-grandchild  yes  not
    '...surely (we) were not going to stay at the hostel until (we) had
    children and grandchildren (i.e. for the rest of our lives), right?'

b.  "...kita  boleh  kerja  (di/kat)  kilang  papan,  kilang
    1pl.incl  can  work  (at/at)  factory  plank  factory
    batu-bata..."
    [ABM]
    '...we can work at the timber mill (or) at the brick factory...'  

b.  Tinggal-la  aku  tunggu  (di/kat)  rumah  sorang-sorang.
    leave-EMPH  1sg  wait  (at/at)  house  one.person:REDP
    'I was left to wait alone in the house.'  
    [ABM]

(5.109)
a.  ...suratkhabar  tu  aku  campak  ke  lantai,  capai
    newspaper  that  1sg  throw  to  floor  reach.for
    basikal.  Terus  pegi  (ke)  kedai  atuk  Anor.
    bicycle  straight.away  go  (to)  shop  grandpa  Anor
    '...I dropped the newspaper onto the floor, got (my) bicycle (and)
    straight away (!) went to Anor's grandfather's shop.'  
    [ABM]

b.  ...aku  naik  (ke)  tingkatan-tiga.
    1sg  ascend  (ke)  form.three
    '...I was promoted to the third form.'  

(5.110)  Lagi  dua-puluh  hari - raya-le.
    more  twenty  day  end.of.fasting.month.celebration-EMPH
    Ter-ingat  lak  nak  hantar  kad  raya  (kepada/kat)
    TER-remember  LAK  COMP  send  card  raya  (to/to)
    Anor.
    Anor
    'The raya celebrations would be here in twenty days. (I)
    remembered to send Anor a raya card.'  

(5.111)
a.  ...dia-orang  sayang  (pada/kat)  aku  ke  Aca...
    3pl  love  (DAT/DAT)  1sg  or  Aca
    '...(whether) they loved Aca or me...'
b. "Ini kalau  
at kedai ni,  
seratus  
lebih  
ni

this if  
shop this  
one.hundred more this

gua cakap  
pada/kat  
lu."

lsg  
tell  
(DAT/DAT) 2sg

'This costs more than a hundred dollars at the shops, I tell you.'

c. ...tak sesuai-la  
pakai (pada)  
pagi

not suitable-EMPH  
wear (at)  
morning

raya.

end.of.fasting.month.celebration

'...(they were) not suitable for wearing on raya morning.'

(5.112) Aku rindu (akan) kampung,  
ridu (akan/kat) mak,

lsg  
miss (DAT) village  
miss (DAT/DAT) mum

abah,  
Aca...

dad  
Aca

'I missed home (and I) missed mum, dad (and) Aca...'

(5.113)

a. Sejak  
jual motor,  
jarang keluar (dari) rumah.

since  
sell motorcyle  
seldom go.out (from) house

'Since (they) sold their motor-bikes, (they) seldom went out of the house.'

b. ...kaki ter-selih  
jatuh (dari) tangga...

leg  
TER-sprain fall (from) stair

'(She) sprained (her) leg (as a result of) falling from the stairs...'

(5.114)

a. "...budak kecik jangancampur (dengan) orang besar."

child  
small don't mix (with) people  
big

'...small boy (=you) don't mix with big people (=us).'

b. Malam itu aku ke  
kedai atuk Anor dengan

night that lsg to shop  
grandpa Anor with

harapan  
dapat ber-jumpa (dengan) Anor untuk

hope  
able.to BER-meet (with) Anor in.order.to

meng-ucap-kan selamat-tinggal.

MEN-greet-KAN goodbye

'That night I (went) to Anor's grandfather's shop hoping to see Anor to say goodbye.'
(5.115) Dia kerja (sebagai) ‘opis boy’, yang lain tu ada
3sg work (as) office-boy REL other that EXIST
yang kerja (sebagai) ‘security guard’, kerja kat kedai
REL work (as) security guard work at shop
makan, kilang, jadi ‘bell-boy’ kat hotel. [ABM]
eat factory become bell-boy at hotel
'He worked as an errand boy (in an office), some of the others
worked as security guards, some worked in restaurants, factories
(and) some were porters at hotels.'

(5.116) Masuk je (melalui) pintu pagar rumah Zaini,
enter just (through) door fence house Zaini
mak-nya terpa aku. [ABM]
mum-3 rush.at 1sg
'The moment (I) entered Zaini's house through the front gate, his
mum rushed (out to meet) me.'
Chapter 6

Clause Combining

This chapter considers the ways in which clauses are combined in Malay and the characteristic ways in which this is done in CM. Generally there are four ways in which clauses are combined in Malay: subordination (Section 6.1), coordination (Section 6.2), verb serialization (Section 6.3) and juxtaposition of clauses (Section 6.4). CM and SM may not differ significantly in the use of some clause combining strategies. However I will discuss them in order to provide a more complete context in which to describe typical CM strategies.

6.1. Subordination

By subordination is meant the relationship between two clauses such that one is embedded in a matrix of the other. There are three main types of subordinate clauses: relative clauses (Section 6.1.1), complement clauses (Section 6.1.2) and adverbial clauses (Section 6.1.3).

6.1.1. Relative Clauses

Relative clauses in Malay are of the postnominal external type, that is, they consist of an external head nominal followed by a modifying clause (cf. Keenan 1985).
6.1.1.1. Relativization Strategies

There are two relativization strategies in Malay:

(1) The use of the relativizer yang. Yang relative clauses are common in both CM and SM. They consist of a head nominal followed by a modifying clause introduced by yang (Ex. (6.1)). Yang relative clauses may be headless, that is, the head nominal is absent (Ex. (6.2)). They may be restrictive (Ex. (6.1-2)), or non-restrictive (Ex. (6.3)).

(6.1)

a. *Sapa budak lelaki yang ber-bual dengan Anor tadi?*  
who child man REL BER-talk with Anor just.now  
'Who was the guy who was talking to Anor just now?'  
[ABM]

b. *"Ingat dua orang pegawai yang datang dulu?"*  
remember two CLFR officer REL come past  
'Remember the two officers who came the other day?'  
[HP]

(6.2)

a. *Ada ø yang main gitar, ada ø yang me-nyanyi...*  
EXIST ø REL play guitar EXIST ø REL MEN-sing  
'There were those who played the guitar and those who sang...'  
[ABM]

b. *"ø yang ghaib itu mesti-lah di-lawan-kan, ø REL supernatural that must-EMPH DI-fight-KAN di-hadap-kan dengan ø yang ghaib."*  
Di-face-KAN with ø REL supernatural  
'That which is supernatural must be dealt with using supernatural methods.'  
[HP]

(6.3)

a. *...ter-ingat Anor yang mungkin ada 'boyfren' baru.*  
TER-remember Anor REL possible have boyfriend new  
'...(I) remembered Anor who may (already) have a new boyfriend.'  
[ABM]

b. *Basri.... men-(t)eliti Gazis yang ter-tunduk lesu...*  
Basri MEN-observe.carefully Gazis REL TER-bow tired  
'Basri... carefully observed Gazis who was bent over (and looked) tired...'  
[HP]
(2) There is also a less frequent and more restricted relativization strategy which involves the use of *tempat* 'place' in the relativization of a locational NP (Ex. (6.4)). Such relative clauses may be headless (Ex. (6.4a)).

(6.4)

a. *...awekek dua orang tu datang kat tempat aku duduk.*
girl two CLFR that come to place 1sg sit
'*...the two girls came to where I was sitting.' [ABM]

b. *...ber-gerak ke bahagian titian tempat beberapa orang sedang ber-main dan dan Daun 21.*
BER-move to part foot.bridge place several people PROG BER-play checkers and leaf 21
'*...(he) moved (over) to the part of the foot bridge where several people were playing checkers and Daun 21 (a card game).'

### 6.1.1.2. Relativizable NPs

The major type of relativizable NP in both CM and SM is the subject NP which may be an Agent or Actor in an active clause (Ex. (6.5)), or a Patient or Undergoer argument in a 'passive' clause (cf. Ch. 4 - Ex. (6.6)).

(6.5) Subject-Agent/Actor

a. *...dua orang kutu yang ø tumbuk aku ari tu...* [ABM]
two CLFR lice REL ø punch 1sg day that
'*...the two boys (lit. lice) who punched me the other day...'

b. *...saman yang ø mem-bawa Lokman...* [HP]
boat REL ø MEN-bring Lokman
'*...the boat which was carrying Lokman...'

(6.6) Subject-Patient/Undergoer

a. *...me-lihat kapalterbang kertas yang ø di-pegang-nya. [ABM]*
MEN-see aeroplane paper REL ø DI-hold-3
'*...(I) saw the paper glider that he was holding.'
b. \textit{Memang jalan yang \textvar{\circ} di-lalu-i-nya itu sering}
indeed road REL \textvar{\circ} DI-pass-I-3 that often
\textit{men-(t)enang-kan-nya.} \hspace{1cm} [HP]
\textit{MEN-calm-CAUS-3}

'Indeed the road he was passing through often had a soothing effect
on him.'

c. \textit{Agak-nya, nasik yang \textvar{\circ} aku makan tiap-tiap hari tu...}
guess-NYA rice REL \textvar{\circ} 1sg eat every day that
\textit{'(I) guess the rice that I ate every day...'} \hspace{1cm} [ABM]

d. "\textit{...banglo itu ada di bahagian bukit yang \textvar{\circ}}
bungalow that EXIST at part hill REL \textvar{\circ}
\textit{kau-idam-idam-kan itu.}" \hspace{1cm} [HP]
2sg-desire:REDP-KAN that

'...the bungalow is at the part of the hill which you desire (to live
on).'</nother less frequent relativizable NPs are:

(1) 'Possessor' NPs, that is, an NP considered to be the Possessor in a
possessive phrase (cf. Ch. 4). Generally when a possessor NP is
relativized, a pronominal 'copy' of the relativized NP is present in the
relative clause (Ex. (6.7)). Relativized Possessor NPs are infrequent in
both texts.

(6.7)

a. \textit{...dah sangkut kat Ayu, awek yang aku urut}
already hook at Ayu girl REL 1sg massage
\textit{kaki-nya tempoh hari.} \hspace{1cm} [ABM]
leg-3 past day

'...(I) was already infatuated with Ayu, the girl whose leg I massaged
the other day.'

b. "\textit{...manusia-manusia ini-lah yang hidup-nya}
human.being:PL this-EMPH REL life-3
\textit{senang-lenang sekarang ini...}" \hspace{1cm} [HP]
easy.and.comfortable now this

'...these are the people whose lives are easy and comfortable at
present...'.

\hspace{1cm} 1 These are probably 'subjects' which are relativized after possessor-raising (or, possessor
ascension) has occurred (cf. Durie 1985 for a similar phenomenon in Acehnese).
(2) Direct object NPs. Such NPs are normally Patients/Undergoers. In these cases there is a distinct subject NP, the Actor, in the relative clause. In (6.8) there is an intervening verbal auxiliary between the Actor and the verb which shows that the Actor is not procliticized, and therefore the relativized NP is not the subject of a 'procliticized Actor passive' clause (cf. Ch. 4). Direct object relativization occurs in ABM but not HP.

(6.8) ...'part' mata-pelajaran yang aku tak suka... [ABM]
part subject REL 1sg not like
'...the part of the subject which I didn't like...'

(3) Locative NPs. These NPs generally refer to a physical location. Locative NP relativization is infrequent in both ABM and HP (Ex. (6.9)).

In both ABM and HP locative NPs may be relativized using a minor strategy, that is, by using the noun tempat 'place' to introduce the modifying clause (see Ex. (6.4) in previous section). This strategy is infrequent in both texts.

(6.9)

a. ...itu-la tempat paling jauh yang aku boleh pegi
    that-EMPH place most far REL 1sg can go
dengan izin emak. [ABM]
with permission mother
'...that was the furthest place I could go with (my) mother's permission.'

b. "...fikiran-mu jauh dari tempat yang hendak kita
    thought-2sg far from place REL want 1pl.incl
    pergi itu." [HP]
go that
'...your thoughts are far from the place we are going to.'

(4) Oblique NPs. Generally a pronominal copy of the relativized NP and the preposition marking the relativized NP is present in the relative clause. Relativized oblique NPs are rare. One example is found in HP (Ex. (6.10)).
(6.10) ...di sebelah timur ter-gantung beberapa gumpalan awan
      at side east TER-hang several fistful cloud
      yang di bawah-nya hitam...
      REL at bottom-3 black

'...in the east(ern horizon) hung several clusters of clouds which
were black underneath...'

6.1.2. Complement Clauses

Complement clauses function as arguments of a main clause. They are
characterized by words, particles, clitics or affixes referred to as
complementizers (cf. Noonan 1985). In Malay such complementizers are not
always present. I will refer to the absence of a complementizer in a
complement clause as 'zero strategy'. Complement clauses in CM differ from
SM in two ways:

(1) There is a difference in the forms of complementizers available to CM
    and SM.

(2) There is a difference in the preference for particular forms of
    complementizers and in the the preference for strategies in forming
    complement clauses. Generally 'zero strategy' is preferred in CM while
    the use of complementizers is preferred in SM. Here again SM exhibits
    a preference for a more 'elaborated code'.

6.1.2.1. Complementizers

The complementizers in ABM and HP and their frequencies are listed in
Table 6.1.

Yang/bahawa 'that' introduce the complements of verbs of thinking and
saying such as ta(h)u 'know' (Ex. (6.11)), ingat 'remember' (Ex. (6.12)),
(per)caya 'believe' (Ex. (6.13)) and bagitau/beritahu 'tell' (Ex. (6.14)); and other
complement-taking verbs such as rasa 'feel' (Ex. 6.15a)) and bukti-kan 'prove'
(Ex. (6.15b)). *Yang* used in this way occurs only in ABM and *bahawa* occurs only in HP\(^2\).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ABM</th>
<th>HP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>yang</em> 'that'</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bahawa</em> 'that'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>supaya</em> 'so that'</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>agar</em> 'so that'</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>untuk</em> 'for'</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nak</em> 'to'</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td>124</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.1. Complementizers in ABM and HP

(6.11)

a. *Cuma aku sorang je tau yang aku cukup minat kat Anor.*
   Only 1sg alone just know COMP 1sg very interested DAT Anor
   'Only I alone knew that I was really interested in Anor.' [ABM]

b. *...dia sendiri tahu bahawa dia semakin ber-dusta.*
   3sg self know COMP 3sg increasingly BER-lie
   '...he himself knew that he was lying more and more.' [HP]

(6.12) *Gazis baru ter-ingat bahawa sudah agak lama*
   Gazis just TER-remember COMP already guess long.time
   anak itu tidak ada di situ.
   child that not EXIST at there
   'Gazis just realized that the boy had not been there for quite some time.' [HP]

(6.13)

a. *...mak tak caya yang aku pun puasa jugak... mum not believe COMP 1sg also fast also*
   '...mum did not believe that I was fasting too...' [ABM]

\(^2\) Cumming (1988) notes that the use of *yang* in the place of *bahawa* occurs in some contemporary dialects of Malay (see her footnote 13, p. 101).
b. Semakin Lokman percaya bahawa Gazis sebenarnya increasingly Lokman believe COMP Gazis in.fact boleh di-pimpin dan di-asuh untuk menjadi can DI-guide and DI-train in.order.to MEN-become se-jenis penulis rencana... [HP] one-type writer article 'Lokman was becoming more and more convinced that Gazis could be guided and trained to become a unique sort of journalist...'

(6.14)

a. Aca bagitau kat mak yang aku tak posa. [ABM] Aca tell DAT mum COMP lsg not fast 'Aca told mum that I wasn't fasting.'

b. Dia mem-beritahu bahawa dunia suratkhabar ketika ini memang begitu ber-bahaya. [HP] 3sg MEN-tell COMP world newspaper time this indeed like.that BER-danger 'He told (them) that the world of journalism at the present time was a dangerous one.'

(6.15)

a. ...Basri mula me-rasa-kan bahawa bagaimana perlu di-percaya-i segala itu jika khabar-nya lebih di-terima Basri begin MEN-feel-KAN COMP how need all that if news-3 more DI-receive hanya dari mulut ke mulut... [HP] only from mouth to mouth '...Basri began to question why (one) should believe all that if the news was received orally...'

b. Anor nak aku bukti-kan yang aku pun boleh Anor want lsg proof-KAN COMP lsg also able ber-jaya macam orang lain... [ABM] BER-success like people other 'Anor wanted me to prove (to her) that I too could succeed like other people...'

Agar/supaya 'in order that, so that' introduce the complements of verbs such as pujuk 'persuade' (Ex. (6.16)), cadang 'suggest' (Ex. (6.17)), ingat-kan 'remind' (Ex. (6.18)), minta 'ask for, request' (Ex. (6.19)) and me-nasihat 'advise' (Ex. (6.20)). Both agar and supaya are infrequent in ABM. Supaya is relatively more frequent in HP but agar is infrequent.
(6.16) a. ...dia cuba pujuk aku supaya ber-baik-baik semula
3sg try persuade 1sg COMP BER-good:REDP again
dengan Anor. [ABM]
with Anor
'...she was trying to persuade me to get back together with Anor
again.'

b. Mak mem-(p)ujuk aku agar ke sekolah. [ABM]
mum MEN-persuade 1sg COMP to school
'Mum persuade me to (go back) to school.'

c. Lokman ber-azam untuk mem-(p)ujuk
Lokman BER-intention COMP MEN-persuade
teman-nya itu supaya jangan ter-biar hanya di
friend-3 COMP don't TER-leave only at
hadapan kotak huruf saja. [HP]
front box alphabet only
'Locman was determined to persuade his friend not to allow
himself to just remain in front of the alphabet box (typesetter's box
of letters) (i.e. to remain as a typesetter only).'</n
(6.17) Idrus lebih dulu men-cadang-kan supaya Lokman
Idrus more beforehand MEN-suggest-KAN COMP Lokman
di-bawa ber-ubat ke hospital. [HP]
DI-bring BER-medicine to hospital
'Idrus suggested beforehand that Lokman should be brought to the
hospital to be treated.'</n
(6.18) Lokman meng-ingat-kan-nya supaya
Lokman MEN-remember-CAUS-3 COMP
meng-asing-kan rencana yang sudah pun
MEN-separate-CAUS article REL already PUN
di-atur-huruf. [HP]
DI-typeset
'Locman reminded him to put aside the typesetted articles.'</n
(6.19) a. "Dan saya minta kita semua supaya ber-sabar dan
and 1sg ask 1pl.incl all COMP BER-patient and
ber-tenang..." [HP]
BER-calm
'And I ask that we all be patient and calm..."
b. Lokman me-minta agar adik-nya juga belajar
   Lokman MEN-ask COMP younger.sibling-3 also study
   ber-sungguh-sungguh...
   BER-very:REDP
   'Lokman asked his younger brother to study hard too...'

(6.20) "...dia pernah me-nasihat-ku supaya belajar
   3sg have.done.before MEN-advice-1sg COMP learn
   untuk men-jadi manusia..."
   in.order.to MEN-become human.being
   '...he has advised me before to learn to be a human being (i.e. a
   humane person)...'

Untuk 'for, in order to' introduces complements of a variety of verbs
and predicates including single-place predicates, for example, me-mohon 'apply
(for)' (Ex. (6.21)), ambik keputusan 'decide' (Ex. (6.22)), ber-sedia 'prepared (to)'
(Ex. (6.23)) and cukup 'enough' (Ex. (6.24)) in ABM; and belajar 'learn' (Ex.
6.25)), ter-gerak 'moved (to do something)' (Ex. (6.26)), ber-umpah 'swear'
(Ex. (6.27)), idam-kan 'desire' (Ex. (6.28)) and payah 'difficult' (Ex. (6.29)) in HP.

(6.21) ...aku pun me-mohon untuk tinggal di asrama. [ABM]
   1sg PUN MEN-apply COMP stay at boarding.school
   '...I applied to stay at the hostel.'

(6.22) ...aku ambik keputusan untuk masuk tidur. [ABM]
   1sg take decision COMP enter sleep
   '...I decided to go to bed.'

(6.23) ...atuk tak ber-sedia untuk
   grandpa not BER-ready COMP
   MEN-push.with back.of.hand(in self-defence)
   '...grandpa did not prepare to defend himself.'

(6.24) ...seratus ringgit - cukup-le untuk beli
   one.hundred dollar enough-EMPH COMP buy
   baju Melayu.
   shirt Malay
   '...one hundred dollars - (it) was enough to buy a baju Melayu
   (Malay traditional costume).'
(6.25) "...belajar untuk men-jadi manusia..." [HP]
learn COMP MEN-become human.being
'...learn to be a human being (i.e. a humane person)...'

(6.26) ...dia juga tidak ter-gerak untuk meng-hidup-kan
3sg also not TER-move COMP MEN-alive-CAUS
benih cinta.
seed love
'[hp]
'she was not moved to revive the seeds of (romantic) love.'

(6.27) "...aku... ber-sumpah untuk tidak makan telur penyu..." [HP]
aku BER-oath COMP not eat egg turtle
'...I swore an oath not to eat turtle eggs...' 

(6.28) "...saya idam-kan awak untuk men-jadi se-orang
1sg desire-KAN 2sg COMP MEN-become one-CLFR
wartawan..." [HP]
journalist
'...I want you to become a journalist...'

(6.29) "Bukan payah untuk men-jadi antik." [HP]
not difficult COMP MEN-become antique
'(It is) not difficult to become "antique" (metaphor for growing old).'

6.1.2.1.1. Nak

The major HP complementizers are infrequent in ABM (see Table 6.1). However there is a complementizer nak which does not occur in HP and is relatively frequent in ABM. In this respect nak is a typical CM complementizer. Nak also has other functions:

1. A verb meaning 'want', itself taking complement clause (Ex. (6.30)).
2. A temporal verbal auxiliary indicating Future tense (cf. Ch. 4).
3. A linker between a modal verbal auxiliary and the rest of the predicate (cf. Ch. 4).
4. A subordinating morpheme introducing adverbial clauses (cf. Section 6.1.3).
As a complementizer nak may be used with complements of a variety of predicate types. It is often used in the place of untuk ‘in order to; for’. Nak may be used to introduce the complements of verbs of thinking and saying such as ingat ‘think’ (Ex. (6.31)), lupa ‘forget’ (Ex. (6.32)), tau ‘know’ (Ex. (6.33)), ber-cadang ‘suggest’ (Ex. (6.34)); emotion verbs such as sedih ‘sad’ (Ex. (6.35)) and takut ‘afraid’ (Ex. (6.36)); and other complement-taking predicates such as janji ‘promise’ (Ex. (6.37)), ambik keputusan ‘decide’ (Ex. (6.38)), harap ‘hope’ (Ex. (6.39)) and malas³ ‘lazy’ (Ex. (6.40)). Nak is also used to introduce the arguments of single-place predicates such as susah ‘difficult’ (Ex. (6.41)) and senang ‘easy’ (Ex. (6.42)).

(6.30)  
a. "Atuk aku sembahyang - kau nak beli apa?"  
grandpa 1sg pray 2sg want buy what  
'My grandpa is praying - what would you like to buy?'  

b. ...aku nak ajar dia baca buku.  
1sg want teach 3sg read book  
'...I wanted to teach him to read.'

(6.31) Selagi tak gelap, selagi itu-la tak ingat  
as.long.as not dark as.long.as that-EMPH not think  

nak balik.  
COMP return  
'As long as it was not dark (yet), I would not think of going home.'

(6.32) ...lupa nak cerita, kambing Aca sebenarnya dah  
forget COMP tell.story goat Aca in.fact already  
takde...  
not.have  
'...(I) forget to mention (that) Aca's goats were gone...'

(6.33) ...tajuk buku pun tak tau nak eja...  
title book PUN not know COMP spell  
'...he could not even spell the title of the book...'

(6.34) ...aku kesal kerana aku baru ber-cadang nak  
1sg disappointed because 1sg just BER-suggest COMP  
usaha-kan kebun tu.  
manage-KAN field that  
'...I was disappointed because I had just suggested that (I) would take charge of the field.'

³ See Ch. 7 for a discussion of malas/maleh expressions.
(6.35) ...rasa sedih pulak nak tinggal-kan Aca. [ABM]
feel sad PULAK COMP leave-KAN Aca
'(I) felt sad to leave Aca.'

(6.36) ...aku takut nak balik kampung. [ABM]
1sg afraid COMP return village
'I was afraid to go home.'

(6.37) ...sebab dah janji nak belanja 'member'.
because already promise COMP spend friend
'...because (I) had promised to give my friends a treat.' [ABM]

(6.38) ...akhirnya aku ambik keputusan nak tumpang apa
finally 1sg take decision COMP lodge.with what
aje yang lalu...
just REL pass
'...finally I decided to get a lift from any (vehicle) that passed by...' [ABM]

(6.39) ...aku memang tak harap pun nak lulus. [ABM]
1sg indeed not hope PUN COMP pass
'...I couldn't even hope to pass (the exam).'

(6.40) Tahan bas kai simpang, aku pegi rumah atuk.
block bus at crossing 1sg go house grandpa
Aku malas dah nak balik rumah. [ABM]
1sg lazy already COMP return house
'I stopped the bus at the crossing (and) went to grandpa's house. I
didn't want to go home anymore.'

(6.41) a. "...basikal pun susah nak lalu." [ABM]
bicycle PUN difficult COMP pass
'(it is) difficult even for bicycles to pass (through).'</n
b. Aku susah nak percaya...
1sg difficult COMP believe
'(It was) hard for me to believe...' [ABM]

(6.42) Bukan senang oii nak kontrol api
not easy OII COMP control fire
lemang
Malay.traditional.dish.baked.in.length.of.bamboo this
'...not easy to control the flame (for baking) lemang.'
6.1.2.2. 'Zero Strategy'

In both CM and SM 'zero strategy' is frequently used in complement clauses, that is, complement clauses are frequently formed without the use of complementizers. There is also no indication of subordination on the verb of the main predicate or subordinate clause.

Generally 'zero strategy' may be used with all types of complements. 'Zero strategy' is especially frequent in ABM. In HP a large proportion of the unmarked complement clauses occur in dialogue. Thus the preference for 'zero strategy' is a distinctive characteristic of CM.

'Zero strategy' is common with verbs of thinking and saying, for example, ingat 'think, remember' (Ex. 6.43)), ta(h)u 'know' (Ex. (6.44)), bagitaU 'tell' (Ex. (6.45)), beritahu 'tell' (Ex. (6.46)), cakap 'say' (Ex. (6.47)) and kata 'say' (Ex. (6.48)).

(6.43)

a. Tentu dia-orang ingat ø aku gila.... [ABM]
surely 3pl think ø 1sg mad
'Surely they must have thought I was mad...'

b. "Aku ingat ø aku ber-diri... ya, di sini-lah."
1sg remember ø 1sg BER-stand yes at here-EMP
'I remember I was standing... yes, it was here.' [HP]

(6.44)

a. ...dia-orang tak tau ø dalam hati aku ni
3pl not know ø inside heart 1sg this
men-je(ri)-jerti... me-raung-raung. [ABM]
MEN-shout-shout MEN-howl
'. . . they didn't know (that) in my heart I was shouting... howling.'

b. Dia tahu ø manusia ber-khayal. [HP]
3sg know ø human.being BER-day-dream
'He knew that humans tend to dream.'

(6.45)

...mak Anor bagitaø ø Anor dah balik ke
mum Anor tell ø Anor already return to
asrama.
boarding.schoul
'. . . Anor's mum told (me) that Anor had already gone back to
boarding school.'
(6.46) "...aku singgah nanti beritahu Menut ø kau
1sg stop.while afterwards tell Menut ø 2sg
sudah benar-benar jatuh cinta dengan pejabat Hujan
already true:REDP fall love with office morning
Pagi." [HP]
rain

'...I will stop by and tell Menut that you have really fallen in love
with Hujan Pagi's office.'

(6.47) Abah cakap ø Kak Cik ikut Angah ke KL. [ABM]
dad say ø Kak Cik follow Angah to KL

'Dad said Kak Cik had gone to KL with Angah.'

(6.48) "Kadang-kadang aku hendak ber-jenaka saja: ber-kata ø
sometimes 1sg want BER-joke only BER-say ø
dia sedang kena penyakit akhbar." [HP]
3sg PROG affected.by sickness newspaper

'Sometimes I joke about it - (I) say he has the journalist's disease.'

Complements which may be marked by supaya are often unmarked. This
is especially frequent in ABM. Examples include the complements of verbs
such as pujuk 'persuade' (Ex. (6.49), minta(k) 'ask (for), request' (Ex. (6.50))
and suruh 'ask (someone to do something)' (Ex. (6.51)).

(6.49)
a. ...abah datang pujuk aku ø balik. [ABM]
dad come persuade 1sg ø return

'...dad came to persuade me to go home.'

b. "Aku akan cuba mem-(p)ujuk-nya ø pulang kalau dia
1sg will try MEN-persuade-3 ø return if 3g
sedia." [HP]
prepared

'I will try to persuade him to return if he is ready (for it).'</n
(6.50)
a. Cikgu mintak aku ø bagi ulasan tentang Hang Tuah.
teacher ask 1sg ø give comment about Hang Tuah

'The teacher asked me to comment on Hang Tuah.' [ABM]

b. Udin telah pun datang me-minta-nya ø men-(t)emu-i
Udin PERF PUN come MEN-ask-3 ø MEN-meet-1
Lokman. [HP]

'Ludin had already come to ask him to see Lokman.'
(6.51)
a.  ...abah suruh aku ø pegi kedai beli ubat
    dad ask 1sg ø go shop buy medicine
    nyamuk.  [ABM]
    mosquito
    '...dad asked me to go to the shops to buy some mosquito coils.'

b.  Penambang-nya kelihatan resah, meny-(s)uruh mereka
    ferryman-3 appear anxious MEN-ask 3pl
    ø ber-sabar.  [HP]
    ø BER-patient
    'The ferryman appeared anxious (and) asked them to be patient.'

'Zero strategy' is also frequently used with complements normally marked by untuk, for example, complements of predicates such as layak 'suitable (for)' (Ex. (6.52)) and sedia 'prepared' (Ex. (6.53)).

(6.52)
a.  ...aku ni memang tak layak langsung ø jadi
    1sg this indeed not suitable at.all ø become
    'boyfren' Anor.  [ABM]
    boyfriend Anor
    '...I was definitely not fit to be Anor's boyfriend .'

(6.53)  "jika rencana sindiran itu selesai, saya sedia ø
        if article insinuation that complete 1sg prepared ø
        meny-(s)iar-kan-nya."  [HP]
        MEN-publish-3
        'If that article (containing) the allegations is ready, I am prepared to
        publish it.'

6.1.2.3.  Direct Quotation

Direct quotation commonly occurs as the complement of verbs of saying in ABM in the narration (Ex. (6.54)). In HP the complements of similar verbs are normally in the form of reported speech and are frequently marked by the complementizer bahawa (Ex. (6.55)).
(6.54)  

a. Aku pernah tanya kat mak kenapa aku tak lsg have.done.before ask DAT mum why lsg not lahir hospital? Mak aku cakap takde born hospital mum lsg say not.have transport.' [ABM]  

I did ask mum, why wasn't I born in the hospital? Mum said, (there was) no transport.'  

b. Mula-mula aku tanya Angah boleh ikut pegi begin:REDP lsg ask Angah can follow go Kolumpo-ke besok? Angah cakap tanya abah. Kuala.Lumpur-UES tomorrow Angah say ask dad 'At first I asked Angah, can (l) come (with you) to Kolumpo tomorrow? Angah said, ask dad.' [ABM]  

c. Kadang-kadang mak aku tanya jugak ni apa sometimes mum lsg ask also this what hal rajin sangat nak pegi kedai ni. [ABM] matter diligent very COMP go shop this 'Sometimes mum would ask, why are (you) so keen to go to the shops.'  

(6.55)  

a. Lajis mem-beritahu jika ada pilihan kedua dalam Lajis MEN-tell if EXIST choice second inside hidup-nya, dia tidak tangguh-tangguh ingin men-jadi life-3 3sg not delay:REDP want MEN-become manusia penyelamat penyu dan reptilia human.being saviour turtle and reptile se-jenis-nya. SE-type-3  

'Lajis told (her that) if there was a second choice in his life, he would without any doubt wish to be a conservationist (of turtles and other reptiles).'  

b. Lokman secara jenaka men-(t)ambah bahawa kalau Lokman by.way.of joke MEN-add COMP if boleh biar-lah Rueli yang kahwin dulu. [HP] can allow-EMPH Ruesli REL marry beforehand 'Lokman jokingly added that if possible, let Ruesli be the one to marry first.'
Direct quotation or dialogue in HP occurs following particular rules of punctuation which resemble those of English, that is, the direct quotation occurs in quotes. The identity of the speaker may be expressed in a following Quotative morpheme-NP sequence (see Cumming 1988) (Ex. (6.56)) or a preceding NP-VP sequence (Ex. (6.57)). I treat these as dialogue, separate from the narration section.

(6.56) "Kau bagaimana, Risah?" tanya Wendy.
2sg how Risah ask Wendy
"Satu pengalaman," jawab-nya...
one experience answer-3
"What about you Risah?" asked Wendy.
"(It is) an experience," she answered.'

(6.57) ...Ruesli ber-teriak kepada Basri: "Kenapa pula dia?"
Ruesli BER-shout to Basri why PULA 3sg
... Basri men-jelas-kan: "Sebab Encik Lokman." [HP]
Basri MEN-clear-CAUS because Mister Lokman
'...Ruesli shouted (across) to Basri, "What's the matter with him?"
...Basri explained, "(It's) because of Encik Lokman."'

6.1.3. Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses have the function of modifying predicate phrases and may be characterized according to their semantic functions (cf. Thompson & Longacre 1985).

Generally adverbial clauses are marked by subordinating morphemes in Malay. Table 6.2 lists the subordinating morphemes that occur in ABM and HP according to the semantic types of clauses which they mark and their frequencies in the texts.
Table 6.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause Type</th>
<th>ABM</th>
<th>HP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Temporal Clauses</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bila</em> 'when'</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>apabila</em> 'when'</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ketika</em> 'at the same time'</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>semasa</em> 'at the same time'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sejak</em> 'since'</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Consecutive Events</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* selepas* 'after'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* lepas* 'after'</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* setelah* 'after'</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* sebelum* 'before'</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* belum* 'before'</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* lalu* 'and then'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Simultaneous Events</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* sambil* 'while'</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* sedang* 'while'</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* tengah* 'in the middle'</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Conditional Clauses</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* kalau* 'if'</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* jika* 'if'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reason/Cause</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* kerana* 'because'</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* sebab* 'because'</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* pasal* 'because'</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Purpose Clauses</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* untuk* 'for'</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* bagi* 'for'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* buat* 'for'</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* nak* 'for'</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Concessive Clauses
\textit{walaupun} 'although, even though'
\begin{tabular}{|l|c|c|}
\hline
& 35 & 36 \\
\hline
Manner Clauses \\
\textit{dengan} 'by, with' & 8 & 8 \\
\hline
Circumstantial Clauses \\
\textit{tanpa} 'without' & 5 & 5 \\
\textit{dengan} 'by' & 4 & 3 \\
\hline
Comparative Clauses \\
\textit{seperi} 'like, as if' & 1 & 18 \\
\textit{seolah-olah} 'as if' & - & 15 \\
\textit{bagai} 'like, as if' & 7 & - \\
\textit{macam} 'like, as if' & 15 & - \\
\hline
'Additive' Clauses \\
\textit{dah-le} 'in addition to' & 4 & - \\
\textit{udah-le} 'in addition to' & 1 & - \\
\hline
\textbf{TOTALS} & \textbf{568} & \textbf{544} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Table 6.2. Subordinating Morphemes of Adverbial Clauses in ABM and HP

6.1.3.1. Temporal Clauses

Temporal clauses may be marked by \textit{(apa)bila} 'when', \textit{ketika/semasa} 'at the same time' or \textit{sejak} 'since'. \textit{(Ap)babela} and \textit{ketika/semasa} mark clauses indicating a time frame, usually coinciding with a state or event, in which the event of the main of the main clause occurs (Ex. (6.58-60)). \textit{Sejak} marks a clause indicating the starting point of the event of the main clause (Ex. (6.61)).

From their frequencies in the texts (see Table 6.2), \textit{bila} may be regarded as a typical CM marker of Temporal clauses. In HP both \textit{bila} and \textit{ketika} are
frequent. *Apabila* is more frequent in HP than ABM and *semasa* occurs only in HP.

(6.58)
a. ...*aku tambah takut apabila ter-jumpa barang-barang*
  1sg increase afraid when TER-meet thing-PL
  *permainan dalam beg sekolah-nya.* [ABM]
toy inside bag school-3
  '...I became even more afraid when (I) found toys in his schoolbag.'

b. ...*Lajis ter-senyum sendirian kemudian-nya apabila*
  Lajis TER-smile alone afterwards-3 when
  *ter-sedar kaca-mata-nya sedang di tangan-nya.* [HP]
  TER-realize spectacles-3 PROG at hand-3
  '...Lajis smiled to himself after that when (he) realized that his
  glasses were in his hand.'

c. ...*Roy tidak lagi ke-sejuk-an bila tidur malam.* [ABM]
  Roy not more KE-cold-AN when sleep night
  '...Roy was not cold anymore when sleeping at night.'

d. *Dua ekor ayam dan se-ekor kucing ber-selerak*
  two CLFR chicken and one-CLFR cat BER-scattered
  *lari bila Lokman mula ber-kayuh.* [HP]
  run when Lokman begin BER-row
  'Two chickens and a cat scattered and ran when Lokman began
  rowing.'

(6.59)
a. ...*ketika 'student' lain sibuk meng-ulangkaji dan mem-baca*
  while student other busy MEN-revise and MEN-read
  *nota, aku ter-kejar-kejar kat tengah padang.* [ABM]
  note 1sg TER-chase:REDP at middle field
  '...while the other students were busy revising and reading (their)
  notes, I ran about in the middle of the field.'

b. ...*dia ter-dengar laungan Menut, ketika dia sudah*
  3sg TER-hear shouting Menut while 3sg already
  *pun duduk di dalam perahu...* [HP]
  PUN sit at inside boat
  '...he could hear Menut shouting while already seated in the boat...'
(6.60)  Lajis mula ter-pancar kembali peristiwa men-(t)emu-i  
Lajis begin TER-shine return event MEN-meet-i  
Niram semasa pulang ke kampung dulu.  [HP]  
Niram while return to village past  
' Lajis began to recall (his) meeting with Niram during his return to the village.'

(6.61)  
\begin{enumerate}
\item Sejak jual motor, jarang keluar rumah.  [ABM]  
since sell motorcycle seldom go.out house  
'Since (they) sold their motor-bikes, they seldom went out of the house.'
\item Sejak tunang-nya mati kerana nahas jalan-raya  
since betrothed-3 die because accident road  
se-waktu diri-nya ber-ada di lurur-negeri, Lajis tidak  
SE-time self-3 BER-EXIST at overseas Lajis not  
mahu lagi ber-cakap tentang perasaan, khusus-nya  
want more BER-talk about feeling especially  
tentang cinta.  [HP]  
about love  
'Since his fiancee died in a road accident while he was away overseas, Lajis did not want to talk about (his) feelings anymore, especially about love.'
\end{enumerate}

6.1.3.2 Event Sequencing  
6.1.3.2.1. Consecutive Events  

Consecutive event clauses may be marked by (se)lepas/setelah 'after', sebelum 'before' and lalu 'and then'. (Se)lepas clauses indicate events which occur before the event of the main clause (Ex. (6.62-3)). (S)ebelum and lalu clauses indicate events which occur after the event of the main clause (Ex. (6.64 -6)).

Lepas is a typical CM form. It does not occur in HP. On the other hand, selepas is a typical SM form. It is infrequent in ABM. Sebelum and setelah are more frequent in HP than ABM, and lalu occurs only in HP. Belum is infrequent in both ABM and HP. It is more commonly used as a verbal auxiliary (cf. Ch. 4).
(6.62)  
a. Selepas Anor balik, kepala aku tambah semak...  
   after Anor return head 1sg increase muddled  
   'After Anor went home, I became even more confused...'  [ABM]

b. Lajis cepat-cepat ber-lari, di-ekor-i Gazis selepas dia  
   Lajis quick:REDP BER-run Di-tail-I Gazis after 3sg  
   me-letak-kan buku dan beg di mejā gerai.  [HP]  
   MEN-put-KAN book and bag at table stall  
   'Lajis quickly ran after he had put down (his) book(s) and bag on a  
   table at the stall, followed by Gazis.'

(6.63)  
...lepas ber-jemaah sembahyang Maghrib - aku ikut  
   after BER-assembly pray Maghrib 1sg follow  
   atuk bukak gelanggang.  [ABM]  
   grandpa open arena  
   '...after assembling for the Maghrib prayers, I went along with  
   grandpa to open up the arena.'

(6.64)  
a. ...sebelum balik dia bagi aku alamat rumah... [ABM]  
   before return 3sg give 1sg address house  
   '...before going home, she gave me her address...'  

b. Lajis ter-senyum, men-(t)oleh sekali sebelum me-minta  
   Lajis TER-smile MEN-turn.head once before MEN-ask  
   maaf kepada penumpang gemuk di sisi  
   forgiveness to passenger fat at side  
   bangku-nya.  [HP]  
   bench-3  
   'Lajis smiled (and) turned around before apologizing to the fat  
   passenger (sitting) beside him.'

(6.65)  
a. ...belum pun baca, tengok tulisan pun dah  
   before PUN read look writing PUN already  
   kenal...  [ABM]  
   recognize  
   '...before (I) even read (the letter), (I) could recognize the  
   handwriting...'

b. ...belum pun sempat dia mem-baca-nya,  
   before PUN have.chance 3sg MEN-read-3  
   se-isī pejabat ter-peranjang men-dengar-kan  
   one-content office TER-shocked MEN-hear-KAN
6.1.3.2.2. Simultaneous Events

Generally simultaneous event clauses are marked by *sambil* ‘while’ (Ex. (6.67)). In CM there are two further markers of simultaneous event clauses: *sedang* ‘while’ (Ex. 6.68)) and *tengah* ‘in the middle’ (Ex. 6.69)), both of which may also be used as temporal verbal auxiliaries marking progressive aspect (cf. Ch. 4). As subordinating adverbial markers, they are not frequent in ABM. In HP *sedang* is rare as an adverbial marker and occurs only in dialogue (Ex. (6.68b)). *Tengah* does not occur at all as a subordinating marker in HP. However *sedang* is frequently used as a temporal verbal auxiliary in HP.

\[(6.67)\]

a. *Aku ber-sandar kat atas jejantas sambil*
   1sg BER-lean at top overhead.closing at.the.same.time
   ber-fikir...
   BER-think
   'I leaned at the top of the overhead closing thinking...'

b. *...dia ter-henti, dan Cuba-cuba ketawa sedikit, sambil meng-geleng-geleng.*
   3sg TER-stop and try:REDP laugh a.little
   at.the.same.time MEN-shake.head:REDP
   '...he stopped and tried to laugh a little shaking his head.'
(6.68)  
a. Sedang aku leka meng-(k)opek kelapa - abah tegur  
while 1sg engross MEN-split.fruit coconut dad greet  
aku.  
1sg  
'While I was busy splitting coconuts, dad greeted me.'  

b. "...sedang kita ramai-ramai ber-bincang tentang  
while 1pl.incl many:REDP BER-discuss about  
telatah para-pemancing undi baru, tiba-tiba saja  
conduct PL-person.putting.out.bait vote new suddenly just  
Lokman bangun men-capai botol meng-acu-nya ke  
Lokman get.up MEN-reach.for bottle MEN-aim.at-3 to  
arah kami semua."  
direction 1pl.excl all  
'...while we were all discussing the antics of the new campaigners  
for the elections, all of a sudden Lokman reached for a bottle and  
aimed it at us all.'

(6.69) tengah me-langut kat tangga - anak jiran sebelah  
while MEN-feel.sad at stairs child neighbour side  
rumah aku tu sound ajak buat meriam buluh...  
house 1sg that sound invite make cannon bamboo  
'...while mopping at the (front) steps, (our) neighbour's son invited  
(me to join him in) making bamboo cannons...'  

6.1.3.3. Conditional Clauses

Conditional clauses are marked by kalau 'if' in ABM and HP (Ex. (6.70-1)).  
In HP there is an additional conditional clauses marker: jika 'if' (Ex. (6.72)).  
The kalau/jika clause contains the condition to which the event, state or  
proposition of the main clause is subject.

(6.70) Kalau tau macam ni, dulu lagi aku dah lari  
if know like this past more 1sg already run  
dari kampung.  
from village  
'If (I) had known (it was) like this, (I) would have run away from  
home a long time ago.'
(6.71) "Kalau Encik Lokman datang beritahu aku ke
if Mister Lokman come tell 1sg to
pier
pangkalan."
[HP]
'If Encik Lokman comes (in), tell (him) I've gone to the pier.'

(6.72) "...Lokman tidak akan mudah sembuh jika di-biar-kan
Lokman not will easy recover if DI-allow-KAN
begitu di kampung."
[HP]
like that at village
'...Lokman will not recover easily if (he) is left like that in the village.'

6.1.3.4. Reason/Cause Clauses

Reason/cause clauses are marked by kerana/sebab 'because' (Ex. (6.73-4)). Sebab has a less formal register. It is relatively more frequent in ABM than HP, and in HP it occurs mainly in dialogue. In CM reason/cause clauses may also be marked by pasal 'because' (Ex. (6.75)), which may also function as a noun meaning 'matter' or a preposition 'about' (cf. Ch. 5). The kerana/sebab/pasal clause contains the reason for or cause of the event or state indicated in the main clause.

From text frequencies, kerana may be regarded as a typical SM form and sebab and pasal as typical CM forms.

(6.73)

a. Aku rasa ber-syukur kerana ber-jaya
1sg feel BER-thank.God because BER-success
mem-(p)ujuk Zaini.
MEN-persuade Zaini
'I was thankful that (I) succeeded in persuading Zaini (to change his mind).'

b. Dia ter-paksa ke kelab pelaut itu kerana songkok-nya
3sg TER-force to club sailor that because Malay.cap-3
ter-tinggal...
TER-leave
'He had to (go back) to the sailors' club because (he) left his songkok (there)...'
(6.74)
a. *Tentu dia-orang ingat aku ada apa-apa dengan* surely 3pl think 1sg have what:REDP with
*Ayu sebab semua nampak Ayu hulur surat kat* Ayu because all see Ayu hand.over letter to
*aku.* [ABM]

1sg

'Surely they must have thought that there was something (going on) between me and Ayu because (they) all saw Ayu handing the letter to me.'

b. *"Romzi juga nampak-nya lebih gemar Lokman di sini, sebab ayah-nya sendiri pun pandai serba here because father-3 self also smart all.types sedikit, tapi..."* [HP]

*a.little but*

'Romzi also appears to prefer (to have) Lokman (remain) here because his father is quite good (at treating such illnesses), but...'

(6.75) *...kenduri malam tu selain kenduri artkah, feast night that apart.from feast deceased kira kenduri doa selamat kerana aku dah consider feast prayer peace/safety because 1sg already kembali ke pangkuan keluarga - lagi satu tu pulak return to lap family more one that PULAK pasal nak bagitau aku pasal wasiat nenek.* [ABM]
because want tell 1sg about will grandmother

'*...the feast that night, apart from being an offering for (our) deceased (grandmother), was also a peace offering because I had returned to the family - and one more thing - (they had the feast) because (they) wanted to tell me about grandmother's will.'*

6.1.3.5. Purpose Clauses

Purpose clauses may be marked by *untuk* in both CM and SM (Ex. (6.76)). Purpose clauses may also be marked by *bagi* in HP (Ex. (6.77)), and *buat* and *nak* in ABM (Ex. (6.78-9)). The subordinate clause marked by *untuk, bagi, buat* or *nak* contains the purpose for which the action indicated by the main clause is performed. *Bagi* and *buat* may also function as verbs and as prepositions
(cf. Ch. 5) and nak may function as a complementizer as well among other things (cf. Section 6.1.2.1.1).

(6.76)  
a. \( \ldots \text{ber-jumpa Anor untuk meng-ucap-kan selamat-tinggal.} \)
BER-meet Anor for MEN-wish-KAN goodbye
'...see Anor to say goodbye.' [ABM]

b. \( \ldots \text{Lajis kembali sendirian untuk meng-atur} \)
Lajis return alone for MEN-arrange
rawatan abang-nya itu. [HP]
medical.treatment older.brother that
'...Lajis returned alone to arrange for medical treatment for his brother.'

(6.77) \( \ldots \text{dan men-(t)unduk-n-(t)unduk bagi men-(t)ambah tenaga} \)
and MEN-bow:REDP for MEN-increase energy
meng-(k)ayuh basikal. [HP]
MEN-pedal bicycle
'...and (he) bent forward so that (he could) pedal his bicycle harder.'

(6.78) \( \ldots \text{boleh n-(t)oreh, jual getah buat 'cover' duit} \)
can N-tap.rubber sell rubber for cover money
yuran sekolah. [ABM]
fee school
'...(I) could tap rubber (and) sell the rubber to pay for (my) school fees.'

(6.79)  
a. \( \ldots \text{saja je mem-(p)ekik nak 'release tension'} \ldots \) [ABM]
only just MEN-shout for release tension
'...(I) was only shouting to release tension....'

b. \( \ldots \text{balik semata-mata nak sambut 'birthday' aku.} \) [ABM]
return especially for celebrate birthday 1sg
'...(they) came home specially to celebrate my birthday.'
6.1.3.6. Concessive Clauses

Concessive clauses are marked by walaupun 'although, even though' in both CM and SM (Ex. (6.80-1)). The walaupun clause contains a concession against which the proposition in the main clause is contrasted.

(6.80) Rakan-rakan se-darjah men-jadi mangsa, walaupun friend:PL one-class MEN-become victim although
merekat tak buat salah apa-apal. [ABM]
3pl not do wrong what:REDP
'(My) classmates became (my) victims even though they did no wrong.'

(6.81) Gazis men-(t)ambah-kan air kopi, walaupun Gazis MEN-increase-CAUS water coffee although
di-tolak oleh Lajis. [HP]
Di-push by Lajis
'Gazis added more coffee even though Lajis had refused.'

6.1.3.7. Manner Clauses

Manner clauses are marked by dengan 'by, with' in both CM and SM (Ex. (6.82-3)). The dengan clause expresses the manner in which the action of the main clause is carried out.

(6.82) Carlos dengan ter-cungap-cungap masuk. [ABM]
Carlos with TER-pant:REDP enter
'Carlos entered puffing and panting.'

(6.83) ...me-lihat ke atas bumbung dengan mulut
MEN-look at top roof with mouth
ter-ketar yang separuh ter-buka. [HP]
TER-tremble REL half TER-open
'...(he) looked upwards at the ceiling with his half-open mouth quivering.'
6.1.3.8. Circumstantial Clauses

Circumstantial clauses may be marked by *dengan* 'by' or *tanpa* 'without*. *Dengan* and *tanpa* clauses express the circumstances by which the state of affairs indicated in the main clause comes about (Ex. (6.84-5)).

(6.84)  

a. *Dengan me-naik-i teksi aku ke disko.* [ABM]  
   with MEN-ride-I taxi 1sg to discotheque  
   'I went to the disco by taxi.'

b. "...*tangan raja kita di-liuk-kan se-mata-mata dengan hand king 1pl.incl DI-twist-KAN exclusively by men-(t)ahan gaji-nya hanya selama tiga bulan." [HP]  
   MEN-block salary-3 only as.long.as three month  
   '...(they could) twist the king's arm (i.e. control him) merely by stopping his salary for three months.'

(6.85)  

a. *Petang tu, tanpa salam, tanpa ucap selamat, aku evening that without greeting without wish safety 1sg keluar dengan beg besar.* [ABM]  
   go.out with bag big  
   'That evening, without exchanging greetings and wishing (them) well, I went out with large bag.'

b. "...*masing-masing ber-fikir bagaimana dapat cepat each.one BER-think how get quick kaya, dan me-laksana-kan-nya tanpa mem-(f)ikir-kan rich and MEN-carry.out-3 without MEN-think-KAN halal haram jalan-nya." [HP]  
   legitimate(according.to.Muslim.law) illegal method-3  
   '...(each person thinks of ways to get rich quickly and carries them out without considering whether his methods are legitimate.'

6.1.3.9. Comparative Clauses

Comparative clauses express a state of affairs to which the proposition, state or event of the main clause is compared. Comparative clauses are marked by *seperti* 'like, as if' (Ex. (6.86)), *seolah-olah* 'as if' (Ex. (6.87)), *bagai* 'like, as if' (Ex. (6.88)) or *macam* 'like, as if' (Ex. (6.89)).
Seperti and seolah-olah are typical SM markers while bagai and macam are typical CM markers. Seolah-olah does not occur in ABM and bagai does not occur in HP as adverbial subordinating markers. Macam may also function as a noun, verb or preposition in CM (cf. Ch. 5).

(6.86)
a. Aku tak mau kecwna lagi seperti ke-hilang-an
   1sg not want hurt more like KE-lost-AN
   arwah nenek dulu. [ABM]
   deceased grandmother past
   'I didn't want to be hurt again like when (I) lost grandmother.'

b. Lajis ter-pegun lama seperti akan ter-esak.
   Lajis TER-dumbfounded long.time like will TER-cry
   'Lajis was silent for a long time as if (he) was going to cry.' [HP]

(6.87)
a. Tangan itu di-pegang-nya erat-erat seolah-olah dari
   hand that DI-hold-3 tight:REDP as.if from
   situ-lah datang kekuatan-nya sekarang. [HP]
   there-EMPH come strength-3 now
   'He held (her) hand tightly as if it was from there that the strength
came.'

b. Gazis masih tetap mem-(p)andang laut seolah-olah
   Gazis still permanent MEN-look sea as.if
   men-cari-cari sesuatu... [HP]
   MEN-search:REDP something
   'Gazis was still looking at the sea as if (he) was searching for
something.'

(6.88)
a. Aku tengok budak-budak lain semua 'study' bagai
   1sg see child:PL other all study as.if
   nak gila.
   FUT mad
   'I saw the other guys studying as if they would go mad.'

b. Nampak je aku, dia-orang ketawa bagai nak rak...
   see just 1sg 3pl laugh as.if FUT crack
   'The moment (they) saw me, they laugh as if (they) were going to
crack up...' [ABM]
(6.89)

a. \textit{Semua mata ter-tumpu pada aku macam tenguk beruk sarkis.}
\hspace{2cm}\textit{all eye TER-concentrate at 1sg like look ape circus}

\hspace{1cm}'All eyes were on me as if looking at a circus ape.'

b. \textit{Tapi apasal semua mem-bisu macam pulau-kan aku je.}
\hspace{2cm}\textit{but why all MEN-dumb like island-KAN 1sg only}

\hspace{1cm}'But why were (they) all silent as if (they) were isolating me.'

6.1.3.10 'Additive' Clauses

I use the term 'additive' in the sense of Thompson & Longacre (1985). 'Additive' clauses express a state of affairs in addition to what is expressed in the main clause.

CM has the forms dah-le/udah-le marking 'additive' clauses (Ex. (6.90-1)). (U)dah-le generally occurs in conjunction with the use of pulak 'as well, furthermore' in the main clause. In SM 'additive' clauses are coordinated using the coordinator lagipun 'furthermore' (cf. Section 6.2.4).

(6.90) \textit{Dah-le lapar, penat pulak lagi.}
\hspace{2cm}\textit{already-EMPH hungry tired PULAK more}

\hspace{1cm}'Not only was (I) hungry, (I) was tired as well.'

(6.91) \textit{Udah-le bengap, degil pulak tu.}
\hspace{2cm}\textit{already-EMPH dull stubborn PULAK that}

\hspace{1cm}'Not only was (he) dull, (he) was stubborn as well.'

6.2. Coordination

In coordination independent clauses or sentences are joined together by coordinating markers or coordinators. Each clause may have its own tense, aspect, mood, illocutionary force and so on. As with adverbial clauses, a
semantic relationship exists between coordinated clauses which is indicated by the coordinator.

Table 6.3 lists the coordinators found in ABM and HP according to their semantic function, and their frequencies in the text. The semantic classifications roughly correspond to Longacre’s (1985) classifications.

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Table 6.3. Coordinators in ABM and HP

6.2.1. Coupling

Coupling refers to a “non-temporal underlying 'and' relation” (Longacre 1985). The coordinator used in both CM and SM is *dan* 'and' (Ex. (6.92)).
6.2.2. Contrast

Contrast refers to an “underlying ‘but’ relation” (Longacre 1985). One state of affairs is contrasted with another. The coordinator used for marking contrast is (te)tapi ‘but’ in CM and SM (Ex. (6.93-4)). Tapi is the preferred form in both ABM and HP.

(6.93)

a. ...abah ajak aku balik - tapi aku nak lepak
dad invite 1sg return but 1sg want hang.out
[ABM]
dengan ‘member’ dulu.
with friend beforehand

'...dad asked me to go home but I wanted to hang out with my
mates first.'

b. Lajis ter-kejut, kurang senang dengan luncuran itu
Lajis TER-shock less easy with skidding that
tapi sempat meng-elak-kan sedikit kereta-nya...
but have.time.to MEN-avoid-KAN a.little car-3

'Lajis was startled (and) ill at ease because of the skidding (of another
car) but (he) managed to steer his car away on time....' [HP]
(6.94)
a. Air-mata-ku meng-alir bukan kerana sakit-nya
tear-1sg MEN-flow not because pain-NYA
rotan yang hinggap di tubuh...
RELCAN REL perch at body
Tetapi mem-(f)ikir-kan tak
but MEN-think-KAN not
penat-kah, atau tidak jemu-kah mak mem-(p)ukul aku
tired-QUEST or not fed.up-QUEST mum MEN-beat 1sg
sejak dari kecil...?
since from small

'My tears flowed not because of the pain from the caning... but from
wondering if mum was ever tired or fed up of beating me ever since
I was little.'

b. Semakin ter-kocak hati-nya kerana tidak seperti
increasingly TER-disturbed heart-3 because not like
rencana-rencana lidah-pengarang yang lalu kali ini-
EDITORIAL REL pass time this
editorial
cacau tetapi tetap berani.
[HP]
stirring but permanent courageous

'He felt even more disturbed because (this editorial) was not like his
past editorials - this time (it) was stirring but courageous as usual.'

6.2.3. Alternation

Alternation refers to an "underlying 'or' relation" (Longacre 1985). One
state of affairs or proposition is presented as an alternative to another. Atau
'or' is the coordinator used to express alternation in Malay (Ex. (6.95)). Atau is
infrequent in ABM but frequent in HP.

(6.95)
a. Dia tau-ke aku ber-tumbuk kat sekolah, atau nak
3sg know-QUEST 1sg BER-punch at school or want
tanya pasal kad kemajuian yang tak pernah
ask about card progress REL not have.done.before
sampai ke tangan-nya...?  [ABM]
arrive to hand-3

'Did he know that I had been fighting at school or did he want to ask
(me) about (my) report book that has never reached him?'
b. *Yang lain-lain ada yang cuba ter-senyum atau ketawa kecil.*

'Some of the others tried to smile or laugh a little.'

In CM there is an additional coordinator *ke* which is more frequent. (Ex. (6.96)). Generally *ke* is attached to the end of the first clause. It may be optionally attached to following clause(s) as well (Ex. (6.97)). *Ke* is also used as a modal particle (cf. Ch. 2).

(6.96)

a. "*...masak pulut ke masak air?*"

cook glutinous.rice or cook water

'...(are you) cooking pulut or boiling water?'

b. *Tak tau-le betul ke tidak.*

not know-EMPH true or not

'(I) didn't know whether it was true or not.'

(6.97)

*Kalau ada orang ‘order’ telur ke, ‘order’ if exist people order egg or order ayam ke, aku-le yang jadi tukang chicken or 1sg-EMPH REL become skilled.person hantar.

send

'If someone ordered eggs or chickens, I was the one who delivered them.'

6.2.4. Addition

In 'addition' one state of affairs is presented as an addition to another. This relationship may be marked by *lagipun* 'furthermore' in CM and SM (Ex. (6.98)).

(6.98)

a. *Ter-peranjet jugak sebab se-tau aku dia kat Polyteknik. Lagipun sekarang bukan ‘time’ Polytechnic.college furthermore now not time*
'I was shocked because as far as I knew, he was at the polytechnic college. Furthermore it wasn't holidays at the moment.'

b. Betul dia tidak ke universiti tapi kecerdasan dan true 3sg not to university but intelligence and sistem kerja dan analisa-nya ter-nyata se-cekap system work and analysis-3 TER-obvious SE-competent mereka yang ter-asuh di institusi pengajian tinggi.... 3pl REL TER-train at institution learning high Lagipun Lokman tidak ke universiti lebih kerana furthermore Lokman not to universiti more because dia ingin mem-beri-kan kesempatan kepada 3sg want MEN-give-KAN opportunity to adik-nya untuk lanjut belajar. [HP] younger.sibling-3 for advance study

'(It was) true that he did not go to university but his level of intelligence and his work system and analyses were obviously as competent as those who had been trained in institutions of higher learning.... Furthermore Lokman did not go to university because he wanted to give his younger brother the opportunity to further his studies.'

6.2.5. 'Conclusion'

A state of affairs or proposition is presented as the conclusion that follows from a previously expressed proposition, state of affairs or event. This relationship is marked by jadi 'so', a typical CM form (Ex. (6.99)). In HP jadi occurs only in dialogue (Ex. (6.100)).

(6.99) ...se-orang pendekar only BER-heart:REDP cuma ber-hati-hati Malay.martial.arts.expert only BER-heart:REDP
dengan musuh - bukan dengan sahabat. Jadi, hidung with enemy not with friend so nose
atuk ber-darah kena gayung, kerana
grandpa BER-blood affected.by staff.like.weapon because
atuk tak ber-sedia untuk
grandpa not BER-ready COMP
men-(t)epis - maksud-nya - atuk
MEN-push.with.back.of.hand.in.defence meaning-NYA grandpa
tak musuh dengan mak. [ABM]
not enemy with mum

'...a pendekar is only cautious with (his) enemies, not with (his)
friends. So grandpa's nose bled (as a result of being hit) by the
gayung because he did not prepare to defend himself - meaning that
grandpa was not enemies with mum.'

(6.100) "Lihat saya kan di sini? Jadi, apa saja yang awak
look 1sg KAN at here so what just REL 2sg
dengar tentang saya tidak benar." [HP]
hear about 1sg not true

'Look, aren't I here? So whatever it was that you heard about me is
not true.'

6.3. Verb Serialization

Verb serialization is a common feature in Malay. It occurs frequently in
both CM and SM. There are few significant differences between serialization
in CM and SM. One difference lies in the fact that serial verbs in CM are
frequently unaffixed compared to serial verbs in SM. However this is a fact
that follows from the general lack of affixation in CM. Nevertheless I will
discuss serial verbs here in order to provide a more complete overall picture
of clause combining in Malay.

In my discussion I adopt Durie's (1988b:3) definition of verb serialization:

Verb serialization is where two or more verbs are juxtaposed in such a
way that they act as a single predicate, taking a unitary complex of direct
arguments. The verbs are bound together syntactically and or
morphologically on the basis of sharing one or more core arguments and
neither verb is subordinate to the other. Typically, there is no marker of
subordination or coordination, no dividing intonational or
morphological mark of a clause boundary, and the verbs cannot have
separate scope for tense, mood, aspect, illocutionary force, and negation.

I include adjective-like verbal predicates such as bersih 'clean', kuyup 'wet'
and renggang 'distant (of relationship)' in this discussion.

While it is possible for serialization to involve strings of up to as many as
eleven verbs in a single series in some languages (Towtong 1985), strings of
two verbs are the most common. In Malay serial verb constructions generally
consist of two verbs. Strings of three verbs may occur but are relatively less frequent. Strings of more than three verbs are not attested in the texts although strings of up to eight juxtaposed clauses are found in ABM (cf. Section 6.4). Hence I will concentrate on dual verb serialization.

I will examine serial verb constructions in Malay from a number of viewpoints:

(1) The semantic type of the shared arguments and their grammatical relations (Section 6.3.1).
(2) The types of verbs involved in serialization (Section 6.3.2).
(3) The relative contribution of the two verbs (Section 6.3.3).

6.3.1. Shared Arguments

Generally the semantic type of the shared argument is the same with respect to the two predicates involved in the serialization, but the grammatical relations may differ. However it is common to have arguments which share similar grammatical relations as well. I will use the terms 'subject' and 'direct object' to refer to grammatical relations. As noted in Chapter 4, 'subject' is a clause-initial preverbal position which is usually available to a variety of syntactic processes such as relativization and syntactic deletion, and 'direct object' is an immediately post-verbal position associated with transitive verbs.

The following are the various semantic types of shared arguments and their grammatical relations as observed in the texts:

(1) Subject/Agent + Subject/Agent
   The shared argument is an Agent with respect to both predicates and is the subject of both verbs (Ex. (6.101)). This is common in both ABM and HP.

   (6.101)
   a. ...
      [aku] mem-(p)ekik mintak tolong.
      1sg MEN-shout ask help
      '...I shouted calling for help.'
b. [Menut] sedang me-raung-raung men-kerit-kan
   Menut PROG MEN-cry.loudly MEN-shout-KAN
   sesuatu.
   something

   'Menut was wailing (and) shouting something.'

(2) Subject/Patient + Subject/Patient
   The shared argument is a Patient with respect to both predicates and is
   the subject of both verbs. This is rare in ABM. In HP both verbs have
   'passive' morphology (Ex. (6.102)).

(6.102) [Dia] ter-luka di-pijak oleh para-demonstran.
   3sg TER-wound DI-trample.on by PL-demonstrators

   'She was injured (as a result of being) trampled on by
   demonstrators.'
   [HP]

(3) Subject/Experiencer + Subject/Experiencer
   The shared argument is an Experiencer with respect both predicates
   and occurs as subject of both verbs (Ex. (6.103)).

(6.103)
   a. ...[aku] ter-sentak me-lihat kaperterbang kertas yang
      1sg TER-startled MEN-see aeroplane paper REL
      di-pegang-nya.
      DI-hold-3

      '...I was startled at the sight of the paper glider he was holding.'

   b. [Norisah] ter-gamam me-renung-i betapa diri-nya
       Norisah TER-shocked MEN-gaze-I how self-3
       ber-ansur tua...
       BER-gradual old

       'Norisah was shocked seeing how he had aged...'

(4) Subject/Theme(-Agent) + Subject/Theme(-Agent)
   The shared argument is a Theme, whether Stationary or Moving, of
   both predicates and occurs as 'subject' of both verbs (Ex. (6.104)). The
   Moving Theme may also at the same time be an Agent (Ex. (6.104b&c))

(6.104)
   a. ...[hubungan rapat] kembali renggan.
      connection close return distant(of.relationship)

      '...(our) close relationship became distant again.'
   [ABM]
b.  [Biman] segera ber-lari masuk dulu.  [HP]
   Biman immediately BER-run enter beforehand
   'Biman immediately ran in first.'

c.  [Satu hari tu, aku tengok abah] sedang ber-siap-siap.  [θ, Mesti nak pegi jalan-jalan tu.]
   one day that 1sg see dad PROG BER-get.ready:REDP 0 must FUT go walk:REDP that
   'One day I saw dad getting ready. (He) must be travelling somewhere'  [ABM]

(5) Object/Theme + Subject/Theme
   The shared argument is a Theme with respect to both predicates. It occurs as the direct object of the first verb and the subject of the second (Ex. (6.105)). This is a less frequent type of shared argument and is rare in HP.

(6.105)
   a.  ...aku bawak [atuk] naik atas rumah.  [ABM]
       1sg bring grandpa ascend top house
       'I brought grandpa up to the house.'

   b.  "Iikut [Angah] balik KL."  [ABM]
       follow Angah return KL
       '(I am) following Angah back to KL.'

(6) Object/Patient + Object/Patient
   The shared argument is a Patient of both predicates and occurs as the direct object of the serialized predicate (Ex. (6.106)). This is infrequent.

(6.106)  [Biman] tidak mem-basuh bersih gelas itu.  [HP]
   Biman not MEN-wash clean glass that
   'Biman did not wash the glass properly.'

6.3.2. Verb Types

   Both transitive and intransitive verbs may be serialized. The first verb in the serialized predicate is generally an intransitive verb. The second verb may be either transitive or intransitive.
The more common intransitive verbs that occur as the first verb in serial verb constructions are:

(1) The verbs *pe(r)gi* 'go' (Ex. (6.107)) and *datang* 'come' (Ex. (6.108)).

(6.107)

a. "Leman, *pegi ambik ayam tu.*" [ABM]
   Leman go take chicken that
   'Leman, go and get those chickens.'

b. *Satu hari tu, aku tengok abah sedang ber-siap-siap. Mesti nak *pegi jalan-jalan tu.* BER-get.ready:REDP must NAK go walk:REDP that
   'One day I saw dad getting ready. (He) must be travelling somewhere' [ABM]

c. *Dia *pergi meng-ambil songkok-nya segera.* [HP]
   3sg go MEN-take Malay.cap-3 immediately
   'He went to get his songkok immediately.'

d. *...Idrus *turut meng-iring-i Lajis dan me-lihat MEN-accompany Lajis and MEN-see
   sebentar sebelum *pergi men-(t)ambang semula.* [HP]
   awhile before go MEN-transport.fare again
   '...Idrus accompanied Lajis and took a look (at him) before going back to transport passengers again.'

(6.108)

a. *...abah datang pujuk aku balik.* [ABM]
   dad come persuade lsg return
   '...dad came to persuade me to go home.'

b. *Abang-nya yang datang meny-(s)elamat-kan-nya.* [HP]
   older.brother-3 REL come MEN-safe-CAUS-3
   '(It was) his older brother who came to save him.'

(2) Other movement verbs such as *masuk* 'enter' (Ex. (6.109)), *keluar* 'go out' (Ex. (6.110)), *(ber-)*lari'run' (Ex. (6.111)) and *ber-jalan* 'walk' (Ex. (6.112)).
(6.109)
a. *Biman masuk men-(t)ambah-kan air.*  
   Biman enter MEN-increase-CAUS water  
   'Biman entered to refill (the jugs with) water.'

b. *Norisah masuk men-jatuh-kan diri-nya di atas sofa...*  
   Norisah enter MEN-fall-CAUS self-3 at top sofa  
   'Norisah entered (and) dropped herself onto the sofa...'  

(6.110)
a. *...aku pun keluar men-(t)uju ke rumah Anor.*  
   1sg PUN go.out MEN-head.for to house Anor  
   '...and so I went out to Anor's place.'

b. *...masing-masing keluar me-mula-kan tugas-tugas sendiri-sendiri.*  
   each.one go.out MEN-begin-KAN task:PL self:REDP  
   '...each person went out to begin his own task.'

(6.111)
a. *...atuk dah lari tinggal-kan rumah...*  
   grandpa already run leave-KAN house  
   '...grandpa had run away from home...'

b. *...se-orang abang sedang me-letak-kan adik-nya ke atas palang hadapan basikal, sebelum ber-lari me-ligat-kan basikal, lalu men-(t)un gang-nya.*  
   one-CLFR older.brother PROG MEN-put-KAN younger.sibling-3 to top cross.bar front bicycle  
   before BER-run MEN-spin.rapidly bicycle and.then MEN-ride-3  
   '...an older brother was seating his younger sibling on the cross bar at the front of (his) bicycle before pushing the bicycle forward rapidly and then (getting on it to) ride (away).'

(6.112)
a. *Anor ber-jalan men-(t)uju ke rumah aku.*  
   Anor BER-walk MEN-head.for to house 1sg  
   'Anor walked towards my house.'
b. *Ketika mereka ber-jalan men-(t)inggal-kan kelab pelaut*
   while 3pl BER-walk MEN-leave-KAN club sailor
   *itu...* [HP]
   *that*
   'While they were walking away from the sailors' club...'

(3) Postural verbs, for example, *duduk 'sit' (Ex. (6.113)) and ber-diri 'stand' (Ex. (6.114)).

(6.113)

a. ...*aku duduk meng-(k)elamun kat tangga.* [ABM]
   1sg sit MEN-day.dream at stair
   'I sat day-dreaming on the steps.'

b. *Gazis duduk me-nanti-nanti di hadapan Lokman.* [HP]
   Gazis sit MEN-wait:REDP at front Lokman
   Gazis sat waiting in front of Lokman.'

(6.114)

a. *Dua buah daripada-nya begitu tinggi sehingga serasa* [HP]
   two CLFR from-3 like.that tall until feel.like
   *dua makhluk ber-diri men-jaga yang* [HP]
   two creature BER-stand MEN-take.care.of REL
   lain-lain.
   other:REDP
   'Two of them were so tall that they looked like two creatures standing (and) watching over the rest (of the buildings).'

b. ...*sekarang ini, ber-diri me-lihat-kan sisa sinar* [HP]
   now this BER-stand MEN-see-KAN remnant ray
   *mentari dan kepulan asap kapal yang se-olah-olah* [HP]
   sun and cloud smoke ship REL as.if
   *buku...*
   frozen
   '...now (as he) stood watching the last of the sunset and the clouds of smoke (coming from) the ship which (looked) so still...'

(4) Body part movement verbs, that is, verbs referring to actions which involve a body part in motion, for example, *meng-angguk 'nod' (Ex. (6.115)), meng-geleng 'shake the head' (Ex. (6.116)) and men-dongak 'tilt head upwards, look up' (Ex. (6.117)).
(6.115) Norisah meng-angguk-angguk mem-(p)andang Lajis...
Norisah MEN-nod:REDP MEN-look Lajis

'Norisah nodded looking at Lajis...'

[HP]

(6.116)

a. Norisah meng-geleng-geleng me-renung-nya tepat. [HP]
Norisah MEN-shake.head:REDP MEN-gaze-3 direct

'Norisah shook her head gazing at him directly.'

b. ...me-renung-i mentari merah yang tenggelam, kemudian
MEN-gaze-I sun red REL sink afterwards
perlahan-lahan meng-geleng-geleng gamam. [HP]
slow:REDP MEN-shake.head shocked

'...(he) gazed at the setting sun and then slowly shook his head
shocked.'

(6.117) Mereka yang sedang ber-bual, men-dongak
3pl REL PROG BER-chat MEN-look.up
mem-(p)andang-nya. [HP]
MEN-look-3

'Those who were chatting (among themselves), looked up at him.'

(5) Verbs of 'saying' such as mem-(p)ekik 'shout' (Ex. (6.118)), men-
erit 'shout, scream' (Ex. (6.119)) and me-raung 'cry loudly, howl' (Ex.
(6.120)).

(6.118) ...aku mem-(p)ekik mintak tolong.
1sg MEN-shout ask help

'...I shouted calling for help.'

[ABM]

(6.119) Teman-nya itu men-jerit ter-peranjat. [HP]
friend-3 that MEN-scream TER-shocked

'Her friend screamed shocked.'

(6.120) Menut sedang me-raung-raung men-jerit-kan
Menut PROG MEN-cry.loudly MEN-shout-KAN
nenatu.
something

'Menut was wailing (and) shouting something.'
The first predicate may also be a transitive predicate. There are two types of such constructions:

(1) The direct object of the first predicate is the shared argument and usually occurs as the 'subject' of the second predicate (see previous section (Ex. (6.105)).

(2) The direct object of the first predicate is not a shared argument. Instead the shared argument is the subject of both predicates. In these cases two verb phrases are serialized.

For example, the Actor-subject in (6.121a) kami ‘1pl excl’, is shared by both the verb phrases: meredah belukar ‘cut through the forest’ and cari buluh aur ‘search for bamboo reeds’. In (6.121b) both the verb phrases: memikul jala ‘carry net on shoulder' and menghala ke sebuah bot di situ ‘head for a boat there', share the Actor-subject ayah-nya ‘his father’, and a single Aspect marker sedang ‘Progressive’.

(6.121)

a. ...kami me-redah belukar cari buluh
   1pl.excl MEN-cut.through.forest forest search bamboo
   aur. reed
   ‘...we cleared our way through the forest looking for bamboo reeds.’

b. ...ayah-nya yang sedang mem-(p)ikul jala
   father-3 REL PROG MEN-carry.on.shoulder net
   meng-hala ke salah se-buah bot di situ.
   MEN-direction to one.of one-CLFR motor.boat at there
   ‘...his father who was carrying some nets on his shoulder and heading for one of the motor boats there.’

6.3.3. Relative Contributions of Serialized Verbs

A useful classification of the relative contributions of serialized verbs is provided by Towtong (1985:94). According to her, the relative contributions of dual serialized verbs may be classified into three major types:
(1) Complement verbs - where one verb extends the meaning of the other (Ex. (6.122)).

(6.122)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a.} & \quad \text{two CLFR lice REL punch 1sg day that pass naik basikal...} \\
& \quad \text{ride bicycle} \\
& \quad \text{'...the two boys (lit. lice) who punched me the other day passed by riding bicycles...'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{b.} & \quad \text{Gazis sendiri ter-bayang-kan diri-nya yang jatuh} \\
& \quad \text{Gazis self TER-image-KAN self-3 REL fall} \\
& \quad \text{ber-gulung dari rumah-api itu.} \\
& \quad \text{BER-roll from lighthouse that} \\
& \quad \text{'Gazis saw himself fall rolling down from the lighthouse.'}
\end{align*}
\]

(2) Solid verbs - where two verbs are 'fused' together as a single unit. Such verbs often have similar or related meanings (Ex. (6.123)).

(6.123)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a.} & \quad \text{PROG middle engrossed MEN-eat roast chicken sambil ber-gelak ketawa.} \\
& \quad \text{at.the.same.time BER-laugh laugh} \\
& \quad \text{'...(they) were busy eating roast chicken and laughing.'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{b.} & \quad \text{TER-remember Aca REL often 1sg-kick kick.with.heel} \\
& \quad \text{'...(I) remembered Aca whom I kicked so often...'}
\end{align*}
\]

(3) Conjoined verbs - where the two verbs convey two separate actions or events. The actions or events may be simultaneous (Ex. (6.124)) or successive (Ex. (6.125)).

(6.124)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a.} & \quad \text{while 1sg hang.out look.after goat at side padang...} \\
& \quad \text{field} \\
& \quad \text{'}...while I was tending the goats beside the field...'}
\end{align*}
\]
b. Biman masih meny-(s)eringai me-lambai-lambai ke arah-nya. [HP]
   direction-3
   'Biman was still grinning (and) waving in his direction.'

(6.125)

a. 'Time' dia-orang pegi sembahyang Tawarikh, baru-le time 3pl go pray Tawarikh only-EMPH
   aku makan. [ABM]
   1sg eat
   'Only when they went for Tawarikh prayers did I eat.'

b. Dia... ber-jalan men-jengah bilik Shirley. [HP]
   3sg BER-walk MEN-crane.neck.to.see room Shirley
   'She went to peep into Shirley's room.'

6.3.4. Serialization of More than Two Verbs

Serialization of more than two verbs is not as frequent as dual verb serialization in Malay. Some sequences of three verbs are found in ABM and HP (Ex. (6.126-7)). Sequences of more than three verbs do not occur in the texts.

(6.126)

a. ...aku pegi main bawak kad pengenalan. [ABM]
   1sg go play bring card identity
   'I went to play bringing (my) identity card.'

b. ...abaah pun dah tak berani nak bawak basikal dad PUN already not brave COMP bring bicycle
   tu. Ter-paks-la pegi m-(p)otong naik motor. [ABM]
   that TER-force-EMPH go N-tap.rubber ride motorcycle
   '...dad no longer dared to ride the bicycle. (He) had to go to tap rubber riding (his) motor-bike.'

(6.127)

a. Lajis ber-jalan keluar men-(t)uju lif. [HP]
   Lajis BER-walk go.out MEN-head.for lift
   'Lajis walked out to the lift.'
b. ...malam-nya dia kuyup ber-peluh
   night-NYA 3sg wet BER-sweat
meng-(h)idap demam panas dan me-racau... [HP]
MEN-suffer.an.illness fever hot and MEN-delirious
'...that night he broke out in sweat with a high fever and was
delirious...'  

6.4. Juxtaposition of Clauses

It is common in CM for related clauses to be juxtaposed without the use of
subordinating or coordinating markers. Unlike serialization, there may be
dividing intonational markers between the clauses, such as commas which
may be regarded as representing pauses in the texts; and the clauses may have
separate scope for tense, aspect, mood, negation and illocutionary force. The
juxtaposed clauses do not necessarily contain shared arguments.
Juxtaposition of clauses in SM is less common and has a more restricted
usage.

Semantically related clauses which may be linked in HP using adverbial
subordinating markers and coordinators such as those discussed in Section 6.2
are often merely juxtaposed in CM. The semantic relationship is inferred
from context.

6.4.1. Juxtaposition in CM

Generally two clauses are juxtaposed. However a number of sentences
containing up to seven juxtaposed clauses are found in ABM. In these cases
the Agent argument is shared by all the clauses and the clauses have a
'coupling' relationship (Ex. (6.128-9)).

(6.128) Aku 'rock' balik, sembelih ayam HM, curi
   1sg rock return slaughter chicken principal steal
biskut kat dewan makan, gaduh kat padang bola,
biscuit at hall eat fight at field ball
curi ikan kat kebun sains pertanian. [ABM]
steal fish at garden science agriculture
'I returned to 'rock' (i.e. behaving like a ruffian), (I) slaughtered the
principal's chickens, stole biscuits from the dining hall, fought in
the football field, (and) stole fish from the agricultural science
garden.'

(6.129) Mak beli langsir, beli bahan-bahan untuk buat
mum buy curtain buy material:REDP for make
kuih, beli alas meja, beli kain, beli seluar Aca,
cake buy base table buy cloth buy pants Aca
beli kasut Aca...
buy shoe Aca
'Mum bought curtains, ingredients from making cake, a table cloth,
cloth, pants for Aca (and) shoes for Aca.'

A variety of semantic relationships may be represented by juxtaposition.
These include:

(1) Coupling, that is, a "non-temporal underlying 'and' relationship" (see
Longacre 1985). This often involves the juxtaposition of more than
two clauses (Ex. (6.130), see also Ex. (6.128-29)).

(6.130) Aku tak nak marah, tak nak gaduh-gaduh, tak
1sg not want angry not want fight:REDP not
nak pukul Aca...
want beat Aca... [ABM]
'I didn't want to get angry, (I didn't want to) fight, (and I didn't want
to) beat Aca...'

(2) Temporal overlap - the occurrence of one event or a state of affairs
overlaps with another (Ex. (6.131)).

(6.131)'Time' buat gila, kita-orang buat gila, 'time' belajar,
time make mad 1pl.excl make mad time study
kita-orang 'concentrate' belajar.
1pl.excl concentrate study
'(When it was) time to be crazy, we were crazy, (when it was) time to
study, we concentrated on studying.'
(3) Event sequencing
   (i) Succession - one event occurs after another (Ex. (6.132)).
   (ii) Simultaneous events (Ex. (6.133)).

(6.132) Selesai mandi, aku terus ber-siap-siap...
   finish bathe 1sg straight.away BER-get.ready:REDP
   'After bathing, I straight away got ready.'

b. "...dah ada duit, Ujang beli 'kaler', nanti
   already have money Ujang buy colour afterwards
   Ujang kaler-kan..."
   Ujang colour-KAN
   '...(when I) have the money, Ujang (=I) will buy paints (and) Ujang
   (=I) will paint (it)...'

(6.133) Aku ke hulu ke hilir dengan basikal
   1sg to upstream to downstream with bicycle
   meng-usung 'slip' keputusan SRP-ku.
   MEN-carry.together slip result SRP-1sg
   'I went to and fro on (my) bicycle holding (out) my SRP result slip.'

(4) Condition - the occurrence of an event, or a state of affairs or
    proposition is dependent on another (Ex. (6.134)).

(6.134) a. "Nak ikut, pegi mandi cepat."
   want follow go bathe quick
   'If you want to come along, go and bathe quick.'

b. "...kau tak caya tanya-lah kat mak dia..."
   2sg not believe ask-EMPH DAT mum 3sg
   '...if) you don’t believe (me), ask her mum...' [ABM]

(5) Reason/Cause - one event or state of affairs is the reason for or cause
    of another (Ex. (6.135)).

(6.135) Mula-mula aku tak nak, takut mak marah.
   begin:REDP 1sg not want afraid mum angry
   'At first I didn't want (to go because I) was afraid that mum would
   get angry.'
b. ...mem-(pl)andang-kan semua ahli-nya pompuan aje, MEN-look-KAN all member-3 girl only 
maleh-la kita-orang nak daftar. [ABM]
lazy-EMPH 1pl.excl COMP register
'...seeing that all the members were girls, we didn't want to sign up.'

(6) Purpose - an activity is performed for a particular purpose, which is expressed in a juxtaposed clause (Ex. (6.136)).

(6.136) Aku jeling-jeling arah ke dapur 1sg look.out.of.the.corner.of.eye:REDP direction to kitchen 
men-cari Anor. [ABM]
MEN-search Anor
'I kept looking out of the corner of my eyes (so as not to be noticed) at the kitchen searching for Anor.'

(7) Addition - a state of affairs is expressed as an addition to another (Ex. (6.137)).

(6.137) a. "Bukan durian je, compodak pun ado, Jang." not durian only jackfruit also EXIST Jang 
'(There weren't) only durians (type of fruit with thorny skin), (there was) jackfruit as well, Jang.' [ABM]

b. Tak cukup dengan penampar, mak tambah pulak not enough with slap mum add PULAK 
lagi dengan ranting kayu. [ABM]
more with branch wood
'Slapping (me) was not enough - mum (beat me) as well with a tree branch.'

(8) Contrast - a state of affairs is contrasted with another (Ex. (6.138)).

(6.138) "Dulu 'hensem', dah botak ni nampak macam past handsome already bald this appear like 
muka 'welfare' je..." [ABM]
face welfare only
'(You) used to be handsome (but) now that (you're) bald, (you) have a 'welfare face' (i.e. you have a poverty-stricken look)...'
(9) Elaboration - a particular state of affairs is elaborated on by using *juxtaposed* clauses (Ex. (6.139)).

(6.139)

a. Nenek *cakap* hati aku terang, *me-waris-i* grandmother say heart 1sg clear MEN-inherit-I
   *sifat* arwah datuk sebelah mak aku. characteristic deceased grandfather side mum 1sg
   'Grandmother said I had a clear heart (i.e. I am a quick and intelligent learner), (I) inherited this from my late maternal grandfather.'
   [ABM]

b. Aku *hidup* sendiri, rakan-rakan ada-lah *adik-beradik-ku* 1sg live self friend:PL COP siblings-1sg
guru-guru ada-lah ibarat ibubapa-ku. teacher:PL COP role.model parents-1sg
   'I lived alone, my friends were my brothers and sisters, the teachers were role models of my parents.'
   [ABM]

(10) Frustration - this refers to expectancy reversals (cf. Longacre 1985), that is, a state of affairs or event is expressed as an unexpected outcome of another (ex. (6.140)).

(6.140)

a. Aku *ber-diri* kat depan pun dia buat 'donno' je. 1sg BER-stand at front PUN 3sg make don't.know just
   'Even when I stood in front (of her), she pretend not to notice.'
   [ABM]

b. Nak balik kampung pun budak-budak 'junior' mintak want return village PUN child:PL junior ask
   kebenaran kita-orang. permission 1pl.excl
   'Even the junior kids would asked our permission when they wanted to go home.'
   [ABM]

(11) Alternation - a state of affairs or proposition is presented as an alternative to another (Ex. (6.141)).

(6.141) Tu *pun kadang-kadang bagi, kadang-kadang tidak.* [ABM] that PUN sometimes give sometimes not
   'Even so sometimes (he) paid (me) and sometimes (he) didn't.'
6.4.2. Juxtaposition in SM

In HP the juxtaposition of clauses is more restricted, being generally reserved for indicating event sequencing (Ex. (6.142)) and overlap (Ex. (6.143)). There is usually a shared argument in these cases. Juxtaposition expressing event sequencing in HP often involves more than two clauses (Ex. (6.142)).

(6.142)

a. Norisah meng-angguk, bangun, turut meng-ambil-kan
Notisah MEN-nod get.up follow MEN-take-KAN  
baju panas Lajis, meng-hulur-kan-nya. [HP]
clothing warm Lajis MEN-hand.out-3
'Norisah nodded, got up (and) picked up Lajis's sweater handing it to (him).'

b. Dia ber-paling, men-(t)arik nafas, mem-(p)andang
3sg BER-turn.head MEN-pull breath MEN-look  
seketika...
awhile
'He turned around, sighed (and) took a look...'

(6.143)

a. Meng-geleng-geleng, dia ter-senyum...
MEN-shake.head:REDP 3sg TER-smile  
'Shaking his head, he smiled...'

b. Lajis meng-(k)etat bibir lagi, meng-hulur-kan
Lajis MEN-purse.lips lip more MEN-hold.out  
tangan-nya.
hand-3
'Lajis pursed his lips again, holding out his hand.'
Chapter 7

CM Expressions and Constructions

This is a brief chapter which looks at various characteristic CM expressions and constructions. In Section 7.1 I look at CM phrases involving the lexical root *tangkap* 'catch'. In Section 7.2 I examine typical ways of expressing concepts like iterativity or continuity, intensity, approval or agreement and refusal or unwillingness in CM, and in Section 7.3 I consider constructions involving repeated elements within the clause. The majority of these phrases and constructions do not occur in HP.

7.1. *Tangkap* Phrases

In ABM the lexical root *tangkap* 'catch' is commonly and productively used in phrases of the form *tangkap X*, expressing the meaning 'to be overcome by X; to be subject to X'. *Tangkap* often occurs with a following verb or nominal referring to an emotion, resulting in expressions meaning approximately 'to be overcome by (an emotion)', for example, *tangkap sayu* [catch + melancholy] 'to be overcome by sadness' (Ex. (7.1)), *tangkap cintan* [catch + love] 'to be infatuated, fall in love' (Ex. (7.2)), *tangkap rindu* [catch + yearning/longing] 'to be overcome by longing/yearning' (Ex. (7.3)) and *tangkap 'jealous'* [catch + jealous] 'to be overcome by jealousy' (Ex. (7.4)). *Tangkap* may also be used with other verbs or nominals to mean approximately 'to be subject to', for example, *tangkap 'rilek'* [catch + relax] 'to relax' (Ex. (7.5)) and *tangkap gunting* [catch + scissors] 'to have a (hair)cut' (Ex. (7.6)). *Tangkap* may also be used with the meaning 'to eat' if it occurs with
nominals referring to food, such as *tangkap teh dan roti canai* [catch + tea + and + *roti canai* (Indian-style bread)]. (Ex. (7.7))

(7.1) *bila ada sorang ustazah tu* when EXIST one.person religious.teacher(female) that 'slow-talk' *dengan aku kat bilik* have.a.heart.to.heart.talk with 1sg at room 'konseling' - *aku tangkap sayu.* [ABM] counselling 1sg catch melancholy '...when anustazah had a heart-to-heart talk with me at the counsellor's office, I was overcome by sadness.'

(7.2) *Aku rasa kali ini aku sudah tangkap 'cintan'!* 1sg feel time this 1sg already catch love *kat makwe tu.* [ABM] DAT girl that 'I felt that this time I had fallen in love with that girl.'

(7.3) "*Bila dah tangkap rindu ni - ni yang susah* when already catch longing this this REL difficult *nak 'study' ni...* [ABM] to study this 'When overcome by longing (for her), it's really difficult to study...'

(7.4) *Aku rasa mesti tangkap 'jealous'-le dia-orang tu.* 1sg feel must catch jealous-EMPH 3pl that 'I felt they must have got jealous.' [ABM]

(7.5) "*Alaa... tangkap rilek-la Joe...*" [ABM] ALAA catch relax-EMPH Joe 'Oh come on, relax, Joe...'

(7.6) "*...rambut ter-julur-julur - besok tangkap gunting-hair TER-stick.out:REDP tomorrow catch scissors* la dekat kedai..." [ABM] LA near shop '...(your) hair looks so untidy - go and have a haircut tomorrow...'

(7.7) *Tangkap teh dan roti canai, lepas tu aku catch tea and bread canai after that 1sg beli-kan rokok kotak besar.* [ABM] buy-BEN cigarette box large '(We) had tea and *roti canai* (Indian-style bread), after that I bought (him) a large box of cigarettes.'
In SM *tangkap* may be used in combination with other verbs or nominals in fixed idiomatic expressions with varying meanings, for example, *tangkap buta* [catch + blind] ‘to blindly accuse (someone)’, *tangkap lelong* [catch + auction] ‘to buy something in an auction’, *tangkap wap* [catch + vapour] ‘to perform a non-productive, useless task’ and *tangkap guenting* ‘a movement in *silat* (a Malay martial art form)’. However *tangkap* phrases involving emotion verbs or nominals do not occur in SM as far as I can determine.

7.2. Ways of Expressing

7.2.1. Iterativity/Continuity

In Malay iterativity or continuous action is generally expressed through the use of verbal morphology:

(1) The verbal suffix -i (Ex. (7.8)) (cf. Ch. 4).
(2) Reduplication of the verb (Ex. (7.9)) (cf. Ch. 4).

(7.8)

a. *...fikiran-ku men-(t)erawang jauh meng-ingat-i*
   thought-1sg MEN-day.dream far MEN-remember-I
   *zaman silam-ku di kampung.*
   era past-1sg at village
   ‘...my thoughts were far away - (I was) reminiscing my past at the village.’

b. *Dia ter-henti seketiaka, meng-angguk-angguk seperti*
   3sg TER-stop a.while MEN-nod:REDP as.if
   *meng-(k)enang-i sesuatu.*
   MEN-recall-ITER something
   ‘He stopped for a while, nodding his head as if recalling something.’

(7.9)

a. *Aku jeling-jeling arah ke dapur*
   1sg look.out.of.the.corner.of.eye:REDP direction to kitchen
   *men-cari Anor.*
   MEN-search Anor
   ‘I kept looking out of the corner of my eyes (so as not to be noticed) at the kitchen searching for Anor.’
b. ...dia ter-henti, dan cuba-cuba ketawa sedikit,
3sg TER-stop and try:REDP laugh a.little
sambil meng-geleng-geleng. [HP]
at.the.same.time MEN-shake.head:REDP
'...he stopped and tried to laugh a little shaking his head
(repeatedly).'

In CM there is an additional way of expressing iterativity. This involves
the use of the particle punya in a periphrastic construction of the form:

$$(V_j \text{ punya } V_i)$$

Although it is possible to express iterativity through the use of a single
unrepeated punya-V sequence (Ex. (7.10)), the majority of the phrases in ABM
involve the repetition of the verb, that is, V-punya-V where the repeated
verb is placed in front of the punya-V sequence (Ex. (7.11)); or the repetition
of the punya-V sequence in addition repeating the verb, that is, V-punya-V-
punya-V (Ex. (7.12)). The repetitious nature of the construction is iconic of
the iterative or repetitious nature of the activity represented by the verb. The
longer the construction, the greater the degree of iterativity it indicates.

(7.10) ...aku jadi kerani-le malam tu. Tukang tulis
1sg become clerk-EMPH night that craftsman write
nama dia-orang. Punya catat - aku ter-peranjat
name 3pl PUNYA note.down 1sg TER-shocked
besau...
big
'...I became the 'clerk' night - writing down their names. (While)
writing down (their) names, I had a great shock...'

(7.11)

a. Cerita punya cerita - baru aku tau...
story PUNYA story new 1sg know
'After talking for some time, then I knew...'

b. Selongkar punya selongkar - ter-jumpa-la
rummage PUNYA rummage TER-meet-LA
petai lima papan.
type.of.bean.in.pod five CLFR
'After going through (the cupboard), (I) finally found five petai
pods.'
(7.12)  

a. \textit{Cari punya cari punya cari - sekali tu}  
search PUNYA search PUNYA search one.time that  
\textit{aku ter-ingat-la - jeket tu aku dah sedekah}  
1sg TER-remember-LA jacket that 1sg already donate  
kat Roy...  
to Roy  
\textquote{I searched and searched (for it) - all at once, I remembered that I}  
\textquote{had given the jacket to Roy...'}  

b. \textit{Jalan punya jalan punya jalan - malam pun}  
walk PUNYA walk PUNYA walk night PUN  
\textit{kian larut.}  
increase increase  
\textquote{I walked and walked - the night wore on.'}  

Iterativity of action may also be indicated by the repetition of whole clauses  
in CM, but this is infrequent in ABM. (7.13) is an example involving the  
repeating of the clause \textit{dia tuduh dia} 'he accused him'. The repetition is an  
iconic representation of an event that repeats itself bilaterally between the  
two participants involved.  

(7.13) \textit{Dia tuduh dia - yang dia tuduh dia...}  
3sg accuse 3sg REL 3sg accuse 3sg  
\textquote{They kept on accusing each other...'}  

7.2.2. Intensity  

Generally intensity of emotion or of a quality or attribute may be expressed  
by using the adverbials \textit{sangat/amat} 'very' and \textit{terlalu} 'overly, extremely' (Ex.  
(7.14-16)). The adverbials may also be used to modify verbs such as \textit{perlu-kan}  
'need' (Ex. (7.17a) and \textit{ingin} 'want, desire' (Ex. (7.17b)). Intensity may also be  
expressed through reduplication. Adverbials and quantifiers are among the  
word classes that may be reduplicated to indicate intensity (Ex. (7.18)) (cf. Ch.  
4).  

(7.14)  
a. \textit{...mak dah marah sangat kot ...}  
mum already angry very KOT  
\textquote{...mum was already very angry, I suppose...'}
b. ...mak buat tak dengar je... Agak-nya sibuk sangat
mum make not hear just guess-NYA busy very
nak buat persiapan perkahwinan Kak Cik... [ABM]
COMP make preparation wedding Kak Cik
'...mum pretended not to hear... (I) guess (she) was very busy with
Kak Cik's wedding preparations....'

(7.15)

a. Suatu ketika dulu aku amat takut me-lintas-i
one time past 1sg very afraid MEN-cross-I
kawasan perkuburan ini. [ABM]
area graveyard this
'At one time in the past I was very afraid to pass through this
graveyard.'

b. Dia mem-(p)er-hati-kan Gazis amat gelisah
3sg MEN-observe-KAN Gazis very anxious
men-jengah-jengah ke luar... [HP]
MEN-crane.neck.to.see:REDP to outside
'He noticed Gazis anxiously looking outside repeatedly...'

c. "...mudah ber-liham... ya, amat baik bagi orang
easy BER-inspiration yes very good for person
suratkhabar." [ABM]
novel
'...easily inspired... yes, (it) is very good for journalists.'

(7.16)

a. Mualam tiba-tiba ketawa, meng-geleng-geleng,
Mualam suddenly laugh MEN-shake.head:REDP
ter-lalu geli-hati...
extremely amused
'Mualam suddenly laughed, shaking his head, extremely amused....'

b. "Pertanyaan seperti itu ter-lalu sulit di-jawab
question like that extremely difficult DI-answer
untuk sementara ini."
for while this
'Such questions are too difficult to answer for the time being.'
(7.17)

a. Zaini amat perlu-kan duit tu, kalau tak dia
   Zaini very need-KAN money that if not 3sg
   takkan mintak punya. [ABM]
   surely.not ask PUNYA
   'Zaini really needed the money, if not he would surely not have
   asked (me)._'

b. ...Arfiah ter-lalu ingin meng-(k)e-tahu-i sebab
   Arfiah extremely want MEN-know-I reason
   pembatalan rencana-nya. [ABM]
   cancellation article-3
   '...Arfiah really wanted to know the reason for the cancellation of
   her article._'

(7.18)

a. Airmata ku-rasa nak men-(t)itik... cepat-cepat aku
   tear 1sg-feel COMP MEN-drop quick:INTENS 1sg
   biyah.
   leave
   'I felt the tears coming... very quickly I left._'

b. ...dia meng-(k)etap-kan bibir-nya kuat-kuat
   3sg MEN-press.lips.together-KAN lip-3 strong:INTENS [HP]
   cuba ber-tenang...
   try BER-calm
   '...he pressed his lips together very tightly trying to remain calm...'_

c. 'Last-last' pandangan-ku ter-tumpu pada se-orang
   finally sight-1sg TER-concentrate at one-CLFR
   murid perempuan yang ku-kenal. Ter-amat-amat
   student girl REL 1sg-know TER-very:INTENS [ABM]
   kenal.
   know
   'Finally, I noticed a girl student whom I knew... so very well._'

d. Jadi kereta yang aku nampak banyak-banyak kat tengah
   so car REL 1sg see many:INTENS at middle
   laman tadi...
   porch a.while.ago
   'So the (very many) cars that I saw at the porch a while ago...'_
In addition a characteristic CM way of expressing intensity of emotion or of a quality or attribute is through the use of a phrase involving the particle *punya-la/le*, of the form:

\[
\text{punya-la/le } V_{\text{emotion/Adj}}
\]

The predicates in such phrases are generally verbs of emotion and adjectivals. Examples are:

(7.19)

a. *Punya-la* 'happy' *atuk* dengar keputusan *aku*.
   
PUNYA-LA happy grandpa hear decision 1sg
   
   'Grandpa was really happy when he heard about my decision.' [ABM]

b. *Aku sengih* je... dalam *hati* punya-la malu
   
   1sg grin only inside heart PUNYA-LA ashamed
   
   kat Aca. [ABM]
   
   DAT Aca
   
   'I only grinned (but) in my heart (I was very ashamed (to face) Aca."

c. *Tengok* je muka awek tu, dada *aku* ber-debar...
   
   see just face girl that chest 1sg BER-throb
   
   punya-la lawa. [ABM]
   
   PUNYA-LA beautiful
   
   'The moment (I) saw the girl's face, my heart (began to) beat (very fast) - (she) was very beautiful.'

d. *Aku ajar meng-eja satu-persatu -* punya-la susah.
   
   1sg teach MEN-spell one.by.one PUNYA-LA difficult
   
   'I taught (him) to spell (the words) one by one - (it) was really difficult.' [ABM]

e. *Itik* Aca punya-la banyak...
   
   duck Aca PUNYA-LA many
   
   'Aca had many ducks...'

(7.20)

a. *Abah* cakap, *Kak Cik* ikut *Angah* ke KL,
   
dad say Kak Cik follow Angah to KL
   
   punya-le 'frust' *aku* masa tu.
   
PUNYA-LA frustrated 1sg time that
   
   'Dad said Kak Cik had gone to KL with Angah, I was really frustrated at that time.' [ABM]
b. Sikit punya 'real' ke... orang punya-le ramai.
alittle PUNYA real KE people PUNYA-LA many
'Was it great - (there were) so many people.'

7.2.3. Refusal/Unwillingness

Generally unwillingness or refusal to do something is expressed by negating the verb mahu 'want': tidak mahu X 'not want X' where X is the complement of mahu; or negating the modal auxiliary sanggup 'willing': tidak sanggup X 'not willing to X' where X is the rest of the verb phrase modified by tidak sanggup.

In CM a common way of expressing refusal or unwillingness to do something is through the use of the expression malas/maleh X nak Y 'lazy to Y'. Nak is used as a complementizer introducing the subordinate clause which expresses the action concerned (cf. Ch. 6). Examples are:

(7.21)

a. Sebenar-nya dia malas nak keluar duit, aku
in.fact 3sg lazy COMP take.out money 1sg
tau-la...
know.EMPH
'In fact, he was not willing to spend money, I knew...'

b. ...aku malas-la nak ungkit-ungkit pasal yang
1sg lazy-EMPH COMP bring.up:REDP matter REL
lepas-lepas...
aux:REDP
'...I didn't want to bring up past matters...'

(7.22)

a. Nampak-nya me-rajuk panjang kali ni. Ahh...
apparently MEN-sulk long time this AHH
lantak-le...
akupun maleh nak pujuk..
do.as.one.pleases-EMPH 1sg PUN lazy COMP persuade
takde masa...
not.have time
'Apparently, (she) was sulking for a long time this time. Who cares - I didn't want to (try to) coax (her) - (I) didn't have the time...'
b. ...mem-(p)andang-kan semua ahli-nya pompuan MEN-see-KAN all member-3 girl
aje - maleh-la kita-orang nak men-daftar... [ABM]
only lazy-EMPH 1pl.excl COMP MEN-register
'...seeing that all the members were girls, we didn't want to sign up...'

7.2.4. Approval/Agreement

Approval and/or agreement is normally expressed by using the affirmation particle ya 'yes' or other particles such as baik 'good' and bagus 'good'.

In CM approval and/or agreement may be expressed using the following construction as well:

\[
\{ V_i \} \{ PN \} \text{jangan tak} \{ V_i \} \text{[jangan 'don't', tak 'not']}
\]

Roughly translated, the construction means something like 'V of course, don't even think of not Ving' or 'it sure is Adj, it couldn't be anything else but Adj'. This construction is found only in ABM dialogue. It is used between young males who are close friends or from a common background or by older males to younger males in very casual contexts. For example, (7.23) and (7.24) occur in conversations between close male friends; (7.25) is used by a grandfather very close to his grandson in a casual moment when the grandfather is very pleased that his grandson has decided to go back to school; and (7.26) is used by students in a boarding school, renowned for causing trouble, in response to freshers who have come to ask for permission to go home. Because the construction is used only among males and in very informal contexts, it may be seen to be an indicator of coarse CM or bahasa kasar (see Asmah 1987:83-97).

(7.23) "Pegi Yop, jangan tak pegi." [ABM]
go Yop don't NEG go
'Go, Yop - absolutely.'
(7.24) "Garing, jangan tak garing." [ABM]
good-looking.of.woman(derog) don't NEG good-looking
'Yes, (they're) good-looking - absolutely.'

(7.25) "Ambik, jangan tak ambik." [ABM]
take don't NEG take
'Take (the exam) - of course.'

(7.26) "Balik dik, balik, jangan tak balik." [ABM]
return younger.brother return don't NEG return
'Go home, dik, go home.'

7.3. Repetition of Elements within the Clause

It is common in ABM to find clauses which contain repeated lexical modifiers such as adverbs and demonstratives. The repeated elements occur on either side of intervening lexical material which usually consists of a phrase or word that the repeated element modifies. The elements may be fully or partially repeated. I will refer to such repetitions as $X_1$-$Y$-$X_1$ constructions (Section 7.3.1). This type of repetition is to be distinguished from reduplication where no intervening lexical material occurs between the reduplicated form and the root (cf. Ch. 4).

It is also possible for two lexical items with similar meaning and function to occur on either side of the phrase or word being modified. These are not repetitions of form, but they may be regarded as 'repetitions of meaning'. I will refer to them as $X_1$-$Y$-$X_1$ constructions (Section 7.3.2).

7.3.1. $X_1$-$Y$-$X_1$ Constructions

The lexical items often found repeated in ABM, whether in full or partial form, are:
(1) The adverbial predicate *(en)tah* 'who knows, (I) don't know' which often requires a following complement clause (Ex. (7.27)). *Tah* may also occur as a particle (Ex. (7.28)).

(7.27)

a. Tapi, mana tau, entah-ke Anor sendiri yang jemput...
   but where know don't.know-KE Anor self REL
   invite
   'But, who knows - maybe it was Anor herself who invited (him)...'

b. Lintang-pukang, tah apa-apa yang di-tulis-nya...
   disorderly don't.know what REDP REL Di-write-3
   'It was such a mess - who knows what he had written...'

(7.28)

...aku lupa hari apa tah...
1sg forget day what don't.know
'I've forgotten what day it was - who knows...'

The Y-element of *tah-Y-tah* constructions is generally an interrogative pronoun. A clause elaborating on what is being questioned by the interrogative pronoun occurs either before or after the *tah-Y-tah* sequence (Ex. (7.29)).

(7.29)

a. Tah sapa tah - aku malas-le nak ambik
don't.know who don't.know 1sg lazy-LE COMP take
tau...
know
'(I) didn't know who - I couldn't be bothered to find out...'

b. Orang gila sebelah aku tu terus
   person mad one.side 1sg that continue
   mem-bebel - kejap cerita politik, kejap
   MEN-talk.continuously awhile story politics awhile
   bisnes, kejap cakap Siam, kejap 'speaking' -
   business awhile speak Siam awhile speak.English
tah hapa-hapa tah.

don’t know what:REDP don’t know

‘The madman beside me kept on talking non-stop - he would talk about politics, and then business, then he would speak in Thai and then in English - goodness knows what else.’

c. ...tah bila-bila tah dia pegi mesyuarat
don’t know when:REDP don’t know 3sg go meeting
belia tu.
youth that

‘...who knows when he attended the youth meeting.’

d. Masa me-lintas kat depan rumah aku nampak ada
time MEN-cross at front house 1sg see EXIST
lima bijik kereta kat tengah laman. Tah
five CLFR vehicle at middle porch don’t know
sapa tah - aku malas-le nak ambik tau. [ABM]
who don’t know 1sg lazy-LE COMP take know

‘When (I) passed the front of the house, I saw five cars in the porch. I didn’t know whose they were - and I couldn’t be bothered to find out.’

(2) The demonstratives (i)ni ‘this’ and (i)tu ‘that’ (cf. Ch. 4). Ni and tu are reduced forms of ini and itu respectively (cf. Ch. 2).
The first element of the Dem-Y-Dem construction may be either the full form of the demonstrative or the reduced form. The second Dem element is normally a reduced form. Ni and tu may be regarded as partially repeated forms of ini and itu. in these constructions. The Y-element may be an NP (Ex. (7.30)), or a nominal predicate (Ex. (7.31)).

A subset of these constructions involve headless relative clauses as Y-elements. In these cases the first Dem element is normally a reduced form (Ex. (7.32)).

(7.30) “Oii, ni [surat]NP ni, kalau nak, bayar se-keping;

OII this letter this if want pay one-CLFR

sepisen…”
ten.cents

‘Hey, if you want these letters, they’re ten cents each...’

(7.31) “Toksah, itu [kebun orang lain]NomPred tu.” [ABM]

no.need that orchard people other that

‘That’s not necessary - that orchard belongs to someone else.’
(7.32)  

a. *Bila dah tangkap rindu ni, ni [yang susah*  
when already catch longing this this *REL difficult   
nak 'study]'RelCl ni.  
want study this  
*ABM*  
‘When overcome by longing (for her), it's really difficult to study...’  

b. *jadi atuk pun marah-le kat mak, tu [yang*  
so grandpa PUN angry-LE DAT *REL mum*    
*ABM*  
jadi *perang besar]RelCl tu.*  
become war big that  
‘So grandpa got angry at mum - that was what they were fighting so violently about.’

(3) The temporal verbal auxiliary *dah* (cf. Ch 4).  
The Y-element of the *dah*-Y-*dah* construction may be a single verb (Ex.  
(7.33a-c)), or a verb followed by an adverbial modifier (Ex. (7.33d)), that  
is, the *dah*-Y-*dah* construction is of the form:  

\[ *dah \ V \ (Adv) \ dah *\]  

(7.33)  

a. "*...udah-le tu, loceng dah bunyi dah*” [ABM]  
that's.enough that bell already sound already  
‘Come on, the bell has rung.’  

b. *...semua dah 'okey' dah, kata atuk...* [ABM]  
all already OK already say grandpa  
‘...everything is alright (now), said grandpa...’

c. *"Aku dah aqak dah kau mesti datang*  
1sg already guess already 2sg must come  
*ABM*  
minggu ni”  
week this  
‘I had already guessed that you would come this week.’  

d. *Aku rasa atuk dah 'plan' lama dah*  
1sg feel grandpa already plan long.time already  
*ABM*  
hal ini  
matter this  
‘I felt that grandpa had been planning this for a long time.’
(4) The adverb *kar*ang 'afterwards'. *Kang* is a reduced form of *karang* (cf. Ch.2). Again *kang* may be regarded as a partially repeated form of *karang*.

There are three possible constructions involving *kar*ang.

(i)  *kang-Y-kang* (Ex. (7.34))
(ii)  *karang-Y-kang* (Ex. (7.35))
(iii) *kang-Y-karang* (Ex. (7.36))

The Y-element is generally a clause.

(7.34)  

a.  "Baik-baik *jang*, *kang* raya

good:REDP *jang* afterwards end.of.fasting.month.celebration

*kat hospital* *kang*.

at hospital afterwards

'Be careful, *jang* or you might end up in the hospital during the *raya* celebrations.'

b.  "Woii, diam-la, *kang* aku sepak *kang* - orang

WOII quiet-LA afterwards 1sg kick afterwards people

*nak tidur-la*..."

want sleep-LA

'Hey, be quiet, or I'll kick you - people (=I) want to sleep...'

(7.35)  "Copek sikit balik - *karang* bising lagi omak

fast a.little return afterwards noisy more mother

kau *kang*.

2sg afterwards

'Come back quickly - or else your mother will nag again.'

(7.36)  "Cakap tu tapis-tapis sikit... *kang*

talk that careful.of.speech:REDP a.little afterwards

tanggal gigi tu *karang*.

fall.off tooth that afterwards

'Be careful what you say (to me) - or else (you) might lose a tooth.'

Other elements such as verbs, pronouns and NPs may also be repeated, but these are infrequent. Examples are the verb *meh* 'come' (Ex. (7.37)), the code-switched pronoun 'you' (Ex. (7.38)) and the NP *itu hari* that day' (Ex. (7.39)).
(7.37) "...Esok kita beli ayam baru - Yek - meh
tomorrow 1pl.incl buy chicken new yes come
makan meh..."  
eat come
‘...We’ll buy some new chickens tomorrow, alright - Come and eat
now...’

(7.38) "...you serius-ke you ni..."  
you serious-KE you this
‘...are you serious...’

(7.39) "Itu ari yang atuk bagi itu ari..."
that day REL grandpa give that day
‘(The money) that grandpa gave (you) that day...’

7.3.2. X₁-Y-X₂ Constructions

Two X₁-Y-X₂ constructions occur in ABM. They are the constructions:

(1) pun-Y-jugak

pun 'also' and jugak 'also' are both adverbials which have varying
meanings and functions¹. In these constructions they generally have
the meaning 'also, as well'. The Y-element is usually a verb phrase or
a predicate (Ex. (7.40)).

(7.40)

a. ...mak tak caya yang aku pun puasa jugak...
mum NEG believe COMP 1sg also fast also
‘...mum would not believe that I was fasting too...’  [ABM]

b. ...dia pun macam aku jugak, ter-sisih dari keluarga.
3sg also like 1sg also TER-isolate from family
‘...he was like me too - isolated from (the) family.’  [ABM]

c. "...jaga ayam ni pun 'exercise' jugak."
look.after chicken this also exercise also
‘...looking after chickens is exercise too.’

¹ Asmah (1986b) refers to them as 'supra-sentential particles'.

(2) jom-Y-nak

*Jom* 'let's' is a particle which has the function of introducing an invitation (Ex. (7.41)). Invitations may also be expressed by attaching *nak* 'want' to the end of a clause (Ex. (7.42)). The *jom-Y-nak* sequence is also generally associated with invitations. The *Y*-element is normally a clause referring to the invitation (Ex. (7.43)).

(7.41) "Jang, *jom kita pegi 'round'. Acik dah
Jang let's 1pl.incl go go.around Acik already
lama tak naik basikal ni. [ABM]
long.time not ride bicycle this
'Jang, let's go for a ride around. Acik (=I) hasn't had a ride on this bicycle for a long time now.'

(7.42) "Jang, *main masak-masak nak?*
Jang play cook:REDP want
'(Would you) like to play masak-masak, Jang?'

(7.43) a. "*Jom kita main bola sepak nak.*
let.us 1pl.incl play ball kick want
'Let's play football.'

b. "...*jom kita pegi mandi kat sebelah sana lak
nak."
want
'...let's go and bathe (or swim) over there.'


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Hampir se-minggu dah aku kat kampung. Selama itu jugak near one-week already 1sg at village as.long.as that also aku duduk men-(t)epak kat rumah. Tak buat apa-apa. Nak 1sg sit MEN-stick at house not do what:REDP want tolong Aca jaga ayam itik-tak-usah ucap-la. Aku help Aca look after chicken duck no.need talk-EMPH 1sg tengok ayam itik-nya lama-lama pun dia dah marah. look chicken duck-3 long:REDP PUN 3sg already angry Dia 'suspek' aku nak curi-le tu. Seksa woi ada 3sg suspect 1sg want steal-EMPH that torture WOII have adik 'kerek' macam ni. Cita-cita-ku nak ambik STP younger sibling crazy like this ambition 1sg want take STP hilang macam tu je. Nak n-(t)oreh kebun getah lost like that just want N-tap.rubber plantation rubber dah kena gadai kat orang. Nak ke sawah ini bukan already KENA pawn to people want to rice.field this not musim-nya. Nanti orang tuduh aku gila pulak ke season-NYA afterwards people accuse 1sg mad PULAK to sawah sorang-sorang. Nak tak nak aku pegi-la me-lastik rice.field one.person:REDP want not want 1sg go-EMPH MEN-cataapult burung ke, mem-(p)ancing ke. Suatu Subuh tu, aku ikut-le bird KE MEN-fish for KE one dawn that 1sg follow-EMPH abah ke masjid, tolong kemas, tolong sapu sampah, tolong dad to mosque help tidy.up help sweep rubbish help bentang tikar. Masuk je waktu, aku spread mat enter just prayer.time 1sg azan-le. Orang-orang tua kat masjid tu cakap summon.to.prayer-EMPH people:PL old at mosque that say suara aku masih sedap macam dulu. Aku paham-le. voice 1sg still nice like past 1sg understand-EMPH Subuh-Subuh ber-ikut-nya dia-orange angkat-angkat kening dawn:PL BER-follow-NYA 3pl lift:REDP eyebrow je kat aku bila masuk waktu, just at 1sg when enter prayer.time

'It was nearly a week now since I returned to the kampung. All that time I stayed at home doing nothing. (I) wanted to help Aca take care of (his) chickens and ducks, but it was impossible. He would get angry even if I only looked at his chickens and ducks for a little longer than usual. He thought I
wanted to steal (them). What a torture having a crazy younger brother like that. My ambition to sit for the STP (exam) disappeared just like that. I wanted to tap rubber but the rubber plantation had been mortgaged. I wanted to (work) at the rice fields but this wasn't the season yet. People would say I was mad if I went to the fields on my own. Whether I liked it or not, I went 'bird-catapulting', fishing and so on. One Subuh (Muslim prayer time), I went along with dad to the mosque - I helped to tidy up (the place), sweep the floor (and) spread out the mats. When it was waktu (time for prayers), I did the azan summons. The elders at the mosque said my voice still sounded good like before. I understood (what they meant). The following Subuh times, they (all) raised their eyebrows at me when it was waktu.'

DIALOGUE CAPTION 2

Older man: Hah.... apa sengih-sengih lagi! Masuk HAH what grin:REDP more enter waktu dah ni.... prayer.time already this 'What are (you) grinning for? It's already waktu...'

Young man: Nanti-la... nak 'warm-up' dulu. afterwards-EMPH want warm-up beforehand Kang putus nafas lak kang. afterwards break breath LAK afterwards 'Just a moment... I need to warm up first. Otherwise I might not have enough breath.'

PASSAGE 2

Suatu hari tu, aku lupa hari apa tah - Aca jumpa one day that 1sg forget day what don't.know Aca meet aku. Mintak tolong kira duit. Aku pun kira-la. Ada-la 1sg ask help count money 1sg PUN count-EMPH EXIST-EMPH dekat 2 ratus, hasil jual telur ayam. Lepas tu near 2 hundred product sell egg chicken after that tolong kira-kao hutang-hutang pelanggan tetap-nya. Banyak yang help count-KAN debtPL customer permanent-3 many REL belum bayar. Sebelum ni sapa kira, tanya-ku. Abah, jawab not.yet pay before this who count ask-1sg dad answer Aca pendek. 'Start' hari tu Aca mintak aku tolong jaga Aca short start day that Aca ask 1sg help look.after
'One day - I've forgotten which day now - Aca came to see me. (He) asked (me) to help (him) count (his) money. So I did. (He) had nearly two hundred dollars from the sale of chicken eggs. After that (I) helped (him) add up the debts of his regular customers. There were many who had not paid up yet. "Before this, who helped you with the accounts?" I asked. "Dad," Aca answered briefly. Aca asked me to help (him) look after his accounts beginning that day. But before I got the job, (I) had to swear an oath not to steal (his) money. And so I promised (not to steal any money). I was indeed sincere. At the very least I could make sure that no one would cheat Aca in his poultry business. But that night I was really sad. Mum scolded Aca for trusting me. On that same night, Aca took back his money and account books from me.'

DIALOGUE CAPTION 2

Young man: 
Ni apa utang aku $400 lak ni...
this what debt 1sg $400 LAK this

Boy on right: 
Ye-laaa.. itu ari yang atuk bagi tu
yes-EMPH that day REL grandpa give that
day $300 - campur $100 yang curi masa
ari $300 add $100 REL steal time

nak lari Kolumpo dulu. Tak
want run Kuala Lumpur past not
Ingat??
remember
'Oh, that's the three hundred dollars that grandpa gave (you) the other day plus the hundred dollars that (you) stole when you wanted to run away to Kolumpo, don't (you) remember?'

PASSAGE 3

Aku tak kisah. Aku sedar diri aku macammana, tak de
1sg not take.heed 1sg aware self 1sg how not.have
kerja. Sekolah pun tak habis. Sapa-la nak percaya. Tapi
work school PUN not finish who-EMPH want trust but
aku lelaki, aku ada kederat. Aku boleh cari duit sendiri.
1sg man 1sg have capability 1sg can search money self
Satu petang tu, datang-le sorang tua bawak anak-nya
one evening that come-EMPH one.person old bring child-3
jumpa aku kat rumah. Apasal tanya-ku. Mak dah
meet 1sg at house why ask-1sg mum already
jeling semacam aje dah. Mesti ingat aku
look.from.corner.of.eye one.kind just already must think 1sg
ber-gaduh-le tu. Ni ha - seliuh, main bola. Dengar cerita
BER-fight-EMPH that this HA sprain play ball hear story
Ujang ni pandai meng-urut, kata-nya kat mak. Heh heh...
Ujang this clever MEN-massage say-3 to mum HEH HEH
aku dah cakap dah. Hari ni aku dapat $5. Orang tua
1sg already say already day this 1sg get $5 person old
tu sedekah. Walaupun sikit, aku puas hati sebab
that donate although a.little 1sg satisfied heart because
duit tu hasil kederat aku. Aku harap selepas ini ramai
money that product capability 1sg 1sg hope after this many
lagi orang yang seliuh - kalau se-hari 8,000 orang seliuh,
more people REL sprain if one-day 8,000 people sprain
dalam se-minggu dapat-le beli motosikal se-buah. Oii
inside one.week get-EMPH buy motorcycle one-CLFR Oii
'gilo-ko' senyum sorang-sorang Aca sergah aku - kah kah
mad-QUEST smile one.person:REDP Aca snarl 1sg KAH KAH
I didn't worry about it. I realized that I had no job (and) had not even finished school. Of course no one would trust me. But I am a man - I have the ability to earn my own living. One evening, an elderly woman brought her son to see me at home. "What's wrong?" I asked. Mum was already giving (me) a (sharp) look from the corner of her eye. (She) must be thinking that I'd been fighting again. "Oh (my son) sprained (his leg) playing ball. (I) heard that Ujang is good at massage," she said to mum. Ha, ha, (see) I've already told (you). That day I got five dollars, given by the lady. Although it wasn't much, I was satisfied because I had earned the money using my own capabilities. I hoped that after this many more people would get sprains - if in one day there were eight thousand cases, in one week (I) would be able to buy a motor-bike. "Hey, are (you) mad - smiling to yourself?" Aca snarled at me. "Ha, ha, ha," I laughed out loud.

**DIALOGUE CAPTION 3**

**Woman on left:** *Tak ramai* budak-budak muda yang pandai not many child:PL young REL clever

*meng-urut* sekarang *ni* cik oiii... MEN-massage now this cik OIII

'There're not many young people who are good at massage nowadays, cik (title)...'

**Young man in middle:** *Sampai seliuh-seliuh* *ni... nak main untuk* arrive sprain:REDP this want play for 'state'-ke...

state-QUES

'(What have you been doing) to get sprained like that... have (you) been playing for the state...'

**Boy on right:** *Bukan 'state' bang... Isk... isk... main* not state older.brother ISK ISK play

*untuk 'estate' je adoi...* for rubber.plantation only ADOIII

'(I) wasn't (playing for) the state, bang.... Ouch... Ouch... (I) was only playing for the 'estate'... OUCH..."
**APPENDIX 2**

**LEXICAL ROOTS IN ABM NOT FOUND IN MALAY DICTIONARIES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>awek</td>
<td>'woman, girl' [Sunda awewe 'woman, wife']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bega</td>
<td>adj. meaning indeterminate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beletong</td>
<td>'type of knife'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bisan</td>
<td>v. meaning indeterminate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>busyuk</td>
<td>adj. meaning indeterminate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cekat</td>
<td>'standing, stuck'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cinabeng!</td>
<td>expletive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gelidah</td>
<td>'look/search through'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gonjeng</td>
<td>'bald'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huha</td>
<td>ber-huha-huha 'to talk and laugh together'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jenama</td>
<td>adj. meaning indeterminate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jadah</td>
<td>n. meaning indeterminate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>juadah</td>
<td>n. meaning indeterminate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kederat</td>
<td>'capability, ability (to earn a living)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keroncot</td>
<td>'type of ice-cream'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>melaun</td>
<td>n. [derogatory term used to refer to some kids] meaning indeterminate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naya</td>
<td>'type of supernatural being'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngorat</td>
<td>'to attempt to court or attract someone'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pahal</td>
<td>'v. complete, perfect'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paipon</td>
<td>'type of addictive drug'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pawan</td>
<td>'type of cattle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peleot</td>
<td>ter-peleot 'sprained' [SM: ter-pelecok 'sprained']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pelikat</td>
<td>'part of Malay traditional garment'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perewel</td>
<td>'bicycle part' exact meaning indeterminate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>selebet</td>
<td>'hit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semuli</td>
<td>meaning indeterminate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tibai</td>
<td>'hit, beat'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## APPENDIX 3

### ENGLISH LOANWORDS IN ABM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>accident</td>
<td>used as verbal predicate 'to have an accident'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anti</td>
<td>used as a verbal predicate 'to be against'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ballroom</td>
<td>'dance hall in discotheque'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>best</td>
<td>'good, great'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boring</td>
<td>used as an adjectival predicate 'bored'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brader</td>
<td>used by male to address an equal, often among those of the lower class, and usually in confrontational situations with strangers or friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burn</td>
<td>'given up on'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>can</td>
<td>'chance'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>charge</td>
<td>'record as'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daring</td>
<td>'outrageous'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dressing</td>
<td>used as verb 'to dress'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eksyen</td>
<td>'to act snobbish, be arrogant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enjoy</td>
<td>used as intransitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>estate</td>
<td>'rubber plantation'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>first</td>
<td>'first', <em>first-first</em> 'initially'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frust</td>
<td>'frustrated, disappointed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gastrik</td>
<td>used as a verbal predicate 'to have gastric pains'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geng</td>
<td>'to side with, be good friends with'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gentleman</td>
<td>used as a verbal predicate 'be gentlemanly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geran</td>
<td>'land grant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gerenti</td>
<td>'surely, certain to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glamour</td>
<td>used as an adjectival 'at the centre of attention'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gred</td>
<td>'exam grade'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hensem</td>
<td>'handsome, good-looking'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>highway</td>
<td>'built up major road'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>histeria</td>
<td>used in <em>kena</em> construction as in <em>kena histeria</em> 'become hysterical'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
interview 'job interview'
jealous used as a nominal or in tangkap phrases: tangkap jealous 'overcome by jealousy'

jeket [jacket] '(trendy) jacket'
jogging 'to jog'
joker 'trump card'
junior 'freshers in a college'
kaler [colour] may be suffixed with the causative -kan: kaler-kan 'to colour'
kamsen [commission] 'commission' (SM: broker; intermediary)
kapten [captain] 'captain'
karipap [curry puff] 'curry puff or pastie'
kensel [cancel] 'call off'
kerek [cracked] 'crazy, funny, amusing'
kes [case] 'case, matter'
klik [clique] 'group of close friends'
komen [comment] 'comment'
krem [cramp] naik krem 'have muscular cramps'
kuabiliti [quality] 'good'
lack 'last'; last-last 'finally, in the end'
logic 'logical'
member 'close friend, mate' - may be reduplicated to indicate plurality
metal 'heavy metal music'
modified 'to modify'
motor 'motorcycle'
notis [notice] 'job termination notice, the sack'
operate 'have an operation'
over ter-over-over 'overly, excessively'
oversea [overseas] 'to be away overseas'
panik [panic] complement of jadi 'become': jadi panik 'to panic'
parking 'car park'
part 'part, usually, a location in time'
pas [pass] 'pass examination'
plan 'plan'
popla [popular] 'popular'
prezen [present] 'give as present'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>raged</td>
<td>'good-looking; fun, enjoyable' used as verb 'to get/make ready'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ready</td>
<td>'good, terrific'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>real</td>
<td>'fix, make alteration on clothing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>repair</td>
<td>'tell, squeal, lodge report with police'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>report</td>
<td>'to respect'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>respek</td>
<td>used as nominal 'response'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>respond</td>
<td>'to calm down, keep cool; cool it; laze around'- may occur in tangkap phrase: tangkap rileks 'relax, cool it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rilek(s)</td>
<td>'rock music; casual; anything to do with gangsters'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rock</td>
<td>'gangster, street kid'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rocker</td>
<td>'to go around with no particular destination in mind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>round</td>
<td>used in kena passive construction: kena sabotaj 'get sabotaged'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sabotaj</td>
<td>'to sign one's name; signature'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sain</td>
<td>'score good marks in examination'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>score</td>
<td>'solid rubber scraps'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sekerap</td>
<td>'serve a customer' (Kamus Dewan lists the meaning as 'to repair e.g. a car')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>servis</td>
<td>'Great!; It's a deal!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>set</td>
<td>'to shop'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shopping</td>
<td>used as adverb 'simply, in a simple manner'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simple</td>
<td>'sister' - may be reduplicated to indicate plurality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sister</td>
<td>'slow' - may be reduplicated to intensify the manner of action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slow</td>
<td>'smart appearance, in terms of dressing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smart</td>
<td>'to suggest, tell, hint at'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sound</td>
<td>'speak English'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speaking</td>
<td>'glasses, spectacles'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spek</td>
<td>stim-stim mata [steam:REDP + eye] 'eyes watering (from taking drugs)'; potong stim 'interrupt enjoyment (of drugs)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stim</td>
<td>used as a verb 'to tell (a story), recount'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>story</td>
<td>'study for exams'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>study</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
ENGLISH 'LOAN-PHRASES' AND EXPRESSIONS IN ABM

aisey [I say] 'Oh no...'
aisey man [I say man] 'Oh come on...; Say, listen...
bad mood used as a verbal predicate 'in a bad mood'
blood sport 'physical fight'
donno [don't know] used as a nominal 'the state of not knowing', or as complement of buat 'make, do': buat donno 'pretend not to notice'
(kaki) fit [leg + fit] 'drug addict' (kaki is used frequently in conjunction with other Malay words to derive the meaning 'person who X's a lot' where X is the root, e.g. kaki judi [leg + gamble] 'person addicted to gambling')
line clear 'the coast is clear'
out-station 'out of town'
race motor 'motorcycle race'
slow-slow sentimental 'slowly in sentimental fashion'
slow-talk 'to talk seriously, have a heart-to-heart talk'
sporting spirit 'sportsmanship'
top list 'top of the list, well-known'
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Koh, Ann Sweesun

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