Malayic varieties of Kelantan and Terengganu: description and linguistic history

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CHAPTER 6

Word classes and basic syntax

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of word classes and basic syntactic structures in NEPMs.

Word classes are categories of words that share similar morphosyntactic properties. Given the limited productive morphology in NEPMs, there are not sufficient criteria to distinguish word classes on morphological grounds. Word classes are therefore primarily determined based on their syntactic behaviour. The chapter begins by describing two open word classes: nouns in §6.2.1 and verbs in §6.2.2. NEPMs do not have a separate adjectival class that can be clearly distinguished from verbs; instead, words expressing property concepts are formally treated as a subclass of verbs called stative verbs. Closed word classes are introduced in the subsequent sections: adverbs in §6.2.3, pronouns in §6.2.4, demonstratives and deictics in §6.2.5, quantifiers and numerals in §6.2.6, classifiers in §6.2.7, interrogative words in §6.2.8, negators in §6.2.9, prepositions in §6.2.10 and conjunctions in §6.2.11. Discourse particles and interjections are discussed in §6.2.12 and §6.2.13.

The structure of noun phrases is outlined in §6.3. Verb phrases are discussed in the basic clausal syntax in §6.4. §6.5 summarises this chapter.

6.2 Word classes

6.2.1 Nouns

Nouns are words that function as the heads of noun phrases (NPs), which serve as arguments within clauses. Semantically, nouns typically refer to persons, places, things and abstract concepts. Syntactically, nouns may be identified by their collocation with modifiers such as demonstratives, possessive pronouns, quantifiers, numerals and classifiers. In the KM example in (1), the two nouns *jiɣɛ* 'neighbour' and *ɣumɔh* 'house' are modified by the (possessive) pronoun *diyɔ* '3' and the demonstrative *tu* 'DEM.DIST' respectively. The two NPs in which they occur are indicated by square brackets. The structure of NPs is described in more detail in §6.3.

(1) KM
[***jiɣɛ*** *diyɔ*]$_{NP}$ *baka* [***ɣumɔh*** *tu*]$_{NP}$.
neighbour 3 burn house DEM.DIST
'His neighbour burnt the house.' (KM_180827_e02_24)

(2) and (3) present similar examples from CTM and ITM. The nouns *ɔɣaŋ* 'person' and *bula* 'ball' are modified by the quantifier *ɣama* 'many' and the numeral-classifier combination *s=buti* 'one=CLF' respectively.

(2) CTM
[*ɣama* ***ɔɣaŋ***]$_{NP}$ *mandi s=suŋa* *tu*.
many person bathe LOC=river DEM.DIST
'Many people bathe in the river.' (CTM_181029_e02_60)

(3) ITM
[*s=buti* ***bula***]$_{NP}$ *jatəʊh daɣɛi mijɛ*.
one=CLF ball fall from table
'A ball fell from the table.' (ITM_180909_e02_39)

Other syntactic properties of nouns include: 1) they can occur in prepositional phrases following the head (e.g., ITM *daɣɛi* ***mijɛ*** 'from table' in (3) above); 2) they can function as modifiers of nouns (e.g., KM *tukɛ* ***kəboŋ*** 'farmer' in (4)); 3) they are negated with nominal negators, namely KM *bukɛ* and CTM/ITM *bukaŋ*, as illustrated in (5) (more accurately non-verbal

negators, see in §6.2.9). Example (4) also demonstrates that in addition to functioning as arguments, nouns and NPs can serve as predicates without any copulas. A nominal predicate is further illustrated in (6).

(4) KM
ayɔh aku [***tukɛ*** *kəboŋ*]$_{NP}$.
father 1SG craftsman farm
'My father is a farmer.' (KM_180830_e01_14)

(5) ITM
bukaŋ *kkatɔʔ haʔ tubiʔ, tikuh haʔ tubiʔ daɣɛi lubɔŋ.*
NEG frog REL come.out rat REL come.out from hole
'It was not a frog that came out from the hole, but a rat.'
(ITM_180907_n01_12)

(6) CTM
budɔʔ ni [*anɔʔ mɔʔciʔ*]$_{NP}$*=kəʔ*
kid DEM.PROX child auntie=Q
'Is this kid auntie's child?' (CTM_181029_e02_17)

Like in most other western Austronesian languages, nouns in NEPMs are not morphologically marked for gender, case or number. Except for nominal compounds and reduplicated forms, the great majority of nouns are morphologically simple.

There is no special morphology that is characteristic of nouns. The only nominalising prefix *NN$_2$-* is formally identical to the verbal aspect marker *NN$_1$-*, hence not indicative of the nominal status of a word. There are also no prefixes that can only be applied to nominal bases. For instance, the verbal prefix *bɣ-* 'INTR; MID' does not only occur on nouns as an intransitive verbal marker, but also on verbs as a middle (voice) marker (see §5.3.1.2). The word class of nouns is therefore defined only on the basis of their semantics and syntactic properties.

6.2.2 Verbs

Verbs are words that denote actions, states or properties. Syntactically, verbs function as the heads of predicates, often without any morphology. This can be seen in the following examples where the verbs are marked in bold:

(7) KM
diyɔ poŋ ***akaʔ*** *s=bako,* ***lətɔʔ*** *atah basika diyɔ.*
3 then lift one=basket put top bike 3
'He lifted a basket (of pears) and put it on his bike.'
(KM_180814_n01_23)

(8) CTM
lalu*=lah* *s=ɔɣaŋ* *budɔʔ llaki ŋə* *basika.*
pass.by=FOC one=CLF child male with bike
'A boy with a bike passed by.' (CTM_181025_n02_20)

(9) ITM
diyɛ ***baŋuŋ, caɣɛi*** *dalaŋ kasuʔ,* ***caɣɛi*** *dalaŋ bujəʊŋ,*
3SG get.up search inside shoe, search inside bottle
bukɛ *pitəʊ-malɛiŋ,* ***bukɛ*** *pitəʊ-malɛiŋ* ***paŋgi*** *kkatɔʔ ŋə.*
open door-thief, open door-thief call frog ANAPH
'He got up, searched inside the shoes, searched inside the bottle, opened the windows, opened the windows and called the frog.'
(ITM_180907_n01_6)

Verbs in NEPMs can be morphologically complex with one of the verb-forming prefixes (*bɣ-* 'INTR; MID', *tɣ-* 'NVOL', *pɣ-* 'CAUS; FCT' and *NN$_1$-* 'IPFV'). Words with one of these prefixes are easily recognisable as verbs.

Other syntactic properties of verbs include: 1) they are negated with the verbal negators, namely KM *tɔʔ* and CTM/ITM *dɔʔ*;[38] 2) they may cooccur with aspectual and modal markers such as *doʔ* 'PROG'. As can be seen in the KM example in (10), the verb *ita-ita* 'to peep (repetitively)' follows the progressive marker *doʔ*, and *gaba* 'to notice' is negated with *tɔʔ*.

(10) KM
diyɔ doʔ ***ita-ita,*** *tɛŋɔʔ tuwɛ* *diyɔ tɔʔ* ***gaba,*** *diyɔ poŋ akaʔ.*
3 PROG RDP-peep look owner 3 NEG notice, 3 then lift
'He was peeping; seeing that the owner didn't notice, he just lifted (a basket).' (KM_180814_n01_22)

[38] Occasionally verbal predicates can also be negated with KM *bukɛ* or CTM/ITM *bukaŋ*, see §6.2.9.

Verbs can be classified into intransitive, transitive and ditransitive verbs depending on how many arguments they take. For example, KM *ita-ita* 'RDP-peep' in (10) is an intransitive verb following the subject argument *diyɔ* '3'; ITM *bukɛ* 'open' in (9) is a transitive verb following the subject *diyɛ* '3SG' and preceding the object *pitəʊ-malɛiŋ* 'window'. Example (11a) illustrates an ditransitive verb *tuŋjəʊʔ* 'to show' in ITM, which takes three arguments: the subject *luʔmaŋ* 'Lukman (a person name)', the indirect object *mɔʔ* 'mother' and the direct object *gambɔ* 'picture'. In ditransitive clauses, the indirect object generally follows the verb immediately and precedes the direct object. However, more commonly, the recipient/beneficiary is demoted to the oblique role introduced in a prepositional phrase, as shown in (11b).

(11) ITM

a. *luʔmaŋ* ***tuŋjəʊʔ*** *mɔʔ* *gambɔ dalaŋ talipuŋ.*
Lukman show mother picture inside phone
'Lukman shows his mother the pictures on his phone.'
(ITM_220923_e01_19)

b. *luʔmaŋ* ***tuŋjəʊʔ*** *gambɔ dalaŋ talipuŋ* [*kə mɔʔ*]$_{PP}$.
Lukman show picture inside phone to mother
'Lukman shows the pictures on his phone to his mother.'
(ITM_220923_e01_18)

NEPMs do not have a distinct class of adjectives. Words expressing qualities or attributes (i.e., semantic adjectives, see Dryer 2007) function grammatically in a verb-like manner, as they can act as intransitive predicates, and their morphosyntactic properties in this slot are similar to those of intransitive verbs. They are also negated with verbal negators KM *tɔʔ* or CTM/ITM *dɔʔ*. Consider the following examples:

(12) KM

a. *sɔɣɔ* *moŋ* ***kɔhɔ.***
voice 2SG soft
'Your voice is soft.' (KM_180825_e01_24)

b. *sɔɣɔ* *moŋ* ***tɔʔ*** ***dəɣah.***
voice 2SG NEG loud
'Your voice is not loud.' (KM_180827_e01_11)

While some differences between semantic adjectives and prototypical verbs can be identified, whether they can be used as criteria to recognise adjectives as a distinct word class or a subclass of verbs is sometimes arbitrary (see the "subclass problem" in Haspelmath 2001; also see Schachter & Shopen 2007: 19). In the case of NEPMs, I consider that the differences are not robust enough to establish a separate class of adjectives. Semantics adjectives are subsumed as a subclass of verbs called "stative verbs", as opposed to "dynamic verbs" denoting actions or events. Two parameters for potential grammatical variation between stative verbs and dynamic verbs are discussed below.

The first parameter concerns the possibilities of serving as attributive modifiers for nouns within NPs. Stative verbs can directly modify a head noun, whereas dynamic verbs generally need to be placed in a relative clause when modifying a noun. In (13a), *batu* 'stone' is directly modified by *bəsɔ* 'big', whereas in (13b), a relativiser *hɔʔ* is used so that *budɔʔ* 'kid' is modified by *cuɣi* 'to steal' in the NP.

(13) CTM

a. *batu* ***bəsɔ*** *tu*
stone big DEM.DIST
'the big stone' (CTM_181023_n02_32)

b. *budɔʔ hɔʔ* ***cuɣi***
kid REL steal
'the kid who steals' (CTM_181025_n02_53)

There are nevertheless a few instances of dynamic verbs directly serving as attributive modifiers in NPs, as shown in (14) and (15). In this regard, stative verbs and dynamic verbs cannot be clearly differentiated based on their potential differences as modifiers within an NP.

(14) KM

pɔleh ləpah dɔh [*ɔɣɛ* ***c-cuɣi*** *tu*]$_{NP}$ *di supəmakeʔ.*
police release already person IPFV-steal DEM.DIST LOC supermarket
'The police has released the guy stealing at the supermarket.'
(KM_180827_e02_34)

(15) ITM
[*buɣəʊŋ-atəʊ* ***kluwɔ*** *tɔh*]$_{NP}$ *tɣəjuŋ* ...
bird-ghost come.out DEM.DIST jump ...
'The owl that came out plunged ...' (ITM_180907_n02_21.1)

The second parameter involves the possibility of being gradable and comparable. Comparative or superlative degrees in NEPMs are expressed with adverbs meaning 'more' or 'most'. The following examples demonstrate that KM/CTM *lagi* (and its reduced form *agi*) or ITM *lagɛi* 'more' either precedes or follows the stative verbs being modified, and KM *skali*, CTM *skali~kkali* or ITM *skalɛi~kkalɛi* 'most' follows the stative verbs (see §6.4.1.2 for more discussion on comparative and superlative constructions).

(16) KM

bəsa ***lagi***	(big more)	'bigger'
mudɔ ***lagi***	(young more)	'younger'
lagi *səda?*	(more delicious)	'more delicious'
səda? ***skali***	(delicious most)	'most delicious'

(17) CTM

bəsɔ ***agi***	(big more)	'bigger'
lɛbɔ ***lagi***	(wide more)	'wider'
lagi *bəɣa?*	(more heavy)	'heavier'
tiŋgi ***kkali***	(tall most)	'tallest'

(18) ITM

kəcĩ? ***lagɛi***	(small more)	'smaller'
jauh ***lagɛi***	(far more)	'further'
lagɛi *paɣɔh*	(more difficult)	'more difficult'
bəsɔ ***skalɛi***	(big most)	'biggest'

While dynamic verbs are not gradable and cannot appear in comparative constructions, they can also be modified by (*l*)*agi* or *lagɛi* which has the meaning of 'again'. The constructions of a dynamic verb + (*l*)*agi* or *lagɛi*, as shown in (19) to (21), are parallel to the constructions of a stative verb + (*l*)*agi* or *lagɛi* presented above. This observation further suggests that semantic adjectives are better treated as a subclass of verbs, and the exact meaning of the adverbial modifier depends on the semantics of the verbs being modified.

(19) KM
diyɔ poŋ ɣukah spulɔʔ nɔʔ kuteʔ ***lagi.***
3 then climb again want pick again
'He climbed back up the tree and wanted to pick (pears) again.'
(KM_180814_n01_9)

(20) CTM
diyə ɲŋ-<s>alɔʔ ***agi.***
3 IPFV-bark again
'It keeps on barking.' (CTM_181023_n02_24)

(21) ITM
dɔʔ, guɣɛiŋ ***lagɛi!***
NEG fry again
'No, keep frying!' (ITM_180917_cv01_101)

In sum, there are not sufficient morphosyntactic criteria to recognise a separate adjectival class.

6.2.3 Adverbs

Adverbs constitute a heterogeneous class of words that serve to modify various non-nominal constituents including verbs, other adverbs, clauses or sentences. They express concepts such as degree, frequency, locative or temporal settings. Some common adverbs are listed in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1: Adverbs in NEPMs

Category	Meaning	KM	CTM	ITM
Degree	'very (much)'	*suŋgoh, saŋaʔ*	*saŋaʔ*	*suŋgəʊh, saŋaʔ*
	'more'	*lagi~agi*	*lagi~agi*	*lagɛi*
	'most'	*skali*	*skali~kkali*	*skalɛi~kkalɛi*
	'(not) at all'	*lasoŋ*	*lasoŋ*	*lasəʊŋ*
	'a lot'	*baɲɔʔ*	*baɲɔʔ*	*baɲɔʔ*
	'(a) little'	*sikiʔ*	*sikiʔ*	*sikĩʔ~ikĩʔ*

Category	Meaning	KM	CTM	ITM
Frequency	'often'	*kəɣɛʔ, acaʔ*	*kəɣɛʔ, ɣajiŋ*	*ɣajiŋ*
	'always'	*sɔʔmɔ*	*sɔʔmɔ*	*suʔmu*
	'sometimes'	*kadɛ*	*skali-kalə*	*kadɔŋ-kadɔŋ*
	'usually'	*bɛsɔ, skalɔ*	*bɛsɔ*	*byasɛ*
	'seldom'	*jaɣɛ*	*jaɣaŋ*	*jaɣɔŋ*
Locative	'here'	*sini~siniŋ*	*sini~siniŋ*	*sinɛiŋ, dinɛiŋ*
	'there'	*situ*	*situ*	*sitəʊ, ditəʊ*
	'there; yonder'	*noŋ, dənoŋ*	*noŋ, dinoŋ~dənoŋ*	*nuŋ, sinuŋ, dinuŋ*
Temporal	'now'	*lɔni*	*ləniŋ*	*lɛnɛiŋ*
	'just now'	*taʔdi, saʔni*	*taʔdi~aʔdi, saʔdi*	*taʔdɛi, saʔnɛiŋ*
	'later'	*kdiyɛ*	*kdiyaŋ, kɛʔgi*	*kdiyaŋ, kiʔgɛi*
	'recently'	*baɣu ni~niŋ*	*baɣu ni~niŋ*	*baɣəʊ nɛiŋ*
	'today'	*aɣi ni~niŋ*	*aɣi ni~niŋ*	*aɣɛi nɛiŋ*
	'tomorrow'	*ɛsɔʔ*	*ɛsɔʔ*	*isəʊʔ*
	'the day after tomorrow'	*lusɔ*	*lusə*	*lusɛ*
	'yesterday'	*mmaɣiŋ*	*mmaɣeŋ*	*mmaɣɛiŋ*
	'already'	*dɔh*	*dɔh*	*dɔh*
Evidential	'only, just'	*cumɔ, sajɔ*	*sajə*	*sajɛ*
	'indeed; really'	*mɛmɛ*	*mɛmaŋ*	*mimɔŋ*
	'also'	*jugɔʔ, pulɔʔ*	*jugɔʔ, pulɔʔ*	*jugɛ~ugɛ, pulɔʔ*
	'probably'	*bəkali, koʔ*	*koʔ*	*kuʔ*
	'also; even; then'	*poŋ*	*poŋ*	*puŋ*
Interrogative	'when'	*bilɔ*	*bilə*	*bilɛ*
	'where'	*manɔ, mmanɔ*	*manə, mmanə*	*manɛ, dwanɛ*
	'whereto'	(*kwanɔ*)[39]	*kwanə*	*kwanɛ*
	'how'	*gganɔ, gwanɔ, lagumanɔ*	*gganə*	*gwanɛ*
	'why'	*baʔpɔ*	*baʔpə~waʔpə*	*baʔpɛ~waʔpɛ*

[39] KM *kwanɔ* 'whereto' could be elicited, but it is probably obsolete. In naturalistic data, only *manɔ* 'where' is used, e.g., *gi manɔ* 'go where', cf. ITM *gɛi kwanɛ*.

NEPMs lack distinctive manner adverbs. The meaning equivalents of manner adverbs are expressed by stative verbs without formal changes. This is illustrated in (22) to (24). As all subcategories of adverbs have limited members, adverbs are regarded as a closed word class.

(22) KM
diyɔ mmasɔʔ ***mɔlɛʔ.***
3 cook good
'It cooks well.' (KM_180820_cv03_23)

(23) CTM
pah tu, aŋiŋ utaɣə poŋ tiyuʔ ***kuwaʔ*** *sapa=lah ...*
after DEM.DIST wind north also blow strong until=SFP ...
'Then the north wind blows hard until ...' (CTM_220928_n01_05)

(24) ITM
mɔʔ saʔnɛiŋ baɣəʊ tutuʔ ***ɣapaʔ.***
mother just.now have.just close tight
'I've just closed it tightly.' (ITM_180917_cv01_98)

Adverbs denoting frequency or degree usually occur immediately adjacent to the verbs they modify, as shown in (25). Other types of adverbs, such as the temporal adverb *baɣəʊ nɛiŋ* 'recently' in (26), have more flexible positions, as they can have scope over the entire clause.

(25) KM
hɔʔ pɛseŋ diyɔ mmasɔʔ ***sɔʔmɔ.***
REL kind 3 cook always
'The kind that she always cooks.' (KM_180820_cv03_154)

(26) ITM
baɣəʊ nɛiŋ, *kamiŋ gɛi tah pəkaŋ təh ...*
have.just DEM.PROX 1PL.EXCL go DEM.DIST Pekan DEM.DIST ...
'Recently we went to Pekan.' (ITM_180926_cv02_52)

Since adverbs form a "catch-all" category, many adverbs presented above can be classified into other word classes. Locative setting adverbs and interrogative adverbs will be discussed in more detail in §6.2.5 and §6.2.8.

6.2.4 Pronouns

Pronouns are free forms that function to fill the position of a noun or an NP in a clause (Payne 1997: 43). This section focuses on personal pronouns and relative pronouns. Demonstrative pronouns and interrogative pronouns are discussed in §6.2.5 and §6.2.8 respectively.

6.2.4.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns in NEPMs distinguish singular and plural numbers, and three persons. For some pronominal forms, however, the number or person distinction is neutralised. The full paradigms of personal pronouns are presented in Table 6.2, Table 6.3 and Table 6.4, followed by notes on the use of pronouns in each variety.

Table 6.2: Personal pronouns in KM

	SG	PL
1	*aku*, *kawɛ*, *ambɔ*, *kitɔ*	*kitɔ*
2	*moŋ*, *dɛmɔ*	*dɛmɔ*, *moŋ ssəmɔ*
3	*diyɔ*, *iyɔ*	*dɛmɔ*, *diyɔ*, *iyɔ*

In KM, *aku* is the most frequent singular form among first-person pronouns. In addition, *kawɛ* and *ambɔ* (cf. SM *kawan* 'friend' and *hamba* 'slave') can be used by speakers to refer to themselves for honorific purposes. The 1PL pronoun *kitɔ* does not distinguish clusivity. While the consultants also reported that *kitɔ* can function as a singular pronoun, no example illustrating this usage has been found in the corpus.

Regarding second-person pronouns, *moŋ* is the neutral term used among friends, acquaintances and people from the same generation. Kinship terms and titles, such as *mɔʔ* 'mother', *umi* 'mother' and *pɔʔciʔ* 'uncle', are often employed as forms of address for showing respect (these terms can also be used as first-person pronouns to refer to the speakers themselves). There is no distinct form of a 2PL pronoun. To overtly address several listeners, one can use the 2SG pronoun *moŋ* combined with a modifier indicating plurality, such as *ssəmɔ* 'all'. It also also been reported that the 3PL pronoun *dɛmɔ* can function as 2SG and 2PL pronouns (in the latter case

it may combine with words like *sɛʔ* 'group', *puwɔʔ* 'group' or *ɣama* 'many', i.e., *sɛʔ dɛmɔ*, *puwɔʔ dɛmɔ* or *dɛmɔ ɣama*, also see Abdul Hamid 1994: 86), but this usage is yet to be attested.

Diyɔ and *dɛmɔ* are the common 3SG pronoun and 3PL pronoun respectively. *Diyɔ* or *iyɔ* can also refer to plural referents if the context allows, as in (27). The exact difference between *diyɔ* and *iyɔ* is unclear. Both can refer to animate or inanimate referents, but in general *iyɔ* does not occur often.

(27) KM
*ɔɣɛ tuwɔ deh, **diyɔ** payɔh.*
person old SFP 3 difficult
'Old people are difficult.' (KM_180820_cv03_152)

Table 6.3: Personal pronouns in CTM

	SG	PL
1	*aku*, *ambə*, *sayə*	*kitə*
2	*moŋ*	*moŋ* (*ssəmə*)
3	*yə*, *diyə*	*yə*

The pronominal system in CTM is similar to that in KM. In addition to the commonly used 1SG pronoun *aku*, *ambə* and *sayə* can be used in polite address. The 1PL pronoun *kitə* does not distinguish clusivity. The main differences between CTM and KM pronouns are in the third-persons: *yə* is the more common form, and there is no equivalent to KM *dɛmɔ* in CTM. To overtly express or emphasise the plurality of third-person referents, *sɛʔ-sɛʔ yə* (RDP-group 3) can be used.

Table 6.4: Personal pronouns in ITM

	SG	PL
1	*akəʊ*	*kitɛ* (INCL), *kamiŋ* (EXCL)
2	*məʊŋ*	*mikɛ*
3	*diyɛ*	*dimɛ* (HUM), *diyɛ* (NHUM)

The pronominal system in ITM exhibits more differences when compared with that in KM and CTM. There is only one pronoun for each person in singular forms, namely *akəʊ* '1SG', *məʊŋ* '2SG' and *diyɛ* '3SG'. 1PL pronouns have a distinction of clusivity: *kitɛ* includes the hearers, whereas *kamiŋ* excludes the hearers. Furthermore, ITM has a dedicated 3PL pronoun *dimɛ*, which is restricted to human referents.[40] For 3PL non-human referents, *diyɛ* is used.

Unlike many Malayic languages, NEPMs do not have a set of clitic forms for personal pronouns. In possessive constructions, all pronouns appear in full forms following the possessum, e.g., KM *ɣumɔh aku* (house 1SG) 'my house', *sɔɣɔ moŋ* (voice 2SG) 'your voice'; CTM *buku aku* (book 1SG) 'my book', *basika diyə* (bike 3) 'his bike'; ITM *ayɔh məʊŋ* (father 2SG) 'your father', *saiŋ dimɛ* (friend 3PL) 'their friend'.

In addition to the personal pronouns discussed above, KM has another pronominal form *ɲɔ*, and ITM has *ŋə*. They are analysed as anaphoric pronouns, referring to an antecedent that was mentioned earlier in the discourse, either a situation or a person/object. In (28), *ɲɔ* refers to the scenario described in the first two clauses, which 'would get cursed'. In (29), *ŋə* refers to *kəɣɛ* 'monkey' mentioned in the first clause, and it replaces the head noun in the NP *kəɣɛ s=iku* (monkey one=CLF) 'a monkey'.

(28) KM

ɔɣɛ təpɔh nɔʔ makɛ ɣaɣɔ ptamɔ,
person book want eat Eid.al-Fitr first

ɣaɣɔ kduwɔ tɔʔleh makɛ lagi meh,
Eid.al-Fitr second cannot eat yet SFP

ɲɔ *supɔh k=ɔɣɛ=lah.*
ANAPH curse AGT=person=SFP

'People make reservations to eat for the first Eid al-Fitr, but can't even get them on the second Eid al-Fitr day; it would get cursed by people.' (KM_180820_cv03_141–142)

[40] ITM *dimɛ* and KM *dɛmɔ* are cognates, which reflect an earlier form $^{+}$dima. It might be a contraction of $^{+}$dia with another morpheme. Another cognate of this form is found in Perak Malay as *dema*, which according to Brown (1921: x) can be decomposed to *dia-ma*, derived from the 3SG pronoun *dia* with the suffixation of a plural marker *-ma* on personal pronouns.

(29) ITM
kəɣɛ nɔʔ maɣɛi tapi buwɔh ambutaŋ gamɔʔ a,
monkey want come take fruit rambutan guess INTERJ
mmaɣɛiŋ adɛ napɔʔ ***ŋə*** *s=iku.*
yesterday EXIST look ANAPH one=CLF
'It seems like monkeys are coming to pick rambutan, yesterday I did see one.' (ITM_180917_cv01_107)

6.2.4.2 Relative pronouns

Relative pronouns are pronouns that mark relative clauses, which typically function as noun modifiers within NPs. Relative pronouns in NEPMs are KM *hɔʔ*, CTM *hɔʔ* and ITM *hɔʔ~haʔ*. Examples illustrating their usage are presented in (30) to (32).

(30) KM
tapi gaʔ [*diyɔ* [***hɔʔ*** *masɔ aɣoŋ*]$_{REL}$]$_{NP}$ [***hɔʔ*** *pətiŋ*]$_{REL/NP}$.
but EMPH 3 REL when steam REL important
'But the steaming process is important.' (Lit. 'But the one when steaming is the one that is important.') (KM_180820_cv03_130)

(31) CTM
yə nɔʔ laɣi daɣipadə [*buɣoŋ-atu* [***hɔʔ*** *kəjɔ yə tu*]$_{REL}$]$_{NP}$.
3 want run from bird-ghost REL chase 3 DEM.DIST
'He wanted to run away from the owl that was chasing him.' (CTM_181023_n02_32)

(32) ITM
a. [***haʔ*** *tɛh*]$_{REL/NP}$ *jadɛi ləkaʔ tagɛih, uŋgəoh.*
REL DEM.DIST become stick addictive very
'That becomes addictive, very much.' (ITM_180930_cv01_65)
b. [*anɔʔ diyɛ* [***hɔʔ*** *ppuwaŋ*]$_{REL}$]$_{NP}$, [***hɔʔ*** *tuwɛ təʊ*]$_{REL/NP}$ *adɛ*
child 3SG REL female REL old DEM.DIST EXIST
taʔdɛi.
just.now
'Her eldest daughter was there just now.' (ITM_180926_cv02_4)

Relative pronouns often conjoin an antecedent head noun and serve to add more information about the referent. When the head noun is unspecified, not expressed or elided, relative clauses may be headless, which can often be translated as 'the one that is', as illustrated by *hɔʔ pətiŋ* 'what is important' in (30), *haʔ tɛh* 'that one' in (32a), and *hɔʔ tɯwɛ təʊ* 'the old one' in (32b). There are also some relative clauses where the relative pronoun is omitted, as in (33).

(33) ITM
[*uɣɔŋ* Ø [***ɲŋ-<s>andɔ*** *təpɛi dindɛiŋ*]$_{REL}$ *təʊ*]$_{NP}$ *makaŋ pisɔŋ.*
person Ø IPFV-lean side wall DEM.DIST eat banana
'The person leaning on the wall is eating banana.'
(ITM_180921_e03_11)

6.2.5 Demonstratives and deictics

Demonstratives are reference indicators whose meanings are deictic as they vary depending on space and time. NEPMs make a two-way distinction between proximal and distal demonstratives, indicating the relative distance between the referents and the deictic centre, which is roughly the location of the speaker/hearer. Table 6.5 lists the demonstratives in NEPMs.

Table 6.5: Demonstratives in NEPMs

	KM	CTM	ITM
PROX	*ni~niŋ*	*ni~niŋ*	*nɛiŋ*
DIST	*tu*	*tu*	*təʊ*

The variation between KM/CTM *ni* and *niŋ* is phonological rather than functional (see §7.3.2). Syntactically, demonstratives can be either adnominal, which combine with other elements in an NP and occur at the right periphery, as in (34a), or pronominal, which can substitute an NP on their own, as in (34b).

(34) KM
a. [*duɣiyɛ hɔʔ bəsa ŋa manih* ***tu***]$_{NP}$
durian REL big and sweet DEM.DIST
'that big and sweet durian' (KM_180825_e01_13)

b. [***ni***]$_{NP}$ [*ula*]$_{NP}$.
DEM.PROX snake
'This is a snake.' (KM_180816_e02_25)

As mentioned in §5.2.3, ITM also has a series of reduced demonstratives in the form of *nVh~nV?* 'DEM.PROX' and *tVh~tV?* 'DEM.DIST', with V being any non-high vowel. However, it is not clear which factors determine the choice of demonstratives in ITM. As shown in (35), various forms of demonstratives can appear in a single sentence, and the selection of vowel in *nVh~nV?* and *tVh~tV?* also does not seem to be dependent on the quality of vowels in words surrounding the demonstratives.

(35) ITM
baɣəʊ ***nɛiŋ,*** *kamiŋ gɛi* ***tah*** *pəkaŋ* ***təh,***
have.just DEM.PROX 1PL go DEM.DIST Pekan DEM.PROX
ikuʔ ***nɛh.***
follow DEM.PROX
'Recently we went to Pekan, and we followed this (route).'
(ITM_180926_cv02_52–53)

In addition to functioning like demonstratives within NPs, *nVh~nV?* and *tVh~tV?* can also behave as particles serving the pragmatic function of calling attention. This usage is illustrated in (36) to (39). In these cases, *nVh~nV?* or *tVh~tV?* can often be translated as 'look', 'like this' or 'like that'.

(36) ITM
taɣɛiʔ ujəʊŋ taʔdɛi, ***nɛh,*** *tɔʔ təŋɔh.*
pull end just.now DEM.DIST/PART put middle
'You pull the tips, like this, and put in the middle.'
(ITM_180917_cv01_51-52)

(37) ITM
A. *apɛi təh* *kəcĩʔ!*
fire DEM.DIST small
'Lower the heat!'
B. *kəcĩʔ dɔh.*
small already
'It's already on low.'

A. *eh, kəcĩʔ lagɛi, ɔ* ***tah.***
INTERJ small more INTERJ DEM.DIST/PART
'Even lower, yeah like that.' (ITM_180917_cv01_68-70)

(38) ITM
tiŋuʔ romantiʔ ŋaʔ ***təʊ*** ***tah.***
look romantic(ENG) very DEM.DIST DEM.DIST/PART
'They look very romantic like that.' (ITM_180907_n02_36)

(39) ITM
tɛʔ *anɔʔ adɛ pulɔʔ du=iku nn-<s>usuʔ nuŋ.*
PART child EXIST also two=CLF IPFV-hide there
'Look there are two kittens hiding there.' (ITM_220910_cv01_11)

Related to demonstratives are deictic adverbs. Unlike demonstratives, however, deictic adverbs make a three-way distinction regarding the distance with respect to the deictic centre, as shown in Table 6.6.

Table 6.6: Deictic adverbs in NEPMs

Meaning	KM	CTM	ITM
'here'	*sini~siniŋ*	*sini~siniŋ*	*sinɛiŋ, dinɛiŋ*
'there'	*situ*	*situ*	*sitəʊ, ditəʊ*
'there; yonder'	*noŋ, dənoŋ*	*noŋ, dinoŋ~dənoŋ*	*nuŋ, sinuŋ, dinuŋ*

Historically, deictic adverbs are derived from demonstratives. The first two sets of deictic adverbs meaning 'here' and 'there' are constructed on the basis of corresponding proximal and distal demonstratives (KM/CTM *ni*(*ŋ*) and *tu*, ITM *nɛiŋ* and *təʊ*), combined with *si* or *di*.[41] The third set of deictic adverbs is based on *noŋ* or *nuŋ* (cf. SM *nun* 'yonder', archaic), which can also be combined with *di/də* or *si*.

[41] *Di* was originally a preposition with multiple functions, including indicating locative relationships (Adelaar 2005a). The meaning of *si* (or possibly *s-*, see Adelaar 1992: 127) is unclear. Note that in ITM the locative preposition is *də* instead of *di*, which suggests that the derivation from demonstratives to deictic adverbs is not synchronically active.

6.2.6 Quantifiers and numerals

Quantifiers and numerals are words used to indicate the quantity of the referents. They take the same syntactic slot and share a number of syntactic properties, but numerals differ from non-numeral quantifiers in that they typically require a classifier (see §6.2.7) when quantifying nouns.

Quantifiers and numerals usually occur as modifiers within NPs, preceding the head nouns. Numerals may also follow head nouns, see §6.3 for more detail on the word order property. When the referent is clear from the context and omitted, quantifiers and numerals (more often the combination of a numeral + a classifier) can be NP heads. In (40a), *ɣama* 'many' directly modifies the noun *uɣɔŋ* 'person'. In (40b), *duwɛ* 'two' quantifies the number of *anɔʔ* 'child' with *uɣɔŋ*, the classifier for humans. In (40c), the referent of *tujəʊh lapaŋ iku* (seven eight CLF) can be inferred from the preceding context, and the numeral + classifier combination takes up the full NP. Quantifiers and numerals can also function as quantifier/numeral predicates (QPs), as illustrated in (41), (42) and (43).

(40) ITM

a. [***ɣama*** *uɣɔŋ*]$_{NP}$ *makaŋ siɣɛih, ...*
many person eat betel ...
'Many people eat betel nuts ... ' (ITM_180930_cv01_25.1)

b. *diyɛ adɛ* [***duwɛ*** *uɣɔŋ anɔʔ*]$_{NP}$.
3SG have two CLF child
'He has two children.' (ITM_180923_n01_23)

c. *anɔʔ diyɛ puŋ adɛ jugɛ,* [***tujəʊh lapaŋ*** *iku*]$_{NP}$.
child 3SG also EXIST also seven eight CLF
'There were also his children, seven or eight.'
(ITM_180907_n02_35)

(41) KM

pəɣɔh asɛ-lima=kɛ, diyɔ [***baŋɔʔ***]$_{QP}$.
squeeze sour-citrus=TAG, 3 much
'When you squeeze the lime, you know, there's a lot (of juice).'
(KM_180820_cv03_69)

(42) ITM
kubɔ diyɛ [***ɣama***]$_{QP}$*, tanɔh ai diyɛ* [***baŋɔʔ***]$_{QP}$ ...
buffalo 3 many land water 3 much
'He had a lot of buffaloes and land.' (Lit. '(the amount of) buffalo is many, (the amount of) land is a lot.') (ITM_220920_cv01_34)

(43) ITM
nasiʔ [***tigɛ***]$_{QP}$*, ikaŋ* [***duwɛ***]$_{QP}$*, dauŋ* [***sɛ***]$_{QP}$ ...
rice three fish two leaf one ...
'(When ordering) Three portions of rice, two fishes, one portion of salad ...' (Lit. '(the amount of) rice is three, (the amount of) fish is two, (the amount of) leave is one.') (ITM_220910_fn)

6.2.6.1 Numerals

NEPMs have a decimal numeral system that is typical of Malayic languages. The basic cardinal numerals are listed in Table 6.7.

Among the numerals for 'one', *sɔ*/*sə*/*sɛ* are used in counting and as numeral predicates, as shown in (44) and (43) above. KM/CTM *satu* and ITM *satəʊ* 'one' are only used as the last digit in the formation of higher numbers, e.g., CTM *duwə puloh satu* '21'.

(44) KM
diyɔ kali, diyɔ mmike, diyɔ poŋ bilɛ, ***sɔ*** *duwɔ,* ***sɔ*** *duwɔ.*
3 count 3 think 3 then count one two one two
'He was counting; he pondered and counted, one two, one two.'
(KM_180814_n01_43)

Table 6.7: Basic numerals in NEPMs

Meaning	KM	CTM	ITM
'one'	*sɔ, satu*	*sə, satu*	*sɛ, satəʊ*
'two'	*duwɔ*	*duwə*	*duwɛ*
'three'	*tigɔ*	*tigə*	*tigɛ*
'four'	*ppaʔ*	*ppaʔ*	*ppaʔ*
'five'	*limɔ*	*limə*	*limɛ*
'six'	*nnɛ*	*nnaŋ*	*nnaŋ*
'seven'	*tujoh*	*tujoh*	*tujəʊh*
'eight'	*lapɛ*	*lapaŋ*	*lapaŋ*
'nine'	*smilɛ*	*smilaŋ~mmilaŋ*	*smilaŋ*
'ten'	*s=puloh*	*s=puloh*	*s=puləʊh*
'teens'	*bəlah*	*bəlah*	*bəlah*
'eleven'	*s=bəlah*	*s=bəlah*	*s=bəlah*
'twelve'	*duwɔ bəlah*	*duwə bəlah*	*duwɛ bəlah*
'thirteen'	*tigɔ bəlah*	*tigə bəlah*	*tigɛ bəlah*
'twenty'	*duwɔ puloh*	*duwə puloh*	*duwɛ puləʊh*
'twenty-one'	*duwɔ puloh satu*	*duwə puloh satu*	*duwɛ puləʊh satəʊ*
'thirty'	*tigɔ puloh*	*tigə puloh*	*tigɛ puləʊh*
'hundred'	*ɣatoh*	*ɣatoh*	*ɣatuh*
'thousand'	*ɣibu*	*ɣibu*	*ɣibəʊ*
'million'	*jutɔ*	*jutə*	*jutɛ*

When followed by a noun, a classifier or some other numeral base such as *puloh/puləʊh* 'ten' or *bəlah* 'teens', *sɔ/sə/sɛ* are cliticised to *s=*, as can be seen in (45). Cliticisation does not occur if the quantity of 'one' is emphasised, as illustrated in (46).

(45) KM
budɔʔ tu poŋ ambiʔ buwɔh pɛ tu bwɔʔ gi kə saiŋ
kid DEM.DIST then take fruit pear DEM.DIST bring go to friend
*diyɔ=lah, bagi **s=bute** **s=ɔɣɛ**.*
3=SFP give one=CLF one=person
'The boy took the pears and brought them to his friends, giving one pear to each person.' (KM_180814_n01_38)

(46) ITM

a. *adɛ* ***sɛ*** *butu atah lata.*
EXIST one bottle top floor
'There is one bottle on the floor.' (ITM_180909_e01_19)

b. *akəʊ adɛ tujəʊh uɣɔŋ anɔʔ,* ***sɛ*** *ppuwaŋ, nnaŋ llakɛi.*
1SG have seven CLF child one female six male
'I have seven children, one girl and six boys.'
(ITM_180923_n01_4)

The numerals for 'two' (*duwɔ*, *duwə* and *duwɛ*) may be cliticised to *du=* preceding vowel-initial classifiers, as in KM/CTM *du=ɛkɔ* or ITM *du=iku* 'TWO=CLF'.

Numerals from 11–19 are formed with the digit 1–9 followed by *bəlah* 'teens'. Higher numbers with millions, thousands, hundreds or tens are formed based on the template in (47), illustrated by CTM *limə jutə ppaʔ ɣibu tigə ɣatoh duwə puloh satu* '5,004,321'.

(47) DIGIT + *jutɔ/jutə/jutɛ* + DIGIT + *ɣibu/ɣibəʊ* + DIGIT + *ɣatoh/ɣatuh* + DIGIT + *puloh/puləʊh* + DIGIT

Ordinal numerals are formed periphrastically using the word for 'number' (KM/CTM *nɔmbɔ*, ITM *numbɔ*) plus corresponding cardinal numbers. The ordinal numerals meaning 'first' are also often expressed with words meaning 'beginning', 'early' or 'before', e.g., KM *mulɔ-mulɔ* 'RDP-beginning', CTM *hɔʔ mulə* 'the first; the early one' and ITM *hɔʔ duləʊ* 'the one from before' in ITM. *Ptamɔ* 'first' is also attested in KM, presumably a loanword from SM *pərtama*. (48) presents an additional example of an ordinal numeral *numbɔ tigɛ* 'third' in ITM.

(48) ITM
anɔʔ hɔʔ ***numbɔ tigɛ*** *namɛ ɣahiŋ.*
child REL number three name Rahim
'The third child is called Rahim.' (ITM_180923_n01_12)

An alternative strategy of constructing ordinal numerals with the prefix *k-* is occasionally attested, e.g., KM *k-duwɔ* and ITM *k-duwɛ* 'second', but the restricted occurrences of this derivational strategy suggests that it is likely borrowed from SM.

6.2.6.2 Non-numeral quantifiers

Common non-numeral quantifiers are presented in Table 6.8.

Table 6.8: Non-numeral quantifiers in NEPMs

Meaning	KM	CTM	ITM
'many'	*ɣama*	*ɣama*	*ɣama*
'much, many'	*baɲɔʔ*	*baɲɔʔ*	*baɲɔʔ*
'(a) little'	*sikiʔ*	*sikiʔ*	*sikĩʔ~ikĩʔ*
'all'	*ssəmɔ*	*ssəmə*	*smuwɛ*

Among these quantifiers, *ɣama* is restricted to quantifying humans and big animals. *Baɲɔʔ* is used to quantify all other referents, as illustrated in (49). Also compare ITM *ɣama ləmbəʊ* 'many cows' and *baɲɔʔ səmuʔ* 'many ants'.

(49) ITM

a. *uɣɔŋ nɔʔ waʔ* ***baɲɔʔ baŋunaŋ*** *baɣəʊ b=bandɔ təʊ.*
person want make many building new LOC=city DEM.DIST
'They want to build many new buildings in the city.'
(ITM_180919_e01_42)

b. ***baɲɔʔ pitih*** *diyɛ katɛ.*
much money 3 say
'She said he had a lot of money.' (ITM_220910_cv01_285)

When used as quantifiers, KM/CTM *sikiʔ* and ITM *sikĩʔ~ikĩʔ* '(a) little' appear to be restricted to quantifying uncountable nouns, as shown in (50). There are no dedicated words meaning 'a few, some' that are compatible with countable nouns; the semantic equivalents are expressed with constructions like 'two three (four)', as illustrated in (51) and (52).

(50) ITM
lətɔʔ ugɛ ***ikĩʔ susəʊ*** *ah.*
put also little milk INTERJ
'Also add a bit of milk.' (ITM_180917_cv01_31)

(51) KM
*buwaʔ siki*ʔ ***duwɔ tigɔ ppaʔ*** *bute ladɔ,*
make little two three four CLF chilli
sədaʔ suŋgoh kitɔ makɛ nasiʔ=kɛ?
delicious very 1PL eat rice=TAG
'I made some chillies, they were very delicious when paired with rice, you know?' (ITM_180920_cv03_190)

(52) ITM
dudəʊʔ umɔh pidah ***duwɛ tigɛ*** *aɣɛi, nɔʔ gɛi pəkaŋ, jauh jugɛ.*
live house Pidah two three day want go Pekan far also
'(We are going to) stay at Pidah's house for a few days, then go to Pekan, but it's also far.' (ITM_180926_cv02_48)

6.2.7 Classifiers

NEPMs employ a small number of classifiers, which reflect the conceptual categorisation of nouns when being counted. The most salient features involved in the classification of nouns by classifiers are the distinction between human and non-human referents, and the animacy of non-human referents. Other relevant features include the size and shape of the objects. Common classifiers attested in NEPMs are listed in Table 6.9.

Table 6.9: Classifiers in NEPMs

Usage	KM	CTM	ITM	Literal meaning
for humans	*ɔɣɛ*	*ɔɣaŋ*	*uɣɔŋ*	'person'
for non-human animates	*ɛkɔ*	*ɛkɔ*	*iku*	'tail'
for small objects and fruits	*bute*	*bute~ute*	*buti*	'seed'
for big objects	*buwɔh*	*buwɔh*	*buwɔh*	'fruit'
for long or tall objects	*batɛ*	*bataŋ*	*batɔŋ*	'trunk'
for a bunch of bananas	*sikaʔ*	*sikaʔ*	*sikaʔ*	'comb'
for separated parts of fruits or plants	*ulah*	*ulah*	*ulah*	
for flat and thin objects	*la*	*la*	*la*	
for lumpy items	*kətu*	...	–	

Classifiers in the first four rows are most commonly used. As also indicated in the table, most classifiers are nouns in origin, and they are still used as such. Presumably in order to avoid the concatenation of a classifier that is identical to the head noun, *ɔɣɛ/ɔɣaŋ/uɣɔŋ* 'person; human being' are quantified by numerals directly without a classifier (e.g., KM *tigɔ ɔɣɛ* 'three people' instead of ˣ*tigɔ ɔɣɛ ɔɣɛ*). Nouns for measurement (weight, time, frequency, etc.) or currency are also not quantified by classifiers.

Syntactically, classifiers occur with countable nouns, and they only occur when numerals or interrogative quantifiers are present, which they immediately follow. As mentioned in §6.2.6, when the head noun is omitted, it is usually the combination of a numeral + a classifier that stands as the full NP, as illustrated in (40c) and (53a) below. There are nevertheless a few examples of classifiers being left out together with head nouns, as in (53b).

(53) ITM

a. *ŋə buwɛi* [*s=**buti***]$_{NP}$ *s=uɣɔŋ, buwɔh pɛ təʊ.*
ANAPH give one=CLF one=person fruit pear DEM.DIST
'He gave one pear to each person.' (ITM_180919_n01_38)

b. *bagɛi* [*sɛ*]$_{NP}$ *s=uɣɔŋ*
give one one=person
'(He) gave one (pear) to each person.' (ITM_180927_n02_54)

Younger speakers of CTM also produced constructions like (54) where an expected classifier between the numeral and the head noun is absent, which seems to suggest that classifiers are not strictly obligatory. Overall speaking, however, classifiers are almost always used when countable nouns are quantified, and it is possible that sentences like (53b) and (54) reflect non-standard usage.

(54) CTM
sə batu ni
one stone DEM.PROX
'a stone' (CTM_181023_n02_23)

In addition to classifiers, NEPMs have measure words that are used to indicate a particular quantity of the referents, such as KM *s=**kilo** satɛ* (one=kilo coconut.milk) 'one kilo of coconut milk', CTM *s=**bako** wɔh pɛ* (one=basket

fruit pear) 'a basket of pears' and ITM *s=**jabi** ai* (one=pouch water) 'a pouch of water'. Unlike classifiers, measure words are not restricted to quantifying countable nouns. They also do not reflect the categorisation of nouns by their inherent properties, but only indicate how the referents are measured.

6.2.8 Interrogatives

Interrogatives are words (or clitics) used to form questions. Two types of interrogatives can be distinguished in NEPMs, which I call "interrogative words" and "interrogative particles" respectively. Interrogative words are used to ask non-polar questions, replacing the constituents being asked. Depending on the grammatical categories of the replaced constituents, interrogative words cut across several word classes including pronouns, determiners, adverbs and quantifiers. Interrogative particles, on the other hand, are optionally used in clause-final position to form polar questions.

Table 6.10 provides a list of interrogative words in NEPMs. The fullest set of examples demonstrating the usage of each interrogative word can be found for ITM, and they are are given first in (55). Selected examples from KM and CTM are given in (56) and (57).

Table 6.10: Interrogative words in NEPMs

Category	Meaning	KM	CTM	ITM
Pronoun	'what'	*ggapɔ*	*pəndə~məndə*	*məndɛ*
	'who'	*sapɔ, pdiyɔ*	*sapə, piyə*	*pdiyɛ~piyɛ*
Determiner	'which'	*manɔ*	*manə*	*manɛ*
Adverb	'when'	*bilɔ*	*bilə*	*bilɛ*
	'where'	*manɔ, mmanɔ*	*manə, mmanə*	*manɛ, dwanɛ*
	'whereto'	(*kwanɔ*)	*kwanə*	*kwanɛ*
	'how'	*gganɔ, gwanɔ, lagumanɔ*	*gganə*	*gwanɛ*
	'why'	*baʔpɔ*	*baʔpə~waʔpə*	*baʔpɛ~waʔpɛ*
Quantifier	'how much, how many'	*bɣapɔ*	*wwapə*	*bɣapɛ*

(55) ITM

a. *mɔʔ caɣɛi* ***məndɛ?***
mother search what
'What are you (addressing his mother) looking for?'
(ITM_180917_cv01_71)

b. ***pdiyɛ*** *tibɔ kə məʊŋ?*
who flip for 2SG
'Who will flip (the dough) for you?' (ITM_180917_cv01_3)

c. *mamaʔ* ***manɛ?***
Mamat which/where
'Which Mamat?' (or 'Mamat from where?')
(ITM_180930_cv01_10)

d. ***bilɛ*** *pɔʔciʔ nɔʔ gɛi b=bandɔ?*
when uncle want go LOC=city
'When is uncle going to the city?' (ITM_180919_e01_15)

e. *diyɛ ambɛiʔ* ***dwanɛ?***
3SG take where
'Where did he get them?' (ITM_180930_cv01_14)

f. *dɔh dimɛ təʊ gɛi* ***kwanɛ?***
well 3PL DEM.DIST go to.where
'Well, where have they gone?' (ITM_180926_cv01_8)

g. *dɔʔ, məʊŋ waʔ* ***gwanɛ*** *məʊŋ dɔʔ tibɔ?*
NEG 2SG make how 2SG NEG flip
'No, how are you making it if you don't flip (the dough)?'
(ITM_180917_cv01_5)

h. ***waʔpɛ*** *paka sluwɔ pindɛiʔ=jə tah?*
why wear pants short=just DEM.DIST
'Why are you only wearing shorts like that?'
(ITM_180917_cv01_42)

i. ***bɣapɛ*** *kəpɛiŋ?*
how.many piece
'How many pieces?' (ITM_180930_cv01_60)

(56) KM

a. *ŋŋ-aja* ***ggapɔ?***
IPFV-teach what
'What (does she) teach?' (KM_180820_cv03_107)

b. ***sapɔ*** *diyɔ?*
who 3
'Who's that?' (KM_180820_cv03_144)

c. ***manɔ*** *nn-<t>utoʔ bəkah?*
where NMLS-close container
'Where is the lid of the container?' (KM_221025_e02_101)

d. *waʔ* ***laguманɔ*** *ɔɣɛ kusia ni?*
make how person Kusial DEM.PROX
'How does this person from Kusial make this?'
(KM_180820_cv03_14)

e. *katɔ* ***baʔpɔ*** *diyɔ nɔʔ gi mɔh kaʔ niŋ?*
say why 3 want go house sister Ning
'He said, why does he want to go to Ning's house?'
(KM_180816_cv01_14)

(57) CTM

a. *ɛsɔʔ aɣi* ***məndə?***
tomorrow day what
'What day is it tomorrow?' (CTM_181022_cv01_8.2)

b. *xxəjə* ***mmanə*** *hɔʔ tu ɔ??*
work where REL DEM.DIST INTERJ
'Where does she work?' (CTM_181024_cv02_38)

c. *mɔʔ wi kə* ***piyə*** *baɣu ni baju,*
mother give to who have.just DEM.PROX shirt
mɔʔ kabɔ aʔdi?
mother tell just.now
'What did you just say, who did you give the shirt to recently?'
(CTM_181022_cv01_47)

d. ***gganə*** *məʔciʔ yaŋ nəʔ mitəʔ kuɣaŋʔ*
how auntie Yam want request less
'How is it if auntie Yam wants to ask for discount?'
(CTM_181024_cv02_3)

e. *jɔh* ***wwapə*** *ahʔ*
grade how.many INTERJ
'Which grade is she in?' (CTM_220928_cv01_6)

As can be seen from the examples, interrogative pronouns and determiners typically take up the same syntactic slot as the replaced constituent, without being fronted to the clause-initial position. Interrogative adverbs, on the other hand, like other types of adverbs, have more flexible positions. The word for 'what' can also be used as a filler in hesitation, or refer to something that the speaker cannot recall at the moment of utterance, as illustrated in (58).

(58) KM
diyɔ ŋŋ-aja ***ggapɔ,***
3 IPFV-teach whatchamacallit
nahu=kɔ ***ggapɔ*** *eh.*
grammar=Q whatchamacallit INTERJ
'She teaches grammar or whatever.' (KM_180820_cv03_108.1)

Many interrogative words are historically complex forms, derived based on PM *apa 'what' and *mana 'which, where'.[42] Interrogatives words formed based on *apa 'what' include:

(59) KM *ggapɔ* 'what' < *muga apa (thing what)[43]
CTM *pəndə~məndə*, ITM *məndɛ* 'what' < *apa bənda (what thing)
KM *sapɔ*, CTM *sapə* 'who' < *si-apa (PERS-what)
KM *pdiyɔ*, CTM *piyə*, ITM *pdiyɛ~piyɛ* 'who' < *apa dia (what 3SG)
KM *baʔpɔ*, CTM *baʔpə~waʔpə*, ITM *baʔpɛ~waʔpɛ* 'why' < *buat apa (do what)
KM *bɣapɔ*, CTM *wwapə*, ITM *bɣapɛ* 'how much, how many' < *baraʔ apa (INDEF what)

[42] *-a is regularly reflected as *-ɔ*, *-ə* and *-ɛ* in KM, CTM and ITM respectively, see §7.4.3.

Note that no reflexes of *apa 'what' are attested by themselves, and all interrogative words in (59) are morphologically simple at the synchronic level.

The interrogatives words in (60) are formed based on *mana 'which, where', which is also reflected as *manɔ/manə/manɛ* 'which, where'. Some of these interrogative words may be analysed as complex synchronically, e.g., KM *m=manɔ*, CTM *m=manə* (LOC=where) 'in/at/on/from where', and KM *lagu-manɔ* (method-which) 'how'.

(60) KM *mmanɔ*, CTM *mmanə*, ITM *dwanɛ* 'where' < *di mana (LOC where)
KM *gganɔ*, *gwanɔ*, CTM *gganə*, ITM *gwanɛ* 'how' < *bagai mana (kind which)
KM *lagumanɔ* 'how' < *lagu mana (method which)

Unlike interrogative words, interrogative particles only serve to indicate the status of a sentence as a polar question. KM uses the clitic *=kɔ* or *=kə* for this purpose, and CTM and ITM have *=kə*, as illustrated in (61) to (63). The usage of these particles is optional. Example (63) also shows that interrogative particles may be followed by a verbal negator, with which they form a tag meaning 'or not'.

(61) KM
*doʔ mahaʔ=**kɔ**ʔ*
live Maahad=Q
'(Does he) live in Maahad?' (KM_180820_cv03_105)

(62) CTM
*aɣɔʔ moŋ nn-<t>anaŋ padi=**kə**ʔ*
father 2 IPFV-plant paddy=Q
'Is your father a rice farmer?' (CTM_181029_e02_15)

(63) ITM
*nɔh, ɣasɛ manih=**kə** dɔʔʔ*
DEM.PROX, feel sweet=Q NEG
'Here, does it taste sweet or not?' (ITM_180917_cv01_62)

[43] Cf. KM *mugɔ* 'thing, item; seemingly'. The origin of *ggapɔ* 'what' < *muga apa is suggested by Ruslan Uthai (2011: 87).

Additionally, interrogative particles can be used to present alternatives or options, functioning like a conjunction meaning 'or' that connects two or more constituents. This usage is exemplified in (64) and (65). However, rather than suggesting that *kɔ* and *kə* are conjunctions, it may be more appropriate to view this usage as an extension of their primary function as interrogative particles. For instance, in (66), the sentence is also grammatical without the alternative constituent *gganə* 'how', suggesting that *=kə* in this position can be interpreted as a regular interrogative particle.

(64) KM
*ikɛ kəɣiŋ gɔɣeŋ=**kɔ** cicɔh budu=**kɔ** jadi dɔh.*
fish dry fry=Q little budu=Q accomplish already
'Either frying the fish dry or adding a little bit of budu (k.o. sauce), it's done.' (KM_180820_cv03_163)

(65) ITM
*məʊŋ ɣasɛ ikĩʔ sayu nəh, masiŋ=**kə** tawɔ?*
2SG taste little vegetable DEM.PROX salty=Q bland
'You try to taste the vegetable, is it salty or bland?'
(ITM_220915_e03_28)

(66) CTM
*mɛmaŋ ɔdə ŋaŋ ʃaɣikaʔ yə=**kə** gganə?*
indeed order(ENG) with company(SM) 3=Q how
'Did you really order them from the company or what?'
(CTM_181024_cv02_15)

6.2.9 Negators

Negators are words associated with negative polarity, expressing the falsity of an assertion or a proposition. Five major types of negators can be distinguished in NEPMs, as presented in Table 6.11.

Table 6.11: Negators in NEPMs

Category	Meaning	KM	CTM	ITM
Question	'no'	*dɔʔ*	*dɔʔ*	*dɔʔ*
Verbal	'not'	*tɔʔ*	*dɔʔ*	*dɔʔ*
Non-verbal	'no, not'	*bukɛ*	*bukaŋ*	*bukaŋ*
Prohibitive	'don't'	*jaŋɛ*	*jaŋaŋ*	*jaŋaŋ*
Negative existential	'there is not'	*taʔdɔʔ*	*taʔdɔʔ*	*taʔdɔʔ*

The first type of negators is the question negator or negative particle, which is *dɔʔ* in all three varieties. It is the counterpart of the affirmative particle *hɔ̃* 'AFF'; both particles are used in isolation, specifically in response to questions or antecedent assertions by showing (dis)agreement (cf. English 'yes' and 'no').

The second type is the verbal negator KM *tɔʔ* or CTM/ITM *dɔʔ*, which negates a verbal predicate. The usage of question negators and verbal negators is illustrated in (67) and (68). It is worth noting that a formal distinction between these two categories is only made in KM.

(67) KM

a. *i̇yɔ* ***tɔʔ*** *buboh bawɛ s=ulah ggapɔ?*
3 NEG put garlic one=CLF what
'They don't put a clove of garlic or things like that?'
(KM_180816_cv01_64)

b. ***dɔʔ, tɔʔ*** *buboh bawɛ-puteh,* ***tɔʔ*** *buboh bawɛ-bəsa,* ***tɔʔ*** *buboh.*
NEG NEG put onion-white NEG put onion-big NEG put
'No, they don't put garlic or onion.' (KM_180816_cv01_65)

(68) ITM

a. *diyɛ gambi təʊ buwaʔ kɔya tɛh ikĩʔ.*
3 gambier DEM.DIST CAUS hallucinate DEM.DIST little
'Gambier makes you a bit high.' (ITM_180930_cv01_45)

b. ***dɔʔ,*** *diyɛ* ***dɔʔ*** *kaya.*[44]
NEG 3 NEG hallucinate
'No, it doesn't.' (ITM_180930_cv01_47)

The third category are the non-verbal negators, which are *bukɛ* in KM and *bukaŋ* in CTM and ITM. These negators are used to negate a wider range of constituents, including nominal predicates, contrastive verbal predicates, prepositional predicates or an entire clause. (69) and (70) demonstrate the usage of CTM/ITM *bukaŋ* as a nominal negator and a prepositional negator respectively, and (71) to (74) present examples of contrastive negation, whereby the negated proposition is followed by an affirmative alternative (i.e., 'not X, but Y'). In these cases, the constituents negated by *bukɛ/bukaŋ* are not restricted to nominal predicates as in (73), but also verbal predicates in (71) and (72), as well as a prepositional predicate in (74).

(69) CTM
ikaŋ hɔʔ kitə bəli tu ***bukaŋ*** *ikaŋ suŋa.*
fish REL 1PL buy DEM.DIST NEG fish river
'The fish we bought is not river fish.' (CTM_220927_e02_15)

(70) ITM
ikaŋ haʔ kamiŋ juwa təh ***bukaŋ*** *dayɛi d=ai.*
fish REL 1PL.EXCL sell DEM.DIST NEG from LOC=water
'The fish we sell are not from the river.' (ITM_220922_e01_2)

(71) KM
diyɔ ***bukɛ*** *bɔdɔh, malah=yə.*
3 NEG stupid lazy=just
'He's not stupid, but just lazy.' (KM_180831_e01_15)

(72) CTM
dɔʔ, yə ***bukaŋ*** *nn-<t>anaŋ padi, yə n-nɛgə.*
NEG 3 NEG IPFV-plant paddy 3 IPFV-trade
'No, he doesn't plant paddy, he does business.' (CTM_181029_e02_16)

(73) ITM
upɛ-upɛ ***bukaŋ*** *dahaŋ kayəʊ, tandəʊʔ usɛ.*
seemingly NEG branch wood antler deer
'It seems that it was not a tree branch, but the antler of a deer.'
(ITM_180907_n01_27)

[44] *Kaya* in (68b) and *kɔya* in (68a) are variant forms with the same meaning.

(74) ITM
*tupɛi ... **bukaŋ** t=taŋaŋ, diyɛ atah ppalɛ.*
hat ... NEG LOC=hand 3SG top head
'The hat is not on the hand, but on the head.' (ITM_220915_e03_16)

Non-verbal negators can also be used to negate an entire clause. In (75), for example, KM *bukɛ* negates *tɔʔ bəli* 'not buy', which is a verbal clause that has already been negated by *tɔʔ*. (76) exemplifies a rhetorical question in which CTM *bukaŋ* negates the complete clause that follows it.

(75) KM
***bukɛ** tɔʔ bəli, diyɔ tɔʔsɛ.*
NEG NEG buy 3 not.want
'It's not that (we) don't buy (it for her); she doesn't want it.'
(KM_180820_cv03_226)

(76) CTM
***bukaŋ** mɔʔ pileh dɔh aɣi tuʔ*
NEG mother choose already day DEM.DIST
'Didn't you choose it already that day?' (CTM_181029_cv01_49)

The fourth type of negators is the prohibitive negator KM *jaŋɛ* or CTM/ITM *jaŋaŋ*, which occurs in clause-initial position, introducing imperative clauses. This is illustrated in (77).

(77) ITM
***jaŋaŋ, jaŋaŋ** təʊ lagɛi, dɔʔ basɔh lagɛi tah.*
PROH PROH DEM.DIST yet NEG wet yet DEM.DIST
'Don't, don't (do it like) that, it's not wet yet.' (ITM_180917_cv01_97)

Finally, existential clauses with KM *adɔ*, CTM *adə* or ITM *adɛ* 'EXIST' (see §6.4) are negated with *taʔdɔʔ*, as illustrated in (78) and (79). *Taʔdɔʔ* also means 'not have', and it is used as the negative counterpart of *adɔ/adə/adɛ* as a verb meaning 'have', as shown in (80).

(78) CTM
*wi k=kakɔʔ yə, **taʔdɔʔ** ɔɣaŋ makaŋ ɣumɔh yə.*
give to=sister 3 NEG.EXIST person eat house 3
'Give it to her sister, no one eats them at their place.'
(CTM_181022_cv01_37)

(79) ITM
akəʊ puŋ dɔʔ tau, ***taʔdɔʔ*** *dinɛiŋ.*
1SG also NEG know NEG.EXIST here
'I don't know, it's not here.' (ITM_180919_e01_22)

(80) KM
... ***taʔdɔʔ*** *nnagɔʔ gaʔ, ɔbaʔ baɲɔʔ.*
... NEG.EXIST energy EMPH medicine many
'(She) doesn't have energy, (but she needs to eat) a lot of medicine.'
(KM_180820_cv03_217)

NEPMs do not have a negative aspectual marker meaning 'not yet' (cf. SM *bəlum*). The meaning equivalent is expressed by the verbal negator or the existential negator combined with the adverb meaning 'yet' (KM/ITM *lagi* and ITM *lagɛi*), as exemplified in (81) and (82).

(81) KM
toʔ laki, toʔ laki, ***taʔdɔʔ lagi.***
mister husband mister husband NEG.EXIST yet
'Husband, husband, don't have one yet.' (KM_180812_wl01)

(82) ITM
dɔʔ *baɲuŋ* ***lagɛi.***
NEG rise yet
'It hasn't risen yet.' (ITM_180917_cv01_11)

A few other negative verbs are worth mentioning here:

(83) KM *tɔʔsɛ*, CTM *taʔamboh*, ITM *taʔambəʊh* 'not want' (cf. *nɔʔ* 'want')
KM *taʔpɔ*, CTM *taʔpə*, ITM *taʔpɛ* 'no problem' < *tak apa (NEG what)
KM/CTM *taʔyɔh* 'not necessary' < *tak payah (NEG difficult)
KM *tɔʔleh*, CTM *dɔʔleh* 'cannot' < *tɔʔ/dɔʔ buleh* (NEG can)

6.2.10 Prepositions

Prepositional phrases (PPs) consist of prepositions followed by NPs. These prepositions express various semantic relations between the prepositional

phrase and the rest of the clause, including location, instrument, accompaniment, among others. Table 6.12 lists prepositions in NEPMs. Words enclosed between parentheses are rare, and they may be borrowed from SM.

Table 6.12: Prepositions in NEPMs

Meaning	KM	CTM	ITM
'LOC'	*di*	*di*	*də*
'to; for'	*kɔ~kə*	*kə*	*kə*
'AGT'	*kɔ~kə*	*di*	*də*
'from'	*daɣi,* (*daɣipadɔ*)	*daɣi,* (*daɣipadə*)	*daɣɛi,* (*daɣipadɛ*)
'at; from'	*padɔ*	*padə*	*padɛ*
'inside'	*dalɛ*	*dalaŋ*	*dalaŋ~laŋ*
'(on) top'	*atah*	*atah*	*atah*
'below'	*bawɔh~bɔwɔh*	*bɔwɔh*	*bawɔh*
'(in) front'	*dəpɛ*	*dəpaŋ*	*dəpaŋ*
'behind'	*blakɛ*	*blakaŋ*	*blakɔŋ*
'after'	*ləpah~pah*	*ləpah~pah*	*ləpah~pah*
'before'	*bəloŋ*	*sbəloŋ*	(*sbəluŋ*)
'near'	*dəkaʔ*	*dəkaʔ*	*dəkaʔ~kaʔ*
'with'	*dəŋɛ~dəŋa~ŋɛ~ŋa*	*dəŋaŋ~ŋaŋ~ŋə*	*dəŋaŋ~ŋaŋ~ŋə*
'until'	*sapa*	*sapa*	*sapa*
'about'	*pasa*	*pasa*	*pasa*
'like'	*macɛ, supɔ*	*macaŋ*	*macaŋ*

The general locative prepositions KM/CTM *di* and ITM *də* indicate the location of the following NP. They are glossed as 'LOC' and can be translated as 'at; in; on'. *Di* or *də* can be cliticised as *d=* preceding vowel-initial nouns (§5.2.3); furthermore, location can also be marked by the gemination of the initial consonant of the locative noun (§5.3.2.3).

KM *kɔ~kə* and CTM/ITM *kə* cover a large range of functions including indicating movements towards the following NP and introducing recipients or beneficiaries. For example, KM *kɔ* in (84a) indicates the movement towards *gaoŋ* 'canyon', and in (84b), it introduces *miru* 'Amirul (a person name)' as the recipient. In (84c) and (84d), *kɔ* or *kə* serves a more general grammatical function of introducing an oblique argument, glossed as 'PREP'.

(84) KM

a. *jatoh daɣipadɛ cuɣɛ tu, jatoh* [***kɔ*** *gaoŋ*]$_{PP}$.
fall from steep DEM.DIST fall to canyon
'(They) fall from the steep (cliff), and fell into the canyon.'
(KM_180812_n01_25)

b. *aku wi* [***kɔ*** *miru*]$_{PP}$ *buku tu.*
1SG give to Amirul book DEM.DIST
'I gave Amirul that book.' (KM_180825_e01_31)

c. *diyɔ iŋaʔ* [***kɔ*** *ɣatiŋ kayu*]$_{PP}$.
3 think PREP branch wood
'He thought that they were branches.' (KM_180812_n01_19)

d. *tɔʔ kənɛ lasoŋ* [*kə diyɔ*]$_{PP}$ *tu gaʔ.*
NEG remember at.all PREP 3 DEM.DIST EMPH
'(She) doesn't remember him at all.' (KM_180826_cv01_9.2)

Similar functions are attested for CTM/ITM *kə*, as exemplified in (85) and (86). In (85a) and (86a), *kə* expresses the motion in the direction of the following noun (*bɔwɔh* 'bottom; below' and *tuki* 'Turkey'), and in (85b) and (86b), it introduces a recipient. In (86c), *kə* introduces *məʊŋ* '2SG' as the beneficiary. In (85c) and (86d), *kə* is a general preposition. (86d) also shows that *kə* can be cliticised to *k=* preceding vowel-initial words, which is a process similar to the cliticisation of *di/də* → *d=* (§5.2.3).

(85) CTM

a. *yə ambiʔ mɛjə, yə tɔlɔʔ* [***kə*** *bɔwɔh*]$_{PP}$.
3 take table 3 push to bottom
'She grabbed the table and pushed it down (the stairs).'
(CTM_181023_e01_18)

b. *cəʔ wi buŋə* [***kə*** *yə*]$_{PP}$.
IMP give flower to 3
'Give the flowers to him.' (CTM_220927_e02_43)

c. *yə poŋ kabɔ* [***kə*** *aɲjiŋ tu*]$_{PP}$ *suɣuh səɲaʔ.*
3 also tell PREP dog DEM.DIST command quiet
'He asked the dog to be quiet.' (CTM_181023_n02_46)

(86) ITM

a. *ləpah gɛi* [***kə*** *tuki*]$_{PP}$ *nuŋ, gɛi buwaʔ umɣɔh lələʊ.*
then go to Turkey there go do pilgrimage immediately
'Then we went to Turkey, and we went on a pilgrimage right away.' (ITM_180923_n01_30)

b. *ipah kiɣiŋ salaŋ* [***kə*** *məʊŋ*]$_{PP}$*, ayɔh.*
Ipah send greeting to 2SG father
'Ipah sent greetings to you, dad.' (ITM_180926_cv01_12.1)

c. *pdiyɛ tibɔ* [***kə*** *məʊŋ*]$_{PP}$*?*
who spread for 2SG
'Who will flip (the dough) for you?' (ITM_180917_cv01_3)

d. *adɛiʔ takuʔ* [***kə*** *talɛi*]$_{PP}$*, diyɛ iŋaʔ* [***k***=*ulɔ*]$_{PP}$.
younger.sibling afraid PREP rope 3SG think PREP=snake
'The younger kid was afraid of the rope, (because) (s)he thought it was a snake.' (ITM_220915_e03_53)

Another function of KM *kɔ~kə*, CTM *di* and ITM *də* (or their cliticised forms) is to mark agents in passive constructions (see more in §6.4.1). (87) to (89) present some examples of passive constructions in NEPMs, which have the word order of patient–verb–agent. The agents are introduced in prepositional phrases headed by KM *kɔ* in (87), CTM *di* in (88) and ITM *də* in (89).

(87) KM

anɔʔ aku kənɔ ttɛ [***kɔ*** *ceʔgu*]$_{PP}$ *aɣi ni di skɔlɔh.*
child 1SG ADVS slap AGT teacher day DEM.PROX LOC school
'My child was slapped by the teacher at school today.'
(KM_180827_e01_28)

(88) CTM

abih ikaŋ hɔʔ bəli p=pasɔ taʔdi makaŋ [***di*** *kuciŋ*]$_{PP}$.
finished fish REL buy LOC=market just.now eat AGT cat
'The fish that (I) bought at the market was eaten by the cat.'
(CTM_180919_e02_52)

(89) ITM

ləpah təʊ, aŋjɛiŋ kənɛ kəjɔ [***də*** *tbuwaŋ tɔh*]$_{PP}$*, ...*
after DEM.DIST dog ADVS chase AGT hornet DEM.DIST ...
'Then the dog was chased by the hornets ...' (ITM_180907_n02_22.1)

A number of prepositions have dual or trial word class memberships. The prepositions indicating spatial relations ('inside', 'top', 'bottom', 'front' and 'behind') are essentially nouns, and their prepositional usage emerges out of the nominal sources diachronically. When used as nouns, these spatial terms follow a general preposition, with which they form a PP. In (90a), KM *di* 'LOC' is cliticised to *d=* preceding *atah* 'top', which is nominal. With the omission of the general prepositions, these spatial terms can introduce PPs directly and function as prepositions themselves, as illustrated in (90b).

(90) KM

a. *... diyɔ doʔ* [***d=atah***]$_{PP}$ *dɔh ...*
... 3 sit LOC=top already ...
'He was already sitting on top (of the tree).' (KM_180814_n01_13)

b. *aɲiŋ doʔ* [***atah ppalɔ diyɔ***]$_{PP}$.
dog sit top head 3
'The dog was sitting on his head.' (KM_180812_n01_28)

A few prepositions can be used as conjunctions, including *ləpah~pah* 'after; then' and *sapa* 'until', and words meaning 'with' can be used as conjunctions meaning 'and' (§6.2.11). Additionally, *sapa* is used as a verb meaning 'to reach; to come true', from which the prepositional and conjunction usage ultimately derives. The usage of *sapa* with various meanings is illustrated by ITM examples in (91). *Sapa* is a verb meaning 'to come true' in (91a), whereas in (91b), it may be analysed as either a verb 'to reach' or a preposition 'until'. A clearer prepositional usage of *sapa* is illustrated in (91c), and in (91d), *sapa* is a conjunction connecting two clauses.

(91) ITM

a. *ajaʔ diyɛ nɔʔ jadɛi duʔtu təʊ*
aspiration 3SG want become doctor(ENG) DEM.DIST
sapa *jugɛ.*
come.true also
'His aspiration of becoming a doctor came true.'
(ITM_180921_e01_39)

b. *diyɛ puŋ dudəʊʔ atah tandəʊʔ usɛ təʊ,*
3SG also sit top antler deer DEM.DIST
bɔwɔʔ laɣɛi d=usɛ ***sapa*** *təbɛiŋ.*
bring run AGT=deer reach/until cliff
'He was sitting on the deer's antler, being carried away by the deer reaching the cliff.' (ITM_180907_n01_22)

c. *ambaʔ-ambaʔ,* [***sapa*** *malaŋ*]$_{PP}$ *pulɔʔ, dɔʔ daŋ juɡɛ.*
RDP-chase until night also NEG have.time also
'They kept chasing until the evening, but they still couldn't make it.' (ITM_180927_n01_19)

d. *batɔŋ kayəʊ atah papaŋ,* ***sapa*** *landəʊŋ papaŋ təʊ.*
stem wood top plank until sag plank DEM.DIST
'A piece of wood is on the plank ... until the plank sags.' (ITM_180921_e03_35)

6.2.11 Conjunctions

Conjunctions connect words, phrases and clauses. An overview of conjunctions attested in NEPMs is provided in Table 6.13.

Table 6.13: Conjunctions in NEPMs

Meaning	KM	CTM	ITM
'and'	*dəŋɛ~dəŋa~ŋɛ~ŋa*	*dəŋaŋ~ŋaŋ~ŋə*	*dəŋaŋ~ŋaŋ*
'but'	*tapi*	*tapi*	*kadɔŋ,* (*tapɛi*)
'if'	*kalu*	*kalu*	*kaləʊ*
'because'	*səbaʔ~baʔ*	*səbaʔ~baʔ*	*səbaʔ,* (*xxənɛ*)
'so'	*jadi*	*jadi*	(*jadɛi*)
'after; then'	*ləpah~pah*	*ləpah~pah*	*ləpah~pah*
'before'	*bəloŋ*	*sbəloŋ*	(*sbəluŋ*)
'until'	*sapa*	*sapa*	*sapa*
'when'	*masɔ, bilɔ*	*masə, bilə*	*masɛ*

While conjunctions can be traditionally divided into coordinating and subordinating conjunctions (Schachter & Shopen 2007: 45), there is no systematic grammatical distinction between these two types of constructions in

NEPMs. The distinction can still be made on semantic grounds (see Haspelmath 2007: 46–48); for example, the words for 'and', 'or' and 'but' express coordination, whereas 'if', 'when' and 'although' express subordination.

NEPMs do not make extensive use of coordinating conjunctions for the purpose of linking clauses. Subordinating conjunctions such as *kalu/kaləʊ* 'if' and *masɔ/masə/masɛ* 'when' occur more frequently, as illustrated in (92) and (93).

(92) KM
kalu tu gaʔ, buboh blacɛ sikiʔ,
TOP DEM.DIST EMPH put shrimp.paste little

***kalu** tɔh boh blacɛ poŋ taʔpɔ dɔh.*
if NEG put shrimp.paste also no.problem already

'In that case, (you can) also add a bit of shrimp paste, but if not it's also fine.' (KM_180820_cv03_80)

(93) ITM
uɣɔŋ dɔʔ ubəʊh majəɣiŋ, uɣɔŋ ubəʊh majəɣiŋ
person NEG put margarine(ENG) person put margarine(ENG)
*kdiyaŋ, **masɛ** udɔh ulɛi.*
later when finish knead

'People don't add margarine, they add margarine later, when they finish kneading.' (ITM_180917_cv01_34)

The coordination of two clauses, on the other hand, is typically realised by juxtaposition. In (94), for instance, six clauses describing a series of events are juxtaposed without any conjunctions.

(94) ITM
diyɛ baŋuŋ, caɣɛi dalaŋ kasuʔ, caɣɛi dalaŋ bujəʊŋ,
3 get.up search inside shoe search inside bottle

bukɛ pitəʊ-malɛiŋ, bukɛ pitəʊ-malɛiŋ paŋgi kkatɔʔ ŋə.
open door-thief open door-thief call frog ANAPH

'He got up, searched inside the shoes, searched inside the bottle, opened the window, opened the window and called the frog. '
(ITM_180907_n01_06)

In fact, KM *dəŋɛ~dəŋa* and CTM/ITM *dəŋaŋ* 'and' (and their shortened forms) are restricted to linking words and phrases (primarily NPs), and they do not link clauses. As mentioned in §6.2.10, the same words also function as prepositions meaning 'with'. When they connect two NPs, it is not always clear whether they are conjunctions 'and' or prepositions 'with'. Such an ambiguity is illustrated in (95).

(95) KM
lalu [*s=ɔɣɛ* *llaki*]$_{NP}$ ***dəŋa*** [*s=ɛkɔ* *kambiŋ*]$_{NP}$.
pass one=person male with/and one=CLF goat
'A man with/and a goat passed by.' (KM_180814_n01_10)

Some conjunctions such as KM *ataupoŋ* 'or' and *walaupoŋ* 'although' only occur a few times in the corpora. In view of their unusual trisyllabic shapes, it is likely that these forms are borrowed or calqued from SM (cf. *ataupun* 'or' and *walaupun* 'although').

6.2.12 Discourse particles

Discourse particles are a group of words that serve to express various pragmatic functions such as topicalisation and emphasis. They typically do not serve syntactic functions, and they are often not directly translatable. Tags are included in this category.

NEPMs exhibit considerable variation with regard to the use of discourse particles, and KM in particular utilises a large number of such particles. Table 6.14 lists discourse particles attested in NEPMs.

Table 6.14: Discourse particles in NEPMs

Meaning	KM	CTM	ITM
'FOC; SFP'	*=lah*	*=lah*	*=lah*
'SFP'	*deh*	*deh*	–
'SFP'	*meh*	...	–
'TOP'	*kalu*	...	–
'TAG'	*=kɛ*	*=kaŋ*	*=kaŋ*
'EMPH'	*gaʔ*	...	*gaʔ*
'IMP'	–	*cəʔ*	*cəʔ*

In all three varieties, the enclitic *=lah* is used as both a focus marker and a sentence-final particle for various purposes including softening the tones, emphasis and reassurance. When used as a focus marker, *=lah* can follow various kinds of constituents which are often (but not necessarily) fronted to clause-initial positions, as illustrated in (96) to (98). KM and CTM also use *iyɔ=lah* (3=FOC, with a variant *iyɔlɔh*) as a conventionalised affirmative expression, which can be translated as 'indeed, right'. A similar expression can be found in CTM, which takes the form of *yə=lah* (3=FOC) or *yə ah* (3 INTERJ).

(96) KM
*tu=**lah*** *cɣitɔ diyɔ.*
DEM.DIST=FOC story 3
'That's the story.' (KM_180812_n01_35)

(97) CTM
*tibə-tibə dalaŋ lubaŋ tu, tubeʔ=**lah** s=ɛkɔ tikuh.*
suddenly inside hole DEM.DIST come.out=FOC one=CLF rat
'Suddenly a rat came out of the hole.' (CTM_181023_n02_22)

(98) ITM
*bulɛih=**lah** mɔʔciʔ ŋaŋ pɔʔciʔ gɛi j-jalaŋ təpaʔ-təpaʔ uɣɔŋ.*
can=FOC auntie and uncle go INTR-road RDP-place person
'We (auntie and uncle) could travel to other places.'
(ITM_180923_n01_28)

Some examples of *=lah* used as a sentence-final particle are given in (99) to (101).

(99) KM
*ɲɔ supɔh k=ɔɣɛ=**lah**.*
ANAPH curse AGT=person=SFP
'It would get cursed by people.' (KM_180820_cv03_142)

(100) CTM
*ɣusə tu poŋ tɛŋɔʔ=jə=**lah**.*
deer DEM.DIST also look=just=SFP
'The deer was just watching.' (CTM_181023_n02_43.1)

(101) ITM
*mulɛ tɔh panda, lɛnɛiŋ dɔʔ tau=**lah**.*
beginning DEM.DIST good.at now NEG know=SFP
'I was good at it before, but now I don't know.'
(ITM_180917_cv01_23)

In addition to *=lah*, KM has other discourse particles like *deh* and *meh* which also occur in sentence-final positions, and they are conveniently referred to as sentence-final particles ('SFP'). Some examples are presented in (102). It appears that *deh* is often used to ask confirmation or seek attention, which may also stand on its own, as shown in (102b). The usage of *meh* needs further investigation.

(102) KM
a. *stai mɛʔ diyɔ tumih **deh**?*
style(ENG) mother 3 sauté SFP
'My mom's style is to sauté, right?' (KM_180820_cv03_6)
b. ***deh**, b-bəlɔh ikɛ=lah supɔ ggitu?*
SFP CAUS-split fish=FOC like like.that
'So you half the fish like that?' (KM_180820_cv03_58)
c. *ɔɣɛ təpɔh nɔʔ makɛ ɣaɣɔ ptamɔ,*
person book want eat Eid.al-Fitr first
*ɣaɣɔ kduwɔ tɔʔleh makɛ lagi **meh**.*
Eid.al-Fitr second cannot eat yet SFP
'People make reservations to eat for the first Eid al-Fitr, but can't even get them on the second Eid al-Fitr day.'
(KM_180820_cv03_141)

KM *kalu* 'TOP' occurs in clause-initial position, introducing an NP as the topic in the discourse. It should be distinguished from *kalu* 'if', which is a conjunction that links two clauses (see §6.2.11). *Kalu* as a topic marker can often be translated as 'as for, regarding', as exemplified in (103).

(103) KM
***kalu** ikɛ poŋ, hɔʔ diyɔ bɛsɔ makɛ=jə=lah.*
TOP fish even REL 3 usual eat=just=SFP
'As for fish, only the kinds that she usually eats.'
(KM_180820_cv03_153.2)

Another two discourse particles attested in KM are the tag marker *=kɛ* 'TAG', which can be translated as 'you know; right', and the emphasis marker *gaʔ*, which follows a number of elements including nouns, verbs and conjunctions like *tapi* 'but'. These two particles are illustrated in (104) and (105).

(104) KM
*diyɔ tu=**kɛ**, mugɔ budɔʔ ttinɔ ɲɔ,*
3 DEM.DIST=TAG seemingly kid female ANAPH
*jaŋɔʔ budɔʔ **gaʔ**, nɔʔ pɛkɔŋ s=macɛ.*
pretty kid EMPH want throw same=sort
'That one, you know, it was a girl, a pretty girl, but he still wants to hit her anyway.' (KM_180816_cv01_30)

(105) KM
*tapi **gaʔ** diyɔ hɔʔ masɔ aɣoŋ hɔʔ pətiŋ.*
but EMPH 3 REL when steam REL important
'But the steaming process is important.' (KM_180820_cv03_130)

CTM/ITM *=kaŋ* 'TAG' is the equivalent of KM *=kɛ*. CTM and ITM have one particle that is not attested in KM, namely the imperative marker *cəʔ* 'IMP'. Examples illustrating its usage are given in (106) and (107).

(106) CTM
***cəʔ** aleh jaʔ kkusi, sakoʔ ah.*
IMP move a.while chair hook INTERJ
'Move the chair a bit; something is hooked.' (CTM_220927_e02_72)

(107) ITM
kaiŋ təʊ basɔh,
cloth DEM.DIST wet
***cəʔ** məʊŋ gɛi ŋŋ-<k>əɣɛiŋ kaiŋ təʊ sikĩʔ lagɛi.*
IMP 2SG go IPFV-dry cloth DEM.DIST little more
'That cloth is wet, try to dry it a bit more.' (ITM_180921_e01_6)

6.2.13 Interjections

Interjections are utterances that express various spontaneous emotions or reactions. They often occur on their own and do not serve syntactic functions. Table 6.15 presents common interjections attested in NEPMs. The

phonetic realisations of these interjections exhibit considerable variation, and the rough transcription provided here is not intended to capture their phonetic details.

Table 6.15: Interjections in NEPMs

Expressions	KM	CTM	ITM
emphasis, attention-seeking	*a~ah~hah*	*a~ah~hah*	*a~ah~hah*
contempt, confirmation-seeking	*e~eh~heh*	*e~eh~heh*	*ɛ~ɛh~hɛh*
confusion	*a~ha*	*a~ha*	*a~ha*
astonishment, disappointment	*ɔlɔh*	...	*ɔlɔh*
understanding, realisation	*ɔ~ɔ̃*	*ɔ~ɔʔ*	*ɔ*
disappointment, sympathy	*ado*	*ado*	*adu*
contempt	...	...	*iʃ~uʃ*

Examples illustrating the usage of interjections are given in (108) to (110), each presenting a short conversation between two interlocutors. In (108), *ado* expresses sympathy. In (109), the first speaker gave the instruction *cakaʔ kitə* '(speak) the local dialect', and the second speaker replied in confusion with *ha*, after which the first speaker repeated *cakaʔ kitə*. In (110), *uʃ* shows contempt.

(108) KM

A. *taʔdɔʔ ɔɣɛ kənɛ, katɔ.*
NEG.EXIST person remember say
'Nobody remembers him, she said.'

B. ***ado eh.***
INTERJ INTERJ
'What a pity!' (KM_180816_cv01_12.2–13)

(109) CTM

A. *cakaʔ kitə.*
speech 1PL
'(Speak) the local dialect.'

B. ***ha?***
huh
'Huh?'

A. *cakaʔ kitə.*
speech 1PL
'(Speak) the local dialect.' (CTM_181022_cv01_18–20)

(110) ITM

A. *dɔʔ, məʊŋ waʔ gwanɛ məʊŋ dɔʔ tibɔʔ*
NEG 2SG make how 2SG NEG flip
'No, how are you making (the roti canai) if you don't flip (the dough)?'

B. *uɣɔŋ waʔ macaŋ lipɛiŋ.*
person make like pancake
'People make it like a pancake.'

A. ***uf.***
pfft
'Pfft.' (ITM_180917_cv01_5–7)

6.3 Noun phrases

Noun phrases (NPs) are larger units headed by nouns, which serve the same grammatical functions as nouns. This section outlines the basic NP structure, discussing the constituents that can occur in NPs, their order and possible variations.

Words from a number of word classes discussed in §6.2 can occur in NPs, including demonstratives, quantifiers and numerals, classifiers and possessive pronouns. These constituents typically have the following order in an NP:

(111) quantifier/numeral – classifier – noun – attributive modifier – possessor – relative clause – demonstrative

NPs featuring all possible constituents are extremely rare (if occurring at all) in naturalistic data. Example (112) from KM demonstrates an NP where the head noun *budɔʔ* 'kid' is quantified by a pronominal numeral + a classifier, and followed by a demonstrative. In (113), *bini* 'wife' is modified by a post-nominal possessive pronoun, a relative clause and a demonstrative. Similarly, in the ITM example in (114), the head noun *kkatɔʔ* 'frog' is followed by a relative clause and a demonstrative.

(112) KM
... [*s=ɔɣɛ budɔʔ ni*]$_{NP}$,
... one=CLF kid DEM.PROX

diyɔ pɛɣɔ kkatɔʔ dalɛ s=buwɔh bɔtɔ.
3 breed frog inside one=CLF bottle.
'This boy ... he kept a frog in a bottle.' (KM_180812_n01_2)

(113) KM
mugɔ [*bini diyɔ* [*hɔʔ ptamɔ*]$_{REL}$ *tu*]$_{NP}$,
seemingly wife 3 REL first DEM.PROX

diyɔ ggapɔ, uzo.
3 whatchamacallit sick
'It seems that his first wife was sick.' (KM_180820_cv03_103)

(114) ITM
... *caɣɛi luwɔ umɔh nɔʔ*
... search outside house want

[*kkatɔʔ* [*haʔ ilɔŋ taʔdɛi*]$_{REL}$ *tah*]$_{NP}$.
frog REL disappear just.now DEM.DIST
'(He) searched outside the house to look for the frog that went missing.' (ITM_180907_n02_12.2)

The head nouns of NPs may also be omitted or ellipted, resulting in NPs that only consist of a numeral + a classifier, or headless relative clauses (§6.2.6 and §6.2.4.2).

Deviating from the typical constituent order schematised in (111), numeral + classifier combinations may follow head nouns, as illustrated in (115). It appears that when numeral + classifier combinations are placed post-nominally, more emphasis is given to the referents rather than their quantities, but the meaning difference is rather subtle. The two examples in (116) come from the same elicitation session where the consultant was asked to describe pictures. As can be seen, they have parallel constructions except for the order of the numeral + classifier combination with respect to the noun.

(115) KM
... diyɔ buwi=lah [*buwɔh pɛ tigɔ bute*]$_{NP}$.
... 3 give=FOC fruit pear three CLF
'He gave away three pears.' (KM_180814_n01_37)

(116) ITM
a. *adɛ* [*kayəʊ apɛi paʔ batɔŋ*]$_{NP}$,
EXIST wood fire four CLF
tigɛ batɔŋ pandɔʔ, sɛ batɔŋ paɲjɔŋ.
three CLF short one CLF long
'There are four sticks of firewood; three sticks are short, one stick is long.' (ITM_180921_e03_17)
b. *adɛ* [*tigɛ buti batəʊ*]$_{NP}$, *duwɛ buti kəcĩʔ, sɛ buti bəsɔ.*
EXIST three CLF stone two CLF small one CLF big
'There are three stones; two are small, one is big.'
(ITM_180921_e03_39)

There is no alienability distinction in possessive constructions. The possessor, either a noun, a pronoun or an NP, follows the head noun which is the possessum. Also as mentioned in 6.2.4.1, there are no dedicated possessive pronouns in clitic forms. Some further examples of possessive constructions are given in (117).

(117) ITM
a. *tandəʊʔ usɛ*
antler deer
'deer's antler'
b. *lakɛi məʊŋ*
husband 2SG
'your husband'
c. *anɔʔ uɣɔŋ sbəlɔh umɔh*
child person side house
'neighbour's child'

At the clausal level, NPs may function as arguments of verbs, nominal predicates or complements of prepositions. See more discussion below in §6.4.

6.4 Basic clause structure

This section outlines the structure of simple clauses, which are grammatical units that minimally consist of a predicate. A clause typically also has a subject; the predicate ascribes properties or states something about the subject. For a brief discussion on clause combination, see §6.2.11.

The most common type of predicates contains a verb phrase (VP) headed by a verb. Verbal clauses as such are discussed in §6.4.1. Non-verbal clauses, such as those containing a nominal predicate or a quantifier/numeral predicate, as well as prepositional clauses and existential clauses, are described in §6.4.2.

6.4.1 Verbal clauses

Verbal clauses can be classified along two primary parameters: transitivity and dynamic vs. stative.

Transitivity relates to the number of arguments a verb takes. Verbal clauses can contain an intransitive verb with one argument, a transitive verb with two arguments, or a ditransitive verb with three arguments (which only has limited occurrences, see below). In declarative main clauses, the basic word order for intransitive clauses is subject–verb, and for transitive clauses, it is subject–verb–object. A further distinction can be made between the single argument of an intransitive verb (S), the most agent-like argument of a transitive verb (A) and the most patient-like argument of a transitive verb (P).

Verbal clauses can also be divided into dynamic and stative verbal clauses depending on whether the main verb is a dynamic or a stative verb. The discussion below is organised along this parameter: dynamic verbal clauses are discussed in §6.4.1.1, and stative verbal clauses are discussed in §6.4.1.2.

6.4.1.1 Dynamic verbal clauses

Example (118) presents two simple dynamic verbal clauses from CTM. (118a) is an intransitive clause with the order of SV, and (118b) is a transitive clause with an AVP order.

(118) CTM

a. [*aku*]$_{S}$ *mandi.*
1SG bathe
'I'm bathing.' (CTM_181029_e01_24)

b. [*aku*]$_{A}$ *m-mandi* [*anɔʔ aku*]$_{P}$.
1SG CAUS-bathe child 1SG
'I'm bathing my child.' (CTM_181029_e01_25)

A ditransitive clause has two object arguments, whereby the indirect object argument, which is often a recipient (R), precedes the direct object argument, typically the theme (T). Some examples are presented in (119) and (120), and earlier in (11a). Only a few ditransitive verbs are attested, such as KM/CTM *buwi~wi*, ITM *buwɛi~wɛi* 'to give', KM *aja*, CTM/ITM *ajɔ* 'to teach', and KM/CTM *tuŋjoʔ*, ITM *tuŋjəʊʔ* 'to show'. Even for these verbs that have the possibility to take three arguments, the recipients of actions like 'to give' are more commonly introduced in PPs following the object argument, as in (121).

(119) ITM
[*uɣɔŋ təʊ*]$_{A}$ *maɣɛi,* ***wɛi*** [*tuwaŋ umɔh*]$_{R}$ [*buŋɛ*]$_{T}$.
person DEM.DIST come give owner house flower
'That person came and gave the host some flowers.'
(ITM_220918_e01_6)

(120) KM
[*asma*]$_{A}$ ***aja*** [*nɔdiŋ*]$_{R}$ [*bahasa klatɛ*]$_{T}$.
Asma teach Nordin language(SM) Kelantan
'Asma teaches Nordin Kelantanese.' (KM_221025_e02_9)

(121) ITM
adɛ duwɛ uɣɔŋ ppuwaŋ,
EXIST two person female
[*hɔʔ b-diɣɛi təʔ*]$_{A}$ ***wɛi*** [*ai*]$_{T}$ [*kə hɔʔ dudəʊʔ*]$_{R}$.
REL INTR-stand DEM.DIST give water to REL sit
'There are two women, the one who's standing gave water to the one who's sitting.' (ITM_220915_e02_1)

While the basic word order in declaration main clauses is SV or AVP, there is some variation. First, the verb in an intransitive clause may be fronted to pre-subject position for the effect of emphasis, with or without the focus marker *=lah*. (122) illustrates a VS order as such, and examples with pre-subject intransitive verbs marked by *=lah* were given earlier in (97) and (98).

(122) KM
*... **lalu** budɔʔjatɛ s=ɔɣɛ dəŋa basika.*
... pass.by kid male one=CLF with bike
'A boy with a bike passed by.' (KM_180814_n01_14)

Second, the order of PVA or PV is attested in passive constructions, where the grammatical subject is the patient of the action denoted by the verb. The agent is introduced in a post-verbal PP headed by KM *kɔ~kə*, CTM *di*, ITM *də* or their cliticised forms, as mentioned in §6.2.10 and illustrated in (87) to (89).

It is worth noting that two types of passive constructions may be distinguished, and they allow different constituent orders. The first type is the adversative passive, which suggests that an action or an event was unpleasant or undesirable, and the patient is negatively affected (Kroeger 2005: 279). In this type of constructions, an auxiliary verb marking adversativity, namely KM *kənɔ*, CTM *kənə* and ITM *kənɛ*, precedes the main verb (cf. SM *kəna*, discussed in Koh 1990: 167; Chung 2005; Nomoto & Kartini 2012). Adversative passives allow the constituent order PV or PVA, meaning that the agents may be unexpressed. Examples demonstrating these two possibilities are presented in (123) and (124).

(123) KM
a. [*ɣumɔh tu*]$_{P}$ *kənɔ bakɔ* [*kɔ jiɣɛ* *diyɔ*]$_{A}$.
house DEM.DIST ADVS burn AGT neighbour 3
'That house was burnt by his neighbour.' (KM_180825_e01_41)
b. [*ɣumɔh tu*]$_{P}$ *kənɔ bakɔ.*
house DEM.DIST ADVS burn
'That house was burnt.' (KM_180827_e01_24)

(124) CTM

a. *aɲjiŋ tu poŋ laɣi*
dog DEM.DIST then run

səbaʔ [*yə*]$_{P}$ *kənə kəjɔ* [*di tbuwaŋ tu*]$_{A}$.
because 3 ADVS chase AGT hornet DEM.DIST

'The dog ran away because it was chased by the hornets.'
(CTM_181023_n02_31.2)

b. [*anɔʔ pɔʔ maŋ*]$_{P}$ *kənə iɣaʔ.*
child uncle Man ADVS catch

'Uncle Man's child was caught.' (CTM_220927_e02_115)

The second type of passive constructions does not have the adversative marker, and they do not necessarily encode the adversative meaning. Unlike the first type of passives where the passive meaning is primarily expressed by the adversative marker, this type of passive is only marked by the word order of PVA, and the agents must be expressed at the syntactic level, introduced by an agent marker. This is illustrated in (125). Note that there is no voice-marking on verbs in any type of clauses; without *də ayɔh ŋə* 'by her father', *tulɔʔ* 'to push' in (125) could have been interpreted as an action that initiated by the girl, rather than affecting the girl.

(125) ITM

budɔʔ ppuwaŋ d-diɣɛi atah mijɛ,
kid female INTR-self top table

[*ŋə*]$_{P}$ *tulɔʔ* [*də ayɔh ŋə*]$_{A}$.
ANAPH push AGT father ANAPH

'A girl was standing on the table, and she was pushed by his father.'
(ITM_180909_e01_44–45)

More importantly, even if the agent of an action is unspecific, a dummy agent meaning 'person' has to occur. In (126) and (127), for instance, there is no specific agent for the actions 'to curse' and 'to take', and the more natural English translations would be passive sentences without overt agents. In NEPMs, however, the agent 'person' needs to be introduced, as in KM *k=ɔɣɛ* and ITM *d=uɣɔŋ* 'AGT=person'.

(126) KM
[*ɲɔ*]$_{P}$ *supɔh* [***k*=*ɔɣɛ***]$_{A}$=*lah*.
ANAPH curse AGT=person=SFP
'It would get cursed (by people).' (KM_180820_cv03_142)

(127) ITM
pɔʔ samaʔ dɔʔ sədɔ dɔh [*buwɔh pɛ*]$_{P}$ *ambɛiʔ* [***d*=*uɣɔŋ***]$_{A}$.
uncle Samat NEG realise already fruit pear take AGT=person
'Pak Samat didn't realise that his pears were taken (by someone).'
(ITM_180927_n02_30)

In addition to the adversative marker, the main verbs in dynamic verbal clauses can be preceded by auxiliary verbs encoding certain aspectual or modal expressions, as well as causativity. Pre-verbal auxiliary verbs attested in NEPMs are listed in Table 6.16. Some examples illustrating the combination of an auxiliary verb + a main verb are presented in (128) to (130). As also indicated in the table, auxiliary verbs often grammaticalised from lexical verbs (or nouns, as in the case of *təŋɔh* 'middle'), and they are still used as such.

Table 6.16: Auxiliary verbs in NEPMs

Meaning	KM	CTM	ITM	
'PROG'	*dudoʔ~doʔ*	*doʔ*	*dudəʊʔ~duʔ*	< 'to sit; to stay'
'PROG'	*təŋɔh*	*təŋɔh*	*təŋɔh*	< 'middle'
'can'	*buleh*	*buleh*	*bulɛih*	< 'to get'
'CAUS'	*waʔ*	*waʔ*	*waʔ*	< 'to do; to make'
'CAUS'	–	–	*wɛi*	< 'to give'
'ADVS; must'	*kənɔ*	*kənə*	*kənɛ*	< 'to suffer; to affect'

(128) KM
diyɔ ***dudoʔ d-diɣi*** *sambe taŋɛ diyɔ* ***doʔ*** ***pəgɛ*** *pəɣoʔ*.
3 PROG INTR-self whilst hand 3 PROG hold belly
'He is standing there with his hands holding his belly.'
(KM_180816_e02_9)

(129) CTM
yə ambeʔ s=bako wɔh pɛ niŋ,
3 take one=basket fruit pear DEM.DIST
*yə **waʔ naiʔ** basika diyə.*
3 CAUS go.up bike 3
'He took a basket of pears and put it on his bike.' (Lit. 'cause to go up his bike') (CTM_181025_n02_24.2)

(130) ITM
*nɔʔ **wɛi cai** sikĩʔ.*
want CAUS liquid little
'Want to make it a bit more liquid.' (ITM_180917_cv01_18)

Other pre-verbal elements in a verbal predicate include the verbal negators and other negative verbs (§6.2.9). Adverbial expressions may precede or follow the main verb: adverbs denoting frequency precede the verb, but degree adverbs and locative setting adverbs typically follow the verb. Evidential adverbs may be pre-verbal or post-verbal. The variation displayed by the order of verbs and adverbial expressions is demonstrated by KM examples in (131). *Bɛsɔ* 'usual(ly)' and *mɛmɛ* 'really' precede the verb in their clauses, whereas *=jə* 'just', *sajɔ* 'only' and *suŋgoh* 'very much' follow the verb.

(131) KM
a. *kalu ikɛ poŋ, hɔʔ diyɔ **bɛsɔ** makɛ=**jə**=lah.*
TOP fish even REL 3 usual eat=just=SFP
'As for fish, only the kinds that she usually eats.'
(KM_180820_cv03_153.2)
b. *diyɔ **mɛmɛ** pɛkoŋ **suŋgoh**.*
3 really throw very.much
'He really throws (things) a lot.' (KM_180816_cv01_35)
c. *tapi diyɔ gunɔ ladɔ-ija **sajɔ**, ladɔ-sɔlɔʔ.*
but 3 use chilli-green only chilli-solok
'But they use green chilli only, solok chilli.'
(KM_180820_cv03_52)

Lastly, a verbal predicate may consist of several verbs which are strung together tightly to form a serial verb construction (SVC), as illustrated by KM

capo maso? 'mix add' in (132), CTM *blaŋgɔ ɣəbɔh* 'crash fall' in (133) and ITM *bbaɣɛiŋ tlətɔŋ* 'lie lie (on the back)' in (134). Furthermore, since semantic adjectives are taken as stative verbs, which may also function as manner adverbs (§6.2.3), the combination of a dynamic verb + a stative verb may be considered a type of SVCs; see examples in (22) to (24).

(132) KM
hɔ̃ diyɔ ***capo maso?*** *budu, ggapɔ deh.*
AFF 3 mix add budu what SFP
'Yeah she mixed it with budu (k.o. sauce) or things like that.'
(KM_180820_cv03_194)

(133) CTM
yə poŋ ***b-laŋgɔ ɣəbɔh.***
3 then MID-crash fall
'He crashed and fell.' (CTM_181025_n02_39.1)

(134) ITM
uɣɔŋ ***b-baɣɛiŋ tlətɔŋ*** *atah padɔŋ.*
person MID-lie lie.down top field
'A person is lying on his back on the ground.' (ITM_180921_e03_10)

SVCs like these code a single concurrent event with multiple verbs acting together as a single predicate and sharing the same arguments (Aikhenvald 2006: 1). An example of the juxtaposition of verbs which does not constitute a SVC is given in (135), in which the first verb *luɣəʊh* 'to fall' has the argument *buwɔh ɲɔ* 'coconut', whereas the second verb *tiyu?* 'to blow' has a different argument *aŋiŋ* 'wind'. (135) is therefore best viewed as biclausal.

(135) ITM
buwɔh ɲɔ luɣəʊh tiyu? d=aŋiŋ.
fruit coconut fall blow AGT=wind
'The coconut fell being blown by the wind.' (ITM_180921_e03_15)

6.4.1.2 Stative verbal clauses

Stative verbal clauses have stative verbs as predicates, which are always intransitive. They follow the basic word order of SV, as seen in examples (12)

and (136). The verb may be fronted for emphasis, often with the expression of exclamation, as demonstrated in (137) to (139).

(136) ITM
uɣɔŋ ŋə ***lawɔ,*** *təpaʔ ŋə* ***mulɛiʔ.***
person ANAPH beautiful place ANAPH good
'The people were beautiful and the places were nice.'
(ITM_180923_n01_37)

(137) KM
... ***daɣaʔ*** *ɔɣɛ kusia ni!*
... stupid person Kusial DEM.PROX
'How stupid is this guy from Kusial!' (KM_180820_cv03_19.2)

(138) CTM
hɔ̃ ***mɔlɛʔ*** *ah ni, kəcĩʔ eh.*
AFF good INTERJ DEM.PROX small INTERJ
'Ah this one is good, it's small.' (CTM_181022_cv01_15)

(139) ITM
... *ɔ* ***kəɣa-kətəʊŋ=lah*** *utɛi-cana məʊŋ!*
... INTERJ hard-thud=FOC roti.canai 2SG
'Ah your roti canai is hard as rock!' (ITM_180917_cv01_27)

Stative verbal clauses share many properties with dynamic intransitive verbal clauses, such as taking the verbal negator (KM *tɔʔ* and CTM/ITM *dɔʔ*). Many adverbs can also occur in both types of clauses. In addition to KM/CTM (*l*)*agi* and ITM *lagɛi* 'again; more; still; yet' (see §6.2.2), *dɔh* 'already' is also compatible with both dynamic and stative verbal clauses.[45] Examples illustrating the usage of *dɔh* 'already' are given in (140) and (141).

(140) KM
a. *... diyɔ* ***ɣukah*** *pɔkɔʔ* ***dɔh*** *...*
... 3 climb tree already ...
'He is already climbing the tree.' (KM_180814_n01_13)

[45] *Dɔh* appears to have another function as a discourse marker that can be translated to 'well', typically occurring on its own or in clause-initial position. See examples (17) and (19) in Appendix B.3.

b. *diyɔ mɛmɛ* ***lamɔ dɔh.***
3 indeed long already
'He's already been like that for a long time.'
(KM_180816_cv01_16)

(141) ITM

a. *mɔʔ makaŋ* ***dɔh*** *siɣɛih hah?*
mother eat already betel INTERJ
'Did you already eat the betel?' (ITM_180930_cv01_3)

b. *kəcĩʔ* ***dɔh.***
small already
'It's already on low.' (ITM_180917_cv01_69)

However, an important difference between dynamic and stative clauses is the more restricted use of auxiliaries in stative verbal clauses. Stative verbal clauses cannot be modified by aspectual or modal auxiliaries, and among the auxiliary verbs listed in Table 6.16, only the causative markers *waʔ* and *wɛi* can cooccur with stative verbs, as shown in (142) to (144).

(142) KM

hɔ̃ diyɔ ɣamah, mɛmɛ diyɔ ***waʔ pəkaʔ.***
AFF 3 squeeze really 3 CAUS thick
'Yeah she squeezed it and really made it very thick.'
(KM_180820_cv03_125)

(143) CTM

adeʔ aku ***waʔ ilaŋ*** *buku aku.*
younger.sibling 1SG CAUS disappeared book 1SG
'My younger brother/sister lost my book.' (CTM_181029_e02_79)

(144) ITM

a. *kitɛ* ***waʔ bəsɔ*** *apɛi.*
1PL.INCL CAUS big fire
'We raise the heat.' (ITM_180917_cv01_76)

b. ***wɛi luma?*** *lələʊ ladɛ təʊ sbəluŋ nɔ? gunɛ*
CAUS crushed immediately chilli DEM.DIST before want use
tah.
DEM.DIST
'Crush the chilli before you use it.' (ITM_180921_e01_4)

6.4.2 Non-verbal clauses

Non-verbal clauses have predicates that are not headed by a verb. NEPMs have several types of non-verbal clauses, which may contain nominal predicates, quantifier predicates or numeral predicates. Locational clauses and existential clauses may be viewed as special types of non-verbal clauses (or semi-verbal clauses, a term that is employed by Donohue 1999). They could contain a verbal predicate, but they also differ from prototypical verbal predicates in that they are not compatible with any auxiliary verbs.

6.4.2.1 Nominal predicates

The most common type of non-verbal clauses has nominal predicates headed by NPs, as already mentioned in the discussion on nouns and illustrated in (4) and (6). Some additional examples are provided in (145) to (147).

(145) KM
tu=lah [*cɣitɔ diyɔ*]$_{NP}$.
DEM.DIST=FOC story 3
'That's the story.' (KM_180812_n01_35)

(146) CTM
diyə [*anɔ? jiɣaŋ dəpaŋ ɣumɔh*]$_{NP}$.
3 child neighbour front house
'He is the child of the opposite door neighbour.'
(CTM_181029_e02_18)

(147) ITM
umu akəʊ [*limɛ puləʊh ppa? tauŋ*]$_{NP}$.
age 1SG five tens four year
'I'm 54 years old.' (Lit. 'My age is 54 years.') (ITM_180923_n01_3)

Like verbal predicates, nominal predicates follow the subject. Nominal clauses like these essentially have two nominal constituents that are juxtaposed without copulas. Auxiliary verbs are not allowed in nominal clauses. Adverbs, on the other hand, may occur in nominal clauses, as exemplified in (148) to (150).

(148) KM
Ø [*baŋɔʔ kkaɣɔ*]$_{NP}$ ***dɔh****=kɛʔ*
Ø much stuff already=TAG
'That's already a lot of stuff, no?' (KM_180820_cv03_256)

(149) CTM
... pi baʔ ciʔ yaŋ [*ɔɣaŋ sini*]$_{NP}$ ***dɔh,*** *moŋ katə ggitu.*
... but because auntie Yam person here already 2SG tell like.that
'... but since auntie Yam is from here, you tell her that.'
(CTM_181024_cv02_11.2)

(150) ITM
nɛh ***sajɛ*** [*ɛkspɛrimɛŋ*]$_{NP}$.
DEM.PROX just experiment(ENG)
'It's just an experiment.' (ITM_180917_cv01_78)

6.4.2.2 Quantifier/numeral predicates

A second type of non-verbal clauses has quantifiers or numerals as predicates, as shown in (41) to (43), as well as in (151) and (152).

(151) KM
... taʔdɔʔ nnagɔʔ gaʔ, ɔbaʔ [*baŋɔʔ*]$_{QP}$.
... NEG.EXIST energy EMPH medicine much
'(She) doesn't have energy, (but she needs to eat) a lot of medicine.'
(Lit. 'medicine is a lot') (KM_180820_cv03_217.2)

(152) ITM
taʔdɛi bawɔʔ tigɛ, nɛh [*duwɛ*]$_{QP}$*=jə dɔh.*
just.now bring three DEM.PROX two=just already
'I brought three (baskets) just now, but now this is only two.'
(ITM_180927_n02_60)

Quantifier or numeral predicates also follow the subject. This contrasts with quantifiers occurring in NPs, which precede the head noun (see §6.3); compare *ɔbaʔ baɲɔʔ* '(the amount of) medicine is a lot' in (151) with *baɲɔʔ ɔbaʔ* 'a lot of medicine'.

6.4.2.3 Locational clauses

Locational clauses consist of a subject that identifies the person or thing whose location is being described, followed by a locational predicate that may be verbal or prepositional. These clauses are commonly used to answer questions with the locative interrogative 'where'. In fact, the question 'where is X?' itself may be viewed as a specific type of locational clause, in which the predicate may be fronted, as in (153a) and (154). In (155), however, the locative interrogative remains *in situ*.

(153) KM

a. ***m*=*manɔ*** *kɔtɔ-baɣu?*
LOC=where Kota-Bharu
'Where is Kota Bharu?' (KM_221025_e02_28)

b. *kɔtɔ-baɣu doʔ klatɛ.*
Kota-Bharu sit Kelantan
'Kota Bharu is in Kelantan.' (KM_221025_e02_30)

(154) CTM

m*=*manə *ayaŋ ... kawaŋ yə ni, dɔʔ jupə caɣi agi eh.*
LOC=where chicken ... friend 3 DEM.PROX NEG meet search yet INTERJ
'Where is the chicken ... his friends still cannot find him.'
(CTM_181029_n01_33)

(155) ITM

suɣaʔ məʊŋ tulih mmaɣɛiŋ ***dwanɛ?***
letter 2SG write yesterday where
'Where is the letter you wrote yesterday?' (ITM_180921_e01_14)

(153b) exemplifies a locational clause that answers the question in (153a). It has a verbal predicate that is headed by a positional verb *doʔ* 'to sit'. In KM

and CTM, locational clauses typically require the positional verb *dudoʔ~doʔ* (also *udoʔ* in CTM), as further illustrated in (156) and (157). The positional verb introduces the location in space, which could be expressed by a noun, but more commonly by a locative PP, either headed by a preposition or a cliticised geminated segment which serves the same locative function, as in KM *k=kaki* 'on the foot' in (156c) and CTM *t=tali* 'on the rope' in (157c). Another positional verb 'to hang' is illustrated in (157d), but its usage is restricted to its literal meaning which describes the state of 'being hung'. In comparison, *dudoʔ~udoʔ~doʔ* has apparently been grammaticalised and acquired a more general meaning 'to be located'.

(156) KM

a. *tɔpi* ***doʔ*** *atah ppalɔ.*
cap sit top head
'A cap is on the head.' (KM_180829_e01_6)

b. *lapu* ***dudoʔ*** *di siliŋ.*
lamp sit LOC ceiling(ENG)
'A lamp is on the ceiling.' (KM_180829_e01_14)

c. *kasuʔ* ***dudoʔ*** *k=kaki.*
shoe sit LOC=foot
'A shoe is on the foot.' (KM_180829_e01_22)

(157) CTM

a. *ckəlaʔ* ***dudoʔ*** *di mɛjə.*
chewing.gum(ENG) sit LOC table
'Chewing gum is on the table.' (CTM_181029_e01_59)

b. *sudu* ***doʔ*** *bɔwɔh kaiŋ.*
spoon sit below cloth
'A spoon is underneath a cloth.' (CTM_180829_e01_29)

c. *ɲŋ-<s>akoʔ* ***udoʔ*** *t=tali.*
NMLS-hang sit LOC=rope
'Hangers are on the rope.' (CTM_181029_e01_39)

d. *baju koʔ* ***gatoŋ*** *di ɲŋ-<s>akoʔ baju.*
shirt coat(ENG) hang LOC NMLS-hang shirt
'A coat hangs on the cloth hanger.' (CTM_181029_e01_11)

ITM, on the other hand, does not have a grammaticalised positional verb (examples similar to (157d) are attested). Locational clauses typically have prepositional predicates, as illustrated in (158).

(158) ITM

a. *ukuʔ təh də muluʔ uɣɔŋ.*
cigarette DEM.DIST LOC mouth person
'The cigarette is on the mouth.' (ITM_180921_e02_39)

b. *kasuʔ təh k=kakɛi.*
shoe DEM.DIST LOC=foot
'The shoe is on the foot.' (ITM_180921_e02_21)

Additionally, locational clauses in all three varieties of NEPMs may use an existential predicate headed by the existential verb 'there is', as illustrated in (159) to (161). These locational clauses may be alternatively viewed as existential clauses with a location, see §6.4.2.4 below.

(159) KM
buku tu ***adɔ*** *atah mɛjɔ.*
book DEM.DIST EXIST top table
'The book is on the table.' (KM_221025_e02_35)

(160) CTM
kɔtɔʔ ***adə*** *biɣa dindiŋ.*
box EXIST edge wall
'A box is right next to the wall.' (CTM_181023_e01_50)

(161) ITM
planta təʊ ***adɛ*** *də matɛ pisɔ.*
margarine DEM.DIST EXIST LOC eye knife
'Margarine is on the blade.' (ITM_180921_e02_12)

6.4.2.4 Existential clauses

Existential clauses are introduced by existential verbs meaning 'there is' or 'there isn't', namely KM *adɔ*, CTM *adə* and ITM *adɛ* 'EXIST' and their negative counterpart *taʔdɔʔ* 'NEG.EXIST', which historically reflects the combination

of a pre-verbal negator *tak and the affirmative existential verb *ada (final *ʔ* in *taʔdɔʔ* is unexplained).

Two types of existential clauses may be distinguished, one type with a location and one type without. Existential clauses with a location have an existential predicate following the subject which is the person/object whose existence or absence is asserted (the "existant"). Some examples of affirmative existential predicates were presented in (159) to (161) above, and negative existential predicates are illustrated in (162) and (163).

(162) CTM
buku tu ***taʔdɔʔ*** *atah kkusi, atah mɛjə.*
book DEM.DIST NEG.EXIST top chair top table
'The book is not on the chair, but on the table.'
(CTM_220927_e02_53)

(163) ITM
k-kəjuʔ *pagɛi* *isəʊʔ,*
NVOL-startle morning tomorrow
tiŋuʔ tah *kkatɔʔ* ***taʔdɔʔ*** *dalaŋ* *bujəʊŋ ŋə.*
look DEM.DIST frog NEG.EXIST inside bottle ANAPH
'The next morning, (the boy) was surprised to see that the frog was not in the bottle.' (ITM_180907_n01_4)

In existential clauses without a location, existential verbs are typically clause-initial, followed by the existant. Some examples are given in (164) to (166). (164b) and (166b) illustrate the idiomatic expression of *taʔdɔʔ ɔɣɛ/uɣɔŋ* (also CTM *taʔdɔʔ ɔɣaŋ*) (NEG.EXIST person) 'there is no person', which can often be translated as 'nobody'.

(164) KM
a. ***adɔ*** *ɔɣɛ* *jatɛ* *tuɣoŋ* *xxɛtɔ puteh ...*
EXIST person male go.down car white ...
'There was a man getting off a white car.' (KM_180816_cv01_2)
b. *...* ***taʔdɔʔ*** *ɔɣɛ* *kənɛ,* *katɔ.*
... NEG.EXIST person remember say
'Nobody remembers him, she said.' (KM_180816_cv01_12.2)

(165) CTM

a. *pəʔciʔ dɔʔ səd͡ɔ* ***adə*** *budɔʔ llaki lalu.*
uncle NEG realise EXIST kid male pass.by
'The uncle didn't realise that there was a boy passing by.'
(CTM_181025_n01_22)

b. *ah* ***taʔdɔʔ*** *aŋiŋ pulɔʔ, kənə gi isi dɔh aŋiŋ ah.*
INTERJ NEG.EXIST wind also must go fill already wind INTERJ
'Ah the tyre is flat again (lit. 'there is no wind (in the tyre)'),
need to pump it.' (CTM_220927_e02_140)

(166) ITM

a. ***adɛ*** *s=buwɔh umɔh nɛh ...*
EXIST one=CLF house DEM.PROX ...
'There is this house ...' (ITM_180927_n03_1.1)

b. ***taʔdɔʔ*** *uɣɔŋ təgu ŋə kə diyɛ.*
NEG.EXIST person greet ANAPH to 3SG
'Nobody greeted him.' (ITM_180926_cv02_6)

The existential verbs are also used as lexical verbs meaning 'to have' or 'to not have', as illustrated in (167).

(167) ITM

a. *akəʊ* ***adɛ*** *xitɛ, duwɛ buwɔh xitɛ akəʊ, diyɛ katɛ.*
1SG have car two CLF car 1SG 3SG say
'He said: I have cars, two cars.' (ITM_220922_cv03_35.2)

b. *padɔŋ ɣupuʔ taʔ* ***taʔdɔʔ*** *ataʔ,*
field grass DEM.DIST not.have roof
tapɛi təpaʔ dudəʊʔ taʔ diyɛ ***adɛ*** *ataʔ.*
but place sit DEM.DIST 3SG have roof
'The field doesn't have roof, but the sitting area has roof.'
(ITM_220910_cv01_46)

Another extended usage of *adɛ* as a verum focus marker is attested in ITM, which is used before dynamic verbal predicates to emphasise the expression of truth of a proposition (Lohnstein 2016, citing Höhle 1988; Höhle 1992). In the examples in (168), *adɛ* does not have an existential meaning, and its

presence is not necessary for the grammaticality of the sentences. Instead, it serves to enhance the emphasis on the events being described.

(168) ITM

a. ***adɛ*** *balɛiʔ sənɛiŋ ɣasɛ a.*
VF return just.now feel INTERJ
'Seems he did come back just now.' (ITM_180926_cv01_30)

b. *... mmaɣɛiŋ* ***adɛ*** *napɔʔ ŋə s=iku.*
... yesterday VF see ANAPH one=CLF
'Yesterday I did see one.' (ITM_180917_cv01_107.2)

6.5 Summary

This chapter has provided an overview of the word classes and basic syntactic structures of NEPMs, including discussions of the NP structure and basic clausal syntax.

Due to the limited productive morphology, word classes are primarily defined based on their syntactic properties. NEPMs have two major open word classes: nouns and verbs. Nouns typically function as heads in NPs which in turn function as arguments in clauses, whereas verbs function as predicates. Nouns and verbs also differ in their collocation with negators: nouns are negated with the non-verbal negators (KM *bukɛ* and CTM/ITM *bukaŋ*), whereas verbs are primarily negated with the verbal negators (KM *tɔʔ* and CTM/ITM *dɔʔ*). NEPMs do not have a separate word class of adjectives. Semantic adjectives share many morphosyntactic similarities with intransitive verbs, on the basis of which they are subsumed as a subclass of verbs called "stative verbs", as opposed to "dynamic verbs".

Adverbs are considered constituting a closed word class, and there are no distinct manner adverbs. Instead, the functions of manner verbs are fulfilled by stative verbs. Other closed word classes discussed in this chapter include pronouns, demonstratives, quantifiers and numerals, classifiers, prepositions and conjunctions. Interrogatives, negators, discourse particles and interjections may not constitute a unified word class with clear definitions on syntactic grounds, but they were discussed in individual sections for ease of reference and cross-linguistic comparisons.

In NPs, the typical constituent order is as follows: quantifiers, numerals and classifiers precede the head noun, while other attributive modifiers, including both nouns and verbs, as well as possessors, relative clauses and demonstratives follow the head noun. Unlike many other Malayic languages, NEPMs lack distinct possessive pronouns in clitic forms. Additionally, the pronominal systems of KM and CTM deviate from the typical Malayic pronominal system in that they lack the inclusive–exclusive distinction in the first-person plural pronouns.

Clauses in NEPMs can be divided into verbal or non-verbal. Within verbal clauses, dynamic verbal clauses can be intransitive, transitive or ditransitive, whereas stative verbal clauses are always intransitive. Dynamic ditransitive clauses are nevertheless rare. The typical word orders for intransitive and transitive clauses are SV and AVP respectively, but variations such as VS and PVA can also occur. PV(A) word order is typically found in passive constructions. These are formed either with the auxiliary verb expressing adversativity (KM *kənɔ*, CTM *kənə* and ITM *kənɛ*), which may allow for the omission of the post-verbal agent introduced in a PP, or solely with the PVA word order, in which case the agent must be expressed. Notably, transitive verbs in NEPMs do not have voice-marking morphology. Non-verbal clauses may have NPs, quantifiers or numerals as predicates. In addition, locational clauses and existential clauses may be viewed as semi-verbal clauses. KM and CTM locational clauses typically have a verbal predicate headed by a positional verb, whereas ITM locational clauses more commonly have prepositional predicates. Existential clauses may or may not contain a location; when they do, they have a structure similar to locational clauses.