A STUDY ON COMPLEX EXISTENTIAL SENTENCES IN MALAY

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Abstract

This thesis investigates a type of existential sentences in Malay, which I call 'complex existential sentences' as opposed to 'minimal existential sentences'.

Existential sentences in Malay in general can be defined as sentences that contain a pivot verb in which the theme argument appears after the verb, often followed by location: V_{pivot} Th (Loc). A complex existential sentence is an existential sentence which has the superficial sequence 'V_{pivot} NP XP', where XP is the second predicate of NP.

At first glance, they look just like the omission of the complementiser *yang* from its corresponding minimal existential sentences, whose structure is V_{pivot} [NP NP yang XP]. However, close examination revealed that two types of existential sentences are not completely the same both syntactically and semantically.

Syntactically, the putative relative clause part of a complex existential sentence cannot include a resumptive pronoun whilst the same part of a minimal existential sentence can. Semantically, the NPs of complex existential sentences are more sensitive to the Definiteness Restriction. In order to accommodate these differences, I proposed different syntactic structures for minimal and complex existential sentences.

(1)   a.   Minimal existential sentences

V_{pivot} [$_{NP}$ NP_i [$_{CP}$ Op_i [$_C$ yang] [$_{IP}$ … t_i …]]]

      b.   Complex existential sentences

V_{pivot} [$_{NP}$ NP_i [$_{CP}$ t'_i [$_C$ Ø] [$_{IP}$ … t_i …]]]

Although both types of existential sentences contain a relative clause, they differ in the way the relative clause is derived. In minimal existential sentences, there is a null operator and it is this null operator that undergoes movement. On the other hand, in complex existential sentences, what moves is the head noun of the relative clause.

In addition to theoretical analysis, I examined the actual data of complex existential sentences. In theory, both subject and object relativisation is equally possible in complex existential sentences. However, in actual language use, object relativisation is quite rare. Furthermore, I demonstrated that some non-basic patterns can also be handled by my hypothesis about the structure of complex existential sentences advanced in this thesis.

Abstrak

Tesis ini membincangkan sejenis ayat kewujudan dalam bahasa Melayu, iaitu ayat kewujudan kompleks (*complex existential sentences*).

Ayat kewujudan dalam bahasa Melayu secara umum boleh didefinisikan sebagai ayat yang mengandungi kata kerja pivot, di mana argumen benda (*theme*) hadir selepas kata kerja, lazimnya diikuti oleh lokasi: KK_{pivot} Benda Lokasi. Ayat kewujudan kompleks pula ialah sejenis ayat kewujudan yang mempunyai urutan permukaan 'KK_{pivot} FN FX', di mana FX adalah predikat sekundar bagi FN.

Pada pandangan pertama, ayat kewujudan kompleks kelihatan hasil pengguguran kata komplemen *yang* dari ayat kewujudan minimal, yang berstruktur KK_{pivot} [$_{FN}$ FN yang FX]. Bagaimanapun, selepas diperiksa secara mendalam ternyata bahawa dua jenis ayat kewujudan tidak sama sekali dari segi kedua-dua sintaksis dan semantik.

Dari segi sintaksis, bahagian yang berupa klausa relatif dalam ayat kewujudan kompleks tidak boleh mengandungi kata ganti nama semula (*resumptive pronoun*) manakala bahagian sama dalam ayat kewujudan minimal pula boleh mengandunginya. Dari segi semantik, FN dalam ayat kewujudan kompleks lebih peka kepada Sekatan Ketetapan (*Definiteness Restriction*) berbanding dengan ayat kewujudan minimal. Untuk menerangkan perbezaan ini, penulis mengutarakan struktur sintaksis yang berlainan di antara ayat kewujudan minimal dan ayat kewujudan kompleks.

(1)   a.   Ayat kewujudan minimal

KK_{pivot} [$_{FN}$ FN_i [$_{FKOMP}$ Op_i [$_{KOMP}$ yang] [$_{FF}$ … t_i …]]]

        b.   Ayat kewujudan kompleks

KK_{pivot} [$_{FN}$ FN_i [$_{FKOMP}$ t'_i [$_{KOMP}$ Ø] [$_{FF}$ … t_i …]]]

Walaupun kedua-dua jenis ayat kewujudan mengandungi klausa relatif, dua jenis ayat kewujudan berbeza dari segi bagaimana ayat relatifnya diderivasikan. Dalam ayat kewujudan minimal terdapat operator kosong (*null operator*) dan operator kosong inilah yang mengalami pemindahan. Dalam ayat kewujudan kompleks pula, yang berpindah ialah kata nama kepala (*head noun*) bagi klausa relatif.

Selain analisis teoretis, penulis meneliti data sebenar ayat kewujudan kompleks. Secara teori, kedua-dua subjek dan objek boleh direlativisasikan dengan kemungkinan yang sama. Akan tetapi, perelativisasian objek jarang sekali dalam penggunaan bahasa sebenar. Ditambah lagi, penulis menunjukkan bahawa beberapa pola bukan asas pun boleh ditangani dengan hipotesis yang dikemukakan dalam tesis ini.

要旨

　本論文では，マレー語の存在文のうち，「複雑存在文（complex existential sentences）」と呼ばれるものを議論する。

　マレー語の存在文一般は，対象項が動詞の後に現れ，さらに場所表現が続くような，ピボット動詞文と定義できる。すなわち，'ピボット動詞－対象（－場所）'という型の文である。複雑存在文は，そのうち表面的に'V_{pivot} NP XP（＝二次述語）'という語順をとるものをいう。

　一見すると，複雑存在文は，'V_{pivot} [$_{NP}$ NP yang XP]'という構造を持つ，単純存在文から補文標識 yang が省略されただけに見える。しかしながら，詳しく調べてみると，単純存在文と複雑存在文は統語的にも意味的にも完全に同じではない。

　統語的には，複雑存在文の関係節と思われる部分は，再述代名詞を含むことができない。一方，単純存在文の同一部分は，再述代名詞の生起に問題がない。意味的には，複雑存在文の NP は単純存在文の NP より，定性制約により強く反応を示す。これらの相違を説明できるように，本論文は2種類の存在文に対して次のような異なる統語構造を提案した。

(1)　　a.　　単純存在文

V_{pivot} [$_{NP}$ NP$_i$ [$_{CP}$ Op$_i$ [$_C$ yang] [$_{IP}$ … t_i …]]]

　　　　b.　　複雑存在文

V_{pivot} [$_{NP}$ NP$_i$ [$_{CP}$ t'_i [$_C$ Ø] [$_{IP}$ … t_i …]]]

両方とも関係節を含んでいるものの，単純存在文と複雑存在文では関係節の派生のされ方が異なる。前者では，空演算子が存在し，この空演算子が移動する。一方，後者では，移動するのは関係節の主名詞である。

　理論的分析に加え，本論文は複雑存在文の実際の使用についても考察した。理論上は，複雑存在文中の関係節では，主語と目的語の両方ともが等しく関係化可能である。しかしながら，実際の言語使用では，目的語の関係化はかなり稀である。さらに，いくつかの非基本的な型をとる複雑存在文についても，本論文の提案する仮説で取り扱うことができることも実証した。

Acknowledgements

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I would also thank to Yeong Kwong Leong, who has been willing to check my writings in English including this thesis. Without his assistance, most of my writings would have probably not seen the light of day. Thanks are also due to Visiting Assoc. Prof. Saiful Bahari bin Ahmad at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, who has taught me the Malay language for five years.

I am very grateful to my friends and acquaintances that I met in Malaysia, too many to name. They taught me the 'real' Malay, most of the time indirectly, and gave me invaluable experiences.

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List of Abbreviations

A	adjective		P	preposition
Acc	accusative		Part	particle
AUX	auxiliary		Perf	perfect
C(omp)	complementiser		Pl	plural
Cl	classifier		Poss	possessor
D	determiner		PRED	predicate
Dat	dative		Q	quantifier
Do	direct object		Qm	question marker
e	gap (empty)		S	sentence
Emp	emphatic		Sg	singular
Gen	genitive		Subj	subject
I	inflection		*t*	trace
Imperf	imperfective		Th	theme
Io	indirect object		Top	topic
Loc	location		V	verb
Loc	locative case (Chamorro)		X′	intermediate projection of X
N	noun		XP	maximal projection of X
Neg	negation		1	first person
Obj	object		2	second person
Obl	oblique		3	third person
Op	null operator			

Chapter 1　Introduction

Existential sentences have been one of the subjects that have attracted considerable concern among linguists. This is because they exhibit several intriguing characteristics that are unique to them, some of which are considered crucial for the development of linguistic theory. This thesis discusses one of such issues, namely complex existential sentences in Malay.

1.1　Standard Malay

The Malay language belongs to the Indonesian branch of the Austronesian family. It is spoken widely in the Malay Archipelago or *Nusantara,* which covers Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, Indonesia, East Timor and southern Thailand, with the variety spoken in Indonesia and East Timor usually called Indonesian. Spoken in such a wide area by as many as more than two hundred million people[1], it has a number of geographical as well as socio-economical variants. The differences among these varieties are sometimes so great that a speaker of one variety cannot understand what the speaker of another is saying. Therefore it is important to state clearly what variety one is going to discuss. The variety of Malay discussed in this thesis is Standard Malay used in Malaysia.

　　I am aware that the concept 'Standard Malay' is not a solid one in a strict sense. No Malay linguist is able to give with confidence a complete scientific definition of it. Only prescriptive grammarians profess to be able to do that. However, it cannot be denied that the concept of a 'standard' still exists in the head of every speaker of Malay. Every speaker has a certain image of what is standard and what is not. For instance, two of my

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[1]　This number includes both speakers as their first language and second language.

main informants, who are from Kelantan, never spoke the Kelantan dialect to me, though their 'standard' Malay may have been acquired under the influence of their native dialect. They used the variety widely used in the media such as television, radio and newspapers. Thus by Standard Malay I mean what my informants regard as such. A similar idea about Standard Malay is held by Teoh Boon Seong among others. He describes Standard Malay as follows:

> The term 'standard' Malay is a term to designate a variety of language which is basically accepted by members of the speech community to be the norm or the prestige dialect which is used in formal situations, e.g. in the mass media, administration and education. (Teoh 1994: 5)

Hereafter I will simply call Standard Malay in this sense just 'Malay'.

1.2   About the data

The primary data in this thesis consists of two types. One is written texts, especially newspapers published in Malaysia. Another is the data obtained by elicitation from native speakers of Malay. The language used in the former is formal written Malay, mostly in the register of journalism. With regard to the latter, I asked my informants to judge the acceptability of the same one sentence in terms of two styles, i.e. formal and informal. It is common for the same informant to judge the same sentence differently, depending on the style. In such cases, I adopted the judgement based on the formal style, taking into account the style of the first source of the primary data, i.e. written texts. Conflicting judgements also come from the plurality of informants. Different people have differing ideas of what is standard and draw the boundary between formal and informal at different points. In this case, I follow the majority rule. The judgements

otherwise will be shown if necessary.

In this thesis, I utilised two corpora of Malay made by a research project at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (21st Century Centre of Excellence Programme: Usage-Based Linguistic Informatics), which I joined. One of them is a corpus of written Malay. I call this corpus 'Utusan Corpus' since it consists of the front-page (*muka hadapan*) articles of a daily newspaper published in Malaysia, *Utusan Malaysia* (http://www.utusan.com.my/), for the entire year of 2002. It includes 1,122,027 tokens and 22,469 types. Another corpus is one of colloquial Malay, which I call 'UKM corpus' since it was made in cooperation with Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM). It consists of 30 sessions of casual conversation between two university students. The number of participants is 20, half of them students in linguistics and another half in the English language who take the Japanese language as their minor. They come from various parts of Malaysia, but the use of dialects is very little. It is without doubt a corpus of standard variety. As this corpus is still in the process of building, its exact size is still uncertain. The total recording time is approximately 30 hours, two thirds of which have been transcribed.

Lastly, it is necessary here to mention my informants. I consulted six educated native speakers of Malay, four of them students at UKM and the rest lecturers at UKM and Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. Both of these lecturers are fluent in Japanese. I chose three of these six people as my main informants: two students and one lecturer. Two student main informants are in their twenties and from Kelantan while the lecturer is in his forties and from Johore.

1.3   Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework on which this thesis is based is the Principle-and-Parameters Theory (P&P) as outlined in Chomsky & Lasnik (1993) and Haegeman (1994) among others. In this section, I shall sketch the vital part of this theory which will be necessary to understand this thesis. As previous studies on Malay have also been conducted within other theoretical frameworks such as Relational Grammar and the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM), we will need some knowledge of them too in order to incorporate as much insightful findings by our predecessors as possible into our works. Other theories will be briefly introduced, if necessary, when they are first taken up for discussion. [Readers with basic knowledge of generative syntax may want to skip the following and go directly to chapter 2.]

In P&P, syntax is thought of as a system which generates two input structures or representations, one to the phonological component and another to the semantic component, using lexical items in the lexicon. Roughly speaking, the former representation is called PF (Phonetic Form) and the latter LF (Logical Form). In addition to these two representations, the theory posits two more representations, namely D- and S-structures. The former is the initial or underlying structure formed by the system. The latter is the divergent point of the ways to PF and LF.

(1)   Lexicon
                             ↓
                       D-structure
                             ↓
          PF ⟵ S-structure ⟶ LF
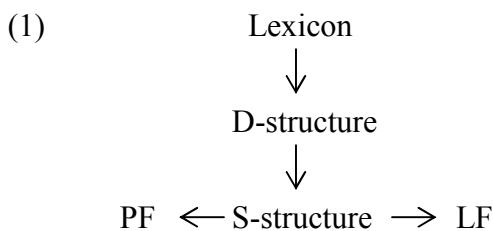
This system has a small numbers of subtheories. Among them, the X-bar theory and

the bounding theory are especially relevant to the discussion in the following chapters. First, the X-bar theory specifies the possible phrase structures. It says that every category must project in conformity with the following mould.

(2)

```
                   XP
                  /  \
               YP      X′
          (specifier)   / \
                      X     ZP
                   (head)   (complement)
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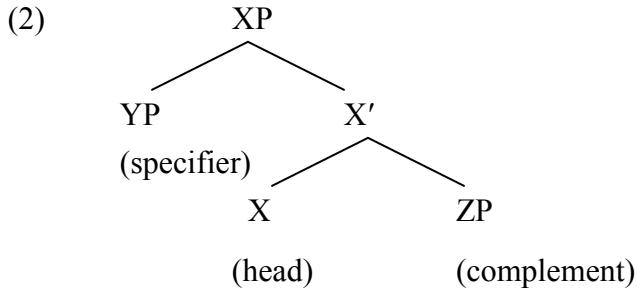
The category that projects is called the 'head' of the projection, represented in (2) as X. Sometimes it is also notated as 'X°' in order to emphasise its status as a head. The syntactic behaviours of the whole phrase depend on the category of its head. The phrase that will not project further is called a 'maximal projection', usually notated as XP. The projection between head and maximal projection is called 'intermediate projection'. Its usual notation is X′. The position occupied by YP and ZP are called the specifier of XP and the 'complement' to X respectively. The former is usually written as [Spec, XP]. Next, the bounding theory is a locality condition on the application of Move α, which will be introduced shortly. It bans too long movements.

Normally, the initial structure that the lexical information and the subtheories in charge create (= D-structure) does not have one-to-one correspondence to what is pronounced (= PF) and what is interpreted (= LF). The theory posits the operation 'Move α' to adjust the discrepancies. Move α can dislocate any constituent to any position in principle. However, movements are strictly restricted by the subtheories of the system. Movement of an element leaves a trace (*t*) in the original position.

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Movement can be classified into head movement and phrasal movement. Head movement is the movement of a head to another head while phrasal movement is that of a phrase to a non-head position. There are two ways for a moved element to land. One is substitution, which is movement to a vacant position. Another way is called adjunction. When the destination is already occupied, a moved element can land by projecting the same category as that of the destination. The configuration of adjoined structure is as follows.

(3)   a.   Adjunction of ZP to XP
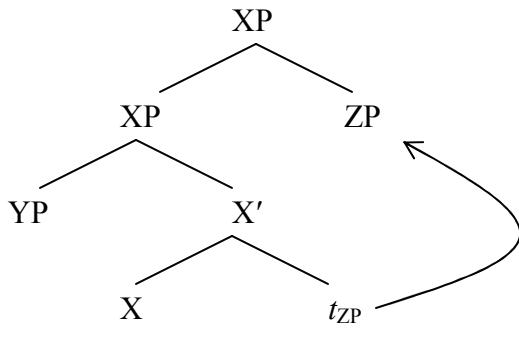
         b.   Adjunction of Z to X
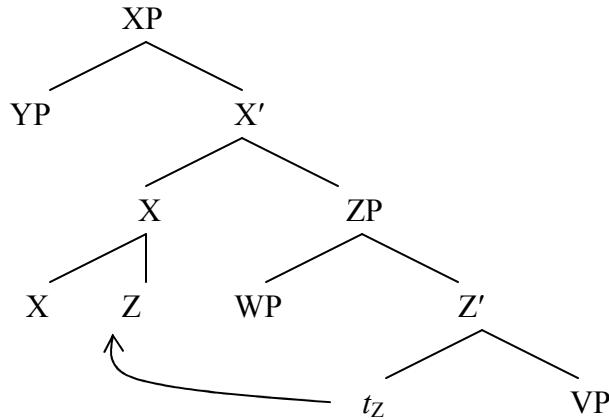
There are a few points to be remembered. First, in the following chapters, mostly I will employ another way of notation, i.e. bracketing as long as the configuration in question is understandable without a tree diagram. In this notation, (2)-(3) are expressed as in (4).

(4)   a. $[_{XP}$ YP $[_{X'}$ X ZP]] (= (2))

        b. $[_{XP}$ $[_{XP}$ YP $[_{X'}$ X t_{ZP}]] ZP] (= (3a))

        c. $[_{XP}$ YP $[_{X'}$ $[_X$ X-Z] $[_{ZP}$ WP $[_{Z'}$ t_Z VP]]]] (= (3b))

Second, notation in this paper will be kept as simple as possible.

1.4   The organisation of the thesis

The remainder of this thesis is organised as follows. Chapter 2 discusses existential sentences in Malay in general. The main purposes of chapter 2 are to correct an error that I made in Nomoto (2004) and to go over previous studies on existential sentences and related issues in Malay. Chapter 3 is the highlight of this thesis. I shall describe the syntactic and semantic properties of one special type of existential sentences, namely complex existential sentences, which is part of the title of this thesis. A large part of the discussion concerns their syntactic structure. In chapter 4, I will focus on some of the phenomena characteristic of the actual data. In other words, the focus will shift from competence to performance. Chapter 5 is the conclusion.

Chapter 2   Existential Sentences in Malay

This chapter discusses existential sentences in Malay in general. In section 2.1, I will present a definition of existential sentences in Malay. Section 2.2 discusses the unaccusativity of pivot verbs, which constitute the nuclei of existential sentences. In section 2.3, I shall review previous studies on existential sentences in Malay. Section 2.4 summarises the whole chapter.

2.1   Definition

First of all, I would like to define the term 'existential sentence' used in this thesis. The definition widely accepted in English linguistics cannot be applied to Malay. Such a definition was put forward by Milsark (1974). The crucial point of his definition is the occurrence of an unstressed, non-deictic *there* as a pleonastic subject. Thus existential sentences in English are exemplified by the sentences in (1). The examples and terminologies are due to Milsark (1974: 90).

(1)   (i) *Be* existential sentence

   a.   Ontological existential sentence: [$_S$ *there*-AUX-*be*-NP]
            There are no ghosts.

   b.   Locational existential sentence: [$_S$ *there*-AUX-*be*-NP-LOC]

                                                                    (LOC = locative PP)

            There is a fly in the mustard.

   c.   Periphrastic existential sentence: [$_S$ *there*-AUX-NP-

$$[_{VP} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{V-ing-X} \\ \text{V-en-X} \\ [_{PRED} \text{AP}] \end{array} \right\}]\text{-Y}]$$

            There has been a lot accomplished today.

   (ii) Verbal existential sentence

   a.   Inside verbal existential sentence: [$_S$ *there*-AUX-V-NP-X],

                                                                    where V $\neq$ *be*

There arose many trivial objections during the meeting.

b.   Outside verbal existential sentence: [$_S$ *there*-AUX-V-X-NP],

where V $\neq$ *be*

There walked into the room a fierce-looking tomcat.

It is obvious that this definition is not viable crosslinguistically because not all languages have an overt pleonastic element like the English *there*, including Malay. Of course, the relevant element may be phonologically null. I will never deny this possibility, rather support it. But, in practice, null elements are not useful when defining a particular construction.

What counts then is the verb and the relative position of its arguments. The most common verb expressing existence in Malay is *ada*, which will be the focus of this thesis. This verb exhibits a crosslinguistically recurrent pattern as in (2), which Freeze (1992) calls 'the locative paradigm'. The terminologies in (2) are due to him.

(2)   a.   Predicate locative
                Buku itu   *ada* di atas meja.
                book that *be* at on   table
                'The book *is* on the table.'

      b.   Existential
                Ada se-buah buku di atas meja.
                be   one-C$_L$ book at on   table
                'There *is* a book on the table.'

      c.   'Have' predication
                Saya *ada* se-orang adik.
                1S$_G$ *have* one-C$_L$ younger.brother/sister
                'I *have* a sister.'

As can be seen from (2), in Malay the verb *ada* is used in all three constructions while in English two different verbs, i.e. *be* and *have*, are used. Indeed, English distinguishes

existential from the others by means of the occurrence of *there*. It appears only in the English rendering of (2b). However, Malay, which lacks such an overt pleonastic element, cannot do the same way. Another way of capturing the distinction is by the relative position of arguments. The theme argument is located on the right of the verb in existential and 'have' predication while it is located on the left of the verb in predicate locative. Existential is distinguished from the 'have' predication by means of the canonical position of the location argument. In existential, it is basically put on the right of the verb (3a), although it can also appear on the left of the verb to accomplish certain pragmatic purposes (3b), which gives rise to a sentence reminiscent of locative inversion. On the other hand, the location argument is always on the left of the verb in the 'have' predication (4a). When it is moved to the right of the verb, the sentence will either be ungrammatical or lose its possessive interpretation (4b).

(3)   Existential
         a.   Ada [Th se-buah buku] [Loc di atas meja].
                 be   one-CL book   at on   table
                 'There is a book on the table.'
         b.   [Loc Di atas meja] ada [Th se-buah buku].
                 'On the table (there) is a book.'
(4)   'Have' predication
         a.   [Loc Saya] ada   [Th se-orang adik].
                     1SG   have   one-CL younger.brother/sister
                 'I have a sister.'
         b.   *Ada [Th se-orang adik] [Loc (pada) saya]. (*pada* = 'at')

In conclusion, three types of sentences in the locative paradigm in Malay can be schematised as follows.

(5)   a.   Predicate locative: Th V Loc

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b. Existential: V Th Loc

c. 'Have' predication: Loc V Th

Note that the meaning of existence does not necessarily implicate the word order. First, the verb *berada*, which is derived from *ada* by affixation of the prefix *beR-*, although it expresses existence, can only take the theme argument on its left[1]. In other words, it belongs to the same class as ordinary intransitive verbs such as *pergi* 'to go'.

(6) a.   Ketika itu [ramai orang awam] *berada* di tempat kejadian.
            time   that many people civil be   at place   incident
            'Many civilians were at the scene of the incident at that time.'

    b.   *Ketika itu *berada* [ramai orang awam] di tempat kejadian.

In this way, a sentence containing *berada* is not an existential sentence. It is exclusively used as a predicate locative sentence, with the location phrase being obligatory.

Second, some other intransitive verbs which do not express existence can also take their theme arguments on their both sides. These verbs are known as 'pivot verbs' in Malay linguistics and include, for example, verbs of occurrence (e.g. *berlaku* 'to happen') and appearance (e.g. *muncul* 'to appear') in addition to verbs of existence (e.g. *ada* 'to be') (Shoho 1993, 1998; Nomoto 2004, 2005).

(7) a.   [Pemilihan pekerja berasaskan bangsa] tidak sepatutnya *berlaku*.
            selection   worker be.based.on race   not   should   happen
            'Employment should not be based on race.'

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[1] Mohd. Azemi (2003) treats the following sentence in which theme argument (= *Ali*) comes after the verb as grammatical.

(i)   Berada [Ali] di sebalik tabir.

       be   Ali at behind curtain
       'Ali is behind the curtain.'

However, this sentence was judged ungrammatical by my informants.

b.   Pada 1969 *berlaku* [rusuhan kaum].
            in   1969 happen riot   race
            'In 1969 a race riot happened.'

Sentences containing these verbs are also included in existential sentences when their theme arguments appear after the verb. That is to say, out of the two sentences in (7), this thesis treats only (7b) as an existential sentence, but not (7a), which is classified as a predicate locative sentence.

To sum up, I define existential sentences in Malay as those sentences containing a pivot verb in which the theme argument appears after the verb, often followed by location. Schematically, they can be represented as 'V_{pivot} Th (Loc)'.

2.2   A remark on the unaccusativity of pivot verbs

2.2.1   *PeN-* nominalisation and unaccusativity

I claimed that pivot verbs are unaccusative in Nomoto (2004). This claim is based on two reasons. One is that their meaning is typical of unaccusative verbs. The other is their incompatibility with the so-called agentive prefix *peN-*, which can be regarded as the Malay counterpart of English suffix *-er*. I argued that unaccusative verbs cannot undergo *peN-* nominalisation since the meaning of *peN-* nominals refers to the external argument, which unaccusative verbs lack. This argument is too simple, though not totally wide of the mark, for it is only an application of works on English *-er* nominals (Levin & Rappaport 1988; Rappaport Hovav & Levin 1992) to Malay without giving any serious consideration to situations inherent to Malay.

In Malay, affixation of nominal prefixes is constrained by the possibility of affixation of certain verbal prefixes. Specifically, the nominal prefixes *peN-* and *peR-*

can be attached only to those stems which accept the verbal prefixes *meN-* and *beR-* respectively (Zaharani 1992)[2,3]. For example, the stem *samun* 'robbery' has as its nominal derivative only *penyamun* (<*peN-* + *samun*) 'robber' but not **pesamun* (<*peR-* + *samun*) since the verbal form *menyamun* (<*meN-* + *samun*) 'to rob' exists but **bersamun* (<*beR-* + *samun*) does not. Likewise, the stem *kedai* 'shop' has only *pekedai* (<*peR-* + *kedai*) 'shopkeeper' but not **pengedai* (<*peN-* + *kedai*) since *berkedai* (<*beR-* + *kedai*) 'to keep a shop' exists but **mengedai* (<*meN-* + *kedai*) does not. In short, *peN-* and *peR-* nominals correspond to *meN-* and *beR-* verbals respectively.

It is this generalisation about the relationship between nominal and verbal affixes that Nomoto (2004) fails to take into consideration. The nonexistent *peN-* nominal forms of pivot verbs that I mentioned there included those listed below.

(8)   **pengada* (<*ada* 'to be'), **pemberlaku* (<*berlaku* 'to happen'), **pemuncul* (<*muncul* 'to appear'), **penampak* (<*nampak* 'to look'), **penterdapat* (<*terdapat* 'to be'), **penterjadi* (<*terjadi* 'to occur'), **pewujud* (<*wujud* 'to exist')

These nonexistent forms only suggest that their correspondent *meN-* verbals might be unaccusative and tell nothing about the unaccusativity of their pivot verb stems. **Pemberlaku*, **penterjadi* and **penterdapat* have no corresponding *meN-* verbals at all[4].

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[2] According to Zaharani (1992), the allomorphs of these affixes are as follows:
{meN} = /me, mem, men, meny, meng, menge/
{peN} = /pe, pem, pen, peny, peng, penge/
{beR} = /ber, be, bel/
{peR} = /per, pe, pel/.
See Zaharani (1992) for discussion of issues concerning identification of morphemes and the allomorphy rules.
[3] Two exceptions that I know are *pesuruh* 'servant' (<*peR-* + *suruh* 'to order') and *pe(r)tunjuk* 'clue' (<*peR-* + *tunjuk* 'to show'). They do not have corresponding *beR-* verbs **bersuruh* and **bertunjuk*. In these forms the prefix *peR-* serves a function of encoding a different meaning from that of *peN-* nominals, i.e. *penyuruh* 'commander' (<*peN-* + *suruh*) and *penunjuk* 'indicator' (<*peN-* + *tunjuk*).
[4] This is because their pivot verb stems contain the prefixes *beR-* and *ter-*. According to Abdullah (1974: 78, 100-101), these two prefixes and *meN-* belong to the same class that marks voice. The elements in this

As for the rest, they have corresponding *meN-* verbals with the suffix *-kan*, which are not intransitive, still less unaccusative.

(9)   *mengadakan* 'to hold, arrange (party etc.)' (<*ada* 'to be'), *memunculkan* 'to show' (<*muncul* 'to appear'), *menampakkan* 'to show' (<*nampak* 'to look'), *mewujudkan* 'to achieve, realise' (<*wujud* 'to exist')

Subsequent research revealed that *pewujud* and *pemuncul* are actually possible when they correspond to *mewujudkan* and *memunculkan* respectively.

(10)   a.   Perjanjian lisan adalah *pewujud* amanah.
                agreement oral be   creator   trust
                'A verbal promise builds trust.'
        b.   *Pemuncul-pemuncul* diri dalam aksi   sarkas itu kebanyakan-nya
                shower   self in   action circus that most-3Sɢ
                orang asing
                foreigner
                'Most of the performers in the circus were foreigners.'

However, **pengada* and **penampak* turned out to be still unacceptable even when they correspond to *mengadakan* and *menampakkan*, respectively.

(11)   a.   *Pak Basir-lah   *pengada* kenduri kahwin   itu.
                 Mr. Basir-Pᴀʀᴛ arranger feast   marriage that
                'Mr. Basir arranged the wedding reception.'
                cf. Pak Basir *mengadakan* kenduri kahwin   itu.
                   Mr. Basir arrange   feast   marriage that
                   'Mr. Basir arranged the wedding reception.'
        b.   *Dia bukan-lah *penampak* kekayaan.
                 3Sɢ not-Pᴀʀᴛ shower   wealth
                'He never shows off his wealth.'

___

class are in paradigmatic relation one another with the exception of ten words (e.g. *memberhentikan* 'to stop something' (<*meN-* + *beR-* + *henti* + *-kan*)).

cf. Dia   tidak *menampakkan* kekayaan-nya.
3SG not   show   wealth-3SG
'He does not show off his wealth.'

Whether the absence of these two *peN-* nominals is a lexical gap (that is, theoretically possible but not listed in the lexicon hence not used) or due to some other reasons is not clear at the moment. It seems impossible to prove the unaccusativity of pivot verbs in terms of corresponding *peN-* nominals since, to the best of my knowledge, there is no pivot verb with the prefix *meN-*, a prerequisite to the existence of *peN-* nominals.

However, now we have another nominal prefix *peR-*. We can prove the unaccusativity of pivot verbs if (i) the meaning of *peR-* nominals also refers to the external argument, (ii) there exists a pivot verb with the prefix *beR-*, and (iii) that pivot verb lacks the predicted corresponding *peR-* nominal form.

With regard to (ii), we have *berlaku* 'to happen'. As for condition (i), Zaharani (1992) summarises the meaning of *peR-* nominals as 'persons/instruments that *beR___* or *di___(kan/i)* (*orang/alat yang* beR___ *atau* di___(kan/i))'. This means that the persons or instruments denoted by *peR-* nominals must be the subject of *beR___* or *di___(kan/i)* verbs. It has been generally believed that in Malay only the subject can be relativised using the overt complementiser *yang* (Yeoh 1979; Comrie 1981: 150; but see Shoho 1993, 1994). According to Nik Safiah et al. (1993: 114-115), what are denoted by *peR-* nominals are not only persons and instruments but also things other than instruments and places. Therefore, it is likely that *peR-* nominals only refer to the external argument, while 'persons/instruments' in Zaharani's (1992) paraphrase above reflects the two prototypical meanings that it expresses.

The last question is whether *berlaku* has the corresponding *peR-* nominal form. The

form *pelaku* does exist. However, it turns out that *pelaku* is not a *peR-* nominal corresponding to *berlaku* 'to happen' but a *peN-* nominal corresponding to *melakukan* 'to do'. Both *peR-* and *peN-* surface as *pe-* before stems that begin with *l*.

(12)   a.   *pe*ladang 'farmer'   *ber*ladang   *me*ladang(kan/i)

                                             'to cultivate a field'

                *pe*lumba 'racer'   *ber*lumba 'to race' *me*lumba(kan/i)

    b.   *pe*lacur 'a prostitute'   **pe*rlacur*   *me*lacur 'to prostitute'

                *pe*laksana 'executer'   **ber*laksana*   *me*laksanakan 'to execute'

The *pe-* in (12a) is an allomorph of *peR-* since the forms containing it have *beR-* verbals but lack *meN-* verbals. In contrast, that in (12b) is an allomorph of *peN-* since the forms containing it have *meN-* verbals but lack *beR-* verbals. It is difficult to tell whether a *pe-* form is a *peR-* or *peN-* nominal when its corresponding verbals include both *beR-* and *meN-* forms. In this case, we have to look at the meaning of corresponding *beR-* and *meN-* verbs. For example, *pelari* has two meanings depending on the corresponding verbs. It means 'runner' when it corresponds to *berlari* 'to run' whereas it means 'escape, fugitive' when it corresponds to *melarikan (diri)* 'to escape'. This strategy does not work when *beR-* and *meN-* verbs have the same or nearly the same meaning. One example of this is *peleter* 'nagger'. Turning back to the problem of *pelaku*, *pelaku* is the *peN-* nominal corresponding to *melakukan* 'to do' since its only meaning is 'doer'.

    Now that all the three conditions above have been met, it can be concluded that at least *berlaku* is unaccusative, provided that the absence of the corresponding *peR-* nominal is not a lexical gap. An ambitious view is that the other pivot verbs are also unaccusative because they exhibit the same syntactic pattern as *berlaku*. As there seems to be no evidence to the opposite effect at present, I consider this claim a valid

hypothesis.

2.2.2   Unaccusativity in Indonesian

To the best of my knowledge, no one has investigated unaccusativity in Malay before. However, Indonesian unaccusativity was studied by Vamarasi (1999: 24-41). She points out three defining characteristics of Indonesian unaccusative verbs. First, the single term of an unaccusative verb aligns semantically with the object of the *meN-...-kan* transitive verb derived from the same base (13). On the other hand, that of an unergative verb aligns semantically with the subject of the corresponding *meN-...-kan* transitive verb (14). In the examples below, the NPs with the same semantic function are indicated in italics.

(13)   a.   Ibu   menidurkan *anak-nya*.
              mother put.to.sleep child-3SG
              'Mother put her child to sleep.'
        b.   *Dia* tidur di atas tikar.
              3SG sleep at on   straw.mat
              'He sleeps on a straw mat.'
(14)   a.   *Orang itu*   menyanyikan lagu kebangsaan.
              person that sing   song national
              'That person sang the national anthem.'
        b.   *Yance* bernyanyi di depan orang banyak.
              Yance sing   at front   person many
              'Yance sang in front of a crowd.'

(Vamarasi 1999: 28)

Second, the affix *peN-...-an*, which derives an event nominal meaning 'the act of (Verb)ing', can be attached to the base of unaccusative verbs, but not to that of unergative verbs. The third one concerns especially the eastern dialect of Indonesian.

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The eastern dialect has an informal causative construction '*kasi(h)* + verb base'. For example, *kasi(h) tidur* means 'to make sleep, to put to sleep'. Basically, this construction is possible only with unaccusative verbs. Unaccusative verbs, possessing these three characteristics, are partly identified by the morphology. Vamarasi contends that prefixless verbs are all unaccusative. Below is the list of the unaccusative and unergative verbs that she shows.

(15)   a.   unaccusative verbs
               pergi 'to go', kembali 'to return', masuk 'to enter', tewas 'to be slain',
               pindah 'to move', sampai 'to arrive', mandi 'to bathe', timbul 'to
               arise', lolos 'to bolt away', hidup 'to live', undur 'to go backwards',
               terbang 'to fly', tidur 'to sleep', terbit 'to appear', pulang 'to go
               home', tinggal 'to remain', naik 'to go up', tiba 'to arrive', keluar 'to
               go out', kawin 'to marry', duduk 'to sit', tumpah 'to spill', roboh 'to
               fall', terjun 'to fall (water)', jatuh 'to fall', tahu 'to know', mati 'to
               die', tenggelam 'to sink', runtuh 'to collapse', hilang 'to be lost',
               menghilang 'to disappear', jadi 'to become', menjadi 'to become',
               berjalan 'to walk', berenang 'to swim', berdiri 'to stand', berbaring 'to
               lie', mengalir 'to flow', menyeberang 'to cross'
        b.   unergative verbs
               bekerja 'to work', bergurau 'to joke', berdusta 'to tell a lie', berpikir
               'to think', berdoa 'to pray', bernyanyi 'to sing', berbohong 'to tell a
               lie', berbatuk 'to cough', bermain 'to play', bercerai 'to get divorced',
               berbicara 'to speak', bertanya 'to ask', menggambar 'to draw'

    Vamarasi's second point is problematic. As she does not provide any ungrammatical examples of *peN-...-an* nominals derived from the base of unergative verbs, it is not clear what her claim is based on. In fact, forms such as these do exist: *pengerjaan* for *bekerja*, *pendustaan* for *berdusta*, *pemikiran* for *berpikir*, *pendoaan* for *berdoa*, *penyanyian* for *bernyanyi*, *pembohongan* for *berbohong*, *pemainan* for *bermain*,

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penceraian for *bercerai*, *pembicaraan* for *berbicara*, *penanyaan* for *bertanya* and *penggambaran* for *menggambar*[5]. As I have mentioned above, there is a close relation between nominal and verbal morphology, which allows the prefix *peN-* to be attached only to those bases which have *meN-* verbal forms. Thus, the *peN-...-an* nominals that I mentioned just now all have their corresponding verbals with the prefix *meN-*. It is not adequate to associate *beR-* verbals with *peN-...-an* nominals. Actually, it is not that Vamarasi was not aware of this relation. She knew it but disagreed with it. The reason of her disagreement is given in the following passage:

> However, the transitive form of *ber-* verbs such as *berlindung* 'protect' also takes *meN-*. Yet the nominalised form of the base *lindung* is *per- -an* and not *peN- -an*. The transitive form of intransitive bases thus cannot be the source of the prefix part of the nominalisation. If that were the case, there would be only *peN- -an* and no *per- -an* at all. (Vamarasi 1999: 35)

However, the reality is in favour of the relationship that she is against. For *lindung*, not only *perlindungan* (*<peR-...-an + lindung*) but also *pelindungan* (*<peN-...-an + lindung*) exists, each corresponding to *berlindung* (*<beR- + lindung*) and *melindungi* (*<meN- + lindung + -i*) respectively.

(16) … *perlindungan* saksi   sangat diperlukan dalam berbagai kasus
         protection   witness very be.needed in   various case
     menyangkut kejahatan terhadap perempuan.
     relating.to crime   toward   woman
     '… it is absolutely necessary to protect witnesses in various cases relating to
     crimes against women.'

                                                                    (Kompas, 16/05/2005)

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[5] Some of these occur very rarely in Indonesian. For instance, *perceraian* (*<peR-...-an + cerai*) is more common than *penceraian* (*<peN-...-an + cerai*) for 'divorce' in Indonesian while the situation is reverse in Malay.

Two more alleged counterexamples of hers are *berdiri* 'to stand' and *berjangkit* 'to spread'. According to her, the existence of *peN-...-an* nominals does not depend on the verb's morphology (i.e. the prefix *meN-)*, since these two *beR-* verbs take *peN-...-an*. Again, her claim is refutable on empirical grounds. The base of these two *beR-* verbs takes the prefix *meN-* and it is more reasonable to think of the *meN-* verbs but not the *beR-* verbs as corresponding to the *peN-...-an* nominals. If *pendirian* were related to *berdiri*, it should mean 'the act of standing up'. However, in actual fact, it does not have this meaning. The actual meaning of *pendirian* is 'the act of building', which makes it obvious that *pendirian* is the event nominal of *mendirikan* 'to build'. In short, her second point is clearly untenable.

Vamarasi's first point seems to works well with Malay. Malay pivot verbs, which I consider unaccusative, have Vamarasi's first characteristic except *terjadi* 'to occur'.

(17)   a.   Se-buah badan NGO mengadakan *tunjuk perasaan* di hadapan
                    one-Cʟ body NGO hold   demonstration   at front
                    kedutaan Thailand.
                    embassy Thailand
                    'An NGO held a demonstration in front of the Thai Embassy.'
        b.   Ada *tunjuk perasaan* di hadapan kedutaan Thailand.
                    be   demonstration   at front   embassy Thailand
                    'There was a demonstration in front of the Thai Embassy.'

(18)   a.   Kumpulan pengganas itu melakukan *serangan bom* di Bali.
                    group   terrorist   that do   attack   bomb at Bali
                    'The terrorist group carried out a bomb attack at Bali.'
        b.   *Serangan bom* pertama di Bali berlaku pada 12 hb. Oktober 2002.
                    attack   bomb first   at Bali happen at   12 date October 2002
                    'The first bomb attack at Bali happened on 12 October 2002.'

(19) a. Matahari belum memunculkan *diri* dari selimut mendung.[6]
sun not.yet show self from blanket rain.cloud
'The sun has not yet shown itself, hidden by the blanket of rain clouds.'

(Kamus Dewan: 907)

b. *Matahar*i muncul perlahan-lahan.
sun appear slowly
'The sun appeared a little at a time.'

(20) a. Kami berjaya mendapatkan *bukti dia terlibat dalam kes*
1PL succeed obtain evidence 3SG involved in case
rompakan itu.
robbery that
'We succeeded in obtaining the evidence for his involvement in the robbery case.'

b. Terdapat *bukti dia terlibat dalam kes rompakan itu.*
be evidence 3SG involved in case robbery that
'There is evidence that he was involved in the robbery case.'

(21) a. Langkah itu akan mewujudkan *semangat bersaing.*
action that will create spirit compete
'That action will create competitiveness.'

b. Sekarang ini tidak wujud *semangat bersaing.*
now this not exist spirit compete
'At present, there is no competitiveness.'

I believe that the absence of the corresponding *peR-* nominal of *berlaku* and the fact that the single argument of pivot verbs align semantically with the object of *meN-...-kan* transitive verbs, though not foolproof, at least support the idea of the unaccusativity of pivot verbs. It must be noted here that if Vamarasi's characterisation of unaccusative verbs is on the right track, pivot verbs would be defined as a subset of the total set of unaccusative verbs. Hence, it is not adequate to simply equate pivot verbs with unaccusative verbs.

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[6] While in Indonesian the verb *memunculkan* 'to show' can take a variety of objects, in Malay its object appears to be nothing other than the reflexive *diri.*

2.3   Previous studies on existential sentences in Malay

2.3.1   *Ada*

In spite of their unique characteristics, studies on existential sentences are not many, whether inside or outside Malaysia. It seems to me that linguists in Malaysia, including such frequently referred works as Asmah (1980) and Nik Safiah et al. (1993), are not aware of the issue of existential sentences and pivot verbs, or, if they are, ignore it. However, the verb *ada* 'to be/to have', which is a member of pivot verbs, has been studied by some linguists. Mashudi (1981: 53) classifies the functions of *ada* into two: (i) as a possessive verb roughly equivalent to English 'to have' and (ii) as a morpheme roughly equivalent to English 'to be', which Ramli (1989: 82) calls the copula *ada*.

(22)   (i)   John ada   dua-ekor kucing.
              John have two-CL   cat
              'John has two cats.'
        (ii)   a.   John ada-lah murid.
                      Mary be-PART pupil
                      'John is a pupil.'
                b.   John ada di rumah sekarang.
                      John be at home now
                      'John is at home now.'

(Mashudi 1981: 53)

Ramli (1989: 82-84) points out three differences between the copula *ada* and the possessive *ada*. First, the former occurs with NP, AP and PP while the latter only with NP.

(23)   Copula *ada*

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a.   Ahmad ada-lah [NP se-orang guru].

         Ahmad be-PART   one-CL   teacher

         'Ahmad is a teacher.'

b.   Ahmad ada-lah [AP kurus].

         Ahmad be-PART   thin

         'Ahmad is thin.'

c.   Ahmad ada [PP di perpustakaan].

         Ahmad be   at library

         'Ahmad is at the library.'

(24)   Possessive *ada*

a.   Ahmad ada   [NP se-buah kereta].

         Ahmad have   one-CL car

         'Ahmad has a car.'

b.   *Ahmad ada   [AP gemuk].

          Ahmad have   fat

c.   *Ahmad ada   [PP di sekolah].

          Ahmad have   at school

                                       (Ramli 1989: 83)

Second, the copula *ada* inverts with the subject in questions (25a) while the possessive *ada* does not (25b).

(25)   a.   Ada-kah Ahmad se-orang peguam?

               be-PART Ahmad one-CL   lawyer

               'Is Ahmad a lawyer?'

      b.   *Ada-kah   Ahmad se-buah kereta?

                have-Part Ahmad one-CL car

               'Does Ahmad have a car?'

                                       (Ramli 1989: 83)

The last one is a theoretical one. The theoretical framework that he bases on is the Government and Binding Theory. He argues that only the possessive *ada* assigns Case to its complement NP while the Case of the predicate nominal of the copula *ada* is

assigned by its subject. He attributes the difference seen between (23) and (24) to this.

I would like to comment on Mashudi's (1981) and Ramli's (1989) descriptions above. First, it is necessary to make a distinction between the true copula *ada* and the existential *ada*. The former is exemplified by (22iia) and (23a, b), and the latter by (22iib) and (23c). Needless to say, they have quite different semantic contents. Only the latter has a substantial meaning, i.e. existence. What distinguishes these two kinds of *ada* is the affirmative focus particle *lah*. As can be seen from (22iia) and (23a, b) vs. (22iib) and (23c), this particle only attaches to the copula *ada*. In fact, most academic works and language textbooks regard *adalah* as one morpheme, though it is also a likely and fascinating idea that the form *adalah* is the result of some syntactic operation combining *ada* and *lah*, for example, *ada* moving into the projection headed by *lah*. Ramli (1989) coped with the difference in compatibility with *lah* by saying that 'an intensifier morpheme *lah* is attached to *ada* in the structures NP copula NP, and NP copula AP, but not in NP copula PP' (p. 34). This is not correct. The structure 'NP *adalah* PP' is common and even he himself uses it when translating his work in English into Malay.

(26)   a.   Dalam perbincangan ini, [NP pengkhususan kita] *adalah* [PP tentang
          in   discussion   this   specialisation 1PL ADALAH   about
          kata *ada*].
          word ADA
          'Our concern in this discussion is with the word *ada*.'

                                                        (Ramli 1995: 22)

    b.   [NP Sambutan hebat dari orang ramai] *adalah* [PP di luar
              reaction   great from person many ADALAH   at out
          jangkaan].
          prediction
          'A great public reaction was beyond my expectation.'

The fact that the possessive *ada* occurs only with NP is probably because the canonical realisation of the theme argument is NP. Incidentally, it may be possible to identify the existential and possessive *ada* as a single lexical item along the line pursued by Freeze (1992). I will not discuss this issue here.

Second, the inversion of the possessive *ada* is 'syntactically' possible. Almost no inverted *ada*, however, will be interpreted as possessive *ada* in a normal context. This is because the form *adakah*, which results from the inversion of *ada*, is predominantly used as a yes-no question marker. One way of creating a suitable context is to make the theme an inalienable object or kin term as in (27) below.

(27)   Ada-kah   Ahmad ibu?
         have/be-PART Ahmad mother
         '(i) Does Ahmad have a mother?/(ii) Is Ahmad a mother?'

The predominant interpretation is (ii), but (i) is also possible. The contextual knowledge that Ahmad is a male name and a mother should be a woman in a normal situation facilitates the (i) interpretation. In addition to the problem of context, the difficulty of possession interpretation increases since there is an alternative way to express the same or a nearly same meaning, which is used frequently.

(28)   Ada-kah   Ahmad {*ada/mempunyai/memiliki} se-buah buku?[7]
         have-PART Ahmad have   one-CL book
         'Does Ahmad have a book?'

(28) uses *adakah* as a yes-no question marker and employs other verbs meaning 'to

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[7] The ungrammaticality of *ada* as a main verb might favour the movement analysis of *ada* suggested above.

have' instead of *ada*.

Lastly, Ramli's third point is also problematic. Provided that his assumption about the Case assigners is correct, how does he account for the ungrammaticality of (24b, c)? Does he want to say that they are ungrammatical because the AP and PP do not receive the Case that the verb assigns? If so, that does not make sense since the Case Filter only rules out overt NPs without Case. It says nothing about other categories than NP and unassigned Case.

One noteworthy property of *ada* as a member of pivot verbs is the position of its theme argument, which is called 'subject' either just for ease of exposition or by analogy with the prototypical subject. As already mentioned in section 2.1, it can be placed on both sides of the verb. Two Malaysian linguists touched on this property in 2003[8]. Ahmad Khair (2003: 11-12) states that there are three environments where the 'subject' appears after the verb, that is, in (i) inverted structure, (ii) passive structure and (iii) *ada* sentences. Mashudi (2003) discusses sentences that seem to lack the subject NP in the preverbal position, specifically [Spec, IP]. One of them is *ada* sentences. He claims that *ada* has the following subcategorisation frame and theta grid.

(29)   a.   subcategorisation: ada, [N]
         b.   theta grid: [ada, V,   (theme, location)]
                                       NP   PP

In his notation, (29) means that *ada* requires only one internal argument following the verb and that the NP following the verb *ada* has the θ-role 'theme' and can be followed by a PP. With such lexical information, he proposes (30b) as the S-structure of (30a).

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[8] Non-Malaysian linguists who mentioned this property before 2003 include Shoho (1993) and Goddard (2002).

Notice that an empty category *pro* occupies [Spec, IP].

(30)   a.   Sudah ada se-ekor ular   di dalam lubang itu.
                    PERF be one-CL snake at in   hole   that
                    'There was a snake in the hole already.'
        b.   [IP *pro* [I' sudah [VP [VP ada seekor ular] di dalam lubang itu]]]

He then rules out a sentence like (31a), to which he assigns the S-structure (31b), arguing that the sentence has an external argument, which conflicts with the lexical information (29) to the effect that *ada* only takes an internal argument but not an external one.

(31)   a.   ?Se-ekor ular   sudah ada di dalam lubang itu.
                     one-CL snake PERF be at in   hole   that
                    'A snake was already in the hole.'
        b.   *[IP Seekor ular [I' sudah [VP ada di dalam lubang itu]]]

In (31b), [Spec, IP] is filled with an NP *seekor ular* 'a snake'.

   I fully agree with Ahmad Khair in that the postverbal theme argument in *ada* sentences is not a consequence of inversion. On the other hand, the second half of Mashudi's account is not satisfactory in both empirical and theoretical respects. First, I doubt if *ada* sentences with a preverbal theme argument are really ungrammatical. Perhaps Mashudi also has the same feeling himself. He adds that sentences of the pattern (31) are used in daily speech but not grammatical in formal Malay. This is not altogether a valid observation. They are used not just in daily speech but also in formal registers such as newspapers and example sentences in linguistic discussion (e.g. (22), (23)). As he points out, the low acceptability of (31a) is due to the informational status of its subject. The initial argument must be highly topical in the pivot verb construction,

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including *ada* sentences (Alsagoff 1992; Nomoto 2005). An NP containing the numeral 'one' can hardly meet this topicality requirement, leading to the low acceptability of the sentence. Second, it is not clear why he claims that *ada* in (31) takes an external argument. One possibility is that he confused the two notions of external argument and subject or [Spec, IP]. An external argument is normally projected to the subject position. But this is not always the case. An internal subject can also be the subject when the sentence is otherwise ungrammatical. For example, in the standard analysis of English passive sentences, the internal argument is base-generated in the object position but later moves to the subject position in order to get the Nominative Case. Passive verbs cannot assign the Accusative Case to its complement. Accordingly, if the internal argument NP remained in its original object position, it would not have any Case assigned, resulting in the Case Filter violation. If pivot verbs are unaccusative as I claimed in section 2.2, a similar scenario may be possible since it is generally known that unaccusative verbs do not assign the Accusative Case either. Now there is no particular theoretical reason to rule out the structure in (31b).

2.3.2   The pivot verb construction

Malaysian linguists have never gone beyond the verb *ada* when actually what can be said about *ada* also applies to a class of other intransitive verbs, that is to say, pivot verbs. It is Shoho (1993) that first mentioned the existence of this class explicitly. According to him, pivot verbs include (i) intransitive verbs whose meaning is (dis)appearance, existence, coming and going, arrival and departure, or motion, (ii) part of *ter-* verbals, and (iii) part of *ke-...-an* verbals. (32) is the list of the pivot verbs shown in Shoho (1993) and Shoho (1998: 26).

(32)   terdapat 'to be', terkerat 'to be cut', tinggal 'to stay', terpelecok 'to sprain',
        hilang 'to be lost', nampak 'to see', kedengaran 'to hear', kehabisan 'to run
        out', kelihatan 'to be seen'; ada 'to be/to have', muncul 'to appear', duduk 'to
        sit'

Of course, pivot verbs are not limited to those listed above. More pivot verbs will be

identified as research progresses. Potential pivot verbs including those in (32) are listed

accompanied by relevant example sentences in the Appendix I. I hope that it will be a

first step to a comprehensive study on the lexicon of Malay on par with those conducted

in some well-studied languages like English and Japanese (Levin 1993; Kageyama

2001).

I have been studying the pivot verb construction more carefully, mainly focusing on

the position of the single argument (Nomoto 2004, 2005). (33) summarises the major

findings. Here, I call the single argument of a pivot verb the 'subject' for ease of

exposition.

(33)   a.   Definite subjects are avoided in the postverbal position (the
                Definiteness Effect).
        b.   The longer the subject is, the more likely it is to occur after the verb.
        c.   Postverbal adverbials appear more often in the SV word order than in
                the VS word order.
        d.   In adverbial clauses the preferred word order is VS rather than SV.
        e.   Pivot verbs differ from one another in terms of their preference for
                either SV or VS.

I gave functional accounts to (33a-d). The key concepts are topicality, heaviness and

the mechanism of competition. The preverbal position of the pivot verb construction,

namely S in SV, must be highly topical. Definite NPs are generally considered very high

in topicality, hence (33a). However, they are not totally banned from the postverbal position. One of the environments where definite subjects are allowed is in adverbial clauses. This can be accounted for along the same lines as the account for (33d). In order to explain (33d), Nomoto (2005) proposed a violable constraint that prohibits the embedding of a topical element inside another topical structure.

(34)   The Constraint on 'Topic-over-Topic' Configuration
         $*[_\alpha \ldots [\beta]_{Top} \ldots]_{Top}$

Suppose that α and β in (34) are equated with an adverbial clause (or an adjoined CP in configurational terms) and the subject NP in it, respectively. Treating an adverbial clause as topical is justified by extension of Haiman's (1978) claim that conditionals are topics to adverbial clauses in general, admitting the varied degrees of topicality among different types of adverbial clause[9]. The constraint (34) is violated when the topicality of β is higher than that of α, which is an informationally marked pattern. This is an instantiation of the competition mechanism. In unmarked cases, the subject NP remains in its original postverbal position, hence the word order VS. Only in marked cases is it topical enough to move to the preverbal position, which gives rise to the SV word order. Furthermore, it is natural that definite subjects are easier to appear postverbally in adverbial clauses than in other types of clauses. However, the topicality of definite NP is so high as to nearly always exceed that of adverbial clauses. In other words, when β is a definite NP, (34) is normally violated. That is why definite subjects seldom follow their verbs even in adverbial clauses and, as a result, the Definiteness Effect looks absolute at first glance.

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[9] This extension is probably applicable universally. However, Peter Cole (p.c.) informed me that in Imbabura Quechua some adverbial clauses also function as focus, which is usually thought to serve the opposite function to topic.

Turning back to (33b), it can be accounted for by either the Heavy NP Shift or the Heavy NP Stay. The latter is more plausible at least in the case of the pivot verb construction. As pivot verbs are unaccusative, their single arguments are base-generated in the same position as the direct object of a transitive verb, which is the complement to VP[10]. Thus, the unmarked position of the subject is postverbal. The Heavy NP Stay requires no special operation while if we adopted the Heavy NP Shift hypothesis, the process would be more complex, namely moving an NP to the preverbal position and then moving it back to the postverbal position. Yet things are not that easy. Some undoubtedly short NPs appear after the verb and long ones before the verb. Once again competition takes place. This time it is between the topicality and heaviness of the subject NP. Quantitative data shows that topical NPs tend to appear before the verb while heavy or long NPs after the verb. If topicality wins over the heaviness, a subject NP can appear before the verb even if it is heavy. On the other hand, a short subject NP can occur after the verb when its topicality is not high enough to defeat its heaviness. If the competition ends in a draw, nothing happens and the resultant word order is VS.

As for (33c) and (33e), no convincing account has been obtained yet. Nomoto (2004) deals with these problems. However, my account there is not correct for (33c) and only a conjectural one for (33e).

2.4   Summary

Thus far, we have discussed general issues over existential sentences in Malay. In section 2.1, I defined existential sentences in Malay as those sentences containing a pivot verb in which the theme argument appears after the verb, often followed by

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[10] In a system with the Larsonian VP-shell or its kin (e.g. vP, PrP etc.), the relevant position would be [Spec, VP]. For more information regarding this, see section 4.2.2.

location: V_{pivot} Th (Loc). Section 2.2 confirmed my claim that pivot verbs are unaccusative by reconsidering *peN-* nominalisation and taking into account Vamarasi's (1999) study on Indonesian unaccusativity. Finally, section 2.3 critically examined previous studies on existential sentences in Malay, including my own works. In the next chapter, I will discuss a subtype of existential sentences, namely 'complex existential sentences.'

Chapter 3   Complex Existential Sentences

This chapter, the highlight chapter of this thesis, discusses a type of existential sentences that I call 'complex existential sentences' after Chung (1987). Section 3.1 describes exactly what they are. Although there have been virtually no substantial studies on them, some researchers hinted at three different analyses of them. I shall propose three hypotheses regarding the syntactic structure of complex existential sentence in section 3.2. These three hypotheses are critically examined in sections 3.3 through 3.5 and one of them is chosen as the best hypothesis after necessary modifications have been made. I will shift the focus to the semantic aspects of complex existential sentences in section 3.6. Section 3.7 is the summary of the whole chapter.

3.1   What are 'complex existential sentences'?

'Complex existential sentences' are a subtype of existential sentences, which I defined in section 2.1 as those sentences containing a pivot verb in which the theme argument appears after the verb, often followed by location: V_{pivot} Th (Loc). Below are some examples of existential sentences from the last chapter.

(1)   a.   *Ada* se-buah buku di atas meja.
                  be   one-CL book at on   table
                  'There is a book on the table.'
         b.   Sudah *ada* se-ekor ular   di dalam lubang itu.
                  PERF be   one-CL snake at in   hole   that
                  'There was a snake in the hole already.'
         c.   Pada 1969 *berlaku* rusuhan kaum.
                  in   1969 happen riot   race
                  'In 1969 a race riot happened.'

Chung (1987) classifies existential sentences into two, namely minimal existential sentences and complex existential sentences. The former refers to the pattern of the verb *guäha* 'to exist' or *taya'* 'to not exist' followed by an NP. She defines the latter as 'sentences in which the material surrounding the NP contains a second predicate.' The Chamorro examples that she shows for each type include those in (2) and (3). I have simplified the original gloss by Chung.

(2)   Minimal existential sentences
        a.   Guäha buteya gi hälum kahun áis.
                exist   bottle inside   box   ice
                'There's a bottle inside the icebox.'
        b.   Hähassu ha' na   taya'   gäs.[1]
                remember EMP COMP not.exist gas
                'Remember that there's no gas.'
(3)   Complex existential sentences
        a.   Guäha taotao mattu gi   petta.
                exist   person arrive LOC door
                'There was a man (who) appeared in the doorway.'
        b.   Taya'   lahi tumaitai i   lepblu.
                not.exist boy read   the book
                'There was no boy (who) read the book.'

Malay has complex existential sentences too. (4) is an example. A number of other examples are available in Appendices II and III.

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[1] The relevant part is the embedded clause *na taya' gäs* 'there's no gas'.

(4)   Ada [NP pegawai awam] [VP melayari laman web lucah   ketika bekerja].[2,3]
        be   officer civil   surf   web page   obscene when work
        'There are public officials surfing obscene web pages while they are working.'

In (4) the NP *pegawai awan* 'public official' is immediately followed by a VP. As is clear from the English rendering, this VP predicates the NP. In other words, the NP functions as the subject of the VP. Actually, only these two constituents can form an independent sentence without the matrix verb *ada* 'to be/to have', for Malay has no restriction on the verbal form like in English[4].

(5)   [NP Pegawai awam] [VP melayari laman web lucah   ketika bekerja].
            officer civil   surf   web   page obscene when work
        'Public officials surf obscene web pages while they are working.'

This semantic relation does not usually hold for the sequence '(V) NP VP'. Consider (6).

(6)   a.   Siti menitiskan [NP air mata] [VP mendengarkan kata-kata
                Siti drop   tear   hear   words

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[2] We are not concerned with the exact position of the adverbial phrase *ketika bekerja* 'while (they are) working' since it does not affect the issue we are discussing.
[3] This sentence might sound a bit unnatural to some speakers. This unnaturalness vanishes completely when either (i) a partial quantifier like *beberapa* 'some' and *sesetengah* 'some' is added to the NP or (ii) *ada* is followed by the particle *juga* 'also'.

(i)   Ada *beberapa/sesetengah* pegawai awam melayari laman web lucah ketika bekerja.
        'There are some public officials surfing obscene web pages while they are working.'
(ii)   Ada *juga* pegawai awam melayari laman web lucah ketika bekerja.
        'There are public officials surfing obscene web pages while they are working too.'

I ascribe this unnaturalness partly to the lexical meaning of the verb *ada* 'to be/to have' since when the verb is changed from *ada* to *terdapat* 'to be', such unnaturalness does not arise.

(iii)   *Terdapat* pegawai awam melayari laman web lucah ketika bekerja.
        'There are public officials surfing obscene web pages while they are working.'

[4] In English, the relevant verb must be in participle form. See (1ic) of chapter 2.

suami-nya   itu].

husband-3SG that

'Siti wept upon hearing her husband's words.'

    b.   Dia gagal meninggalkan [NP amalan] [VP merokok].

          3SG fail   discard   habit   smoke

          'He failed to kick the habit of smoking.'

The VP in (6a) modifies the clause preceding it. As a sentential modifier, this VP can be placed before the clause modified by it, which is not possible in the case of (4).

(7)   a.   [VP Mendengarkan kata-kata suami-nya   itu], Siti menitiskan

              hear   words   husband-3SG that Siti drop

          [NP air mata]. (cf. (6a))

              tear

          'Hearing her husband's words, Siti wept.'

    b.   *[VP Melayari laman web lucah   ketika bekerja], ada [NP pegawai

              surf   web page obscene when work   be   officer

          awam]. (cf. (4))

          civil

          'Surfing obscene web pages while they are working, there are public officials.'

The semantic relation between the NP and VP in (6b) is apposition. This makes it impossible to insert the complementiser *yang* between them, which is possible in the case of (4).

(8)   a.   *Dia gagal meninggalkan [NP amalan] yang [VP merokok]. (cf. (6b))

           3SG fail   discard   habit COMP   smoke

          'He did the act that cheated the customers many times.'

    b.   Ada [NP pegawai awam] *yang* [VP melayari laman web lucah

          be   officer civil COMP   surf   web   page obscene

          ketika bekerja]. (cf. (4))

          when work

          'There are public officials who are surfing obscene web pages while

they are working.'

This property leads to the relative clause analysis as shall be discussed later. I will not regard sentences like (8b) as complex existential sentences since the presence of the complementiser *yang* ensures that the NP and VP form a larger NP containing a relative clause inside. Thus, (8b) has the structure as in (9).

(9)   Ada [NP [NP pegawai awam] [CP *yang* [IP [VP melayari laman web lucah
        be   officer   civil   COMP   surf   web   page obscene
        ketika bekerja]]]].
        when   work
        'There are public officials who are surfing obscene web pages while they are working.'

The structure (9) clearly fits into the pattern of minimal existential sentences, i.e. V_{pivot} + NP.

Complex existential sentences are found with pivot verbs other than *ada* 'to be/to have', though quite rare compared to *ada*. Here are some of such instances. The pivot verbs used in the three examples below are shown in italics.

(10)   a.   …, tetapi *tiada*   [NP sebarang dokumen pengenalan   diri]
                but   not.exist   any   document identification self
                [VP ditemui bersama-nya].
                   be.found with-3SG
                '…, but there have been no identification documents found with him.'
                                                        (Berita Harian, 16/09/2005)
        b.   … *terdapat* [NP 100,000 murid sekolah rendah dari tahun 2 hingga
                   be   100,000 pupil school low   from year 2 to
                tahun 6] [NegP tidak tahu membaca, mengira dan menulis].
                year 6   not   know read   calculate and write
                '… there are 100,000 primary school pupils from year 2 to year 6 who

cannot read, calculate and write.'

<div align="right">(Utusan Malaysia, 13/10/2005)</div>

c.   Ketika mereka berbual-bual, *berlaku* [NP pertengkaran]

when 3PL   chat   happen   quarrel

[VP menyebabkan anggota polis terbabit mengeluarkan

      cause   member police involved take.out

pistol-nya …].

pistol-3SG

'While they were chatting, a quarrel broke out, when the said

policeman took his pistol out ….'

<div align="right">(KOSMO!, 02/06/2005)</div>

Tiada 'to not exist' in (10a) is the contraction of the negative *tidak* 'not' and *ada* 'to be/to have'. The second predicate must not necessarily be a VP as is obvious from (10b). In the discussion that follows, I will use only sentences with *ada* as example sentences since they constitute the majority of complex existential sentences.

Lastly, it must be noted that complex existential sentences are no rarity in both written and colloquial Malay. Data from two corpora of Malay prove this. Complex existential sentences account for more than 5% of all the sentences containing the verb *ada* 'to be/to have' in both styles. Therefore it can be safely concluded that complex existential sentences are a productive pattern in Malay grammar.

3.2   The structure of complex existential sentences

Although there have been no substantial works on complex existential sentences in Malay itself, previous mentions of them by two researchers suggest three potential analysis of them: (i) the relative clause hypothesis, (ii) the sentence hypothesis and (iii) the quantifier hypothesis. In the present section, I will introduce each of these three hypotheses.

3.2.1　The relative clause hypothesis

Isamu Shoho touches on complex existential sentences in his paper on the complementiser *yang* (Shoho 1993). He names four environments where *yang* is optional, one of which is 'in the noun phrase after *ada*'. This heading just contains five example sentences and a line of note to the effect that there is no difference in meaning between the sentence with *yang* and that without *yang*. Hence, according to him, (11a) and (11b) below, which are a complex existential sentence and a minimal existential sentence respectively, have the same meaning. Sentences in (11) are due to Shoho (1993)[5].

(11)　　a.　　Ada orang　nak　jumpa.
　　　　　　　be　person want see
　　　　　　　'There's a person wants to see you.'
　　　　b.　　Ada orang　*yang*　nak　jumpa.
　　　　　　　be　person COMP want see
　　　　　　　'There's a person who wants to see you.'

　　An analysis of complex existential sentences follows from this perspective. I name this line of analysis 'the relative clause hypothesis'. The statement that the complementiser *yang* is optional and its presence or absence brings about no change in meaning implies that the structure of a complex existential sentence is the same as that of a minimal existential sentence except for one lexical difference. That is to say, minimal existential sentences and complex existential sentences are different only in its selection of the complementiser. The former selects the overt complementiser *yang*

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[5] The English translation is mine. I respected the superficial difference in the original Malay sentences, i.e. the existence or absence of the complementiser *yang* and translated them differently. This does not necessarily mean that they have different meanings.

whereas the latter the null one. Therefore, according to this hypothesis, the second predicate of a complex existential sentence is a relative clause with the null complementiser (= Ø) that restricts the NP preceding it. The structures of two types of existential sentences are as follows.

(12)   a.   Minimal existential sentence: V_{pivot} [$_{NP}$ NP [$_{CP}$ [$_C$ yang] IP]]
                 Ada [$_{NP}$ orang [$_{CP}$ yang [$_{IP}$ nak jumpa]]].
                 be   person   COMP   want see
                 'There's a person who wants to see you.'
        b.   Complex existential sentence: V_{pivot} [$_{NP}$ NP [$_{CP}$ [$_C$ Ø] IP]]
                 Ada [$_{NP}$ orang [$_{CP}$ Ø   [$_{IP}$ nak jumpa]]].
                 be   person   COMP   want see
                 'There's a person wants to see you.'

The null complementiser is not at all an ad hoc construct which is only operative in this particular case. It is one of the most common Malay complementisers to introduce an embedded clause.

3.2.2 The sentence hypothesis

The relative clause hypothesis hinges on two assumptions: (i) the complementiser *yang* is optional and (ii) there is no difference in meaning between the two types of existential sentences. The first of these is empirically justifiable. Both existential sentences with and without *yang* are grammatical. On the other hand, the second assumption is in fact not certain. Shoho (1993) presents no evidence for the semantic identity of two types of existential sentences. They may convey different meanings. Actually, Goddard (2002) does recognise the difference, to which we shall return shortly. Furthermore, some of my informants also reported a slight difference between them. If so, they must have

different syntactic structures from each other.

The simplest way to work around this problem is to think of the NP and the second predicate as literally constituting a sentence. I name this analysis 'the sentence hypothesis'. The structure of a complex existential sentence is then: V_{pivot} [$_{IP}$ NP XP].

(13)   Ada [$_{IP}$ [$_{NP}$ pegawai awam] [$_{VP}$ melayari laman web lucah   ketika
              be   officer civil   surf   web   page obscene when
              bekerja]].
              work
              'There are public officials surfing obscene web pages while they are working.'

As I have demonstrated in section 3.1, a complex existential sentence can be converted into an independent sentence by eliminating the matrix verb. See (5) for an example.

This line of analysis is normally called 'the small clause analysis' in literature on existential sentences. I will not use this name here for two reasons. To begin with, it is not evident whether Malay has the authentic type of small clause. There are some candidates of small clause, however. One of them is the complement of the verb *(meng)anggap* 'to consider'.

(14)   a.   Dia menganggap [perkara itu] [membuang masa].
              3SG consider   matter   that waste   time
              'He considers it a waste of time.'
     b.   Jangan anggap [tugas itu] [mudah].
              not   consider duty   that easy
              'Don't consider the duty easy.'

The sentences in (14) can be paraphrased as in (15) by inserting the preposition *sebagai* 'as' or the copula *adalah*.

(15)   a.   Dia menganggap [perkara itu] *sebagai* [membuang masa].

'He considers it *as* a waste of time.'

b.   Jangan anggap [tugas itu] *adalah* [mudah].
'Don't consider the duty *to be* easy.' or 'Don't consider that the duty *is* easy.'[6]

The second reason is in connection with the independent status of the two constituents, i.e. an NP and its second predicate, as a sentence. The second predicate can contain a negation and auxiliaries, which are generally deemed to be under I[7].

(16)   a.   … ada [pengundi] [*tidak* boleh mengundi] ….
be   inhabitant   not   can   vote
'… there were some inhabitants who could not vote ….'
(Utusan Malaysia, 06/09/2002)

b.   Tentu ada [beberapa orang lagi] [*akan* beri pandangan], ….
sure be some   person more will   give view
'Surely there are still some people who will express their views, ….
(Utusan Malaysia, 21/10/2002)

3.2.3   The quantifier hypothesis

Let us now turn to Goddard's (2002) claim that there is a difference in meaning between two types of existential sentences, i.e. existential sentences with and without the complementiser *yang*. Goddard (2002) is a semantic description within the theoretical framework of the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM). The basic assumption of NSM is that there are a limited number of universal semantic primes whereby one can describe the meaning of any word, simple and complex, in a noncircular way. The

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[6] The verb *(meng)anggap* 'to consider' can take a sentential complement as in (i).

(i)   Saya tidak menganggap [CP bahawa [IP kerja-kerja rumah adalah tanggungjawab isteri]].
1SG not   consider   that   work   home be   responsibility wife
'I do not consider that housework is a responsibility of wives.'

[7] See Ramli (1989: 15-16) for the elements in I in Malay and its internal structure.

common method adopted in the articles on specific languages in Goddard & Wierzbicka (eds.) (2002) is to seek the exponent of each proposed semantic prime in the language in question. It is usually a word. The semantic primes are expressed in English, but they are in small capitals to mean that it is just for convenience's sake. For example, the exponents of NSM semantic primes DO, BECAUSE, GOOD in Malay proposed by Goddard (2002) are *buat* 'to do', *sebab* 'because' and *baik* 'good', respectively and so on.

　　Goddard (2002) maintains that the following two sentences have different meanings. (17) is his data except the gloss.

(17)　　a.　　　Ada orang tak suka makan pisang.
　　　　　　　　be　person not like eat　　banana
　　　　　　　　'Some people don't like (eating) bananas.'
　　　　b.　　　Ada orang *yang* tak suka makan pisang.
　　　　　　　　be　person COMP not like eat　　banana
　　　　　　　　'There are people who don't like (eating) bananas.'

Note that Goddard translated the two sentences differently. This is because he claims that *ada* is the exponent of two different semantic primes, namely SOME in (17a) and THERE IS in (17b). Although some semanticists and logicians treat these two meanings identically, which is most clearly reflected in the use of the so-called existential quantifier '∃', NSM distinguishes them on the following two grounds. Firstly, they are different in 'about-ness'.

> A sentence like *There are people who don't like bananas* is about what exists in the world. … it expresses recognition of an overall state or situation …. A sentence like *Some people don't like bananas*, on the other hand, … is a statement 'about' *people* (or about *some people*). (Goddard 2002: 130)

Secondly, THERE IS is like a predicate whilst SOME is like a quantifier. *Some*, the

exponent of SOME in English, can co-occur with a 'domain group' expression just like the quantifiers ONE and TWO, e.g. *two of these people*, *some of these people*. Goddard points out that Malay *ada* in the example below is equivalent to English *some* in this use. (18) is his data except the gloss.

(18) Ada di antara orang ini tak suka makan pisang.
      be   at among person this not like eat   banana
      'Some of these people don't like (eating) bananas.'

I closely examined what can intervene between *ada* and the NP in complex existential sentences. The outcome is partly compatible with the above claim. Most of the intervening elements are prepositions whose complement NPs denote the domain group, e.g. *(di) antara* 'among', *dari* 'from' and *di kalangan* 'among'[8].

(19) a.   Ada *antara* mereka menikmati pencen ….
              be   among 3PL   enjoy   pension
              'Some of them enjoy their pensions ….'
                                              (Utusan Malaysia, 23/02/2002)
      b.   … ada *dari* komuniti Cina   setuju," ….
                be   from community Chinese agree
              '… some of the Chinese community agree ….'
                                              (Utusan Malaysia, 24/08/2002)
      c.   Ada *di kalangan* umat Islam terjebak   dalam kegiatan yang
              be   at group   Muslim be.enticed in   activity COMP
              menyimpang daripada landasan Islam.
              deviate   from   principle Islam
              'Some Muslims have been enticed into activities which deviate from
              Islamic principles.'
                                              (Utusan Malaysia, 16/03/2002)

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[8] This phrase consists of the preposition *di* 'at' and the noun *kalangan* 'group', roughly translating as 'out of the group'. Therefore, strictly speaking, it is not a (simple) preposition.

In short, the *ada* in a complex existential sentence (cf. (17a)) is SOME while that in a minimal existential sentence (cf. (17b)) is THERE IS. Accordingly, these two sentences convey different meanings.

If his claim is correct, it is natural to regard the *ada* in a complex existential sentence as a quantifier syntactically as well as semantically. Rogayah (2003: 24) explicitly lists *ada* as a quantifier along with *segala* 'all' and *setiap* 'every'. I name this analysis 'the quantifier hypothesis'. This analysis differs from the last two hypotheses considerably. In the previous two hypotheses, the NP and the second predicate form a larger constituent. On the other hand, under the quantifier hypothesis the second predicate is no longer 'second'. Rather, it is now the matrix predicate since *ada* is an element in the NP. This difference can be diagrammed as follows.

(20)   a.   The relative clause hypothesis/The sentence hypothesis
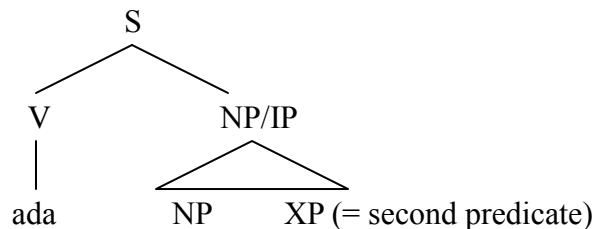
        b.   The quantifier hypothesis
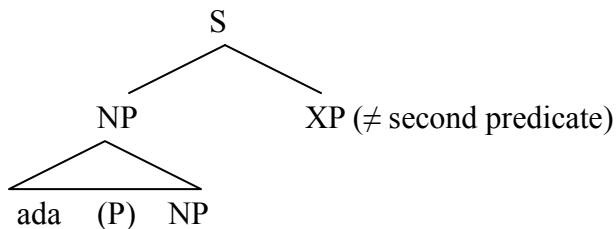
Thus far, three hypotheses have been advanced as to the analysis of the syntactic structure of complex existential sentences. (22) summarises how each hypothesis analyses sentence (4), repeated here as (21).

(21)   Ada pegawai awam melayari laman web lucah   ketika bekerja.
         be   officer civil   surf   web page obscene when work
         'There are public officials surfing obscene web pages while they are working.'

(22)   a.   The relative clause hypothesis: V$_{pivot}$ [$_{NP}$ NP [$_{CP}$ [$_C$ Ø] IP]]
                  Ada [$_{NP}$ [$_{NP}$ pegawai awam] [$_{CP}$ Ø [$_{IP}$ melayari laman web lucah ketika
                  bekerja]]].

         b.   The sentence hypothesis: V$_{pivot}$ [$_{IP}$ NP XP]
                  Ada [$_{IP}$ [$_{NP}$ pegawai awam] [$_{VP}$ melayari laman web lucah ketika
                  bekerja]].

         c.   The quantifier hypothesis: [$_{NP}$[9] Q (P) NP] XP
                  [$_{NP}$ [$_Q$ Ada] [$_{NP}$ pegawai awam]] [$_{VP}$ melayari laman web lucah ketika
                  bekerja].

In the subsequent sections, the discussion centres around the problem of which of the

above three hypotheses is the most plausible.

3.3 *Ada* is not a quantifier

First of all, I would like to prove that the quantifier hypothesis is not correct.

Syntactically, *ada* is not a quantifier. If it were, the environment in which such *ada*s

occur would be only in one construction, namely complex existential sentences. Such a

situation seems improbable. On top of that, there are several pieces of empirical

evidence that *ada* does not behave like other typical quantifiers.

   Goddard (2002) mentions two of them. First, *ada* as an exponent of SOME cannot

appear in any syntactic role other than subject.

(23)   a.   [*Ada* pegawai awam] melayari laman web lucah   ketika bekerja.
                  ADA officer civil   surf   web page obscene when work
                  'Some public officials are surfing obscene web pages while they are
                  working.'

---
[9] This phrase should be a QP in a strict sense of the X-bar Theory.

b.   *Saya mengenali [*ada* pegawai awam], tetapi tidak semua.

    1SG know   ADA officer civil but not all

    'I know some civil officials, but not all of them.'

(23a) with *ada* in the subject is grammatical, while (23b), having *ada* in the object, is ungrammatical. Ordinary quantifiers can appear in both subject and object.

(24)   a.   [*Ramai* pegawai awam] melayari laman web lucah   ketika bekerja.

     many officer civil   surf   web page obscene when work

     'Many public officials are surfing obscene web pages while they are working.'

   b.   Saya mengenali [*ramai* pegawai awam], tetapi tidak semua.

     1SG know   many officer civil   but   not   all

     'I know many civil officials, but not all of them.'

Second, *ada* as an exponent of SOME cannot co-occur with a classifier whereas ordinary quantifiers can.

(25)   a.   *ada ekor ayam

     ADA CL   hen

     (The intended interpretation is 'some hens', not 'there is a hen's tail'.)

   b.   *beberapa* ekor ayam

     some   CL   hen

     'some hens'

Besides the two points pointed out by Goddard, neither of the following two facts is predicted from the quantifier hypothesis. First, *ada* in complex existential sentences is compatible with other quantifiers which are not semantically in harmony with SOME.

(26)   a.   Kalau ada *satu* komponen parti tak setuju ….

     if   ADA one component party not agree

     'If there is one component of the party that disagrees ….'

                        (Utusan Malaysia, 22/07/2002)

b.　　　… ada *banyak* peluang　　di Indonesia boleh direbut ….
　　　　　ADA many　opportunity at Indonesia can　be.grasped
　　　　'… there are many opportunities to be grasped in Indonesia ….'

(Utusan Malaysia, 04/06/2002)

c.　　　… ada *segelintir* di kalangan mereka cuba menjadikan
　　　　　ADA a few　　at group　3PL　　try　make
　　　　negara-negara tersebut　sebagai 'sambungan' kepada Cina….
　　　　country　　mentioned as　　extension　to　　China
　　　　'… there are a few people among them who attempt to make those
　　　　countries 'extensions' to China ….'

(Utusan Malaysia, 22/05/2002)

If *ada* were a quantifier with the meaning SOME, the sentences in (26) could not be interpreted. Second, as I have said in section 3.1, other pivot verbs than *ada* can also occur in a complex existential sentence (cf. (10)). Then how does the quantifier hypothesis treat them? Most of them do not even seem to be quantificational. For example, how quantificational is the verb *berlaku* 'to happen'?

　　It is now unquestionable that *ada* is not a quantifier and thus the quantifier hypothesis is untenable. By the way, Goddard (2002) states that 'when *ada* corresponds to SOME, whether in explicitly or implicitly partitive uses, it cannot occur with *sudah*' (*sudah* is an auxiliary that expresses perfective aspect). If this was correct, it would be in favour of the claim that *ada* is a quantifier. However, it is not the case. The sentence in (27) contains an aspectual auxiliary, i.e. *sudah* 'already' or *belum* 'not yet', but it is completely acceptable nevertheless.

(27)　　*Sudah/Belum*　ada di antara　mereka telah diberi　taraf　pemastautin
　　　　already/not.yet ada at among 3PL　　PERF be.given status resident
　　　　tetap.
　　　　permanent
　　　　'Some of them have/haven't been given the status of permanent resident.'

3.4   Inspecting the relative clause hypothesis

Discarding the quantifier hypothesis, now we have two hypotheses left, i.e. the relative clause hypothesis (section 3.2.1) and the sentence hypothesis (section 3.2.2). In this section, the former hypothesis will be scrutinised.

At the beginning of section 3.2.2, I indicated that the relative clause hypothesis will be undermined if the two types of existential sentences convey different meanings. As has been said there, some of my informants do feel a slight semantic difference. Moreover, Goddard (2002) describes such a difference and justifies it theoretically. It cannot be denied that these two facts do some damage to the relative clause hypothesis, which assumes the structural and semantic identity between minimal and complex existential sentences. However, it is too early to conclude that it is not feasible. Before making a final decision, it might be better to take a closer look at the syntactic aspects of the hypothesis. The inspection will reveal that to some extent, there are similarities between the second predicate of complex existential sentences and relative clauses, but they are not one and the same thing.

3.4.1   Relative clause formation in Malay

In this subsection, I will describe relative clause formation in Malay to make possible the comparison between the second predicate of a complex existential sentence and the corresponding relative clause.

Here I only deal with a part of relative clauses that exist in Malay, namely relative clauses with the complementiser *yang*. There are two strategies to form a relative clause with *yang* depending on the position which is relativised. According to the description

by Yeoh (1979), only two positions are relativisable (using *yang*), i.e. subject and possessor of subject. The former employs the gap strategy and the latter the pronoun retention strategy. His examples in (28) illustrate this point. The gap is shown by *e*.

(28)   a.   Subject

Budak$_i$ [yang *e*$_i$ membaca buku itu] telah ditangkap.

child Comp   read   book that Perf be.arrested

'The child who read the book had been arrested.'

b.   Direct object

*buku$_i$ [yang saya akan   membaca *e*$_i$] itu

 book Comp 1Sg Imperf read   that

'the book that I will read'

c.   Indirect object

*guru   itu$_i$ [yang kawan saya mengirim buku kepada *e*$_i$]^{10}

 teacher that Comp friend 1Sg send   book to

'the teacher whom my friend sent a book to'

d.   Oblique

*rumah$_i$ [yang orang itu diam *e*$_i$] itu^{11}

 house Comp person that live   that

'the house where the man lives'

e.   Possessor of subject

orang$_i$ [yang abang-nya$_i$ memukul saya] itu

person Comp elder.brother-3Sg hit   1Sg that

'the person whose brother hit me'

f.   Possessor of direct object

*orang$_i$ [yang saya memukul abang-nya$_i$]   itu

 person Comp 1Sg hit   elder.brother-3Sg that

'the person whose elder brother I hit'

g.   Object of comparison

---

[10] Stranding prepositions is not allowed in Malay. However, this phrase is still ungrammatical if the preposition *kepada* 'to' is absent.

[11] This phrase is acceptable in informal speech. Some obliques are acceptable even in formal speech. See footnote 17 for the particulars.

*pondok$_i$ [yang rumah ini lebih tinggi daripada-(nya$_i$)]
  hut   COMP house this more tall   than-3SG
'the hut which this house is taller than'

The above pattern once cast doubt on Keenan and Comrie's Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan & Comrie 1977).

(29)   Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan & Comrie 1977)
        Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object > Oblique > Possessor > Object of
        Comparison

According to Keenan & Comrie (1977), the relativisable position(s) in a language must be continuous on the hierarchy (29). However, the Malay data above apparently shows a discontinuous pattern. If possessor (of subject) is relativisable, three positions between it and subject, i.e. direct object, indirect object and oblique, should have been relativisable too. After all, the hierarchy only holds with the relativisation by means of the gap strategy.

Actually, Yeoh's description is no longer satisfactory as a description of present-day Malay. To begin with, he does not exhaust all the possibilities. For example, it is not clear from his description if the positions higher than possessor in the hierarchy (29) are relativisable by the pronoun retention strategy. Second, the language might have undergone some subtle changes over the past 30 years or so. And, what is most important is that he did not take into account one crucial language specific constraint, which probably had not been discovered yet or was not captured in a systematic way at that time.

This language specific constraint concerns the blocking effect on movement by verbal morphology. As far as I know, it was first mentioned by Saddy (1991), elaborated

by Cole & Hermon (1998) and Voskuil (2000) among others. Saddy (1991) and Voskuil (2000) are works on Indonesian and Cole & Hermon (1998) on Singapore Malay, but the same applies to Malaysian Malay. Simply put, it says: no NP can move overtly over the prefix *meN-*. Let us see how this constraint works. In the following examples, the allomorphs of *meN-* are represented in boldface. The subject of (30) is questioned as in (31).

(30)   Ali **mem**beli buku itu.
         Ali buy   book that
         'Ali bought the book.'

(31)   Siapa **mem**beli buku itu?[12]
         who   buy   book that
         'Who bought the book?'

Siapa 'who' is either in situ or vacuously moved to [Spec, CP]. Whichever may be the case, nothing crosses the prefix *meN-*, hence the sentence is grammatical. The possibility of crossing arises when the object is questioned. Compare (32a) with (32b).

(32)   a.   Ali **mem**beli apa?
                Ali by   what
                'What did Ali buy?'

         b.   *Apa$_i$ Ali **mem**beli t_i?

In (32a) *apa* 'what' is in situ and does not cross *meN-* while in (32b) the movement of

---

[12] Many (prescriptive) grammarians insist that the sentence is ungrammatical in the absence of the complementiser *yang* (and the focus particle *kah*) when *wh*-words are fronted. Thus, for them, (32) is not grammatical as it stands and must be corrected as follows.

(i)   Siapa*(-kah) yang* membeli buku itu?
        who(-PART) COMP buy   book that
        'Who bought the book?'

The statement may be true of Indonesian (cf. Cole & Hermon (2000: fn. 17)). However, as far as the Malay of Malaysia and Singapore is concerned, things are more flexible.

apa is blocked by the prefix *meN-* to make the sentence ungrammatical. Note that the

blocking effect does not work on LF-movement. It only affects movements in the overt

syntax. Therefore, in *wh*-in-situ questions like (32a), whose *wh*-words move to the

scopal [Spec, CP] covertly, i.e. after the Spell-Out (S-structure), the prefix *meN-* causes

no problems. The extraction from other positions than the object of the verb is also

constrained in the same fashion. In (33) below, the subject of the complement clause is

moved to the matrix [Spec, CP].

(33)   *Siapa$_i$ Bill **mem**beritahu ibu-nya   [yang t_i **meny**intai Fatimah]?[13]
         who   Bill tell   mother-3SG COMP   love   Fatimah
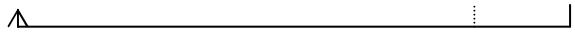
         'Who does Bill tell his mother that loves Fatimah?'

                                                              (Cole & Hermon 1998: (27a))

(33) improves by removing the first *meN-*. Note that the second *meN-* need not be

deleted because it is not crossed.

(34)   Siapa$_i$ Bill beritahu ibunya yang t_i **meny**intai Fatimah?

Furthermore, every *meN-* must be deleted as long as it is crossed as illustrated by (35).

---

[13] The complementisers *yang* and Ø (= null complementiser) do not give rise to the so-called *that*-trace effect unlike the complementiser *bahawa*.

(i)   a.   *Siapa$_i$-kah awak kata [*bahawa* t_i akan   datang]?

                 who-PART 2SG say COMP   IMPERF come
                'Who did you say that will come?'
                                                              (Ramli 1989: 53)
        b.   Siapa$_i$-kah awak kata [*yang* t_i akan datang]?
        c.   Siapa$_i$-kah awak kata [Ø t_i akan datang]?

Thus, the ungrammaticality of this sentence does not result from the sequence of *yang* and the gap.

(35) a. Bill **meng**ira Tom **meng**harap Fred **men**cintai siapa?
          Bill think   Tom expect   Fred love   who
          'Who did Bill think Tom expects Fred loves?'

      b. *Siapa$_i$ yang Bill **meng**ira Tom **meng**harap Fred **men**cintai t_i?[14]

      c. Siapa$_i$ yang Bill kira Tom harap Fred cintai t_i?

(Saddy 1991: (5)-(7))

According to Cole & Hermon (1998), this constraint operates not only on A-bar movement but also on A movement on the assumption that object preposing involves the movement of an object to [Spec, IP].

(36) a. *Buku itu$_i$ adik   saya **mem**beli t_i.
           book that brother 1SG buy

          'My brother bought that book./That book was bought by my brother.'

      b. Buku itu$_i$ adik saya beli t_i.

(Cole & Hermon 1998: (28a))

The movement of non-NPs is not constrained.

(37) a. Kenapa$_i$ Mary **mem**beli buku itu t_i?
          why   Mary buy   book that

          'Why did Mary buy that book?'

      b. Di mana$_i$ John **mem**beri Mary buku itu t_i?
          at where John give   Mary book that

---

[14] The traditional analysis of the constituent question with the complementiser *yang* is to regard it as an equative sentence consisting of the interrogative and a null head relative clause (for formal treatments, see Mashudi (1981: chapter 5) and Cole et al. (to appear)). In such an analysis, *siapa* 'who' is base-generated in the position as it is and never moves. However, here I follow Saddy's original analysis and show the derivation as if the movement of *siapa* took place.

'Where did John give Mary that book?'

   c.   Kepada siapa$_i$ Mary **mem**beri buku t_i?

          to   who Mary give   book

'To whom did Mary give a book?'

<div align="right">(Cole & Hermon 1998: (26))</div>

Relative clause formation in Malay involves *wh*-movement as in many other languages. Accordingly, the above constraint also applies to relative clause formation. The following examples are the relative clauses constructed based on the interrogative sentences above. The difference is that the moved element is not *wh*-words like *apa* 'what' and *siapa* 'who' but the null operator (Op). Intermediate traces are omitted just as in the examples of interrogative sentences above.

(38)   orang$_i$ [Op$_i$ yang t_i **mem**beli buku itu] (cf. (31))

        person   Comp buy   book that

'the person who bought the book'

(39)   *benda$_i$ [Op$_i$ yang Ali **mem**beli t_i] (cf. (32b))

        thing   Comp Ali buy

'the thing which Ali bought'

(40)   a.   *orang$_i$ [Op$_i$ yang Bill **mem**beritahu ibu-nya   yang t_i

            person   Comp Bill tell   mother-3Sg Comp

           menyintai Fatimah] (cf. (33))

           love   Fatimah

           'the person who Bill told his mother that loves Fatimah'

    b.   orang$_i$ [Op$_i$ yang Bill beritahu ibu-nya yang t_i **meny**intai Fatimah]

                                                  (cf. (34))

(41)   a.   *orang$_i$ [Op$_i$ yang Bill **meng**ira Tom **meng**harap Fred **men**cintai t_i]

              person   COMP Bill think   Tom expect   Fred love

(cf. (35b))

              'the person whom Bill thinks Tom expects Fred loves'

   b.   orang$_i$ [Op$_i$ yang Bill kira Tom harap Fred cintai t_i] (cf. (35c))

Given this strict language specific constraint, one must also examine sentences without the prefix *meN-* in order to confirm the relativisability of a certain position. What prevented Yeoh (1979) from doing this was his claim that the prefix *meN-* is obligatory for transitive sentences (Yeoh 1979: 26). He treated sentences with no prefix as passive. I am not certain of the state of the Malay language at his time, but at least in present-day Malay that is definitely an overstatement. Verbs with no prefix can make both active and passive sentences, though the frequency of each type depends heavily on stylistic factors. Voskuil's (2000) summary of Indonesian voice is useful here. The situation is the same in Malay.

(42)   a.   Morphological active
            Dia mem-baca buku itu.
            3SG MEN-read book that
            'She reads the book.'
   b.   Morphological passive
            Buku itu di-baca (oleh)-nya
            book that DI-read (by)-3SG
            'She reads the book./The book is read by her.'
   c.   Bare active
            Dia telah baca buku itu.
            3SG PERF read book that
            'She has read the book.'
   d.   Bare passive

Buku itu   telah dia   baca.
book that PERF 3SG read
'She has read the book.'

<div align="right">(Voskuil 2000: (1)-(5))</div>

Morphological active and passive are characterised by the prefixes *meN-* and *di-*, respectively. Bare active and passive are different in word order, especially that of agent and auxiliary. In the former, auxiliary follows the agent, while in the latter, it precedes the agent. Morphological passive and bare passive are also known as Passive 1 and Passive 2 in the literature[15]. Notice that there is a category called 'bare active'. This category is what Yeoh (1979) did not take into account. Stylistically, morphological and bare actives complement each other. The former is used primarily in the formal style and the latter in the informal style. Researchers are only beginning to pay serious attention to the factors that determine the selection between two types of active sentences and little is understood at the moment (cf. Cole et. al (2005)). At any rate, both types do exist in Malay grammar. Taking bare active sentences into consideration, it turns out that in fact, in Malay both subject and (direct) object are accessible to relativisation if the blocking by the prefix *meN-* does not come into play (cf. Chung (1976), Musgrave (2001: Appendix), and Cole & Hermon (2005)).

Table 1 below summarises the relativisable points on Keenan & Comrie's (1977) hierarchy[16,17]. (43) and (44) are some additional example sentences that complement

---

[15] Some researchers group morphological passive and bare passive together as one category. Japanese linguists of Malay/Indonesian call it 'ninshoukei' (lit. personal form). Isamu Shoho (p.c.) told me that the name is the translation of Indonesian *bentuk persona*. The proponents of *bentuk persona* quite often invoke the synchronic resemblance between the prefix *di-* and the third person singular pronoun *dia*, which in turn appears to verify their hypothesis that the two are diachronically the same one thing. My inclination is to look on them as two different things, at least synchronically, since there are several syntactic and semantic differences between morphological and bare passives (Alsagoff 1992).

[16] See Musgrave (2001: Appendix) for the problems of the hierarchy proposed by Keenan & Comrie (1977) and an alternative within the framework of LFG (Lexical Functional Grammar).

[17] In actuality, only Keenan & Comrie's (1977) Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy is not sufficient to

Yeoh's (1979) examples shown in (28). The relative clauses in (43) utilise the gap strategy while those in (44) the pronoun retention strategy.

Table 1. Relativisable positions

strategy	SUBJ	DO	IO	OBL	POSS	OBJ of comparison
gap	√	√	?	*	*	*
pronoun retention	*	√	√	√	√ (SUBJ only)/*	*

(43)   a.   Subject

Budak$_i$ [yang e_i baca buku itu] telah ditangkap.

child   COMP   read book that PERF be.arrested

'The child who read the book had been arrested.'

       b.   Direct object

---

fully explain Malay relativisation with the complementiser *yang*. Pragmatic considerations are also indispensable. Alsagoff (1992: 198) states that 'it is the TOP that is the only relativizable function.' TOP is one of the grammatical functions posited in LFG which is closely associated with the pragmatic function of the topic. Shoho (2004) reports many interesting instances of relative clauses with *yang*, which are not expected from Keenan and Comrie's hierarchy. In my view, the relation between the head noun and the relative clause can be defined better pragmatically than syntactically. Some of Shoho's (2004) examples are shown below. Note that the relativised elements are all oblique.

(i)   pinggan [yang saya makan]

dish   COMP 1SG eat

'the dish with which I ate'

cf. Saya makan *dengan* pinggan itu.

     1SG eat   with   dish   that

     'I eat with the dish.'

(ii)   hotel [yang kita boleh tengok laut]

hotel COMP 1PL can   see   sea

'a hotel from which we can see the sea'

cf. Kita boleh tengok laut *dari* hotel itu.

     1PL can   see   sea from hotel that

     'We can see the sea from the hotel.'

(iii)   gunung   [yang saya bermain ski]

mountain COMP 1SG play   ski

'the mountain where I skied'

cf. Saya bermain ski *di* gunung   itu.

     1SG play   ski at mountain that

     'I skied at the mountain.'

buku_i [yang saya akan baca *e*_i] itu

book COMP 1SG IMPERF read that

'the book that I will read'

    c.   Indirect object

?guru itu_i [yang kawan saya kirim buku *e*_i]

 teacher that COMP friend 1SG send book

'the teacher whom my friend sent a book to'

    d.   Possessor of subject

*orang_i [yang abang *e*_i pukul saya] itu

 person COMP elder.brother hit 1SG that

'the person whose brother hit me'

    e.   Possessor of direct object

*orang_i [yang saya pukul abang *e*_i] itu

 person COMP 1SG hit elder.brother that

'the person whose elder brother I hit'

(44)   a.   Subject

*Budak_i [yang dia_i baca buku itu] telah ditangkap.

 child COMP 3SG read book that PERF be.arrested

'The child who read the book had been arrested.'

    b.   Direct object

buku_i [yang saya akan baca-nya_i] itu

book COMP 1SG IMPERF read-3SG that

'the book that I will read'

    c.   Indirect object

guru itu_i [yang kawan saya kirim buku kepada-nya_i]

teacher that COMP friend 1SG send book to-3SG

'the teacher whom my friend sent a book to'

    d.   Oblique

rumah_i [yang orang itu diam di dalam[18]-nya_i] itu

house COMP person that live at in-3SG that

'the house where the man lives'

    e.   Possessor of subject

---

[18] A couple of prepositions, including monosyllabic ones like *di* 'at' and *ke* 'to', are not permissible before the enclitic *-nya*.

orang$_i$ [yang abang-nya$_i$ pukul saya] itu

person COMP elder.brother-3SG hit   1SG   that

'the person whose brother hit me'

     f.   Possessor of direct object

        ??orang$_i$ [yang saya pukul abang-nya$_i$]   itu[19]

         person COMP 1SG hit   elder.brother-3SG that

        'the person whose elder brother I hit'

3.4.2   Comparison between relative clauses and the second predicate

Now we are ready to examine whether the second predicate of a complex existential

sentence is really a relative clause with the null complementiser instead of the overt one

yang. If it is, we should be able to find in complex existential sentences every

relativisation possibilities shown in Table 1, hence no difference is predicted between

minimal and complex existential sentences. In what follows, I suppose temporarily that

the relative clause hypothesis is correct and see how undesirable the results are.

     There is a stark contrast between the two strategies of relativisation. First, all three

relativisable positions by the gap strategy can be relativised in both minimal and

complex existential sentences.

(45)   Subject

      a.   Ada orang$_i$ [$_{CP}$ Op$_i$ yang [$_{IP}$ t_i hilang   di Fraser's Hill]].

           be   person   COMP   missing at Fraser's Hill

           'There are people (who are) missing at Fraser's Hill.'

      b.   Ada orang$_i$ [$_{CP}$ Op$_i$ Ø [$_{IP}$ t_i hilang di Fraser's Hill].

(46)   Direct object

      a.   Ada se-orang lelaki$_i$ [$_{CP}$ Op$_i$ yang [$_{IP}$ Ali nak   pukul t_i]].

           be   one-CL   man   COMP   Ali want hit

           'There is a man (whom) Ali wants to hit.'

      b.   Ada seorang lelaki$_i$ [$_{CP}$ Op$_i$ Ø [$_{IP}$ Ali nak pukul t_i]].

---

[19] Some speakers might find this phrase acceptable. For most of my informants, however, it is very
difficult to understand or even unintelligible.

(47) Indirect object

    a.   ?Ada beberapa orang pensyarah$_i$ [$_{CP}$ Op$_i$ yang [$_{IP}$ saya nak   kirim

          be   some   C$_L$ lecturer   COMP   1SG want send

          tesis ini t_i]]

          thesis this

          'There are some lecturers to whom I want to send this thesis.'

    b.   ?Ada beberapa orang pensyarah$_i$ [$_{CP}$ Op$_i$ Ø [$_{IP}$ saya nak kirim tesis ini

          t_i]].

Next, relativisation by the pronoun retention strategy is only possible in minimal existential sentences. It is totally impossible in complex existential sentences. Compare the (a) and (b) sentences of each example set below.

(48) Direct object

    a.   Ada se-orang lelaki$_i$ [$_{CP}$ Op$_i$ yang [$_{IP}$ Ali memukul-nya$_i$]]

          be   one-C$_L$ man   COMP   Ali hit-3SG

          'There is a man (whom) Ali hit.'

    b.   *Ada seorang lelaki$_i$ [$_{CP}$ Op$_i$ Ø [$_{IP}$ Ali memukul-nya$_i$]].

(49) Indirect object

    a.   Ada se-orang perempuan$_i$ [$_{CP}$ Op$_i$ yang [$_{IP}$ Ali memberi bunga

          be   one-C$_L$ girl   COMP   Ali give   flower

          kepada-nya$_i$]].

          to-3SG

          'There is a girl to whom Ali gave flowers.'

    b.   *Ada seorang perempuan$_i$ [$_{CP}$ Op$_i$ Ø [$_{IP}$ Ali memberi bunga

          kepada-nya$_i$]].

(50) Oblique

    a.   Ada se-orang lelaki$_i$ [$_{CP}$ Op$_i$ yang [$_{IP}$ Hasnah membuat tugasan

          be   one-C$_L$ man   COMP   Hasnah do   assignment

          bersama-nya$_i$]].

          with-3SG

          'There is a man with whom Hasnah did her assignment.'

    b.   *Ada seorang lelaki$_i$ [$_{CP}$ Op$_i$ Ø [$_{IP}$ Hasnah membuat tugasan

          bersama-nya$_i$]].

(51) Possessor of subject

a.	Ada se-orang lelaki$_i$ [$_{CP}$ Op$_i$ yang [$_{IP}$ abang-nya$_i$ memukul Ali]].
be   one-C$_L$ man   COMP   brother-3S$_G$ hit   Ali
'There is a man whose brother hit Ali.'

a.	*Ada sebuah lelaki$_i$ [$_{CP}$ Op$_i$ Ø [$_{IP}$ abang-nya$_i$ memukul Ali]].

It is evident that the second predicate of a complex existential sentence does not possess all the properties that the corresponding relative clause has. The fact that it exhibits the same pattern as the relativisation by the gap strategy rather than the pronoun retention strategy is significant in that it means the involvement of *wh*-movement. Thus, our relative clause hypothesis turns out to be too simple as it stands. It must be weakened to this: the second predicate of a complex existential sentence have the same syntactic structure as the corresponding relative clause with a gap.

3.4.3   Island sensitivity

In this subsection, I will attempt to validate the involvement of *wh*-movement in the second predicate of a complex existential sentence by testing its island sensitivity[20]. This subsection has another purpose too. It is to point out the inadequacies found in previous studies. Such inadequacies may have arisen as a result of considerable influence of English or the authors' anticipation for an elegant pattern. If neither of these reasons is true, what I found are to be treated as pure dialectal differences.

3.4.3.1   Island constraints in Malay

It has been reported that so-called island constraints are observed in Malay too (Ramli 1989: 48-50; Shoho 1994; Cole & Hermon 1998; Rogayah 2003[1995]: 176-181). Only

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[20]   'Island' is a syntactic domain from which no element can be extracted (Ross 1967).

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overt *wh*-movement is subject to the constraints. Hence, *wh*-in-situ is not restricted by them. The (a) and (b) sentences below are the examples of *wh*-in-situ and overt movement, respectively. Some of the English translations given below may sound odd because they are direct translations of unacceptable Malay sentences.

(52)   Complex NP constraint
    a.   Siti suka [NP lelaki [CP yang   [IP gemar minum *apa*]]]?
          Siti like   man   COMP   like   drink   what
          'Siti likes the man who likes to drink what?'
    b.   *Apa_i yang   Siti suka [NP lelaki [CP yang   [IP gemar minum *t*_i]]]?
           what COMP Siti like   man   COMP   like   drink
          'What does Siti like the man who likes to drink?'

(53)   *wh*-island condition
    a.   Awak agak   [CP sama ada [IP Ali ternampak *apa*]]?
          2SG wonder   whether   Ali see   what
          'You wondered whether Ali saw what?'
                    (Cole & Hermon 1998: (16b), adopted from Rogayah (1995)?)
    b.   *Apa_i-kah   yang   awak agak   [CP sama ada [IP Ali ternampak *t*_i]]?
           what-PART COMP 2SG wonder   whether   Ali see
          'What did you wonder whether Ali saw?'
                                                    (Rogayah 2003[1995]: 154)

(54)   Sentential subject condition
    a.   [Bahawa penjenayah itu ditembak di rumah *siapa*] dinafikan?
          COMP   criminal   that be.shot   at house who   be.denied
          'Whose house was it, that it was denied that the criminal was shot
          there?' (lit. That the criminal was shot at whose house was denied?)
    b.   *Di rumah *siapa*_i [bahawa penjenayah itu ditembak *t*_i] dinafikan?
           at house who COMP   criminal   that be.shot   be.denied
          'At whose house was that the criminal was shot denied?'
                                                    (Shoho 1994: (57))

(55)   Adjunct condition
    a.   Ahmad sakit perut   [selepas dia makan *apa*]?
          Ahmad pain stomach after   3SG eat   what
          'Ahmad had a stomach ache after he had eaten what?'

    b.   ??*Apa*$_i$ yang Ahmad sakit perut   [selepas dia makan t_i]?

               what C<small>OMP</small> Ahmad pain stomach after   3S<small>G</small> eat

               'What did Ahmad have a stomach ache after he had eaten?'

(56)   Coordinate structure constraint

    a.   Siti berjumpa Alia dan [membeli *apa*]?

               Siti meet   Alia and buy   what

               'Siti met Alia and bought what?'

                                    (Rogayah 2003[1995]: 180)

    b.   **Apa*$_i$ yang Siti berjumpa Alia dan [makan t_i]?

               what C<small>OMP</small> Siti meet   Alia and eat

               'What did Siti meet Alia and eat?'

Among these constraints, *wh*-island and sentential subject conditions are somewhat difficult to attest. The example sentences presented by some authors are sometimes not appropriate. First, for the *wh*-island condition, Malay has a very strict restriction on the simultaneous occurrence of more than one *wh*-word in a sentence. As far as I know, multiple *wh*-words are only allowed in the following three cases: (i) when they have the same form (57)[21], (ii) when they are connected by a conjunction (58) and (iii) when they appear as parts of a fixed expression (59).

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[21] This is reminiscent of the ameliorating effects of syncretic forms. Polish examples in (i) below are taken from Citko (2005).

(i)   a.   *Czego/Co   Jan nienawidzi *e*   a   Maria lubi *e*?

              what.G<small>EN</small>/A<small>CC</small> Jan hates   *e*.G<small>EN</small> and Maria likes *e*.A<small>CC</small>

              'What does Jan hate and Maria like?'

     b.   Kogo   Jan nienawidzi *e*   a   Maria lubi *e*?

              who.G<small>EN</small>/A<small>CC</small> Jan hates   *e*.G<small>EN</small> and Maria likes *e*.A<small>CC</small>

              'Whom does Jan hate and Maria like?'

In principle, across-the-board *wh*-questions are not allowed unless the gaps inside the two conjuncts match in case. The contrast above comes from the fact that there is a syncretic genitive/accusative form for 'who' (ib) but not for 'what' (ia).

(57)   Aku dah   lupa   *siapa* kawin *siapa*.
         1SG PERF forget who   marry who
         'I have forgotten who married whom.'

(Rogayah 2003[1995]: 7)

(58)   *Siapa*-kah dan *apa*-kah   yang   dibeli-nya?
         who-PART and what-PART COMP be.bought-3SG
         'Who bought what?'

(59)   *Macam mana apa*-nya?
         how   what-3SG
         'What is it that you want to know, the condition of? (= How is his health?)'

(Rogayah 2003[1995]: 162)

Otherwise, more than one *wh*-word cannot occur at the same time[22]. Compare (60) with (57) and (58).

(60)   **Siapa* beli *apa*   di pasar   malam?
          who   buy what at bazaar night
         'Who bought what at the night market?'

The problem that I would like to point out here is that some previous studies do not take account of this restriction on multiple *wh*-words when they discuss the *wh*-island condition. To be concrete, the ungrammaticality of sentences like (61) is not necessarily ascribed to extraction from a *wh*-island.

(61)   **Apa*$_i$ yang   awak agak   [*siapa* beli t_i untuk dia]?
          what COMP 2SG   wonder who   buy   for   3SG
         'What do you wonder who bought for her?'

---

[22] A practical note for the teaching of Malay to Japanese speakers and of Japanese to Malay speakers is in order here. This restriction on multiple *wh*-questions is one of the striking differences between Malay and Japanese. In Japanese, multiple *wh*-questions are quite common unlike Malay.

(i)   *Itu   dare*-ga *nani*-o   kare-ni   purezento-sita no?
         when who-NOM what-ACC 3SG-DAT present-did   QM
         'Who presented what to him when?'

Sentence (61) also violates the restriction on multiple *wh*-words. Thus, the sentences is ungrammatical even if *apa* 'what' is not extracted from the lower clause (62a). (62b) is given to show that the ungrammaticality of (62a) results from nothing but the presence of two *wh*-words. Recall that the island constraints operate on overt movement but not on *wh*-in-situ.

(62)   a.   *Awak agak   [*siapa* beli *apa*   untuk dia]?
              2SG   wonder who   buy what for   3SG
              'You wonder who bought what for her?'
       b.   Awak agak   [*siapa* beli cincin itu   untuk dia]?
              2SG   wonder who   buy ring   that for   3SG
              'Who do you wonder bought that ring for her?'

Actually, sentences like (62a), which contain two different *wh*-words, are treated as grammatical in Rogayah (1995[2003]) and Cole & Hermon (1998). Such sentences are all judged ungrammatical or even unintelligible by my informants. Two possibilities for such judgement are conceivable. Firstly, either their descriptions or mine is erroneous. Secondly, they studied some different variety of Malay from mine. I think that the variety discussed in Rogayah (1995[2003]) is the same variety as discussed in this thesis. The only difference, if any, may be that she adheres to *Tatabahasa Dewan* (Nik Safiah et al. 1993), the official grammar published by the national academy for language policy, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, whereas I take account of actual usage patterns that are not necessarily endorsed by it. On the other hand, Cole & Hermon (1998) undoubtedly discusses a different dialect of Malay, which they define as 'the Malay spoken by educated speakers of the language in Singapore.' It is one of the nearest dialects from the one discussed in this thesis. They have some lines of provision:

Some variety of Malay is spoken by about 200,000,000 inhabitants of Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore. There is reason to believe that there is considerable variation in the syntax of the various social and geographical dialects, but this is a relatively unstudied topic, especially with respect to the syntax of the colloquial language. The reader should, therefore, bear in mind that the examples cited here are not intended to be exemplary of formal, prescriptively correct Malay or Indonesian, nor are the judgments claimed to hold for all colloquial dialects. (Cole & Hermon 1998: fn. 1)

I fully agree with their view, so I will not decide on which of the two possibilities explains the difference between previous studies and mine. However, the restriction on multiple *wh*-words does exist at least in the variety discussed here and I expect that it probably applies to some other varieties of Malay too.

A similar situation holds for the sentential subject condition. Sentential subjects seem to be strictly restricted due to some little understood reasons. Consequently, it is not prudent to conclude that a sentence like (63) below, in which an element is extracted from the sentential subject, is ungrammatical truly due to the extraction.

(63)   *$Siapa_i$ (yang) [yang Mawi kahwini t_i] mengecewakan ramai peminat?
          who   COMP COMP Mawi marry   disappoint   many fan
          'Whom did that Mawi married disappoint many fans?'

In the variety of Malay that I studied, the sentence is still ungrammatical if *siapa* 'who' remains in situ.

(64)   *[Yang Mawi kahwini *siapa*] mengecewakan ramai peminat?

All this happens because sentential subjects of this type are not grammatically allowed in the first place.

(65)   *[Yang/Bahawa/Ø Mawi mengahwini[23] perempuan itu] mengecewakan ramai
         COMP   Mawi marry   woman   that disappoint   many

        peminat.
        fan

        'That Mawi married the woman disappointed many fans.'

Again, Cole & Hermon (1998) reports a different situation in Malay of educated

Singaporeans.

(66)   a.   *$Siapa_i$ [yang Ali mengahwini t_i] mengecewakan ibu-nya?
                 who   COMP Ali marry   upset   mother-3SG

                'Who did Ali marry that upset his mother?'

                (lit. Who did that Ali married upset his mother?)

        b.   [Yang Ali mengahwini *siapa*] mengecewakan ibu-nya?

                                        (Cole & Hermon 1998: (8), (14))

In passing, (65) can be repaired by adding an abstract noun meaning 'action' such as

tindakan or *perbuatan* in front of the CP. By doing so, the subject becomes an NP.

(67)   [NP *Tindakan/Perbuatan* [CP Mawi mengahwini perempuan itu]] mengecewakan
        ramai peminat.

        'The action that Mawi married the woman disappointed many fans.'

    The adjunct island condition requires qualification. The adjunct must follow the

main clause. There is asymmetry between the two positions of the adjunct, i.e. before

and after the main clause.

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[23] *mengahwini* 'to marry' is the *meN-* form of *kahwini* in (63) and (64). I eliminated the prefix *meN-* in
(63) since it blocks the movement of *siapa*. As (64) is the minimal pair of (63), the prefix is not attached
either.

(69)   a.   ??*Apa*$_i$ yang Ahmad sakit perut   [selepas dia makan t_i]?
                           what COMP Ahmad pain stomach after   3SG eat   (= (55b))
                           'What did Ahmad eat that caused him a stomach ache later?'
                           (lit. What did Ahmad have a stomach ache after he had eaten?)

       b.   *Apa*$_i$ yang [selepas Ahmad makan t_i] dia sakit perut?[24]
                         what COMP after   Ahmad eat   3SG pain stomach

I ascribe this asymmetry to the position to which the adjunct is adjoined. Specifically, the adjunct after the main clause as in (69a) is adjoined to VP (or other predicate phrases lower than IP) while that before the main clause as in (69b) is adjoined to IP. The partial structures of the two sentences in (69) can be diagrammed as follows.

(70)   a.   (69a)
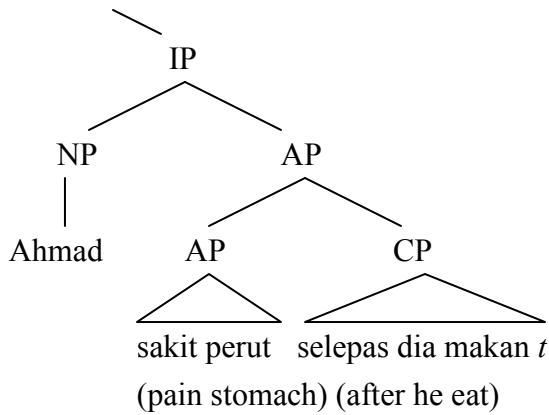
       b.   (69b)

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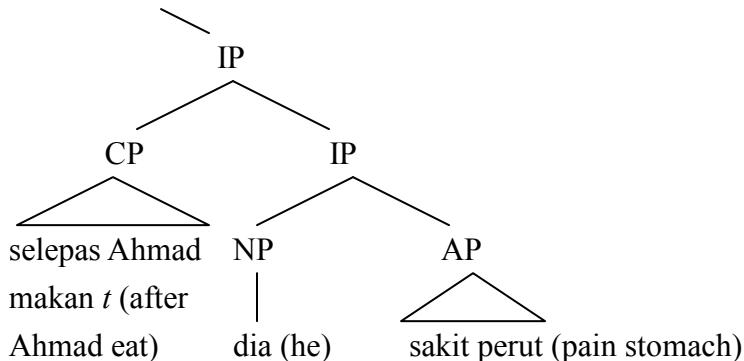
[24] The minimal pair sentence of (69a) (*)*Apa yang [selepas dia makan] Ahmad sakit perut?* was judged ungrammatical by some speakers. I believe that this has to do with illicit anaphoric relation between *dia* and *Ahmad*, which is unclear now.

The crucial difference between the two structures is that in (70a) the whole category IP is crossed by the moved element whereas in (70b) only a segment of IP is crossed. In terms of Chomsky's (1986) barrier system, this makes a difference in the number of barriers crossed since only maximal projections but not a segment of them serve as barriers. The movement that takes place in (69a) crosses two barriers, i.e. CP and IP, hence it constitutes a subjacency violation.

3.4.3.2   Islands in complex existential sentences

Turning back to our main issue, let us now look at what will happen when a complex existential sentence contains a syntactic island as the second predicate. If complex existential sentences involve any movement, the sentence should be ungrammatical. Due to the problems mentioned above, I do not take up *wh*-island and sentential subject conditions.

First, the Complex NP Constraint was observed except for two informants.

(71)   a.   Ada syarikat Malaysia$_i$ kerajaan   percaya [$_{CP}$ e_i membakar hutan
            be   company Malaysia government believe   burn   forest
            di Sumatera].
            at Sumatra
            'There are Malaysian companies that the government believes burned forests in Sumatera.'

       b.   *Ada syarikat   Malaysia$_i$ kerajaan   percaya [$_{NP}$ dakwaan [$_{CP}$ e_i
             be   company Malaysia government believe   claim
            membakar hutan di Sumatera]].
            burn   forest at Sumatra
            'There are Malaysian companies that the government believes the claim that they burned forests in Sumatera.'

As for the two informants, their grammar seems to prohibit the second predicate from containing embedded clauses. Thus, they judged both sentences in (71) as ungrammatical. However, it is not that their grammar does not have any complex existential sentence at all. (72) is completely grammatical for them too.

(72)　　Ada syarikat　Malaysia$_i$ [e_i membakar hutan di Sumatera].
　　　　be　company Malaysia　　burn　　　forest at Sumatra
　　　　'There are Malaysian companies that burned forests in Sumatra.'

Interestingly, (71a) becomes grammatical when the overt complementiser *yang* is present as in (73).

(73)　　Ada syarikat Malaysia *yang* kerajaan percaya membakar hutan di Sumatera.

Such judgements by them corroborate the claim that complex existential sentences are not the mere omission of *yang* from their minimal existential counterparts. As a matter of fact, the two informants are both from Kelantan, the north-eastern state of Peninsular Malaysia which borders on Thailand. Therefore, the possibility is high that their judgements on Standard Malay sentences are under the influence of Kelantanese Malay. Further research is necessary on this point.

　　Moreover, adjunct condition and coordinate structure constraints were observed too.

(74)　　??Ada kuih$_i$　Ahmad sakit perut　　[selepas dia　makan e_i].
　　　　　be　sweets Ahmad pain stomach after　　3SG eat
　　　　'There are sweets that Ahmad had a stomach ace after he had eaten.'
(75)　　*Ada kuih$_i$　Siti berjumpa Alia dan [makan e_i].
　　　　　be　sweets Siti meet　　Alia and eat
　　　　'There are sweets that Sit met Alia and ate.'

As for adjunct condition, the asymmetry mentioned around (69) recurs.

(76)   a.   ??Ada kuih$_i$ Ahmad sakit perut   [selepas dia makan e_i]. (= (74))
                be   sweets Ahmad pain stomach after   3SG eat
                'There are sweets that Ahmad had a stomach ace after he had eaten
                them.'
    b.   Ada kuih$_i$ [selepas Ahmad makan e_i] dia sakit perut.
            be   sweets after   Ahmad eat   3SG pain stomach

It is now clear that complex existential sentences are sensitive to islands like gap relative clauses. This leads to the conclusion that they involve the same kind of movement as that found in gap relative clauses.

3.5   Raising analysis of relative clauses

Thus far, it turned out that the weakened version of the relative clause hypothesis is the most plausible of the three hypotheses proposed earlier. The incorrectness of the quantifier hypothesis was explained in section 3.3. The sentence hypothesis, though I did not examine it in extensive detail, is probably untenable since it does not accommodate the kind of movements that has been proven through the whole of section 3.4 to exist in complex existential sentences. However, there is one thing that the sentence hypothesis can handle but the relative clause hypothesis cannot, namely the semantic differences between minimal and complex existential sentences.

In this section, I will propose an alternative structure of complex existential sentences which is slightly different from that of relative clauses but can remedy the only defect of the weakened relative clause hypothesis. If the two types of complex existential sentences have different syntactic structures, the semantic differences between them should naturally follow. The structural difference that I propose here

concerns the type of movement. Specifically, the movement involved in complex

existential sentences is not that of the null operator but of the head noun itself. Since the

null operator has no phonetic realisation, these two different kinds of movement do not

make any difference superficially. They can be schematised as follows[25].

(77)   a.   Relative clauses

$[_{NP}$ NP$_i$ $[_{CP}$ Op$_i$ $[_C$ yang$]$ $[_{IP}$ … t_i …$]]]]$

        b.   Complex existential sentences

$[_{NP}$ NP$_i$ $[_{CP}$ t'_i $[_C$ Ø$]$ $[_{IP}$ … t_i …$]]]]$[26]

The null operator movement analysis in (77a) is a traditional analysis of relative clauses.

On the other hand, the raising analysis dates back to Schachter (1973) and Vergnaud

(1974), was revived by Kayne (1994: chapter 8), and has regained popularity in recent

years (Bianchi 2000; Aoun & Li 2003; Authier & Reed 2005). To be concrete, the

minimal and complex existential sentences in (46), repeated here as (78), have the

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[25] Here I do not make use of DPs and the articulated CP structure. In the currently popular analysis of relative clauses, which assumes them, (77) can be translated as follows.

(i)   a. $[_{DP}$ $[_{ForceP}$ NP$_i$ $[_{Force}$ yang$]$$[_{TopP}$ Op$_i$ $[_{IP}$ … t_i …$]]]]$ (for (77a))
        b. $[_{DP}$ $[_{ForceP}$ NP$_i$ $[_{Force}$ Ø$]$$[_{TopP}$ t'_i $[_{IP}$ … t_i …$]]]]$ (for (77b))

[26] There are at least two alternative structures conceivable.

(i) $[_{NP}$ $[_{CP}$ NP$_i$ $[_C$ Ø$]$ $[_{IP}$ … t_i …$]]]$
(ii) $[_{CP}$ NP$_i$ $[_C$ Ø$]$ $[_{IP}$ … t_i …$]]$

I prefer (77b) to these, taking account of the parallelism between two types of relative clauses and the movements discussed later in chapter 4.

    In passing, Shoho (1999) contends that the complement clauses of the verbs *menyeru* 'to appeal' and *mengarah* 'to direct' has a similar structure to (ii), where [Spec, CP] is filled with an NP moved from the IP.

(iii)   Perdana Menteri menyeru $[_{CP}$ rakyat Malaysia$_i$ $[_{C'}$ supaya $[_{IP}$ t_i membanteras masalah

        prime   minister appeal   nation Malaysia   so.that   exterminate   problem

        dadah$]]]$.
        drug
        'The Prime Minister appealed to the Malaysian nation to exterminate the drug problem.'

                                                (Shoho 1999: (92))

structures shown in (79).

(78) a.   Minimal existential sentence
           Ada se-orang lelaki yang Ali nak   pukul.
           be   one-CL man COMP Ali want hit
           'There is a man whom Ali wants to hit.'
      b.   Complex existential sentence
           Ada seorang lelaki Ali nak pukul.
           'There is a man Ali wants to hit.'

(79) a.   Ada [NP seorang lelaki_i [CP Op_i yang [IP Ali nak pukul t_i]]].
      b.   Ada [NP seorang lelaki_i [CP t'_i Ø [IP Ali nak pukul t_i]]].

This analysis not only guarantees the possibility of the semantic differences between the two types of existential sentences. It can also account for why the pronoun retention strategy cannot be applied to complex existential sentences. Recall the contrast between minimal and complex existential sentences with respect to resumption (see (48)-(51)). (48) is reproduced as (80) below.

(80) a.   Ada se-orang lelaki_i [Op_i yang   Ali memukul-nya_i]
           be   one-CL   man   COMP Ali hit-3SG
           'There is a man (whom) Ali hit.'
      b.   *Ada seorang lelaki_i [t_i Ø Ali memukul-nya_i].

Provided that the resumptive pronoun is licensed by the null operator that binds it, resumption should be impossible in a complex existential sentence like (80b) since it contains no null operator. In addition, the structure (80b) cannot be generated in the first place since the position occupied by the trace (t_i) is [Spec, CP], which is not an argument position.

Modified as above, the weakened relative clause hypothesis is now the best hypothesis of all without doubt. The final version of our hypothesis regarding the

structure of complex existential sentences is as follows.

(81)   The structure of complex existential sentences
        V_{pivot} [$_{NP}$ NP$_i$ [$_{CP}$ t'_i [$_C$ Ø] [$_{IP}$ … t_i …]]]

With this structure, the reason for the striking resemblance between minimal and complex existential sentences is also understandable. There is only one difference between the two, namely whether the movement involves the null operator or the head noun. Other things are all equal.

3.6   Semantic aspects

This section describes semantic differences between the two types of existential sentences, which result from syntactic difference between them revealed in the last section.

As we have seen in section 3.2.3, a complex existential sentence is not the simple assertion of the existence of some entity denoted like a minimal existential sentence. In Goddard's (2002) terms, it is also the description 'about' the entity. Thus, the sentence *Ada orang hilang di Fraser's Hill* 'There are people missing at Fraser's Hill' (= (45b)) conveys two things at the same time. Its meaning is, as it were, a composition of the meanings of two sentences, i.e. *Ada orang* 'There are people' and *Orang hilang di Fraser's Hill* 'Some people are missing at Fraser's Hill'. By contrast, the simple existential counterpart *Ada orang yang hilang di Fraser's Hill* 'There are people who are missing at Fraser's Hill (= (45a)) only asserts the existence of such people who are missing at Fraser's Hill. Only complex existential sentences can be paraphrased by two sentences connected by the conjunction *dan* 'and', namely *Ada orang <u>dan</u> orang (itu)*

hilang di Fraser's Hill 'There are people <u>and</u> (the) people are missing at Fraser's Hill'.

In relation to this difference, the two types of existential sentences also differ with respect to the Definiteness Restriction, which bans definite nouns in the postverbal position in existential sentences. The head noun in a complex existential sentence tends to be more sensitive to the Definiteness Restriction compared to that in a minimal existential sentence. I take the Definiteness Restriction to be handled by semantics/pragmatics, but not syntax. Hence, it is continuous in nature. Generally, NPs marked by the demonstrative *itu* 'that' are the most typical definite expression and as such they almost always conform to the Definiteness Restriction. NPs marked by the demonstrative *ini* 'this' are less sensitive to the restriction and those marked by *tadi* 'just now'[27] are far less sensitive than ones marked by *itu*. Notice the slight difference between the judgements given to *ini* in (82a) and (82b).

(82)   a.   Ada lelaki {*itu/?ini/tadi}   yang Ali nak   pukul.
              be   man   that/this/just.now COMP Ali want hit
              'There is {that/this/just now mentioned} man (whom) Ali wants to
              hit.'
       b.   Ada lelaki {*itu/*ini/tadi} Ali nak pukul.

This subtle difference reflects the semantic difference mentioned in the previous paragraph. The semantic structure of (82b) has as its part the meaning of the sentence *Ada lelaki {itu/ini/tadi}* 'There is {that/this/just now mentioned} man'. Therefore the Definiteness Effect can be observed more easily than (82a).

The contrast is more obvious if we look at the indefinite pole of the definiteness axis. (83) is a sentence where the definite markers in (82) are substituted by an indefinite

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[27] Wong (1995: 41) treats this word as a demonstrative along with *itu* 'that' and *ini* 'this', which is unusual in the tradition of Malay linguistics but, I think, very insightful in that it suggests that *itu* and *ini* are not determiners with the same syntactic status as the English *the*.

marker *seorang* 'a (person)'.

(83)   a.   Ada (se-orang) lelaki yang   Ali nak   pukul.
                 be   one-Cʟ   man   Cᴏᴍᴘ Ali want hit
                 'There is a man (whom) Ali wants to hit.'
       b.   Ada ??(seorang) lelaki Ali nak pukul.

A minimal existential sentence is natural if *seorang* is absent (83a) while a complex existential sentence cannot do without *seorang*. A similar contrast was pointed out in footnote 3 at the beginning of this chapter. Not all head nouns require an indefinite marker in complex existential sentences. For example, see the head nouns in (16a), (17a), (45b) and many other examples shown in the Appendices II and III. Currently, the factors that determine whether an indefinite marker is necessary or not are unclear.

Furthermore, so-called strong quantifiers are less compatible with complex existential sentences than with minimal existential sentences.

(84)   a.   Ada kebanyakan pelajar yang   belum   membayar yuran.
                 be   most   student Cᴏᴍᴘ not.yet pay   fee
                 'Most of the students have not paid their fees.'
                 (lit. There are most of the students who have not paid their fees.)
       b.   ?Ada kebanyakan pelajar belum membayar yuran.

All these facts make further support for my claim that the two types of existential sentences have different structures. A problem left for future research is to make clear why the syntactic structure in (81) leads to the interpretation described in this section.

3.8   Summary

This chapter discussed the main topic of this thesis, i.e. complex existential sentences.

Section 3.1 introduced the classification of existential sentences by Chung (1987), i.e. minimal and complex existential sentences. The latter is distinguished from the former in that it contains a second predicate. Superficially, complex existential sentences have the string 'ada NP XP'. Three hypotheses were proposed in section 3.2, i.e. (i) the quantifier hypothesis, (ii) the relative clause hypothesis and (iii) the sentence hypothesis. Through the discussion in sections 3.3 and 3.4, the relative clause hypothesis turned out to be the most plausible on the grounds of several syntactic behaviours. However, it needed one important modification in order to capture the semantic differences between complex and minimal existential sentences and the syntactic fact that resumptive pronouns cannot appear in the second predicates of complex existential sentences. In section 3.5, I concluded that the movement involved in complex existential sentences was not that of a null operator but of the head NP. Section 3.6 discussed the semantic aspects of complex existential sentences. I maintained that the meaning of a complex existential sentence was a mixture of the assertion of the existence of the entity denoted by the head noun and the description about that entity.

Chapter 4   Analysing Actual Data

In this chapter, I will deal with actual uses of complex existential sentences that I found in my two corpora and other materials. The discussion in this chapter consists of two parts. One concerns the problem of frequency (section 4.1). The other is the structure of non-basic complex existential sentences (section 4.2).

4.1   The problem of frequency: Subject and object relativisation

In theoretical syntactic study, frequency in actual use is never an important factor. Every possible pattern has equal value regardless of its frequency. Rather, as the following passage from Chomsky (2002) well describes, it is often the case that a less frequent pattern is of more theoretical import than frequent ones.

> If you can find something in the corpus that is interesting, great. Then you'll explore that with what amounts to doing experiments. But in fact, a lot of the most interesting work has been on things that nobody ever says, like parasitic gaps, for example. You can listen for thousands of years and never hear a parasitic gap, but that's what matters. (Chomsky 2002: 128)

However, once the grammar is put to use, the frequency does matter. It is one of the facts that a grammatical description of a language must include in addition to, say, its phonology, morphology and basic syntactic constructions. It is especially important when the frequency of one pattern is far different from that of others.

Relativisation in complex existential sentences is indeed one of such situations. Recall the structure of complex existential sentences proposed in the previous chapter.

(1)   The structure of complex existential sentences
         V_{pivot} [$_{NP}$ NP_i [$_{CP}$ t'_i [$_C$ Ø] [$_{IP}$ … t_i …]]]

The second predicate of a complex existential sentence is a relative clause with a gap which was created by the movement of the head noun. The moved element can be both subject and object. Put in another way, both subject and object are relativisable. That is undoubtedly true in theory, but in practice that is not so. In the corpora of written Malay, one can hardly ever encounter a single instance of object relativisation. Of course, the probability is not zero. Object relativisation is much easier to find in the corpora of colloquial Malay, though the frequency is low.

Object relativisation (in complex existential sentences) found in my corpus of colloquial Malay displays a notable characteristic. In most cases, the subject is not explicitly expressed. Some examples are given in (2). I represent the implicit subject with *pro*.

(2)   a.   … nanti kita baca buku ada ayat ni_i [*pro* pernah jumpa t_i] ….
        later 1PL read book be sentence this   have see
        '… when we read the book later, we'll find this sentence, which we have seen before….'

    b.   … tak ada $idea_i$ lagi [*pro* nak cakap t_i].
        not be idea more   want say
        '… I've got nothing to talk about now.'

    c.   …, "ni ada $berita_i$ [*pro* nak bagitau t_i] tapi ko jangan terkejut."
        this be news   want tell   but 2SG never surprised
        '…, "I've got something to tell you. Don't be surprised."'

4.2 Non-basic patterns

The basic pattern of complex existential sentences is '*ada* NP XP'. Most of the instances of complex existential sentences that one can find in actual usage conform to this frame. In addition to this basic pattern, however, there are also a couple of

non-basic patterns that apparently depart from it. This section analyses those non-basic patterns of complex existential sentences. I will take up the following three patterns: (i) *ada* NP PP XP (section 4.2.1), (ii) *ada* PP XP (section 4.2.2), and (iii) *ada* Q PART NP XP (section 4.2.3).

4.2.1 *Ada* NP PP XP

This pattern is represented by a sentence like (3) below.

(3)   Tetapi rupanya   ada orang [PP dalam jabatan]   [memuat turun gambar
        but   apparently be person in   department load   down picture
        menggunakan talian internet].
        use   line   Internet
        'But it seems that some people inside the department are downloading pictures
        using the Internet line.'

                                                          (Berita Harian, 22/06/2005)

At first glance, there seems to be nothing special with (3). However, (3) has another meaning in addition to the one given above, which is approximately like this: 'But it seems that inside the department there are people downloading pictures using its internet line'. Let us call the former interpretation (i) and the latter interpretation (ii). Only the latter allows *orang* 'person' to be outsiders who happen to be in the department for some reason, though this possibility is normally dismissed by virtue of pragmatic knowledge and inference from the context.

Interpretation (ii) is possible because the PP in (3) can be parsed as a location argument of the verb *ada* 'to be/to have' as well as a modifier of the noun *orang* 'person'. In the former configuration, the PP does not form a constituent with *orang*. Its current position is a consequence of the extraposition of the relative clause marked by

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brackets. (4) shows the structural differences between the two interpretations.

(4) a. Interpretation (i)
     ada [$_{NP}$ [$_{NP}$ orang [$_{PP}$ dalam jabatan]] [$_{CP}$ memuat turun …]]
   b. Interpretation (ii)
     ada [$_{NP}$ orang t_{CP}] [$_{PP}$ dalam jabatan] [$_{CP}$ memutat turun …]

4.2.2 *Ada* PP XP

This pattern contains a PP instead of an NP. As we have seen in section 3.2.3, the existence of sentences in this pattern is one of the motivations of the quantifier hypothesis. An example sentence cited there as (19a) is repeated below as (5).

(5) Ada antara mereka [menikmati pencen] ….
     be   among 3PL   enjoy   pension
     'Some of them enjoy their pensions ….'

<div align="right">(Utusan Malaysia, 23/02/2002)</div>

How can the above sentence be analysed? We can no longer appeal to the quantifier hypothesis. I take the relative clause marked by square brackets to have a silent head noun which represents highly generic entities such as 'people' and 'things'. In other words, the bracketed constituent is a free relative clause. The structure of (5) is like (6), where Ø1 and Ø2 are a null head noun and a null operator, respectively.

(6) Ada [$_{PP}$ antara mereka] [$_{NP}$ Ø1$_i$ [$_{CP}$ t'_i Ø2 [$_{IP}$ t_i menikmati pencen]]]

In this case, the null head noun (= Ø1) means 'people'. Free relative clauses are quite common in Malay.

(7) a. yang kecil
COMP small
'people/things that are small'

b. yang miskin
COMP poor
'people who are poor'

c. yang tidak diingini
COMP not be.desired
'things which are undesirable'

Below is a possible structure of the whole sentence (5).

(8)

```
                                FocusP
                     _____/    _____
                    IP                           TopicP
              _____/  \_____                  ____/   \____
             e            I′                 NP           t_IP
                      ___/  \___           __/__
                     I          VP        /     \
                  __/ \__    __/  \__   menikmati pencen
                 I       V  t_NP    V′  (people who enjoy their pensions)
                         |       __/  \__
                        ada     t_V      PP
                        (be)            __/\__
                                    antara mereka
                                    (among them)
```
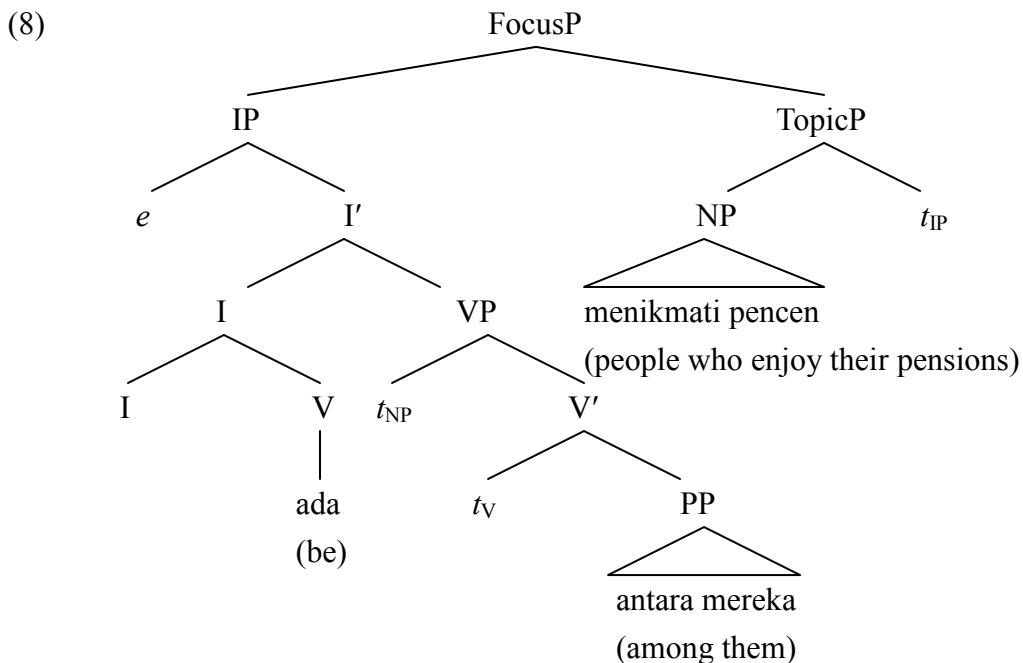
The above structure is based on the following assumptions. I adopted Larsonian VP-shell structure whereby the specifier of the higher VP, or *v*P, is associated with agent, that of the lower VP with theme and the complement of the lower VP with location. Here I follow Chomsky's (1995: 316) suggestion that unaccusative verbs are simple VP. Also assumed here is the articulated CP structure proposed by Rizzi (1997). The structures of verb phrase and CP under these assumptions are as in (9) and (10),

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respectively.

(9)   a.   unergative verbs

```
                    vP
                   /  \
               agent    v′
                       /  \
                      v    VP
                          /  \
                      theme   V′
                             /  \
                            V    location
```

      b.   unaccusative verbs

```
              VP
             /  \
         theme   V′
                /  \
               V    location
```

(10)

```
        ForceP
       /     \
   Force°    TopP
            /    \
         Top°    FocP
                /    \
             Foc°    TopP
                    /    \
                 Top°    FinP
                        /    \
                     Fin°    IP
```
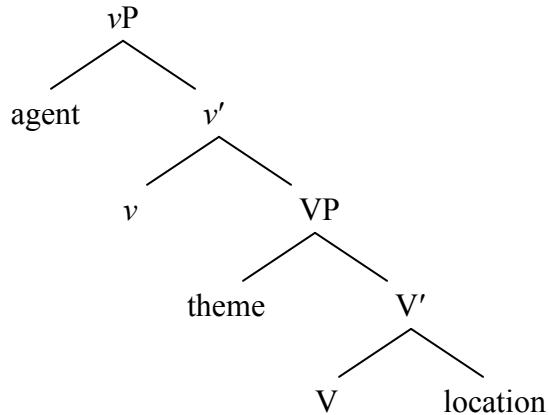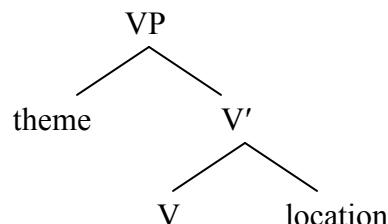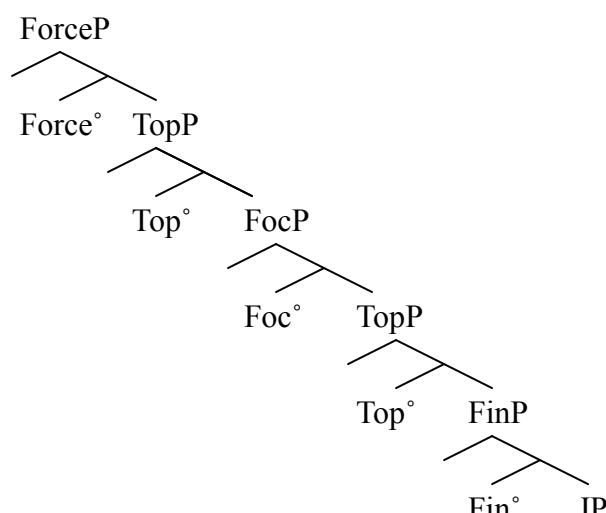
(Top, Foc and Fin stand for topic, focus and finiteness, respectively.)

The derivation of (8) proceeds as follows. First, the theme NP and the location PP is base-generated in the specifier and the complement of the VP projected from the verb *ada* 'to be/to have', respectively. Then, the verb moves to I (Ramli 1989: 39-47, chapter

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3). The theme NP also undergoes movement. Presumably, its landing site is [Spec, TopicP] because [Spec, IP] is occupied by the empty expletive (Shoho's (1993) EXE) and because preverbal theme NPs are generally topical (Nomoto 2004, 2005). In order to realise the sequence 'ada-PP (location)-NP (theme)', I posited a movement of IP to [Spec, FocusP]. This means that sentence (6) is a predicate-focused sentence. The sentences in (11) appear to support this view.

(11)   a.   "Ada [PP di kalangan mereka] *pula* berjaya mempengaruhi
        be   at group   3PL   PART succeed influence
    pemikiran politik penduduk tempatan," ….
    thought   politics inhabitant local
    'There are also some people among them who succeeded in exerting influence on the political opinions of local inhabitants, ….'
                (Utusan Malaysia, 30/04/2002)

        b.   … ada [PP di antara syarikat konsesi terbabit] *juga* telah
        be   at among company concession involved PART PERF
    menjual tiket tol kepada pelanggan mereka ….
    sell   ticket toll to   customer 3PL
    '… there are also some of those concessionaires that have sold toll tickets to their customers ….'
                (Utusan Malaysia, 17/12/2002)

There is a possibility that the additive particles *pula* 'too' and *juga* 'also' are the contents of the functional head Focus°. This is because another additive particle *pun* 'also' appears in the same slot as the interrogative focus particle *kah*, which is very likely to occupy Focus°.

(12)   a.   Tidak *pun* [IP dia datang].
    not   PART   3SG come
    'He doesn't come (, although he said he would).'

b.   Boleh *pun* [IP dia datang].

           can   PART   3SG come

           'Surprisingly, he could come (, although he said he couldn't).'

<div align="right">(Mashudi 1981: 96-97)</div>

(13)   a.   Tidak-*kah* [IP dia datang]?

              not-PART   3SG come

              'Doesn't she come?'

        b.   Boleh-*kah* [IP dia datang]?

              can-PART   3SG come

              'Can she come?'

If the particles *pula*, *juga*, *pun* and *kah* are the head of FocusP, the constituent within its scope should be in [Spec, FocusP] when the constituent in question is a maximal projection or adjoined to Focus° when it is a head.

One thing which is yet unclear is why such potential orders as those shown below are ungrammatical.

(14)   a.   *Ada [NP menikmati pencen] [PP antara mereka].

            be   enjoy   pension   among 3PL

        b.   *[TopicP [NP Menikmati pencen] [IP ada [PP antara mereka]].

4.2.3 *(Ada)* Q (PART) NP XP

The last pattern concerns the following two sentences. (16) is minimally different from (15) in that it has the verb *ada* 'to be/to have' at the beginning of the sentence.

(15)   … ramai juga anak-anak kampung pergi bekerja ke bandar-bandar besar ….[1]

          many also native   village   go   work   to city   big

      '… there are also many villagers who go to work in big cities ….'

<div align="right">(Utusan Malaysia, 22/12/2002)</div>

(16)   *Ada* ramai juga anak-anak kampung pergi bekerja ke bandar-bandar besar.

(15) indicates that some quantificational adjectives also partake in complex existential sentences (e.g. *ramai* 'many', *banyak* 'many', *sedikit* 'a few/little' etc.).

   First, the structure of (15) is as follows.

(17)   [FocusP ramai juga [IP [NP anak-anak kampung pergi bekerja ke …]]]

Once again, I assume that the particle *juga* 'also' is Focus°. The adjective *ramai* 'many' adjoins to it. Another possible position for the NP *anak-anak kampung ...* may be in [Spec, TopicP] above IP, in which case the interpretation of the NP will change a bit.

   (16) cannot be analysed in the same way, although some Malay/Indonesian linguists claim that the difference between the pair of sentences like (15) and (16) results from the optional status of the verb *ada* (Sneddon 1996: 264). Such a view is pedagogically effective, but there are some instances to which it cannot be applied. (16) is one of such

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[1] It is worthwhile to cite the whole sentence since I think it a kind of linguistic gem. This sentence tells a lot about Malay grammar. Notice the underlined parts in (i).

(i)   "Inilah yang (a)<u>kita ingin lihat</u> kerana walaupun ramai juga anak-anak kampung (b)<u>pergi bekerja ke bandar-bandar besar</u>, (c)<u>masih ramai yang tak sanggup tinggalkan kampung dan bekerja di tempat yang terlalu jauh</u>," katanya.
        'This is what we want to see because although there are also many villagers going to work in big cities, we still have people who are not willing to leave their villages and work at places far away from there," he said.'

Firstly, (c) is a minimal existential sentence, whose complementiser is overt, namely *yang*. Just like sentence (15), it lacks the verb *ada* 'to be/to have'. Secondly, (a) is an instance of bare active or (see section 3.4.1) and the relativisation taking place here is that of object. Both of these two things have been claimed to be either nonexistent or wrong by some Malay/Indonesian linguists. Lastly, (b) is an instance of verb serialisation. What attracts my attention here is the use of the preposition *ke* 'to' but not *di* 'at'. This means the preposition is selected in accordance with the first verb *pergi* 'to go'. As can be seen in (c), the second verb *bekerja* 'to work' usually selects not *ke* but *di*. A theory of verb serialisation must consider this fact. See Uzawa (2005) for verb serialisation in Malay.

instances. This is because the verb *ada* does not select an AP, except the copula *ada* (cf. section 2.3.1). *Ramai* 'many' in (16) is not an adjective but a quantifier stranded by the movement of its associated NP. The surface order 'V-Q-PART-NP' is realised by way of the movement of NP from QP to [Spec, TopicP], followed by the movement of IP to [Spec, FocusP]. The resultant structure (18) is about the same as (8).

(18)
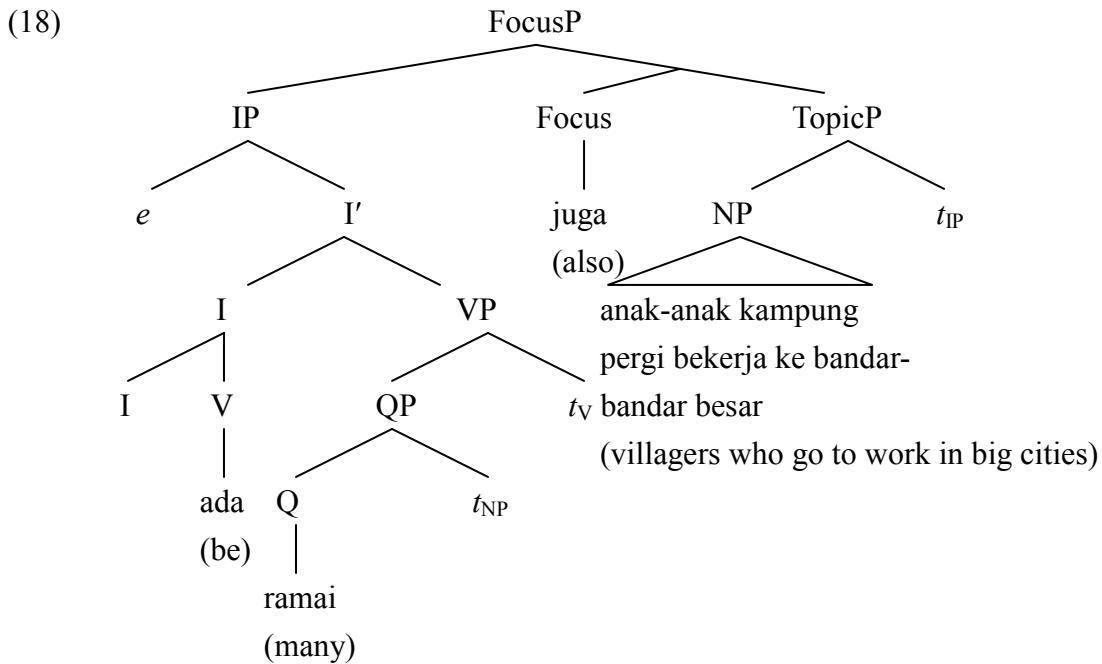
The structures proposed in section 4.2 are the best ones that I can think of at present. I must admit their rather conjectural nature. There might be some better alternatives. In order to make the argument more convincing, the understanding of the fine structures of NP (DP), IP and CP in Malay is indispensable, but as far as I know, no one has carried out in-depth research into them. Also, empirical facts concerning the actual interpretation of the constituents to which I allocated topic- and focus-related positions here must be confirmed.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

In the discussion thus far, a lot has been revealed about the syntax and semantics of complex existential sentences in Malay. At the same time, several problems have been pointed out too. This chapter summarises them and shows a further direction of this study.

In chapter 2, I defined existential sentences in Malay as those sentences containing a pivot verb in which the theme argument appears after the verb, often followed by location: V_{pivot} Th (Loc). I corrected a flawed judgement that I made in Nomoto (2004), i.e. that the incompatibility with the prefix *peN-* is a diagnosis of the unaccusativity of pivot verbs. This idea is basically on the right track. But it only holds under the condition that there exist corresponding *meN-* verbals. As this condition is never met, it is impossible to employ the attachability of the prefix *peN-* as a diagnosis of the unaccusativity of pivot verbs. I argued, however, that another nominal prefix *peR-* is a diagnosis. If it cannot be attached to the stem of a *beR-* pivot verb, that *beR-* verb is an unaccusative verb unless the absence of *peR-* nominal is an accidental gap. The only instance of such pivot verbs that I have found is *berlaku* 'to happen'. This verb does not have the corresponding *peR-* nominal form. *Pelaku* 'doer' is existent, but it is a *peN-* nominal form of the verb *melakukan* 'to do'. Therefore, at least *berlaku* is unaccusative and other verbs that exhibit the same syntactic behaviours as *berlaku* are very likely to be unaccusative too. This claim has two shortcomings. One is that it is based on only one concrete example, i.e. *berlaku*. Another is that the possibility of accidental gaps cannot be completely ruled out. However, there being no convincing evidence to the opposite effect, my claim is the best hypothesis at the moment. So I will continue to assume that pivot verbs are unaccusative verbs.

Chapter 3 discussed complex existential sentences, which has the superficial sequence 'V_{pivot} NP XP', where XP is the second predicate of NP. I maintained that they

are more than just the omission of the complementiser *yang* from its corresponding minimal existential sentences, whose structure is V_{pivot} [$_{NP}$ NP yang XP]. Two types of existential sentences are not completely the same both syntactically and semantically. Semantically, the NPs of complex existential sentences are more sensitive to the Definiteness Restriction. Syntactically, the putative relative clause part of a complex existential sentence cannot include a resumptive pronoun whilst the same part of a minimal existential sentence can. In order to accommodate these differences, I proposed different syntactic structures for minimal and complex existential sentences.

(1)   a.   Minimal existential sentences
                V_{pivot} [$_{NP}$ NP$_i$ [$_{CP}$ Op$_i$ [$_C$ yang] [$_{IP}$ … t_i …]]]
     b.   Complex existential sentences
                V_{pivot} [$_{NP}$ NP$_i$ [$_{CP}$ t'_i [$_C$ Ø] [$_{IP}$ … t_i …]]]

Although both types of existential sentences contain a relative clause, they differ in the way the relative clause is derived. In minimal existential sentences, there is a null operator and it is this null operator that undergoes movement. On the other hand, in complex existential sentences, what moves is the head noun of the relative clause.

Two issues remain to be investigated, both having to do with semantics. One is how to capture the difference in the sensitivity to the Definiteness Restriction, of the head nouns of the two types of existential sentences based on the syntactic structures shown above. Unquestionably, two distinct syntactic structures give rise to different interpretations. However, it is unclear why the difference should arise with respect to definiteness.

Another issue concerns the relation between the two analyses of relative clauses and the possibility of reconstruction. It is generally believed that the movement of the head noun of a relative clause allows reconstruction while that of an operator does not. This assumption led Aoun & Li (2003) to propose two different derivations of relative

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clauses in English. *Wh-* and non-*wh-* relative clauses show a systematic contrast with respect to reconstruction effects.

(2) a. The careful track (that)/??which she's keeping of her expenses pleases me.
   b. We admired the picture of himself$_i$ (that)/*which John$_i$ likes best.
   c. The picture of his$_i$ mother (that)/?*which every student$_i$ painted in art class was impressive.

(Aoun & Li 2003: 110-113)

Reconstruction effects can be observed in non-*wh-* relative clauses but not in *wh-* relative clauses. Thus, they claim that the former involves the movement of the head noun while the latter involves that of the *wh-* operator. Now, turning to Malay relative clauses in two types of existential sentences, it is predicted that only in complex existential sentences can reconstruction effects be observed if the structures proposed in this thesis are correct. However, I cannot verify this until an independent, preliminary study of reconstruction effects and related issues in Malay has been carried out. As I have stressed in the discussion of unaccusativity (section 2.2.1), relativisation (section 3.4.1) and islandhood (section 3.4.3), language-specific factors must be taken seriously when one attempts to apply a general theory to a particular language.

In chapter 4, I analysed actual data of complex existential sentences. In theory, both subject and object relativisation is equally possible in complex existential sentences. However, in actual language use, object relativisation is quite rare. Furthermore, I demonstrated that some non-basic patterns can also be handled by my hypothesis advanced in chapter 3. As I noted there, the analyses are somewhat conjectural because of the lack of sufficient understanding of fine structures of NP (DP), IP and CP in Malay.

Any study of a language like Malay is sure to make a couple of new significant findings as the language has not been studied well yet. The number of such findings will

grow when one acquires some theoretical perspective. This thesis, studying Malay from a generative-theoretical perspective, is no exception. This is the first study on complex existential sentences in Malay in the world, and has thus made many discoveries. I hope that it will contribute substantially to the development of Malay linguistics. But, at the same time, there may be as many shortcomings too, which call for further research. As I have repeated several times, in order to fully explicate one part of the grammar, an adequate level of understanding is indispensable about other parts of it. In my future research, I will examine those parts of Malay grammar which can help to resolve the unsolved problems of this thesis.

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Appendix I: List of Potential Pivot Verbs

This list is a collection of potential pivot verbs. The qualification 'potential' indicates that some of the verbs listed here may turn out not to be a member of pivot verbs as a result of further research on the pivot verb construction or other parts of the Malay grammar (e.g. inversion, topic-comment construction etc.). The nature of lists of this kind is always provisional also because we cannot exhaust all the items in the lexicon, since the lexicon of a language changes unceasingly. In the list below, the (a) sentence shows the pattern 'NP V_{pivot}' and the (b) sentence 'V_{pivot} NP'. Having both of these two patterns is the defining property of pivot verbs.

Sources of the example sentences
 (i)   Newspapers
  - BH: *Berita Harian*.
  - HM: *Harian Metro*.
  - *KOSMO!*
  - UM: *Utusan Malaysia*.
 (ii)   Magazines
  - DM: *Dewan Masyarakat*, November 2005.
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(iii)   Novel
  - KPL: Siti Rosnah Haji Ahmad. 1986. *Kisah Permaisuri Laut*. Kuala Lumpur: Arenabuku Sdn. Bhd.
(iv)   Dictionaries
  - KD: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka. 1994. *Kamus Dewan Edisi Ketiga*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
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  - KM: Abd. Aziz Rahman. 2000. *Kamus Milenium*. Kuala Lumpur: Federal Publications.

ada 'to be/to have'
   a. Gula dan kopi *ada* di dalam almari itu. (KD, p. 5)
   b. Tidak *ada* lagi binatang raksana sekarang. (KD, p. 5)
berdiri 'to stand'
   a. Bila guru masuk murid-murid *berdiri*. (KKF, p. 140)
   b. Di sebelah katilnya itu *berdiri* dua orang jururawat dan seorang pembantu kesihatan. (DM, p. 61)
berlaku 'to happen'
   a. Satu kebakaran telah *berlaku* di kampung itu. (KKF, p. 303)
   b. Pada 1969 *berlaku* rusuhan kaum hingga membuatkan negara diserang keganasan dan ekonomi

tidak dapat dimajukan tetapi kepimpinan negara tetap berpegang kepada prinsip bekerjasama. (UM, 15/10/2002)

datang 'to come'

a. Bapa Kumari baru *datang* dari India. (KKF, p. 129)

b. "Mereka berpindah mengikut binatang ternakan mereka mereka berpecah kepada berpuluh-puluh suku kaum tetapi apabila *datang* seorang yang bernama Genghis Khan, dia berjaya secara paksa dengan menggunakan tenteranya untuk menyatu padu bangsa dan suku-suku kaum Monggol ini," jelasnya. (UM, 04/01/2002)

duduk 'to sit'

a. Mereka *duduk* di atas bangku panjang. (KKF, p. 143)

b. Di belakang meja itu *duduk* seorang Melayu yang sudah lewat umurnya. (Shoho 1998: 26)

habis 'to finish'

a. Pertunjukan pertama sudah *habis*. (KD, p. 422)

b. PADA ketika rakan-rakan sekelasnya bergegas ke pusat tuisyen sebaik *habis* waktu persekolahan, Amar membuka bungkusan nasi lemak yang dibelinya sejak sebelum sampai ke sekolah pagi tadi. (BH, 11/12/2005)

hadir 'to be present'

a. Ramai orang *hadir* di pesta itu. (KKF, p. 189)

b. Turut *hadir* Ketua Pengarah JPH, Datuk Dr Hawari Hussein. (BH, 20/08/2004)

hilang 'to be lost'

a. Perasaan marahnya belum *hilang* lagi. (KD, p. 456)

b. Orang ramai telah *hilang* perhitungan dan terus menikam lawannya. (KD, p. 456)

kedengaran 'to hear'

a. Suara penyanyi itu *kedengaran* dari jauh. (KKF, p. 134)

b. Dari jauh *kedengaran* bunyi loceng sayup-sayup dibawa angin. (KD, p. 290)

kehabisan 'to run out'

a. Lekas, 'intan kami' akan *kehabisan*. (UM, 15/06/1990)

b. Keretanya *kehabisan* minyak dalam perjalanan. (KKF, p. 188)

kelihatan 'to be seen'

a. Lampu-lampu di kelong itu *kelihatan* dari pantai. (KKF, p. 327)

b. *Kelihatan* di kiri Yang Dipertua Negeri Melaka, Tun Syed Ahmad Shahbuddin. (UM, 13/07/1990)

keluar 'to come/go out'

a. Kata-kata yang sayu itu *keluar* dengan suara yang putus-putus. (KD, p. 619)

b. Jadi *keluar* benda-benda tak sepatutnya. (UM, 28/09/2002)

meleleh 'to trickle'

a. Air matanya *meleleh* mendengar cerita sedih itu. (KKF, p. 319)

b. *Meleleh* saliva kalau dok renung gambar dia ni lama-lama. (Utopia 60, 15/06/2005)

menitis 'to drop'

a. Air hujan *menitis* dari bumbung yang bocor itu. (KKF, p. 524)

b. *Menitis* air mata Mazz dibuatnya. (HM, 27/11/2005)

muncul 'to appear'

    a. Majlis menjadi gamat apabila kumpulan metal Amok *muncul* dengan persembahan bertenaga menerusi lagu Dikir Timur, Aku Mahu Pulang dan Akar dan Bumi. (UM, 15/09/2002)

    b. Sedang kita berbual-bual, *muncul* si Ahmad. (KKF, p. 361)

nampak 'to see'

    a. Rumahnya tidak *nampak* dari sini. (KD, p. 920)

    b. Saya *nampak* bulan di langit. (KKF, p. 365)

putus 'to cut off'

    a. Pertunangannya dengan gadis itu telah *putus*. (KKF, p. 413)

    b. Adakah sesiapa yang mengajarnya mengucap ketika *putus* nafasnya? (DM, p. 61)

selesai 'to finish'

    a. Kerja saya sudah *selesai*. (KKF, p. 460)

    b. "Sebenarnya, proses rakaman ini sudah bermula pada hari ini keempat sebaik sahaja *selesai* Konsert Akhir AF3, awal Ogos lalu," jelasnya. (UM, 16/09/2005)

tamat 'to end'

    a. Siaran televisyen *tamat* pada pukul 12.00 tengah malam. (KKF, p. 497)

    b. Justeru apabila *tamat* pengajian, masing-masing membawa haluan hidup sendiri. (KOSMO!, 02/06/2005)

terbayang(-bayang) 'to be seen'

    a. Wajah anaknya *terbayang* di matanya. (KD, p. 119)

    b. Sebut saja namanya, *terbayang* suasana meriah, ceria dan riuh-rendah dengan pengunjung, khususnya pada waktu malam. (HM, 30/10/2005)

terbentang 'to stretch'

    a. Bagi 130 orang guru dan 2,700 pelajar Sekolah Menengah Kebangsaan (SMK) Tun Abang Haji Openg, Petra Jaya, Kuching, tiada yang lebih seronok dan bangga melihat bendera yang mereka hasilkan kini *terbentang* megah di kawasan sekolah. (UM, 20/08/2002)

    b. Di depannya, *terbentang* luas laut biru cantik dengan pasir putih halus dan di sisinya, di bahagian sisi chalet ini, disempadani Sungai Cherating yang memberikan dua pemandangan berbeza. (HM, 30/10/2005)

tercapai 'to be achieved'

    a. Strategi pelaburan yang diamalkan pada masa ini tertumpu kepada penstrukturan semula portfolio ASDI supaya objektifnya *tercapai* dan meletakkan ASDI pada tahap yang lebih stabil. (UM, 04/01/2002)

    b. Keamanan yang dikecapi negara, katanya, akan digunakan bagi meningkat pembangunan negara supaya *tercapai* Wawasan 2020 Malaysia sebagai negara maju. (UM, 16/12/2002)

tercetus 'to begin'

    a. Kontroversi filem Embun *tercetus* setelah ruangan Bisik Bisik Awang Sulung Mingguan Malaysia Ahad lalu membangkitkan isu belanja RM3 juta yang dianggapnya sebagai luar biasa. (UM, 05/09/2002)

    b. Bagaimanapun, tidak berapa lama selepas itu *tercetus* perselisihan faham sehingga menyebabkan

anggota polis berkenaan menumbuk meja dan mengeluarkan pistolnya. (KOSMO!, 02/06/2005)

terdapat 'to be found'

a. Ramah-ramah itu tidak *terdapat* di Jepun. (Shoho 1993: (27-2))

b. Di kawasan itu *terdapat* banyak pokok kelapa. (KKF, p. 127)

terhampar 'to spread out'

a. Sawah padi itu *terhampar* hingga ke kaki gunung itu. (KM, p. 221)

b. Di lantai *terhampar* permaidani yang indah. (KD, p. 434)

terjadi 'to occur'

a. Kebakaran itu *terjadi* disebabkan oleh kerosakan elektrik. (KD, p. 506)

b. Sebelum *terjadi* pergaduhan itu polis sampai. (KKF, p. 220)

terkandung 'to be contained'

a. "Kelulusan pembinaan pusat itu *terkandung* di dalam Rancangan Malaysia Kelapan (RMK8)," katanya. (UM, 13/05/2002)

b. Katanya, masyarakat perlu melihat kepada kepentingan ilmu agama yang di dalamnya *terkandung* pembinaan insan yang luhur dan murni. (UM, 11/09/2002)

terkerat 'to be cut'

a. Percakapan mereka *terkerat* oleh keriuhan di luar. (KD, p. 648)

b. Banyak panglimanya mati *terkerat* kepala mereka. (KD, p. 648)

terpancar 'to spurt'

a. Cahaya itu harus *terpancar* balik dari muka benda itu. (KD, p. 966)

b. Bagaimanapun, masih lagi *terpancar* kegembiraan di wajah setiap anak yatim selepas kami menyampaikan sumbangan duit raya kepada mereka. (HM, 27/11/2005)

terpelecok 'to be sprained'

a. Kakinya *terpelecok* apabila dia terjatuh. (KKF, p. 390)

b. Ia jatuh tangga, *terpelecok* kaki kirinya. (Shoho 1993: (30-1))

tersebar 'to be spread'

a. Berita kezaliman pihak Serb *tersebar* ke seluruh dunia. (KM, p. 625)

b. Belum pun reda kontroversi membabitkan pelancong China dikasari pihak berkuasa, kini *tersebar* klip video seorang wanita dipercayai rakyat negara itu yang dipaksa berbogel dan melakukan 'ketuk ketampi' ketika dalam tahanan polis. (BH, 25/11/2005)

terselit 'to be stuck in between'

a. Dia tidak dapat mencari duit syiling itu kerana ia *terselit* di celah lantai. (KKF, p. 460)

b. Di hati Nabila *terselit* harapan supaya keadaan dapat dijernihkan semula menerusi pengakuannya secara terbuka dan ikhlas. (BH, 26/11/2005)

tiba 'to arrive'

a. Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad berkata, masanya sudah *tiba* untuk rakyat keluar daripada imej sebagai bangsa pengguna, sebaliknya menjadi bangsa yang berinisiatif dan berinovasi. (UM, 24/02/2002)

b. Menurut beliau, sudah *tiba* masanya untuk PBS berganding bahu memacu kemajuan dan sama-sama berjuang dengan memberi tumpuan bukan sahaja kepada soal kemudahan infrastruktur

tetapi juga menangani isu kemiskinan serta ketidakseimbangan agihan kekayaan. (UM, 24/01/2002)

timbul 'to arise'

    a. "Isu lebihan bekalan air tidak *timbul* sebab kita sendiri yang mengawal pengeluaran air dan ini turut disokong oleh keperluan semasa yang sentiasa meningkat daripada industri berat tempatan," katanya. (UM, 08/04/2002)

    b. Beliau menegaskan, tidak *timbul* isu siasatan kes-kes korporat besar sengaja dilewat-lewatkan sebaliknya BPR tetap berusaha menyelesaikan apa juga kes dengan baik dan tepat. (UM, 24/10/2002)

tinggal 'to stay'

    a. Gopal *tinggal* di Jalan Raja. (KKF, p. 522)

    b. Di pinggir sebuah hutan *tinggal* dua orang peladang. (KPL, p. 17)

turun 'to decrease'

    a. Harga getah sudah *turun*. (KKF, p. 534)

    b. Selain itu, "mereka tidak perlu membuat perlindungan nilai, yang merupakan kos menjalankan perniagaan, dan (dengan itu) tidak perlu menghadapi kemungkinan *turun* nilai matawang dan menyebabkan banyak masalah bagi penetapan kos mereka," katanya semasa menjawab pertanyaan sama ada tambatan ringgit berbanding dolar Amerika akan berpanjangan selama-lamanya atau sama ada akan tiba masanya ia kembali bebas. (UM, 05/04/2002)

wujud 'to exist'

    a. Menurut Dr. Mahathir, perasaan antiMuslim telah pun *wujud* pada masa sekarang dengan label 'pengganas' yang diberikan kepada umat Islam sedunia. (UM, 02/10/2002)

    b. Mujurlah bagi kita, tidak *wujud* permusuhan antara orang Melayu dan kaum Cina kerana Dasar Ekonomi Baru telah menaikkan taraf orang Melayu dalam ekonomi. (UM, 12/10/2002)

Appendix II: Complex Existential Sentences in Utusan Corpus

This appendix is a collection of complex existential sentences with the verb *ada* 'to be/to have' found in Utusan Corpus. See section 1.2 for information about the corpus. The numbers given at the beginning of each sentence shows the date of publication.

1. 04/01/2002: Beliau memberi contoh lokasi tapak yang dicadangkan oleh pihak sekolah, misalnya di Pulau Pinang banyak yang tidak sesuai sehingga **ada** projek langsung tidak boleh dimulakan

2. 05/01/2002: Mohd. Najib yang juga Menteri Pertahanan berkata, dakwaan pembangkang itu ternyata tidak benar apabila **ada** di kalangan anggota Al-Ma'unah terbabit telah mengaku bersalah dan merayu tidak dijatuhi hukuman gantung semasa prosiding dalam mahkamah tanpa mengemukakan sebarang bukti bahawa peristiwa di Sauk adalah satu sandiwara.

3. 06/01/2002: Justeru, tegas beliau, jika **ada** rakyat asing datang ke negara ini, kerajaan akan tetap

menganggap mereka sebagai pelancong kecuali jika **ada** bukti kukuh mengaitkannya sebagai pengganas.

4. 09/01/2002: Di Malaysia, katanya, belum ada bukti kukuh bahawa **ada** rakyat di negara ini terlibat dengan kumpulan tersebut.

5. 12/01/2002: "Apabila **ada** orang bertanya, saya mengesahkan yang saya telah menikahkan mereka dan soal mereka mahu merahsiakannya itu perkara lain. Kita perlu menghormatinya," katanya lagi.

6. 12/01/2002: Daripada punca itu, katanya, polis memperoleh bukti **ada** anggota lain dalam kumpulan itu terbabit membunuh seorang wakil rakyat serta merompak senjata dari balai polis Guar Cempedak, Kedah.

7. 12/01/2002: Adakah semua ini disebabkan **ada** anggota keluarga mereka zalim, maka anak dan isteri mereka mati," katanya.

8. 12/01/2002: Justeru, beliau meminta pembangkang merenung apa perasaan mereka jika **ada** ahli keluarga mereka meninggal dunia, orang lain mencemuh bahawa itulah balasan orang yang zalim.

9. 12/01/2002: Menurut Dr. Mahathir, usahawan bumiputera perlu membuat penelitian mengapa **ada** sesetengah pihak dan bangsa berjaya dan ada pula yang gagal.

10. 14/01/2002: "Saya tidak tahu apa jadi sampai penuntut pun nampak ganas... ini kerana **ada** orang ajar supaya jadi ganas.

11. 18/01/2002: Jika **ada** di antara bakal haji berbuat demikian, jelasnya, Tabung Haji terpaksa menanggung kerugian.

12. 19/01/2002: Beliau menyatakan, Malaysia sanggup menerima pendatang negara asing dan **ada** di antara mereka telah diberi taraf rakyat Malaysia.

13. 22/01/2002: Malah ujarnya, **ada** juga syarikat-syarikat besar tempatan terbabit tidak langsung melaksanakan tadbir urus korporat kerana beranggapan ia tidak penting.

14. 30/01/2002: Pada masa yang sama, pihak polis juga telah memerhatikan **ada** antara penghuni-penghuni asrama telah memecahkan dan menterbalikkan kenderaan-kenderaan polis termasuk lori yang ditolak jatuh ke bawah tebing hadapan asrama.

15. 30/01/2002: Untuk menjadi orang yang beragama Islam, yang diwajibkan ialah naik saksi bahawa tidak **ada** Tuhan disembah melainkan Allah dan Nabi Muhammad adalah pesuruh Allah.

16. 01/02/2002: "Apabila **ada** pihak menggunakan Islam untuk dipolitikkan, keadaan itu akan berterusan dan ia merugikan umat Islam," jelasnya.

17. 02/02/2002: Mungkin buat masa ini masih **ada** kakitangan belum berpeluang menjadi penghuni Putrajaya tetapi mereka akan mendapat peluang tersebut apabila keseluruhan kuarters kerajaan boleh diduduki," katanya. Dr. Mahathir berkata, pada tahun ini,

18. 02/02/2002: Takkan tidak **ada** orang hendak ambil alih tugas itu," katanya.

19. 03/02/2002: Katanya, **ada** pihak khuatir akan timbul kekeliruan terhadap peruntukan undang-undang yang kurang jelas sehingga memasukkan pendidikan agama dalam bidang kuasa kerajaan negeri untuk mentadbir hal ehwal agama di negeri masing-masing.

20. 05/02/2002: Pada masa yang sama pihak polis telah memerhatikan **ada** di antara penghuni memecah dan menterbalikkan kenderaan-kenderaan polis.

21. 09/02/2002: "Setahu saya kerajaan negeri akan mengambil tindakan jika **ada** mana-mana pegawai

mengabaikan tugas mereka atau melakukan penyelewengan,

22. 13/02/2002: **Ada** kalangan pelajar Malaysia terpaksa menyertai pertubuhan ini kerana bimbang keselamatan diri mereka terancam," katanya.

23. 13/02/2002: Utusan difahamkan oleh seorang lagi pelajar Malaysia di sini, **ada** ahli pertubuhan itu turut hadir dalam majlis makan malam bersama Menteri Belia dan Sukan, Datuk Hishammuddin Tun Hussein di sini, kelmarin.

24. 14/02/2002: Datuk Seri Abdullah Ahmad Badawi menegaskan bahawa Malaysia tidak sepatutnya dilabelkan sebagai negara yang menyokong pertubuhan radikal Islam di Amerika Syarikat (AS) hanya kerana tuduhan **ada** bekas pemimpin negara ini memberi bantuan dana kepada pertubuhan tersebut.

25. 16/02/2002: "Tentulah perniagaan tidak dapat dijalankan, kalau negara tidak stabil dan aman sudah tentu tidak **ada** peluang baik boleh diwujudkan untuk para peniaga dan pelabur," katanya.

26. 17/02/2002: Beliau berkata demikian sebagai mengulas kenyataan Menteri Kebudayaan, Kesenian dan Pelancongan bahawa pihaknya tidak akan menghentikan iklan mengenai pelancongan di Malaysia dalam majalah Time walaupun **ada** pihak mendakwa keluaran terbaru majalah itu memburukkan imej negara.

27. 17/02/2002: "Ketika saya di Islamabad (Pakistan), **ada** pelajar-pelajar di sana jelas terlibat di dalam rantaian golongan radikal yang mengajar jihad cara ikut tafsiran mereka," katanya.

28. 19/02/2002: Mengenai dakwaan Perdana Menteri Singapura, Goh Chok Tong **ada** segelintir rakyat negara itu cuba mendapatkan sokongan rakyat Malaysia berhubung isu itu beliau berkata, kerajaan tidak boleh memberi reaksi berdasarkan laporan media semata-mata.

29. 19/02/2002: "Kadang-kadang **ada** mereka (rakyat Singapura) menegur apa yang berlaku di sini dan kita menegur apa yang berlaku di sana," katanya.

30. 19/02/2002: "Isu ini membabitkan ajaran Islam sebagai agama sejagat, jadi kalau **ada** apa-apa berlaku, rakyat berminat mengikuti perkembangannya," katanya.

31. 23/02/2002: "Kita hendak kumpulkan butir-butir terperinci dalam menentukan siapa yang terlibat ketika itu. **ada** antara mereka menikmati pencen dan telah pun mendapat ganjaran daripada kerajaan," jelasnya.

32. 26/02/2002: Menurut profesor di Fakulti Komunikasi dan Pengajian Media Universiti Teknologi Mara (UiTM), Prof. Hamdan Adnan, kerajaan harus mengkaji semula undang-undang sedia ada agar tidak **ada** pihak menjadikan institusi mahkamah sebagai landasan mendapatkan keuntungan dan ganti rugi secara tidak munasabah.

33. 28/02/2002: Suami isteri itu berharap **ada** pihak-pihak tertentu termasuk kerajaan sendiri dapat membantu anak mereka mendapatkan pinjaman atau biasiswa untuk melanjutkan pelajaran dan memenuhi cita-cita anak mereka.

34. 28/02/2002: Kita bukan kawal yang itu sangat tetapi jika **ada** orang boleh beri nasihat, kita dengarlah macam mana nak buat duit lebih," katanya.

35. 01/03/2002: Tegasnya: "Kalau **ada** sesiapa buat salah, itu adalah dalam bidang penguat kuasa undang-undang tetapi bagi kerajaan, tujuan kita adalah untuk selamatkan syarikat-syarikat gergasi yang mempunyai peranan besar dalam bidang ekonomi.

36. 01/03/2002: Malangnya, **ada** pihak terutama media asing gemar menamakan orang ini kononnya sebagai kroni kerajaan.

37. 01/03/2002: Contohnya, kata beliau, **ada** ulama berpandangan bahawa umat Islam perlu mempelajari ilmu-ilmu agama sahaja dan tidak perlukan ilmu sekular atas alasan tidak ada kaitan dengan agama.

38. 03/03/2002: Mengulas lanjut Khalil berkata, perkara berkenaan boleh dibincangkan semula di Parlimen kerana kerajaan sedar sememangnya **ada** soalan-soalan berkaitannya perlukan jawapan di Parlimen.

39. 06/03/2002: Katanya, belum **ada** sebarang jawapan diterima walaupun surat peletakan jawatan telah dihantar kepada Presiden parti, Datin Seri Dr. Wan Azizah Wan Ismail kira-kira sebulan lalu.

40. 09/03/2002: "Saya akan dapat pejam mata dengan rapat bila **ada** orang muda ambil alih untuk meneruskan perjuangan UMNO," ujarnya.

41. 11/03/2002: Ada lokap yang sudah lama benar dan dalam keadaan daif senang 'reban' (roboh) apabila dirempuh, sebab itu **ada** orang boleh lari," tegasnya.

42. 11/03/2002: Katanya, jika **ada** rumah setinggan penduduk tempatan dirobohkan dalam ops itu, kerajaan negeri akan berusaha menyediakan tempat tinggal lain kepada mereka.

43. 11/03/2002: Bagaimanapun tidak **ada** orang dilaporkan terbunuh atau tercedera akibat serangan itu kerana bangunan tersebut telah dikosongkan selepas bot-bot penggempur Israel bertindak melepaskan tembakan menggunakan mesingan sehari sebelum itu.

44. 13/03/2002: Mengulas lanjut, Abdullah berkata, institusi Majlis Fatwa Kebangsaan tidak akan bermakna sekiranya **ada** pihak tertentu terus mempertikaikan keputusan yang dikeluarkan oleh majlis berkenaan.

45. 16/03/2002: **Ada** di kalangan umat Islam terjebak dalam kegiatan yang menyimpang daripada landasan Islam.

46. 18/03/2002: Menurut Abdul Hamid lagi, **ada** di antara pusat tahfiz itu tidak mengikut sukatan pelajaran yang ditetapkan.

47. 22/03/2002: Menurut Dr. Mahathir lagi, walaupun belum **ada** sebarang keputusan diambil, tetapi Poland berada dalam senarai teratas untuk tujuan pembelian tersebut.

48. 22/03/2002: "Selepas itu adalah menjadi tanggungjawab pihak pengurusan menjalankan siasatan dalaman sehingga mendapati **ada** enam pegawai terlibat dalam pelaksanaannya, sebab itu siasatan dibuat ke atas mereka dahulu," katanya.

49. 28/03/2002: Sehingga kini katanya, tidak **ada** ahli pergerakan itu menarik diri daripada Puteri UMNO kecuali beberapa pemimpin yang melepaskan jawatan yang disandang.

50. 30/03/2002: Dr. Mahathir berkata, **ada** pihak cuba meniru konsep BN itu dengan menubuhkan 'pakatan pembangkang' tetapi langkah tersebut tidak berjaya memenangi hati rakyat.

51. 30/03/2002: Dr. Mahathir juga menyatakan Singapura harus menghentikan kerja-kerja penambakan tersebut kerana **ada** aduan mengatakan ia memasuki sempadan Malaysia.

52. 02/04/2002: "Bagaimanapun, tidak **ada** kaum atau agama patut dikutuk atau didiskriminasi hanya kerana orang daripada kaum atau agama tersebut terlibat dalam kegiatan pengganas," tegasnya.

53. 02/04/2002: Menurut Perdana Menteri, dunia menyaksikan lebih 100,000 Muslim di

Bosnia-Herzegovina disembelih tetapi tidak **ada** tindakan dibuat untuk menghentikannya sebaliknya umat Islam di negara itu dihalang dari mendapatkan senjata untuk mempertahankan diri.

54. 03/04/2002: "Dengan itu, kalau **ada** pelawat datang ke sini, mereka boleh jumpa terus dengan penyiar dan artis.

55. 04/04/2002: "Matlamat kita juga supaya definisi keganasan disatukan di peringkat antarabangsa supaya tidak **ada** pihak akan menggunakan keganasan untuk menekan satu golongan lain, katanya.

56. 05/04/2002: Beliau yang pernah bekerja dengan stesen radio dan beberapa akhbar utama Israel berkata, walaupun **ada** kalangan penduduk Yahudi tidak bersetuju dengan tindakan Sharon, namun ia tidak cukup kuat untuk menggugat kedudukan Perdana Menteri itu.

57. 05/04/2002: Sehingga malam ini, belum **ada** tangkapan dibuat.

58. 05/04/2002: "Tetapi nampaknya **ada** pihak sukar menerima takrif itu.

59. 11/04/2002: "Tidak timbul soal saya hendak meletakkan jawatan Ahli Dewan Undangan Negeri Beserah dan saya percaya **ada** dalang tidak senang hati kerana saya kini benar-benar selesa," katanya hari ini.

60. 12/04/2002: Kemudian, **ada** jiran arahkan saya selamatkan diri bersama adik-adik yang lain," katanya.

61. 17/04/2002: Menurut Halimah, **ada** mangsa melayan nafsu bapa sendiri kerana mengambil alih tugas ibu yang meninggal dunia atau bercerai.

62. 17/04/2002: **Ada** juga kanak-kanak menganggap ia adalah cara orang dewasa atau bapanya menunjukkan belaian dan kasih sayang," katanya.

63. 19/04/2002: Bagaimanapun, katanya, **ada** pemaju menggunakan taktik baru dengan memaklumkan kepada pembeli bahawa kuota bumiputera telah pun habis dijual supaya mereka boleh menawarkan kuota tersebut kepada bukan bumiputera selepas tempoh dua tahun luput.

64. 23/04/2002: Malangnya, tegas beliau, dalam soal ini apabila kerajaan menekankan kepada keperluan memiliki nilai Islam yang sesuai dengan pembangunan, **ada** pihak lain pula mengalihnya kepada soal politik.

65. 27/04/2002: Apa yang menyedihkan, tegas beliau, jumlah penduduk Islam dunia begitu ramai, iaitu kira-kira 1,300 juta orang tetapi **ada** di antara mereka begitu lemah hingga bila dibunuh di depan mata pun, tidak ada yang mampu menolongnya.

66. 30/04/2002: "**Ada** di kalangan mereka pula berjaya mempengaruhi pemikiran politik penduduk tempatan," katanya kepada pemberita selepas menghadiri mesyuarat Jawatankuasa Hal Ehwal Agama di sini hari ini.

67. 01/05/2002: "**Ada** juga anugerah diberi kepada mereka yang dilihat bukan penyokong kerajaan," tambahnya.

68. 02/05/2002: Pada masa sama, pertambahan pasar raya besar didapati mengakibatkan penutupan 'supermarket' sehingga **ada** sesetengah pekerja menganggur.

69. 02/05/2002: Sedangkan di Malaysia, kata beliau, untuk menjaga kepentingan pekerja tempatan, kerajaan perlu menentukan **ada** bidang tertentu dimiliki 100 peratus oleh rakyat Malaysia.

70. 04/05/2002: Menurutnya, beliau perlu mengingatkan perkara itu kerana meskipun Melayu membuktikan keupayaan dalam bidang tertentu, realitinya masih terlalu banyak sekatan minda

sehingga **ada** kalangan mereka tidak dapat mengubah cara pemikiran.

71. 12/05/2002: Dalam hubungan ini beliau berkata, bukan mudah untuk membangunkan negara meskipun **ada** pihak tertentu mendakwa sesiapa sahaja yang menjadi kerajaan boleh melakukan perkara itu.

72. 15/05/2002: Malahan, tegas hakim itu, tidak **ada** sebarang afidavit dikemukakan oleh pendakwaan untuk membolehkan mahkamah membuat pertimbangan.

73. 21/05/2002: Malah, mereka mendedahkan **ada** kalangan guru lebih menggalakkan pelajar lepasan Sijil Pelajaran Malaysia (SPM) meneruskan pengajian ke peringkat diploma daripada STPM yang didakwa membebankan.

74. 22/05/2002: Perdana Menteri berkata, mereka ini menjadi rakyat yang setia sekalipun **ada** segelintir di kalangan mereka cuba menjadikan negara-negara tersebut sebagai 'sambungan' kepada China dengan menuntut dipisahkan daripada kaum pribumi, mempunyai sistem pendidikan Cina, sekolah-sekolah Cina yang berasingan dan mengekalkan apa juga yang ada hubung kait dengan China.

75. 23/05/2002: Persatuan-persatuan pengguna mendesak kerajaan mengambil tindakan segera menyiasat dakwaan bahawa **ada** penternak ayam masih menggunakan bahan kimia nitrofuran dan chloramphenicol yang boleh menyebabkan penyakit barah kepada pengguna.

76. 24/05/2002: "Apabila selesai siasatan, tidak **ada** apa pun berlaku walaupun ada bukti kukuh," katanya tanpa merujuk kepada mana-mana kes.

77. 25/05/2002: Datuk Seri Abdullah Ahmad Badawi berkata, tidak **ada** sebarang arahan dikeluarkan kepada mana-mana pihak berkuasa untuk memberhentikan siasatan kes-kes yang disifatkan sebagai 'panas' dan mendapat perhatian umum.

78. 26/05/2002: Kata beliau, kesemua penumpang dikhuatiri mati setelah tiada tanda-tanda yang menunjukkan **ada** mangsa terselamat.

79. 27/05/2002: "Mungkin kita ada sedikit curiga dari segi politik dan mungkin **ada** pihak seperti parti pembangkang mengeksploitasikannya.

80. 27/05/2002: "Saya juga difahamkan **ada** 50 pelajar Malaysia akan mendaftar pada pengambilan baru Jun ini," ujarnya.

81. 30/05/2002: Abdullah menegaskan, tidak **ada** sebarang arahan dikeluarkan kepada mana-mana pihak berkuasa untuk memberhentikan siasatan kes-kes yang disifatkan sebagai 'panas' dan mendapat perhatian umum.

82. 01/06/2002: "Akibatnya tidak akan **ada** perogol dibawa ke muka pengadilan sebaliknya wanita yang dirogol pula menerima azab daripada 80 sebatan.

83. 03/06/2002: Gambar-gambar lucah yang memuatkan adegan-adegan berahi dua pasangan kekasih tersebut dikatakan semakin tersebar luas sejak akhir-akhir ini dan **ada** pihak mendakwa ia adalah rakaman kamera di sekitar kawasan tersebut.

84. 04/06/2002: "Kita yakin selepas krisis mata wang berlalu **ada** banyak peluang di Indonesia boleh direbut oleh pengusaha-pengusaha Malaysia.

85. 11/06/2002: Isu mengenai Manser muncul semula apabila **ada** laporan memetik seorang rakan aktivis itu menyatakan bahawa Manser telah mati tetapi setakat ini tiada bukti dan mayatnya tidak

ditemui.

86. 13/06/2002: "(Menteri Belia dan Sukan) Datuk Hishammuddin Tun Hussein juga telah memaklumkan kepada kabinet bahawa sudah **ada** IPTS bukan tajaan kerajaan berminat bekerjasama dengan Pergerakan Pemuda UMNO dalam hal ini.

87. 26/06/2002: "Saya menggesa jangan **ada** mana-mana pihak dalam atau luar negara membuat apa juga spekulasi terhadap sebab Dr. Mahathir hendak meletakkan jawatan kerana jelas keputusan itu dilakukan kerana beliau merasakan sudah terlalu lama.

88. 27/06/2002: Pengarah Eksekutif TRI, K.Y Lim memberitahu, walaupun penama Telekom dan KWSP dihalang daripada menghadiri mesyuarat itu, beliau percaya **ada** beberapa wakil dari Telekom menghadirinya.

89. 27/06/2002: "Kita tahu **ada** ahli UMNO sukar menerima kenyataan ini dan kita akan memberi penerangan sejelas-jelasnya," tambah beliau.

90. 29/06/2002: "Bagaimanapun, belum **ada** sebarang keputusan rasmi dibuat setakat ini termasuk bila cadangan itu akan dilaksanakan," katanya kepada pemberita selepas majlis penyampaian sijil dan diploma kepada 174 jururawat Kolej Kejururawatan Pusat Perubatan Subang Jaya di sini hari ini.

91. 01/07/2002: "**Ada** juga penerbit lain diberi peluang untuk mencetak buku teks ini, mungkin satu atau dua judul," katanya.

92. 03/07/2002: "Siasatan awal polis mendapati **ada** antara mereka mempunyai rekod jenayah termasuk kes rogol, dadah serta samun," katanya pada sidang akhbar di Ibu Pejabat Polis Kontinjen Selangor di sini, hari ini.

93. 04/07/2002: Dr. Mahathir, yang juga Ketua UMNO Bahagian Kubang Pasu berkata, keadaan sekarang berbeza dengan satu ketika dahulu apabila **ada** orang mahu merebut kuasa daripadanya dengan cara menumbangkannya dari jawatan.

94. 06/07/2002: Sambil mengakui rata-rata rakyat Malaysia bijak membuat pilihan, Perdana Menteri berkata, **ada** satu dua negeri terus berada dalam keadaan mundur kerana silap percaturan.

95. 06/07/2002: "Takkanlah kita nak jadi pemimpin selamanya, tetapi **ada** sesetengah orang nak jadi pemimpin sampai habis hayat," katanya lagi.

96. 07/07/2002: Saya tidak perlu mengikut syarat itu, saya teruskan juga (sehingga 77 tahun) dan **ada** sesetengah orang berpendapat saya patut terus berkhidmat sampai mati.

97. 09/07/2002: Dr. Mahathir berkata, **ada** pihak mendakwa demokrasi di negara ini hanya akan wujud jika kerajaan seringkali bertukar seperti mana yang berlaku di beberapa negara lain.

98. 09/07/2002: Beliau berkata, jika Rang Undang-Undang Jenayah Syariah (Qisas dan Hudud) yang dibentangkan di Dewan Undangan Negeri Terengganu dilaksanakan maka akan berlaku penganiayaan kerana **ada** pihak (umat Islam) menerima hukuman berat manakala pihak lain pula menerima hukuman ringan.

99. 13/07/2002: "Kita tahu **ada** kenderaan balak memang tidak diselenggara dengan baik," katanya sambil menambah, polis akan menjalankan siasatan terperinci untuk mengenal pasti punca sebenar kejadian.

100. 14/07/2002: "**Ada** di kalangan pengunjung dikatakan tidak mengetahui minuman tersebut mengandungi dadah dan pil khayal," katanya pada sidang akhbar selepas menyerahkan tugasnya

kepada Datuk Mamat Talib di Bukit Aman di sini, hari ini.

101. 15/07/2002: "Saya tak tahulah kalau **ada** orang buat sesuatu yang tak baik.

102. 16/07/2002: "Malangnya **ada** petani lebih mempercayai hasutan pembangkang," katanya pada majlis perasmian Hari Peladang, Penternak dan Nelayan di sini hari ini.

103. 17/07/2002: Ini kerana kata beliau, jika kes penyelewengan wang PPRT itu tidak diambil tindakan, akan **ada** pihak membangkitkan keraguan mengapa ia tidak diberi perhatian.

104. 17/07/2002: Boleh jadi **ada** tindakan-tindakan diambil untuk kelirukan rakyat dengan cerita-cerita yang dibuat seperti di Lunas.

105. 18/07/2002: Timbalan Perdana Menteri berkata, jika **ada** pihak tertentu meminta dokumen itu diserahkan kepada mereka untuk disimpan, pengundi boleh membuat laporan polis mengenainya.

106. 19/07/2002: Katanya, beliau kesal kerana masih **ada** rakyat memberikan sokongan kepada Pas yang terus mengamalkan cara kempen kekerasan yang bertentangan dengan budaya Islam dan orang Melayu.

107. 22/07/2002: Kalau **ada** satu komponen parti tak setuju maka permohonan itu tidak boleh diterima atau ditimbangkan," kata Setiausaha Agung BN, Tan Sri Mohamed Rahmat.

108. 26/07/2002: **Ada** di antara mereka turut tertanya sudah hampirkah tarikh pilihan raya umum dengan kenyataan Perdana Menteri itu.

109. 26/07/2002: Perdana Menteri Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad berkata, cadangan Nik Aziz itu boleh menuju ke arah diktator kerana apabila hanya **ada** satu parti mewakili orang Melayu maka memudahkan pemimpin Pas itu mengawalnya kerana segala keputusan perlu dirujuk kepadanya selaku ulama.

110. 28/07/2002: "Tidak **ada** wilayah akan ketinggalan, sebaliknya semua wilayah membangun sama sebagai negara maju," tambah beliau.

111. 29/07/2002: Apabila **ada** ajaran politik diberikan oleh para pemimpin pembangkang ini seperti boleh memaki hamun, ia juga akan menimbulkan suasana yang tidak baik.

112. 29/07/2002: Pegawai telekomunikasi, Wan Hasnah Wan Ibrahim, 45, berkata, jika ada kemudahan seperti itu maka kejadian seperti **ada** pesakit mudah menerima bantuan dan sukar mendapat bantuan akan dapat dielakkan.

113. 30/07/2002: Ini ekoran pendedahan Ketua Setiausaha Negara (KSN), Tan Sri Samsudin Osman di Petaling Jaya, hari ini, berhubung **ada** kakitangan awam mengambil masa lama untuk minum pagi dan petang.

114. 30/07/2002: Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad berkata, kerajaan tidak bercadang memansuhkan sistem kad perakam waktu walaupun **ada** kejadian membabitkan kakitangan awam lewat ke pejabat.

115. 02/08/2002: Abdullah berkata, kerajaan sedar **ada** pihak tertentu akan terus menggunakan isu tersebut bagi kepentingan politik dengan cara memutarbelitkan fakta sebenar berhubung cadangan itu.

116. 06/08/2002: Mohd. Shukri menegaskan berdasarkan rekod sepanjang tiga tahun beliau bertugas di negeri ini tidak **ada** pegawai-pegawainya memohon tanah, malah, tidak ada yang menerima tanah daripada mana-mana pihak.

117. 11/08/2002: **Ada** orang fikir mereka begitu penting sehingga orang lain tidak berani bertindak,"

katanya.

118. 12/08/2002: Yang Dipertua Yayasan Dakwah Islamiah Malaysia (Yadim), Datuk Nakhaei Ahmad berkata, **ada** pihak tertentu menggunakan nama persatuan itu untuk kepentingan mereka dan diperalatkan oleh parti pembangkang itu.

119. 13/08/2002: Ahmad Said menambah, tanda tanya yang timbul ialah **ada** pegawai-pegawai muda kerajaan berbelanja mewah dan menjalani kehidupan sosial di luar kemampuan pendapatan mereka.

120. 14/08/2002: Ketika ditemui pemberita kemudiannya, Dr. Mahathir turut mendedahkan **ada** pentadbiran universiti kurang berusaha untuk merapatkan hubungan penuntut pelbagai kaum di institusi mereka.

121. 15/08/2002: Bagaimanapun, kata beliau, setakat ini tidak **ada** kes sedemikian dilaporkan sejak sayap baru UMNO itu mengadakan mesyuarat peringkat cawangan bermula 1 Ogos lalu.

122. 15/08/2002: Katanya, walau pun ketegasan mengenai masalah itu telah ditekankan kepada pelajar-pelajar tetapi setiap tahun apabila **ada** kumpulan pelajar baru, universiti itu terpaksa menghadapi masalah yang sama.

123. 18/08/2002: Menurut beliau, kekuatan masyarakat bergantung kepada kekuatan keluarga dan kalau dalam sesebuah masyarakat itu **ada** keluarga bermasalah seperti mempunyai anak terbiar, penjenayah atau menganggur, ia biasanya membawa masalah kepada masyarakat.

124. 22/08/2002: Beliau kesal kerana **ada** pihak tergamak menuduhnya berpura-pura sakit untuk meraih simpati dan perhatian.

125. 22/08/2002: Beliau yang juga menteri Pengangkutan berkata sebenarnya tidak **ada** arahan khusus dikeluarkan kepada beliau atau MCA tetapi beliau berseida membantu menjelaskan apa sahaja dasar baru kerajaan.

126. 23/08/2002: Malah, **ada** pula orang Islam menyifatkan pemimpin-pemimpin Pas itu sebagai 'Rabbani' _ mereka tidak boleh disalahkan walaupun perbuatan menyalahi ajaran Islam.

127. 23/08/2002: Suhaimi memberitahu, selain Singapura **ada** juga ibu bapa menghantar terus anak-anak mereka ke Australia.

128. 23/08/2002: Oleh itu, jika **ada** pihak mainkan isu-isu yang menyebabkan orang gelisah atau mungkin terlibat dengan kegiatan haram, kita akan ambil tindakan.

129. 24/08/2002: Malah, tegasnya, jika **ada** pihak cuba menggunakan tindakan undang-undang mencabar keputusan kerajaan itu, pihaknya akan berusaha mempertahankan pendirian tersebut.

130. 24/08/2002: Beliau diminta mengulas jika **ada** pihak tertentu menggunakan saluran mahkamah bagi menentang pelaksanaan bahasa Inggeris dalam Sains dan Matematik di sekolah terutama Sekolah Jenis Kebangsaan Cina (SJKC).

131. 24/08/2002: "Ia menunjukkan **ada** dari komuniti Cina setuju," katanya kepada pemberita selepas merasmikan Perhimpunan dan Simposium Generasi Felda SeMalaysia di Universiti Islam Antarabangsa (UIA), Gombak dekat sini, hari ini.

132. 27/08/2002: "Sebelum ada Pas orang Melayu semua bersatu padu dalam UMNO, tidak ada masalah (tetapi) bila ada Pas...**ada** mereka pun berpecah," ujar Perdana Menteri.

133. 28/08/2002: Ketua Pergerakan Puteri UMNO, Azalina Othman Said sedia ditentang jika **ada** ahli dalam sayap UMNO itu mahu mencabar kedudukannya pada pemilihan 2 November ini.

134. 28/08/2002: Menurutnya lagi, walaupun **ada** pihak berpendapat isu membabitkan Nik Abdul Aziz boleh juga ditangani mengikut Seksyen 298A, beliau menganggap pendakwaan Seksyen 298 lebih tepat.

135. 28/08/2002: Bagaimanapun, beliau berkata, setahunya sehingga kini tidak **ada** satu pun laporan polis dibuat oleh mana-mana pihak ke atas Nik Abdul Aziz.

136. 28/08/2002: "Di Jakarta pun **ada** beberapa aktiviti sukan ASEAN melibatkan rakyat Malaysia dan saya nasihatkan mereka supaya berhati-hati terhadap kemungkinan adanya gangguan," jelasnya.

137. 28/08/2002: Bagaimanapun, katanya, tindakan itu hanya boleh diambil sekiranya **ada** laporan polis dibuat terhadap Menteri Besar Kelantan itu.

138. 29/08/2002: Bagaimanapun, jelas beliau, tindakan itu hanya boleh diambil sekiranya **ada** laporan polis dibuat terhadap Nik Abdul Aziz dan pendakwaan pula mesti mengambil kira keseluruhan isi ucapannya.

139. 29/08/2002: Beliau mengulas kenyataan Azalina semalam yang sedia ditentang jika **ada** ahli dalam Puteri mahu mencabar kedudukannya pada pemilihan sayap kanan UMNO itu November ini.

140. 31/08/2002: Perkara itu bertambah hangat apabila **ada** pihak tertentu di Manila mendakwa 13 kanak-kanak kecil termasuk bayi meninggal dunia sama ada di PTS dan juga ketika proses penghantaran pulang mereka.

141. 04/09/2002: Bekas Hakim Mahkamah Agung, Tan Sri Harun Mahmud Hashim baru-baru ini berkata, walaupun **ada** pihak berpendapat isu membabitkan Nik Abdul Aziz boleh juga ditangani mengikut Seksyen 298A, beliau menganggap pendakwaan Seksyen 298 lebih tepat.

142. 06/09/2002: Datuk Seri Abdullah Ahmad Badawi terkejut kerana **ada** ibu bapa menghantar anak-anak mereka untuk belajar agama di Afrika Selatan sedangkan mata pelajarannya adalah sama dengan apa yang terdapat dalam kurikulum tradisonal pengajian agama di madrasah atau di sekolah agama rakyat di Malaysia.

143. 06/09/2002: Selain mengesan perbuatan memindahkan senarai pengundi ke kawasan tempat mengundi yang lain, tambahnya, KDN akan meneliti mengenai punca menyebabkan **ada** pengundi tidak boleh mengundi ekoran dakwaan adanya dua versi senarai buku daftar pengundi.

144. 08/09/2002: "Saya di Jeli sendiri pun seperti yang didedahkan oleh Menteri Besar Perak, memang **ada** orang Gerik mengundi di Jeli.

145. 09/09/2002: "Tidak **ada** pekerjaan diwujudkan, tidak ada industri, tiada kemudahan, tiada apa-apa.

146. 15/09/2002: Perbelanjaan RM3 juta untuk menerbitkan filem arahan Erma Fatima itu dipersoalkan kerana **ada** sesetengah karyawan dan pengkritik berpendapat kos pembikinan Embun tidak setanding dengan penghasilannya.

147. 20/09/2002: **Ada** antara kita sanggup mentafsir ayat-ayat al-Quran mengikut kehendak nafsu sendiri demi kepentingan tertentu dengan tafsiran dan terjemahan yang menyeleweng daripada ajaran Islam yang sebenar.

148. 24/09/2002: Sejak tragedi 11 September tahun lepas, usaha-usaha global untuk memerangi keganasan lebih menumpukan usaha-usaha ketenteraan dengan Amerika Syarikat mengetuainya, tetapi **ada** negara seperti Malaysia telah menyuarakan keazaman mereka untuk mengambil kira punca akar umbi keganasan dalam memerangi keganasan.

149. 25/09/2002: Kata Perdana Menteri, jika **ada** negara menentang sebarang tindakan terhadap Iraq mereka tentu mempunyai sebab tersendiri, bukan kerana mereka mahu menjadi susah.

150. 26/09/2002: Selain tidak mampu membayar perkhidmatan itu, **ada** antara mereka tidak melakukan rawatan kerana kekurangan pusat dan mesin dialisis.

151. 27/09/2002: Persaingan merebut jawatan Ketua Puteri membabitkan penyertaan Azalina Othman Said, Mastina Abdul Hamid, Raihan Sulaiman dan Mazibah Mohd. Zin semakin hangat, apabila **ada** kalangan mereka membuat kenyataan kepada akhbar menyentuh lawan masing-masing.

152. 27/09/2002: "Ya, memang tuduhan itu serius kata Perdana Menteri tak tahu baca Quran dan ini menjatuhkan maruahnya, maka sebab itu **ada** ahli (UMNO) kita ambil tindakan terhadapnya (dengan membuat laporan polis) dan ini terserah kepada pihak berkuasa," katanya.

153. 29/09/2002: Panglima Angkatan Tentera Malaysia (ATM) Jeneral Tan Sri Mohd. Zahidi Zainuddin mengesahkan bahawa tidak **ada** pegawai dan anggota tentera terbabit dalam kegiatan kumpulan militan KMM setakat ini.

154. 01/10/2002: "Sebelum ini tidak **ada** orang memberi harapan dan hari ini adalah pertama kali kami diberi harapan dan mendapat perhatian doktor, kami amat bersyukur pada Allah," kata ibu kepada empat orang anak itu.

155. 02/10/2002: Tidak **ada** sesiapapun boleh bergerak sehingga kami membuat pemeriksaan.

156. 02/10/2002: Mengenai perkembangan projek Lembah Bio, Perdana Menteri menyatakan pelbagai pihak yang dirancang ditempatkan di situ telah memulakan penyelidikan secara berasingan memandangkan belum **ada** bangunan atau kelengkapan dibangunkan.

157. 03/10/2002: Pengerusi Biro Pendidikan pergerakan itu, Dr. Adham Baba berkata, jika **ada** sekolah tertentu sahaja melaksanakan dasar bahasa Inggeris itu, matlamat mahu melihat penguasaan bahasa Inggeris khususnya menghadapi era mencabar sekarang hanya akan tinggal angan-angan.

158. 05/10/2002: Beliau bagaimanapun mengatakan sehingga kini pihaknya tidak mendapat maklumat bahawa **ada** arahan sebegitu dikeluarkan kepada bahagian-bahagian UMNO.

159. 09/10/2002: "(Tetapi) **ada** sesetengah orang mempunyai kepercayaan bahawa tidak kira betapa buruknya ekonomi, mereka mesti mendapat dividen yang tinggi, itu tidak mungkin," katanya pada sidang akhbar selepas merasmikan Persidangan Ekonomi Malaysia-China di Bandar Sunway dekat sini hari ini.

160. 11/10/2002: Selain tidak mampu membayar perkhidmatan itu, **ada** antara pesakit buah pinggang tidak melakukan rawatan kerana kekurangan pusat dan mesin dialisis.

161. 13/10/2002: Katanya, dalam proses tersebut **ada** sesetengah daripada mereka akan dihantar pulang, diberi peluang menetap di Malaysia dan ditentukan statusnya.

162. 15/10/2002: Anggota polis yang ditemui berkata, tidak **ada** sebarang kejadian tidak diingini berlaku dan kawalan 24 jam masih dijalankan seperti biasa.

163. 15/10/2002: Pelaksanaan bahasa Inggeris dalam Sains dan Matematik di sekolah tidak lama lagi masih dikaji sedalam-dalamnya oleh kerajaan berikutan **ada** pihak mahukan ia dimulakan di peringkat tahun empat dan menengah berbanding cadangan asal di tahun satu.

164. 15/10/2002: Menurut Dr. Mahathir lagi, beliau terkilan sedikit kerana **ada** pihak menentang pelaksanaan bahasa Inggeris itu sedangkan hasrat kerajaan adalah untuk melihat seluruh rakyatnya

maju dalam bidang pelajaran.

165. 21/10/2002: "Tentu **ada** beberapa orang lagi akan beri pandangan," katanya.

166. 24/10/2002: Siasatan kes-kes salah laku korporat melibatkan kerugian berbilion ringgit memakan masa yang lama kerana Badan Pencegah Rasuah (BPR) memerlukan bukti yang kukuh dan tidak mahu **ada** pihak teraniaya.

167. 25/10/2002: Bercakap kepada pemberita kemudiannya, Dr. Mahathir berkata kerajaan akan memantau masjid dan surau pada bulan Ramadan ini agar tidak **ada** pihak menggunakan waktu sembahyang sunat tarawih untuk berceramah politik.

168. 27/10/2002: Tidak **ada** kematian atau kecederaan dilaporkan berlaku di kalangan anggota pasukan khas.

169. 28/10/2002: Jumaat lepas, Perdana Menteri, Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad berkata, tindakan itu diambil berikutan **ada** sesetengah sekolah terbabit menyalahgunakan bantuan itu bagi tujuan politik.

170. 02/11/2002: Menurut beliau, polis menerima laporan pada malam Rabu lalu daripada bapa mangsa Rosdi Abdul Rahman, 29, peniaga pasar malam, bahawa **ada** seorang lelaki telah mengambil anaknya itu di rumah semasa beliau keluar berniaga.

171. 02/11/2002: Katanya, menurut laporan bapa berkenaan semasa beliau pulang ke rumah di Kampung Seberang Terus, seorang lagi anaknya Mohd. Shahrulnizam, 9, yang menjaga adiknya itu memberitahu Rosdi bahawa **ada** seorang lelaki datang ke rumah mengambil Mimi dengan menyatakan ia berikutan permintaan Rosdi sendiri.

172. 03/11/2002: "Jadi kalau **ada** sesiapa teringat nak masuk BN, kalau dia betul-betul ikhlas, kita terima, malah baru-baru ini kita terima semula Parti Bersatu Sabah (PBS) masuk BN," katanya pada sidang akhbar selepas menyampaikan ucaptama Konvensyen BN Pulau Pinang di Kompleks Sukan Balik Pulau di sini hari ini.

173. 05/11/2002: "Semua pihak berkuasa mesti mempertingkatkan kawalan mereka. **ada** penyeludupan senjata masuk ke dalam negara kita.

174. 05/11/2002: Timbalan Perdana Menteri berkata, tidak **ada** sesiapapun dari negara luar khususnya ejen-ejen perisikan boleh memasuki Malaysia dengan mudah apatah lagi kalau kedatangan mereka untuk melibatkan diri dalam satu institusi yang telah ditubuhkan.

175. 05/11/2002: Bagaimanapun, kerajaan mendapati **ada** SAR memberikan pelajaran yang tidak cukup untuk bekalan bagi masa depan untuk bekerja dalam pelbagai bidang.

176. 09/11/2002: Ditanya secara ideal, berapa lama sesuatu kes itu boleh dibicarakan, Timbalan Perdana Menteri berkata, walaupun tidak **ada** satu tempoh tertentu ditetapkan dan bergantung kepada sesuatu kes, ia mesti disegerakan

177. 09/11/2002: "Jadi bagi Mahkamah-Mahkamah Syariah yang lain, kalau ada kes seperti itu yang masih tersimpan dan tidak **ada** tindakan diambil terhadapnya, hendaklah dipercepat dan jangan tunggu dah jadi sesuatu dan orang tegur lambat, barulah kita sibuk nak buat," katanya.

178. 11/11/2002: Katanya, kerajaan mendapati **ada** pelajar SAR diajar membenci pemimpin dan berpendapat sekolah terbabit bukan sekolah agama sebenarnya, tetapi sekolah politik.

179. 11/11/2002: Menurut beliau, Muhd. Fakhrul kelihatan stabil dan tidak **ada** apa-apa yang luar biasa berlaku ke atasnya selepas pembedahan.

180. 13/11/2002: Tambahnya, jawatankuasa khas itu juga belum memutuskan tindakan yang akan diambil jika **ada** warga negara terbabit enggan mengikuti program berkenaan.

181. 14/11/2002: "**Ada** sumber memberitahu kita bahawa prosedur itu dikenakan terhadap rakyat Malaysia ke negara itu bukan sebagaimana yang disiarkan di media," katanya kepada pemberita di sini hari ini.

182. 17/11/2002: "Kita tidak menolak kemungkinan **ada** di antara mereka itu cuba membantu satu sama lain tetapi turut lemas berdasarkan mayat mereka yang ditemui berdekatan," katanya.

183. 22/11/2002: Beliau berkata, masih belum **ada** sebarang tangkapan dibuat setakat ini dan siasatan dilakukanmengikut Seksyen 148 Kanun Keseksaan kerana merusuh dan Seksyen 384 Kanun Keseksaan kerana memeras ugut.

184. 28/11/2002: Berikutan itu, ramai guru agama menganggur dan akhirnya **ada** di antara mereka membuka sekolah agama sendiri untuk mengajar agama dan mendapatkan wang daripadanya.

185. 29/11/2002: "Pada mulanya, saya ingat **ada** perompak masuk ke rumah tetapi tiba-tiba terdengar bunyi seperti taufan dan saya nampak sesuatu berwarna hitam melalui tingkap dapur," katanya.

186. 30/11/2002: **Ada** sekolah boleh Bahasa Arab sahaja, mungkin ada yang Bahasa Arab dan Bahasa Tamil, mungkin bahasa Arab dan Mandarin, bergantung kepada keupayaan sekolah," katanya kepada Utusan Malaysia di sini hari ini.

187. 30/11/2002: "Kalau **ada** laporan polis dibuat terhadap ahli UMNO lain atas masalah parti, maka MT akan mengarahkan Jawatankuasa Disiplin memanggil ahli tersebut dengan tujuan mendapat penerangan dan mungkin tindakan disiplin diambil termasuk dipecat," tegasnya.

188. 02/12/2002: Katanya, **ada** sesetengah sekolah kebangsaan pula telah bertukar menjadi "semi sekolah agama" sehingga ibu bapa bukan Islam takut untuk menghantar anak-anak mereka ke sekolah kebangsaan.

189. 04/12/2002: Bagaimanapun menurut Abdul Hamid, tidak **ada** keputusan dibuat bagi kedua-dua perkara tersebut.

190. 05/12/2002: Sementara itu, Gabungan Persatuan Penjaja dan Peniaga Kecil Melayu Malaysia (GPPPKMM) turut mengakui **ada** di antara peniaga kecil tidak membayar balik pinjaman bank serta pinjaman daripada beberapa agensi pinjaman yang disediakan untuk mereka.

191. 05/12/2002: "Saya tidak tahu tentang Thailand namun **ada** negara masih belum membuat maklum balas.

192. 11/12/2002: Mengenai cadangan membatalkan memorandum persefahaman menentang keganasan yang ditandatangani dengan Canberra, Perdana Menteri berkata, belum **ada** keputusan dibuat.

193. 12/12/2002: Bagaimanapun keadaan paras air di seluruh negeri ini masih lagi terkawal dengan jalan-jalan utama yang menghubungkan negeri Kelantan dan Pahang masih boleh dilalui seperti biasa walaupun **ada** di antaranya mula digenangi air.

194. 13/12/2002: Mengenai laporan yang mendakwa Kumpulan Abu Sayyaf menuju ke perairan Malaysia di Sabah, Ketua Polis Negara itu berkata, setakat ini tidak **ada** sebarang tangkapan dibuat.

195. 14/12/2002: Dalam pada itu katanya, kementerian berkenaan juga mendapati **ada** pusat-pusat latihan MLVK tidak menyediakan kelengkapan dan kemudahan lengkap untuk para pelatih.

196. 14/12/2002: Sehubungan itu, beliau memberi amaran akan membatalkan mana-mana permit latihan

MLVK sekiranya **ada** pusat-pusat latihan beroperasi secara sambil lewa.

197. 16/12/2002: "Tentu **ada** orang berkata, apa syok sangat apabila **ada** orang luar mengiktiraf kita?

198. 17/12/2002: Lagipun, katanya, **ada** di antara syarikat konsesi terbabit juga telah menjual tiket tol kepada pelanggan mereka sebelum arahan penyeragaman itu dikeluarkan.

199. 29/12/2002: Katanya, perbalahan telah berlaku di kalangan ahli Kumpulan M-16 kerana ada di antara mereka yang tidak berpuas hati dalam pembahagian hasil rompakan sehinggakan **ada** di antara ahlinya dipercayai telah dibunuh atas arahan Sunny sendiri.

Appendix III: Complex Existential Sentences in UKM Corpus

This appendix is a collection of complex existential sentences with the verb *ada* 'to be/to have' found in UKM Corpus. See section 1.2 for information about the corpus.

1. **Ada** orang nak betulkan tangki tu lah, nak cuci tangki tu

2. **Ada** Nanako berlakon.

3. **Ada** orang niatnya lain kan?

4. **Ada** budak kecik nak kawan lah.

5. **Ada** satu keluarga tinggal tau, sebenarnya, dia kata.

6. **Ada** seorang kakak tu berubatkan dia.

7. **Ada** member kepada member aku bagi [ha ha], aku pun tak kenal budak tu tapi budak tu bagi aku ambil ajer la.

8. **Ada** orang apa ni dengar lagu orang putih tapi dia orang tak tau situlah peringkatan.

9. **Ada** orang apa ni dengar lagu orang putih je ni, tapi dia orang tak tengok makna tersirat di sebaliknya.

10. **Ada** ke orang tu sibuk beli paku, buat lah air Yassin.

11. **Ada** orang panggil polong.

12. **Ada** orang tak percaya kan?

13. **Ada** orang terjun, terjun je lah

14. **Ada** orang tepuk aku ... Saad.

15. **Ada** kawan-kawan aku biasa jumpa aku mesti cakap aku Mix Chinese.

16. **Ada** orang buatlah.

17. **Ada** orang tak bagi dia kahwinlah.

18. **Ada** orang nak tengok la, macam 'renovate', bilik yang besar macam itu.

19. Eh, **ada** kawan aku cakap seram, ada cakap tak seram, ada lagi cakap tak best langsung.

20. (Ha), **ada** jugak orang bela.

21. (Ha), 'Hamster' **ada** juga orang bela 'Hamster' kan.

22. Kalau **ada** orang kuat sembahyang pun tapi semangat dia lemah, tak juga.

23. Kalau **ada** orang sakitkan hati tuannya, [hah],tuannya apa lagi kalau.

24. Kan **ada** makanan tu jual kat *Labohem?

25. Kita **ada** kawan belajar bahasa Jerman.

26. Macam **ada** orang masuk bilik [aar].

27. <Macam **ada** orang tarik kan, kat belakang>.

28. Malah **ada** remaja pun terlibat dengan dadah.

29. Mungkin **ada** orang jual.

30. Nanti **ada** orang naikkan bendera, ah lepas tu dah tu kadang-kadang pagi ada senaman, lepas tu masuk kelas belajar.

31. Nanti **ada** orang buat ni, buat tu /// sekarang ni jangan kata <orang luar> anak dara, jangan kata kira lelaki perempuan budak kecik-budak kecik orang-orang tua semua dibedalnya.

32. Tapi **ada** sorang dok kat KL, dia kata, yang tu umur dah 27.

33. Demam, mak dia [aaa] **ada** pengasuh lah jaga kat rumah.

34. Tapi tu [aaa], **ada** setengah orang boleh guna, **ada** setengah orang susah nak guna kenderaan awam ni.

35. Tu [aar], aku dengar [aar] **ada** orang bela pelesit ke, apa.

36. [Ha, ah], **ada** orang ceritalah macam seram jugaklah.

37. Dia kate dia ingat [ah] **ada** sorang lelaki datang bercakap dengan dia [mesti sentuh dengan dia] tak ingat jugak.

38. [Eh], aku **ada** satu benda tak faham [aah], nak tanya kau.

39. Kau tengoklah anak makcik aku **ada** seorang tu duduk Seremban kan.

40. Lepas tu nanti kita baca buku **ada** ayat ni pernah jumpa taklah kekok.

41. Lepas tu dia cakap, **ada** sesiapa pergi champing ambil

42. Habis idea, semua idea semua cakapkan je tak **ada** idea lagi nak cakap.

43. Denda, dia tak **ada** duit dia boleh bayar.

44. Satu hari, **ada** budak perempuan tu pergi champing.

45. Lepas itu **ada** budak ini telah kutuk kita '[a'eleh] kenapa kau suka benda Jepun ah?.

46. Dia buang dekat, apa <emm> dia macam lorong, orang ramai yang jumpa, **ada** orang lain kan jumpa, lepas tu dia bagi dekat polis, dalam masa yang sama yang pihak pengawal keselamatan dekat pusat tu buat laporan dekat polis juga kakak ku juga <Alhamdulillah la jugak> duit saja yang hilang /// jadi pengajaranlah untuk kakakku /// demi nak bergaya.

47. Tulah kita cakap kalau tanya budak-budak, kadang-kadang **ada** junior selalu pegi bilik (kak Ros) tolong orang terjemahkan ni.

48. Kadang-kadang **ada** orang sleep walking.

49. Lain kali kalau **ada** orang masuk nak merisik hampa, [haa] tolak lah banyak kali.

50. Itu pun kalau kampung **ada** orang cakap /// ada kesenangan kerja, tapi ye lah /// kampung tu tetap kampung kan?!

51. So macam petang-petang tu mengajilah budak-budak kan, **ada** cikgu dia ajar.

52. Tetapi sebelum ni [kan] **ada** kerajaan buat

53. Abis kalau misalan kan **ada** orang asing datang Malaysia, macam mana kita nak jelaskan kepada dia hantu-hantu kat Malaysia ni.

54. Abis tu, tak kan aku tak nak tolong-tolong /// tolong-tolong orang, kan **ada** orang nak kawin?

55. Lepas tu kan **ada** pulak orang cakap ditunda hari Rabu lah.

56. [Aaa..] kan **ada** rombongan pergi Indonesia tu.

57. [Aaa] dia kata **ada** orang panggil dia [aaa] suruh joint lah pergi kat pokok besar tu.

58. Mak dia pernah cerita dekat dia, kata **ada** orang nak pegi menengok, tau.

59. [Ha] kita **ada** banyak barang kan nak bawa balik?

60. kan lah **ada** orang nak ambik kan.

61. Melibatkan lebam-lebam [ke] ada macam ### **ada** bapa mendera anaknya, dia cucuk rokok [apa] ///

62. Naik motor dengan abang aku, aku nampak macam **ada** kain terbang kat atas tau, kain warna putih, tapi aku tak nampak bendanya la, tapi aku nampak macam kain terbang jer.

63. Aku baca benda ni pun kat majalah Mastika juga layang dia ceritakan, yang dua-dua ni lepas nikah kan, lepas nikah diorang nak balik kan, nak balik kat rumah mah mentua masing-masing tau, masa dia lalu lebuh raya tu tak alih-alih dia nampak macam **ada** orang lintas jalan tau.

64. Bila dah 12 malam macam tu kan dekat hujung tu macam **ada** perempun tu duduk dekat-dekat

65. Kalau macam **ada** orang nak kahwin kan, kau tahu tak kenduri kahwin? Pernah pergi?

66. Bagi budak-budak matrik 3.5, 3.6 ni macam tak ada makna biasalah macam **ada** seorang akak tu cakap jangan terkejutlah.

67. Itu la nak kata pergi kelas, mana **ada** orang pergi 4 pagi 3 pagi.

68. Kau ni mana **ada** orang kerja pukul 2 pagi.

69. Dulu mana **ada** pompuan tu boleh keluar rumah la, duduk dapur la, tak yah belajar pandai-pandai duduk rumah.

70. Tu aku baca lagi kat dalam syarikat besar diorang kan, mana **ada** pompuan jadi ketua.

71. Habis tu kalau dah pukul 10 tu makanlah, macam kekadang kan biasalah tadika kat dapur dia mesti **ada** orang masak, tukang masak dialah.

72. Morfin*, morfin **ada** orang guna lagi sekarang?

73. Dia nampak **ada** benda terbang.

74. <[haa?]> kira macam /// mak dia kata, kali ni **ada** 2 keluarga nak datang tengok anak aku! [he he].

75. Dia cakap, ni **ada** berita nak bagitau tapi ko jangan terkejut.

76. (A ah) sikit-sikit lawan, sikit-sikit jumpa ni **ada** hero baru datang hah lawan.

77. [Ha, ah], dewan kuliah ni pun **ada** aku buat hal. [He he].

78. (Eh) susahlah nak sambung ijazah sebab **ada** akak tu kenal dia, dia cakap susahlah nak sambung.

79. Lepas tu /// dah bikin-bikin semua kereta tu /// dah agak-agak [aaa] dah tak **ada** apa nak buat kat kereta kan /// dah abis dah orang kata apa make-up sini make-up sanabuang benda ni masuk benda lain ke apa ke kat kereta kan /// lepas tu dah tak **ada** apa-apa nak buat /// barulah fikir soal nak kahwin.

80. Tapi, kita juga bergantung kepada permintaan la..kalau, kadang-kadang dia masuk, bas tu tak masuk kalau tak **ada** orang nak naik kan.

81. Lagi satu faktor perpindahan [aaa...] maksudnya diorang anak-anak macam kita juga, kita dah keluarkan belajar, bekerja kat luar, dah tak **ada** orang duduk kat situ.

82. Apa, tapi **ada** orang kata toyol ni macam bayi yang dah mati lepas tu dipuja-puja.

83. 4 pagi, 4 pagi ker tiga lebih la macam tu, tengok **ada** lelaki pakai kain pelekat, pakai kopiah kan, pakai baju putih tengah berjalan.

84. Orang ni tengok tempe nak beli ke, tak beli ke terpulanglah **ada** orang kata dia bela, dia

85. Lepas tu tiba-tiba **ada** orang ketuk pintu

86. (A, ha) aku faham, yang cantumkan tu, maksudnya, kalau ditengok yang tapak tu **ada** berapa lagi tinggal yang tak bercantum?

87. Lepas tu **ada** orang kata jaga kalau orang macam tu, jalan kan dekat luar ke, dekat pasar

88. Tapi kan, sebelum tu rumah tu **ada** orang duduk tak?