

AN OUTLINE OF TEMIAR GRAMMAR

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0. *Introduction*

Temiar is a member of the Central division (Diffloth's 'Senoic') of Aslian, a group of Austro-asiatic languages spoken in the Malay Peninsula by a variety of tribal peoples. The Temiar comprise some 10,000 swidden cultivators occupying a territory of about 2,000 square miles on the Kelantan-Perak watershed in the northern part of West Malaysia. The author has spent a total of nearly two years in close contact with them, carrying out ethnological and linguistic fieldwork, almost entirely in the Temiar language.

The purpose of this paper is to provide an overview of Temiar phonetics, phonology, morphology and (to a lesser extent) syntax sufficient to illustrate the main features of the language. A somewhat informal style of presentation has been followed, so as to remain more in keeping with the unfinished character of the analysis.

Temiar possesses two major dialects, Northern and Southern, the differences between which are mainly phonological. The dividing line between them runs between the Piah and Plus valleys in Perak; in Kelantan it continues between the Enching and upper Perolak valleys until it dips southwards at the point where the Perolak becomes raftable; it continues just westwards of the Kelaik river,

ally to cross the Brok river at Jeram Gajah. This means that each dialect has roughly the same number of speakers. The present account is based on the Northern dialect as spoken in the Betis and lower Perolak valleys of Ulu Kelantan. Occasional reference is made to the Southern dialect, and to other dialects, where the differences warrant mention.

The Sound System

The Phonemes

Only the segmental phonemes are dealt with here, no analysis of the intonational system has yet been made. The phonemic norms are charted below.

1.1 *Consonants*

Consonants are non-syllabic vocoids and contoids, and are the only phonemes that occur word-initially and word-finally.

	labial	dental	palatal	velar	glottal	pharyngeal
voiced						
stop	p	t	c	k		
nasal	m	n	ɲ	ŋ		
voiced						
stop	b	d	j	g		
nasal						
vowel	w		y			
lateral		l				
tap		r				
aspirated						
aspirated			s			
pharyngeal					ʔ	ħ

The first four points of articulation should more precisely be labelled bilabial, apico-alveolar, alveo-alveolar and dorso-velar, respectively.

1.1.2 Vowels

Vowels are syllabic vocoids, and they occur only medially between consonants (*i.e.* not word-initially or word-finally). Vowels may be: oral or nasal; short or long; high, mid or low; front, central or back. In all there are 30 vowel phonemes:

<i>short oral</i>			<i>long oral</i>			<i>short nasal</i>			<i>long nasal</i>		
i	u	u	ī	ū	ū	ɪ	ʉ	ʊ	ī	ū	ū
e	ə	o	ē	ē	ō						
ɛ	a	ɔ	ē	ā	ō	ɛ	ə	ɔ	ē	ā	ō

On articulatory and distributional grounds the vowel may also be classified into two overall sets: the 'inner' vowels /e ə o/ and the 'outer' vowels /i u ɛ a ɔ/, along with their long and nasal variants.

1.1.3 The phonemes exemplified

The following examples serve to justify the phonemes by minimal or semi-minimal contrasts.

1.1.3.1 Consonants

p	p̄p	'to lie on one's front'	d	d̄j	'to become accustomed'
t	t̄k	'to fear'	j	j̄b	'to tear (eyes)'
c	c̄s	'to select'	g	ḡb	'completely'
k	k̄s	'porcupine'	w	w̄l	'fireplace'
m	m̄s	'to pick up'	y	ȳj	'noise'
n	n̄h	'odour'	l	l̄ɛŋl̄āk	'sideways'
ɲ	ɲ̄h	'to set alight'	r	r̄ɛŋr̄āk	'senile'
ŋ	ŋ̄h	'to waver'	s	s̄ɛŋs̄āk	'(place-name)'
b	b̄h	'father'	ʔ	ʔ̄ɛp	'to brood (hen)'
			h	h̄ɛŋh̄ak	'to heal'

3.2 Vowels

'sick'	sək 'cigarette- end'	tuh	'to tell'
'soft'	tɣy 'spring!' (expr.)	gatɣ?	'snail'
'middle'	t̄h 'to drop'	tūy	'elsewhere'
'to rub hard'	l̄d 'to get angry'	kat̄d	'bark- fibre'
'to swell'			
'quickly'	bək 'rhizomorph'	do?	'to run'
'to burn'	t̄h 'to rain'	dō?	'father'
'earth'	tab 'egg'	tɔs	'to pluck'
'fish'	t̄b 'deaf'	lɔy	'to arrive'
'just now'	ba? 'to carry on back'	cɔs	'bird'
'bark- cloth'	bā? 'rice'	lɔy	'to wade'
'giddy'	wās 'branching' wās 'childless'	s̄b	'hoarse'

is sometimes useful to treat length and nasality co-vowels, combining, as illustrated above, with the basic short oral vowels.

2 Phonetics

2.1 Pronunciation of the segmental phonemes

2.1.1 Consonants

a) Unvoiced stops

Before vowels, *i.e.* word-initially and medially, /p t k/ are un-postaspirated stops: /pɔc/ 'to wait', /gapɪd/ '(place-name)', /teh/ 'above', /tatā?/ 'old man', /kakɔw/ 'to call hard'. Before /ē/ they are slightly lip-rounded, [p^w] etc.: /p̄w/ 'bang!', /t̄l/ 'to curse', /kēt/ 'to move up'. Before vowels /c/ is slightly affricated, [tʰʃ]: /acTb/ 'to go of a sudden'. Before /T̄ ē/, /k/ is

fronted to the centro-domal position: /kTj/ 'to grate', /kēw/ '(personal name)'. Word-finally after non-front vowels /k/ is barely audible as a back dorso-velar stop [q]: /lāk/ 'side'.

Medially, unvoiced stops are slightly pre-aspirated: /gapid/ [ga^hpɪd] '(place-name)', /gatēʔ/ [ga^htēʔ] 'mite'.

Finally /p t c k/ are released nasally, audible phrase-finally as a long voiceless nasal, [Pṁ] etc.: /ʔōp/ 'to hug', /cēt/ 'to be fully cooked', /tāc/ 'to plait', /læk/ 'to know'.

b) Nasals

Initially and medially /m n ŋ/ are voiced nasal obstruents: /mɔp/ 'tooth', /na-nūy/ 'he copulates', /pɔb/ 'you plural', /ŋāw/ 'silly'. Medially before homorganic stops they are unreleased /ʔempēd/ '(place-name)', /ʔen-tūy/ 'over there', /ʔenɔk/ 'Enching River', /ʔenkuʔ/ 'thunder deity'. Before /ə/ the nasals are slightly lip-rounded, especially /m/ [m^w]: /mēh/ 'nose'. Before vowels /p/ has a slight i-offglide.

Finally, the nasals have a non-oral release, and they exhibit a modification, noticeably audible phrase-finally, whereby the oral closure occurs before the velic opening, effectively producing a very short voiced stop with a long voiced homorganic nasal release, [bṁ] etc.: /ram/ 'to sit (hen)', /koman/ 'nibbling', /ʔāp/ 'to be stupid', /lanen/ 'knowledge'. After vowels, *i.e.* as syllable coda, /p/ has no offglide.

Before /r/ the nasals have a voiced homorganic stop transition, [m^br] etc.: /ʔem-rōʔ/ 'we shall say', /ʔenrɔs/ 'kidney', /rɛprec/ 'to eat

sh', /gɛŋrak/ 'pleasant'.

In the same syllable as /s/ in fast tempo each /m n/ sometimes become devoiced and syllabic: stīʔ/ ~ [ṡtīʔ] 'needs must', /sɛnʔɔy/ ~ [ṡʔɔy] 'man being'.

c) Voiced stops

Initially and medially /b d j g/ are aspirated voiced stops: /bɔ̄j/ 'to lick', /dɛŋdɛk/ 'storm', /jɔb/ 'to roast tubers', /gagɛl/ 'to down of a sudden'. Before /ə̄/ they are slightly rounded, especially /b/ [bʷ]: /bə̄h/ 'father'. Before vowels /j/ is slightly affricated, [dʲʒ].

Word-finally /b d j g/ are unexploded, having a nasal release which is audible phrase-finally as the short voiced homorganic nasal, [b^m] etc.: /ʔə̄b/ 'finger', /ʔə̄d/ 'stick, rod', /bə̄huj/ 'guilty', /bə̄ʔə̄g/ 'flood'.

d) Semivowels

Initially and syllable-finally /w/ is the mid-high back rounded vocoid [ɔ]: /wə̄l/ 'fireplace', /yɛ̄w/ 'to stay awake'. Between vowels it has very slight bilabial friction, especially before /ɛ/: /ʔawɛn/ 'bamboo'.

/y/ is everywhere the mid-high centralised-front half-spread vocoid [ɿ]: /yayə̄p/ 'to cry suddenly', /mənə̄y/ 'sister-in-law'.

e) Lateral

/l/ is the 'clear' voiced apico-alveolar lateral continuant in all positions: /lɛk/ 'to know', /lɛlud/ 'to explode', /wɛl/ 'again'. Finally /l/ is unexploded.

f) *Flap*

/r/ is the voiced apico-alveolar flap in all positions: /rōp/ 'to tickle fish', /marēk/ 'weir', /sq̄r/ 'cockroach'. In the Ber and Plus valleys many speakers pronounce /r/ as a labialised retroflex vocoid.

g) *Fricative*

/s/ is the voiceless lamino-alveolar rill spirant in all positions: /səloq/ 'to lie down', /gasēp/ 'bamboo sliver', /gēs/ 'incest'.

h) *Laryngals*

Word-finally following a long vowel, /h/ represents simple aspiration, hardly more than prolongation of the preceding vowel: /mōh/ 'nose'. Elsewhere, /h/ is an unvoiced vocoid taking on the coloration of the adjacent vowel(s): /hup/ 'feeling', /hahēr/ 'to heave'. Following /u/ there is considerable bilabial friction: /tuh/ 'to speak'.

Following a long vowel, /ʔ/ represents a lenis closure of the vocal cords: /tāʔ/ 'sir'. Word-finally after short vowels /ʔ/ is somewhat more fortis, consisting of a sudden interruption of the airstream: /bəʔ/ 'to carry'. Elsewhere, /ʔ/ is a rapid closure-and-opening of the vocal cords, more lenis word-initially than -medially: /ʔaʔēʔ/ '(personal name)'.

i) *Geminates*

Phonemic geminates are pronounced as single consonants: /|ε||ēd/ '(bird sp.)', /rənnɔn/ 'catching'. This holds wherever there occurs the phonetic sequence [-εCV-], which in all cases is the phonemic sequence /-εCCV-/. (The rationale for this solution is given in section 1.3.3.lb.)

2.1.2 Vowels

a) Covowels

Nasality, written with a subscript hook, has no effect on either the quality or length of the vowel, and no special discussion of the pronunciation of the nasal vowels is necessary: in all cases they are pronounced in exactly the same way as the equivalent oral vowels except for the added feature that the velic is open. It must be remarked, however, that all vowels may become freely and non-significantly nasalised in the environment of nasal consonants; this applies equally to the 'inner' vowels /e ə o/ which do not possess independent phonemically nasal forms. In other words, for vowels the contrast oral/nasal is neutralised in the environment of nasal consonants.

Specifically, non-significant nasalisation of vowels occurs in the following circumstances:

- i) Vowels are usually pronounced nasal immediately preceding nasal consonants: /səlantab/ 'ritual generosity' = [səl̥antab], /ʔūp/ 'to smell' = [ʔū̥p].
- ii) Vowels preceded by nasal consonants and followed by non-nasal pronunciations, even in the same speaker: /p̥ɔ̥ʔ/ 'mother' = [p̥ɔ̥ʔ ~ p̥ɔ̥ʔ], with a range of intermediate degrees of nasalisation.
- iii) Between two nasal consonants vowels are almost always pronounced nasally: /mɔ̥p/ 'tooth' = [mɔ̥p].

- iv) A nasal consonant in an adjacent syllable allows a vowel to vary freely between oral and nasal pronunciations: /sɛnʔɔ̃y/ 'human being' = [sɛ̃nʔɔ̃y ~ sɛnʔɔ̃y].
- v) Phonemically nasal vowels in the absence of nasal consonants may also cause non-significant nasalisation in adjacent syllables: /catɥd/ 'to crash into' = [c̃atɥd ~ catɥd].

Length, written as a macron, increases the duration to between 1½ and 2 moras, while making the vowel more lenis in enunciation. Since long vowels often have rather different qualities than the equivalent short vowels, their pronunciation is described below separately for each vowel.

b) Vowels

/i/ is the short mid-high centralised-front spread vocoid [i]: /git/ 'to fetch water'. Long, /ɪ/, it is higher, fronter and twice as long: /baɪtk/ 'sky'.

/e/ is the short mid-front unrounded vocoid [e˘]; /teh/ 'above'. Long, /ē/, it is higher, above Cardinal /e/, and twice as long: /yēʔ/ 'I'. Before /c j ɲ s/ both /e/ and /ē/ have an i-offglide: /re 'to eat flesh', /ʔadēs/ 'to take exercise'.

/ɛ/ is the short mid-low centralised-front unrounded vocoid [ɛ˘]: /reh/ 'below'. Long, /ē/, it is low, front and twice as long: /tēʔ/ 'just now'.

/u/ is the short high central half-rounded vocoid [u]: /mun/ 'true'. Long, /ū/, it

more back and twice as long, [ɯ:ː]: /kən̄h/
ne'.

/ə/ is normally the short high-mid central rounded vocoid [ə̂]: /gəl/ 'to sit'. Before /-/ it is fronted [ə̂ː], probably overlapping with /i/: /səkɛʔ/ 'screw-pine'. Between /s/ and /r/ in prefinal syllables /ə/ is very short, sometimes disappearing altogether: /səlɯh/ 'to blowgun', /sərāw/ '(place-name)'. Long, /ē/, is high-mid back unrounded [ī:], causing some rounding and velarisation of adjacent consonants: /y/ 'to nose-kiss', /mēh/ 'nose'.

/a/ is normally the short low back-central rounded vocoid [aː]: /galag/ 'greedy'. Long, /ā/, it is more back, sometimes slightly rounded, about half as long again as the short vowel, [ā]: /ʔā/ 'to swear'. Both /a/ and /ā/ have nearly audible i-offglides before /c j ɲ s/: /j/ 'to arrive unexpectedly', /tāc/ 'to plait'.

/u/ is the short high slightly centralised rounded vocoid [o]: /ləpud/ 'caudal fin'. Long, /ū/, it is higher, more back and twice as long, about Cardinal /u/: /gū/ 'mortar'. When bearing sentence-stress /ū/ is slightly labialised, [uʷə]. Before /c j ɲ s/ both /u/ and /ū/ have i-offglides: /j/ 'to sip', /ʔūɲ/ 'to smell'.

/o/ is normally the short mid-high back rounded vocoid, about Cardinal /o/: /bəlɔʔ/ 'high'. In open prefinal syllables it is higher, probably overlaps the area of /u/, which does not occur in that position within the morpheme: /lap/ 'to carry on shoulder'. Long, /ō/, it is also about Cardinal /o/, but tends to be

labialised in positions of sentence-stress: /gōl/ 'deep pool'. Both /o/ and /ō/ have i-offglides before /c j n s/: /ʔōj/ 'to request'.

/ɔ/ is the short mid-low centralised-back rounded vocoid [ɔ̹]: /bəlɔʔ/ 'parent-in-law'. Long, /ō/, it is the back vocoid about Cardinal /ɔ/ and about twice as long: /gōl/ 'Batang Padang River'.

1.2.2 *Overall speech features*

1.2.2.1 *Rhythm*

Temiar speech-rhythm is 'syllable-timed', *i.e.* syllabic peaks succeed each other at approximately equal intervals of time.

1.2.2.2 *Stress*

Word-stress is not significant, falling regularly on the final syllable. Sentence-stress forms part of the suprasegmental accentual system and is accordingly not discussed here, except insofar as it affects allomorphic alternations.

1.2.2.3 *Articulatory setting*

In speaking Temiar the jaws are held fairly open and are active. The lips too are active, but are held neutral. The overall state of the oral cavity is rather tensed, and the pharynx is contracted (due perhaps to the frequent occurrence of /ʔ/). The main consonantal articulation is apico-alveolar, with the lingual contact made slightly more towards the blade than in English. Articulation throughout is by the application of firm pressure. The tongue is anchored centrally to the floor of the mouth, with the body held (so far as it is possible to tell) slightly concave to the roof. The tip is tapered.

The foregoing description applies to the state of the articulatory organs in 'neutral gear', and does not necessarily apply to the production of all similar speech sounds. Nevertheless, the more striking features of Temiar 'accent' may be accounted for in this way.

2.4 *Phonological differences between dialects*

One important difference between Northern and Southern Temiar should be discussed here, as it is a prerequisite for understanding some of the morphonemic alternations to be described in section 2.3:

Words that in Northern Temiar (NT) end in an unvoiced stop, in Southern Temiar (ST) end in the equivalent voiced stop: NT /bɔt/ 'to walk' = ST /bɔd/; NT /bɛcuc/ 'sour' = ST /bɛcuj/.

Words that in Northern Temiar end in a voiced stop, in Southern Temiar end in the equivalent unvoiced stop: NT /bɔd/ 'to wear in belt' = ST /bɔt/; NT /gabag/ 'to sing' = ST /gabak/.

It might seem from these examples that a confusion could result between speakers of the different dialects (who do in fact often meet). In the context always makes the meaning clear. Since these sound-changes apply to all words with final stops, the Temiar can continue to regard this difference as merely a matter of regional accent (though sometimes a cause of amusement). However, the effect of this difference is to make morphonemics rather more complex in Northern than Southern Temiar.

1.3 *Phonology*

1.3.1 *Canonic structures*

1.3.1.1 *The syllable*

Only two types of syllable occur: *open syllables* of canonic form CV, and *closed syllables* of canonic form CVC. Hence every syllable has a consonant as onset. (The reasons for not admitting syllables of canonic form CCVC are given in section 1.3.4.1; in this analysis such structures are written as CəCVC, and are regarded as bi-syllabic.)

1.3.1.2 *The word*

Words are potentially free-standing forms which always begin and end with a consonant. Hence word-final syllables are always closed, while prefinal syllables may be either open or closed. There appears to be no restriction on the permitted sequence of closed and open syllables in the prefinal parts of the word. In general, word-building proceeds by *infixation*, *prefixation* and *proclisis*: suffixation never occurs. The final syllable is therefore in whole or part always the root of the word.

The minimal canonic structure of the word is CVC: /dēk/ 'house'. The maximal structure is perhaps CV.CVC.CVC.CV.CVC.CV.CVC: /kəʔam-bar-tərə|həwəl/ 'you-two shall make (it) emerge'. (Note: the hyphen marks an enclitic linkage between units one or both of which are bound forms; it is written therefore only within the word or when identifying units as bound forms in the course of grammatical analysis.) All possible combinations of syllables may occur in words intermediate in

e between the two just quoted.

.2 *Distribution of phonemes*

.2.1 *Consonants*

a) *Unvoiced stops*

These may not occur as the first element medial consonantal clusters, nor immediately following nasal or nasalised vowels (1.2.1.2a) the same syllable. (Such very rare forms as *ən̄op/* 'fleshy pericarp' -- they are almost all technical terms! -- must therefore be assumed to have phonetically oral vowels in the final syllable. Words of this type probably derive from earlier forms with medial prenasalised stops (*cf.* section 1.3.3. iii).) Some partial exceptions to this rule are noted in section 1.3.3.1a.

b) *All other consonants*

These may occur in all possible canonic positions. (There may, however, be some hitherto recognised restrictions on the co-occurrence of the first two consonants in words (? morphemes) of the schewa form *CəCVC*.)

3.2.2 *Vowels*

a) In final (tonic) syllables, all vowels may occur, with the exception that nasal vowels do not occur in syllables with final unvoiced stops.

b) In prefinal (atonic) syllables, only short oral vowels may occur, with the following further restrictions:

i) In open syllables, /*ɛ ʊ ɔ*/ do not occur (with the exception of the bound allomorphs of the pronouns /*kane-*/ 'we (exclusive)', /*no-*/ 'you (plural)', and /*wɛ-*/ 'they two', which are in any

case usually pronounced /kani-/, /pə-/ and /we-/.

ii) In closed syllables, /e ə u o/ do not occur.

iii) Therefore, /u/ occurs only in final syllables.

1.3.3 Morphophonemic alternations

1.3.3.1 Obligatory alternations

These ensue from the restrictions on distribution outlined in section 1.3.2, and they come into operation as the result of certain common morphological processes.

a) Consonants

i) If the first element of a medial consonantal cluster is an unvoiced stop, it undergoes voicing to the equivalent nasal in Northern Temiar, and to the equivalent voiced stop in Southern Temiar (cf. 1.3.2.1a):

NT: *yɛpyāp → yemyāp 'to cry' (root: yāp)

ST: *ʔɛtʔōt → ʔɛdʔōt 'to fast' (root: ʔōt)

NT: *hup-bōʔ → hum-bōʔ 'normally' (roots: hup, bōʔ)

This alternation most commonly occurs in verbal reduplication processes (2.2.2.1) and in the bound allomorphs of certain nouns (2.1.2.3).

ii) A word-final unvoiced stop in a syllable with a nasal consonant as onset undergoes nasalisation:

*lanɛk → lanɛŋ 'knowledge' (root: lɛk)

*kɛmnɛp → kɛmnɛm 'burying' (root: kɛp)

This alternation most commonly occurs as a result

verbal nominalisation by infixation of /-n-/
2.2.3a).

In some variants of Northern Temiar, however, when a final unvoiced stop follows a medial sequence of two nasal consonants, as in the second example above, it remains unassimilated. Such forms as /bennɔt/ and /tɛpn̄ɔc/ may then be heard where other speakers say /bennɔn/ 'giving' (root: /bɔt/) and /tɛpn̄ɔp/ 'plaiting' (root: /tɛp/). In cases where adults make the assimilation, their children frequently fail to do so. (It may well be that this alternation should strictly be considered a non-obligatory one; it has much in common with alternations described in sections 1.3.3.2 and 1.3.3.3.)

In Southern Temiar these complications do not arise, as in that dialect, following from rules 1.2.2.4 and 1.3.3.1, medial nasal clusters are rare. In place of the Northern Temiar forms /bennɔn/ and /tɛpn̄ɔp/, Southern Temiar has /bednɔd/ and /tɛjn̄ɔj/, which involve morphophonemic changes.

b) *Vowels*

i) In prefinal closed syllables the inner vowels /e ə o/ are replaced by the outer vowels /i ɛ u/ respectively:

*deŋ-rəb → diŋ-rəb 'shelter'

*səŋlɔg → səŋlɔg 'to lie down'

*bon-mɔŋ → bun-mɔŋ 'bug-flower'

This alternation most commonly occurs as the result of verb reduplication (2.2.2.1a) and in the plural allomorphs of certain nouns (2.1.2.3).

Conversely, in prefinal open syllables the outer vowel /ɛ/ is replaced by the inner vowel /ə/:

*tɛrɛjʔɔj → tərɛjʔɔj 'to raise'

*sɛrɛglɔg → sərɛglɔg 'to lay down'

This alternation most commonly occurs in the causative voice of the verb when deriving the continuative aspect from the perfective (2.2.2.1a).

ii) In prefinal syllables long vowels are replaced by the equivalent short vowels:

*kanē-cTb → kanɛ-cTb 'we go'

*lāŋ-tiw → laŋ-tiw 'opposite side of river'

*kərōp-dēk → *kərop-dēk → kərum-dēk 'under-house'

This alternation most commonly occurs in bound allomorphs of certain nouns (2.1.2.3) and pronouns (2.1.3.3).

iii) In prefinal syllables nasal vowels are denasalised to the equivalent oral vowel (in the absence of any adjacent nasal consonant, that is):

*hə-cTb → ha-cTb 'you go'

*jəhuʔ-cah → jəhuʔ-cah 'cah-tree'

1.3.3.2 *Non-obligatory alternations*

a) *Nasal consonants*

i) Final nasal consonants in prefinal syllables tend to undergo partial regressive assimilation to a following stop or nasal consonant, especially in fast tempo speech:

kərum-dēk ~ kərun-dēk 'under-house'

?un-bə? ~ ?um-bə? 'they carry'

cənkəb ~ cəŋkəb 'lid'

This assimilation does *not* occur, however, with nasal consonants in the reduplicated syllable of verbs in the continuative aspect (2.2.2.1a):
mənpət/ not /*pəmpət/ 'to long for'. This sometimes allows a distinction to be made between the continuative aspect of the verb and the verbal noun derived from it (2.2.2.3a.i):

səŋlōk 'to hunt successfully' (səlōk reduplicated)

sənlōk 'success at hunting' (səlōk + -n-)

ii) Initial voiced stops in prefinal closed syllables with a nasal coda freely alternate with the equivalent nasal consonant (but *cf.* 1.3.3.3b):

bəŋ-dēk ~ mən-dēk 'space around house'

jenlap ~ nenlap 'waning of moon'

gəntək ~ ŋəntək 'ear'

buŋ-lay ~ muŋ-lay '(a leafy plant sp.)'

jemnəm ~ nemnəm 'birth'

Presumably, those speakers who use the assimilated nasal form are those who also make the nasal assimilation mentioned in section 1.3.3.1a.ii.

b) *Proclitics*

Proclitics of the highest order within the word tend in fast tempo speech to undergo progressive weakening by centralisation of the vowel and/or loss of the final consonant:

bar-halab → ba-halab → bə-halab 'to go down-
river'

mu-cTb → mə-cTb 'they shall go'

The proclitics affected in this way are primarily the morpheme /-bar-/ (2.2.4) and the bound forms of the pronouns (2.1.3.3).

1.3.3.3 *Loanwords*

Most loanwords in Temiar come from or *via* Malay, and in most cases the form they take is understandable (though not always entirely predictable) in terms of the alternations described in the preceding sections. However, there are a few classes of Malay loanwords which in Temiar undergo certain consonantal substitutions the rationale for which is not covered by the morphophonemic and distributional rules so far presented. The fact that the consonantal systems of Malay and Temiar are very similar in structure strongly suggests that the rationale for these substitutions lies simply in the fact that they *are* loanwords (*cf.* Henderson 1951). Insofar as nothing has yet been discovered in the phonology of either language which would require such substitutions, the alternations may best be regarded as a kind of morphophonemic process, applicable only to those morphemes marked as 'Malay loans'. The Temiar are acutely aware of the distinctiveness of this class of word and that they treat them in a phonologically special manner. The processes involved are still fully productive and may be applied to any suitable word.

Malay final nasals

Final nasal consonants of Malay words are changed in Temiar to the equivalent unvoiced stops, whatever classes of vowels and consonants constitute the remainder of the word. (In the following examples the Malay forms are on the left, the Temiar the right.):

kəbun	→	kəbut 'orchard'
tuhan	→	tohāt 'God'
rapcaŋ	→	rapcak 'programme'
kucin	→	kucik 'cat'
lobaŋ	→	lobak 'hole'
bilan	→	bilak 'to count'
kambiŋ	→	kambik 'goat'

Malay initial nasals

The initial consonants of Malay words with medial nasal consonants are optionally changed in Temiar to the equivalent voiced stops, even though Temiar phonology does permit words to contain several nasal consonants in succession (e.g. /nɛmpɔm/ 'tamen'):

naŋka	→	daŋkā? 'jackfruit'
naŋmo?	→	jaŋmo? 'mosquito'
nama	→	daŋmāh 'name'
naŋbor	→	daŋbōh 'number'
naga	→	nagā ~ daŋgā? 'dragon'

It is clear that the final example illustrates clearly the influence of the medial nasal consonant; furthermore, the intrusive nasal seems to have been deliberately

added in order to allow the denasalising of the initial consonant so that the word may be better marked as a Malay loan.

c) *An attempted explanation*

Though the purpose of this paper is to provide a synchronic description, the alternations just described are clearly cases where phonological history and the present-day cultural context are both immediately relevant. Once this is acknowledged, at least three mutually inclusive explanations seem possible.

i) The alternations described in section 1.3.3.3a: The earliest Malay loans were probably borrowed at a time when Temiar was undergoing a sound-shift (Diffloth, personal communication) in which some word-final nasal consonants became devoiced to the equivalent unvoiced stop. If this was the case then the Malay loans could well have been swept along analogically in the process. Later loans (the alternation is still 'productive') would then have continued the pattern thus established simply because they were loans, in keeping with the desire of the Temiar to keep the distinction between Malay and indigenous culture elements well marked (*cf.* Benjamin 1966:6).

ii) The alternations described in section 1.3.3.3b are all the more striking because they appear at first sight to be the exact reverse of the more normal morphophonemic processes described in section 1.3.3.2a.ii. However, the problem eases somewhat when it is noted that both of these alternations are non-obligatory: the words remain well-formed even if the assimilation is not

ried out. This suggests that in the environment NC... (where N is any nasal consonant) the position between voiced stop and nasal is neutralised to a degree sufficient to allow of either pronunciation without change of meaning. Nevertheless, the degree of neutralisation is not so complete as to prevent speakers expressing a stylistically-based preference for the one pronunciation over the other. Temiar culture, as we have seen, makes it desirable that Malay loanwords should be specially marked, and in such cases the voiced-stop form is the standard one. With 'pure' Temiar words, however, the choice is strictly a personal matter.

iii) A third explanation² is one which would treat both of the above alternations as reflexes of a single set of pro-phonemes. This is to posit the existence for both Temiar and Malay of some sort of pro-phonemic series of pre-neutralised stops in addition to the normal stop and nasal consonants (leaving undiscussed here the status of such pro-phonemes as possibly a feature of an earlier stage of the history of these languages or of their generative grammars). Taking the labial pro-phoneme */^mb/ as an example, we can posit the following series of allophones and developments in each language according as they occur word-initially, -medially or -finally, and in nasal or oral syllables. (Nasal syllables are those with nasal consonants as onset or coda, or with phonemically nasal vowels, or any combination of these.)

Derived Phonemes

Pro- allophones	Oral Syllables			Nasal Syllables		
	initial	medial	final	initial	medial	fin
<i>Malay:</i> all pos- itions: m ^h b	b-	-mb-	-m	m-	-mb-	-m
<i>Temiar:</i> initial or med- ial: (-) m ^h b-	b-	-m-		m-	-m-	
finally after oral vowels: -m ^h p			-p			
finally after nasal vowels: -mb						-m

In addition to explaining the alternations described in section 1.4.3.1, this interpretation would have the merit of also explaining the following phenomena

1) The lack of simultaneity in the velic, velar and oral closures described in section 1.2.1.1 for the pronunciation of medial unvoiced stops, final unvoiced stops, final voiced stops and final nasals.

2) Certain (not widely accepted) interpretation of Malay phonological history which also posit a series of prenasalised stop phonemes (*e.g.* Verguin 1964).

This whole argument would, of course, be better presented in terms of distinctive feature analysis, but such a discussion would wander too far from the

in lines of this paper.

3.4 Orthography

This is not the place to make suggestions for practical orthography, especially as young Temiars seem to have little difficulty in gaining their basic literacy directly in Bahasa Malaysia. From scientific point of view, however, two features of the orthography used here need discussion.

3.4.1 *Schewa-forms*

Many linguists working on Austroasiatic languages prefer not to write the *schēwa* vowel in words of the form CəCVC, as they regard the first two consonants as constituting a single cluster and the whole structure a monosyllable. Nevertheless we have decided to retain this orthography even though it is clear that the occurrence of /ə/ in such a position is wholly determined by the absence of any other vowel. (The same, of course, applies to the writing of /ɛ/ in words of the form CɛCCVC.) The reasons for this are:

a) It increases the ease of reading of many words that would otherwise look very clumsy on paper, especially in the case of such reduplicated forms /sɛg|ɔg/ 'to lie down', which in a strictly monemic orthography would be written /sg|ɔg/.

b) The initial and medial consonants of words of the form CəCVC do not hold together as a cluster when the word is altered by morphological processes: the reduplicated form of /sə|ɔg/ is sɛg|ɔg/ not /*s|ɛgs|ɔg/, an impossible structure. Furthermore, such expressive forms as /səra|ɔg|ɔg/ occur in which the erstwhile 'cluster' loses all identity. It seems best that the orthography

should separate such consonants clearly.

c) Most importantly, *schēwa*-forms are physiologically disyllabic.

1.3.4.2 *The dialects*

The orthographic problems encountered in finding a single writing system to encompass all the dialects of Temiar are not as serious as might at first be thought. This is because the phonological differences between Northern and Southern Temiar are predictable. It is interesting to note, though, the curious result that an orthography which is phonemic for one of the dialects automatically becomes a morphophonemic orthography for the other, and vice versa. The decision to take the phonemic orthography for Northern Temiar as standard is based on three considerations: it is the dialect spoken by the Temiar announcers in the Orang Asli service of Radio Malaysia; it is the dialect described by Carey in his pioneer study (1961); and it is the dialect I speak myself and on which I have done most of my research.

2.0 *Morphosyntax*

This term identifies a level of analysis in which just enough of Temiar syntax is outlined to identify the significant word-classes and to indicate the more common constructions into which they enter.³ The sentence as a syntactical structure is not analysed here, except to point out that its major components are *noun phrases* and *verb phrases*, with the optional addition of elements (*adjuncts*) that fit into neither of these categories. The basic word-order of Temiar is subject + verb + object, though this may be modified in certain

rcumstances.

All classes of words that enter into the construction of noun phrases and verb phrases are categorised as *nominal elements* and *verbal elements* respectively. Each word-class set up on this basis is regarded as 'primarily' either a nominal or a verbal element: it is in their primary roles that the word-classes display their widest range of morphological and syntactical potentialities. Some of the word-classes, however, possess 'secondary' roles as elements of the kind other than that of their primary role; *e.g.* the primarily verbal elements 'verb' and 'adjective' may function secondarily as nominal elements in certain circumstances, while the primarily nominal element 'pronoun' may function secondarily as a verbal element. In general, word-classes are more restricted as regards their morphological and syntactical potentialities in their secondary roles than in their primary roles. (Additionally, many word-classes may function tertiarily as sentence-adjuncts.)

It must be noted that, as is common in Southeast Asian languages, many individual lexemes possess membership in two or more different word-classes. But this is a lexical matter, and the integrity of the word-classes as such remains unassailed.

1 *Nominal elements*

1.1 *The noun phrase*

The noun phrase (NP) may be rewritten as follows:

$$NP \rightarrow (\text{prep}) \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{noun} \\ \text{pron} \end{array} \right] (\text{mod}) \left(\left[\begin{array}{c} (\text{pron})(\text{dem}) \\ \text{dem} \end{array} \right] \right)$$

$$\text{where mod} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{adj} \\ \text{verb}_c \end{array} \right\}$$

The primary nominal elements are therefore: nouns (noun), pronouns (pron), demonstratives (dem), and prepositions (prep). The secondary nominal elements are: adjectives (adj) and verbs in the continuative aspect (verb_c). The primary elements are discussed in this section, while the secondary elements are discussed later as verbal elements.

All realisations of the above NP formula constitute possible utterances, but not complete sentences, in Temiar. Some examples follow:

1. (prep)noun(adj)(pron)(dem):

dēk 'house'

dēk mənū? (house big) 'big house'

dēk yē? (house I) 'my house'

dēk rēh 'house below'

dēk mənū? yeh (house big I) 'my big house'

dēk mənū? ?i-rēh (house big I-below) 'my
big house below'

2. (prep)pron(adj)(dem):

hā? 'thou'

ha-?ajəg hā? ?ajəg 'thou senior'

ha-doh 'thou here'

ha-?ajəg doh 'thou senior here'

3. (prep)noun(verb_c)(pron)(dem):

dēk kəlkel (house collapsing) 'collapsing
house'

dēk kɛlkɛl yeh (house collapsing I) 'my
collapsing house'

dēk kɛlkɛl rɛh (house collapsing below)
'collapsing house below'

dēk kɛlkɛl ?i-rɛh (house collapsing I-below)
'my collapsing house below'

(prep)pron(verb_c)(dem):

na-cɛ? cā? (he-eating) 'he who is eating'

na-cɛ? cā? tūy (he-eating there) 'he
who is eating there'

Note: this last example is syntactically am-
biguous, and can also, as a complete sentence,
mean 'he is eating'; but see the prepositional
forms below.)

na-doh 'he here' (dem)

ha-?ajɛg doh 'you senior here' (adj + dem)

na-cɛ?cā? tūy 'he eating there' (verb_c + dem)

These constructions can be preceded by a
preposition (which is what clearly indicates that
these constructions of the form pron + verb_c may be noun
phrases in which the verb is a modifier rather
than a predicate):

num-dēk kɛlkɛl ?i-rɛh 'from my collapsing
house below'

ma-na-cɛ?cā? tūy 'to him eating there'

1.2 Nouns

Nouns may take a proclitic preposition and
they may be modified by an immediately following
preposition in a 'possessive' construction.

1.2.1 Primitive nouns

These are non-inflecting, and function in no
other syntactic class: /jəhʏ?/ 'tree', /mɔp/

'tooth', /maŋkey/ 'scar'.

2.1.2.2 *Inflecting nouns*

These form plurals on the same morphological patterns as the aspectual inflections of the verbs (2.2.2.1). They may also function syntactically as verbs and adjectives:

tā? 'sir'

tatā? 'old man'

te?tā? 'old men'

hɔj na-tatā? (already he-old) 'he has grown old'

gɔb tatā? (Malay old) 'an old Malay'

rəwāy 'head-soul'

na-rəywāy 'he is suffering from soul-loss'

2.2.2.3 *Compounding nouns*

These possess two allomorphs: *free*, behaving as primitive nouns; and *bound*, proclitic to another noun or verb (in which case the morphophonemic alternations outlined in section 1.3.3 apply). In some cases the bound form is only recognisable as such because it bears no word-stress:

dēk 'house' → diŋ- (diŋ-yēw 'guard-house')

bōt 'flower' → bun- (bun-mōŋ 'bug-flower')

kā? 'fish' → ka- (ka-hō? fish-shell = 'tortoise')

kərōp 'place beneath' → kərum- (kərum-dēk 'space under house')

mən- 'collectivity of' (forms plurals; no free allomorphs)

These constructions are all class-maintaining.

1.2.4 Verbal nouns

Though behaving syntactically much as primitive nouns, these are derived by productive derivational processes from verb roots. (The morphology of verbal nouns is therefore treated in section 2.2.2.3):

cɛbnɪb yeh 'my going' (root: cɪb 'to go')

tɛnʔɛl dɛk 'house-building' (root: tɛʔɛl
'to make')

dɛk sɛnlog 'house for sleeping' (root:
sɛlog 'to sleep')

cɛrɛŋkɔb naʔ 'that lid' (root: cɛrkɔb
'to close')

cɛnɛr 'knife' (root: cɛr 'to pare')

1.3 Pronouns

Pronouns may take a proclitic preposition, but they may not be modified by another pronoun. There are three allomorphic classes of pronouns:

stressed, *unstressed* and *bound*. In all cases the pronouns express obligatorily the categories of number (singular, dual, plural) and person (first, second, third). The first-person pronouns also express the category of inclusion (the inclusion or exclusion of the person addressed). The following paradigm sets out all the forms:

	<i>Stressed</i>	<i>Unstressed</i>	<i>Bound</i>
	yɛʔ	yeh	?i-
(emphatic)	cɛʔ	-	yi-
you	hɛʔ	hah	ha-
, she, it	-	?əh	na-, ?ə-
(thou and I)	?ār	?ah	?a-
(he and I)	yār	yah	ya-
you two	kɛʔan	kɛʔan	kɛʔa-

	<i>Stressed</i>	<i>Unstressed</i>	<i>Bound</i>
they two	-	wɛh, wɛh	wɛ-, wɛ-
we (you and I)	ʔɛ̄?	ʔɛh	ʔɛ-
we (they and I)	kanɛ̄?	kanɛh	kane-, ki-, kɛ-
---- (emphatic)	kandɛ̄?	kanɛh	kanɪ-
you (plural)	ɲɔb	ɲɔb	ɲɔb-, ɲɔ-
they (plural)	-	ʔun, ʔən	ʔun-

The lack of stressed third-person pronouns is commented on in section 2.1.4.5.

Note that in the dual and plural pronouns 'attraction' occurs:

yār ʔalun (we-two Alung) 'Alung and I'

ɲɔb mɛn-ʔalun (you plural-Alung) 'you and Alung's people'

The various allomorphs function as follows:

2.1.3.1 *Stressed pronouns*

This allomorph occurs:

a) In unmodified noun phrases:

cɔ̄? ʔa-na?? --yɛ̄? 'who's there?' --'I'

ma-cɔ̄? nam-ʔog? --ma-hā? 'to whom will he give?' --'to you'

kəʔan kəʔa-sɛhɪuh 'you-two, you are blow-piping'

b) As a nominal modifier ('possessive') when bearing sentence-stress:

kəwā̄s 'yār 'our child'

1.3.2 *Unstressed pronouns*

These occur immediately succeeding a word bearing sentence-stress, especially when functioning as a nominal modifier or as the subject of auxiliary and adjectival verbals:

kə'wā̄s yah 'our *child*'

cə'lək ?əh 'it's red'

'hɔj yeh (already I) 'I'm off'

1.3.3 *Bound pronouns*

The major function of the bound form of the pronoun is as an element in the verb phrase: it will accordingly be discussed as such in section 2.7.

As a nominal element, the bound allomorph replaces the unstressed allomorph in all constructions or utterances where the pronoun immediately follows its head and is in turn immediately followed by a word or phrase within the same sentence-stress group. Its occurrence is, then, essentially phonologically determined, and it need bear no special relationship, morphologically or syntactically, to the word to which it is attached. Indeed, the resultant form can be classed as a word only in the phonological sense.

kəwā̄s ?ə-na-jɪ? = kəwā̄s ?əh na-jɪ? (child he
he-sick) 'his child is sick'

səlāy kane-tūy = səlāy kaneh tūy (swidden
our-there) 'our swidden over there'

'hɔj ?i-ma-teh = 'hɔj yeh ma-teh (already I-to-
above) 'I'm off upstream'

Note that there are two bound forms of the third-person singular pronoun: /?ə-/ occurs in the

positions just described (*i.e.* as a modifier), while /na-/ occurs as the head in its construction:

na-ʔajəg doh (he-senior this) 'this senior one'

dēk ʔə-tūy (house ʔə-there) 'his house over there'

dēk na-tūy (house na-there) 'the house of him over there'

In verb phrases /na-/ is the form used (2.2.7).

2.1.4 *Demonstratives*

These are a closed group of temporal and locational deictic particles that may take a proclitic preposition, but may not be modified by an immediately succeeding word of any class. The basic forms are:

<i>Temporal</i>	<i>Locational</i>
kāl 'soon'	doh 'here', 'this'
tēʔ 'earlier today'	naʔ 'there', 'that'
tɔp 'past'	nin 'just out of reach'
nəŋ 'before'	tūy 'elsewhere, other side, far away'
nin 'indefinite past'	rɛh 'below, downstream'
	teh 'above, upstream'

2.1.4.1 *With prepositions*

Demonstratives may take prepositions to form class-maintaining demonstrative constructions. The locational demonstratives combine freely with the 'true' prepositions (2.1.5):

ma-doh 'to here'

num-naʔ 'from there'

re?-tūy 'like elsewhere'

.4.2 *Defined demonstratives*

Additionally, the meaning of most demonstratives can be made more definite by the proclitic /ʔa-/ 'finer', which is used with the same function with the other word-classes also (kin terms, personal names):

ʔa-kā | 'immediately'

ʔa-tē? 'just now'

ʔa-na? 'just there'

.4.3 *Inflected demonstratives*

Sometimes a change of form effects a change in meaning, though the resultant demonstratives should probably be considered as distinct lexemes:

rēh '(movement) vertically downwards' (cf. reh)

tēh '(movement) vertically upwards' (cf. teh)

neŋneŋ 'formerly, long time ago' (cf. neŋ)

All of the forms in the last three sections may stand as independent utterances.

.4.4 *As modifiers*

In constructions, the demonstratives have a modifying deictic function in noun phrases, and serve as adverbial adjuncts to verb phrases. It is good familiar idiom to use demonstratives freely in this way whenever possible, even when it does not seem to add anything to the meaning; this is especially the case with pronouns:

yē? doh ʔim-ʔog ma-hā? na? 'I here will give to you there'

na-kəlʉ? ma-tē? reh (he-fall to-earth below)

'he fell down'

ki-cTb ma-bōk lumpōh tūy (we-go to-Kuala Lumpur
elsewhere) 'we went to Kuala Lumpur'

seīāy tawun ?enam puloh ha-top (swidden year
sixty formerly) 'the swidden of 1960'

2.1.4.5 *As pronomial complements*

The demonstratives are essential complements to allow the third-person pronouns /na-/, /wε-/ and /?un-/ to stand free:

na-doh 'he here'

wε-tē? 'they-two just now'

?un-tūy 'they elsewhere'

When compounded in this way the third-person pronouns behave syntactically like any other stressed-form pronoun.

2.1.5 *Prepositions*

2.1.5.1 *True prepositions*

All true prepositions are obligatorily proclitic and may occur attached to nouns, pronouns, demonstratives, and interrogative particles. The most common prepositions are: /ma-/ 'to', /num-/ 'from', /rε?-/ 'like', and /?εn-/ 'in, at'.

?εn-jəh? tūy (in-tree there) 'in the tree
over there'

num-tiw bō? (from-river main) 'from the main
river'

rε?-yē? ham-tə?εl (like-I you-m-do) 'do it
like I do'

ma-lō? ha-cTb ma teh (to-where you-go --to-
above) 'where are you going?' --'upstream'

Some prepositions are restricted in occurrence to certain word-classes, and occasionally to certain themes:

do-rēh; do-tēh 'downwards; upwards'

ʔe-loʔ (ʔe-what?) 'what?, why?'

2.5.3 'Articles'

Some prepositions serve purely syntactic rather than 'semantic' functions, in particular that of indicating the 'case' of noun phrases, especially when they are in inverted positions within the sentence. The major prepositions of this type are /-/ 'subjective' and /ha-/ 'objective':

na-wεʔ ʔi-kəlōʔ ʔəh (he-leave ʔi-brother he)
 'his brother left' (a reversal of the normal:
 kəlōʔ ʔə-na-wεʔ)

ha-ʔōs wε-ɲoh (ha-fire they-light) 'they lit
 the fire'

Note: /ʔi-/ and /ha-/ also make the attached noun phrase definite, and further analysis may show that they have something of the character of definite articles, differentiated by 'case'. In the first sentence /ʔi-kəlōʔ/ identifies specifically the brother already mentioned in the discourse, and none other. The second sentence contrasts with /ʔōs wε-ɲoh/ 'they lit (any) fire', and it refers specifically to the particular fire they had got ready, and none other. This usage may be compared with the 'demonstrative' usage of /ʔa-/ with demonstratives (2.1.3).

2.5.4 Synthetic prepositions

Certain nouns of location and quantity possess allomorphs which may behave syntactically as prepositions, with the sole difference that they

may in turn take true prepositions (like any noun). The preposed forms, however, behave as compound prepositional phrases rather than as noun phrases. These words are the following:

kərum-	'beneath'	(kərōp 'underside')
paŋ-	'on top of'	(pāk 'topside')
laŋ	'other side of'	(lāk 'side')
kəlɔj-	'inside'	(kəlōj 'interior')
rɔm-	'as much as'	(rɔp 'how much?')
mar-	'as big as'	(mar 'size')

For example: kəlɔj-ʔɔk 'in the water'; num-kəlɔj-ʔɔk 'from (out of) the water'

2.1.5.5 /ma-/ as a verbal element

The use of /ma-/ to link some transitive verbs with their noun-phrase objects is mentioned in section 2.2.1.

2.2 Verbal elements

2.2.1 The verb phrase

The verb phrase (VP) may be rewritten as follows

$$VP \rightarrow (tɔ?)(aux) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{adj} + \text{NP} \\ \text{pron}(-m-)\text{verb} \end{array} \right\}$$

$$\text{where verb} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{verb}^i \text{ (pron} + -m- + \text{verb)} \\ \text{verb}^t \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{pron} + -m- + \text{verb} \\ (\text{ma-})\text{NP} \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{bar-} + \text{noun} \end{array} \right\}$$

The primary verbal elements are therefore: verbs (verb), falling into two major subclasses, intransitive (verbⁱ) and transitive (verb^t); adjectives (adj); auxiliaries (aux); the morpheme /bar-; the morpheme /-m-; and the negative /tɔ?/. The secondary verbal elements are: nouns (noun); pro-

ins (pron); noun phrases (NP); and the preposition
-/. The secondary verbal elements have already
been discussed in their primary roles in section 2.1.

Note that unlike the noun phrase rules the above
rules allow of the construction of complex phrases
the subordination of a noun phrase object or of a
recursive verb phrase.

All realisations of the above VP formula consti-
tute possible utterances, and in some cases possible
sentences also. Some examples follow:

1. (tə?)(aux)adj + NP:

mənū? ?əh (big it) 'it's big'

mənū? dēk rəgah ha-?ən-tūy (big house dark
you-at-there) 'your dark house there
is big'

tə? mē?nū? dēk na? (not big house that)
'that house is not big'

mə? mənū? ?əh (exists big it) 'it is big'

2. (tə?)(aux)pron(-m-)verbⁱ(pron + -m- + verb):

na-cTb (he-go) 'he goes'

həj na-cTb (already he-go) 'he has gone'

tT? nam-cTb (still he-m-go) 'he still
wants to go'

na-cTb nam-nēh (he-go he-m-see) 'he goes
to see'

tə? mə? nam-?og kim-cTb (not exist he-m-
give we-m-go) 'he just won't allow us
to go'

3. (tə?)(aux)pron(-m-)verb^t + pron + -m- + verb:

?i-səluh pam ?im-rec (I-shoot animal I-m-
eat) 'I shot an animal to eat'

4. (tɔʔ)(aux)pron(-m-)verb^t(ma-)NP:

hɔj mu-pəluʔ ma-kanēʔ (already they-m-hit
ma-we) 'they were about to hit us'

(ʔe-loʔ) tɔʔ ha-rɛpɾɛc sec mɛj mɛj naʔ
(why) not you-eat meat excellent that
'(why) didn't you eat that excellent
meat?'

5. (tɔʔ)(aux)pron(-m-)bar- + noun:

tɪʔ na-bar-lɛh (still he-bar-wife) 'he
is still married'

(jəhʔ naʔ) tɔʔ na-bar-səlāʔ ((tree that)
not-it-bar-leaf) '(that tree) has no
leaves'

Note: most verbs may be modified by adjectives but the VP formula would be made unnecessarily complicated if it were altered to account for such 'adverbial' constructions; some examples are given in section 2.2.8.4b.ii.

2.2.2 Verbs

Morphologically, verbs fall into three form-classes according to the canonic structure of the root:

Monosyllabic: CⁱVC^f (kɔw 'to call')

Schewa-form: Cⁱ_əC^mVC^f (səlog 'to lie down')

Polysyllabic: CⁱVC^mVC^f (halab 'to go down-
river')

CⁱVCC^mVC^f (sindul 'to float')

Inflectional (*i.e.* class-maintaining) morphological processes allow verbs to express the following categories: aspect (perfective, continuative, simulfactive); voice (active, causative); and mode (indicative, desiderative). In addition, cross-cutting these categories is a contrast

between transitivity and intransitivity, sometimes marked morphologically but lexically defined, and sometimes marked indirectly by the inflection of the verb. Tense is unmarked in the Temiar verb, though it may be expressed by various verbal auxiliaries and sentence adjuncts.

Derivational (*i.e.* class-changing) morphological processes allow verbs to form verbal nouns and neophones (expressive adjuncts) of various kinds.

2.2.1 *Verb inflection*

a) *Monosyllabic and schewa-form verbs:*

The morphological processes that generate the various aspects, voices and modes of the verb are best illustrated paradigmatically.

In general, the perfective aspect is unmarked, consisting of the root alone. The other two aspects are formed by reduplicative processes, involving the initial and final consonants in the continuative aspect, and the initial consonant and the marker vowel /-a-/ in the simulfactive aspect. The active voice is unmarked, while the causative voice is formed variously by the infixation of /-r-/ or by prefixation of its allomorphs /ter- ~ ber-/. The desiderative mode is in all cases formed by the infixation of /-m-/ between the proclitic pronoun and the verb; it is discussed separately in section 2.5.

It should be noted, however, that many verbs are defective: for example, *schewa* verbs commonly lack perfective forms, or they exist only in the causative form. Discussion of these exceptions is out of place in this summary account, as they involve no new morphological principles.

Taking the roots /kōw/ 'to call' and /səlog/ 'to lie down, sleep, marry' as models, the patterns of verb inflection are as follows (note that many of the morphophonemic alternations described in section 1.3.3.1 are involved in these processes).

Active Voice

Perfective:	C^iVC^f	kōw
	$C^i\epsilon C^mVC^f$	səlog
Simulfactive:	$C^i_aC^iVC^f$	kakōw
	$C^i_aC^mVC^f$	səlog
Continuative:	$C^i\epsilon C^fC^iVC^f$	kəwkōw
	$C^i\epsilon C^fC^mVC^f$	səglog

Causative Voice

Perfective:	$t\epsilon rC^iVC^f$	tərkōw
	$C^i\epsilon rC^mVC^f$	səlog
Simulfactive:	$t\epsilon r_aC^iVC^f$	*tərakōw
	$C^i\epsilon r_aC^mVC^f$	*səralog
Continuative:	$t\epsilon r\epsilon C^fC^iVC^f$	tərkwkōw
	$C^i\epsilon r\epsilon C^fC^mVC^f$	səglog

Notes:

i) The above examples are for the sake of illustration only; hardly any verbs are employed in every possible inflected form. The two starred forms are not yet attested; see note iv below.

ii) Monosyllabic roots with initial /c-/ or /t-/ take /bɛr-/ instead of /tɛr-/ in the causative /cā?/ 'to eat' gives /bɛrcā?/ 'to feed'.

iii) Some apparently irregular verbs diverge from this paradigm in one or more respects. The causative perfective of /həwal/ 'to emerge', for example, is /*hərwal/. The 'irregularity' here, however, is not in the reduplicative pattern employed (this is a frequent means of forming expressives), but in the use to which it is put.

iv) Where the meaning allows, all these forms are productive, with the exception of the causative perfective which occurs in certain 'crystallised' forms only, and even then usually with a meaning other than that implied by the inflectional categories. It is a pattern frequently occurring in expressives, however.

v) Non-productive patterns different from the standard ones but obviously causative in form are also found: /jəɬ/ 'to bark', /pəjəɬ/ 'to go hunting with dogs'; /lɛk/ 'to know', /tɛlɛk/ 'to teach'; /s/ 'to live', /təgɔs/ 'to hunt for food'. The derived verbs all inflect like ordinary *schewa*-forms, except that they do not form causatives in -/.

b) *Polysyllabic verbs:*

These undergo very few morphological changes. The root form marks the active perfective. The periphrastic construction equivalent to the active perfective can be formed with the proclitic /bar-a- ~ bə-/:

bə-halab 'to go downriver'

ba-sindul 'to float'

There are no other morphological devices available to these verbs. Many polysyllabic verbs can nevertheless be employed causatively with only the appropriate context to indicate the change of meaning:

?i-halab ma-rəh 'I went downriver'

?i-halab tɛntɛk mə-rəh (I-go-downriver cane to-below) 'I took the cane downriver'

2.2.2.2 Functions of verb inflections

a) The contrast perfective/continuative

i) Focus:

While the perfective aspect puts the emphasis on the result or object of the action, the continuative aspect puts the emphasis on the action itself. Other contrasts implied are: completive/continuative, punctiliar/iterative, resultative/self-sufficient. The following examples illustrate these contrasts (the perfective form is given first, the continuative second):

na-rec ?amboj 'he eats pork' (as
opposed to other meats)

na-rɛprec ?amboj 'he's eating pork' (as
opposed to bathing or sleeping)

na-sɛlog babō? 'he slept with a woman'
(i.e. married her)

na-sɛglog babō? 'he sleeps around with
women'

na-bɛrcā? kəwās ?əh 'she fed her child'
(i.e. got it fed)

na-bɛrɛ?cā? kəwās ?əh 'she was feeding
her child' (i.e. occupied herself
in feeding)

?i-halab ma-rɛh 'I went downriver'
(and reached my destination)

?i-bɛ-halab ma-rɛh 'I was going downriver'
(when something happened)

ii) Transitivity:

The continuative aspect neutralises the transitivity of otherwise transitive verbs. For example, /sɛluh/ 'to shoot with a blowgun' is obligatorily transitive in the perfective aspect, but only optionally so in the continuative:

?i-səluh nam 'I shot an animal/some animals'

?i-səhluh 'I went shooting'

?i-səhluh nam 'I was shooting animals'

e: if the object of the verb has already been mentioned it may be left unexpressed after a sensitive verb: /?i-səluh/ could then mean 'I shot at it' where 'it' has already been mentioned.

The simulfactive

i) *Intensification:*

The simulfactive indicates suddenness, intensity, simultaneity:

?əm-cā? mənū? 'we'll eat a lot'

?əm-cacā? mənū? 'we'll have a feast'

?un-cəbcTb ma-teh 'they're going upstream'

?un-cacTb ma-teh 'they're all going upstream together'

?i-gəl 'I sat down'

?i-gagəl 'I sat down suddenly'

?impəlu? hah 'I'll hit you'

?im-palu? hah 'I'll hit you hard'

na-səlcg 'he went to sleep'

na-salcg 'he went straight off to sleep'

ii) *Spontaneity:*

The simulfactive may indicate an action that appears to occur without an external agency; sometimes the perfective form of the same verb

expresses the corresponding ergative construction:

na-wōg kēbē? 'he peeled open the fruit'

kēbē? na-wawōg 'the fruit split open'

na-cērtēk rēṅkā? 'he shut the door'
(causative perfective)

rēṅkā? na-catēk 'the door slammed shut'
(active simulfactive)

iii) *Reciprocity*:

With a preceding dual-number pronoun and the morpheme /bar-/ (see section 2.2.4) the simulfactive forms the reciprocal construction:

wē-bē-salōg (they slept each other)
'they got married'

kē?am-sēṅmāṅ 'ask questions, you two!'

kē?am-bē-samāṅ 'ask each other questions!'

na-cō? kēwāṅs ?ēh 'she slapped her child'

kēwāṅs ?ēh wē-bē-cacō? 'her children were
slapping each other'

This construction is sometimes ambiguous; the following sentence is not a reciprocal one, but a synthetic continuative-intensive: /wē-bē-cacā?/ 'they were eating well together'.

c) *Causative*:

Both transitive and intransitive verbs may be given a causative meaning. In the case of otherwise intransitive verbs the causative inflection makes them transitive:

papēt na-cā? bēr 'the baby eats vegetables'

?i-bērcā? bēr ma-papēt 'I feed vegetables'

to the baby'

tɔʔ ʔi-səŋŋɪ (not I-wake) 'I didn't wake
up'

tɔʔ ha-səŋŋɪ yeh (not you-cause-wake I)
'you didn't wake me up'

çəp na-səŋ 'the bird got trapped'

yēʔ ʔi-tərsəŋ çəp 'I trapped the bird'

Adjectivalisation

The continuative form of the verb may also function as a nominal modifier (see section 2.1.1).

2.2.3 *Verbal derivatives*

Verbs may undergo two major class-changing morphological processes: nominalisation, and the formation of various kinds of verbal adjuncts (expressives, ideophones).

Nominalisation:

The affix /(-)n-/ 'nominaliser' may occur with all three aspects of the active voice and with the continuative aspect of the causative voice. But it does not follow that the same aspectual *meaning* is carried over into the nominalised form; 'aspect' is here used in its morphological sense only. It is unusual for any single root to exhibit all possible nominalised derivatives, so the following paradigm employs a mixture of roots. (Cf. section 2.2.2.1a.)

Active Voice

Perfective:	$C^i \text{ə}nVC^f$	çər 'to pare' → çənər 'knife'
	$C^i \text{ə}nC^mVC^f$	səluh 'to shoot' → sənluh 'shooting'

Simulfactive:	$C^i \text{anVC}^f$	kēj 'to scrape' → kanēj 'scraper'
	$C^i \text{ənaC}^m \text{VC}^f$	səluh 'to shoot' → sənaluh 'leaf- monkey' ('thing shot at')
Continuative:	$C^i \text{εC}^f \text{nVC}^f$ or $\text{nεC}^f \text{C}^i \text{VC}^f$	kēj 'to scrape' → kējnēj or nējke 'scraping'
	$C^i \text{ənεC}^f \text{C}^m \text{VC}^f$ or $\text{nεC}^f \text{C}^i \text{ə-}$ $\text{C}^m \text{VC}^f$	səgləg 'to knot' → sənəgləg or nəgsələg 'knot'

Causative Voice

Continuative:	$\text{tərənC}^i \text{VC}^f$	tərʔəj 'to raise' tərənʔəj 'raising'
	$C^i \text{ərənC}^m \text{VC}^f$	sərlog 'to lay down' → sərənlog 'lay- ing down'

Polysyllabic verbs have only one nominalised form:

$C^i \text{ənVC}^m \text{VC}^f$	golap 'to carry on shoulder' → genolap 'carrying on shoulder'
$C^i \text{ənVCC}^m \text{VC}^f$	sindul 'to float' → sənindul 'floating'

Note: The forms with word-initial /n-/ are customary in Perak, while the infixal forms are used in Kelantan. This difference cross-cuts the Northern-Southern dialect difference.

All of these verbal nouns fall syntactically into the noun class, and their role in phrase structure has already been dealt with (2.1.2.4). Semantically, however, it is possible to distinguish

r different kinds of verbal noun:

i) *Gerunds*: These may be freely formed from any verb root, expressing the act or state of doing or being, whatever the verb denotes. The different form-classes of verbs derive their gerunds from different morphological aspects, thus:

Active: monosyllabic - continuative
schewa-verbs - perfective (in Kelantan)
perfective or (prefixal)
continuative (in Perak)
polysyllabic - root

Causative:

monosyllabic - continuative
schewa-verbs - continuative
polysyllabic - (none)

ii) *Agentive nouns*: These may not be freely formed, even from verb roots that would seem to allow it. They usually are nouns denoting the material object used to bring about the action denoted by the verb root:

canūŋ 'hammer' (cūk 'to hammer')
cəŋɛr 'knife' (cɛr 'to pare')

Agentive nouns are formed from the perfective ('to pare') or simulfactive ('hammer').

iii) *Resultative nouns*: These may not be freely formed (though they probably retain a greater degree of productivity than agentive nouns). They are nouns denoting the physical object resulting from the action denoted by the verb root:

səŋɛglɛg 'knot' (sɛglɛg 'to knot')

kənalēk 'strut' '(kalēk 'to prop up')

kəɾənwāk 'frame' (kərwāk 'to frame')

Resultative nouns are usually formed from the continuative of *schewa*-form and causative verbs ('knot', 'frame'), and from the root of polysyllabic verbs.

iv) *Objective nouns*: These may not be freely formed. A few lexemes can be analysed as being of this type: /sənaluh/ 'dusky leaf-monkey' is morphologically equivalent to 'that which is shot' (/saluh/ + /-n-/); /sənalɔg/ may occasionally be used for 'the state of marriage' (/salɔg/ 'to marry'). Both these words are derived from the *simulfactive of the verb*.

b) *Expressives*:

This is a heterogeneous category of adjuncts many of which are formed from real or imaginary verb roots by what can only be described as 'reduplicative play'. Syntactically they stand in apposition to the whole verb phrase, or even to the whole sentence. Semantically they serve as a kind of expressive mirror-phrase, summing up in a word or two the 'feelings' that are stereotypically supposed to be aroused in the interlocutors' minds. It is extremely difficult to find satisfactory translation labels for these forms because, even though they are standardised phrases, they are concerned more with connotational than with denotational meaning. They are very common in ordinary conversation, and in stories and song-lyrics they are an essential element of the style.

Only a few of the very many patterns are exemplified here:

$C^i \varepsilon C^f C^i \varepsilon C^m VC^f$ derived from $C^i \varepsilon C^m VC^f$ verbs:

beybæguy (bæguy 'to waft' (smoke))

regræwēg (ræwēg 'to stand conspicuously upright')

is is a productive pattern.

c) $C^i \varepsilon r a C^m VC^f C^m VC^f$ derived from $(*)C^i \varepsilon r C^m VC^f$:

kəralog log sound of heavy footsteps (no root *kəlog)

cəra?ūk ?ūk stomach queeziness (no root cə?ūk known)

kərahāb hab lip-smacking (kərahāb 'to eat noisily')

d) $C^i \varepsilon C^f C^i \varepsilon r C^m VC^f$ derived from $C^i \varepsilon r C^m VC^f$:

gengerlūt spindly-ness (gerlūt 'long and thin (of small objects)')

Note: Diffloth has shown that in the Aslian languages the category 'expressive' is historically and grammatically distinct from that of 'verb' (see his paper in this volume). However, insofar as a) expressive and verbal morphology uses many of the same patterns and b) some expressives actually derive from verb roots, it does not destroy Temiar grammar too much to treat expressives as 'verbal derivatives' in an elementary analysis such as this.

2.3 Auxiliaries

The verbal auxiliaries are: /hɔj/ 'already', /ɔʔ/ 'there is/are', /tʔʔ/ 'yet, still, more', and /oleh/ 'can'. (/boleh/ is probably a Malay loanword.) Their functions are as follows:

Verbal modifiers:

Within the verb phrase the auxiliaries limit or qualify the verb:

hɔj na-təʔɛl ʔəh (already he-do it) 'he has
done it'

tTʔ ʔi-jɛʔjiʔ 'I am still sick'

mɔʔ ha-cāʔ sej dohʔ -- mɔʔ (mɔʔ you-eat meat
this? --mɔʔ) 'Is it the case that you
eat this meat?' --'it is'

boleh na-cTb -- boleh 'can he go?' -- '(he) ca

Note: /hɔj/ is the most common way of indicating the
past tense, and this is its major function.

b) As independent words:

Apart from serving as affirmatives in responses
to questions (as in some of the above examples), the
auxiliaries /tTʔ/ and /mɔʔ/ may function adjectivally,
sometimes reduplicated as /tɛʔtTʔ/ and /mɛʔmɔʔ/:

tTʔ bēh hahʔ (still father you) 'Is your father
still alive?'

tɛʔtTʔ ʔəh (still he) 'Yes, he is'

mɔʔ dēk ʔən-tūy 'there are houses over there'

hɔy, tɔʔ mɛʔmɔʔ (no, not there-are) 'no, there
are not'

hɔj yeh (already I) 'I'm off!'

2.2.4 The morpheme /bar-/

2.2.4.1 Allomorphs

/bar-/, a proclitic, has the following phono-
logically determined allomorphs:

/bar-/ before monosyllables: bar-dēk 'to
have a house'

/ba-/ before CəC...: ba-bərəbcTb 'to make
(something) go'

/bə-/ before CVC... (where V is any vowel other
than /ə/): bə-halab 'to go downriver'

In slow speech, however, /bar-/ may be used in these positions (cf. section 1.3.3.2b).

1.4.2 Functions of /bar-/

a) With monosyllabic and *schewa*-form verbs in the continuative aspect, /bar-/ expresses 'to be in the middle of doing something':

?i-bə-cəbcTb ma-rəh 'I was in the middle of going down'

na-bə-səglɔg 'he is sleeping'

b) With polysyllabic roots, /bar-/ forms the continuative aspect:

?i-bə-golap palɔ? (I-bar-carry-on-shoulder firewood) 'I am carrying firewood'

c) With some adjectives /bar-/ makes the ascribed characteristic inherent rather than contingent:

cəwa? la?əs (dog bad) 'a bad dog' (either for the moment or always)

cəwa? bə-la?əs 'a bad dog' (inherently so)

d) With numerals /bar-/ forms adjectival phrases:

kanē? bar-nə? doh (we bar-three here) 'we three'

e) With nouns, /bar-/ forms verbs:

?im-bar-dēk ?ən-tūy (I-m-bar-house at-there) 'I shall have my house over there'

cō? bar-yāj ?a-tē?? (who bar-noise just-now) 'who made a noise just now?'

wə-bar-gēs (they(-two)-bar-incest) 'they committed incest'

1.5 The morpheme /-m-/

1.5.1 Morphosyntax of /-m-/

The affix /-m-/ occurs only bound simultaneously preceding a bound-form pronoun and a succeeding

verb (to which extent it serves as a verb-marker). The paradigm of the *m*-affixed forms of the pronouns is as follows, with the stressed-form pronoun on the left:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st person	yē? ?im- cē? yim-	yār yam- ?ār ?am-	kanē? kim- kandē? kanim-
2nd person	hā? ham-	kə?an kə?am-	ɲob ɲom-
3rd person	na- nam-	wε- wεm-	?un- mu-, mə-

2.2.5.2 Functions of /-m-/

a) In declarative verb phrases /-m-/ marks the desiderative and intentive modes; /-m-/ does not necessarily imply futurity.

?og ?im-cā? (give, I-m-eat) 'give me some, I'd like to eat it'

ham-gabag ka-hɔy? (you-m-sing or-no) 'Do you want to sing or not?'

b) With second-person pronouns /-m-/ forms the imperative mode; with first- and second-person pronouns /-m-/ expresses the hortatory mode:

ham-tuh (you-m-tell) 'tell me!'

nam-?εn ma-doh (he-m-carry to-here) 'let him bring it here' or 'tell him to bring it here'

c) Between verbs the construction (pron + -m-) marks the subordination of the second verb phrase to the first; it implies a purposive or resultative relationship between the phrases:

?ōr nam-cTb nam-dalag ma-?un-tūy (order he-m-go he-m-call to-they-there) 'tell him to go and call them'

?i-hōd nam-?og ma-yē? ney (I want he-m-give to-me one) 'I want him to give me one'

d) With the auxiliary /hɔj/ 'already' /-m-/ forms an idiomatic construction with the meaning 'to about to...', 'almost to...':

hɔj nam-kəbəs 'he almost died' or 'he is about to die'

e) With interrogative particles /-m-/ forms idiomatic constructions expressing querulous questions of the type 'why should...?':

cɔ̄? nam-tuh ?əh? (who he-m-tell he) 'why should you think anyone told him?'

?e-lo? nam-cTb ma-teh? (why he-m-go to-above) 'why should you think he went up there?'

2.6 The negative

2.6.1 /tɔ?/

Verbal phrases are made negative by the addition /tɔ?/ 'not' initially:

tɔ? na-kəlu? (not he-fall) 'he didn't fall'

tɔ? boleh mu-gabag (not able they-m-sing) 'they won't be able to sing'

2.6.2 Negative imperative

The negative imperative is formed with /jɛ? ?a-/ (literally: 'refrain from') proclitic to the verb:

(ham-)jɛ? ?a-cTb 'don't (you) go!'

2.6.3 With adjectives

Adjectives (2.2.8) may be made negative by /tɔ?/, which case they are usually in the reduplicated form:

tɔ? sənjɛk 'not straight' (sənjɛk 'straight')

2.6.4 As independent utterance

/tɔ?/ may occasionally be used as an independent utterance to mean 'no!' when denying the truth of something just said. More usual in such positions,

however, are various sentence adjuncts that do not occur as verbal elements.

2.2.7 *Pronouns*

The pronouns have already been treated in some detail as primary nominal elements in section 2.1.3, and examples of their functioning in verb phrases were given in section 2.2.1. It remains only to give special attention to pronouns in this latter role.

In verb phrases the pronoun takes the bound form (indeed the main function of the bound pronouns is as verbal elements), and it serves to link the verb proper with its antecedent noun-phrase subject. The pronoun agrees with the subject in number, person and inclusivity. In this construction the pronoun is proclitic directly to the verb proper or to /bar-/ or /-m-/:

mɔp na-lut (tooth it-emerge) 'the tooth has emerged'

kanē? kanim-cTb (we we-m-go) 'we want to go'

tatā? na-bē-halab (old-man he-bar-go-down-river) 'the old man is going downriver'

If the subject is unexpressed, being understood from the context, the proclitic pronoun may occur alone with the verb to form a self-sufficient utterance or sentence:

?i-cTb 'I go'

tɔ? ha-tɛhtuh ka-deh? (not you-tell (question-marker)) 'didn't you tell?'

na-pelud ?a-kāl (it-explode ?a-soon) 'it'll explode any minute now'

hoj mu-kōw (already they-m-call) 'they were about to call'

s subject-less construction allows the setting-up
a paradigm analogous to a verbal 'conjugation'
f. Carey 1961: 14-5); but both classes of elements
such a paradigm are separable and may also occur
th quite other formatives.

2.8 *Adjectives*

Most adjectives are morphologically similar to
bs (and most adjectives may indeed function as
ative verbs); the diagnostic difference from verbs
that adjectives may not take the modal affix /-m-/
undergo causative inflection. There are at least
ree classes of adjectives:

2.8.1 *Inflecting adjectives*

a) Almost all adjectives may be inflected for
urality, intensity or adverbiality by taking a
rm corresponding morphologically to the continuative
ect of verbs:

dēk jəro? (house long) 'a long house'

dēk jε?ro? 'long houses'

?abat cəlek (cloth red) 'red cloth'

?abat cεŋlək 'red cloths'

sej məj (meat good) 'good meat'

sej məjməj 'excellent meat'

mεjməj ham-bə? (good-good you-m-carry) 'carry
it carefully'

b) A subclass of inflecting adjectives is a
oup of words describing characteristics of animate
ns. These inflect for number on the pattern of
e simulfactive and continuative aspects of the verb
(section 2.1.2.2):

bō? ?əh (female it) 'it's a female'

sən?ōy babō? tūy (person female there) 'that
woman/girl over there'

?un-be?bō? tūy (they-females there) 'those
women/girls'

Adjectives of this class may also function as nouns,
and in some cases as verbs.

2.2.8.2 *Non-inflecting adjectives*

These are not as common as inflecting adjectives.
Some examples are: /la?əs/ 'dirty, bad', /cəbrəb/
'rough-textured', /galdēŋ/ 'beautiful (woman's face)'
/pərahwak/ 'bright yellow'.

Note: though these words do not inflect as
adjectives, many of them are morphologically complex:
/cəbrəb/ is in the 'continuative' form, and /la?əs/
is related to /?əs?əs/ 'filthy' and /?əsnes/ 'dirt'.

2.2.8.3 *Restricted adjectives*

This is a small group of modifiers that never
occur as stative verbs; their only function is to
limit or qualify other words:

dēk he? (house only) 'a simple house with no
additions'

na-ləglug he? (he-laugh only) 'all he does
is laugh'

həy gēb (no completely) 'absolutely no'

pərahwak gēb 'completely yellow'

mēj həjε? na-doh (good also it-this) 'this one
is also good'

2.2.8.4 *Functioning of adjectives*

a) *In noun phrases:*

As nominal modifiers adjectives follow their
head (*cf.* section 2.1.1):

senʔɔy məj (person good) 'a good person'

səmuj pərahwak (wasp yellow) 'a yellow wasp'

In verb phrases:

i) As stative verbs adjectives precede their subject complement' (cf. section 2.2.1):

məj senʔɔy naʔ (good person that) 'that person is good'

pərahwak səmuj təh (yellow wasp above) 'that wasp up there is yellow'

note: stative constructions of this type possess a distinctive intonational pattern in which a strong sentence stress falls on the final syllable of the adjective.

ii) As verbal modifiers adjectives usually follow their head (cf. section 2.2.1, note):

na-cɔb gej (he-go quickly) 'he goes quickly'

ʔəm-cāʔ mənūʔ (we-m-eat big) 'we'll eat a lot'

¹I have much benefitted from discussion or correspondence with several linguists during the search on which this paper is based. I would especially like to thank Asmah Haji Omar, Gérard Giffloth, R. Radhakrishnan, H.L. Shorto, J.L.M. Trim and N.H. Zide for their advice. Nevertheless, I must accept full responsibility for the analysis presented here.

²I am very grateful to J.L.M. Trim for first suggesting this analysis. But as Mr. Trim had available to him only the faulty and incomplete data of earlier material, he must be absolved of responsibility for any misuse I have made of his ideas.

³The procedure adopted here owes much to the approach proposed in Lyons 1968, especially in chapters 4, 7 and 8.

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