



A GRAMMAR OF TOBA BATAK

KONINKLIJK INSTITUUT  
VOOR TAAL-, LAND- EN VOLKENKUNDE

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H. N. VAN DER TUUK

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## CONTENTS

	page
Foreword by A. Teeuw . . . . .	XIII
Preface to part I . . . . .	XL
Preface to part II . . . . .	XLII
Introduction . . . . .	XLVI

### PART I THE SOUND SYSTEM

#### I. SCRIPT AND PRONUNCIATION

1. Writing . . . . .	3
2. The alphabet . . . . .	3
3. <i>Anak ni surat</i> . . . . .	4
4. Pronunciation of the <i>a</i> . . . . .	5
5. Pronunciation of the <i>e</i> . . . . .	5
6. Pronunciation of the <i>o</i> . . . . .	6
7. The relationship of the consonants to each other . . . . .	7
8. Fusion of vowels . . . . .	9
9. Word boundary . . . . .	10
10. The pronunciation of <i>ʔ</i> . . . . .	10
11. The nasals as closers before an edged consonant . . . . .	11
12. The nasals as closers before <i>h</i> . . . . .	12
13. Double <i>s</i> . . . . .	13
14. The edged consonants as closers before <i>h</i> . . . . .	13
15. A closer <i>n</i> before <i>l</i> , <i>r</i> and <i>m</i> . . . . .	13
16. <i>R</i> as closer of a prefix . . . . .	14
17. The semi-vowels . . . . .	14
18. The accent . . . . .	19
19. The place of the accent . . . . .	20
20. The accent in derived words and words having a suffix . . . . .	21
21. The <i>bindu</i> . . . . .	23

#### THE MANDAILING SOUND SYSTEM

A. The script . . . . .	25
B. <i>K</i> and <i>h</i> . . . . .	26
C. Closing nasals before edged consonants . . . . .	27
D. <i>S</i> and <i>tj</i> . . . . .	27
E. Fusion of vowels . . . . .	28
F. Difference of sounds in Mandailing and Toba . . . . .	29
G. Reduplication of consonants . . . . .	30
H. The accent . . . . .	30

	page
<i>THE DAIRI SOUND SYSTEM</i>	
A. The alphabet . . . . .	31
B. The <i>ʔ</i> . . . . .	32
C. The <i>ʃ</i> . . . . .	32
D. The <i>ʒ</i> . . . . .	33
E. The fusion of vowels . . . . .	34
F. Equalization of vowels . . . . .	35
G. Nasals as closers . . . . .	35
H. Reduplication of consonants . . . . .	36
J. Difference in sounds in Dairi and Toba . . . . .	36
K. The accent . . . . .	38
 <i>II. WORD STRUCTURE</i> 	
22. Number of syllables in stem-words . . . . .	41
23. Closing consonants . . . . .	47
24. Trillers within a word . . . . .	50
25. Metathesis . . . . .	51
26. Metathesis with <i>s</i> . . . . .	52
27. The heavy syllable . . . . .	54
28. The lightest syllable . . . . .	55
 <i>III. SOUND CHANGES</i> 	
29. The vowels . . . . .	57
30. The consonants . . . . .	60
31. Less regular sound changes . . . . .	71
32. Inserted consonants . . . . .	75
 <i>IV. SPELLING</i> 	
33. Spelling and history . . . . .	76
 <b>PART II THE WORDS AS PARTS OF SPEECH</b> 	
<i>I. STEM-WORDS, DERIVED WORDS AND WORD-CLASSES</i>	
34. Stem-words and derived words . . . . .	81
35. The function of stem-words . . . . .	82
36. Word-classes . . . . .	83
 <i>II. THE VERB</i> 	
37. Kinds of verbs . . . . .	84
A. STEM-WORD VERBS . . . . .	84
38. 1. Type <i>bumbam</i> . . . . .	84
39. 2. Type <i>tindang</i> . . . . .	85
40. 3. Type <i>tanom</i> . . . . .	86

	page
B. DERIVED VERBS . . . . .	87
I. SIMPLE DERIVED VERBS . . . . .	87
41. Six classes of simple derived verbs . . . . .	87
<b>First class:</b> Verbs with the prefix <i>ma</i> . . . . .	87
42. Qualifying verbs . . . . .	87
43. Substantives used as qualifying verbs . . . . .	89
44. Intransitive verbs . . . . .	90
45. <b>Second class:</b> Verbs with the prefix <i>mang</i> . . . . .	92
46. <i>Mang</i> with stem-words beginning with a nasal . . . . .	93
47. <i>Mang</i> with other stem-words . . . . .	93
48. Intransitive verbs with <i>mang</i> . . . . .	95
49. Transitive verbs with <i>mang</i> . . . . .	96
50. Transitive verbs with <i>mang</i> and the suffix <i>i</i> . . . . .	98
51. Transitive verbs with <i>mang</i> and the suffix <i>hon</i> . . . . .	101
<b>Third class:</b> Verbs with the prefix <i>mar</i> . . . . .	107
52. Intransitive verbs with <i>mar</i> . . . . .	107
53. Transitive verbs with <i>mar</i> . . . . .	110
54. Intransitive verbs with <i>mar</i> and the suffix <i>i</i> . . . . .	111
55. Transitive verbs with <i>mar</i> and the suffix <i>i</i> . . . . .	111
56. Transitive verbs with <i>mar</i> and the suffix <i>hon</i> . . . . .	112
57. Intransitive verbs with <i>mar</i> and the suffix <i>an</i> . . . . .	113
58. The auxiliary <i>akka</i> . . . . .	114
59. The auxiliary <i>sama</i> . . . . .	116
60. <i>Maradu</i> . . . . .	116
61. <b>Fourth class:</b> Verbs with the infix <i>um</i> . . . . .	117
62. Intransitive verbs with the infix <i>um</i> . . . . .	118
63. Transitive verbs with the infix <i>um</i> . . . . .	121
<b>Fifth class:</b> Verbs with the prefix <i>pa</i> . . . . .	124
64. Intransitive verbs with the prefix <i>pa</i> . . . . .	124
65. Intransitive verbs with <i>pa</i> and repetition of the beginning syllable . . . . .	125
66. Transitive verbs with <i>pa</i> . . . . .	126
67. Transitive verbs with <i>pa</i> (cont'd) . . . . .	128
68. Transitive verbs with <i>pa</i> derived from numerals . . . . .	128
69. Transitive verbs with <i>pa</i> or <i>ma</i> and the preposition <i>tu</i> . . . . .	129
70. Transitive verbs with <i>pa</i> and the suffix <i>i</i> . . . . .	129
71. Transitive verbs with <i>pa</i> and the suffix <i>hon</i> . . . . .	130
72. Transitive verbs with <i>pa</i> and <i>hon</i> , derived from numerals . . . . .	131
73. <b>Sixth class:</b> Verbs with the prefix <i>ha</i> . . . . .	132
II. COMPOSITE DERIVED VERBS . . . . .	133
74. <b>First class:</b> Verbs with the prefixes <i>ma-hi</i> . . . . .	133

	page
<b>Second class:</b> Verbs with the prefixes <i>ma-si</i> . . . . .	134
75. I. Verbs with <i>ma-si</i> derived from a substantive . . . . .	134
76. II. Verbs with <i>ma-si</i> derived from the nominal form of a transitive verb . . . . .	135
76*. The auxiliary <i>be</i> . . . . .	135
77. III. Verbs with the prefixes <i>ma-si</i> and the suffix <i>an</i> . . . . .	136
78. <b>Third class:</b> Verbs with the prefixes <i>mang-si</i> . . . . .	136
<b>Fourth class:</b> Verbs with the prefix <i>hu</i> preceded by <i>ma</i> , <i>mang</i> or <i>mar</i> . . . . .	137
79. I. Verbs with <i>ma(ng)-hu</i> . . . . .	137
80. II. Verbs with <i>mar-hu</i> . . . . .	138
81. <b>Fifth class:</b> Verbs with the prefix <i>mangun</i> . . . . .	138
82. <b>Sixth class:</b> Verbs with the prefix <i>mangi</i> . . . . .	139
<b>Seventh class:</b> Verbs with the prefixes <i>mar-si</i> (or <i>mar-ta</i> ) . . . . .	140
83. I. Intransitive verbs without a suffix . . . . .	140
84. II. Intransitive verbs with the suffix <i>i</i> . . . . .	142
85. III. Transitive verbs with the suffix <i>hon</i> . . . . .	142
86. <b>Eighth class:</b> Verbs with the prefixes <i>pa-tu</i> . . . . .	142
<b>Ninth class:</b> Verbs with the infix <i>ar</i> and another prefix or infix . . . . .	143
87. I. Verbs with <i>um-ar</i> and the accent on the ultimate syllable . . . . .	143
88. II. Verbs with <i>um-ar</i> and the accent on the penultimate syllable . . . . .	144
89. III. Verbs with the prefix <i>mar</i> and the infix <i>ur</i> . . . . .	145
90. IV. Verbs with the prefix <i>mang</i> and the infix <i>ar</i> . . . . .	145
<b>Tenth class:</b> Verbs with the infix <i>al</i> and another prefix or infix . . . . .	145
91. I. Verbs with <i>um-al</i> . . . . .	145
92. II. Verbs with the prefix <i>mar</i> and the infix <i>al</i> . . . . .	146
93. III. Verbs with the prefix <i>mang</i> and the infix <i>al</i> . . . . .	146
94. IV. Verbs with the prefix <i>pa</i> and the infix <i>al</i> . . . . .	146
<b>Eleventh class:</b> Verbs with the prefix <i>ha</i> preceded by another prefix . . . . .	147
95. I. Verbs with <i>mangha</i> and the suffix <i>i</i> or <i>hon</i> . . . . .	147
96. II. Verbs with <i>marha</i> . . . . .	147
<b>III. THE SUBSTANTIVE</b>	
97. Number and gender . . . . .	149
98. The vocative . . . . .	150
99. The nominal form . . . . .	151
100. The passive: No formal simple passive in Batak . . . . .	152
101. The passive expressed by a substantive preceded by <i>tu</i> or <i>hona</i> . . . . .	153

	page
THE CIRCUMSTANTIAL PASSIVE . . . . .	154
<b>I. The first passive</b> . . . . .	154
102. The first passive without a pronominal element . . . . .	154
103. The first passive with a pronominal element . . . . .	155
104. The <i>poda</i> passive as a first passive . . . . .	156
105. The use of the first passive . . . . .	157
106. The use of the first passive (cont'd) . . . . .	158
107. The use of the first passive (cont'd) . . . . .	159
<b>II. The second passive</b> . . . . .	161
108. The second passive with <i>tar</i> or <i>ha</i> and <i>an</i> . . . . .	161
109. The second passive (cont'd) . . . . .	161
110. Stem-words constructed as the second passive . . . . .	162
111. The second passive: <i>tar</i> with intransitive words and sub- stantives . . . . .	163
112. The second passive: <i>ha-an</i> forms from substantives . . . . .	164
113. <i>Tar</i> before qualifying verbs . . . . .	164
<b>III. The third passive</b> . . . . .	166
114. The form of the third passive: The prefix <i>ni</i> or the infix <i>in</i> . . . . .	166
115. The use of the third passive . . . . .	167
116. <b>The extended passive</b> . . . . .	172
117. The form of the extended passive . . . . .	172
118. The meaning of the extended passive . . . . .	173
119. The extended passive in the dialects . . . . .	175
THE DERIVED SUBSTANTIVE . . . . .	176
<b>A. The active verbal substantive</b> . . . . .	176
120. The active verbal substantive with the prefix <i>pa</i> . . . . .	176
121. The meaning of the active verbal substantive with <i>pa</i> . . . . .	176
122. The active verbal substantive with the prefix <i>ha</i> . . . . .	183
123. The meaning of the active verbal substantive with <i>ha</i> . . . . .	184
124. Substantives with the prefix <i>par</i> . . . . .	186
125. Ordinal numbers having the form of active verbal sub- stantives . . . . .	187
126. The active verbal substantive circumscribed . . . . .	187
127. The active verbal substantive with the suffix <i>on</i> . . . . .	190
128. The active verbal substantive with the prefix <i>ha</i> and the suffix <i>on</i> . . . . .	191
129. The active verbal substantive with the suffix <i>an</i> . . . . .	192
130. The active verbal substantive with the prefix <i>ha</i> and the suffix <i>an</i> . . . . .	194
131. The active verbal substantive with the suffix <i>an</i> circum- scribed . . . . .	196

	page
<b>B. The passive verbal substantive . . . . .</b>	<b>197</b>
132. The form of the passive verbal substantive . . . . .	197
133. The meaning of the passive verbal substantive . . . . .	198
134. Nominal verbs . . . . .	205
<b>C. Other derived substantives . . . . .</b>	<b>208</b>
135. Substantives with various affixes . . . . .	208

#### IV. THE NUMERALS

136. The cardinal numbers . . . . .	212
137. The use of the cardinal numbers . . . . .	212
138. The ordinal numbers . . . . .	213
139. Auxiliary numerals . . . . .	214
139*. Nasal closing of the numerals . . . . .	215

#### V. THE PRONOUNS

140. The personal pronouns . . . . .	216
140*. Replacement of personal pronouns . . . . .	220
141. The demonstrative pronouns . . . . .	220
142. The use of the demonstrative pronouns . . . . .	222
143. Demonstrative adverbs of place and time . . . . .	223
144. <i>I</i> and <i>on</i> as adjuncts of time . . . . .	224
145. Reflexive pronouns . . . . .	224
146. Interrogative pronouns . . . . .	226
147. The use of the interrogative pronouns . . . . .	227
148. The indefinite pronouns . . . . .	231
149. The relative pronoun <i>na</i> . . . . .	234
150. The use of <i>na</i> . . . . .	235
151. The pronominal suffixes . . . . .	239
151*. <i>Ni</i> followed by pronouns instead of pronominal suffixes . . . . .	243
152. The pronominal prefixes . . . . .	244
153. The pronominal interjections . . . . .	254
153*. The use of <i>so</i> and <i>sowada</i> . . . . .	256

#### VI. THE ADVERB

154. The use of verbal forms instead of adverbs . . . . .	258
154*. The expression of a high degree . . . . .	259
155. Various constructions with adverbial function . . . . .	262
156. Adverbs of place or location . . . . .	264
157. Adverbs of time . . . . .	265
158. Sentence-adverbs . . . . .	266

1. *djolo* 266; 2. *nikkon* 268; 3. *sai* 269; 4. *hiján* or *hinán* 270; 5. *niján* 271; 6. *laning* or *ulaning* 274; 7. *apalá* 275; 8. *pala* 277; 9. *nunga* 278; 10. *las* 279; 11. *attóng* 280; 12. *tung* 281; 13. *bejasa* 283; 14. *namá* 283; 15. *lejatni* 285; 16. *naing* or *naeng* 286; 17. *hapé* 287; 18. *sahat* 288; 19. *ai* 289; 20. *atík* 289; 21. *malám* 290; 22. *ra* 290; 23. *adóng* 291; 24. *ro* 293; 25. *huhút* 294; 26. *maon* 294; 27. *hanuhon* 294

	page
158*. The expression of tense . . . . .	294

### VII. PREPOSITIONS

159. Prepositions proper . . . . .	296
1. <i>dí</i> 296; 2. <i>tu</i> 299; 3. <i>ni</i> 301; 4. <i>tijan</i> or <i>sijan</i> 304	
160. Derived prepositions . . . . .	305
161. Other words functioning as prepositions . . . . .	307
161*. Some cases where no preposition is used . . . . .	310

### VIII. CONJUNCTIONS

162. Words also functioning as conjunctions . . . . .	313
163. Some special words . . . . .	315
1. <i>dohot</i> 315; 2. <i>alai</i> 316; 3. <i>umbaen</i> 316; 4. <i>asa</i> 317; 5. <i>molo</i> 319;	
6. <i>atik</i> 319; 7. <i>hotsa</i> 321; 8. <i>djala</i> or <i>djana</i> 321; 9. <i>appe</i> 322; 10. <i>salá</i>	
or <i>asalá</i> 323; 11. <i>ija</i> 323	

### IX. INTERJECTIONS

164. Kinds of interjections . . . . .	326
I. Pronominal (see 153) . . . . .	
II. Ordinary . . . . .	326
1. <i>to</i> , <i>djo</i> or <i>o</i> 326; 2. <i>dogé</i> (also <i>dagóe</i> and <i>dogowé</i> ) 326; 3. <i>bo</i> 326;	
4. <i>li</i> 326; 5. <i>alé</i> 326; 6. <i>bawá</i> ( <i>baóá</i> ) 327; 7. <i>ináng</i> 327; 8. <i>oi</i> 327;	
9. <i>ba</i> 327	
III. Onomatopoeic exclamations . . . . .	328
VI. Words that are used in an exclamatory manner and which	
are in themselves a sentence . . . . .	328
1. <i>olo</i> 328; 2. <i>indadong</i> or <i>indaong</i> 329; 3. <i>na</i> 330; 4. <i>atik</i> 330;	
5. <i>maradatuwa</i> 330; 6. <i>da</i> 331; 7. <i>unang</i> 331; 8. <i>uwa</i> 333; 9. <i>hele</i>	
335; 10. <i>tehé</i> (also <i>tahé</i> ) 336; 11. <i>anggiát</i> or <i>agiját</i> 337; 12. <i>mari</i> 338	
164*. Substantives used as interjections . . . . .	339

### X. EMPHASIZERS

165. Various emphasizers . . . . .	341
I. <i>Do</i> 341; II. <i>Anggo</i> 346; III. <i>Ne</i> 350; IV. <i>Pe</i> 351; V. <i>Be</i> 358;	
VI. <i>Ma</i> 359; VII. <i>Ada</i> 368; VIII. <i>Ija</i> 369	
165*. The use of <i>na</i> as emphasizer . . . . .	369

### XI. COMPOUND WORDS

166. The form of compound words . . . . .	374
167. The meaning of compound words . . . . .	374
168. Compound words with pronominal suffixes . . . . .	378

	page
<i>XII. REPETITION</i>	
169. The form of the repetition . . . . .	380
170. The meaning of repetition . . . . .	381
171. Repetition of substantives . . . . .	382
172. Repetition of nominal forms . . . . .	384
173. Repetition of substantives with the suffix <i>an</i> . . . . .	385
174. Repetition of intransitive verbs with the infix <i>um</i> . . . . .	385
175. Repetition of verbs with the prefix <i>mang</i> . . . . .	386
175*. Repetition of the simple form of verbs with the prefix <i>mang</i> . . . . .	388
176. Repetition of verbs with the prefix <i>mar</i> . . . . .	389
177. Repetition of verbs with the prefix <i>masi</i> and the suffix <i>an</i> . . . . .	391
178. Repetition of verbs with the prefix <i>masi</i> . . . . .	391
178*. Repetition of verbs with the prefix <i>pa</i> . . . . .	392
179. Repetition of numerals . . . . .	392
180. Irregular forms of repetition . . . . .	392

### *XIII. REDUPLICATION*

181. Reduplication . . . . .	395
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### *XIV. REPETITION WITH CHANGE OF VOWELS*

182. Form of repetition with change of vowels . . . . .	397
183. Use of repetition with change of vowels . . . . .	397

### *APPENDIX*

- I. Specimen of Toba Batak script, with transliteration
- II. Specimen of Mandailing Batak script, with transliteration
- III. Specimen of Dairi Batak script, with transliteration

## FOREWORD

The book which is published here in English translation appeared for the first time in Dutch over a hundred years ago. Part I, *The Sound System of Toba Batak*, was published in 1864, whereas the much larger Part II, *The Words as Parts of Speech*, appeared in 1867.<sup>1</sup> In a period in which, seen internationally, linguistics was predominantly comparative and historical in its orientation, this book formed another important contribution on the part of Dutch scholarship to the description of the Malayo-Polynesian languages. During the period after 1850 there appeared a number of excellent descriptions of languages which until then were hardly known. Chronologically the first of these major grammars was Taco Roorda's description of Javanese, which came out in 1855.<sup>2</sup> In 1858 two grammars came from the press: one of the Ngaju Dayak language, by August Hardeland,<sup>3</sup> a German missionary who worked in the service of the Dutch Bible Society, and one of the Macassarese language, compiled by Benjamin Frederik Matthes.<sup>4</sup> Nor did this activity stop with Van der Tuuk's grammar of Toba Batak; several important descriptions of other languages followed; we mention only Matthes' description of Buginese,<sup>5</sup> Kiliaan's Madurese grammar<sup>6</sup> and Van der Toorn's work on the Minangkabau language<sup>7</sup> — leaving out all the work that has been done in the field of language description in the twentieth century.

It is remarkable that most of the older linguists worked in the service

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<sup>1</sup> *Tobasche Spraakkunst, in dienst en op kosten van het Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap, vervaardigd door H. N. van der Tuuk. Eerste stuk. (Klankstelsel). Amsterdam, Frederik Muller. Gedrukt bij C. A. Spin & Zoon. 1864.*

*Tweede stuk. (De Woorden als Zinsdeelen). Amsterdam. Dépot van het Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap. Warmoesstraat bij de St. Jansstraat, J. 48. Gedrukt bij C. A. Spin & Zoon. 1867.*

<sup>2</sup> Taco Roorda, *Javaansche Grammatica*. Amsterdam 1855.

<sup>3</sup> A. Hardeland, *Versuch einer Grammatik der Dajackschen Sprache*. Amsterdam 1858.

<sup>4</sup> B. F. Matthes, *Makassaarsche Spraakkunst*. Amsterdam 1858.

<sup>5</sup> B. F. Matthes, *Boeginesche Spraakkunst*. Amsterdam 1875.

<sup>6</sup> H. N. Kiliaan, *Madoereesche Spraakkunst*. 2 Vols. Batavia 1897.

<sup>7</sup> J. L. van der Toorn, *Minangkabausche Spraakkunst*. 's-Gravenhage 1899.

of the *Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap* (Netherlands Bible Society), which explicitly entrusted them with this scholarly work. Since its foundation, in 1814, the Society had among other things considered as its task making the Scriptures available to the peoples of the Netherlands East Indies in their own languages.<sup>8</sup> Its directors were quite aware of the fact that a prerequisite for a reliable Bible translation is a thorough knowledge of the language involved. As its first representative for the translation of the Bible in 1826, it commissioned Dr. Gericke to go to Java and study the Javanese language; in 1848 and 1849 there followed the appointment of Dr. B. F. Matthes and Dr. H. N. van der Tuuk,<sup>9</sup> while in 1850 the German missionary A. Hardeland, who had already been working for a long time in Borneo, entered the service of the Bible Society and was commissioned to translate the Bible into the Ngaju Dayak language.<sup>10</sup>

Among those mentioned, Herman Neubronner van der Tuuk was doubtless the most remarkable personality.<sup>11</sup> He was born on 23rd February 1824 in Malacca, then still a Dutch colony.<sup>12</sup> His father, Selfridus van der Tuuk, was employed there as Fiscal, as well as President of the Court of Chancery. His mother, Louisa Neubronner, was a Eurasian girl from whom Van der Tuuk, apart from some Asian blood, also received his second name. In the year of Herman's birth Malacca passed into the hands of the British; his father moved to Surabaya where he became a member of the Council of Justice. At about the age of twelve Herman, as was usual in those days, was sent to the Netherlands for his formal education. The social adjustment of the undisciplined boy to formal Dutch surroundings, first in the house of an elderly uncle and aunt and later, when that had failed, in a boarding school, gave rise to all kinds of difficulties, but his intellectual

<sup>8</sup> For the history of the N.B.G., see C. F. Gronemeijer, *Gedenkboek van het Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap, 1814-1914*. Amsterdam 1914.

<sup>9</sup> H. van den Brink, Dr. Benjamin Frederik Matthes. *Zijn leven en arbeid in dienst van het Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap*. Amsterdam 1943, pp. 13-22.

<sup>10</sup> Gronemeijer, *op. cit.*, pp. 84 ff.

<sup>11</sup> For the biographical information, quotations from letters etc., which are given in this Introduction we have plundered R. Nieuwenhuys' biography of Van der Tuuk (in R. Nieuwenhuys, *Tussen Twee Vaderlanden*. Amsterdam 1959, pp. 104-158) as well as his excellent and fascinating anthology of letters and quotations from and about Van der Tuuk (*De Pen in Gal gedoopt, Brieven en Documenten verzameld en toegelicht door R. Nieuwenhuys*. Amsterdam 1962). We are grateful for Nieuwenhuys' permission to use his books in this way!

<sup>12</sup> G. P. Rouffaer, *De plaats en datum van geboorte van Dr. H. Neubronner van der Tuuk*. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 63 (1910), pp. 172-175.

development apparently did not suffer because of these social problems. He completed grammar school and was admitted to the University of Groningen at the age of fifteen; in 1840 he registered as a student of law.

As such Van der Tuuk did not prove much of a success; in fact he never got further academically than the propaedeutic examination. Soon he felt attracted to the study of oriental languages; in Groningen he had already started to study Arabic. At the end of 1845 or the beginning of 1846 he went to Leiden, where he concentrated on the study of oriental languages; his main teachers were Juynboll for the study of Arabic, and A. Rutgers for Sanskrit, although Rutgers was primarily professor of Hebrew. For the latter Van der Tuuk always had the highest esteem, as a man and as a scholar. The present book in its original edition was dedicated to Professor Rutgers "out of respect and gratitude".

When the Bible Society decided in 1847 to send linguistic representatives to southern Celebes and the Batak area of Sumatra, it was mainly due to the representations of these professors that Van der Tuuk applied for the latter post, and that he was appointed. The definite appointment came in December 1847, and in the instructions dated December 8th, which were undersigned by Van der Tuuk, his main task was defined as follows:<sup>13</sup>

"Art. III. Immediately after establishing himself he will occupy himself with the study of the language of the Batta's, the compilation of a dictionary, a grammar and whatever may serve as an aid for others to study the language."

"Art. V. As soon as possible he will investigate which of the existing dialects is the most suitable for the translation of the Bible; afterwards he will commence, as soon as this is possible for him, to translate the Scriptures, starting with the New Testament, into that dialect of the Batta language."

Van der Tuuk was never happy with the second part of his instructions. In his early years his attitude towards the Christian religion had not been very positive, to put it mildly, and during his later life his objections and antipathy became even stronger. However, Van der Tuuk had not only an inner reluctance concerning the second part of his commission, but as appears from the Preface to the second part of his grammar, as printed below,<sup>14</sup> he also had material objections to the

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<sup>13</sup> Translated from Van den Brink, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

<sup>14</sup> Below, p. XLII sqq.

combined task of scholarly study and practical translation work. Not without good reason, he was of the opinion that scholarly research should precede the translation of the Bible, and should be carried out for its own sake. Nevertheless, no matter how often and how fiercely resisting his second duty he kept to his commission, and alongside his scholarly publications on the Batak language he completed at least a partial translation of the Bible.<sup>15</sup> For its part the Board of the Bible Society, in great loyalty and liberality, always maintained Van der Tuuk in his position and protected him, even though his utterances and behaviour time and again could hardly be considered compatible with the Society's aims and convictions.

After his appointment Van der Tuuk at once started preparing for his stay in Sumatra, among other things by studying the few Batak manuscripts which were at the time available in the Netherlands. He also went to London to study some Batak manuscripts. In the summer of 1849 he went to the East, and arrived in Batavia on 2nd September. After a short trip to Surabaya to visit his family he prepared for his departure to Sumatra, but his plans were temporarily frustrated by a serious and protracted illness. Only in 1851 was he able to go to the area of his destination; initially he settled at Sibolga, a small harbour town on the West Coast of Sumatra, about halfway between Padang and Kutaradja (Acheh). In 1852 he moved to Barus, somewhat further to the north, settling in a house of his own which had been built for him.

In Barus Van der Tuuk stayed and worked till the middle of 1857; in that year he was repatriated via Batavia, and was back in Holland on October 1st. He stayed in Holland for over 11 years, a period of broad scholarly studies and of working over and publishing his abundant materials. Alongside the translation of seven books of the Bible, there appeared in these years his four-volume Batak reader (1860-1862),<sup>16</sup> his Dictionary of the Batak language (1861)<sup>17</sup> and his two-volume grammar (1864-1867).<sup>18</sup> But this was by no means all. Van der Tuuk occupied himself intently with comparative linguistic studies; in fact,

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<sup>15</sup> In 1859 the Old Testament books Genesis and Exodus, as well as the Gospels of Luke and John appeared, followed in 1867 by Matthew, Mark and the Acts of the Apostles.

<sup>16</sup> Bataksch Leesboek: 4 Vols: I. Stukken in het Tobasch. Amsterdam 1860; II. Stukken in het Mandailingsch. Ibid. 1861; III. Stukken in het Dairisch. Ibid. 1861; IV. Taalkundige aantekeningen en bladwijzer, vertaalde stukken en inhoudsopgave tot de drie stukken van het Bataksch Leesboek. Ibid. 1862.

<sup>17</sup> Bataksch-Nederduitsch Woordenboek. Amsterdam 1861.

<sup>18</sup> See Note 1 above.

in this period, in some polemic pamphlets against Taco Roorda and his adherents,<sup>19</sup> he laid the foundations for a truly scholarly comparative study of the Indonesian languages. Other proofs of his broad interest in this period are his outline of the Malagasy language<sup>20</sup> as well as his edition of Homan's materials on Batavian Malay.<sup>21</sup>

After his main task had been accomplished in 1868 Van der Tuuk again departed for the Dutch East Indies, this time as the representative of the Bible Society for the island of Bali. After his arrival in Batavia political conditions on that island forced him to postpone his departure; there followed an intermezzo of fieldwork in the Lampong area (South Sumatra). For this research Van der Tuuk was well qualified by his description of a private collection of Lampong manuscripts which saw the light in 1868.<sup>22</sup> During this same period Van der Tuuk also occupied himself intensively with the Sundanese language.

Finally in April 1870 Van der Tuuk arrived at his new destination, Bali. There he spent the rest of his life studying the Balinese language, and especially Old Javanese or Kawi, the literary language of mediaeval Java which had been preserved on that island in hundreds of texts. The most important immediate result of this period is the four-volume Old Javanese-Balinese-Dutch Dictionary, which was published posthumously.<sup>23</sup> With this dictionary the study of Old Javanese received its first scholarly basis, which still has not been superseded. In the long run perhaps the enormous collection of materials which Van der Tuuk brought together during this period by buying manuscripts, copying them himself or having them copied by assistants, was even

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- <sup>19</sup> 1. Taco Roorda's *Beoefening van 't Javaansch bekeken*. Amsterdam 1864.  
 2. *Opmerkingen naar aanleiding van eene taalkundige bijdrage van den hoogleeraar T. Roorda*. Amsterdam 1864.  
 3. *Een Advokaat van den Hoogleeraar Taco Roorda*. London 1865.  
 4. De Heeren R., Koorders en Cohen Stuart naar aanleiding van hun schrijven over den Minister van Koloniën, en de Heeren Veth, Roorda en Engelmann in "de Javabode" (November-December 1864) beantwoord door H. N. van der Tuuk. Amsterdam 1865. Roorda replied in a paper "Bijdrage tot de Javaansche Taalstudie", in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Ned.-Indië, Nieuwe Volgreeks*, 8 (1864), pp. 75-124.
- <sup>20</sup> H. N. van der Tuuk, *Outlines of a Grammar of the Malagasy Language*. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* . . . New Series I (1865), pp. 419-446.
- <sup>21</sup> J. D. Homan, *Bijdrage tot de kennis van 't Bataviaasch Maleisch*. Uitgegeven door H. N. van der Tuuk. Zaltbommel 1867. J. D. Homan, *Handleiding tot de kennis van 't Bataviaasch Maleisch*. Uitgegeven door H. N. van der Tuuk. *Ibid.* 1868.
- <sup>22</sup> *Les manuscrits lampongs en possession de M. le Baron Sloet van de Beele*. Leyde 1868.
- <sup>23</sup> *Kawi-Balinesesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek*. 4 Vols. Batavia 1897-1912.

more important. The Van der Tuuk collection of Old Javanese texts, bequeathed by him to the Library of the University of Leiden, is indeed of inestimable importance.<sup>24</sup>

After 1870 Van der Tuuk left Bali only for a few short trips to Java. He never returned to the Netherlands. After his health had gradually deteriorated for some time, he died in the night of 16th August, 1894, in the military hospital at Surabaya, victim of an acute attack of dysentery.

As a linguist Van der Tuuk can without the least reserve be qualified as a great pioneer. Both in his study of the Batak language and during his work in the Lampong area and also in his study of Balinese and Old Javanese, he went into unexplored areas, not only in a scholarly sense. Physically too he pioneered in areas which had hardly been reconnoitred at all, and which had not yet been brought under Dutch sovereignty.

For example, he was the first European to reach, on a dangerous trip through the Batak lands from his station at Barus, Lake Toba in North Sumatra. He wandered on foot through the Lampong area in search of linguistic information and for more than 20 years he lived as a European recluse in a Balinese kampong. This solitude and seclusion from the European community in the Indies he sought consciously and as a matter of principle — not just because he was disgusted with this kind of European community in the tropics, or with civilized life in general. "In order to master a language one should be a European as little as possible, and take care not to have Europeans about one's place too often . . . . In the Lampongs I lived alone, and there I learnt more in three months than I would have been able to do (add: in three years?) in a large place."<sup>25</sup>

During his period of fieldwork in the Batak country Van der Tuuk also lived as a solitary European. This is not to say that he found himself in what according to present-day standards should be called an ideal environment for the study of Batak. The little town of Sibolga where he began his stay was a far from favourable location; it was unhealthy because malaria was endemic there, and moreover its Indonesian inhabitants were Malays rather than Bataks. However, Van der Tuuk took a Batak teacher as his companion, and through him he not

<sup>24</sup> For a recent description of this collection, see Th. G. Th. Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, 1968, Vol. II, pp. 112-244.

<sup>25</sup> Nieuwenhuys, *op. cit.* 1962, p. 168.

only soon acquired a good command of the Batak language, but also came into contact with many Batak-speaking people. In fact his house became shelter and lodging for Batak merchants and other visitors in Sibolga. Moreover, from Sibolga Van der Tuuk wandered far and wide throughout the surrounding areas; on these tours he visited many Batak *hutas* (settlements), made many contacts and in long talks collected much material.

From 1852 onwards Van der Tuuk lived in a much more favourable milieu; even though the Bataks in Barus were Islamized, their language and social structure were still genuinely Batak. It was about the closest he could come to the Batak area, as it was virtually impossible to settle in the interior at that time. Not only were the physical and material inconveniences of such a total isolation from European surroundings for a longer period too demanding for a scholar, but his safety would also constantly have been endangered in the interior, as became clear in 1853. During the long trip which finally brought him to Lake Toba Van der Tuuk twice narrowly escaped being killed and eaten by the Batak.

Even in Barus itself the solitude and the difficult physical conditions became too much for him after some years. To this should be added the discouraging factor of his ever-growing conviction that the ultimate task, the translation of the Bible, was a senseless undertaking which could never be brought to a successful conclusion. His letters dealing with the work from his last years in Barus bear witness to his depression and frustrations; as usual Van der Tuuk spoke in plain terms. Later on, when looking back on his work among the Batak, Van der Tuuk expressed himself thus in a letter to Professor Veth: "I could not help being in the service of a pack of saints who did not care a straw for study and who speculate on the pocket of pious cheese-buyers. I gave up and consider my mission a failure, even though we may have learnt something. All that has been done so far for the indigenous languages is in my opinion shoddy work. . . . Anyone who learns a language for the purpose of translating the Bible into it is nothing but a villain, and therefore I have more contempt for myself than for anyone else."<sup>26</sup>

It is highly doubtful whether Van der Tuuk in this retrospective view does justice to his direct superiors; it is quite certain that his evaluation of his own work is unacceptable for anyone who has occupied

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<sup>26</sup> Nieuwenhuys, op. cit. 1962, p. 109.

himself with it. The first part of his commission he fulfilled in a brilliant way. In his major publications of the sixties the Batak language was described and documented in a way which not only should be called grandiose for its time, but has still kept its value to the present day. In spite of the work done on Batak, especially in the field of lexicography, in the century following Van der Tuuk's books, not one of his three major publications — dictionary, grammar, reader — has yet been superseded.

In the introduction to the English translation of the grammar of Toba Batak it may be useful to explain in more detail the significance of this book in its time, and to determine its position in the larger context of Indonesian linguistics. It should be pointed out, however, that so far little has been done in this fascinating field of tracing the sources and writing the history of Dutch studies on Indonesian linguistics in the middle of last century. What follows bears of necessity a preliminary character, and a full monograph on this subject is badly needed.

What is perhaps the most characteristic element in the whole scholarly activity of Van der Tuuk is his conscious and convinced devotion to fieldwork, as the essential condition for real understanding of the languages and cultures of the peoples of the Indies. With a ten-year interruption for the preparation of his books on Batak he spent his whole scholarly career in the Indies — as such forming a near-absolute contrast with Taco Roorda, who in a lifelong professorship of various oriental languages at various institutions of higher education never visited a country of the orient, let alone ever engaging in fieldwork. To Van der Tuuk the study of a foreign language meant living among the people who spoke the language. This attitude had little or nothing to do with romantic feelings about living in some kind of paradise among the noble savages. If Van der Tuuk's letters provide reliable information in this respect, this solitary life was just a hard and bitter necessity under which he suffered, but which he accepted as inevitable for a man whose fate it was to study such exotic languages. To the above quotations many could be added from his letters in which he complains about this fate. We should point out that this kind of fieldwork as a basis for linguistic description was at the time a rare phenomenon, also when seen in a context larger than the Malayo-Polynesian.<sup>27</sup> In fact this tradition of "taalambtenaren" (government

<sup>27</sup> E. M. Uhlenbeck, *De Studie der zgn. exotische talen in verband met de Algemene Taalwetenschap*. Museum 1956, pp. 65-80.

linguists) and “taalafgevaardigden” (linguistic representatives of the Netherlands Bible Society) which was based on a stay among the “natives” of many years and which proved so fruitful in its results (not only in terms of the quantity of language descriptions, but also in the intimate knowledge of the cultures involved) has always been a rare phenomenon in colonial traditions.

On the technique which Van der Tuuk applied in his linguistic fieldwork something more should be said. He never developed an explicit theory on this point, and we can only infer from his publications how he worked and acquired his materials. Perhaps contrary to what one would expect in the second half of the twentieth century when speaking of linguistic fieldwork, it seems obvious that Van der Tuuk was not primarily interested in studying and describing the spoken language of the Batak. There can be little doubt that he soon developed a sound practical command of Batak; all our information confirms this. But his grammar is certainly not a description of spoken Batak. It is based on the written language; his written materials were for the main part written down for him by Bataks, or copied by himself from Batak manuscripts. His principle was that the description of a language should be based on texts as recorded by the speakers of the language. That this was a principle, not just a practical way of working appears, for example, from his criticism of Hardeland, who is blamed by him for having omitted to collect and publish texts written by Dayaks; in not doing so he prevented his readers from checking his description of the language, that is, he put himself beyond the reach of scholarly criticism.<sup>28</sup>

It is well-known indeed that Van der Tuuk not only diligently collected Batak manuscripts — among his legacy to the Leiden University Library there were 154 *pustahas* (bark manuscripts) and 29 paper manuscripts in Batak — but he also urged Batak people to write wherever and whenever he could. In the Van der Tuuk collection at Leiden there are 20 folio volumes, each numbering approximately 300 pages, in which treatises on the most diverse subjects, some of

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<sup>28</sup> “Etant missionnaire, M. Hardeland ne s'est nullement intéressé à la littérature du pays et a négligé de donner des morceaux écrits par des indigènes; nous sommes donc privés des moyens d'apprécier la valeur de sa traduction de la Bible et de ses autres ouvrages, qui se trouvent par conséquent hors de la portée de la critique scientifique.” (Van der Tuuk, *Les manuscrits . . .*, 1868, p. VI). In a footnote he adds: “Les Dajaks ne possèdent pas de littérature écrite, mais M. Hardeland aurait pu donner une collection de leurs tradition [sic]”.

them of great length, have been written by Batak informants, mostly in Batak script. It is from these that Van der Tuuk took most of his materials and examples for the Grammar.

It is also not accidental that his book starts with a Chapter on Script and Pronunciation, in that order, that is with the spelling and alphabet coming first. In this respect Van der Tuuk's book does not differ from those of his contemporaries Roorda and Matthes, whose descriptions of Javanese and Macassarese start with a similarly arranged first chapter. Yet it very soon becomes clear, from the contents of this chapter, that Van der Tuuk knew the phonetic facts of the Batak language quite well. Besides, from the fact that the first part of the book is called *Klankstelsel* (Sound System), it is already obvious that Van der Tuuk had completely surmounted the confusion between letter and sound, a confusion still widespread in his day.

Summing up, we can say that Van der Tuuk collected his information on the Batak language as described in his grammar primarily from materials written down by speakers of the Batak language. He did not neglect, though, to acquaint himself intimately with the spoken language, both on a theoretical and a practical level. His idea of fieldwork included both kinds of activities, as he was of the opinion that only by basing himself on as varied information as possible would he be in a position to give a full description of the language with which he was dealing.

More difficult than Van der Tuuk's methodology in carrying out linguistic research is tracing in detail his linguistic background and insight within the framework of his time. Little is known of the linguistic ideas of his direct teachers. At one point, when writing on the gifted linguist Engelmann who died so early, Van der Tuuk mentions as his teachers Rutgers and Juynboll, in one sentence with the scholar of Greek Cobet, the historian Dozy, the scholar of Dutch M. de Vries, praising them as "all men who keep to the facts and do not indulge in speculations".<sup>29</sup> It can hardly be denied that "keeping to the facts" was the basic attitude of Van der Tuuk as a scholar, but this does not say much on his position within the linguistic theories of his time. Which scholar anno 1860 could afford to pretend not to keep to the facts?

As long as no good survey of Dutch linguistics in the period between 1840 and 1870 is available, the only very preliminary endeavour which

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<sup>29</sup> Van der Tuuk, De Heeren R. . . . , p. 7.

can be made to get some idea of Van der Tuuk's linguistic concepts and views is by analysing his writings. Unfortunately he is rarely explicit on general or theoretical issues and his Toba Grammar he hardly ever mentions sources or names of authors. It is probably not to this book that we should turn in order to find out where Van der Tuuk stood, linguistically speaking, but rather to some contemporaneous publications by him. I refer to his fierce polemics with Taco Roorda in the middle sixties.

Taco Roorda's name has already been mentioned above.<sup>30</sup> Twenty-three years Van der Tuuk's senior, he had become a professor of oriental languages (mainly Hebrew and related subjects) as early as 1828 at the Athenaeum Illustre, the predecessor of Amsterdam Municipal University. In 1834 philosophy was added to his teaching task. In the case of Roorda too, it was the Netherlands Bible Society which, albeit indirectly, put him on to the study of Indonesian languages. As a member of the Committee for indigenous affairs of the Society, Roorda was concerned with the Javanese language, in connection with the translation of the Bible which in the first instance was entrusted to Gericke. A number of circumstances induced Roorda to apply himself vigorously to the study of Javanese, with the assistance of a Javanese informant and the Dutchman C. F. Winter who had a great practical knowledge of Javanese. Roorda soon became deeply convinced of the necessity of including language study in the curriculum of prospective civil servants; it was also due to him that in 1841 was founded in Delft a College for the Training of Dutch Colonial Civil Servants. In the following year Roorda was appointed professor at the College, among other subjects in Javanese. In subsequent years he published a great number of books, primarily as practical language aids and text-books. These publications found their culmination in his Javanese Grammar of 1855.<sup>31</sup> In 1864 the Delft Institution for the Teaching of Linguistics, Geography and Ethnography was transferred to Leiden, where Roorda became the first professor of Javanese.

This man Taco Roorda became Van der Tuuk's *bête noire*; in the period in which he prepared his Toba Grammar for the press he attacked Roorda with great vehemence. This was no mere chronological coincidence. The first pamphlet against Roorda, published in 1864, begins as follows: "Much to my regret I feel forced, before publishing

<sup>30</sup> For information on Taco Roorda see E. M. Uhlenbeck, *Critical Survey of Studies on the Languages of Java and Madura*, 1964, p. 45 ff.

<sup>31</sup> See Note 2.

my grammar of the Batak Language, to point out the mistakes which Taco Roorda, by starting from Javanese as a basic language, could not but commit".<sup>32</sup> Apparently the grammar itself was also a kind of settlement of accounts with a linguistic view which in the opinion of Van der Tuuk necessarily led to errors in the description of languages. Therefore it seems worthwhile to devote some attention to this controversy for which we also refer the reader to Uhlenbeck's succinct but lucid synopsis.<sup>33</sup>

It seems obvious that the acrid tone of Van der Tuuk's pamphlets cannot be explained from a mere scholarly difference of opinion. Personal acquaintance between both scholars seems to have been very superficial — in 1881 Van der Tuuk recalls that he had seen and spoken to Roorda only twice in his life.<sup>34</sup> However, Van der Tuuk had his reasons for feeling deeply hurt by Roorda. These reasons he revealed in a pamphlet published in 1865 in the form of a letter of reply to Dr. A. B. Cohen Stuart who had criticized Van der Tuuk for his tone in his first pamphlet.<sup>35</sup>

In this reply Van der Tuuk states that the real reasons for striking such a rude note with Roorda was that he wished to silence Roorda and prevent him from expressing himself in public again on Van der Tuuk. He reproached Roorda for having abused his authority and position in order to blacken Van der Tuuk's character, in the latter's absence and without his having an opportunity to defend himself. Van der Tuuk does not specify this accusation, and says that he himself does not know when all this took place. "This happened perhaps at the time that Si Singa Mangaradja saw in me a spy of Goepponi (The Dutch East India Company, i.e. the Government), whom he judged guilty and deserving of death at the slaughtering pole, in order to find his grave subsequently in the stomach of his fellowmen. And perhaps Mr. Roorda at the same time was sitting down, writing letters, surrounded by all the comforts of life, fêted by high and low, wearing his slippers and like a real Dutchman sucking his Gouda pipe".<sup>36</sup>

These grievances, whether justified or not, may go far in explaining

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<sup>32</sup> Van der Tuuk, *Taco Roorda's beoefening . . .*, p. 1.

<sup>33</sup> Uhlenbeck, *Critical Survey*, 1964, pp. 51-53.

<sup>34</sup> H. N. van der Tuuk, *Misverstand?*, *Tijdschrift voor de Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 24 (1881), p. 538.

<sup>35</sup> Van der Tuuk, *De Heeren R. . . .*, pp. 13-20.

<sup>36</sup> Van der Tuuk, *De Heeren R. . . .*, p. 14.

the tone of Van der Tuuk's writings against Roorda. Doubtless there was also an element of disdain for and irritation with the arm-chair research of Roorda and his colleagues, which went against Van der Tuuk's deepest convictions with regard to the necessity of living among the speakers of an exotic language. As a field-worker he had strong feelings about not being appreciated by the academic world in the Netherlands in both a scholarly and a material way. Throughout his later life he harboured grudges against professors who had all the advantages of their position and none of the hardships, whereas only the hardships without recognition were reserved for him, Van der Tuuk.

However, there was more at stake in the polemics with Roorda than personal feelings. To Van der Tuuk Roorda's scholarly authority with regard to Indonesia was ill-founded. In this field Roorda was indeed a *homo unius sermonis*. He knew only Javanese, and never studied another Indonesian language. He could hardly be reproached for this in itself. However, he was so ill-advised as to go into etymological speculations, in several places in his grammar, sometimes explaining differences between Javanese and Malay by starting from Javanese as basis and interpreting differences in Malay as deviations. The most famous example is his explanation of the Malay words *rumah* ("house") and *ratus* ("hundred") as being characterized by a prefix *r(ə)* as opposed to the "more original" Javanese forms *omah* and *atus*.<sup>37</sup> Here Roorda revealed his a-historical conception of language in the same way as he had done earlier in a notorious discussion with Dutch colleagues. I refer to the paper on the *Schrijftaal en Spreektaal* (Written and Spoken Language) which he read before the Royal Academy in 1855 and in which he argued that the inflection as used in written Dutch was actually the product of a mistaken Latinistic germanism, and that the Dutch had better abolish all these clumsy quasi-archaisms in their writing.<sup>38</sup>

This paper brought indignant protest from Matthias de Vries and other scholars of Dutch who even managed to suppress a second paper which Roorda offered for publication in the transactions of the Academy in order to defend his views.<sup>39</sup> There can be little doubt that in retro-

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<sup>37</sup> Roorda, *Jav. Gramm.*, 1855, p. 86.

<sup>38</sup> T. Roorda, *Over het Onderscheid tusschen spreektaal en schrijftaal, inzonderheid in onze Moedertaal. Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, afdeling Letterkunde, I* (1855), pp. 93-118.

<sup>39</sup> See references in C. G. N. de Vooys, *Bestaan er Grondslagen . . .?*, *De Nieuwe Taalgids*, 14 (1920), pp. 164-166.

spect Roorda's heresies actually represented sound ideas which found favour with later scholars; however, in this discussion too Roorda sometimes made use of unsound arguments and examples which flatly denied the results of historical Indogermanic and Germanic linguistics.

This lack of sympathy with the approach and methods of comparative linguistics also made him vulnerable in his discussion with Van der Tuuk. In fact, the latter in his critical discussion of Roorda's comparative notes for the first time systematically applied the comparative method as it had been developed in the field of Indo-European linguistics. Basing himself on abundant materials he proved in these anti-Roorda pamphlets (also for example in his nearly contemporaneous outline of Malagasy grammar)<sup>40</sup> that words such as the Javanese *omah* and *atus*, as opposed to Malay *rumah* and *ratus*, show regular sound correspondences which in various forms can also be observed in other languages.<sup>41</sup> He showed that there is no question of a prefix *r(ě)*; in modern terms one can say that Javanese here has a zero representative of a proto-Malayo-Polynesian sound which in Malay is regularly represented by *r*. In the terms of those days Javanese is in this respect more eroded than Malay. Basically Van der Tuuk was right when arguing that in a family of languages such as the Malayo-Polynesian one cannot etymologize by starting from one of the members of the family, but that on the basis of a comparison of as many languages and forms as possible one has to discover the regular sound correspondences between the languages. Only then is it possible to give etymologies. In this respect Van der Tuuk was much better informed on the science of comparative linguistics than flourishing and his broad knowledge of a great many Indonesian languages enabled him to solve problems with which Roorda with Javanese alone could not get to grips.

However, in order to avoid misunderstanding it should be observed that this discussion on comparative issues had very little to do with the main body of Roorda's grammar, which was purely descriptive and synchronic in character. It would be grossly unjust to Roorda to take into account for a general evaluation of his book the incidental errors which in notes he committed against sound principles of comparative linguistics. Van der Tuuk himself at the end of his first pamphlet expresses his admiration for the grammar as such, "a book from which a great deal can be learnt",<sup>42</sup> as he says, even though he

<sup>40</sup> See above, footnote 20.

<sup>41</sup> See, e.g., Taco Roorda's *Beoefening*, pp. 3-5.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

wraps his praise in irony and adds to it a warning that it is a dangerous book for people who rely on others.

As a matter of fact, Van der Tuuk's objections to Roorda's grammar went much deeper than the fact that the latter neglected the results of comparative linguistics. For one thing he objected strongly to the view of Javanese as, in a general sense, the basic language ("*grondtaal*") among the Malayo-Polynesian languages. In fact this reproach was more directed against Roorda's adherents and epigones who had expressed the opinion that the Javanese grammar of Roorda "from now on should be the model for every description of an Indonesian language"; in particular the "ridiculous adulations" of the jurist Samuel Keyzer stung Van der Tuuk; no less than three times he referred to the above quotation from Keyzer.<sup>43</sup> Roorda himself had never said that he considered Javanese the basic language among the Malayo-Polynesian languages.

What was a more real and fundamental issue between Roorda and Van der Tuuk, however, was Roorda's view on the relation between universal linguistic (or logical) concepts and linguistic categories in specific languages, and the importance of the former for a satisfactory description of the latter. Roorda had developed his theories in a lengthy treatise "On the Parts of Speech and Parsing or logical Analysis of Language, as Basis for the Scientific Study of Language",<sup>44</sup> of which a third, much augmented edition appeared in 1864; a short formulation of his central viewpoint in this respect is to be found in the Introduction to his Javanese Grammar: "A true insight into and clear discernment of the meaning of the grammatical ways of expression in the Javanese language can only be obtained by tracing that logical element which is the only truly universal, which is the same in all languages, but which is expressed in the most different ways in the various language families, and in those again differently in every language branch and every individual language".<sup>45</sup>

Van der Tuuk totally disagreed with this viewpoint. To him this was "an abstract method, which misjudges the true nature of a language as a metaphor".<sup>46</sup> He calls the method of Roorda "really fit to make

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<sup>43</sup> Taco Roorda's *Beoefening* . . . , p. 1; De Heeren R., . . . , p. 7; *ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>44</sup> T. Roorda, *Over de Deelen der Rede en de Rede-Ontleding, of Logische Analyse der Taal tot Grondslag voor Wetenschappelijke Taalstudie*. Leeuwarden 1852; 3rd ed. 1864.

<sup>45</sup> T. Roorda, *Jav. Spraakkunst*, pp. V-VI.

<sup>46</sup> Van der Tuuk, Preface to part II of the Toba Grammar, below, p. XLII.

the study of Javanese difficult",<sup>47</sup> and he considers all this logic superfluous and dangerous ballast. Against Roorda's conception that "the logical analysis of language should serve as a basis for all scholarly study of language . . . . as it teaches that universal element which all languages, however different in their ways of expression, have common with each other, namely the logical, which alone makes a language fit for the expression of thoughts",<sup>48</sup> Van der Tuuk argues that "language is not the expression of thoughts of man as a philosopher, but as a being which succumbs to any impression. The history of linguistic science proves that no philosophical method can get to the bottom of a language".<sup>49</sup> In order to penetrate deeply into a language one should "disabuse oneself of the striving for a complete system"; every language is "more or less a ruin",<sup>50</sup> and only by way of historical research is it possible ultimately to comprehend language. "Craving for system" is a danger for any study of language, and logic is not capable of supplying a good grammar: "hence heroes in this field, such as Franz Bopp and Jacob Grimm, have both always kept very far from philosophical speculations on language".<sup>51</sup>

As Van der Tuuk in his description of the Toba language hardly ever explicitly argues with Roorda or anyone else, it is not so easy to illustrate these differences of opinion with examples. An important point where the approaches of Roorda and Van der Tuuk fundamentally differ is their view on word classes. Here Roorda underlines the difference between logical and grammatical distinctions. According to him Javanese does make the universal distinction between object, adjunct and accident, and accordingly between the three main functions of words in the sentence, i.e. as object, or attribute, or predicate. However, in contradistinction to the Indo-European languages it has no separate word-forms (noun, adjective, verb) for the expression of these logical differences. The same word can fulfil three different functions and adopt the three different meanings going with them. Therefore Roorda, in his discussion of Javanese morphology, does not distinguish different word-classes, but starting from the forms (with the various prefixes and suffixes) he tries to determine in the best possible way their meaning and their use.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Van der Tuuk, *Taco Roorda's Beoefening* . . . , p. 36.

<sup>48</sup> T. Roorda, *Over de Deelen der Rede*, . . . 1864, p. 7.

<sup>49</sup> *De Heeren R.* . . . , p. 7.

<sup>50</sup> Preface to part II of the *Toba Grammar*, below, p. XLIII.

<sup>51</sup> *De Heeren R.* . . . , p. 7.

<sup>52</sup> *Jav. Gramm.*, pp. 109 ff.

This double approach of logical and grammatical oppositions, and the distinction of use, function and meaning, do indeed give rise to very intricate discussions and terminologies, in which say-words and condition-words ("zegwoorden, toestandswwoorden"), all of various sorts, are distinguished alongside verbs.

To Van der Tuuk such kinds of theories were mere rubbish; without an apparent theoretical foundation he starts from the traditional division into word-classes without, however, distinguishing adjectives as a separate category in Batak. He makes a sharp distinction, indeed, between nouns and verbs, and the fact that in Batak in contrast to Western languages, nouns can be used as a predicate without a copula for him does not invalidate the distinction between the said two classes.<sup>53</sup> In this connection he rejects Roorda's term "say-word" for verb: "apart from giving rise to confusion with a word that occurs as predicate ("gezegde" = what is said) this term also misjudges the true nature of language as a metaphor."<sup>54</sup>

On similar grounds Van der Tuuk, in Part II of his grammar, objects to Roorda's observations on the logical object. Here he is referring to that section in the Javanese grammar where Roorda discusses forms such as *pangedol*, which in Roorda's terminology indicates "the accident which is meant by the verb . . . . either as a real object, i.e. something which takes place in reality in a fixed way and with fixed circumstances of place or time, or else as a logical object, as an object in thought or speech, enabling the speaker to speak of the accident in the sentence as if it were an object." In the first case *pangedol* means "a sale", in the second "the selling".<sup>55</sup>

Small wonder that the practical-minded Van der Tuuk, when speaking of this "logical object" adds with a sigh "in the language of mortals the infinitive".<sup>56</sup> In such speculations he found nothing which clarified the facts of language — and these facts were the only thing that mattered to him.

Therefore he also, in the same paragraph, jeeringly rejected the opinion (of Pijnappel, expressed in his Malay dictionary<sup>57</sup>) that a Malay form such as *tanam* could be rendered most adequately by an infinitive — not to mention "the most recent Malay grammar" (again

<sup>53</sup> Toba Grammar, sect. 35.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., sect. 147 NOTE.

<sup>55</sup> Jav. Gramm., pp. 211 f.

<sup>56</sup> Toba Grammar, Preface to part II, below, p. XLII.

<sup>57</sup> J. Pijnappel, Maleisch-Nederduitsch Woordenboek. Haarlem and Amsterdam 1863.

by Pijnappel<sup>58</sup>), which argued that all words in Malay originally meant "to be something", so that *buwang* would mean "to be throwing". Van der Tuuk keeps his feet on the ground; just as the corresponding Batak form *tanom*, the Malay form in actual use only occurs as a passive imperative, and has to be translated as such<sup>59</sup>; all speculations on the "actual" meaning of such a stem he considers irrelevant.

Does this rejection of Roorda's logical theories mean that Van der Tuuk had no theoretical conceptions at all? Hermann Paul has already observed that there is no "voraussetzungslose Wissenschaft", and anyone who studies Van der Tuuk's work closely will discover that he too had a number of preconceptions on language, its history and its study. Over against the emphasis which Roorda put on the logical element which all languages have as a common basis, Van der Tuuk in his grammar time and again stressed the idea, already quoted above, that by its true nature language is a metaphor. His conception was that in a primitive phase the emotional element had a much larger share in language than was the case in later times. Primitive man made use of all kinds of "gesture-sounds, which as natural cries are indeterminate, and which only later on got a more fixed meaning",<sup>60</sup> for example as pronouns, prepositions, and so on.

Another characteristic of primitive language was its strongly metaphorical character; primitive man "succumbed to each and every impression";<sup>61</sup> the speaking human being sees in every object a person, a being just as he himself is, and what he observes in an object he represents poetically as an act, and so on.

Onomatopoeia and sound symbolism played a large role in these primitive words, and Van der Tuuk still recognized in Batak many traces of such a primitive language. For example, he explained the opposition *i-u* in pronouns (*kami-kamu*) on the basis of the primitive distinction of the vowel *u* as serving to point out what is far away or represented as such, and the vowel *i* as its opposite.<sup>62</sup> Van der Tuuk goes deep into this kind of explanation; he explains homonymous prepositions, pronouns and sometimes affixes which in present-day language have a clearly distinguished identity as being originally identical, semantically undifferentiated natural sounds which only later

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<sup>58</sup> J. Pijnappel, *Maleische Spraakkunst*. 's-Gravenhage 1866, p. 34.

<sup>59</sup> *Toba Grammar*, Preface to part II, below, p. XLIII.

<sup>60</sup> *Toba Grammar*, 147 NOTE.

<sup>61</sup> See above, fn. 49.

<sup>62</sup> *Toba Grammar*, 63 NOTE.

on became differentiated. For example he reduces the prefix *ma-*, well-known from many Indonesian languages, to a purely hypothetical pronoun of the third person, which in its turn he presumes to have come from a sort of natural sound with the neutral vowel *a* (as against *i* and *u* in *kami* and *kamu*).<sup>63</sup> In the same way the main argument for his theory, so important for the whole design of his book, that the passive form is “actually” a noun and not a verb, is the formal identity of certain prepositions and prefixes (*di*, *i*, *ni*; *ha*; *tu*) all of which he presumes ultimately to have been a basic demonstrative sound.<sup>64</sup>

Such passages in Van der Tuuk’s book — which, however, are mainly restricted to the NOTES — are scarcely less hypothetical or speculative than Roorda’s logical observations, even though Van der Tuuk always succeeds in adducing interesting examples from his formidable knowledge, even for the most hazardous theories. And although in the main his etymological theories are not of great influence on his analysis of the facts of the Batak language, it remains an intriguing question where he found such theories on the true nature of language as a metaphor.

At first one is apt to look for the source of such theories in romanticism with its glorification of emotions, and its emphasis on the expression of primitive human feelings in language via sound symbolism, allegories and metaphors. Perhaps the best known expression of this conception of language is found in the oft-quoted words of Jean Paul (Richter): “Daher ist jede Sprache in Rücksicht geistiger Beziehungen ein Wörterbuch erblasster Metaphern”.<sup>65</sup>

One might also think of influences from Jacob Grimm, whom Van der Tuuk calls “one of the heroes” of linguistic science.<sup>66</sup> However, specific correspondences between Van der Tuuk and Grimm’s best known works are difficult to demonstrate. For the present author the most remarkable correspondences with Van der Tuuk’s formulations on natural cries, gesture-sounds and metaphors as the origin of many elements of language are to be found in a book, now largely forgotten, which was published in 1856 with the title *System der Sprachwissenschaft*. The author was K. W. L. Heyse; the book, consisting of a series of university lectures, was posthumously edited by Steinthal.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.; 147 NOTE; 159, 4 NOTE.

<sup>65</sup> Quoted from C. F. P. Stutterheim, *Het Begrip Metaphoor. Een taalkundig en wijsgerig onderzoek*. Amsterdam 1941, p. 148.

<sup>66</sup> See above, fn. 51.

<sup>67</sup> K. W. L. Heyse, *System der Sprachwissenschaft*. Nach dessen Tode herausgegeben von H. Steinthal. Berlin 1864.

In the second Chapter of the first part of this book the author deals in great detail with the development of language, in which he distinguishes three moments: *sounds*, corresponding with developing human emotion (*Gefühle*); *words*, corresponding with the moment of *Vorstellung* (representation); and *sentences*, corresponding with the judging and reflecting intellect. In the second phase the connection between sound and representation is made: natural sounds become words, via representations which become related to sounds: onomatopes, sound metaphors, conceptual metaphors: his imagination has man use words which actually contain sensory representations for non-sensory representations. "Die ganze Sprache ist durch und durch bildlich. Wir sprechen in lauter Bildern, ohne uns dessen bewusst zu sein".<sup>68</sup> This metaphorical process in fact does not only occur for so-called *Stoffwörter*, i.e. words which express things, qualities or activities. For so-called form-words it is even more true that they find their origin in sound gestures (*Lautgeberden*). Man, who becomes aware of relations of space and time reaches for sounds, which in this case are still real gestures, to express these relations; it is only by metaphorical application that words for logical relations develop from these words for relations of time and space. The same holds good for pronouns, which Heyse counts among form-words: "Sie gehen offenbar von Lautgeberden aus, womit der Sprechende auf sich selbst, auf den angeredeten und auf den entfernteren dritten Gegenstand der Rede hindeutet . . . . In der Lautform dieser Wörter zeigt sich auch die ihnen zu Grunde liegende Lautgeberde deutlich genug".<sup>69</sup> He contrasts Germ. *ich*, Goth. *ik*, which is "aus den innerlichsten Lauten zusammengesetzt und dadurch auf das Subject selbst zurückdeutend" with Germ. *du*, Goth. *tu* "welches den deutenden Consonanten mit dem äusserlichsten Vocal verbindet".

The correspondence of this argument with the passage from Van der Tuuk in which he compares *kami* with *kamu* seems too striking to be accidental. Nor would it be without piquancy if there were influence on Van der Tuuk from Heyse's book, for in that case he would be in the company of none other than . . . . Taco Roorda. Roorda, in his treatise of 1858 on "Spoken and Written Language" took as his motto a quotation from "the famous German linguist Heyse",<sup>70</sup> because

<sup>68</sup> Heyse, p. 97.

<sup>69</sup> Heyse, p. 103.

<sup>70</sup> T. Roorda, *Verhandeling over het Onderscheid en de behoorlijke Overeenstemming tusschen Spreektaal en Schrijftaal, inzonderheid in onze Moedertaal*. Leeuwarden 1858, p. 1.

in his words he found a "perfect expression" of his own ideas on the necessity for written language to regenerate itself continuously on the basis of popular language.

Time and space do not permit us to go further into the influences which Heyse, a now forgotten linguist, may have had on Dutch linguistics around 1860. Van der Tuuk, who is known to have been in the possession of a copy of Heyse's book,<sup>71</sup> never mentions him explicitly, and much more material would be needed in order to reach more definite conclusions. A preliminary exploration has shown that there are more places where Van der Tuuk's grammar comes close to concepts and formulations in Heyse's book. One example is the theory that language, far from being a closed system, is a ruin; his ideas come close to Heyse's observations on the disorganization of language in its historical development.<sup>72</sup> However, the idea of the decline of language had been in the air ever since Romanticism, and in the period between 1850-1865 this theme was dealt with in various publications and with great emphasis by August Schleicher — who is also never mentioned by Van der Tuuk, nor is his influence visible in other respects on Van der Tuuk's ideas.

In those chapters of Part I of the Toba Grammar which are devoted to Word Form and Sound Changes, the general design reminds one strongly of Heyse's book. In the latter's second Chapter, under *System der Lautverbindungen und Lautabänderung*<sup>73</sup> he deals with phenomena similar to those which Van der Tuuk discusses. Both authors on the one hand are typically pre-*junggrammatisch* and on the other hand they are typically modern in their interest for the synchronic structure of syllable and word, and for the regular changes and variations in form that occur when sounds are combined into larger units — but neither of them goes as far as Schleicher with his general, universal laws (Zetacisme, etc.). The term sound-law does not play an important role. Heyse still uses it in the then traditional sense of rules and restrictions in the occurrence of certain sounds and combinations of sounds in the larger units of words. Van der Tuuk discusses similar phenomena in great detail in Part I without calling them sound-laws.<sup>74</sup> In Part II he uses the term sound-law a few times, referring to the occurrence

<sup>71</sup> At the University Library in Leiden there is a list of books which Van der Tuuk bequeathed to the Library, and Heyse's book is on that list.

<sup>72</sup> Heyse, *op. cit.*, section 95.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 287-326.

<sup>74</sup> In Part I the term sound-law is used in the Introduction V, see below, p. XLIX.

of certain variants in sound form which may give rise to couplets by semantic differentiation. But those phenomena which later on, due to Brandes, were to be called the *Van der Tuukse klankwetten* (the Van der Tuuk sound-laws),<sup>75</sup> in the Toba Grammar, that is ten years before the appearance of the *Junggrammarians*, quite understandably are not yet called laws at all, even though in many NOTES to his Grammar and in contemporaneous publications Van der Tuuk discusses these phenomena in great detail and with great accuracy.

Whatever the case may be, and whatever the results of further investigations into the intellectual models or guides of Van der Tuuk, it seems quite certain that such research will not detract from the value of Van der Tuuk's description of Toba Batak as a great linguistic pioneering work. In spite of a number of antiquated preconceptions, the reflection of which is to be found in the NOTES to the text rather than in its body, he has in a most remarkable way kept to the facts as the basis for his description. These facts he has collected, ordered and analysed in such a way that the structure of the Batak language has become transparent. He has not spared himself or his readers trouble; he was too much aware of the complications of linguistic reality to be willing or able to hide it behind a simplified survey. By the very fact that he tried to account for all the facts and details, he has done full justice to the object of his investigation, at the same time making a most important contribution to linguistics in a general sense.

In the above the reasons and arguments for the re-edition in English translation of Van der Tuuk's Grammar of Toba Batak in the Translation Series are implicit. This series aims to make available to the world of international scholarship important results of Dutch research with regard to South-East Asia and the Caribbean area. In such a series linguistics as one of the most important disciplines in which the Dutch have pioneered should not be lacking. Van der Tuuk's book was an obvious choice in this field for a number of reasons. It is a most remarkable result of pioneering in the literal sense of the word. Moreover, it is the most rounded and accomplished publication of a brilliant scholar whose other scientific work for some reason or other remained fragmentary and preliminary and who internationally has remained virtually unknown. Finally, this description of the structure of the Toba

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<sup>75</sup> J. L. A. Brandes, *Bijdrage tot de vergelijkende klankleer der Westersche Afdeeling van de Maleisch-Polynesische taalfamilie*. Utrecht 1884.

Batak language has also preserved a high degree of current interest, as it has not yet been superseded by later work. Meanwhile it should be noted that this book describes Toba Batak as it was written and spoken over a hundred years ago, so that in a sense it is now also a contribution to the history of this important representative of the family of Indonesian languages.

The translation of Van der Tuuk's book into English did not prove a simple task. For one thing, Van der Tuuk's mid-nineteenth century Dutch is an antiquated language with all kinds of pitfalls for a translator. Furthermore, the book abounds with Dutch translations of Batak examples; for an adequate translation into English some understanding of the Batak proved essential.

But this is not all. The fact that Van der Tuuk wrote in Dutch and for Dutchmen, and thought in and through Dutch, inevitably made him in many cases contrast Batak and Dutch concepts and categories. In the course of translating this book it often proved impossible to transpose the Dutch text into English without further ado, in spite of the linguistic relationship between Dutch and English. Sometimes details could be dropped as they were specific for Dutch rather than for Batak and as such irrelevant to English readers; for example, references to terms such as "relatief bijwoord" (adverb of relation) in the beginnings of sections 129 and 131 had to be deleted, as the English translations of the examples made the term superfluous.

Similarly a reference to the use of Dutch *dat* (that) after a preposition like *sedert* ("since") became irrelevant in view of the English used to render the Batak example.<sup>76</sup> In the same way, the comparison of the Toba construction with a circumscribed substantive with the Dutch construction consisting of the infinitive preceded by a preposition used as an adverbial adjunct could not be maintained in view of the translation of the Batak examples into English.<sup>77</sup>

A remarkable difference between English and Dutch, where English, at least in the example discussed by Van der Tuuk, seems closer to Batak than Dutch, is found in section 140, as the typical difference between Dutch "sla hem op 't hoofd" and the Batak phrase, meaning literally "hit his head" does not hold good for English. Yet what Van der Tuuk says in this connection about Indonesian compared

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<sup>76</sup> Toba Grammar, section 150.5.

<sup>77</sup> Grammar, section 126.2 (English text below, p. 188).

with Germanic languages generally speaking is probably correct, so that the argument has been maintained.

Sometimes, in view of the English translation of a series of examples a formulation of rules had to be given in English which is different from the statement in the Dutch text; a good example is found in 153\* where Van der Tuuk states that *sowada* is often used as a negative "waar wij een conjunctie bij de negatie zouden moeten gebruiken" (where we should have to use a conjunction with the negative); in view of the translation of the examples the obvious English rendering of this sentence seems to be: "where, in English, *without* followed by a gerund would be used".

Apart from such difficulties as a result of differences between Dutch and English it should be pointed out that Van der Tuuk permits himself very great creative freedom in the use of Dutch in order to explain his Batak materials to Dutch readers. To a translator who is not equally familiar with Batak the demands become unreasonable when, for example, Van der Tuuk, in order to explain *ma-i* forms, creates Dutch neologisms such as *vertabakken* and *verzouten* ("to spend money for the buying of tobacco, salt"). Both morphologically and syntactically Dutch forms used by Van der Tuuk are often so queer that it was hardly feasible to create as queer English forms; *daalachtig* (p. 168) "descendish", and many more such examples had to be overcome in one way or another. A problem often arose in the translation of what Van der Tuuk calls passive forms; especially the passive subjunctives which Van der Tuuk frequently uses (*worde hij geslagen* = "be he hit", etc.) called for a variety of English constructions sometimes within one series of examples. The passive constructions of intransitives (e.g. section 107: *door hem werd naar boven gevlogen*, "by him was flown upwards") already stretching the possibilities of Dutch to the limit, often did not bear a literal English translation.

With regard to the scholarly terms which Van der Tuuk uses, the translator and editors have done their best to give Van der Tuuk his dues; this is especially true for Part I in which the impressionistic phonetic terms of Van der Tuuk have been transposed literally into English, rather than replacing them with the modern phonetic jargon.

In general the aim of this translation has been to preserve faithfully the original character of this publication from the sixties of last century. It refrains as far as possible from interpreting, explaining or amending Van der Tuuk's work, even though this did not always prove to be

easy. Sometimes the translation had to be an interpretation, as a choice was necessary in cases of ambiguity in the original. Sometimes an explanation seemed called for, in cases where Van der Tuuk made use of typically Dutch phenomena, linguistic or otherwise, in order to explain Batak facts. And in a few cases even this remarkably consistent and accurate book proved to contain an error or oversight which needed correction.

The reader should note that in this new edition Van der Tuuk's own additions and corrections have also been incorporated, not only those printed at the end of his book, but also some which are to be found in the margin of his copy of the Grammar, now in the possession of the Library of the University of Leiden; apparent deviations from the Dutch original will sometimes be explicable from this cause.

Also in the form of the book the translation keeps as close as possible to the original. But in one major respect it deviates from its original. Whereas in Part I of the Dutch version abundant use is made of the Batak spelling, it was necessary for technical reasons to limit the use of Batak character as much as possible in the English version. It remains possible to learn the Batak script from this book, both in its Toba and in its Dairi and Mandailing forms; but otherwise examples in Batak characters have been included only where they seemed essential for a correct understanding of Van der Tuuk's argument. In all other cases examples in Batak script have been transliterated. This has been done in a purely mechanical way, letter by letter. These words, always given between square brackets [ ], do not therefore represent normal Batak spelling in Latin characters, but a transliteration of the Batak script. In many cases the ordinary spelling in Latin characters has been added to such transliterations, as had been done in the original. In the rare cases where Van der Tuuk gives words in other oriental scripts (mainly Arabic) a similar mechanical transliteration is given in < > brackets.

The editors are grateful to Dr. P. Voorhoeve who provided them with the mechanical transliteration of the examples in Batak script which were not reproduced in their original form.

In order to give the reader some idea of Batak spelling in a running fragment of text, three specimen pages from Van der Tuuk's Batak reader, one from each volume, and provided with a transliteration, have been added as an Appendix to this book.<sup>78</sup> These pages in the

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<sup>78</sup> These pages are: Toba Reader, p. 1-2, Mandailing Reader, p. 54-55, Dairi Reader, p. 121. See above, footnote 16.

main correspond with the transliterated fragments which in the Dutch version were added to the description of the Toba, Mandailing and Dairi sound systems, and which consequently have been omitted in the corresponding places in the present book.

The spelling of words in Indonesian languages has been kept in the original form. The minor deviations which Van der Tuuk's spelling displays in comparison with present-day spelling, for example of Malay, will hardly prove an inconvenience to the interested reader.

The editors have added a title to each section of the book, also in cases where such a title was lacking in the Dutch edition; the division into chapters too has been streamlined to some extent without, however, making any substantial change in the original design of the book; even the numbering of the sections, with a number of duplications (e.g. 140 and 140\*) has been maintained, also in view of the numerous cross-references throughout the book. For technical reasons nearly all cross-references have been made to refer to the number of the sections, also in those cases where the original has references to page numbers. Throughout the book single numbers (1, 17, 123) refer to sections, whereas references to pages are preceded by p.

In agreement with the original version of Part II all Observations which refer to Toba Batak are in ordinary print, indented; all references to Mandailing and Dairi as well as etymological and historical NOTES are in small print.

The very numerous references to the Batak Reader and the Dictionary have been kept. The editors are well aware that these references are of little use to most prospective readers of the book, as it will be difficult in most places to get access to either of the books mentioned. However, it seemed useful to retain the references for scholarly reasons. Moreover it is hoped that a re-edition, in transliteration, of at least the first part of the Reader will be possible in the not too distant future, so that readers of this grammar will be able to check most of the quotations in Toba which form by far the greatest part of the examples in the Grammar. Another text which is extensively quoted in the Grammar is the *Quarrel between Sang Maima and Datuk Dalu*; this story has been printed, in a version edited by Van der Tuuk, in the *Kurzer Abrisz einer Batta'schen Formenlehre im Toba-Dialekte nach einem Diktat von H. N. van der Tuuk verdeutsch durch August Schreiber*, Barmen 1866; the text of this story is also in Batak characters, separate page numbers pp. 1-26, with a German translation preceding.

The present English version grew out of co-operation between several

people. The translation was made by Miss Jeune Scott-Kemball; the first two drafts were read by A. Teeuw, who suggested a large number of emendations; the pre-final draft was again very carefully revised by R. Roolvink who checked the English translation of the examples directly against the original Batak forms. Teeuw and Roolvink also did the proof reading; they received valuable assistance from Drs. S. O. Robson, who again carefully checked the English text while reading the proofs and by doing so was able to eliminate a number of inconsistencies which had crept into the manuscript during the many years which the work took. The ultimate responsibility for the English version rests with Teeuw and Roolvink; it did not prove feasible to have all the changes made in the manuscript in the later stages of the work again checked by the original translator.

The editors have refrained from composing an Index to the grammar, not primarily because they too felt like "lying fallow for a while" after this book had been completed, but because they felt unable to find relevant criteria for such an Index. However, they hope that the detailed Table of Contents will at least to some extent make up for its absence.

A. TEEUW

## PREFACE TO PART ONE

If, as a representative of the Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap, I had not been committed to the writing of a Grammar of the Toba language, I would have deferred this work for some time because I am really not in a position to furnish a grammar which gives a proper representation of this language. In order to be able to do this, it is necessary for one to know not only the various Batak dialects, but also the rest of the languages of Sumatra, such as Mentawai, Redjang, Lampong, and so on. To produce one dictionary of all these languages would require little effort, if only one had the opportunity to study them on the spot, because they resemble each other so much, not only in many words but even in peculiarities of pronunciation, that often one has only to give a rule to enable one and the same word to be found in its different forms.

The language which might have been able to shed much light on some unexplained phenomena of Batak is without doubt the Lubu (or Ulu) spoken in South Mandailing, for the Lubu people may have been the original inhabitants of, at least, the southerly part of the Batak country. I would also have liked to include this language in my Dictionary and Grammar, but the necessary means, not so much for a journey there but for a sojourn of some duration, were wanting.

From this it can be seen that I know well what is absent in my Grammar, and that I must leave it to someone else to investigate later on the facts I have observed — which I did not wish to suppress, however obscure some of them may have been to me.

It may indeed be impossible for anyone to produce a grammar which could serve as a model for those who in future will devote their lives to the study of the languages of the Indonesian Archipelago, though there are those who delude themselves that they are in a position to do so by philosophical arguments.<sup>1</sup> It would have been easier for me, and

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<sup>1</sup> See my treatise: *Taco Roorda's beoefening van het Javaansch bekeken* (A look at Taco Roorda's study of Javanese).

would also have taken less time, had I been prepared to make a small grammar, but I do not take the high and mighty attitude of an Oracle, in order to require of the reader that he must accept anything from me as truth without my giving him the proof of it. And moreover a so-called outline of a grammar is usually nothing but a pretext to shirk the difficulties and, especially if, at the same time, one strews riddles through it in a mysterious manner, a cunning way of keeping out of harm's way.

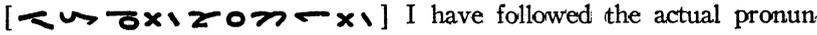
The student who understands that initially he has only to concern himself with what is in the paragraphs, and that he can skip the observations and the notes and the details about the dialects and only consult them when difficulties occur, can have no complaint to make about the circumstantiality of the Grammar. For him it is advisable to concentrate at the outset on Toba and, of the first part, to read only the first 24 pages and not to fatigue his memory with all the examples adduced — which I have only presented as evidence of the phenomena — or with the deviations that are mentioned in the a's and the b's, etc. When he has grasped the principles and is able to read the texts, then he will have to gain knowledge from the observations and the notes in order to be in a position to look for a word in an unusual form in the right place in the Dictionary.

It is really not very easy to write a short grammar of the Batak language unless one could include in a dictionary all the forms a word can have (for example: *dan*, *daoan*, *daban*, *dahan* and *dawan*; *hukkús*, *uskús*, *hukkús*, and *hutsús*), and thus provide one that excels in bulk and place the dilettanti in the position of being able to give very learned discussions on the language before the public at large. Perhaps another will save me the time of making an abridged grammar which, without a doubt, would be of much benefit provided he does not commit the folly of leaving out matters which cannot be dispensed with for the understanding of a Batak text.

Amsterdam, 18th May, 1864.

H. N. VAN DER TUUK

## PREFACE TO PART TWO

In this part each word has been transliterated, as much to accustom the student to the position of the stress as not to put the Netherlands Bible Society to unnecessary expense. The transliteration I have used renders a word by itself according to the pronunciation, without expressing the change which is brought about in the closer by a following word. For example, I have transliterated [  ] as *di-baen ho* (*made* or *placed* by you), and not wholly according to the pronunciation (*di-baek ko*). In compound words such as [  ] I have followed the actual pronunciation, *daot-sihol*.

The student may pass over everything that is in small print: he need only read these parts when reference is made to them.

With regard to the manner in which I have endeavoured to give a representation of this still unstudied language, I readily confess that it does not satisfy me at all. In the interests of students of the languages of the Indonesian Archipelago I deemed it inadvisable to postpone the completion of my task long enough for me to be in a position to furnish something really good, and I have, therefore, hurried a little in respect of some chapters. The student must be content with what I have provided, and must bear in mind that I have been alone in a task that could only be completed properly by many students, and that I have, at the same time, been obliged to give a great part of my time to work such as the translation of Biblical texts, which does weigh heavily on the mind, because one has the conviction — that is, if one is not an amateurish missionary — that one will be producing almost shoddy work.

I need hardly say that I have derived no benefit from the work of my predecessors who have dealt with the sister languages because, under the influence of an abstract method which misjudges the true nature of a language as a metaphor, they gave a representation which would only have put me on the wrong track. I need only draw attention to such observations as 'the logical object' (in the language of mortals, the 'infinitive'), and the manner in which in Malay, for example, the

meaning of an infinitive has been applied to a stem-word, or to the simplest form of a verb functioning transitively, so that, for example, *tanam* would mean *the planting* of trees, etc.).<sup>1</sup> I have firmly held to the usage of the language itself and have never ventured to give to a stem-word of which even the form is uncertain (see 51 5 Obs.) a meaning which, as a current word, it does not have. Therefore I have translated *tanom*, for example, with *bury* (it, him, etc.)!, or depending on the form, with *let* (it, him, etc.) *be buried by you*.

I do not believe that anyone will ever be able to represent a language well if he does not disabuse himself of the striving for a complete system, for every language is more or less a ruin, in which the plan of the architect cannot be discovered, until one has learned to supply from other works by the same hand what is missing in order to grasp the original design.<sup>2</sup> Every attentive student of a language will grant me this, and then he will also have to condemn the way in which in this country people have endeavoured to find a strict system in such language ruins as Javanese and Malay. Is it not laughable to derive from a form such as, for example, the Jav. *palaju* (*logical object!*) a verb *malaju*, and still in the Mal. *pāluntar* to see a derivation of *māluntar*? Is it not to distort the facts to propose in Mal. a verb *mānglipar*, because one thinks one has found a substantive *pānglipar*?<sup>3</sup> What would be said of someone who produced from *applicable*, *destructible*, *despicable*, and similar words, verbs such as *to applic*, *to destruct*, *to despice*? Why have people refused to adhere firmly to the facts,<sup>4</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> According to the most recent Malay Grammar [by Pijnappel] (p. 34) *buwang* would mean *to be throwing*.

<sup>2</sup> Thus, e.g., one can learn from Batak and Tagalog that *pār* in Mal. is the form that the prefix *bār* must assume in the passive or with substantives; for example, *pārpuwatan* is not *pār + puwat + an*, but the passive form of *bārpuwat* with the suffix *an*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *pāngālipur*. The stem-word is *lipur*, and, etymologically, one with the Batak *ripur*, so that *mālipur*, strictly speaking, means *to blot out*, *obliterate* (sorrow, etc.).

<sup>4</sup> People have also tried to see in *bālantara* a word derived from *antara*, although *bālantara* is only used as a poetical name of a forest, a desert, or a plain, and although it has not been possible to prove that the closer of the prefix *bār* is changed into *l* before a word containing an *r* and ending in a vowel, as appears from *bāristāri*, *bārura-ura* and even from *bārantara* (see the *Isma-jātim*, p. 158, *Bidasari*, p. 63). To be able to prove the derivation from *antara*, the author of the most recent Malay Grammar has even drawn on *palantaran* which he has started to write *palantara-an*, according to his etymology, though in his Dict. it has already been put under *lantar*. He even explains *palabagej* as *pāl* (from *pār*) + *bagej* (p. 46). Unfortunately the word comes direct from Tamil where it is *palawagej* (see *English and Tamil Dictionary*, Madras, 1844, *different sorts*). Mal. has changed the *w* into *b*, because it had already borrowed

confined themselves to their bare mention, in order not to deprive someone else of the opportunity of giving a better explanation of them? No language has suffered so much from the craving for system as Malay, simply because there is so little system in it. It is generally held to be easy,<sup>5</sup> but even so none of its numerous students has yet succeeded in making it clear. People have performed tests on it with as much conscience as a doctor on a sick man whose ailment he does not know. The poor patient has had to swallow a good deal, even after the draughts from Taco's dispensary have had such ill effects. It seems that there is a curse on our study of the languages of the Indonesian Archipelago, and we shall never manage to master one of them in such a way that we can apply it with a reasonable chance of success.

A language has to be studied for its own sake; it should not be made subservient to an end of which the pursuit acts to the detriment of its study. So everyone must be prepared for disappointments, such as those the Dutch East Indies Government has already met with in the popular reading books and the Bible Society in the translation of the Bible into Malay and Javanese. I am convinced that no-one in this country will be able to furnish anything worthwhile, because people here are too materialistic and oblige the man who still has to delve for his silver also to spend his time in coining the florins for which alone the hearts of our shop-counter heroes are capable of beating.

Only when people in Germany are willing to occupy themselves with the languages of which the knowledge is of such importance for us, will a better future dawn for their study. I do not, therefore, count on having readers who will be willing to profit from what can be learnt from Toba. The most recent "Malay Grammar"<sup>6</sup> gives me every reason for this. Perplexed by the obscurity of a certain Javanese

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the Tamil *wagej* (see Bat. Dict. *bage*). I have never doubted that *balantara* is the Indian *wanāntara* (16 NOTE; 30 IV) often used in Kawi (e.g., *Wiwāha*, p. 6; *Bhaumakawja*, p. 241), and only belongs to the stylistic ornaments of stories, just as do also *barāqsa* (poetical name of a tree), *bālanta* (poetical name for a plain, *wanānta* - forest-confined), *pāngālipur lara* (poetical name of a pleasure-garden, etc., Kawi *paṅglipur lara*; in Mal. there occurs also *paṅgalipur sakti*), etc.

<sup>5</sup> This appears from the multitude of unqualified dabblers.

<sup>6</sup> On the admission of the author (Preface, p. III), a "mere catchpenny title", for he wants to have it regarded as a "scholarly experiment", for which the reading of the VIth volume of "De Taalgids" is a prime requirement (p. 4).

Grammar, its author has represented the formation of the passive so incorrectly that in many respect this work is a step backwards. He touches only in passing on the placement of a personal pronoun, usually in an abbreviated form, in front of the form that a verb functioning transitively *must* have in the passive, without one's being able to conclude from his words (p. 75) that such a connexion is the expression of a passive.<sup>7</sup> So one also finds in his book nothing said of the meaning of *ku-pärbuwat*, *kow-bäri*, and so on, so that it is no wonder that he renders *pärbuwatkan aku* as *may he make for me* (p. 114). To explain the prefix *pa* he undertakes a journey to the Far East and there finds on a little island a word meaning "walled place" (p. 56). I hope that in a second edition, which is possible for him as a learned chair-holder, he will see that he has made a futile journey and would have done better had he had the politeness to condescend to visit the nextdoor neighbours.

An index — a luxury for the industrious — I shall perhaps provide later on, for first I am going to lie fallow for a while.

Amsterdam, 1st May, 1867.

H. N. VAN DER TUUK

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<sup>7</sup> That an abbreviated pronoun never occurs before a verb functioning intransitively, so that one cannot say *ku-turun*, *ku-pärgi*, etc., does not appear to have been enough for him. Indeed, even the fact that *bärbuwat* becomes *pärbuwat* after *ku* and *kow* as well as after *di* has not opened his eyes.

## INTRODUCTION

I. Batak belongs to the family of languages called Malayo-Polynesian, specifically to the western main division, which is distinguished from the eastern main division by a stronger phonetic system. The western main division can again be divided into two sections: a consonantal and a vocalic. In the consonantal are placed the languages which have a consonant as the closer of a word; in the vocalic, those which have only a vowel at the end of a word. To the vocalic belong, for example, Nias and Malagasy, though in the latter the end-vowel of a word is almost mute, e.g., *lalanã - way* = Jav. and Bat. *dalan*; to the consonantal, Batak, Malay, Javanese, the languages of the Philippines, and others that are not yet accessible. To an intermediate kind, which can be called semi-vocalic, belong languages such as, for example, Menangkabau, Macassarese and Buginese, which permit only a few consonants as closers of a word.

a. Macassarese and Buginese have as closers of a word only the guttural nasal (*ng*)<sup>1</sup> and an imperfectly pronounced *k* (which we express with a *q*).<sup>2</sup>

b. Menangkabau has as closers of *indigenous* words only the *q*,<sup>3</sup> the *h*,<sup>4</sup> the nasals (with the exception of *nj*) and of softly burred *r*.<sup>5</sup> Borrowed words, such as *barat* (from Mal.), *bärkat* (from Ar.), being adopted words, are excepted.

II. Batak, as the language of an uncivilized people, is especially poor in words which can express the general, and very rich in those that define the particular. For example, it has no word for *monkey* in

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<sup>1</sup> See 7 NOTE.

<sup>2</sup> See 30 XIV NOTE 3.

<sup>3</sup> See 30 XII NOTE, XIV NOTES 1, 2 and 3.

<sup>4</sup> See 30 XI NOTES 1 and 2, XIII NOTE 1.

<sup>5</sup> See 24 NOTE 3.

general, but it has a name for each particular kind of monkey.<sup>6</sup> The common word for the general is derived from the specific — the word for *bird*, for example, is derived from *fowl*<sup>7</sup> — which can be said of all languages.

III. There are three main dialects: Toba, Mandailing and Dairi. Toba is further divided into *true Toba* and *sub-Toba* which, according to the degree to which it tends towards Mandailing or Dairi, is different again. Mandailing is divided into *North Mandailing* (also called *Angkola*) and *South Mandailing*. It is not yet possible to define the precise boundaries of these dialects.

With regard to the west coast of Sumatra, it can safely be said that Mandailing extends from the Ophir, or *Pasāman* mountains southward to the northerly boundaries of *Sipirok* and *Batang Toru*. Dairi is spoken in the north and north-west of Barus, and also in Singkel<sup>8</sup> and its hinterland. Toba predominates to the east and north-east of Siboga (*Si-bolga*), Barus, Sorkam (*Surham*), in Silindung and in the territories situated near the Lake (*táo*).

Concerning the east coast, we know from reports from elsewhere that two dialects are spoken in the hinterland, the one being Dairi and the other Toba. In Anderson's "Mission to the East Coast of Sumatra", Toba is called *Pardembanan* and Dairi, *Karow karow*, the latter being the Malay pronunciation of *Karo*, the name of a territory where Dairi is spoken, while the former means the place *where demban is present*, i.e., the language in which betel is called *demban*, as it is in true Toba. This designation is easily explained from the custom of the inhabitants to draw a stranger's attention to the difference in dialect by quoting a word which represents something, such as betel, that lies close to his heart. The first lesson I enjoyed from a learned Batak was an enumeration of the words for betel, in which he particularly impressed on my mind that I was not to imagine that I would ever have a chance of becoming a master of all the dialects used in the various territories, and brought home to me that there were, in fact, several dozen dialects to be learned.

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<sup>6</sup> It has three words for *spirit*: *tondi* - the personality of a living person; *begu* - the personality of a dead person, also *ghost*; and *sumangot* - the personality of a deceased kinsman. In that part of my work concerned with the translating of the Bible, I have had to translate *The Holy Ghost* as *tondi parbadija*.

<sup>7</sup> See 30 VIII Obs.; and also Dict. under *pinang* and *passim*.

<sup>8</sup> Here, however, it has become much mixed with Malay and Achinese.

IV. The following are the names of the various kinds of languages:

1. *andung*, i.e., the language used by women wailing over a corpse. It consists of elaborate expressions which are sometimes archaic words and at other times circumscriptions which by means of the prefix *si* acquire the form of a proper name, e.g., *si-mandjodjak* - *The One That Strides*, instead of *pat - leg*. In Mandailing especially, texts are composed in *andung* in which the writer bemoans his unhappy fate, accuses his parents of cruelty as they did not want to take him with them to the other world, and so on. In stories generous use is made of *andung* words; this even applies to *poda* (see 3)

Obs. This kind of language is not in use in Dairi.

2. *hata ni begu sijar*, i.e., the language a person speaks while his personality (*tondi*) is replaced by that of a dead person in whose name he then speaks. Here, also, the words are often circumscriptions.

3. *hata poda*, i.e., the language of instruction, used in the bark-books, which mostly give instruction in the various kinds of divination. Many of the words are not in ordinary use, for example, the names of the eight points of the compass, all of which have been borrowed from Sanskrit — instead of using *habitsaran* - *place of the rising of the sun, the east*, is then called *purba*.<sup>9</sup> Each kind of divination has terms peculiar to it; the reason for these is not always known. Moreover in many territories some kinds of divination are no longer in use, so that in many places a book dealing with such forms cannot be understood if they have not been seen in practice. For example, in the *pamodilon* - *the art of shooting with a gun*, in which instruction is given as though that art were a form of divination, the word *padusi* (Men. *woman*) is used instead of *rabuk* - *gunpowder*, and *dara gumuru* (Mal. *darah gumuruh* - *thundering blood*) instead of *taroktok* - *heart-beating place*.

a. *hata tondung* is a less formal name for the *hata poda*, and is also used in a narrower sense, namely when one speaks of an augury which is not so much concerned with war, but deals with matters of less weight such as, e.g., the loss of some property, and which is not carried out so much by consulting the book.

4. *hata pangaraksawon*: this is the elaborate language which the

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<sup>9</sup> See Dict. under *agomi*.

*datu* — theologian, diviner, magician and doctor, all in one — uses for invoking the spirits or on festive occasions when he speaks of inanimate objects as Ladies and Gentlemen who acquire a name taken from one or other of the qualities of the object, for example, *si-radja-martalindan* - *Prince Bound-To-Each-Other-Crosswise* (of the cords of the kettledrum), instead of *tarik ni gordang*; *si-adj-marhirlo-hirlo* - *Prince Flickerer*, instead of *api* - *fire*, etc. In this kind of language the objects represented as women are usually called *si-dajang* - *the young lady* such-and-such.

5. *hata tabas* - *language of the muttered invocation*. The words are not only archaic, but are very often quite incomprehensible and precisely because of this they are incomprehensibly powerful: no pagan Batak knows the meaning of *bitsumirlahi* (from Ar. Mal. *bismi-llahi*).

6. *hata ni partodung*: the language used by the camphor-gatherers, i.e., the language they must use in order to be successful in finding the camphor, which is so difficult to locate.

Obs. In hunting and fishing, too, the use of certain words is forbidden and they must be replaced by others.

V. Through contact with the more civilized Malays the Batak language has borrowed many words from Malay. Sanskrit words have not been taken directly into Batak but through a Malay-speaking people, because such words have in their form the appearance of having first been corrupted by a language that has the sound laws of Jav. or Mal.<sup>10</sup> In Mandailing many words have been taken from Menangkabau, especially from the Menangkabau of the adjacent Ráo.<sup>11</sup>

VI. In its phonetic system Batak is most closely related to Malagasy (see 33 NOTE, end), but in its grammar to Old Javanese (*Kawi*) and Tagalog. The relationship with Nias consists of only a few words, of which most are also found in the sister languages. Formerly, however, Batak must have had more words in common with Nias.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> See, e.g., 23 IV NOTE 4; 30 VII a and cf. *mortiha* which, as appears from the *o* (as representative of *ě*, see DAIRI A II b) is a transcription of Jav. *měrtjika* from Sans. *wrěstjika*; *mangsi*, the Jav. form of Sans. *masi*, etc.

<sup>11</sup> See, e.g., *poken* (29 I NOTE 2), the name of a kind of fighting-cock, etc.

<sup>12</sup> See Dict., e.g., under *suwa*, *tola* of which the wrong translation must be explained from confusion with words used earlier in Toba.

VII. The literature consists of prescriptions (*poda*) dealing with divination, stories, invocations to the spirits, laments (*andung*), ditties (*ende*), long-winded poems, such as, for example, the *si-marganggang gaol*, and narrative riddles (*torhan-torhanan*). The larger part is in prose into which, however, a great number of short verses are introduced. There are no translations from other languages, and where a Batak text has the appearance of having been borrowed from another language, the colour is so Batak that only a proper name here and there betrays the foreign influence. For our knowledge of the language and the people the stories are the most important because the persons who play a part in them frequently occur *speaking*. The prescriptions on divination are of much importance for a knowledge of the dialects because, in almost every territory, one finds texts on this type of literature.

- a. The stories, laments, ditties, narrative riddles and poems are mostly written on bamboo. One finds very few stories written on bark.
- b. The prescriptions on divination are usually written on bark. The bark-books are called *pustaka* (the pronunciation of the Sanskrit *pustaka*) or *lopijan* (*lapihin* in D.). It is not improbable that the oldest literature of the Batak people consisted of writings on divination.
- c. In Mandailing the stories, which are interlarded with *andung* words and are narrated in a sing-song manner, are called *turi-turijan*, while those which are couched in the daily language and are spoken in an ordinary way are called *hobar-kobaran*.
- d. Laws are seldom found written down, and neither are orations which would certainly be the most beautiful part of Batak literature: the Batak, especially the Toba Batak, devotes much effort to their composition.

VIII. Because there is no division of labour everyone does almost every task in his turn, with the result that every Batak knows his own language better than does someone who belongs to a cultivated nation. One can, therefore, safely consult them about the names of the most diverse things, for example, about the names of plants, birds, fishes, the parts of a building, shooting terms, etc. Because the Batak — when he is not dealing with divination — does not take into account the

difference between the written and the spoken language, he writes it more easily and better than do many people of an educated nation who are chained to a traditional language form. In Mandailing, the native, under the influence of school teachers and interpreters — some of whom are foreigners — appointed by officials, is on his way to learning to write his language badly. In the Government schools too much authority is ascribed to the Bataks who have become Muslims and, as new converts, seek as much as possible to shine with Malay words.<sup>13</sup> Hence the wretched little school books that are there given to the young and which will, inadvertently, slowly bring the pagans completely under the influence of the Muslims.

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<sup>13</sup> For example, in Mandailing *hadjaran* - horse is now seldom used, *kudo* (Men. Mal.) is used instead. This is a marked proof of Malay influence, because this word is not even known in Lubu: the word used there is *kadjawan*.

# A GRAMMAR OF TOBA BATAK

## PART I

### THE SOUND SYSTEM

## I. SCRIPT AND PRONUNCIATION

### 1. WRITING.

The language is written from left to right. The material usually used for writing on is bamboo on which, because of its cylindrical form, it is easier to write by cutting the letters along its length: writing is always done from the bottom to the top. To read, the piece of bamboo can be held horizontally.

### 2. THE ALPHABET.

The alphabet is called *si-sija-sija*. The signs which on their own represent a sound are called *surat na sappulu sija* — *the 19 writing signs* or *ina ni surat* — *large writing*. Those signs which are only read in association with them are, by contrast, called *anak ni surat* — *small writing*.

#### *Ina ni surat*

Form	Name	Sound and Transcription
9	<i>a</i>	carries a vowel (to be compared with the mute <i>h</i> in French).
3	<i>ha</i>	<i>h</i> (see 10).
8	<i>ma</i>	<i>m</i> .
d	<i>na</i>	<i>n</i> .
J	<i>ra</i>	<i>r</i> (see 7 Obs. 6).
X	<i>ta</i>	<i>t</i> .
Y	<i>sa</i>	<i>s</i> .
I	<i>pa</i>	<i>p</i> .
1	<i>la</i>	<i>l</i> .
J	<i>ga</i>	<i>g</i> in <i>good</i> .
W	<i>dja</i>	<i>j</i> in <i>joke</i> , but less sibilant; always so pronounced that the <i>j</i> of the transliteration <i>dj</i> is not audible as a separate sound: <i>radja</i> and not <i>rad-ja</i> .

ㄨ	<i>da</i>	<i>d</i> .
ㄨ	<i>nga</i>	<i>ng</i> as in <i>singer</i> , but pronounced so that the vowel <i>a</i> of the preceding syllable remains an open sound, e.g., <i>tánga</i> and not <i>tànga</i> . As the beginner of a word it is difficult for most Europeans to pronounce.
ㄅ	<i>ba</i>	<i>b</i> .
ㄨ	<i>wa</i>	<i>w</i> (see 17).
ㄨ	<i>ja</i>	<i>j</i> (see 17).
ㄨ	<i>nija</i>	<i>nj</i> included in the alphabet, but not used in practice (see 7 Obs. 8).
ㄨ	<i>i</i>	the vowel <i>i</i> when it is a separate syllable.
ㄨ	<i>u</i>	the vowel <i>u</i> when it is a separate syllable.

OBS. In many territories ㄨ is used instead of [ta] and ㄨ instead of [wa] (cf. DAIRI A).

All the letters just given, with the exception of the last two, *i* and *u*, are pronounced with the vowel *a*, e.g., ㄨ — *rapa*. To remove the vowel, or to replace it with another, the *anak ni surat* are used, among which is the sign indicating *ng* as a closer, and the *pangolat* (3).

### 3. ANAK NI SURAT

○, *haluáin*, is placed immediately after the letter and on the same line, ㄨ○ — *ripi*, and even in a closed syllable has the open sound of *i* in *ski*, *ee* in *feet* [i]; *tistis* should be pronounced *teestees*.

ㄨ, *haboruwan* or *haborotan*, furnishes the consonant with the vowel *u* which, even in a closed syllable has the open sound of *oo* in *boot* or *oe* in *shoes* [u]; *tustus* should be pronounced *toostoos*. The placing of this sign is as follows: ㄨ *pu*, ㄨ *lu*, ㄨ *ju*, ㄨ *nu*, ㄨ *bu*, ㄨ *ung*, ㄨ *hu*, ㄨ *ru*, ㄨ (ㄨ) *tu*, ㄨ *gu*, ㄨ (ㄨ) *wu*, ㄨ *mu*, ㄨ *su*, ㄨ *dju*, ㄨ *du*, ㄨ *ngu*.

×, *sijala* or *sihora*, is placed after the consonant and on the same line, ㄨ× *bo*, and furnishes it with the vowel *o*, which can be pronounced as an open vowel, like the *o* in French *mot* [o] or closed, like the *o* in French *homme* [ɔ] (see 6).

- , *hatadingan*, is placed to the left of the letter and parallel to the topmost stroke, ㄨ- *be*, and furnishes the consonant with the vowel *e*, which can be pronounced as an open vowel, as in French *été* [e], or closed, as in French *belle* [ɛ] (see 5).

↘, *pangolat*, is placed after the consonant and on the same line and deprives the consonant of its *a* (see 2), e.g., 𑌛𑌗 ↘ *rap*. The *pangolat* is not used, except out of ignorance, as the devoweller of *ng*, see the next sign.

- , *hamisaran*, or *paminggil*, is the sign representing final *ng*. The position of this sign is the same as that of the *hatadingan*, but to the right of the letter, 𑌛𑌗 *bang*. When the consonant has an *i* or an *o*, it is usual for this sign to be written above the vowel, e.g., 𑌛𑌗𑌛 *bing*, 𑌛𑌗𑌛 *bong*.

In a closed syllable, each vowel sign is placed with the closing consonant and if the vowel is placed alongside the letter, it precedes the devoweller, *pangolat*, e.g., 𑌛𑌗 ↘ *tup*, 𑌛𑌗 - 𑌛𑌗 *tip*, 𑌛𑌗 - 𑌛𑌗 *top*. The position of *e* in relation to its consonant is optional; *bahen* can be written 𑌛𑌗𑌛𑌗𑌛𑌗, or 𑌛𑌗𑌛𑌗𑌛𑌗.

#### 4. PRONUNCIATION OF THE A.

The vowels *i* and *u* have already been dealt with in 3 and nothing further need be said about them. With regard to *a*, in addition to what has been said in 2 in respect of *nga*, the following should be noted:

1. that in a closed syllable, it is pronounced as *a* in French *patte* [a];
2. that in a final unaccented syllable closed with *n* or *m*, it loses so much of its clearness that it sounds like *o* in a closed syllable (almost like the *o* in *école*) and is often confused with it; hence *lejan* as well as *lejòn*.

#### 5. PRONUNCIATION OF THE E.

I. *e* sounds like the *e* in French *belle* in:

1. a closed syllable, e.g., *sèrbèng*;
2. an open syllable when the one following is closed and does not have an *u*, e.g., *tèjas*, *èsèng*, *ètèt*, *mèndàt* or, when it is open and has an *o* or an *a*, e.g., *èto*, *mèna*;
3. an open final unaccented syllable, e.g., *tòlè*;
4. the case mentioned in 17 V, NB.

II. It sounds like *e* in French *été* in:

1. an open final accented syllable, e.g., *malé*;
2. an open syllable when the one following has an *u*, e.g., *bégu*, *hésut*;

3. an open syllable when, in accordance with (1), the one following has *é*, e.g., *béré*, *bégé*.

## 6. PRONUNCIATION OF THE O.

I. *o* sounds like *o* in French *homme* in:

1. every closed syllable where III and IV do not apply, e.g., *dòk*, *dòng*, *bòt*, *dòr*;

2. an open syllable when the one following has an *ò* or an *è*, e.g., *dòhòt*, *tòlè*;

3. an open syllable when the one following has *ng* as closer or beginner, e.g., *tòrang*, *tònga*, *dòngan*, *hòtang*.

II. It sounds like *o* in French *mot* in:

1. every open syllable where I (2 and 3) do not apply, e.g., *góra*, *bórat*, *hóda*, *bódat*, *tóru*, *bólon*, *dóran*, *bósik*, *hóbol*, *tabó*, *dóbó*.

III. In a final syllable closed with *l* or *n*, it sounds almost like *u* in *sun*, *dull*, e.g., *bólon*, *hóbol*, except when the syllable begins with *r* or *ng*, e.g., *tòròn*, *tòngòn*, *dangòl*.

IV. It sounds like an *a* in the prefixes [*tor*], [*por*], and [*mor*], e.g., [*morhoda*] *marhóda*. When these prefixes occur before a stem-word beginning with a vowel, the *sjala* is omitted in writing, e.g., [*tarida*] ([*tor*] + [*ida*]).

a. This pronunciation of these prefixes is usual only in Sub-Toba and Mandailing. In Toba, the pronunciation is *morhoda*; the spelling [*torida*] even occurs, though this is rare.

b. When *mor*, *tor* and *por* are not prefixes, they are pronounced in the usual way, e.g., *mòrgu*, *pòrlak*, *tòrluk* (I), but: *tardòk* (the prefix [*tor*] and the stem-word *dok*).

c. When the word is trisyllabic but is not derived by means of one of these prefixes, the pronunciation can be as an *ò*, or as an *a*, e.g., *mortiha* and *martiha*, *portibi* and *partibi*. In such cases, the pronunciation of *o* is preferable, in order to show that the word is not a derivative.

N.B. Henceforth, the signs indicating the way the vowels are pronounced will be omitted and the ' will be used exclusively to show the accent on the final syllable.

## 7. THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE CONSONANTS TO EACH OTHER.

	Solid		Fluid			
	Edged	Blunt	Nasals	Semi-Vowels	Trillers	Aspirate
Gutturals . .	k	g	ng		r	h
Palatals . . .	(tj)	dj	(nj)	j		
Dentals . . .	t	d	n		l	
Labials . . .	p	b	m	w		
Sibilant (see Obs. 1)	s					

obs. 1. The consonants in the first two columns are *solid*, those in the remainder are *fluid* (cf. Obs. 9, NOTE below). The *s* is not included among the solid consonants because the sibilant, though more *solid* than the consonants that are termed *fluid*, is related to the latter group by its *susurrus* (cf. Obs. 9 and 30 XI). The semi-vowels come in the *fluid* group because *h*, *w* and *j* can change with each other (22 II 2 and the Obs.). The *solid* consonants are either *edged* or *blunt*, according to the force with which they are pronounced. The *blunt* consonants never occur as closers (cf. Obs. 7).

a. The *b* is occasionally *written* as a closer when the syllable containing it begins with *b*, e.g., [*abab*], as well as [*abap*].

obs. 2. The *s*, as appears from 11, must be put in the *edged* consonant group. It is a dental: in form it is the same as the Indian dental *s*, but without the downstroke on the right (cf.  with ). The *tj* does not occur in Sub-Toba and Toba (see also MANDAILING A). The blunt sibilant *z* does not exist in any Batak dialect, though it is found in Malagasy, which is closely related to Toba: it would be to the *s* as the *g* to the *k*, the *d* to the *t*, and the *b* to the *p*, etc.

obs. 3. The consonants in whose reproduction the same organ of speech is used are termed *homorganic*; *p*, *b*, *m* and *w* are *homorganic*.

obs. 4. The consonants in the first three columns are not *homorganic* but *homotypic*, because they have a corresponding relationship to their homorganic partners: *k* is to *g* and *ng* as *tj* is to *dj* and *nj* as *t* is to *d* and *n* as *p* is to *b* and *m*. The semi-vowels too, because of a corresponding relationship to their homorganic partners are

homotypic: *j* is to *nj*, *dj* and *tj* as *w* is to *m*, *b* and *p*. *S* is to *z* as *k* is to *g*, etc., and is, therefore, a homotypic of the consonants occurring in the same column.

obs. 5. The nasal sounds are not only homotypic, but must also be regarded as being at the same time homorganic, because they are all sounded through the nose (for the consequence of this double relationship, see 30 III).

obs. 6. The term *fused* or *liquid* cannot be applied to *r* and *l* because they cannot form a syllable with a preceding consonant even though the latter be edged and solid; syllables such as, for example, *tra* and *tla* are not possible and must become *tora* and *tola* (cf. DAIRI A II a); in view of 25, *r* and *l* are aptly called trillers. The *r* must be regarded as a guttural consonant not only because some tribes pronounce it hard, like the Arabic <*ghain*>, but also because it is frequently found with the *a*, which is a guttural vowel (17 V a), and creates the same exception as the guttural nasal in 6 III. The *l* is a dental and, as such, is often interchangeable with *d* and *n* (30 II and IV; cf. also 6 III). In Batak, it cannot occur in a word having an *r* (24).

obs. 7. The blunt consonants can be regarded as being a transition to the fluid, the more so because they are so weak that, even where the word formation does not demand it, they drop out after a homorganic nasal (DAIRI K I and cf. 30 IX). Where, as closers, they would occur, their place is taken by an edged consonant or, occasionally, by a homorganic nasal (30 VI Obs. 1).

obs. 8. The *n* is written as closer before *dj* instead of a *nj* (in M. and D., also before *tj*); then it naturally becomes homorganic with that consonant and thus sounds like *nj*, which is an indivisible sound; the *j* of the transliteration is not audible. That *nj*, either as a beginner, or between two vowels, cannot be pronounced, appears from its name *nija* instead of *nja* (2). In *Dairi*, this letter is not even in the alphabet (cf. MANDAILING F III).

obs. 9. The *s*, though an edged consonant can, like the *l* and *r*, be regarded as a *continuer* because, like these consonants, it does not, as a closer, completely close the breath stream like the edged solid consonants *k*, *t* and *p* do (for *tj*, see Obs. 10), hence the reason for its serving equally with the *l* and the *r* (27 I).

NOTE. The susurrus of the *s* as a closer is, consequently, the reason that words, which in other languages end in *r*, *l* or *s*, in Macassarese have an *after-sound* which consists of the same vowel as is found in the preceding syllable and is followed by a swallowed *k*, while the accent in the word so lengthened is on the antepenultimate syllable, e.g., *lúnasäq* = *lúnas* (Mal.); *sánggaräq* = *sánggar* (T.); *kápaläq* = *kápal* (D.).

In Macassarese, words as a rule have the accent on the penultimate syllable and the fact that in this case the accent is on the ante-penultimate is proof that such a last syllable is only an after-sound which, as a *non-essential* syllable that does not belong to the stem-word, gives way before a *suffix*. The modifying *a*, not being a suffix, although it is written in the same way, does not displace the accent, hence the reason that the after-sound remains, e.g., *kulípasaka*, i.e., *kulípasäq* and *a*. That *húrupuq*, as well as *hururuq*, is found in Macassarese does not invalidate the rule just stated, because in this word, the after-sound is used to imitate the susurrus of the aspirated *f* of the original Arabic word, i.e., <*hurūf*>.

In Macassarese, the nasals, as closers of a word, are represented by *ng*, without an after-sound, from which fact it is apparent that they have less susurrus than *r*, *l* and *s*. It is for this reason that they are sometimes put in the category of *explosives*; they would then be in a group with the solid consonants. But the term *resonant* is more appropriate (30 III e). That, in Batak, they are fluid is evident from, among other places, 30 III e, Obs. and DAIRI F.

obs. 10. Though at present the *tj* (MANDAILING A), *dj* (2) and *nj* (Obs. 8) are indivisible consonants, it must be assumed that, originally, they were compounds (see, for example, 30 V a), hence the reason that *tj*, even though it is an edged consonant, is never a closer, while *nj* cannot, as a closer of a word, be pronounced.

## 8. FUSION OF VOWELS.

Two identical vowels occurring together, either because of derivation or by the conjunction of two words, become one without, as a consequence, being lengthened (see d). When the vowel that is contracted in this manner occurs in the last syllable, then this syllable is accented, e.g., [*huutahon*] *hutahon*, [*pa'adop'adop*] *padopadop*, [*horbo'on*] *horbón*, [*porhalá'an*] *parhalán*, [*maridii*] *maridí*.

a. The pronominal suffixes *mu* and *hu*, and words like [*'anghora*] and [*bajo*], lose their end vowel before an adjectival pronoun. In spelling it is usual to omit this vowel, e.g., [*hudjurmón*] *hudjurmón* (*hudjúrmu on*) — *this, your lance*. This also applies to the exclamatory word *indí* e.g., [*'indón*] *indón* (*indí + on*) — *look at this!*, [*'indadu*] *indadú* (*indí + adú*) — *look at that!* In [*bajo*] and [*'anghora*] the end vowel *can* be dropped in writing, e.g., [*baji*] as well as [*bajoi*] *bají*.



from Rao Men. *radjoki*, <Mal. *rĕdjĕki*>. The *h* as a beginner of a word, or between two vowels, represents the *k* used in other dialects and languages, e.g., *tuhor* = *tokor* (Dairi, see DAIRI B and Dictionary).

b. The *h* often drops out after *i*, e.g., [*mahijandu*], ([*mahi*] + [*handu*]); [*sijala*], ([*si*] + [*hala*]); in the case of [*dih*a] and [*dij*a]; [*sijol*] and [*sihol*], both forms are in use but with a difference in meaning (see Dict.). After *a*, it drops out only in [*'ahu*], [*laho*] and [*bahen*], which words can also be spelt [*'au*], [*la'o*] and [*ba'en*]. After *e*, it drops out only in [*lehon*], which can also be spelt [*lejon*]. After *u*, it drops out in *huwa*, from *huha*. As the beginner of a word, it seldom drops out, but an example is: [*'anghadangan*] from [*hanghadangan*] (22 IV a and cf. MANDALING B d).

obs. In *tijop*, the *h* has disappeared and can only be shown to have existed from the Dairi word *tjekĕp* (see DARI D III). It is striking that in Dairi, although it has a *k* between two vowels, the *k* in *kĕtjeur* has got lost; it would thus appear that this word has been borrowed from T., *hasijor*. That the *k*, which as said in a., is *h* in T., was original in *kĕtjeur* can be seen from the Sundanese *tjikur* and the Malay *tjĕkur* (cf. DAIRI D III a).

#### 11. THE NASALS AS CLOSERS BEFORE AN EDGED CONSONANT.

Before an edged consonant, a nasal as closer is pronounced as a homorganic solid edged consonant, e.g., [*hadamta*] *hadapta*, [*tijansaba*] *tijat-saba*, [*pantis*] *pattis*, [*lansat*] *latsat*, [*mangsi*] *maksi*.

a. A closer *n* when followed by *p* becomes a *p*, e.g., [*tijanpasaribu*] *tijap pasaribu*, [*punpun*] *puppun*, [*dibahenpogosna*] *di baep* (10 b) *pogosna*.

obs. *Dup pe* seldom occurs instead of *duk pe* [*dungpe*].

b. A nasal as closer of a monosyllabic word occasionally becomes homorganic with a consonant, even when it is blunt or a non-identical nasal, e.g., [*dambulan*] (*dan* + *bulan*), [*hinghijan*] (*hin* + *hijan*, cf. 22 IV a), [*nantulang*] occurs as well as [*nangtulang*], [*nantuwa*] as well as [*nangtuwa*]. Thus, [*ninna*] is from [*ningna*]; [*nimmu*],

from [ningmu]; [ninta], from [ningta], while [nungma] *nung ma* not only becomes *num ma* [numma], but even [nunga] *nunga*.

c. In words consisting of syllables having the same closer and beginner, *m* and *n* become homorganic with *g*, e.g., *gonggom* instead of *gomgom*; *gonggon* instead of *gongon*. In other cases too, the *n* as closer before a beginner *b* can become *m*, e.g., *haim-bottar* as well as *hain-bottar*, *bomban* as well as *bonban*.

NOTE. In Nias and Moko Moko Menangkabau, it is also a rule for a closing nasal to be omitted before an edged consonant. Traces of this are found everywhere in the sister languages, e.g., *takis* (Sund.) = *tangkis* (Mal.), *opan* (Sund.) = *ompan* (Mal.), *lasat* (Dayak) = *langsats* (Mal.), *djakit* (Dayak) = *djangkit* (Mal.), etc.

## 12. THE NASALS AS CLOSERS BEFORE H.

A nasal as closer with an *h* as beginner becomes a doubled solid edged homorganic consonant, e.g., [tintinhu] *tittittu* (11), [hadamhu] *hadappu*, [horunghorong] *horuk-korong*, [langkat] *lakkat*.

a. As closer of a word of more than two syllables, *n* can become a consonant homorganic with the beginning *h* of a suffix, e.g., *napuraku* occurs as well as *napurattu* ([*napuran*] + [*hu*]), but *tittikku* is seldom heard instead of *tittittu*.

b. A closer *n* becomes a consonant homorganic with the *h* of the word following, e.g., [tijanhuta] *tijak-kuta*, [dibahenho] *di baek* (10 b)-*ko*.

c. The suffix [honorhon] is pronounced *honotton*; but according to b, it is also pronounced *honokkon*.

d. The *m* must become a consonant homorganic with *h* as beginner of a word when the first syllable of that word is open and the second begins with *p*, e.g., [onomhupang] *onok-kupang*. This can also occur when the first syllable of the word following is closed, hence *onok-korbo* as well as *onop-porbo* [onomhorbo] occurs, but, according to the rule of 12, *onop-palak* [onomhalak].

obs. The *p* is unpronounceable by some of the lake (*tao*) tribes of east Toba and they pronounce it as a *k*, e.g., *kiso* = *piso*, *hekeng* = *hepeng*. A few traces are to be found in writing, e.g., *indak-kodó* (= *indak podó* [indangpodo], 11), *rakkon* instead of *rappon* [raphon], 14; cf. MANDAILING c a.

## 13. DOUBLE S.

When, by means of derivation and the conjunction of two words, two *s*'s come together, the *ss* becomes *ts*, e.g., [*lassowada*] *lat-sowada*, [*ulossende*] *ulot-sende*, [*tortongossa*] (*tartongos* + *sa* suffix) *tartongosa*.

14. THE EDGED CONSONANTS AS CLOSERS BEFORE *H*.

Every edged consonant as closer with an *h* following, is doubled, e.g., [*anahhu*] *anakku* (10), [*pathu*] *pattu*, [*taruphu*] *taruppu*, [*solothon*] *solotton*, [*uloshu*] *ulotsu* (13), [*hushus*] *hutsús* (13), [*hutopothami*] *hutopot-tami*.

a. In consecutive syllables that are closed with the same consonant and which, at the same time, begin with *h*, the closer before the *h* of the second syllable changes to *h* making *hh* (10), e.g., [*hophop*] *hokkop*, [*hamham*] *hakkam*. The only exception is *s* (see [*hushús*], 14). But in Sub-Toba, which leans towards Dairi, the *s* even becomes *k*, e.g., *hukkús* = *hutsús*. When *t* is a closer, the general rule of 14 applies, as well as the deviation from it, hence *huttut* as well as *hukkut* [*huthut*]. In [*halinghothoton*] *halikkokkoton*, [*hothot*] is more often pronounced *hokkot* than *hottot*.

With regard to *hukkam*, which is at present written [*hungham*] (12), as appears from the Dairi [*kumkam*] it must have acquired its *kk* in the same way.

obs. The *ts*, which as has been shown arose from *ns* (11), *ss* (13) and *sh* (14), is the sound that the Toba-speaking people hear in the *tj* between two vowels, hence *hatsak-katsang* (according to 11, spelt [*hansang-hansang*]) from *katjang-katjang* (Men. *small shot*). *Tji* usually becomes *ti*, e.g., *pastima*, from *pastjima* (Sans.), cf. DAIRI D III. As the beginner of a word, or between two vowels, *tj* in other dialects and languages is represented by *s*, e.g., *rasun* = *ratjun* (D.), *sina* = *tjina* (D.).

15. A CLOSER *N* BEFORE *L*, *R* AND *M*.

The *n* as closer is assimilated to a beginner *l*, *r* or *m*, e.g., [*sanlampis*] *sallappis*, [*nanrobar*] *narrobar*, [*tijanruma*] *tijar ruma*, [*ronron*] *rorron*, [*monmon*] *mommon*, [*tinaruwanmu*] *tinaruwammu*, [*lanlan*] *lallan*, [*tuwanla'en*] *tuwal-laen*.

NOTE. Hence *naretse* (the fair one) instead of *narretse* from Men. Mal. *nan rentjeh*.

#### 16. R AS CLOSER OF A PREFIX.

An *r* as closer of a prefix becomes an *l* before a beginner *l*, e.g., [*porlandja*] *pallandja*, [*morlange*] *mallange*; but [*torluk*] *torluk* (here, *tor* is not a prefix).

a. Besides *porlak*, the pronunciation *pollak* also occurs, though *por* is not, in this case, a prefix; *moleng* would, similarly, appear to have come from *molleng* [*morleng*].

b. From a comparison with M. and D., it appears that in reciprocal verbs the closing *r* of the prefix [*mor*] has dropped out before *si*, e.g., [*masibodilan*] - *to shoot at each other* (D. *měrsibědilěn*, M. *marsibodilan*).

c. In the Nai Pospos dialect (inland of Surham), after a prefix with *r*, e.g., [*mor*], *pabuwe* is usual instead of *parbuwe*, e.g., *marpabuwe* (elsewhere, *marparbuwe*).

NOTE. In Malay, *r* of the prefixes drops out when:

(i) the syllable immediately following has *r* as closer, e.g., *bākārdja* (*bār* + *kārdja*), *bāpārsāmbakkan* (*bār* + etc.);

(ii) the word begins with *r* or *l*. When the word begins with a vowel and ends in *r*, the closer of the prefix is *l*, e.g., *bāladjar* (*bār* + *adjar*), *tālandjur* (Men.), from *tārandjur*, *tēlantar* (Bat. Mal.), from *tār(h)antar*. In other cases, the prefix retains the *r*, hence *bārtaburan* but, according to (i), *bātārbangan*; therefore, *bālantara* does not come from *bār* and *antara* (24 NOTE 1).

#### 17. THE SEMI-VOWELS.

The semi-vowels are not pronounced in Toba. Sub-Toba sometimes follows T. in its use of semi-vowels and sometimes D. and M., depending upon the extent to which it tends towards the one or the other. Attention will not, therefore, always be drawn to it in the following remarks. The best way of showing the way in which T. avoids the use of the semi-vowels, will be to compare all the dialects.

I. *In no dialect can the semi-vowels be closers or beginners*. Where, in other languages, words do begin with one of them, Batak has:

a. the related vowels *i* and *u* before such words, e.g., *uwange* = *wangi* (Jav.), *ijamán* (a proper name), from the Arabic-Malay *jamán*, *uwalu* = *wolu* (Jav.), *wwalu* (Kawi);

b. a *b* instead of *w*, and, as in Malay, *dj* instead of *j*, e.g., *bange* as well as *uwange* (see a), *borna*, from the Jav. *wěrna* (23 b IV NOTE 4), *djaba*, from *jawā* (Sans.).

obs. The use of *a* instead of *i* in *ajuga* (Sans. *juga*) and similarly, *ajoka* in Macassarese is in accordance with VIII NOTE 2.

### *The w*

II. Dairi (or Dairi Sub-Toba) is the only dialect that permits between two vowels a *w* that is not preceded by *o* or *u*. In the other dialects the *w* becomes:

1. a *b*; or
2. it *disappears*, so that the two identical vowels between which it stood become one (8) and the word is shorter by one syllable; or
3. it is *replaced by o*, so that the word becomes longer by one syllable.

No rule can be given regarding when or in which dialects the one or the other occurs; this will be seen from the examples below.

III. M. favours *o* in a closed last syllable in place of *wa*, e.g., *maos* = *mawas* (D.).

a. When *o* occurs as an end sound where elsewhere *wa* occurs, then the word has been taken directly from Men. (see below, NOTE), e.g., *djao* - *Java*, as in *timbako djao* - *Javanese tobacco*, is the Men. pronunciation of *djarwa*; similarly, *sandao*, in *sira sandao* - *saltpetre*, and *rao* (name of a territory to the south of Lesser Mandailing).

obs. In the following examples, the Dairi form has been given first, because it is considered in the Dictionary as the form by which forms in the other dialects are explainable. When the word does not occur in Dairi, recourse has been had to a sister language (Jav., Mal., etc.).

*w* between two *a*'s

1. *karwan* (D.), *haban* (T.), *haon* (M.);
2. *tarwar* (D.), *taoar* (T.), *tabar* (T.), *taor* (M.);
3. *tawas* (Mal.), *taos* (M., *alum*) = *tabas* (D. and T.; an *incantation* muttered when using an antidote against sickness: spices are supposed to drive away ghosts, which are the creators of illness, see, e.g., *salimbatuk*). It therefore appears that the Dairi *tabas* has been taken from T.;

4. *djawa* (Mal. and Jav., in *djěwawut*, from *djawa* + *awut*; Sans. *java*); *djaba* (T.), *dja* (T., in *dja-padang*);
5. *marwas* (D.), *maoas* (T.), *maos* (M.);
6. *dawan* (D.), *daoan* (T.), *dan* (T. and North M.), *daban* (T.), *dahan* (South M., instead of *da-an*, see MANDAILING E a);
7. *lāwarāq* (Mac.), *rabar* (T.);
8. *rawan* (Mal., and D., in *rawaněn*), *raban* (T.);
9. *rawang* (D.), *raoang* and *rabang* (T.);
10. *tawa* (D., in *těrtawa*), *ta*, in *martatá* (T.), and *mantatá* (M.);
11. *rawa* (Mal.), *ra* (North M., name of a territory, see *rao* above III a);
12. *tjawan* (D., from Mal., from Chinese *tsa-wan* - *teacup*), *saban* (14 NOTE), *saoan* (T.);
13. *djawa*, in *ulam-djawa* (D.), *dja* (T.), in *baluwang-dja*;
14. *sělarwal* (D., see 24; Men. *sarawal*), *saraoar* (T.), *saraor* (M.);
15. *bawang* (D.), *baoang* (T.); cf. 22 II NOTE);
16. *awak* (D.), *ak* and *aoak* (T.);
17. *dawa* (D.), *da* (M., and T., in *dadá*);
18. *lawang* (D., and Mal., in *bunga-lawang*), *laoang*, *labang* (T. and D.); from this it is apparent that D. *labang* - a nail, has been taken from T.;
19. *talawa* (D.), *talaoa* and *talaba* (T.), *talá* (8) and later on *tala* (19 I NOTE) in the proper name *datu tala di baunge* (p. 28 at the bottom in the Notes Batak Reading Book);
20. *kawar* (D.), *har* (T., in *si-harhar*);
21. *bularwan* (D.), *bulán* (T., see 8);
22. *djarwat*, *djaoat* (T.), *djat* (North M.), *djaot* (South M.);
23. *gawak*, in *gagawak*, *gaoak*, *gak*;
24. *sawa*, in *ulok-sawa*, a kind of snake the size of a boa constrictor, *sa*;
25. *sawah* (Mal.), *saba*;
26. *tawan* (Mal.), *taban* (also D., cf. 30 X Obs. 1).

OBS. In T., *wa* as the end sound has become *u* in *djau*, from *djawa* (Nias, *ndawa*, see below IV NOTE). This old form of *djau* must be distinguished from *djao* (see above, III a).

NOTE. In Men., *wa* as end sound is represented by *o* (closed sound *ò*), e.g., *djao*, *djio*, *bao*, are the Men. forms of *djawa*, *djiwa*, *bawa*, etc. The Macassarese of Salejer prefers *h* to *w* between vowels (cf. 30 X), e.g., *raha* = *rawa* (Mac.), *djaha* = *djawa*, *pinahang* = *pinawang* (Mac.), *lohe* = *lowe* (Mac.) *uhi* = *uwi* (Mac. and Jav.), *suhangi* = *subangi* (Mac. instead of *suwangi*, from *bangi* =

Jav. *wěngi* - night: thus *suwangi*, which in the Malay of the Moluccas means *haunted*, means originally *nightly*; *uhug* = *uq* (Mac. see 22 II 2).

Sundanese favours *ntj* instead of *w*, especially between two *a*'s, e.g., *lantja* = *lawā* (Mal.), *santja* (a kind of snake) = *sawa* (see example 24); *rarantjak* occurs, as well as *lalawak*. *Kentja* = *kiwa* (Jav.) appears to be a case apart. Therefore *kantjah* (D. and M.) = *kawah* (Jav.) comes from West Java (cf. 31 VI NOTE). Cf. also *rarantjang* and *krantjang*, *lattice*, with Jav. and Mal. *krawang*.

*wi* = *i*

IV. *wi* after *a* becomes, as a rule, *i*, e.g.:

1. *lawi* (D.) = *lai* (T.), in *lai-lai*;
2. *sawit* (D.) = *sait* (T.);
3. *rawit* (D.) = *rait* (T.);
4. *awin* (D.) = *ain* (T.); cf. *abin*;
5. *kawil* (Bisaya and Lamp.) = *kail* (D.), *hail* (T.);
6. *kawit* (Bisaya), *hāwitrā* (Huwa) = *hait* (T.), *kait* (Mal.).
  - a. *wi* seldom becomes *u*, examples are:
    1. *bataw* (or *mataw* 30 VIII), from Mal. *batawi* (*Batavia*);
    2. *haut* (T.) alongside *hait* (cf. IV 6);
    3. *saung* (Sund.), *saong* (T. 29 IV) = *sawing* (Tag.); cf. *daun* (Mal.) with *rāwinā* (Huwa), etc.

obs. 1. The Men. *mantawej* has become in T. *nattawe*; in sub-T. *nattawe* (30 III), which is the name of a very powerful kind of poison. (Mantawej is the Men. name for the people of the Mentawai Islands who are skilled in the use of the blowpipe and who specialize in making the poisoned arrows for it.) *Dewatā* (Sans., Jav. *djuwata*) has become *debatā*, so that D. took the word from T.

obs. 2. The *w* after *o* seldom changes into *b*, but an example is *boban*, alongside *bowan*.

NOTE. The following are examples of *uwa* in some dialects where others have *awa*: *lawas* (Men.) = *luwas* (Mal.), *sarawal* (Men.) = *saruwal* (Ar. Mal.), *sawala* (Sund.) = *swala* (Mal.), *langkawas* (Bisaya) = *langkuwas* (Mal.). Examples of *au* = *awa* are: *parwas* (Mal. - *whale*) = *paus* (Men.), *manawangi*, from *naung* (Mal. cf. above III Obs.), etc. This is probably the explanation of *bauhun* (*dog*, literally, *the low object*, see DAIRI F), from an earlier *bauh* (31 IV) = *bawah* (Mal.); cf. <*sebahaw*> - *swine*, and *andapan* (Jav. *swine*), from *andap* - *low*.

The *j*

V. Before *ja* *a* as well as *o*, in Sub-T. and M. become *e* in T., e.g.,

1. *beangan* = *bajangan* (M.);
2. *beom* = *bojom* (M.);

3. *peop* = *pojop* (Sub-T.);
4. *leang* = *lajang* (M.) and *lojang* (D. and M.);
5. *beuhan* = *bojuhan* (M.);
6. *eo* = *ojo* (M.).

obs. *Deák*, also usual in Sub-T., has perhaps had an earlier variant *daják* (28 II). *Seat* (in Sub-T. also *sejat*), as appears from *sait* (Men.), must have had the variant *sajat* (17, end NOTE 1). Similarly, *lejatni* is also usual in Sub-T. (cf. VI 4th example, and 30 XIII).

NB. The *e*, which thus comes in the antepenultimate syllable, is pronounced with a kind of catch, as though the syllable were a separate word, *beuhan* becomes *bè-uhan*, the *e* sharp, or closed; for the reason, see 22 III d.

a. It is singular that D., which *must* use a *j* (see DAIRI C I), also has *e* in words which, in Sub-T. and M., have a *j* between two *a*'s, *except* sometimes when the syllable has *r* as beginner (7 Obs. 6), e.g., *lejang* = *lajang* (M.), *bejangën* = *bajangan* (M. and Sub-T.), etc. On the other hand, there are *rajar* and *rajam*, in the proper name *sibëru rajam*, and *reja*, as well as *raja*.

VI. In T., *ae* is less often to be found where elsewhere *aja* is used; this practice is sometimes followed by Sub-T. and North M. Examples are:

1. *tuwan lajan* (South M.) = *tuwal laen* (15), *tuwan laen* (North M.);
2. *gulaen* (M.), from Men. *gulajan*, in *gulej gulajan* - all kinds of side-dishes;
3. *lalaen*, from an earlier *lalajan* in Men. (*lalejan*, see MANDAILING G NOTE), so that the earlier form perhaps meant *always confused*;
4. *robajan* (South M.) = *robaen* (Sub-T. and North M.); according to the rule in V, T. also has *robean*;
5. *sang binaja*, as well as *sang binae* (T.);
6. *parkajan*, as well as *parkaen* (M.). *Këdae* ([*këtdaje*], see DAIRI B and c) = *hadea* (T.) and *hadaja* (Sub-T.), is striking; cf. *lajás* occurring alongside *lajés*.

a. The following are examples of *ae* occurring in T. where *ajo* occurs in Sub-T. or M.:

1. *aek* (T. and Sub-T.) = *ajok* (Sub-T.); cf. *air* (Men.) = *ajar* (Mal.), below, NOTE 1;

2. *saep* (T. and Sub-T.) = *sajop* (M.);
  3. *saem* (T. and Sub-T.) = *sajom* (M.).
- b. *Aja*, instead of an original *ae*, is found in *pahaja* = *pahae*, *bajan* (M.), from *baen*, as the pronunciation of *bahen* (10 b).

VII. When an *u* stands on both sides of a *j*, T. has an *i* instead of the first *u*, e.g., *siup* = *sujup*, *tiung* = *tujung*.

- a. This is the reason for the alternation of *iu*, or *iju*, with *uju*; hence Sub-T. has made *masuju* out of Men. *masiju*, or *mansiju*, which, in T., must be *masiu*. *Tujung* has, perhaps, come from *tiung* (also in Lamp.) in the same manner.

VIII. In T., *j* after *a* and before *u* or *o* falls out, e.g.:

1. *hau* = *haju*;
2. *bao* = *bajo*;
3. *saur* = *sajur*.

These words are, however, also common in Sub-T. with the T. pronunciation; the first, in *hau-tanggurung*, the second in proper names, such as *bao pais*, and the third, in *saur-maturwa*, etc. The *j* seldom changes to *i*, but an example is *paiogon* = *pajogon*.

- a. After *a*, *ju* is changed into *i* only in *baion* (*baijon* in Sub-T.), from *bajuon*, when the word means *leaves* in general *that are used for weaving, or for the making of mats*, whereas, according to the rule, *bauon* must be used in T. (Sub-T. *bajuon*) when it is the verbal substantive, *the thing to be woven*, from *mambaju* - *to weave something*. After *u* before an *a*, the *j* drops out, or is changed into *i*, e.g., *sua* as well as *suia* = *suja*, in *hapur suja*; *lappuang* as well as *lappuiang* (11), from *lampujang* (Mal.).

NOTE 1. Men. has *ai*, pronounced as two syllables, where Mal. often has *aja*, e.g., *lair* = *lajar*, *bair* = *bajar*, *air* = *ajar*. Mal. also sometimes has *aja* where there should be *ai*, e.g., *majat* = *mait*. (Men., dissyllabic), from the Ar. *meit*, monosyllabic; cf. *kajal* (Jav.) with *kail* (Mal.), *majam* = *main* (Mal. 30 III c).

NOTE 2. Examples of *ij* in one language = *aj* in others are: *bijawak* (Mal.) = *bajawak* (Tag.), *ajun* (Mal.) = *ijun* (Jav.), *ajuga* instead of *ijuga* (17, I Obs.), *lajá* (Iloco) = *halija* (Mal.), etc.

## 18. THE ACCENT

The accent falls either on the ultimate or the penultimate syllable, e.g., *daó*, *bóltok*, *debatá*, *sibórang*. The vowel of the unaccented syllable

is distinct and should not become washed out, such as in the pronunciation of *testament* as *testĕment*, or *Singkĭl* as *Singkĕl*.

The unaccented penultimate syllable is the *lightest* (in *debatá*, it is *ba*; in *daó*, it is *da*); the syllable on which the accent falls is the *heaviest* (in the two examples given, *ta* and *o*, and in *boltok*, *bol*). The syllable following a heavy one or preceding the lightest is the *light*, which might be called *heavyish*; in *debatá*, this syllable is *de*, and in *boltok*, *tok*, while in *sibórang* the syllable preceding the *heavy* penultimate, *si*, might be called *lighter*.

OBS. In *Dairi* (see *DAIRI K Obs.*), there is also a *lighter ultimate* syllable.

a. Words of more than three syllables are practically pronounced as two words. They are divided into two parts of which, when the number of syllables is uneven, the last has three syllables. The full accent is then only on the last part, e.g., *gàbe-bólon*, *dàrambanúwa*, *dumàredé*, *pàbowàhonókkon*, from which it can be seen that the half-accent, indicated in the first part by ` , is there on the same syllable as the full accent is in the second.

NOTE. The division into two words usually takes place in those languages in which the *a* is pronounced as *ã* (or *ò*), as, for example, *Men.*, where one finds *tjinã-butã* (as if it meant the *blind Chinaman!*), from *tjihñbhũta* (22, IV, b 1).

## 19. THE PLACE OF THE ACCENT.

The syllable on which the accent must fall will not be established at this point, because the place the accent occupies not only depends upon the class to which the word belongs but also on the function the word performs in the sentence. For the time being, the following will suffice:

1. Substantives, as a rule, have the heavy accent on the penultimate syllable, e.g., *bijang* - *dog*, *bóltok* - *stomach*.

a. *Exceptions* are borrowed words, or those in which the ultimate syllable contains a contracted vowel (see 17, III No. 21 for an example); *debatá* (Sans. *dewatã*), *suttorá* (Sans. *sũtra*, Mal. *sutãra*), *sukkorá* (Sans. *sjukra*, Jav. *sukra*; for the *o* here, see 7 Obs. 6), *ijamán* (17 I), *usumán* (proper name), from *Men.* or *Mal.* *usãman* (Ar. <<sup>c</sup>uthmãn>).

I do not know how *narumó* came by its accent.

obs. Substantives of which the ultimate syllable is heavy have a habit of moving this accent back to the penultimate, e.g., *tala* (see 17, III No. 19), from *talá*, *dibata* (M.) instead of *dēbatá*.

b. [*'imbuluman*] (proper name, see *man*, Dict.), [*'aloling*] (name of a village), and [*silangde*] (the second elements are unclear) are pronounced as compound words, i.e., *imbulu-man*, *alo-ling*, *silang-de*. So is *hajum-bang*, which is composed of *haju* + *m* + *bang*, from *bowang*.

II. All monosyllabic pronouns functioning as *adjectives* carry the main accent, so that the word preceding them has a half-accent, e.g., [*halah'on*] *hàla-hon* - *these people* (10); this is the reason for their absorbing the end vowel of some words (8 a).

a. When a monosyllabic preposition precedes a monosyllabic pronoun, in order to form an adverb, the word becomes dissyllabic and the last syllable is the heavy one, e.g., *disí* - *there* (8 d). When the preposition is polysyllabic, it carries the half-accent, e.g., [*tijan'on*] *tija-nón* - *along this* (9).

III. The ultimate syllable is heavy in the interjection *alé* and also in words used in address, e.g., *alé radjanamá* - *Oh, our prince!* This also applies to any words so used, e.g., [*alé'amangpangala'os*] *alé amák* (11) *pangalaós*.

a. The interjection *ói*, which is placed after the vocative in address, is excepted, e.g. [*botimai'ompungradja'imbuluman'oi*] *boti ma i oppúng radjá imbulu-ma-nói* - *this was the state of affairs, Lord Prince Imbulu-Man!*

## 20. THE ACCENT IN DERIVED WORDS AND WORDS HAVING A SUFFIX.

I. When a stem-word is preceded by a prefix the stem-word carries the accent, e.g., *mandók* and *sandók* (stem-word *dok*), *mardobús* (stem-word *bus*), *maturó* (stem-word *ro*), *padodót* (stem-word *dot* - under which it should have been entered in the Dict.), *dadá* (*da* duplicated), *sipét* and *sihák* (prefix *si* + *pet* and + *hak*).

II. Because of the suffix, the accent moves forward a syllable on to the penultimate, even when the word does not become longer, e.g.,

*hundúlan* (*húndul* + *an*), *hudjúrmu* (*húdjur* + *mu*), *anggim* (*ánggi* + *m*), *paboáhon* (*pa* + *bóa* + *hon*).

a. As suffixes expressing an excess, *hu* and *tu* carry the accent, e.g., [*magandjangtu*] *magandjaktú*, or [*magandjanghu*] *magandjakkú* - it is *too long*. This also applies to *an* when it expresses an increase of degree and at the same time is suffixed to a word functioning as a predicate, e.g., *dengganán* - it is *more beautiful*; the same thing happens with words having the same form and which mean *rather*, such as *rahanán*, *tagonán*, *adongán* (M.), etc.

b. [*pe*], [*do*] ([*ngo*] D.), [*ma*] ([*mo*] D.), [*ne*] and [*be*] are not suffixes, hence, *laho ma* - *be gone!*, [*ahupe*] *au pe* - *I, too*, etc. *pe* and *do*, or *do* and *ma*, following immediately on each other are pronounced as one word, with the ultimate syllable heavy, e.g., *podó* (*pe* + *do*, see 28 I a), *dopé* (M.), *domá* (M.). When *podó* (or its variant *pedé*) is preceded by *na*, the ultimate syllable still carries the accent, e.g., *napodó*. — For *nanón*, see 32 I.

obs. 1. Rules to which all accentuation conforms cannot yet be given here.<sup>1</sup> In many words the placing of the accent is arbitrary, e.g., when [*sogot*] means *some time or other*, i.e., in the future, it is pronounced *sogot*, but when it means *early in the morning*, it is pronounced *sogót*. That this variation cannot be explained from the meaning of the word is apparent from *busé* (M.) = *sogot*.

The nominal form of *paulahon* (*pa* + *ula* + *hon*), i.e., [*paula*], which is used as an imperative, and occurs in the passive, is pronounced *paulá* when it means *act as though*, *pretend*, but *paula* when it means *put to work!* Here again, the meaning is not the reason for the difference in the placing of the accent, because in M. there is *mambaen-baen* - *to act as though*, *to pretend*, from *mambaen* - *to do*; from this it is apparent that *paulá* must be derived from *ula* (*mangula* - *to act*).

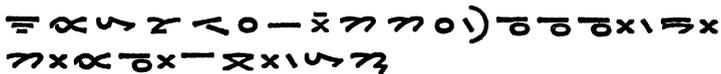
obs. 2. In Batak it is only possible to accent a syllable within a word; word-accent, whereby accent is placed on one word within a sentence, is unknown.

<sup>1</sup> In the Dictionary, intransitive verbs that have the accent on the ultimate syllable are translated in Dutch by an adjective or a participle, e.g., [*tuhil*] is pronounced *tuhil* where the translation is *entered*; *daó* - *to be far off*, is there translated by *far*. Most of such words take the accent on the penultimate syllable when they are preceded by *na* or *ma*, e.g., *madáo*, *nadáo* (see also further on).

obs. 3. The vowel of the penultimate syllable is occasionally lengthened in order to intensify the meaning and then an *u* and an *i* become an *o* and an *e*, and an *i* or an *u* in the syllable following undergo the same modification, e.g., *adowe* - *yonder very very far away*, from *aduwi* - *yonder*.

21. THE BINDU.

Punctuation signs are not customary. The only sign that can be regarded as such is a small half circle, facing left, which is placed after the letter, circling it, as it were. The sign — which can be called a *divider* —, has the same name as the devoweller,  *pangolat* (3). It is used where the position of certain words would, perhaps, cause the reader difficulty in reading the sentence correctly; for example,

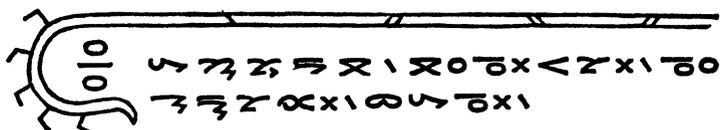


[*i ma asa diponghik nanón ro ho manopot ahu*] *i ma asa dipokkik*; *nanón ro ho manopot au* - *that is the reason that they (his feet) are pinched. Now, you come and visit me.* Where the divider not used here, *nanón* would be regarded as determining the being pinched.

I have not seen this sign other than on bamboo; it seems to be a recent innovation. In the Reading Book, I have made more use of it than is usual by the Batak themselves, who are rather careless in this respect.

Signs that are, however, in general use are the *bindu* (Sans. *windu* - *dot*), of which there are two kinds: the first, which indicates the beginning of a text, is called *bindu godang* - *main bindu* (for the form, see Reading Book I p. 1), and the second, which is placed at the beginning a new paragraph, or at the beginning of stanzas, is called *bindu na metek* - *little bindu* (for the form, see Reading Book I p. 4 bottom).

a. In letters written on bamboo, the *bindu pinardjolma* - *bindu having the shape of a human being*, is used instead of the *bindu godang*. The *bindu pinardjolma* has a long tail which goes the whole length of the bamboo internode; for example,



*au surat tinongos ni guru sombaon* - this is a letter from Guru S. . . . this *bindu* is also known under other names as, e.g., *bindu pinarulok* - *bindu having the form of a snake*: it rather depends upon what image one thinks one can see in such a badly drawn sign.

b. The *bindu na metek*, in accordance with its form, is also called *bindu pinarboras* - *bindu having the form of a fruit*. This *bindu* also frequently has a tail going the whole length of a leaf, as a means of separating one part of the text from another.

c. In some *pustaha*, the sign *///* is used instead of the *bindu na metek* — though the Batak known to me do not use it —, but in contrast to the *bindu na metek*, it is also placed after the title and just before the actual text starts, it being usual to write the title of a work on the same line as the text begins. I have made use of this sign in the Reading Book in the appropriate place (see RB. I p. 1).

## THE MANDAILING SOUND SYSTEM

### A. THE SCRIPT.

An *h* with two dashes above it, which are called *tompi* - *load carried on the back*, is used to express a *k*. In South Mandailing, *s* in conjunction with the *tompi* is used to express *tj*. The *tj* is pronounced almost as the *ch* in *child* but with less sibilance so that, like *dj* (2) and *nj* (7 Obs. 8), it is an indivisible consonant in which the *j* of the transcription is not audible as a separate sound, e.g., *tjatjing* and not *tjat-jing*. Both these letters (𐌒 and 𐌓) are of recent origin and are only *absolutely necessary* in a few words, usually in those taken from Ulu and Menangkabau (see also B and D).

The script differs from the Toba script in only a few letters, so that with a knowledge of the latter it takes only a little effort to learn it. Those letters that do differ are: 𐌒 = 𐌒, *ha*; 𐌔 = 𐌔, *sa*; 𐌕 = 𐌕, *pu*; 𐌖 (also written 𐌗) = 𐌖, *su*; 𐌘 = 𐌘, *lu* and the *tja* and the *ka*. The rest of the letters can easily be learnt from the second part of the Reading Book.

The *ng* as closer always occupies the same place as in T.: 𐌙 *x* song, 𐌚 *o* ping.

The *ina ni surat* are called *induk ni surat*, and the *anak ni surat*, the *danak ni surat*. The order of the *induk ni surat* as given in North M. is different from that in South M., which follows:

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## B. K AND H.

I. *h* immediately following a closer becomes *k*, e.g., *porhis* = *porhis* (T.), *markuta* = *marhuta* (T.), *manjolutkon* = *manolotton* [*manolothon*], *di baen ko* (South M.), *di baet ko* (North M., see C) = *di baek-ko* (12 b).

II. *h* as a beginner of two consecutive syllables is disagreeable and the first *h* becomes, therefore, *k*, e.g., *kehe* (to depart) = *hehe* (T. to rise), *kaháng* (used only as a vocative) = *haháng* (T.), *kihik*, *kahanggi* (from *haha* + *anggi* in T.; to my knowledge, *haha* is not used by itself in this dialect).

a. When, in accordance with I, the second part of a reduplicated word which ends in a consonant, begins with *k*, Mandailing sometimes makes the beginner of the first word a *k* also, e.g., *kijan - kijani* (*hijan* twice + *i*).

b. Mandailing also uses *k* as beginner in cases for which no rule can be laid down, e.g., *kerek* = *herek* (T.), *kikit* (perhaps influenced by Mal. and recalling the Mal. *kikir*), *mikim*, *kuwat* (Ar. Mal.), *na kobol* (influenced by Mal.) = *na hobol* (T.), *mardoking* (stem-word *king* = *hing* in T.), *katjitjiren* (through Men., see Dict.), *kute*, *timbako* (through Men. *timbakow*).

In *keta*, the *k* comes from *kehe* (*keta* is *hehe* + *ita*, see d, and E c).

obs. In South M., words of which the derivation is not clear, so that they could be stem-words, always have *ngk* between vowels instead of *kk*; in this way *rangkon* can be explained as *rakkon* (12 Obs.).

c. *k* is frequently found in words borrowed from Men. where, in the latter, there is *h*, but this is only to give it a foreign appearance, e.g., *mantakari* (in the muttered incantation) = *mantahari* (Men. = Mal. *mata-hari*), *sakajo* = *tjahajã* (Men.). Because in Batak, *h* represents *k* of Mal. or Men. (10 a) the *k* is used for fear that with an *h* the word might sound too Batak! (cf. D IV a).

d. South M. dispenses with the *h*, except where I obtains, e.g., *ijot* = *ihot*, *ijan* = *ihan*, *danon* = *dahanon*, etc. This omitting of the *h* has sometimes become a feature of some words in North M., for example, in the prefix *mahi* (e.g., *maisolat* = *mahisolat*); cf. *maihotang*, from *mahihotang* (DAIRI K III a).

## C. CLOSING NASALS BEFORE EDGED CONSONANTS.

In South M., nasals as closers before edged consonants are pronounced, whereas North M. follows the Tobanese rule of 11, but does not make an exception where the *n* is closer before *p* (11 a), e.g., *teman pargarutan* (South M.), *temat pargarutan* (North M.), *pantis* (South M.), *pattis* (North M.), *langka* (South M.), *lakka* (North M.).

a. South M. often makes a double *k* into *ngk* (see B, Obs.), or sometimes dispenses with one *k*, e.g., *mandokon* = *mandokkon* (see G).

NOTE. This perhaps explains why a word that in T. ends in *k*, occasionally ends in a vowel in M., e.g., *surduk* = *surdu* (M.); in the case of *surdukkon*, for instance, it can become *surdukon* in South M. and is heard as *surduhon* in North M. in which dialect, as in T. there is a preference for *h* between two vowels; by separating *hon*, as the suffix, from the word all that is left is *surdu*.

## D. S AND TJ.

I. In South M., *s* following a closing *n* always becomes *tj*, e.g., *lantjat* = *latsat* (T.). This also applies to the *s* of the suffix *sa* after any other closing consonant, e.g., *dapottja* = *dapotsa* (T.).

II. In North M., *s* always becomes *tj* after every closing solid consonant, either originally belonging to the word or arising through C, e.g., *maktji* = *maksi* (T.) = *mangsi* (South M.), *lattjat* (see in I), *halak-tjokko-ni*<sup>1</sup> = *alak songko-ni*<sup>1</sup> (South M., see B d), *hup tjoko-ni*<sup>1</sup> = *um songko-ni* (South M., see B d).

III. The *s* as beginner of a syllable in a word in which a syllable because of I or II already begins with *tj*, is pronounced as *tj*, e.g., *bintjutjur* (South M.), *bittjutjur* (North M.) = *bitsusur* (T.); this also applies to *antjotjak* (South M.) and *attjotjak* (North M.).

Obs. In Mal., *s* as beginner of a syllable is occasionally changed into *tj* because another syllable begins with *tj*, e.g., *tjutji* as well as *sutji*; *tjuwatja*, from Sans. *swatjtjha*, *tjätjang* (Men.) = *sätjang* (Jav. and Sund.), cf. DAIRI D II.

IV. There are, however, cases where the [*tja*] is absolutely necessary, while it cannot be determined from the place occupied by the *s* that it must be pronounced as *tj*, e.g., [*tjatjing*], which must have come from the Men. *sansing* [*sangsing*] for, according to I, the *s* in the second

<sup>1</sup> [*songkon-i*].

syllable becomes *tj*, therefore, in accordance with III, the *s* in the first must become *tj* also. Because of North M., the *n* will have become inaudible (C), so that perhaps in South M. the pronunciation *tjantjing* may still be in use.

In *katjil*, the *tj* is a remnant of the Mal. *kantjil*, with the omission of a *t* which in North M. has, according to C, developed from *n*.

- a. In *katjitjiren*, from Rao Men. *katitiren*, the *tj* has arisen because of the wish to stamp the word as Malay, because from a comparison with a word such as, for example, the Mal. *tjintjin* with the Batak *tintin*, it was felt that the *ti* would make the word look too Batak.
- b. Words in which *tj* cannot be explained are few in number and all of them probably come from Men. or Ulu, e.g., *markatjak*, *totjongang*, etc.

#### E. FUSION OF VOWELS.

The fusion of vowels occurs in Mandailing, as in T., but not in final position, e.g., *tuta* (South M.) from *tu-uta* (B d) = *tu-huta* (North M.), *markatata* (South M.) instead of *markata-ata* = *markata-hata* (North M.), etc. On the other hand, *maridi-i* and not *maridi*, as in T.

- a. When *a* is the vowel in the last syllable, South M. inserts an *h*, e.g., *parkalahan* = *parkala-an* (North M.) = *parhalán* (T.). In the same way, *dahan* has arisen from *da-an*, by the omission of the *w* of *dawan* (17 III, No. 6).
- b. [*bajo*] retains its final vowel before the adjectival pronouns, *bajo i*, whereas I have not found *akkora* (8 a) in this dialect. In South M., the end vowel of *mu* and *hu* is not swallowed (8 a).
- c. In South M., contractions such as *pintorbangon* instead of *pintu-orbangon* (*orbangon* = *horbangon* in North M.), and *keta* instead of *ke-e ita* (*kehe hita* in North M.) are rare. North M. has *hori* instead of *haori*.
- d. *Alé* also loses its first syllable (cf. B c) after the interjection *ba*, *nada ba le*.
- e. After the prefix *pa*, a *t* before *ida* (*patidahon*, from *pa* + *ida* + *hon*) can be considered as an insertion, because *ida* now functions as stem-word. When *ija* follows *di*, an *s* must be inserted between these words (8 d).
- f. Between *hala-hi* (as pronoun, 3rd person) and *i* (as an adjectival pronoun), an *n* is inserted, e.g., *hala-hini* [*halah-i*] + [*i*].

## F. DIFFERENCE OF SOUNDS IN MANDAILING AND TOBA.

I. *ld* = *ll* (cf. G), e.g., *maldo* = *mallo* (T.), *tuldang* = *tullang* (T.), *poldak* = *pollak* (16 a).

II. *wa* in a closed final syllable in Sub-T. (and D.) becomes *o* in M., see 17 III and the examples given; from which it is apparent that M. sometimes follows T.

III. *nj*: where T. and D. have *n* in the verbal prefix (with a closing nasal) when the *s* as beginner of the stem-word is omitted, M. always has *nj*, e.g., *manjurit* = *manurat* (*mĕnurat* D.), from *surat*, except when the second syllable of the stem-word also begins with *s*, e.g., *manosop*, from *sosop*; *manusu*, from *susu*.

a. Sometimes South M. does not conform to the exception.

OBS. 1. The *nj* sometimes represents *j* (Sub-T.) and sometimes *n*, e.g., *tanja* = *tana*, *njaba* = *naba*, *panjogon* (South M.) = *pajogon* (17 VIII). When *nj* represents an *n* or a *j* cannot be determined, so, for example, the Mal. *minjak* is *mijak* in M., just as in sub-T., while D. has *minak*.

NOTE. Sometimes the one dialect has *n* and the other *j*; as these sounds are not interchangeable, the starting point must be an *nj* in a word existing elsewhere, e.g., *mijak* (Obs. 1); *bojom* (D. *bĕnjĕm*) presupposes a *bonjom* or *bĕnjĕm* in another dialect, similarly, [*hijam*] and [*himan*]. Therefore, *na* (Batak suffix, 3rd pers.) and *ja* in *ija* (Mal. pronoun, 3rd pers.) both come from *nja* (Mal. and Men. suffix, 3rd pers.); this is apparent from Men. *injã* (cf. also *pojop* with *pĕnjĕp*, D.) — *Si-tajunon* occurs as well as *si-tamunon*.

OBS. 2. In place of *nja* or *nnja* in M., T. has *nna* or *nni*, e.g., *irisanna* and *irisanni* = *irisanja* or *irisannja*. In some parts of the Toba country, *ni* = *na* (as suffix, 3rd pers.), as in Huwa, from which the agreement with the Mal. suffix (see NOTE) is apparent. In T., the *i* appears to be an attempt to render the palatal *nj*, just as in *andarasi*, where *si* must have arisen in order to reproduce the *tja* of *ĕndĕratja* (D.).

NOTE. Men. is averse to *nji* and has *ni*, e.g., *kuniq* (30 XIII NOTE 1) = *kunjit* (Mal.), *sumi* = *sunji* (Mal.), etc. This also occurs sometimes in Jav.: *kunir* = *kunjit*, *uni* = *bunji* (Mal.).

IV. M. has a *d* as beginner of a syllable where T. has *l* in words in which a syllable — usually a preceding one — begins with *l* or *s*, e.g., *lidung* = *lilung*, *lidi* = *lili*, *sido* (in *mantjido*) = *silo*, *sijadosan* (from *sihadosan*, see 10 b) = *sijalosan*.

OBS. No mention will be made here of word forms in which the occurrence of certain sounds cannot be subjected to rules, e.g., it is not a rule that M. prefers to have *mb* between vowels where T., or a sister language, has *m*; one finds *timbus* = *timus*, *djombur* = *djomur*, *sambur* (M.) = *samur*, *gumbot* = *gomět* (D., see DAIRI A II b), but: *omon* = *āmban* (Mal.; cf. Jav. *kěmbě̃n*), see also, 30 IX.

#### G. REDUPLICATION OF CONSONANTS.

Reduplication of the same consonant is often avoided in South M., hence F I, C a, and *marlange* (16), *tuwan-lajan*, *monmon* (15), and *mandokon* (C a).

a. It is quite natural for North M. sometimes to follow T., e.g., *nimmu* = *ningmu* (South M.), *ninna* = *ningna* (South M.) and *numma*, just as in T. (11 b), *mandokkon* also as in T. (C a). F I also obtains.

NOTE. In words borrowed from Men., the diphthongs *ej* and *ow*, which in Men. always occur as end sounds, are either reproduced by *e* or *o*, or are transformed into two syllables (two vowels), e.g., *tindjōu*, from Men. *tindjow*.

In Men., those diphthongs of which the first element, the *a*, is coloured by the second, *i* or *u*, are not pure. When a suffix beginning with a vowel is added to them they regain their first element, uncoloured, e.g., *gulajan*, in *gulej gulajan*, from *gule* + *an*, *panindjawan*, from *panindjow*, from *tindjow* + *an*.

The diphthongs *ej* and *ow* will be so expressed, because if they were written *ei* and *ou* the student might think that they should be pronounced as *e-i* and *o-u*, i.e., as two syllables, since in the transcription of Batak words they *must* be so pronounced.

In closed syllables, these diphthongs cannot be pronounced other than as two vowels, e.g., *kául* and *máit*, from Arabic <*qaul*> and <*maiit*>.

#### H. THE ACCENT.

The accent is as in T. The prefix *do* (28 I b) does not change its vowel, e.g., *mardokíng* = *mallihíng*.

## THE DAIRI SOUND SYSTEM

### A. THE ALPHABET.

The order of the Dairi alphabet is as follows: — 𐄂 𐄃 𐄄  
 𐄅 𐄆 𐄇 𐄈 𐄉 𐄊 𐄋 𐄌 𐄍 𐄎 𐄏 𐄐 𐄑 𐄒 𐄓  
 𐄔 𐄕

From this alphabet it appears that *nj* is not included, and that 𐄐 and 𐄑 are used here instead of 𐄂, *ta* and 𐄋, *wa*.

In Dairi, the *haluain* is called *kalowan*, but the rest of the names of the *anak ni surat* only differ in the way they are pronounced, e.g., *kabĕrĕtĕn* = *haborotan*, *kĕtadĕgin* = *hatadĕgan*, etc. With 𐄃 and 𐄂 the sign for the closing *ng* can be written in the usual place, e.g., 𐄂𐄂𐄂 *song*, 𐄐𐄐𐄃 *ting*.

In addition to the T. *anak ni surat*, the following are used:

I. =, *sikordjan*, written in the same places as the *hamisaran*, is the sign for a soft but clearly audible *h* as closer, e.g., 𐄂𐄂𐄂𐄂 *lohloh*.

*The ě.*

II. 𐄂, *kabĕrĕtĕn-podi*, i.e., *haborotan follower*, is placed right above the letter or behind it — because one writes on a bamboo from bottom to top (1), it would be better to say, after it —, and has the sound of the mute *ě* in *bĕgin*.

a. Though it is a mute *ě* (see b), the *kabĕrĕtĕn podi* can never occasion the loss of a syllable, not even before the trillers, (7 Obs. 6) as, for example in Eng. *hindrance* from *hinder*; *tĕlú* and *pĕrá* should not be pronounced *tlu* and *pra*. The open syllable in which the *ě* occurs is at the same time closed by writing the beginner of the syllable following double (see H), e.g., [tĕllu] *tĕlú*. When this beginner is a solid blunt consonant, the open syllable, according to 7 Obs. 1, is closed with an edged consonant, e.g., [pĕtdah] *pĕdáh*, [bĕpbĕrre] *bĕbĕré*, [bĕkge] *bĕgé*. When the beginner is a *dj* or a *tj*, in the absence of a special sign for *tj*, a *t* is used for the closing

of the preceding syllable, e.g., [lětdja] lědja, [sětsedur] tjętjedur (see DAIRI D II below).

obs. 1. The spelling of [napbi] is peculiar and can only be explained because it is still associated with an earlier *něbi* which may have existed in Mal. (or Achinese?), as may be presumed from the Rao-Men. pronunciation of *nobi* (29 IV NOTE), from the Ar. <nabī>.

NOTE. A similar spelling is to be found in some Javanese mss., e.g., pětdjah = pědjah, etc.

b. the *ě* moves the accent to the syllable following, even when this syllable also has an *ě*, e.g., [běllěn] bělěn, [bělgah] bělgáh.

The *ě* never occurs in an ultimate *open* syllable, or in one closed with *h*, and is often the representative of an *o* in T. or M., e.g., kěrbo = horbo, bėdil = bodil, gomět = gumbot (M., see MANDAILING F IV Obs.), tanoh = tano, bėtoh = boto.

The place for the accent is determined by the position of the *ě*, so that the difficult rules in T. or M. relating to the accent for the greater part lapse here (see K).

obs. *Agoni* has been taken from T. (22 III c, Obs.); had it been taken directly from the Sans. *agni*, it would be *agěni*.

## B. ʌ .

In Dairi, the letter ʌ is always pronounced as a *k* and almost always represents the *h* of T. or M. (10 a), e.g., ʌo∞ kima = hima (T. and M.), ʌʌʌ dukut = duhut (T. and M.).

## C. ʌ̄ .

I. The ʌ̄, ʌ̄̄ and ʌ̄̄̄ are aspirated, *ha*, *hi*, *hu*, when 'saying' the alphabet but, because they can also occur unaspirated, it is usual wherever *i* and *u* or *e* and *o*, before a dissimilar vowel, present the opportunity to make use of *j* and *w*, in order to avoid aspiration, e.g., one writes [buwat] and not [buhat] because otherwise it would be pronounced *buhat*; one writes [lejang] and not [lehang] for the same reason.

Careful writers use *j* and *w* after words ending in a vowel when the word following does not begin with an *h*, e.g., [kuwobah] ku-obah, [sijobah] si-obah, etc. But because there are many occasions on which

the difference between a mute *h* (vowel) and an *h* cannot be shown in writing, it is also usual to write the semi-vowels *in* a word; were they pronounced in that position, the correct pronunciation would not be rendered by them; *j* is then written after an *a* before an *i* or an *e*, and *w* before an *u* or an *o*, e.g., [*taji*] *tai*, [*kaje*] *kae*, [*mauwus*] *maus*, [*awor*] *aor*. The use of the semi-vowels cannot give rise to any doubt, because *ji*, *je*, *wu* and *wo* are not genuine syllables.

NOTE. Is the *w* pronounced in the Jav. *rawuh* (*roh* in D.) and *karawu* (cf. Mal. <*rahu*>)?

II. When **h** is written between two vowels, or after a closing consonant, it is always an *h*, e.g., [*sahut*] *sahut*, [*puhun*] *puhun*, [*barham*] *barham*, [*nahan*] *nahan*, etc.

As the beginner of a word the **h** can be sounded *with* or *without* aspiration when it has no vowel sign with it. The first usage is the more common, but no rule can be laid down regarding *when*, e.g., in the case of [*hadji*] one can say *hadji* or *adji*, in the case of [*hasa*], *asa* or *hasa*, but [*hakum*] is always pronounced *hakum*.

The prefix *ě* with a closing nasal is never aspirated, e.g., *ěntasak*, *ěmbuwe*, etc., neither is the preposition *i* which is, for that reason, also written [*ji*].

OBS. Anyone who has a mind to try to find the applicable rule can read diligently the third part of the Reading Book, for a word beginning with the **h** following a word ending in a vowel (see I) can shed light on a mute or a sounded *h*. I have had no time to look for this rule. The Mal. spelling will only partly facilitate the task of looking for a rule, e.g., [*hamba*] *hamba* = <*hamba*> Mal. But, on the other hand, [*hari*] *ari* = <*hari*> Mal.

#### D. **z**.

The **z** becomes *tj* in the following cases:

- I. after a closing *n*, e.g., [*kansa*] *kantja* (cf. MANDAILING D I);
- II. as beginner of a syllable when another syllable in the word, either because of I, or for another reason, begins with *tj*, e.g., [*sonsang*] *tjontjang* (Men. *sonsang* = <*sungsang*> Mal.; cf. MANDAILING D III and IV), [*sinsin*] *tjintjin*, [*sětsedur*] *tjětjedur* (A II a);
- III. where the equivalent word in T. or M. has *ti*, e.g., [*sekěp*] *tjekěp* = *tijop* (10 Obs.), [*ising*] *itjing* = *iting*, [*kosing*] *kotjing* = *huting*,

[*silaka*] *tjilaka* = *tilaha*, [*siho*] *tjiho* = [*tijo*] (Tob.), [*bětsik*] = [*botik*] (Tob.); see Dict.

a. In other cases, it cannot be seen when this letter is *s* or *tj*, e.g., [*sijo*] *tjiho*, [*siwah*] *siwah*. That in some cases, the spelling can be in the nature of an expedient is apparent from A II a, e.g., [*bětsik*] *bětjik*, but [*běssi*] *běsi* = *bo*si (T.). Anyone who has a knowledge of Mal., Jav. or Sund. will have no difficulty in this respect, because in the use of *tj* Mandailing usually follows those languages, e.g., [*suwasa*] *tjuwatja*, just as in Mal., but: [*suběrrang*] *suběrang* = *subārang* (Men.), [*kětsejur*] (see 10 Obs.).

#### E. THE FUSION OF VOWELS.

The rules applicable to T. obtain, e.g., [*bajimbo*], *bai imbo*; *djumpaku*, *djumpa aku*. The following should be noted:

I. The adjectival pronouns can absorb the end vowel of the suffix [*mu*], and of the words [*baje*] = *bajo* in T., and [*hari*] *ari* and [*bage*]; at the same time this lengthens the vowel in a final syllable (K.), e.g., [*bagidi*], *bage* + *idi* or, abbreviated, *bagi*; [*sidaren*], *sidarēn*, *sidari* + *en*; [*bajen*] *baēn*, *bāe* + *en*; *bagena*, *bage* + *ena*.

a. [*ngo*] and [*mo*] (20 II b) can lose their end vowel before a substantival pronoun, e.g., [*lawusmija*], *laus* + *mo* + *ija*; *laus maku*, *laus* + *mo* + *aku*; *ena ngaku*, *ena* + *ngo* + *aku*.

II. Words that have the prefix *ě*, with a closing nasal, lose the *ě* after words ending in a vowel, e.g., [*kěnsantasak*], *kěntja* + *ěntasak*; *kutantu-wara*, *kuta* + *ěntuwara*; *mangan montuwara*, *mangan mo* + *ěntuwara*; etc.

III. The suffix *ěn* (= *on* and *an* in T.) loses its *ě* after an end vowel, but lengthens that vowel, e.g., *dolīn*, *doli* + *ěn*; *kěbērūn*, *kě* + *beru* + *ěn*; *ěndurīn*, *ěnduri* + *ěn*; *uwēn*, *uwe* + *ěn*.

a. *tunggari* is a fused word in which only *ari* can be identified.

IV. The prefixes *pě* (= *pā* in T.) and *kě* (= *ha* in T.) lose the *ě* before words beginning with *i*, *e* and *o*, e.g., *pěmpatkěn*, *pě* + *ěmpat* + *kěn*; *pida-hidah*, *pě* + *idah* twice; *polihkěn*, *pě* + *olih* + *kěn*; *kengětěn*, *kě* + *engět* + *ěn*, etc. On the other hand, with the insertion of *h*, there is *pěhuwaf*, from *uwaf*, and *pěhalo*, from *alo*.

- a. An *s* is inserted between the preposition *i* and *ěnda* and *ěndi*, e.g., *i-s-ěnda*, *i-s-ěndi*.
- b. An *n* is inserted between the relative *si* and the preposition *i*, e.g., *si-n-i-kuta idi*, *si + i + kuta idi*.
- c. The insertion of a *p* following *pě*, between the first part of the repeated word as well as between the second repetition of it in *pěpoto-potokěň*, *pě + oto* twice + *kěň*, is peculiar. In *pětjidakkěň*, *tj* before *idah*, can be regarded as an insertion (cf. MANDAILING E and DAIRI D III ); this also applies to *tj* before *edur*, in *tjětjedur* (cf. 8 e).

#### F. EQUALIZATION OF VOWELS.

The *ě* of the suffix *ěň* (E III) usually becomes identical with an *u* of the preceding syllable when the latter is closed by *h* or *r* only, e.g., *pusuhun*, *pusuh + ěň*; *napurun* (= *napuran* in T.).

- a. When the preceding syllable has an *i*, the *ě* can become identical with it, even when the syllable is closed with a solid consonant, e.g., *kěrsikin*, *kěrsik + ěň*. It is for this reason that sometimes even the *ě* of the suffix *kěň* also becomes identical with the *i* of the preceding syllable, e.g., *arihkin*, *arih + kěň*; *bakinkin*, *bakin + kěň*; *kěrikin*, *kěri + kěň*, from which it is apparent that *i* is more sonorous than *u*.

Usually, the equalization only occurs where the preceding syllable is closed with a fluid consonant, e.g., *pěrangin-anginin*, *kětadingin*, *rarisin*, *gěndirin* (25 = *dinggiran*), *lapihin* (= *lopijan*), *pikiran* (= *pikiran* Mal.), *tongkirin* (*tongkir + ěň*).

The *ě* of the prefix *kě* becomes identical with the *i* of the infix *in*, e.g., *kinigurūn*, from *kěgurūn* (*kěguru + ěň*) with the infix *in*, *kinidjuwah* (*kědjūwah* with *-in-*), *kinikuh*, from *kuh*.

- b. The *ě* frequently becomes identical with the *i* or the *u* of the syllable following when there is an *r* between it and the *i* or the *u*, e.g., *pěnurune*, from *surune*, instead of *sěrune* = *sarune*, see J IV); *kiripit*, from an earlier *kěřepit* (see A II b) = *haropit* (T.).

#### G. NASALS AS CLOSERS.

The nasals as closers before an edged consonant are pronounced, e.g., *pantis*, *langsāt*.

- a. There are traces of their having become homorganic with the

beginner of the syllable following (11 b), e.g., *dëndang* = *dongdang* (T.), *nam̄puhun*, *nang* + *puhun*, but: *gëmgëm* (11 c). *Ninta* (11 b) must be included here.

#### H. REDUPLICATION OF CONSONANTS.

Reduplication of the same consonant (A II a) is avoided in pronunciation, e.g., *përlandja* = *pallandja* (16), *rënren* = *rorron* (15), *nimu*, from *nimmu*; *nina*, from *ninna* (11 b). Words with suffixes are excepted, e.g., *dokkën*, *dahanna*, etc. With regard to the exception *resanna*, see 22 III d Obs.

#### J. DIFFERENCE IN SOUNDS IN DAIRI AND TOBA.

I. Dairi frequently has *ě* where T. and M. have *o* (A II b).

II. In a light final closed syllable, Dairi has *u* or *i* where T. has *o* or *e*, *laus* = *laos*, *piduk* (IX a) = *pidong*, *kijung* = *hijong*, *maus* = *maos*, *kětjejur* = *hasijor*, *geut* = *gijot* (M.), *tahun* = *taon*, *laun* = *laon*, *bakin* = [*bahen*], *përmain* = *parumaen*, *pagit* = [*pa'et*], *galuh* = *gaol* (25).

obs. Less frequently does Dairi have *u* or *i* in two syllables following each other where T. has *o* or *e*, e.g., *mukup* = *mohop*, *kupul* = *hopol*, *minik* = *menek*, *mitmit* = [*metmet*], etc.

III. Prefixes always have *ě* where they form the lightest syllable (see below, K V), e.g., *mëndok* = *mandók* (T.), *mërdëkeng* = *mardokëng* (M.), etc.

IV. In Dairi, the *lighter* syllable often has *ě* when the syllables following have a different vowel, e.g., *tjëboni*, *tjëtjedur*, *sëmolih*, *si* + *molih*. When the vowels of these syllables are identical, it often uses *i*, e.g., *pinurun* instead of *pënurun*, from *turun*; *pinërën* instead of *pënërën*, from *sërën*, see 30 IV; *djinaka* = *djonaha* (T.), *rintaka* = *rostaha* (T.), but: *indukur* occurs as well as *ëndukur* = *anduhur* (T.).

a. When the syllable following begins with a labial, the lighter syllable often has *u*, e.g., *tjuwatja*, *suwalang*, *sumangan*.

V. The vowel of the penultimate *heavy* syllable is lengthened in pronunciation, e.g., *pāntis*, *tūtur*, *pōstěp*, etc. This explains the following:

a. *e* occurs (as *è*, see 5), where T. or M. have *i*, before a closed syllable with *u* or *o*; the *o* is usually represented by *ě* (A II b), e.g., *ěnum* = *inum*, *ědjuk* = *idjuk*, *ěpuh* = *ipu* (Mal. *ipuh*), *ěpěn* = *ipon* (M.), *ěngět* = *ingot*, *ěnggět* = *inggot* (M.), *pěnggěl* = *pinggol*. Sometimes the *ě* conforms to the vowel of the heavy syllable, e.g., *bereng* = *biróng* (20 fn.), *eket* = *ihot*.

b. *o* occurs (as *ò*, see 6), where T. or M. have *u*, before a syllable having an *i* or an *o*; the *o* is usually represented by *ě*, e.g., *kotjing* = *huting* (D III), *koděn* = *hudon*. When the syllable, in which T. has *u*, is closed, the *o* also occurs before a syllable having an *a*, e.g., *sondat* = *sundat*, *tonggar* = *tunggar*. Sometimes the *ě* conforms to the vowel of the heavy syllable e.g., *onong* = *unóng* (20 fn.), *tokor* = *tuhor*, *olong-olong* (IX) = *ulo-hulok* (M.), *otok-otok* = *uto-hutok* (10).

obs. The rule does not apply to *polět* = *pulut* (K Obs.).

VI. Dairi has *awa* where T. has *ao*, *a* or *aba* (17 II).

VII. It has *eja* where Sub-Toba and M. have *aja* (17 V a).

VIII. It often has *awi* where T. and M. have *ai* (see 17 IV).

IX. It very frequently has a nasal as closer of a word where T., and sometimes M. also, have a homorganic solid edged consonant, e.g., *olong-olong* (V b) =  (M.), *sumangan* = *sumangot*, *ongkam* (V b) = [ʼunghap] (see also 30 VI).

a. The reverse is the case in *piduk* (30 VIII Obs.) = *pidong* (T.).

X. Dairi often has *aha* where T. or M. have *ao*, e.g., *mahal* = *maól* (20 fn.), *tahan* = *taon*, *djahat* = *djaót* (South M.), *bahan* = *baon* (South M.), *nahan* = [na'on], etc.

XI. Monosyllabic closed words have the vowel lengthened, e.g., *būk*, *gūng*, *kīn*.

a. In T. or M., such words are sometimes dissyllabic, with an *o* fore-sound (22 II 1), e.g., *būk* = *obuk*, *gūng* = *ogung*, but: *kīn* comes from *kijěn* = [hijan] (T.). In this dialect, the fore-sound may also have a nasal as closer, e.g., *ěmpat* = *opat* (T. and M.).

b. Monosyllabic words, especially open ones, here also have two identical vowels divided by *h*, e.g., *tuhu* = *tu* (Malagasy, and T., in *tutú*), *lehe* = *le*, in *malé* (T.), *nehe* = *ne* (Sumbawa), *pīhir* = *pir*

(T.), *dohom* = *dum* (T.), *buhung* = *bung*, in *bungbung*, etc.; (cf. 22 II 2).

NOTE. Modern Malay has the monosyllabic form where Men. and literary Mal. and Mac. among others, have the dissyllabic form beginning with *ä* or *hä*, e.g., *lang* = *äläng* (Men. <*haläng*>), *djung* = *djong* (Pers. <*dj-n-g*>) = *ädjung*, *bang* (Pers. <*b-alif-n-g*>) = *äbang*, *lat* = *älat* <*hälat*>, *lut* = *älut* (<*hälut*>, as appears from M. [*holut*], which is a borrowed word, because otherwise it would be *olut*); *long* (*coffin*) = *älung* (Mac.), *nu* (Palembang Mal.) = *änow* (Men.), *rat* = *härat* (Men.).

Men. sometimes divides the vowel in two by means of an *h*, e.g., *djihin* = *djin* (Ar.), *ruhun* (30 III c) = *rum* (Ar. Mal. <*rüm*>, place name).

Sundanese doubles the vowel, but uses no divider, e.g., *sa-at* = *sat* in *asat* (Jav.), *bo-ol* = *bol* (Jav.), *gu-ung* or *go-ong* = *gung* or *gong* (Mal.), *bu-uk* = *būk* (XI a), *ti-is* = *tis* (Jav.), *du-um* = *dum* (Jav.), *hu-ut* = *hut* in *uhut* (D., Tag. *ohot*), *ka-ak* or *ga-ak* = *kak* (D.) or *gak* (T.) *de-eng* = *ðeng* in *ðengðeng* (Jav.).

XII. Dairi has *ld*, just as in M. (MANDAILING F I) where T. has *ll*, e.g., *toldang* (V b) = *tullang*.

a. *ěmbalno* (30 IX) = *mallo* (T.), *maldo* (M.; cf. Men. *manow*) stands alone.

XIII. Dairi has *d*, just as Mandailing in the case mentioned in MANDAILING F IV, where T. has *l*, e.g., *sodip* = *silup* (25), *dubalang* (also Men.), from *ulu-balang* (below, κ III a); cf. *dasun* (Men.) = *lasuna* (p. 22 III f Obs. 1), *bidaläq* (Mac.) occurs as well as *bäläläq* (Ar. Mal. *bilal*).

XIV. Dairi occasionally has *di* where T. has *dji*, e.g., *tadi* = *tadji*, *gandil* = *gandjil*, *djodi* = *djudji* (V b). This is peculiar, because elsewhere this dialect prefers *tji* to *ti* (above, D III). Less often does Dairi have *du* where T. has *dju*, e.g., *radum* = *radjum*, *edur* (V a) = *idjur*.

#### K. THE ACCENT.

The place for the accent is determined by the position of the *ě* (A II b). A lengthened vowel in the final syllable carries the accent (E I and III). The exception *debatá*, which in D. should have become *deběta*, or *dibáta* (22 III d), is due to the fact that the word has been borrowed from T.; it is also pronounced *debáta*.

OBS. Because this dialect has an *ě* which also occurs in a final syllable (DAIRI A II b), it has, as a consequence, a *lighter* last syllable (this cannot occur in T. or M. because of the absence of the washed-

out vowel); hence *polět* (above, j V Obs. 1) in which the *ě* must have arisen because of the lengthening of the penultimate syllable (above, j V).

The lengthening of the vowel in the penultimate heavy syllable is the explanation of the following as well.

I. The preceding lighter syllable often falls out, where in T. or M. it begins with a vowel, e.g., *bara* = *abara*, *rirang* = *arirang*, *goni* as well as *agoni*.

When the syllable is closed with a nasal and when the syllable following begins with a blunt consonant, the latter can also be pushed aside by the nasal, e.g., *nakan* = *indahan*, *lalu* instead of *nalu* (30 IV) = *andalu* or *indalu*, but: *balo* = *imbalo*, *ěndukur* = *anduhur*, *ěnděratja* = *naratja* (Mal.).

a. When the syllable begins with an edged consonant, only the vowel can drop out, e.g., *tjěmun*, as well as *ěntjěmun* = [*'ansimun*], *tjuwan*, as well as *ěntjuwan* = [*'ansuwan*] or [*'insuwan*] (22 III).

b. The preposition *i* often drops out before a word, e.g., *sěnda* and *sěndi* instead of *i-s-ěnda* and *i-s-ěndi* (E IV a), *dokkěn* = *i dokkěn*. Because this so often occurs before dissyllabic words, it has even come to be done before monosyllabic words, e.g., *dok* = *i dok*.

II. The prefix *mě*, when it is closed with a nasal, which in some cases pushes aside the beginner of a stem-word, sometimes drops out when the following syllable also begins with *m*, e.g., *muwat* instead of *mě-muwat*, *munuh* instead of *měmunuh*, from *bunuh*, = *mamunu* (T.), *magahkěn* instead of *měmagahkěn*, from *bagah*, *mahan* instead of *měmahan*, from *bahan*, *měre* instead of *měměre* (*běre*), *mentěr* instead of *měmentěr* (*pentěr*). On the other hand, there is *měmukar*.

III. The prefix *mě*, without a closing nasal, is reversed before all consonants, except *l*, *r* and *h* — the *m* as closer before these consonants cannot be pronounced (23 IV) — so that it then becomes an *ě* with its closing nasal homorganic with the beginner of the stem-word, e.g., *ěmpěngke* = [*mapangke*] (T.), *ěmbijar* instead of *měbijar* = *mabijar* (T.), *ěntor* instead of *mětor*, *ěnggěluh* instead of *měgěluh* (= [*mangolu*], see 30 IX), but: *měhangke*, *mělampis*, *měrintjan*. *Mě* - remains before a stem-word beginning with a nasal, e.g., *měnahang*.

Perhaps *rěmuwar* occurs instead of *měruwar* (25).

When the stem-word begins with a vowel, the *ě* falls out, e.g., *mela* = *maila* (T.), *moto* = *maoto* (T.).

a. Dairi has a distaste for words of more than three syllables, hence *tjingano* (D III) = ['*antingano*], *kikětang*, from the front of which, as appears from [*maihotang*] (MANDAILING B II d), *mě* must have dropped out; this also applies to *kipangan*; *tuwara* as well as *ěntuwara*, *antu* + *ara*; *pěrbejan*, from *parubejan*; *permain*, from *parumaen*; *dubalang* = *ulubalang* (above, J XIII).

IV. The suffix *su*, expressing an *excess of*, attracts the accent (20 II a), e.g., *ětorsú*. The accent of the vocative is as in T. and M.

V. In a lightest syllable, this dialect *must* have *ě*, e.g., *měrděkeng* = *mallihing* (28 I b), *běrnit* = *barnit*, *bělgah* = *balgá*, *měndok* = *mandók*.

## II. WORD STRUCTURE

### 22. NUMBER OF SYLLABLES IN STEM-WORDS.

I. Most stem-words are dissyllabic. Stem-words of more than four syllables are as rare as those with one, which are not relation words.

Words of four syllables are either pronounced as dissyllables (18 a) or undergo changes in the first two syllables (below, IV).

#### *Monosyllabic Stem-Words.*

II. Monosyllabic stem-words have a variant which is dissyllabic: this variant has one of the two following forms:

1. an *o* (*ě* in D., DAIRI A II b) as the first syllable, the *o* either being open, or closed with a nasal, e.g., *omas* as well as *mas*, *orak* as well as *rak*, *onggos* besides *gos*, *ontjit* (M.), from *tjit* (Mal., cf. 2 below), *odjim* besides *djim* (cf. XI a and DAIRI J XI Obs.).

OBS. Sometimes this produces a difference in meaning, e.g., *onggang* or *ěnggang* (D.) = *rhinoceros bird*, but: *gang* (the call of this bird), cf. Jav. *ěngkak* with *kak* (D.) and *hak* (T.), *opat* or *ěmpat* (D.) = *four*, but: *pat* (see Dict.). In accordance with 28, other vowels are also found instead of *o*, e.g., *inggot* (M.) = *onggot*, etc.

2. The vowel is divided into two by an *h* or a *w*, e.g., *sihit*, from *tjit* (Mal., cf. *ontjit* in 1), *kohol* (North M.), from the Dutch *kool* - *cabbage*, *lehe* (DAIRI J XI b and NOTE), *tohod* (Bisaya) = *tot*, *pahang* (M.) = *pang* (T.), *whuq*, from *wuwuq* (17 NOTE), *bohok* (Tag.) = *būk* (D.), *sahang* (Dayak) = *sang* (Bim.), *kahar* (Bat. Mal.), from the Dutch *kar* - *cart*, *awak* (D.) = *ak* (T.); cf. *nahang*, in *měnahang*, = *najáng* or *neáng* (T.).

OBS. *j*, as divider of the vowel, is found in *lajan* (M.) = *lahan* (D.), both of which must have come from a *lan*; this also applies to *ajaq* (Mac.) = *awak* (D.), from an *ak* (as in T.). *j*, as a divider, is also found in *majas* (in English works on Borneo, spelt *mias*) = *mawas* (17 No. 5).

NOTE. *Dahan* (D., also Mal.) must have come from a *dan*, as appears from *edan* in Dayak, where it is probably pronounced as *ēdan*; so that it is then really a monosyllabic word (see 1).

It is not always possible to determine which is the original form, because a monosyllabic form can arise by the dropping out of *w* or *h* between two *a*'s, e.g., *djat* in North M. can have come from *djahat* (D. and Mal.) or *djawat* (Sub-T., see 17 No. 22), but the possibility is as great that *djahat* and *djawat* have, by means of 2, come from *djat*.

The Jav. *barambang* (*bang* twice with the infix *ar*) must be derived from *bang* - *red*, and is, therefore, the same word as the Mal. *bawang*, which has the same meaning, i.e., *red onion*.<sup>1</sup>

### *Trisyllabic Stem-Words.*

III. Trisyllabic words often have a variant which is dissyllabic and is sometimes to be found in another dialect or in a sister language. This can be explained from the nature of the lighter syllable, e.g., *tampuning* (M.), *tēmpolīng* (D.) = *poning*; [*anturbung*], *atturbung* as well as *turbung*; *tindawan* (Men.), *tjēndawan* (Mal.) = *dawan*; [*dohar*] = *bidokar* (D.), *bako* (Sund.) = *timbaho* or *timbako* (M.); *wingka* (Jav.) = *tambingkar* (Men.), *tambekar* (Mal.), *tabingkar* (Ngadju Dajak); *dulang* = *bindulang* (D.), *djilatang* (Men.), *djālatang* (Mal.) = *latong*, *latēng* (Jav.); *ampālam* (Mal. 30 VII c) = *pēlēm* (Jav.); *lutut* (Mal.), from *ulu-tut* (30 VI NOTE; cf. DAIRI K I).

a. From the comparisons, it is clear that the *lighter syllable* (18) is now closed and now open, and even that it has been closed in borrowed words, e.g., *pitudar* = *bintudar* (D., below, e (i)), *sugapa* (M.) = *sunggapa*, [*umpama*], from *upamā* (Sans.), [*suntora*] = *sūtāra* (Mal., from *sūtra* (Sans.)), *pakadja* (Jav.), from *pangkadja* (Sans.), *tjēmpaka* as well as *tjēpaka* (Jav.), *tēngkuluk* (D.) = *tahuluk*, *rigarung* (D.) = *ringgarung*, *langkawas* (Bisaya), from *lakawas* (25 II).

b. Trisyllabic words which begin with *s* often have two forms, of which the one begins with *su* and the other with *si*, e.g., *subodak* as well as *sibodak*, *sumangot* as well as *simangot*, *surambon* besides *sirambon*, *sikkora* besides *sukkorá*, *sittora* as well as *suttorá*; cf. *sijalang* with *suwalang* (D.), *sirugá* (Men. 23 NOTE 4), from *swarga*.

The name of the sign for *o*, *sihora* (3) has, therefore, come from the Sans. *tjakra* in this way (7 Obs. 6) and means *wheel* (25 IV). This also applies to *sindor* (below, f Obs. 1), from *sandāra*. Here,

<sup>1</sup> cf. *koning* (D. *curcuma*) with *kuning* (Mal. *yellow*; see also Dict. under *humik*).

the meaning of the prefix *si* seems to have exerted an influence because, by using *si*, the word acquires the form of a dissyllabic stem-word, to which this prefix has been added. One even finds *sigadon* instead of *sagadon*, though obviously this has been derived from *sagan* (30 VI Obs. 1). The Men. *sugirå* (Mal. *sigåra*, from *sjighra*, Sans.), after perhaps first being *sigira*, has become *girå* in T. (cf. Sund. *geura*).

In the lighter syllable, even in words that do not begin with *s*, an *i* occurs in one case, an *u* in another, usually when the syllables following have dissimilar vowels, e.g., *bituha* as well as *butuha* [*'inghaju*] as well as [*'unghaju*].

OBS. *Pinasa*, from *panasa* (Sans.) seems to have come into T. from Dairi (DAIRI J IV), or another language.

NOTE. Javanese frequently closes the first syllable with an *r*, e.g., *marmata*, from *manmatha*, *ardite*, which has become *rådite*, from *åditya*; *murbuwat* from *mubuwat*; *sårngenge* or *srångenge* instead of *sångenge* or *sångenge* (Kawi, *sang hjang ngwe*).

In Ngadju Dayak, such a syllable is often open and always has an *a* (below, d NOTE), e.g., *takalak* = *tingkalak* (Men.), *tabingkar* = *tamingkar* (Men.), *tabuni* = *tåmbuni* (Mal.).

c. Trisyllabic words, of which the last two syllables have an *a*, in T. often use *o* in the lighter syllable, e.g., *otara*, from *utara* (Mal., Sans. *uttara*), *sowara*, from *suwara* (M. and Mal., etc., Sans. *swara*), *djonaha* = *djinaka* (DAIRI J IV), *rostaha* = *rintaka* (D.), *sondjata* = *sindjata* (M.). The use of the *o* is explained because of its value as the representative of the washed-out vowel (DAIRI A II b). A few words do have *a* in the lighter syllable as well, e.g., *hosaja* as well as *hasaja*. When the last syllable has an *i* and the penultimate an *o*, *u* is preferred in the lighter syllable, e.g., *unggoris*, *unggoli*, *gupponi*.

Even derived words can have a vowel in the lighter syllable other than the one which, according to the stem-word, they should have, e.g., *parangan*, from *porangan* (stem-word *porang*), *todingkon* as well as *tadingkon*, cf. also *harbangan* = *horbangan* (M.), *rambowan* = *rombowan*; one even finds *bogasan* as well as *bagasan* (156), perhaps because this form is regarded as a derivation from *bogas*.

That *a* is preferred in the lighter syllable is apparent from the pronunciation of the prefixes [*tor*], [*mor*] and [*por*] (6 IV), which lose their weight before stem-words (20).

In addition to *umbaen* there is also *imbaen* and *ambaen*. M. has *anggoris* = *unggoris*, *pamondur* = *humondur*, (below, e 2).

NOTE. In such cases, Dayak often uses an *a*, even when the vowel of the first syllable of the stem-word is another vowel, e.g., *dahian* = *durijan* (Mal.), from *duhi* = *duri* (Mal.); *baputan*, from *puput* and *an* (e 1); *patanah*, from Ar. Mal. *fitnah* (*pitānah*); *satara* from *sutāra*; *hantusan*, from *untusan*, as well as *utusan* (Mal.).

d. *e* is seldom found in the lighter syllable, hence the pronunciation mentioned in 17 V sub NB. This, then, is the reason that M., having moved the accent to the penultimate syllable of *debatá* as a substantive (19 Obs.), has changed the *e* into *i*, the *e* being only permissible in a light syllable (18). This is the explanation of *djinaka* (D.), from *djainaka* (Sans., mean or despicable Jain, or Buddhist) as a term applied to a person who, with glib words, puts off paying his creditors by playing on their gullibility, whereas in Malay, it is the by-name of the *pālanduk* (a chevrotain) as the hero of a fable that contains a satire on the priesthood and is, perhaps, evidence of an earlier anti-Buddhism.

The need to change *e* into *i* is the reason that *nairēti* (Sans.; Bal. *neriti*) has become *nariti*, cf. e.g., Jav. *kimawon* and *kiwala* with *kemawon* and *kewala*.

OBS. The occurrence in Dairi of the word *resanna*, which has been taken from the T. *irisanna*, is due to the fact that the points of the compass are only used in the literature of divination — an art that the Dairi-speaking people learnt from the Tobanese (cf. DAIRI A II Obs).

NOTE. In languages that have *ě*, as for example Javanese, the *o* cannot be other than an ordinary *o* and therefore can be regarded as a contracted diphthong, *au*, hence the reason that in borrowed words, Javanese often puts another vowel in place of the *o* in the lighter syllable, e.g., *gapura*, from *gopura* (Sans.), *sugata*, from *sogata* (Sans.).

e. As *beginners of the lighter syllable*, the following occur side by side:

1. *Edged and blunt consonants*, e.g., *pitudar* = *bintudar* (above, III a); *bindjaro* (M.), from *pindjarā* (Men.); *gārandam* (Mal.), from *kirandam* (Tamil); *gěpila* as well as *kěpila* (Jav.) = *kupila*<sup>1</sup> (Men., *white with a reddish glow*), *kapila* (Sund.), from Sans. *kapila* - *reddish*; *běsero* (Jav.), *pěsero* or *pěsero* (Bat. Mal.), from *parçeiro* (Portuguese); *baputan* instead of *paputan*, from *puputan* (above, c NOTE);

<sup>1</sup> In a ms. written in Dairi Sub-Toba, I find *asu bulu hapela* which, as appears from *bulu* (Mal. = Batak *imbulu*) must have been borrowed from Malay.

2. *Homotypic consonants*, e.g., *tilubang* = *pilubang*, *surangkap* as well as *turangkap* = *pirangkap* (Men.), *palait* = *kalawit* (Tag., see 17 IV), *paringgi* = *kuringgi* (Men.), *pamondur* (M.) = *humondur* = *kumändur* (Mal.), *sappinur* = *těmpenur* (D.), *turlala* as well as *surlala*, *kětaring* (D.), = *tataring*, *řamúkusüq* (Mac.) = *kěmukus* (Jav.), *kěmarti* (D.) = *řamarti*, *řuwasa* = *tjuwatja*, *sulembe* (M.) = *kulámbej* (Men. *si* —: certain forest spirit, see 28 Obs.), *djalapang* (Dayak) = *galapang*, *därghaju* as well as *gärghaju* (Mal.), *řimbora*, from *řivra* (Sans. see above, III a and 17 II), *balěměn* (D.) = *daloman*, *bolita* = *gälita* (Mal.), *řarusi* (Jav.) = *tarusi* (Mal., from Tamil);
3. *Continuers* (7 Obs. 9), e.g., *rambotik* = *sambotik*, [*rungekisa*] = *longkisa*;
4. *Nasals with blunt consonants* (30 VIII);
5. *l* and *n* (30 IV) and less often, *s* and *h* (30 XI).

NOTE. Malay often has *tj* as beginner of the lighter syllable where Men. has *t*, e.g., *tjängkada* = *tängkada*, *tjändawan* = *tindawan*, *tjántadu* = *tántadu*. Sometimes it has *t* where Jav. has *tj*, e.g., *tärubuk* = *tjërubuk* (Jav.), *tämpuling* = *tjěmpuling*.

f. As a result of the attempt to achieve the dissyllabic form (I), *truncation of the lighter syllable* is often found in words derived by means of the infix *um*, hence *moru*, from *tumoru*, from *toru*, while D. has retained *tuměruh*, from *těruh* (18); *masak*, from *tumasak*, from *tasak*; *muldak* (M.), from *djumuldak* = *djumullak*, (from *djullak* = *djurlak*, see 16 a). This truncation is a rule when the stem-word begins with a labial and the derived form has a special meaning — this will be dealt with further on.

OBS. 1. *Truncation of the last syllable is rare*, examples are: *sindor*, from an earlier *sindora* (above, b), *angkus* (Jav.), from *angkusa* (Sans.), *sindur* (Jav.) = *sindura* (D., Sans.), *dasun* (Men.) = *lasuna*, from Sans., cf. DAIRI J XIII), *řelor* (Sund. and Bat. Mal.) = *řiluru* (Men., from Port.), *řaris* (Jav.) = *řarise* (Bantěn), *řarisej* (Mal., from Tamil); *golek*, from an earlier *goleka* ?) = *boneka* (Mal., from Port.).

OBS. 2. When words acquire an additional syllable this is the result of an *h* or a semi-vowel being represented by a vowel (see 17 II; 30 X Obs. 2).

*Quadrisyllabic Stem-Words.*

IV. Quadrisyllabic words often have a trisyllabic variant created through the discarding of one of the first two syllables (cf. DAIRI K III a), e.g., *artija* as well as [*'arinti*ja]. Frequently, it is the second syllable that is discarded, e.g., *salenggam*, from Men. *sidalenggam* (Tamil *sadalenggam*); *këndaka* (Mal., 22 III a), *gudagå* (Men.), from *kapardaka* (Sans.); *mårpati* (Mal. - *dove*), from *bhårjåpati* (Sans. - *a married couple*, 30 VIII); *djåpati* (Sund. - *dove*), from *djajåpati* (Sans. - *a married couple*); *djakërta* (Jav.), from *djakakërta*; *angkara* (Mal.), from *ahangkara* (Sans.); *tjårpålej* (Mal.), from *kiripillei* (Tamil); *parsapan*, from *parisapan* (*par* + *isap* + *an*); *tombara*, from *torumbara*; *sulandak*, from *suga-landak* (the latter is usual in Mal.); *tanguma* (M.), from *tonga-uma*.

The penultimate syllable seldom falls out, e.g., *binaga* (D.) = *bonijaga*, *sinaga* (name of a *marga*), where the meaning of *si* (22 III b) also takes effect, = *tjunijagå* (Men., name of a *suku*).

a. Dissyllabic words, when repeated, usually lose the dividing consonant in the first of the words, e.g., [*hinghijan*] *hijan* twice, [*hinghijong*] as well as [*hijonghijong*], *dakdanak* instead of *danak-danak*, *balbahul* instead of *bahul-bahul*, [*'anghadangan*] (10 a), from [*hanghadang*] (*hadang* twice + suffix *an*), *måmbårang*, from *bang-bårang* 30 VIII = *bårang-bårang* (Mal.). In *palakpak*, from *palak-palak*, it is the last word that is abbreviated.

When, however, both parts begin with a vowel, neither part is abbreviated and sometimes the beginning of each of the words attracts its closer, e.g., *gulok-gulok*, from *ulok-ulok*, where the *g*, according to 30 I must take the place of a *k*, *pujup-pujup*, from *ujup-ujup*, *rejor-rejor* as well as *ejor-ejor*; cf. *kanak-kanak* (Mal.) = *anak-anak* (D.).

b. When the parts undergo no abbreviation, the following take place:

1. The first two syllables are mangled into a familiar word, so that the whole word has the appearance of being composed of two words, e.g., *sira-lenggam* = *salenggam* (see IV), so that it has the meaning of *lenggam-salt*, in agreement with *sira sandao* - *saltpetre*; cf. *sirabun* and *siragong* in the Dict.; [*'arinti*ja] from [*'adinti*ja], (for the closing *n*, see 22 III a), with an *ari* (day) in mind; see also *tjina-buta* (18 NOTE), from *tjihñibhåta* (Sans.).

2. The same thing happens in the first two syllables as in trisyllabic words, because they cannot be remembered by association with a familiar word, e.g., *habodaga*, from *kapardaka* (IV), *mangijamun* instead of *manijamun*, from *sijamun*, *si* + *hamun*; *dijapari*, from *bijapari* (Men.), *subabai*, from *si-babai* (from *baba?*), *manisija* (T.) = *manusija* (M.), *purasani* (Jav.) = *kurasani* (Mal.) [*nantawwe*], from *Mantawej* (30 III); *katokërën* (D.) = *patihoran*, *amisara* (M.), from *anuswara* (Sans.); *samisara* besides *samesara* (18 a), from *sanestjara* (Sans.). Even clearly derived or compound words do not always escape these changes, e.g., [*'antadjau*] as well as [*'untedjau*], *harisuwän* as well as *harusuwän* and *harosuwän* (M.); *barabuni*, *baro* + *buni*.

NOTE. The Jav. *sarawedi* has even become dissyllabic in the Mal. word *särdi*, so also has *päkat*, in *sapäkat* - *unanimous*, from the Ar. <*muwäfaqat*>.

### *Quinquesyllabic Stem-Words.*

V. Quinquesyllabic words, which in most cases are clearly derived words, sometimes undergo in the first part (18 a) the changes mentioned in III and IV, e.g., *darambanuwa*, *daro* + *m* + *banuwa*; *sarimatuwa* = *saur-matuwa* (25 III).

a. When the second syllable is closed by a nasal that stands before an edged consonant as beginner of the syllable following, this nasal is sometimes even omitted in writing (11), e.g., [*halipodomon*] (from *podom*) as well as [*halimpodomon*], [*halipurpuron*] (from *purpur*) as well as [*halimpurpuron*]. For in these words, which are understood as clearly derived words, the *p* as closer is not audible, the full accent being on the second part (18 a). On the other hand, [*halinghothoton*] *halikkokkoton* (14 a), always, because the *ng* cannot drop out; were it to do so, the word would then be *halihokkoton* and unrecognizable.

## 23. CLOSING CONSONANTS.

- I. The edged consonants, the nasals and the trillers can be closers.
  - a. The edged palatal consonant and its homorganic nasal are excepted (7 Obs. 10).
  - b. *Dairi* also has an *h* as closer (DAIRI A I).

II. Two consonants together cannot be closers or beginners of a syllable (7 Obs. 6), e.g., [*'alitto*] is *alitto* and not *ali-tlo*; the accent on the penultimate makes it into one word (19 b).

III. The following are preferred as closers of a syllable within a word:

1. The nasals, before a homorganic solid consonant.
2. The continuers.
  - a. The *n* as closer before *s* cannot be pronounced (11, MANDAILING D I and DAIRI D I); *ng* is preferred, e.g., [*hangsa*] (see 11 for pronunciation in T. and North M.) *kangsa* (D.) = *kanså* (Men.).

obs. 1. In Men., *n* is the closer before *s* in every word where Mal. has *ng*, e.g., *lansat* = *langsats*. Such words when borrowed are pronounced in the Batak manner, hence *latsat* (T. 11), *lattjat* (North M.), *lantjat* (South M.), *langsats* (D.). Such a word sometimes has two forms, the one conforming to Mal., the other to Men., e.g., [*lengse*] as well as [*lense*], from Men. *lämsej* (28 I a), which would be *längsej* in Mal., hence: [*bansats*] (T.) = [*bangsats*] (D.), [*lansats*] (T.) = [*langsats*] (D.).

obs. 2. The *ng*, because of 11, is often written as closer before *s* and *t*, e.g., [*dangsina*] and [*songti*]; these are the Indian words *dakṣiṇa* and *śakti* (Jav., *sĕkti*). Because South M. and D. pronounce these words, in accordance with their own pronunciation, *dangsina* and *songti*, they must have been taken from T. (cf. 22 III d Obs.).

obs. 3. An *n* as closer before *l* or *r* never occurs, except in the case mentioned in (IV) and there are only one or two cases of *ng* as closer before *l*, e.g., *bungle* occurs as well as *burle*, *djingla* as well as *djilla*.

IV. Every consonant that can be the closer of a word can be the closer of a syllable in a word when that word consists of syllables which, as far as it concerns the closer and the beginner, are identical, e.g., [*gomgom*], [*dongdang*], [*ronron*], [*balbal*], [*hushus*], [*dingding*], [*dokdok*], [*gahgah*] (D.), [*lomlom*], [*lanlan*], [*sopsop*]. The pronunciation of some of these words in T. should, however, be noted (11 c, 14 a, 15).

- a. In such words, even in Dairi, where 11 c does not, as a rule, apply, the nasal is occasionally homorganic with the beginner, e.g., *dëndang* (D.) = *dongdang* (T.), cf. *dinding* (Mal.) = *dingding*, *gānggam* (Mal.) = *gēmgem* (D.).

b. These words sometimes have a variant in which the closer of the first syllable is not present, e.g., [*lolom*] = [*lomlom*], *kikis* (Mal.) = [*hishis*], *gĕgĕm* (Jav.) = *ĕmĕgĕm* (D.), *gagah* (Mal.) = *gahgah* (D., cf. *gĕgoh* with *gogó*), *sāsai* (Mal.) = [*solsol*].

NOTE 1. Macassarese represents the closer of the first syllable by a swallowed *k*, unless this closer is a nasal, which becomes an *n* before a beginning *r*, in front of which a closing *n* is preferred, e.g., *bāqbalāq* = [*balbal*], *ka-magma-lang* = *bolbol*, in *salimbolbolon* (see 30 VIII); *kīqkīšiq* = [*hishis*], *raqraq* = *dapdap*, but: *rinring* = *dingding*, *ronrong* = *domdom*.

Since the *ng* and the *k* are avoided as closers before *s*, one finds instead only the vowel pronounced as though it were closed, e.g. *sōsong* = *songsong* (Mal.), *lēsērēq* = *lingsir* (Mal.), *gāsa* = *gangsā*, *sēsā* = *siksā*, *ḡarēsā* = *ḡariksā*, *sīsīq*, from an earlier *sīqsiq*; *sāsang* = [*songsong*]. In this way must *bīsu* have arisen from *bhikṣu* (Sans.).

NOTE 2. Mac. and Bug. often use *n* as closer before an *r* (NOTE 1). When Mal. borrows such words, a *d* is inserted, e.g., *sandāra*, from the Bug. *sanra*; *gandārang*, from Bug. *ganrang*, cf. *ondĕrus* (Jav., and Bat. Mal.) the name of the island *Onrust*; *djĕndĕral*, from the English *general*.

NOTE 3. Mal. and Men. dislike *ng* before *r* and *l* as closers, hence in the prefix *ma* with a closing nasal, there is no *ng* before the consonant as in Jav., e.g., *pāngālipur lara* (cf. *mālipurkan*) is, therefore, from Jav. It is for this reason that *rumrum* (Kawi) has not become *rungrum*, as in Jav.

Men. has made *telong* (see Dict.) from *tenglong* in Bat. Mal. (a Javanese dialect).

NOTE 4. As closer of a preceding syllable, Mal. prefers a nasal homorganic with a beginning solid consonant of the syllable following, except when this consonant is an *s*, before which *ng* is used as closer (see 23 III Obs. 1). A preceding syllable that is closed with another consonant, has a washed-out vowel, e.g., *samāsta* (Sans. *samasta*), *salāsma* (Sans. *śleṣmā*), *wāktu* (Ar. *waktu*). When it is desired that another vowel should be heard in such a syllable, its pronunciation is lengthened as if it were a separate word, or a washed-out vowel is inserted, e.g., *us-man* or *usāman* <*uthmān*>, *kāpis-ta* (Sans. *paṭiṣṭa*) or *kāpisāta*.

Men. sometimes inserts an *ā*, *u* or *o* after trillers, e.g., *saroban*, from *sārban* (Pers. <*sarband*>), *taruki*, Turkish, from *turkī*, *balukih* (proper name) the pronunciation (30 XIII Obs. 1) of *bulkis* (Mal., Ar. <*balqis*> or <*bilqis*>), *siruga* (22 III b) — *swarga* (Jav.), *kurāpej* = *kārpej* (Mal.) *karosī*, from *kursī* (Ar.).

A solid consonant, as closer of such a syllable, can also become a *k*, e.g., *rākna* (in proper names), from *rātna* (cf. Jav. *samĕkta*, from *samāpta*). There is, therefore, no doubt that most Sanskrit words have not been taken direct into Batak, because in Batak, each vowel in such a syllable can be pronounced (23 IV and 27). So, for example, *borna* comes from the Jav. or Mal. *wĕrna*; had it been taken direct it would be *barna*. Here the *o* is, therefore, the representative of an *ĕ* (DAIRI A II b). Other examples are: *djolma* or *djĕlma* (D.), *sokti* (above III Obs. 2), etc.

That Mal. has a washed-out vowel in such a syllable, is evident especially from a comparison of such words as, for example, [*harpe*] (see Dict.) with *kārpej* - *cartridge box*, [*bārsi*] with *bārsin*, etc. This is the reason that words such as *sōpsōp* and *solsol* are *sāsap* and *sāsai* in Mal.

Men. has made *badu*, in the proper name *si-badu*, from <<sup>c</sup>*Abd(u)*>, and *dulah* (*sidulah*), from <<sup>c</sup>*Abdullah*>.

Mac. inserts an *a* after a triller (for pronunciation, see 29 IV Obs. NOTE), e.g., *karàpe*, from *kärpei*, *tjaraqdeq* = *tjärdik*, *barätjung*, from *märtjun* (Mal., see 30 VIII), *boràseng* = *bärsin* (Mal. 7 Obs. 9 NOTE), *tjaràmeng*, from *tjärmin*, *kalaqde*, from *käldej* (Mal., from Tamil). The same sometimes happens after an *s*, e.g., *tasaqbe*, from *täsbih* (Ar. Mal.).

#### 24. TRILLERS WITHIN A WORD.

The trillers may not occur together within one word, e.g., *rijar*, from *rijal* (Port.-Mal.), *selawal* (D.), *sarawar* (Sub-T.), from Men. *sarawal*; cf. also *harihir* with *kälikir* (Mal.). The trillers oust each other not only within a word, as in the examples just given, but also in words following each other, whether or not they are compound words. In words following each other, the triller in the first word is usually made identical with that in the second, e.g., *uru-porang* as well as *ulu-porang*, *garinggang* instead of *galinggang* in the *uppama*, because of the *garege* that follows; *marongas*, in *andung*, instead of *malongas*, because of the *marobur* that follows; [*marampis*] from [*malampis*] (*mëlampis*, D.), because it is used with *bibir* - *lips*, [*marampisbibirna*] - *his lips are thin*; [*silumimpangdalan*] = [*sirumimpangdalan*].

The first triller in the first word seldom predominates, e.g., [*pulang-buli*], from [*pulangburi*].

In D., even the *r* of the prefix *mër* has made the *l* of *olih* (= *ulî*) identical with it in *merorih* = *marulî*, and, in order to avoid an *l* and an *r* in the same word, it has made *hadir* from Ar. Mal. *halir* [*hādîr*]; also *baderang* = *barerang* (T.), from *bälerang* (Mal.).

a. A *d* also, though less frequently, is made into a triller, because of the presence of an *l* or an *r*, e.g., *rori*, (D.), from *rodi* (Men. — a government order imposing compulsory labour service), [*rangukwir*] as well as [*dangukwir*], *rijor* besides *dijor*, *haroring* and *harodîng*, *si-pali-lohot* instead of *si-padi-lohot*, *bilulu*, from *biludu* (Men.). T. often uses *dju* instead of *du* when the word contains an *r*, e.g., *idjur* = *edur* (D.), *radjum* = *radum* (D.).

In D., there is *rënggërang* as well as *dinggërang*. For M. *ruk-ruma*, see 160 fn. 1.

b. In T., *l* is preferred as beginner of a syllable instead of *d* when there is another syllable in the word beginning with *l* or *s*; for examples, see MANDAILING F IV and DAIRI J XIII.

NOTE 1. In Mal., the reverse of the rule stated in this section takes place, e.g., *iāledor*, from *traidor*, Port.; *lumur* (Sund. and Bat. Mal., from the Dutch *roemer - rummer*. *l* is preferred where elsewhere it is a *d* or an *n*, especially when the last syllable ends in *r*, e.g., *mālor*, from *mēnur* (Jav. or Kawi), *Lāgor* (name of a state), from *Nākhor* (Thai), *lāsir* (Men.) = *dosir*, *balār* = *badār*, *lijur* (according to 25, from *ilur*, Mac. *ilorōq*) = *edur* (DAIRI J V a); cf. also *bālāntara*, from *wanāntara* (Kawi Sans.), *larih* (Men.) = *narih* (D.).

NOTE 2. Examples of the attracting force of the *r* in Javanese are found in compounds, which are pronounced as two words (18), e.g., *radja-wērđi* = *ladju-wērđi* (Mal., from Pers. <*lazwardi*>), *resmin-ing-puri*, from *lēsmi* (*lakšmi*).

In Sund., there is *surutan Ibrahim*, from *sultan Ibrahim*.

NOTE 3. Men. makes the trillers, as closers of a word, alike; both are pronounced as the last *r* in *prefer*, hence the spelling <*b-d-r*> instead of *bādil*, <*t-w-g-r*> instead of *tugal*, <*p-t-w-k-r*> borrowed as [*patukar*] from *pātugal* (*Portugal*), etc. Words that end on a triller, in Mal. and Men., often have a variant with *k* as closer, e.g., *damak* (Mal. - *blowpipe arrows*) = *anak damar* (Men.), *tenggek* = *tinggir*, *kātjik* as well as *kātjil*, *ambik* (Men.) = *ambil*, *sangkak* (Men.) = *sangkar* (Mal.).

## 25. METATHESIS.

The trilling motion of the *r* and *l* as a rule creates a sound transposition. The following should be noted:

I. The vowels of syllables may interchange, e.g., *lote* = *leto* (M. and D.), *godir* = *gidor*, as appears from *gedēr* (DAIRI J V a), *anduri* = *andiru*, as appears from *ēnderu* (DAIRI J V a), *biruran* as well as *buriran*, *silip* = *silup*, *turisi*, from *tirusi* (Men.).

II. The beginners of syllables following each other change places, e.g., *dinggěrang* (D.), from an earlier *gindorang* (DAIRI A II b), as appears from *gandārang* (23 IV NOTE 2), *lahija* (Men.) = *halija* (Mal.), *lagi* = *gali*, *lanok* = *nalěng* (DAIRI J IX), *limang* = *milang*, from *bilang* (30 VIII), *liđah* (Jav.) = *dilah* (D.), *njiruwan* (Sund.) = (*ha*)*rinuwan* (MANDAILING F III Obs. 1), *palonak* = *pinělak* (D.), *langkawas* (Bisaya, see 17 IV NOTE and 22 III a) = *halawas*, *baruq* (Mac.) = *rabuk* (Mal.), *haruwaja* (M.), besides *hajuara*, *laba* = *bala* (in *sopo* —), *derém* as well as *redém*, *talgáng* = *tanggál*, *kěntjur* (Jav. according to 28 II, from an earlier *kětjur*) = *tjăkur* (Mal.); *tereng* (23 III a Obs. 3) as well as [*renteng*], *budjur* (Sund.), from *djubur* (30 V b), [*urangtonga*], from [*ruwangtonga*], *běra* (Jav.) = *răba* (Men.), *roba* (M.).

III. In one form of the word the triller is the beginner, in another, the closer, e.g., *ursa* = *rusa* (Mal.), *gaor* = *garu* (29 IV), *gaol* (29 IV) = *galu*, *galuh* (D.); *rumunan* = *urmunan*, *sekěl* as well as *selěk* (D.), *arsam* = *ransam* (Men.), *saru-matuwa* and *sari-matuwa* (22 IV b 2)

= *saur-matuwa*; *alpis* = *lapis*, *holso* = *holos*. The *r* exercises this influence not only on the word following when the *r* is the closer of the prefix, but also when it occurs in a word following, e.g., *parubejan*, from *par* + *buwe* + *an*; *paruhaon*, from *par* + *huwa* + *an*; *badja-ure* as well as *djaba-ure*, *gandja-ure* besides *djangga-ure*.

obs. Perhaps *oban* (M.) = *bowan* has arisen because of the *r* of the prefix *mar*, in *maroban* = *marbowan* (17 IV Obs. 2). With regard to *altong* - *wasp*, and *latong* - *stinging nettle*, I shall not venture to draw any conclusions; the first word has probably been *uwaltong*, as appears from *uwaltəng* (D.), while the second is perhaps an abbreviation (22 III).

IV. The *r*, which only by means of an *o* — as representative of an *ě* — is separated from a preceding consonant, is readily placed before the latter as closer and there ousts another closer, while the *o* falls out and the word therefore becomes a syllable shorter, e.g., *gordang* (Iloco, *gardang*), from *gändarang* (23 NOTE 2); *surta*, from [*suntora*]; [*sorha*] from an earlier *sohoro* (as the transcription of *tjakra* - *wheel* or *disc*, as appears from *sihoro*, 22 III b); *putri*, from *putori* (in proper names, cf. Mal. *putāri*).

a. M. occasionally places the end vowel before the *r*, on which the word then ends, e.g., *putir*, from *putāri*, cf. *mantir* (Dayak), from *mantāri* (Mal.). With regard to *sindor*, see 22 III f Obs. 1. Seldom is the *o* that precedes the *r* placed before the consonant preceding the *o*: when it is, the word ends in *ar*, e.g., [*songhar*] (North M., *sokkar*) = [*sorha*] (see above IV).

NOTE. Mal. often places an *h* of aspirated consonants after the *r*, e.g., *sabārhana*, from *sābharāṇa*, *dārhana*, from *dharāṇa*, *bārhalā*, from *bharalā* and, according to II, this word comes from *bhalara*, which Friederich explained, correctly, as coming from *bhātāra*; *sigāraha* (Mal.), from *sjighra* (Sans.), *harta*, from *artha* (Sans.). With regard to *ghara*, from *gārha*, see 30 X NOTE.

## 26. METATHESIS WITH S.

The *s*, by virtue of its susurrus, creates sound transposition and in this respect, too, is akin to the trillers, e.g., [*hinsu*] (*hitsú*), from [*hunsi*] (Sans., Mal. *kuntji*); [*sunghit*] = [*singhut*] (M.), [*sengkut*] (DAIRI J V a); *sui* = *siku* (Mal.), *seku* (D.); *siubeon* (in *andung* - *stomach*). from *si* + *buwe* + *on* - *the thing to be provided with rice*; *suwil* = *sijul*, *masui* (*masuwi* Sub-T.), from *masiju* (17 VII a); *sēmigit* as well as *mēsigit* (Jav.).

a. *Astu* (North M., Sans. 3rd pers. sing. imperative of  $\sqrt{as}$ , to be), in *mangastui* - to say what something is, to understand something, and *astuwan* = meaning = ['antus], in [*mangantusi*] and ['antusan], must be included here.

The Javanese *paštika* has come from *sphatika* (Sans.) in the same way. — Has not the *d* of *datas* (D.) = *atas* so arisen, so that *i-datas* has come from *di-atas*?

obs. 1. Though sound transposition would be expected of the nasals, because of their resonance (7 IX NOTE) they are, however, not as a rule the cause of it, e.g., *intuna* (D.) = *nituna*, *numangin* as well as *numaing*, *nangenón* besides *nenganón* (*na* + *ingan* + *on*), *maunga* (South M.) as well as *manguwa* (= *mahuwa*), in which last words the change can also be attributed to their use simply to indicate a relationship (31 NOTE 2).

The preposition *ni* becomes the infix *in* in T. in the 3rd passive in stem-words that do not begin with a vowel; in Sub-T. this only happens with words that do not begin with *d*, *l* or *r*, e.g., *rinabar* = *nirabar* (Sub-T.), *dinadang* (T.) = *nidadang* (Sub-T.), *linangat* (T.) = *nilangat*. As soon as the T. 3rd passive is used as a substantive, the *ni*, with stem-words that begin with *d*, becomes the prefix *in*, e.g., *indahan* - the cooked thing pre-eminent, i.e., boiled rice, instead of *ni-dahan*, but on the other hand, *pinahan*, from *paahan* (see Dict.). Here the desire to give the word a special form seems to have played a rôle; one should not think of the original meaning of *ni*; cf. also DAIRI K III.

obs. 2. Even less frequently is there sound transposition of blunt consonants, which are a transition to the fluid (7 Obs. 7) and are, therefore, called *sonorous*; e.g., *gubo* as well as *bugo*, *gabe* besides *bage*, *hidu* and *hudi*. With regard to *oban* (M.) = *bowan*, see 25 III Obs.

Thieves cant consists of the arbitrary transposition of syllables, e.g., *tema* = *mate*, and is spoken so quickly by some that one cannot understand a word of it.

NOTE. In Mal. also, the *h* is moved outside the influence of an *r* (25 NOTE) and probably only because of its susurrus; hence the spelling <b-j-dh> (Men. *bedâ*), in which an attempt is made to pronounce the <dh> like the *th* in *they*, in order to reproduce *bheda*, and *bandahari* <b-n-d-h-alif-r-j>, from <bhandâri> (Hindustani).

## 27. THE HEAVY SYLLABLE.

I. The heavy syllable, *when it is the penultimate*, is frequently closed by means of a *continuer* (7 Obs. 9), which then ousts another closer. In this respect, it should be noted that usually the *s* does not occur before consonants other than *t*, e.g., *hurtut* as well as *huttut* [huthut] (14 a), *bulteng* besides [bunteng], *listun* as well as [lintun], *lastom* besides [lantom], *pustop* as well as *pultop*, *pulting* = *poning* (D.), *orgos* (M.) = *ogos*, *bargot* (M.) = *bagot*, *turbung* = *tubung* (M. in *tubung-tubung*), *talha* besides [tangha], *pistik* as well as [pintih], *gosta* (19 I) = *gänta* (Mal., [gonta] does not occur), *salpun* (D.) = *sampun* (Jav.). *Rostaha* = *rintaka* (D.) is a case of 22 III a.

a. A nasal as closer is found less frequently, e.g., [parinse], from *parisej* (Mal., from Tamil), [gompul], from an earlier [gopul], as appears from *gəpul* (D.), [pompar], from an earlier *poɸar*, as appears from *pəɸar* (D.).

b. North M. has made *besteng* and *pistar* from the Jav.-Mal. words *benteng* (European fort in Sumatra) and *pintar* (European pronunciation of the Bat. Mal. *pintər*; both of these words have been introduced by Europeans.

II. *When the heavy syllable is the last*, the following occurs:

1. It is usually closed with *t*, e.g., *sudé* as well as *sudət*, *gabé* besides *gabét*, *nangé* besides *nangét*, *ngilút* as well as *ngilú*, *anggiját*, from *anggijá*, *tandáp* besides *tandá*, *isis*, from an earlier *isi*, from *isi*; *landít*, from an earlier *landí* (by means of 25 II = [dalí], in *tərsondali*, the *n* as closer before the *l* having dropped out, see 23 III Obs. 3); cf. also *lämpej* (Mal.) with *ləmpet* (Jav.).

obs. 1. In this way must *padidit* (a kind of rat) which, as a substantive, has the penultimate syllable heavy (19 I Obs.) have arisen through association with *didí-didí* - *always to make the sound didi*, so that the real meaning is *the maker of the sound didi*. As an exclamation in *andung*, one finds *ihit* as well as *ihi*; the former form has arisen through the prolongation of the word when spoken in wailing.

obs. 2. Because substantives, as a rule, have the accent on the penultimate syllable, foreign words which have the accent on the last closed syllable can lose their closer, e.g., [monsí], from *mäntjit* (Men.), *solu*, from *sälup* (Men., from the Dutch *sloep* - *sloop*).

2. The vowel is divided into two by a *w* or an *h*, e.g., *sipét* (20 I) besides *sipehet*, *halás* (prefix *ha* + *las*, 20 I, therefore, *the hot thing*) besides *halawas*; *halíhi*, from an earlier *halí* (*ha* + *li*, 20 I, and thus the thing that has *li* as a sound); cf. 22 II 2.

OBS. 1. The adjectival pronoun *i* (19 II) as the designation of adverbs, is often closed with *n* or *ng*, e.g., [*napotang-i*] *napòta-ngí* as well as *napòtangín* and *napòtangíng*; [*nangkin-i*] *nàkkini* besides *nàkkinín* and *nàkkiníng*.

OBS. 2. *Hapé* and *musé* often acquire an *a*, *an*, *ngan*, *ngani* and *nganikkon* as a tail, e.g., *hapé*, *hapea*, *hapengan*, *hapengani* and *hapenganikkon* (see below).

OBS. 3. [*Anggi*], [*bajo*] or [*ba'o*] (17 VIII), as vocatives, have a variant with *a* at the end, e.g., *anggi* as well as *anggijá*; *bajo* is not even in use, whereas *bajowá* (*baóa*, 17 VIII) occurs frequently, hence *bajá* and *barwá* (see Dict.).

NOTE. There is no doubt that this is the way in which the Mal. *gigit* has come from *gigi*, the more so as this word must be regarded as a repetition of *gi*, so that originally the accent was on the last syllable, just as in *dadá*, see 20 I. In Tag., there is *kokót* - *to peel with the nails*, from *kokó* - *nail*. May one not conclude here that in respect of the accent, Mal. formerly followed the rules of T. and M., so that it, too, had a *lightest* syllable with a vowel other than the washed-out one? The shifting of the accent backward can have been effected according to 19 I, so, for example, *gagak* comes from earlier *gagák*, as appears from *gagawak* (T., see above II 2).

## 28. THE LIGHTEST SYLLABLE.

I. All vowels can occur in the *lightest* syllable, e.g., *gumír* as well as *gamír* and *gomír*, *depé* (M.) besides *dopé* (M.) and *dapé*, *biltáng* as well as *boltáng*, *luné* as well as *lané*, *namá* (M.) besides *nomá*, *lamót* and *limót*, *lingó* and *longó*, *tahé* besides *tehé*, *tuwé* (M.) and *tijé* (M.), *tahó* and an earlier *tohó* (as appears from *toko* D., and *toho*, in *si-toho-toho*), *usumán* (proper name), from *usăman* (see 23 IV NOTE 4).

a. When the heavy syllable has *o* and the lightest *e*, or the reverse, these vowels are often made identical, e.g., *podó*, from *pe* + *do* (20 II b), *depé* (M.), from *do* + *pe* (20 II b). It must have been in this way that *beré* and *begé* have arisen from earlier variants, *boré* and *bogé*, as appears from *běre* and *běge* in D. (DAIRI J I); this also applies to *leksé* or *letsé*, from *lănsej* (23 III Obs. 1).

b. The prefix *do*, and its substitute with *l* in place of the *d*, in T. before monosyllabic stem-words must make its vowel the same as that of the stem-word, which becomes the heavy syllable (20 I), provided that vowel is not *u*, in which case the *o* remains, e.g., *mardapár*, *mar + do + par*, *mallihing*, *mar + do + hing*, *mallungung*, *mar + do + ngung*, but: *mallobús*, *mar + do + bus*; cf. MANDAILING H.

obs. Some words, which at present as substantives (19 I) have the penultimate syllable heavy, must earlier have had the accent on the ultimate syllable, e.g., *ome* besides *eme* must have arisen from an earlier *me* (cf. Sund. *pa-me-an*) which, with the fore-sound *o* (22 II 1), must have been sounded *omé*.

In the same way, *lali* - a bird of prey, must have acquired its *a* from an earlier *lali* which came from *lilí*, from *li* - the call of a bird of prey.

*Butet*, which is the more original form (in M. *si-butet*), appears to have acquired its variant *betet*, in *si-betet* in T., under the influence of the vocative (19 II), because this word is so frequently used in address; cf. also *sulembe* = *kulámbei* (22 III e); cf. *bitis* (Men. and T.) = *bätis* (Mal.), *wingi* and *běngi* (Jav.), *nariti*, from *nairētī* (22 III d), *rembe* = *rěme* (D. 30 IX).

II. The consonants in the lighter syllable, as beginners, are uncertain and so is the closing, so that the cases mentioned in 22 III a and 22 III e are also found here; *deják* or *deák* (16 V Obs.), as a variant of the Mal. *banjak* (MANDAILING F III Obs. 1) thus becomes clear, cf. *ěmbejak* in D.; hence *portáng* besides *botáng*, *djāngan* (Men.) = *dāngan* (Mal.), *porngís* and *bongís*, *borhá* and *bohá*, *sěnuk* (Jav.), from *tānuk* (Mal.), *wěntis* (Jav.) = *bětis* (Mal.), *kěntjur* (Jav.), from an earlier *kětjur*, *děmu* (D.) = *těmu* (Jav.), *sakārba* (Mal. proper name), from *sapārba* (Sans. *suprabhā*), *tjubādak* (Men.) = *tjampādak* (Mal.).

### III. SOUND CHANGES

#### 29. THE VOWELS.

*e* and *a*.

I. The *e* may take the place of *a* because of an *i* in another syllable. In this respect, the following apply :

a. *e* can occur in a heavy syllable in place of an *a* because of an *i* in the syllable following the *a*, e.g., *mamutuhei* instead of *mamutuhai*, from *butuha*. In composition, this change can also occur in a light syllable, because of an *i* in a syllable of the word following, e.g., *same-so-alip*, from *sama-so-alip* (*alip* must have meant *to differ*, as appears from *siliṭ*).

b. The *e* may replace an *a* in a light syllable when the preceding syllable has an *i*, mostly if no solid consonant stands between these vowels, e.g., *tālinge* (D.) = *talinga*, *halilinge* = *halilinga*, *sandihe* = *sēndika* (D.). The *e* is rarely found when the preceding syllable has an *u*, but an example is *sudé*, from *suda* (cf. NOTE 1).

OBS. In view of *gā dang* (Men.) = *gēde* (Jav.), it cannot be shown that *hidje* comes from an earlier *hidja* (= *kidjang*, Mal. 31 I).

NOTE 1. In Jav., *ipe* comes from an earlier *ipa* = *ipar* (Mal.), cf. also *nipe* (D.) = *nipa* (Kayan). Usually, however, in Jav. the *i* of a syllable following makes the *a* of the one preceding into *e*, e.g., *besi* = *basi* (Bat. Mal.), *eṣṭi*, from *hastī* (Sans.). Examples of an *e* in place of an *a* in a preceding syllable, because of *u* in one following are: *estu* - *true* = *astu*, in *mangastuwi* (26 a), *entuk* and *antuk*, etc.

In Dayak, there are many traces of an *e* in place of an *a*, because of an *i* in the preceding syllable, e.g., *pire* = *pira* (Jav.), *lime* = *lima* (Mal.), *ine* = *ina* (T.). It goes without saying that in Mal. this *e* as the end-sound can be *ej*, e.g., *hinej* (Mal.), from <*hinnā'*> (Ar.).

NOTE 2. Rað Men. pronounces *an* as end-sound as *en*, e.g., *ṭoken* (borrowed by M.) = *pākan* (Mal., below IV Obs. 2 NOTE). In Rað Men. the Mal. *ṭon* becomes *pen*.

*e* and *i*.

II. The *e* takes the place of an *i* in an ultimate light syllable when a preceding syllable has an *a*, e.g., *pane*, from *phanī* (Sans.), *baume* or

*baunge* (30 III) in place of *baumi* (Sans. *bhūmi*), *bange*, from *wangi* (Jav.), *haen* and *hain*, *hambeng* (M.) = *hambing*; cf. *mate* with *mati* (Mal.).

a. This sometimes occurs in an ultimate syllable because of a closing guttural consonant or a triller, the *i* of the preceding syllable undergoing the same change (cf. DAIRI J II Obs), e.g., *eser* as well as *isir*, etc.; cf. also *eseng* with *ising* (Jav.), *iting* and *itjing* (D.).

b. Sometimes *e* takes the place of an *i* in a preceding syllable when the syllable following has an *a*, e.g., *eba-eba* = *iba-iba* (D.); *e ma* instead of *i ma* usually occurs only in the expression *e ma niján*. *Mena*, from *mina* (Sans.), is changed in order to give it an indigenous appearance (cf. below IV Obs. 3).

OBS. 1. An *e* from an *ai* (in dissyllables) is rare, but examples of this change are: *nenga-non*, from *na-inga-non*, *hela*, in [*manghehelai*], from *haila* (from *ila*); cf. *te* with *tai* (D. [*taji*]) and *setan*, from *saitan*? (*the one having tusks*); *engel*, from *na-ingol* (III).

OBS. 2. For *e* in a heavy penultimate syllable in D. = *i* in other dialects, see DAIRI J V a.

*e and o.*

III. Examples of an *e* taking the place of, or occurring beside an *o* in an ultimate light syllable are: *parumaen* - *daughter-in-law*, in place of *parumaon* - *the one to be brought into the house*, *bahen* or *baen* (10 b) = *baon* (M.), *page*, in [*sipago'on*], = *page* (D.), [*lehon*] = [*lehen*] (M.), *iho*, in *mariho-iho* = *ihe*.

OBS. 1. In consecutive syllables, *o* and *e* appear to be disagreeable and for that reason such words as *tole* seldom occur, or they have a variant in which both syllables have the same vowel, e.g., *kope* (30 XIII NOTE 2) of which the variant is *kepek* (see Dict.) and *sosek*, which has *seset* (30 XIII) (28 I Obs.).

*Eték* appears to have arisen from *oték* rather than from *otik* (see II a) in the same way (cf. also 28 I a).

OBS. 2. Words such as *morot* alongside *meret*, and *sorop* alongside *serep*, etc., appear to be imitations of words which, in another dialect, have an *ě* in both syllables; cf. [*djompoh*] and [*djempeh*] with *djěmpěk* (D.), *modom* and *medep* (30 VI) with *měděm* (D.), *měřěm* (Jav.).

OBS. 3. In South M. *de* occurs in place of *do* when this word comes before an *i* as a substantive.

*u* and *o*.

IV. Usually *o* takes the place of *u* in a last syllable when the latter is closed with a guttural consonant or a triller. In addition to the examples in Dairi (DAIRI J II), the following can be cited: *gaor* instead of *gaur* = *garu* (25 III), *gaol* instead of *gaul* = *galu* (25 III), etc.

OBS. 1. The want of a closed *u* (3) seems to be the cause of [*tanghup*] alongside [*tanghop*], [*sanghut*] alongside [*sanghot*], etc.

NOTE. Men. pronounces an *a* after an *u* and an *i* in an ultimate syllable which is closed with a guttural consonant, with the result that *u* and *i* sound like *w* and *j*, but more vocalic, e.g., *maswak*, *barwah*, *sirjah*, *kambjang*. When such words are taken into Batak, they become trisyllabic, hence *kutjijang*, see Notes Batak Reading Book, p. 146. When a triller is the closer, the *a* is slightly less clear, almost an *ä*, e.g., *mandwär* = *mandul* (24 NOTE 3).

The dialect spoken in Barus pronounces an *e* and an *o* in both cases, e.g., *masok*, *kambeng*, *baroh*, *mandol*, *sireh*; cf. Notes Batak Reading Book, p. 152, NOTE.

OBS. 2. *ě* in D. = *o* in T. and M. (DAIRI A II b).

NOTE. Rað Men. pronounces as *ò* the *ä* or *ě* used in other dialects, e.g., *bori* = *bäri*; *är* in a preceding syllable becomes *è*, e.g., *pètjā* = *pärtja* (see [*petjo*] M.), *tjèmin* = *tjärmin*. The Men. spoken in Agam has *a*, e.g., *padang* = *pädang*, *tjamin* = *tjärmin*.

Mac. represents *ä* in an open preceding syllable with a closed *a* when the syllable following does not begin with a blunt consonant, when it does, the *a* is closed with a *q*, e.g., *kàmiq* = *kèmit* (Jav.), *tàkang* (7 NOTE) = *tèkèn*, *taggoq* = *täguk* (Mal.).

OBS. 3. For *o* in a heavy penultimate syllable in D. = *u* in other dialects, see DAIRI J V b). In the words *tola* and *dano* (see Dict.), *o* occurs in place of *u*, in order to give these foreign words an indigenous appearance (cf. above II b); *soma* (Sans.), on the other hand, has become *suma*.

OBS. 4. The explanation of *u* in a penultimate heavy syllable in D. and M. = *i* in T., such as in *lumut* = *limut*, must be looked for outside Batak. For *limót* = *lumat* (Mal.), see 28 I.

OBS 5. Sometimes T. has *o* where D. has *a* — the reverse occurs less often —, e.g., *ambolóng* = *ëmbalang* (D.), *sosar* = *sasar* (D.), *sorat* = *sarat* (Mal.), *gogo*, *gëgoh* (D.) = *gagah* (Mal.), *gahgah* (D.); *gonop* (M.), *gänap* (Mal.) = *ganup* (T.); *sopo* = *sapo* (D.), *sumpëta* (D.) = *sapata*.

In Lubu (or Ulu), *o* often occurs where, in Men. or Mal., there is an *a*. This perhaps explains *hatoban* - *slave*, instead of *hataban* - *a man captured in war*, from *taban*, so that the word has been given a Lubu appearance, in order to give adequate expression to the contempt in which the Lubu people, as the conquered, are held.

OBS. 6. Seldom does *i* occur alongside of *a*, in a final syllable closed with *ng*, e.g., *budjang* besides *budjing*, *loming* = *lämang* (Mal.), *lëmëng* (Jav.); *peuting* (Sund.) = *pätang* (Mal.), *pětëng* (Jav.). In M. there is *pining* = *pinang*, perhaps after it has first been *pineng* (according to I b).

NOTE. In Malagasy, *ë*, which in other languages occurs in a closed syllable, is represented by *i*, e.g., the prefix *mi* = *mër* (D.), the suffix *inä* (*a* almost mute) = *ën* (D.), *on* (T.); *tehinä* (33 end) = *tëkën* (Jav.).

OBS. 7. An *o* in place of *uwa*, such as is often the case in Jav., is rare, but examples are: *sora* alongside *suwara* (M.), and *mora* (in place names) = *muwara*. There are also but few examples of *o* from *au* (in two syllables): *dosah* (D.), from *da* and *usah* (Men. = *djangan*), *ro*, *roh* (D.) = *rauh* (Jav.), *doli*, from *dauli* (30 X Obs. 2).

### 30. THE CONSONANTS.

#### *h* and *g*.

I. *h* (*k* in D., see DAIRI B) and *g* often alternate as the beginner of a word, e.g., *gurap* as well as *hurap*, *gulok-gulok* instead of *kulok-kulok* (22 IV a), *gistung* (27 I) besides [*hintung*], *hirlo* (27 I) = *kilow* (Men.), *gilow* (Mal.); *hurtik* besides *gurtik*. This change occurs less frequently between vowels or after a closing nasal, e.g., *bukang* (M.) = *bugang*, *sanggak* = [*sanghah*], *tagil* = *tahil*; cf. also *ajuga* with *ajoka* (Mac.), *talaga* with *talaka* (Mac.).

#### *d* and *l*.

II. In addition to the examples given in MANDAILING F IV; 24 a; and DAIRI J XIII, the following must be mentioned: *sidok* (in proper names) besides *silok*, from *tjiloq* (Men., see 30 XII NOTE), *sulu-sulu* besides *sudu-sudu*, *si-adap-ari* besides *si-alap-ari*, *sadi* as well as *sali*. Here, also, this occurs under the influence of the *s*.

a. Where the word does not begin with *s*, the change usually takes place in words in which two syllables each begin with *d* or *l*. This

occurs in such a way that T. often begins both syllables with the same consonant, whereas D. and M. have a preference for words in which one of the syllables begins with a different consonant, e.g., *dubalang* (D. and M.) = *ulubalang*, *dalang* (D.) = *dadang*; cf. also *lidung*, *lidi* in M. (MANDAILING F IV). It is for this reason that D. has *dona* = *doda*.

OBS. T. appears to have the *l* in *alu* (in *mangalu-alu* and *mangaluhon*) = *adu* (D. and M.), because of the influence of the nasal, since the *l*, by virtue of its close relationship with the *n* (30 IV), is closer to a nasal (cf. 31 XIV Obs. 2); cf. *halihonan* = *hadihonan*, and *kelong* (Mac.) = *kidung* (Jav.).

### The Nasals.

III. Under the influence of an *i*, all nasals are usually interchangeable, e.g., compare *mijor* with *nijur* (Men.), *nejur* (D.), *ngijor* (M.) and *nijjur* (Mal.); *ngijat* = *nijat* (D., Ar. Mal.), *mangijamun* instead of *manijamun*, *minggor* besides *ninggor*, *domija*, from *dunija* (Ar. Mal.), *mamis* = *manis*, *uwani* = *wangi* (Jav.), *uwange* or *bange* (M.) and *bane* (29 II); *nejat* (D.) = *mejat*, from *majat* (Mal. 17 VIII NOTE 1; 17 V a), *sangijang* besides *sanijang*, *nejam* (D.) = *majam* (17 V a), *naming* besides *nanging* (Jav.), *nituna*, from *mithuna* (Sans.).

a. Among the examples in which the *i* has exerted no influence are: *damól*, from *dangól*, *nongán* besides *nomán* (M.), *někněk* = *ngokngok*, *pangoran* besides *pamorán*, *sinar* (Mal.) = *singar* (Men.), *pamor* (Mal.) = *pangur* (Men.), *ngada* (South M.) = *mada* (D.), and *nada* (North M.).

b. Nasals, as beginners of lighter syllables, often interchange, e.g., *mandijang* (before a proper name, with the meaning of *the late . . .*), from an earlier expression in Men. *nan di jang* - *he who is with the gods*; *samisara*, from *sanestjara* (Sans.), *amisara*, from *anuswāra* (Sans.).

c. *im* and *um*, as end-sounds, often take the place of *in* and *un*, just as in Men., e.g., *rasum* besides *rasun*, *malim* as well as *malin*, *djim* (also Jav.), from Ar. Mal. *djin*, *jatin* (Jav.), from Ar. Mal. *jatim*, *ruhun* (Men., DAIRI J XI NOTE), from *rum* (Ar. Mal.); cf. [*'ansim*] with *asin* (Mal. etc.), *bělon* (Bat. Mal.), *bālun* (Men.) = *bālun* (Mal.). *Majam*, from *maim* = *main* (Mal. 17 VIII NOTE 1) in the same way.

d. An *m* and an *ng*, as closers, seldom interchange. When they do, it

is usually in a final syllable which has an *a*, *o* or an *u*, e.g., [*lansum*] = *lantjung* (D.), *gotom* besides *gotong*, *ultom* = *ultong*, *littom* = *littong*, *tuwam* = *tuwang*; cf. *rantjung* (Mal.) with *rantjum*.

e. The solid blunt consonant occurring after a closing nasal becomes homorganic with it, the nasals being more resonant (7 Obs. 9 NOTE) than the solid consonants, e.g., *tunggu-tunggu* besides *tumbu-tumbu*, *marindo* and *maringgo*, *tinggir* (Mal.), and in *marsitinggir* = *tindir* (Lamp.).

OBS. In *mu* (suffix 2nd pers. sing.; also Jav., Mal., etc.), the *n* is changed into a lip-nasal, because of the retraction of the lip-vowel, e.g., *ěndu* (D.) = *nu* (Mac. see IX), and hence *mu*. This demonstrates the fluidity of the nasals, as being sounds that offer no resistance.

NOTE. Huwa has only *n* in place of the *ng* and *nj* of other dialects of Malagasy, so that *urangā* - *shrimp*, = *urang* Jav., and *uranā* - *rain*, = *udan* Jav. cannot be distinguished from each other.

#### *l* and *n*.

IV. The *l* and the *n* (7 Obs. 6) are often interchanged under the influence of a nasal, especially in words in which a syllable is closed with *ng*, e.g., *unang* = *ulang* (D. and M.), *tonang* = *tolang*, *libung* = *nibung* (Mal.), *ninggala* and *nangkala* (Mac.), from *lānggala* (Sans.), *lanok* (*naləng* in D., see VI) = *lalat* (Mal. VI Obs. 2), *lalěr* (Jav. VI Obs. 2), *koning-koningěn* (D.) = *hulik-kulingan*, *simalolong*, from *simanolong*, instead of *simanjolong* (M., see MANDAILING F III Obs. 1), *mahilolong* is, therefore, from *mahinolong* (*ma* + *holong* + infix *in*) - *to be pitied* (for the convenience of the student, I have put *mahilolong* under *lolong* in the Dict.), *laung* = *naung* (Mal.), *salamo*, from *sanamā* (Men.), *namuk* (D.), *njamuk* (Mal.) = *lamuk* (Jav.).

a. Examples of interchange not resulting from the influence of a nasal are: *lasijak* (*Spanish pepper*), from *na sijak* (*that which is hot to the tongue*), *nitu* (*anito* Tag.) = *litu* (Favorlang), *lait* (MANDAILING B II d) = *nahit*, *lobajak* (M.) = *nabajak*, *lalu* (D.), from *nalu* (IX), *larasětu* (Jav.) = *narawěstu* (Mal.), *nop* = *lop*, in *lolop* (M.), from which it is clear that it really means *to have fallen asleep* (*nok*, see XII) but when said of a pledge, it has come to mean *to have lapsed* (cf. the use of *pate* in respect of a pledge and the Mal. *lālap*, which means *fast asleep*, and, as applied to a pledge, means *to have*

*lapsed*; the homonymous word in Men. means *to sleep*); cf. also *lúlasaq* (Bug.) = *lúnasäq* (M.). It is clear from some of the examples that the sibilant is the reason for these interchanges.

b. As closers, *l* and *n* rarely interchange, but an example is: *hojal* instead of *hojan*. In *simpul* (M.) = *salpun* (D.), 25 takes effect.

OBS. In *lasijak*, *lobajak* (see a) and also in *panasari* = *palasari*, the processes mentioned in 22 IV b 2, can also be taken into consideration.

NOTE 1. *Manow* (Men.) = *ěmbalno* (D.), *mallo* (T.), *maldo* (M.) must have arisen from an earlier *malow*.

NOTE 2. Under the influence of the infix *um*, Mac. seems to make an *n* of an *l* or an *r* as beginner of a stem-word in which the second syllable also begins with a triller, e.g., *numalo*, from *lalo*, *numera*, from *rera*.

#### *Palatal and Dental Consonants.*

V. This interchange often takes place under the influence of an *i*. In addition to the examples in DAIRI D III and J XIV), there is *adjī*, in *mangadji* (*to read* books on divination), from *adhī* (Sans.); cf. *djēksa* (Jav.), from *adhjakṣa* (22 III), *pěrtjaja* (Jav.) from *pratyaja*, *měrtja* (Jav.), from *martya* (Sans.).

a. Sometimes a *dj* has developed from the preposition *di* before a word beginning with a vowel, e.g., *djae*, and *djulu*, come from *di ae* instead of *di hae* (10 b) and *di ulu*, despite the fact that at present these words are in use as substantives, their origin being no longer known. Formerly, they must have meant *at the head* and *at the thigh* (cf. *hae-hae*, in D. [*kaje*]), because a geographical region was represented as being a body of which the *head* (*ulu*) was the uplands and the *thigh* (*hae*) or foot (Nias *gae*), the lowlands.

*Djuma* must have arisen from *di uma* in the same way; this is confirmed by *hauma* (*ha* = *ka* in Mal., preposition *to*), so that both words would earlier have meant *on the field* and *to the field*, and only later came to be used as substantives.

Other examples are: *djaku*, in *těrdjaku djaku* (D.), from *di aku*, *djaton* (Dayak), from *dīa aton*.

b. This use of *dj* occurs less often under the influence of an *u*, but in addition to the examples in DAIRI J XIV, there are the following: *pitunang* (Men.) = *pitjunang* (Mac.), *djuwata* (Jav.), from *duwata*, instead of *dewatā* (Sans.), *tundjuk*, in *djongkal-tundjuk* (M.), besides *tunduk*, *djung ada* (M.) = *dung ada*; cf. also *djukut* (Sund.) =

*dukut* (D. and Kawi), *djubur* (Sund.), from *dubur* (Ar. Mal.), *djusta* (Bat. Mal.) = *dusta*.

*The Nasals as Closers and Solid Edged Consonants.*

VI. In addition to the examples in DAIRI J IX, there are the following: *bělang* (D.) = *bolák* (T.), *kalěn* (D.) = *halot*, *saran* (D.) = *sarat*, *tutum* (D.) = *tutup*, *tarum* (D.) = *tarup*, *anun* (D.) = *hanjut* (Mal., see MANDAILING F III NOTE), *bon* = *bot*, *nalěng* (D.) = *lanok* (25 II), *bələng* (D.) = *balok*, *sěřěn* (D.) = *sorot*, *děləng* (D.) = *dolok*, *nangkěng* (D.) = [*nangkoh*], *posong* (DAIRI J V b) = *pusok*, *udun* (D.) = *udut*.

That such words in T. are not always closed with a solid edged consonant, can be seen from, e.g., *pidong* (DAIRI J IX a), *djobang* = *djābak* (Mal.), *huring* = *kurik* (Men.), *rubang-rabing* = *rubak-rabik* (Mal.), *kuling*, in [*hulinghuling*] = *kuliq* (Men., see 30 XIII NOTE 1).

There is no *sagat* in use besides *sagan*; it can only be assumed (Obs. 1).

Sometimes there is a difference of meaning between the variants, e.g., *modom* - *to be asleep*, and *medep* - *to close*, of the eyes because of a bright light, also said of someone who is sleepy, see 29 III Obs. 2.

a. The Dairi *alěng* = *alap* in T. would appear to have passed through Men. (30 XII NOTE) and would, therefore, have come from an *alok*.

obs. 1. Words of this kind, except sometimes those closed with *k* or *ng*, have an intermediate form which is closed with a blunt fluid consonant. However, because a blunt consonant cannot be a closer (7 Obs. 1), the intermediate form is only found in Batak in words having a suffix that begins with a vowel, or in a few compound words of which the last part begins with a vowel. Thus the intermediate form of *bon* = *bot*, is found in *bodari*, that of *bělang* = *bolák*, in *bělagěn* (*sleeping mat* in D. = *lage* in T., properly the thing *to be spread*; cf. *ṗabolakkon* in M.), of *sagan* (= an earlier *sagat*?), in *sagadon*, *těləděn* (D.) = *tolonan*, *ajup* = *anum* (D.), *hanjut* (Mal.), *anod* (Tag.).

The intermediate form must, therefore, often be sought in a sister language, e.g., *tarub* (Jav., in *tatarub*) = *tarum* and *tarup*, *sarad* (Jav.) = *saran* and *sarat*, *seureud* (Sund.) = *sěřěn* and *sorot*, *tutub* (in Men., *tutuban* - *caul*) = *tutum* and *tutup*, *ungkab* (Kawi) = *ongkam* and [*’unghap*] (cf. Sund. *singkab* with Men. *singkap*).

OBS. 2. The intermediate form of words that are closed with *ng* or *k*, in Jav. is closed with an *r* and in Mal. with a *t*, e.g., *lalër* (Jav.), *lalat* (Mal.), *nalëng* (D.), *lanok* (T.), *pusër* (Jav.), *pusat* (Mal.), *posong* (D.), *pusok* (T.). The reason for this phenomenon cannot be given here without a lengthy digression about the sister languages. And, besides, who would read it?

NOTE. From the preceding, follows also the identity of *tot* with [*tejum*] (D.) which latter word has arisen from a *tijun* or *tujun* (instead of *tu-un* or *tun*, see 22 II 2 Obs.) and with *tut*, in *lutut* (Mal.), instead of *ulu-tut* (= *ulu ni tot*), because *ni* is not in use in Mal. as a preposition; see Dict. under *tot*). That there must have been a *tut* in Mal., is apparent from *tälut* (*tut* with the infix *al*, the accent being on the ultimate syllable, in accordance with 20 I; cf. the Mac. *kulantuq* in both its meanings).

*The Nasals as Beginners of a Word and their Homorganic Edged Consonants.*

VII. Because the *m* occurs in verbal prefixes, it is considered to be inappropriate as a beginner of a substantive and therefore it is readily changed into a homorganic edged consonant, in order to give a word a nominal form, whether such a word is common as a substantive or is only used in the forming of the passive, hence *pasogit*, in *bale* — besides *masogit* (31 XII), *pinangkabow* (geographical name), from *minangkabow* (Men.) in use as well as *Menangkabow* and *Manangkabow*, (MANDAILING G NOTE), *putik* (Mal.) = *mutik*, *pärpäti* (Mal.) besides *märpäti*, *pradangga* (Jav.), from *mrëdangga* (Kawi-Sans.) = *märdangga* (Mal.), *maispati* (Jav. proper name), from *mahismati* (Sans.), *pušti* (Jav.), from *mušti* (Sans.), *pärtja* (Mal., place name), from *mërtja* (D. and Jav., Kawi, Sans. *martya*) = *morsa* (T.), *paṇḍapa* (Jav.), from *maṇḍapa* (Sans.), *pele* (51 Obs.), *pukka* (49), *pudi* (156), *pujang* (152 fn. 2), *pësigit* (Jav.), besides *mësigit*, *paṅsa* (Mal. the flesh of the fruit which, just like the *nangka*, consists of segments), from *mangsa*.

The correctness of this is apparent from the preference of Batak to use as verbs foreign substantives beginning with an *m*, hence, *masa* and *musim* or *musin* (*to happen, to be usual, customary*), from *māsa* (*month*) and *musim* (*monsoon*); *merat* (Mal., often spelt <*m<sup>c</sup>-r-t*> (from Ar. <*mī<sup>c</sup>-rād̄j*> - ascension), is used in poetry with the meaning of *to die*; it is applied to princes, whose death is equated with an ascension.

a. But, because the remaining nasals also occur instead of a solid edged consonant, in the formation of the active voice, this change has also been applied to them. In this connexion it should be noted

that Batak has not had so much need to do this as Jav., because it has so few verbs that do not begin with an *m*, so that one would be inclined to say that words in which a nasal other than *m* has undergone this change have crept in from another language. Examples are: *tinggala* (perhaps from Mal. or Jav.) besides *ninggala* (30 IV), *tabu*, in *tabu tabu*, from a *nabu* (30 IV) = *labu* (Mal., from Sans. *alabu*; cf. 22 III), *tudjum* (51 Obs.); *tätampan* (Mal.), from *nanampan* (Jav.), *tikah* (Sund.), in the passive instead of *nikāh* (Ar. Mal.); *tapponok* = *nampondok* (D. IX), *talajan* (in some MSS.) = *nalajan* or *nilajan* (Mal., Tamil *nuleijan*, MANDAILING G NOTE; DAIRI J IV), *kadji* (Men.), as the passive of *mängadji*, *kanga* (Ngadju Dayak) = *nganga* (Mal.).

b. One finds examples of the reverse process which can probably be explained by the wish to give them a foreign appearance, e.g., *nila-utama* (proper name, Mal.), from *tilottamā* (Sans.), *mirus* (Jav.) besides *pirus* (Pers., Mal.).

c. Sometimes the nasal is discarded, so that the word begins with a vowel, e.g., *imbar* (Jav., nominal form of *ngimbar*, from *mimbar* (Ar.), *intuna* (D.) = *nituna* (26 Obs. 1), *inggala* besides *ninggala*, *antaboga* (Jav.) = *nantaboga* (Mal., Sans. *anantabhoga*), *andini* (Jav.), from *nandini* (Sans.), *alu* (Mal. <halu>), from *nalu* (see IX?), *ämpälam* besides *mämpälam* (Mal.), *angguliman* = *mangu-liman* (IX), *unggoli* = *nonggëli* (D.), *danu* (Kawi - cloud), from *nandanu* (Sans. 22 III), *ipon* (M.) = *ngipin* (Tag.), *aran* (Jav.) = *ngaran* (Sund. and Kawi), *unte* = *monte* (Alfur), *montaj* (Tag.), *ipëkah* (Sund.), from Ar. Mal. *nifqah* (*nipăkah*), *uda* (p. 378, fn. 2), *ngabul* (D.) = *abul*, *ngila* (Tag.) = *ila*.

*The Nasals as Beginners of a Word and their Homorganic Solid Blunt Consonants.*

VIII. Very frequently *m* and *b* are interchanged, especially as beginners of lighter syllables or of words of more than three syllables, e.g., *mandailing* = *bandailing*, *maima* (proper name) = *baima*, *matau* = *batau* (17 IV a), *bintora* = *mintora*, *moraturun* = *boraturun* (M.), *mahatara* (Dayak) = *batara* (Sans. *bhaṭāra*), *mijangga* (Jav.), from *wjangga* (Sans.), *mënjawak* (Jav.) = *bijawak* (Mal.), *mansijang* (Men. 22 III a) = *basijang*, *bahota* = *makota* (Mal. see Dict.), *märpati* (Mal.), from *bhārjāpati* (22 IV).

As beginners of dissyllabic words, they are interchanged in, among

other words, *marus* = *barus*, *milas* = *bilas*; in *balám* = *malám*, and *mudá*, from *budá* (X Obs. 2), the lightest syllable has had an effect. *Imana* even occurs besides *ibana* (*iba* + *na*); this is explainable by the resonance of the *n* and the use of the word as a pronoun (cf. 31 XIV NOTE 2).

a. Examples of the interchange of *d* and *n* are: *nung* = *dung*, *dona* (D. 30 II a) = *doda*, *nan* (e.g., in [*nansulam̄pah*]) instead of *dan*, and *ni* originally = *di*; in *nomá*, from *domá*, and in *nongán*, from *dongán* (M.), the lightest syllable has had an effect.

b. Only very few examples can be mentioned in Batak of the interchange of *g* and *ng*, e.g., *egot* (North M.) = *ingot*; cf. *ngingi* with *gigi* (Mal.).

OBS. In the same way, *duk*, in *piduk* (D.), = *nuk*, in *manuk*, for words meaning *bird* often come from the designation of a particular kind of bird, e.g., see *djangang-djangang* (Mac., *bird*), from *djangang* - *fowl*, *manuk-manuk* (see Dict.), from *manuk*, which in Tag., Bis. and Iloco still has the accent on the final syllable (20 I).

NOTE. Mal. frequently has *m* as beginner of trisyllabic words where Men. and Bat. have *b*, Jav., or Malagasy, *w*, and Sund. *tj*, e.g., *māngkudu* = *bangkudu* (Men. and Bat.), *wangkudu* (Jav.), *tjangkudu* (Sund.); *māngkuwang* = *bangkuwang* (Men. and Bat.), *wakúanā* (Huwa, p. 30 III NOTE), *tjangkuwang* (Sund.); cf. also *tjaringin* (Sund.) with *waringin* (Jav.), *baringin* (Men. and Bat.); *tjareham* (Sund.) with *barham* (D.), *garham* (Mal. 22 IIIe 2), *bahēm* (Jav.); *tjalintjing* (Sund.) with *balimbing* (Mal.); *waduk*, *ngaduk* (Jav.) with *tjaduk* (Sund.). The Sundanese word *tjawene* - *virgin*, is therefore, from *wawene* (*wene* = *bini* in Mal.) and really means *that which bears a likeness to a woman* (171; cf. 31 VI NOTE).

#### *Closing Nasals, Followed by Blunt Consonants as Beginners and Nasals.*

IX. There are many examples of the changing of *ngg* with *ng*, *nd* with *n* and *mb* with *m* between vowels.

*ngg* with *ng*.

*Angguliman* (VII c) = *manguliman*, *ěnggěluh* (D.) = *ngolu*, *singgar* = *singar* (Men.), *danggěl* (D.) = *dangól*, *ěngga* (not in Bat. Mal.) = *nga?* (M., in *ngada*, i.e., *nga* + *ada*; cf. 30 III a).

*nd* with *n*.

*Sindar* = *sinar* (D. and Mal.), *sěnda* and *sěna* (D.), *tondung* =

*tānung* (Mal.), *ědēratja* = *naratja* (Mal., from Sans.), *nak* (Men.) = *hāndak* (Mal.), *burnung* (27 I) = *bundung* (Men.), *sundut* (Men.) = *sunut*, *sindawar* (D.) = *sinawar* (Men.), *handiwung* (Sund.) = *nibung* (Mal. cf. DAIRI K I), *ěndu* (D. suffix of 2nd pers sing) = *nu* (Mac.), *inda* = *na* (M., in *nada*), *andalu* or *indalu* (22 III) = an earlier *nalu* (= *lalu*, see IV a), *ěnderu* (D.) = *niru* (Men.).

*Ĕmbalno* (D.) = *mallo* (DAIRI J XII a), *rembe* = *rěme* (D.), *ěmbatjang* (D.) = *matjang* (Mal.), *hambiri*, *gambiri* (M.) = *kěmiri* (Jav.), *karamodja* (Mal.) = *haramodja*, *lambusir* (Sund.) = *lamusir* (Men.); cf. *tímoroq* besides *tímboroq* (Mac.) and MANDAILING F IV Obs.

NOTE. The *n* of a foreign word sometimes becomes *nd*, e.g., *pindis* (Men.), from *pinnacle*, *djandela* (Mal.), from *janela* (Port.), *almenděr* (Bat. Mal.), from Dutch *Armenier*, *Armenian*.

The *d* of *dija*, *daku* and *dikow* (Mal.) must have arisen in the same way from *dāngan* and *kan* (or *akan*), because of the influences of a closing *n*, so that formerly *dāngan aku*, *dāngan ija* and *dāngan ikow* must have been in use. *Ikow* still exists in Dayak and Tag.

Sundanese pronounces a blunt consonant very softly after a homorganic nasal, so that, for example, *andjing* sounds almost like *anjing*, or, it makes a blunt consonant into an edged consonant, e.g., *tintjak* = *tindjak*.

Buginese is averse to a blunt consonant after a closing nasal, hence, *tantjaq* = *tandjaq* (Mac.), *dangkang* = *danggang* (Mac.), *balampang* = *balambang* (Mac.). For this reason, *w* as beginner of a word following a closing nasal, which latter must become an *m*, becomes a *p*, as does *b*, e.g., *waramparang* instead of *warang warang*, *watampitiq*, from *watang witiq*, *bolampolang* instead of *bolang bolang*, *busumpusung* instead of *busung busung*. *Dunrumpulawang* has come from *dunrung ulawang* in the same way. Buginese often uses *r* instead of *d* after a closing *n*, just as in Mac. (23 IV NOTE 2).

### *h and w.*

X. The susurrus produced when the *h* is spoken has given rise to this sound's being changed to a *w* (cf. 27 II 2 and 15 III NOTE). This accounts for the *h* of D. or Mal. between two identical vowels being represented by *o*, *w* or even *b* (see Obs. 1 below), e.g., *djahat* (D. and Mal.) = *djaoát* or *djawát*; *mahal* (D. and Mal.) = *maoál* or *mawál*; *gěrdaha* (D.) = *gordaoa* or *gordawa* (cf. examples in 17).

OBS. 1. The interchange of *o* with *w* and *b* is clear from 17 II, and also from DAIRI J X, that of *ha* with *o*. From this, the original identity of *tahan* (D. and Mal.), with *tarwan* (Mal.), *taban* (T.) becomes clear, therefore, *manaban* (see under *taban* in Dict.) really means *to stop* someone (*mānahan*, Mal.), the more so because *měnanahan* (D.) or *manaon* (T.) are so often used of the setting of traps or the laying of snares, etc.

OBS. 2. The *h*, as a constituent of aspirated consonants in Sanskrit words, is represented in T. by *a*, e.g., *daupa*, from *dhupa*, *bauta*, from *bhūta*, *budá* (8) or *mudá* (VIII), from *buddha*, *gordá* (8), from *grēddhra* (31 IV), *baima* or *maima* (VIII), from *bhīma*, *pane* (8 and 29 II), from *phanī*. An exception is *sondi*, which has perhaps arisen through D. (*sēndihī*) or Mal. (*sāndī*), from *sandhi* and formerly must have been *sondi* (8 and 19 I Obs.).

On the other hand, in D., an *h* followed by an *u* and preceded by another consonant is separated from the latter by an *ě*, e.g., *děhupa*, from *dhupa*. In respect of the other vowels, however, the same vowel as the word contains is used (cf. DAIRI F), e.g., *sēndihī*, from *sandhi*, *budaha*, from *buddha*, *gěrdaha*, from *grēddhra*. In *daholi* [*daholi*] = *doli* (T.), from *dhūli*, the *u* would seem to have become *o* under the influence of the aspirate.

NOTE. In the sister languages also, *h* is confused with *w*, e.g., *graha* (Kawi) = *ghara* (Mal.) = *garwa* (Jav.), from *grēhāh* which must first have been *gērha*, as appears from the Sund. *gērēha*. The Mal. and the Kawi forms have arisen as a consequence of 25. Men. has *duwagā* = *dhaga* (Mal.). The Men. spelling <*p-alif-w*>, (*pað*, 17 III NOTE,  $\frac{1}{4}$  *tahil*) presumes an earlier *pawa* = *paha* (*thigh*, see Dict.); however, this spelling may have been occasioned by the pronunciation of *paha* as *pað*, as a consequence of the easy dropping out of the *h* and the pronunciation of the final *a* as *ā*.

*h and s.*

XI. Frequently, *h*, under the influence of a triller or of an *i* and an *u*, interchanges with *s*, e.g., *hurbit* = *surbit*, *harimborbor* = *sarimborbor*, *halimbubu* = *salimbubu*, *sinandjar* = *hinandjar*, *halittoktok* = *salittoktok*, *sinamora-an* (South M.), from *hinamora-an*, *sarumaer* = *harumaer*, *humur* = *sumur*, *hudji*, from *sudji* (Mal.); cf. also *harhar* with *sarsar*, and *si* in the prefix *masi* (e.g., *masihotang*) = *hi* (in *māihotang* instead of *māihotang*, MANDAILING B II d); cf. also *kuping* (Jav.) which would be pronounced *huping* in T. or M. (10 a), with *suping* (M.), *sūpinā* (Malag.), etc.

NOTE 1. In Men., *as* as final sound is pronounced as *əh*, e.g., <*b-r-s*> *bārəh*, Rað Men., *bòreh* (29 IV NOTE). Such words when taken into T. or M. are not closed with *h* (23 I, see *bore*). This explains the spelling <*alif-tj-s*>, because in Men. the name is heard as *atjəh* and not, as in Mal. and D., *atjih*.

NOTE 2. Men. pronounces *us* as final sound as *wih* (the *w* being pronounced as in English; cf. XIV NOTE 1), e.g., *sarátwih* <*s-r-alif-t-s*>.

*p and k as closers.*

XII. This alternation usually occurs in a last syllable having an *a*, *o*

or *e*, e.g., *nop* = *nok* (IV a), *rajap* besides *rajak*, from *rajat* <*r-c-j-t*>, *rijap* = *rija*k (M.), *sep* = *sek* (D.), *dop* besides *dok*, *teptep* besides *tektek*, in *talektek*, *angogop* = *angogok* (M.), *sotop* besides *sotok*, *gobop* besides *gobok*, *lotup* = *lotuk*; cf. *asup* (Sund.) with *masuk*.

NOTE. Men. pronounces *ap* as final sound as *òq* <*tj-j-l-p*>, *tjiloq*.

*k* and *t* as closers.

XIII. This interchange usually occurs in a last syllable having an *i* or *e*, e.g., *seset* and *sosek* (29 III Obs. 1), *behek* = *behet*, *tuldik* = *tullit* (MANDAILING F I); cf. *parik* (from Men., see NOTE 1) with *parit* (Mal.), *sisik* with *sisit* (Sund.), *rabit* (Dayak and Jav.) = *rabik* and *tjabik* (Mal.), *husip* = *kosik* (D.), *përit* (Jav.) = *ëmperik* (D.), *lejakni* besides *lejatni*, perhaps from an earlier *laekni* or *laetni* (17 V NOTE).

The following should also be noted: *randut* = *randuk*, *sijot* = *sijok*, *sipaut* = *sipauk*; cf. *etet*, where onomatopoeia takes effect, with *itik* (D.; cf. the Jav. word).

NOTE 1. *it* and *ip*, in Men., as final sound are pronounced as *iq*, e.g., *pariq* = *parit* (Mal.), hence such spellings as <*m-s-t-c-j-b*> instead of <*m-s-t-c-d(d)*>. In this way, the Jav. *tabit* can have arisen through Men. from <*tabib*>.

*is* as final sound is pronounced as *ih*, e.g., *bāngih* = *bāngis*. For this reason, and also because of the suitability of its meaning when applied to a river, *bangis* in *air bangis*, as we pronounce it on the basis of its spelling, for *bangih* (Agam pronunciation, see 29 IV NOTE), must have come from *bangi* (= *wangi* Jav.) which was not understood. Many words are written with a closing *s*, even those that, in Mal. do not end in *ih* but *i*, e.g., <*l-j-d-s*> (*lidih*) = *lidi*, <*p-n-j-t-s*> (*panitih*) = *paniti*. Pedantry seems to be the explanation. Has *përës* (Jav.) = *pārah* arisen from the Dutch word *persen* - [to press], for the corresponding word in Kawi is *pwah*, from which comes *pohan* (instead of *pwahan*) - milk, i.e., *that which is squeezed out*?

NOTE 2. Men. pronounces *at* as final sound *èq*, e.g., <*s-s-t*> *sāsèq* (Raò *sosèq*). Such words when taken into Batak, sometimes do not have the *q*, hence *kope*, from *tjopeq* (Raò Men. pronunciation of *tjəpat*, see 28).

*p* and *t* as closers.

XIV. This interchange occurs in a last syllable having an *u*, e.g., *lusup* besides *lusut*, *gurut* as well as *gurup*, *ajup* = *hanjut* (Mal., 30 VI).

NOTE 1. In Men., *ut* and *up* as final sounds are identical and are pronounced as *wiq*, e.g., *lawiq* = *laut*, *patwiq* = *patut*, *katwiq* = *katup*. Here, the *w* must be pronounced more as a vowel, as in English, but so short that such a word does not become, as a consequence, a syllable longer, e.g. *pātuwīq* and not *patūwīq*. This is the explanation of such spellings as <*p-alif-t-b*> instead of <*p-alif-t-t*>.

NOTE 2. For Jav. *tabit*, from *ṭabīb* (Ar.), see XIII NOTE 1.

NOTE 3. Mac. represents every solid closing consonant by *q*; before a vowel, it becomes a *k*.

*kk* (or *ngk*) and *ng*.

XV. It is singular that *kk* or *ngk* (M.) so frequently becomes *ng* in a variant, e.g., *dingan* besides *dikkan*, *songon* besides *sokkon*, [*tongon*] besides [*tonghon*], *bongot* besides *bokkot*, *ningon* besides *nikkon*.

OBS. Some words have a variant in which *ng* between vowels is lacking, e.g., *ijan* = *ingan*, *tijan* = *tingon* (M. 4). In Dairi, there is *mān* and *pān* (DAIRI J XI), from *mangan* and *pangan* (cf. NOTE 2).

NOTE 1. Must an earlier pronunciation *ngh* be presumed here, according to the letter (p. 77), so that the *h*, at the time when this pronunciation was still common, had already fallen out?

NOTE 2. Men. drops the *ng* in variants (cf. Obs.), e.g., *djāngan* (28 II) besides *djan*, and *garan* instead of *garangan*. The Mal. *dan* <*d-alif-n*> must have arisen from *dāngan* (cf. the meanings of *dohot*) in the same way.

### 31. LESS REGULAR SOUND CHANGES.

I. An *ng* may occur as closer where a variant of a word ends in a vowel, usually an *o*, *u* or *a*, e.g., *etong*, in *meto-ngetong* = *eto*, *gado* besides *gadong*, *urdong* besides *urdo*; cf. *djolong* (Men.) with *djolo*; *gadajah menong* (Men. *sea-horse*), from an earlier *gadajah menā*? *huru-huru-an* = *hurung-hurungan*, *asang* [*mangasanghon*] = *asa*, *talāko* (Mac.) = *talākung* (Mal.), *hidje* = *kidjang* (Mal. 29 I b)?

OBS. For the closing of *i* with *n* or *ng*, see 27 II 2, Obs. 1. Men. has perhaps formed *nan*, from [*na*] (suffix 3rd pers.); cf. *jang*, from *ija*, etc. NOTE 1.

NOTE 1. Closing with *ng* has grammatical significance in *jang* (Mal.; in Kutai still *ija*), from *ija*, and in *kang* (Jav.), from *ka* (in *ika*) and *ingkang* (Jav.), from *ika*, and in *sing* (Jav.), from *si* (as still in D.). D. often closes *si* (relative) with a nasal homorganic with the beginner of the word, e.g. *sintērēm* (*si* + *tērēm*), *simpēra* (*si* + *pēra*). It is interesting to compare *hidu* (Men. in *mahidu* - *to smell*) with *hidung* (*nose*, cf. Bim. *ngilu* - *to smell*, and *ilu* - *nose*).

NOTE 2. In Jav., *i* as a preposition is closed with *ng* (*ing*), and in Balinese, with *n* as suffix (*in*).

NOTE 3. Comparison with the sister languages shows variants in *i* and *in*, e.g., [*barsi*] = *bārsin* (Mal.), *borngin* (27 I), *bērngin* (D.) = *bēngi* (Jav.); cf. *kālamarin*, from *kālam-ari* (see Dict. under *bodari*), *wangin*, in *ma-wangin*, = *wangi* (Jav.), [*rumin*] (from Men.), from *rumi* (Ar. Mal.), *inin* (Mal. east coast

of Sumatra), instead of *ini*, *sundusin*, from *sundusi* (Pers. Ar.) which in Mac, where it must have an *ng*, has become *sunduseng* (7 Obs. 9 NOTE).

Words that end in a different vowel, less often have a variant with *n* as closer, e.g., *nagatarun* (Men.), from *nagataru*, *baun* (Men.) = *bau* (<*ba-alif-w*>), hence *sabaun* and *baunbaunan* = *sabau* and *bau-bauan*), *talun*, in *bär-talun-talun* = *talü*; cf. *salpu* with *salpun* (27 I); *bärngan* (Men.) = *bärnga* (Mal.), *dewan* (Men. in stories, a celestial being), from *dewa*, perhaps because otherwise it would have become *deò* (17 III NOTE); *nantun* (Men. adjectival pronoun meaning *the thing in question*, as it refers to something of which mention has been made) from *nan + tu* (cf. *itu*); and *nangka* (adjectival pronoun with the same meaning), from *nan + ka*, cf. *ika* (Men. = *ini*).

The preposition *ka*, as a suffix, becomes *kan* (Mal., *kën* Jav. and D., *hon* T. and M., see DAIRI A II b and 4,2).

II. The occurrence of *l* as closer where a variant has *ng*, e.g., *sang-kibung* besides *sangkibul*, *banggáng* = *banggál*, *känang* (Mal.) = *känal* (Men., in <*t-r-k-n-r*>, 24 NOTE 3); cf. Jav. *gađing* with *gađil*; *butjal* (Krama) = *buwang* (VI).

III. Interchanging of *r* and *s* as beginners, e.g., [*sanghe*] = [*ranghe*], *saba-saba* = *raba-raba*, [*rintah*] = [*sintah*].

NOTE. Malagasy sometimes has *z* where Bat. has *r*, e.g., *wezaträ* = *bërat* (D.), *wizaträ* = *birat* (M.).

IV. The absence of an *r* in variants, e.g., *okar* (D.) = *rohar* (cf. Mal. *läkar* = [*harpe*] in meaning), *gowar* or *goar* = *gorar* (M.), *gërar* (D., cf. Mal. *gälar*), *imbaru* = *rimbaru* (M.), *tuwanggong* = *turang-gong*, *orar* = *rërar* (D.); cf. *àme* (Mac.) with *ràme* (Bug.) and *rëme* (D.), *tujung* (or *tiung*, 17 VII) = *tärung* (Mal.), *terong* (Jav. and Bat. Mal.). In the same way, *baruh* (Men., in *di baruh angin*) = *bawah* (Mal.) and *bauh* (D.), in *bauhun* (17 IV NOTE).

a. An *l* is absent in *ipos* = *lipas* (Mal.), *kulipasäq* (Mac.), *àsung* (Mac.) = *läsung* (Mal.), *lësung* (D.).

V. The interchange of *b* and *d* usually occurs because of the presence of an *i* or *e*, e.g., *dija ma* = *bija ma* (M.), *degar* = *begar* (Men.), *benak*, from *denak* (Men.), as appears from *dänak* (Mal.) can also be explained by 28 II; cf. *bidal* (Bat. Mal.), from *dedal* (Port.), *bijar* (Mal.) with *dijar*, in *padijar*, *dima* (Mac. name of the island of Bima [Sumbawa]).

VI. The interchange of *b* and *s*: e.g., *salkup* = *balkup*, *saroangin* = *baroangin*, *sarangan* (Jav.) = *barangan* (Mal.); cf. *borat* with *sorat*, *borót* with *sërèt* (Sund.). Here, it should be borne in mind that *b* represents a *w*, which is easily changed with *s* because of the susurrus of the *w*.

NOTE. Sund. often has *tj* as beginner where Mal. has a *b* and Jav. a *w*, e.g., *tjanir* = *banir*, *tjai* - *water* = *we* (Kawi instead of *wai*), *tjadas* = *wadas* (Jav.), *tja-ah* (DAIRI J XI NOTE) = *bah* (Mal.), *tjatang* = *batang* (Mal.), *watang* and *satang* (Jav.), *tjaung* = *baung*, *tjajur* = *bajur*; cf. *butjal* = *buwang* (II); *patjal* (Mal., also as humble pronoun, 1st pers.), Krama form of *parwang* (Kawi = Jav. *parwong* - *servant*); cf. 17 III NOTE.

VII. *s* and *t* usually interchange because of an *i*, e.g., *hosing* = *hoting*, *singgung* = *tinggung* (Mal.), *sijan* besides *tijan* (in M., *teman* besides *seman*). Here, attention should be paid to the representation in T., in borrowed words, of a *tj* by an *s* (14 Obs.); e.g., *simbora* can have arisen from an earlier *tjimbëra* (22 III a) which would be the pronunciation in D. of *tīwra* (Sans.) (DAIRI D III).

It is singular that besides *setul* and *tetul* there is also *petul* and besides *singgung* and *tinggung* (Mal.), *pinggung*, in which the *p*, in accordance with 30 VII, can have arisen from a *metul* and a *minggung* instead of a *tumetul* and a *suminggung* (22 III f).

a. *s* and *t* seldom interchange under the influence of an *u*, but examples are: *hasurutan* (M.) = *haturutan* (22 III e 2), *su* (D.) = *tu* (DAIRI K IV).

VIII. The interchange of *s* and the vowel carrier, e.g., *imbulu* besides *simbulu*, *impola*, from *simpola*, *angkibung* besides *sangkibung*, *antabi* besides *santabi*, *antjogot* and *intjogot* besides *santjogot* and *sintjogot*.

IX. *h* (in D., *k*) and *t* usually interchange because of the presence of an *i*, e.g., *hijong*, *kijung* (D.) = *tijung* (Mal.), *kipas* (Mal.) = *tipas* (Jav.), *hinaon*, from *tinaon*.

X. Interchange of *g* and *r*, e.g., *gaba-gaba* = *raba-raba*, *gobar* = *robar*. (*Igung* = *irung* (Jav.) lies outside Batak).

XI. Interchange of *g* and *d*, e.g., *daganak* instead of *dadanak* = *dakdanak* (23 IV b), *badija* = *bhagija* (Mal.), *gali-gali* = *dali-dali*, *wagjut* (Jav.), from *widyut*.

XII. Interchange of *g* and *dj*, e.g., *djobar* = *gobar*, *gomak* = *djomak*, *masāgit* (Men.), pronunciation of *masādjit* (<*m-s-dj-d*>, see 23 NOTE 4), *pindjil* (M.) = *pinggil*; cf. *ugi* (Mac.) = *udji* (Mal.), *sugi* = *sudji* (Mal.).

XIII. Interchange of *g* and *w*: cf. *talaga* with *talawa*, *sinagar* (Sund.) with *sindawar* (D.).

XIV. Interchange of *r* and *h* (Dairi, *k*), e.g., *rait* = *hait*, *rair* = *kawir* (17 IV), in *kawirën*, etc.

NOTE 1. Sound changes which lie outside Batak and can only be known through comparison with the sister languages, will not be dealt with here. However, in a Dictionary they are important and necessary for those words of which the explanation cannot be found in Batak itself.

For example, *tami*, in *manami* - *to offer to the spirits*, and *tami-tami* - *an offering feast*, at which the public and not just a particular family participate, can be explained by the Jav. *tamu* and *tami* - *guest*, so that *manami* really means *to regale the spirits* (to treat as guests). In this case, the identity of *u* and *i* as final sound can only be established from an earlier form of the word. When an *i* (which, according to 29 II, can also be *e*) is the final sound of a word, which in a sister language or another dialect has an *u*, then there is an intermediate form with *uj* as final sound. This form must be sought in another language, or languages, where the final sound may have been preserved as two syllables, i.e., *uvi* or *uwe*, e.g., *langi* (D. and Jav.), *lange* (T.), *lanu* (Huwa, 30 III NOTE), *languj* (Kawi), *tangoj* (Dayak, nominal form of *nangoj*, 30 VII a; 30 IV); *api* (Mal., etc.), *afu* (Malagasy), *apuj* (Kawi); *tamu* (Jav.), *tamuwe* (T.), *tamuwej* (Dayak), *tamoj* (Lamp.), *tami* (see above); *tuli* (Jav.), *toloj* (Iloco), *tuluji* (Kawi); *balu* (T.), *baluwei* (Men.); *säpei* (Men.), in *angin säpei-säpei* - *a breeze*, besides *sapuwe* = *säpi* (Jav. and Mal.).

Other evidence of such sound changes can be found in the Notes to the Batak Reading Book.

NOTE 2. No rule can be applied to many examples of sound degeneration. For example, those which affect the vocative: *itó* or *itóng*, from *iboto*, *maén*, from *parumaen*, *tang*, from *turang*. And words, especially those that function as an indication of a relationship, and of which the original meaning is no longer felt, cannot always be sufficiently explained as far as change of form is concerned. For example, in some territories where North M. is spoken, *tai* has been made from *tapi* (Mal. abbreviation of *tatapi*, from *tathäpi* (Sans.), and *hai*, from *hami*. The dropping of the *p* and the *m* in these words can only be explained by their use as a conjunction (*but*) and a pronoun, respectively.

For the same reason *unang* is used in T. as the negative imperative, whereas *ulang*, the original form, is always used as the nominal form, or the imperative, of *mangulang* - *to make no use of something*.

Pronouns, too, as is clear from the use of *hai* instead of *hami*, are often found in a form in which the sound changes cannot be subjected to a rule. In Mac., for example, some pronouns, when they are used without emphasis, have been given a form that makes them almost unrecognizable, by the suppression of the final vowel, e.g., *aq* instead of *aku*, *kiq* (1st and 2nd pers sing), from *kit* (30 XIV NOTE 3) instead of *kita* (1st pers pl inclusive), *kang* (from *kam*, 7 Obs. 9 NOTE) instead of *kami*, and *mang* (from *mam*, 7 Obs. 9 NOTE) instead of *mami* (Jav.).

That a sound change has often been a means of giving a word a particular meaning, can be seen from *lasijak* - *Spanish pepper*, which is in general use instead of *na sijak* (30 IV a), because *na sijak* is applicable to other hot condiments and would be too embracing. This is also the reason that *halarwas* (27 II 2) is readily used instead of *halás*, because *halás* - *the hot (las) thing*, is again too inclusive.

The variant of such a word, and its meaning, often gets lost, e.g., *koning* in D. never means *yellow*, always *tumeric*, while Mal. has *kuning*, as distinct from *kunjit* - *tumeric* = *kunir* (Jav., 30 VI Obs. 2). Words of this kind tend, therefore, to particularize and sometimes have, as a consequence, a form with *si* (prefix stamping a word as a name of something), e.g., *si-hak* - *raven* or *crow*, from *hak* - *the croak of a raven or a crow*; D. has *hak* and Jav. *ěngkak*. Similarly,

*si-pādas* (Men. *ginger*), from *pādas* - *hot*, on the tongue, and *simosin* (Lubu, *salt*), from *mosin* (= *masin*, 29 IV Obs. 5).

Sometimes words undergo a change that is against the applicable rule, e.g., M. [*simpola*] which is borrowed from Men. *simpālah* - *juice*, from the flesh of a coconut, must have come from *simpārah*<sup>1</sup> (*si* + *pārah*, cf. 31 I NOTE 1). Has the *l* come about here instead of an *r*, because of the influence of the *s*, or of the nasal, the *l* being preferred as a close relative of the *n* (30 IV and 30 II Obs.)?

Onomatopoeic words are not bound by any rule, e.g., *búkuruq* (Mac.) = *dukur*, in *ēndukur* (D. = *anduhur*) = *kukur*, in *tākukur* (Mal.); *tutu*, in *hatutu* = *putu*, in *siputu* (Men.); cf. also *gak*, *gagawak*, *hak*, *kak* (D. and Dayak), *gagak* (Men. and Jav.), *ēngkak* (Jav.); see Dict. In such words, one can only point to the regularity of similar vowels.

### 32. INSERTED CONSONANTS.

The following occur as inserted consonants:

I. *n*, in *Dairi* (DAIRI E IV b), *Mandailing* (MANDAILING E f), and also in the word *nanón* (in T. — *at present*, in M. — *immediately*), which is also spelt [*nannon*], so that the word should be heard as two monosyllables, from [*na*] + [*on*], hence [*nahan*] in D. (DAIRI J X).

II. *s* in M. and T. (8 d), in D. (DAIRI E IV a) and also in [*pasingothon*] ([*pa*] + [*'ingot*] + [*hon*]), from which *singot*, in *tarsingot*.

a. In *pasulak*, which has the same meaning as *paulak*, the *s*, in view of the meaning (see Dict.), is taken as being an insertion.

III. *t*, in [*morsitidjur*] (8 e), in [*patidahon*] (see MANDAILING E e); *tj*, in D., in *pētjidahkēn*, and *tjētjedur* (DAIRI E IV c).

IV. *h* in M. (MANDAILING E a), in D. (DAIRI E IV) and also in *pahulu* (probably to make it agree with *pahae*), and in [*pahompu*] and *pahalo* (is this influenced by *Dairi*?).

OBS. The *r* is perhaps inserted in *tariṗar*, from *tu* + *iṗar*, p. 43; this is presumed from the *Dairi* form, *tureṗar*. In Men., there is *karair* instead of *ka-air* - *to go to the water or the river*, to relieve oneself. For *air*, see 17 VIII NOTE 1.

<sup>1</sup> *simpārah* also occurs, but is rare. That *simpola* is not Batak, is obvious from *poro* = *pārah* (Mal.).

## IV. SPELLING

### 33. SPELLING AND HISTORY.

The spelling of Batak is nowhere regular, because each person writes according to the pronunciation customary in his territory. To take the word *hutsús*, fragrant, as an example: in T., it is not only spelt  $\text{ᑲᑲ}\backslash\text{ᑲᑲ}\backslash$  (14), but also  $\text{ᑲᑲ}\backslash\text{ᑲᑲ}\backslash$  (11),  $\text{ᑲᑲ}\backslash\text{ᑲᑲ}\backslash$  (according to the pronunciation), and  $\text{ᑲᑲ}\backslash\text{ᑲᑲ}\backslash$  (13); Sub-Toba, on the other hand, which verges on Dairi, spells it either  $\text{ᑲᑲ}\backslash\text{ᑲᑲ}\backslash$  (14 a) or  $\text{ᑲᑲ}\backslash\text{ᑲᑲ}\backslash$  (11); the North Mandailing spelling is  $\text{ᑲᑲ}\backslash\text{ᑲᑲ}\backslash$  (MANDAILING B I), while the South M. spelling is  $\text{ᑲᑲ}\backslash\text{ᑲᑲ}\backslash$  (MANDAILING B II d).

In most MSS. on bark the spelling is regular, the word being written in such a form that a person who knows nothing of the pronunciation of T. can reduce it to his own dialect with little difficulty. A speaker of Mandailing can see from the spelling  $\text{ᑲᑲ}\backslash\text{ᑲᑲ}\backslash$  that he has to pronounce it *huskús* (MANDAILING B). It is therefore this spelling that has been followed in the Dictionary, for, had a spelling in accordance with the Toba pronunciation been used, the Dictionary would have been of no use to anyone living in Mandailing or Dairi. From  $\text{ᑲᑲ}\backslash\text{ᑲᑲ}\backslash$  (14 a), it can be seen that in some cases the etymological spelling has not been followed. Those who know the pronunciation of the different dialects will not have the least difficulty in finding a word in the Dictionary in its proper place.

NOTE. The singular pronunciation of T. casts some doubt on the contention of all Batak-speaking people that T. is the parent language from which M. and D. are derived, because the pronunciation of these dialects now and then reproduces the spelling of the bark mss. better than does T. One may well question that D. has been derived from T. and may amend the Batak assertion as follows: D. was originally a sister language spoken by a people who were vanquished by the Toba people and who adopted the script of their conquerors — and perhaps their religion as well.<sup>1</sup> That the script has been taken from T. is clear from the absence of a sign for the vowel *ě*, which ought to have been called an *o* because the *ě* so often represents this vowel in T. (DAIRI II b) rather than an *u*.

In how far the religion of the Dairi-speaking people may have been derived

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, *resanna* (22 III d Obs.), *dangsina* and *songti* (23 III Obs. 2).

from the Toba people, must be investigated by someone who will be able to travel through the Dairi-speaking region. The Dairi-speaking people with whom I have come into contact affirm that their culture is that of the Toba Batak, and to judge from some Sanskrit words, which are usual in D., credence must be given to this belief for the time being. For example, *debata* and *agoni*, of which D. would have made *dewata* and *agēni* (DAIRI J XIV) had it not borrowed them from T. Words that are not Sanskrit also appear to have been borrowed, e.g., *kēliki*, of which D. has turned the *h* of *halihī* (from *ha + li*, 27 II 2) into a *k* (DAIRI B), despite the fact that the *h* would be in complete agreement with the rules of the language (DAIRI XI b).<sup>1</sup> The same thing has happened to *kētjeur* (10 Obs.), which ought to have been *kētjekur*, because D. reproduces an *h* (which has been dropped in *hasijor*, after the *i*) with a *k*. *Tampar sumpah* - *antidote for a curse*, as the name of a fruit used for cleansing the hair, is also peculiar, because here *sumpah* is the translation of *bura*, in *tappar bura*, which in T. now means *a curse*; when this name was given to the fruit, the word must still have meant *foam* (Dict. under *bura*).<sup>2</sup>

With regard to M., it is clear that T., at the least, must have adopted its script, because T. cannot pronounce *nj*, though it appears in the alphabet. The pronunciation of M. agrees with that of T. in some respects, for example, in having an *h* where Mal., Jav. or D. have a *k*. On the other hand, it demonstrates marked deviation in having a *tj* and, in South M., being able to pronounce a nasal marked closer before an edged consonant.

As North and South M. are at present, they must be regarded as languages which have become so thoroughly mixed with T. that only a few traces remain of the language of the original inhabitants of the M. language-area, of which the Lubu and Ulu are the present-day representatives.

When it is remembered that *sh* and *ns* in T. give *ts* in pronunciation and *ngh* gives *kk*, it is evident that, for example, the following words confirm the borrowing by M. from T.: *hatsit* in T. is *antjit*, in *mantjit*, (instead of *mahantjit*, MANDAILING B II d) in South M.; T. spells the word *hansit*, because *ns* also gives *ts*. *Batsir* in T. is *bantjir* in M. and T. spells it *bansir* for the same reason as that applicable to *hatsit*. Both these words could, however, just as well have been spelt *hashit* and *bashir*, in order to reproduce the pronunciation, for *hashit* and *bashir* also give *hatsit* and *batsir*. These words could not but become *hantjit* and *bantjir* with a people to whom *ts* would be disagreeable: they would have had to make an *nj* of it. By using *nij* (spelt *ns*) instead of *ts* (spelt *sh*), the basic sound from which these words have arisen cannot be made to agree with that in other related words. For example, in *hantjit* and *bantjir* the basic sounds are *tjit* and *tjir* and these cannot be associated with the basic sound in *bakkir* (spelt *banghir*) which is pronounced *bangkir* in M., and in *bahir*. In *bashir*, on the other hand, there is the basic sound of all three words — which have almost the same meaning —, i.e., *bahir*, *banghir* and *bashir*, the basic sound common to them being *hir*. This also applies to *hashit* which, when spelt *hansit*, gives *hantjit* in M., because *tjit* cannot be brought into agreement with the basic sound *hit* of, for example, *sakit* (Mal. *sakit*).

The words *hitsat*, *akkat* and *utsat*, which agree in their basic meaning, are at present spelt *hinsat*, *anghat* and *unsat* and in M. are pronounced as *hintjat*, *angkat* and *untjat*, show, in their spelling, a dissimilar basic sound; *sat* occurs twice and *hat* once (*kat* in the Mal. *angkat*). Here, therefore, one must turn again to

<sup>1</sup> See also 16 III No. 3, 18 and 21, and *taban* (also D.) 30 X Obs. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also 17 V a, from which it is clear that even the pronunciation of T. must have exerted an influence on D.

the pronunciation in T. and postulate an earlier spelling *hishat*, *anghat* and *ushat*, in order to establish a basic sound, i.e., *hat* (also in *borhat*).

It is safe to state that in former times the pronunciation of T. was more in agreement with the etymological spelling, cf. 30 XV NOTE 1, so that *hushus* and *hishis* were so pronounced. The basic sound could easily be discovered in that other pronunciation (*hus* = *kus* in D., *his* = *kis* in D., *kiskis* and Mal. *kikis*), whereas the present-day pronunciation, *hutsus* and *hitsis*, conceals it.

The newer pronunciation must, however, have already been common when the Toba people conquered the Mandailing area, because in M., *hishat* and *hashit* should have become *hiskat* and *haskit*, not *hinjat* and *hantjit*, which is the present-day M. pronunciation.

The *ts* is not known in a number of sister languages, such as Jav. and Mal., so that the original population of the M. language-area, which as is clear from the Lubu and the Ulu languages, spoke a language with a phonetic system that agrees with that of Jav. and Mal., had to change the *ts* into *ntj*.

That the southerly part of the Batak country was originally inhabited by a Malay-speaking people, is also apparent from the number of Men. and Mal. words in M. with a pronunciation that does not hold good for Men. but is still usual in Mal. To take *unggas* as an example: had this word been taken direct from Men. (*unggeh*, see 30 XI NOTE 1), it would have been *ungge* (see [*barungge*]). Other examples are *pa*, from Mal. *paha*, which is *pad* in Men. and in North M. *ra*, as the name of the territory called *Rad*, and which, according to 17 II, must have come from *rawa* and under no circumstances can have come from Men. (*rao*), and *tobat* which is the Mal. *tābat* and not the Men. *tobeq*, see 30 III NOTE 2.

From such spellings in T. as [*hansit*] and [*banghir*], etc., where, contrary to its own pronunciation, it places a nasal as closer before an edged consonant, the conclusion can safely be drawn that it was from the east, through the medium of a Mandailing dialect, that the hinterland received the culture. The true Toba-speaking people must also have mixed with the conquered, otherwise how can one explain the fact that T., notwithstanding its inability to pronounce a *tj*, does have a *dj*? In fact, the blunt homorgan of *ts* is *dz*, which is still the case in Malagasy.

In view of the marked agreement of the pronunciation of Batak with that of Malagasy, it is not improbable that earlier Batak also had a *dz*. The following are examples of this conformity:

1. an *h* as representative of *k* elsewhere, e.g., *ahu* = *aku* (Mal., Jav., etc.);
2. a *k* (in T. *kk*, 10 and 11) where Mal. or Jav. has *ngk*, e.g., *tuhu* (a tripod) = *tungku*, *wakuanā* = *bangkuwang*;
3. the development of a *k*, because of a preceding closer, from *h* (MANDAILING B I), e.g., *wurun-kahakā*, from *wurunā* = *burung* (Mal.) and *hahakā* = *hak* (T.);
4. the absence of the semi-vowel *j*, which is represented by *z*, e.g., *hazu* = *kaju* (Mal.), *salazanā* = *salajan* (Mal., from *salej*);
5. *tsi* where elsewhere there is *ti* (cf. DAIRI D III), e.g., *tsindzo* = *tindjow* (Mal.), *tindo* (T.); *futsi* = *putih* (Mal.), *tsindri* = *tindih* (Mal.); and the development of *ts* from *s*, because of a preceding closer, e.g., *lalantsarutrā*, from *lālanā* + *sāruutrā*;
6. the changing of a closing *k* into *h* before a suffix beginning with a vowel (cf. 10), e.g., *irāhinā*, from *irakā* (the final *a* almost mute) and *inā* (suffix).

PART II

THE WORDS AS PARTS  
OF SPEECH

## I. STEM-WORDS, DERIVED WORDS AND WORD-CLASSES

### 34. STEM-WORDS AND DERIVED WORDS.

A *stem-word* is one that, according to the rules of the language obtaining *at the present time*, cannot be reduced to a more simple form, e.g., *bijang* - *dog*, *habang* - *to fly*.

A *derived word*, as will be seen in due course, is one that is formed in one way or another from a word. The meaning of a derived word need not necessarily differ from that of the stem-word; it is the occasion on which it is used that is not the same; e.g., *marhabangan* is a derived word with the same meaning as *habang*; it is however, used only in a special case (57).

obs. 1. Derivation to which no rule for the language as it is today can be applied will not be dealt with, for it cannot be subjected to rules when only one language is under discussion. The word *habong* - *wing*, for example, is derived from *habang* but the manner in which it has become a substantive lies outside Batak. For such a word, no rule can be drawn up which will apply to the creation of other substantives in the same way. The *o* can be explained by the need to place the accent on the penultimate syllable (19 I), because in Batak this vowel represents an *ě* (in D. this word is *kaběng*, DAIRI B and J I), which shows that formerly the first syllable of *habong* was held longer in pronunciation than in *habang*, because the *ě* is a lighter vowel. Such a derivative, therefore, belongs to an earlier stage of the language and its development cannot be described without a digression into the sister languages.

There is also no rule applicable now to the way in which, in words having identical consonants, the vowels differ as a means of expressing a distinction of meaning by the contrast of sound. For example, *djarar*, *djirir* and *djurur* mean to *creep* (*mandjarar*, *mandjirir* and *mandjurur*) and the one is occasionally used for the other irrespective of the fact that the vowels are in contrast, though *djarar* is more used of *creeping in general* without regard to the

nature of *the kind of creeping* or of *the thing that is creeping*, while *djirir* is more used of things that are either small or which create a certain feeling of horror, such as worms, lizards, etc.; *djurur* is used of creeping things that are long, or inspire fear, like snakes (cf. 63 NOTE and 86 fn.).

obs. 2. There can be no doubt that some words must have started as monosyllabic in form - this will be called the *basic sound* -, but the manner in which such a sound has developed into a word cannot always be made to conform to a rule (52 4). The Mal. *tārbang* (= *habang*) can, just as the Batak word, have come from a basic sound *bang*, but the reason that Mal. has chosen *tar* and Batak *ha* (or *ka* DAIRI B), in order to make it into a word of current usage is not obvious. That the *ka* or *tar* used in these words is the passive prefix (108) is contradicted by the place of the accent in the Batak word (20 I): *habang* is at present a stem-word.

It is also clear that not all basic sounds were once monosyllabic, because some of them, as imitations of a protracted sound or of one made in varying tones, were polysyllabic from the outset (38; 52, 5 obs.).

### 35. THE FUNCTION OF STEM-WORDS.

Though it is not always possible to determine from the look of a stem-word to which word-class it belongs, it performs a function in a sentence in such a way that it can be placed in one or another word-class. For example, there is no way of telling at first sight that *manuk* and *pate* are substantive and verb, respectively. Because a substantive can function predicatively, without an abstract verb (36), some words appear to be used now as substantives, now as verbs, e.g., *begu* can mean *to be surprising*: *begu on* - *this is astonishing*, i.e., the devil must be at work here, for it's beyond me (lit: *this* is a *begu*, a supernatural being).

The substantives *bau* and *rupa*, provided another substantive follows them, can mean *to have the fragrance of* and *to have the form of*, respectively, e.g., *bau te indahan i* - *the aforesaid cooked rice smells of excrement*, *bau tukkap* - *to smell like tukkap*, i.e., to be given to drinking, *rupa bodat bajón* (8 a) - *this person looks like a bodat*.

The substantive *boltok* (*stomach, belly*) can mean *to become pregnant*, *to swell* of ears of rice, (*eme na boltok*); here it is probably used instead of *moltok* (61 and 30 VIII) which, in view of *bědēm*

beside *měděm* (D 61) and Jav. *mětěng* - *to be pregnant*, from *wětěng* - *stomach, belly*, is quite possible.

### 36. WORD-CLASSES.

The word-classes are: *verbs, substantives* (independent nouns), *pronouns, numerals, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, interjections* and *emphasizers*. There is neither *article* nor *adjective*.

There is no equivalent to the abstract verb *to be* which we need to make a substantive or an adjective function predicatively. In Batak, *this dog is large* - *balgá bijang on* (i.e., large, this dog), *a dog that is large* - *bijang na balga*, *this man is an augurer* - *datu bajón* (i.e., an augurer, this man) (8 a).

Even verbs expressing movement in a specific direction, like our *to come* and *to go*, can be suppressed completely; direction must be inferred from the preposition used, e.g., *tu aek ibana* - *to the water*, *he*, i.e., he has gone to the river, *tijan aek ibana* - *from the water*, *he*, i.e., he has come from the river, *sijan dija hita* - *where passing we?*, i.e., which way do we go?, *tu tombak on pe au maringanan*, *lomo ni rohakku do on* (RB. p. 12, l. 9) - *it is my own choice that I have come to this forest to live*.

## II. THE VERB

### 37. KINDS OF VERBS.

In Batak, because the verb undergoes most changes of form, it is the main word-class, and it will be necessary to classify the many kinds into classes, because it would be too difficult to give to each form a term of its own.

The first to be dealt with will be those that have the form of stem-words, these will be termed *stem-word verbs*. Derived verbs will be divided into two main classes: the first consists of the *simple derivatives*, the second, of the *compound derivatives*. The first uses only one prefix, or an infix, e.g., *madabu* (prefix *ma* + *dabu* stem-word), *sumurung* (stem-word *surung*, infix *um*). The second class uses more than one of the affixes, e.g., *mahusaem* (prefixes *ma* and *hu*, stem-word *saem*), *marhubajo* (prefixes *mar* and *hu*, stem-word *bajo*), *dumaredé* (stem-word *dede*, infixes *ar* and *um*), *marharukkut* (prefix *mar*, infix *ar*, stem-word *hukkut*, 14 a).

The deriving affixes, such as *i* and *hon*, are only the distinguishing mark of a kind of word and not of a word-class.

#### A. STEM-WORD VERBS.

##### 38. 1. TYPE BUMBAM.

There are three kinds of stem-word verbs.

The *first* has two syllables, which are usually closed. When they are closed, the beginner and the closer are the same in both syllables, while the last syllable, as often as not, has an *a*.

With only a few exceptions (see *rukrek* and M., *infra*), there is an *a* in one syllable and a different vowel in the other.

The accent is such that each syllable is so pronounced that the verb appears to consist of two separate parts, e.g., *búmbám* - *bum bam*, *gúgá* - *gu ga*, *sáksík* - *sak sik*. The idea is to produce a sound in which a difference of tone is perceptible, not one which is sudden and unisonous (52 4), e.g., *búmbám* reproduces the *thumping*, now muffled, now clear, of rice pestles, which make a dull sound when striking the

rice but a clear one when they hit the wood of the pounding block (*losung*); *rúpráp* reproduces the sound of gunshots, the one shot ringing clearer than the other because of a difference in the load.

These dissyllabic verbs must have been so from the beginning, because their meaning depends entirely on the contrast of the vowels in the two syllables (52 5 Obs.). Words derived from them lose the accent peculiar to them, e.g., *mandokdak*, *katuktak* (D.), *humatuktang* (11), etc.

obs. Formerly, there would appear to have been more words of this kind ending in a vowel, e.g., *doda*, which is, at present, a substantive and is, at the same time, the stem-word of *mandoda* - to call a dog by saying "doda"; *duda* is the stem-word of *manduda* - to bray rice from the husk, to pound something fine or into a flour. Both these words have the accent on the penultimate syllable and so *dódá* is no longer used to express to make the sound *doda*, for this *dodá* *dodá* (see in *Repetition*, 175 \*) is used, and instead of *dúdá*, *búmbám* is used.

M. has *ngukngek* and *njutnjet*.

D. has *tahto* (from an earlier *tahtoh?*) - to make the sound peculiar to winnowing.

### 39. 2. TYPE TINDANG.

The second kind of stem-word verb has the penultimate syllable heavy. These verbs are all used intransitively and mean a *movement*, a *posture* or a *condition*, e.g., *lao* (10 a, to go), *tindang* - to stand, *hundul* - to sit, to be seated, *habang* - to fly, *raṣar* - to be starving.

Like all verbs used intransitively, these stem-word verbs can also function as *simple passives* (100), e.g., *tading*, as the simple passive of *manadikkon* (51, to leave someone behind) can not only mean to stay behind, but also to be left behind, and *sega* - to be in a spoiled or broken state, as the result of *matsegahon* (to spoil something, to break).

obs. *Gabe*, or *bage* (26 Obs. 2) and *kěmbali* (D.) must have a substantive after them; both words mean to become something, e.g., *gabe djolma* - to become a man, *kěmbali si-měrbadju* - to become a girl.

*Adóng*, according to its meaning, to be present, to exist, at a certain place or at a certain time, must be put with this kind of stem-word verb. It must not be equated with our *to be*. It would appear to have acquired its accent by fusion with *ung* (once, at one

time) so that it is really *ada* (still in Mal.) + *ung* (29, 4 Obs. 7). The use of *adóng* should be noted in, for example, *adóng ma halak* - *there once lived a man, there was once someone*. *Adóng* retains its accent after *na* (*nadóng*), but loses it after *indá* (153, *indadong*).

The word *golap* is unusual; to judge from *holóm*, it ought to be put in another word-group (42). Its accent is perhaps due to its occurrence in *hagolapan* - *to be overtaken by darkness* (112), which is frequently found in M. (RB II, p. 280, l. 20), so that, unlike *holóm*, it does not mean the quality of *being dark*, but rather the state of something that has become dark.

#### 40. 3. TYPE TANOM.

The third kind of stem-word verb has the ultimate syllable heavy and means *to be in a state that has been brought about*, e.g., *hitsú* - *to be closed* (11), *tanóm* - *to be buried*, *pagó* - *to be driven in*, *hembáng* - *to be spread out* (like a mat, for example, 48), *saém* - *to be rendered harmless by a saem*, *tattán* - *to be lowered down*, *tinggáng*, *tunggaling* (see Dict. and 20 fn.).

a. These verbs, as simple passives, can occur in opposition to verbs that represent an action which may bring about the condition expressed by the stem-word verb (100); they can also be found in opposition to a substantive that represents a thing which, by its action, produces such a condition, e.g., *pittú* (11) - *to be closed*, is in opposition to *mamittu* - *to close* something, as well as *pittu* - *door*, the thing that closes. In the same way *hitsú* can be taken as meaning *to be in a state* that is brought about by a *key*, as *hitsu* (*hinsu*), according to 26, is the Mal. *kuntji*.

obs. This must be the way in which *dilat*, which is the nominal form (99) and also the stem-word of *mandilat* - *to lick at* something, has arisen from an earlier *dilá* which must have meant *to be in a condition which has been brought about by a tongue* (*dila*), so that *dilat* was first *dilát* (27 II 1) and as a passive imperative, which is simply a formal substantive (99), has shifted the accent (19 I and cf. 27 II 2 NOTE). It is, therefore, clear that the closing *h* of *dilah* (D.) = *dila* cannot have been there originally any more than in the Mal. and Jav. *liḍah* (25).

*Tanóm* must have arisen in the same way from *tano*. In D. it has an *h* as closer (*tanoh*), just as in the Jav. and Mal. *tanah* and the Sund. *tanēh*. The meaning of *isis* - *being able to hold much*,

from *isi* - contents, what is in something, is slightly modified in T., but not in M., in which it still means *to be filled*. This method of making words is archaic.

With regard to *tinggang*, as substantive, I will not venture an opinion as to whether it was originally the same word as *tinggáng* (cf. 43 b).

## B. DERIVED VERBS.

### I. SIMPLE DERIVED VERBS.

#### 41. SIX CLASSES OF SIMPLE DERIVED VERBS.

There are six classes of these verbs, each class being again divided into kinds of verbs. The 1st class has the prefix *ma*, the 2nd, the prefix *mang*, which is modified according to the beginner of the stem-word, the 3rd class has the prefix *mar*, the 4th, the infix *um*, the 5th, the prefix *pa* and the 6th, the prefix *ha*.

#### FIRST CLASS: VERBS WITH THE PREFIX *MA*.

#### 42. QUALIFYING VERBS.

There are two kinds of verbs in this class.

The *first*, which in meaning practically agrees with our adjective, means the having of a quality which is conceived as a condition which something is in, either because of its nature or because it has been brought about. This kind is distinguished from the second not only in meaning, but also in form; in certain cases, to be dealt with presently, it can lose the prefix: such a thing almost never occurs with the second kind.

The vast majority of verbs of this kind, which will be called qualifying *verbs*, retain the prefix only when they function as predicates, e.g., *marara* - *to be red*, *matimbo* - *to be high*, *madenggón* - *to be beautiful*. When, as predicates, they lose the prefix - which happens especially in everyday usage - these verbs move the accent to the ultimate syllable, e.g., *timbó haju on* - *this tree is high* = *matimbo haju on*; *rará bunga on* - *this flower is red* = *marara bunga on*.

As predicates, they can acquire *na* in place of their own prefix, e.g., *na timbo haju on*; *na rara bunga on*. Here again, the accent falls on the penultimate syllable, but when *songon* - *like, as*, stands before such a predicate (113 b), the accent falls on the ultimate syllable, e.g., *songon na bottár hu-ida* - I see it as white.

When these verbs occur attributively (as adjectives), they *must* have the relative *na* before stem-words, e.g., *bijang na balga* (36).

When they function as substantives, they also lose the prefix, but then have the accent on the penultimate syllable, e.g., *pattun* (11) - *politeness*, but *pattún*, *na pattun* or *marpattun* - *is polite*; *tongam* - *awe-inspiring manifestation*, but *tongám*, *na tongam* or *martongam* - *is awe-inspiring in appearance*.

a. As substantives, they also have a particular form; this can be dealt with only later on (122).

b. In composition, they also lose the prefix without, however, moving the accent, e.g., *gabe-bolon* - *to be wealthy*, from *na gabe* - *to be rich* and *bolón*, *na bolon* or *mabolon* - *to be great*; *datu-bolon* - *a great datu*, from *datu* - *augurer* and *bolón* (*datu na bolon* would mean *a datu who is big of body, stalwart*).

A word that is always so used in composition is *raja* (*pittu-raja*, *djokkal-raja*, *bunga-raja*, *rimbu-raja*, etc.). *Raja* can be translated with our word *main*, *chief*, as, for example, *main gate*.

c. A few of these verbs, as predicates, always have *na*, in order to distinguish them from words that sound like them, e.g., *na gabe* - *to be rich* as distinct from *gabe* - *to be fortunate, to enjoy blessings*, and *gabé* - *to be propitious, to augur well*. M. has *na bara* = *marara* or *rará*.

*Tutú* *always* has the ultimate syllable heavy, hence, used as a predicate, and attributively, *na tutú*; the reason for this is that it is a repetition of *tu*, which is still found in Malagasy; in D., the form is *tuhu* (DAIRI J XI b). *Lebán*, which *never* occurs without the *na*, *always* retains its accent (*na lebán*, 148), because it is really *leba* + *an* (8).

After the negative *so*, *gabé* can keep the *na*, and *ulí* the *ma*, e.g., *na so na gabe* - *signs that are not propitious*, for which *na so gabét* (27 II 1) can also be used, *na so mauli* - *something that is not beautiful*, or *favourable*.

Stem-words that begin with an *a* cannot be used with *na*, so there is no such form as *nasi*; a verbal form is used instead, e.g., *na marasi ni roha* - *the one who has compassion*. Neither is there a form *nasok* beside *asók*. *Masi* is in use as a predicate (8), but this occurs more in the *poda* language.

That stem-words beginning with an *a* can never, as predicates, have *na* alongside *ma*, is proof that *ma* must always have been used

formerly for, in view of the mostly dissyllabic nature of these stem-words *ma*, of which the *a* fused with that of the stem-word (8), could not be changed into *na*, because the exchange of nasals, as a rule, occurs in the ante-penultimate syllable.

*Nengél*, though it has arisen from *na ingól* (29 II Obs. 1), is at present a stem-word; so, besides *nengél*, there is also *na nengel*. M. has *ingól*, and in T., *maingól* is in use with a modified meaning (see Dict.).

d. In *poda* and *andung*, *ma* is also used instead of *na* with this kind of verb when it occurs attributively, e.g., *sittuwan matorop*, *saep mauli buhung*, *sahit madorsa*. This is also the case in M., e.g., *rantjang magodang*, *halak madjadji*, as well as *halak na djadji*, see RB. II p. 132 ls. 18 and 19). In D., *měharga* (DAIRI K III) is also used attributively.

e. In graceful by-names, *ba* occurs in place of *ma*, e.g., *manuk batodung* = *Todung fighting-cock*, from *todung* (cf. 44).

#### 43. SUBSTANTIVES USED AS QUALIFYING VERBS.

A substantive can become a verb of this kind by the shifting of the accent on to the last syllable, or by preplacing *ma* or *na*. The word then means the having of the quality that is a characteristic of the thing represented by the substantive, e.g., *datú* - to be *like a datu*, i.e., to be distinguished by that which characterizes a *datu*, viz. excelling in the art of divination; *rahát* - to be *like a rahat*, or saw, to be *rough*, said of leaves that are used for polishing things; *tuhíl* - to be *like a tuhil*, or chisel, *keenly penetrating*, said of a noise; *tukkót* (12) - to be *like a tukkot*, or stick, *to be standing firm*; *bubú* - to be *like a bubu*, or fish-trap, e.g., bulging like the oblong bag on a fish-trap, e.g., a pot-belly; in *poda*, *mabubu* is said of a person who has a pot-belly; *na begu* - to be *courageous* (lit. like a *begu*, a supernatural being, so that one does not fear death); *saringár* - to be like a *saringar*, or *echo*, *echoing*; *madohung* - to be *ductile* (lit. to be able to be stretched like *dohung* - string); *danák* - to be *childish*, from *danak*, which still means child in M.; *baú* (lit. *to have bau* - fragrance) now expressly means *to stink*; *bagás* - to be deep, must, by the same process, be identical with *bagas* - *house*, i.e., a space having depth or height (see b); cf. *runggá* and *rungga*, etc.

Such a qualitative verb that has been created from a substantive, cannot *usually* be turned into a substantive (see in a) simply by

moving the accent (42). One cannot say *beguna* when one wants to say *his bravery*, as one says *daona* to mean *its distance*, because *beguna* would mean *his deceased individuality*, or *his spirit*. In order, therefore, to express *his bravery*, recourse must be had to the derived substantive: this will be dealt with in 122.

a. *Tongá*, or *na tonga*, - *unsatisfied*, of the heart (of the stomach, *hungry*), from *tonga* - *middle space*, and thus, literally, *to be like a middle space, to have space*, can occur as a substantive, e.g., *aha ma na tonga ni rohám* (see Dict.). *Arga* - *price, value*, means to be *expensive* when it shifts its accent, when it becomes *argá*, e.g., *argá hamindjon i* - *the said benzoïn is dear*. *Tundal* - *the back, or under surface*, of a leaf, becomes *tundál* and means *with the back turned towards something*; cf. also *hudúk* in M., from *huduk* (see Dict.). — For the accent in *songon na musú* (123), see 42.

b. With some words, it is uncertain whether the substantive has more claim to be the original word. Since the place of the accent determines the function of a word in a sentence, it is obvious that occasionally a substantive has been made from such a verb, e.g., *gurdúng* - *to be humpbacked*, is probably the original word, rather than *gurdung* - *hump*; cf. *bagás* and *bagas*.

#### 44. INTRANSITIVE VERBS.

The *second* kind of verb in the 1st class, retains the prefix *ma* in most cases, e.g., *mabugang* and not *bugáng* means *to be wounded*. Nor can they function as substantives simply by the dropping of the prefix, e.g., *dabuna* - *his falling* cannot be formed from *madabu* - *to fall*. These verbs retain the prefix when used attributively, e.g., *tano na matolbak*, or *tano matolbak* - *land-slide, caving in*, *bajo na mabugang* - *a person who is hurt*, *haju na maburhat* - *an uprooted tree*.

With few exceptions, these verbs are used intransitively and mean, in general, the being in a state which occurs either because of the nature of a thing, or is brought about by something. In opposition to a verb that is used transitively, they can also function as simple passives without this passive having to be derived from the same stem-word, e.g., *madabu* can mean *to fall*, of something that falls of its own accord, and also *to fall* as the result of the action of an agent; *magorþung* - *to be finely ground*, can, as a simple passive, be used in opposition to *manduda*, when it means *to grind something fine* (RB. p. 185 b.); *matombuk* -

*pierced, to be holed, to be dented*, can, as a simple passive, be in opposition to *maninggang* - *to fall on something*, e.g., *matombuk tano di-tinggang* - *the ground was dented because the said person fell on it*.

Some of these verbs can be considered to have been derived from a substantive, e.g., *maila* - *to be ashamed*, from *ila*; it also means *to be abused*, i.e., a condition having been brought about by *makkehelai* - *to abuse someone*; *mabugang*, from *bugang* - *wound*, *marun* (8) - *to have fever*, from *arun* - *fever*; *malé* - *to be hungry*, from *le* (in M., *hunger*).

In most cases, the stem-word is not in use, e.g., *dabu* is only the passive imperative of *mandabu* - *to let something fall, to drop something*. A few verbs only are derived from a passive, e.g., *manriottang* - *to be invited to eat*, from *ni-ottang*, 3rd passive of *mangottang* (114). From *huwa*, an interrogative that can never occur alone (146), comes the interrogative verb *mahuwa* - *what is the matter (wrong, etc.), with . . .?*

The prefix *ma* is always changed to *na* before an expression containing the prefix *sa* (152) and a substantive, e.g., *nasahambing* - *to be as big as a goat* (in D., *masakambing*). *Ba* is rarely used (30 VIII) to give this meaning (42 e), but an example is: *basaonan* (in D. it is *masaonan*, DAIRI C I), which at present only occurs adverbially. These verbs are *seldom* used transitively, but examples are: *malá* - *to give something*, of which verb I have never come across a passive; *marorot* - *to look after a child*, *manaek* - *to climb something, to climb on to something*. *Marorot* and *manaek* have an extended passive (116).

a. It is unusual for this kind of verb to lose the prefix, but *limót* is used as a predicate instead of *malimot*, as in *pada*, and, in D., *mëlemët* (DAIRI K III).

*Rosák* occurs as well as *marosak*, though its use is rare. M. has *dabú*, but = *sombu* in meaning, so that it is hardly possible to think of *madabu*. In M., *tano na tolbak* is used instead of *tano na matolbak*. M. has *manguwa* and *maunga* (26 Obs. 1) instead of *mahuwa*.

b. The stem-word of *magorpung* may well have been a substantive, because *gorpung* is the same word as the Jav. *galëpung* - *meal, flour*, which presupposes an earlier *gëlpung*, as is clear from the Mal. *bärkek* = *bëllek*, Sund.

c. *Mahilolong* (30 IV) probably comes from *ma* + *hinolong*, the 3rd passive of an earlier *makkolong* (cf. *makkaholongi*), so that it really means *to be in the condition to be commiserated with*. D. has *mëngëlëng* (which, out of desperation, I have put under *ngëlëng* in the Dict.); the stem-word must be *këlëng* (= *holóng*, DAIRI J I),

so that as an intransitive verb (cf. 45) it means *to complain*.

NOTE. From the preceding, it is clear that Batak, in common with Malagasy and other languages, has no real adjective. In Malagasy also, there is no difference between the adjective and the intransitive verb, e.g., *maturi* (Huwa), *maturu* (in other Malagasy dialects), *batiroh* (Dayak, 30 VIII) = *туру* (Jav.), *tidur* (Mal.) - *to sleep*, *madiu* (*ma* + *diu*) - *clean, beautiful, to be freed of guilt, to be shown to be guiltless*, after having passed the test of judgement by ordeal; cf. *matalo* (Tag.) = *talú* (cf. 58 fn.). In D., there is *ěntjor* (RB. p. 244, l. 18; see DAIRI K III) as well as *sor* (RB. p. 49, l. 2 fb.).

#### 45. SECOND CLASS: VERBS WITH THE PREFIX *MANG*.

Many verbs in this class, especially when they have no suffix, are used transitively as well as intransitively. Only from the way they are used is it possible to know when it is the one way or when the other, because it is not always apparent from the form. So, for example, *makkandang* (12), is always transitive, whereas *mangandang*, in which the beginner of the stem-word (*handang*) has disappeared, is always intransitive. On the other hand, *makkuling* is always used intransitively, and so are, in D., *měngkehe* (DAIRI C II) and *měngkulu*.

Because the active of a transitive verb is especially used where the object is indefinite, the verb can also be used intransitively, e.g., *manurat* (stem-word *surat*) can not only mean *to write on* something, be it bamboo or bark, provided the speaker is not referring to a specific piece of bamboo or bark, but also *to write, to be writing*. Even when it has the suffix *i*, the verb can be used intransitively, e.g., *sai na manurati bajón* - *this person is always writing*. When, after the active of such a verb, the object is stated, it is never specified, e.g., *mambuwat boru* - *to take a daughter, to take to oneself as a wife one or another girl who is neither specified by nor known to the speaker, so that, as an intransitive verb it has the meaning of to get married*.

Even the number of the object can, in the active, be unspecified; it can be singular or plural; to express the plural specifically, a particular form of the passive must be used (116), e.g., *mambuwat can*, therefore, mean *to take something* as well as *to take some things*.

It should be noted that also in the active (106) the action represented by the verb need not be one that is carried out or one that is successful, e.g., *mambuwat* does not so much mean *to take* as *to intend to take* something, i.e., to stretch out the hands towards something in order to take it. Only from the context or from an attendant word will it become apparent whether the action is one that has been carried out or not.

46. *MANG* WITH STEM-WORDS BEGINNING WITH A NASAL.

With regard to *modification of the nasal of the prefix*, the first thing to note is that the few stem-words that begin with a nasal can be subjected to no fixed rule. This is the consequence of an endeavour to avoid the accumulation of identical nasals, the results of this aim being that:

1. Words that begin with *ng* do not have the prefix *mang*, but another one, such as, for example, *mar* or *ma*, e.g., *marngatngati* (*ngatngat*), *marngoti* (M.), from *ngot*, *mangokngokkon* (*ngokngok*); in *mangokngokkon*, the prefix *mang* can be presumed, the closer dropping out before the beginner of the stem-word, because a second *ng* would not be audible.

2. Words beginning with an *n* have an *a* after the prefix, e.g., *manganolnol* (*nolnol*), *manganongnong* (*nongnong*).

a. For *manaek*, see 44.

D. has *měngě*, e.g., *měngěngěni* (stem-word, *ngěn*).

3. Stem-words that begin with *m* usually take *ma*; some take *um*, with the closer dropping out, or *mar*: e.g., *mamatahon* (*mata*), *mamijahi* (*mijak*), besides which, though it is *rare*, there is *mangamijahi*, *mar-mangmang* (*mangmang*), *marmasak* (53 2), *umanukkon* (*manuk*).

47. *MANG* WITH OTHER STEM-WORDS.

The following should be borne in mind concerning the prefix before stem-words that do not begin with a nasal:

1. Before gutturals and vowels, the prefix retains the closing nasal, e.g., *mangalap* (*alap*), *měnghargai* (D., *harga*), *makkandang* (*handang*), *manggolom* (*golom*). When the verb is used intransitively, the *h* (in D., the *k*) drops out in a few words, e.g., *mangandang*, *mangurtut* or *mangukkut* (14 a), *mangobol*, *mangorsik*, *mangibul*, *mangite*, *mangambirang*, *mangonai*, etc. It seldom drops out when the verb is used transitively (cf. *makkembang* with *mangembang*); an example is *mangabija* which, however, is more used in the passive, because the object as such is specified (see Dict.).

a. The direct stem-word of *manginona* must be *hinona* (3rd passive of *hona*). *Mangotara* and *mangirisanna* are substantives (M. has *otara* and *irisannja*, MANDAILING F Obs. 2) that have the prefix, in order, by having the appearance of a verb, to be in agreement with *manabija*, of which the beginner has arisen from a *b* (30 VIII)

instead of a *w* (see Dict.). Cf. a similar case in 52 6 c.

M. drops the *h* in verbs used transitively when each syllable of the stem-word begins with the same consonant, e.g., *mangiskis* (MANDAILING B I), *mangilkili* (*hilkil*), *mangoas* (South M., instead of *mangohas*, stem-word *hohas*). — An exception is *mangintjatkon*, but this can only be explained from an earlier form, *hishat* (33).

2. Before the trillers, there is an additional *a* after the prefix (23 Obs. 3), e.g., *mangarijor* (*rijor*), *mangalapa* (*lapa*).

a. *Manga* is also used with *dijor*, from the analogy with *rijor* (24 a). To judge from the accent of *mangadás*, the stem-word must be *das*. In Kawi, *mang* occurs before monosyllabic words, e.g., *mangdyus* - to bathe someone, from which the Jav. *ngědus*, after first having been *angdus* or *angědus*, has been corrupted. In Batak, however, *mang* does not occur before monosyllabic words at present, hence, *mandók* and *mandúm* (20 I), from *dok* and *dum*.

D. uses *měngě*, e.g., *měngělapah*.

obs. In *mangabuwal*, *mangabolon* and *mangaradja*, *manga* does not obtain as the verbal prefix. It is a transliteration of the Mal. *maha* influenced by Men. which, before words that begin with a triller, has a preference for *maha* instead of *mă* (in Mal.), so that Batak, in which *manga* is used in these cases, renders the *maha* with its own prefix; therefore, *mangaradja* = *mahāradja* and *mangabolon* = *mahābāsar*.

3. Before the dentals as well as the palatal *dj* (7 Obs. 8), the closing nasal of the prefix becomes *n*. When the stem-word begins with an edged consonant, this edged consonant drops out, provided the derived verb is also used transitively, e.g., *manura* (*tura*), *manurat* (*surat*), *mandege* (*dege*), *mandjokkal* (*djokkal*). The *s* and *t*, on the other hand, usually stay as they are, if the verb is always used intransitively, or often so used, e.g., *matsohot* (11) and *matsadi* (always intrans.), *mantjijok* (M., always intrans.), *matsalong* (also used trans.), *matsamot* (also used trans.) *měntjilan* (D., always intrans.), *měntadi* (D., always intrans.), *matsipanganon* (always intrans.), which comes straight from *si-panganon*. *Manottor* or *manortor* is always used intransitively, despite the fact that the beginner of the stem-word, *tortor*, has dropped out. Both *matsilo* and *manilo* are often used transitively, as are *matsudahon* and *manudahon*.

a. Words that have been borrowed from Men., such as, *matsilok*

and *matsuri*, do not come under consideration here. The *ts* is an attempt to reproduce the *tj* of *tjilok* (spelt *tjilap*, 30 XII NOTE) and *tjuri*. *Matsegahon*, though the stem-word, *sega*, has a Batak form, can have acquired its *ts* by association with the North M. *tjèdâ*; hence the reason for the use of *sego* and *matsegohon* as well. For *mattap* (11), see 63 a.

M. For the occurrence of *nj*, see MANDAILING F III.

4. Before labials, the closing nasal is *m*, while an edged consonant drops out and sometimes a blunt one also, though the latter does not occur when the syllables of the word begin with identical consonants, e.g., *mamitsang* (*pitsang*), *mamunu* (*bunu*), *mambalbal* (*balbal*), *mambobok* (*bobok*). *Um* is in use with some words (62), e.g., *umboto* (*boto*), *umbegé* (*begé*): M. uses *mambegé*. For *mangan* and *modoppon*, see 62 1.

a. *Mamoto* is also in use, but only with *roha*, to express *to foster suspicion*, e.g., *di tapijan on ma hamú padjuppa ganup ari, unang mamoto roha ni halak* - meet each other daily at this bathing place, so as not to give rise to suspicion. *Pamoto* (120) is derived from this form.

#### 48. INTRANSITIVE VERBS WITH *MANG*.

Those verbs that are used intransitively represent something that emanates from a thing as a consequence of its own will, as it were; i.e., an action, or what can be regarded as such, e.g., *mandali* - *to misfire*, of a gun, *unwilling to go off*; *manundjang* (*tundjang*) - *to kick back*, *to give a kick back*, *to recoil*, of a gun.

When derived from a verb that represents a condition or a quality that has been brought about, such a verb means *to bring about that condition of itself* or *to exhibit that quality of itself*, e.g., *mangembang* - *to unfold itself*, like a flower, from *hembáng* (40); *mamuhung* - *to roll itself up*, as do certain insects, or a person chilled to the bone, from *puhúng* - *closed*, of the hand, *clenched*, of the fist; *manattan* (RB. p. 84 1. 5; p. 141 1. 7) - *to lower themselves down*, of the roots of the tree of heaven, from *tattán* (40); *mamottar* - *to show itself white*, from *bottár* (42).

Of many of these verbs, the stem-word is not in use and can only be inferred from words derived from it or from other words, e.g., the stem-word *sadi* is not in use, but that it is the stem-word of *matsadi*

can be seen from *pasadi(hon)*, and *huling*, as appears from *hulik-kulingan* (see Dict.), is the stem-word of *makkuling*.

#### 49. TRANSITIVE VERBS WITH *MANG*.

There are three kinds of these verbs. The *first* has only the prefix, the *second* and the *third* have, in addition, the suffixes *i* and *hon*, respectively.

I. The *first kind* represents an action, a position, or a movement that has a direct effect on a thing, e.g., *manakko* - to steal something, *maninggang* - to fall on something, from *tinggang*, *mangarsak* - to sit astride on something, from *arsak*, *mandjuldjul* - to go in spite of something (107).

From the last two examples, it can be seen that many verbs have no direct equivalents in European languages. Resort must be had to a preposition and circumscription of the passive, e.g., *di-tinggang* - a particular thing is fallen on by him. In Batak, the thing on which something falls is a direct object and therefore there is no need for the intervention of a preposition. For example, *mamukka*, of which the meaning cannot be reproduced by an exact equivalent, means to make a start at doing something, to make something (either for oneself or for someone else), e.g., *pukka sopona* (lit. let a *sopo* for him be begun by you, i.e., let another *sopo* be made by you for him, make another *sopo* for him). The stem-word of this peculiar verb is the nominal form of the Sans. *mukha* - beginning, and it merits the attention of any who might doubt that a formal substantive is wont to occur in the passive.

The purport of such a verb is sometimes so well-defined that often it must be translated with the addition of an adverb or by an adverbial clause, as is clear from *mangarsak*, just cited, and from *mamarar (parar)* - to content oneself with something in the absence of anything better, *manerbeng (serbeng)* - to see something from close by, or to see something that is nearby; *manatap (tatap)* - to see something from afar, or to see something that is far away (RB. p. 65, l. 19).

The stem-words of such verbs are not often used, and they can only be represented in a dictionary by a passive imperative (99), so that to render *dabu* (44), for example, with *the falling*, is open to criticism. Such a stem-word, when preceded by *hurang* - too little, can have a passive meaning, e.g., *hurang dogol* - to be insufficiently pulverized, of something to be used as medicine. The verb must then represent an action which presumes repetition or duration. The stem-

word *must* be regarded as a *formal* substantive, a fact clearly confirmed by *pukka* from *mukka*; cf. above and 81 Obs.

Where the stem-word is in use, the following should be noted:

1. when the stem-word is in use as a substantive, the verb means *to make* something the object of that which is done with the thing represented by the substantive, e.g., *mangultop* - *to shoot at* something with a blowpipe (*ultop*), *mamodil* - *to shoot at* or *towards* something with a gun (*bodil*), *makkolak* - *to measure* something by two yards (*holak*), *mandurung* - *to scoop up* something with a fish-net (*durung*), in order to seize it, *manira* - *to make* something salt, *to salt down* with *sira* (*salt*).

2. When the stem-word can be interpreted to mean a condition that has been brought about (40), the verb means *to put* something in that condition, e.g., *makkembang* - *to spread* something, from *hembang*; *makkitsu* - *to close* something, from *hitsú*. This form is also derived from an intransitive verb with the prefix *ma*, e.g., *mandabu* - *to let* something fall, *to drop* something, from *madabu*.

OBS. With some of these verbs, usage has established the prefix *mar* instead of *mang*, e.g., *margadis* - *to sell* something, and not *mangadis*, which is usual in M., *marbowan* (in M., *maroban*), *marsali*, the use of *mangindjam* (*indjam*) notwithstanding, and in M., *manjolang* (*solang*). This *mar* should not be equated with Mal. *bār*, as, for example, in *bārdjuwal* - *to be accustomed to sell* something, like a merchant, in contrast to *māndjuwal* - *to sell* something, because in T., *margadis* also has the meaning of *māndjuwal*. With *marsali*, it can be argued that formerly the plurality of the object was clearly indicated by means of the prefix, because the things of value that could be given as return gifts were by their nature, a quantity, i.e., rice, money or coins. In the present state of the language, however, this meaning cannot be given to the prefix, because in the passive, *marsali* does not give *parsali* but *sali* (*di-sali*); similarly with *margadis*, which gives only *gadis*. Even the verb *marhara*, though its object is definitely plural (see Dict.), gives *hara* in the passive.

When *marbowan*, or *maroban*, pertains to a single thing, it gives *bowan*, or *oban* (M.) in the passive; when the thing must be shown as being plural, it becomes *parbowan*, or *paroban* (M.). Likewise, one says *marbubu* and not *mambubu*; and one finds *marhutti*, as well as *makkutti*, though *mandjudjung* is always used.

Words that begin with *i* take an *n* after the prefix, e.g., *marnida* - to see something, to observe, from *ida*, *marnihot* - to tie up something; besides *mangingot*, there is *marningot* - to recall, recollect. All these verbs have the pure stem-word in the passive, e.g., *dihot*, *dingot* and *dida* (8). Probably, the immediate stem-word of the active form is a 3rd passive (115). This would agree well with the meaning of *marnida* and *marningot*, both of which express an involuntary action, but it is difficult to apply it to *marnihot*.

#### 50. TRANSITIVE VERBS WITH *MANG* AND THE SUFFIX *I*.

II. The *second kind* has as suffix *i* (20 II). This is a variant of the preposition *di* (159) but as a suffix, it has a broader meaning: it stands for the prepositions *from*, *along*, *about*, *over*, *before*, *with*, *on* and *to*, and in this way relates the object to the verb.

With these verbs, the object is represented as a place which the subject does not have to reach by a movement, e.g., the object of *manirai* - to put salt with or on something, because it is something in which or on which salt is put, is a thing that as a place has salt (*sira*) put on it: *manira* (49 1) would mean that the object is impregnated with salt. The object of *manortori* is something around which dancing takes place, but which, in relation to the subject (the dancer), is stationary.

An idea of the different meanings that this kind of verb can have can be had from the following:

1. When the verb is derived from a substantive, it means to do the thing represented by the substantive to something, e.g., *manirai* - to put salt on something, *manganapurani* - to give betel (*napuran*) to someone, *manonai* - to give a command (*tona* - a word, that someone must pass on) to someone, to order someone to deliver a message, *mandongani* - to give a companion (*dongan*) to someone, i.e., the subject adds himself as a *dongan* to the object (to add oneself to someone as a comrade, to accompany someone), *makkalahi*, from *halak* (see Dict.), *manarungi* - to make a sheath (*sarung*) for something (a weapon), *mandaoni* - to administer medicine to someone, *mangubati* - to put gunpowder into something (*ubat* is still used in D.), to load a gun, *mangowari* - to give a name to someone or something.

When, however, the substantive represents something that is not usually done "to" something, then the meaning of the preposition of direction that has become a suffix changes, and the meaning of the

verb is the reverse, i.e., *to do that thing from or out of the object*, e.g., *mangalakkati* - *to take the shell (lakkat) from something, to peel something*; *makkutui* - *to remove lice (hutu, 97) from someone, to delouse someone*; *mamutuhei* (29 I) - *to take the intestines (butuha) from something (a fish, for example), to gut something*.

2. When the verb is derived from an *intransitive verb* that represents a state, a movement or a posture, it means *to make something the object of that which the verb means*, and, according to the meaning of the verb, various prepositions have to be used in English, e.g., *manuwati* - *to descend (tuwat) from or along something, i.e. a ravine*; *makkunduli* - *to sit (hundul) on something*, *manindangi* - *to stand (tindang) by something, to be present near something, to be a witness to something*; *manganakkohi* - *to go upward (nakkok) along something, to ascend a hilly terrain*; *manimbungi* - *to jump over something (manimbung, stem-word, timbung)*; *manortori* - *to dance (manortor, from tortor) by or around something, for example, a decorated buffalo*; *mangijani* - *to stay at a place, to reside in something, from mijan (61) - to live*.

3. When the verb is derived from a *transitive verb*, its object is something that only by means of a preposition can become the object of the verb from which it is derived, e.g., *mambuwati* - *to take something from, out of, from mambuwat - to take something, which can only be related to the object of mambuwati by means of a preposition (tijan)*. — As with the verb in (1), the direction indicated by the preposition depends upon the meaning of the verb; when by the action represented by the verb the object is moved to the subject, the translation is *out of*, e.g., *mambuwat - to take something to oneself*; when, however, the object, by this action, is moved away from the subject, as, for example, in *mambaen* (10 b, *to place something*), the translation is *by, in or onto*, e.g., *mambaeni - to add to something, to place in something, makkembang* - *to spread on something, to spread something over, e.g., the floor*.

4. A *plural* is also represented by the suffix, but it is a plural that affects the object as well as the subject. Where, however, plurality of the subject or the object is out of the question, the suffix represents duration or repetition of the action, for example, *manurati*, used intransitively, of one person, means *to write continually, always to be writing*, but when it refers to more than one person, it means *to write*. Used transitively, it means *to write on* a number of things. It is, however, seldom used with this meaning, the extended passive being

used instead, and in the active, too, the number of the object being unspecified (45). Examples of the plural are: *manakkoi* - to steal much or many things of great value (this is expressed better in the passive, because the active form can also mean to steal, of many persons, or, to steal continually, of one person), *mamuri* (8) - to wash many things, and, figuratively, to clean a person out, *makkatai*, used intransitively, means to speak, of more than one person, to speak with each other, continually speaking, or, of one person, speaking more than one word, speaking words in sequence; used transitively, it means to discuss someone, to talk about someone; *mangitingi* is said of many subjects, miting (61), of one; used transitively, it means to cover something with excrement, to defecate on something; *mangogungi* is said of the four people who make the *ogung* music (121, 3), and, similarly, *makkasari*.

The following verbs, which are used intransitively, should be noted: *mangonai* - to hit, to strike, of a weapon, from *hona*; *mangaruni* - to produce fever, from *arun*; *manolupi* - to yield four times as much as there was sown, of the harvest, i.e., to yield as many *solup* of rice as there were *bale* sown. These meanings are clear from the indefiniteness of the object; *manolupi* really means to give *solup* to someone or other, or to someone, *mangaruni* - to produce fever in someone or other, or in someone. *Mangonai*<sup>1</sup> is more difficult to explain: does it mean to cause someone or something to be hit (*hona*)? Occasionally, this form is used as a plural of the form with *hon*, but this occurs more in the passive, e.g., *manibali* - to lay many things on something, as the plural of *manibalhon* - to lay something on something (51; *di-tibali ma tu pinggan* - the said victuals were placed on the plates by him); for another example, see p. 367 m.

Usage is such, that often it is only possible to tell from the passive whether the suffix represents a preposition or a plural, for example, in T., *mambuwati* never means to take many things, whereas in D. (*měmuwati*) this meaning is common; in T., the extended passive must be used in order to indicate that many things are taken; similarly, *mambaeni* (119). On the other hand, *manakkoi* never means to steal from someone, or to steal in a place, to rob someone; this must be expressed by the extended passive (118). In *mamunui*, repetition is implicit, because *mamunu* can mean to try to kill someone (45), so that

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *mangānai* (Mal.) which, in the *Sēri Rama* (ed. R. van Eijnsinga) has been incorrectly taken in every case for *mānganijaja* (see the *Hikajat Bibi Sabarijah*, p. 11).

*mamunui* really means *to try continually to kill someone, to thrash someone half dead, to strike someone almost dead* (cf. *pamatemate(hon)*).

a. The verb *makkuling* is made transitive by the suffix (*to speak to someone, to address someone*, but it occurs more in the passive, e.g., *di-pakkulingi*. Plurality of the object is the aim of the suffix in *mandohi*, which also has the extended passive.

b. When two verbs of this kind, which have almost the same meaning, are placed beside each other, the first verb can occur without the prefix, e.g., *na manombak na manaluni* - *the first person to clear land* (literally: *the one who has cleared land of trees and undergrowth*); here, *manombak* is a substitute for *manombahi* - *to disforest* (see 1, end).

#### 51. TRANSITIVE VERBS WITH *MANG* AND THE SUFFIX *HON*.

III. With the *third kind* of verb the suffix also has a wider meaning than it had originally. The suffix *hon* meant, in the original form (*ha*, 31 I NOTES 1 and 2), *towards*, but at the present time it has this meaning only as a prefix (73); as a suffix, *hon* still makes prepositions of some words (160 2).

The direction indicated by this preposition that has become a suffix presumes that an action has to take place before the thing is reached that is represented by the substantive, to which the action is related. The object of these verbs is, therefore, something that is at a distance, either in reality or is visualized as being so, for example, the object of *manangihon* - *to listen to/for something*, is something to/for which one listens in order to catch it, either a distant sound, or a word towards which one directs one's hearing; while *umbegé* - *to hear something*, is to hear something unintentionally, because one has a sense of hearing. The same contrast can be seen in *manailihon* (*taili*) or *manulutton* (*tulut*), and *marnida* (49 Obs.).

When the verb is derived from a verb that itself represents an action, the suffix represents the object as being affected by this action, or the aim of it, e.g., *makkabakkon* - *to fly away with something* (*makka-bangi* - *to fly over something*), *mangalodjokkon* - *to walk off with something*, from *mallodjong*, *manortorhon* - *to dance with something* (cf. *manortori*, 50 2), *manulihon* - *to visit in passing on account of something*, so that it can mean both *to fetch*, and *to bring something in passing*, from *tuli*.

In these examples, the suffix *hon* is in opposition to the suffix *i*, just as the preposition *tu* is to *di*; in *makkabangi* and *manortori*, the object is, as it were, a place near which or about which the action takes place, whereas in the examples with *hon*, the object is something towards which, with which, or because of which the action takes place.

Because the suffix represents the object as being distant, it can also mean a thing that, by its nature, is unlikely to be the object and, therefore, occurs as such against all expectations, e.g., *mangalahohon* - to go notwithstanding something, for example, to go in spite of an unfavourable sign, which would put off the superstitious; *manuwatton* (12, *suwan*) can also mean to plant something that is unsuitable for planting, so that it can be translated as to plant something all the same, e.g., *i di-leon hahamí i ma suwatton damang, gabe eme do inon* - my dear man, do plant what your elder brother has given you, it will become rice (here, reference is made to the hair of the armpit that the elder brother had given him in contempt to be planted).

In the action implicit in the suffix, lies the explanation of the object's being represented as something that is removed from one thing to another or from one place to another, e.g., *manggomakkon* - to take a handful of something and put it somewhere else, for example, the removal of food from a dish to a plate (see entry in Dict. under *gomak*); *manakkohon* means secretly to move a sick person, in order to remove him from the influence of the spirit causing his sickness, from *manakko*. It is for the same reason that the object is represented as being something that is removed by the action of the subject, e.g., *makkalihon* - to bury something (i.e., to remove it into the ground by digging). In *makkali* - to dig up something, the object is something that comes out of the ground into the possession of the subject.

The various meanings that these derived verbs can have are as follows:

1. When derived from an intransitive verb that represents a state, a position or an action, the meaning is to move something into that position, to place oneself in that position because of something, to take that position; e.g., *mandjadihon* - to cause something to be, to bring about, *manubuhon* - to put something in the position to be born, to beget a child, or to bring it into the world; *matsegahon* (47 3 a) - to spoil something, to smash something; *mamodoppon* - to sleep because of something, especially of a bird sitting on its eggs, to sit on eggs (cf. 95 b); *mangijamutton* (22 IV 2) - to turn one's right side towards someone

or something, to busy oneself with a person with one's right hand; *mangadoppon* - to turn one's face towards someone or something.

2. When the verb is derived from a verb that represents an action, it means to do that action *with*, and also to do it *because of* something, and to do it *in spite of* something, e.g., *manortorhon* (see above), which also means to dance to something, for example, to an air; *makkabakkon*, *mangalahohon* and *manulihon*, see above; *mangekkatton* - to limp because of something, a wound, for example, from *mekkat* - to limp.

3. When it is derived from a substantive, it means to put something like the thing represented by the substantive on something else, e.g., *manirahon* - to put something on something like salt, *sirahon tu ikka-jumuna* (the aforementioned sand) should be used by you on your food as though it were salt; *mandaotton* - to apply something on something as a medicament (*daon*), for example, on a wound.

4. When derived from a transitive verb, it means to use something in order to do with it what the verb represents, e.g., *mamaluhon* - to use something in order to strike with it, *manggararhon* - to use something for the purpose of paying for something with it, *manuhorhon* - to use something with the object of buying something with it.

The direct, or first object, of such a derived verb is the indirect, or second object, of the verb from which it is derived. For example, the first object of *mamalu* is the thing to be struck, and the second, the thing with which the striking is done; the reverse is the case with *mamaluhon*. With a verb of the latter kind, the indirect object is introduced by a preposition, usually *tu* (159), whereas with the verb from which it is derived, the indirect object is preceded by *dohot*, e.g., *mamalu bijang dohot tukkot* - to hit a dog with a stick, *mamaluhon tukkot tu bijang* - to strike with a stick at a dog, *mangombakkon indalu tu tanggurung ni horbo* - to strike with a rice pounder on the back of a buffalo, whereas with the order of direct and indirect object reversed it gives *mangombak tanggurung ni horbo dohot indalu*.

A further difference between this kind of verb and the first and second kind is one of object. For example, the object of *mandupdupi* is the thing that is poured on or into something, the object of *mandupduppon*, on the other hand, is something with which the pouring is done, and which is, therefore, poured; similarly, *mandurus* and *mandurutson*, *mangitingi* (50, 4) and *mangitikkon*, *mangordang* and *mangordakkon*, etc.

Verbs of this third kind must, in translation in a European language, be coupled with a preposition such as *onto*, *into*, *from*, *through*, *out of*,

off, in, for, by, e.g., *mandurutson* - to pour out on to something, to pour into something, *mangitikkon* - to shit (trans.), to excrete something, *mangordakkon* - to sow into, *manombukkon* - to pierce something, *mamodilhon* - to discharge, *mangultoppon* - to blow (from or out of the blowpipe). The object of *mamodilhon* is the bullet or that which acts as such, as, for example, *inal*; the object of *mamodil* is the thing at which the gun is directed. The object of *mangultoppon* is the arrow (*nakkat*), of *mangultop*, the thing at which the blowpipe (*ultop*) is directed. Both of these verbs can have the blowpipe and the gun as object, especially when the indirect object, the thing at which the gun or the blowpipe is directed is not stated, e.g., *mamodilhon* - to discharge the gun, *mangultoppon* - to blow the blowpipe.

This third kind of verb can also mean *to use up*, *to use for*, something for what is represented by the stem-word, e.g., *manimbahohon* - to use up something for smoking (*timbaho* - tobacco), to smoke something to ashes; *mandjudjihon* - to gamble (*djudji*) away something; *manirahon* (above, 3) can also mean to use something for [buying] salt; *mangisappon* - to spend [e.g., money] in order to smoke.

It should be noted that the object can be the same when the verb has no suffix, e.g., a letter can be the object of *manongos* as well as of *manongotson*, but the latter form is preferable when a second or indirect object, i.e., a person or a place, is either stated or in the mind of the speaker; it should then be translated with *to send off*, e.g., *manongos surat* - to send a letter, but, *manongotson surat* - to despatch a letter somewhere or to someone; *manambat* - to tie up something, for example a goat, but, *manambatton* - to tie up something, to a pole, for example. The suffix can drop out, so that one can say *manambat hambing tu*.

- a. When the indirect object is stated, the suffix *hon* is sometimes used when it is not necessary, e.g., *di-djomurhon ma ulosna di djappalan na bidang* - his clothing was laid by him in the broad meadow to be dried (in the sun), in which *di-djomur* would have been sufficient. The dialects differ, here and there, in this respect: D. uses *makinkin* (DAIRI F a; K II) - to put something somewhere, to put something into (RB. III p. 94, 1. 12 and 1. 13): T. uses *mambaen* (10 b). In M., one says *hu-gadis tu indahan* - it will be sold by me for rice (in order to buy rice), but in T. one says *huhuhorhon*. In M., *di-sonduk* is used where in T. *di-sondukkon* occurs, e.g., *di-sonduk ija ma burwapak ni djaung tu panganan ni*

*andjing* (159, 2). In M., one finds *di-hali halani ma tano i* (RB. p. 190, l. 3 fb.) - *was by him dug in the ground*, but *di-halihon ija ma ija sipat tolonannija* (RB. p. 6, l. 5 fb.) - *he was by himself buried in the ground up to the neck*.

obs. *Mangalehon* has the suffix *hon*, but *lehon* is, at present, regarded as the stem-word. *Mangalehon* is derived from *le*, but in T., *le* is no longer felt as a derivation and it is for this reason that it means *to give to* someone, as well as *to hand something to* someone (e.g., *di-lehon ma tu radja i*). In M., the distinction is clearly preserved: *mangalehen* (29 III) is used with the last meaning, and *le*, of which there is no active form, with the first, e.g., *di-lehen ija ma bosu i di dja-martuwa mamora* - *the said iron was handed by him to Dj.*, but *antjo ta-le bajo i mangan* - *so that the said person be given food by us*.

In D., a distinction is made between *mëre* - *to give to* (= *mamele* in T.), from *bërë* (RB. III. p. 224, l. 3 fb.) and *mërekën* - *to hand something to*. *Mangalehotton* does occur, though it is rare, e.g., *asa di-lehotton ma loting di-bowan* - *thereupon the flint and the steel were handed by him to the said person, so that they could be taken by him* (he gave him the flint and the steel), in which example *bowanonna* can be used instead of *di-bowan*.

5. Only rarely does the suffix mean *for, on behalf of*, e.g., *mangulahon* - *to perform work in the fields for* someone, *matsarihon* - *to seek food for* someone, *olo do ho mangulahon au* - *will you do work in the fields for me?* *indang adóng matsarihon panganon* - *there is nobody* (148, 1) *to seek food for him*. Such verbs have the extended passive.

a. Usually, the way *on behalf of* is expressed is a matter of construction: as well as the verb, a substantive is used that represents the thing on behalf of which something is done, the substantive being introduced by the prepositions *di* or *ni* - in place of the latter, a pronominal suffix can be used, if the thing is only indicated by a pronoun -, e.g., *buwat ma di au* - *let it be taken by you on my behalf*, *pukka ma sopona* - *let a sopo be begun by you for him*, *topa ma rauttu* - *let a raut be forged by you for me* (lit. let my raut be forged by you), *hu-topa pe anggo rautmu* - *a raut will be forged by me for you*, *di-topa radja i ma tutú raut ni berena i* - *a raut was, in fact, forged by the prince for his sister's son*, *padjongdjong bandarta* (M.) - *let a shed be put up by you for us* (cf. 165, VI, 1 end).

b. In M., *bahon* (South M. *baon*) = *bahen* or *baen* is still used. There is, therefore, no doubt that this word contains the suffix *hon*, notwithstanding that, like *lehon* (above, Obs.), it is at present regarded as the stem-word.

D. has *bahan* and *bakin*, the first with the meaning of *to make* and the second with the meaning of *to put* (119). Both words are considered to be stem-words, hence *bakinkĕn* (above, 4, a), *bakini*, etc. Both words have been borrowed by D. from T. and modified according to its phonetic system: *bahan* comes from *baon* (DAIRI J X) and *bakin* from *bahen* (id. J II).

In D. there are more cases of the meaning *on behalf of*: *ku-buwatkĕn pĕrkĕrohĕn mo* - *I shall take a head of cattle on their behalf* (the newly-born) *as the feast-meal* (cf. 56). From this example, it can be seen that the extended passive is not necessary like in T. and M. (118) as a means of giving the suffix this meaning. Here too, this dialect agrees more with Jav. and Mal.

Obs. In giving the stem-words, I have taken the nominal form without thereby asserting that this form is always the original one. E.g., *pele* is to be considered as the stem-word of *mamele* - *to present*, a meal *to a spirit*, *to offer to*, because *pele* occurs in the passive, *di-pele*, *hu-pele*, etc., but the true stem-word is *melé*, from an earlier *malé* (28), from *le*, from which *mangalehon* (4, Obs.) and *lume* (63) also come. *Melé*, converted into the passive, became not only *pelé* (30 VII), but also *pele* (19 I). That there was at one time a transitive verb *malé*, is probable because the few transitive verbs there are with the prefix *ma* (44) all change the *m* into *p* in the passive. In M., the variant of *pele*, i.e., *pole* (28), in *pole-pole* - *food* (in the language used by a spirit that has descended to earth), is still used as a substantive. That *mamele* does in fact mean *to present to*, is confirmed by its equivalent in D., i.e., *mĕre* (above, 4, Obs.).

The Jav. *menek* - *to ascend*, which has *penek* in the passive (*di-penek* = *di-panaek*, Bat.) has, in the same way, come from *manék* (Kawi has *manek*, from the prefix *ma* + *nek*, stem-word), a fact that is clear from the Bal. *mĕnek* or *mnek*, from *nek* = *naik* (Mal.), *naek* (Bat.); in Sundanese, the nominal form of the latter is *taèk*.

Examples that deserve attention are: *pukka* (49 I), *tudjum* (Dayak), from Ar. Mal. *nudjum* - *astrological table*, to the verbal form of which, *manudjum*, Dayak has given the meaning of *to prophesy*; *tiat* (Dayak), from Ar. Mal. *nijat*, from which Dayak has formed *maniat* with the meaning of *to take a decision provi-*

sionally; *räqsi* (Mal.) is at present to be regarded as a stem-word, hence *di-räqsi*, though the active form, *märäqsi* (Sans. *mraks*) is the original one.

### THIRD CLASS: VERBS WITH THE PREFIX *MAR*.

#### 52. INTRANSITIVE VERBS WITH *MAR*.

There are four kinds of verbs in this class. *The first* has the suffix *hon* only in one case (53, 1) and never in the passive, *the second* has the suffix *i*, *the third*, the suffix *hon*, and *the fourth*, the suffix *an*.

I. *The first kind, used intransitively*, has the following meanings:

1. derived from substantives, they mean:

a. *the having, the using, the wearing of, the being busy with* the thing represented by the substantive, e.g., *marhatoban* - *to keep a slave or slaves* (97), *marhoda* - *to keep a horse or horses, to own a horse, to ride a horse*, *marabit* - *to wear a garment, to clothe oneself*, *marpa-buwe* (16 c) or *marparbuwe* - *to bear fruit, to have fruit*, *marbunga* - *to have flowers, to bloom*, of a tree, *marnapuran* - *to use betel, to partake of betel*, *martaru-taruan* - *to lay a bet (taru-taruan) with each other*, *marpinahan* - *to keep cattle (pinahan, 115)*, *marpadirumatondi* - *to be occupied with the means of bringing the tondi into the house*, from *padiruma tondi* (120); *marhuwa* - *to be busy with what?* from *huwa* (146 a).

D. has *mërapurum* (DAIRI Ƒ) instead of *marnapuran*, which is proof that there was once a substantive *apuran* (see Dict. under *näpuran*);

b. *to look like something*, for example, *martarik ni gordang* - *to look like the cords of the kettledrum*, said of strips of exuding gum, *mallatojung* (16) - *to resemble a lattojung fruit*, *marbulung ni hatunggal* - *to resemble a hatunggal leaf*, *marborong-borong* - *to resemble the wood-boring bumble-bee*, *margiring-giring* (M., see RB. IV, p. 41).

2. Derived from the nominal form of a transitive verb, they have the meaning of:

a. reflexive verbs, e.g., *marburi* - *to wash one's hands (mamuri - to wash something)*, *marsuwap* - *to wash one's face*, *marosar* - *to*

*undress oneself* (*mangosar* - to take off a garment), *martagam* - to be on one's guard, to be on the alert, *marpungu* - to assemble;

b. a simple passive, e.g., *martura* - to be pierced, of the ears (*manura* - to pierce something), *martobus* - to be redeemed, *marbalos* - to be avenged, *mallottik* (16) - to be filed, of the teeth, *marsopit* - to be circumcised, *margarar* - to be paid, of a debt, *mardangdang* - to pay a penalty, to be fined, as opposed to *mandjalo dangdang* - to receive a fine from the opposite party.

3. When they are derived from a word representing a quality (42), they refer to a plurality of things displaying that quality, e.g., *marbirong* - black, of the parts of someone's body (*pamatang*),<sup>1</sup> from *biróng*, *martikko* - to appear circular, of a company of people who form a circle (*tikkó*), *marmokmok* - well fed, to look fat, of a number of buffaloes (RB. I. p. 142, 1. 16), *marrara* - to look red, of ripe fruit (RB. p. 1), of a large quantity of betel saliva (18 Obs. a).

Used with a singular thing, this kind of verb refers to degree, e.g., *marbolon* - to be very large, of a fig tree (*bolón*), *mardokdok* - to be very severe, of a sickness (*dokdók*), *marnijang* - to be lean, this is also said of one person by association with *pamatang*; *nijang* does not occur.

4. When they are derived from an exclamation imitating a sudden and unisonous sound, they mean to make that sound. Because, however, such a word is monosyllabic, it must be made dissyllabic after the prefix (22). This is effected by:

a. repetition of the beginner and its vowel, e.g., *marngingíng* (20 I), *marsisír*, *marngungúng*, *martatá*, *marsasák*, *marbubúr*;

b. preplacing *do*, of which the *d* is often changed into *l* when the stem-word has no *r* (24), while the vowel undergoes the change stated in 28 b, e.g., *mallangák* (16), *mallingík*, *mallaták*, *mallodjúp*, *mallipík*, *mallisík*, *mallongós*, *mardorós*, *mardasár*, *marderés*, *mardetér*, *mardobóm*, etc.

*M.* always has *do* in the case mentioned in b. (cf. D.), e.g., *mardokíng*. And the prefix is sometimes *mang* in place of *mar*, e.g., *mantatá* = *martatá* (T.). This also applies to Mal. and Men., e.g., *mandängking*, in which *dä* is moreover closed with a nasal; cf. *bärdängung*, *bärdäbur*, etc.

<sup>1</sup> In the Dictionary, the words which mean *body* have been incorrectly explained. The Batak attaches a plural meaning to these words; they mean the limbs as a whole and it is for this reason that they are used with a plural verb (58 and 145).

D. (cf. M.) also always has *dě* (DAIRI J I), e.g., *měrděkeng* = *mallihing*, *měrdědjup* - to plop into the water = *mallodjup*, *měrdengas* = *marngongós*.

NOTE. Dayak uses only *me* (which must be pronounced *mě*) before such monosyllabic exclamations, e.g., *mebak*, *medap*, etc. Mac. does the same, e.g., *maqbung* (29 IV Obs. 2 NOTE), *màroq*, *màrung*, *màrang*, etc.

5. Verbs belonging to this third class of simple derived verbs are often derived from words that have more than two syllables, or which, by means of the prefix *ha* or the infixes *al* and *ar* (87-90), have become polysyllabic, e.g., *mardjarumbun*, *margalusak*, *marbalikkas*, *marhadjingdjang*.

If their stem-words have not become trisyllabic in the manner mentioned, they have in their last syllables two different vowels which, in the dialects that have a semi-vowel, are separated by a *j* or a *w*, e.g., *marpatejak*, *mardjaguwa*, *mardjabujut* (or *mardjabiut*, 17 VII), *mardjambojong* (or *mardjambeong*, 17 V), *mardjoije*, *marsapijak*, *margandejal*, *marlimbuwat*.

Less frequently are these syllables separated by a triller, or do they have a semi-vowel in the first two syllables, e.g. *margambura*, *mardjappulut*, *maruworor*, *maruwosos*, *maruwitil*.

A few of these verbs are quadrisyllabic, e.g., *martatahuwak* (by repetition of the first syllable), *marhalijotong* (by having the infix *al*). These verbs imitate sounds that have a certain duration, an action that has the appearance of varying, and also a quality which, because of its irregularity, has the appearance of an action, e.g., *marharukkut* (14 a), *markareput* (M.) and *markarudjut* (M.) - to be curling, of the hair, *mardjambuwang* - growing luxuriantly, of weeds, *mardjabujut* (see Dict.), etc. Cf. 88.

Obs. Here again (38), there are words that cannot have arisen from a monosyllabic base-sound, because a feature of them is the separation of the two syllables by a fluid consonant. In the absence of this characteristic, their imitative quality disappears. The susurrus, or resonance, of the fluid consonants makes them particularly suitable for the imitating of a prolonged sound. There are, therefore, a large number of words of this character, for example, the designation of sounds, and, according to their call, of animals as well, e.g., *attarijas* or *tarijas* (M.), *babijat*, *babujut* or *babiut*, *bijahat* (DAIRI C) - imitating nocturnal mewing (cf. Dict. under *mejong*), *hijong*, *kijung* (D.), *tijung* (Mal.), *bijang*, *kujuk* (10 a), *marwas* or *majas* (22, 2 Obs.), *hojam*, in *hohojamon*, *howajam* (M.), *pěhěhowam* (DAIRI C), *tarijak* (Mal.), *ajam* (Mal.), *kukurujuk* (Sund., Bat. Mal.), *kijik*

(Jav.), *bou* (M.), *boung*, *pijo*, *djou*, *ngijul*, *pijul*, *sijul* (Mal.) *ujup*, *uwol-uwol*, *uwil-uwil* (D.), *uwaltěng* (D. 25 Obs.), *borong-borong* etc.

6. They can be derived from every word-class. They then mean to use that word by saying it or calling it out, e.g., *marijalé* - to call out *ijalé* (8), *marbó* - to call out *bo*, *marmate ináng* - to cry out *mate ináng* - 'mother, I'm dying', *maradatuwa* - to cry 'adatuwa' (see Dict. under *tuwa* 1) is used as well as *adatuwa*.

a. I think that this is the way in which *marhahu* has arisen from *marahu* - to say *I*, with the meaning of *di ahu i* - that is a charge on me, *I take it upon myself*.

b. *Marsogot* is an adverb of time and means *tomorrow*. Likewise in Men., where *bār* = *mar*, *barisuk* from *isuk*. Jav. *besuk* must have come in the same way from *mesuk* (*ma* + *isuk*), because Kawi uses *ma* instead of *mar*; cf. Mal. *bolih* and *bārulih* with Kawi *molih* = *maruli* in T. and *měrorih* in D. (24).

c. *Marhumba*, or *morhumba* (6 IV c) is a substantive that has acquired *mar*, so that it should look like *morsaba*, or *marsaba* (see (Dict. ; cf. 47, 1 a).

### 53. TRANSITIVE VERBS WITH MAR.

*Verbs* of this kind that are used transitively, in the passive change the *m* of the prefix into *p*. The following should be noted in regard to them:

1. derived from substantives, they mean: to use something as the thing represented by the substantive or to treat or to regard something as that which the substantive represents. These verbs can have the suffix *hon* only in the active, and they have it especially when the emphasis is on the subject, e.g., *i ma na marhutahon huta Padang Matogu* - he it was who had as his village (*huta*) Padang Matogu. They are, however, often used without *hon*, e.g., *margowar si-djonaha* - to have Djonaha as a name, *marpinahan manuk* - to have fowls as livestock, *marina ho* - to have you as mother, to regard you as mother, *mardjolma* - to have someone as a wife, to treat as one's own woman, to employ as a wife, *marduwa* - to treat something as two, to divide into two, which has also acquired the meaning of to divide, though this occurs more in the passive.

a. To this kind of verb belongs the word *marbagahon* - to promise to give something, because in the passive it has *parbaga*, from *baga-baga* - a promise, what has been promised. *Martuwahon* (see Dict.) always has *hon* in the active.

2. Those verbs that are not derived from a substantive, never have the suffix *hon*, e.g., *marmahan* - to tend an animal, to pasture cattle, *marmasak* - to cook something, *marsuwap*, as a transitive verb (52, 2) to use something in order to wash the face with it. These verbs are not to be confused with those that have *mar* with the meaning of *mang* (46, 1 and 3, and 49 Obs.) because, in the passive, the latter do not change the *m* of the prefix into *p*, and therefore have the same form as the verbs with the prefix *mang*, e.g., *marsuwap* has *parsuwap* in the passive, *margadis*, on the other hand, has just *gadis*; *marmasak* has just *masak* in the passive when it means to prepare a remedy, whereas the homonymous verb *marmasak* has *parmasak* in the passive.

Obs. The stem-word of *marmahan* is not in use, but it must have meant to be fed, to feed oneself, and therefore must come from *paahan* (cf. 61 and the Mal. *makan* - to eat).

#### 54. INTRANSITIVE VERBS WITH MAR AND THE SUFFIX I.

II. The second kind of verb has the suffix *i*.

When these verbs function intransitively, they refer to a plurality (54) of subjects, or represent their content as taking place often or continually, e.g., *maridi* (8) - to bathe, of three people (RB. p. 190, 1. 20), as well as to bathe continually, *marnapurani* - to partake of betel, of more than one person, *marbungai* - to flower, of many trees, plants, *marborasi* - to bear fruit, of many trees, etc., *margotsi* (8) - to make music, of many people (RB. p. 142, 1. 2 fb.), *margondangi* (RB. p. 190 1. 4 fb.), *marharowani* (RB. p. 87, 1. 12 fb.) - to hold feasts, with many people, *mërikani* (D.) - to busy themselves with side dishes, meat, fish, etc., of men, *mërdakani* - to busy themselves with cooking rice, of women, *mërtasaki* (D.) - to busy themselves with cooking meat, of many people. These verbs are, therefore, the plural form of the verbs with the same prefix, when the latter are used intransitively (52 I).

#### 55. TRANSITIVE VERBS WITH MAR AND THE SUFFIX I.

When this kind of verb functions transitively, the suffix represents a preposition, and in the passive they change the *m* of the prefix into *p*,

e.g., *margogoi* - to give strength to something, *marsangapi* - to give exceptional prosperity to someone, to bless, *martatai* - to laugh with someone, about someone, *marbulani* - to make a treaty about something (from *bulán*), *marekkeli* - to smile at someone, to smile about someone. *Maridí* used transitively means to bathe in something.

When they are derived from a substantive that denotes a function, they mean to perform that function with respect to something, e.g., *mardatui* - with respect to, or in connexion with, something to function as a datu, *marpangului* - with respect to, or in connexion with something to function as an arbiter, *marpandei* - with respect to, or in connexion with something to function as a pande (see Dict.). In this case, they often extend the suffix into *ikkon* (27 II 2 Obs. 2), for example, *marpanguluwikkon*.

a. In *marsaei* - to settle a debt, one can see the plural because, as well as strengthening the content of the verb (50, 4), it also represents a great number of units.

D. has *mërdëmui* - to be in agreement about something, *Mërentati* - to take away many things, is often used as a preposition (161).

#### 56. TRANSITIVE VERBS WITH *MAR* AND THE SUFFIX *HON*.

III. The third kind of verb, which always occurs transitively, and therefore, in the passive, changes the *m* of the prefix into *p* (53), always retains the suffix *hon* which, in most cases, represents a preposition conforming to *because of*, *on account of*, *with reference to*. Verbs of this kind are derived direct from those having only the prefix *mar* and occurring intransitively, e.g., *marpijohon* - to send out an invitation (*marpijo*) in connexion with something, a meal, for example; *marbadahon* - to have a quarrel (*marbada*) on account of something, *maralohon* - to have an opponent (*maralo*) on account of something, (*maralohon* has the specific meaning of to act as an opponent with regard to another's stake in gambling, to have the same stake as one's opponent); *marsuraehon* - to quarrel (*marsurae*) with each other because of something, *mardalatton* - to travel (*mardalan*) because of something, e.g., because of favourable signs shown by divination, to choose a certain day to travel, *marbalijatton* - to leave the huta on account of something, to go out taking something with one, said especially of a woman who after having given birth takes her child for the first time outside the huta, see Dict.; *marsoritton* - to take turns with each other (*marsorin*) because of something, to use something in turn, e.g., di-

*parsoritto* *nasida ma boru-boru na sasada i* - they took that same woman in turn; *marnipihon* - to dream on account of something, to make oneself dream about something, i.e., to make something a means of having a dream by deliberately closing the eyes (to dream of something would be *mangipi*); cf. *marhatahon*.

*Martudjungkon* (M.) - to wear the *tudjung* as a sign of mourning for someone, to be in mourning for someone, *mëridokën* (D.) - to have a claim (*mërido*) because of something, and, if the indirect object — the person upon whom one has the claim —, is named, to claim something from him.

- a. To this kind of verb belongs *marsitongahon* - to divide something in half, though this meaning does not appear to conform and one must postulate a *marsitongá* as a verb which would mean to say *sitongá* - half (52, 6), so that *marsitongahon* really means to say 'half' with reference to something.

D. has *mërekutkën*, of which I have not found a passive, especially as a preposition (cf. *mangihutton* in T.), e.g., *mërekutkën bagas idi* - together with that house. In D., *mërbagekën* is used with *diri* (145) and means to change oneself into all kinds of shapes (*i-përbagekën dirina*, for example). D. has *mërdakankën* with the meaning of to cook on behalf of someone, e.g., *ëmpungku ngo kërina kono si-ni-bagas ena asa ku-përdakankën* (RB. p. 99, l. 4) - all who are here in the house are my masters, therefore you are the reason I have for cooking, therefore I have cooked for you (cf. 51, 5).

#### 57. INTRANSITIVE VERBS WITH MAR AND THE SUFFIX AN.

IV. The fourth kind of verb has the suffix *an* and occurs intransitively. These verbs are used with a plurality of subjects and are derived from stem-word verbs and not from the qualificative verbs (42) or those that have the prefix *mar*, because the latter have another form with which to express the plural (52, 3 and 54). Examples of this fourth kind are: *marhabangan* - to fly, of many birds (*habang*), *marsonggopan* - to perch, of many birds, to roost (*songgop*), *marpajahan* (RB. 142, l. 5 fb., p. 143, l. 2), from *pajak*; *marusean* (RB. p. 127, l. 4), from *usé*, *marbukkasán*, from *bukkas*.

This method of expressing the plural is used on a much broader scale in M. and D., probably because the auxiliary *akka* is so seldom used in M. and is altogether absent from D. T. readily uses *akka* (58) with verbs having the prefix *mar* (44). Occasionally the form with *akka* and the form with the suffix differ in meaning, e.g., *marhembangan* - to be spread out, of mats, but *akkahembang* - to be full blown, of flowers.

NOTE. The reason that *i*, or its substitute *an* (cf. 108 and 129), as a preposition, relates at one time to something as *the place in which*, and at another, to a plural must, I think, be attributed to the representation of *place* as occupying a space and, therefore, suggesting dimension. Sund. also has *an* in the active instead of *i* (*njaruwa-an* - *to resemble something* = *mānjarupai* (Mal.). The idea of number is too abstract for it to be expressed otherwise than by a pronominal word (152, 3 Obs.), or by a concrete word (see 58 NOTE).

How a word representing place can also refer to plurality can also be seen from the use of *vei* in Fijian, which is used as follows:

1. as an interrogative pronoun of place, e.g., *e vei* = where (*e* = *on*, *at* = *i* in D.), *ki-vei* = *whither*, (*ki* = *towards* = *ka*, Mal.), *mai vei* = *whence* (*mai* = *from*, cf. Mac. *maè*);
2. in the formation of frequentative and reciprocal verbs, e.g., *vei-vala* - *to fight against each other*;
3. to make substantives with a collective meaning, e.g., *vei-kau* - *forest, wood* (*kau* - *tree*);
4. to make words that mean *to be provided with* something, e.g., *vei-vatu* - *to be provided with stones* (*vatu* - *stone*);
5. as a preposition, *at*, *from*, *by*, *with*, etc. In this respect, one can compare the meaning of *an* as a pronoun (141 I, 2) and as a suffix (77, 133, 3 and 134 II).

#### 58. THE AUXILIARY AKKA.

The following apply with regard to its use:

1. It supersedes the prefix *ma*, but not the prefixes *mar* and *mang*, or the infix *um* (or its substitute *m*, 61), e.g., *akkadabu*, from *madabu*; *akkabugang*, from *mabugang*; *akkaponggol*, from *maponggol*; *akkabola*, from *mabola*; *akkarapping*, from *marapping*, *akkahabang* = *marhabangan* (57), from *habang*<sup>1</sup>; *akkamarsuri*, for which *marsuri* (8 and 54) can also be used, from *marsuri* - *to comb one's hair* (52, 2); *akkamidjur*, from *midjur* (*idjur*, 61); *akkamodom*, from *modom* (*podom*, 61); *akkadotdot*, is said of the *pamatang* (52 footnote), but *mandotdot* of persons. I have not come across a singular form of *akkahotar* (cf. Dict.); *akkagirgir* occurs as opposed to *manggirgir*.

M. does sometimes use *angka* but only after the prefix *ma*, e.g., *mangkarumbak* (8), from *marumbak*; *mangkagotaḥ*, from *magotaḥ*. For preference, it uses the form described in 57, e.g., *marrowan* = *akkaró* (20), *marlahowan* = *akkalao* (10b), *markehean*, from *kehe*, etc. *Marbaenan* is in use in the passive sense, *to be paid off*, of debts, RB. p. 291, 1. 19. M. uses *matudotdot* (86) instead of *akkadotdot*.

M. also puts *maradu* in front, but usually in order to express *the one as well as the other*, e.g., *maradu olo*, from *olo*. It often uses *maradu* together with the derived verb, e.g., *maradu markehean*, *maradu marmodoman*, *maradu marmanganan*, from *mangan*. *Raḥ* - *collectively* is also used, e.g. *raḥ ning kalai* (RB. p. 243, 1. 2 fb.) - *thus they spoke, collectively*.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps one must assume an earlier *mahabang* (cf. 44 NOTE).

D. has *měrmědēměn* = *akkamodom*, *měrdabuhěn* = *akkadabu*, from *ëndabuh* (DAIRI K III), *měrtubuhěn* = *akkatubu*, from *tubuh*, etc. It also uses *samah* together with the verbal form, e.g., *samah měrmolihin* (DAIRI F), from *molih*. *Samah* also means *equally*, e.g., *samah pentēr ngo kudēngkoh* - *what I hear is equally correct* (both your assertions are right). In addition, *samah* = *dongan* in compounds and then has the meaning of *joint, co-, fellow-, being in a state identical with*, e.g., *pěrubatěn si-tongkik samah si-tongkik alona* - *the quarrel of a deaf man with a deaf opponent*.

2. *akka* occurs before the pronoun *na* (149), also where *na* causes the verb to function as an adjective, e.g., *di-pattom ma horbo duwa akka na bolon* - *two large buffaloes were speared by him*; *ai akka nadóng* (8) *do lahi-lahina* - *because there were men of theirs*, of those women; *midjur ma akka na torop* - *those who were many went down, the great multitude went down*, from the house.

3. *akka* is placed immediately before substantives provided that no preposition stands in front of the substantive, e.g., *boti ma i akka radjanami* - *it was thus, oh our princes!* *i ma akka ninna nasida saluhutsa* - *those were the words of all of them*, thus, they spoke; *di-togihon akkanggina i* - *his younger brothers were led by him*, he preceded them; *akka naposona boru-boru* - *his female servants*.

When the substantive is the indirect subject, or the indirect object, and is, therefore, preceded by a preposition, then *akka* precedes the preposition, as it does when the preposition occurs in the formation of the 1st passive, e.g., *daitson temi akka tu dongatta na di bagasan lombang on* - *your excrement ought to be smeared by you on our companions who are in this ravine*, smear your excrement on those who are with us, here in this ravine; *aha ni-dokmu akka di hami on* - *what have you to say to us here?* *aso akka di-boto ho* - *so that it becomes known by you people* (it is impossible to say *di-boto akka ho*); *ija otik pe sipanganon akka di-pangan ho* - *though little is the food eaten by you people*. In the last two examples, the singular, *ho*, has become plural because of *akka*, even though *akka* is not placed in front of *ho*, so that the construction is the same as that with a preposition.

Obs. The word *akkalau* is a substantive that must have been taken direct from Jav. or Mal. In Mal., one finds *rahu* (the name of a monster or giant who is said to cause an eclipse of the moon by swallowing it) and in Jav., *karau*, (spelt *karawu*). I presume that earlier there must have been a *kala-rahu* (the giant Rahu); when the word was pronounced as one word Javanese left out the *al* and Batak the *ar*, because both were considered to be infixes.

NOTE. The auxiliary *akka* (63 NOTE, end) appears to have been originally the same word as the *angka* (*elder brother*, of a man; *elder sister*, of a woman) still used in M. That it came to function as an auxiliary expressing the plural - and in T., has, therefore, abandoned its real meaning -, should not cause surprise in view of the fact that *matuwa* (*to be old*, from *tuwa*, 154) is, as an auxiliary, used to express the superlative.

That it is obligatory to respect an elder brother or sister, is shown by the use of the prefix *da* before *angka*: for the same reason it is placed before the terms for parents and grandparents (152). Thus the concept of great age has been transferred to that of great number.

#### 59. THE AUXILIARY *SAMA*.

*Sama* is also used as an auxiliary. It is used especially in conjunction with *be* when the latter occurs after the predicate, in order to effect a reference to each of the things constituting the subject, e.g., *sama so be nasida* - *each of them stopped*; *same* (29 I a) *so alip be tortornasida na duwa* - *the dancing of each of them was regular* (both danced with equal regularity).

Before a substantive, or a pronoun functioning as a substantive, *sama* has the meaning of *among each other*, while at the same time it makes the substantive into a plural, e.g., *marhata ma sama bapung i* - *the cats spoke among themselves*, *boti ma ninna bodat i marhata sama nasida* - *thus spoke the bodat* (a kind of monkey), *talking among themselves*, *i ma na djumadihon musutta marbada masitappulan* (77) *sama ibana* - *it is that that makes our enemies quarrel and come to blows*.

Apart from this usage, *sama* is used in the same way as *akka*, a feature particularly common in D. Sub-Toba (cf. 58 and 60), e.g., *sama di-pabalga ma anggukna* - *their lamentations were increased by them*, they screamed, lamenting more loudly, *sama sip nasida* - *they kept silent*, *sama tangis ma nasida saluhut* - *they all wept*, *sama marabit na birong ma saluhutna* - *they clothed themselves completely in black*, they were all clothed in black.

#### 60. *MARADU*.

When reference is made to persons who are put opposite each other, the word *maradu* - *on either side*, is used, e.g., *maradu martatá* - *to laugh on either side*, the one here, as well as the other there, laughed. *Maradu* also means *to vie with*, and when so used is placed before the stem-word of a verb, e.g., *maradu ikkat* - *to see who can run the fastest*.

M.: for *maradu*, see 58.

D. uses *měraduna* = *duwa duwatsa* (151, 8); *měraduna* is placed at the end of the phrase, e.g., *samah malot měrdosa katandene idi měraduna* - *the words of you people are not wrong, neither of you, neither of you has said anything wrong, asa sama sip mo ija mēngěrana idi měraduna* - *thereupon their voices became silent, the one, as well as the other, both of them stopped speaking.*

#### 61. FOURTH CLASS: VERBS WITH THE INFIX *UM*.

The infix *um* is inserted after the beginner of the stem-word if the beginner is not a labial, e.g., *sumurut*, from *surut*, *tumatak* (D.), from *tatak*, *umuba*, from *uba*. In the last example, it should be noted that the bearer of the vowel is a consonant.

In words which, according to the European way of speaking begin with a vowel, the *u* of the infix does, in fact, often drop out, so that *muba* occurs as well as *umuba*; other examples are: *mida*, from *ida*, *miting*, from *iting*, *meseng*, from *eseng*, etc. *Umaha*, which is often spelt *ummaha*, never loses the *u*.

When the stem-word begins with a labial, only an *m* occurs in place of the beginner, e.g., *mate*, from *pate*, *monggal*, from *bonggal*. Stem-words beginning with *b* can, however, without any change, also occur as verbs as though they have the infix, e.g., *bongot* = *masuk*; *boltok* (35). Where an *m* occurs in place of the beginner of the stem-word, truncation must be presumed, e.g., *mate* instead of *pumate*, its truncated form being due to the dislike of the language to having each of the first two syllables in succession in a trisyllabic word beginning with a labial (62, 1).

Truncation never takes place when the derived verb occurs transitively, or indicates a higher degree of quality; the *um* is then placed before the stem-word, e.g., *uppojop*, from *pojop*, *uppittor*, from *pittor*, *umetek*, from *eték*. There are, however, other cases where truncation has become common in the striving after dissyllabism (22), e.g., *moru*, from *toru* (D. has *tuměruh*, from *těruh*), *masak*, from *tasak* (here, D. uses *ěntasak*, DAIRI K III) (cf. *mosok* or *měsěng* in D. = *gěsěng*, Jav.). Such truncated words must, at the present time, be regarded as being derived from a stem-word that begins with a vowel and, therefore, do not, in repetition, repeat the actual stem-word, e.g., compare *meppang-eppang*, from *teppang*, with *humosa-hosa*.

The infix is not used in words of which the first syllable is closed with *m*, and this is the reason that *djombá* occurs with the meaning of *djumomba*: I have never come across the latter form. The stem-word of *masuk* is lost.

a. Seldom is a beginning labial changed into a homotypic guttural, but when it does happen, the word from which the verb is derived is already trisyllabic, e.g., *humaritik*, from *puritik*. From the base-sound *gir* (cf. *girgir*) comes *gumir* and its variants (28). *Gumir* must be regarded as a stem-word, hence the repetition becomes *gumir-gumir* and not *gumirgir*.

South M. has *djímolo* instead of *djumolo*. In Tagalog, the *u* of the infix is changed into *i* if the first syllable of the stem-word has an *i*, e.g., *iminím*, from *iním*.

NOTE. What occurs as an exception in Batak, may be called almost a rule in Jav. and Mal., e.g., *gumisa*, from *bisa* (Jav.), *kumawan*, from *awan* (Mal.), *gumarawang* (Men. 22 III e 1), from *awang*, *kãmánakan* (instead of *kumanakan*), from *anak*, etc. (Cf. 87, D.).

## 62. INTRANSITIVE VERBS WITH THE INFIX UM.

A verb so formed, when it occurs intransitively, is both active and passive in meaning. When it is active it represents, often in contrast to the verb that is dealt with in 66, an action that does not result from the will of the thing carrying it out, so, for example, *sumurut* is distinct from *mangitsurut* (82) and from the passive of *pasurut(hon)* - *to move oneself backwards* (66), and means *to move oneself back involuntarily*, e.g., to move the body backwards instinctively at the same time as a dancer does, out of sheer enjoyment of the dancing, said of an onlooker.

The difference between *pate* - *to lapse*, of a pledge, *to have no speed left*, of a bullet, and *mate* is remarkable. Both words mean *to die*: the first is, for preference, used of inanimate things, the second, of things which are either living, or are regarded as being animate, such as, for example, fire, the moon, etc. In the same way, *surut* (see Dict.) is used in contradistinction to *sumurut*. Involuntariness is also a characteristic of *djumebe* - *to move oneself sideways involuntarily*; *djebé* only means *leaning sideways*, and the passive of *padjebe(hon)* means *to move oneself sideways* (66, 2).

That with such verbs, the passive meaning predominates at one time, and the active at another, is easily explainable by reference to the use of reflexive verbs in French as a means of expressing the passive (cf. 44 c). The word *mukkap* (from *ukkap*) is used of the wonder tree (*sikkam*, or *tulason na ruwangon*), because it *must open of its own accord* for the owner of the treasures hidden in its trunk. D. uses *mongkam* (30 VI) in the sense of *to open*, i.e. *to speak*.

It is clear from the dialects that usage is arbitrary. D., for example, uses *tumatak* = *manortor*, despite the fact that *tumatak* represents a

voluntary action, but, on the other hand, it has *ěntasak* (DAIRI K III) with the meaning of *masak* and *malamun*. D. uses *měrsanggar bana* (145) = *sumanggar*. It is, therefore, evident that the more or less passive meaning can only be found out from the way in which such words are used.

The following provides some guidance on this usage:

1. For *the performing of, or satisfying of, a natural need*, e.g., *meseng* (*eseng*), *mojo* (*ojo*), *miting* (*iting*), *mangan* (*pangan*), *minum* (*inum*), *modom* (*podom*). There are occasions when verbs of this kind occur transitively but they then represent an action that is regarded as being involuntary, e.g., *mida* - *to see* something, *to catch sight of* something. The verb *mangan*, used transitively, is, I presume, an abbreviation of *mamangan* (cf. 61), because there is *pamangan* (120). With the suffix *hon*, it has the meaning of *to eat up*, e.g., *molo i ma na mangatton na dapot tarihommí* - *in case it is they who have eaten up that which has been caught by your tarihon*.

In addition to *modoppon*, there is also *mamodoppon* (51, 1). Here, too, usage is inconsistent: though *to hear* something (*to catch the sound of something*) has some similarity with the meaning of *mida*, the word *megé* (in D., the usual form is *měge*) is never used, always *umbegé* (47, 4 and 63). One would also expect *uppangan* (63) as the transitive form and not *mangan*.

Besides the transitive form *minum* there is also *manginum*.

2. As *a simple passive*, as opposed to a verb used transitively, e.g., *masak* - *to be cooked* in a fire, as a simple passive of *marmasak* (53, 2), and, as an intransitive verb, with the meaning of *to be yellow with age*, of a leaf, etc.; *mengge* - *to be soaked*, like rice in water, as a simple passive of *mangengge*; *masuk* (61) - *to go inside, to gain entry, to be admitted* (RB. p. 239, 1. 11 and the reference in Dict.) but also, as a simple passive of *pamasuk(hon)*, *to be allowed inside*; *midjur* - *to go below, to come below*, but, of a person whose dignity has been shattered, *to be removed*, *mulak* - *to return*, but as a simple passive of *paulak(hon)*, *to be brought back, to be restored* (cf. *muli* and *pamuli(hon)*); *muppat* as the simple passive of *manguppat*; *mago* - *to get lost*, can also mean *to be stolen* (100).

3. *A movement* that makes a marked impression on any of the sense organs, e.g., *humutik*, *humuttal*, *humutur*, etc. When this is their meaning the verbs:

a. are often *repeated*. The repetition only affects the stem-word or

the seeming stem-word (61), e.g., *humosa-hosa*, *meppang-eppang*, *monggal-onggal*, etc.;

b. they have as the immediate stem-word a word that, either by the prefix *ha* (in D., *ke*) - of which the *h* is often *g* (22 III e) -, or in the manner mentioned in 52, 5, is trisyllabic. They have the prefix *ha*, or *ga*, especially when the stem-word is either dissyllabic and has identical consonants and contrasting vowels (38), or is a monosyllabic onomatopoeic exclamation which, by reason of *do*, has become dissyllabic (52, 4 b), e.g., *humaltital*, *gumadjingdjang*, *humadjedja*, *gumadobur*, etc.

To judge from the dialects, these verbs occur frequently as variants of the verbs described in 52, 5, e.g., *djumëmbuwang* (D.) = *mardjam-buwang*, *gumadjingdjang* as well as *marhadjingdjang*. Further examples of these quadrisyllabic forms are: *humatijong*, *kumëtjijung* (D.) *gumadimbur*, *gumadebap*, *sumappijar*, *humadejap* (90 a) and *gumadjebut*.

obs. With *gumadimbur*, *gumadjebut* and *gumadebap*, the starting point would be a *bur*, *but* and *bap*, preceding which the *do* has been corrupted. In Mal., there is *gämäräntjing*, and in Mac., *gamätjing* and *garantjing*, from *mätjing*, which again comes from *tjing* (52, 4 NOTE).

D. has, though seldom, a plural of this form with the suffix *i*, e.g., *tumataki*, of many persons.

4. *A high degree of the quality*, where the stem-word is a qualificative verb, in which case attention must be paid to the form (61), e.g., *gumabe* - *to be richer*, from *na gabe* or *gabe* (42, c); *umbalga* - *to be larger*, from *balgá* or *mabalga* (42); *umbegu* - *to be more courageous*, from *na begu* (43); *dumatu* - *to be more clever in the art of divination*, from *datú* (43); *umetek* - *to be smaller*, from *na etek*.

When the thing that is surpassed is mentioned, the conjunction *asa* (163) is placed before it, e.g., *dumejak napé utangna asa torop ni obuk* - *his debts were more numerous than the hairs on the head*.

With the pronoun *na*, such a form expresses the highest degree, e.g., *i ma na umbisuk*, *i ma ta-baen radja* - *the one who is the most astute, is the one whom we should make king*; *na di toru i na tumabo* - *those that are below are the nicest*; *boru nise do on na dumengganna on* - *whose is this daughter, this most beautiful of them?* This form, at the same time, functions as a verb, e.g., *hundul ma ibana paimahon rumodop* - *he sat down, waiting until they (the monkeys) came lower*

(so that he could get them within range of the blowpipe); *sumurung* is often used as a comparative of *denggán*, but it also has the meaning of *excellent*, e.g., *alai sadi sumurung do tortor ni halak siboru Marondak sulu - but Miss M's dancing was always more elegant than that of the other women dancers, or, of the women, Miss M's dancing was the most elegant.*

a. *Humatop*, in a wish, is often used adverbially, e.g., *sadi humatop ibana mulak sijan pardalanan - may he return speedily from the journey.*

D. also uses an auxiliary of the same form before the stem-word, e.g., *numaik pëngke tinokorna idi ripada bai dabëru kuta ena nari - his wife is more beautiful than the women of this huta.* To express a superlative, D. uses *nari* after the qualificative, e.g., *pëngke nari = matsai denggán* (154).

OBS. *Molo* (163), from *olo*, has become solely a conjunction. From the contrast in meaning with that of *aut*, it must originally have meant *to be so* (cf. 63 b).

### 63. TRANSITIVE VERBS WITH THE INFIX UM.

Used transitively, the verbs of this class of verbs are simply variants of those with the prefix *mang*, and they are used more in the elaborate *poda* language, in stories, laws, and aphorisms in verse form (*uppama*), than in daily life, e.g., *djumama djudji - to throw dice = mandjama djudji*, *multoppon omas (poda) = mangultoppon omas - to exhale gold*, as an antidote against a spirit causing sickness; *na humurpas dingdingna, na uppalu sarunena* (in a description of a fowl to be used as an offering) = *na makkurpas dingdingna, na mamalu sarunena*; *moppo ruma-rimbaru (poda) = na mangoppo ruma na imbaru*; *na uppangus mata ni ari bitsar, na tumukkol mata ni ari sundut* (of the god *soripada*, cf. under *pong pang* in the Dict.); *tumaruhon = manaruhon* (RB. p. 13); *kalak tumokor bëru mahan tinokorna* (D. Customary Law) - *a person buying a girl as a wife for himself*; *na rumappikkon djari-djari* (in invoking the gods) - *he who has created the fingers to be separated.*

That this form is still common in certain cases to the exclusion of the other which, at the present time, might be called the main form, has already been mentioned in 46, 3 and 47, 4. Another example is *mattap* (as well as *mottap* and *mottat*), of which I have never come across a passive. *Lumé* is in use with the meaning of *mamele* (51, 5 Obs.), e.g., *lumé sombaon*; the passive is only usual in genuine Toba and in M. (see 51, 4 Obs.).

a. The stem-word of *mottap*, *mattap* and *mottat* must have been *ottat*, as appears from *ěntat* (D.) and *hantat* (Men. = *hantar*). *Mijatton* occurs as well as *mangijatton* (159, 1).

b. In place of *mambaen*, *umbaen* is more often used (also *ambaen* and *imbaen*, 22 III c) when, as a relating word, it indicates the result, so that it must be rendered by a conjunction, e.g., *i ma umbaen na marbada* - *it resulted in their quarrelling*, cf. 62, 4 Obs. and cf. 102, 2.

NOTE. The prefix, or the infix, *um* was originally the same word as *ma*. The transposition can be explained from the resonance of the nasal, so, *ni* is changed into *in* (26 Obs. 1), and in D., an *ě* with a closing nasal has arisen from *mě* (DAIRI K III). The *a* had to become *u* before a labial, the more so because in the dissyllabism of most stem-words, the word that has become an infix occupies the anti-penultimate position. As proof of this, there is the striking agreement of *ěntasak*, in D., with *masak*, from *tumasak* (cf. *rěmuwar* instead of *měruwar*, DAIRI K III). Further evidence is the variant of verbs with the prefix *mang*; this must belong to an older stage of the language.<sup>1</sup>

With regard to the prefix *ma*: what else can it be but a pronominal word and originally a pronoun for the 3rd person? The small words that are only used to point to a thing but which do not stand as the name of the thing, were originally natural exclamations, as may be presumed from their indisputable monosyllabism. The most obvious way to give a particular direction to such words was to differentiate the vowel, either by forming it at the back or at the front of the mouth. Initially, the *u* was chosen to indicate something at a distance from the speaker, because this sound is made in the front of the mouth near the lips (141 3 a); *i*, on the other hand, is formed within the mouth, and was used to indicate the reverse. In Mal., for example, *kami* - *we here* (you excluded), in contradistinction to *kamu* - *you there* (us excluded). The person who is speaking thinks of himself as being within a group outside which, as something in contrast to himself, he puts the person spoken to. That *kamu*, by reason of the prefix *ka*, has become a substantive, and that *mu* is the stem-word, is clear from the accent of *hamu* and *kamu* (Tag.). In the same way *indí*, as a demonstrative exclamation, stands in contrast to *indú*. From the stem *du* comes *adú*, from which again, comes *aduwi* (141); in D., with a nasal before it, it becomes *ndu*, and is usual as an affix of the 2nd person (in Mak. there is *nu*, 30 IX). Once *mu* came to be used to indicate a second person outside the group of the speaker, and *mi* to indicate the speaker, it followed that *a* would be used to indicate a person who, being neither the speaker (*me*) nor the person spoken to (*you*), occupied no particular place in relation to the group of the speaker or of the person spoken to. Hence *indú* (in M., *na* in *nada*, i.e., *na* + *ada*) as a negative in contradistinction to *indí* and *indú*, in order to represent 'the not being' as something that cannot have a particular place.

In Jav., there is *ika* in contradistinction to *iku* - *those, that*, and *iki* - *these, this*, as a non-specifying demonstrative word, i.e., one with which no particular

<sup>1</sup> This also occurs in Tag., e.g. *bumasa* as well as *masa* = *mamasa*, *māmatja* (Mal.).

place is indicated. The same contrast is also found between *da* in the *pada* passive (104), which is used to denote an unspecified agent, and *di* which, in the 1st passive, means *by him* (102 2); in D., *du* (151) indicates the person spoken to. It is probable that *da* arose from *di* at a time when *di*, in association with a nominal form, had already acquired the specific meaning of *by him*: it was felt that an *i* was unsuitable for indicating a person unspecified and it made way for an *a* (34 Obs. 1).

I have never come across *ni*, as a pronoun, in contradistinction to *nu*, but it may be presumed that a demonstrative word with this sound has disappeared with the meaning of a pronoun, because *ni* originally came to be used as a preposition (159), for *na* is still in use as a pronoun for the 3rd person (151, 3).

As a prefix, *si* is used to indicate a definite thing (152), while *sa* is an affix denoting the third person (151, 8). There is no *su*, probably for the same reason that there is no *ni*; *su* occurs only as a corruption of the preposition *tu* (78).

Language is a sense-metaphor. A human speaker sees a person in every object, a being such as he is himself, and its attributes he feels and represents as actions; he says of a ship, for example, that she *will* not sail, and, in many languages gives a gender to inanimate objects, etc.

Because a verb is a word with which something is made to perform an action, as though it were a person, the Batak in order to form a word to represent that action, chooses one that indicates a non-specified person. (The Chinese, with wit, define the verb as *the living word*, as distinct from *the dead word*, i.e., the noun.)

That *ma* either falls out, or changes the *m* into *p* in the passive, is proof that the passive is *not* regarded as being a verbal form. If it is accepted that, originally, *ma* was a pronoun for the 3rd person, then it is not surprising that languages such as Batak and Javanese less frequently make use of a 3rd person pronoun functioning as a substantive than they do of a pronoun for the 1st or 2nd person, and, where they have to use it, resort to a circumscription (140, 3).

The prefixes *mar* and *mang* are simply amplifications of *ma* and only later on came into use with different meanings. In the case of *mar*, its closer is due to the place of *mar* as the ante-penultimate syllable in words that are usually dissyllabic. In Jav. and Mal., *r* is to be found as the closer of such a syllable, e.g., *marmata* (Jav., the name of the God of Love), from *manmatha*, *tārmasa* (Mal., spectacle), from *tamāsĵā* (Ar.). This does not, as a rule, apply in Batak, because it has other consonants for this purpose, such as, for example, a nasal (*uppama*, 22 III a), a sibilant (*rostaha*, in D. *rintaka*), etc.

Batak has, however, made use of this phonetic law as a means of expressing a difference in meaning; the susurrus of the *r* symbolizes the active very well. That a nasal has also come to be used for this purpose, must be attributed to the *resonance* of such a consonant. By the adding of *ng* to the prefix, the verbal force was increased, so that when the verb occurred transitively it acquired a more active meaning. There are still traces of a former stage when only *ma* was a verbal prefix, and this accounts in some words for the equalization of *ma*, *mar* and *mang* (49, 2 Obs.; 45 and 44).

In the Alfur language of Minahasa, the prefix *maha* = *mar* or *mēr* (D.), *bār* (Mal.), *bara* (Ngadju), *mag* (Tag.), *ag* (Iloko), *ma* (Kawi) and *a* (Jav.), e.g., *mahatēlu* = *bāriälur* (Mal.). Cf. *taha* in 113 NOTE. To express the plural, there is the prefix *maka*, which makes one think of *mangka* or *makka* (North M.) (58, 1 M.), e.g., *makarumēr* - *to sit*, of many people. In Mal., there is still a remnant of a former *mār*, instead of the present-day *bār*, in *māruwap*, from *wwap* (= *ob* in the Jav. *umob*).

FIFTH CLASS: VERBS WITH THE PREFIX *PA*.64. INTRANSITIVE VERBS WITH THE PREFIX *PA*.

A. There are *two kinds of this class of verb which occur intransitively*. The *first* kind has only the prefix before the stem-word; the *second* repeats the beginner of the stem-word and its vowel.

I. The first kind is used of more than one thing and has the primary meaning of *to be in the same position*, from which the second meaning, reciprocity, springs, especially when the stem-word occurs in a verb having the prefix *mang*, e.g., *padjuppa* - *to encounter each other* (literally: the one as well as the other is found), from *djuppa* (110), *patindi* - *to be lying on each other* (*manindi* - *to lie on something*), *patinggang* - *to have fallen on each other* (*maninggang*, 49), *patundal* - *to turn their backs towards each other* (literally: the one as well as the other is *tundál*, 43 a), *pasolsol* - *to be reproachful towards each other* (*manolsol* - *to reproach someone*), *pagatsi* - *to change places* (*manggatsi* - *to take the place of someone*, to occupy his place), cf. also *patekka*, *pëtekah* (D.), *pasitik*, *patokkar*, *pasoluk* (e.g., *siadji marringo-ringo binaen ni tangan* -).

When the stem-word begins with an *a*, the stem-word must be repeated, e.g., *padop-adop* (8), and in Dairi Sub-Toba an *h* is sometimes inserted, e.g., *pahalo*, *pëhalo* (D.) (Dict. p. 504), from *mangalo*.

a. When the stem-word is repeated, the verb then contrasts two things with each other, either objects or persons, but each bears a degree of resemblance to the other; the repeated stem-word only indicates that the two occupy different places, e.g., *paheba-heba* - *to stand opposite each other*, each being in a different place, said of two mountains of equal height; *padao-dao* - *each to find himself apart*, at a different place, of two friends; *pahuta-huta* - *each to be in his own huta*, of blood kinsmen; *patundal-tundal* - *to stand or walk with their backs turned towards each other*, of people who are doing the same sort of thing, for example, people walking in single file on a journey; *paduwa-duwa* - *to be opposite each other*, of two bamboo culms that have grown to the same height; *paipar-ipar* - *each to be on the opposite side* (of a river, for example).

Repetition can, however, also express the continuity or frequency with which a thing takes place, e.g., *padjuppa-djuppa* - *to meet each other frequently*, or *many times*, of two people; *rahanán ma hami djolo padjuppa-djuppa di tapijan on, nung pe asa tu ruma* - *instead*

of asking her father for her in marriage, *it will be better that we (she and I) meet each other several times at this bathing-place, and after that go to the huta.*

obs. *Pahae* and *pahulu* do not belong to this class of verb, because they are also used for one person and only mean to go in a particular direction (*to go to the lowlands, or the coast, and to go to the highlands, or the mountains*). Of *pahae* it must be remarked that it is also used as a substantive, and of *pahulu*, that the *h* is inserted; the stem-word is *ulu* (30 V a). The *h* appears to have arisen here in order to make *pahulu* resemble *pahae*, because it is so often used with the latter to express *up and down*; the *k* in *měngkulu* has come about in the same way because of *měngkehe*.

That *pahae* is also a substantive, must be attributed to the *p* (30 VII). In both words I believe that *pa* is not the prefix dealt with here but one that originated from a prefix *ha* (73) - that has as a preposition with the meaning of *towards* almost disappeared at the present time -, and that *hahae* was considered to be disagreeable and was changed into *pahae*. In this respect, it is worth remembering that in D., *h* becomes *k*, so that the changing of *hahae* to *pahae* is actually a change of homotypic consonants (22 III e 2); or should the *pa* be thought of as coming from an earlier *ma* (72 NOTE)?

#### 65. INTRANSITIVE VERBS WITH PA AND REPETITION OF THE BEGINNING SYLLABLE.

II. The *second kind* of verb in this class is mostly derived from a stem-word that represents the being in a certain posture: the accent of such a stem-word is on the ultimate syllable. These verbs also are used of more than one thing and then mean that these things are in the same posture; the accent is on the penultimate syllable of the stem-word, e.g., *patutukkal* - *to stand firm and high*, of the breasts of a woman (*tukkál*, of the penis); *patututur*, from *tutúr* (see Dict.); *padjidjikkang* - *to stand upright*, of stalks of rice which are standing upright after having been beaten down by the wind (*djikkáng*); *patitilhang*, from *tilháng*; *padjodjorgok*, *padjodjongok* and *padjodjogok* - *bulging*, or *to be as a ball*, like full gourds (*djorgók* - *unwieldy, looking like a ball*, of one thing).

a. The stem-word of *parorondo* must, formerly, have been *rondó* which must have meant *low on the ground*, because it is the same

word as the Mal. *rāndah* (low, cf. *robo* = *rābah*) as appears from *si-rumondo* (*andung, who lies low*) = *na mate*, and *rodóp* (27 II 1; 28 II). At the present time, the stem-word has the accent on the first syllable (20 fn.).

b. *Padodót* (20 I) is in use only as an adverb. The stem-word must be *dot*, but I cannot say with certainty that this is a contraction of *dohot* (beside which, *dot* is sometimes used in South M.).

#### 66. TRANSITIVE VERBS WITH *PA*.

B. There are *three* kinds of the transitively used verbs of this class. The *first* has the suffix *hon* in the active only in a particular case, the *second* has the suffix *i*, and the third, the suffix *hon*.

I. The *first kind* could be called *causative verbs*, because, in general, they mean *to cause something to be in a condition, place, posture, etc.*

1. When derived from a substantive, this kind of verb means *to make something into the thing represented by that substantive*, e.g., *pababijat(hon)*<sup>1</sup> - *to turn someone into a tiger (to represent someone as a fierce warrior)*; *padatu(hon)* - *to make someone into a datu (to use someone as an augurer in some affair)*; *paṅande(hon)* - *to make someone into a labourer (to make someone work for one as a labourer)*; *pabodat(hon)* - *to call a person a bodat (monkey)*.

When, however, the substantive represents a place of which the space is destined for keeping something in or for people to reside in, then the verb means *to put someone or something into such a place*, e.g., *pabara(hon)* - *to drive, a buffalo of buffaloes (97), into the stall*, *pasunut(hon)* - *to put a fowl into the cage*, *pasarung(hon)* - *to put a weapon into the sheath (which must be distinguished from manarungi, see 50 1)*.

A preposition is sometimes found before such a substantive, e.g., *padiruma(hon)* - *to bring the tondi into the house (di ruma)*. Here, I presume that the preposition is used to make the distinction between *padiruma(hon)* and *paruma(hon)* - *to bring a young girl into the house*, of which *parumaen* (29 III) is the passive verbal substantive.

2. When derived from an intransitive verb, a verb of this kind means *to put someone or something in a situation or a condition represented by the verb*; the prefix *ma* drops out and, in most cases, the infix *um* also, e.g., *paulak(hon)* - *to take or give back something (mulak)*, *paidjur(hon)* - *to take below, to go below with something (midjur)*,

<sup>1</sup> The suffix is placed between brackets to stress the fact that it is not used in the passive.

*pasohot(hon)* - to cause something to cease, to stop doing something (*matsohot*, 47 3), *pasadi(hon)*, from *matsadi*, *paluwa(hon)* - to release someone or something, to set at liberty (*maluwa*). *Pamuli(hon)* - to return something (*muli*) has probably retained the *m* of the infix (61) to distinguish it from *pauli(hon)*.

When the intransitive verb represents a quality, the derived word means to provide something with that quality, e.g., *pauli(hon)* - to make something elegant, to beautify, to put in order (*uli*, 42).

When the intransitive verb represents a position, a being somewhere, or a movement, the derived word means not only to put something but also oneself in such a posture, or condition; to bring oneself, or something, into such a movement, e.g., *padonok(hon)* - to bring something near, to place oneself nearby, to approach (*donók* - to be near), *padao(hon)* - to remove something, to take oneself off (*daó* - to be removed).

Such verbs are often used in the passive in contradistinction to the forms with the infix *um* especially to represent a voluntary act, e.g., *pasurut(hon)* - to move oneself backwards deliberately, in contradistinction to *sumurut* (62); *padjebe(hon)* - to move oneself sideways deliberately, in contradistinction to *djumebe* (62). Here, the object (in the passive, the subject) is really *ibana* (140), though it is seldom mentioned (for an example, see RB. p. 62 l. 16), so *di-patornong* means something is put by him in a row, as well as he is by him himself put in a row, and also it is itself in a row (for an example, see RB. p. 13, l. 4 fb.; cf. also Dict. under *riris*).

To translate such a passive, we have to resort to an intransitive verb, e.g., *di-pasolhot ma hundul tu* (RB. p. 157, l. 15) - he approached and sat by (lit. he was by him himself brought near, he sat towards, 36); *nung taripar aek parsalinan, di-patuwat ma tu toru* - when the metamorphosis-river had been crossed, he climbed down its bank, *di-paondjap* - it lies down, of a buffalo, for example, it kneels to be mounted by a young child; see also *pateleng(hon)* in the Dict.

a. The verb *panaek(hon)*, just as *manaek*, (as a transitive verb, 44) has *panaek* in the passive. *Panaek* means to carry something above, e.g., *hu-panaek ma harambirta i* - let me take our coconuts up (aboard).

b. Besides *paingot(hon)*, there is also *pasingot(hon)*. *Paula(hon)* has *paulá* in the passive (20 Obs. 1); instead of *paula(hon)* D. has *pěkulah(kěn)* which has *pěkulah* in the passive.

c. As well as *païma(hon)* there is in the active also *maima*, especially in the repeated form *maima-ima*; D. has *mema* (69). The seeming stem-word, *ima*, has never come to my notice.

#### 67. TRANSITIVE VERBS WITH *PA* (cont'd).

3. These verbs also have the meaning of *to allow* something to become what is represented by the verb from which it is derived, e.g., *palogo(hon)* - *to let it get dry*, i.e., *to wait until it is dry* (*logó*), *palamun(hon)* - *to let something get ripe*, *to wait until something ripens* (*malamun*), *pagodang(hon)* - *to let something reach maturity*, *to wait until something matures* (*godang*), *pamasak(hon)* - *to let something become dry*, *to wait until something dries* (leave cut wood in a field to dry before burning it).

#### 68. TRANSITIVE VERBS WITH *PA*, DERIVED FROM NUMERALS.

The verbs mentioned in the preceding paragraphs have *hon* in the active when the emphasis is on the subject. When, however, they are derived from a numeral, they *always* have a passive form and, as a consequence, never the suffix. The substantive, or the substantival pronoun representing the thing enumerated, is placed after the numeral and the verb then means that the thing itself, together with a thing already mentioned or implied, makes up that number, e.g., *di-takkup manuk i tolu paopat sabunganna* - *three fowls were caught by him, four with the rooster* (see *tolu* and *opat* in the Dict.); *ibana paduwa anggina (duwa)* - *he, with his younger brother as the second* (person); *di-lejon tu amanguda paduwa-lombu<sup>1</sup> papitu piso* - *uncle was given six Spanish dollars by him, seven, with a weapon* (which was worth a Spanish dollar); *patolu on* - *this (day) included, three days*; *masak gadong, di-lejon paduwa na busuk di si-adji urang mandopa* - *when the gadong were done, one, two with a putrified one, were given by him to Adji U.M., i.e., he gave Adji U.M. two gadong, one of which was rotten.*

It would seem that such forms are to be explained as passive imperatives, so, for example, *patolu* means *let* (the thing that is to be mentioned) *be made by you into three*, i.e., add the so-and-so to make three.

With the pronominal suffix *na*, these verbs have an adverbial meaning

<sup>1</sup> See Dict., Add.

and refer to a day after the one on which one is speaking, e.g., *patoluna* - on the third day after today, in three days' time; *paopatna* - the fourth day, in four days' time. The explanation of this is to be found in the active verbal substantive (125).

M. does not deviate here, e.g., *papituna haroró ni bajo na dao anggo matana pasambilanna do* - the seventh day is the time when the guests from afar will arrive, but the feast will begin on the ninth.

D. also conforms in this respect, except that *kětělün* = *patoluna*.

#### 69. TRANSITIVE VERBS WITH PA OR MA AND THE PREPOSITION TU.

A variant of this kind of verb are those verbs that in the active have *ma* besides *pa*. Usually they are derived from a substantive to which the preposition *tu* has been added. In the active, if the prefix is *ma*, they do not have the suffix, e.g., *matuaek*, or *patuaek(hon)* (*patu-tuaek(hon)* is also in use) - to take a child to the river, *matubaba* (which is also used intransitively) - to intend something for the mouth (lit. to move something towards the mouth). The literal meaning of *matumona* - to begin something, is to put something at the beginning (*mona*, from *bona*, 30 VIII and cf. D. below).

The only example I know of these verbs that is not derived from a substantive is *paturo(hon)*, or *maturó*, which has the specific meaning of to cause a girl to come, i.e., to buy a girl with the object of giving her as a wife to one of one's own family. M. has *paró(hon)*, which has *paró* in the passive, with a different meaning, i.e., to cause a spirit to appear (cf. 66 c).

D. uses neither *ma* nor *pa*, e.g., *tuběna* = *matumona*; *tuběras*, which is used intransitively, also has a plural, *tuběراس*, RB. III p. 56. I presume that *tuběna* and *tuběراس* have been taken from T. because in D. the preposition *tu* is *mi*, hence *baba mi lae* = *matuaek*. *Turepar* (32 Obs.) also must have been taken from T., because D. uses *kepar* (*ka* + *ipar*, 30 V a) instead of *ipar*.

#### 70. TRANSITIVE VERBS WITH PA AND THE SUFFIX I.

II. There are only a few examples of the second kind of verb, e.g., *padjopi* (M.), from *djop*; *pasidungi*<sup>1</sup> as well as *masidungi* (the latter only in the active), from *sidung*; *pandungi* (*andung*, M.) - to endow someone with something, from *andung*.

D. has *pěkekei* (RB. p. 96, 1. 3) as the plural of *pěkeke(kěn)*: cf. *manibali* (50 4).

<sup>1</sup> E.g., *asa da-pasidungi ma hasuhuton i* - then let an end be made to the matter.

71. TRANSITIVE VERBS WITH *PA* AND THE SUFFIX *HON*.

III. The third kind of these verbs usually takes two objects. The first, or direct object, which is the subject in the passive, is quite different from that in the first kind of verb: what is there the first object, here becomes the second or indirect object, and has to be introduced by a preposition, generally *tu* (51 4).

This third kind of verb means *to give something to someone to do with it that which the verb from which this kind of verb is derived represents*, e.g., *papahatton* - *to give something to animals to eat*; *papahan(hon)*, on the other hand, means *to make an animal eat, to feed it*; *paotsoppon* - *to give something to someone to suck*, but *paotsop(hon)* - *to make someone suck*; *painuppon* - *to give something to someone to drink*, but *painum(hon)* - *to make someone drink, to water an animal*; *pabikkon* - *to give something to someone to hold on the lap*, from *mangabing* (*pabing(hon)* has never come to my notice); *padjudjukkcon* - *to give something to someone to carry on the head* (I have never come across *padjudjung(hon)*), from *mandjudjung*; *pasalihon* - *to give something to someone on loan*, but *pasali(hon)* - *to let someone borrow* (to oblige someone by lending money), from *marsali* (49 Obs.); *pasubutton* (RB. p. 138, 1. 5) - *to submit something to someone in order to have it explained* (*to consult someone in order to get an explanation about something*); *paruhon* (8) - *to give a plot of land over to buffaloes to be churned up*, in contradistinction to *mangaruhon* - *to use buffaloes in order to have a piece of land churned up*, and *mangaru* - *to churn up a piece of land said of buffaloes*, from *aru*. The object of both *paruhon* and *mangaru* is the piece of land, but the subject of both is different: of *paruhon* it is the person who wants to have the land worked up by its being churned by the hooves of buffaloes, but of *mangaru*, it is the buffaloes which effect the tillage. In *mangaruhon*, the buffaloes are the first, or direct object, and the land the second, or indirect object, which must be introduced by *tu*.

This kind of verb can also have the subject itself as the object, for example, in the passive, e.g., *di-pabikkon anakna i ibana* - *by his son's own self was his son given in order to be carried on the lap*, his son gave himself, for example, to his father to be carried on the lap, i.e., he sat himself on his father's lap. The verb from which this kind of verb is derived usually occurs transitively, but the form depends on usage, e.g., *pargahon* - *to offer something to someone for sale*, is derived direct from *mangargai* - *to bid for something*, and not, as one would expect in view of *paruhon* (from *mangaru*), from *mangarga*, which does not

occur. *Patubegehon* - to give something to someone to listen to, in which *tu* is the preposition, comes from *umbegé*. The reason that *tu* is used here may well be to express deliberateness, because *umbegé* represents to hear accidentally.

a. The derivation of *patuduhon* - to point to, at, to show, is not clear. M. uses *patidahon*, from *ida*, which means, literally, to get somebody to see something. Here, the *t* must be regarded as having been inserted; it is difficult to explain it as being from an earlier *tu*, such as that in *patubegehon*, because D. also inserts a consonant (below D.). *Manudu* does not, at the present time, mean to look at something, though it may have had this meaning. Now, it means to be turned towards something; it often occurs in the passive, *tinudu ni* - faced by. Therefore the original meaning of *patuduhon* appears to have been to give something to someone in order to turn towards it. D. uses *měnuduhkěn* which, in the passive, gives *tuduhkěn*.

b. In *panaekkon*, the *pa* must not be thought of as a prefix; it has acquired the *p* from the passive and is derived direct from *manaek* (44). I have never come across the active form, but this would be *manaekkon*. This is apparent from such a construction as, e.g., *di-panaekkon tu porlang dukkakna i* - his child was brought by him, climbing, up the porlang (with his child, he climbed up the porlang growing between the branches); here, the direct object, which is the subject in the passive, is the child and not the *porlang*.

M. has *painahon*, which is derived direct from a substantive, *ina*, with the meaning of *pasusuhon* - to give a child to a woman to suckle.

D. has *pětjidahkěn* (DAIRI E IV c), which can also lose the suffix in the passive, instead of *patuduhon*.

## 72. TRANSITIVE VERBS WITH PA AND HON, DERIVED FROM NUMERALS.

This kind of verb, when derived from a numeral, expresses an ordinal number and is used attributively (as an adjective) as well as adverbially, e.g., *paduwahon* - the second, secondly. A substantive representing the thing enumerated can follow the numeral, e.g., *pasap-pulu sada-borngitton ro ma hita* - you may come on the eleventh night (I request you to come); *bodari ni na papitu-borngitton* - on the evening of the seventh night; *i ma si-djalahammu sittap sappulu borngin on*,

*pasappulu sadahon ro ma hami tu hutám* - that is what you have to collect for these ten days, on the eleventh, we shall arrive at your huta.

D. has *pěmpatkěn* = *paopatton* (*ěmpat*), otherwise D. follows T., e.g., *ku-takil nola mo pěduwa-ngawankěn ena katengku* (RB. p. 247 l. 10 fb.) - come, I said to myself, let me cut off this second joint (of the bamboo).

NOTE. The older form of the prefix *pa* is *ma*, which is still found in the active alongside *pa* (69 and 70; cf. *matu* = *patu* 86). The *p* must have arisen not only because of the passive, which occurs with much greater frequency than the active, but also because of the passive meaning that an intransitive verb can have. A similar thing can be seen in Mal.: e.g., *pilu* - to be carried by one's feelings, from an earlier *milu* which occurs still in Jav. with the meaning of to accompany; *pulih* - to be restored to one's former state (of well-being), to be sent back, of fleeing warriors, for example, from *mulih* (Jav. to turn back), *molih* (D. to turn back, and also, to be brought back 622); *pulang* - to go homewards, etc., from a former *mulang*, as appears from *bărulang* and *măngulangĭ*, from *ulang*; and *pulaq* (as well as *pula*), with the adverbial meaning of again, once more; cf. *mulak* (154).

The meaning of Mal. *pulaq*, as an adverb, agrees with that of *mulak* (M. 154\*). Other words which in Mal. also have the *p* instead of the *m* are: *păgap* (Jav. *měgap*), *pauk*, instead of *mauq*, in *lauq-pauq*, which latter was formerly *lauq-lumauk*, in agreement with *awan-kumawan* (61 NOTE); cf. *tali-tumali* alongside *tali-mali*; *sajur-majur* instead of *sumajur*, etc.

In verbs, Mal. often has a *b* instead of an *m*, e.g., *tjärej-bärej*, *halej-balej*, instead of *tjärej-märej* and *halej-malej*. Because in Mal., *băras-pătas* is a substantive, *pătas* must occur instead of *mătas* in which, however, the *t* instead of an *r* or an *l* (24 NOTE 1) is peculiar.

*Paju* cannot be connected with *mangajuhon*, unless *paju* is explained as being a substantized *maju*, in which case both forms would be derived from *aju* (cf. *pudi*, 156 NOTE).

Tag. has *pasok*, which, with the infix *um*, is *masok*; Batak and Mal. have *masuk*, and Sund. *asup* (30 VIII c).

### 73. SIXTH CLASS: VERBS WITH THE PREFIX HA.

Hardly any verbs of this class are now in use. Originally, the prefix *ha* was a preposition: as such in Malagasy, it means *up to* and in Mal. (*ka*, 10 a), *towards*.

These verbs are derived from a substantive, e.g., *haduru* - to go towards the edge, of a field to perform a natural function, *hadarat* (M.) - to go towards the bank, from the bathing place, for example. The meaning of *to go* is implicit in the preposition (36), and that the prefix must really be explained as being such is apparent from D., where these verbs do not occur and in which a preposition is used instead of a prefix, hence *mi duru* (159 2). The reason that these verbs are no longer in use may well be attributed to the fact that *ha* is used in the formation of substantives, and also in a particular form of the passive (108).

a. Should *habuwat* also be included among these verbs? It means *the setting out* of a champion, a war-*solu*. From it are derived *pahabuwat(hon)* - *to send off* a champion, or a war-*solu*, and *habuwatan* (M.) - *the farewell meal*. Should it be regarded as a passive meaning *takeable* (to be able to be taken)?

With regard to *haruwar*, from which there is *makkaruwarhon*, it has probably been taken from Mal. (*kaluwar*, 24 NOTE 1).

## II. COMPOSITE DERIVED VERBS.

### 74. FIRST CLASS: VERBS WITH THE PREFIXES *MA-HI*.

There are not many of these verbs. When the stem-word begins with an *h*, the *h* drops out (10 b), e.g., *mahijandu*,<sup>1</sup> from *handu*, *mahisorang*, from *sorang*. The original meaning given by the two prefixes was, perhaps, *to endeavour to be something*. These verbs would appear to have been superseded by verbs with *ma-si*, as can be seen in D. and M. The meaning of the verbs with *ma-hi* differs only slightly from that of those with *ma-si* and is still to be seen in *mahijandu*, derived from *handu*, which must have meant *member of the household*.

The present-day meaning of *mahisorang* does not, however, admit of such an explanation, because *sorang* is not, at present, a substantive. Neither can it be applied to *mahisolat* (cf. M. 74), of which the stem-word must have meant the same as *solot*,<sup>2</sup> so that, originally, the derived verb meant *to conceal oneself* with someone.

When these two verbs are used transitively, they have the preposition *di* only in the active; the suffix *i* occurs only in the passive (see Dict. under *solat*, and cf. 81).

a. The stem-word of *mahijoppo* (or *mahijeppé*) cannot be determined, but to judge from *kěmpōn* (D.), which must come from a *kěmpo*, it must be presumed that it was *hoppo*, so that originally *mahijoppo* meant *to go upward*, hence the reason that M. uses *manaek* - *to climb*, to go into a house that stands on poles, with the same meaning.

<sup>1</sup> In the Dict., placed in error under *hijandu*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Mal. *sālat* and *tārsālat*.

M. has *i* instead of *hi* (MANDAILING B II d) and uses the verbs with *ma-i* not only with this meaning, but also with the meaning of the verbs that have *ma-si* (75), e.g., *maisolat* = *mahisolat*, *maihotang* = *masihotang*, *maipahu* = *masipahu*, etc. M. also has *maisuru* (see Dict. under *suru*), but this verb has a meaning that does not admit of grouping it in this category.

D. has *ki* only (DAIRI K III a), which gives a verb a much broader meaning:

1. it has the same meaning as *mahi* and *masi* in T., e.g., *kisërang* = *mahisorang*, *kikëtang* = *masihotang*, *kiharang* - to fetch coals, for a smithy (RB. p. 241, l. 4) for which word T. uses *mangarang* and not *masiarang*; *kindilo* (*ki* + *ëndilo*, DAIRI E II) = *masiandilo*, etc.;

2. it gives the meaning of to prepare what the stem-word means, e.g., *kiroroh* - to prepare a side-dish, of which the plural, *kirorohi* (RB. p. 57, l. 16), also occurs. This meaning must have arisen from the original one only later, so that *kiroroh* must have meant to go for side-dishes;

3. it is used transitively, cf. *kilapah* (RB. 97, l. 8 fb.; *mëngëlapah* is used on p. 95, l. 13 fb.); *kipangan* not only = *matsipanganon*, but also occurs transitively (cf. RB. IV, p. 84, at top).

D. has *kandu* instead of *mahijandu*, and in place of *mahijoppo*, it has *mënama* of which the derivation is obscure.

NOTE. Tag. has *maki* (10 a) as the composite prefix. A verb with the prefix *maki* means:

1. when derived from an intransitive verb to join in doing that which the stem-word represents, e.g., *makitangis* - to join in weeping, *makitowá* - to join in rejoicing;

2. when derived from a substantive, it means to ask for a little of, or a part of that which the substantive represents; e.g., *makiapuj* - to ask for a little fire, *makimana* - to ask for a part of the inheritance. Hence the direct stem-word of such a verb often represents a part, e.g. *makikalima*, to ask for a fifth part of an inheritance.

When such verbs adopt a nasal after the beginner of the stem-word, they just mean to ask for something, e.g., *makimalitá* - to ask for news, from *balitá* (= *barita*).

## SECOND CLASS: VERBS WITH THE PREFIXES MA-SI.

### 75. I. VERBS WITH MA-SI DERIVED FROM A SUBSTANTIVE.

I. The first kind of this class of verb has a substantive as the stem-word and means to aim to acquire the thing represented by the substantive, to get it, to buy it, etc., e.g., *masihotang* - to get cane, for example, from a wood; *masitimbaho* - to go to buy tobacco, *masihoda* - to go to a country to buy horses, to get horses, *masibaijon* - to go to pick the leaves used for basket work.

With this kind of verb, the substantive can be defined in either one way or another, e.g., *masiasarhu* - to go to get a nest for me (151), to fetch that from which my nest can be made, *masilili ni bagot* - to go to get the ribs of the leaf of the sugar-palm.

Two substantives, linked with a conjunction, can even be placed after the prefixes, e.g., *masisulpi dohot hotang* - to get *sulpi* and *rotan*.

M., see 74.

D., see 74.

## 76. II. VERBS WITH *MA-SI* DERIVED FROM THE NOMINAL FORM OF A TRANSITIVE VERB.

II. The *second* kind of verb is derived from the nominal form of a transitive verb. It is followed by the object to which is attached the suffix *na* (151 3).

These verbs are used of more than one subject and mean that each of the subjects does something with the thing that is mentioned last, e.g., *masibuwat bodilna* - each of them takes his rifle (*mambuwat*); *masipapuwat sowara ni bodilna* - each of them makes his rifle shot ring out (*papuwat[hon]*); *masipatadjom rabina* - each of them sharpens his cleaver (*patadjom[hon]*); *masibowan uhumna* - each follows his habit, each does it his own way (*marbowan*, 49 Obs.).

In D. Sub-Toba, the prefix *ma* sometimes drops out, e.g., *sibaheni bodilna nasida saluhutna* - each of them loaded his rifle.

When the object is not mentioned immediately after the verb, *na dibana* (8) - *what belongs to him*, or *dibana*, for himself, is used with the auxiliary *be* (59), e.g., *sihatting na dibana be ma nasida* - each of them lifted up his own part. If the thing is mentioned later on, it must be introduced with the preposition *di*, e.g., *sihatting dibana be ma nasida di haju sibaenon pattangan i* - each of them lifted up his own part, the wood from which the war *sopo* had to be made.

In addition to *masitondong dibana*, there is *masitondong tondongonna* - each goes to his own, each visits whom he has to visit, each goes his way.

### 76.\* THE AUXILIARY *BE*.

When it is necessary to use the passive, the auxiliary, *be*, is used and is placed after the passive, e.g., *di-patadjom nasida be ma pisonasida* - their swords were sharpened by each of them.

*Be* is also used with intransitive verbs, e.g., *modom be ma nasida* - each of them slept; *las sowada talu be dapé nasida* - none of them was yet defeated, each one held his ground.

*Be* used with a numeral makes the latter distributive, e.g., *nunga ganup nasida sada be landján i* - each of them already had one *landján*; *nunga ganup sarabanan be nasida* - each of them had one *raban*.

M. uses *mar* instead of *ma* (cf. D. further on), e.g., *marsidjama na tupa di tanganna* - each occupies himself with whatever is appropriate for his hand, each does what he usually does, or, what it is best that he does; *marsilomlomi losungna* - each of them made his *losung* black, each busied himself with making gunpowder.

D. uses *měr* (cf. M., and 77), e.g., *měrsibuwat bėdilna*; *měrsidurukėn tjin-tjinna* - each of them pushed his ring (towards the arbiter); *měrsitėpėt bėkasna*, or *sitėpėt bėkasna* (see 76) - each went to his place.

When the thing is not stated, in D. the auxiliary *alah* is used and appears to mean *portion*, e.g., *měrsidjalo alahna mo sintėrėm* - each one of the multitude received his portion, of the said meat (RB. p. 178 middle); *měrsisėluk alahna* - each of them put on his own, each of them put on the jacket allocated to him (RB. p. 10 middle). *Alah* is also used instead of the substantive, which in T. and M. should be repeated, e.g., *malot mobah rasa panganėn idi dėkėt alah panganėn sidebān* - the taste of that food is not different from that of other foods, in which example, the repetition of *rasa* is avoided by the use of *alah*.

### 77. III. VERBS WITH THE PREFIXES *MA-SI* AND THE SUFFIX *AN*.

III. The third kind of this class of verb has the suffix *an*, which has already been dealt with in 57, and indicates a plurality of subjects. These verbs, also, are derived from the nominal form and express reciprocity, e.g., *masibodilan* - to shoot at each other, to make war on each other with firearms (*mamodil* - to shoot at someone).

They can also have an object and this represents the thing that belongs to each of the subjects, e.g., *masibuwatan boru* - to take each other's daughters, to marry among each other, of two families; *masipanganan napuran* - to eat each other's betel; *masibalbalan ulu* - to strike each other's heads, to hit each other on the head; *masisalijan hepeng* - to borrow each other's cash; *masiundjunan hadatuon* - to put each other's knowledge to the test; *masipaidān* = to see each other, must come from a *paida(hon)*, though this word is not known to me other than in the repeated form *paida-ida(hon)*.

From the meaning of these verbs, it can be seen that they are derived from transitively used words. If one wants to express reciprocity with intransitive verbs, *sama nasida* or *sama ibana* are used. *Sama nasida* or *sama ibana* can also be used with this kind of verbs, e.g., *i ma na djumadihon musutta marbada masitappulan sama ibana* (59).

M. uses *mar* instead of *ma* (cf. D. here and 76), e.g., *marsibodilan*.

D. uses *měr* (cf. M. here and 76), e.g., *měrsibėdılėn*; *měrsidėngkohėn sora* - to listen to each other's voices (*mėndėngkahi*).

### 78. THIRD CLASS: VERBS WITH THE PREFIXES *MANG-SI*.

There are very few of these verbs and it is therefore difficult to determine whether the *si* is not, in fact, the prefix forming sub-

stantives (152 2), in which case these verbs would be derived from a substantive formed with *si*, e.g., *manihortang*, from *hortáng*, but perhaps from a *si-hortang* used earlier with the meaning of *someone who had stretched himself out*; *manisijo*, from *sijó*; *matsisudu* alongside *matsusudu* (22 III b) - *to warm oneself*, by a fire, from *sudu*, which I have never come across but which, however, must be a variant of *sulu* - *torch*, or a *piece of firewood* (30 II), so that there must have been a *sudú* - *warmed by a sulu* (40); *matsisuari* alongside *matsusuwari* (22 III B) - *to warm oneself*, in the sun, from *suari*, as a corruption of *tu ari* (*towards the sun*, i.e., in order to sun oneself in its rays, 31 VII a).

a. The direct stem-word of *mangijamun* (from which comes *mangijamutton*, see Dict. under *hamun*) instead of *manijamun* (22 IV b 2) is *sijamun*; it therefore comes under 47.

M. uses *marsusuwari* = *matsisuwari*, and *marsidudu* = *matsidudu*.

#### FOURTH CLASS: VERBS WITH THE PREFIX *HU* PRECEDED BY *MA*, *MANG* OR *MAR*.

##### 79. I. VERBS WITH *MA(NG)-HU*.

I. The first kind of this class of verb, of which few examples can be adduced, is derived from a substantive, and, always occurring intransitively, means to be busy with the preparation of the thing that the substantive represents, e.g., *mahusaem*, from *saem*, and *mahusatti*, from *satti*, which latter, as a substantive, is usually repeated. I do not know how *mahuripang*, the stem-word of which I have never come across, and *mahulae*, besides which *maulae* also occurs, have acquired their meanings.

a. Besides the transitively used *mahusó*, which gives *pahusó* in the passive, there is also *mausohon* and *mahusohon*; *mahusoi* is used as the plural (cf. D. here).

M. has *mang* instead of *ma*, with the dropping out of the *h* of the second prefix, e.g., *mangusajom* (17 VI a), from *sajom*. From *pangusajang* (active verbal substantive), *mangusajang*, which means *to have compassion*, may be presumed. M. has, in addition, *manguligi*.

D. has *pəngəsejang* = *pangusajang* (M., DAIRI J IV), and uses *məngkuso*, which has *kuso* in the passive, = *mahusó*; the plural is *məngkusowi*, e.g., *kərina i-kusowi dənganna kuta idi* - *all of them were questioned by him, the members of his village*.

80. II. VERBS WITH *MAR-HU*.

II. The *second* kind of verb has the prefix *mar*. Of this kind, also, few examples can be given: *marhubajo*, *marhuwale*,<sup>1</sup> *marhusari*, *marhutali*, and there are one or two others.

Used transitively, there is *marhusajang*, which has *parhusajang* in the passive, and which means *to have pity on* someone.

M. has *markudjadjing*, which is used transitively, and has *parkudjadjing* in the passive, it appears to be derived from *adjing*, though I do not know how. M. also has *markutombom kutombom* which can be regarded as being derived from a substantive, *hutombom* (instead of *hatombom*, 135 I), and *markuwale* - *to live in harmony with each other*, of a married couple. M. has *manguntali* instead of *marhutali* (cf. 81).

D. I have never come across this form in D.

NOTE. Some of these verbs could be regarded as being derived direct from a passive having the pronominal prefix *hu* (103), for example, *mahusaem* could be derived direct from *hu-saem* - *a saem will be applied by me to the sick person*, as the passive of *manaem* - *to apply a saem to something* (49 I 1).

In those verbs having the prefix *mar*, such a passive as the direct stem-word is not improbable (52 I 6), so, for example, *marhuale* can have arisen from *hu-ale* - *he shall be made a friend by me*. This word *ale* really = *alo* (29 III; 164). I have never come across a verb *mangale* - *to make someone ale*, but it can well have existed by analogy with *makkela* - *to make someone a son-in-law*, for such a passive form can be used when it is the intention to do something and must be translated by using the future tense.

81. FIFTH CLASS: VERBS WITH THE PREFIX *MANGUN*.

Verbs of this class have as their stem-word a word beginning with *s*, *dj* or *t*, so that it may be presumed that the composite prefix is really *mangu* and that it is the same as *mangi* (cf. 82 and M. here).

These verbs occur intransitively and do not differ in meaning from the intransitively used verbs having the prefix *mang* (dealt with in 47 3). This becomes clear from *mëntjilan* (D.) = *mangutsilat* which, as appears from *manilatton*, comes from *silat*.<sup>2</sup> Other examples of these verbs are: *manguttaktak*, *mangutsande*, *mangutsandar*, *manguttalmak*, *mangutsippu*.

Verbs of this class can only be placed in relation to the object by means of a preposition. In the passive, however, the preposition is replaced by the suffix *i* (cf. 74), e.g., *sowada takkingan ni djolmám hu-pangutsandei* - *it is not the takkingan of your wife upon which I lean*.

<sup>1</sup> *To have a love affair*. The substantive *huwale* (also *si-huwale*, see 152 2) may well have arisen from the verb because of the influence of the prefix *mar* (52) which implies *to have something*.

<sup>2</sup> See 30 VI, from which it appears that *silan* = *silat*.

a. *Bärsangkilat* (Men.) = *mangutsilat* argues for the dropping out of the *h* in the composite prefix; as *hunsilat* = *sangkilat* (26 and 10 a); cf. M. 79.

M. has *manguntjono* = *mangitsona* (82), and *panguntjombopon* (134), which is derived from a *manguntjombop* (from *sombop*). For *manguntali*, see 80.

D. has *tunande* = *mangutsande*, perhaps instead of *tumande*, with the change of *m* into *n* because of the dentals *t*, *n* and *d*?

## 82. SIXTH CLASS: VERBS WITH THE PREFIX *MANGI*.

The composite prefix of these verbs has probably also lost an *h* after the closing nasal of *mang* (cf. M. 79), but because this has not been established, it is advisable, for the time being, to put these verbs in a special class.

When the stem-word begins with an *s*, a *dj* or a *t* (cf. 81), the composite prefix is closed with a nasal, and before *hona*, it has an *s*<sup>1</sup> instead of the nasal, e.g., *mangitsohot*, *mangittubu*, *mangindjippu*, but, *mangitsona* (14).

These verbs occur intransitively and represent something that is regarded more as an action than as a state, and for this reason, in contradistinction to their stem-word, they are often used more of persons or of animate things, e.g., *mangitsurut* - *to return*, of a spirit that has possessed someone, in contrast to *surut* (see Dict.). In the same way, *mangittubu* - *to be born*, is used only of human beings, while *tubu* - *to rise up, to grow, to come into being*, is also said of plants, guerilla warfare, etc.

*Mangittubu* is even used transitively with the meaning of *to beget* a child, as though it were the active of *di-tubuhon*. It is, however, the only example there is of these verbs that also occurs transitively; as passive, it has only the passive of *manubuhon*.

Other examples of this class of verb are: *mangitsona* (which, according to 11, is spelt *manginsona*) - *to touch*, of a spirit who gives someone a disease, in contradistinction to *hona*; *mangindjippu*, of which I have never come across the stem-word; *mangitsohot* which is used alongside *matsohot* (47 3), though less frequently; *mangiburu* - *to be jealous*, becomes transitive in the passive by means of the suffix *i* and then becomes *pangiburui*;<sup>2</sup> *mangilulu*, of which the stem-word has never come to my notice.

<sup>1</sup> That here *s* is really the same as *n* is apparent from *rostaha* = *rintaka* (D. 22 III a).

<sup>2</sup> That the stem-word is *buru* admits of no doubt; in being jealous the continued pursuit of the loved one is implied.

a. The stem-word of *manginduwan* (see Dict. under *indurwan*) is *duwa*. The direct stem-word may well be *indurwan*, a passive form which, as a substantive, has shifted the accent, and has arisen from *ni-duwán* (26 Obs. 1) as 3rd passive of *manduwai*, which does not occur, but would mean *to add a second one to, to double*; the 2nd passive of *manduwai*, *haduwán* (112) is still in use. *Mangitsadai*, from *sada*, means *to fight man to man* (literally: *to be one with something or somebody, to be one against somebody*). The substantive derived from *mangitsadai*, *ṽangitsadán* (see Dict.), has acquired a somewhat different meaning. *Mangiduwa*, according to 22 III a, must have lost an *n* after the prefix.

obs. If *mangiburu* is compared with *kimburu* (Mac.) and *tjimburu* (Men.) (30 XI), it seems probable that an *h* has dropped out of the prefix.

M. has *mangintopak*, from *topak* (= *mangittubu*, from *tubu*), and *mangintjono* alongside *manguntjono* (cf. 81).

With regard to the *n* before *tj* in this word, see 33 NORÉ, while the *o* instead of an *a* has come about under the influence of Men. To words that relate to religion, the Batak readily gives a Men. appearance (cf. Bat. RB. IV, for example, under *baso*, *barungge*).

D. has *měngěntubuh* alongside *měngintubuh*. It has *měngěntjuwah*, which is only known to me with the meaning of *to grow downwards*, of the roots of a plant, and *měngibuwah* which = *mangabuwal* (47 Obs.) and also means *to be exaggerated*, of an assertion.

#### SEVENTH CLASS: VERBS WITH THE PREFIXES *MAR-SI* (OR *MAR-TA*).

##### 83. I. INTRANSITIVE VERBS WITHOUT A SUFFIX.

I. The *first* kind of these verbs, of which some do not have the *r* of the first prefix, contains mostly intransitively used verbs which represent an action and also a state into which the subject puts itself. (The stem-word is not always in use.) Examples of these verbs are: *marsiadjar* - *to learn*, from *adjar*, which is in use as a substantive; *marsibuni* - *to conceal oneself*, from *buní*; *marsitidjur* (8 e) - *to spit* (from *idjur*, alongside which *tidjur*, by incorrect separation, is in use, DAIRI J XIV); *marsidjongdjong* - *to raise oneself up*, from *djongdjong* - *to stand*; *marsitappak*, from *tappák* (see Dict.); *marsidjondjon* - *to huddle together*, of a crowd, from *djondjon*; *marsigorgor* - *to flame up*, of a funeral pyre, from *gorgor*; *marsitonging*, from *tonging*; *marsigattung* - *to suspend oneself*, by holding onto the branch of a tree, from *gattung*; *marsigulut* - *to quarrel with each other*, from *gulut*;

*marsiloló* (20)<sup>1</sup> - to try to become competent, to train oneself, from *lo*; *masiragu*, from *ragu* (see Dict.); *marsitoppu*, from *toppú*, *marsi-teptep* - to make a soft grating noise with the teeth, said of the *margom*.

A variant is a form with *ta* instead of *si*, e.g., *martabuni* alongside *marsibuni*, *martamonding* (I have never come across *marsimonding*), from *monding* (*onding*).

With these verbs, when in order to indicate the thing to which, for what reason, or about which that which is represented by the verb occurs, the object is given, a preposition is used, usually *di*, but in the passive, which here, again, is the extended passive, the suffix *i*, e.g., *marsigulut di au* = to have a quarrel with each other about me (*di-parsiguluti*); *marsigattung di* - to suspend oneself from something, but, *di-parsigattungi*; *marsiranggut di*, but, *holi-holi pinarsiranggutan* (132) *ni asu* - bones over which dogs fight each other; *marsitading di* - to say *tading ho* to someone, to take leave of someone, but, *di-parsitadingi* - leave was taken by him of.

The passive form of *marsigora* is *parsigora*, and of *marsiadjar*, *parsiadjar*; with the latter, the object is *that which is learnt*, with the former, *that which is greeted with the cry 'gora'*, i.e., the pregnant woman, who is compared to a field, from which the birds that steal the rice are scared away with the cry '*gorá*'.

a. Some verbs, which also have *si* after the prefix *mar*, cannot be adduced here, because they are derived direct from a substantive that already has the prefix *si*; such, for example, are: *marsipanganon*, from *si-panganon*, which = *matsipanganon* (47 3) and which also has as the plural *marsipanganoni* (54), and *marsirotsiton* = *paturotsiton* (134). *Marsilungunon* and *masipurpuron* are also derived direct from a substantive with the prefix *si*.

M. has *marsisudu* alongside *marsidudu* (78); *marsitampar*; *marsirintak* and *marsirobot* (also as an adverb, RB. p. 209, l. 16), etc.

D. drops the first prefix (cf. 74), e.g., *tjěboni* = *martabuni* or *marsibuni*; *tjělenggěm*, which in T. would be *marsilinggom* were not *mallinggom* (16) already in use for it; *tjělung*, from *lung*, *tjětjedur* (DAIRI D III) = *marsitidjur*. D. has *měrtěradjar* instead of *marsiadjar*. It uses *měrtěmula* - to make a start, and in the substantive derived from it, *pětěmulān*, does not have the *r* of the prefix (cf. *pasibonān*, see Dict. under *bona*). The syllable *tjě* presupposes an earlier *ti* in T. (DAIRI D III) which, in accordance with 22 III e, became *ta*, as well as *si* (31 VII). Mal. has *bārsāmbunji* = *marsibuni*.

<sup>1</sup> E.g., *na marsiloló do au marmaksi* - I am training myself in writing (do not despise my poor writing).

84. II. INTRANSITIVE VERBS WITH THE SUFFIX *I*.

II. The *second* kind of verb always has the suffix *i*, and is used intransitively. Occasionally, this kind also drops the *r* of the first prefix.

These verbs express a difference in quality in a number of things, so that here, again, the suffix indicates a plural (54), e.g., *marsimetmeti* - to differ in smallness, the one is smaller than the other (*metmét*); *marsibalgai* - to differ in size, the one is larger than the other (*balgá*); *marsibahati* - to differ in depth, of wounds of which one is deeper than the other (*bahát*); *marsitebali*, from *tebál*, etc.

*D.* frequently drops the suffix, e.g., *mërsipëngke* - to differ in beauty (*tëmpa ni daging ngo* — - only the form of the limbs of the body differs in beauty, RB. p. 71, middle); *mërsinumaik* - to differ in excellence (RB. p. 72, middle), alongside *mërnaik* (RB. p. 74 b).

85. III. TRANSITIVE VERBS WITH THE SUFFIX *HON*.

III. The *third* kind, which only provides a few examples, has the suffix *hon* (which remains in the passive), e.g., *marsibauhon* (see Dict.), *marsidomdoppon* - to make something the occasion for a muffled mourning lament or for funeral music, to make the customary signs of mourning for the dead, for example, by crying, *parsidomdopponokkon* (132) *sabulan, tangisan sataon* - for a month people must make funeral music over it, lament it for a year.

a. *Marsitutuhon* should not be included here; in the passive it has *parsitutu*, and is derived direct from *situtu*.

86. EIGHTH CLASS: VERBS WITH THE PREFIXES *PA-TU*.

Verbs of this class represent a sound, or an action which is either made by many things, or is seen to be done frequently or repeatedly, e.g., *patudjakkít* - to clamber, of a number of monkeys (*mandjakkít*, of a plant); *patungongong* - to hum, of a multitude of insects, a swarm of bees, etc., (*marngongóng*, 52 4 a); *patungongo* - to make a long or protracted grumbling or growling sound, of a bodat monkey, or to make a growling sound, of many monkeys (*mallongóng*, 52 4 b and 31 I); *patuhekkekek* - to roar with laughter (*hekkekek* is unusual; cf. *hekek* and 23 IV b); *patubebe* - to talk drivel, to chatter, to nag (*bebe*, from *baba* - to express a whining sound?)<sup>1</sup>; *patutaktak* - to crash, of tusks (cf. *mataktak* and *manguttaktak*); *patudjamdjam* - to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *hekkekek* with *hakkak*, *tektek* with *taktak*, and cf. 34 Obs. 1.

sound regular, of an orchestra consisting of different instruments (*mandjamdjam* - to make music in honour of something); *patugorok* - to make the death-rattle (*gumorok*, in *si-gumorok* in *andung* = *ronggur*); *patugosong*, from *gosong*; *patungaor*, from *ngaor*; *patungejong*, from *ngejong* (cf. *mejong*, 30 III).

Some verbs have the suffix *on* (134), especially when an unpleasant or horrifying sound is concerned, e.g., *patungoromon* as well as *patungorom*; *patungoripon*; *paturotsiton*.

A solitary remnant of an older stage in the language is *matugarang* (cf. M. here) alongside which *martugarang tugarang* is also in use. *Paturambat* is about the only verb that occurs as a substantive (cf. 64 Obs.).

M. has the older form *ma* instead of *pa* (72 NOTE), e.g., *matungongong*, *matuhakkak*, *matubelbel*, *matudomdom* - to pelt monotonously, of heavy rain; *matudotdot* - to shiver, of the limbs (58); *matudjigit*, *matungaruk*, *maturijam*, *maturamang*.

M. uses, however, the *p* when the suffix *on* (134) is used at the same time, and rightly so, because this suffix has a passive sense, so that the word thereby acquires the form of a substantive, e.g., *patungaripon* = *patungoripon*.

D. always lacks the first prefix (DAIRI K IIIa) and sometimes *tu* also (cf. 74 D. 3), e.g., *tungërëmën*, *rëntjitin* (DAIRI F a). The reason that *tubëras* is not included here can be seen in 69.

#### NINTH CLASS: VERBS WITH THE INFIX *AR* AND ANOTHER PREFIX OR INFIX.

##### 87. I. VERBS WITH *UM-AR* AND THE ACCENT ON THE ULTIMATE SYLLABLE.

The *first* and *second* kinds of these verbs differ only in accent which, in the first, is always on the ultimate syllable, but in the second falls on the penultimate. Both kinds have the infix *um*.

Verbs of the *first* kind are intransitive and are used of a number of things or persons to which/whom an identical state applies, e.g., *sumaringgók* - to sob loudly, of many people (cf. *singgohan*), *djumarambé*, *dumaredé*, *djumarakkár*.

Some begin with an *r* and have the anti-penultimate syllable closed with a nasal, e.g., *rumanggadáp*, *rumanggísík*, *rumambiják*, *rumang-gijók*, *rumanggowít*<sup>1</sup> (M.). These examples, with the exception of

<sup>1</sup> For the convenience of the student, these forms are placed in the Dict. under trisyllabic words beginning with *r*.

the first two, are included here because of their meaning and their peculiar accent, but, according to their form, they belong in 62 3 b; they have the last two syllables separated by a semi-vowel. In D., *guměradap* is in use instead of *rumanggadáp* (see below); in T., there is also *humadap*. *Rumanggisík* must have arisen from an earlier *gumarisík* (cf. *humaritik*, 31 VII) in a similar manner. With regard to *rumanggowit*, which is also pronounced with the accent on the penultimate syllable, it could also be derived from *owit* (RB. IV, 139), so that it has arisen from *gumarowit* or from *humarowit* (22 III e), just as *kuměrende* (D.) comes from *ěnde*, because one never finds such a verb beginning with a labial, so that an *umarowit* could not but have acquired an *h* or a *g* as a beginner (cf. *humaritik* with *marpuritik*, 89).

D. does not have this distinction in the accent (DAIRI A II b), so that both kinds of verbs are the same: *guměradap*, *ruměnggijo*, *ruměmbaung*, *djuměrangkar*, *kuměrende* (61 NOTE), from *ěnde*.

#### 88. II. VERBS WITH *UM-AR* AND THE ACCENT ON THE PENULTIMATE SYLLABLE.

The *second* kind of verb contains verbs that usually begin with *h* or *g* (their stem-words are seldom used), e.g., *humarepar*, *gumaruttar*, *gumarettong* or *gumarettung*, *humarimun*, *humaristik*, *humarittik*, *humarendjet*, *humarattur*. Of *humarodjor*, the stem-word can be considered to be *hodjór*. The stem-word of *gumarekgek* is not in use; *garekgek* is in use as an onomatopoeic word. *Humaritik* must be related to *puritik* (cf. 61 a).

Most of the verbs of the second kind are onomatopoeic and, by means of the *r*, denote a crackling, clattering or rattling sound. This onomatopoeic sense is also applied to that which presents itself to the eye as being irregular (cf. 52 5).

- a. With the exception of *humarodjor*, *humaritik* and *gumarekgek*, one can, with these verbs, start from an onomatopoeic monosyllable which was preceded by a fore-sound beginning with a vowel; the vowel itself being immaterial, because the accent fell on the ultimate syllable (28). It was natural that the *g* or the *h* should be used, in order to prevent the first two syllables of such a derived word from beginning with a labial (61). Only in a few words can this still be seen clearly, for example, in *humarodong*, which must have been formed from a *dong*, from which came *mordong* (61, from a *modong*, 27); cf. *owit* (87).

M. has *djumarorap* (of which the stem-word, *rorap* is in use) instead of *rumarorap*, in order to make it conform to *djumampar* together with which it is often used (see e.g. *lumagorsing* in the Dict.).

### 89. III. VERBS WITH THE PREFIX *MAR* AND THE INFIX *UR*.

The *third* kind of this class of verb has the prefix *mar* and has already been discussed in 52 5. It should be noted that some of these verbs have changed the *a* of the infix into an *u* when the two syllables following the infix have an identical vowel, e.g., *marpurondjot*, from *pondjót*; *marpuritik*, *marpuretek*, *marpuroto* and *marguristing*.

### 90. IV. VERBS WITH THE PREFIX *MANG* AND THE INFIX *AR*.

The *fourth* kind has the prefix *mang*. Examples are: *manaritir* (cf. *martitir*, 52 4), *manarisir* (*marsisir*, 52 4), *mambarungbung* (*bungbúng*), *manggarege* (*gege*).

The stem-words of most of these verbs are not in use (see, for example, *mandarepa*). Some verbs, just as those with a corresponding meaning (52 5), have the last two syllables separated by a semi-vowel, such as, for example, *mandjarijur*, *mandarajap* and *manarijur*. Some are used transitively, such as, *manggarijang*, *mambarubus* and *manarungkap* (*sarukkap*)<sup>1</sup>.

In the meaning of these verbs, the idea of irregularity, which is, as it were, an action, is still implicit, e.g., *manarukkap*, which is used of bears that tear at tree trunks so that the bark hangs in shreds (cf. also the meaning of *manggarege* - in the Dict., this should have been placed under *gege*).

- a. Besides *mandarajap* there is also *mangarajap*. Men. has *gumara-jap* (cf. *humadejap*, 62 3 b; 17 V).

## TENTH CLASS: VERBS WITH THE INFIX *AL* AND ANOTHER PREFIX OF INFIX.

### 91. I. VERBS WITH *UM-AL*.

The *first* kind has the infix *um* together with the infix *al*. Most verbs of this kind begin with an *h* or a *g* and rarely have a stem-word that is in use. Examples are: *gumalombap*, *gumalutu*, *humalepung*, *humaletseng* (*haletseng* is in use as a substantive) and *gumaletong*.

<sup>1</sup> The stem-word is *sukkap*, and is still in use in Malagasy where it is *súkatrà*; before the suffix *inã*, the *tr* becomes an *f* (*sukáfinã* - *that which must be opened*; cf. Mal. *singkap*).

The stem-word of *humalaput* is *hapút* (= *hapú*, 27 II), and of *gumalutsang*, *gutsang*.

From the meaning of these verbs, it is clear that either they are used of more than one thing or they represent the content of the verb as occurring repeatedly. A few of them do not begin with an *h* or a *g*, e.g., *djumělutuh* (D.), *djumalimot*, *tumalebun*.

Some have a variant with the prefix *mar*, e.g., *gumalettang* or *gumělentang* (D.) besides *margalettang*; *gumalapas* or *gumělapas* (D.) besides *margalapas*; *margalasa* as well as *gumalasa*.

There is, as far as I know, but one verb of this kind that has the accent on the ultimate syllable, i.e., *sumalisi*, from *sisi*.

#### 92. II. VERBS WITH THE PREFIX *MAR* AND THE INFIX *AL*.

The *second* kind has the prefix *mar* and has already been dealt with in 52 5 and 91. Other examples are: *marhalikking*, *martalindan*, *marhalisung*, *marhalejong* - *to be rambling about*, e.g., *marhalejong pangalahona* - *he is rambling about all over the place*, one never knows where he is. *Mardjalomdjam(hon)* is used transitively.

a. *Martalagettang* also occurs instead of *margalettang*: here, one must, therefore, posit *martagettang* (83) with the infix *al*.

#### 93. III. VERBS WITH THE PREFIX *MANG* AND THE INFIX *AL*.

The *third* kind has the prefix *mang* and, where the verb occurs intransitively, has probably arisen from an onomatopoeic monosyllable, e.g., *mandabetes*, *mandalutus* (also *manalutus*, 30 IX), *mandalese*, which is also pronounced *mandalesé*.

If, from this form, the prefix and the infix are removed, the resulting word has the same vowel in both syllables, the first of which begins with *d* (52 4 b and cf. 62 3 Obs.).

A few verbs of this kind are used transitively and have the suffix *i*, e.g., *makkalaputi* (91).

a. Besides *mandalese*, there is also *mandarese*, in which the *r* has perhaps arisen under the influence of one word or another that was often used with it (24).

#### 94. IV. VERBS WITH THE PREFIX *PA* AND THE INFIX *AL*.

The *fourth* kind has the prefix *pa*. There are only a few of these verbs, e.g., *padjalihot*, *pědjělengkět* (D.), *padjalimot* alongside *djumalimot* (91), *patalindan* alongside *martalindan* (92), and *patalemban*.

ELEVENTH CLASS: VERBS WITH THE PREFIX *HA*,  
PRECEDED BY ANOTHER PREFIX.

95. I. VERBS WITH *MANGHA* AND THE SUFFIX *I* OR *HON*.

The *first* kind has the prefix *mang*, and, depending upon the meaning, the suffix *i*, or *hon*, at the same time.

a. Those verbs having the suffix *i* make an intransitive verb transitive, e.g., *makkabijari* has as its first, or direct object, that which is feared, whereas *mabijar* would require a preposition, or a verb functioning as such (161), in order to be placed in relation to the object; similarly, *makkaholongi*, from *holóng*, *makkasi* (8), from *asi*, *makkalupai*, from *lupa*, *makkasijoli*, from *sijol*, *makkatahuti*, from *matahut*.

M. uses *hon* for preference in a few cases, e.g., *mangkalupahon*, *mangkabijarhon*: elsewhere it uses *i*, e.g., *makkagijoti* - to want something, to hanker after something (*gijot*); *hagijot* is in use as a substantive (see Dict. for example), (cf. Mal. *mängähändaki*, which has *kahändaki* in the passive and *kahändak* as its substantive).

b. Those verbs having the suffix *hon* represent the object as being the immediate cause of an action or of a state, e.g., *makkapodoppon* - to be in bed (*modom*) because of something, to be confined to bed because of an illness (cf. 51 1), *makkamahappon* - to be satisfied as a result of something, to satisfy oneself (*mahap*) with something, *makkaborhatton* - to depart because of something, to set out (*borhat*) having the inducement of, for example, a day that is favourable, *makkabaluhon* - to become a widow or a widower of someone, from *balu* (35), *makkapadotton* - to be diligent (*padót*) because of something, to be hard at work with something, *makkamokmokon*, from *mokmók*. One also comes across *makkaulihon roha* - to be content because of something, to be thankful for something, from *ulí* and *roha*.<sup>1</sup>

M. see under a; for that matter, to be afraid because of something comes to the same thing as to be afraid of something.

D. has *mëngkëlijaskën pënarihin* = *makkaulihon roha*; *mëngkësënanangkën* - to be content because of something.

96. II. VERBS WITH *MARHA*.

The *second* has the prefix *mar*, and has the suffix *hon* only in the active; in the passive, the *m* of the prefix changes into *p*.

These verbs mean to think something to be what the stem-word represents, e.g., *marhamaol(hon)* to think something dear (*maól*), to

<sup>1</sup> E.g., *ulí rohana* - his mind is beautiful, he is happy, content, or grateful.

value highly, *marhatuwa(hon)* - to think someone lucky, *marhatutu(hon)* - to think something true, to consider to be true.

The stem-word of *marhadjop(hon)* has at present a meaning which, at first sight, is not in agreement with that of the derived verb. In the *poda* language, however, it means *elegant, beautiful* (cf. *lomó rohana* and *ulí rohana*). I have never come across the stem-word of *marhadjimot(hon)* in use.<sup>1</sup> An example of the use of the suffix *i* is *marhasijoli*, which is used more in the passive and as the plural of *makkasijoli* (95 a). Besides *marhatutu(hon)*, *marsitutu(hon)* is also in use.

M. has *markalilihon* - to amuse oneself with something; in the passive it has *parkalilihon*.

D. has *měrkěsekěl(kěn)* with the meaning of *to be eager for something* (cf. 95).

Obs. I am not sure whether *pahamat(hon)*, which has *pahamát* in the passive, should be included in this class and has, as a consequence, the prefix *pa*. The peculiar accent of the passive form could also be explained by reference to *paulá*, which has almost the same meaning (20 Obs. 1).

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. however, the Mal. *djimat*.

### III. THE SUBSTANTIVE

#### 97. NUMBER AND GENDER.

With the substantive number can be expressed by the use of the auxiliary *akka* (58 3). *Akka* is only rarely used because the verb, either in the active or the passive, often presents the opportunity to express the plural. A substantive has, of itself, no number, so that it can represent one thing as well as a number of things. It is merely the name of a thing, without any indication of quantity, and, as such, is on a par with a substantive that, in English, is the determining part of a compound word, e.g., *cow-hide*, *horse-fly*, *cow-grass*, *cow-box*. It is, therefore, often from the context that one has to decide whether or not one or more things are indicated, e.g., *sada horbona* - *one*, is *his buffalo* (36), *duwa horbona* - *two*, are *his buffaloes*, i.e., he has one buffalo, he has two buffaloes.

Neither is gender expressed by an ending or by a change in the word. Where it is necessary to show the gender, particular words are used which are themselves substantives. In kinship terms, the word used for the male is *doli*, which must have meant *man* as appears from *doli-doli*, see Dict., and *daholi* (D.); it is no longer used alone. The word used for female is *boru* - *daughter*. Both terms are placed after the substantive, e.g., *oppu doli* - *grandfather*, *oppu boru* - *grandmother*. *Lahi-lahi* refers to the human male only, but *boru-boru* - *female*, refers to female animals as well as to human females. For *bajo*, in contradistinction to *boru*, see 121 3.

Many animals have a particular word for the male, e.g., *dalū*, *djonggi*, *sabungan*, etc. Such words are frequently used together with the word denoting the animal, e.g., *manuk sabungan* - *cock*, *manuk boru-boru* - *hen*, *babi dalū* - *boar*, *lombu djonggi* - *bull*.

The word *tunggal*<sup>1</sup> has a wider meaning; it is used for more than one kind of animal, especially when the beast is a large or a noble animal, e.g., *gadja tunggal* - *male elephant*, *hoda tunggal* - *stallion*. *Tunggal* is also used of inanimate things when they are distinguished by their size from others of their kind, e.g., *lili tunggal* - *a rib of a*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ma-laki* (Tag.) - *to be large*, with *laki-laki* (Mal.), etc.

leaf of the coconut palm, which is larger than the other ribs, *urat tunggal* - tap root, *haba-haba tunggal* - a violent storm; cf. also under *djonggi*, in the Dict.

A substantive denoting the human male is also used in the personal names of heroes and of great men, e.g., *guru sabungan bosì* - Mr. Iron Cock (the name of a famous *datu*), *datu dalu*, etc.

For the use of *anak* and *ina*, see Dict.

M. also uses *djantan* or *djanten* (29 II NOTE 2), a word taken from Mal. or Men., for inanimate things, e.g., *sende djantan* - a scarf ten to twelve yards in length, *sogar djanten* (see Dict. under *sogar*).

D. uses *anak laki* instead of *lahi-lahi*, e.g., *naposona anak laki* - his slave or servant. It uses *dabëru* = *boru-boru*, e.g., *naposona dabëru* - his female slave, or maid servant. It also uses *holì* = *doli* (*ëmpung holì*). This dialect has further the substantive *alah* (76\* D.).

#### 98. THE VOCATIVE.

The vocatives of some kinship terms undergo changes, especially when the terms refer to kinsmen who are either older than the speaker or who stand in such a relationship to the speaker that they must be addressed by him as *hamú* (140).

When these terms end in *a*, *u* or *o* they are closed with *ng*; sometimes they are abbreviated as well. Examples are: *amáng*, *apáng*, *ináng*, *haháng*, *oppúng*, *maén* (*parumaen*), *itó* or *itóng* (*iboto*), *edá* or *edáng*.<sup>1</sup> *Beré* comes from *ibebere*, but *lae* and *tunggane* undergo no change, except in the accent (19 III). The vocative of *hela* is seldom used, because *beré* is preferred. *Bere* is also used instead of *ibebere*, e.g., *berena* (51 5 a).

a. For *tulang*, see RB. IV 122, and for *anggijá* and *bajowá*, see 27 Obs. 3; and cf. 152 1 Obs. 2.

M. also uses *anggi* to menservants. *Hulangkú* = *laë*.

D. abbreviates *inang* and *bapa* to *nang* and *pa* provided they are used to a mother and father; *ináng* and *bapá* are used in a friendly way to young people (152 1 b). *Këmpú* is used by a master to his manservant, who uses the term *pung* to his master. *Turang* becomes *tuwáng* or *tang*.

There is nothing further that can be said about the stem-word substantives. The derived words can only be dealt with after the passive has been discussed. Before, however, going on to the passive, it is necessary to draw attention to a formal substantive, which will be called the *nominal form*.

<sup>1</sup> In the Dict. add the following to *eda*: is also used by a wife of, or to, her husband's sister and is also generally used out of politeness among younger women who are not kinswomen.

## 99. THE NOMINAL FORM.

By this term is understood a word that, according to the form (49 I), is to be regarded as a substantive, though it is not always used as such, and, therefore, does not always represent a thing. For example, *bunu* is not only to be considered as the stem-word of *mamunu*, but also its nominal form because, as such, it is not in use and it can only be translated by a passive imperative, i.e., *let something or somebody be killed by you*.

The nominal form of a transitive verb that has only the prefix *mang* (49 I) does not differ from the stem-word, or the word to be regarded as such (51 Obs.). The same thing applies to the verbs that have *mar* instead of *mang* (49 Obs.), e.g., *gadis*, *ida*, *sali*.

The *nominal form* sometimes differs from an intransitive verb only in the accent, e.g., *tinggáng* (40), but, *tinggang*, nominal form, or passive imperative of *maninggang* (49 I); *hitsú*, (40) but, *hitsu*, nominal form, or passive imperative, of *makkitsu*; *tanóm* (40), but *tanom*, nominal form, or passive imperative of *mananom*.

When the stem-word of such a verb is also in use as a substantive, its nominal form cannot outwardly be distinguished, e.g., *bodil* - a rifle, or the nominal form, or passive imperative, of *mamodil*. The nominal form is always the form that occurs in the passive, so that it follows the passive in either having or not having a suffix, e.g., *painum*, passive imperative and nominal form of *painum(hon)*,<sup>1</sup> but, *painuppon* (71) is the active, passive imperative and nominal form.

In most verbs, the nominal form has only the meaning of a passive imperative, but in verbs having the prefixes *pa* and *mar*, it has the meaning of an active verbal substantive as well (120), e.g., *parmahan* - a herdsman, or passive imperative and nominal form of *marmahan* (53 2), *pagabur* - softening medium, or nominal form and passive imperative of *pagabur(hon)*.<sup>1</sup>

The nominal form also occurs with a numeral as a designation of quantity (139\*).

From the foregoing, it is evident that the passive form must be classed as substantival (49 I; 51 5 Obs.).

- a. The nominal form of *mambaen* is in use as a preposition, *for the purpose of* (121 2); in D., the active form, *mahan*, is in use.

<sup>1</sup> See 66.

## 100. THE PASSIVE: NO FORMAL SIMPLE PASSIVE IN BATAK.

Batak does not possess a special form for a simple passive, i.e., a passive in which at the same time is not also implicit a circumstantiality, be it the thing from which the content of the verb emanates (102), be it the practicability (108). A verb does not have a fixed form simply to show that its content is presented in reverse, thus indicating a condition in which the object of the active form would find itself. For example, of *maninggang* (49 I), there is no simple passive form such as would express a state in which something finds itself because something has fallen on it, so that depending upon what has been brought about by the action, as represented by the content of the verb (147 Obs.), a totally different word, such as, for example, *matombuk* (44), must be used.

The difficulty in speaking Batak lies especially in the choice of words that are in use for the indicating of such a passive. At one time the 2nd, or the 3rd, circumstantial passive is used, at another, an intransitive verb of one form or another, without the stem-word necessarily agreeing with that of the active (see 165 5 1), e.g., *mulak* (see RB. p. 164, l. 12 fb.), *mengge*, *muppat* (62 2), *tading* (39), *madabu* (44), *magulang* as the simple passive of *manggulang*, *madadas*, from *mandadas*, *hitsú*, *ratsáng* (40), *saor*,<sup>1</sup> *masuk* (62 2).

When *manduda* means *to husk rice by stamping*, *tarduda* is used as the simple passive, e.g., *nunga sun tarduda*, *baen di bagasan parindahanan* - *when the rice has been stamped, then put it in the bag*, but when *manduda* means *to pound something to dust*, *magor pang* (44), *masamol* or *limót* (44 a, also *lamót*) are used.

No simple passive can be formed of *manakko* - *to steal something*; *mago* (62 2) must be used, just as *agoan* is used with the meaning of *to be robbed* (134). *Paju* - *to be in demand*, is said of goods that are sold, as the simple passive of *margadis*. If, for example, the fact of the thing's having been stolen is not sufficiently clear and if this factor must be emphasized, the 1st circumstantial passive is used with an indefinite pronoun to indicate the person by whom the thing was stolen, e.g., *di-takko halak*, or *di-takko deba* (148).

Of *marnida* (49 Obs.), *tarida* is used as the simple passive at one time, and *dida* (8) *halak* (148) at another. *Tarpijo* is the passive of *mamijo* (*pijo*), and *tartonggo* of *manonggo* (*tonggo*), e.g., *tartonggo*

<sup>1</sup> E.g., *asa da-saorhon ma di bagasan balbahul inon; nung saor, asa*, etc. - *the contents of the bag must then be mixed together, when they have been mixed together, then*, etc.

*na musé ma radjatta Djuwara Pane - thereupon Prince Dj. was invited, too, na tarpijo - those who had been invited, the guests.*

Verbs with the prefix *mar* (dealt with in 52 I 2) are also used as such passives, e.g., *indá nunga marbalos ho - have you not now been avenged? Marutang* (RB. p. 81, 1. 14 fb.) is used in the same way with the meaning of *to be lost at gambling, to be gambled away* (I have lost everything, gold, buffaloes; and those who sit in the stocks, only we three have not been gambled away). *Margarar* (RB. p. 221, 1. 21) - *to be paid*; *marduwa* (RB. II, p. 34 m) - *to be split in two* (cf. 52 I 2 b).

The 3rd person singular of the 1st circumstantial passive (102) is sometimes used in such a way that, at first sight, it could obtain as a simple passive, but in fact, some person, from whom the action emanates, is implicit, either a person who is not specified or one who has been mentioned earlier, e.g., *di-taruhon ma ogung i tu bagas* (RB. p. 193, 1. 15) - *the gongs were brought into the house by one or other of the participants at the feast*; *di-suwan, so ra tubu, di-uppat so ra malos - planted, it will not grow, pulled up, it won't die* (when it is planted . . . , when it is pulled up . . .). In two such contrasting and asyndetic clauses, the 3rd circumstantial passive is more often used (114 3).

#### 101. THE PASSIVE EXPRESSED BY A SUBSTANTIVE PRECEDED BY *TU* OR *HONA*.

A simple passive can also be expressed by using a substantive, either formal or otherwise. Such a substantive is used:

1. With the preposition *tu*, e.g., *tu bajangan* (literally, *to the stocks*) as a simple passive of *mamajakkon - to put someone in the stocks*, e.g., *bejasa akka<sup>1</sup> tu bajangan hamú - why have you people been put in the stocks? Tu bajang* (a nominal form, to be distinguished from *bajang*) can also be used, but this is more usual in a command, e.g., *tu bajang ma i - put that one in the stocks!* Other examples are: *molo indadong olo parboru mangalehon i, tu gadis ma boru-boru i - if the father will not pay it (the fine), then the (adulterous) woman must be sold* (*gadis* is merely the nominal form); *djolma mangadop do tijopon, anggo tu gadis indadong djadi - as a servant (this person) must be kept, he may not be sold*; *alai anggo di-lehon do pangurason, indadong saut tu gadisan<sup>2</sup> - but if he will give the cleansing fine, then her being sold will not go ahead*; *anggo na so tu gadis hinán do di-pangido tondi alé ináng!*

<sup>1</sup> See 58 2.

<sup>2</sup> Is a passive verbal substantive (132).

*adóng olo iba tu gadis* (RB. p. 241, 1. 17 fb.) - *if the tondi does not demand that one is sold, O mother, is it then likely for one to be sold?*  
*molo so targararsa, tu gadis ma i* - *if he cannot pay it, then let him be sold.* Cf. also *tu talutuk, tu pantjang* (M.) and *tu tali*, etc.

2. With *hona* - *to be struck, hit by*, e.g., *hona sapata* - *to be cursed* (the result of which, such is the belief, is to suffer); *kěna sumpah* (D.), *hona hata* - *to have had a scolding*; *hona udan* - *to be made wet by rain, to be rained on* (The quarrel between Sang Maima and Datu Dalu, p. 19 1. 16 fb.); *paima djolo singirmi na so hona garar* - *please be patient regarding the money owing that has not been paid* (in which *garar* is the nominal form); *hona luntak hona dege* (M.) - *to be trodden on in several ways, to be trampled on*, e.g., by a herd of buffaloes (both *dege* and *luntak* are nominal forms); cf. 111. Occasionally the preposition *di* is used before the substantive, with the meaning of *by*, e.g., *unang hami hona di adji ni halak* - *so that we shall not be touched by someone's magic image*.

3. With *hurang*, which is placed before a nominal form, in order to express *insufficiently -ed* (see 49).

D. has *mi pėrdejān* (129) = *tu gadisan*; *si kěna ėmasmu* - *the one who is touched by your gold*, i.e., the person, whom you have bought, to avoid the use of *tinokormu* (115); *si-mėrdabuhėn kěna oltėpna idi* - *those touched by his blowpipe fell*. In D., the use of intransitive verbs as simple passives is not different from the use in T., e.g., *si-tadingna i* - *that which thereof has been left*, that part of the meat that has not been taken (RB. p. 248 b).

### THE CIRCUMSTANTIAL PASSIVE

There are three kinds of this passive; they will here be called the 1st, 2nd and 3rd passive.

In the 2nd and 3rd, the suffix *i* is replaced by *an*. In the 1st, the imperative does not differ from the nominal form (99).

#### I. THE FIRST PASSIVE.

##### 102. THE FIRST PASSIVE WITHOUT A PRONOMINAL ELEMENT.

With the 1st passive, the thing from which the purport of the verb emanates (the agent) is either stated or implicitly understood (100 below).

a. The agent is suppressed in the following cases:

1. In the passive imperative the 2nd person (*ho*) is suppressed, e.g., *buwat* - *let (it) be taken (mambuwat)* by you; *pauli* - *let (it) be embel-*

lished (*pauli(hon)*) by you; *bunu* - let (it) be killed (*mamunu*) by you; *panaek* - let (the tree) be climbed (*manaek*) by you; *pangido* - let (it) be claimed (*mangido*) by you; *pakkulingi* - let (him) be spoken to (*makkulingi*, 50 a) by you; *parorot* - let (the child) be cared for (*marorot*, 44) by you.

The 2nd person is only rarely used and when it is, is introduced by the preposition *di*, e.g., *bowan ma di ho eme na sadappang* (8) *on - let this appang of rice be taken along by you*; in this example, *di ho* also expresses *for you* (51 5 a).

2. The 3rd person (*ibana*, 140) is also suppressed, and *di* (147 NOTE) is placed before the nominal form, e.g., *di-buwat* - (it) is taken by him/her; *di-pauli* - (it) is embellished by him; *di-parorot* - (the child) is cared for by him. If, by a substantive, the agent is specified, this substantive follows immediately after the nominal form, e.g., *di-panaek radja i* - (the tree) was climbed by the radja. In such a case, *di-baen* is never used as the preposition *by*. If, in order to introduce the agent, *di-baen* is used, an intransitive verb must be used to express the passive, e.g., *talau au di-baen* - I have been vanquished by him (cf. RB. p. 159, l. 4); *tinggáng ma ibana di-baen radja i* (RB. p. 161, l. 1) - he was thrown down by the prince (cf. also RB. p. 163, l. 20, where *di-tingak-kon* occurs); *ripas ma au di-baen begu* - let me be destroyed by the spirits.

M. uses *ija* (140) after the nominal form when the agent is a specified animate being, or as such is represented, e.g., *di-buwat ija* - (it) is taken by the said person, him/her, but *di-buwat* - (it) is taken by it, a thing, or by someone unknown to me. In a few cases, an inanimate thing, as the agent, is indicated with *sa*, e.g., *malé do au boti sorat di-baentja* - I am hungry, being so fully burdened by that (thing). When the thing is stated, *ija* and *sa* give way to the substantive representing the thing, e.g., *di-buwat dadaboru i* - (it) is taken by the said woman.

D. uses *i* which, in D., is also a preposition; as a variant it is still sometimes found in T. (159 1) instead of *di*, e.g., *i-buwat* = *di-buwat*; the *i* is often dropped before words that begin with an *i*, or that are used frequently, e.g., *idah* - it was seen by him; *dok* - (it) is said by him/her (DAIRI K I b).

### 103. THE FIRST PASSIVE WITH A PRONOMINAL ELEMENT.

b. The 1st person singular is expressed by the suffix *hu* which is placed before the nominal form, e.g., *hu-buwat* - (it) is taken by me, *hu-pauli*, *hu-panaek*, *hu-parorot*, etc.

The 1st person plural, inclusive, is similarly expressed by the placing

of the suffix *ta* before the nominal form, e.g., *ta-buwat* - (it) *is taken by us*, you and me; *ta-pauli*, *ta-panaek*, *ta-parorot*, etc.

The 1st person plural, exclusive, (140) is expressed by placing *hu* before the nominal form and *hami* after it, e.g., *hu-buwat hami* - (it) *is taken by us*, me and someone other than you; *hu-pauli hami*, *hu-panaek hami*, *hu-parorot hami*, etc.

c. The 2nd person sing and plur are placed after the nominal form, which is preceded by *di*, e.g., *di-buwat ho* - (it) *is taken by you*, *dipauli ho*, *di-panaek ho*, *di-parorot ho*, etc. Similarly with *hamú* and *hamuna*, e.g., *di-buwat hamú* or *hamuna* - (it) *is taken by you* or *you people* (140); *di-pauli hamú* (or *hamuna*), *di-panaek hamú* (or *hamuna*), etc.

d. The 3rd pers plur, *nasida*, which is also sometimes used instead of *ibana* (140), is placed after the nominal form which is preceded by *di*, e.g., *di-buwat nasida* - (it) *is taken by them*; *di-pauli nasida*, *di-panaek nasida*, *di-parorot nasida*, etc.

obs. 1. In some dialects, *ita* (Naipospos) and *sita* (Siambaton, cf. D. here) are used instead of *ta* (b), e.g., *ita-buwat*, *sita-buwat* = *ta-buwat*.

obs. 2. In this passive, a pronoun that normally occurs in a changed or an abbreviated form, can remain whole when it is followed by a defining word; the pronoun is then placed after the passive form, with *di* preceding it, e.g., *di-papelepele hami Naipospos* - it (the said spirit) *is presented* (with something) *by us Naipospos*, we Naipospos customarily make offerings to him (*di-papelepele hami* instead of *hu-papelepele hami*, because Naipospos is in apposition to *hami*); *aso di-begé hita na di pattangan on* - so that (it) *be heard by us who are in this war sopo* (*di-begé hita* instead of *ta-begé*, because *hita* is defined by *na di pattangan on*).

M. places *hami* before the nominal form, e.g., *hami-buwat* = *hu-buwat hami*. In the south, *halahí* (10), or *alái* (MANDAILING B II d), is used instead of *nasida*; in the north, *halaní* (140) is used. For the 2nd pers plur only *hamú* is used.

D. uses *si* instead of *ta* (cf. Obs. 1), e.g., *si-buwat* = *ta-buwat*.

#### 104. THE *PODA* PASSIVE AS A FIRST PASSIVE.

The *poda* passive, which in everyday life is only used in the drawing up of prescriptions and in instructions relating to divination, also belongs to the 1st passive. It expresses the 3rd pers by *da* instead of *di*, but then the person is always unspecified, and the form usually expresses a wish or a request, e.g., *da-buwat* - *let*, e.g., some ingredient or other

*be taken*, this or that *should be taken*; *da-tortori* - *let it be danced around, dance around it*. In the spoken language, *da* is superseded by the 3rd passive (115 2). For the origin of *da*, see 63 NOTE.

#### 105. THE USE OF THE FIRST PASSIVE.

The 1st passive is particularly used when the thing from which the content of the verb emanates, i.e., the agent (the subject of the active), or the thing on which what is represented as an action has a direct effect (the object), is either known or stated, e.g., *lao ma ibana medang-edang tu balijan, dida ma parbuwe ni rukkung-banggik nunga sai marrara* (52 3) *dibaen lamunna* (RB. p. 1) - *he went out to amuse himself (and) the rukkang-banggik fruit, red, because they were ripe, were seen by him*; *dipi ma ro doli-doli tu lambungna* (ibidem) - *that a youth came to her side, was dreamt by her* (the said princess); *tijop ihurhón, alai unang di-patuwa ho* (RB. p. 139) - *catch hold of my tail here, but it must not be released by you* (don't let it go); *di-soluk ma badju-badjuna i* (RB. p. 129) - *his jacket was put on by him*; *di-bereng ma tu toru* (RB. p. 30, l. 4) - *she* (a person mentioned before) *looked down* (lit. below was looked down at by her); but a few lines further on in the text the active form is used, i.e., *manaili musé ma ibana tu gindjang* - *he looked up again*, in which the active is used because the person is spoken of as a new subject.

When the emphasis is on the agent, which is the case in a question with *who*, the active is used, e.g., *ise mambuwat* - *who has taken it* (the jacket already mentioned) ? *si-anak ni namboruna hapé mambuwat badju-badjuna i* - *her affianced himself* (no one else) *has, apparently, taken her jacket*; *ise do manggarari utangmi* - *now, who has paid your debts?* *aha mamunu* - *what has killed them?* (the said inhabitants of that *huta*); *au do mambaju i* (RB. p. 15, l. 11 fb.) - *I have myself woven this bag*; *debatá do manadjomi* - *the gods have made these* (the aforementioned thorns) *sharp*.

The active is used when the emphasis lies on the wish to do something, e.g., *na naing mamunu do ho di au* (RB. p. 295) - *you do want to kill me, don't you*; *molo hamú mamunu au, behá baenon* (RB. p. 14, l. 5) - *if you want to kill me, what can I do about it?*

I have already said in 45 that in the active, the object is either unspecified or unknown. It will now be clear why one cannot say *di-buwat ise* - *by whom has it been taken*; *di-bunu aha*, etc., but must always use *ise* and *aha* with the active. It is also evident that the

substantive, or the pronoun, occurring as the agent can have the meaning of *self*, *oneself* when the active is used, e.g., *nung i mangalejan pogu ma si-djonaha duwa bitsang di paranganna na mamunu musu inon, anggo na duwa musuna na mate i indaong di-lehon pogu, ai si-djonaha inon do mamunu musu i na duwa* (RB. p. 225) - *thereupon Djonaha went to pay a pogu, two bitsang, to his soldier who had killed the said enemy, but for the remaining two enemies who had been slain, the pogu was not paid by him, because Djonaha had himself killed those two enemies.*

#### 106. THE USE OF THE FIRST PASSIVE (cont'd).

This passive, as well as the 3rd passive (114), can also so be used that the action represented has not been put into effect and is only an intention (45). This passive has this meaning especially in contradistinction to the 2nd passive (108) or the stem-words, which are constructed in the same manner as the 2nd passive (110), e.g., *di-dadap, indadong dapotsa* (110) - (the root that was hanging down) *was reached for by him, but (it) was not reached by him*, he stretched out his hand but could not reach it; *di-togu, indadong tartogusa* (109) - (the thing) *was pulled at by him, in order to bring it forward, but (it) could not be brought forward by him*; *djuppasa* (110) *ma ulok, di-uppat ma piso i, indang taruppatsa* (109) - *a snake was encountered by him and his sidearm was pulled at, in order to be unsheathed, but it could not be pulled out by him.*

This meaning can also be evident from the context, e.g., *dinum ma di djulu, lao ma tu djae* - *he wanted to drink of the water below* (down-stream) (but) *it went upwards* (to the mountain's side); *he wanted to drink of the water above* (but) *it went downwards*; *di-takkup ma tijan tanduk ni horbo i, lao tu ihurna; di takkup ma tijan ihurna, lao tu tandukna* - *he wanted to catch the said bird on the buffalo's horns* (but) *the bird went to the buffalo's tail*; *he wanted to catch it at the tail* (but) *the bird went to the buffalo's horns.*

Sometimes *tutú* is added, in order to indicate that the action has been completed successfully, but, even so, the context can still be such that another word is necessary to show whether or not the event has taken place, e.g., *di-gadis halak ma tu radja i si-salamat pandjang gumba, dung ni, asa di-tuhor radja i ma tutú* (RB. p. 89, l. 12) - *Salamat Pandjang Gumba was sold to the prince by someone, that being so, he was, indeed, bought by the prince, but, di-bola ma tutú haju i,*

*manigor maponggol ma takke* - an attempt was made by him to split the tree (but) the axe broke forthwith (without the tree's being split).

To express the success, or otherwise, of an action, words are used that mean to be affected, hit, by, e.g., *hona*, or to come off, e.g., *saut*, or to be acquired, e.g., *dapot*, e.g., *songon na habang do, hu-ida, pidong i tu na dao sowada hona di-ultop ho* - that bird is seen by me as flying into the distance without its being hit when shot at by your blowpipe; *molo na tutú do na hona ni-ultopmi* - if it is true that that has been hit, at which you have shot with your blowpipe, etc.; *nunga dapot au ho hu-tijop* - now you have been caught by me, grabbed by me; *dapot di-lijap timus ni api na di ngarngar i atap ni hudon i* - the bottom of that pot was blackened by the smoke from the fire that was in the potsherd; *aha di-boto ho pagabur batu on, asa saut hu-pauli hami baen parau* - what knowledge is known to you that you could make this stone soft, so that a vessel can really be made by us out of it (so that we can succeed in making a vessel out of it)?

M. The following will serve as examples of this usage: *di-tiham ija ma bajo i, nada but* - the said man was stabbed at by him (but) he was not struck; *di-lipat ija huting i, nada hona* - the cat was struck at by her (but) it was not touched.

#### 107. THE USE OF THE FIRST PASSIVE (cont'd).

It should also be noted that, with this passive, the subject is generally introduced by a preposition which implies direction, usually *tu*, when the verb itself indicates an action or direction and the subject is associated with a place. Here, even a verb occurring intransitively can have this passive form, e.g., *di-timbang ma tu aek* - the river was jumped into by him (he jumped into the river), this despite the fact that *manimbang* is used intransitively; *di-tikkir ma tu gadong* - the way to the gadong was taken by him, to the field where the gadong were grown (he went to the gadong field); *di-porsan ultopna i, di-dapoti tu harunguan i* - his blowpipe was shouldered by him and the gathering was visited by him (he went to visit the gathering); *mallangei (54) ma porhis, di-gohi ma tu huta* - the ants swam in and filled the huta; *midjur ma si-bobak sijan bagas, di-topot ma tu harbangan i* - B. went down from the house and the gate was approached by him; *di-tailihon ma tu hambirang* - the left side was looked at by him; *di-tadikkon ma tijan i, indadong saut minum ibana* - he deserted that place and nothing came of his drinking. The subject can, however, also occur without a preposition when it is not a place, e.g., *di-tadikkon ma na matena i* - his dead were left behind by him.

The use of this passive has been further extended, so that even verbs that never occur transitively in the active can assume this passive form: in addition to *di-timbang* (already mentioned), *di-lodjong* also occurs, although a *mangalodjong* does not occur as a transitive verb and in the active, the intransitive form, *malodjong*, must be used, e.g., *ro ma si-bobak di-lodjong ma tu dalam i* - *Bobak arrived and ran quickly to the said path.*

A transitive verb sometimes acquires a totally different meaning in the passive when used with a preposition, for example, in the passive, *mandjuldjul* has its subject without a preposition when the passive means *to go in spite of* something, e.g., *di-djuldjul ma udan na doras i* - *he was gone, despite the heavy rain*, but when *tu* is used the verb means *to go somewhere*, of someone who is in trouble, e.g., *tu dija ma ta-djuldjul* - *to which place shall we betake ourselves?*

Further examples are: *di-panigorhon* (116) *ma niján tu hutanasida* - *he would have gone straight to his huta (had not . . .)* etc.; *di-ototson nasida di dalam i* - *a row was formed by them on the said path*, they walked behind each other, in a row, on that path; *di-habakkon ma tu gindjang* (RB. p. 131 b) - *he flew upwards*, in which example, *habang* would have been used were the agent not already known (105).

Transitive verbs having the suffix *hon* are especially used in this way, because direction is implicit in the original meaning of the suffix (51). With a similar use of this passive, the subject can be regarded as being suppressed by assuming that a word has dropped out that either represents the *body* or a part of it, or is a reflexive pronoun, e.g., his body was *flown upwards by him*, their bodies *were placed by him in a row on the path*; *the left side was looked at by him* with his eyes (cf. examples already mentioned). The reflexive pronoun, or a substantive functioning as such, is, indeed, often suppressed, as appears from 66.<sup>1</sup>

In *di-ruwari nasida tu balijan* - *they went outside*, the place that is vacated must be regarded as the suppressed subject.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The following examples can be given of the use of this passive of verbs dealt with in 66; *di-padasip sikkam na ruwangon ma tutú* - *the hollow sikkam stem actually closed itself up*; *pasingom ma musé* - *close up again!* *paondjap djolo alé horbó asa bakkit hami tu tanggurungmí* - *lie down, if you please, buffalo, so that we can climb on your back.*

<sup>2</sup> This circumstantial passive justifies being considered the 1st passive, because of all the passive forms it is the one that predominates. In English, it corresponds closely to a construction with *let's*, e.g., *ta-alap ma* - *let's fetch it.*

D. sometimes uses a verb with the suffix *i*, e.g., *i-kabangi mi tĕruh* - *he flew downwards*, lit.: downwards was flown by him. D. does not otherwise differ from T. and M., hence *i-sohkĕn mi tĕruh* - *he came down*.

## II. THE SECOND PASSIVE.

### 108. THE SECOND PASSIVE WITH *TAR* OR *HA* AND *AN*.

To express this passive, the prefix *tar*,<sup>1</sup> or *ha*,<sup>1</sup> is placed before the nominal form. The prefix *ha* is always used when the active has the suffix *i*: in the passive, this suffix is replaced by *an*.

This passive expresses the practicability of the action represented and is very often used in conjunction with a negative. The wish of the agent plays no part in this passive, so that it also expresses fortuitousness. Where this last is the case, the prefix *tar* (6 IV) must always be used, except with a verb with the suffix *i*, which verb, in this passive, must have the prefix *ha*. With verbs that have no suffix or have the suffix *hon*, *ha* is in use as well as *tar*, provided that practicability is the intention. That this passive can also occur as a simple passive, has already been shown in 100.

### 109. THE SECOND PASSIVE (cont'd).

When the person who has or has not been able to execute the action represented is mentioned, the substantive or the pronoun indicating that person is placed immediately after the nominal form, *ibana* being replaced by the suffix *sa*, e.g., *indang habuwatsa* (*indang tarbuwatsa*) - *it can't be taken by him*. The rest of the pronouns are unchanged, e.g., *tartuhor hita* - *it can be bought by us*; *tartuhor au* - *it can be bought by me*. Examples of this passive are: *tartuhor hita do na sa i* - *can it be bought by us for so much?* *indang be hapatangi-tangi* (see Chapter XII Repetition) *sowarana i* - *his voice can't be borne any longer*; *indang be hapaida-ida te ni horbona i mabaor tu tapijatta i* - *the droppings of his buffaloes can no longer be witnessed defiling our bathing place* (it is no longer possible to stay calm when the droppings of his buffaloes pollute our bathing place); cf. *tartogusa* and *taruppatsa* in 106.

When this passive expresses fortuitousness, it can be separated from the agent by another word, but then a preposition must be used before the substantive or the pronoun, e.g., *tarbegé ma tu baji* - *it impinged on the hearing of the said person*; *tarbegé ma tu nasida* - *they heard it accidentally, it came to their ears* (RB. p. 93, 1. 13).

<sup>1</sup> For the original meaning see 147 NOTE.

Where this passive appears to have an active meaning, such as in *taruli* (see Dict. under *uli*), it can still be explained as a passive that represents a state, because wishing does not come into it.

An interrogative pronoun, such as, for example, *ise*, can never come at the end of the question, hence, e.g., *ise ma na tarhona dege bagas on* - *who is it who is in a position to enter this house* (who presumes to visit this house)?

#### 110. STEM-WORDS CONSTRUCTED AS THE SECOND PASSIVE.

There are stem-words that are constructed in the same way as the 2nd passive. They are *djuppa* or *djuppang*, *dapot*, *suda* and *tamá*, e.g., *djuppasa ma ulok* - *by accident, he found a snake*; *ulok na djuppasa i* - *the snake that was found by accident by him* (that he came across); *indadong dapotsa* - *he couldn't get it in his hands*; *abittu pe indáng adóng dapot au* - *even a garment for me (151) could not be obtained by me*; *na dapot djudji do i* - *the one who has been acquired by gambling is he* (he it is who has fallen into slavery through gambling); *dapot tarihon i si-paundot* - *a si-paundot bird has been caught by the said tarihon*; *indáng tamá ho*, *indáng tamasa* (see Dict.); *indáng sudau* (8), *indáng sudasa* (see Dict.).

When a word is inserted between *dapot*, etc., and the substantive or the pronoun, the latter are introduced by a preposition, usually *di* and the suffix *sa* is replaced by *ibana* or by *nasida* (109), e.g., *dung dapot saluhutna di anggina* - *when everything had been acquired by his younger brother*, or *dung dapot saluhutna dibana* (or *di nasida*).

Such words as *dapot*, etc., can function as substantives on their own provided they are defined by *ni* and a substantive, or by a pronominal suffix, but this can never be the case with the form with a prefix, e.g., *djuppa ni mamis* - *the coming of the hour of death*; *dapotnami* - *our being caught* (our being the victims).

M. uses *ija* of animate things (cf. 102), but elsewhere it, also, uses the suffix *sa*, e.g., *tarbuwat ija* - *it can be taken by him*. *Dapot ija* = *dapotsa*.

*Talu* and *hona* are used in the same way, e.g., *nada talu au* - *he can't be outdone by me* (I can't match him); *talu bisuknija do gadja* - *by his cunning, an elephant could be vanquished*; *honasa* - *it is struck by that*; *dija ma hu-ida na honasa i* - *where is that which has been struck by it, that I can see it?* (what has been caught in the fish-trap already mentioned).

D. also uses *tër* with verbs having the suffix *i*, which is changed into *ën* in place of *an* (DAIRI E III), e.g., *tërtëbusën* = *hatobusan*; *tëritjingën sëngsëng mo kunukën dahan kajuwara pëmungkahën* (RB. p. 139 b) - *the main branch of the fig tree was fouled by accident by the sëngsëng (mëngitjingi = mangitingi, 50 4)*;

*těrnakaněn* (RB. p. 174) = *haindahanan* (*měngěnakani*, 50 1); *těrtjekepěn aku* (RB. p. 246 b) = *hatijopan au*.

On the other hand, D. uses *kengětěn*, from *engět* (= *ingot*) with the meaning of *to get an idea suddenly* and the indication of person then precedes *kengětěn*, e.g., *ulang ija kengětěn aku nina mēngěmbalangkěn* - *so that it may not come into his head to say that I've lost it*. By such a construction, the person is represented as being placed in the position that is brought about by what is represented by the verb.

*Kě* is also used where this passive form means *to be bereft of, to be taken by surprise* (112), hence there is *kěpatěn* alongside *kěmatěn* = *matean* (134), and *kěmagōn* = *agoan*.

*Těrpangan* is used with the meaning of *to be able to get something to eat, kono těrpangan nakan* - *you have been able to get cooked rice to eat*.

Usage does not otherwise differ, e.g., *aku ěnggo djumpa djěbak* - *I am trapped in a djěbak* (got caught in it); *těrdědoh aku* (RB. p. 198 b) - *they have been trodden down by me, not intentionally but by accident*.

#### 111. THE SECOND PASSIVE: *TAR* WITH INTRANSITIVE WORDS AND SUBSTANTIVES.

The prefix *tar* is also used before intransitively used verbs and before substantives, whether formal or not, to indicate a situation into which something has come by accident, chance or due to fate. The verb must then be given a passive, or a nominal form (30 VII) and the pronoun must be used, never the suffix *sa*, e.g., *tarpodom ibana* - *he has fallen asleep (modom)*; *targadis ibana* - *he had the misfortune to be sold (into slavery) (margadis, 49 Obs.)*. Hence one finds *tartulut* and *tarpindjil* and other passive forms, all representing such a state without there always being a corresponding active form.

The *tar*-form with a negative again means *not to be able to reach the state in question*, e.g., *indáng be tarpodom ibana* - *he couldn't get to sleep again* (he could not sleep any longer because of that din).

When the *tar*-form is derived from a substantive, it means to get into the state which is the result of the action of the thing represented by the substantive, e.g., *targodung* - *to be trapped in a pit (godung)*; *tarsuga* - *to be wounded accidentally by a suga*; *tarbasir, tarhalak* (see Dict.), etc. This substantive can also have an adverbial meaning (124) as though it functioned as an adverb with a preposition before it, e.g., *tarduru* - *to get on the side, to be pushed aside* by someone who is more important; as an example (RB. p. 12, 1. 5 fb.), *na dung tarduru ibana baenommu* - *assuredly she will be put aside by you* (as soon as one has seen you, one will no longer speak of her as being a beautiful girl); *tarpudi* - *to fall behind (di-pudi - behind, 156)*.

When *tar* is used with *hona*, the prefix has the definite meaning of *to be able to, to presume to*, and then the nominal form can be placed

after *hona*, e.g., *tarhona dege* (109) is therefore to be understood as *tar* + *hona-dege* (101 2). — For *taripar*, see 32 Obs.

#### 112. THE SECOND PASSIVE: *HA-AN* FORMS FROM SUBSTANTIVES.

When this passive is derived from a substantive and has a form appropriate to its derivation from a verb with the suffix *i* (108), it means *to be overtaken by that which the substantive represents*, e.g., *habornginan* - *to be overtaken by nightfall*; *haudanan* - *to be overtaken by rain*. Such a passive form can even be made with two words, e.g., *hagodangan aek* (or *habolonan ajok*) - *to be overtaken by high water* (so that one dare not wade across the river); *hatorangan ari* - *to be overtaken by daylight*; *habotan ari* - *to be overtaken by evening*.

Such a form can also be formed from a verb which does not necessarily have the suffix *i*, e.g., from *matorban* and *maguling* (44), *hatorbanan dolok* - *to be buried beneath a mountain*; *hagulingan batu* - *to be rolled on by a rock* (to have a rock roll on one); in the same way *haroppahan hariara na bolon* - *to be fallen on by a huge fig tree* (to have a large fig tree fall on one). *Hadondonan dolok* can also be derived from *mandondoni*, cf. *hapuloan*, *hapultongan*, etc.

Such an explanation does not, at first sight, apply to some words with this form, because, by usage, they have modified their meanings, e.g., *hadaijan* - *to be delighted by* (to be struck by the delicious taste); *hadebatán* - *to be cursed by the gods*, etc.

With a negative, such forms follow the general rule (109), e.g., *haba-haba na so hadingdingan* - *a storm that cannot be sheltered from* (against which there is no protection, or, from which one cannot protect oneself). In this example, *hadingdingan* can be regarded as being derived from a verb *mandingdingi* - *to shelter*, or *protect*, from something (150 1), so that the literal meaning is *against which no protection can be made*.

*Haduwán* (82 a) is in use as an adverb = *on the second day after this*, *the day after tomorrow*; cf. *kětělūn* (D.).

M. has *haduwan* instead of *haduwán*, the derivation from *duwa* no longer being felt.

D. has *kěduwān* and *kětělūn* = *patoluna* (68).

#### 113. *TAR* BEFORE QUALIFYING VERBS.

The prefix *tar* before a qualificative verb has a diminishing force that agrees with Eng. *ish*; the form being passive, the prefix *ma* drops out,

e.g., *targorsing* - to be yellowish, from *gorsing*; *tarbottár* - to be whitish, from *bottár* (42).

With verbs that represent a state or an action, *tar* has the meaning of *slightly*; the passive form then has the accent on the ultimate syllable, e.g., *tartuwát*, from *tuwat* - to be tilted slightly (for example, of something from which one is pouring something). The prefix also means *slightly* when it precedes a substantive that is itself preceded by a preposition, e.g., *nung i magulang badju-badju i tartatalaga ni bagas i* - thereupon the jacket rolled a little towards the side of the house where the talaga is (the jacket didn't roll right to the talaga, because it was not round); *di-pasurut* (66 2) *tartudjambur* - he retreated slightly towards the djambur, knowing that a bottang was stretched across the door.

The prefix *tar* is even found before verbs having the prefix *mar*, e.g., *tarmallubáng* - being slightly holed; *tarmarturpúk-turpúk* - being as it were in little heaps; the accent is again on the ultimate syllable.

a. The forms *tarpalobi* and *tarpasurung* are unusual in that they express the reverse of slightly, i.e., a high degree of the quality in question. They are used as predicates of a quality, e.g., *tutú do marsigulut halak mambuwat ho, ai na tarpasurung ma rupám attóng sijan rupa ni halak* (RB. p. 12 m) - rightly do men quarrel in order to possess you, because your appearance is certainly far and away more attractive than that of any other; *ise ma si-baju hadjutmón, na tarpasurung ma hamalonni mambaju* (RB. p. 15 b) - who is the weaver of this, your betel pouch? Her skill in weaving is exceptional. Both these forms have to be explained as passives that have the meaning of simple passives and would, therefore, be derived from active forms, *pasurung(hon)* and *palobi(hon)*, so that, literally, they mean *is made*, or *is considered to be*, *excellent*, and, *is made*, or *is considered to be*, *greater*. Perhaps, as an explanation of these singular exceptions, one must, however, look to the influence of Malay (see NOTE further on).

b. Instead of the prefix *tar*, *songon* - like, as, can be used before a qualificative verb preceded by *na*. The verb, or the substantive functioning as such (43), has the accent on the ultimate syllable, e.g., *songon na bottár hu-ida* (42); *songon na musú* (43 a).

D. uses the auxiliary *narih* and preplaces it, e.g., *narih gersing* = *targorsing*. When *narih* is used together with the prefix *tër*, it expresses a presumed possibility, e.g., *muda narih tërhangke kono meralëng panganën i asar idi nari, tënggokën bai nami, asa ku-taruhi kami panganën ko* (RB. p. 138 b) - if you might be a

*little unwilling to go and get food from the nest, then call us, so that we may supply you with food.*

Before a numeral representing a unit, compound or otherwise, the prefix is used in order to give the numeral a distributive meaning, e.g., *asa i-bërekën mo olës tërsirambar si-singkam dëkët si-barbarën* - *thereupon, one piece of cloth was given as a present by S. as well as by B. (each gave one piece of cloth as a present to his brother-in-law); kërina mënggërit tërsikalì* - *each of them plucked the instrument once. Be* is sometimes used together with *tër* (76\*), e.g., *gënëp tërsada be mërbadju-badju na sa-si-lako idi* - *each of them who went had on a jacket. Be* is also used together with the compound prefix *mërsi* (77), e.g., *pëndoki mo na sa-kaltumu idi si-mërkabëng kërina mërsisintak kabëngna tërsada be* - *say to all who, just as you, have feathers, that each of them must pull out one feather.*

NOTE. In Malay, the prefix *tër* indicates a high degree. This also applies to the Alfur language of Minahasa where the form is *taha* (or *tah* before words beginning with a vowel, cf. *maha* or *mah* before a vowel, 63 end). In Ngadju Dayak, *ta* and *tara* occur as prefixes of the 2nd passive, e.g., *tapatiroh*<sup>1</sup> = *tarpodom*, from *batiroh* (instead of *matiroh*, 44 NOTE); *taraduwan* = *tarbuwat* (cf. 147 NOTE).

### III. THE THIRD PASSIVE.

#### 114. THE FORM OF THE THIRD PASSIVE: THE PREFIX *NI* OR THE INFIX *IN*.

This passive consists of the nominal form and the preposition *ni* (159 3 NOTE), which is converted into *in*, and in this form is at one time an infix and at another a prefix (26 Obs.). When the agent is named, and indicated by a substantive, the latter, introduced by *ni*, is placed after the passive. When the agent is represented by a pronoun, one of the pronominal suffixes is used, e.g., *na pinijo ni hordja* - *those who were summoned (mamijo) to (lit. by) a feast; arta na tinadikkon ni amana i* - *the property that has been left (manadikkon) by his father; ni-dokku* - *the thing that has been said (mandók) by me; ni-ulám* - *the thing that has been done by you. In this passive, also, the suffix *i* is changed into *an*, e.g., *tinortoran*, from *manortori*.*

M. always uses *ni* (cf. D.), except in a few words that are used only as substantives, such as *na binuwat* (115).

D. follows M., e.g., *ni-pëbëngkët mo nangkät ena* = *pinabongot ma nakkät on; si-ni-pindjamkëna* (DAIRI E IV and 71) *bai* = *na pinaindjapponna na di; ni-përkërbo* = *pinarhorbo* (115 4); *bësingku si-ni-pëpandekënkü idi* - *the iron that was given by me to him for forging (= bosikku na pinapandehottì); si-ni-përbadjuna* = *na pinarbadjuna; ni-pëtupa* = *pinatupa; ni-gërarën* (DAIRI E III) = *ginowaran*.

On the other hand, there are: *tinënggongku* - *those I have invited (my guests); dínìlona* - *those he has invited, cf. dinalangën (mëndalangi), dínarohën (mëndarohi)*, and a few other words that are used as substantives.

<sup>1</sup> That here *p* occurs instead of *b* is proof that the prefix *ba* was originally *ma*.

## 115. THE USE OF THE THIRD PASSIVE.

The 3rd passive is used as follows:

1. In an attributive clause, so that it agrees with our passive participle when this, as an adjective, qualifies a substantive. The relative pronoun *na* is often used at the same time, e.g., *pidong na ni-ultopmi* - *the bird that has been shot at by you with the blowpipe*; *babi na tinakkona i* - *the pig that has been stolen by him*.

Where we direct a question to the object of an active verb, Batak uses this passive form and makes the interrogative the subject (for the reason, see 147), e.g., *aha ni-ulám tu ladang on* - *what are you doing in* (36) *this region, i.e., why have you come to this region?* (literally: *what is being done by you (in coming) to this region?*); *aha na pinasahammu* - *what is that which is always being knocked on by you?* (what are you always knocking on?).

When no agent follows this passive, it has almost the same sense as that of a simple passive, e.g., *ngingi na ni-lottik* - *teeth that have been filed, filed teeth*.

When the relative pronoun *na* is not used with this passive, the passive acquires the meaning of a substantive, e.g., *ni-uwak ni-goppul* - *the thing that has been ripped off by a bear* (i.e., the bark of a tree torn by a bear); *ni-ultopmi* - *the thing that has been shot at by you with your blowpipe*; *tinakkomi* - *the things that have been stolen by you* (the goods you have acquired by theft).

Hence, there are a great number of substantives which show this passive form, e.g., *pinahan*, alongside which *na pinahan* is also in use - *cattle* (the things that have been fed); *sinonduk* - *husband* (the one for whom the food is served),<sup>1</sup> *hinaon*<sup>2</sup> - *the thing that is cast or laid*, which is a general term for what is put down or set, etc., with the object of catching something, nets, snares, traps, etc.; *piniyo ni bodil* - *the range of a shot from a gun, the distance the sound of a gun's shot carries*, and, *sappiniyo ni bodil* - *as far as a bullet from a gun travels, a gun's shot's distance*; this is used as a linear measure.

Similar substantives are also made from intransitive verbs, e.g., *pinodom* - *the time of the night when sleep is deepest, the* (time of)

<sup>1</sup> When referring to a wife, the full expression is: *sinondukna mangan* - for whom the food is served by her, see D. below.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of *tinaon* (31 IX), as appears from the equivalent in D., *tinogong*, because a *makkaon*, from *haon*, does not occur instead of *manaon*, from *taon*.

*being sound asleep*<sup>1</sup>: usually, a numeral is used, e.g., *sappinodom* - *first sleep*. Another designation of a time-period is *tinasak napuran* (*sattinasak napuran*, see Dict. under *tasak*), from a *manasak*, which in T. has fallen into disuse, *tinasak* solely being used as a term for a meal and meaning literally *the thing that has been prepared*. *Nitak* and *nipi* (8) can, perhaps, be explained as belonging to this passive form, so that, literally, they mean *the thing that has been made into flour* (from *mangitak*) and *the thing that has been dreamt* (from *mangipi*), respectively.

The word *binegé* is in use with a special meaning only when prefixed by *mar*, so that *marbinegé* - *to be able to hear*, said of the faculty of hearing, means, literally, *to be in possession of the thing that has been heard* (52 I 1 a). With regard to the ears, there is also *marnangi*, in contradistinction to *martinangi* (see Dict. *tangi*), so that *nangi* is, perhaps, an abbreviated form of *tinangi* (22 III), so that it should be in agreement with *marnida* (49 Obs.), which can also mean *to be able to see, to have the faculty of seeing*, said of the eyes.

Sometimes a substantive with this form is used, instead of the passive verbal substantive, to represent something that has already undergone the action represented by the verb, e.g., *indahan* - *the boiled thing* par excellence, *boiled rice*, in contradistinction to *dahanan* - *the thing that has still to be boiled*, i.e., husked rice that has been prepared for, or is intended for, boiling.

*Ni-abitan* - *on which an abit is placed, the thing covered by an abit*, from *mangabiti*, 50 1, has the specific meaning of *the genitals*, in contradistinction to *parabitan* - *that on which the abit is, on which an abit is worn* (129), i.e., *the naked body*.

a. In order to avoid using *pira* (see Dict.), *tinaru*, which really means *the thing that has been laid down*, is used. It is the 3rd passive of *manaru* which, at present, does not mean *to lay something down*, but, as appears from the Mal. *mānaruh*, could formerly have so meant.

M. uses the following as substantives: *binuwat* - *the thing that has been taken*, as well as *na binuwat*, with the meaning of *wife* (cf. *tinokor* in D.), *indók* or *indokon* (26 Obs.) - *the thing that has been said*, and *indege*, from *dege*.

D. has *binaju* - *the thing that has been woven*, a mat, or basket work; *tinali* - *the thing that has been twisted* - *tali* (e.g., *tinali tenggang* = *tali donda*);

<sup>1</sup> Here, the locative meaning of the *ni* as an infix can be seen clearly, so that *pinodom* means, literally, *asleep*, the passive form, *podom*, being necessary in order to make *modom* - *to sleep*, into a substantive (cp. *pudi* 156 NOTE).

*ni-ukat*<sup>1</sup> = *sinonduk*; *tinokor* - *the thing that has been bought* = *binuwat* (see M.); *binangun* - *the thing that has been erected* = *tijang*; *tinogong* = *hinaon* (p. 167 (footnote 2); and *nakan*, which must have been taken from the T. *indahan* (30 IX and DAIRI K I).

2. As an imperative directed to persons in general, not to a specific person, to express that that which is appropriate, or obligatory, should be done; this form is used in the spoken language instead of the *poda* passive (104), e.g., *ni-alap ma ogung i* - *let the ogung be fetched*; *ija manuk i di bogasan appang do i binaen, binalut do appang i dohot ulos i* - *as far as this fowl is concerned, let it be put into an appang (and) let that cloth be wrapped round the appang*; *sittap binunu do i* - *only kill him!* (let him be killed, but do nothing else to him); *ni-duda ma i tu losung na tarulang* - *pound those in a losung that is not used any more*; *molo sowada di-lehon, hinaulihon roha* - *if he doesn't give it, accept the fact!*

In a subordinate clause, the 3rd passive is often used with *ning* and a pronominal suffix, in order to express someone's wish that something should be done, e.g., *molo sinaput, ninna hamú* (or *nimmu*), *djadi do tutú* - *if it be wrapped up, you say, then it is really all right.*

3. As a passive with which no specific agent is alluded to, e.g., *pinaluwa pe ursa on* - *this deer will be set free*; *ija nung do sun sinanggulan* - *if the statue has already been provided with a sanggul*. This passive, with this meaning, is especially in use where two conditional subordinate clauses express contrasting statements, the conjunction being often suppressed, e.g., *sinuru i mambalbal, sali olo do i mambalbal* - *if it is ordered to strike, will it strike without fail?* *ija pinisat, bottár gotana, ija tinallik, rará gotana* - *if it is squeezed, the gum is white, but if it is cut, the gum is red*; *ni-uppat, patungoripon, pinasarung, patungoromon* - *if (the weapon) is unsheathed it will make a grinding sound, but if it is put in the sheath, it will roar.*

From 100, it can be seen that here this passive can be substituted with the 1st passive (cf. also RB. p. 57, 1. 7 for the example just given). Because, however, at present, a 3rd person is indicated in the 1st passive by *di*, though that person may be unspecified, the 3rd passive *must* be used where, for one reason or another, it is felt necessary to suppress mention of another person. The 1st passive can, therefore, only be substituted by the 3rd passive when the 3rd person is used, e.g., by saying *binoto dumatu ho* - *it is known that as a datu you are*

<sup>1</sup> The full form is: *ni-ukatku mangan* - *the one for whom the food is served by me*, i.e., my husband; see above, p. 167, footnote 1.

*the more clever*, the speaker really wants to say, *I acknowledge your superiority as a datu*.

Because the agent is not specified, this passive also has the meaning of a simple passive (cf. M. here), e.g., *tarulang hauma so* (153 3 a) *binabowan* - *the field runs wild, not having been weeded*.

a. This passive form with *an*, for which there is not always an active counterpart, can also be used attributively after a substantive, in order to represent something that is exceptional in its size, e.g., *lijang ni-lijangan* - *a cave containing other caves, an enormous cave* (cf. RB. IV, p. 11). From *solok-solok* comes, as a graceful name of a *muwara*, *solok sinolohan*, (an estuary) with added to it other small rivers, an extremely wide estuary (because a number of streams flow into it).

With qualificative verbs this passive form is always made by repeating the stem-word, e.g., *balgá binalgán, mokmók minokmohán* - *large made larger still, fat made fatter still* (said of a buffalo that an adulterer has to pay as a fine, because, in addition to the buffalo, he still has more to pay). Such an expression can also be used on its own as a concessive subordinate clause, e.g., *gindjang ginindjangan* - *however high it may be*.

M. uses this passive in subordinate clauses as a simple passive, e.g., *djadi di-tanom kalak, dung ni-tanom radja i* - *thereupon he was buried by the people; when the prince was buried*, etc. (cf. RB. p. 161, l. 5), and also in sentences where *djadi* introduces the consequence of something or a sequel (see RB. p. 148, l. 1; p. 32, l. 6 fb.; p. 100, l. 15 fb.).

In some places where South M. is spoken, *ni* is also used instead of *di*, but as far as I know, only with the 3rd pers sing, e.g., *ni-tampulkon ija do tu bajo mamunggal sadalanan* - *the sword was thrust by him at the man travelling alone* (with his sword, he lunged at, etc.). Here, *ni-tampulkon ija* is the same as *di-tampulkon ija*. Could not this use of *ni* be a remnant of an older stage of the language when only the 3rd passive was in use and had the meaning of the 1st passive? Indeed, Kawi, Malagasy, the Alfur language spoken in Minahasa, Tagalog, and other sister languages use the passive with *ni*, or with the infix *in*, with exactly the same meaning as that of the passive with *di*.

4. When the 3rd passive is derived from a verb having the prefix *mar*, which verb is itself derived from a substantive (53 1), the passive has the special meaning of *having the form of that which that substantive represents*. This form can function as a substantive, and attributively, for the purpose of defining another substantive, either in order to describe the form of a thing or to indicate its extent, e.g., *pinardjolma* - *statue of a human being* (as an adjective: *that which*

looks like a human being); *bindu pinarulok* (21); *napuran pinarpát* (20) *ni hijong* - leaf of the areca palm resembling the paw of a hijong; *na pinarretteng*<sup>1</sup> *ni anduhur tabu* - those things that have the form of tabu (turtle dove) eggs; *pinarhorbo* - that which has the form of a buffalo (said of the roof of a house, see plate in the Dict.); *tittin mas pinarsitumudu* - a gold ring of the width of a forefinger (a gold ring for the forefinger).

Such substantives are also used when spirits are referred to, hence *pinarboru* = *boru* (of a *sombaon*), *pinarhula* = *hula-hula* (of a spirit); the real meaning is that which is considered to resemble what the substantive represents (53 1). The idea is that spirits have no actual kinsmen, only what, in the language of human beings, can be regarded as such.

a. In the language spoken by the spirit that has descended to earth (Int. IV 2), the term for *dog* is curious, i.e., *pinarngingi ni lasuna*, of which the literal meaning is *used by a lasuna as a tooth*. Perhaps, here, one should think of *marngingi ni lasuna* - *to be like teeth that resemble a clove of garlic*, 52 I 1 b, so that *pinarngingi* etc. should be interpreted as *the one having teeth like a clove of garlic*.

5. When the 3rd passive is derived from a numeral that has a verbal form with the prefix *mar* (53), it means a fraction, e.g., *asa da-parduwa ma taoarta i, pinaropat ma da-baen; duwa tu suhut, sada tu datu, sada tu na torop* - *then let our tawar be divided, let it be divided into four portions; two portions for the principal person, one for the datu, and one for the crowd*. The number represented by the numeral from which such a form is derived often indicates that a certain part of the thing in question is left, so, *pinartolu* means *to have a third portion left*, e.g., *nunga pinartolu i, nunga tading na sada nari namaná si-ahuton; anggo na duwa, nunga sun di-ahut naposomi* (RB. p. 301 b.) - *that (field) now has a third left; one portion remains that must be cleared of dry sticks, the two other portions have already been cleared of them by your servants; nunga pinartolu batang ni hariara i di-pangan balijung inon, duwa na matós, sada nari na so matós* - *only one-third of that fig tree, eaten by the balijung, remained; two-thirds had been cut through, but one-third had not been*.

obs. A verb is seldom derived from such a passive, but there is *manriottang* (44). According to its form, this sole example could be

<sup>1</sup> In the RB. IV, p. 163, *pinarretteng* should be spelt *pinorrenteng* (see under *tabu*); cf. the quotation in the supplement to the Dict. under *anduhur*.

included among the verbs dealt with in 78, but its meaning does not permit this.

#### 116. THE EXTENDED PASSIVE.

The three kinds of the circumstantial passive also have a form which will be called the *extended passive*; its meaning allows of no better definition. The characteristic of this passive form is that the prefix *mang*, which is used in the active, does not drop out. All the verbs that occur transitively and that have a prefix, other than *mang*, beginning with *m* take this passive (44, 53, 55, 56, 74, 80, 81, 82, 83, 85 and 96), with the obvious exception of those that have *mar* instead of *mang* (46, 49 Obs.).

#### 117. THE FORM OF THE EXTENDED PASSIVE.

The form differs from that of the active only in the change of the *m* of the prefix into *p*, e.g., *pamisat*, from *mamisat* (*di-pamisat* - the aforesaid things are squeezed by him); the usual passive has only *pisat* (*di-pisat* - the aforesaid thing is squeezed by him).

It should be borne in mind that verbs with the prefix *mang*, which have the suffix *hon*, in this passive retain the edged consonant that, in the active, drops out after the nasal, e.g., *di-pappeakkon* (17 V) *nasida ma gadong binoan-nasida i* (RB. p. 54, l. 14) - the gadong they carried were laid down by them; *di-pappajakkon tu pamatang ni ursa i* (RB. p. 51, l. 3 fb.) - the leaves were laid by them on the body of the deer (*mamajakkon*, from *paják*); *bulu na pinatsurukkon ni si-djonaha i* (RB. 285 l. 21) - the bamboos that Dj. had secretly put in (*manurukkon*, from *suruk*); *di-pattullakkon haju-haju* (RB. p. 44, l. 19) - they stabbed with a certain kind of stick (*manullakkon* from *tullang*); *di-pattinggakkon*, many things were thrown down (*maninggakkon*, from *tinggáng*) by him; *di-patsulakkon*<sup>1</sup> *ma pinadar tu datu dalu - pinadar* (pieces of meat, see Dict.) were placed by him in datu Dalu's mouth, i.e., he fed datu Dalu with pinadar until he was sated (*manulakkon* - to give something to someone by placing it in the mouth, from *sulang*); *di-pakkaitson dohot tandukna* - at the same time, he also used his horns to pick up (his master from the ground); *di-patsandehon* (RB. p. 253, l. 1) - he placed the men that had been slain against the rice-pounding blocks.

When, however, this passive is used with *tu* simply in order to indicate direction (107), the edged consonant drops out, e.g., *di-panigorhon*, from *manigor* (*tigór*); this also applies where the suffix

<sup>1</sup> In the text of The Quarrel between Sang Maima and Datu Dalu (p. 21, l. 9), the spelling should be *di-pansulanghon*, instead of *di-pasulanghon*.

*hon* means *on behalf of* (51 5), e.g., *di-panuhorhon* - *was bought by him on behalf of the said person (manuhor, from tuhor)*.

Some verbs that always have *mang* in the active, in this passive have a form that would presuppose an active with *mar*, e.g., *na pittor suda do leatni di-pallehon ho tu halak pangisi ni hadjutni* - *you have apparently at once given (mangalehon) the contents of your hadjut (leaves of the areca palm etc.) away to some one else or to other people* (148); *di-paralap* - *the aforesaid persons were being fetched by him (mangalap)*.

*Akka* (58) is used with verbs having the prefix *pa*, e.g., *akka di-pahembang* (RB. p. 316, l. 1) - *the mats were spread out by him in the house*.

*M.* always uses *par* where the active has a suffix, e.g., *di-parahuti* - *the aforementioned things were tied up (mangarahuti, from rahut) by him*; *di-parsurdui ija ma halak sudena simanat* (RB. p. 146, l. 13) - *prepared betel was offered by him to all of them*; *di-partarimahon* (*manarimahon*, from *tarima*); *di-partaporkon* (RB. p. 43, l. 13) - *he hurled his plates (and smashed them) to pieces*; *parbingkaskon hamu* (RB. 91, l. 6 fb.) - *discharge your guns!*

Otherwise, *M.* follows *T.*, e.g., *di-panampul ija ma si-andikir, nada but* - *A. was frequently slashed at by him, but he was not touched*; *panampul ma tolonannija* (RB. p. 287 b.) - *hack at their (those seven people) throats*; *panampul ma narón* (RB. p. 259) - *if she wants her child to live then hit out immediately*.

*D.* has the prefix *pëng*, e.g., *i-pëngbërekën* - *the aforesaid things are given by him to someone (mërekën, from bëre)*; *i-pëngsëlukkën*, from *mënëlukkën* (*sëluk*); *i-pëngdjambarkën*, from *mëndjambarkën* (*djambar*); cf. RB. p. 175, l. 15, and p. 145, l. 4 and l. 14 fb.

When the suffix *kën* means *because of, as a consequence of*, the edged consonant is absent, e.g., *idi mo si-ni-pëngkirkënnami ena lako bairdene* (RB. p. 212 t.) - *it is that that is made by us the occasion of our visit to you (that is why we have come to see you, mënongkir, from tongkir)*.

#### 118. THE MEANING OF THE EXTENDED PASSIVE.

This passive form has two meanings:

1. It expresses plurality, either of the action represented (50 4) or of the object of the active which, here, is the subject. It can also intensify the action, e.g., *di-baen tabo ni loppan indaong di-pakkilala na bosur* (The Quarrel between Sang Maima and Datu D., p. 22 top) - *because the side-dish was so delicious it was not felt overmuch by him that he had been satisfied (he did not feel really satisfied, makkilala, from hilala)*.

The following can be added to the examples given in 117: *di-pambaen* (RB. p. 1) - *that fruit was put (mambaen) by him in his bag*; *hu-pangolihon djolo rijarnami on* - *let these our Spanish dollars be used by me to buy a wife*; *unang anggo pandekdekkon* (The Quarrel be-

tween Sang Maima and Datu D, p. 11, l. 12) - *don't let this comb fall down time and again* (in Batak, the passive is used <sup>1</sup>); *di-pambuwat* - those things *were taken by him*; *di-pangarahon* - the aforementioned persons *were invited by him*; *di-pandanggurhon* (RB. p. 44, l. 20: *gadong ma na pinandanggurhonna i* - *it should be gadong that are thrown away by them*); *di-panggotolhon ma pangisi ni huta i* - *the inhabitants of that huta were stung by, or bitten by them* (the ants); *di-pambursikkon* (RB. p. 49, l. 22) - *grains of rice were spewed out by him*, etc.

Besides *di-paralap* (117), *di-alapi* is used to express the plural. From *mamola* comes *di-bolai* - those things *were split by him*, and from *manulluk* (*tulluk*), *di-panulluk* is in use. In subordinate clauses the plural is often not expressed, cf. RB. p. 310, l. 20 with l. 15.

2. It also expresses relation to what, in the active, is the object but what is not expressed in the non-extended form of the passive, e.g., *di-panakkoi*<sup>2</sup> - *an act of stealing is committed by him with regard to the aforesaid person, i.e., he robs him, or, a robbery is committed by him in the aforementioned place*; *di-takkoi*, on the other hand, means the aforesaid things *were stolen by him* (50 4). If therefore, in the non-extended form, the suffix - *i* already indicates a plurality of objects, it represents a preposition in the corresponding extended form. Hence *di-panuhori* - *was bought by him from the aforesaid person*, in contradistinction to *di-tuhori* - *the aforesaid things were bought by him*. Here, in fact the suffix may acquire a meaning different from that in the non-extended form, so that, for example, *di-panortori* means (that mat) *is danced on by him*, but *di-tortori* means *the buffalo is danced round by him*. There is also *di-pandohi* - *the aforesaid persons are spoken to by him*, whereas *di-dok* - *it is said by him*; the active, *mandók*, means *to speak to someone, or, to say something*.

It is in the extended passive that the suffix *hon* in particular has the meaning of *on behalf of*, e.g., *di-panuhorhon* (117); *di-pangulahon* (51 5). *Di-pangulahon* can, however, also mean a certain day *was chosen by him in order to perform the work in the field* (here, the day is represented as the motive, cf. 117 D.). Another example is *di-pamunuhon* - *this warfare is made by them an opportunity for killing*

<sup>1</sup> Similarly, *pangaruhon horbotta i* (Dict. under *aru*) - *our buffaloes must be used by you for the treading of the ground* (let our buffaloes, etc.).

<sup>2</sup> For example, *unang di-panakkoi deba hutatta on* (RB. p. 321 m.) - *lest there be a theft committed by someone in this, our huta*.

(*gora na pinamunuhon on - this war, which is the cause of the slaughter, the war which is the cause of our killing our enemies*).

*Di-panogoti* is unusual: it can mean something *was done by him early in the morning* (*di-panogoti radja i mangan - the prince ate earlier in the morning*, or, when it occurs with *tu* (107), *he sets out early to . . .* (*torang ni arina, manigor di-panogoti tu haumana - the next day having dawned, early in the morning he went straightaway to his field*). From *torop* comes *di-panoroppon* - the aforementioned *was made known by him to the public* (*na torop*).

For *di-panigorhon*, see 117 and 107.

#### 119. THE EXTENDED PASSIVE IN THE DIALECTS.

From the usages found in the dialects, it appears that the application of this passive form is, now and then, quite arbitrary, so, for example, in T. there is *di-buwati* - something *is taken from something by him* (50 3), whereas in D., the equivalent form *i-buwati* refers to a plural and therefore equals *di-pambuwat* in meaning (e.g., RB. p. 143, l. 17 fb.). The use of *di-pambaen* for the plural, but *di-baeni* to express: the aforementioned thing *is put in by him*, or it *is filled by him*, is also arbitrary, because in *di-takkoi*, the suffix again refers to the plural (cf. *i-bakini* in D. (further on) = *di-pambaen*). In T., *di-tappuli* is equivalent to *di-panampul* in M. (117), e.g., *di-tappuli nasida ma radja i, indadong olo mabugang - a thrust was made many times by them towards the prince, but the latter could not be wounded*.

M. also uses *di-pambuwatkon ija* - *is taken by him on behalf of the aforementioned person*, e.g., *muda na ra do hamu hu-baen djadi anakku, antjo hu-pambuwatkon boru hamu di huta on - if it is your wish that I accept you as a son, let me then take a girl for you in this huta*. Here, T. would use a circumscription (51 5 a).

D. has *i-bahani* = *dibaeni* (*i-bahani mo përmanganën - the dishes were filled by him*), but, *i-bakini* = *di-pambaen* (*i-bakini mi pinggan - the food was put on the dishes by him*). In *mënogongi*, the suffix *i* has two meanings: a plural, and a preposition; *i-togongi*: 1. many are the things bringing destruction that are stretched out by him (RB. p. 190, l. 17); 2. a trap was set by him for a certain animal, e.g., *ënggo mo tuhu djumpa bijahat si-ni-togongëmmu idi*, RB. p. 177, l. 16 fb. - *the tiger for which you set a trap has already been caught*.

To express *on behalf of*, it is not necessary always in this dialect to use the extended passive (51 5 D). Examples of its use are: *si-ni-pëngidamkën bërat dagingku ena ngo idi* (RB. p. 30, l. 5) - *that is the fruit strongly desired by the child here in my womb*; *si-ni-pënggarammu idi* (RB. p. 30, l. 1 fb.) - *that which is strongly desired by you*.

NOTE. There are not many examples that can be given of the extended passive in Mal. but one is *pamindjamkàn aku gunting - borrow some scissors for me*. In Sundanese, there are a great number of examples, e.g., *pangmeuleumkeun* - *this bird is to be roasted by you for me*.

## THE DERIVED SUBSTANTIVE

## A. THE ACTIVE VERBAL SUBSTANTIVE.

120. THE ACTIVE VERBAL SUBSTANTIVE WITH THE PREFIX *PA*.

A substantive of which the meaning is active, is formed by changing the *m* of the prefixes<sup>1</sup> into *p* (*pandjalahi*, from *mandjalahi*; *parmodat*, from *marmodat*; *pasigadong*, from *masigadong*, etc.). So much does the noun retain its verbal character that, where it occurs transitively, it can be placed in direct relation to the object.

It should also be noted with regard to the form, that verbs with the prefix *pa*, which have the suffix *hon* only in the active (66), have their nominal form occurring as such a substantive, e.g., *pagabur* - *that which makes something soft*, from *pagabur(hon)*; *padiruma* (121 2), from *padiruma(hon)*.

The suffix *i* is often dropped, e.g., *pangarahut* occurs as well as *pangarahuti*; *pangisi*, from *mangisi* (8); *pangingan*, from *mangingani*; *pangalus* as well as *pangalusi*, whereas with verbs having the suffix *hon*, the substantive is often circumscribed, (126) unless the stem-word is monosyllabic (*panggokkon*, from *gok*), or a form is used without the suffix (*pamikka*, 121 2). *Pangolting* is irregular because the *h* of the stem-word has dropped out, despite the fact that the active is *makkolting*. *Pangali* has probably been taken direct from Men. (Dict. under *hali*).

When the infix *um* occurs with the meaning of the prefix *mang* (63), then, in the formation of this kind of substantive, the usual active form is the basis, e.g., *pamoto*, from *umboto* (47 4).

121. THE MEANING OF THE ACTIVE VERBAL  
SUBSTANTIVE WITH *PA*.

The meaning of this substantive cannot, in general, be equated with our infinitive mood, because the substantive never has such a general meaning, e.g., *pambuwat* cannot mean *the taking of*. Even when this infinitive makes the purport of the verb into a substantive, it still expresses a special way in which the action represented by the verb takes place.

The object of this substantive may follow it immediately, but when there is another word between the substantive and its object, even though this other word is only a pronominal suffix, the object is

<sup>1</sup> Verbs that only have *ma* (122) are excepted.

introduced by the preposition *di*, e.g., *panakko napuran - betel thief, the person who steals betel*; *pandobo na so marutang - the one who unlawfully takes possession of someone who is not in debt*; *panuhorhu di hatoban on - my means of buying this slave*.

This substantive is used in three ways:

1. To indicate the action represented by the verb, with the special meaning of *the manner in which the action takes place, or in which it should be done* (45), e.g., *molo na so gabé pakkuling ninatta i, ita-adjari*<sup>1</sup> - *when our mother's manner of expressing herself is not fitting, then she must be admonished by us*. With this meaning, the substantive is generally in use as the subject, and then *bohá*, or *behá*, (*how?*) often occurs as a predicate, e.g., *behá ma pambuwattu di-baen na dapot au mijak na sa-botul i - how should my way of taking be, so that that bottle of oil is obtained by me?* (i.e., *how should I act in order to get that...?*); *behá ma parpujukku di horsik mulmul, sowadadóng tarpatomu i - how should be my way of turning fine sand into rope? It is not possible to fit the grains of sand together*; *behá ma pangaruwanginami di batu on, na sai pir - how should we hollow out this rock, it is so hard!* *behá pambaettu mangalap ho* (RB. p. 242, l. 7) - *what do I do to fetch you?* *behá ma pabowa na talu - how is the vanquished to be reported on?* (*how is one to know who is the vanquished?*); *behá parhalakna - how is his manner of being a person, what manner of person is he?*

Instead of using this form of substantive, the passive of *mambaen* can, however, be used, the verb then being in the active (126 1), e.g., *behá ma ta-baen mambuwat huta on - what do we have to do to take this huta?* Here, *aha* is often used as the subject, e.g., *aha ma hu-baen laning mamalos hapandean ni amanguda i - what should be done by me to repay my uncle for what he has done?*

Such a substantive can also occur as the subject of the passive (126 2), e.g., *di-halubat pambuwatna* (RB. p. 51 m.) - *his manner of taking it was greedy* (he took that rice in a shameless manner); *di-pasotik-soting parhabangna* (RB. p. 115 m.) - *the manner of flying done by it was circling* (the aforesaid bird flew in circles in order to pounce upon its prey). From these examples it can be seen that a predicate serves the purpose of the adverb which we use to express the manner in which the action represented by the verb does, or should,

<sup>1</sup> See 103 NOTE 1.

take place, while the verb becomes substantivized (30 VII), in order to function as the subject.

Verbs with the prefix *pa*, which have *hon* only in the active (66), sometimes use this substantive with a wider meaning, which agrees with that of our infinitive mood, e.g., *pauli bagas ma di-ula* - *the embellishing, or the restoring, of a house was done by him* (he occupied himself with the embellishment of a house). These verbs also have this form after a verb that, in the passive, represents *to be commanded*, e.g., *di-suru ma pangulu pasondot gora* - *the arbiter was ordered by him to bring the quarrel to an end*; *di-dokkon naposona pahembang amak* - *his servants were ordered by him to spread out the mats*. As this form can also be a passive imperative, it should, perhaps, be interpreted as such, so that what is commanded, or ordered, are the actual words spoken by the person giving the order, so that the first example should read: *the arbiter was ordered by him: "let this quarrel be brought to an end by you"*, and the second, *his servants were ordered by him: "let the mats be spread by you"*.

M. has the same construction, e.g., *bijá ma padjongdjongku di rantjang* (RB. p. 170 t.) - *how should I effect the erecting of the rantjang?* *bijá ma pailanija di ho* (RB. p. 122 b.) - *what was the nature of his embarrassing of you?* *bijá ma luwani tehé panaekku di on* (RB. p. 49, m.) - *how do I climb up this?* *bijá ma pamunumunju di au so pala but au* - *how can you kill me since I'm invulnerable?* *laet na songon i pakkuling ni landuk* - *that is always the particular way in which a landuk makes a noise*; *bijá ma hami-baen pangalului panganonnami* - *how will it be done by us, the way in which we shall seek our food?*

D. conforms, e.g., *adjar-adjari aku asa ku-bětöh tah katëra pëmahan* (RB. p. 142, m.) - *try to tell me, so that it is known to me how it should be done* (try to show me how I must handle this blowpipe); *i-pëngobit bibir nari pëngantusi kata mërbatu* (122) - *from the moving of the lips, is the nature of the words to be comprehended with sense* (a deaf man can understand the meaning of the words by the way the lips move); *bagí mo pëmahanmu* (RB. p. 142, l. 1 fb.; p. 143, l. 2) - *let this be your way of doing it*.

2. to indicate *the means whereby or the instrument with which the action represented is or should be done* (45), e.g., *pañdjagari* - *with which one adorns, wishes to adorn or can adorn*, *pagabur* - *with which one softens*; *pasitimbaho* (75) - *with which one buys tobacco or should buy tobacco* (45), *the means of obtaining tobacco*. Where the substantive is used with this meaning, which is closely related to that given in (1), the construction is, however, usually different. Here, too, the object can follow the substantive immediately, but often the preposition *di*, and still more often *ni*, is used before the substantive, e.g., *pamaluti gana-gana i* - *the means of wrapping up those images*; *panurbu huta on*

- *the means of burning this huta*; *panuhor di* (121); *pamonggol ni tijang ni bagas i* - *the means of snapping the pillars of the aforesaid house* (that with which the pillars of the aforesaid house can be broken in two).

Such a substantive is often used after another substantive as a means of indicating the purpose that the thing represented by the latter serves or can serve, e.g., *horbo pangindjam gondang* - *a buffalo against which musical instruments can be borrowed*; *horbo paulak gondang* - *a buffalo that is presented on the return of the musical instruments* (i.e., a buffalo that is given to the owner of the musical instruments when borrowing them and one that is given to the owner of the instruments when they are returned to him); *bijang panikka* (120) *ni na mate* - *a dog that is slaughtered at the manikkahon* (see Dict. under *tikka*). This purpose-indicating substantive often has the meaning of that which is used with the thing represented by the verb as is clear from the examples just given, and also from *pananom ni* - *that which is slaughtered at someone's funeral* (the means with which the ceremony is carried out).

This substantive must sometimes be rendered by *in order to, for, as* etc., though *baen* (99 a) is not always used to express these words, e.g., *di-burwat ma baen pandudana* - *Bobak's aforementioned stick was taken by her as her rice-pounder* (in order to husk the rice); *aha di-boto ho pagabur batu on* - *what is known by you as a means to soften this stone?* *baen panurbu huta on ma* - *this will serve to burn down this huta*; *di-hirehon ma amak di talaga baen pangondingi* - *he attached mats, like curtains, to the talaga, in order to conceal it*; *baen pamonggol ni tijang ni bagas ni hamuna na sahuta on ma i* - *that must serve for the breaking of the pillars of the houses of you people, the inhabitants of this huta* (as an instrument for breaking, etc.); *las sowada sikkop dapé panimbang omas i* - *it is still not sufficient as a counterbalance for that gold*; *asa simulangan ma parsili inon dohot polong dohot sira pege, i ma panulangi* - *then that parsili should be fed with polong, salt and ginger: let these serve as its food* (cf. The Quarrel between Sang Maima and D.D., p. 21, l. 5); *pamuli begu* - *a means to cause a spirit to return, in order to make a spirit return*; *padiruma tondi* (66 1) - *that which serves as a means of bringing a spirit into a house* (to mollify it when it is disturbed); *hepeng pasitimbaho* - *money for getting or for buying tobacco*; *aek pangaloppa ni pagar* - *water for the boiling of a charm*; *anggo pangarohaini* (8) *adóng ma* - *with regard to a means of outwitting that person, it will be*

*there; aha ma ta-baen mamunu i? anggo pamununi adóng ma hu-boto - what shall be done by us in order to kill that one? regarding a means to kill that one, there will be something known by me; di-buwat ma baijon pandan sangidas pangolting (120) rukkung ni hudon i - he took a broken-off piece of rope, made of the leaf of a pandanus, in order to tie up the neck of the pot with it; sorwada tarbaen iba habang songon pidong pasiding ibana - we can't fly like birds in order to get out of his way; di-baen pamaluti gana-gana i - he used it for the purpose of wrapping up the statues; aek pamurina (RB. p. 320, l. 5) - the means of washing it is water; nakkon rijar duwa panambai rijarhu na onom on - give two reals for the increasing of these, my six reals; panopihi ni utakku (RB. p. 219 b.) - for the partial paying off of my debt.*

a. Some nominal forms have the meaning of this substantive, e.g., *garar utangmu (RB. p. 208, l. 12 fb.) - for the paying off of your debt; sae* is also used in the same way (*for the discharging of a debt*).

M. follows the same usage, e.g., *tola do i panjului ni budjing na denggan - it is suitable for the enlightenment of a beautiful virgin; na so tupa pambobok soban - that is not suitable for the bundling of firewood; horbo tolu pangupa ni si-adjí di angkola - three buffaloes for the welcoming of A.; so u-garahon bosi parngoti ni oppu ni putora putori (RB. p. 141, m.) - so that I may make the iron red hot in order to wake up O.; aha hu-boto pambuwat ni mata ni ari - what do I know, so that I can get the sun? djadi di-bunu halani ma horbo tolu parbokkot ni datuk kuwala di baumi (RB. p. 165, b.) - thereupon they killed three buffaloes, with the putting of D.K. in the coffin (cf. above, 2); di-palongkop halani ma sudé haju parlompa ni bajo (RB. p. 160) - all the wood with which the guests could cook their food was prepared by them; pangido indahan i - the aforesaid means for the asking for cooked rice; tali panambat (RB. p. 129, l. 1) - the rope that served to bind him.*

D. A few examples will suffice: *muda lot ngo, nimu, i-bonikèn kono pèmuwat (RB. p. 142, m.) - if you say that you possess a means of taking (things); pènutup pèrtjèbonin bëru rajam (RB. p. 286, t.) - that which served to cover the hiding-place of Miss R.; idi mo èntat mahan (99 a) pèmuwat (RB. p. 286, t.) - take that blowpipe in order to catch those birds; kadendija pèmuwatku piduk idi dèkèt binatang datas idi (RB. p. 141, l. 2) - what should be the means whereby I can catch those birds and climbing animals? bahan mo pètèrangkèn gèlaḥ ena - make that which can lighten this darkness!*

3. To indicate the person from whom the action represented emanates, or something that can be regarded as such, e.g., *i ma utang ni pandobo na so marutang, na so mardosa - that is the fine of one who unlawfully made himself master of one who has neither a debt nor has committed a crime; partiga-tiga djolma - a dealer in men (a slave trader); parboru si-olijon i - the one who possesses the daughter who*

is to be bought; *pasigadong ni amatta do i* - they are the ones who fetch your father's gadong; *parabit na bottar an* - the one wearing a white abit (the person clothed in white); *panakko napuran i* - the one who stole the aforesaid betel; *pandjalahi* - the seeker of the solution of torhat-torhanan; *pananggai*<sup>1</sup> - the one who causes embarrassment (in order not to say *bijang*, which is often a word of abuse); *partorhan* - the one who says 'torhan' (52 6, the one who challenges another to give the torhat-torhanan solution); *parbonijaga horis i* - the one who trades in krisses; *pamuro* - the one who watches out for animals that can cause destruction in a field; *pangago* - the one who destroys, either a wild animal, or a spy, etc., while *pəngago* (D.) is used of things (RB. p. 97, l. 13 fb.; p. 190, l. 17); *pangisi* (120) *ni huta* - the dwellers in a huta (those who fill the huta); *pangisi ni hadjut* - the contents of a hadjut (what fills a hadjut); *pandjoha* - the one who makes a wrongful claim to something; *panundati* (RB. p. 59, m.) - the one who says that something is not happening (*sundat*); *pamorus* (RB. p. 50, l. 16 fb.) - one who steals from other people's gardens; *parmodat* - one who uses *modat*,<sup>2</sup> an opium smoker, etc.

When it is necessary to express gender, *bajo*<sup>3</sup> is used before such a substantive for men and *boru* for women, e.g., *bajo pangultop*, *bajo parrajar*, *boru panurirang*, etc. *Boru-boru* is less frequently used instead of *boru*, e.g., *boru-boru panggokkon* (120). It is, however, rare to express gender, because occupations of men and women are well-defined (cf. 54), so, for example, when one is acquainted with the life of the Batak people, one knows that *pangordang* (see Dict. under *ordang*) relates to a man and *pamoni* (see Dict. under *boni*), to a woman, and that *parmahan* always means a young boy.

Another substantive is usually used before this one in order to indicate a person specifically, if the context does not show sufficiently that a person is meant, for example, *datu pangubung* means a *datu* who can resuscitate the dead where *pangubung* means a means of resuscitating the dead.

When it is desired to state faculty or aptitude, the word *pande* is often used with the word defining the thing in question, e.g., *pande pangogungi* (50) - the players of the *ogung* (those who have the

<sup>1</sup> This word should have been put under *tangga* II in the Dict.

<sup>2</sup> Omitted in the Dict. It comes from the Men. Mal. *madat* (prepared opium) which, in its turn, has been taken from the Hindustani *madad*.

<sup>3</sup> The use of this word makes that sometimes only the stem-word is used, so, *bajo laos* = *pangalaos* (passer-by).

ability to play the ogung, or who usually do so); *pande parsarune* - *the one who blows the sarune*; *pande parodap*, *pande pakkasari*; for musician, *pargotsi* or *pargondang* are used.

It should be noted that these substantives that represent a person are often placed at the beginning of a sentence or clause, as a predicate, instead of the verb, as a means of laying a particular emphasis on the action represented, especially in a reproach or an accusation (cf. 152 2), e.g., *ai pangalatsum do ho di hami* - *because you are a deceiver of us, because you have deceived us*; *pamogo ma ho di hepengnami* - *then you are the one who has wrongfully held back money that is ours (have not paid us as you should have done)*. Here, the active can also be used, provided it is preceded by the relative *na* (126 1), e.g., *na mangalakkup ma ho di djolmakkí* - *(then, you are the person who, against the law, has made yourself the master of my wife) - you have made yourself, illegally, the master of my wife*.

a. Some substantives that have no corresponding verb should, according to their form, be included here. Examples are: *padidit* (56 Obs. 1), *pahoppu* - (literally) *grandfather-maker* (32 IV), *pangulubalang* - *a spirit made into an ulubalang (champion) by a datu*; *pakkabahaba* - *a storm created by a datu*; *pangalaho*, *parsili* (D. has *pərsilihi* instead, cf. 120); *pəndahan* (D., from *dahan*), *pamatang* (from *batang*), and *parhalak* (121 1). Such substantives as these are derived either from a verb that has fallen into desuetude, or have been formed in agreement with the active verbal substantive. This is quite natural, because, from the large number of substantives derived in this manner, the speaker of the language could not but get the impression that *pa* forms substantives, and might then forget that the *p* has arisen from the *m* of the prefix.

*Pangulu* is often used with *ro* - *to come*, with the meaning of *in order to function as*, e.g., *ro ma pangulu radja i* (RB. p. 255 m.) - *the aforesaid prince came as an arbitrator* (for another example, see 165 V). The irregular form, *pangatahut*, (alongside *panahut*) can be explained by the desire to bring it into agreement with *pangalomuk* (cf. 90 M.).

b. This substantive rarely has a passive meaning; one example is *panading* (see Dict. under *tading*). In D., *pəngkira* (RB. p. 143, l. 6 fb.), and *pəmərekən* (RB. p. 180) - *a present (that which is presented)*, occur.

c. *Panading* occurs as a preposition, with *ni* preceding the sub-

stantive to which it refers (see Dict. *tading*), and so does *pēmahan* (D.) - *by the doing of* (RB. p. 287).

M. has nothing worthy of comment, e.g., *si-panaek piningmu paniktik burangirmu* (RB. p. 248, t.) - *the one who has fetched pinang for you* (51 5 a) (who has climbed the pinang palm) and *who has prepared betel for you*.

D. uses *pēmurune* (DAIRI F b) = *pande parsarune*; *pande pērgëndang* = *pande parodap*, etc. *Pērapurun* (52 I 1a) with the meaning of *parnapuranaan*, and *pērugasēn* alongside *ugasēn*, are striking.

NOTE. The word *pēmēre*, which is used in D., must have meant originally the *donor* (from *mēre*, stem-word *bēre*). Only later has it acquired the special meaning of *the one who gives someone* (sister or daughter) *as a bride*, hence *brother-in-law*. *Ibebere* (*bēbēre* in D., with the dropping out of the preposition, DAIRI K I b), which is an older passive form of *bere* (= *bēre*, 28 a), with its repetition of the first syllable of the stem-word, is evidence of this. Indeed, an *ibebere* is he who, according to Batak custom, has first claim on the daughter of his *tulang*, i.e., *the one customarily presented* with the bride. In T., an earlier *mamere* must have meant *to present with* (51 4 Obs.).

## 122. THE ACTIVE VERBAL SUBSTANTIVE WITH THE PREFIX *HA*.

When the active verbal substantive is derived from the 2nd and 3rd kind of stem-word-verb (39) or from an intransitive verb with only the prefix *ma* (41), it has *ha* as the prefix, while the beginner of the stem-word, with its vowel,<sup>1</sup> is repeated, e.g., *hasusuda*, from *suda*, *haroró* (20), from *ro*, *harorobo*, from *marobo*, *hapapajak* (19 I), from *pajak* (40). Stem-word verbs of the 2nd kind sometimes have a form with *par*, e.g., *parhabang* (121 1), *parhundul*, etc., as though there were a corresponding active form with the prefix *mar*.

Derived from a qualificative verb (42), this substantive has yet another form, i.e., with the prefix *ha* and then the infix *in*, e.g., *hinadao*, alongside *hadadao* (19 I), from *daó* or *madao*. The form with the infix *in* is especially usual when the stem-word begins with a vowel or with a labial<sup>2</sup> (*hinauli*, from *uli*; *hinapogos*, from *pogós*) or was originally a substantive (43), e.g., *hinadatu*, from *datú*. This form has, however, also come to be used with words that begin with a consonant, without there being a definite reason that can be adduced for it; *hinadao* is an example.

It has already been said in 42 that it is not necessary for a qualificative verb to assume this form, but it should be noted that, as a substantive, it must be defined either by *ni* and a following substantive,

<sup>1</sup> The 1st kind of stem-word-verbs (38) has only *ha*, e.g., *hatuktang* (135). *Adong* (39 Obs.), as a substantive, never changes its form, e.g., *adongna* - its presence.

<sup>2</sup> For the reason for this, see 61. Exceptions are: *hamamago*, alongside *hinamago*, from *mago*, and *hapapajak* (123).

or by a pronominal suffix, e.g., *di-baen dengganna* (RB. p. 43, l. 9); *inda tung di-baen denggattu* (RB. p. 12, l. 1 fb.) - *it is not so much because of my beauty that people, etc.*; *atik anak ni na pogos, bejasa songon i denggan ni abitna* - *if he be the son of a poor man, why is his clothing so beautiful?* Such a word, unchanged, is also used as a substantive, especially when a derived form precedes it, e.g., *hadadao ni begu donok ni parsaulian* (RB. p. 3, l. 14) - *the being far away* (i.e., the absence) of tormenting *spirits*, *the being close* (i.e., the presence) of *that which brings good fortune*.

Where the stem-word is monosyllabic, the prefix *ma* is retained, e.g., *hinamalo* (19 I), from *maló(lo)*, and also where such a qualificative verb, without change, functions as a substantive, e.g., *di-baen malena* - *by his being hungry*.

Verbs with the infix *um* can never become substantives in this way. There are a few examples of *par* as a prefix with such a verb, e.g., *parmodom*, from *modom* (see however 124).

a. *Pardoppak* (123) is also in use alongside *hadodoppak*, perhaps under the influence of *Dairi*.

b. If the quality represented is of a temporary nature, then a qualificative verb can also be used as a substantive, with the relative *na*, e.g., *molo daís na birongmuna i, hu-buri pe* - *if your blackness* (the foul black mess on your body) *rubs off* on me, *then I shall wash it off*; *di-buri na hatsitna i* - *he washed the sore place on his body* (literally: his that was sore).

c. A distinction is made between *tubu* as a substantive and *hatu-tubu*: the first means *that which has been born* (*tubuna* - *her newly-born child*), whereas the second means: *the being born, the moment of being born* (123).

D. has the same formation with qualificative verbs, but also uses *për*, as though the substantive were derived from a verb with the prefix *mër*. It can also have the verbal form with *mě* or *ě* and a closing nasal, (DAIRI K III), occurring as a substantive, e.g., *kiněbejak*, from *ěmbejak*, *kiniküh* (DAIRI F a), from *küh* (DAIRI J XI), *kinidjuwah* (RB. p. 90 b.), from *ěndjuwah*. There are also: *kěřeroħ*, from *roħ*, *pěrdabuh*, from *ěndabuh*, *pěrbuwe*, from *ěmbuwe*, *pěrdaoħ* (RB. p. 278, l. 14), from *ěndaoh*, and *makin mëlehena* = *di-baen malena*.

### 123. THE MEANING OF THE ACTIVE VERBAL SUBSTANTIVE WITH *HA*.

The meaning of this substantive approaches that of our infinitive mood, but it is also often used as a definition of *the time at which, place whence, and even of the particular way in which the content of the verb takes place*.

In contradistinction to the form with *p*, this form *never* represents a person. Where it is necessary to indicate a person, the verb is used, with the relative *na* (126 end), e.g., *hinapogos* - *suffering poverty*, or *being poor*, but *na pogos*, see 122.

The following are examples: *hadadao ni begu donok ni parsaulijan* (122); *songon na musú* (112 b) *hu-ida halalahomuna* - *the manner in which you people bear yourselves is, as I see it, hostile*; *di-halalahonami tu gindjang on* - *in our going upward here* (when we went up here); *songon bisa ni ulok dari hinabisana* - *his poisonousness is like the venom of a snake*; *madabu ma singlar-singgar tijan langit di haruruwar ni ulok i* - *the sun shone and rain fell from the sky at the precise moment of the snake's appearing*; *i ma hasusún ni saem ni halak na djuppasa ulok bane doli* - *that is the end of the antidote for the bad omen on someone's encountering a banedoli snake* (therewith concludes the *saem* for, etc.); *molo songon i hapapajak ni oppak ni ngingi na ni-lottik i* - *if such is the location of the splinter of the tooth that has been filed*; *nunga denggán, ninna datu i, harorobo ni horbo i* - "beautiful indeed" (favourable as an omen), *said the datu*, "is the way in which the buffalo topples over"; *hinabalga ni boltokku do i* - *I'm not pregnant, it is just the natural fatness of my stomach*; *hasusuda ni bohal* - *the time when all the victuals have been eaten*; *doppak pattangan i ma di-baen hadodoppak ni horbo i* - *the front part of the buffalo was placed by him with its head turned towards the war sopo* (cf. *doppak bagas ni suhut i di-baen pardoppak<sup>1</sup> ni horbo i*); *di-baen ma padan haroró ni radja i* - *he fixed the time at which the prince had to arrive*; *di-padatton ma duwa borngin hasasahat ni horbo panula ni na talu i tu na monang i* - *he specified a period of 48 hours as being the time at which the buffalo that the vanquished had to pay to the conqueror as a fine, had to arrive* (RB. p. 192, l. 3 fb.).

This substantive is often used with *di-baen* in order to mention the high degree of a certain quality as the explanation of what one says, e.g., *di djolo, parajahon*; *di pudi, paimon di-baen hinaradjana* - *when in front, he should be welcomed enthusiastically* (118); *when behind, he should be waited for, because he is such a great prince*; *ai barita ni buea di-dok halak di si: masipudunan ihurna masitapparan ping-*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *di-paudur nasida ma pardoppakna* (RB. p. 138, b.) - *they placed their fronts in a row, each behind the other* (they walked behind each other, their faces turned to one side); *udúr ma pardoppakmuna rap tu son* - *all of you, behind each other, face in this direction* (walk in a row, behind each other, facing this way).

*golna di-baen hinatoropna* (RB. p. 92, m.) - *it is said of the crocodiles there that, because of their great numbers, their tails are knotted together and their ears flap against each other; di-baen malena* - he screamed because of his being so hungry.

*Halalango* (*langó*), has an active meaning, *something that intoxicates*.

M. follows T., e.g., *tartondo ma datuk mangaradja arang bosar di atutubu* (MANDAILING B II d) *ni anak namora mantjada bulung i* (RB. p. 128, l. 16) - *Datuk M.A.B. was dumbfounded at the birth of the aforesaid prince*.

D. also follows T., e.g., *buluh ena mo ku-dabuh mi lubang mēralijoho ěndija asa ku-bēgekēn pērdabuhna, tah masakade bagas ma* (RB. p. 6, l. 8) - *should I let this bamboo fall into this almost bottomless hole, that I can listen to its falling, in order to know how deep it is? pērbuwe laena pe sada petang ngo durwa sarim* (RB. p. 183, l. 11 fb.) - *the amount of its (the sugar palm's) fluid was only one petang and two sarim; malot i-bētoh sintērēm kērērohna* - *the multitude does not know of his coming (it is not known where he comes from); si-somada edēpēn kērērohna* (Dict. p. 513).

D. also uses a circumscription with *bēkas* (131), e.g., *kade mo asa i-kuso kono bēkasku roh* - *why is it that an investigation is made by you into my origin? asa ku-bētoh i dike nari bēkasēndene roh* - *so that I know whence you people have come*.

#### 124. SUBSTANTIVES WITH THE PREFIX *PAR*.

Substantives with the prefix *par* do occur without there being a corresponding verb with the prefix *mar*. These substantives are derived from substantives that have a preposition before them, or from those that, with a preposition, function as adverbs, e.g., *pardihuta*, from *di huta* (*in the huta*); *parpudi*, from *pudi* (*di pudi* - *behind*); *pardjolo* from *djolo* (*di djolo* - *before*).

These substantives rather represent a person and, therefore, can also be formed from intransitive verbs, where the use of the form with *ha* might make for obscurity, e.g., *parmodom* - *a sleeper, a sleepy-head; parmodom balijan* - *one who sleeps outside (di balijan)* (one who passes the night in a shed in a field). Where there is an adverb corresponding to this substantive, this *par* form means particularly *a thing that occupies a certain place in relation to something else*, e.g., *partoru* - *that which is under*, that which, compared with something else, is the lower (*di toru* - *under*), *pargindjang* - *that which is above*, that which, compared with something else, is the higher (*di gindjang* - *above*), *pardjolo* - *the foremost, the first*, *parpudi* - *the hindmost, the last*, *partonga* - *the middlemost (di tonga* - *in the middle)*, *parbalijan* - *the outermost (parbubejan parbalijan* - *the outermost sack of rice)*, *boru-boru partuaek* - *a woman who goes (to the river) to fetch water*.

125. ORDINAL NUMBERS HAVING THE FORM  
OF ACTIVE VERBAL SUBSTANTIVES.

Ordinal numbers have the form of active verbal substantives, hence the reason for *pahi* before these numerals,<sup>1</sup> e.g., *pahitolu* - *the third*. To relate this to the verbs that have the compound prefix *mahi* (74), it must be supposed that such a substantive means, literally, *which makes itself the third*. Such ordinals are, however, more in use in *poda*: in the spoken language, they are superseded by the forms mentioned in 72. Reference to another kind of ordinal number having the form of an active verbal substantive has already been made in 68.

Each of *the first ten months* has a name that has the form of an active verbal substantive, with the preplacing of *si* (152 2), e.g., *si-pahatolu* - *the third month*. An active form, *maha* . . ., must have existed, as appears from the verbs with the prefix *màka* in Macassarese (see Obs. below), but it does not occur now.

obs. From Malay, where, in order to make an ordinal of a numeral, the latter is made into a substantive by the prefix *ka*, e.g., *katiga* - *the third*, it may be presumed that earlier there was an active form, *maha* . . ., created by attaching the verbal prefix, so that a *mahatolu* would have meant *to be the third*: this is borne out by the verbal form *màka* . . . in Macassarese. In the Alfur language of Minahasa, the form *maka* . . . is used adverbially (cf. 72), e.g., *makatëlu* - *three times*. Cf. the usage in Tagalog (Totanes, p. 115).

NOTE. There seems to be no doubt that in the Alfur language *maha*, or *mah* before a stem-word beginning with a vowel (*mahatëlu*, from *atëlu* - *an egg*), = *mar*, because in this language, *k* does not become *h* as in T., M. and Malagasy.

126. THE ACTIVE VERBAL SUBSTANTIVE CIRCUMSCRIBED.

*The active verbal substantive is circumscribed* in the following cases:

1. Where the active has the suffix *hon* and a prefix beginning with *m* (120). A clause, consisting of the relative *na* and the active is then used, e.g., *na makkehelaikkon do ho di halak* - *because of your unbecoming appearance you are one who embarrasses people* (or is offensive to them). Here, *na makkehelaikkon* is used in the same way as *pamogo* and *pangalatsum* in the expressions of reproach given above (121 3) and therefore represents a person.

Where the active verbal substantive represents *the manner of* and

<sup>1</sup> Their adverbial use with *manoktang* is not clear to me (see Dict. under *tongtang*).

is constructed with *behá* (121 1), the active is used, introduced by the 1st passive, e.g., *behá ma hu-baen manaruhon ho, sowada hu-boto dalan tu si* - *how must taking you there be done by me, for I know not the way there?* (one cannot say *behá ma panaruhottu di ho*).

Where the substantive represents *a means of* (121 2), *baen* is used before the active, e.g., *pittór adóng do parumaenna, di-borwan ho, baen mangulahon ibana* - *there is now a daughter-in-law of hers who has been brought by you to perform the work in the field for her* (you have provided your mother with a daughter-in-law who can work for her).

a. The active of verbs with the prefix *pa* and which have the suffix *hon*, can function as substantives when preceded by *anggo* (165 II), e.g., *anggo pagaburhon adóng do hu-boto* - *a means of making it soft there is, known by me* (I have a means of making it soft).

2. Where the action represented covers a definite period of time. The active is then usually used with *na* before it and a pronominal adjective, as an adjunct, after it, so that the active form can function as an adjective, as well as a substantive, e.g., *dung na marpangir i, di-dokkon ma pahoppuna i* (RB. p. 125 b.) - *having finished cleansing herself with pangir, she ordered her son-in-law, etc.*; *saleleng ni na marrunggu i* - *during that gathering* (so long as the assembly of princes then taking place continued); *nunga pitu ari nasida na marrunggu i* - *those who have assembled have already been seven days* (they have already been seven days in council); *indadong saut be na manolon i* - *the two disputants did not proceed to take the oath of denial*.

With such adjectival clauses, it should be noted that the verb, which we use as a predicate, is, in Batak, used attributively, or as an adjective, while what we express with an adverb or an adverbial adjunct becomes the predicate: instead of saying *they have assembled* (predicate) *for seven days* (adverbial adjunct) the Batak says, literally, *seven days are those who assemble*: only the subject is the same in Batak as in English.

Such a circumscribed substantive is also used after a subject in order, by means of a verb, to define the predicate, e.g., *matsohot ma nasida na margondang i* - *those who were making music stopped* = they stopped making music; *lodja hamuna na mardalan i* - *you people who have been travelling are fatigued*; *dung sun nasida na marhata i* - *when those who were speaking had finished*; *manortor ma na tarsonggot na mar-nida babijat i* - *those who were frightened at seeing the tiger danced*

about; *sahat butong ma djolmana i na mangan parbuwe ni rukkung banggik i* (RB. p. 1) - *his wife was completely satisfied by eating those rukkang-banggik fruit.*

Such a circumscribed substantive is also used as the subject of a passive (121 1), e.g., *di-pasohot ma na margondang i* - *the making of that music was stopped by him* (here, *the making of that music* is the subject of *di-pasohot* - *was stopped by him*). The *na* can be omitted, e.g., *di-pasadi halak ma martaba hariara inon* (RB. p. 295, l. 8) - *the felling of that fig tree was stopped by the people.*

In a subordinate clause in which the reason for something is stated, the circumscribed substantive, as a predicate, is placed first. e.g., *indadong au olo mangatton di-baen na so padjuppa i hami* - *I didn't want to eat that fowl because we had not met each other*; *di-baen na mamunu djolma i hamuna di onan i ma asa ro i* - *it is because you people have killed men at the onan that that one comes.*

The meaning of a verb that occurs attributively cannot be equated with that of our infinitive mood because, just like the active verbal substantive, it has more meanings; it can also represent a person. This last happens because the form described in 123 does not represent a person, so *na ro* - *the one or the ones who come*, i.e., the stranger, the strangers, the assailant, the assailants, the visitor, the visitors, in contradistinction to *haroró* (123); *na pogos* - *one who is poor, a pauper, paupers*, as distinct from *hinapogos* (123). If, for example, *na ro* is to be given the meaning of *the coming of, the arrival of*, then it must be further defined by an adjectival pronoun, which will give it the more precise meaning of *that coming which comes about at a certain time* (144), e.g., *na ro i* - *the coming which then took place*; *na ro on* - *the coming now taking place*; *na so masuk on* - *this not entering, the not now being admitted* (100). The meaning is on the whole more definitive, so, for example, *na dao* does not mean *distance* but *a place that is far off*, e.g., *dung pe ro di na dao au, asa alitton tu gottingmi* - *first, let me arrive at a distant place, then wind it round your waist.*

Some of these circumscribed substantives have, by use, acquired the full meaning of a normal substantive, e.g., *na poso* (the one who is young) - *manservant* (a euphemism for a slave); *na godang* (one who is large, or adult) - *parents*; *na metmet*<sup>1</sup> (the one who is small) - *a child*; *na mora* (the one who is rich) - *chief representing those who*

<sup>1</sup> E.g., *torang ni arina, sipapungu* (76) *na metmetna isi ni huta i* - *the following day each inhabitant of that huta gathered together his children.*

are of a *marga* other than that of the prince; *na rara* or *na gorsing ni tinaru ni manuk* - the yolk of a hen's egg.

- a. Without *na*, the active can, as a substantive, define another word, without requiring a preposition, e.g., *pande mambaju* - to be clever at weaving.

D. uses *si* instead of *na* (149) but in this case especially, often omits it, e.g., *kěna djumpa kita ngo asa si-pěkom měrburu idi* (RB. p. 4, t.) - it must be encountered, or obtained, by us before we stop the hunt.

## 127. THE ACTIVE VERBAL SUBSTANTIVE WITH THE SUFFIX *ON*.

With the suffix *on*, this substantive acquires a more general meaning, so that it no longer represents a person or an instrument, but indicates the purport of the verb more specifically. Usually, it means *a trade* or *an occupation*. It can also have an object without the intervention of a preposition, e.g., *panaonon bubu* - the setting of nets, as an occupation, or as means of earning a livelihood; *panaonna bubu* - his setting of nets, as his means of livelihood (*manaon, taon*); *pasigadongon silaonna* - her usual work in the fields is the lifting of *gadong* (*masigadong*, 75); *pangultopon* - shooting with a blowpipe, as an art; *pamodilon* - shooting with a gun, as an art; *pambajuon* - the art of weaving; *panurbuon* - the burning of cut wood in a field, as an occupation.

The active verbal substantive, when defined by a pronominal suffix, or by a substantive introduced by the preposition *ni*, can have the particular meaning of the manner, or the way, in which someone executes something; this is in contrast to the form without the suffix, which can also represent a person, e.g., *behá ma pandjalaotta* - how did we fish with the nets? *indada dung songon on pandjalaottu* - such was never my way of fishing with the net (i.e., this never happened before when I fished with the net); *i ma partiga-tigaon<sup>1</sup> ni na oto* - look, that's the way the stupid one usually carries on his trade! *behá do partiga-tigaon i* - how did that trading business end? *hinakkukkon ni pandjopputon eme i* (RB. p. 314 b.) - blessed (protected from disasters) by the fact that the taking up of the rice had taken place (here, the substantive refers especially to a ceremony that is followed according to custom, see *djopput*); *margulut di hutanami ala ni panurbuon nattoari* (RB. p. 288, m.) - there is a quarrel in our huta

<sup>1</sup> Were *partiga-tiga ni na oto* used here the sense would be *the one who carries on business on behalf of a fool*, 51 5 a.

as a result of the burning (of the cut wood) that took place yesterday; *ia hu-sarihon parrohaommi* (144) *di au, indada godang ni rohám au tutú* - when I think of your attitude towards me, I am not, indeed, the apple of your eye.

This substantive is also used to define another, e.g., *utang pangolion* - the amount to be paid for the buying of a wife. It is also used in constructions containing *di-baen* (123), e.g., *di-baen panggalangonna* (RB. IV, p. 26) - because of his hospitality.

Attention should be paid to the fact that this substantive can be identical in form with the passive verbal substantive when the latter is derived from the extended passive form, for example, *panggoraon* and *parajahon* are passive verbal substantives (132).

#### 128. THE ACTIVE VERBAL SUBSTANTIVE WITH THE PREFIX *HA* AND THE SUFFIX *ON*.

The stem-word verbs, or those having only the prefix *ma*, form this substantive by means of the prefix *ha*, but without repetition of the beginner of the stem-word, with its vowel, or the infix *in* (122), e.g., *hapogoson*, from *pogós*; *haleon*, from *malé*.

Here, again, the meaning is more general, so that this substantive, unlike that dealt with in 122, can never represent *the time at which*, or *the manner of*, e.g., *hapogoson* - the state of poverty, the affliction of poverty, *hadorsaon* - misery, *haleon* - starvation, famine; *na ung niloppa na so djadi dudaon*; *na ung ni-dok na so djadi paubaon*, *molo pinauba indá patunda hasusaon*, *anggo sowada pinauba, indá patunda hasonangon* (RB. p. 179, b.) - what has been cooked can't be brayed, what has been said can't be retracted. If it is retracted, doesn't it create difficulties? But if it is not retracted, doesn't it make for peace? (i.e., if a man departs from his given word, then there will be difficulties, if not, there is peace and quiet); *ija pinabowa mandjadi hailaon*, *ija so pinabowa mandjadi hapattunon djadi tu hadengganon* - if one says it, it is an insult,<sup>1</sup> but if one does not say it, it is courteous and leads to what is good.

When this substantive is derived from a substantive, it is the collective name of the thing represented by the substantive from which it is derived, e.g., *habeguon* (the state of being a *begu*) - the spirits, the upper world (it can also mean courage, i.e., the being as a *begu*, from *na begu*, 43); *hadjolmaon* - mankind, the sub-lunary world; *hasu-*

<sup>1</sup> I.e., the state of being *maila* as a consequence of *makkehelaikkon* (44).

*huton* - the acting as a *suhut*, in a situation in which one consults a *datu*, has acquired the particular meaning of *serious business, the business of war*.

When the substantive is a definition of an office, of status, of dignity, of a trade, then the derived form means everything connected therewith in the nature of ability, knowledge, etc., e.g., *hadatuon* - *divination* (all that of which one must have knowledge in order to be a *datu*), *haulubalangon* - *knowledge of war, of fighting* (all the qualities one must possess in order to be an *ulubalang*), *haradjaon* - *the art of ruling, princely qualities* (the knowledge that fits one to be a *radja*).

*Di-baen* is also used in constructions with this substantive (123 and 122), e.g., *si-sobur daro tata si-harat dugul-dugul, si-polgak wtohutok di-baen habeguonna* (RB. p. 10 t.) - the hero nicknamed *Sucker of Raw Blood, Biter of Knucklebones, Guzzler of Brains*, so named because of his great courage (cf. 154 a).

a. *Hamalón* (8) = *capability*, comes from *maló*.

D. uses the infix *in*, e.g., *kinigurūn* (from *guru*) = *hadatuon*. The form is, therefore, more in agreement with that dealt with in 122.

#### 129. THE ACTIVE VERBAL SUBSTANTIVE WITH THE SUFFIX *AN*.

With the suffix *an*, this substantive acquires the specific meaning of *place where the action represented by the verb can or does occur*, e.g., *hudon pangaloppammu* (15) *indahan* (literally, *pot your pangaloppán*, or, *rice-cooking place* (8), from *mangaloppa*), - *the pot you cook rice in*.

The suffix, here also, agrees with the suffix *i*, but it has a wider meaning, as the following examples show: *pambaenan parau i* - *where one or someone makes that craft*, *panggowaran* - *where one or someone takes one's name from*, *panallihammí* (The Quarrel between S.M. and D.D., p. 19 b.) - *the place on the tree where you've cut off that leaf*; *di-pauba pakkailanna* - *his fishing place was changed by him*; *olo do ho mambuwat pangosean padammuna i* - *obtain that whereby your agreement becomes void* (take care to get the things whereby your agreement with them is null and void), *da-buwat ma losung na tarulang baen pandudán ni na ta-pulung i* - *a losung that is no longer in use must be taken as the thing in which we can pound the ingredients we have collected*; *debatá do pangguruan* - *the gods are the ones upon whom man is dependent* (one must look upon the gods as one does upon a *guru*); *udjungna do patsohotan* (47 3) - *the end of it is that to which one has to be resigned*.

This substantive can, in form, be identical with that of the verbal passive substantive when the latter is derived from the extended form (116 and 132), e.g., *tano parduguan ni horbo* - ground on which buffaloes have fought; *pasibodilanan* - field of battle (where people shoot at each other, 77); *pasigadongan* - bag for gadong (75); *na tau pangut-sandean* - that which is suitable as something that can be leant on (81); *partonanna* - who is instructed by him to convey the words, *panuhoran* - from whom someone buys; *panakkoan* - from whom someone steals, the one who is robbed, where someone has stolen; *panortoran* - which is danced upon by someone (133).

When this substantive is derived from a verb with the infix *um*, it can also have the form with the prefix *par*, as though it were formed from a verb with the prefix *mar*, e.g., *di-godungi tano i baen parong-gopanna* - that ground was provided by him with a hole to be his hiding place (*monggop*), *parpodoman* - where someone sleeps (*modom*).

Stem-words beginning with *m*, or those that are to be regarded as such as, for example, *masuk*, 61, have at one time the prefix *ha* (130) and at another, the prefix *par*, e.g., *hamaluan* - about which one is ashamed (*malu*), *hamasuhan* - where one goes, or has gone, inside. The form with *par* has, however, often a meaning that can be interpreted as a passive as well as an active, so, for example, *parpangiran* (*pangir-box*, Dict.) can be interpreted as meaning that from which one takes *pangir* (from which *pangir* is taken) as well as that in which one has *pangir*; *nunga denggan dida di si parasaranna* - he saw that the place which would serve as a nest for him was a good one; *parabitan* - that over which one wears clothing (over which clothing is worn), i.e., the parts of the body that one clothes; *parhután* - where one has a *huta*, the place where the *huta* stands; *parnapuranaan* - bag for betel (from which one takes betel, or in which one has betel); *parhapuran*, *pardamaran*, *parubean* (Dict. Appendix), *parisapan*, etc.

Substantives that represent *value*, *worth* or *amount* also have this form, without there being a corresponding verb, e.g., *parsauwangetehan* (from *sa-uwang-etek*) - that which has the value of one *uwang etek* (for which one has to give one *uwang etek*); *parsadarian* - that which covers a day's duration (that on which one has to spend a day, e.g., a journey), from *sadari* (8 and 136); *parsabahulan* (*sa-bahul*) - that which amounts to a *bahul*, having the capacity of a *bahul*; *djuhut parduwarijara*n - an animal for slaughtering worth two reals. In this particular meaning, *i* is also found instead of *an* (57, NOTE), e.g., *sada parbitsangi balga ni babinon* (RB. p. 284, 1. 8) - the size of this pig

is such as to be worth one bitsang; *babi pallima hupangi* - a pig worth five hupang; *babi parrijari* (or *babi parrijaran*) - a pig worth a real (also *babi parsadarijaran*); *parbarui* - that which is worth a baru.

a. *Pamotoan* (120), derived from *umboto*, is often used, with a negative and a pronominal suffix, as an adverbial adjunct, e.g., *madekdek sanggul tijan tanganna sowadadóng pamotoanna* - the sanggul fell from her hand without her being aware of it (according to the form, *pamotoan* means that of which one is aware).

*Parulán* is in use as a preposition, by, brought about by.

In addition to *partimbahoan* there is *parimbahoan*.

M. does not deviate, e.g., *panjurbuan* - where one has burnt something (e.g., weeds, a place where stalks of grass, etc., are charred), for example, *he rolled his whole body in such a place to give it a black appearance* (RB. 37, ls. 10, 12 and 13); *parmanjogotan* (RB. p. 182 b.) - a path of the duration of a morning; *aha ma panolonannami* - what must it be whereby, by an oath, we must deny it? *horbo si-gosong ma panolonanmunju* - it should be a putrified buffalo whereby you people have to deny it with an oath.

For *ponganginen*, see RB. IV, p. 35.

D. also does not deviate, e.g., *pértjěbonin* (121 2), from *tjěboni* (83); *pěrmanganěn* is used for *panganan* (with the meaning of dish), because in Dairi the suffix *an* also merges into *ěn*, so that *panganěn*, because it already equals *panganan*, would not be clear. *Pěrběkasěn* (the particular place that one has or occupies in a certain room, RB. p. 93, l. 13) is used in contradistinction to *běkas*, because this is also an auxiliary (123). *Pěmangkěngěn* (something along which one ascends, a steep incline) is used = *nakkohan*. *Batu pěměrětėnku idi* (RB. p. 246, b.) - the stone to which I attached it.

For *pěrapurun*, see 121.

### 130. THE ACTIVE VERBAL SUBSTANTIVE WITH THE PREFIX *HA* AND THE SUFFIX *AN*.

This substantive, when derived from a stem-word verb, or from an intransitive verb having only the prefix *ma*, has the prefix *ha*, just as the one discussed in 128, e.g., *hasundutan* (*sundut*), *hapajahan* (*paják*), *hangoluan* (*mangolu*), *hataluan* (*talú*), *hadegganan* (*denggán*), etc. The prefix *ma* drops out except in a monosyllabic stem-word, e.g., *hamaloan* (*maló*) and *hamalejan* (*malé*). Verbs having *m* instead of the infix *um*, at one time lose the *m*, and at another, do not, e.g., *haidjuran* (*midjur*), *hawwapan* (*muwap*), *hamulahan*, as well as *haulahan* (*mulak*), *hamatean* (*mate*), *hamagoan* (*mago*), etc. The monosyllabic *ro* is repeated,<sup>1</sup> hence *haroroan* - whence someone comes.

The meaning of this form agrees with that of the substantive dealt with in 129, but it leans towards the passive, because the foundation

<sup>1</sup> This is done to distinguish it from *haroan* - feast (literally: why people come).

is an intransitive verb (39). Examples are: *hasundutan* - where the sun descends, the West; *habitsaran* - where the sun rises, the East; *hamagoan* - where someone has perished, or the place to which his destruction is attributed, or where someone is in fear of perishing (see quotation under *banto*), where something has been lost or stolen; *haidjuran* - the thing by or with which one descends (*au pe patupa haidjurammu* - I shall provide that by which you can descend); *hamatejan* - where someone dies or is killed; *hamulahan* - from which someone's return becomes clear; *hapajahan* - where something lies or is put down (*hapajahan ni badju-badjuna i* - where her jacket lay); *hadekdehan* - where something has fallen (The Quarrel between S.M. and D.D., p. 14 b.); *hamaloan* - from which someone's skill becomes clear, proof of capability; *hasohotan ni na djuppa halak ulok sende hulimat di harangan* - that whereby ends someone's finding a sende hulimat snake in a wood (similarly, *i ma hasunan ni na djuppa halak si-gurappang na maroppa*); *hasurungan* - in which someone excells (*sumurung*); *hamonangan* - from which someone's success becomes clear (that which he has won or captured, for example, *sere hamonanganki, M.* - the gold that has been won by me); *hataluan* - that whereby it becomes apparent that someone has lost or has been beaten (his loss, for example, *hataluanhu nengan on* - my recent loss); *unang madejakkú hasudammu* - lest what you have spent is too much (RB. p. 264, l. 6).

This form, with the pronominal suffix *na*, or when defined by a substantive introduced by the preposition *ni*, indicates that the thing represented by the verb is of the highest degree, or of the degree precisely required of something, e.g., *hamaleanna ma ho di rohakku* - I think you will be at your hungriest, you must be very hungry, I should think; *hadenggananna malhot nitak i di-pisat di atas pinggan i* - that flour is kneaded by him on that plate according to the precise requirements of dough (literally, that dough is kneaded by him to the right degree of plasticity); *mabalga so maotik, hadjagaran ni djolma rupana* - he is not too big and not too small, his form is that considered beautiful in men (he matches up to the requirements of beauty); *hos ma ari hagasanganna ma halalás ni ari* - the day, or the sun, was right overhead (it was just midday), the heat of the day was at its fiercest; *hadenggananna godang ni aek i di-baen* - the exact quantity of water was brought in by him.

From these examples it can be seen that this form occurs, with this meaning, predicatively as well as adverbially. Attributively, it is used

less often, e.g., *manuk na hatijuranna gorak-gorahan* - a fowl of the right size for divination (in order to be able, from its movements, to read signs).

For *na habistohanna*, see Dict. under *bistok*.

a. Much use is made of this substantive in grace names, and in *andung* terms when it acquires the form of a personal name, e.g., *sijadosan* (*si-hadosan*, 10 b) - in which there is similarity (brother, etc., see Dict. under *ados*, for example); *tano sijapandolan* (M.) - the ground that is stood on (*hapandolan*); *sijabuntuan* (*si-habuntuan*), etc. Besides *hasijaran* one finds *panijaran* (*sijar*).

### 131. THE ACTIVE VERBAL SUBSTANTIVE WITH THE SUFFIX *AN* CIRCUMSCRIBED.

The active verbal substantive having the suffix *an* can be circumscribed by the word *bogas* (*place*), as an auxiliary. This auxiliary can often be translated by *where*, *wherein*, *by which*, etc. This circumscription is used especially where the usual form of the substantive can give rise to misunderstanding, so one says *bogasnami monang ma i* (RB. p. 290 m.) - making war may be the thing *by which we gain the victory*, because *hamonangan*, by usage, has acquired another application (130).

The circumscription is also in use where a further defining occurs, such as, for example, where reference is made to yet another person. This person could otherwise have been indicated by *ni* or by a pronominal suffix and the active verbal substantive would then have to be repeated, e.g., *tijan i ma bogasna gabe si-tolong dohot si-torop* - it was that whereby T. and T. became rich (= *tijan i ma hagabean ni si-tolong dohot hagabean ni si-torop*); *djuppasa ma musé sopo na di djappalan na bolak bogasnasida* (140 7 a) *modom na rappon hahana i si-adji panurat* (RB. p. 80, l. 1) - thereupon, in the large meadow, he came upon the sopo in which he and his brother A.P. had slept (were *parpodoman* to be used, it would have to be repeated); *di-djudjur ma ari na uli, bulan na denggan bogasna marharoan* - an auspicious day and an auspicious month, calculated according to the rules of the art of divination, were sought by him for the holding of the feast (as his place of celebrating the feast; *parharoanan* would here cause confusion because, as the passive verbal substantive of *marharoani* - to hold a feast about something, it would refer to the day or the month).

The auxiliary is seldom used with this form, but an example is *bogas hangoluan*, besides which, *lapang hangoluan* is also in use. When the verb represents an action, *dalan* (see Dict.) is sometimes used as an auxiliary.

D. frequently uses the auxiliary (cf. 123), e.g., *lae bēkasna mērikan tiṭat idi* (RB. p. 193 t.) - *the river in which he was accustomed to catch fish*; *lot ngo djēmangku bēkasku mēdēm* (RB. p. 41 m.) - *I have a wife/woman beside whom I sleep*; *lēsung pēnutupi bēkas si-tagan dori idi* (RB. p. 285, t.) - *the rice-pounding block that masked the place where T.D. was to be found*; *ēnggo kupadankēn si-bulan, ningku, bēkasku mērpanarihin bai mantuwa* (RB. p. 230, l. 3 fb.) - *I have given uncle a period of a month during which I'll think it over*; *pērṭandēn bēkasna mēnēpa idi* (RB. p. 242, l. 8 fb.) - *he also fed the forge where he did his forging*; *raṭ dike mam ēndija dalan mēnangkih mi datas* - *where is the path whereby one can go upwards?*

NOTE. Mal. and Men. have *tāmpat*, which also means *place*, as an auxiliary, e.g., *mālainkàn anakku tāmpat ajahnda mājārahkàn nāgāri ini* - *no one other than my child (you) is the one to whom I (your father) assign my realm*; *karāna tijada sijapa akan tāmpatnja māngadukàn halnja* - *for there is no one to whom he can complain about the difficulty in which he finds himself*; *mānuḍju tāmpatnja mānanam bārhalā āmas itu* - *he went to the place where he had buried the golden idol*; *dī-tjarinja linow itu tijada lagi pada tāmpatnja mānaruh* - *he looked for the orange, but it was no longer where he had put it*. Cf. also the use of *gen* in Javanese.

## B. THE PASSIVE VERBAL SUBSTANTIVE.

### 132. THE FORM OF THE PASSIVE VERBAL SUBSTANTIVE.

This form derives from the nominal form, which acquires *on* after it, when the verb in this form has no suffix (99); the suffix *i* is replaced by *an*, and *onhon* follows the suffix *hon*, e.g., *buwaton* (*mambuwat*), *buwatan* (*mamuwati*), *surattonotton* or *surattonokkon* (12 c, *manuratton*), *pabowaon* (*pabowa(hon)*). As a rule, the suffix *onhon* loses its last syllable when the substantive is defined by a pronominal suffix, e.g., *surattonottu* - *the thing to be written by me*, *surattonommu* - *the thing to be written by you*, but *surattonotton* (or *surattonokkon*) *ni anakku* - *the thing to be written by my son*.

a. *Dohonon* is often found instead of *dohon* (*mandók*). From *dokon* (South M.), it can be assumed that formerly T. had a *dohon* as a stem-word instead of *dok*. And from *dohom* (DAIRI J XI b) and *dum*, it appears that *dumon* (M.), though it occurs at present as a stem-word, was originally a passive verbal substantive. That such words obtain at the present day as stem-words, can be explained from the striving after dissyllabism.

M. places only *on* before the suffix *hon* (cf. D.), e.g., *suratonkon* (North M., *suratotkon*), from *manjuratkon*.

D. has *ĕnkĕn* (cf. M.), e.g., *suratĕnkĕn* (*mĕnuratkĕn*), while, with few exceptions, *an* and *on* become *ĕn*. This appears to be the reason that D. has a prefix where such does not occur in T., e.g., *pĕrmanganĕn* (129), *kĕmatĕn* (134) = *matean*.

NOTE. Javanese has opted for *an* rather than *ĕn* with this substantive and has, therefore, done the reverse of D. Javanese has, however, retained *ĕn* in the passive imperative<sup>1</sup> and inserts an *n* after stem-words ending in a vowel, e.g., *tukunĕn* (= *tuhoron*) - *let it be bought by you* (let it be your *thing-bought*). Sundanese places the suffix *ĕn* (*eun*) after the suffix *an* which, in the active, is also used instead of *i* (57 NOTE), e.g., *pentaĕnĕn*, from *mentaĕn*. Mal. uses the nominal form as a passive imperative followed by the auxiliary *oleh* (*bĕroleh* - *to obtain something*, cf. *maruli*, from *uli*), e.g., *bĕli-olehmu* - *let it be bought by you* (let it be your *thing-bought*). This auxiliary has acquired such an extension in its use that it occurs after the nominal form for the 3rd person in the 1st passive, when the agent is denoted by a substantive, e.g., *di-bunuh oleh radja itu* - *it is killed by the prince*. This is strong proof that a substantive occurs in expressing the passive. This auxiliary is also used after kinship terms, e.g., *anak oleh mangkubumi* - *the child of the Mangkubumi*; this was considered to mean *having been begotten by the Mangkubumi*; the auxiliary is used with kinship terms to make absolutely clear that such terms which are often used out of courtesy, have a specific meaning, e.g., *anak oleh* (= *anak kandung* in Men.) - *one's own child*, begotten or borne by me. I reserve the right to doubt *by* as the meaning of *oleh*.

### 133. THE MEANING OF THE PASSIVE VERBAL SUBSTANTIVE.

In meaning, this substantive represents the thing that is the object of the thing represented by the verb. Because the verb, as can be seen in 45, only represents an action directed at something without that thing necessarily being affected by the action, this substantive, as well as meaning a thing that has already been affected by that action, can also mean something to which it has only been directed, e.g., *habijaran* (*makkabijari*, 95) means not only *that which is feared*, but also *that of which one must be afraid*, or, *which one has to fear*; *hundulan* (*makkunduli*) can mean *on which someone is sitting*, or, *on which someone can be seated*, or, *that which is intended to have someone seated upon it* (cf. below, 3). The last meaning, as appears from *dahanon* (115 end) is by far the most common.

The following should be noted with regard to the use of this substantive:

1. *Its function as a predicate* (36), when it expresses *something that needs must be done*, e.g., *dalanna i ninna ihuttonokku* (RB. p. 79,

<sup>1</sup> Roorda, Jav. Gr. 294, uses the term *objective imperative* which, according to him, can also be called the *imperative with a definite object*. The use of the term *passive imperative* is more in agreement with the term *passive* and there is then no need to say that it is an imperative with a definite object (105).

l. 9 fb.) - "If I am the first to find a bird that can speak", said he, "his path must be followed by me" (I must follow the way he has gone); *rappingon ma pinggolna* - her ears must be rent (of an adulterous wife); *di djolo, parajahon; di pudi, paimaon* (123) *sai narnón do gararommu utangmí di au* (RB. p. 307, l. 3) - your debt to me must now be paid by you (I'll brook no delay); *sai gana-gana do dohonon* (132 a) *gowarní* - images must be the name given to them (they must be called images, not wood); *andungan ma na sahit inon* - the sick person must be bewailed (the sick person must be regarded as dead, so dangerous is his sickness); *dija deba pulungon* - which things must be brought together in some quantity?; *molo sowada gararna, gadison ma i* - if his payment is not made, then she must be sold (if the father cannot pay, then his daughter must be sold); *behá dohonokku manuruk* (RB. p. 42 b) - how must manuruk be interpreted by me? (what am I to understand by manuruk?).

The prefix *si* (152, 2) is often used with this substantive, e.g., *dihana ma si-panganon* - which part of it must be partaken of? *aha ma ninna si-djalahakku* - "what", said he, "must be sought by me?" (what does he want me to look for?); *ija si-djalahammu, ninna, sada horbo, sada lombu* - "that which must be sought by you", said he, "is one buffalo, one cow", etc.; *aekna do si-bonduton, anggo borsangna i binolokkon do* (RB. p. 43, l. 15 fb.) - its sap is that which must be swallowed. The part that, on the other hand, has been chewed, must be thrown away.

This substantive can also mean something that is bound to happen. When functioning as the predicate, it is, in this case, often preceded by *sai* (158), e.g., *i ma si-taruhonokkon ni lajang-lajang mandi* - that will be brought by the mandi swallow (that will certainly, that must be brought, by the mandi swallow); *tu dija pe ibana, sai panggoraon* (127) - because she has as a child such an animal, she shall, wherever she goes, have gora shouted at her by people (everywhere, she will hear people saying at the sight of her "what a queer child she has!"); *sai na bajakkonokku do si-djonaha i* - that Dj. will, without fail, be put in the stocks by me; *indadong be gulutammu au* - no longer shall I be importuned by you.

If the necessity of doing something is denied, refused or rejected, *indada* (153 3) is used as the negation and is translated with *need not, do not have to*, e.g., *indada si-gararon i* - that does not have to be paid (it is not that that has to be paid); *indada au sukkunommu, amatta i do* - it is not I that have to be questioned by you, but my

*father* (don't ask me, ask my father); *indada pauliommu be i baen parau* - no longer does that have to be made into a vessel by you; *indada tu si au surattonommu* - I don't have to be written on it by you (you need not write my name on it, you can leave it out); *indada be sappuron*<sup>1</sup> *hamú, las baen hamú hadjangammuna di ruwang-tonga i* - no longer need you people be bound in marriage. Just place your *hadjangan* inside the house.

If the active is used, the subject precedes it and the sentence begins with *indang be*, e.g., *indang be iba mambuwat lape-lape* - we no longer need to fetch leaves to shield ourselves against the sun. The subject also precedes the active in a subordinate clause, e.g., *molo hamú mamunu au, behá baenon* - if you have to kill me, what is to be done?

In questions put because the speaker is surprised or that are spoken in a tone of reproach, the sentence begins with *bejasa*, e.g., *bejasa paririsommu gana-gana i* - why must these figures be placed in a row by you? *bejasa ma porssommu di au barang aha lungun ni rohám* (RB. p. 105, l. 14 fb.) - why do you have to conceal from me what you are grieving about? *bejasa ma dohonommu au pangalakkup* - why must I be called a *pangalakkup* by you? *bejasa ma sai papanganammu saluhutna djolma na pinangusmi, uwa ta-pangolu ma deba* - why do all the people who were kidnapped by you have to be eaten by you? Come, let us allow some of them to live! *bejasa sorommu au* - why must I be seized by you? (I've done nothing wrong!). If a negation is used after *bejasa*, the first passive is used for preference, e.g., *bejasa indá di-topot ho* (RB. p. 5, l. 8) - why isn't he visited by you? (why don't you go to visit him?); cf. quotation in 142.

Frequently *tung* is used in front of this form, especially after *molo* and *indá*, e.g., *molo tung tadikkonommu ma hami dohot dainang* - if you must abandon my mother and me (if you can find it in your heart to desert us); *indá tung tagamon na mangago hami di ho* - there's no need to be so afraid that we'll ruin you. *Tung* (158) must also be used with verbs that are used intransitively, e.g., *bejasa ma tung lao ho* - why must you go? *bejasa ma tung habang ho* - why must you fly off? *Pala* (158) is also much in use after *molo*, e.g., *molo pala di-pangan hami na duwa, bohá baenon* - if he must eat both of us, what's to be done? *molo pala tadikkonommu au, behá baenon* - if you must leave me, etc.; *molo pala marmusu hita, behá baenon* - if we must conduct a war, etc.,

<sup>1</sup> According to the form, this comes from *manappur*, instead of which *pasappur*-*(hon)* is used; the stem-word is the same as the Malay *tjampur*.

M. rarely uses the prefix *si*.

D. does not deviate in usage, but uses its own words, e.g., *kade mango hěntatěnta* - *what, then, must be brought by us? muda buwah ngo hěntatěnku* - *if only fruit must be brought by me; malot nenge tagaměn i-bunuh ěntuwara kita* - *no longer need it be feared that the flesh-spirits will kill us* (we needn't fear dying through those spirits); *malot nenge měralěng naposo* (RB. p. 173, l. 3 fb.) - *it is well that all you fellow countrymen, who have been summoned by the shots from the gun, have come, it is not now necessary for the servants to fetch you; malot ne měralěngi naposongku bajindene* (RB. p. 177, l. 7) - *it is, no longer necessary for my servants to fetch you people.*

2. Its use as a definition of a substantive in order to indicate that the thing represented by it is intended to be subjected, or is capable of being subjected, to the action represented by the verb, e.g., *djadihon aek inumon ni gadja* - *water ought to be brought into being by you, so that it could be drunk by the elephants.* It can also express something that does, or is to happen, in the future, e.g., *ganup taon mangan iba pangulahononna* - *each year we eat because they perform work in the fields for us* (we can rely upon having food; it is for this that they will be working in the fields; RB. p. 308 m.); *patoluna ro ma si-alap ari dokkonokku* - *the day after tomorrow a man will come, who at my command will ask about the day.*

The use of this substantive is very frequent for further defining the predicate, in order to indicate in how far something is predicated about the subject, e.g., *tuktuk na so djadi lahohonokkon* - *an act of stumbling that should not be disregarded* (an omen which it is unwise not to heed, so that one should abandon one's intended journey; 51); *ari na so tupa ulahonokkon* - *a day that is not suitable for performing work in the fields; tabó paridian* - *it is fine to bathe in it* (as the object of bathing in, 55); *matsadi tonggi on panganon* - *this is very sweet to eat; gabúr do i tallihommu* - *it is easy for you to cut it.* For *pangutsandean*, see 128. *Olo* (158) is also used for the same purpose, e.g., *sowada olo au habijaon* - *I don't want to be habija-ed* (I don't want, after the death of my husband, to be taken as a wife by his younger brother).

*Baenon*, which comes from *mambaen*, is often used with *behá* in questions asking *what has to be done with* something, e.g., *behá baenon pidong on* - *what is to be done with this bird?* When the prefix *si* is used with this passive verbal substantive, the substantive has the specific meaning of *that from which it is the intention to make the thing that is stated, or, from which a thing is made* (133, beginning), e.g., *si-baenon hail* - *that from which it is intended to make a fishing*

*hook; haju do hapé si-baenon gana-gana i* (RB. p. 310 t.) - *it is, therefore, wood from which these images are fashioned.*

This substantive is often used with another substantive that is introduced by *ni*, or with a pronominal suffix as a further definition, to indicate the person for whom that which is represented by the verb is done, or who has to do with it that which is represented by the verb, e.g., *di-buwat ma sada djuhut panganon ni opput-toga* - *a beast for slaughtering was taken by him for O.T. to eat; dung ni di-leon djolma ni radja i ma indahon dohot dekke panganon ni ombun i* (RB. p. 24 b.) - *thereupon, cooked rice and fish was given by the prince's wife to the cloud to be eaten by it.* The verb described in 71, and the 1st passive also, can be used with *mangaleon* instead of the passive verbal substantive, e.g., *di-leon ma di-pangan djolmana i* (RB. p. 1) - *that fruit was given by him to his wife to eat.*

M. examples of these usages are: *na so tola do paodongonkon do i* (RB. p. 128 m.) *that child cannot be allowed to live; tupa tola dopé i somba-solutonkon* - *it is still fit to be offered as a sacrifice.*

D. There is one example that should be given here: *asa i-ténahi mo mahar ni ari pëntjamētēnkēn dēkēt pērdalanēnkēn, bērngin pēdēmēnkēn* - *thereupon, they were instructed by him about the day, as being allocated for work in the field and for travelling, and the night, as being allocated for sleeping.*

3. Its use merely as a substantive. It is then simply a definition of a thing, although its original meaning is still clear, e.g., *dahanon* (115 1); *panganon* - *food* (i.e. that which is to be eaten); *habijaran* - *something that is terrible* (133, beginning); *hailán* - *genitals, invective, offensive expression* (that about which one must feel ashamed, 95); *parumaen* (29 III) - *daughter-in-law (one who has to be brought into the house,<sup>1</sup> 66).*

As a substantive, it also frequently represents a particular task, e.g., *gotilon* - *the harvesting of rice* (see Dict.); *ulaon* - *work in the field, a feast to be held*; *baboan* - *weeding*; *ija sun ordangon i, asa mulak ma halak tu ruma* - *then, when the making of the seed holes had been completed, they returned to the huta*; *ija nunga sun rabijon ni halak, nunga sun dohot tabaonna, matsinar namaná* - *when the hacking down of the brushwood had been done by the people and their felling of the trees on the field that was going to be sown, and when there was nothing more to be done but to let the wood that had been cut dry, etc.*

<sup>1</sup> Cp. M. *pa bagas(hon)*.

In a few cases, the substantive means a measure of length, e.g., *odonon* - a thumb's breadth; *duwa hali odonon bidangna* - the breadth of it must be twice the imprint of a thumb; *tukkolon borsi* - an oar's length (an oar can there be placed upright, or as a support: *tukkolon borsi hinaruwak ni babana* - the size of his mouth is as the length of an oar, i.e., an oar can be set upright in his mouth); *haiton porda* - to be so low that it could be hooked with a *porda* (e.g., of fruit that can be reached with a *porda*, which is not such a long implement). These definitions of measurement are to be explained as being verbal substantives formed from a compound substantive, so that, for example, *haiton porda* means literally to be the object of a *hait-porda* (a hooking implement that is a *porda*), i.e., to be reached with a *porda* used as a *hait*; and *tukkolon borsi* means literally to be object of a *tukkol-borsi* (a prop made of a short oar), i.e., to be supported by a *borsi* as a *prop*.

The passive verbal substantives with the suffix *an* do not always have a corresponding verb with the suffix *i*. Their meaning can also be derived from another verbal form. For example, I have never come across a *mamanganani*, which would mean to eat out of something, as an active corresponding to *panganan*: 1. that which can be eaten out of (e.g., a large leaf); 2. from which one usually eats (a plate or a dish); 3. that which has been eaten into by a disease (marks left on the limbs by, for example, an eruptive skin disease; *panganan ni ngenge* - pock marks). Such derived substantives represent a place where that which the verb represents usually takes place, or can, or must take place. The suffix *an*, representing as it does a preposition, must be translated in the same way as the suffix *i* (50). These substantives must often be circumscribed with *that*, *wherein*, *where*, *whereby*, *with which*, *on which*, *in which*, etc., e.g., *gadisan* - where something is sold or must be sold; *podoman* - where someone sleeps, or must sleep; *inganan* - which is lived in, in which something can be (a dwelling place, a box); *djappalan* - where something is grazed (meadow); *borotan* - to which something is tied (a slaughtering pole; *mamborotton* - to tie an animal to something in order to slaughter it); *tanoman* - in which someone is buried (a grave); *suhutan* - about which something is told (the hero of a story; *manuhutton* - to narrate something); *aropan* - in which people lie in ambush (the place of an ambush); *sorangan* - that which is descended upon by a spirit (a person whom a spirit is accustomed to possess); *tuwatan* - which is descended (a

terrain that slopes downward); *nakkohan* - which is ascended (a terrain that rises); *landján* - that on which is carried (see Dict., *landja*); *bajangan* - in which is put (the stocks for felons, *mamajakkon* - to put someone in the stocks); *lomingan*, *tubiran*, etc.

Where the active takes the extended passive (116), this substantive also has the extended form, e.g., *pargorán* - about which one has a *gora* (the motive for a war, *margora*); *parbadán* - about which one has a quarrel (a bone of contention); *parmusuan* - that over which one conducts a war (*marmusu*). For *panortoran*, *panakkoan*, *памотоан* and other extended forms, see 129 and 129 a.

The suffix *an*, just as the suffix *i*, can, moreover, not only refer to a plural but also to the repeated occurrence of the thing represented by the verb, or to its occurring on and off, for example, *dalanan* can also mean where it is customary for someone to walk, e.g., *hu-sukkun dalananna* - I'll inquire about the path that he is accustomed to take. The same word also means a long journey, hence *mardalanan*,<sup>1</sup> which word must not be interpreted as being the plural of *mardalan* (54) but as *mar* + *dalanan*.

This substantive is often used as a definition of another substantive, e.g., *lobong panganan ni ordang i* - the holes (in the field) in which *ordang* have fed (literally, the holes, the eating places of *ordang*, i.e., the holes bored by *ordang*); *ulos tibalán ni rudji-rudji* - a cloth on which the various portions of the bride-price are laid, or are to be laid; *sopo podoman ni ulubalang toba i* - the *sopo* in which the Toba champions sleep, or must sleep; *lubang pagoan* - the hole into which something is rammed (the holes which the poles of a house stand in, or which they will be placed in).

In compound designations, this substantive is even found immediately defined by another (without a preposition), e.g., *gulangan-rondang* - where a burnt rice grain can roll (an expression denoting the parting in the hair); *saburan-bittang* - where stars are strewn (an expression used for fowls that have speckled plumage); *sandean-buluhat* - against which a *buluhat* (8) can be leant (description of a toddy palm at a certain stage of its growth when its size is such that a large bamboo cylinder can be leant against its trunk); *tulahan-andarasi* - with whom a balance can, or must be, pushed aside (an honorific of a person who is so honest that there can never be any doubts about him);

<sup>1</sup> For example, *sadari sogot unang adóng na mardalanan* (RB. p. 58, l. 17 fb.) - nobody should make a long journey during the daytime tomorrow, nobody should go far from here because we shall need him.

*dabuan-onggang* (M.) - *where a rhinoceros bird falls* (of fields belonging to a great king that are so extensive that this far-flying bird, wishing to fly over them, falls tired out before he has done so).

The suffix *an* seldom denotes a direct object, but an example is *suruan* - *messenger, who is sent*, from *manuru*. *Suru-suruan* (repetition of the stem-word) is, however, far more often found. This also applies to *pulungan*, which can be used, though usually *puluk-pulungan* (*ma-mulung*) is used. In some words in which this suffix has this interpretation, it is well to recall that, where such a word has not been taken from Men. or Mal., *an*, representing *i*, also means a plural, or repetition, or frequency, e.g., *pasulahan* (*pasulak(hon)*) really means *someone who is sent continually* (the person whom someone always sends); *djudjungan* - *that which is continually worn on the head* (the spirit that a person always has on his head, i.e., the spirit that possesses a certain person). *Suhutan*, for example, can also be interpreted as *that which is customarily the object of manuhutton*, while *tabanan* can be explained similarly as it denotes a plural, e.g., *halak tabanan* - *captives*.

a. *Toruan* - *a low-lying terrain*, comes from *toru* (156). From *bagás* (to be deep) there is *bagasan*, which can be used with a preposition as an adverb; this also applies to *balijan*, from *bali* (156).

b. The prefix *si* is often used before a passive verbal substantive, especially where the latter functions simply as a substantive, e.g., *si-panganon*. *Si-hahán* - *the eldest* in rank or in age, and *si-anggijan* - *the youngest* in rank or in age, are such substantives and mean *the person one is accustomed to address as elder*, or *as younger brother*.

#### 134. NOMINAL VERBS.

*Nominal verbs*, i.e., words that have the form of substantives but, because they function as predicates (36) have the meanings of verbs, come also under *derived substantives*. Their meanings are in full agreement with their form as they always represent *a state of, a being subjected to*, rather than an action.

I. The first kind has the suffix *on* and represents *the suffering of a disease, the having of a defect*, something that is unsightly, and the being in a distressing condition, e.g., *batuhon* - *to be ill with a cough*; *arunon* - *to be ill with fever*; *iposon* - *to have scars*; *halejonon* - *to suffer from hunger*; *tuwanon* - *to suffer from (the disease of) Tuwan*

*Di Atas* (Tuwan Di Atas is the name of a Muslim saint, whose grave is in the vicinity of Barus, who afflicts the patient with a certain disease); *miseon* - to have a moustache that makes one look ugly, to look horrible, (as a child would say who is frightened by a moustache); *djangguton* - to have a beard that makes one look ugly.

Some of these verbs are derived from active verbal substantives, e.g., *pamburhungon* or *pamurhungon* - to be numb with cold; *panggani-ganion* - to be over-censorious; *pamundjungon* - to suffer as a result of being odd (to have the misfortune to be different from other people in one way or another, so that it gives rise to unpleasant gossip); *panogo-nogón* (*sogó*) - to have a crabbed nature; *pangisa-isaon*, *pangalingo-lingón*, etc. Others have the prefixes *hi* or *si* (30 XI), with a closing nasal and, in addition, the infix *al*, e.g., *halikkokkoton* (14 a), *halippodomon* (22 V a), *halippurpuron*, *halimataon*, *salimbolbolon*; instead of the latter, D. has *bělbělěn*. In only a few cases is the meaning of suffering from a disease, or having a defect not so easily seen; an example is *panggidak-gidahon*. For *sambubuhon*, see 135 III. For *paturotsiton*, *patungoromon*, *patungoripon*, etc., see 86. In *hohojamon* - to yawn, with drowsiness, to be overcome with sleepiness, and *sosombopon*, the first syllable is repeated.

M. has *panguntjombopon* (81) = *sosombopon*. The initial *m* of *maimataon* and of *maipusuon*, is a mystery to me; the *i* after the prefix *ma* was probably *hi* from an earlier stage (see MANDAILING B II d).

D. has *kaděn* - suffering from what?, from *kade*; *bělbělěn* (see above); *rěntjitin* (DAIRI F) - *paturotsiton*; *tungěrěměn* (DAIRI K III a) - *patungoromon*; *pěhěhowam* (52 5 Obs., and DAIRI c) - *hohojamon*.

## II. The second kind has the suffix *an*.

a. When verbs of this kind are derived from substantives, the suffix indicates *place* and the subject is, therefore, represented by this verb as being a place where what the stem-word means can be seen, e.g., *panasan* - to sweat, the place where the sweat (*panas*) is; *rongitan* - to be bothered by flies, being something where flies (*rongit*) are to be found (36).

b. When this kind of nominal verb is derived from a verb, the subject is other than the stem-word, i.e., a person who is affected by what the stem-word represents, e.g., *hatsitan* - to be in pain (*hatsit* - hurting); *ngolngolan* - to be bored (*ngolngól* - boring, of a job, irritating, of a task); *ngalijan* - to be cold (*ngalí* - cold, of the weather, for example); *hodohan* - to be warm (*hodók*, warm, of the weather).

Some of these forms still have the substantive-forming prefix *a*,

closed with a nasal (135), e.g., *atsolotan*, from *solót*; *apporotan*, from *porót*, an earlier variant of *borót* (28 II).

c. The suffix further strengthens what is represented by the stem-word and the derived form then means *taking place continually*, or *occurring extensively*, e.g., *boratan* - *to be very laden (borat)*; *monangan* - *always to win (monang)*<sup>1</sup> at gambling, or *to win big money*; *bosuran* - *to be very satisfied (bosur)*; *ratratan* - *to be very laden with fruit (of a tree, for example)*; *hetsesan*, *lamunan*, *gurguran*, etc.

d. These verbs also mean *an acquiring of*, or *a losing of*, as a state, e.g., *matean*<sup>2</sup> (RB. p. 277, m.) - *having deaths*, of someone whose soldiers have been slain; *agoan* - *having a loss, to have lost something, to be robbed* (100); *tubuan* - *to have acquired something*, as a result of a birth, or because it has grown, *to be blessed with children, to be grown over*; *dapotan* (Dict. p. 288 right) or *djuppangan* - *to acquire or to find something*, e.g., *mula au djolo djuppangan pidong na maló marhata-hata* (RB. p. 79, l. 11 fb.) - *if I can first find a bird that can speak*, etc.

These verbs can, without the intervention of a preposition, be followed immediately by a defining substantive representing the thing of which the loss or the acquisition consists, e.g., *tubuan duhut* - *to be overgrown with grass or weeds*; *tubuan anak* - *to be blessed by the birth of a son*; *dapotan laba* - *to have gains, to gain an advantage*; *djolma na djuppangan babijat i* - *the people who had the misfortune to encounter a tiger*; *djuppangan pidong na maló marhata-hata* - *to have the luck to meet a bird that can speak*; *isian omas* - *to be filled with gold*; *agoan hepeng* - *to lose money (of someone who has been robbed)*.

Some, such as *isian*, are still in use as real substantives and therefore need a preposition before a defining substantive, e.g., *haju isian ni sopona i* - *the tree where her hut was*.

M. does not differ. One example will suffice: *suwangkon banting na agoan anak domá ija* (RB. p. 113, b.) - *he was just like a banting that has lost its young*.

<sup>1</sup> According to the Batak, it is fate, or the spirits (the *tondi*), that are responsible for one's winning. At present, in both Batak and Malay, this word (*mānang*) is regarded as a stem-word, but it must have been derived from an earlier *bonang* (61) that meant *to be acquired* (cf. Sund. *beunang* and *meunang*, Jav. *wēnang* and *bēnang*).

<sup>2</sup> The nominal form must be *patean* (cf. *kēpatēn* in D.), as appears from the Alfur language of Minahasa (see Niemann's *Bijdrage tot de kennis der Alfoersche Taal in de Minahasa*, p. XXII, l. 7; *patean ni ina wo ni amanera* - *they were robbed by death of their mother and father*).

D. has *kěmagōn* = *agoan*, and *kěmatēn* or *kěpatēn* = *matean* (109 D). Cf. *kahilangan* and *kamatijan* in Mal.

e. When they are derived from a qualificative verb, these verbs have the accent on the suffix and indicate that the quality exists to a greater degree, e.g., *gabeán* - *to be richer*; *datuán* (*datú*, 43) - *to be a more skilful datu*, e.g., *gabeán do au asa ho*, *datuán do au asa ho* - *I am richer than you are and also a more skilful datu*; *songon na datuán ibana asa au* - *as though he were a more skilful datu than I!*

Words ending in a vowel can insert an *n* before the suffix, e.g., *daenán* (*daé*). This also applies to words that are used especially with an adverbial meaning and which mean *rather*, *in preference*, such as *rahanán*, *tagonán*, *adongán* (M.), *agonán* or *aganán* (28), *aranán* (M.), etc.

M. can use such a form attributively; it then moves the accent, e.g., *na dengganán* - *who is more beautiful* or *who is better* (*dengganán*, predicate).

D. places *ěněn* after the monosyllable *lot* (= *adóng*), e.g., *lotěněn* = *adongán* (M.); otherwise it uses *ěn*, e.g., *dolín* (DAIRI E III).

### C. OTHER DERIVED SUBSTANTIVES

#### 135. SUBSTANTIVES WITH VARIOUS AFFIXES.

There are a number of substantives that are recognisably derived, without the stem-word being in use as a word. They are included here because, according to their form they must, in a grammar,<sup>1</sup> be treated as derived words; their inclusion will also give someone else the opportunity of examining them further.

I. *Substantives with the prefix ha*. These are designations of sounds, of animals (often according to the particular sounds they make) and of plants, e.g.:

a. *The names of birds*: *hatutu* (M.), from *tutu*, the call of the turtle dove, cf. *si-turtu*; *halihi* (27 II 2), from *li* (the sound used when one tries to drive off a kite); *hatullit* (in D., *katjoldik* or *kětjoldik*); *katiti* (D.), *haruwok* (52 5 Obs.) etc.

b. *The names given to sounds*: *hatobung* or *hatimbung* (M.); *hatuktang*, from *tuktang* (38), *katuktak* (D.).

<sup>1</sup> In the Dict., they are not treated as derived words, so, for example, *hasijor* will not be found under *sijor* but under words beginning with *h*. It should be noted with regard to *sibodak*, besides which *subodak* (22 III b) also occurs, that it has been placed in error under *bodak*; it should have been under words beginning with *s*.

obs. It is singular that few of these words are encountered that are derived from stem-words of the first kind of stem-word verb (38).

c. *The names of plants and trees: halás or halawas (27 II 2), from las; hasijor or kětjeur (D.); hatunggal; hasobe; hatinar (M.), etc.*

d. *Auxiliaries (139).*

obs. 1. Some of these substantives have a variant without the prefix, e.g., *titi (T.) = katiti (D.); tahuru (T.) = katikuru (D.); rijas (T.) = harijas (M.); tjėkur (Mal.), tjikur (Sund.) = hasijor (10 Obs.)*. Others appear to be derived from a trisyllabic stem-word that begins with *t*, e.g., *hatinongnong, katimukmuk (D.), hatirangga or haturangga (M.), katokėrėn (D.), katoniknik (D.), katjilando (DAIRI D III)*.

obs. 2. The prefix also appears to have formed other substantives, e.g., *hatoban (29 IV Obs. 5); hamú (140 6 NOTE)*.

obs. 3. The name given to the fig tree, *harijara*, consists of two words, *hari* and *ara*. *Hari = haju*, just as the Mal. *lari = laju (Jav. in malaju)*, (cf. *kaju-ara* in D. and *haruwaja* in M., 25).

II. *Substantives with the prefix si (152 2)*. In the main these are the names of birds, e.g., *si-pet or si-pehet (27 II 2); si-turtu* (variant of the name for a turtle dove, cf. I a and 27 I); *si-tubijak*, from *tubijak*, an onomatopoeic sound, 52 5 Obs.; *si-hak*. *Si-longing* is the name of an insect and must come from *nging (52 4 b)*. *Si-ngongo* is the designation of a sound and in the Dict. should have been put under *ngongo*.

obs. Sometimes these substantives have a variant in a dialect or in a sister language without there being a prefix, or there is a different one, e.g., *kāk (D., cf. Ngadju Dayak) and ęngkak (Jav.) = si-hak*. Other substantives have *ta* after the *si*, e.g., *sita-gelleng, sita-lolo, sita-merong, sita-etek*, from *etek*, and *sita-djagar*.<sup>1</sup>

III. *Substantives with the prefix sa*. This prefix appears to have been originally the same as that of the substantives dealt with in II (152 3 e Obs.), e.g., *sa-rungga, sa-lohot, sa-lijo*; the prefix may be closed with a nasal, e.g., *sanduduk*, and occur together with the suffix *on (134 I)* in *sambubuhon*, from *bubuk (= bukbuk, 23 IV b)*.

<sup>1</sup> *Sitaeran* also probably belongs to this group (in the Dict. put under *taer*), so that it would appear to have been formed from the Arabic-Mal. *heran* (cf. *na begu* and *begu*, 43).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *rambutan (Mal.)*, from *rambut - hair of the head*.

IV. *Substantives with the prefix a closed with a nasal* (134 II b). These are mostly names of birds, insects, plants and trees, e.g., *attarijas*, from an earlier name of a sound (52 5 Obs.) (in M., it is applied to the bird itself); *atturbung*, as well as *turbung*; *attunu*, *atsilmong*, *attatadu*, *andilo*, *andolok* (from *dolok*?), *attingano*, *anduhur*, from *duhur* (name of a sound, 52 5 Obs.), *apporik*,<sup>1</sup> from *porik* (52 5 Obs.).

The stem-word of *andurijan* is *duri*, and therefore, *andurijan* originally meant *the thing on which there are thorns*, (133 3).

obs. 1. As can be seen from *turbung* and *tarijas* (M.), these substantives also have a variant without a prefix, or with another one; cf. also *durijan* (Mal. a particular fruit with thorns on it, *Durio zibethinus*); *tjántadu* (Mal.), *tántadu* (Men.) and *si-tataru* (Sund.) = *attatadu*; *antjotjak* (MANDAILING D) = *tjätjak* (Mal.); *ambaroba* = *barābah* (Men.).

When the stem-word is monosyllabic, the prefix becomes *o* or *ë* (D.), e.g., *onggang* or *ënggang* (D.), *ëngkak* (Jav.) = *kāk* (D.).

obs. 2. Some trisyllabic substantives also appear to have the prefix *a*, and often have a variant with *i* instead of the *a* in the antipenultimate syllable, e.g., *indora* as well as *andora*, *induri* as well as *anduri*, *itsuwan* as well as *atsuwān*. I also found *induhur* = *anduhur* in a MS., in the Leiden University library, which is written in a dialect that is somewhere between Dairi and Toba. In M., *simbulu* occurs as well as *imbulu*, and in Mal., *bulu*. M. has *intjogot* as well as *antjogot* and *sintjogot* (*sogot*), but as an adverb of time. Perhaps here, *in* is the preposition,<sup>2</sup> so that the word really means *on the morrow*.

V. *Substantives with the infix al* (cf. 91). Examples are: *talektek*, *balobat*, *halakkang* and *garodir* (24) in M., for which T. has *godir*. Some are derived from a word with the prefix *si* closed with a nasal, e.g., *salittoktok*, from *toktok*; *salippotpot*, *salimbatuk*, *sarimborbor* (24), *salimbolbol* (134 I), *salimbubu*. As can be seen, only one or two are derived from words that are in use. Most of them, however, when the prefix and the infix are taken away, present a word that is similar to one that is in use, of which, however, the meaning deviates too

<sup>1</sup> In Jav. *përit* or *ëmprit* is the name of this bird. In Ngadju Dayak, *pirit* is the name of the sound and *ampit* the name of the bird.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 168, footnote no. 1.

much for it to be regarded as the stem-word; it is difficult, for example, to connect *batuk* with *salimbatuk*.

M. has *hi* instead of *si* in one or two cases, e.g., *harimborbor* = *sarimborbor*. It uses *palispisan*, from *pispis*, in which the infix *al* imitates a repeated drip.

D. has a preference for *ki* (cf. 74 D.), e.g., *kalintoktok*, *kalimpětět*, *kalimbubu*.

VI. *Substantives with the suffix anan*. These are always names of persons who are descended from animals; these words are preceded by the prefix *si*, e.g., *si-lombuanan*.

M. has *kanan*, so that *anan* is probably *hanan*. The origin of this suffix is not clear to me.

#### IV. THE NUMERALS

##### 136. THE CARDINAL NUMBERS.

The cardinal numbers are *sada*, *duwa*, *tolu*, *opat* (22 II 2 Obs.), *lima*, *onom*, *pitu*, *uwalu*, *sija* and *sappulu*. The numbers from eleven to nineteen, inclusive, are *sappulu sada*, *sappulu duwa*, etc.; twenty is *duwa pulu*, thirty, *tolu pulu*, etc.; one hundred is *saratus*, two hundred, *duwa ratus*, etc.; one thousand is *saribu*, two thousand, *duwa ribu*, three thousand, *tolu ribu*, etc.; ten thousand is *saloksa*, twenty thousand, *duwa loksa*. Higher numerals have no determined meaning (see Dict. *sese*, *petak*, *hunu* and *hojan*<sup>1</sup>). The interrogative numeral *how many*, is *piga*.

It is singular that whereas *duwa pulu* etc., is used, *sappulu* and not *sa-pulu* is used. Perhaps the nasal can be explained from 22 III a.

The prefix *sa* (152), instead of *sada*, is used before words beginning with a consonant, e.g., *sa-gattang*, *sa-bale*, etc., but, *sadari*, *sadappang* (8), etc. The use of *sasta* and not *sadasta* is peculiar.

M. has *salapan* (from Men.) = *uwalu*; *sambilan* (Men.) = *sija*, and *salaso* (Men., *sa-läsä*) = *sa-loksa*.

D. has *tëlu* (DAIRI A II); *ëmpat* = *opat*; *ënëm* (ibid.); *uwaluh* = *uwalu*; *siwah* = *sija*. Moreover, *si* = *sa*, e.g., *si-puluh* as well as *simpuluh* = *sappulu*.

It uses *gëlap* as the indefinite numeral for any number greater than ten thousand. The literal meaning of *gëlap* is *dark*, *obscure*; it should, therefore, be compared with the Malagasy *álinä* (10,000) which really means *night*. *Sidari* = *sadari* is unusual, because *sada* is also in use in this dialect. It would appear that T. *sadari* has been interpreted as *sa* + *dari* and that the *sa*- has been changed into *si*-.

##### 137. THE USE OF THE CARDINAL NUMBERS.

Numerals are in apposition to the things to which they refer and are placed after them; they must, therefore, be regarded as substantives and not as adjectives (36), e.g., *nakkon rijar duwa* - *give two reals*; *di-dokkon ma naposona manakkup manuk duwa* - *she told her servants to catch two fowls*; *di-tattan obukna duwak-kibul* (139) - *she let two*

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<sup>1</sup> This has probably been taken from Mal. (*kojan*). In Ngadju Day. *kojan* means *a thousand*.

*hairs from her head down* (RB. p. 77 m.); *dongammi, sa-halak* - one of your companions (your followers, a person). They precede, however, an auxiliary numeral, a definition of time or one of measure.

If a qualificative verb, as an attribute, comes after the numeral, the verb is preceded by *akka*, e.g., *di-pattom ma horbo duwa akka na bolon* - he speared two buffaloes which were large. The definition of quantity can be interpreted as a predicative attribute, e.g., *nunga hu-leon di ho mas, godang* - I have given gold to you, much of it.

If numerals occur attributively, they must be introduced by the pronoun *na* (149), e.g., *rijarhu na onom on* - these my reals, which are six (these six reals of mine).

*Na sada* - the one, is used in contradistinction to *na sada nari* (148 6) - the other.

a. The use of *tonga* before a cardinal number in order to subtract a half of a unit, ten, a hundred, etc., is not as common in Batak as in Mal., from which the practice has perhaps been taken, e.g., *tonga duwa rijar* - one and a half reals ( $2 - \frac{1}{2}$  a real); *tonga tolu pulu* - twenty-five (30 - half of ten); *tonga duwa ratus* - one hundred and fifty (200 - half a hundred).

### 138. THE ORDINAL NUMBERS.

Ordinal numbers have already been dealt with in 68, 72 and 125; *pardjolo* - first, *parpudi* - last (124). *Hali*, or *noli*, is used as an auxiliary with numerals that are used adverbially, e.g., *sa-hali* or *sa-noli* - once; *duwa hali* or *duwa noli* - twice, etc.

Fractions are circumscribed (115 5 and 56 a). *Bagi* is used as an auxiliary with a fraction, e.g., *di-baen ma parbagina bagi tolu* - it was divided into three by him; *bagi duwa di-baen* - it was made into two by him.

Different words are used for a half, depending upon the nature of the thing in question, e.g., *bola*, *bariba*, etc. This also applies to a quarter, e.g., *suhu* and *hae* (152 e 3 Obs.). Designations of measure expressing a fraction, such as *bale*, *suhát*, *galung*, *solup*, etc., can be learnt from the Dict. *Si-tongá* is in use as an adverb (see Dict. under *tonga*).

Distributive numerals are expressed by placing *be* (76) immediately after the numeral itself, e.g., *sada be* - one each, *piga be* - how many each?

## 139. AUXILIARY NUMERALS.

After a numeral, another substantive is often used as an auxiliary, not only as a means of indicating a certain part of a thing, but also to define, more or less, the quality of the thing enumerated. The choice of this auxiliary depends upon on the degree of similarity between the thing that is enumerated and what the auxiliary itself means, e.g., *onions* are counted by *pebbles* because roundness is common to both of them, *hair*, by *leaves*, because flatness and fibrousness is a feature of both. In some of these auxiliaries, however, no attention is paid to their real meaning, hence the use of *hibul* as a substantive instead of *hibul* (19 I) for the enumerating of hairs; M. also uses *hibul* for things that are not round. The prefix *sa* is used with such auxiliaries instead of *sada*. In *andung*, *bulung* - leaf, is often used of *human beings*, perhaps to stress their fragile quality, as the main theme of the literature written in *andung* is man's miserable lot.

When a numeral ends in a vowel, it is closed, before a substantive used as an auxiliary, with a nasal, e.g., *lasuna sambatu* - white onion one pebble - one white onion; *obuk pigam-bulung* - hairs of the head how many leaves - how many hairs on the head; *obuk duwak-kibul* - two hairs (RB. p. 77 m.); *pinasa tolum-bakkijang* - *angka* fruit, three stones, three *angka* fruit; *gaol pitut-sihat* - seven rows of bananas. The only word used without a closing nasal is *halak* (*sa-halak*, 137).

Some of these substantives have the prefix *ha* after the numeral, e.g., *baba: napuran toluk-kababa* - betel, three mouths - three portions of betel leaves that have been prepared; *rippang: pege toluk-karippang* - ginger, three trailing roots - three roots of the ginger plant; *rair* (in the enumerating of bamboo and sugar cane culms), *rambar, mata*, etc.

*Bona* is used in the enumerating of tree trunks and bamboo culms. After the numeral it occurs as *habona* as well as *hambona* (*toluk-kabona* or *toluk-kambona*). *Bijur* always occurs as *hambijur*. *Burir* (M.) only becomes *haburir* after a numeral. *Haropit* has probably arisen from *lopit*, in place of *loppit* (28 II), the *r* taking the place of the *l* under the influence of the word *napuran*, which is so often used with it (24); cf. Sund. *kalëpit*.

M. uses *hibul* more often than T., e.g., *pigang-kibul* - how many pieces? *Sangkibul* (also *sangkibung*) is in use = *sada*, and *sangkibul ija* = *sadasa*, e.g., *lehen di hami loting sangkibung, raut sangkibung be* - give each of us one flint and steel and one raut; *marribu-ribu sangkibul do bituhana* - he is a thousand fold, yet has only one gut (riddle for the *simata*; the gut is an allusion to its string). *Sangkabibir* is in use, as well as *sangkababa*; so is *hantjamas*, from *samas*.

D. The prefix *kě* is placed before *bara* (= *sihat*), e.g., *singkěbara* = *sat-sihat*; *kěbēna* = *habona* or *hambona*; cf. also *kěnoliḥ*, *kawirēn*, from *awir*, = *rair*? see 17 IV and 31 IV.

NOTE. In Ngadju Dayak, auxiliaries with the prefix *ka* abound, e.g., *ka-bawak*, *ka-bilit*, *ka-pitak*, *ka-sajat*, etc.

### 139\*. NASAL CLOSING OF THE NUMERALS.

Numerals are *always* closed with a nasal when they occur before a nominal form that is a designation of a quantity, e.g., *sal-loppit*,<sup>1</sup> *pitung-iris*, *pitung-golom*, *sang-inum* (M.), *sang-undot*, *sal-lappis*, *sambatsir*, etc. This also applies to words meaning *a half*, like *bola* and *bariba*, e.g., *sam-bola* - (*one split*) *a half*, from *mambola* - *to halve* something. The original meaning of *bakbak* must have been *a strip of bark*, cf. *mambakbahi* - *to strip off the bark*, 50 1.

Words that have the form of the 3rd passive must have a nasal after the numeral (115), and also when they are passive verbal substantives, e.g., *sak-koposon*; in M. however, *satupan* (RB. p. 42, l. 15) especially is used, and even *sangatup*.

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<sup>1</sup> In conformity with 15, *n* is often omitted in writing before *r* and *l*, e.g., *sa-loppit* instead of *san-loppit*, cf. *na-robar* instead of *nan-robar*.

## V. THE PRONOUNS

The *personal pronouns* are :

1. *au* (10 b) - *I*. *Au* is used to one's superiors and to one's inferiors. It is also used as a predicate at the beginning of a letter, and of a *pangulubalang* in *pada*, by introducing them as speaking persons; for an example, see 21 a.

Where the *tondi* is being addressed in laments, or where people are expressing their feelings, a man uses *bajo-adi* and a woman, *boru-adi*, e.g., *ijalé partondión aha ma na mardabu<sup>1</sup> laning di boru-adi* - *O thou, who art regarded as the tondi, what is it that must fall upon me as a curse?* (what cruel decree of fate is it that oppresses me?); *tuwana ma hamuna ro alé itó mangalap au, asa mangolu boru-adi* - *how fortunate it is that you, brother, have come in order to fetch me, so that I may live*. One can also use one's own name, speaking of oneself in the 3rd person, e.g., *ho ma djolo alé haháng mangoli, ijanggo si-adji pamasa, na ung songon i ma lejatni soro ni arina* (RB. p 61, l. 2) - *now you older brother please go and buy a wife! As for Adji Pamasa, it would appear that his fate is such* (unfortunate as I am, I must accept the fate of always having to lose the girl of my choice because she dies); cf. also the quotation under *ulubalang* in the Dict.

For *iba*, see 148.

In the elegant language used for stories, or in *andung*, *bulung* (139) is used with the suffix *hu*, e.g., *alé ináng na lambok mallilung na di bulukkú* (19 III) - *O mother, who speaks tenderly to me!*

M. In the elaborate language of stories (Int. VII c), and in *andung*, M. uses *ibangku diri* (also *ibangku madiri*) or *si-manarengku*, both of which mean *my body* or *my person*, e.g., *di ari aha ma ulani topak si-manarengku i* - *on which day would this, my wretched person, have been born?* In *andung*, *halumu* (South M.: *alumu*, MANDAILING B II d) is also used by women, e.g., *radja ni halumu* - *the lord of your slave, i.e., my lord* (beloved husband); see also *anggimu* in the Dict. under *radja*.

D. uses *aku* (DAIRI B), furthermore, it uses the name in the same cases where T. and M. use it, e.g., *ěnggo mate mo kāk* (RB. p. 7, l. 2 fb.) - *if I, when sought by you, do not return quickly and I'm not lost, then I, poor creature, am already*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the use of the Mal. and Men. *mānimpā*, e.g., *di-timpa daulat marhūm* - the aforesaid person is struck by the power of the deceased kings, the curse of the dead kings strikes him; cf. Dict. under *timpo*.

*dead*. The pronoun is sometimes added, e.g., when you see the rain falling down, *daroh inangëndene aku mo kèpekèn* (RB. p. 84 t.) - *then it is nothing but the blood of your wretched mother (me)*.

2. *ho* (2nd pers sing) - *thou*. *Ho* is used to persons to whom it is not necessary to use *hamú*. An older man will, however, out of affection, use the word *damang* to a younger man and *dainang* to a younger woman; to someone who is very much younger and who could be his grandchild (RB. p. 102, l. 4), or to someone whose relationship to him is that of a servant, he will use the word *daoppung*.<sup>1</sup> *Anggikku* - *my younger brother, or sister*, and *ibotokku* - *my brother, or sister* (see Dict. under *iboto*) are used as 2nd pers pronouns when speaking in a particularly affectionate or friendly way. Such words are used in the same way as *hamú*, e.g., *buwat damang ma djuhut i* - *that meat is to be taken by you, father (take that meat, young man, or dear son)*; *djaga anggikku ma parautta on* (RB. p. 95, l. 3 fb.) - *let this vessel be guarded by you, my younger brother*; *honong anggikku ma djolo* (RB. p. 94) - *drive for it, I bid you, younger brother*.

When speaking to a prince, *amatta radja* - *Prince, our father*, can be used, e.g., *indá tung dija na hu-dok di amatta radja* - *I have nothing of importance to say to you, my Lord*. Other terms can, however, be used, depending upon the kinship relationship of the speaker to a prince, such as *ho* or *hamú*. *Radjanamí* - *our Prince*, is frequently added to such words out of politeness.

M. uses *radja i*, as the 2nd pers, to princes and *na дума i* - *the rich one*, to princesses; *patuwannamí* is also in use as a vocative.

D. uses *kono* which, like *kene*, often loses its last syllable, e.g., *muda mada ngo ko, nimu, mēngalo karna manuk-manuk radja saip-ladang mate ni-bakin siramu idi, garar mo pēnokorku idi dēkēt harga nakan si-ni-panganna idi bangku; muda malot ēnggeut mēnggarar kono, malot kono norok keke i kutangku ena nari* - *if you say that the bird, R.S.L., has died as a consequence of your salt, and you don't deny it, then pay me what it cost me when I bought it and for what it ate. If you will not pay it, you shall not leave this, my huta*.

3. *ibana* (which really means *his person*, cf. M. 1 and 148 4) - 3rd pers sing, and is used of persons, of either sex, of whom it is not necessary to use *hamú*. *Ibana*, especially when used with the active (105), often has the meaning of *himself, herself*, e.g., *tangis ma radja i, tangis ma dohot ibana* (RB. p. 131 m.) - *the prince cried and she herself also cried*; *sada djolmana sada boruna sada ibana* (RB. p. 67, l. 10 fb.) - *only three of them were left, his wife, his daughter and he himself*. For the use of *ibana* as a reflexive pronoun, see 145.

<sup>1</sup> See 152.

If, when speaking of someone, it is desirable to do so in a very polite manner, his name or his title is used, e.g., *radja i - the prince*, *boru ni radja i - the prince's daughter*, i.e., that lady (cf. the meaning of *radja* in the Dict. and 142).

When a speaker is referring to a sister-in-law (RB. p. 46 m.) or to a son-in-law, *hala-hi* (19 II) is often used (*hala-hi*, like *nasida*, is really a plural, cf. M., 7), e.g., *tagan ni hala-hi* (The Quarrel between S.M. and D.D., p. 11, l. 14 fb.) - *his* (my son-in-law's) *betel-box*. *Dakdanak i* (19 II) is used of a *young woman* who stands in such a kinship relationship to the speaker that he must use *hamú* to her and not *ho*.

The use of a substantive with the pronominal suffix *ta* as the 3rd pers possessive adjective, is less frequent, e.g., *radjatta - our prince*, *amatta suhut on - our father, this chief person*. In the 1st passive, *ibana*, as the agent is suppressed (102) and in the 2nd, is sometimes replaced by the suffix *sa* (109).

M. uses *ija* (cf. D.) which, when it follows a preposition, requires an *s* (cf. 8 d), e.g., *di sija = dibana - to him, for him, etc.*, and *tu sija = tu ibana - to him, or her*, the latter being used after a verb meaning a movement. For the use of *ija* with the 1st passive see 102.

D. uses *ija* (cf. M.) in the singular as well as the plural. It can never be used after a preposition (159). It is suppressed with the 1st passive.

4. *hita* - 1st pers plural, inclusive, i.e., including the person or persons spoken to. It is also used in place of *ho* and *au* when the speaker wishes expressly to be polite or when the kinship relationship is not known and there is doubt whether *ho* or *hamú* should be used. In the 1st passive, it is abbreviated to the prefix *ta*, or is replaced by *ita* or *sita* (103, Obs. 1).

M. also uses *hita*, to distinguished persons and to princes.

D. uses *kita* (DAIRI B), but in the 1st passive it uses the prefix *si*, which is an abbreviation of *sita* (103).

5. *hami* - 1st pers pl, exclusive, i.e., excluding the person or persons spoken to. How it is used in the 1st passive, is explained in 103.

M., in the north, also uses *hai*, and in the 1st passive places both it and *hami* before the verb (103).

D. uses *kami* (DAIRI B) and in the 1st passive uses, in conformity with T., *ku- — kami*.

6. *hamú*, or *hamuna*, - 2nd pers pl. It is used instead of *ho* as a singular to persons who, in relation to the speaker, belong to a different *marga* or must be regarded as so belonging. For example, *adult* brothers

and sisters use it to each other, because a wife takes the *marga* of her husband and is, therefore, considered to belong to a different *marga* to that of her brother. A father and his adult daughter use it for the same reason. It is hardly necessary to explain that one must use it to one's sister's husband, one's mother's brother, one's children-in-law and one's parents-in-law. Just as other words occurring as 2nd pers pronouns, it is placed after the passive imperative (see 2), e.g., *fatuduhon hamú ma rupamuna i* - *let your form be shown by you* (show yourself).

M. does not have *hamuna*.

D. uses *kene* which, just as *kono* (see 2), often loses its last syllable.

NOTE. From the accent of *hamú*, it is clear that the derivation from *mu* is felt; the addition of the prefix *ha* has made *mu* into a substantive (135 I).

In the case of *hami*, the accent must have been moved. The reason for this would be because it could not be felt as a derivative of *mi*, which does not occur as a 2nd pers suffix. That, here again, the place-relationship is indicated by the contrast in the vowels (63 NOTE), admits of no doubt, i.e., *hamú* clearly contrasts persons who are *there* with those who are *here*.

In *kene* and *kono* (D.) also the difference in vowels makes a distinction: *kene*, like *hamú*, is used instead of *kono* out of respect to a kinsman. Here we see the same tendency as in the formation of *krama* words from *ngoko* words in Javanese. Tag. has *kamí* and *kamú*.

7. *nasida* - 3rd pers pl. It is also used instead of *ibana* in those cases where *hamú* is used instead of *ho*.

A plural pronoun is used of one person when, by means of a conjunction, or in another way, another person is also referred to. For example, Bataks say *we and my mother, they and his mother*, instead of *my mother and I, he and his mother*, e.g., *molo salí rap hami tehé dohot anggikkón indadong tagamon djuppa hami pidong na maló marhata-hata* (RB. p. 66, l. 2) - *come, if this, my younger brother, and I are always together, then it is not probable that we shall be able to find a bird that can speak; so* *po bogasnasida modom na rappon hahana i* (131); *mardalan hami djolo dohot pahoppum* (RB. p. 177, l. 21) - *let me go on a journey with your grandson*.

M., in the north, has *halani* and *halahi*, but *alai* in the south. When *halahi* is defined by the demonstrative pronoun *i*, an *n* is inserted between the two words (32 1), e.g., *halahini* (RB. p. 276) = *hala-hi + i*. Usage does not differ from that with *nasida*, e.g., *halahi dohot halak na mangarabi i* (RB. p. 281 b.) - *he and those people engaged in clearing land*.

D., see 3, e.g., *kērina ija* - *they all* = *saluhut nasida; asa mangan mo ija kērina ija si-sada kuta idi* - *then they ate, all who were of that one huta* (then the dwellers of that huta ate without there being any people from another huta present).

## 140\*. REPLACEMENT OF PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

The personal pronouns are often replaced by substantives representing something belonging to the individual, either one of the limbs or what is with him or on him, such as, for example, a garment, or his *roha* (see Dict.); for indicating the person himself, a pronominal suffix, or a substantive with *ni* (151) is used, e.g., *mamoto roha ni halak* - *people are suspicious* (lit. the minds of people are going to know); *asi rohana mida* - *he has compassion for*, etc., (lit. his heart is compassionate seeing, etc.); *pos rohakku* (RB. p. 177, l. 15 fb.; cf. also p. 19, l. 2 fb., and p. 20 m.); *pittór rohana* - *he is honest*; *pittór uhum ni radja i* - *the prince is righteous*; *pitung matana* - *he is blind*; *ruwák butuhana* - *he can eat a lot* (lit. his stomach is big); *pitút butuhana* - *he does not eat much* (lit. his stomach is small); *ro rimasna* - *he becomes angry* (lit. his wrath comes), cf. *ro* in the Dict.

Substantives also replace personal pronouns in those cases in which we would qualify the object (which, in Batak, is the subject of the passive) adverbially to indicate which part of a thing is affected by the action represented. For example, a Batak says *hit his head*, [which we can also say] whereas we can use the *limiting adverbial adjunct* and say *hit him on the head*, e.g., *balbal uluna i* (RB. p. 86, l. 14 fb.); *di-tiham ma butuha ni baji* - *he stabbed that man in the stomach* (lit.: he stabbed the stomach of that man).

Any adverbial adjunct that consists of a preposition and a substantive or a substantival pronoun is expressed similarly, e.g., *your raut will be forged by me*, and not *I shall forge a raut for you* (51 5 a); *his sopo is to be begun by you*, i.e., *give him another sopo*, or *let another sopo be made for him* (49).

## 141. THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.

The *demonstrative pronouns*, which can function as attributes as well as as substantives, are of two kinds. The first denotes the place that a thing occupies within a space, and the second, the time in relation to which a thing is discussed.

I. Those of place are:

1. *on* - *this*. *On* refers to a place in the immediate vicinity of the speaker, e.g., *pidong on* (19 II) - *this bird* (the bird present here).

2. *an* - *that*. It refers to a place outside the immediate vicinity of the speaker. It relates to something that is removed from the speaker

but which is within his sight and can be pointed to, e.g., *pidong an* (19 II) - *that bird there*.

3. *aduwi* - *over there, yonder*, e.g., *bagas aduwi* - *yonder house*.

a. *Aduwi*, and *an* as well, can also be used for places that are not visible to the speaker. When, however, it is so used it is coupled with a gesture, either a pointing of the finger or a pursing of the lips (63 NOTE). When *aduwi* is used in referring to a distant country, the speaker being unable to specify the distance, it is often pronounced *adòè*. *Aduwi* is no longer felt in Toba as a derivation; it is composed of *adú* (used in M.) and *i*, and were it still felt as a derivation it would be pronounced *àdu i* (19 II).

4. *e*. It refers to things that are nearby and is usually used with *halak*, e.g., *hàlahé* (19 II) - *these people* and also, *this nation*, i.e., the people of this race or this tribe, if such a person is in sight. It is frequently used as a vocative, e.g., *alé halahé* - *Oh, ye people who are present!*

M. uses *adú* = *aduwi* (cf. Dict. under *sado*), and *on* = *e* (cf. 142), e.g., *hàlanón* (in the north) (cf. 140 7) and *àlahón* or *àlak ón* (in the south).

D. uses *ena* and *en* = *on*; *adena* = *an* and *aduwi*; *naké* and *kèlaké* (in the vocative) = *halahé*.

II. Demonstrative pronouns of time are:

1. *i* - *that*. It is used of something that has already been mentioned or something that, in some way, is known to the speaker. It can *never* be used to refer to something that can be seen and to which one can point, e.g., *pidong i* - *the aforesaid bird* (the bird that we have heard about or which has already been spoken about). It can be *translated* by our definite article, but it should in no way be equated with it, as it is not unaccented; like other demonstrative pronouns, it takes the accent (19 II).

*Inon* is also used as well as *i*; some people prefer to use it when writing, especially when the preceding substantive ends in an *i*, to make it clear that the substantive is determined, e.g., *babinon* - *the aforesaid pig*, because in writing *babi* and *babí* are often spelt alike, in view of the absence of a sign for the accent (8). This distinction is, however, arbitrary; *inon* is also found after words that do not end in *i*.

M. does not have *inon*.

D. uses *idi*, which is also abbreviated to *i*, (143), in territories where the language leans towards Toba.

obs. 1. The explanation of the form of *inon*, is that it consists of *i* and *on*

(32 I), and that it was made up at a time when *i* had not been applied to time and was only a sound-gesture. *On* was, subsequently, placed after it to remove the locative meaning that each of the words, used separately, would have had. This linkage made reference to any particular place impossible, because *being here* excludes *being there*. That, formerly, *i* must also have been a gesticulatory word with which a thing *in the vicinity* was indicated, is not only probable from the use of this vowel in some sister languages, e.g., *iki* (Jav., *this*), *ini* (Mal., *this*) and *indi* (obs. 2), but also from *e* which, as a strengthened *i* (cf. *addè*), has acquired a plural meaning. In fact, in the Alfur language of Minahasa, the *i* of pronouns is changed into *e* in order to express the plural, e.g., *ne*, which is the plural of *ni*; *sera* (they), from an earlier *sira* (in Kawi, the 3rd pers sing.); *nera* (pronominal suffix, *theirs*) the plural of *nira* (in Kawi, used after words ending in a vowel, 3rd pers suffix *his*).

In Malagasy, the plural pronouns are formed by inserting the syllable *re* after the first syllable, e.g., *ireu* - *those*, or *these*, things, from *iu* - *that* thing; *ireni* - *these* things, from *ini* - *this* thing. This syllable *re* calls to mind the infix *ar* which, in Sundanese, so often makes a plural and in other of the sister languages creates the frequentative, and analogous ideas (52 5 and 87-90).

In Mal., there is *marika*, with *itu* after it, as the 3rd pers pl pronoun. What is this but a plural form of *mika* (2nd pers 1)? Pronouns do, in fact, change their role frequently, as appears from *sira* which, in Kawi, is the 3rd pers pronoun but the 2nd pers in Jav. and Sundanese (*sija*), while *silá* in Tag. and *sida* (in *nasida*) are used for the 3rd person.

obs. 2. In Men., *di sinan* (143) = *there*, so that an *inan* (cf. *inon*) must earlier have been usual in this language (*inan* is customary in Magindanao). In Mal., there is *di sana* which must be derived from *ana* - *that*, *yonder*, which is still in use in the Alfur language of Minahasa. The Mal. *mana* also appears to be explainable from *ana*, so that *mana* is really a verbal form (61) that has acquired an adverbial meaning, in accordance with the spirit of the Indonesian languages (154).

2. *onde* or *ondeng* (31), which can only be translated with *the just mentioned*, *just now*, e.g., *pidong onde* - *the bird . . . just now*, *the bird just mentioned*. *Onde* is to *i* as *on* is to *an*.

M. uses *nangkinondi*, a compound of *nakkín* (150 4) and *ondi* = *onde*.

D. uses *ëndai*: also used = *nakkín*.

obs. I contend that *onde*, as appears from *ondi* (M.), is, in origin, the same word as the exclamatory words *indi* and *ëndi* (D. 143).

Only later did it become applied to time (cf. obs. 1).

#### 142. THE USE OF THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.

As to the use of the demonstrative pronouns it should be observed that they can also function as substantives, e.g., *asa i ma hapé na margowarhon si-boru tindang panukkunan* (RB. p. 87, l. 1 fb.) - *that* (the aforesaid woman) *was, indeed, the one who was called T.P.*; *bejasa ma indá hu-ida i* (RB. p. 162 m.) - *why should it* (that *huta*) *not be seen by me?* *di au ma i bulusan ni oppumi asa hu-parbulusan*

<sup>1</sup> It is used to inferiors and, just like the Jav. *sira*, is therefore really the 3rd pers (cf. the use of *er* in High German to inferiors).

*djolo, barang na las do daging niba* (8) *marbulusatton i* - let me have it, your grandfather's blanket, and let me try it, so that I may know whether one's body is warm when covered in it; *bejasa ma on marnijang laning* (RB. p. 70 b.) - why are these buffaloes so thin? Other examples are to be found in the RB. on p. 88 and from these it is clear that *i* is often used when, by the use of *ma*, the attention is fixed upon a specific thing.

These pronouns are often used as adjectives after titles like *radja, boru ni radja*, etc., as an expression of respect when speaking of such persons, e.g., *radja i* - the aforesaid prince, he; *boru ni radja i* - the aforesaid prince's daughter, the said lady, she (140 3). If a person's rank or position is not known, *bajo, boru* or *akkora* are used with these pronouns, e.g., *molo boru-boru na so tubuan anak do na tamanukkon, las pono do boru i* - if it is a woman who has not borne a son, if it is such a one for whom we perform this act of divination with a chicken, then she (the aforesaid daughter) is to remain childless.

It should be noted that *bajo* (8 a) is used by someone of another person who is of the same sex, i.e., a man of a man, a woman of a woman; *akkora* (8 a) is used by a man when referring to a woman. These words are used particularly when, with an adjectival pronoun, a third person is referred to in relation to place, or to time, so that *bajón, bají, akkorón, akkori*<sup>1</sup> (8 a) must be used and not *ibana on, ibana i*, etc.

In the use of *on* by itself as a substantive, it should be noted that it usually refers to more than one thing (cf. M. 141 4), so that it has almost superseded *e*, e.g., *tanda hamuna djolo on, barang dija helakku, ai nunga masirappasan on* - look carefully at these two people to find out which of them is my son-in-law, for these persons are disputing the possession of my daughter. (Here, two people are referred to who are identical in appearance, both of whom lay claim to the same woman).

#### 143. DEMONSTRATIVE ADVERBS OF PLACE AND TIME.

A demonstrative pronoun becomes a demonstrative adverb of place or of time by the preplacing of a preposition. Only *i* must be preceded by an *s* (8 d); the use of *s* before the other pronouns is optional, e.g., *di si, tu si* (never *tu i*), *di son* or *di on*, *di san* or *di an*, *tu son* or *tu on*, *tu saduwi* or *tu aduwi*, *di aduwi* or *di saduwi*, etc.

<sup>1</sup> In a pustaha I also found *akkora inon*.

It should be noted that *di si* means *there* (the aforesaid place), as well as *then, at the time* (at the aforesaid moment). No adverb can, however, be made in this way from *onde*; where it is necessary to use an adverb, *nakkín* is used (150 4). *On pe - only now*, is used in contradistinction to *i pe - only then*, e.g., *taon i pe au mangoli - only next year shall I buy a wife*.

a. It is probable that *nanón* (32 I a) comes from *na on*, because otherwise D. would not have *nahan* (DAIRI J X). The variant *narnón*, and in M., *narón*, (with a somewhat modified meaning) would then be reminiscent of *na ro on* (8 and 126) - *that now comes/happens*, the more so because in M., it means *forthwith* and not *now at this moment*. In M., *sa-on-ari* (which, in T., means *at this time of day*) = *nanón*; in D., *karangkěn ena* is used.

M. uses the forms without *s*, except where the pronoun begins with *i* (cf. 140 3), e.g., *tu adú = tu saduwi* (see Dict., Appendix).

D. uses *i sěndi* or *sěndi*, from an earlier *ěndi* (141 II 2 Obs.) = *di si*, e.g., *i sěndi mo kita měngido hukum* (RB. p. 165 b.) *there* (from the aforesaid monkey) *must we seek justice*; *i sěnda* or *sěnda* (less frequently *i sena*) = *di son*; *i sadena* = *di saduwi* (RB. p. 215 m.); *bagidi* (see Dict.) or *bagi* (cf. 141 II) = *boí* (8 Obs.); *bagena* (RB. p. 271, l. 9 fb.) or *bagenda* (*bage* + *ěnda*, in *sěnda*) = *songon on*; *nahan* = *narón* (M.).

#### 144. I AND ON AS ADJUNCTS OF TIME.

The pronouns *i* and *on* are also used as adjuncts of time after substantives circumscribed by the relative *na*, as can be seen in the examples in 126. *I* and *on* are also used after designations of time that are composed with the prefix *sa* (152), in order to make of them adverbs of time, e.g., *sadari on - this one day, today*; *sahali on - this once*; *na sataon i - (150 4) - in that year*. *I* is placed after the adverbs *nakkín* and *na potang* (150 4), usually to make adjectives of them; *i* is often closed with an *n* or an *ng* (27 II 2 obs. 1).

#### 145. REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS.

Reflexive pronouns are seldom used (see 107) and every personal pronoun can function as such, e.g., *gulang ma ho* (RB. p. 53, l. 2 fb.) - *you fall over yourself*; *di-baen ma ibana marabit ina-ina* (RB. p. 68 m.) - *she dressed (herself) like a woman who had already had a child* (i.e., with the garment under the breast, so that the breasts were bare); *ita-gulang ma hita tu toruwan aduwi* (RB. p. 53, l. 12 fb.) - *let us roll ourselves into younder hollow*; *di-baen ma ibana songon na mate* - *he pretended to be dead* (he made himself like a person who was dead);

*datu panau-nau na padatu-datu ibana* - one who is merely representing himself to be a *datu*. For *hu-baluti au*, see 164\*.

With those verbs with the prefix *pa* and which can only have *hon* in the active, *ibana* is sometimes used as a reflexive pronoun; sometimes it is absent, e.g., *di-pasurut boru ni radja i ma ibana tu bagasan* (RB. p. 30, l. 12) - that young woman took herself inside backwards (she withdrew inside): *ibana* can just as well be omitted (66, 107).

*Diri* is used with a pronominal suffix, e.g., *di-tomboppon ma dirina* (The Quarrel between S.M. and D.D., p. 2, l. 2) - he threw himself down, flopping on to the floor. The use of *diri* is, as a rule, limited to the 3rd pers. *Bana* can also be used as a reflexive pronoun, though it is used more in Dairi Sub-Toba and then only with the active (see D. further on), e.g., *na padatu-datu bana do ho* - you are one who attempts to pass himself off as a *datu*.

*Daging* is also used; just as *pamatang*, it refers to the limbs (52 3 fn.) and is therefore used with the extended passive, e.g., *nung i manigor manderse ibana di-pattingakkon dagingna tu papan* - there-upon he was disheartened and threw himself (his whole body) heavily to the floor (of planks). In *andung*, *si-mangalijok* is used, e.g., *di-rege ma si-mangalijokna matós ma tali tijan dagingna* - he shook himself to set himself free and the rope broke and fell away from his body. Words like *rupa* (140 6) and *roha* are also used, e.g., *tu rohami ma ho marsapata* (RB. p. 297, l. 7 fb.) - curse yourself!

M. has *ija* as well as *ibana* with persons, e.g., *di-halihon ija ma ija sipat tolonamija* (RB. p. 6, l. 4 fb.) - he buried himself therein (51) right up to his neck; *di-baen ija ma ija djadi gadja* (RB. p. 7, l. 8) - she turned herself into an elephant; *di-uluwi ija ma ibana* (RB. II p. 268, l. 20). *Ibana* is always used with inanimate things, e.g., *marsitampulkon ibana ma balijung dohot sandung i* - the *balijung* and the *sandung*, each hacked on his own account, (without human beings helping them). In *andung*, and in the elaborate language of myths, *iba* is used with a pronominal suffix, e.g., *rajarkon ba ibamu tu ipar ni lautan* - sail to the other side of the sea, you understand! (lit. sail with your own self to the other side of the sea).

M. follows T. in other respects, e.g., *gulu-guluhon ma ho tu panjurbuan an* (RB. p. 37, l. 9) - turn yourself round several times in this place where weeds have been burnt. South M. uses *iba* with a pronominal suffix, or with *ni* and *ala i* (140 7), e.g., *antjo ta-parkaroan ibanta* - so that we bind ourselves in marriage; *di-parkaroan kala i ma iba ni ala i* - they bound themselves in marriage.

D. uses *diri* in a wider sense, e.g., *i-përbagekën dirina* (RB. p. 233 m.) - he changed himself into all kinds of forms; *i-dabuh dirina* (RB. p. 94 t.) the buffalo's head fell down; *i-sangkëtkëñ nola mo dirina i binangun* (RB. p. 94 m.) - the buffalo's head again hung itself on the pole of the house; *ënggo mo aku tértaki diringku* (RB. p. 74 t.) - now I've put myself into a difficult situation (I've been caught by my own trick); *bësuri dirimu* (RB. p. 243 b.) - satisfy yourself! *Diri* = *iba* is also used without the pronominal suffix (148).

*Bana* is used for preference with the active (see above), e.g., *ěnggo magakhkěn bana si-somada si-dasa dukak ena mo* (RB. p. 271) - *she has already made herself known as not being the one who owns this child.*

*Měrsanggar bana* has the same meaning as *sumanggar* has in T. *Měngurumi bana*, of which the literal meaning is *to ensure oneself having a long life*, has acquired the meaning of *to reach its full growth*, for example a stalk of rattan that has not been damaged and has grown to its full height.

#### 146. INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS.

Interrogative Pronouns are:

1. *aha* - *what*. As a substantive, it is used to ask about the nature of a thing or the essence of a matter.

2. *ise* - *who*. As a substantive, it is used to ask about the nature of a person and also to ask a person's name (RB. p. 243, l. 2 fb.) or title.

3. *si-aha* - *who*. As a substantive, it is specifically used to inquire the name of a person when that name begins with *si-* (152).

a. *Paruhaon*, a word that is used to ask of the kinship relationship in which someone stands to the person who is addressed, is also a substantive, e.g., *paruhaommu i* - *how stands he to you?* (what is his relationship to you?). It is a passive verbal substantive of a verb, *maruha*, which must have meant *to consider as what*, because in M., *parahaon* is used. The stem-word is *uha*; according to 25 III it equals *huwa* in the interrogative verb, *mahuwa* (44).

*Pardiha* is also used, e.g., *pardihám i asa loppaommu panganonní* (see Dict. under *diha*) - *what is he to you, that you are cooking food for him?*

b. *Bohá*, or *behá* or *borhá*, (28 II) = *how, what is*, is an interrogative adverb. It is often used as a predicate, with the active verbal substantive as the subject (120). It is really a verb and the original form was *mahá* (30 VIII and 147 NOTE). The *a* of the prefix, being indistinct because of the accent's being on the syllable following, is at times heard as an *o* and at others as an *e* (28).

4. *Dija* - *which* is both an adjective and a substantive; the latter is used of a definite number of things or of a specific quantity. *Diha* (9 b), as a substantive, means *which part* of something. *Dija* becomes an interrogative adverb of *place* (143) by placing a preposition before it, e.g., *di dija* - *where*, *tu dija* - *whither*, *tijan dija* - *whence, from where, along what, by what*. With the addition of the prefix *sa* (152),

*dija* becomes, in contradistinction to *piga* (136), an interrogative of quantity or of amount and functions as a predicate, e.g., *sa-dija argana* - *how much is the price of it?* *sa-dija balgana* - *how much is the size of it?* (how big is it?).

*Andigan* = *when* is used as an interrogative of time. For the stem-word, see Dict. Appendix.

M. uses *parahaon* (see 3 a), from *aha*.

D. uses *kade* = *aha*, *si-kade* = *si-aha*, *kade-kade* = *paruhaon* (cf. also RB. IV, p. 90); *dike* = *dija* and *di-dija*, *mike* = *tu dija*, *dike nari* = *tijan dija* (with the meaning of *from where*), *rap dike* = *tijan dija* (with the meaning of *along what*), *masa-dike* = *na sa-dija* (44).

*Apai* is used as an interrogative in respect of a specific thing or person amongst a certain number or a certain quantity, e.g., *apai mo i-akap kono si-merasana rorohmu idi* (RB. p. 69, l. 10 fb.) - *which of those side-dishes of yours do you find the tastiest?* *apai mo ku-tumpak apai ku-alo* (RB. p. 265, l. 2 fb.) - *which of the two shall I support in the fight and which fight against as an enemy?* Further, *endigan* = *andigan*.

#### 147. THE USE OF THE INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS.

The interrogative pronouns are used as follows: they can never be used as the *direct* or the *indirect object* nor, with the passive, as the agent (105); one says *aha habijarammu* - *what is it that you are afraid of*, and not *mabijar di aha ho* or *makkabijari aha ho* (see also 109 and 115 1).

In indirect questions, the auxiliary *barang* is placed before the interrogative. *Barang* means *in order to know* (*if, who, what*<sup>1</sup>), therefore, in a sentence such as *I don't know who has done it*, for example, the *who* must not be translated with *ise*, e.g., *badju-badjukku do na hu-pahusó di-hamuna, barang ise na mambuwat tijan paridijannami an* - *it is my jacket after which I inquire among you people, in order to find out who it is who has taken it away from the place where we have been bathing*; *paborwa ma di au amang lilit ni utang lilit ni singir barang na sa-dija* - *tell me, father, of the amount that is owed by us and of the amount due to us, so that I shall know how much it is*; *sukkun na musé barang piga pinggan, ninna* - *ask him again how many plates he says there should be?* *sukkun djolo partondiokku barang na*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *tu dija ma hu-togihon anakkón marmusu asa binoto djolo gogo ni hapandean i* - *whither should I, leading the way, take this son of mine, in order that he might fight a battle, so that the power of the ability that I have instilled into him will become known* (RB. p. 177, l. 14) with *mardalan hami djolo dohot pahoppúm asa huluhon* (8) *djolo ibana masibodilan barang na gogo do hapandean na hu-podahon i* (RB. p. 177, l. 16 fb.).

*olo do au tubuan anak* - ask the personality that I have to consider as tondi, whether I shall be gladdened with the birth of a son? (134 II d); *rijori hamú ma barang dija lomo ni rohamuna* - ascertain which of those things is pleasurable to you (which you like most); *topot ma djolo api adowe barang ise i na marapi i* - go now to yonder fire, so that I shall know whose fire it is.

*Barang* is also used before the interrogative so that the latter can function as an indefinite pronoun, in order to allude to things of which the speaker knows nothing, e.g., *barang si-aha lomo rohám baen gowar ni anakta i* - give as a name to our child whatever is agreeable to you (it's all the same to us what name you give our child); *hu-rippu do barang ise nakkín, hapé ho do* - just now I thought it was someone or other (someone unknown to me), but now I see that it's you. *Barang* is often used with *pe* (165) after the interrogative, e.g., *barang tu dija pe djalahi* - go and seek, wherever it may be. *Pe* can, however, also be omitted, e.g., *barang sa-dija artakku, si-tongá be hita* - whatever my goods amount to, we shall halve them between us.

In questions expressing doubt (158 6), *anang* is used before the interrogative or before the substantive defined by an interrogative, e.g., *anang huta nise* (8) *ma on laring ninna rohana* - "whose huta might this be", he said to himself (cf. also the quotation in Dict.).

M. uses *sanga* and *bagi*, e.g., *ta-paró ma djolo begunta i, antjo ta-paligihon njae ni ama ni untjok on sanga aha do mambaentja* - let us send for our spirit, so that we can give him a sight of the sickness of this youth's father, in order that we may know what has produced it; *nada hu-boto, bagi aha mambaen njaengkón* - I don't know what has caused this illness of mine; *nada hu-boto, bagi di dija ingananna* - I don't know where his dwelling place is; *antso hu-sapai ija sanga aha do dosangku* - so that I can ask him what my sin is. From these examples it can be seen that *bagi* is used after a negation and *sanga* is used where a wish to know something is expressed.

D. uses *tah* (that, just as the Men. *ántah*, is the exclamatory *who knows!*) in a subordinate clause, e.g., *tah kade mēngagokēn malot ku-bětōh* - I don't know what has caused it to be lost, or to be destroyed; *asa ku-bětōh tah katěra pēmahan* (RB. p. 142 m.) - so that I know how it must be done; *asa ku-bětōh tah i dike nari bēkasēndene roh* - so that I know whence you people have come; *asa ku-bětōh tah apai kene si-měrdosa* (RB. p. 186) - so that I shall know which of you people is the guilty one; *asa ni-bětōh tah djumpa tah mada* - so that it will be known whether or not it can be found; *tah si-mike ija sēndah* (RB. p. 156 b.) - who knows whither he has now gone.

In D., the auxiliary, *barang*, is more used to express generality or indefiniteness, e.g., *barang tah ise ngo* (RB. p. 95 t.) - whoever it may be; *muda lot barang apai gija mērubat* (RB. p. 136 m.) - if any of you should have a quarrel.

NOTE. The interrogatives *aha*, *dihá*, *bohá*, *uha* and *huwa* (146 3 a and b) are all derived from a demonstrative stem, *ha*. Of *dihá*, the derivation is clearly *di* (pre-

position) + *ha*, so that, originally, *ha* must have meant *at what* even though, at the present day, *di* is placed before it (146 4). That *diha* is now a substantive is in full agreement with *djulu*, *djae*, etc. (30 V a). Because it is used as a substantive, the accent, which should be on the *ha*, has been displaced. *Aha* is formed from *ha* in the same way as *ahu* is from *hu*, *amu* from *nu*, and *adu* from *du*.

The stem *ha* is now only in use as a prefix :

1. with the prepositional meaning of *towards* (73) ;
2. as a means of forming substantives (135) ; and
3. as a prefix of the 2nd passive (108).

That, in this last meaning, it is also a preposition, is not only probable from the use of the preposition *tu* in passive expressions (101), but also through the occurrence of *di* or *i* (D. 159) in the 1st passive (102) and *ni* in the 3rd (M. 115 3 and footnote 1 on p. 168). In Buginese, *ri* is also a preposition and is also in use with the passive; Javanese uses *ing* (preposition) with the 3rd passive when the stem-word begins with a vowel. This agreement in the use of a preposition is undeniable and places it beyond doubt that *ha*, with the 2nd passive, was originally a preposition; the association of a preposition with a formal substantive gives, therefore, the same sense as in English and Dutch, in expressions like e.g., *it is within my reach* (it can be reached by me); *my trousers are at the tailor's* (my trousers are being mended); *it is still in the making* (it is still being made), etc.<sup>1</sup>

If consideration be given to the fact that the 2nd passive, in contradistinction to the 1st, is used expressly for *that which happens by accident*, or for *that which is possible*, as opposed to that which is done *by someone*, or that which is *aimed at* in an action by someone, then the explanation of *di* (or *i*), *ni* and *ha* being the same words as the homonymous prepositions is wholly in agreement with the simple means with which the language forms grammatical usages. In language, which is nothing but a metaphor, that which happens by *accident*, or which *might* happen, is represented as being removed from the agent by the preposition *ha*, while that which is aimed at by the agent, *in contradistinction* to the accidental or the possible, is, by the preposition *di* (or *i*), placed near to him.

Anyone who looks for logic in language will overlook the simplest things and must fall back on the term "zegwoord" ("say-word") which not only gives rise to confusion with words that are used predicatively, but also does not do justice to the truly metaphorical nature of language.<sup>2</sup> Although a *verb* can mean a *state*, a *non-action*, the language represents *the being in a state of* as an action, as an activity emanating from something that is regarded as being a person

<sup>1</sup> Translator's Note: Here a fragment of the text has been omitted from the translation, as it is irrelevant to the English reader. For completeness, however, the translation is given here. "Because a *formal* substantive occurs in the passive, it is impossible to translate such a passive literally. Anyone who, by translating the auxiliary of the Dutch passive *worden* literally, succeeded in producing a ridiculous meaning, would still not have proved that it is not the Sanskrit *wrđh* (to grow, cf. English *to grow old* = Dutch *oud worden*) ; he might also think it stupid of Bopp to attribute to *ya* in the Sanskrit passive the original meaning of *to go* (36 below) on account of the Hindustani *jānā*.

<sup>2</sup> Translator's Note: Van der Tuuk is here polemizing with Dutch grammarians who had preferred *zegwoord* (say-word, predicating word) to *werkwoord* (work-word, word of action) as a translation of the Latin *verbum*, arguing that words which do not indicate any action, such as 'to sleep', 'to die' are also verbs.

(63 NOTE). Personification is a feature of language. Man, acting subjectively, equates every object with himself and everything which he observes about the object he equates with what he himself does. For example, *to sleep, to die, to idle* are represented as actions and do not, therefore, differ in form from *to awaken, to kill* and *to work*, therefore, the term “work-word” is rather better than “say-word”. The connecting of *ma*, representing a person or persons in general (63 NOTE) with the stem-word as a means of expressing the active is, therefore, significant. Its omission, or the changing of it, in the passive, is proof that in Indonesian languages, the passive does not obtain as a “work-word”, and is the reason why in its formation it requires a substantive, if only a formal one. The terms *agens* (subject of the active) and *patiens* (subject of the passive) also are more in agreement with the accepted terms *active* and *passive*.<sup>1</sup>

The use of *tar* in the passive can also be explained from the action represented by the verb, because originally it was the same word as that used as a negative and still to be found in the Bat. Mal. *tĕrada*, which is *tar* + *ada* - *there is*. In fact, in the sister languages, too, *not* is expressed by the associating of a negative with a verb meaning *there is*, e.g., *tsi-ari* (Malagasy), from *tsi*<sup>2</sup> and *ari* - *there is*, *tijada* (Mal.), from *ti*<sup>3</sup> and *ada* - *there is*; *indadong*, from *indá* + *adóng* (153); *malot* (D.), from *ma*<sup>4</sup> + *lot*; *taja*<sup>5</sup> (Sund. and Kawi), from *tĕ* + *aja* - *there is*.

From the different uses of *tsi* in Malagasy, it can be seen how a word that expresses a negation can, originally, have been the same as that which occurs in the passive, for *tsi* is also used before a repeated substantive, in order to indicate a thing that is similar to that represented by the substantive, e.g., *tsi-ulun-úlnú* - that which looks like an *úlnú*, a man, *an image*; *tsi-zanak-zánaká* - a doll, i.e., that which resembles a *zánaká* - child. *Tsi* is also placed before a repeated numeral, in order to make it distributive, e.g., *tsi-rua-rúa* - each two.<sup>6</sup> If the use of *tar* in T. and M., in order to represent a decreased quantity (115) and that of *tĕr* in D., to make a numeral distributive (113 D), is compared with the use of *tsi* in the last example, then there can be no doubt that *tar*, or one of its variants, sometimes occurs as a negative, and sometimes in the formation of the passive. Sundanese has *ti* = *tar* in Bat., and *tār* in Mal., e.g., *tĕpagut* = *tārpagut* (Mal.). Kawi has *ta* in one passive, e.g., *totjap* (*ta* + *utjap* = *to be mentioned*).

The fact that *ta* or *tĕ*, which are ante-penultimate syllables because of the dissyllabism of most of the stem-words, are, in some languages, closed with an *r* (in Tag. and Bisaya, a *g*, in accordance with a fixed sound law<sup>7</sup>) as a means of conveying a difference in meaning, is entirely in agreement with the differen-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. footnote to 132.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 29 NOTE after Obs. 6.

<sup>3</sup> In place of *tār* (cf. *tĕjarap* instead of *tarharap*, which occurs less often).

<sup>4</sup> As appears from *mada* (*ma* + *ada*). *Ma* = *ba* in Jav. (30 VIII), hence *botĕn*, from *ba* + *wontĕn* - *there is*, and *boja*, from *ba* + *oja* (Bal., *there is*). In Malagasy, *wa* is an interrogative word. Both negative and interrogative are often represented by one word; cf. the Latin *ne*, as an interrogative, with *ne* in *non*, *nullus* (*ne* + *ullus*).

<sup>5</sup> In the Alfur language of Minahasa, *tija*, and in Macassarese, *teja*, are vetative.

<sup>6</sup> In Macassarese, *taq*: e.g., *taq tĕlu* - each three. In Tag., *tig*, e.g., *tigisá* - each one. It should be noted that in Tag., *i* often represents the *ĕ* in a sister language (*isá* = *ĕsa* in Mal.).

<sup>7</sup> Tag. and Bis. prefix *mag* = *mar* or D. *mĕr*, Malagasy *mi*.

tiation of *mar* from *ma* (63 NOTE). Indeed, language so often takes refuge in a phonetic law to indicate differences in meaning (see 31 NOTE 2 and 10 b).

*Ha* was originally a demonstrative word, but at the present time it is in some languages a demonstrative pronoun, such as in Men. (*ika* - *these, this*) and Jav. (see 63 NOTE), and in others a preposition of direction (*towards*, cf. Mal., *ka*, and 73), just as *tu* in *itu* (Mal.) is a pronoun, but a preposition in T. and M. Such demonstrative words have only acquired their different meaning by later application, hence *na* as a relative pronoun (149) and as a pronominal suffix (151); *nu* or *anu* as a relative pronoun in Sundanese, as an indefinite pronoun in Mal. and in Batak (in *anu*), and as a pronominal suffix in Macassarese (30 III Obs.); *ija* as a pronoun in M., D. and Mal., a relative pronoun in Mal. (*jang*, 31 I NOTE), and a pronominal suffix in Jav. (*e* instead of *ija*); *di* as a preposition in M. and T., as a demonstrative pronoun in D. (*idi*), and as a demonstrative exclamation in T. (*indí*, cf. *ondi* in M.), etc. All pronominal words were once only gesticulatory sounds which, as natural sounds, were indefinite; only later have they acquired a fixed meaning.

That the original prepositions were really demonstrative words appears from, among other things, the use of the prefix *ka* which, in M., just as in Mal., also means *towards*, with the same meaning as *na* in T. and M. (150 4), e.g., *kapätang*<sup>1</sup> (Men.) = *yesterday*, from *pätang* (*after midday, towards evening, the dark part of the day*).

#### 148. THE INDEFINITE PRONOUNS.

*Indefinite pronouns* are often suppressed; only an active verb is used whereby an indefinite subject is implied, e.g., *margulut di hutanami* (see quotation, 127) - *there is quarrelling in our huta*; cf. 100, end, and also 1 here.

The following are used as indefinite pronouns:

1. *halak*, which originally meant *someone* or *another* (cf. Dict.), e.g., *unang dida halak* - *so that it be not seen by anyone*. *Halak* is also used with the 1st passive to express a simple passive (100), e.g., *djadi ilik ma dida nasida, ija ibana indang dida halak* (RB. p. 21) - *so that they saw an ilik, but she was not seen*. To express *someone else*, *halak na muba* is used, e.g., *so tung adóng halak na muba tu son* - *no one else can have come here* (36). Here, it need only be recalled that *halak*, when defined by a demonstrative pronoun, has a plural meaning (141 I 4 and 140 3), and that in M., it is also used as the 3rd pers pl. (140 7 M). It should be noted, however, that *halak*, as a substantive, is only used in the active in general phrases and then in contradistinction to *iba* (4). It cannot, therefore, be equated with our *one*. If, when using the active, the subject is to be represented as indefinite, it is suppressed (see above), or *adóng* is used (39 obs.) with an active verbal substantive that is circumscribed by *na* (*na* can also be omitted), e.g., *unang*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *kahapun* (Tag., *yesterday*), from *hapun* - *late* in the day.

*adóng na marnida* - so that there is not, that sees it (so that no one sees it); *indang adóng matsarihon panganon* (see 51 5).

a. *Halak* is also placed before proper names when one person is singled out as being the foremost or the chief one among others who are with him, either because they are subordinate to him or because he is the oldest, e.g., *ro ma halak tuwan parengga bulu* (RB. p. 202) *T. P. N. came with his people* (with seven of his subjects); *parik ni halak si-djonaha* (RB. p. 224, l. 16) - *the entrenchment of Dj. and his co-villagers* (as against this, see p. 225, l. 4: *roha ni si-djonaha*); *parangan ni halak radja balingbingan* (RB. p. 224, l. 14 fb.) - *the warriors of Prince B. and those making common cause with him*; *ina ni halak si-djonaha* - *the mother of Dj. and his younger brothers and sisters*. (In the story of which Dj. is the hero, though no direct mention is made of his brothers and sisters, *halak* is used because Dj., as the firstborn son, would be the one from whom she would take her name, *Nan-Djonaha*. And even though Dj. had no brothers or sisters, *halak* would still be used out of politeness when referring to his mother; *ina ni halak si-djonaha* is, therefore, the same as *inatta nasida* (151 4), because the plural is frequently used when speaking of a person's kinsmen; with a proper name this is only possible by the use of *halak*.)

*Halak* is also used immediately after the 1st passive, as the agent, when the latter has a very long name, so that *ma* or *do* (165) would be placed too far from the predicate. In such a case, the proper name is placed at the end of the statement, because, by the use of *halak*, the rule (102 2) has been complied with, e.g., *di-pangan halak ma nan-rudang bulu begu* (cf. RB. p. 306, l. 12) - *it was eaten by Lady B. B.*

*Halak* is also placed before a proper name when the speaker is referring to a person who is of a marga other than his own, e.g., *indaong be di-begé hata ni halak si-sang maima* (The Quarrel between S.M. and D.D., p. 22, l. 15) - *he no longer heard what S.M. was saying*, from which example it is apparent that the writer of the story was of a marga different from that of S.M.; were he to have used a pronoun when speaking of S.M., he would have used *nasida* (140 7).

2. *deba*, which is also used in the same way as *halak*; it is more common in Dairi Sub-Toba; e.g., *di-takko deba* - *it has been stolen by someone, or by someone or other*. The actual meaning of *deba* is

some small part of, e.g., *lejan deba dainang i amangudá* - uncle, bestow some small part of it upon mother! With an active, it means some.

D. uses *deba* in preference to *kalak*, e.g., *ku-dapët ija djumpa djëbak ni deba* - I found him, or her, caught by someone's djëbak; *i-bërkat deba* (RB. p. 134, l. 6 fb.) when they had pulled out their own feathers; *pënokor ni deba idi* (RB. p. 119, l. 8 fb.) - you haven't returned another's purchase price (what another person, or someone, has paid for it); *sëndi nari mo, asa i-bëtöh deba harga tinaruh manuk si-sëlup bëras* (RB. p. 120 b.) - that is how one knows that the price of a hen's egg is one solup. *Sintërëm* can also be used instead of *deba* (149 and also quotation in 123).

3. *anu* (147 NOTE), which is often used with the prefix *si* (152) as a means of leaving a person's name unspecified. It can be translated with Mr. What's his Name, Mr. Thingummy.

Another word that can be used for a person that is unspecified is *bokka*, which is also used of something that it is not desired to name, or cannot be named, e.g., *bokka nengan on* - that thing the other day, or, that person the other day.

4. *iba*, of which the real meaning appears to be *body, one's own self* (145). It is used in a more general sense than *halak* for, whereas *halak* excludes the speaker and represents others as unspecified, *iba* includes the speaker in such a way that he represents himself as someone who is in a situation in which others can be. In proverbs, therefore, *iba* is used in contrast to *halak* (1), e.g., *halak mangan sibodak, iba hona gotana* - someone, or another person, eats sibodak but you only get its (sharp) gum (someone has the benefit, you only have the trouble); *molo djambar ni babijat tung di bagasan huta pe iba so, sai ro do i mangalap iba* (RB. p. 92, l. 10 fb.) - if one is destined by fate to be a meal for a tiger, even if one stays inside the huta it will come and get one anyway (*hita* is used in the lines following); *ningon sinonduk niba* (8) *asa djadi pahusoan* - no one but your husband may be interrogated; *barang na las do daging niba marbulusatton i* - in order to know whether you are warm when you wear it.

*Iba* is also used to awaken compassion by implying that the state of the person spoken to may become such that he, too, has a claim to or can expect compassion, e.g., *di-baen pogos niba* (RB. p. 203, l. 4 fb.) - we have neither pigs nor fowls, because of our poverty. In this example, a gentle reproach is implied about the unfairness of poor people being expected to provide a meal containing meat. Hence, when one speaks plaintively about oneself, *iba on* is used as the 1st pers pronoun, e.g., *atik asi do rohana marnida iba on na rapar* - perhaps he has pity

for this person who is hungry (who knows whether he has no pity when he sees me, his fellow man, suffering from hunger).

M. does not deviate, e.g., *dì-ligi iba, mur daó* - the more you look at it, the farther it goes (riddle referring to the ear); see also 145 M.

D. uses *diri*, e.g., *malot djadi ni-alo kata ěmpung ni diri* (RB. p. 83, l. 8) - a man should not oppose the words of his master; *muda laus diri i lambung kula-kula nari ni-buwatkĕn panganĕn mo tuhu kula-kula* (RB. p. 220, l. 3) - when we leave our kinsmen, a meal should really be provided for them (we should give our kinsmen a parting meal when we go away).

5. *na lebán* (42 c), which is used as an adjective when speaking about something in a vague way, in contradistinction to something that has already been referred to or that is known, e.g., *huta na lebán* - another huta, the remaining, or other huta (97). As a substantive, it is defined by the pronominal suffix *na*, and also by the demonstrative pronoun *i*, e.g., *na lebanna i* (RB. p. 69, l. 15 fb.) - the others or the rest. In addition to *na lebán*, *na deba* and *na deba nari* are also used. From this it may be concluded that *na lebán* may also come from *Dairi* and that it owes its accent to the prolonged vowel in the last syllable of the *Dairi* word (see D. following).

Where *another* means *distinct from*, *na pulik* is used, e.g., *hauma ni na pulik* (RB. p. 285 m.) - another's field; *sijan dalan na pulik* (RB. p. 154 b.) - along another path.

M. uses *na balok* = *na pulik*.

D. uses *si-debān*, e.g., *i-bagahkĕn kalak si-debān* (RB. p. 71, l. 5) - told by others; *buwah si-debān* (RB. p. 140, l. 3) - other fruit; *mago bakin si-debān* (RB. p. 145 m.) - done in by others.

6. *Other*, as a substantive is expressed by *halak* (1). Where, however, *other* as an adjective refers to an unspecified thing, in contradistinction to something that is specified or has already been mentioned, it must be expressed with *na sada musé*, e.g., *tulangna na sada musé* - another uncle of his. *Other*, meaning *the other*, is *na sada nari* (cf. 137), e.g., *tulangna na sada nari* - his other uncle.

For the indefinite pronoun formed with *barang*, see 147.

#### 149. THE RELATIVE PRONOUN *NA*.

The relative pronoun is *na*. It makes adjectives from verbs (42) and numerals (137) and it also introduces adjectival clauses, and, with the active, makes substantives (126). Adjectival clauses can succeed each other when *na* precedes them, without their being linked by a conjunction, e.g., *i ma boru-boru, na hu-djalahi, nappuna* (8) *ugasan*,

*na djuppa hita i* - that is the woman I'm looking for, who is the owner of the property that we've found.

a. In order to avoid confusion, it is not unnecessary to explain that *nan* (139 \* footnote) is often written *na* before *r* and *l*.

D. uses the prefix *si* instead of *na*, e.g., *manuk si-ni-pakanku idi* = *manuk na pinahatti*. *Si* often takes a nasal, especially before a word that consists of not more than two syllables, e.g., *sintērēm* = *na torop*. This nasal belongs to the word and not to the prefix (DAIRI K III), so that the separation is *si* (= *na*) + *ētērēm* (= *matorop*). The same applies to *singgēluh* = *na mangolu*, the separation being *si* + *ēnggēluh* (= *mangolu*). The *i* of the prefix is rarely omitted before a word, e.g., *sēnggo pēra* (*si* + *ēnggo* and *pēra*).

Other examples of the use of *si* are: *bijahat si-mangan anakmu idi* - the tiger that has eaten your son; *bijahat si-kiṅangan anak ni radja idi* (RB. p. 159 m.) - the tiger that has eaten the prince's son (cf. also RB. p. 106, l. 15 fb.); *bijahat si-mangankēn anakmu idi* (RB. p. 160 t.) - the tiger that has eaten your son.

When the preposition *i* follows *si*, an *n* is inserted between them, e.g., *si-ni-djampalēn idi* (*si-n-i*, etc.) = *na di djappalan i*.

#### 150. THE USE OF *NA*.

The following should be noted with regard to the use of *na*:

1. It can never occur as the object (or an accusative), nor can a preposition precede it (hence 115 1), but it follows *akka* (58 2).

2. It is repeated before an *adverb* or an *adverbial adjunct* that occurs in an adjectival clause, so that two adjectival clauses can, without a conjunction, follow immediately on each other, the last, as an adverb, defining the first adverbially, e.g., *boras ni utte i, na pajak, na di toru i* - the aforesaid lemons that lay (and) that were underneath, i.e., the lemons that lay underneath (adverb); *na ni-duda na di losung i* - the things that are pounded (and) that are in the *losung*, i.e., the things that are pounded in the *losung* (adverbial adjunct); *ise ho na malleték-leték na di bagasan lombang i* - who are you that continually make a clattering sound (and) who are in the abyss?, i.e., who are you, there in the abyss, (adverbial adjunct) continually making a clatter? *sopo na di djappalan na bolak, bogasnasida modom na rappon hahana i* (RB. p. 80 t.) - the *sopo* that was on the broad meadow and where he, who was with his brother, slept, i.e., the *sopo* on the broad meadow and in which, together with his elder brother (adverbial adjunct) he had slept; *asa tumorop do hita na lao i na mangihutton au na tu huta ni datulang* (RB. p. 5, l. 6) - so that you people that go and follow me to my uncle's *huta* are more numerous, i.e., following me to my uncle's *huta* (adverbial adjunct); *nunga songon na maila au na mulak na tijan hutamuna on* (RB. p. 5, l. 14 fb.) - I am as one who

is embarrassed to go back from this, your *huta*, i.e., I am, as it were ashamed, because I must go back from this *huta* of yours (adverbial adjunct); *lao ma nasida mandapoti boru-boru na tading na di sopo na di djappalan na bolak i* (RB. p. 82 m.) - they went to seek the women who stayed behind, or were left behind, in the *sopo* on the broad meadow. As can, therefore, be seen, in an adjectival clause the adverb, or the adverbial adjunct, comes after the verb. In only a few cases, i.e., a few contrasting expressions, does no preposition precede the adverb (111), e.g., *na djolo tubu* - the one who was born earlier or first (of a specific number of people), in contrast to *na pudi tubu* - the one who was born last, or the latest.

3. *na* can function as a genitive, but then the subject of the adjectival clause is usually defined with the suffix *na*, e.g., *na imbaru ulosna* - whose clothing is new (the one whose garment is new); *halak na tubu anakna barang boruna* - someone whose son or daughter has been born. Examples without the pronominal suffix are: *na so hu-boto gorwar*, *na so hu-tanda rupa* - whose name I do not know and who is not known to me by sight; *panondur na pulik huta* - the visitors to the feast who belong to another *huta*; *asu na bara djabat* (see Dict. under *djabat*).

D. uses *si-djae-kuta* = *na pulik huta*.

4. *na* is placed before adverbs of time to indicate the time as having elapsed, e.g., *nakkín* (8) - just now, but *akkín* - presently, soon; *na bodari* - yesterday evening, but *bodari* - the evening yet to come; *na borngin* - the night just passed, but *borngin* - the coming night. If the demonstrative pronoun *i* is placed after an adverb composed with *na*, the time indicated is further back, e.g., *nakkínin* (27 II 2 Obs. 1) - some moments ago; *na borngin i* - the other night; *nattowari sada i* (157). Therefore, an adverb that has the pronominal suffix *na* (68) and the prefix *pa* and which specifies a day that is past, must be preceded by *na* and must also be defined by *i*, e.g., *na patoluna i* - three days ago; *na paopatna i* - four days ago.

*Na* is also placed before a subordinate clause that functions as an adverb of time and is then the equivalent of *when*; the clause is closed with *i* and the subject is placed at the beginning of the sentence, e.g., *pangan boras ni gaol na hu-suwan, au na lao tu batak toru i, na mangaluhui hudjur i* (The Quarrel between S.M. and D.D., p. 17, l. 2) - eat of the banana tree that I planted when I went to the underworld to seek for the lance; *nasida na marsakkap na di ulun-dolok i* - when they made the agreement on that mountain ridge; *boti ma sakkapta*

*na hiján di ulun-dolok, hita na mallandja i - thus was our agreement earlier on the mountain ridge, when we were carrying our loads; umbæen na hu-dok hatakkí nakkinin ho na maridí (8) - therefore, I spoke that word a few moments ago, when you were at the bathing place.*

a. Adverbs denoting elapsed time and that are preceded by *na*, sometimes function after substantives as adjectives by defining them with a demonstrative pronoun, e.g., *dalanna nenganon i - the path he had recently taken*, but *panurbuon nattoari - the burning of the wood that had been cut on the field that took place yesterday.*

In *nattowari sada ija - the day before the day before yesterday*, the *ija* is only a prolonged *i* (cf. 27 II 2 Obs. 3).

M., see 158.\*

5. *na* is also used in order that a clause may function substantivally. For example, after a verb like *to know*, *na = that or if or whether*, e.g., *indadong di-pabowa na nung djuppasa hudjur i - he did not mention that he had been able to find the lance* (in which example *na nung djuppasa hudjur i* is the subject of *indadong di-pabowa*); *di si ma taboto, na tubu anakta i dohot na sowada - in that case, we know whether or not our son is born* (then we shall get to know whether a son will be born to us); *asa hu-boto na di-lejan di au dohot na sowada - so that I shall know if he gives it to me or not*; *tandá na djumolo au tu son - it is obvious that I came hither earlier* (36). *Na* can also be suppressed, though this is not often done, e.g., *asa di-boto mago hudjur i - so that he may know that the lance is lost*. It is thus clear that *na* makes a clause substantival, so that it may occur as the subject of a passive. Hence, a preposition can, through *na*, become a conjunction, e.g., *di-baen na hu-begé do ho djoú-djoú - because your crying out is heard by me* (lit.: because (102 2) is heard by me you crying out). Frequently, *cause or reason* is expressed by an attributive clause defining the substantive, or the pronoun functioning as a substantive rather than by an adverbial or subordinate clause. The substantive, or pronoun, in such cases is part of the main clause, e.g., *las ni roha ninatta on do i di au na dung mulak sijan dalanan - it is the joy of my mother over my now having returned from a long journey.*

6. In sentences expressing an invitation, *na* is placed after the subject and the verb, defined by a demonstrative pronoun, follows, e.g., *tole ma hita na marbulán on - let us now (144) conclude a treaty* (lit.: come, let us be the ones to conclude this treaty); *nanón ma hita na*

*mardalan i* - we should now be the ones to travel (let us now go on a journey); *beta ma hita na tumopot opputta i* - that we who visit our grandfather may go together (let us go together to visit our grandfather).

7. *na* is placed before *anggo*, in order to lay emphasis on the defining of a small quantity, or on a verb that represents a small movement, the object in each case being to stress the negative character of the statement, e.g., *indadong marsilip nanggo sa-otik* - they did not differ even a fraction; *nanggo humutik indadong olo* - it would not even move itself a little bit (for *anggo*, see 165).

*Nanggo* is also used to introduce a conditional subordinate clause in which something is spoken about disparagingly or with disdain, with the intention of conveying that it is either trifling or not to one's liking; the main clause, a negative-interrogative clause, follows, e.g., *nanggo ihurhón hu-baen mangarambas, indá nunga maribak i* (RB. p. 93, l. 7 fb.) - if I simply use this tail of mine to strike at that net, won't it be rent forthwith? (I need only strike it with my tail for it to be torn to pieces); *nanggo sadari sogot, indá mulak do i* (RB. p. 18 b.) if only dawn is breaking tomorrow, will it not have returned by then? (by tomorrow will what you have lost be won back by you); *nanggo opputta oppun-radja si-homang ta-topot, indá dapot do i pidong na maló marhata-hata* (RB. p. 78, l. 14 fb.) - if we just visit our lord, Prince H, will not it, a bird that can speak, be obtained? The main clause is seldom affirmatory, but an example is: *nanggo sap-ponggol ari au di-hubu, nunga dapot* - if he only lays siege to me for part of the day, I'm trapped.

a. *Pe* (165) can be placed after a word instead of *nanggo* before it, e.g., *humutik pe sowada* - it did not move a fraction; *sada pe sowada sattung i na mangajak* - not even one *sattung* was there that went on (that furnished an omen of even the possibility of revenge); *tung ipos pe sada sowada dapot bubuna* - not even one cockroach was caught by his net (he couldn't catch anything at all in his net).

M. uses *bagi* (cf. 147 and 163 9) = *nanggo*, e.g., *saratna ulang kami pisik bagi sangkibung* - provided not even one of us is wasted (provided not even one of us dies). M. follows T. otherwise, e.g., *sangkibung pe ngadadóng tading be* (RB. p. 231 b.) - not even one remained.

D. uses *gijam* before, and after, the word, e.g., *malot nenge sada gijam idah piduk dèkèi binatang datas* - he didn't see even one bird or one climbing animal; *pédjuwal kami, nina, rijar gijam sipuluh* (RB. p. 273 b.) - "lend us", he said, "reals, even if it be only ten".

8. *na* placed before a comparative formed with the infix *um*, makes a superlative, e.g., *sada ma burwat na umbalgana i* - one, the biggest, should be taken by you; *na di toru i na tumabo* (62 4 D.).

#### 151. THE PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.

The pronominal suffixes (20 II) not only have the meaning of possessive pronouns but must often be translated with a preposition and a personal pronoun (140 \*). They are also used in place of the preposition *ni* and a personal pronoun; one cannot say *ni au*, *ni ho*, etc., (159 3).

The pronominal suffixes are:

1. *hu* (instead of *au*, 140). A homorganic nasal is inserted after words ending in a vowel, e.g., *anggikku* (12) - *my younger brother* (of a man), *my younger sister* (of a woman); *masiasarhu* (75).

M. uses *baberehu*, *ibotohu* (RB. p. 41 m.) and *laehu* in the north in kinship terms, although in other words ending in a vowel, a nasal is inserted. *Tulangku* = *datulang* (152) is, however, used.

D. is in complete agreement with T., e.g. *anggingku*.

2. *mu* (instead of *ho*). It becomes *m* after words ending in a vowel, e.g., *tukkotmu* - *your stick*; *anggin* (20 II) - *your younger brother* (to a man), *your younger sister* (to a woman).

It has already been noted in 8 a that the suffixes *hu* and *mu* lose their vowels before demonstrative pronouns.

M. and D. never have just the *m*, e.g., *angginmu*. D. uses *endu* in *hata ni begu sjar* (the language used by a medium when in trance), e.g. *anggindu*.

3. *na* (instead of *ibana*), e.g., *anggina* - *his younger brother*, *her younger sister*. This suffix is also placed after a word, in order to make a substantive of it with which, in an exclamatory manner, to express astonishment about the high degree or the great extent of the quality or the condition that has been observed of a thing, e.g., *dengganna* - *the beauty of it! how fine it is!* or, *how beautiful she is!* *how handsome he is!* *pandena* - *how capable he is!* *what a long way he's gone!* *ogosna* - *how poor he is!* As a matter of course, the preposition *ni* can also be used with a substantive after it, e.g., *dogé rara ni bibir ni bajón* (Dict. under *dogé*).

The suffix does not, however, always refer to the 3rd pers; it must often be interpreted only as serving to make a substantive that represents a state about which pity is expressed or about which com-

plaints are made, e.g., *ɸorsukna i di-ahap ho* - *the misery of it is felt by you* (what misery you endure!); *ijalé tondikkú aut na mangolu damang tijan dija ma songon on ɸorsukna di-baen halak* - *O, my tondi, if father were alive how could misery like this be caused by people* (O, tondi, if father were still alive it would not be possible for people to let me suffer this misery); *di-baen ɸorsukna do hu-ahap* - *because I suffer beyond endurance*; *ijalé sumangot ni damáng ɸorsukna on hu-ahap* - *O, spirit of father, what misery I now endure*. *Ngalutna* is also an exclamation of pity, *what a pity it is that*, etc.

Such a substantive when defined by *na* is, with the preposition *tu*, used as a predicate, in order to indicate that the subject will be placed more and more in a certain state, e.g., *tu ɸogosna do ho* (RB. p. 318 b.) - *you will become poorer and poorer*; *tu gabena* - *to become richer and richer*; *tu dapotna* - *to become more and more the victim of something*, and also *to move towards the finding of something* (36), to leave it to chance whether one will pick up a living; *nung metmét indá tu balgana do i, molo na balga i tu tuwana do i* - *if he is small, will he not become big? And if he is grown up, then he will become old*; *na metmet tu balgana, na godang tu tuwana* - *children become adults and adults become old people*.

When the tone of a statement is ironical or disdainful, *na* is placed before such a substantive, so that it functions as a predicate, e.g., *di-ambang ho ho na beguna* - *you mean that you alone are courageous*; *songon ho ma na datuna* - *as if you were the only clever datu*; *songon ibana rupani na radjana* - *as if he were the only person who is a radja!* (the fellow thinks he's it!); *ho ma na bijarna* - *you are terribly afraid* (you're in a blue funk); *ho ma na holsona* - *you're the biggest moaner* (your courage quickly disappears). The use of *na* here can be explained as affecting a thing that the speaker does not name, but which he has in mind as being something in which he has perceived the quality about which he is expressing himself with disdain; *ho ma na bijarna* for example, only appears to mean *you are the most frightened of people*, in whom I have observed fear.

The suffix *na* can also refer to a time that is not defined and therefore not stated, but which is in the mind, e.g., *sijaparina i* - lit. *the earlier-ness of it* (before this time); *na sa-nungna i* (152 3 e). Here, the suffix refers to a time in comparison with the time of which one is speaking, e.g., *tikkir ma djabúm unang be songon sijaparina i* - *go to your djabu and let it be not as before* (go to your husband and don't be, as formerly, averse to him).

4. *ta* (instead of *hita*). After words ending in a vowel, *ta* requires a homorganic nasal, e.g., *anggitta* (11) - *our younger brother* or *our younger sister*; *tukkotta* - *our stick*. This suffix is also used after kinship terms instead of *hu* and *mu*. This is absolutely necessary with *ina*, *ama* and *apa*, because the use of *amám* or *apám* and *inám* is only permissible by parents to children (see reference in Dict. under *tuwulang*) because in Batak they form the last word of derisory phrases like, for example, our "teach *your* grandmother (to suck eggs, would you!)"

With other kinship terms, it is customary to avoid, as much as possible, the use of *mu* or *m* and to substitute *ta*. Because, however, this can refer to the speaker as much as to the person spoken to, another pronoun is often placed after it, in order to avoid ambiguity. To refer to the person spoken to, *hamú* or *hamuna* is used with *ta*, e.g., *inatta hamú* or *inatta hamuna* (RB. p. 297, l. 1 fb.) - *your mother*; *amatta hamú* or *amatta hamuna* - *your father*. When the speaker refers to his own kinsmen, he puts *nami* (5) or *hami* after the *ta*, e.g., *inattanami* or *inatta hami* - *my mother*, *amattanami* or *amatta hami* - *my father*. When the relationship is quite clear, or if one speaks in such a polite manner that one cannot use the prefix *da* (152 1), *nami* or *hami* can be omitted, e.g., *indada au sukkunommu*, *amatta do i* - *it is not I that have to be questioned by you, but my father*. To make *ta* refer to oneself, however, one says *amatta na di au* (RB. p. 40, l. 17) - *our father, who is mine* (my father).

This use of *ta* also applies to the 3rd pers, hence *inatta nasida* - *his mother*, alongside which *inattasida* also occurs. If the 3rd pers is specified, so that the pronoun cannot be used, *halak* is used before the proper name (148 1 a). The word *djolmatta* cannot be used by a speaker to refer to someone's wife, because the *ta* can also refer to the speaker. Out of politeness, circumscribing words are then used, such as *tuwan-boru*, *pardihuta* and *pardiruma* (124) with *mu* or *muna*, according to the relationship of the speaker to the person spoken to.

M. uses *amantamuju* (6) = *amatta hamú*; *inanta ni halani* or *inanta ni halahi* (140 6 M.) = *inatta nasida*. A kinship term can also be repeated, first with the addition of *ta* and then with *mu*, e.g., *amanta amamu* = *amantamunju*. North M. also has *inanta ho*. Out of politeness, *ta* is more often used, so that when referring to one's own house, one says, for example, *bagasta*.

D. uses *si-kěna mās* (101 D.) and *pěrdirumah* = *pardiruma*, etc. For the rest, there is nothing requiring comment.

5. *nami*, which is used instead of *hami*, e.g., *hutanami* - *our huta*.

6. *muna*, which is used instead of *hamú* or *hamuna*, e.g., *hutamuna* - *your* (you people) *huta* (140 6).

M. uses *muju* or *munju*.

D. uses *ěndene*, a form that is probably an extension of *ěndu* with the suffix *na*, and which has acquired the vowels of *kene* (140 6 NOTE).

NOTE. If one compares *muju* and *munju* with *muna*, one reaches the conclusion that both are composed of *mu* and another pronominal suffix; because *na* is used of the 3rd pers, it is not improbable that *nju* or *ju* (which is to be pronounced *iju*) is also a pronoun of the 3rd pers and is, therefore, a phonetic variant of *nja* or *ija* (Mal., in Men., *injā*), which has the same foundation as that of the pronouns mentioned in 63 NOTE.

In the Alfur language of Minahasa, *mijo*<sup>1</sup> is the suffix of the 2nd pers pl, and in Tag., *kajó* is the pronoun of the 2nd pers pl. In Malagasy, *iu* is the demonstrative pronoun (141). The difference in usage is of no consequence, as appears from *du* in *ěndu*, *adú* and *nu* (which is the Macassar suffix of the 2nd pers sing; in Sund. it is the relative pronoun, where it is also *anu*) and *anu*. The vowel *u* indicates, in general, that which is distant, so that it can apply to the 2nd pers as well as to a point in the distance, and also to the unknown. As the stem *ju* or *nju* originally was just a gesture sound, the meaning of which was not fixed until later, it may as well be taken as a variation of *nu* (30 III Obs.). Therefore Tag. *kajú*, alongside which *kamó* occurs, = *hamú* if one takes into account 30 III and MANDAILING F III NOTE.

7. *nasida* remains unchanged, except in the case mentioned in 4 above.

M. uses *halaní* or *ni halahí*, which proves that *halaní* and its variant are regarded as substantives (*the aforesaid persons*); see above.

D. also uses *na* as a plural (cf. 140 3 D.).

8. *sa*, which is used as follows:

a. with the 2nd passive instead of *ibana* (109), and after *sasada* - *alone*, e.g., *sasadasa* - *he*, or *she*, *alone*. That here *sa* is identical with *ibana*, is clear from *sasadau* (8) - *I alone*, and also from the word that M. uses, i.e., *sangkibul ija* = *sasadasa* (139).

b. instead of *na* after a repeated numeral that functions adverbially; it then means all the things to which the numeral refers, e.g., *duwa-duwatsa* - *both* (*duwa-duwana* is also in use). *Sa* is also used with a numeral, *sa-luhút*, (152 3 c), e.g., *sa-luhutsa* (*sa-luhutna* also occurs), and with *balitsa* (alongside which *balina* also occurs) (see Dict. under *bali*). It is therefore apparent that, after words that end in a vowel, *sa* requires a homorganic nasal before it.

<sup>1</sup> It loses its *m*, just as does *mai* (= *nami*, from *kai* = *hami*) after words that do not end in a vowel. This is proof that *mijo* is the most original of all the forms, such as *lijo*, *nijo*, etc., that occur according to the closer of the word. The exchange of *io* (*iu*) with *uju* is obvious (17 VII).

c. instead of *i*, as a substantive, and as the object of an active verb, especially of verbs with the prefix *pa* and the suffix *hon*, or the variant (with the infix *um*) of verbs with the prefix *mang* (63), e.g., *anggo dalan si-degeon unang ho humolso, au pe patuduhotsa* - *with regard to the way that is to be taken, don't concern yourself about it, I shall indicate it*; *inganan ni sombaon i pe au patuduhotsa* (RB. p. 6 b.) - *the dwelling place of the sombaon I shall also point out*; *doli-doli na tumakkosa* - *it is a youth who has stolen it*; *adop purba ma hita lumopatsa* - *we must face the east when releasing it* (the cock, in the fight).

In *nappunasa* (8), the suffix has lost its value, so one can say *nappunasa*<sup>1</sup> *sopón* (RB. p. 11, l. 2 fb.) - *the one who owns this sopo*.

M. Here, the suffix can also refer to a plurality of things. A few examples of the use of *sa* in M. may suffice: *ise pabowahon? bajo on pabowasa* - *who has said it? This person has said it*; *antjogot hambeng i ma djolo ho marmahantja* - *tomorrow, you must guard the goats* (RB. p. 148 m.) In M., in general *sa* has a broader use, so that one also finds *mangaligisa*; cf. 102.

D. has an even broader use of the suffix than M. and even uses it after prepositions or after words functioning as such, e.g., *tërgontar ngo ija mëndëngkohkëñ sora surak ni kalomaha ena dëkkët midahsa mënggondjei* (RB. p. 209 m.; cf. also p. 137 m.) - *he was, in fact, frightened, hearing the shouting of this kalomaha, and seeing his preparing for war*; *ija, nina, si-pëkkëñakëñ panganëñku tipat na-sa-dëkahna rëbaksa idi aku mëndedah* (RB. 198 t.) - "*she would always provide my food*", *she said*, "*so long as I was with her, in order to look after her children*"; *bagidi ningku mëngkusosa* (RB. p. 202 m. and p. 205) - "*thus I spoke, questioning him*"; *ningku mëndokkëñtja* (RB. p. 207 b.) - *said I, addressing him*; *na-sa-sumangan si-këtantja* (RB. p. 89 b.) - *all the sumangot on his side* (who concerned him, i.e., all the spirits who were his blood kinsmen). Even *mahantja = umbæen na* (163 3) is in use, e.g., *kasa mo i-suwani kono basirmu alé rih asa mahantja gulut dëkkët si-debænna ena* (RB. p. 205 m.) - *why, O ri grass, did you plant your basir, so that all these other people also got into a great commotion?* *mahantja dapët bijahat idi* (RB. p. 159 m.) - *what can cause the tiger to be caught*.

*Si-dasa*, of which the derivation is obscure to me, is used instead of *nappuna* or *nappunasa*. The use of *kërina = sa-luhutsa*, is, on the other hand, singular, for the *na* is used instead of *sa*, in order to distinguish it from *kërisa = sudasa* (110). *Na* is also used with numerals, e.g., *pitu-pituna* - *all seven*.

#### 151\*. NI FOLLOWED BY PRONOUNS INSTEAD OF PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.

When a pronoun is followed by an apposition, a pronominal suffix is not used and the pronoun is introduced by the preposition *ni* (159), e.g., *tortor ni nasida na tolu* - *the dance of those who are three* (the dance of the three of them). This is also done when the apposition

<sup>1</sup> *Appuna* has been taken from the Mal. *ämpunja* (MANDAILING F III Obs. 2).

is a demonstrative pronoun that is used to indicate location, e.g., *tondi ni hita on* - *the tondi of us here*; cf. 103 Obs. 2. When the demonstrative pronoun functions as a substantive, it must also be introduced by the preposition *ni*, e.g., *boruni* (8) - *the daughter of that one*; *boru ni on* - *the daughter of this one*.

## 152. THE PRONOMINAL PREFIXES.

The pronominal prefixes are:

1. *da*, which is used instead of the suffix *hu* with substantives that indicate a kinsman who, because of his age, must be treated with respect. If the substantive ends in a vowel, then it is closed with *ng*, e.g., *damang* (8) - *my father* (*father! ama*), *dainang* - *my mother* (*mother! ina*), *dahahang* - *my elder brother!* (if a man is speaking), *my elder sister!* (if a woman is speaking), from *haha*; *daoppung* - *my grandfather*, or *grandmother*, from *oppu*; *datulang* - *my maternal uncle*, from *tulang*. *Damang*, *dainang* and *daoppung* are also used as 2nd pers pronouns (140 2).

In composite kinship terms in which *ama* and *ina* are the first members, the prefix can be omitted: one can say *damang-uda* as well as *amang-uda*; *damak-turwa* as well as *amak-turwa*; *damang-boru* as well as *amang-boru*, and *nang-uda* can even be used instead of *dainang-uda*.

*Namboru* (11 b) is always used of a woman: *my aunt*, *my mother-in-law*, and not *dainang-boru*. This also applies to *nat-tulang*, which is also written *nak-tulang* (11 b). *Dainak-turwa* occurs as well as *nat-turwa* or *nak-turwa* (11 b). *Parumaen*, and the abbreviation *maen* that is used in the vocative (98), can, in the sense of *my daughter-in-law*, be used without the suffix *hu*. *Hahang-boru* is used as well as *dahahang-boru*. There is no word *dapang* from *apa*, perhaps because it has been taken from D.; *apa* or *apakku*<sup>1</sup> = *damang* is used, though seldom (an example is in RB. p. 7).

The vocative *apáng*, in contradistinction to *amáng*, is *always* used by a child to his father or to someone who is regarded as such, as, for instance, father's brother (see footnote to 158 14). It is never used, as is *amáng*, out of politeness to a son, youth or someone else. The prefix drops out in the vocative (98).

M. uses *tulangku* = *datulang* (151 1). It is usual for parents to use *si-butet* (RB. p. 95, l. 16 fb.) and *si-untjok* (RB. p. 144, l. 4; p. 145, l. 8; p. 180, l. 17 fb.) with the meaning of *my daughter* and *my son*, respectively.

<sup>1</sup> This can also be used by a *nam-boru* for her nephew.

D. does not use the prefix, hence *inang*, also = *ina*, with the meaning of *dainang* in T.; *ěmpung* also = *oppu*, with the meaning of *daoppung*; *bapa* = *ama*, with the meaning of *damang*; *kakangku* (RB. p. 226 t.) = *dahahang*; *puhunku* = *datulang*; *nam-puhun* = *nat-tulang*; *anggi* = *anggikku*, with the meaning not only of *my younger brother* or *my younger sister*, but also with that of *my younger brother's son's wife* (RB. p. 230 b.); *man-tuwa* (RB. p. 230 b.) = *damak-tuwa*; *mam-běru* = *damang-boru*.

NOTE 1. Formerly, the prefix must have been used in a broader manner, as appears from *danak* (M.) which is also present in *dakdanak* (22 IV a), and also from *datu*, as can be seen from Mal. *datuq* = *great-grandfather*, etc. That, at present, *datu* means an *augurer* makes no difference, because in D., *guru* - *teacher*, has the same meaning while the equivalent *ratu* or *datu* is used in Javanese for a person of royal rank.<sup>1</sup> In Kawi, the prefix is *ra*, hence the Javanese *rama* (*ra* + *ama*), *rena* (*ra* + *ina*), *raka* (*ra* + *aka* = *angka* in M.), which are kinship terms used for royal persons. In Malagasy, *ra* is in use before names of persons who are spoken of with respect, e.g., *ra-dama*, the name of a famous prince. In Mal. *da* is the suffix used with kinship terms among royal persons or of such persons when spoken of by someone else, e.g., *anaqda* = *my son* (if a prince is speaking), *His Highness' son* (if a subject is speaking); *inangda* - *my nurse* (if a prince is speaking), *His Highness' nurse* (if a subject is speaking), etc. It should be noted that such kinship terms may not be used by a subject to a prince without preceding them with *paduka* - really meaning *shoe*,<sup>2</sup> which is the 2nd pers, so that *paduka anaqda* - *Your Highness' son* or *daughter*, and *paduka inangda* - *Your Highness' nurse*.

NOTE 2. In view of the fact that a word ending in a vowel acquires a nasal before the suffix *hu*, it is probable that formerly the vocative in *ng* had a fuller form, i.e., *amangkú* (just as in French the vocative is accompanied by a possessive pronoun, *ma tante*, *mon père*, etc.). There are still traces of such a fuller form, e.g., *hulangku* in M. (98). In Mal. and Jav., there are kinship terms ending in a *k*. These must have arisen from a vocative which, again, must have come into use in later times, when the rule in Kawi that words ending in a vowel require a nasal had fallen into desuetude. Remnants are still to be found of such a situation, as for example, *kakang* (Jav.) - *elder brother*, etc., from *kaka* (Kawi); *kakang* has, therefore, arisen through an incorrect separation of *kaka-ng-ku*. *Indung*, in Mal., (taken over in M.) as well as *indug*, from *indu* (Daj.) - *mother*; *tjutjung* as well as *tjutju* (Mal.) - *grandchild*; *ading* (Lampung) - *younger brother* = *adiq* (Mal.), *anggi* (Bat.). In present-day Jav. and Mal., as well as in other sister languages, such forms are no longer in use for the vocative only, so that they can also be used of persons.

That, formerly, Mal. had no *k* at the end of *kakaq* and *adiq*, is clear from *kakanda* and *adinda*; the same applies to *mamaq* and *ninik*: in some MSS. *mama*<sup>3</sup> and *nini*<sup>4</sup> are used instead. *Niniku* is still used in Mal. as a vocative.

2. *si*. This prefix is a *name indicator*, which we can render in our languages with a capital letter, e.g., *si-lombu* - *Lombu* (a person named *Lombu*); *lombu* by itself means *cow*. *Si* therefore makes a substantive

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *pojang* in Mal. 1 as a kinship term = *mojang* (30 VII), and 2 = *datu*.

<sup>2</sup> In Jav., *paduka* is placed after the substantive, e.g., *rama paduka* - *Your Highness' father*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the Ngadju Dayak word.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the Jav. and the Bat. word.

into a proper name. It is also in use with place names, e.g., *si-goppulan*, *si-buluan*, *si-djukkang* (a huta in the Tukka Holbung district). *Si-anu* (148 3) is also a proper name, but one in which *so-and-so*, *what's it*, *X*, function as the name; *si-aha*, too is a proper name (146). After the prefix *si*, the names of women often have a word such as *ina*, or its abbreviation *na*, or *boru*, *purti*, *dajang*, *tapi*; sometimes, two of such words at the same time, e.g., *si-boru tapi ronda*, *si-boru purti di bulan*, *si-na boru bungam-bulu*, *si-na ombut*. Women's names also have *na*, an abbreviation of *ina* (159 3), as a prefix, e.g., *na-boru sodak-tuwal-laen* (15) *bolon*.

Great princes and heroes add *adji*<sup>1</sup> after the prefix, e.g., *si-adji marimbulu bosi*, *si-adji urang mandopa*, *si-adji di akkola*.

The prefix *si* also serves to form substantives (135), and is often placed before a substantive derived from a verb, in order to make the substantive a full one, so that its verbal character goes into the background, e.g., *si-panganon* - *food*, *si-panimbang* - *the one who must pay the same amount for the woman as that paid by her former husband* (a legal term). The prefix makes such a substantive a definition of a thing, whereby the original verbal meaning disappears. Often the only difference is that it is the form with the prefix that is definitive, e.g., to distinguish *sira-sipanganon* - *salt* that is *edible*, from *sira-bodil* - *saltpetre*, which is not. This definitive meaning flows as a matter of course from the original meaning of unity implied by *si* (Obs. 3 e), so that of all the different kinds of *sira*, such as *sira-lenggam* (22 IV b 1), *sira-bodil*, *sirabun* (Dict.), *sira-sipanganon*, etc. it is the *si* in *sira-sipanganon* which shows that this is *the only sira that can be eaten*.

*Si* is also put before an active verbal substantive, in order to place particular emphasis on the word when it is applied to give a name to a person in an accusatory sense (cf. 120 3), e.g., *si-palakkuppon boru ma gowarni* - *one who, against the law of custom, marries off a nubile girl* to another person, that is *the name of that person* (i.e., a criminal).

*Si* is often used with composite words of which the first member is a verb. When the verb has the prefix *ma*, the *si* takes the stem-word, but when the verb is transitive, the nominal form, e.g., *si-rara obuk* - *Red Hair* (*marara*, 42); *si-tura-pinggol* - *Ear Piercer*, as a definition of tribes where the men also wear earrings - (*manura*); *si-alap-ari* -

<sup>1</sup> In Jav., *prince* (cf. the title *sang-adji* in the Moluccas). In D., it is pronounced *hadji*, as it is in Kawi. In Tag., it is *hari*, because *dj* is unknown in that language and is represented by *d*, while *d* between vowels is sounded as an *r*.

*Day Bringer* (someone who is despatched to ascertain the day upon which it has been decided to hold a ceremony); cf. also the reference in 128 end.

*Si* is also used before the nominal form in place of the active with the relative *na*, but the object is then defined or known and the action represented is accomplished, e.g., *ise ma si-baju hadjutmón* - *who has woven this, your bag? dainang do tehé si-baen on* (RB. p. 21, l. 12 fb.) - *indeed, it is mother who has prepared these things* (cf. RB. p. 152, l. 11). A word that is composed of *si* and the nominal form is often used wholly as a substantive, e.g., *si-tindangi* - *eye-witness* (*manindangi*, 50 2); *si-dobo* - *unlawful attack, or the arrest of a person who is not the culprit* (*mandobo*). Sometimes such a word is used with an object, e.g., *ija di singir si-tungguon, na so djadi si-burwat na ro tu huta niba, tu hutana tinopot* - *with regard to a debt for which one has to press for payment, it is not lawful to seize him who comes to one's huta, one must go to the debtor's huta*.

It should be noted that with proper names the prefix drops out in the vocative, e.g., *alé bobák, alé na-ombút* (*si-na-ombút*, see above). It is, however, retained<sup>1</sup> when someone is spoken to in a friendly manner, when, for instance, one wishes to persuade someone to do something, e.g., *si-adosán* - *beloved sister!* or *brother!* (in *andung*) *si-dongattá* - *dearest friend!* *si-anak ni namború* - *beloved bridegroom!* *si-boru ni datuláng* - *beloved bride!* *alé kërbo si-ranggir* (RB. III, 78) - *dear buffalo, Ranggir!* In the vocative, the prefix is even placed before a word before which it does not otherwise occur, when speaking tenderly to someone, e.g., *si-na-metmèt* - *my dear child*, from *na metmet* (126, end). This meaning of *dear, beloved, etc.*, that *si* carries in the vocative can easily be explained from the original meaning of the prefix, which expresses unity (cf. D.), for example, *si-dongattá* or *si-dongattú* (RB. p. 11, l. 2 fb.) really means *my one* or *only friend*, which is much the same as saying *my dearest friend*.

*Si* before numerals often equals the relative *na* (cf. D. 149). In such a case the numeral is followed by the substantive used as an auxiliary (139), while the thing to which the numeral relates precedes, e.g., *boruna si-onom halak i* - *his daughters, the six of them*. This occurs especially where the things enumerated are distinguished from identical things that have already been mentioned, so that the example quoted then means *his remaining* or *other six daughters*.

<sup>1</sup> As a matter of course this is also the case with words such as *si-tindangi, si-hak* (135) which are only in use as substantives.

*Si* placed before substantives representing a period of time, makes adverbs which, in general, indicate *time* as the interval during which something takes place, but where there is no question of past or future (150 4), e.g., *si-borngin* - *at night*, *si-arijan* - *during the day* (i.e., before evening). *Si-manogot* - *in the morning*, has also been formed in agreement with such adverbs, though *manogot* is a verbal form (*sogót* - *early in the morning*). *Si* is also used before *songon* to make it function as an adjective, but a demonstrative pronoun must then follow it, e.g., *pidong si-songon i* - *such a bird* (a bird like the one mentioned or meant).

a. In *si-tokkin*, which has probably arisen from *sit-tokkin*, in accordance with 11 and 22 III, *si* is a numeral and is therefore a usage taken from Dairi - hence it is more used in Dairi Sub-T.; in T., *sat-tokkin* is more used. *Si-tongá* can be explained in the same way. M. uses *sa-tongá*.

b. Compound definitions, of which the first member, as the nominal form, governs the second, also occur without the prefix, e.g., *djung-djung-bahota* - *Bearer of the Crown on the Head* (designation of a variety of crested fowl); *buha-badju* - *Opener of the Jacket* (the firstborn, because the mother leaves her breasts bare after she has borne a child); *gonggop-sahuta* - *Whole-Huta-Protector* (as a designation of a means of protection, see Dict. under *gomgom*,) etc.

c. A preposition is rarely found after the prefix *si*, an example is: *si-li-tonga* (30 II) instead of *si-di-tonga* - *the one who is in the middle*, of someone who, among kinsmen or people of comparable rank, is, by virtue of his age or rank, in the middle. The variant *atsilitonga*<sup>1</sup> (135 IV) has been formed by the corruption of *di* into *li*. Another variant is *si-bi-tonga*; here I offer the reader a conundrum: how to explain the *b*?

M. has *dja*, an abbreviation of *radja*, before male names. For *si-butet* and *si-unijok*, see 1.

D. also uses *si* = *sa* (136), and the relative *na* (149),

3. *sa* refers to the unity, wholeness of a thing and is also a numeral (136). It has already been shown (in 135 III) that it also forms substantives. The following should be noted with regard to the use of this prefix:

<sup>1</sup> Omitted in the Dict.

a. By placing *na* (44) before a substantive having this prefix, verbs are made that define the size of something by comparing it with that which the substantive represents, e.g., *na sa-hambing* - to be as large as a goat (*sa-hambing*). Here, the prefix is an indicator of measure, while *na* makes such a compound definition function as a predicate. The original demonstrative meaning of the prefix, as a numeral, disappears, so that it agrees with our indefinite article which also refers to a thing in an indeterminate way without any indication as to quantity. The prefix is, therefore, also used where the quantity to be specified is in excess of one thing; the word representing the excess, i.e., *lobi* - more, precedes the *na*, where the amount is not specified; where it is, a numeral is used, e.g., *lobi na sa-hambing* - to be larger than a goat; *pitu na sa-hambing* - to be seven times as large as a goat; *duwa na sa-gundur* - to be twice as big as a gundur fruit; *duwa na sa-batang ni harambir batangna* - its trunk is twice as big as the trunk of a coconut palm; *hudjur na sa-bulung-bira* - the blade of a lance that is as broad as the leaf of a bira.

Instead of using a substantive, a pronoun that functions as a substantive can also be used after the prefix, e.g., *na sa-i*<sup>1</sup> - to be as big as the thing mentioned; *pitu na sa-i* - to be seven times as big as the thing mentioned; *na sa-on* - to be as large as this; *na sa-dija* - to be how much, to be how big, to cost how much. Instead of *na sa-*, *sipat* (see Dict.) can be used as an auxiliary, when something is measured by height and depth, e.g., *nunga sipat djolma tindang sulpinon* - the *sulpi* was as high as a standing man. An increased amount is expressed by placing the number first with *hali* or *noli* (138) after it, e.g., *pitu hali sipat bagot* - seven times as high as a toddy palm. Such a phrase is often used as an adverbial definition, e.g., *lonong ma ibana pitu hali sipat bagot* (Dict. under *sipat*).

In *basaonan* (44) - after, in, four days, used adverbially, there is a trace of an earlier *ma* in place of *na* (cf. D. here); the literal meaning is, therefore, to amount to as much as an *onan* (which is held every four days).

D. uses *ma*, e.g., *ma-sa-kambing*; *ma-sa-kade* = *na sa-dija*; *ma-sa-onan* = *basaonan*, etc.

obs. It is not superfluous here to point out the similarity of *na* and *ma* as a prefix; *ma* is really a pronominal word (cf. 63 NOTE and 154\*).

<sup>1</sup> To be distinguished from *sai*, which has the accent on the first syllable (158). For *sa-i*, see 20 I.

b. Before a substantive, either a simple one or a verb functioning as a substantive with the relative *na* (126) or a 3rd passive, *na sa-* has the meaning of *all* and binds together as a unit all the things represented by the substantive, whether they are determined or not, e.g., *na sa-horbo i* - *all the aforesaid buffaloes*; *na sa-na olo* - *all who are disposed*; *na sa-na manggulmit* - *everything that moves* (all living things); *na sa-na ro ringgasna* (150 3) - *all who want to do it* (lit.: everyone whose inclination is coming, 140 \*).

Before substantives that represent a space intended to contain something, such as, for example, a *huta*, of which the intended contents (*isi*) are the inhabitants, the prefix represents the total contents as a substantive that often functions in apposition to another substantive or to a pronoun functioning as a substantive, e.g., *hita na sa-huta on* - *we, all the inhabitants of this huta*; *di-djomurhon eme ni na sa-huta i* - *he dried the rice of all the dwellers of the huta*. In the case of *huta*, *sa* can be omitted when the word is used in apposition, e.g., *hita, huta on* (RB. 272, l. 12 fb.) - *we, this huta*, i.e., we that are living here (see also RB. 272, l. 7 fb.).

M. uses *sado*, e.g., *sado horbo i* = *na sa-horbo i*; *sado na girdoan gijot marmontjak* - *all who are very eager to do a sword dance*. I shall not venture to contend that *sada* is made up of *sa* and *ado* (the Men. *adâ*), so that it really means *all that there are*.

D. also uses *na sa-* here, e.g., *na sa-si-ni-dok guru idi* (RB. p. 162 t.) = *na sa-na ni-dokkon ni datu i*; *na sa-dimilona idi* (RB. p. 225 m.) = *na sa-na pinijona i* - *all the ones he has invited, his guests*; *na sa-si-roh geut* = *na sa-na ro ringgasna*; *na sa-sumangan* (150 8 c.).

c. Indefinite collective numerals, such as *all*, *everything*, *anything*, are made with the prefix *sa-* from verbs; *sa-sudé* from *sude*,<sup>1</sup> *sa-luhút* from *luhút*, e.g., *sa-luhút halak marsigulut di au* - *everybody quarrelled about me*; *dung dapot sa-luhút di anggina i* - *when all that had been acquired by his younger brother* (when his younger brother had all that capability at his finger tips). Such a compound expression is placed before or after the verb, according to the emphasis. And, as can be seen, it is used as a predicative apposition (*all of them*, the people quarrelled about possessing me; when that, *all of it*, had been obtained, etc.). The prefix

<sup>1</sup> Originally, this word was the same as *suda* - *to be finished*, 29 I b. The shifting of the accent must be ascribed to the use of *suda* as a predicative definition. *Sudé* is thus in agreement with *habis* (Mal.), which is used in the same way, e.g., *samuwanja adjar itu habis mati kira-kira tudjuh puluh orang banjaqnja; maka sakalijan marika itu habis-lah djatuh*, etc. In D., *këri* (in *kërina*) - *finished* = *suda*.

can be dropped or *na* or *sa* can be placed after the numeral (151 8), e.g., *mulak ma nasida sa-luhutna* - *they returned, the whole crowd of them* (they all returned); *sudé hami numma marpungu tu ruwang on* - *we, all of us, have come to assemble in this cave* (36).

M. uses *sudé* and *sudena*, e.g., *djadi adóng san-tongkin marpunpun ma halak, sudé, tu alaman i* - *about a minute later the people went out, all of them gathering in the street*; *di-dilati babijat ma sudé pematang ni si-adjí di angkola* - *a tiger licked the limbs of Adji di A., all of them*; *dung ro di alaman i halak sudena* - *when the people had come into the street, all of them*; *alapi bo! datu-datu i sudena* - *fetch them, do you hear, the various diviners, all of them!*

D. uses *kérina* (cf. 151 8 c D. and footnote to c).

d. Used with a substantive only, *sa* means *the sharing of that represented by the substantive*. The term composed in this manner is a substantive that often functions as a predicate (36), e.g., *nung i, manigor sa-hata nasida, rap mangula, sa-uduran nasida tu hauma tu ruma* - *then they became the best of friends*<sup>1</sup> and *together they did the work in the fields*; *they went in single file*<sup>2</sup> *to the fields and village-wards*. An example of such a composition used wholly as a substantive is *sa-gowar* - *namesake*, i.e., a person bearing the same name as someone whose name may not be spoken and whom one must not, therefore, so call; when speaking of him one must say *sa-gowar*.

To make a substantive with the express meaning of *one who shares*, *dongan* is used before the substantive representing the thing in which there is a sharing, e.g., *dongat-sa-huta* - *co-dweller in a huta*; *dongat-sa-ladang* - *co-inhabitant of a territory*; *dongat-sa-bagas* - *members of the same household*. The prefix can also drop out, e.g., *dongak-kuta* (12 b). A pronominal suffix can be placed after the first or the second member of such a composite word, e.g., *dongat-sa-uduranna* or *donganna sa-uduran* - *one of his row* (lit. his row-companion), of people walking behind each other; *donganna sa-bagas* or *dongat-sa-bagasna*. *Hombar* (see Dict.) is always used without the prefix.

D. uses a nasal after the prefix, which is *si* (136), e.g., *sim-dalaněn* - *co-traveller*; *sing-odorěn* = *sa-uduran*; *sing-kundulěn* (RB. p. 220 t.) = *sa-hundulani*. From these examples it can be seen that *sa-* only refers to a unity, and that it is not necessary to have recourse to the Sanskrit *saha* = *with* for an explanation.

e. *Sa* is used in the formation of prepositions which, with the pronominal suffix, or a substantive, can also acquire an adverbial meaning. In addition to the adverbs given in 144, there are: *na sa-nungna i* (150

<sup>1</sup> Really, *word-fellows*, possessing unanimity.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. *file-fellows*, i.e., they walked behind each other like geese.

4 and 151 3) - *before the present, before this*, e.g., *na sa-nungna i tena do halak di-sarihon* - *before this (up to now) he has regarded anyone else as his excrement* (until now, he's never cared a jot for anyone). A preposition that is formed with *sa* is *sa-laon* or *sa-leleng* - *during, so long as*. *Sa-laon* and *sa-leleng* can also occur before an active, without its first being preceded by the relative *na* (126), e.g., *sai hu-ingot do i sa-laon mangolu* - *I shall always think about it during (my) life*. Before a substantive, the preposition *ni* is used, e.g., *sa-leleng ni gora on* - *for the duration of this war*. In such phrases, the word placed after the prefix must be regarded as a substantive, so that *sa-leleng ni*, etc., really means *to be of the length of this war*, which, as an adverbial phrase, has the sense of *as so long as this war lasts*. In *sa-laon mangolu*, *laon mangolu* can also be understood as a compound word meaning *life span*.

*Sa-on-ari*, used as an adverb (143 a), must be understood as a sentence, *the day has gone as far as this* (the day is so far advanced, at this time of day).

*San-dok* (20) is the only instance where the prefix is closed with a nasal; the meaning is the same as that of *sa-luhút* (see c), e.g., *san-dok na sa-hamú parutang i* (RB. p. 161, l. 1 fb.) - *all, so many of you people as are debtors*.

NOTE. That in D., *si-* is a relative pronoun as well as a numeral and a *name-indicator*, places it beyond doubt that the prefixes *si* and *sa* are the same and are pronominal words indicating a unity. The other numerals are substantives, of which the meaning has been transferred to a number, such as is clear from *lima* which in a number of languages means *hand* (five fingers) and also from *opat*, as a variant of *pat* (22 II 1 Obs.).

There is no word for the unity, the being one. With such things as, for example, the sun or the moon, though they are the only ones of their kind, it is not this that singles them out but their splendour or another quality that strikes the eye. Consequently, people had recourse to a deictic word, and this must be counted among the pronominal words. (Bopp, in his "Vergleichende Grammatik" (308), has shown that it is probable that the Dutch *een*, the High German *ein*, and the Gothic *ain-s* is the same word as the Indian *ena*<sup>1</sup> of which only a few cases are in existence and which means *this*).

As far as *sada* is concerned, could it not be a contraction of *sa* and *ada* - the latter still occurs separately in Mal., and in Batak only in conjunction with a negation (153\*) -, as could be assumed from *sado* (M., 3 c), which is probably *sa + adâ* (Men.)? In Nias, there is *sara*, which appears to be composed of *sa* and *ara* (= *ada*, as appears from the Malagasy *ari*).

<sup>1</sup> The agreement with the Dairi word is quite accidental, just as is that of the Basque *on* with the Toba word. Gesticulatory words in particular, such as these words were originally, can, on account of their brevity, be wholly identical in languages that are far removed from each other and which do not come from the same stock; cf. *tu* with *to* (English).

Such words as *lima* often lose their original meaning, simply because they no longer represent a thing, and act as a *relation-word*; this would account for the change that some of them have undergone, for example, *opat*, from *pat* and *unang*, from *ulang* (164). This could also apply to the repeating of *hae* which, after it had come to mean  $\frac{1}{2}$ , was repeated, in order to maintain the original meaning of *thigh*; the original meaning *foot* of the Mal. *suku* = *suhu* ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ) has, in Jav., remained. Words expressing  $\frac{1}{2}$  probably originated from the idea of *splitting* or *cleaving*, or something like that (cf. *sam-bola*). The numeral *duwa* (Bat. and Mal.), *rua* (Malagasy), *ro* or *do* (Jav.), etc., I can only explain as imitations of division, separation into two, first by the closing of the mouth when pronouncing *u* and then opening it on the *a*: here, it is absurd to refer back to Sanskrit.

*Pitu* meant, I believe, originally *index finger*, because, if the fingers of the hands are counted from the little finger, the *index finger* is the seventh. It is, therefore, a substantive, of an older formation, that has as its stem *tu*,<sup>1</sup> which is still in use as a preposition indicating direction, and which in the Mal. *itu* and the Macassarese *antu*, defines something according to the place it occupies in the distance. Its formation agrees fully with that of *piduk* (D.), from the stem *duk* (30 VIII Obs.). The Mal. *tudjuh* was originally a substantive with the same meaning and must be the substantival form of *tudju* (40 Obs.), the stem-word of *mämudju* - *to go towards something*; as a preposition it means *to*.<sup>2</sup> *Tudju*, or *tudjuh* is, according to a fixed phonetic law, the same word as *tudu*, *tuduh* (D. and Jav.), *tjuruk* (Sund., *finger*), and *tundjuk* (Mal.). Ngadju Dayak has *udju*, which agrees with the Mal. *undjuk* (in *mängundjukkàn*<sup>3</sup> - *to hand something to*).

*Pulu* or *puluh* (D., Mal., Jav. etc.): I consider it very improbable that, as von Humboldt supposes, it originally meant *hair* and is the same word as *bulu*, because high numbers - *ten* is such for a child of nature - can take their names from various things<sup>4</sup> that lend themselves to being collectives; for instance, in the Sandwich Islands, *umi* - *ten* and *umi-umi* - *beard* (a collection of hair) and in Maori, *nga-huru* - *ten* and *huru-huru* - *hair*. Rather am I inclined to believe that *pulu* is the same word as *pulung* - *collected*, and that it is derived from the idea of the fingers of both hands added together.

*One hundred* is *rau*<sup>5</sup> in Maori; it also means *leaves*. The Jav. *ratus* or *atus* cannot, however, be explained as having originally meant *leaves*, because this would run counter to all laws. *Rau* does, in fact, also occur in Indonesian languages in the form of *rawinä* (Malag.), *ron* (Kawi instead of *räun*), *däun* (Mal.), *don* (Balinese). The huge jumps that von Humboldt and Buschmann made in order to explain the original meaning of the numbers must stand condemned by sound linguistics. Caution dictates, therefore, that such words as *sija*, *sivah* (D.) and the Jav. *sanga* must be left for the time being and I shall not offer conjectures regarding their original meaning. The reason that the prefix *si-*, which in Macassarese is also a numeral, has become a *name-indicator*, is clear: a proper name is an indication of *being one of a kind*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Ngadju Dayak *intu*.

<sup>2</sup> For example, *maka baginda pon bärdjalan-lah mämudju nagäri käling* - *His Majesty journeyed to India*; cf. Sund. *tudju*.

<sup>3</sup> In modern Malay, often confused with *mänundjukkàn* (see *Pandjatandäran*, Note p. XVI).

<sup>4</sup> In Macassarese, *bilangang*, from *bilang* = *one hundred*, so that it really means *the things counted*.

<sup>5</sup> In the language of the Sandwich Islands, *lau* - *four hundred*; it also means *leaves*.

## 153. THE PRONOMINAL INTERJECTIONS.

The pronominal interjections are:

1. *indí*. It is used with a demonstrative pronoun that functions as a substantive, e.g., *indí on - here it is!* (*voici!*), *indí an - there it is!* (*voilà*). In Mandailing Sub. T., and, as a matter of course, also in M., the final vowel is absorbed by the beginning vowel of the demonstrative pronoun which, as has already been shown, takes the accent, i.e., *indón* (8 a),<sup>1</sup> e.g., *indón ning ija* (RB. II p. 5, l. 7) - "*see, here it is*", he said;

2. *indú*. This is used more in M., and often with, and preceding, *adú* (141 I 4), e.g., *indadú - look at that yonder!* Just as *indí*, it loses its final vowel before a demonstrative word. *Indú* also occurs alone, e.g., *indú ináng indú pok - look at that yonder, mother, look at that yonder! Poof!* (this is a riddle referring to the blowpipe; a dart makes the sound of *pok* as it leaves the blowpipe. These words imply something like: *scarcely has one pointed to something in the distance, when, look, there flies the dart, afar, with a poof!*); cf. also RB. II p. 15, l. 3.

D. uses *ëndina*, e.g., *ëndina makin roh nola ngo* (RB. p. 118 m.) - *look yonder! he's coming back*. The form of this word appears originally to have been the same as that of *adena* (141 I 4).

3. *indá*. This word, too, was originally a demonstrative exclamation, as is clear from the form. The *a* is in contrast to the *i* and the *u*, in the same way as in *djarar*, *djirir* and *djurur* (34 Obs. 1, and cf. also 63 NOTE). The *i*, as in *indí* and *indú* in T. and M., has arisen (28)<sup>2</sup> because of the absence of an *ě* (cf. D., in 2). At present, this word is only in use as a negative. (It has, therefore, acquired the same modification of meaning as the Dutch *geen*, *geene* - *none, not any* which is really the same word as *gene* (High German, *jene*), of which the stem is also to be found in *gindsch*, *ginder* - *yonder, over there*). In order to find a word for the abstract negation, the simplest thing to do was to use a demonstrative word pointing to something distant, and in doing so one as it were put the *not* or *non-presence* outside the sphere within which one imagined oneself to be.<sup>3</sup> The *a* in *indá*, just as the

<sup>1</sup> In the Dict., *indo* II should be deleted.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ondi*, 141 II 2, Obs.

<sup>3</sup> *Ta* must be, therefore, the original form of the negative words given in 147 NOTE, and is contrasted with *tu* in the same way as has been discussed there. The use of *tar* in the passive = *ha* is, thus, in agreement with the original meaning of the word as a gesticulatory sound indicating something at a distance.

*a* in the Jav. *ika*, indicates a non-determinable point in distance (63 NOTE).

The following should be noted with regard to the use of *indá*:

a. it is used alone in negative interrogative sentences in which a fact that is indubitable in the future is stated in a negative way, e.g., *indá na so uhum do i na binaemmi* (RB. p. 285 b.) - *is not what you have done unlawful?* i.e., your action is doubtless unlawful; *indá nunga maribak i* - *were I merely to brush it with my tail, wouldn't it be torn to pieces?* (lit.: hasn't it already been torn to pieces?) It is also used in exclamatory sentences in which astonishment at an unexpected question is expressed, e.g., *behá ma indá manderse au* (RB. p. 91 b.) - *how can I not lose courage?* *behá ma indá hu-pangan on* - *how could I not eat it up?* It is also used after *bejasa* (133 1 below).

b. it is used at the beginning of a conditional subordinate clause, in which the conjunction is suppressed, e.g., *andigan pe unang di-olowi hamuna indá sahalí on* (see quotation in Dict.) - lit. *disobey me, no matter when, provided not this time*, i.e., any other time you may disobey me, but not this time; *burn the jacket, so that I shan't see it: indá, umbang*, - *if not, throw it in the water*; *molo tung di-pabolihon boruna i, indá djolo di-sukkun ijanakkonna i, si-palakkuppon boru ma gowarní* - *if he has the heart to give his daughter in marriage, if he does not first ask his kinsmen, to whom his daughter should be given according to the law of custom, then he will be called a palakkuppon boru* (152 2).

c. when *adóng* (39 Obs.) is placed after *indá*, the resulting form is *indadong* which is often changed to *indaong* and abbreviated to *indáng*. *Indadong*, or its variant, is the usual negative (147 NOTE) which, when used in an exclamatory manner, can mean *not so*, e.g., *indáng hu-boto* or *indaong hu-boto* - *I don't know*; *indadong, sinitta ni roha tinodo ni si-malolong* - *not so, it is what the eye has seen that the heart desires*.

To express *not being present somewhere*, *adóng* is placed after *indáng*, so that *indáng adóng* means *is not there* (cf. reference in Dict. under *gutgut*). *Indáng adóng* can also put emphasis on impossibility, e.g., *indáng adóng hu-lean di ho gana-ganakkí* (RB. p. 307, l. 17 fb.) - *I can't possibly give you these, my images* (see also 158 23).

Strong criticism is expressed by the placing of *ana*<sup>1</sup> after *indáng*, e.g., *indangana i* - *it won't do, that's quite improper*.

<sup>1</sup> I cannot say what *ana* really means. It is difficult to relate it to the Jav. *ana*.

d. When *ada* is added to *indá*, the resulting *indada* negates a substantive, and also a substantival clause, that function predicatively (examples, see 132 1). *Indada* can, as an interjection, also mean *no, not really* (RB. p. 77, l. 1 fb.).

#### 153\*. THE USE OF *SO* AND *SOWADA*.

*Indáng* cannot be used after the relative *na*, *so* is used instead, e.g., *na so hu-boto gowar* (150 3). *So* is also used after a conjunction which may then be suppressed, e.g., *tarulang hauma so binabowan* (115 3). When a preposition functions as a conjunction (150 5), *na* can be omitted, e.g., *di-baen so saut masigadong* - *because his getting gadong did not take place* (because he has not been able to go to fetch gadong). When *ada* follows *so*, a predicate is suppressed, e.g., *anggo dakdanak sada pe sowada* - *regarding children, there was not even one*; *ningon olo do mardangdang alominon, molo sowada olo*, etc. - *provided your opponent will pay a dangdang, if he will not*, etc. Hence its use in order to avoid the repetition of a predicate, e.g., *barang na tutú barang sowada* - *whether it is true or not*; *di si ma ta-boto na tubu anakta i dohot na sowada* (150 5); *sai tikkir do, asa hu-boto na di-lejan di au dohot na sowada* - *go to him now*, etc. (150 5). As opposed to this, however, *asa hu-boto hami, barang na tarula, barang na so tarula* (RB. p. 270, l. 2 fb.) - *so that we shall know whether it can be carried out or not*. Here, *tarula* is repeated, had it not been, then *sowada* would have had to be used. *Sowada* is also used in cases of juxtaposition of two negatives, e.g., *sowada hu-ida sowada hu-boto* - *I haven't seen it and I don't know about it*. When *sowada* is placed after *las*, it expresses *still not* (158 10).

Frequently, *sowada* is used as a negative where, in English, *without* followed by a gerund would be used (162), e.g., *marnida bulung-sukkit sai meol-eol sowadadóng* (148 1) *na makkaori* - *I am astonished at seeing the sungkit leaves waving without there being something that is causing them to move*; *sowadadóng tarpatomu* - *without there being a possibility of making them meet* (121 1); *sowadadóng pamoto-wanna* (129 a) - *without her noticing anything about it*; *songon na habang do hu-ida pidong i tu na dao sowada hona di-ultop ho* - *I see that the bird flies as it were to a distant place without its being hit, shot at by you with your blowpipe*. *Sowada* must also be used where a negative follows a predicate, e.g., *mate pe sowada* - *neither is he dead*, see 165 IV 3. *Sowada* must also be used when the negative is separated

from the verb by *do* (cf. 165 I D.), e.g., *anggo sowada do olo mar-danqadang alokki* (RB. p. 257, l. 13 fb.) - *but if my opponent will not pay a penalty.*

M. uses *nada* (North) or *ngada* (South) = *indadong*; *suwada* = *sowada*, although *so* is more common than *su*, e.g., *di-durung ija ma tu talaga ni lubuk i aha pe suwada dapot ija* (RB. p. 33 m.) - *she went to the low bank of the river to fish with a scoop net, but she caught nothing at all.* South M. also uses *ngada* = *indada* (RB. p. 231, l. 6 and l. 7 fb.).

D. uses *malot* (147 NOTE) = *indadong*, e.g., *malot nenge* = *indang be*; *malot mobah* = *indang muba*. D. uses *oda* = *indá* in negative interrogative sentences where the intent is affirmatory and also in so-called false questions, e.g., *oda ku-bětōh kami magahkēn bai si-mēngkuso kami ena* (RB. p. 114, l. 8 fb.) - *aren't we capable of mentioning it to those who question us?* *Oda* is also used when a subordinate clause with *tah* precedes the main clause (147 D.), e.g., *tah djělma katěra idi, oda ku-bětōh kami* - *we don't know which man it is.*

*Mada* is used where the conjunction is suppressed, e.g., *mada mēnektek mēnir gija lot ngo ku-bakin* - *if it doesn't drop heavily, I shall only catch it in drops.* *Mada* = *sowada* in order to avoid repetition of the predicate, e.g., *malot ku-bětōh ēnggo kimpal dēkēt mada* (RB. p. 25 t.) - *I don't know whether it has already been forged or not*; *mada ... mada* = *sowada ... sowada*, e.g., *mērtambah pe ija mada, surut pe ija mada* - *they have been neither increased in number, nor decreased* (see also 165 I D.).

*Somada* is used instead of *ma so*, e.g., *mēngkatakēn somada tuhu* = *mandók na so tutú*. *Somada* is also used after *si-* (149), e.g., *si-somada gila* - *those who are not mad.*

*Otang* negates a predicative substantive and a predicative substantival clause, e.g., *otang nenge kono ni-ukatku mangan* - *you're not my husband* (115 I D. footnote) *any longer*; *otang ena kuta ni djělma* - *this is no village of men*; *muda otang ngo, sidah, djělma si-dasa kuta ena* - *if we see that it is not men to whom this village belongs*; *otang mo kono tuhu begu ni bapa* (RB. p. 235, l. 5) - *then you are not really father's spirit* (152 I D.).

## VI. THE ADVERB

### 154. THE USE OF VERBAL FORMS INSTEAD OF ADVERBS.

In Batak, verbs so often have such a specific meaning that use is seldom made of adverbs - in translating these verbs, recourse must be had to an adverb or an adverbial adjunct (49). Moreover, a verb is often used to modify another verb, in which case we have to render the modifying verb with an adverb, e.g., *martahi donók* - *having decided to be near, to be almost near*; *marajak guling ari* - *towards afternoon, almost afternoon* (the sun is hurrying to set); *maradu martatá* (RB. p. 77, l. 11) - *to laugh on either side* (rivalling each other in laughter); *marsogot* (52 6 b).

This accounts for the facts mentioned in 72. Moreover adverbs such as, *once, once more, again, home* (go home), *back* (in return), and adverbial adjuncts, such as, *for the second time, so much the harder, on purpose* (see 72), when the emphasis lies on them, are expressed by a passive form, provided the verb to be modified is also in the passive, e.g., *nunga di-ulahi datulang di-baen bottang bosi* - *it has already been done again by uncle, an iron trap has been set by him*, uncle has again set an iron trap. Here, *di-baen bottang bosi* cannot be interpreted as the subject of *di-ulahi datulang*; for this to be so, *na* would have to precede *di-baen* (150 5), or an active verbal substantive would have to function as the subject.<sup>1</sup> Other examples are: *hu-paduwa-hali do hu-topot* - *yet I've visited him for the second time*; *di-paduwa-hali ma di-sappak* (RB. p. 90, l. 3) - *he flung it (the net) for a second time*.

When the verb to be modified is active, it must be interpreted as the subject of such an adverbially modifying passive, because *na* is often dropped before an active (cf. 150 5 and 126 2). It should be noted that if a movement is implied by the verb, or if movement is introduced into it by a preposition (36), *mangulakkon* (cf. 107) is usually used in preference to *mangulahi*, e.g., *di-ulakkon naposo ni radja i ma mangaloppa* - *the prince's servants again began cooking*; *di-ulakkon halak lao tu harungguan* - *they went again to the gathering*; *di-ulakkon bulu i mallapák di hauma ni na pulik* (RB. p. 285 m.) - *the bamboos*

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *di-pasoting-soting parhabangna* (121 1).

again began to split on the fields of other people (not on Djonaha's field). *Mangulakkon* is even used in conjunction with *musé*, e.g., *di-lakkon musé ma marsuri* - he began again to comb his hair.

Examples of *on purpose* expressed by a verb are: *ijapalá na hu-tuttun i hu-dekdekkon* - as if I let this comb fall on purpose; *di-tuttun marikkat mangeahi*<sup>1</sup> (The Quarrel between S.M. and D.D., p. 15, l. 3 fb.) - they ran the harder, pursuing him, because they saw him resting because of his weariness. *Di-gogo* is also used instead of *di-tuttun* with the same meaning as the latter has in the last example, e.g., *di-gogo radja i pe di-rutta lat-sowada* (13) *polut do sijan ruk-kungna* (RB. p. 160, l. 17) - though the prince tried by force to tear free, those roots did not loosen their hold on his neck. The adverb *on, onwards* is expressed by *di-datdati*, e.g., *sali di-datdati ma di-tuttun manaek* - he kept climbing onwards, ever faster.

When no emphasis is placed on the adverb, an active is used in postposition, e.g., *pogós mulak*<sup>2</sup> *au* - let me be poor again! *lao ma ibana muli* - he went home. It is not often that an active is found preplaced, in order to give emphasis (an example in 62 4 a).

a. Batak has no form for the infinitive (121). Where English uses the infinitive as a supplement to another verb, Batak uses two passives, e.g., *sai di-asupi halak do di-taban hutanamí* (RB. p. 12, l. 13) - they were always threatening to occupy our village; *sai di-asupi halak do naing di-taban hutanasida* (RB. p. 13, l. 18) - they were always threatening to occupy their village. In this kind of construction, it must be understood that a conjunction has been suppressed between the two passives (162); *di-asupi halak* can also mean they made threats, as well as something was threatened by them.

#### 154.\* THE EXPRESSION OF A HIGH DEGREE.

The adverb *very*<sup>3</sup> is expressed by the verb *matsali* (47 3) or one of its variants, *matsadi* and *matsai*. *Matsali*, which has these two variants because it has cast off its original meaning, so that it could function as a relative (31 XIV NOTE 2), is derived from *sali*, a contraction of *sa-hali* - once, as appears from the Mal. *sa-kali* which, after

<sup>1</sup> 17 V.

<sup>2</sup> cf. Mal. *pula'* (72 NOTE and 154\* 7 M.).

<sup>3</sup> With regard to *manga*, which in a few compounds expresses the same thing, see 47 Obs.

a word representing a quality<sup>1</sup> performs the same function, and also from *si-kali* (D.) = *sali* where the latter is used meaning *without fail, necessarily*. Examples of the use of *matsali*, or one of its variants, are: *matsadi nengél* (42) - is *very deaf*, *matsai na bolon* (42) is *very big*. Instead of the verbal form, *sai*, preceded by *na*, can be used, but the statement is then made in an exclamatory manner, with the qualificative word taking the accent on the penultimate syllable, e.g., *na sai gabe ho* - *you are so rich!* *na sai dae ho* - *you are so ugly!* *na sai torop inon na sai gogo* (RB. p. 308 m.) - *those are so numerous and so strong!*

A verb that has the same meaning as *matsali* is *mattuwa*, which originally meant the same as *matuwa*<sup>2</sup> - *to be old*, and has acquired its nasal (11) in order to be in agreement with *matsali*, e.g., *mattuwa pande* - *is very skilled*; *mattuwa otó* - *is very stupid*.

It should be noted that both these verbs, which function as adverbs, can *never* be placed before a word functioning attributively; one cannot say for a *very large dog*, *bijang na matsai na bolon*. To express such a statement, a separate clause must be used after the substantive, the clause functioning as a predicative attribute of the substantive (137), e.g., *di-baen panganonna matsai deák* - *his food was prepared by him*; there was *very much of it* (he prepared a lot of food for him, 51 5 a); *di-baen sopo na matsai djokás* - *his sopo was made by him, very beautiful it was* (he made a beautiful sopo for him).

The following auxiliaries are also used to express *having a high degree of*:

1. *sukkot*, which is used before a substantive that is introduced with the preposition *ni*, e.g., *sukkot ni hagabeon ibana* - *he is exceptionally rich*; *sukkot ni pambajuon* - *she is very expert at weaving*. Here the qualificative verb need not have the derived form (122), so that *sukkot ni pogos* can be used as well as *sukkot ni hinapogos* and *sukkot ni hapogason*. In constructions of this kind, *sukkot* is a substantive and means the *having of too large a size to be able to fit into something*, e.g., *sukkot ni pambajuon* means literally: *she is an excess of the art of weaving*, i.e., she surpasses anyone in weaving.

M. uses *na lobi* before the substantive and *sadjo* after it; both words can also be used with a verb functioning attributively; e.g., *na lobi bahat halak di si* .

<sup>1</sup> E.g., *indah sa-kali* - *very beautiful*.

<sup>2</sup> That the idea of age has been carried over to the having of something to a greater degree, can be explained from the meaning of *tuwa* in Mal., which not only means *old* in years but, when applied to a colour, means having a greater depth of that colour, e.g., *merah tuwa* - *dark red*; *tuwa* also has the meaning of *strong*, for example, of *tea*.

there were *very many people there*; *budjing-budjing na lobi denggan* - a girl who is *very beautiful* (cf. RB. p. 19, l. 11 fb., 49, l. 15); *bajo na denggan sadjo* - a *very good* or a *very handsome man* (see also *sukut* in Dict.).

D. uses *songkët* (DAIRI J V b), e.g., *songkët kimpëgës dëkët kinidërsa* (RB. p. 140 m.) - he was *very poor and miserable*; *songkët ni djengkar* (RB. p. 261, l. 1) - her form was *very beautiful*; *songkët ni pëngke* (RB. p. 63, l. 8 fb.) - she was *very beautiful*; *songkët këdubalangën mo kumukën dëkët kinigurün i-bëtoh* - it is said that he had an *exceptional knowledge of the arts of the champion, and of the art of divination*.

*Tuganna* = *matsai*, e.g., *tugannambagas* (DAIRI E II) - it is *very deep*; *tuganna mëlehe* - is *very hungry*; *tuganna mërbëlgah kajuna tuganna djumërangkar dahanna* (RB. p. 121, l. 13 fb.) - its trunk was *very thick, its branches luxuriant*; *tugannambuwe piduk dëkët binatang datas* (RB. p. 141, l. 2 fb.) - above I saw many birds and climbing animals (see also 62 4 D.).

2. *bolak*, a substantive, from *bolák* (42). It is preceded by *indá* (153) and followed by a substantive introduced by the preposition *ni*, e.g., *indá bolak ni hinadenggan si-boru-tapi manaoning* - (lit.: is not lady M. the extensiveness of beauty?) *oh, how exceptionally beautiful is the lady M!*

3. *surat*; is preceded by *na so* and followed by a substantive introduced by the preposition *ni*, e.g., *na so surat ni bidang do djappalan i* (RB. p. 65, l. 4) - *beyond description was the extent of that pasture, i.e. that pasture was immensely wide*; *na so surat ni deak* - *vast are they in number*. *Na so surat* alone, without a following substantive, can function as a predicate, in order to give emphasis when something that is unlawful is being spoken about, e.g., *na so surat do pandeanna tu au* - *his action towards me is quite unheard of*; *uhum* can also be used, e.g., *na so uhum pandeanna tu au* (RB. p. 269, l. 18 and p. 271, l. 7).

4. *sibar*; is preceded by *indá* and followed by a substantive introduced by the preposition *ni*, e.g., *indá sibar ni dao hu-taruhon* - *oh, what a long, long way I have brought her!* *na so sibar ni halejon di hami* - *what a terrible famine is upon us*.

5. *alang*; is preceded by *so* and followed by a substantive introduced by the preposition *ni*, e.g., *so alang ni pande ibana manopa* - *his skill in forging is of no ordinary kind*. *Ni alang*, preceded by *indá tung*, is also used, e.g., *indá tung ni-alang ni hatsit be hu-hilala* - *no longer do I feel the pain so badly*. Perhaps someone else will be successful in explaining what *ni-alang* means here.

6. *sondot*. This word is only used before verbs, e.g., *sondot mallining-lining* (RB. p. 222 m.) - the dog's belly was *swollen to bursting point*; *sondot marrotsam* (52 I 3) *sudé dagikku*<sup>1</sup> - *all my limbs were very*

<sup>1</sup> See 145.

*dirty; sondot marbironng dagingmuna* (RB. p. 300 t.) - *your limbs are very black* from working in the sun; *duhut sondot manopan hu-ida di haumami* (RB. p. 314) - *I see that the weeds have spread profusely in your field.*

7. *hu*, or *tu*, (20 II a) suffixes, are used to express an excess of something, e.g., *magandjaktú* or *magandjakkú* - *is too long*; *madaehú* or *madaetú* - *is too ugly*. A negative is not used with these suffixes but *so apalá* (158 7) is placed before the qualificative verb, e.g., *so apalá lunggá so apalá pondjót* - *it is not too wide and not too narrow* (e.g., of a ring that is just the right size).

M. only uses *-tu*. That in M., verbs function as adverbs appears from, for example, *adóng sam-pinijo manggogoi malé si-baduko* - *B., about a shout's distance away, was very hungry*; *marsitampulan ma halaní mangulahí* - *again they hacked at each other*; *djadi mulak ma ija muli* (RB. p. 44, 1. 8) - *thereupon, they returned home*; *mulak budjing* - *to become a virgin again* (RB. p. 46, 1. 1; see also p. 45, 1. 17).

D. uses *-su*. The following examples of the use of verbs as adverbs deserve to be noted: *tah malot ngo i-bërekën deba ngo anakku idi bangku molih* - *perhaps they will not give me back my child*; *hakum ënggo roh nahan laembëlgah idi mentër aku nahan langi laus* (RB. p. 216 b.) - *but should the flood come by and by I shall start swimming immediately*; *mada ngo ku-kënakën ku-bërekën si-rangku idi* (RB. p. 154 b.) - *by no means have I intentionally given that bird my salt*; *i-olihi nola këmbali kërbo* (RB. p. 96 t.) - *again she became a buffalo*; *i-olihi takal kërbo si-ranggir nola mo i-dabuh dirina* (RB. p. 95 b.) - *the head of Ranggir the buffalo again fell down*; *mértahan sip sambing* (RB. p. 98 b.) - *to keep quite silent, all the time*; *mértahan sip mango* (RB. p. 101 m.) - *still she remained silent*; *mërajak<sup>1</sup> soh* (RB. p. 106 m.) - *almost arriving at*; *asa i-gahgahi i-ëndekën* (RB. p. 108 t.) - *thereupon, she sang out in a loud voice.*

NOTE. In Men., the superlative is expressed by placing *bänar* after the word it is to qualify, e.g., *ëlòq bänar* - *it is very beautiful*. This practice is in full agreement with Jav., which uses *tëmën<sup>2</sup>* in the same way, and with Alfur of Minahasa, which uses *karëngan<sup>2</sup>*.

## 155. VARIOUS CONSTRUCTIONS WITH ADVERBIAL FUNCTION.

Batak uses for the equivalent of our adverb or adverbial adjunct a word that functions as a predicate and a substantive that functions as the subject (see examples, 120 1), to indicate the manner in which the purport of a verb takes effect. A compound term, which is in itself a sentence, can, however, also function as a subject, e.g., *denggán do hu-dingding, denggán do hu-tarup* (RB. p. 9, 1. 15) - *neatly have I provided that sopo with walls, neatly have I provided it with a roof.*

<sup>1</sup> See 17 V.

<sup>2</sup> True (truly), real (really).

In this example, *denggán* functions as the predicate of *hu-dingding* and of *hu-tarup*; the literal translation of the example is: *neat was its being walled by me, and neat was its being roofed by me.*<sup>1</sup> Another example of such a construction is: *na sahat ro di dija di-taruhon ho borutta i - to what place has our daughter been brought by you?*

Words that are normally used together can be separated, the first standing first as a predicate and separated from the second by the subject, e.g., *sahat ma ibana ro di bona ni haju i - arrived had he at that tree (sahat<sup>2</sup> ro - to arrive at); sappe ma nasida tolu bulan na mardalan i - they travelled for three months; sappe* belongs with *tolu bulan*, *sappe tolu-bulan*, by itself, meaning *for three months*, is really a sentence, *complete* or *completed* are *three months*. *Leleng - long*, of time, is often so used as a predicate, e.g., *atik leleng au asa ro - perhaps I am long before I return* (perhaps I shall be gone a long time before I come back). This particular method of expressing the adverb must be the reason that there are so few words functioning solely as adverbs, for example, *tutú* (106), *momós*, *rakkák - seldom*, also meaning *standing apart* from each other, of thin hair on the head, of plants that do not stand close to each other; *silú*, *hatóp*, *pittór* (alongside which the verbal forms *mamittor*<sup>3</sup> and *manigor* are also in use), etc.

These words need not, however, be interpreted as adverbs; they can just as well be regarded as abbreviated sentences of which the subject is not expressed, but is understood; as they come at the end of the clause, one could tend to regard them as adverbs, e.g., *di-rahuti momós - it was bound by him, firmly* it was done. They can, however, also stand predicatively at the beginning of the statement, e.g., *hatóp napé ro partunggu tu ho - soon, the duns will come to you*, lit. *only soon is duns come to you*; *sapala mangatton ho di au, silú baen - if you must eat me up, then do it quickly* (here, *silú* can be interpreted as the predicate of *baen*, which, as a substantive,<sup>4</sup> is the subject); *tutú do marsigulut halak mambuwat ho - they were rightly quarrelling about possessing you* because you are so beautiful (lit.: *right is people quarrelled wishing to take you as a wife*<sup>5</sup>).

<sup>1</sup> The subject of *hu-dingding* and of *hu-tarup*, must, as a matter of course, have been mentioned before (105).

<sup>2</sup> By itself, this word means *to arrive at, to get into a (bad) state*, e.g., *sahat marnijang ibana na mardalan i - the traveller had reached a state of leanness* (he had been travelling for so long that he had become thin; cf. 126 2).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *mentër* in D.

<sup>4</sup> See 99.

<sup>5</sup> The meaning is: *we find what you told us, namely their having quarrelled about possessing you, quite probable* (RB. p. 12, 1. 16 fb.).

*Pittór* is usually placed at the beginning of the phrase, e.g., *pittór mulak do ibana* - *he returned forthwith*. Just as *manigor* and *mamittor*, it also functions as a conjunction and often it introduces a sentence in which something is mentioned that follows something spoken of in an earlier sentence (see 162).

#### 156. ADVERBS OF PLACE OR LOCATION.

*Adverbs of place or location* are expressed by a preposition (159) with a substantive, or a word functioning as a substantive. Denominative adverbs of this kind are: *di djolo* - *in front*; *tu djolo* - *to the forefront*; *di pudi* - *behind*; *tu pudi* - *backwards*; *di toru* - *below*; *tu toru* - *downwards*; *di sijamun* (10 b) - *right*; *tu sijamun* - *to the right*; *di sijambirang* (10 b) - *left*. These words become prepositions (160) by placing *ni* and a substantive, or a pronominal suffix, after them.

*Deictic* or *pronominal adverbs* of this kind are *di son*, *tu son*, *di si* (143) and *di dija* (146 4), and can never become prepositions.

Some of these *denominative* adverbs are derived by means of the suffix *an*, e.g., *di bagasan*<sup>1</sup> - *inside*; *tu bagasan*, from *bagas* or *bagás* (43) - *to the inside*; *di balijan* - *outside*, *tu balijan* - *to the outside* (both from *bali*).

- a. Without the preposition, some of these adverbs have a totally different meaning, e.g., *djolo* (158). Others, by the addition of the suffix *an*, apply to *time*, e.g., *pudijan*, in *di pudijan*, and *djolowan*, in *na djolowan* and *tu djolowan on*.

NOTE. *Pudi* must be a nominal form of an earlier *mudi*, from a stem-word *ud*<sup>2</sup> (61), from which the Mal. *kāmudi* - *rudder, that which is behind* (135) and *kāmudijan*, from *kumudijan*, - *afterwards*, are derived. As in Jav., the beginning *k* of the last word takes the place of a vowel<sup>3</sup> or a labial, hence *kāmānakan* - *sister's son* (according to the Menangkabau Malays, he inherits), from *anak*; *kāmawan* (61 NOTE); *kāmuntjaq*, from *puntjak*. The *k*, by virtue of its place in a light syllable, often becomes a *g*, e.g., *gāmārtjik* - *to splash*, of oars in the water, from *pārtjik*; *gumawang* (61 NOTE), etc. The Men. *kudijan* must have arisen from *kāmudijan* by the dropping of the infix.

That many Mal. words having the infix *um* also have the infix *ar* is clear from a comparison of the Men. *kumilap kilap* - *to glitter* from *kilap* and the Mal. *gāmārilapan* - *to glitter*, of many things; *gāmārilapan* is also pronounced *gāmārlapan*; cf. *manggālātar* - *to shiver* (of the limbs) - *gāmātar*<sup>4</sup> or *gāmāntar*<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> There is also *bogasan*, as though it were derived from *bogas*.

<sup>2</sup> In Iloko, meaning *end, extremity, hindermost*; it is the same word as the Jav. *wuri*. In Tag., *huli* means *hindermost* and also *sternpost* of a ship.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 87 D., and 61 a.

<sup>4</sup> For example: *djadi gāmātar-lah anggotanja di bawahku* (As. Soc. No. 63, p. 323); *ikurnja pon di-kiapas-ki-paskannja dan misejnja pon gāmātar rupanja* (As. Soc. No. 38, p. 56).

## 157. ADVERBS OF TIME.

Substantives are used as adverbs of time if the period of time is specified (150 4, 152 2). *Deictic* or *pronominal adverbs of time* are: *dung*, *nung* or *ung* - *ever*; *indáng dung* - *never*; *djotdjót* - *often*; *rakkák* - *seldom*, cf. 155, etc. For *dí sí*, *on*, *nanón*, etc., see 143 and 143 a. For *haduwán*, see 112. There are also the following: *nattowari*<sup>1</sup> - *yesterday*; *nattowari sada* or *nattowari sadá* - *the day before yesterday*; *nattowari sada i* (150 4) or *nattowari sada ija* (150 4 a) - *the day before the day before yesterday*; *bodarina i* - *the following evening*; *sadari sogot* - *the day of tomorrow*; *bodari sogot* - *tomorrow evening*; *arijanna i* - *the day after*; *torang ni arina* - *the following day*.

When at the time of speaking something is referred to that the speaker has not seen happen, or something is said that is not known to the person addressed, *numaing*, *nuwaing* and other variants are used and not *nanón*; the translation is *probably now*, e.g., *adóng do boru ni tulangmu numaien denggán denggán*, etc., - *there are probably now in the village where they live, not here cousins of yours, the one beautiful, the other less so*; *boru ni djolma manisija nurwain di hutanami* (RB. p. 15, l. 6 fb.) - *a daughter of a mortal is probably now in our village* (the reference is to *Nan-Djomba-Ilik* who is not present).

*Mangganupi taon* is, with *ganup taon* - *annually*, also in use as an adverb.

*Na sa-onan on* means *during this onan* (cf. 144).

*Si-tokkin* (152 2 a) means not only *a moment*, but also *again and again, every moment* (cf. 152 2), e.g., *bagot di lambung dalam pana-rusan si-tokkin* - *a toddy palm on the path, which is tapped again and again*.<sup>2</sup>

*Di pudian*<sup>3</sup> *on* - *in future, henceforth*.

Phrases such as *gindjáng ari* - *the sun is high, the day is advanced*, are used as *adverbs of time*. When these phrases function adverbially, the predicate shifts the accent to the preceding syllable, e.g., *gindjang ari hita mangan* - *we eat at noon*; *suda pitu borngin on* - *these seven nights have gone, i.e., after these seven nights, in eight days* (RB. p. 283, l. 3 fb.; p. 323, l. 4). Such adverbial phrases of time come at the beginning of the phrase. The pre-subordinate clause *dung i* - *it is done*, and its variants *dung ni*, *nung i* and *nung ni*, are used to the point of boredom, e.g., *nung i, di-tattan ma hotang mallo i tu bagasan lombang*

<sup>1</sup> The derivation is not clear to me.

<sup>2</sup> In the Appendix to the Dict. (p. 535), this word has been incorrectly translated.

<sup>3</sup> See Obs. 160.

- after the aforesaid thing *had happened*, he lowered the mallo cane into the abyss. After *dung* and its variants, one or two words can, as a matter of course, also be used instead of the pronoun *i*, e.g., *dung torang ari, lao ma nasida* - when day dawned, they departed. The main clause which follows has *ma* after the predicate; it can also begin with *asa* (e.g., RB. p. 34, l. 1 fb.).

M. has *natuwari* = *nattowari* (22 III a); *sadari santjogot* = *sadari sogot*.

D. has *arinna idi* = *arijanra i*; *běrngin bōn* = *tomorrow night*; *i podin ena* = *di pudijan on*; *sěndah*<sup>1</sup> = *numaing*; *běřěmběņ* = *marsogot*; *buwari* = *nattowari*; *buwari tjadani* = *nattowari sada i*; *si-karang* (see Dict.); *kěntja* = *dung*.

#### 158. SENTENCE-ADVERBS.

It has already been shown that Batak has no adverbs that, in the same way as the adjectival noun can limit, qualify or describe a substantive, can modify or qualify a verb. For example, Batak has no adverb with which to express *well* in *he sleeps well*. Such adverbs, as well as the adjectival noun, must be replaced by a predicate, and the verb functions as the subject (121 1 and 155).

There are, however, words which, for want of a better description, I shall term *sentence-adverbs* because, in addition to their adverbial meaning, they can also change the whole meaning of a sentence. Sometimes such a *sentence-adverb* can be translated with a modal auxiliary, such as *could* (*who could that be?*) (see 6), but in many cases, a circumscription must be resorted to, in order to translate the precise meaning.

Such *sentence-adverbs* are:

1. *đjolo*.<sup>2</sup> *The first meaning* of *đjolo*, as a substantive, is *what lies in front*, hence the reason that, with a preposition, it is an adverb of place and that, when it is defined by a substantive introduced by *ni* or a pronominal suffix (160), it can function as a preposition. The second meaning is *first, before, earlier*, e.g., *mula au đjolo đjuppanđan pidong*, etc. (RB. p. 79, l. 11 fb.) - *If I have the luck to be the first*

<sup>1</sup> E.g., *i-sadena kin laembělgah, idi mo ku-tongkir*; *hakum idi, malot sěndah marsak idi* (RB. p. 215 m.) - *there yonder must be the great river, let me go there, for it is almost certain that it will not have dried up*; *asa tunggari sěndi ngo idi sěndah* (RB. p. 235 b) - *so that that chisel will probably still be there*.

<sup>2</sup> It appears to be a sound change of *đjulu* (30 V a), so that it really means *at the head* of and, therefore, agrees with the Mal. *d-h-w-l(-)*, of which the pronunciation, *daulu*, has also arisen because of the need to make a distinction between it and *di hulu* - *at the head*, of a river, *at the source*, in the hills.

to find a bird that, etc. In addition to these two meanings, it has the meaning of *do . . . now* in the way that *do now* is used to soften an otherwise peremptory command, e.g., *do come here now* instead of *come here!* and to put a request, e.g., *do let me go now*. Examples in Batak are: *mulak mau djolo* - *well, I had better return now*, i.e., *allow me to go back now* (RB. p. 97, l. 15 fb.); *lao mau djolo* (RB. p. 136, l. 5 fb.) - *well, I ought to be going now, do allow me to depart now*.

This use of *djolo* is, according to the way it is used in a sentence, even circumscribed by *I am asking you, if you please, please*, e.g., *dongattu djolo sa-uduran dongammí sa-halak, asa lao hami djolo mangultop pidong tu ramba i* (RB. p. 204 b.) - *let one of your companions be my fellow traveller,<sup>1</sup> so that we can, if you please, go to the forest to shoot birds with the blowpipe*. Were *djolo* to be absent from the main clause, then *dongattu sa-uduran dongammí sa-halak* would simply mean *my travelling companion is one of your company*. Other examples are: *borumuna on di son ma djolo* (RB. p. 79, l. 14 fb.) - *do let me leave your daughter here*; *sukkun ma musé djolo sumangot ni daoppung* - *do please ask grandfather's spirit!* *nakkon ma djolo tu son pokpangmuna* (RB. p. 226, l. 7) - *give me, if you please, something of yours as a token that you acknowledge me as an arbitrator*<sup>2</sup>; *na mangindjam hudjurmí do au djolo* - *please let me be the one to borrow your lance*; *lejon ma djolo di au ememí sae boni ni haumakkí* - *give me, if you please, just so much of your rice as is necessary for me to sow my field*; *agiját ma djolo daó au, asa palu* - *let me, I beg you, first be far away before you hit the gong*.

On p. 61 of the Reading Book, l. 2, *Adji Pamasa*, after having tried himself at various times to buy a wife, says to his elder brother: *ho ma djolo haháng mangoli* - "*now you please go, brother, and buy a wife*", from which example it can be seen that the original meaning of *first, earlier, before*, does not apply.

D. uses *lëbekën*, e.g., *ulang mo kono lëbekën laus* (RB. p. 160, l. 12 fb.) - *I pray you, don't go*; *ku-dimban kono lëbekën gijam* (RB. p. 216, l. 7 fb.) - *let me sing a charm song to you*. *Lëbekën* appears to be a passive imperative of *mëngëlëbekën*, so that it means, literally, *let it take place earlier (lëbe)* (cf. also RB. p. 32, l. 15 fb.; p. 35, l. 2). From this original meaning, it is easy to explain the idea of a request because, by using this word, someone is asked to do, or not to do something first. The first example can therefore read *don't go now*, but stay with me, and the second, *before you eat me up, let me first sing* (a charm song) *to you*.

<sup>1</sup> See 152 3d.

<sup>2</sup> See Dict. under *pong pang*.

NOTE. *Lēbe* brings me to the Mal. *lābih*, with which word it is not etymologically related, because Mal. *lābih* corresponds to *lobi* in D. And yet in Mal., *lābih* can have the sense of a request, especially in a contrastive or concessive context, e.g., *lābih ma<sup>s</sup>āf djuga tuwan akan ajahnda orang tuha ini - please do excuse your father, this old man*; *sungguh pon damikijan lābih kasihanmu djuga akan dija - be it so (that the child is mischievous), be kinder to her* (see *Si-miskin*, p. 81 and p. 138); *lābih ma<sup>s</sup>lūm sahabat kita (Mal. letter) - our friend may know*, etc. (cf. also *Pandjatandāran*, p. 88, 1. 4). *Daulu* is also used in an imperative, when speaking in a friendly manner, e.g., *tinggal-lah saudaraku daulu di sini (Indāra putāra, p. 113) - "stay here now, my brother"*, he said, taking his leave. The Mal. word used by a person asking leave to depart is *bārmuhun* (literally, to say *muhun*) (S2 6). *Muhun* is used instead of *mamuhun* - to request something; the stem-word, *puhun*, as a substantive, means *tree, tree-trunk*. Jav. has *amit*, and Kawi, *mamwit*, which comes from *wit* - *tree*. Figuratively, *tree trunk* - *beginning* (cf. *paᅅgakal* and *pokoq* in Mal.), so that in Jav. and Mal., the concept of *beginning, origin*, has been transferred to a request. Should not the Mal. *ampun* also be explained as a contraction of *amba-puhun* - *I ask for the discharge of my debt*, or something like that?

2. *nikkon* (variants: *ningon*,<sup>1</sup> *ikkon* or *ingon*). *Nikkon* is placed before the predicate and represents the idea of something of necessity taking place before the thing mentioned in the sentence following, which begins with *asa*, can occur, e.g., *ningon dapot ho do i, asa gabe ho - first, you must have obtained that, then you will prosper* (before you have that, you will not be lucky); *ningon pinaspatson bulung-rata asa djadi ni-apasan halak - first, a green leaf must be shaken out on someone's grave, before a person may be put out of mind* (a person must first be dead, before we have nothing to fear from him); *ikkon dung pe adōng tubu ibototta, asa mulak au tu hutanami* (RB. p. 12 m.) - *only after a brother for me has been born can I return to our village*; *molo djuppa halak, ningon di-baen do hamuli-mulian ni begu ni ulok na djuppa i - if anyone should encounter it, he must use to the full some means or other whereby the spirit of the snake he has encountered can be made to return*,<sup>2</sup> before he is safe from any danger. *Nikkon* can also be used adversatively, i.e., when something must take place before the thing mentioned previously can occur, e.g., after *Djonaha* had begged the arbitrator to make an end to the war, and having said that he would abide by the latter's decision, the arbitrator said: *ningon olo do mardangdang alominon* (RB. p. 275, 1. 2) - *but your opponents must then consent to pay a penalty*. When *nikkon*, or its variants, is placed after the predicate, it makes the sentence conditional, e.g., *djadi mas ningon, djadi do tutú - if it must be gold, then gold it will be*.

<sup>1</sup> See 30 XV.

<sup>2</sup> To the Batak, to return, when said of a spirit means to be harmless.

M. uses *angkon*, e.g., *akkon ra do ho marpadan hita antjo ra au di ho* (RB. p. 7 l. 26) - *first, it must be your wish that we make an agreement with each other then only do I want to have you*; *angkon tartaoon gudam garagadji, so tarbolus tu tano*, etc. (RB. p. 140, l. 1) - *one must be able to endure a gudam-garagadji before one can go towards the country called B.M.*

D. uses *kěna*, but often omits it, so that *asa djadi* in the following sentence suffices to indicate that the meaning is *first, before*, e.g., *kěna akapěnmu ku-bakin, asa djadi* (RB. p. 181, m.) - *first, I shall make you feel my power before all will be well, you'll feel it first*; *ku-bumuh ngo kono, asa djadi* - *first, I must kill you, before all is well*; *molih ngo kěrina bukbukmidi, asa djadi* - *all your feathers must be restored (62 2), before all is well.*

*Si-kali* (138 and 154\*) is used in conditional sentences instead of *kěna*, e.g., *muda si-kali ngo aku ngo asa djadi, dokkěn ẽmpungta, panganěn mahan pẽngẽmpo bagasna idi* (RB. p. 84) - "if", says our lord, "I must be eaten up, so that I can be the consecration meal for his house, before all will be well", etc.; *muda si-kali i-pěrděngan kono mědēm ngo aku, asa djadi* (RB. p. 68) - *if you really must lie with me, before all will be well, etc.*

*Mada kěna*, with the 1st passive after it = *indapalá* (7) or *indada*, with a passive verbal substantive (133 1), e.g., *mada kěna i-pěrtasak kono* (RB. p. 68, l. 6) - *you don't have to prepare (that food)*; *mada mo kěna ku-pěrděngan mědēm daběru ena* (RB. p. 71, l. 10 fb.) - *I don't have to lie with this woman.*

That, originally, *kěna* is the same word as the *kěna* used with the passive (101), is beyond doubt.

3. *sai*<sup>1</sup>; variants: *sali* and *sadi*. This word, already discussed in the verbal form in 154, is placed before the predicate and means:

a. *duration* of that represented by the verb or by the word functioning as a predicate: it must be translated by *always, constantly*, e.g., *sai monangan do ibana* (RB. p. 159, l. 1) - *he always won*; *sadi bosuran ibana mangan boras ni sambubuhon i* - *he was always satisfied by the eating of those rambutan*; *sali boti ma ninna parhata ni pidong i* (RB. p. 87 m.) - *the content of the bird's speech was always thus*; *sali so ma ibana di si* - *he always stayed there*; *unang ho sali tangis* - *don't continually cry!* *dung ni sai marhusari ma ibana* - *at that, he continually worried*; *dung ni sai di-paima* - *afterwards, he always waited for it.* *Sai* is often used with the same meaning before an active, functioning as subject of the passive of a verb, that indicates the observing, for example, by hearing it, of something that is repeated or is always occurring, e.g., *hu-begé sai marsurak-surak* - *continuous shouting was being heard by me*; *hu-begé sai margotsi-gotsi* - *I heard music constantly being made*;

b. *the certainty* with which the speaker expresses his conviction, or his desire, that something should take place, e.g., *sai na ro partunggu tu ho* (RB. p. 262, l. 24) - *your creditors will come to you, there's no*

<sup>1</sup> Not to be confused with *sa-i* (152 3 a).

doubt of it; *sai na monang do ho* (RB. p. 159, l. 28) - *you will certainly gain the victory*; *sai ro do i maridi tu toru on* - *they will come here to bathe, I'm certain of it*; *di si hu-suru maralap ho, sai ro do ho* - *as soon as I send for you, you must come without fail*; *molo ibana do tutú sai hu-tijop do* - *if it is really he, then I shall certainly catch him*; *molo sai ogung ni daoppung on ma di ho* - *if nothing but this gong of grandfather's will do for you*; *unang tarida on, sali bunihon do i* - *let this not be seen, hide it by all means*. There is another example in 133 1.

*Sai* often introduces a main clause in which something is mentioned as being inevitable, while the preceding subordinate clause contains a condition or a supposition, e.g., even if you do stay at home, if you are destined to be a morsel for a tiger *sai ro do i mangalap iba, it will come and get you* (148 4). For another example see 133 1, p. 199, l. 12 fb.

*Sai* is also used to express an earnest wish of goodwill, e.g., *sai gabe ho pinasu ni anakmi* - *may you, through your son, be blessed*; *sai horas hamú* - *may you always prosper*. By adding *do* after the predicate, *sai* is used in order to express a perfect similitude (165).

M. uses *lang*, *laing* or *laeng* (South) and *laet* (North), e.g., *anggo lang di son do o, mate do o di-baen amamu* (RB. p. 129, l. 15 fb.) - *because if you continue to stay here, you will be killed by your father*; *laet na songon i pakkuling ni landuk* (121 1); *laing* (see RB. p. 235, l. 19 and p. 237, l. 10).

D. also uses *mértahan* (154\* 7 D.) in the case mentioned in a., but elsewhere uses *si-kali* or *tipat*, e.g., *ulang ko tipat tangis* (RB. p. 231, l. 10) - *don't continually cry!* *ulang tipat dabëru idi dokkën kene gërar purmainku idi* (RB. p. 105, l. 4 fb.) - *don't keep saying "that woman", when referring to my daughter-in-law* (cf. also RB. p. 36, l. 3); *si-kali dokkën ngo i-tulus naposonta idi*, etc. (RB. p. 2, l. 1 fb.) - *you must tell our man-servant to look for it* (cf. 2 D.).

4. *hiján* or *hinán* (MANDAILING F III NOTE) means *beforehand*, *previously*, e.g., *naing hu-boto hiján arga ni hudjur on* - *I want to know beforehand the value of this lance*; *pabowa hinán di au* - *tell me beforehand*; *baen hinán sira dohot asom tu balanga i* - *put salt and lemon juice in that balanga beforehand*. It also means *really*, *actually*, e.g., *adóng<sup>1</sup> hiján landong di pipi ni si-pandan* - *there really was a death spot on P's cheek*.

When *hiján*, or *hinán*, is followed by *do*, it means that the thing represented by the verb has taken place, and in a conditional sentence, an unquestioned assumption that it will have taken place in the future, e.g., *di-gadjì hinán do pangaloppa* - *he had engaged the services of a cook*; *molo na tubu hinán do anakku* - *when my son will have been*

<sup>1</sup> See 148 1.

born; *au hu-boto hinán do bau te eme lobu* - as for me, I already knew that lobu rice smells like dung. Followed by *ma*, *hiján*, or *hinán*, expresses either a strong desire for the thing represented by the verb to take place, or a strong doubt that it will, e.g., *mate hinán ma ho - die, can't you!* (I would that you were dead); *di-lejan ho hiján ma i - now, you would give that?! (ironically: as if you would)*; *tamasa hiján ma ho, na sai dae ho* - how could she want you, you're so ugly! *olo hiján ma i gok* - how could that ever become full! After a substantive and its adjunct, *hinán* has the meaning of *real*, *proper*, e.g., *batak hinán do* - he is a real Batak, (i.e., though now a Muslim, he is after all a pagan); *pangisi ni huta i hinán* - the real inhabitants of a village (as distinct from persons who have been invited, RB. p. 270, l. 14 fb.); *di-topot huta nipanna i hiján* - he went to his proper village, where he had originally lived (the one to which he belonged).

After an interrogative, *hinán* (*hiján*) has the sense of *else*, as a means of putting the emphasis on the interrogative in questions in which astonishment is expressed that anyone could have thought differently, e.g., *aha hiján na hula di-baen na ro tu son, indá naing manabung* - in coming here, what else have I come for if not to hold a cockfight?

*Hiján* is also used in questions expressing disbelief at an assertion someone has made, e.g., *na so tarhona hiján do ho* - you haven't had the time, is that what you're telling me!

*Na hiján*, or *na hinán* (see Dict.) is a full adverb of time (150 4).

M. also uses *na hinanan* (158\* a), which appears to be a comparative functioning attributively (134 II e), as an adjective, e.g., *kehe ma si-baum pedjel tu laba na hinanan* - B.P. went to the sheds formerly used for camphor; otherwise as in T. (RB. p. 248, l. 12 and 14 fb.).

D. uses *kin*, e.g., *laembəlgah kin* (RB. p. 215, l. 27) - the really large river, as distinct from a beck or a stream; *mi bəkasna kin* (RB. p. 155, l. 12 fb.) - the owner of the salt went to his proper place, i.e. the place where he belonged. *Kin* is also used in a preceding indirect question, where *barang* (147 D.) drops out, e.g., *i-dikə kin mo arnija i-bakin kono, engət kono* (RB. p. 235, l. 17 fb.) - try to remember where you actually put it before. And it is used after an interrogative that has been made indefinite by *barang*, e.g., *barang si-kade kin* - whichever name (si-kade 146 4) you like to give him (RB. p. 34, l. 7). Usage otherwise is as in T., e.g., *ni-kuso kin mo pərdalanna* (RB. p. 208 m.) - the cause of it should be investigated beforehand; *i sadena kin* - there yonder, really is the great river (157 D. fn.).

5. *niján*. This word appears to mean *really*. It refers to an intended action that has not been fulfilled, but it is also frequently used to inform the speaker of something, and, often, to convince him of the opposite of what he thinks or might think, e.g., *bejasa ba ináng! maronan do hami manabung hami niján* (RB. p. 136 m.) - when his mother thought

that he and his friend had not gone to the *onan*, he said: "*Why, mother! we really have been to the onan; we have, let me tell you, been cock-fighting*"; *singirna do niján* (RB. p. 68, l. 11 fb.) - though his opponent at every throw said "*djudji*" to his own advantage, the throw was, nevertheless, to his (he was the winner, and not his opponent); *ijanggo na hu-topot, datulang do niján radja usumán do niján, naing di au boruna i* (RB. p. 57) - *the one I've really come to visit is my uncle radja Usuman. I want to marry his daughter*; *na mandjalahi pidong na maló marhata-hata do au niján* (RB. p. 71 b.) - *you should know that I seek a bird that can speak*; *na tarrundja do ninna nasida di hauma ni halak, na masidaoan niján nasida nattowari* - *she had, she said, been wounded by a rundja on someone's field (when) she was, in fact, looking for mushrooms yesterday (she went out with the intention of getting mushrooms for food)*; *ro ma babijat, sai di-gair ma tano mambuwat appodi niján, latsowada dapotsa do* - *the tiger kept on clawing the ground with the object of catching the appodi, but he could not find it or catch hold of it.*

Frequently, the sentence in which *niján* is used expresses something distinct from that in the one following. In their translation, these two sentences are linked with *but*. In Batak, however, the conjunction is often absent, or, as in the previous example, conjunctive words such as *lat-sowada* (153\*) and *matuwa sowada* (RB. p. 71, l. 1 fb.), etc., are used, e.g., *indadong niján utangmu di au, di-baen na dung malé do au* (RB. p. 139 m.) - *really, it is not because of what you owe me, but because I am hungry*. Such a preceding sentence is often negative, as in the last example; the sentence following then begins with *alai*, e.g., *indá tung adóng utangmu di au, alai nunga malé au* (RB. p. 140, l. 11 fb.) - *really, it is not so much because of what you owe me, but because I am hungry*; *indá tung di-lele halak au niján, alai naing di-djokkong si-boru tandan di bulan* - *I am not so much pursued by someone; Tandan di Bulan wants to detain me by force.*

*Niján* is used in main clauses to express something that would have happened had not something occurred to prevent it. The preventing element is expressed in the subordinate clause that follows, either with or without *alai*, e.g., *di-soro babijat i ma niján aih*, etc. - *the tiger would then have caught the wild boar in its claws, but, etc.*; *di-tahu ma niján na tijo i, ba soluk ma na litok i* - *he would have scooped up the clear (water), but it was the muddy (water) that was there instead*; *di-panigorhon ma niján tu hutanasida, di-tadikkon ma niján si-robar di tano pulo horsik, ro ma musé alogo*, etc. - *he would have gone*

*immediately to their village and left R. behind on the island of Horsik, but a wind again got up.*

Contrasting clauses of this kind can be transposed by using a subordinate clause introduced by *aut* or *atik* (163) and by using *niján* in the main clause; the subordinate clause then expresses the thing that did not happen as having taken place, while the main clause, which is often interrogative, expresses the reverse, e.g., *atik botí ma di-dok, adóng talu alomí niján, adóng niján monang ho* - *had he so spoken, would your opponent have been defeated, and would you have been victorious?* *aut olo anakmuna i baen helakku aha na podó niján, indá mamillit ma au di artamuna i* - *if your son wanted to be my son-in-law, what would it mean? Would not I have the pick of your treasure?* *aut ni indáng hu-sambalutton di ulotsu, di-burwat do niján* - *had I not wrapped it in my clothing, he would have taken it.* Both clauses, can, however, have *niján* in them, e.g., *atik na djolo di-undang ho niján aso indaong saut di-bowan ho niján manuk ni si-djonaha inon, aso indaong hamú marmusu i niján, indaong si-djonaha niján mamunu, indaong ho matean* (RB. p. 277 m.) - *had you first tried it out, so that you would not have taken Dj.'s fowl and had not, as a consequence, had a war with each other, then Dj. would not have killed any of you and you would have lost no men; aut ni adóng niján dapot au si-panganon na tabo, indá hamuna do niján mangatton* - *had I been able to get something tasty to eat, wouldn't you have eaten it?*

When *niján* and *do* (165) are used in a main clause, a reality is expressed with which the content of the subordinate clause is at variance, e.g., *deják do niján duhut gagatonna, alai marnijang do horbo i* (RB. p. 70, l. 4 fb.) - *there was, indeed, an abundance of grass that they could eat, but still the buffaloes were lean.*

M. does not often use *niján* in combination with *tapi* = *alai* in the following clause. An example is: *dengán do niján ari ni na topak i, tapi sa-otik ma salana* (RB. p. 19 m.) - *the day the child is born is, indeed, auspicious, but something is lacking* (cf. RB. p. 9, l. 15 fb., and p. 20, l. 2). In a preceding clause, *niján* is used with *gari* (163) when the main clause is interrogative, e.g., *gari dapotan au niján boru ni radjanamí tolu, indá tumpukmu do i sang-kibung* (RB. p. 38, l. 18 fb.) - *had I been able to catch three fishes, lady, would not one of them have been for you?* In M., *niján* is often placed after a subject that for emphasis is put at the beginning of a sentence, e.g., when each of the camphor gatherers had said that he had had no dream, said *Baun Pedjel: au niján, ro do nipikku* (RB. p. 3, l. 13 fb.) - *as for me, a dream did come to me (I did have a dream).* The contrast in this example is clear, but such is not the case in *au niján, gijot dohot au markapur* (RB. p. 2, l. 8) - *I, let me tell you, want to accompany you in looking for camphor; and, betak hula ho niján betak dongan* - *maybe you are a kinsman from another marga, maybe of the same marga.*

D. uses *nēmukĕn*, e.g., *hakum begu ni bapa ngo nēmukĕn ěmpūn si-mĕnggĕrit kutjapi idi, kasa bage kutjapi mat-sĕlido nina* - if the ěmpūn that twangs that kutjapi were really father's spirit, why does he say: "it is like the kutjapi of Selido's father"? *ku-ĕntat nēmukĕn si-sada petang ena, pĕdjumpa aku (8) dĕkĕt bae pĕrmakan kambing*, etc. (RB. p. 183 b.) - I would have brought this one petang of palmwine, but I met a goatherd, etc.

*Nĕmu* is also used, but, in a main clause, it can also indicate certainty in the future, e.g., *muda mada mobah pĕdah ni guru, hĕlat uwaluh bĕrngin ena djumpa mo nĕmu bijahat idi* (RB. p. 162, l. 11 fb.) - if the instruction given by my teacher in divination is not amiss, the tiger will be caught this week; but, *ku-bĕre ngo nĕmu sada kene, ena alĕ tuwang*, etc. (RB. p. 182, l. 13 fb.) - I would give you one, but now, brother!, etc. *Nĕmu* is also used in concessive clauses that are preceding clauses, e.g., *ku-imum pĕ nĕmu ĕndai polamu idi, otang bang si-kupĕngido bamu nari* (RB. p. 180, l. 18) - though I have been drinking your palm wine just now, it was not because I asked you for it.

6. *laning*, or *ulaning* (22 III). *Laning* is used in questions expressing doubt, i.e., in those in which no decisive answer is expected, as, for example, when one asks oneself a question, e.g., *bejasa ma on marnijang laning* (RB. p. 70 b.) - why should those buffaloes be lean? *na tutú do i ulaning ni-dok ni hulis-sulis i* - can what this hulis-hulis says be true? *aha ma hu-baen laning mamalos hapandean ni amang-uda i* - what should I now do to pay uncle back in his own coin for his act? *anang<sup>1</sup> aha ma ulaning mamburwat ugasatti* - now, what could have taken my things away? *ináng anang ise ma ulaning nappunasa<sup>2</sup> on* - good heavens! to whom would these things belong? *songon dija do ulaning na tubu i* (RB. p. 4, l. 9) - what should the newly-born child look like? *anang na behá do laning hita on sogot* (RB. p. 65 m.) - what will become of both of us?

*Lejatni* (below, 15) is also used instead of *ulaning* in questions like this, e.g., *bejasa ma indadong martanduk on lejatni lembu on* (RB. p. 140, l. 9 fb.) - why do these cattle have no horns? (cf. also RB. p. 140, l. 3 fb.); *na sijan dija do ibana lejatni mardalan* (RB. p. 154 b.) - which way would he have gone? *na tu dija do lao lejatni boru-boru nappuna sopón* - where would the woman to whom this *sopo* belongs have gone?

M. uses *luwani*, *ulaning*, *ulani* (North, 25) and *luwai* or *ruwai* (South), e.g., *di ari aha ma ulani topak si-manarengku i* - on what day was I born? These words are used with *tehé* (South, *tijé*) to indicate confusion as to the course of action that should be taken, e.g., *bijá ma luwani téhé panaekku di on* (RB. p. 49 m.<sup>3</sup>) - how in the world shall I climb it? *songon dija ma u-dokon ruwai tijé* (RB. p. 258, l. 6) - how am I supposed to say it? *ise do ulaning on* (RB. p. 129, l. 3) - who ever can that be?

<sup>1</sup> See 147.

<sup>2</sup> See 151 8 c.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. RB. p. 5, l. 9 fb., and p. 6, l. 18.

In South M., *ulaning* is also used in urgent questions in which a demand for an immediate reply is implied, e.g., *tano dija ma ulaning on* (RB. p. 130 m.) - *what country is this? alak todingkon dija do o ulaning* (RB. p. 130 b.) - *wherever have you come from?*

In North M., *nakngi* (below, 15) is used, e.g., *aha nakngi anggí baenon ni amang-borongku di-baen di-suru alap halani damang* - *my dear friend, what has my uncle to do that he sends for father? i.e., why does uncle send for father?*

D. uses *ëndija*, e.g., *kade ñdija pëmuwatku piduk idi dëkët binatang datas idi* (RB. p. 141 t.) - *just what means must I employ to catch those birds and climbing animals? rap dike mam ñdija dalam mënangkih mi datas* - *just which is the way that one climbs up? ñnggeut mango ija ñdija mëngupahi* (RB. p. 159 m.) - *would he be inclined to engage the services of, etc.? kade ngena<sup>1</sup> ñdija* (RB. p. 246, l. 2 fb.) - *just what is this? kade mo dosangku ñdija bai begu barang bai djëlma* (RB. p. 118 b.) - *just what offences would I have committed against the spirits or against mankind?* For another example, see RB. p. 22, l. 16.

7. *apalá*. The best translation of this word appears to be *precisely, right, such*, in the sense of adding emphasis to the word following, e.g., *molo apalá di son ma hamatean, behá baenon* - *if right here is the place to die, how do we have to act? aha ma apalá ngorngór hita manggagat* - *why should we be grazing with such haste?* In questions in which doubt is expressed of the real need for something, *girá tu dija* - *why hurry?* (lit.: *whither so fast?*) is used, e.g., *girá tu dija hita mangula* (RB. p. 148 m.) - *what's the need for us to hurry with the work in the fields?*

Before a substantive or a pronoun functioning as such, *apalá* can be translated by *even*, e.g., *apalá i mate di-baen hamuna* - *even that person has been killed by you; apalá si-anak ni namboru indáng na podó mangotsop susukki, tung ibana djumolo mangotsop susukki* - *even my beloved bridegroom has not yet put his mouth to my breasts. Should he (some other man mentioned before) then precede him in doing it?*

Where, in order to express something as being very small or trifling, *apalá* stands before a word and is itself preceded by *anggo* (165), it is less often used than *pala* (below, 8), e.g., *anggo apalá i do murá do i baenon* - *if it is only that, that is easy to do; anggo apalá i do na ni-dokmu tu au, bowasa pala di-sejat ho manukmi di-bowan ho indahammi* - *if you have nothing worth saying to me, why did you have to kill a fowl and bring your rice? anggo apalá manopa do di-dokkon ho au, bowasa apalá di-bowan ho indahammi* - *if you want nothing more of me than forging, why did you bother to bring your rice with you? anggo pala i do tinandakkommu anggo babi na di alaman i indá di-boto do i* - *if that is all the knowledge of divination you bring with*

<sup>1</sup> See DAIRI E I a.

*you on your visit, the very pigs in the compound have the same knowledge; anggo pala i do mudá do daonni - if that's all it is, the remedy is easy; anggo pala susumi do di-pisat indáng sanga bohá i di-paboto-boto si-anak ni namborúm - if that fellow pinches nothing but your breasts, it's of no consequence if your bridegroom knows of it.*

*Apalá* also has the meaning of *very* (adverb) and not only before qualificative words functioning as predicates, but also before an abbreviated sentence functioning as an adverbial adjunct, e.g., *di-hatai radja i begu na sijar i, apalá denggán - the prince addressed the spirit that had entered the medium, and very beautiful his address was; di-tibal djuhut i di atas nindahan, apalá denggán apalá uli - he laid the meat on the boiled rice; he did it very beautifully; taktang do gota na di tanganna i, apalá sa-otik - the gum on his hands worked loose, but only by a very small amount; anggo apalá na pogos do na marharoan i, manuk do sada di-baen parharoan ni anakna i - if the one who is holding the feast is very poor, then one fowl is used for the meal celebrating the birth of his son; i ma sada apalá na tabo pidong panganon - that is a bird which is very tasty to eat. Apalá is rarely used before a word functioning attributively, but an example is: *aso hu-takkup dakka ni sambubuhon apalá partoru on - so that I grasp this lowest branch of the sambubuhon.**

*Apalá* used with the negative *so* has been dealt with in 154 \* 7.

*Apalá* is frequently used after *indada*, often before a passive verbal substantive, in a main clause in which *no need for* is expressed, in subordinate clauses, however, *pala* is used for preference; e.g., *indada apalá sauttonokku hamuna - there is no need for me to compliment you people; indada apalá pangiron hamuna, sunut-sunut manuk ma hamuna - you need not be married in a festive manner, just mate, like fowls in the pen; indada apalá marhara pangordang dainang indada apalá marhara pamoni dainang tijan ruma - mother has no need to call for pangordang or pamoni from the village to help with the work in the fields.*

*Apalá* is used in exclamations in which emphasis is laid on the improbability of a contention or a belief, e.g., *apalá Toba au - as if I were a Toba! (how could you think that I am a Toba?); apalá hundjoppon ma i nakkin i - as if I had pushed him over (how could you think that I would have, etc.); apalá sa-dija dao i - as if it were exceedingly far off.*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For another example, see p. 259, l. 4.

It is also used to express a request that amounts to an order (it is, perhaps, the Mal. *apa-lah*); e.g., *anggiat ma apalá ho mangoli alé haháng* (RB. p. 61, l. 4) - *do go now, brother, and buy a wife. Ija* preceding *apalá*, also expresses the same thing, e.g., *ijapalá patuduhon ma di au* (RB. p. 67, l. 3) - *show me, now!*

*Apalá* preceded by *sa-* introduces as a conditional conjunction a subordinate clause in which a necessity is expressed, e.g., *sapalá mangatton ho di au* (RB. p. 76, l. 10) - *if you must eat me up, etc.* *Sapalá* is also used to express a request, e.g., *sapalá ho anggi na lodja* (Dict. p. 527, and p. 143).

8. *pala*. The first meaning of this word appears to be *sufficient*, e.g., *na so pala inumon* - *that is not sufficient that it can be drunk*. It is used before a numeral to lay emphasis on the number stated, e.g., *tu aha manuk i di-baen pala duwa di-buwat ho* - *what are these fowls for, since you have taken as many as two of them?* It is also used in questions expressing *need for*, e.g., *bejasa ma pala sanga mangan horbo di-baen hamuna hami* - *why need you regale us even with buffalo meat?*

*Pala* used after *anggo* (see 7 above), and also in conditional subordinate clauses, has the same meaning as *apalá*, e.g., *molo pala mate ibana, behá baenon* - *if he must die, how will it be accomplished?* (for other examples, see 133, 1 end).

It is also used in false questions, e.g., *so pala i ma hamaluwakku, manarui panganon ni djolma so begu* - *wouldn't it be shameful for me to carry food for a monster?*

Preceded by *uwa*, *pala* is used in friendly requests, and also in exclamations in which the improbability of something is expressed, e.g., *uwa pala rap ma hamú djolo* - *please keep together!* *uwa pala tikkir damang namá djolo iboto ni radja i* - *go now, friend, and visit the radja's sister!* *uwa pala dabu ma di au boras ni sambubuhon i* - *please drop me those sambubuhon fruits!* *uwa pala paima mau* - *wait for me!* *uwa pala na marina au* - *it is as though I had a mother!*

OBS. From the preceding, it appears that *apalá* and *pala* are, in some cases, interchangeable. I make no claim that both words are really one and the same.

M. uses *pola* (cf. D.) = *pala* in its first meaning (see Dict.), but it uses *pala* where surprise is expressed at something that is said, e.g. "what is your attitude towards uncle because he wanted to kill you?" she asked. At that, he replied: *bijá ma pala rohanku di halaní, marsuhat di ho do i* (RB. p. 195, l. 17) - "Why should I have any plan with regard to him? I leave that to you."

D. uses *pěla* (cf. M.) = *pala* in the first meaning (see Dict.). With a 1st passive, it uses *mada kěna* = *indada apalá* (see 2 above). *Pala* is used in questions

in which a demand for an immediate reply is expressed, e.g., *pala kade mo si-ni-dokkëndene bainami* (RB. p. 166, l. 6) - *what is it that you people have to say to us?* *pala kade mo si-tongkirinmu* (RB. p. 67, l. 15 fb.) - *what's the purpose of your visit?* *Pala* is placed before a word, in order to emphasize a negative or a word indicating a small degree or amount, e.g., *malot pala mēharga kami i-sarihkēn* (RB. p. 26, l. 10 fb.) - *he cares not a jot for us;* *pala sitok ngo ku-inum polamu idi, menēr*, etc. (RB. p. 180, l. 12) - *I've only drunk a little of your palmwine and already you're answering me back.*

9. *nunga* (11 b) means *already*, e.g., *nunga hu-ida* - *I've already seen it.* *Nunga* is often placed before a clause in which what has been observed or encountered is mentioned. It introduces a predicative adjunct of the subject and is often followed by *sai* (3 above), e.g., *dida ma parbuwe ni rukkung banggik nunga sai marrara<sup>1</sup> di-baen lamunna* (RB. p. 1) - *rukkung-banggik fruit was seen by him, red, because they were ripe;* *di-bereng ma pidong i nunga sai gumiling-giling di asarna i* - *he saw the bird roll over in its nest;* *di-dapot ma inana nunga lokkot di rere* (The Quarrel between S.M. and D.D., p. 16, l. 7 fb.) - *he found his mother sticking to an old mat (so poor, that she had only an old mat as clothing);* *di-dapot nunga adóng modom lahi-lahi di djabuna i* - *she found a man asleep in her djabu;* *di-tatap ma lajang-lajang mandi dohot manuk-manuk patija radja nunga sali hundul di batu tandjung tolu* - *from afar he saw the mandi swallow and the heavenly bird, P.R., sitting on the rocks;* *di-bereng ma tubuna i, dida nunga marpajahan onom* - *she looked at that to which she had given birth and saw six of them lying there;* *dida ma taoar i nunga sadi gurguran* - *he saw that the tawar was fermenting well;* *djuppa nasida ma tobu tutung nunga marbungai<sup>2</sup>* - *they found tutung sugar cane stalks flowering;* *na so surat ni ramos do borasna di gindjang, di toru pe na marurus nunga darák dida* (RB. p. 69, l. 2 fb.) - *above, the fruit of the tree was abundant, and below he saw the fallen fruit lying in great quantity spread out under it;* *nunga marngongós di-begé nasida* - *they heard the bird making a whirring sound with its wings;* *nunga saé-saé bonana i dida djala nunga bot ari dida* (RB. p. 77, l. 1) - *he observed that the lower part of the tree was quite clean and also noted that it was evening;* *dida ma baijon pandan nunga sai di-patornong do di pargadongan i* (RB. p. 13, l. 5 fb.) - *he saw the pandan leaves that were to be used for weaving ranged in rows on the gadong fields.* The construction can also be such that the subject is mentioned first, and that *nunga* introduces the mention of that which has been

<sup>1</sup> See 52 3.

<sup>2</sup> See 54.

observed about a *part* of the subject, e.g., *dida ma si-boru tunggu di djudji nunga sali patutudak susuna* (RB. p. 68 m.) - *he saw the lady T. d. Dj.; her breasts were already standing upright* (i.e. he saw that lady T. d. Dj. had firm and beautifully shaped breasts).

After such a predicative adjunct, *do* can be used instead of *nunga*, e.g., *dida hitsú do* (RB. p. 101, l. 7) - *the gate was seen by him being closed* (he saw that the gate was closed).

A predicative adjunct of the object is expressed by a verb introduced by *na*, e.g., *marnida iba on na rapar* - *when he sees me, poor devil, suffering from hunger*.

M. does not have *nunga*; North M. uses *numma*, South M., *dung ma*, e.g., *di-ligi ija numma mate amanija i* (RB. p. 24, l. 10 fb.) - *he saw that his father was already dead*. *Ma dung* is also used (RB. p. 135, l. 4).

D. uses *ənggo* which, with the usual meaning of *already, just*, can also be placed after the predicative adjunct (RB. 128 b. and 129). Otherwise, its use is similar to that of *nunga* in T.; e.g., *idah ənggo kənān djəbak idi* - *he saw that the tiger trap had already caught something*; *i-bəgeken ənggo lot djəlma i bagasna idi* - *he heard that there was someone in his house*; *idah mo takalna ənggo tjabal* (RB. p. 158, l. 5) - *he saw his head lying*. *Ənggo* is also used to introduce a substantival clause in which something is mentioned that has happened, e.g., *i-bagahkən kalak si-debān ənggo kita sada pənarihin* - *someone or other has said that we are in agreement* (cf. also RB. p. 172, l. 17).

D. also uses *nari* (see 14 below) after the predicative adjunct, e.g., *i-tatap mērsembur nari ngo piduk dəkət binatang datas* (RB. p. 140, l. 3 fb.) - *he saw from afar birds and climbing animals swarming in crowds*; *məralijoho nari ngo ku-idah mi tərüh* (RB. p. 5 m.) - *I see that it has a downward passage*.

10. *las*. This appears to be a corruption of *laos*<sup>1</sup> and has as its first meaning *then, further*, e.g., *rutsúr tijan duru las lonong di tapijan i* - *it slid from the edge and then sank in the bathing place*. It also indicates *duration*, in the sense of *continuing to*, e.g., *las di radja i bijang i* - *the dog stayed with the prince*; *las pono boru i* (142) - *she remains childless*; *djadi las di ramba do djolmana i* (RB. p. 162 m.) - *so that his wife still sojourned in the wilderness*; *las di radja balingbingan ma pananggaimi* (RB. p. 230 m.) - *let your dog remain with Prince B*. *Las* is also used to express an increase in degree and is then translated with *still, yet, even*, and a *comparative*, e.g., *utang na metmet las pinametmet* - *may a small debt be made still smaller*.

*Las*, followed by the negative *sowada*, is often used to express *still... not*, the negative always retaining its conjunctive force (153\*); e.g., *di-rijori ma tu bagasan sopo, lat-sowada dida do* (RB. p. 158, l. 3) -

<sup>1</sup> In M., *laeng* means *to continue* (RB. p. 293, l. 21); cf. also the use of *lalu* in Mal.

she went into the *sopo* to see him, but still she didn't see him; he'd already been away for a month, *lat-sowada djuppasa do pidong na tolu i* (RB. p. 29, l. 1) - and still he hadn't been able to find those three birds. *Lat-so* also occurs (RB. p. 29, l. 8).

*Mattuwa* (154\*) is also used with a negative, e.g., *mattuwa sowada do di-begé sowara ni pidong na maló marhata-hata* - and still he didn't hear the call of a bird that could speak; even after months and years had passed, *mattuwa sowada do djuppa nasida*, etc. - they still hadn't heard the sound; no matter how many people have come here to play dice, *mattuwa so dung do talu au di-baen halak* (RB. p. 67, l. 3 fb.) - still no one has won it from me (cf. RB. p. 69 b.; p. 71 b., p. 74 m.).

M. uses *laet*, *laing*, *laeng* or *lang* (158 3 M.), e.g., *laet so adóng na marpijo mangan* (RB. p. 52) - still no one came to call him to eat, even though it was night; *lang so ngot dopé ija* (RB. p. 141, l. 12) - and still he did not awake; *o dopé di-angkahan* (MANDAILING E a) *lang so marbagas dopé o* (RB. p. 135, l. 12 fb.) - though you are the eldest, you are still not married. *Laet = sai* (158 3), e.g., *anggo au, laet na kehe do* - even though father and uncle are hostile to each other, I'm still going. *Djuwo* is also used, but after the predicate (RB. 134, l. 10 fb.).

D. uses *mada mango*, e.g., *mada mango i-akap mērlingghah mi tēruh* (RB. p. 5, l. 8 fb.) - still he didn't feel that downward there was a bottom to that hole; cf. also RB. p. 6, l. 3 fb.; p. 9, l. 21; p. 139, l. 1 fb. In addition, there is *malot mango* (RB. p. 9, l. 19); and *tunggari ngo*, e.g., *tunggari ngo malot mērdēpar i-bēge* (RB. p. 6, l. 14) - and still he didn't hear that piece of bamboo fall, clattering... (and also RB. p. 8, l. 10 fb.); also *malot tunggarina* (RB. p. 8, l. 6 fb.), *tunggarina malot* (RB. p. 9, l. 23).

D. also uses *pējah malot*, which literally means *tired not* (see an example in RB. p. 93, l. 6 fb.). This concrete way of expressing *still... not* ought to be compared with the use of *maló* (p. 362 footnote 2) and *mattuwa* (154\* footnote).

11. *attóng*. This word means *certainly, indeed*, and often indicates a result that is contrary to what was stated earlier, e.g., *di-boto do, ninna, manopa bosikkí, attóng indáng hapé di-boto* - he said that he would, indeed, be able to forge my iron, but it has become quite clear that he can't do it; *attóng batu do* - it is, in fact, a stone, and not as you contend, a gem; *attóng na paototo-hon* (8) *do ho hapé* - you do, indeed, appear to be a cheat. With this sense, it is often used with *hapé* (see 17 below).

In some cases, in a main clause, *attóng = niján* (see 5 above) and is placed right at the end of the main clause, while the subordinate clause begins with *atik* (163), e.g., *atik songon i di-dok radja i sinabulna mangalo au, talu do au attóng* - had the prince presented his case against me in this way, then I would have been the losing party.

M. uses *antóng* much more often with the meaning of *indeed*, e.g., *na denggan antóng hapé tintinmón* (RB. p. 284, l. 4 fb.) - this ring of yours is indeed

beautiful; *olo antóng na denggan ma on bodilmunju on* - yes, really, this is beautiful, this gun of yours. *Antóng* is also used to begin a sentence in which an order is given to do something or permission is given to do something after a previous command has been carried out, e.g., "we have now fulfilled your command to catch a buffalo", said the prince's favourite slave. *Antóng anggí bunu hamú ma* - now, kill it, my dear young man! (see RB. p. 149, l. 12; l. 14; l. 22; l. 24).

D. uses *ěntěng*, e.g., despite my efforts, *ěntěng malot saut ku-kěndangi tinokor urang kaja idi* - I still didn't manage to lie with U.K.'s wife (RB. p. 74, l. 17); you said that there had been an addition to those two people below, *ěntěng ku-pěsulak si-měnongkir mi těruh* - I have, however, sent someone below but he says there has been no change.

OBS. It is probable that *attóng* is a variant of *tong*, so that, originally, it meant *certain, sure*.

12. *tung*. This word expresses a supposition, the possibility that something, determined either by fate or by someone's wish, might happen; the translation is *should, should happen, should dare*, e.g., *molo tung djuppa halak* - should someone be in a position to find it; *molo tung dida halak* - should another see it; *molo tung di-bunu ho au, sai mago do ho* - should you dare to kill me, you will be destroyed, that's certain; *molo tung maruppak di-taba hamuna* (RB. p. 294, l. 1 fb.) - should that tree that has been cut by you happen to fall. *Tung* is often used in a conditional subordinate clause, in which there is no conjunction, e.g., *tung sar sogot di si-anak ni namboru, indáng be tamasa au* - should it come to the ears of my bridegroom, he won't want me any more; *tung di-suru ho manaek au, unang ho olo* - should he command you to ascend me, don't consent.

*Tung* is also used in a second conditional subordinate clause in which mention is made of what can happen as a result of something spoken of in the first, e.g., *molo tanganna marsahit, tung mate di-baen sahitna i, tu si*, etc. (RB. p. 150, twice) - if his hand is bad and if he should die because of it, etc.

In a negative main clause beginning with *indá*, *tung* expresses the possibility of being the opposite to what the case really is, e.g., *indá tung mangolu be ho, atihunang<sup>1</sup> na hu-taoar* - you probably wouldn't be alive now, had I not cured you. Where no subordinate clause follows, *indá tung* rejects possibility, e.g., *indá tung na lilu hita* - we can't lose our way; *indá tung na masuk be ibana tu tonga ni hatoropan* (RB. p. 12) - she can't be classed as one of the crowd (when compared to you, she can't even be called average, etc.).

<sup>1</sup> See 10 and 163.

*Indá tung* is, therefore, often used when someone has to be dissuaded from holding a wrong opinion, or when groundless fears have to be allayed, e.g., *indá tung di-baen dengattu* (RB. p. 12) - *it was not so much because of my beauty* (you must not think that men quarrelled with each other because I'm so beautiful); *indá tung adóng di si na so djadi panganon* (RB. p. 14) - *there is nothing in it that may not be eaten with safety*. *Indá tung* is also used to express, as a question, the hope that something has not taken place, e.g., *indá tung di-pangan aili eme i* - *the wild boars haven't devoured the rice, have they?* (I do hope the wild boars haven't, etc.). *Indada* is used instead of *indá* when a substantive that is used predicatively is denied, e.g., *indada tung na so olo au hundul* (RB. p. 24 m.) - *by no means am I not willing to sit down* (don't think that I won't sit down because I'm obstinate).

*Tung*, preceded by *so*, makes a negative imperative by which, in the interests of safety, a request or an order is expressed, because of the fear that it may be ignored, e.g., *so tung di-pabowa ho* - *now, don't repeat it!* *so tung di-pasijat ho tu ruma on* - *don't let him come inside this village*; *so tung hona pisoni au* - *be careful that I'm not struck by your cleaver*. *So tung* is also used to express the impossibility of something occurring, e.g., *so tung adóng halak na muba tu son* - *nobody else can have been here*; *so tung adóng haporusan tu balijan* (RB. p. 169, l. 8) - *there is no place by which it is possible to go outside* (for it is not possible to escape from here).

Used in sentences with *bejasa*, *tung* has been shown (133) to be a word with which one inquires about the necessity (of someone's doing something) but it can also be used with the interrogative *bejasa* in a question in which astonishment is expressed about the way in which something has come about, e.g., *bejasa ma ho tung margowar guru* - *how come you by the name of guru?* (how is it possible for you to be called a *guru*)?

With *adóng* (see 23 below), *tung* can also be used to ask a question in which surprise is expressed at an opinion given by someone and an attempt is made to convince him that it is unfounded, e.g., *adóng tung na mabijar au* (RB. p. 14 m.) - *me, afraid!*

*Tung* is also used in exclamations of amazement at the possibility of someone's saying, thinking, or doing, something, e.g., *tung ho, nimmu, nappunasa*<sup>1</sup> (RB. p. 286 m.) - *you, you say you've a right to it!* (how dare you say that you're entitled to this field!); *so tung tombal*

<sup>1</sup> See 150 8 c.

*i boru-boru - as though she were the only woman!* (how can you speak of her in such a way? As though she were the only woman in the world!); the others who, just as I have, have been defeated by you, you have imprisoned in the *sopo*, *ija tung sasadau tu toru ni balatuk ni sopomón au di-bajakkon ho* (RB. p. 69, l. 20) - but I alone, have been put by you in the stocks under the steps of your *sopo*.

M. uses *muda* . . . *busé*, see 163 5 M.

D. uses *mudah tah* (163 5 D.) and *bang* with a negative (see example in Dict.).

13. *bejasa* (or *bowasa*, abbreviated to *basa*) means for what reason, why, and is used in questions in which surprise is expressed at something that someone has done (for examples, see 133 1), or in questions directed to oneself about an experience for which there is no easy explanation; in the last case, *ma* is often placed after *bejasa*, e.g., *bejasa ma indá hu-ida i* (RB. 162, l. 18 fb.) - why didn't I see it? Though an interrogative meaning how, why, *bejasa* often has the meaning of so, indeed, really, but of course. In particular *bejasa* is used when the person addressed is asked why he is asking a question, or why he holds a certain opinion, e.g., *attóng amáng indadong saut hamú tu onan - so, my dear boy, you've not been to the onan*, to which the reply is: *bejasa ba ináng maronan do hami* (RB. p. 59) - why do you ask, mother? we have really been to the onan. Hence, it also expresses, interrogatively, a readiness to do something, e.g., *bejasa indá hu-leon* (RB. p. 59, l. 10 fb.) - why should I not give it? (what makes you think that I would not be willing to give it?).

M. uses *bejasi* (RB. p. 44, l. 19).

D. uses *kasa*.

obs. From the occurrence of *bejasa* alongside *bowasa*, it appears that it is really two words, *behá* or *bohá* + *asa*. That this derivation is no longer felt, is apparent from the possibility that *ma* can come after *bejasa*. Were *asa* felt as still being there, this could not happen, because *ma* can never occur after that conjunction. I cannot account for the form of *bejasi* in M. Perhaps *kasa* (D.) is a similar corruption of *kade* + *asa*.

14. *namá*, or *namaná*<sup>1</sup> is restrictive, just as are *but* and *only*, e.g., *sada namaná ulos nasida na tolu i - only one was the garment of the three of them* (they had only one garment between the three of them);

<sup>1</sup> In the Dict., these words should be placed together.

*donók namaná tijan on* - it is only a little distance away from here; *hita na tolu namaná na so marutang* (RB. p. 81) - we three are the only ones who have not been gambled away; *ija nung sun rabion ni halak nunga sun dohot tabaonna, matsinar namaná* - when the hacking away of the small wood on the field and also the felling of the timber on it had been completed and there was nothing more to be done than let the timber that had been cut dry out. *Namá*, or *namaná*, is also used where a desire or a wish is confined to something one contents oneself with, e.g., *unang tangis namaná ho* - if only you don't cry (I shall be content if, etc.); *asalá midjur namá ho* - provided you but come down. It is also used to express the need to resign oneself to something disagreeable, e.g., *matsadi nengél namá pinggol umbege sowarana i* - there was nothing else left to the ear but to become deafened, i.e. the ear was simply deafened listening to his voice (nothing could be done. One simply had to put up with being made deaf by his yelling); if I can't come inside, what am I to do? *I suppose I must pass the night in this jungle* - *tu ramba on namaná au marmalam* (RB. p. 101 m.); *anggo na mate i sori ni arina namá i mate di-baen musu ibana* - as far as the dead man is concerned, it was simply his fate that he died by the hand of the enemy. *Namá* is also used when a decision is taken out of despair, because there is no other course open and only one thing that can be done. E.g., after he had tried every means to separate his daughter and his brother's son,<sup>1</sup> both of whom had unfortunately become acquainted, with the result that they had become man and wife, he pondered on the course he should take, saying: "*hu-dokkon namá nasida pulik huta, mamukka hutana ma nasida*" (RB. p. 48) - "there is no alternative left to me but to order them to another huta; may they make another huta for themselves"; *unang au namá di-baen ho baen djolmamu* (RB. p. 47 m.) - lest I be made, by you, your wife.

M. also uses *namá*, but more often *nomá*, and *domá* (in South M.), e.g., *djadi ulubalang balatang baletung nomá tinggal* (RB. p. 94 m.) - so that only the hero B.B. stayed behind; *patu hamú ulang halong nomá tano rura panjabungan on* (RB. p. 93, l. 1 fb.) - surrender yourselves, so that this territory of Panjabungan not be brought to ruin; *mulak namá au tu laba an* (RB. p. 5) - that I may but return to that camphor shed there; *hu-ondjap namá santjogot* (RB. p. 6) - tomorrow, I shall just lie in wait for that person.

<sup>1</sup> To a Batak, the children of his brother count as his own, hence the reason that there is no word equivalent to *nephew* and *niece* for a brother's children, any more than there is for *cousin* to indicate the relationship between brothers' children themselves; for these, *anggi*, *haha* and *iboto* are used.

*Nomá* is also used with *djolo* when a suggestion is made to do a thing together, e.g., *ta-ulahí nomá djolo tu-si-adji u.m.* (RB. p. 46 t.) - *let us now return to Prince U.M.* (let us again take up the thread of the story). It is also used when a resemblance is to be stressed, e.g., *suwangkon banting nagowan anak domá* (RB. p. 113, l. 1 fb.) - *on the battlefield, the prince was just like a banting that has lost its young.*

D. uses *nari*, e.g., *iba-ibandene mangan nari ngo aku* (RB. p. 99 t.) - *I am only the remnant of your meal*; *sěmbungku nari ngo si-tading sangkět i binangun idi* (RB. p. 99 b.) - *only my covering has remained, hooked on the pole of the house*; *ulang so djumpa nari ngo si-kipangan anakku idi* (RB. p. 161 b.) - *if only the one that has eaten my son can be caught*; *pěmuwatku nari ngo kusunku bai inang* (RB. p. 141, l. 15) - *I have only to ask my mother what I should do to catch those animals*; *ulang i-buwat kene nari ngo bukbučku idi molih baidene* (RB. p. 145, l. 13) - *if only you will not take away my feathers*. In D., *nari* = *tehé* (T.) in the taking of a decision (164), e.g., *ku-garangi nari ngo* (RB. p. 146, l. 4 fb.) - *come, let me creep up to it*, so that I can see what is in the nest. *Nari* is also used after a predicative adjunct (see 9 above), and also to express a superlative (62 4 D.).

15. *lejatni* (variants: *lajakni* and *lejaṅni*<sup>1</sup>), means *appears to be*. As a modal verb, it means *must, should be, ought to be*, where these express what, judging from what has been heard or observed, can be considered probable, e.g., *na beguon ma aek on lejatni* - *this water must be bewitched* (in view of what I've seen, this water, etc.); *indada djolma lejatni pangulám* (RB. p. 307 m.) - *the people working in your fields don't seem to be human beings* (to judge from what we have seen, the people working in your fields are not human beings); *songon i ma lejatni soro ni arina* (RB. p. 61 t. and m.) - *such appears to be his fate*; *horbo ni begu do lejatni* (RB. p. 71 m.) - *it must be buffaloes belonging to spirits*; *olo ba ináng ango dahahang i magigi do hapé marnida* (161) *au di-baen sijapor hunik i au lejatni, si-appudanna i do hatsa mallomo ni roha tu au lejatni helé ináng* - *indeed, mother, it is my elder brother who hates me, as likely as not because I'm a hunik grasshopper. Only the youngest appears to be well disposed towards me. Is that not so, mother?* *indadong mabijar ho lejatni mida djala ni radja i* - *you don't appear to be afraid of the prince's net*; *si-burdjúm do lejatni haháng na maninggalhon au* - *you appear to be very anxious to*

<sup>1</sup> Because Sub-T. now and then (17) follows T. in speech, *lajak* (see below, 22) could, therefore, have been taken from Mal. *Lajak* functions as a predicate, and *lejatni* could be explained as being really a substantive that is defined by *ni*, which is an older form of the pronominal suffix *na* (MANDAILING F OBS. 2). Literally, therefore, the translation is *the probability of it*. As an adverbial adjunct, it has acquired the meaning of *must* or *to appear to be*. This seems probable if a comparison is made with the use of *rupa* (see below, 22) and *rupana*. If *lejatni* were originally Mal., then, by virtue of the *ni*, it would appear to be very old.

forsake me, brother! It is only in questions that *lejatni* has the meaning of *laning* (6).

M. uses *nakngi*, *lakngi*, or *lakni* and *lakna* (RB. p. 264, l. 11 fb.), e.g., *na mora do on nakngi* (RB. p. 34, l. 5 fb.) - *this must be a princely personage*. It is also used in questions in which an urgent inquiry is made about something (see 6 M. above), e.g., *tu dija ho nakngi* (RB. p. 187, l. 3 fb.) - *where have you been for so long?* *ise i siadosanmunju i nakngi* (RB. p. 121, l. 10) - *who is it, that brother of yours, who is that man with you?*

D. uses *lakna*, e.g., *i mo lakna begu bapa* (RB. p. 233) - *that must be father's spirit*; *lot mo lakna kēbijarēn* (RB. p. 203, l. 4) - *there must be something terrible*.

16. *naing*, or *naeng*. This word, as a verb, means *to wish, to want*; it also expresses that something takes place in the future. It is often used as an adverbial adjunct and then it means *as you wish, according to your desire*; e.g., *molo naing mangolu anggimī patulngom ma udjung ni horismī tu babana i* (RB. p. 95 m.) - *if your younger brother is to live, then prick him in the mouth with the point of your kris (140\*)*; *molo naing malum sahittón, buwat ma di au* (RB. p. 114 m.) - *if you wish that my complaint be cured, then get me, etc.*; *molo naeng unang hu-pangan ho, bowan ma au tu gindjang* (RB. p. 140, l. 6 fb.) - *if you don't want me to eat you up, then take me above*; *molo naing di ho deba* - *if you wish to have something of it*; *molo naing sai ruar mas na uli tian tambon ni bijang inon* (RB. p. 222, l. 2) - *if you want fine gold always to come forth from the arse of that dog, etc.*

Used with the passive, *naing*, and other words expressing *to wish*, such as, for example, *sijol*, always refer to the agent, e.g., *naing di-boto* - *it wants to be known by him, i.e., he wants to know it*; *aha sijol panganommu* - *what wants to be your food, i.e., what is it that you wish to eat?*

*Naing* is placed at the end of a question which is asked on the assumption that no answer will be forthcoming, e.g., *surat ni panappuhi on naing* - *this is a manual for divination with a lemon, isn't it?* See also 165 IV 3 footnote, and 165 VI 2.

obs. Perhaps *numaing* (157) is a comparative form of *naing*; in this connection, *ulaning* (above, 6), alongside which *ulaing* is also used, might be given consideration. Up to the present, it has not been possible to determine with certainty the derivation of such words not representing a concept.

M. uses *gijot*, e.g., *di-baen gijot di au i* (RB. p. 248 b.) - *because I want to have that*. *Gijot* usually means *to want, to desire, to covet*, e.g., *muda na gijot ija dibotongki denggan ma i* (RB. p. 239, l. 10) - *if he desires my sister, then it is well*.

D. also uses *naing* (DAIRI c), but often adds *katemu* after it, when *naing* refers to the person spoken to, e.g., *muda naing katemu mērijan tanoh si-ni-pungkahmu idi* (RB. p. 14, l. 16 fb.) - *if you desire that the earth which you have created, shall be populated* (cf. also RB. p. 1, l. 10).

With regard to *ēnggeut*<sup>1</sup>: it is used more in the sense of *to be willing* to do something, e.g., *muda malot ēnggeut naposomu idi mēndēngani kami* (RB. p. 15, l. 4 fb.) - *if your servant is not willing to keep us company*, etc. (cf. RB. p. 16, l. 5 and l. 7).

17. *hapé* (variants: *hapea*, *hapenga*, *hapean*, *hapengan*, *hapengani* and *hapenganikkon*). *Hapé*, used in sentences in which a conviction is expressed that is the result of observation, can be translated with *therefore*, or *then*, e.g., *aek parsalinan ma on hapé* - *this, then, must be the river in which one's form can be changed* (the transformation river); *tu son do hapé di-bowan* - *"he has, then, brought him here"*, he said when he saw the tracks; when her husband had told her what those green things were, she said: *"those things are, then, called gadong"* - *asa gadong ma hapé gowarna* (RB. p. 44, l. 17). *Hapé* is also often used in a subordinate clause, in order to draw a contrast between its contents and those of the preceding clause; it then has the meaning of an adversative conjunction and the translation is *but in fact*, e.g., *di-agam djolma, hapé begu do* (RB. p. 85, l. 10 fb.) - *he thought it was a human being, but, in fact, it was a spirit*; *hapé ho do* (147) - *but, I see, in fact, that it is you*; *di-agam halak na ro martaban hutana i, ba dida ma si-adji pamasa hapé* (RB. p. 57 m.) - *he thought that it was people who were coming to occupy his village, but he saw that it was, in fact, A.P.* It has the same adversative meaning in a second conditional subordinate clause that is used to express contrast to the first, e.g., *if you are disposed to kill me, father, then, without doubt, you will be destroyed. If, however, you let me live, you will, without fail, be blessed* - *hapé molo di-pangolu ho do au, sai gabe do ho*.

*Hapé* is often used after a substantive, or a pronoun functioning as such, to stress it as being something to which it is desired to draw attention, e.g., *asa radja i ma hapé na mardjolmahon*, etc. - *it was thus the aforesaid prince who had as a wife*, etc.; *asa i ma hapé ina ni radjatta* - *that was thus the prince's mother*. The explanation of this usage is to be found in the habit of the Batak writer of occasionally introducing the members of his audience as speaking persons (this habit also explains the expression *olo ma gurú* - *yes, indeed, Master*, which is frequent in *pada*).

*Hapé* is also used in exclamations that begin with *tung* (above, 12)

<sup>1</sup> See DAIRI J II and V a.

in which the speaker expresses the conviction to which he has been brought by the hard facts, e.g., *tung si-buwat-buwat pinggan mau hapé* (RB. p. 125 b.) - *as though I were nothing but a carrier of plates!* (I wouldn't have thought they would have dared to use me as a carrier of plates, but I see that's just what they have done).

M. only uses *hapé* and *hapengan*, e.g., after he'd seen the princess S.D.M., he said to himself: "*she must be the daughter of the spirit*" - *i ma hapengan boru ni begu i* (RB. p. 36, l. 15 fb.).

D. uses *képekèn*, e.g., *malot képekèn tahu* (RB. p. 23, l. 16 fb.) - what you have said *does not, therefore, appear to be the truth* (cf. RB. p. 23, l. 5 fb.).

18. *sahat*<sup>1</sup>: often used with *dung* (157) for the expressing of the pluperfect in subordinate clauses, e.g., *dung sahat hundul ibana* - *after he had sat down* (after he had taken his place); *dung sahat ibana ro di hutana i* (RB. p. 24, l. 4) - *after he had arrived at his village*. Used with *ro* - *to come* and a preposition, *sahat* means *to arrive at* (155), as does *tolhas* (RB. p. 107, l. 18 fb.).

*Sahat* is often used to represent a state, place or degree as something that has been reached; before a numeral, it indicates that the quantity stated has been reached, e.g., *sahat pitu noli* (RB. p. 60, l. 4 fb.) - *right to seven times*; *sahat marnijang* (RB. p. 29, l. 7) - *to the point of being thin* (p. 263, footnote 2).

The following words are also used to express the same idea:

*sanga*: e.g., *sanga pitu noli* (RB. p. 61, l. 10); *unang sanga hami marmusu hu-sukkun hami ma* (RB. p. 209, l. 7 fb.) - *so that it will not come to war among us, let us put questions to the sombaon; na lebanna i indadong sanga lodja au di-baen mangalo nasida; ijanggo ho sanga lodja au hu-ahap mangalo ho* (RB. p. 69, l. 25) - *the others have not made me play against them until I've become tired but you, I feel I've played against you until I've become weary*; cf. also RB. p. 75, and below, 165 IV 4. In view of what has been said in 155, it is hardly necessary to point out that, in the examples just given, both *sahat* and *sanga* are verbs which, in translation, become adverbs or adverbial adjuncts, e.g., *sahat pitu noli* - *seven times have come*, is really a clause functioning as an adverbial adjunct;

*sappe*: indicates that an amount, or a period of time, has been reached. It functions as a predicate, of which the translation is an adverbial adjunct, while the verb functions attributively (cf. 126 2),

<sup>1</sup> For the meaning as a verb, see Dict.; *butuha hasahatan* - *stomach* (the place where food arrives), has been omitted in the Dict.

e.g., *sappe ma nasida tolu bulan na mardalan i* - for three months did they travel (lit. they were as much as three months travelling);

*saut*: indicates that the action represented goes on (*sundat* expresses the reverse), e.g., *djadi saut ma nasida mardalan* (RB. p. 138, l. 14) - so that they went on walking (cf. 106).

*Sanga*, *sappe* and *saut* can, as has been shown, be separated from the verb they define by a substantive occurring as the subject, because *saut mardalan* can be regarded as two verbs representing one concept of which the translation is *to travel on*.

M. uses *lopus*, *tolap*, *bolkas*, *tibo*, etc., = *sahat* (RB. p. 194, b., and p. 133 b.), and *djabat* = *saut* (RB. p. 48 b.). It uses *sanga*, but with a different meaning (147 M.).

D. uses *soh* = *sahat*, without *roh* (= *ro*), and usually together with *mi* (159 2), e.g., *kěntja soh ija mi kutana* (RB. p. 153, l. 13 fb.) = *dung sahat ibana ro di hutana*. In addition, there are *tulus* which is also used in Dairi Sub-T., and *surung*, = *saut*, and *sondat* = *sundat* (DAIRI J V).

19. *ai* is placed at the beginning of a sentence and introduces a false question in which, because the reverse is expected, surprise is expressed about a contention someone holds to or about an action; the translation is: *isn't it? am I? haven't you? did it?* etc., e.g., *ai hu-dok tu ho* - *I'm not blaming you, am I? or am I blaming you?* *ai indadong di-sejat ho rahot-rahot ni patna i* (RB. p. 52 m.) - *you've cut through his knee muscles, haven't you?* (For other examples, see in Dict. under *ai*). *Ai* also introduces a question asking about something that has already been said but which has not been understood, e.g., *ai behá parhalak ni hahamí* (RB. p. 152, l. 4 fb.) - *just what is the appearance of your elder brother?* *ai aha do lejatni na tinubuhommi* (RB. p. 4) - *just what is it that you've given birth to?* *Ai* also functions as a conjunction (163).

20. *atik*, which also may function as a conjunction (163), means *perhaps*, e.g., *atik na lupau di rupana* (RB. p. 157, l. 1 fb.) - *perhaps I've forgotten his appearance*; *atik así do rohana* (see 148 4); *atik adóng marsahit di huta ni amatta i* - *perhaps someone is ill in my father's village*. Sometimes, the translation is *who knows how*, e.g., *atik na sadija dao nari hutatta i* (RB. p. 115 t.) - *who knows how far this village of yours still is?*

M. uses *betak*, e.g., *betak tutú na ni-dok ni huting i* (RB. p. 34 t.) - *perhaps what the cat says is true*.

D. also uses *tah* (147 D.) = *atik*.

21. *malám*<sup>1</sup> (also *balám*, 30 VIII) expresses an increase in degree *more and more, the more*; it also means *in spite of, surely, still, anyway*; e.g., who knows how far this village of yours still is from here? Let us go, for *the day gets darker and darker* - *ari malám potang* (RB. p. 105, l. 16); *unang pinonggolan unang malám rodóp* (RB. p. 138 b.) - *let no piece be cut from it, so that it will not become lower still*; *malám madungdung ma bulu i* (RB. p. 140 t.) - *the bamboo dropped lower and lower*; *nunga balám matuwa pamatakku dohot pamatang ninamón* (RB. p. 55, l. 13 fb.) - *my body, and that of your mother here, gets older and older*; when the bolts inside the village-gate had been hammered home, the prince, who was outside, said: "*why do you people bolt this gate, in spite of my request to be allowed to enter?*" - *bejasa malám ratsangommuna harbangan on* (RB. p. 134 m.); *malám ro ursa i* (see Dict.) - *the deer, nevertheless, approached the sowers.*

M. uses *mur* (example, see 148 4 M. and RB. p. 50).

D. uses *makin* (RB. p. 12, l. 5 and l. 7 fb.; p. 21, l. 11; p. 118, l. 14; p. 280, l. 15).

22. *ra* really means *to wish, to want, to like, to desire*, though, with this meaning, it is more usual in M. It is used in main clauses to express the probability that that which is represented by the predicate will take place sometime in the future, e.g., if you have already taken that, *then, in all probability, my illness will be cured* - *ra tung malum do sahittón* (RB. p. 114, l. 18); if you have already taken that as food for me, *then, in all probability, will that which is in the sea be born* - *ra tubu ma na di dalam laut* (RB. p. 116, l. 13); *sittap pitu borngin nari ra midjur ma nasida* (RB. p. 103 t.) - *in all probability, they'll come down within a week*; *indang be ra tardjuwa ni-dokmi* (RB. p. 221 m.) - *what you've said can not, then, be opposed further.*

In interrogative clauses, however, *olo* is used, e.g., *indá olo ma hami monang olo ma si-djonaha talu* - *is it not probable that we shall win and Dj. be defeated?* *behá do olo do sondot gora on hataommuna* - *how is it? Is there any probability that this matter of the quarrel, which is being discussed by you, will have a chance of being brought to an end?* In clauses of this kind, *toppa* can also be used with *olo*, e.g., *behá do gora on toppa olo do sondot hataommuna* - *what's the position in the matter of this quarrel? Will you be able to bring it to an end?*

*Tumaram* which occurs in affirmative sentences is also used in inter-

<sup>1</sup> In Dairi Sub-T., *mahin* (see D., below) is used.

rogative sentences, e.g., *behá do tumaram do sondot gora on hata-ommuna; tumaram dapot hita do i rohakku* (RB. p. 103 t.) - *in my opinion, we shall probably be able to get it.*

*Rupa* is also used, e.g., *aha ma pabowaokku i di ho sowada rupa tarpauli* (RB. p. 105 m.) - *I don't know why I bother to mention it to you, for in all probability nothing can be done about it.* For *rupani* and *rupana* (D.), see Dict.

*Patut* is used in a statement expressing what could hardly be otherwise, e.g., *patut ma ho talu di-baen* - *it is no surprise to me that you have been beaten by him.* *Patut* is certainly Malay in origin; for preference, therefore, *namun*, *lajak* (or *leak*<sup>1</sup>) and *lajap* (or *leap*<sup>1</sup>) are used (see examples in Dict. pp. 472 and 492 and RB. III p. 240, l. 19, and cf. footnote above, 15).

*Tagamon*, with a negative, is used to express improbability, *it is not to be expected, it is improbable, etc.*, e.g., *indadong tagamon djuppa hami pidong na maló marhata-hata* (RB. p. 66 t.) - *if I and my brother stay together permanently it is improbable that we shall be able to catch a bird that can speak; when Dj. heard that the matter of the images had been settled, and he thought that there was no longer the probability that he would have to go to war over them, then he, etc.* - *indaong tagamon na margora be ibana di rohana ala ni gana-gana inon* (RB. p. 313, l. 4).

M. also uses *lagak* (omitted in Dict.), e.g., *lagak dapot kita do i* - *is there a possibility of our finding it?*

D. also uses *tangkas*, e.g., *tangkas ngo* (RB. p. 212, l. 2 and l. 9 fb.) - *naturally.*

23. *adóng*. The indefiniteness associated with the use of this word (148 1) appears to be the reason that it can also function as an interrogative; as such, it is untranslatable. It often introduces an interrogative main clause when the preceding subordinate clause contains a condition, or a supposition, e.g., *atihunang di-pabowa hamuna adóng binoto* (RB. p. 2, l. 14) - *had you not said it, would it have been known? molo buwatammu ate-atekki, adóng au mandjuwa* (RB. p. 118 m.) - *if it is absolutely necessary for you to take my heart, shall I prevent your doing so? molo nunga songon i di-dok ho, adóng djuwahonokku* - *if that is what you said, is it for me to refuse to do it?* There is a further example on p. 273, l. 8. For *adong sadija*, see 165 V 2.

*Adóng* in association with *tung*, has already been dealt with above (12); cf. also RB. p. 169, l. 19. The aim of questions such as those

<sup>1</sup> See 17.

given in the examples, is affirmative; they express either a willingness or an actual fact in an interrogative form.

*Adóng* is also used in questions which are dependent neither on a condition nor a supposition. It then expresses the uncertainty felt by the speaker whether he will receive an affirmatory reply or not, e.g., *adóng do ho margadis dekke* - *do you, by any chance, sell fish*; *ise adóng margadis dekke isi ni huta on* - *who among the inhabitants of this village does by any chance sell fish?*

In a negative statement, *adóng* is used to emphasize the impossibility of something being effected (cf. 153 3 c.), e.g., *sowadadóng tarpatomu* (121 1) - *it is impossible to fit it together*.

*Adóng* can also be separated from the negative in order to lay emphasis on a small quantity of something, e.g., *so marmanuk sada hami adóng*, *sowada marbabi sada hami adóng* (RB. p. 203, l. 7 fb.) - *for we have no fowls, not even one, and neither have we pigs, not one*.

Preceded by *na*, *adóng* can introduce a conditional clause, e.g., *nadóng-si-dohonon barang di utang gararon barang di singir tungguon* (RB. p. 252 m.) - *if there is something that has to be discussed, regarding either a debt that should be paid, or a credit that has to be recovered*.

*Adóng* is rarely used before a numeral, but an example is: *di-djudjur ma ari na uli adóng pitu borngin nari asa djuppa ari na uli* (RB. p. 59, l. 3 fb.) - *from the table used for divination they sought a favourable day. There were to be seven more days before the right day was to come*.

When *adóng* is used in two clauses following each other, it is to effect a contrast between unspecified persons, e.g., *adóng na ro, adóng na lao* - *there were ones that came, there were ones that went*.

M. often uses *adóng* as it does *sappe* (above, 18), e.g., *adóng ma ija sa-bulan na mardalan i* (RB. p. 48, l. 11 fb.) - *when he had been journeying for a month (or rather, about a month)*; cf. also RB. p. 49, l. 9 and l. 13; p. 277, l. 4; p. 272, l. 3.

*Adóng* is even used before an interrogative, e.g., *adóng bijá ning ija mandokon ko* (RB. p. 139, l. 2) - *what did he say to you?* *adóng dida hamú badjungku* (RB. p. 38, l. 3) - *have you people, by any chance, seen my jacket?* (Cf. RB. p. 271, l. 18; p. 182, l. 8 fb.; p. 252, l. 3.) *Adóng na mangalehen gogo adóng na mangalehen hobol* (RB. p. 48 m.) - *the one gave him power, the other invulnerability, etc.*

D. in questions, usually uses *nola*, which really means *again, once more*, after the predicate, e.g., if you think, friend, that it can now be done by me without difficulty, *měhangke nola aku* (RB. p. 240, l. 21) - *would I then be unwilling? (to do it if I were to be asked by you)*; "if you say, o prince, that someone must go because there is something to be fetched, *would we, the multitude of us who are here (your subjects) then declare ourselves unwilling?*" (to go) - *mědökkěn somada ęnggeut nola kami sintěrem ena* (RB. p. 105, l. 23, cf. RB. p. 51, l. 5);

should you tell us to go and seek your son, *would we, having been asked by you, not be willing?* - *mada nola kami ěnggeut i-arahkĕn kono* (RB. p. 156, l. 3 fb.).

*Nola* is also used with interrogatives; it then expresses futurity, e.g., if the food that has been given by you is finished, *what then shall we eat?* - *kade nola mo ku-pangan kami* (RB. p. 19 m.); if what you have seen is correct, that my husband has been killed in a mantrap, *then who will help me look after my children?* - *ise nola dĕnganku mĕnggĕluhi dukakku ena* (RB. p. 190 b.). It is also used after an interrogative when one asks about the reason for or the motive for that which is mentioned in the clause following, which clause begins with *asa*, e.g., *kade nola alĕ si-ku-bahankĕn gĕrar, asa roh nola kene kĕrina* (RB. p. 134, t.) - *what is the reason, O you to whom I've given a name, that all of you come again?* *Nola* is used after a substantive which, because it is emphasized, comes at the beginning of the sentence, e.g., *dabĕru idi nola mo ku-elek-elek* (RB. p. 29 m.) - *that woman may, then, be persuaded by me*.

It is also used to express contrast and the translation is *then and still, and yet*, e.g., *Guru Mĕrtuwah has given you your freedom, so that you should not die, and yet you say you wish to kill him* - *naing nola, nimu, i-bunuh kono* (RB. p. 172, l. 6); *what I said to you was well-intentioned and I have, therefore, given you palm wine to drink, and yet you straightway treat me as though I were a dog* - *mentĕr nola ngo aku i-pĕbijang-bijang kono* (RB. p. 180 b.).

*Nola* is used in association with *pe* in a concessive preceding clause, e.g., *mate nola pe aku i-bakin kene si-ĕnĕm kalak idi, sora inangta ngo ku-dĕngkoh mĕndokkĕn mukai pentu bagas ena* (RB. p. 108, l. 2) - *even though I may be killed by the six of you, I still hear the voice of our mother asking that the door of this house be opened for her; katĕra nola pe nimu alĕ baĕ, bangku ngo djĕlmamu idi, asa djadi* (RB. p. 28, l. 2 fb.) - *whatever you may say, my friend, your wife must belong to me before all will be well* (cf. RB. p. 29, l. 2). It is also used with *ena* where *T.* only uses *on pe* (143), e.g., *ena nola pe asa tĕridah* (RB. p. 24, l. 3 fb.) - *it is only now that it is seen*.

*Nola* is, finally, used where in *T.* and *M.* *ro* is used (here, 24), e.g., *mongkam nola inangna idi* (RB. p. 142, l. 4) - *thereupon spoke his mother* (cf. RB. p. 142, l. 17). In this example, *nola* indicates *following in turn*: then spoke his mother in her turn; likewise in *rĕbakkĕn aku nola mo lĕbekĕn mĕdĕm* (RB. p. 28, l. 9 fb.) - *you've already lain a long time with that woman, now she must lie with me*.

In other cases, *D.* uses *lot* where *adóng* is used in *T.* and *M.*, e.g., *lot ija deba si-mĕrkaju, lot ija deba mĕmukpuk edjuk, lot ija deba si-kikĕtang* (RB. p. 52, l. 14 fb.) - *some of them fetched wood, others idjuk, others again, cane*.

24. *ro*: this word really means *to come*, but it is often used to introduce a person, either speaking or acting, other than the person who has just been mentioned; the translation is *thereupon, he/she then*, e.g., he went on crying. *The princess then arrived and heard a sing-song noise* - *ro ma boru ni radja i, di-bege ma sai<sup>1</sup> marungut-ungut*; see also an example on p. 272, l. 14 and RB. p. 230, l. 2.

*Ro*, when used with its real meaning, can be repeated before the preposition *di*, e.g., *ija ro do hita ro di ruma* - *if we have arrived home*. Usually, however, *sahaĕ* is used, and then *ro* is placed before the preposition (here, 18).

<sup>1</sup> See 158 3 a.

M. The use of *ro* is frequent, especially when introducing another person who is speaking (see RB. p. 3, l. 19, 18, 16, 14 and 12 fb.; p. 20, l. 1 and 4); hence *djadi marlidung musé ma* (with the subject following and then the words he speaks) = *ro ma* (cf. RB. p. 237, l. 2 with p. 239, l. 18).

D. uses *nola* (see above, 23, end) and seldom *roh* (an example: RB. p. 179, l. 9 fb.).

25. *huhút*: this expresses *simultaneity*, e.g., *marende ibana huhút mardalan* - *he sang while walking* (other examples, see Dict. and RB. p. 221, l. 8 fb.; p. 224, l. 5 fb.).

D. uses *ninana* (see Dict. and RB. p. 108, l. 8). It also uses *gahgah* (see Dict.), but in a following sentence and preceding the subject, e.g., *asa i-andjaki, mo kunukën gahgah ija mëmédili* (RB. p. 173, l. 13 fb.) - *thereupon they hopped around the tiger and fired their guns while doing so*.

26. *maon*: this word expresses a great degree of probability, e.g., count out the Spanish pieces and the fine gold, so that we can return quickly to our village, *it is highly probable that we shall be overtaken by nightfall for our village lies far off* - *botari<sup>1</sup> hami maon daó hutanami* (RB. p. 218, l. 12 fb.); *atik behá ma talu hula-hulatta i di gora i, maila hita maon* - *if, in this matter, our kinsmen are worsted, it is certain that we shall be ashamed*.

27. *hanuhon*: this word appears to be a Dairi-ism (cf. D. following) and is seldom used in good Toba and never in M.

M. has *indók* instead of *ni-dok* (see 26 obs 1); South M. has *indokon* or *ning kala i* (159 3 M.).

D. has *kunukën*, which is often used after the predicate and *mo* (= *ma* in T.) in sentences in which something is said about a thing that has happened. To judge from the form, it appears to be an imperative, so that it can be translated literally with *believe me* (so the story-teller says).<sup>2</sup> *Kumu*, which appears to mean *it is said*, is also used (see Dict. and RB. p. 179, l. 10; p. 140, l. 9; p. 153, l. 9).

#### 158\*. THE EXPRESSION OF TENSE.

The words dealt with in 158, with a few exceptions, such as those in 22, 23 and 24, never occur as predicates and ought to be regarded more as adverbs than the words that are translated by an adverb (155).

Here, it is not superfluous to draw attention to the manner in which time is expressed. If no adverb of time, such as *sogot* (see 158 6) occurs in a sentence, then the tense must be understood either from

<sup>1</sup> Instead of *habotan ari* (see 112).

<sup>2</sup> It is also found in Tagalog and Bisaya (*konó*) and in Malagasy, where it is spelt *hono* but pronounced *hunu*; for *h* in Malagasy, see p. 78.

the context or from the relationship of the subordinate clause to the main clause (see also 165). The past tense is not only expressed with the demonstrative pronoun *i* (144) but often also by the preplacing of the pronoun *na* (see 165\* and examples on p. 274, l. 14 and 13 fb. and cf. 150 4); cf. also p. 247, l. 6.

a. It is noteworthy that when the 1st passive of *mandok* expresses the past tense, the 1st pers is often lengthened with *an* (cf. M. below), e.g., *sijamun ni manuk on ma di toru pabowa na so tutú na hu-dohan inon* (RB. p. 216, l. 5) - *the right side of this fowl should face downwards, in order to show that what I said earlier is not correct.*

M. shows a preference for the suffix *an* in adverbs referring to time past (150 4), especially if they function as adjectives, e.g., *natuarian* (RB. p. 173 b.), *nahinanan* (158 4 M. and RB. p. 193 b.), *nangkinan* (RB. p. 294 b.). Such adverbs can still be defined by *i*, e.g., *narianan i* (RB. p. 36 b.).

## VII. PREPOSITIONS

### 159. PREPOSITIONS PROPER.

Batak is not well provided with this kind of word, because not only do the suffixes *i* and *hon* represent various prepositions (50 and 51) but also substantives and verbs (161) function as such.

Words that occur only as prepositions are:

1. *di*. It establishes the relationship of the substantive when the thing represented by the substantive can be conceived as a place that can be reached without a movement being implied. The translation provided that there is no verb expressing a movement preceding the *di* (cf. 2) is *at* (before place names; or *at home*), *in*, *by*, *on*, *with*, *to*, for e.g., *dibana* - *with him, by him, for him*; *sada dibana sada di tulangna* (RB. p. 58, l. 15) - *one for him and one for his uncle*; *na mate di butuha ninana* (RB. p. 75 t.) - *the one who dies in his mother's womb*; *on ma di ho djolmakkón, di au ma balbalmi* (RB. p. 85 t.) - *this one, my wife, is to be yours, and that cudgel of yours is to be mine*; *na marpahoppu di anak, na marpahoppu di boru* - *who has a grandchild by a son and who has a grandchild by a daughter*; *adóng do i di rohám* (RB. p. 72, l. 11) - *does it exist, in your opinion?* *tuhor ma di au* - *buy it for me*; *djalahi ma di au* (RB. p. 116, l. 2) - *find it for me* (51 5 a); *di si-djukkang* - *at si-djukkang*.<sup>1</sup> *Di* seldom means *through the agency of* (101 2 and 102 1), but often it means *because of, on account of, e.g., saluhút halak marsigulut di au* (RB. p. 12, l. 13) - *all the people quarrelled with each other because of me* (in order to get me as a wife; cf. RB. p. 12, l. 16 fb.).

*Di* is also used to place a substantive, as the direct object or as subject, in relation to a word when the latter is separated from the substantive by other words, e.g., *na mangambolokkon ho di au* (RB. p. 66, l. 13) - *you wish to discard me* (126 1); *behá ma pangaruwangi-nami di batu on* (120 1), in which *batu* is the direct object of *pangaruwangi*; *mangadopi ma di-baen pangulu i si-sang maima dohot datu dalu di djuhut i dohot dindahan i* - *the arbiter seated S.M. and D.D.*

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<sup>1</sup> Name of a village in *Tukka-Holbung*.

facing the meat and the rice, in which example *djuhut* and *indahan* are the direct objects of *mangadopi* (cf. 74, 76 and 81).

Only in elevated language is *di* used before a direct object when no other words separate the latter from the verb, e.g., *na mangijatton di tapijan i* (of a spirit, see Dict. under *ijan*). Placed before a direct subject, *di* is found in, for example, *di-gohi ma aek di pinggan na pitu i tutu* - the seven dishes were filled by him (with) water, in which example *pinggan* is the direct subject of *di-gohi aek*; *di-hembangni naposo ni radja i ma amak di sopo dohot di alaman, hundulan ni na ro i* - the sopo and the alaman were spread with mats, on which the arrivals would sit, by the prince's servants, in which example *sopo* and *alaman* are the direct subjects of *di-hembangni amak*. In such a case, where two substantives stand in relationship to each other, the *di* can be omitted, especially if the verb *mangalehon* (51 4 Obs.) is used, e.g., *di-lejon hosa gana-gana i* - those images were endowed by him (with) breath.

*Di* is less often used to establish the relationship of an indirect subject, e.g., *adjari au djolo di panorgangon* (RB. p. 72, l. 17) - if you please, let me be instructed by you in the *panorgangon* (*sorgang*); *adjari au djolo di pangappungon dohot di parmotsahon dohot di hata ni si-palolang* (RB. p. 73, l. 8 fb.) - instruct me, I beg you, in the art of jumping, in fighting with the sword, and in the formula for causing bewilderment. In such constructions, *dohot* = *with*, is also used instead of *di*, and the preposition may also drop out, e.g., *di-palit ma parsottinganna dohot hapur* - he daubed his temples with lime (140\*); *di-hembangni naposo ni suhut i ma pattangan i dohot amak dohot lage* - the leader's servants spread the war sopo with mats, large and small; *di-abiti ma gana-gana i dohot si-gundal* - he covered those images with old rags. If these examples are compared with those preceding them, it will be seen that *di* and *dohot* are used when the indirect subject is given last. It has already been shown in 51 4 that such an indirect subject can be made into a direct subject by the use of the suffix *hon*. The dropping out of the preposition can be seen in the examples, which have already been given: *di-gohi ma aek*; *di-lejon hosa*; *di-hembangni ma amak* and also in *di-gohi ma pinggan djuhut babi* - he filled the dishes with pigs' meat; *di-baeni aek* - he filled the pot with water. As these examples show, this dropping out of the preposition is particularly common with verbs having the suffix *i* and with the verb *mangalehon* where it means *to endow*, *to bestow*. Other examples are: *golok i sada lehon au* - present me with one of

*those golok; aha alé amáng asa di-leon ho au napuran - for what reason, my dear fellow, do you give me betel? hu-tuppahi ho duwa bitsang - I'll oblige you with two bitsang.*

By the dropping out of the preposition, the active can, without *na* (126), also function as a substantive, e.g., *adjari au djolo manaek* (RB. p. 73, l. 3) - *instruct me in climbing*, in which example *panaehon* (127) could also have been used. The active of a verb meaning *to eat*, *to partake of*, is especially used as the indirect subject with the verb *mangalehon*, e.g., *di-lejon partunggu i ma marnapuran si-djonaha* (RB. p. 202 b.) - *the creditor gave betel to Djonaha to eat*; *di-lejon si-djonaha bodarina i marsipanganon* (RB. p. 211, l. 7 fb.) - *the evening of that day, Djonaha gave them food to eat*; *hu-lejan hamuna marsipanganon* (RB. p. 212, l. 1) - *I have given you people food to eat*; *dilejon oppuna i ma ibana mangan* (RB. p. 151, l. 10) - *he was presented with food by his grandfather*. It is also usual to drop the preposition when *gok* and *sap* are used, e.g., *nunga gok balandja i djuhut* - *the balandja was full of meat*; *nunga gok babana aek* - *his mouth was filled with water*; *nunga gok pitu pinggan palakki si-batu ni tujung* - *seven dishes were filled with coarse-grained gold dust*; *nunga sap bohina te ni horbo* - *his face was soiled with buffalo dung*; *sap andorana te ni horbo* - *his breast was soiled with buffalo dung*. *Di* is fused in a few individual substantives (30 V a).

A variant of *di* is *i*, which is probably the original form (cf. D. following). As well as being the suffix (50), *i* also occurs in compound designations, e.g., *na i dakka* - *those that are on branches*, i.e., climbing animals such as monkeys, squirrels, etc.; *na di dakka* is also used.

*M.* does not deviate, e.g., *di-le ija mangan radja i* (51 4 Obs.) - *he gave the prince food*; *muda maroban djuhut iba, padumpang dohot anak ni na balu-balu, ni-le saotik* (RB. p. 163 b.) - *if we have meat with us and we come across the child of a widow, then it will be given a little*; *antjo ni-pandungan panjogon si-anak ni namboru* (RB. p. 194, l. 5 fb.) - *so that my beloved bridegroom will be presented with rice*; *numma gok ihan* (RB. p. 5, l. 4 fb.) - *he saw that the tanggal was filled with fish*. *M.* especially uses *longkop*, without a preposition, before a substantive to which it relates (see Dict.). *Sorang* and *gijot* are used in the same way, e.g., *sorang ise do ho* (RB. p. 52, l. 5; in l. 7, a preposition is, however, used) - *who is your medium? nada gijot au sere* - *I am not greedy for gold*.

*M.* uses *di* instead of *dohot*, in order to avoid the repeating of *dohot*, e.g., *djadi di-parkaroan ma si-tapi mombang marulang dohot boru ni hapur i di si-baun pedjel* (RB. p. 12, l. 18 fb.) - *thereupon the lady M.M. and the daughter of the camphor were united in marriage with B.P.*; this also applies in RB. p. 42, l. 9 fb., while on p. 39, l. 1 fb., *dohot* is used. For *di-sija*, see 140 3.

In *andung* proper names and ornamental by-names, *i* is often used instead of

*di*, e.g., *sutan na poso i langit* (RB. p. 46, l. 4); *si-marinte i dolok* (RB. p. 66 m. and p. 8 b.) = *babijat (andung)*.

D. uses *i*, which often drops out (DAIRI K I a), only before substantives representing a place, e.g., *i tēruh - di toru* (156); *i sēngkar alé bapak babo buwang-para idi ku-ampekēn* (RB. p. 235 b.) - *I've placed the chisel, father, on the sēngkar above the buwang-para*. It is hardly ever found introducing an object that is separated from the verb by other words, e.g., *pērēntatna pe si-kira alah anakna, idi*, etc. (RB. p. 193, l. 19) - *now her way of carrying that which was meant for her young*, etc. In D. there is suppression of the preposition in the same cases as in T., e.g., *ēnggo mo kono ku-bēre* (51 4 Obs.) *panganēn* (RB. p. 69 b.) - *I've given you food*; *mēre kono bukbuk* (RB. p. 134 m.) - therefore, we've come to *provide you with feathers*; *i-tēnahi mo dalan* - *he told him about the way* (cf. other examples in 113 D. and 133 2 D.).

Where the suffix *kēn* has the meaning of *for, on behalf of*, the indirect subject, or the object, is used without a preposition, e.g., *ni-buwatkēn panganēn mo tuhu kula-kula* - *a meal should be taken for the kinsmen* (cf. also 51 5 D. and 56 D.).

*Bai* is used before a substantive representing a person (DAIRI C I), e.g., *bai debata idi* (RB. p. 18, l. 2) - *he gave it to the god*; *mongkam mo si-bēru rajam bai si-tagan dori* (RB. p. 273 t.) - *B.R. spoke to T.D.* *Ba* is used before monosyllabic pronominal suffixes; before *ku* and *ta*, it acquires a nasal; e.g., *bangku* = *di au*; *bana* = *dibana* or *di sija* (M.); *banta* = *di hita*; *bamu* or *bandu* = *di ho*; but, *bai-nami* (RB. p. 274, l. 7) = *di hami*; *baindene*, or the abbreviation *baindē* (140 6 D.) = *di hamuna*, e.g., *malot nenge mēralengi naposongku baindene* (133 1 D.), in which *bai*, just as *di*, connects the direct object with the active.

The meaning of *bana* is not clear to me in the adverbial subordinate clause *ēnggo mo pēdēkah bana* - *when some time had elapsed*. For *bana* expressing oneself as the object, see 145 D.

2. *tu*: implies a movement and can generally be translated with *to, towards*, though this is not always the case, e.g., *lao ma ibana songgop tu dakka ni harijara i* - *he went and sat on the branch of the fig tree*, in which example, the translation of *tu* is *on*. It is used with verbs that represent a motion or in which motion is implied (107) and is, therefore, much in use with verbs that have the suffix *hon*, in order to connect the indirect object or the subject with the verb (51 4). Because of the movement implied by *tu*, it must often be translated with *to come, to go*, e.g., *maridi ma ibana tu aek* - *he went to the river to bathe* (lit. he bathed to the river); *di-dokkon mangisi hadjut tu bagas* - *he ordered him to go to the house and fill the bag*; *alap tu son* - *fetch it here!* *di-alap ma ringgit tu bagas* - *he went to fetch the Spanish coins from the house*; *di-buri ma ogung dohot gordang saluhūt hohas i di-buri tu tapijan* - *they washed the cymbals and kettledrums. They went to the bathing place to wash all those musical instruments*; *in-dadong mangate au tu gindjang i* (RB. p. 77 m.) - *I dare not go above* (for another example, see 36); *djadi nunga olo ibana tu ruma* (RB. p. 86, l. 7 fb.) - *whereupon he wanted to go homewards*. *Tu* is also used, e.g. with *naing*, to emphasize something that is as yet only an

idea, e.g., *naing au mangguru haulubalangon tu ho* - *I want to learn from you the art of being a champion.*

There are a few cases where *tu* is suppressed before a passive verbal substantive representing a place (133 3), e.g., *di-borotton naposo ni radja i ma horbo duwa sada borotan* - *the prince's servants bound two buffaloes to one slaughtering pole.*

*Tu* is interchanged with *di*, or with a verb functioning as a preposition, where the thing represented by the substantive is either remote or is defined by *i*, e.g., *olo do ho tu anakki* - *do you want to go to my son? Do you want him as a husband?* as well as *olo do ho di anakki*; *di-dok ma tu anakna i* - *she said to her son*, as well as *di-dok ma mandok* (161) *anakna i*.

It should be noted that *tu si* (143) is often used to express resignation or indifference, e.g., *bowan ma tu si* (RB. p. 86 t.) - *all right then, take it!* (all right, I'll give it up, if you'll give me that in place of it); if the *sombaon* says that our fields are to be yours, *then they're yours* - *di ho tu si* (RB. p. 291, l. 14 fb.). It is also used when a person is snappishly told to do something himself, e.g., *alap tu si* - *go and fetch it yourself!* (The Quarrel between S.M. and D.D., p. 11, l. 6; cf. also l. 4 fb.).

For *tu* in the expressing of the simple passive, see 101 and cf. also 151 3.

*Tu* is also used instead of *di* when a verb representing movement is preceding, cf., for example, RB. p. 245, l. 2 fb., where *di* is used instead of *dohot* and p. 246, l. 18, where, because of *lao*, *tu* is used.

M. does not deviate, e.g., *di-alap ija si-adj i U.M. tu toru, djadi di-oban ija tu bagas* (RB. p. 34 m.) - *he went to fetch U.M. from below and took him home.* It uses *tu sija* = *tu ibana* (140 3). The use of *tu* is often the reason for neglecting to use the suffix *hon*, e.g., *di-sonduk ija*, etc. (51 4 a) - *the maize bran was ladled out by him with a spoon into the dogs' trough.*

D. has *mi*, a verbal form of *i* (61), before a substantive representing a place, but uses *lako bai* or *lako ba-* before a substantive representing a person, e.g., *lot mo dokēnēnku lako bamu* (RB. p. 234, l. 2) - *there is something that I have to say to you*; *kade katānkēnmu lako bangku* (RB. p. 240, l. 10) - *what have you to say to me?* *katana lako bamu* (RB. p. 15, l. 8 fb.; p. 16, l. 1) - *his saying to you*; *malot nenge kēpekēn pēnarihinna pēnarihin mēranak dēngan-si-bēltēk* (152 3 d D.) *lako bangku* (RB. p. 219, l. 7 fb.) - *he no longer appears to be as well-disposed towards me as someone should be towards the son of a full brother.*

In all other respects, D. uses *mi* as *tu* is used in T. and M., e.g., *alēng kami mi sēnda* - *come here to get us!*

NOTE. Malagasy has *ha* as a prefix with a prepositional meaning, and Mal. has *ka* (73). There are still traces of this usage in Batak (30 V a; 69 D.). The preposition *tu*, which is also used in Favorlang, is, just as were all prepositions originally, a demonstrative base-sound with which a distant point is indicated (cf. 147 NOTE). The use of *tu* for the expressing of an excessive degree of (p. 154\*

7) is, if this word is interpreted as a demonstrative stem, to be compared with that of *an* for the expressing of a comparative (134 II e). The accent on both these words can hardly be explained other than by the supposition that formerly both defined a word in the same way as the demonstrative pronouns do at present. Indeed, *an*, in *dengganán*, can equally well be the homonymous pronoun (141). Obviously, the speakers of the language in both cases (the excessive and the comparative) have tried to express a degree by referring to a distance.

3. *ni*: connects two substantives and can be translated with *of* (as a genitive), e.g., *isi ni huta* - *the contents of the village* (i.e., the inhabitants); *bobak ni haming* - *the dressed goat's skin*; *ogung ni daoppung* - *my grandfather's gongs*. The substantive the relationship of which is determined by this preposition cannot only represent something from which a thing is derived and the person to whom something belongs - as in the examples just given - but also the object; for an example, see p. 179, l. 14 fb. In the latter case, the preceding substantive can also be a nominal form, which has the meaning of an active verbal substantive, e.g., *garar ni utakku* (RB. p. 213, l. 16 fb.) - *why you have accepted that blowpipe in payment of my debt to you*; *pokpang ni hudjur ma on tittin on pokpang ni piso pokpang ni bodil* (RB. p. 226, l. 15) - *let this ring be the thing which checks the lance, the knife and the rifle* (as the thing that will prevent their weapons being used during this truce); *sae ni utangna* (RB. p. 211, l. 1) - *for the discharge of his debt*; *tutup ni utakku* (RB. p. 221, l. 1) - *for the settlement of my debt of 100 bitsang*; *tuhor ni sira on* - *for the buying of this salt*. A pronominal suffix can also have the meaning of *of* (151), e.g., *i ma saena ultoppinon* (RB. p. 209, l. 8) - *that must be for the discharging of it (my debt), that blowpipe of mine*.

It has already been shown in 51 5 a, that in certain constructions *ni* can have the meaning of *for, on behalf of*, hence, *pagar ni amatta i* means not only *that which guards my father*, but also *the means of protection intended for my father*. *Ni*, just as the pronominal suffixes, is also used in such a way that it can be translated with *by, of, from*, e.g., *di-pangido radja i ma ogung ninana i dohot gordang dohot sarune* (RB. p. 153, l. 16) - *the prince asked from his mother the gongs, the kettledrums and the sarune*; cf. 140 \* and 133 2.

After the 3rd passive, *ni* must be translated with *through, by* (114), but the real meaning is *of*, so that the substantive that has its relationship determined by *ni* represents, according to the Batak idea, a thing that, as the cause of, or the motive for, is something from which has originated that expressed by the passive. This is in complete agreement with the nature of the passive which, in order to express it, requires a substantive.

The personal pronouns can only have *ni* before them in a specific circumstance (151 \*) because, with the exception of *sa* (151 8), the pronominal suffixes embrace the meaning of *ni*.

A whole phrase can be made dependent upon another word by the use of *ni* (162), e.g., *tuwa ni ro do ho humata gora on* (RB. p. 263 b.) - *the luck of your coming as arbiter to discuss this matter* (how fortunate...!).

*Ni* has a variant, *i*, which is particularly common with proper names, e.g., *na<sup>1</sup> i bunga ihur* - *Bunga Ihur's mother* (*si-bunga-ihur* is the son's name and his mother is called *na i bunga ihur* after him). *Ni* is also abbreviated to *n* with proper names that are given after children or grandchildren, when the name begins with a triller, a palatal or a dental. The prefix *si* then drops out, if no personal appellation precedes it, and *ina* and *apa* are abbreviated to *na* and *pa* (cf. *pa-sijadagar* in the appendix to the Dict.), e.g., *nan-djonaha* (*na-n-djonaha*) - *Djonaha's mother* (*ina ni si-djonaha* is not a proper name); *nar-robar* (15) - *Robar's mother*; *pat-sotson* (11) - *Sotson's father*; *oppul-lombu* (15) - *Lombu's grandfather*; *oppur-radja si-homang* (RB. p. 78, l. 7 fb.; cf. 150 7 footnote) - *radja H's grandfather* (i.e. the Right Reverend R.H.); *amar-radja ni-attanan* (RB. p. 192, l. 10); *nan-djomba-ilik* (RB. p. 1), but *ama ni parumbal*, *oppu ni badjongga*, etc. In proper names, *ina ni* would be expected before vowels, labials and gutturals, in agreement with *ama ni* and *oppu ni*, but *na i* is used for preference; it is also used in place of *nan*, though this use is rare; e.g., *nat-tuwan raru dolok* - *the lady R.D.* is used as well as *na i tuwan raru dolok*; *na i angin barita* (RB. p. 9, l. 3 fb.) - *the young lady A.B.* *Pa* (*apa*) is seldom found in place of *ama ni* before vowels, e.g., *pa ursa* - *Ursa's father*.

From some of the examples, e.g., *nan-djomba ilik*, it can be seen that such proper names cannot always be interpreted literally, as if a person bearing such a name always has a child or a grandchild after whom he or she is called; such names are often the equivalent of Mr., Mrs., or Miss. A Batak uses kinship terms as personal names in the same way as in the Frisian countryside old men, who are held in high esteem, are addressed by all and sundry as *Pieter oom* (*Uncle Peter*), *Douwe oom* (*Uncle Douwe*), etc.

The abbreviation of *ni*, *n*, is also customarily used with *tonga* (160), e.g., *di tongal-laut*, *di tongan-dalan*; *di tongat-tombak*, but

<sup>1</sup> Instead of *ina* (see further on).

*di tonga ni alaman, di tonga ni bagas*, etc. *N* only occurs with other words in compounds such as: *bonan-dakka*; *ulun-dolok*; *bungat-tubu*; *bungat-sutting*; *bungat-sabi*; it even occurs in *torum-bara*, instead of *toru ni bara*, which one would expect. In such compound words, *n* is at present only to be interpreted as a linking-letter, so that the meaning of *ni* no longer applies.<sup>1</sup> As a consequence, *bonan-dakka* does not mean *the thick undermost part of a branch* (*bona ni dakka*), but *the main branch* (the thickest branch of a tree).

a. When a preposition is used before *sopo*, *taru* or *tarup* is often placed after the preposition, e.g., *hundul ma nasida di taru-sopo* - *they sat down in the sopo*. This appears to be the reason for the difference between *partaru-sopo* and *parsopo*; the first meaning *someone who is in a sopo* and makes use of it (RB. p. 133, l. 15 and l. 5 fb.), and the second, the *owner of the sopo*. *Taru-* or *tarup-sopo* appears to be a corruption of *torut-sopo* (i.e., *torun-sopo*), because it was associated with *tarup*; cf. M., which uses *torun-tjopo* (MANDAILING D.). It appears from D. (further on) that formerly *ni* was also abbreviated before vowels, labials and dentals. How clear the original form of a word can be made from a comparison of the dialects is evident from *tonga ni uma* (T. 160 1) = the abbreviated *tanguma* (M.) and *tahuma* (D., instead of *tengah uma*) which latter is also spelt *tahhuma* (22 III).

M. also uses *pa i* with proper names, e.g., *pa i dongdong*. In male proper names, it abbreviates *radja* to *dja* and, in agreement with *na i* and *pa i*, makes it *dja i*, e.g., *dja i pais*. That in M., *i* = *ni*, can be seen from *si-radja ni* and *si-radja i* alongside *dja i*. *I* is even used with the 3rd passive instead of *ni*, e.g., *na i-dok ni halak i* (RB. p. 92, l. 21). North M. always uses *i* after *ning* (see Dict.), with the meaning of *ni*, before a substantive and before *halani* (150 7), e.g., *ning i radja i* = *ning radja i* (South M.), *ninna radja i* (T.); *ning i halani* = *ning kalai* (South M.), *ninna nasida* (T.); *ning i rohanija* (RB. p. 33, l. 18 fb.) - *ning rohanija* (South M.), *ninna rohana* (T.); *ning i manuk i* (RB. p. 33, l. 4 fb.); *ning i huting i* (RB. p. 34, l. 6). In M. (North), there is, therefore, an interchange of *ni* and *na* (see MANDAILING F III Obs. 2).

D. has *ma* instead of *ama*. *Ma* is closed with a *t* in those cases where T. abbreviates *ni* into *n*, e.g., *mat-sëlido* (RB. p. 91 and part IV NOTES); *mahadji* - *Hadji's father* (as a proper name); similarly, one finds *nat-* (Dict.). In D., one finds: *taing-guwang*, i.e., *tai* (DAIRI c) + *n* + *guwang*; *taim-para*; *arinonan* (*ari-n-onan*); *laen-anturge*, from *lae* (DAIRI c), + *anturge*; *ragan-awak*; *bënam-penggël* and *bënam-paha*. *Sarintuwa* is identical with *sarimaturwa*, because *ëntuwa* = *matuwa* (DAIRI K III).

For *ni* = *di* after *si-*, see 149 D. In D., *ni* often drops out, e.g., *bëru si-nabi setan* (RB. p. 41, l. 11); *kata si-gila* (RB. p. 41, fb.).

<sup>1</sup> The irregular form *torum-bara* can be explained from this.

NOTE. As has been shown, the variant of both *di* and *ni* is *i*, which is also used as a suffix, and in D. is being used both as a preposition, and with the 1st passive. In addition to what is found in M., *i* occurs instead of *ni* in *ibeber* (121 3 NOTE), whereas in D., *ni* springs from *i*. In some constructions, *di* is interchangeable with *ni*, as for example, in the using of the active verbal substantive (121 2) and in the indicating of a person on whose behalf something is done (51 5 a). From this it must be concluded that *ni*, *di* and *i*<sup>1</sup> were originally one and that each one was simply the expression of the locative. Of the three forms, *i* appears to have been the original one. From it, *ni* must have arisen by the insertion of an *n*, as in D., so that the use of *ni* after words ending in a consonant must be a usage of a later time (cf. *ning i* in M. with *ninna* in T.). The origin of *di* is more difficult to explain, unless it is assumed that *d* has arisen from an earlier *r*, because in Kawi, *r* is inserted, *i-ri-ika* = *di si*; *i-r-ija* = *di sija*. The *i datas* of D. can hardly otherwise be explained than as metathesis of *di atas* (26), just as in Macassarese there is *irate* - above, from *ri ate*, and *irawa* - below, from *ri awa* (Bug. *ri-awa*). In Sundanese, a *d* is inserted, e.g., *di-d-inja*, *di-d-ijeu*, *di-d-itu*, but here, the *d* can be explained as having arisen from *r*, because in Sundanese, the *d* is more lingual than dental.

At the same time, *di* and *ni* can however just as well be considered as stems of the demonstrative pronouns *idi* (D.) and *imi* (Mal.), and *i* as a weakened form of both words.

4. *tijan*, or *sijan*, means: 1. *from, out of*; 2. *along, by, at the side of*, e.g., *tijan ibana* - *from his side* (RB. p. 286, l. 13 fb.).

These words are rarely used instead of *asa* (see 62 4) before a substantive in comparisons. *Tijan i* - *thereupon, next*, is much in use as an adverb; it is then followed by a clause that often begins with *asa*.

The word *toding* appears to have been taken from M. (see below); it is often used with another preposition. This is especially so when the word *debatá* has a locative meaning, so that at present it is equivalent to *tonga* (160), e.g., *tijan toding debata-di-tonga* - *from the Middle World*.

M. uses *teman*, *timan*, *timon*, *seman* (North), *tingon* and *ngon* (South). In *andung*, *todingkon*, or *tadingkon*, is used; this must be a passive imperative of *manadingkon* and really means *may be left* (i.e., the following).

*Ulang* (154), *padó* or *ampodo*, are used with a comparative; *padó* and *ampodo* have been taken from the Men. *padá*. With regard to *ampodo*, it should be noted that in the elevated language used in stories words that have been taken from Men. are lengthened by a 'grace note' consisting of an *a* and a nasal, e.g., *ampanglimo*, from *panglimá*. It should also be noted that the Men. *padá*, which = *dari pada* (Mal.), is used before the second term of a comparison. In elevated language, *toding* is also used, e.g., *alé bajó ama ni pustá bajo na dangol ni andung toding si-adosanmu na dua tolu* - *Oh you, Ama ni pustá! A man who is poorer than your many brothers*.

D. uses *nari* with the first meaning of *tijan*, but places it after the substantive before which *i* occurs when the substantive represents a place; if the substantive represents a person, *bai* (159 1 D.) is used: *i bagas nari* = *tijan bagas*; *bangku nari* = *tijan au*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *nung*, *dung* and *ung*, and 115 3 in M.

With the second meaning, D. uses *rap*, e.g., *rap dike* - *which way?*; *rap panganěn* (RB. p. 221, l. 5) - *by way of a meal*.

With a comparative, or when a difference between things is expressed, D. uses *ripada* - which has been taken from the Mal. *dari pada* -, followed by *bai* if the substantive following it represents a person, while *nari* is placed at the end of the sentence, e.g., *ripada bai daběru kuta ena nari* (see 62 4 D.). In expressing a difference, *nari* can also drop out (RB. p. 23, l. 21 and Dict.), or *děkět* can be used (see 76\* D.).

*Kěntja nari* - *since* is in use as a conjunction (RB. p. 23, l. 15).

NOTE. It is probable that *tijan* is a derived preposition (cf. Sund., *ti*); so is *nari* (D.), which agrees with the Mal. *dari*.

### 160. DERIVED PREPOSITIONS.

*Derived prepositions* are formed in the following manner:

1. from a *denominative adverb of place* (156) by having it followed with either *ni* and another substantive, or with a pronominal suffix, e.g., *di toru ni urur* - *under the rafters*; *di pudi ni bagas*<sup>1</sup> - *behind the house*; *di pudina* - *after him, her, or it*; *di atas ni papan* - *on the floor*; *di-baen ma tu atas ni hortas inon* (RB. p. 267, l. 1) - *he put it on the paper*, etc. *Ni* can be omitted with adverbs that are derived by means of the suffix *an* (156), e.g., *di bagasan huta i* - *in that huta*; *di bagasan parindahanan* - *in a rice pouch*, etc.

The use of *tonga* after a preposition, and before a substantive that represents a space, should be noted. When *tonga* is used, the *ni* in the cases mentioned in 159 3, is abbreviated to *n*, e.g., *di tongat-tombak* - *in the forest*; *tu tongat-tombak na beguon* (RB. p. 6 m) - *take me to the dismal forest*; *di tongal-laut* (15) - *at sea*; *di tongan-dalan*<sup>2</sup> - *on a journey, on the road* (RB. p. 233, l. 6). Usually, *tonga* is used when the extent of the thing is not defined, such as the sea, a forest, a road that is to be taken, etc., or where a place is referred to without its being further defined, e.g., *tu tonga ni uma* - *to the field*; cf. p. 303 a, but *tu haumana i* - *to his field*. It is clear that *tonga* can also have a more literal meaning and may refer to a point in a space that is more in the middle of it. In the elevated language one can, therefore, even say *tu tonga ni bagas* (The Quarrel between S.M. and D.D., p. 18, l. 14 and p. 19, l. 7) and *di tonga ni djabu*<sup>3</sup> (RB. IV, p. 198). It is for this reason that *tonga* is often used with a substantive representing a space

<sup>1</sup> *Di huduk ruma* (RB. p. 157, l. 1) can be used instead. M. also uses *huruk ruma*, abbreviating it to *ruk-ruma* (24 a).

<sup>2</sup> This use of *tonga* is the reason that *halfway* is rendered by *di parsitongán ni dalan*.

<sup>3</sup> This is the reason that here, *ni* is not abbreviated.

which it is unnecessary to define further, e.g., *di tonga ni alaman* (RB. p. 193, l. 17 fb.) - *on the alaman* (cf. RB. p. 176, l. 10 and l. 18); *madekdek ma tu tonga ni alaman*<sup>1</sup> - *they fell on the alaman* (The Quarrel between S.M. and D.D., p. 26, l. 11), in which example it is used because it is clear which *alaman* is meant: in the same way, do we say *I've come home* = *into my house*.

a. A substantive that does not require a preposition before it and which can become a preposition simply by having *ni* placed after it, is *ala*, e.g., *marbada ma nasida ala ni boru-boru i* - *they quarrelled on account of, or about, that woman* (another example is in RB. p. 288, l. 17 fb.).

obs. That *ni* can be omitted after adverbs with *an*, can be ascribed to the locative meaning of the suffix. From this, it again appears that *ni* is really *i*, because in the passive, *an* takes the place of *i*. The suffix *an* can be similarly explained in *tu pudian an* (157) and *tu djolowan an*, i.e., having the same sense as *ni*, so that the first example literally means *to the end of this* period of time, and the second, *to the beginning of this* period of time. That *an* has the same sense as *i*, can be seen in 54, 57 and 129.

NOTE. In Javanese, the suffix *an*, in words used adverbially, can also be explained as a preposition, e.g., *atusan* - *in hundreds*; *ewon* (*ewu* + *an*) - *in thousands*; *rong sasen* (*rong sasi* + *an*) - *every two months*. It is therefore probable that the Sund. suffix *eun* is an obscure representation of an earlier *an*. In Sund. both *di hareupan* and *di hareupeun*<sup>2</sup> are used as prepositions (*in front of* something). The agreement in meaning of the suffix *eun* with the Batak *ni* can be seen from a comparison between, for example, *ka-tukangeun kami* - *go behind me*, and *tu pudikku* (151).

2. They are made from another word by the suffixing of *hon*, e.g., *donokkon* - *beside* or *near* something, from *donók*. This manner of making prepositions is confined to certain words and such prepositions can only be used when expressing a *direction towards* and never a *direction from which*, so that a *daohon* cannot occur. Other examples are: *hombahon*, *laokkon*, *rappon* (*rap*), *dotson* (*dos*), *tarehon*, *tok-takkon* (*toktang*), and *suwakkon* (*suwang*), as well as *balokkon* and *tindohon* (missing in the Dict.) - *placed high up and facing towards*

<sup>1</sup> With *alaman*, *pogu* is used as well as *tonga* (see Dict.), e.g., *asa madabu ma losung i tu pogu ni alaman* (The Quarrel between S.M. and D.D., p. 25, l. 4 fb.; see also p. 26, l. 9).

<sup>2</sup> I have also found it used as an adverb in a Sundanese ms. of the Mirad (probably cod. or. 3350, p. 11, Ed.).

something at a lower level, e.g., *asa da-tanom ma tindohon*<sup>1</sup> *huta ni musutta* - then, let that magical image be set up in the ground on a high place facing the village below of our enemy.

To judge from *tadingkon* (M., see 159 4 M.), such prepositions should be regarded as imperatives, so that, for example, *donokkon* really means *be near it* or something like that.

a. It would appear that *sokkon*, beside which *songon* (30 XV) occurs, has arisen from *suwakkon*.

M. uses *rangkon* (MANDAILING B II Obs.) = *dohot* (161).

D. uses *todëskën* (*todës* = *tudós*) = *dotson*, e.g., *hakum aku todëskën kene sintirëm idi ngo aku malot ku-bëtöh gërar këmpungku idi* (RB. p. 213, l. 12 fb.) - as far as I'm concerned, I'm just the same as any of you in the crowd. I don't know the name of that grandchild of mine; *rëbakkën* (*rëbak* = *rap*) = *rappon*, etc. In D., *tëngah* is used instead of *tonga*, while *ni* is not usually used before a substantive (159 3 D.), e.g., *i-dokkën mo i-padjëkkën nałosona djërëtën i tëngah kësean* - he commanded his servants to erect a slaughtering-pole on the *alaman*.

D. uses *babo* (159 1 D.) instead of *tu* or *di gindjang ni*.

#### 161. OTHER WORDS FUNCTIONING AS PREPOSITIONS.

There are also other words that function as prepositions, e.g.:

a. *dohot* (159 1) which, as an adverb means *also, too*; as a verb, *to go with, to join in*; and as a conjunction, *and*.

b. *di-baen* (see 102, 123, 127, 128) has the meaning of *by, because of*; it is the 3rd person with the 1st passive of *mambaen*.

c. *baen* is the nominal form or passive imperative of *di-baen*; as a preposition it means *for the purpose of, intended for, used as*, e.g., *baen ahám* - *what's it for?* (lit. your intended-for-what is it?); *adóng ma i baen sinondukmuna* - then let that one be (serve as) your husband (other examples in 121 2 and 126 1). This preposition is often implied in a passive of *mambaen*, e.g., *di-baen ma sukkit soluna* - he made a *sukkit* leaf into his vessel; *di-baen djolma ni hahana i* (RB. p. 82) - he made her the wife of his elder brother; *anggo na tarbaen do imbulu ni gidik-gidikkón boni suwan damang tu haumatta i* - but if these hairs from my armpits can be used as seeds, then go and plant them in your field (see 121 1).

*Umbaen*, or *mambaen* (The Quarrel between S.M. and D.D., p. 19, l. 13 fb.) is also used, though seldom.

<sup>1</sup> It is, of course, superfluous to say that we have to circumscribe prepositions like this.

*Bage* is also used, e.g., *di ho ma i borukkí bage tuwan-borúm* - *let my daughter be yours as your wife.*

Often, no preposition at all is used, e.g., *asa adóng ho ikkaju* (RB. p. 206, l. 13) - *so that you may be to it as a side-dish*; *di-lean suhut i ma bulang-bulang sada di datu inon solotar-rudang-rudang, di-lean sada piso si-tadjom* (RB. p. 255, l. 12) - *the principal gave the datu a headcloth as solotan-rudang and a knife as si-tadjom.* *Sae* and *tau* are especially so used before a substantive, e.g., *sae boni ni haumakkí* - *adequate as seed for my field*; *na tau pagar* (RB. p. 87, l. 11) - *that bird can be used as a means of protection.*

For *pangulu*, see 121 3 a.

*Binaen ni* - *placed, made, determined by*, can also function as a preposition (*in accordance with*), e.g., *haumakku i amáng binaen ni hatatta na bodari* (RB. p. 285 m.) - *according to our agreement of yesterday evening, that is my field.* Cf. this with *anggo songon na hudok i tutú binaen ni padatta* (RB. p. 252, l. 16 fb.) - *but if that which has been decided by our agreement is really as I said.*

d. *lambung* (see Dict.), e.g., *di lambung ni tinopotna i* - *with the one she visited*; *di lambukkí* - *with me* (RB. p. 32, l. 11 and l. 13); *ro dolidoli tu lambungna* (RB. p. 1, l. 6 fb.) - *a youth came to her.* *Lambung* is also used without *ni*, e.g., *di lambung lubang-lubang* (The Quarrel between S.M. and D.D., p. 10, l. 10 fb.) - *by the hole in the floor.*

e. *tinoppa ni* is used like *songon* (see Dict. under *ada* I).

f. *tinudu ni* (see Dict. under *tudu*).

An active verb, governing a following substantive, is often used with a meaning which we would express by a preposition. The choice of such a verb depends on the thing represented by the substantive which is placed in relationship to another word by the verb functioning as a preposition. For example, to render the *at* in . . . *was astonished at the song of that bird, umbegé* - *to hear*, must be used (RB. p. 193, l. 4 fb.).

To express *of* in *he was afraid of that thing, marnida* or *mida* - *to see*, must be used, e.g., *nunga balám mabijar ibana marnida sumur i* (RB. p. 70, l. 8 fb.) - *he became more and more afraid of that well*; A.P. fled to the forest because *he was afraid of his younger brother* - *nunga mabijar marnida anggina*; *hapé molo así rohám mida au* (RB. p. 118 m.) - *but if you have pity on me* (on p. 119, l. 1, *di* is used instead of *mida*); *mabijar do hami mida hamú* (RB. p. 31, l. 18 fb.); *mabijar halak mida hami* (RB. p. 147, l. 8 fb.).

*Against*, in *to fight against*, *to appear in a lawsuit against*, etc., is

expressed by *mangalo* or by *maralohon* (53), e.g., *urupi au radjanami mangalo radjatta D.R.B.* (RB. p. 160, l. 16 fb.) - *stand by me prince, against Prince D.R.B.!* (cf. also 158 11); *marmusu ma anak ni si-hombing maralohon huta toruan dohot panggabean* - *the marga si-Hombing conducted a war against the Hutatoruan and the Panggabean margas.*

*Humalijang* is also an active verb (63), e.g., *na humalijang hutana i* (RB. p. 28, l. 5 fb.) - *those who encircled his village*; *dida ma na di bajangan nunga humalijang soפו ni radja i* (RB. p. 80 m.) - *he saw that the people in the stocks were surrounding the prince's soפו* (he saw the prisoners being placed round the prince's soפו).

*Mandapotton* is used in the same way of a letter *addressed to* someone; it is also used after *sahat*, instead of *ro di* (RB. p. 71, l. 16).

*Mandók*, as a preposition, can mean (to speak) *to* someone, as well as (to speak) *of* someone. In its first meaning, *tu* is sometimes used after it (e.g., RB. p. 313, l. 9 fb.).

*Mangihutton* (see Dict. under *ihut*) is used with the meaning of *of in to bear the name of, to be called after*.

*Marajak* (154) is used with the meaning of *in the direction of* something, e.g., *mareak (17) huta haroroanna i* (The Quarrel between S.M. and D.D., p. 10, l. 15 fb., and p. 24, l. 20) - *in the direction of the huta whence he had come* (130).

As has already been shown with *di-baen*, a prepositional relationship can also be indicated by a passive, e.g., *di-gonggom bonang manalu do i di si-toppion inon* (RB. p. 317, l. 6 fb.) - *those various ingredients were enclosed on the si-toppion by manalu threads* (they lay within a wreath of *manalu* threads), and *di-tolon parbubean parbalijan* (Dict. under *tolon*) - *enclosed by the outermost bag of rice* (in the outermost bag of rice).

A substantive is often so used that it must be translated with a preposition, e.g., *dongan*<sup>1</sup> is used in *poda* with the meaning of *with* and *and*; and in the common language, with a pronominal suffix or with *ni* and a substantive, it often means *with* a person, e.g., *ija gabe sogot au, ho ma dongattu gabe* - *should I obtain blessings, then shall you obtain blessings with me*; *dohot ma hamuna tu si dongannami manopot* (RB. p. 172, l. 3) - *accompany us thither*; *dongattu tubu* - *it was born with me* (see Dict.).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Mal. *dāngan*, which in Men. means *comrade*, but is used in a kindly way of a slave. In Men., *djāngan*, as well as *djan* (see 30 XV NOTE 2) are used as prepositions.

The same thing occurs with the passive of *mandongani*, e.g., *di-dongani poso-poso i ma babi mangan di palakka i* (Dict. under *dongan*). For an example of the passive of *mangalo*, see 163 4 c. For *panading* (121 3 b.) and *dompak*, see Dict. (RB. p. 313, l. 16 fb.).

*Datang* (see Dict.) and *sa-pandjang* (see Dict.) have been taken from Malay. An example of the use of the latter is: *sai mangandung sa-pandjang dalam i* - she moaned throughout the whole journey.

M. does not deviate. It uses *mangaligi* = *marnida* (RB. p. 134, l. 2); *mandokon* (South) = *mandók* (RB. p. 139, l. 2), e.g., *tuwa ni halahini* (140 7 M.) *ning i halak sudena mandók halahi na duwa* (RB. p. 290, l. 15) - "how fortunate they are", said all the people, speaking of the two of them. In M., *paninggal* (cf. *panading* in T.) can have the meaning of *during* someone's absence, e.g., *paninggalna di-tangko*, etc., (RB. p. 128, l. 12 fb.) - *during her absence*, M.M.B. secretly took her child away. *Sa-pandjang* can here also mean to be as deep as, e.g., *sa-pandjang eme* - his wound was the depth of an ear of rice. *Djadi* = *baen* is also used, e.g., *nada ra hami baenonmu djadi anakmu* - we do not wish to be made into your child by you (cf. 145 M.).

D. has *mahan*, from *bahan*, and therefore an active form (cf. 161 c) = *baen* (121 2 D.), *pëmahan* (121 3 D.) and *bakin* or *makin* (122 D.) = *di-baen*. It uses *mërëntati* before a substantive, which then represents either a great quantity or plurality, e.g., *mërëntati djukut* - carrying much meat, with much meat (RB. p. 279, l. 12 fb.); *mërëkutkën* (RB. p. 118, l. 9 fb.) - all his slaves were consumed by fire together with the house. *Lako* is used in combination with another preposition (159 2 D.).

D. uses *midah* = *mida* (63), instead of *marnida*, e.g., *ënggo mo aku ku-akap tëdoh midah kene* (RB. p. 107 m.) - I long for you people; *mërëkbijarën kene midahsa* (RB. p. 137 m.) - in him, you people have someone to be afraid of (cf. RB. 136 b., where *bana* is used instead of *midahsa*).

*Embangkën* is often used instead of *mandók*, e.g., *nina ëmbangkën aku* (RB. p. 210, l. 9 fb.) - said she to me. *Mëndokkën bai* = *mandók tu* (above), e.g., *idi mo kata ni gaman mëndokkën bangku* (RB. p. 211, l. 4 fb.) - those were the words of the gaman to me. *Dëmpak* = *doppak* (RB. p. 37, l. 2 fb.). *Dësing* is used as well as *lambung*, e.g., *roh mi dësingëndene ena* (RB. p. 199, b.) - coming near to you people here.

*Dëngan* is found here too, and instead of *mandongani mërdëngan(kën)* is used, e.g., *dënganku* (158 23 D.); *i-përdëngan kono mëdëm* (158 2 D.); *asa aku dënganna mëngërana* (RB. p. 15 m.) - so that I may speak with him. For *rëbaksa*, see 150 8 c D.

#### 161\*. SOME CASES WHERE NO PREPOSITION IS USED.

A preposition is often dispensed with in:

1. an adverbial adjunct which is a statement of price, e.g., *di-tuhor opat pulu na talu i* - he bought the person who had been vanquished for 40 Spanish pieces; *di-tuhor babi ni donganna huta i duwa rijar* - he bought a pig for two reals from one of his fellow villagers; *tartuhor hita do na sa i* - can we buy it for so much?

2. *an adverbial adjunct of intent, in which the intent is expressed by an active verb in Batak (126 2 a.)*; this is because a preposition can only govern a substantive or a pronoun functioning as a substantive, e.g., *lao ma boru toppul si-purpuron maridi - the lady T.S. went with the intention of bathing*; *lao ma nasida mardalan - they went (going) on a journey*; *tu dija hu-togihon anakón marmusu (RB. p. 177, l. 15) - where shall I lead my son, who is here, so that he can conduct a war?* (cf. also l. 23); the gain he had made was not sufficient to *pay his debt - manggarar utangna i (RB. p. 69, l. 9).*

Verbs with the prefix *pa*, which have *hon* only in the active (66), usually omit the suffix here, e.g., *paoba na mamunu nasida (RB. p. 254, l. 18 fb.) - in order to declare that they had killed their enemies* (cf. RB. p. 184, l. 3; p. 225, l. 4); *pasiding ibana - in order to avoid him* (cf. 121 2).

3. *a definition of a material or a substance of which a thing is made or of which it consists, e.g., tittin mas - a ring of gold* (see RB. p. 7); also where the substantive representing the material or substance functions as a predicate, e.g., *batu do i - that is made of stone.*

4. *an adverbial adjunct expressing simultaneity, which we can express with a present participle, or a preposition with a substantive having the sense of a verbal noun, e.g., behá ma ninna inatta mandjalo na hu-tongos i - how did my mother act upon receipt of the thing I sent her?* (lit.: receiving the thing I sent her); *pittór mekkel do nasida mandjalo - she laughed upon receipt of it*; *boti ma ninna si-djonaha makkuling (RB. p. 325, l. 4) - so spoke si-Djonaha, saying* (cf. RB. p. 287, l. 1 fb.); *munga talu hami di-baen ho manabung (RB. p. 150, l. 4) - we have been beaten by you at cockfighting*; *boti ma ninna si-djonaha mangalusi hata ni pangulu inon (RB. p. 230, l. 8 fb.) - thus spoke Dj., replying to the words of the arbiter. Na can also be used before the verb, e.g., boti ma di-dok radja i na martangijang - so said the prince, entreating the gods*; this also accounts for *mandók* being followed by *tu* (161 f.).

5. *adverbial adjuncts of place when these follow each other - a preposition in a following adjunct is often omitted if it is used in the one preceding -, e.g., tu tongat-tombak na beguon (tu) lambung ni sombaon radja tumording (RB. p. 6 m.) - towards the enchanted wood, towards the neighbourhood of the sombaon Radja T.; di toru ni urur na tumording (di) atas ni papan, etc. (RB. p. 38, l. 4) - under the well-ranged rafters and upon the board floor. Di is even omitted with na, which must be used to introduce an adjectival adjunct (149), where*

there is already a preposition before the substantive that is followed by an adjectival adjunct, e.g., *tian hariara (na di) djulu ni tapian inon* (RB. p. 292, l. 8) - *from the fig tree that is at the upper end of the bathing place* (cf. RB. p. 292, l. 12, *tu hariara na di djulu ni tapiatta inon* - *towards the fig tree that is on the mountain-side of our bathing place*). The omitting of *na* is also usual in the vocative, e.g., *pangulu di hutá* (RB. p. 38, l. 2 fb.) is used as well as *pangulu ni hutá*.

- a. For another construction of Batak which in certain cases would correspond to a prepositional clause in other languages, see 126 2.
- b. Expressions such as *talū gogo* - *to yield in power (to someone), to be no match for* are to be regarded as compound words.

6. a preposition can *never* occur before the pronominal suffix *na* (115, 129, beginning; 133 3 and 150 3); see also 58 3.

M. does not deviate. It sometimes uses *tuhor ni* as a preposition, where the price of something is referred to, e.g., *tuhor ni hapur i* (RB. p. 8, l. 11) - *for this camphor* (the price obtained for it). It uses *patontu*<sup>1</sup> *badjunija* (RB. p. 39, l. 6 fb.) - *tell our father that Tapi S. D.M. has stayed behind to arrange her jacket*.

D. does not deviate, e.g., *malot tērbuwat aku ēnēm rijar, tēlu rijar ēnggeut aku mėnokor* (RB. p. 148) - *I can't take it for six reals but I'll buy it for three*; *tumandakēn aku radja ēnggo* (RB. p. 48 m.) - *in order to declare that I have become a prince*; *idi asa roh ena aku mėralēng kono mo* (RB. p. 26, l. 16) - *that is the reason that I have now come to fetch you*.

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<sup>1</sup> From *patontu(hon)*, see above, 2 and 66.

## VIII. CONJUNCTIONS

### 162. WORDS ALSO FUNCTIONING AS CONJUNCTIONS.

Batak makes sparing use of words that place sentences in relationship to each other. There are, therefore, but few words that occur solely as conjunctions.

E.g., *ai*, which has already been shown to function as an adverb (158 19), is also a conjunction, of which the translation is *for, because*, e.g., *indá tung pala pasuan i di ho, ai so di-begé* (RB. p. 151, l. 13, fb.) - *she can't get angry with you, because she can't hear it*: see 105 for another example. A preposition can also connect two sentences where we would use either a conjunction or simply two clauses, e.g., *di bagasan ni hami na makkata gora on na so djadi marbada napé hamuna* (RB. p. 226, l. 13) - *while we are discussing (arbitrating) this conflict, it is improper for you to continue quarrelling*. In such cases, it is usual to place the subject (*hami*) first, and for it to be defined by an adjectival clause (*na makkata*, etc.), cf. 150 5.

*Ala* (160 1 a), without *ni*, can also function as a conjunction, e.g., *ala adóng hata na lilu* (RB. p. 289, l. 6 fb.) - *because there is a wrong word, etc.*; *mate angitta di son ala di-pangan parbuwe ni turi-turi malam* (RB. p. 105, l. 5 fb.) - *here, my younger brother died, because he ate the fruit of the t. m.* (cf. also RB. p. 175, l. 12).

*That* as a conjunction with which we make a clause function as a substantive is rendered by the pronoun *na* (150 5), but this can also be omitted, e.g., *dipi ma ro doli-doli tu lambungna* (RB. p. 1 b.) - *she dreamt that a young man came to her*; *pabowa ma dibana lahi-lahi do na tubu i* - *tell him that it is a son that has been born*.

The conjunction *if*, when introducing a substantival clause, is rendered by *na* (150 5) if the predicate stands first in the clause; if, however, the subject stands first, *na* drops out and is replaced by *do*, which follows the subject, e.g., *manukkun sombaon, hami do, ninna, nappuna hauma* (RB. p. 293, l. 8) - *in order to ask the sombaon if, according to him, we have a claim on this field*.

*Barang* can also be used as a conjunction in an interrogative sentence, preceding the interrogative (147). As a conjunction, it can also connect substantives, e.g., *anakna barang boruna* (see Dict.).

When a conjunction introduces a dependent clause, the word order of the clause is the same as it would be in an independent clause.

The relationship between two clauses can perhaps be most clearly seen when a special word is used for expressing a negative (153 \*), e.g., in *ise ho, sowada hu-boto*<sup>1</sup> - *I don't know who you are, sowada* indicates that *ise ho* is a dependent clause. Were the usual negative, *indadong* (153 3 c), used, then *barang* would have to precede the interrogative *ise*, and the dependent clause would have to follow it, e.g., *indadong hu-boto, barang ise ho*. Similarly, *di-buwat begu aha, so hu-boto* (RB. p. 91, l. 2 fb.) - *I don't know by what thing it has been taken away* (cf. 163 6). *Sowada* is to be found at the beginning of a main clause that follows a conditional clause; it is then translated by *then . . . not*, e.g., if the datu does not hear the dead playing on the fifes, *sowada olo be i martubol na mate inon* (RB. p. 254, l. 1) - *then these dead will probably not be avenged*.

The use of identical words in clauses following each other can also place the clauses in relation to each other, e.g., *di si lomó rohakku midjur, di si au midjur* (RB. p. 172, l. 13 fb.) - *when I wish to come down, I'll come down; djadi mas ningon, djadi do tutú* (158 2). When the main clause begins with *sai*, the *sai* need not be repeated; for an example, see 158 3 b.

*Sada*, or a substantive with the prefix *sa*, is repeated when two things are contrasted by a different predicate, e.g., *sada tijó, sada litók; sada di sijambirang, sada di sijamun* (RB. p. 70 m.) - *the one was clear, the other turbid; the one was on the left, the other on the right*. Contrast is sometimes emphasized by placing *na* before the substantive (*na sa-halak*) (RB. p. 138, l. 17; l. 20).

Another means of defining a subordinate clause is by means of the 3rd passive, e.g., *sinuru i mambalbal* (115 3), *ni-uppat, patungoripon*, etc. (115 3); *ni-ultop di balijan, ninna, pidong* (RB. p. 211, l. 4) - "if," he said, "they shoot outside with a blowpipe at a bird." This construction is, then, equivalent to an inverted word-order in a conditional clause without a conjunction, as in English *had he come . . .*, etc.

Often a reader or a listener is left to guess the connection between two clauses, for example, when *alai* is omitted and either *do* or *ma* only is placed after the predicate of the adversative clause (see examples in 106 and 158 5).

The pronoun *na* often has the force of a conjunction without, however, it being possible to determine which conjunction should be used

<sup>1</sup> RB. p. 172, l. 14 fb.

to interpret it, e.g., *aha ma gararhu tutú di hamuna, na pogos do au* (RB. p. 219, l. 12) - *what must I, in fact, pay you? For I am poor (the one who is poor, am I); na olo sondot goramuna on, hu-pasondot hami* (RB. p. 255, l. 8 fb.) - *if the matter causing the conflict between you can be brought to an end, we shall bring it to an end; na sowada gararhu napé di ho* (RB. p. 217, l. 7 fb.) - *but I can't pay you yet; see also the examples in 150 2 and 7.*

A contrast between two clauses is expressed by the subject of the second preceding the predicate, whereas the subject stands after the predicate in the preceding clause, e.g., *boru ni djolma do i, hita begu* (RB. p. 10, l. 8 fb.) - *that one is a daughter of a human being, but we are spirits.* This construction is used when the second clause has a different predicate from the first, but which does not neutralize the fact stated by the first.

Some adverbs can introduce a main clause (158 3 b), and, as such, lose their original meaning. Another such adverb is *pittór* (155), which often introduces a main clause that follows *dung ni* (157) or another preceding temporal clause, e.g., *dung ni pittór gondók do panailina* (RB. p. 3, l. 5 fb.) - *after that, her eyes were cast down* (i.e., she glanced down in consternation); in this example, *asa* could have been used instead of *pittór*, as appears from RB. p. 4, l. 13 fb. *Manigor* is used *ad nauseam* with the same meaning (see RB. p. 220, ll. 13, 16 and 21); *mamittor* is a Dairi-ism (*mentër, DAIRI K II*).

Another conjunctival adverb<sup>1</sup> is *dung*, and its variants (157), because it not only introduces a preceding clause that is often followed by a main clause introduced by *asa* (163 4), but also acquires the meaning of *after* before a following clause, e.g., *dung ro di huta ninana i* (RB. p. 150, l. 16) - *after he had arrived at his mother's village* (see also, RB. p. 5, l. 1; p. 9, l. 19 fb.).

It is not practicable to state any fixed rules regarding the use of conjunctions, or words functioning as such, because such words are often interchangeable (see *atik* and *asa*).

### 163. SOME SPECIAL WORDS.

The words that, as conjunctions, deserve separate treatment are:

1. *dohot* (159 and 161): it connects substantives, e.g., *radja mar-*

<sup>1</sup> Such adverbs are called conjunctival adverbs because, although they are adverbs, at the same time, they express the connection between two clauses; when, e.g., the preceding clause begins with *when* or *if*, the main clause can be introduced with *then*, which is a temporal adverb (if he is ill, *then* I'll visit him). *Lat-sowada* and *mattuwa sowada* (158 10) are also conjunctival adverbs.

*pajung langit hapé gowarna di-baen damang dohot dainang* (RB. p. 19, l. 14) - *radja Marpajung Langit is, therefore, the name given to him by his father and mother; boti ma ninna inana i dohot ninna amana i* (RB. p. 28 b.) - *thus spoke his mother and thus spoke his father*. The verb is repeated before a substantive that occurs as the object, e.g., *nunga ro ho manundjungi djolmami dohot manundjungi anakmi* (RB. p. 174 b.) - *you have come to look for your wife and your son*. *Dohot* is not used as a conjunction for connecting sentences in which mention is made of consecutive acts, because such sentences follow each other without a conjunction, e.g., *di-lapa radja i ma badak i, di-buwat ma ate-atena* (RB. p. 117 b.) - *the prince cut open the rhinoceros and took out its heart; lao ma panduda i tu bagas, di-paborwa ma tu radja i* (RB. p. 121 b.) - *the person who had been pounding the rice went home and told it to the prince* (cf. RB. p. 129, l. 20 fb.). When *dohot* is used in such sentences, it is an adverb, e.g., *ro ma haba-haba, ro ma dohot udan* - *a storm arose, and rain came, too* (cf. RB. p. 91, l. 14 fb.; p. 126, l. 4 fb.; p. 127, l. 14 fb.).

*Dohot*, as a verb, means *to accompany*; before another verb it means *also, too*, and, as a predicate, it can be separated from that verb, e.g., *molo lao ho, dohot do au, molo mate ho, dohot do au mate, molo mangolu ho, dohot ma au mangolu* (RB. p. 137, l. 14) - *if you go, I go, too; if you die, I die, too; if you live, may I live, too*. If the other verb precedes as a predicate, then *dohot* is again an adverb, e.g., *sonang ma dohot pargotsi dohot na torop* (RB. p. 38, l. 5 fb.) - *the musicians and also the crowd stopped*.

*Barang* (162) is used as a *disjunctive conjunction*. *Sowada* is used to express *neither . . . nor* (153 \*).

2. *alai* = *but* (examples, see 158 5). It is often omitted (162); another word can also be substituted for it (158 17). The influence of Malay accounts for the use of *tapi* (cf. M. and D., below, 11).

3. *umbaen*: this is really an active verb (63 b) which, as a preposition, governs the sentence following, which often begins with *na* (150 5), e.g., *di-baen sowada di-boto mandók songon i, i ma umbaen na hu-taluhon* - *because he didn't know how to speak like that, that was the reason that I vanquished him*. In this example, it can be seen that *na hu-taluhon* is the object of *umbaen*. *Umbaen*, when functioning as a conjunction, indicates *result, consequence, reason for*, e.g., *aha ma na ni-ulám umbaen na ro hamú tu huta on* (RB. p. 217 m.) - *what is the reason for your coming to this village?* (cf. RB. p. 227, l. 4 fb.); *molo ni-duda na ung masak, indá umbaen na malala* (RB. p. 298, l. 13)

- if one pounds that which has already been pounded, does not it become pulp as a result?

If *umbaen* introduces a pre-clause, *pe* (165) must be used after the predicate, e.g., *umbaen na ro pe hami tu hutamón, na martunggu ma hami tu ho* - the reason that we come here to your village is to dun you, in which example the coming is the consequence of the intention to press for payment. In such a case, *umbaen* can also be omitted (cf. *ro pe au tu son*, RB. p. 1, l. 2 fb., with *umbaen na ro pe*, RB. p. 227, l. 2 fb.).

*Di-baen* (161), which is a passive and should really only indicate the cause, is also used as well as *umbaen*, e.g., *aha ma ni-ulamuna di-baen na ro tu harbangan on* (RB. p. 134, l. 4 fb.) - what is it that you people want to do now, that you come to this gate? (cf. p. 316, l. 4 fb.); *na di-bursik do au, di-baen na mate* - he sprayed me; as a consequence, I died. At the present time, however, *di-baen* indicates the cause as well as the consequence, e.g., *molo di-baen i di-baen na leleng ho, denggán do i* - if that is the reason that you have stayed away for a long time, then it is all right; *i do na hu-dok di hamú di-baen ro au* - that was what I wanted to say why I have come; *i do di-baen na leleng au* (RB. p. 98 b.) - that is the reason that I have stayed away for a long time. Sometimes, consequence is expressed by a sentence beginning with *nunga* (158 9), which is then placed at the beginning, e.g., *nunga harngáp ulaonna i di-baen na nung habang djolmana i tu gindjang* - his work on the field was unfinished, because his wife had flown away to heaven. There is great freedom in this kind of construction, for example, the subject can also be placed before *di-baen*, e.g., *i do ibana di-baen ro tu son* (RB. p. 35, l. 13 fb.) - that is the reason that she is coming. *Di-baen* = *asa* (4 a) is also used (example, 121 1).

4. *asa* (also: *aso*): it has various meanings, all of which can be reduced to an original which must have indicated *sequel*. It indicates:

a. *purpose, object* and is translated with *in order that, so that*, e.g., *sikkang ma babitta sada, asa ta-sejat, asa adóng ikkaju nindahan bo-wanotta tu huta ni amak-tuwám* (RB. p. 5 m.) - drag one of our pigs over, so that we can kill it and so that there will be a sidedish for the cooked rice to be taken by us to your uncle's village. In such cases, it is seldom replaced by *di-baen na* or omitted, but an example is *patu-duhon hamú rupamuna, hu-ida* - display your shape, so that I can see it.

When a negative is used, it must be *unang* (164), before which *asa*

can be omitted, e.g., *mandjorbing ma labi si-bolang di baba ni ruwang i unang ruwar dekke i* - the *si-bolang* turtle lay down across the opening of the cavity, so that the fish could not come out; *dija ma ihotna hu-baen, asa unang mangarutta akkining* - where is the thing that I must use to tie him up, so that he does not suddenly jerk himself loose? *Na unang* (RB. p. 227, l. 15) is also used.

b. the *sequel* of that which is mentioned in the preceding sentence, hence, it often occurs where the pre-clause begins with *dung* (157) (cf. also 159 4), e.g., *dung matoras eme, asa tubu ma na di dalom laut* - when the rice had become ripe, the one in the sea was born; *nung ni, asa lao ma nasida mardalan* (RB. p. 177, l. 7 fb.) - that being done, they set out on the journey (RB. p. 177, l. 20; p. 176, l. 21 and l. 6 fb.). The subject can be placed before *asa*, e.g., *atik leleng au asa ro* - perhaps I shall be away a long time (155). *Asa* is often omitted, e.g., *dung ni, di-tahop radja i ma musé datok radja badjunte* (RB. p. 159, l. 7 fb.) - that being done, the prince again grappled with D.R.B. (see also RB. p. 176, l. 8 fb.). *Asa*, as can be seen, introduces a main clause; it can be rendered with a comma (see also 158 2). Where *asa* is used with a comparative, it also indicates that something is to follow, e.g., *dumejak napé utangna asa torop ni obuk* (62 4), in which *asa* introduces what follows, namely *torop ni obuk*. With this meaning of something that follows, *asa* also introduces a sentence which links up with a preceding one, though the latter need not be specifically stated; *asa* must then be translated with *so, well then!*, e.g., *asa gadong*, etc. (158 17) - *so, one calls these things gadong!*; *aso nunga di-begé hamú alé amáng hata ni opputta martuwa sombaon* (RB. p. 294, l. 8) - *well then! you have heard the words of our master, the holy sombaon*.

*Asa* can also be interpreted with this latter meaning when it is used at the beginning of something that is written or of a formula (RB. p. 1), the sentence so introduced then being the sequel to a presumed request, for example, to tell a story.

c. *consequence*; it is then identical with *umbaen* and *di-baen*, but the sentence following does not begin with *na*, e.g., *i ma asa mate ibana* - that was the reason that he died (cf. 126 2). *Asa* is used in the same way in a sentence after a question asking the reason for something, e.g., *pardihám i asa loppaommu panganonní* (146 3 a, and 159 1).

*Consequence* can also be expressed by *djadi*, e.g., *djadi madabu ma ibana* (RB. p. 140, l. 2) - *so that he fell* (cf. RB. p. 181, l. 20, and l. 11 fb.). Less frequently does it express *sequel* (RB. p. 80, l. 4).

Sequel is also expressed by *nunga* (163 3); *dung ni manimbung ma nasida tu alaman, di-alo nasida ma masitappulan, nunga sai ripas do di-baen nasida alona i* (RB. p. 183, l. 5 fb.) - *thereupon they sprang onto the alaman and fought with swords against them, so that their opponents were continually being killed by them* (cf. RB. p. 182, l. 12, and also 150 7).

5. *molo*: this is used conditionally (examples: 158, 12) and is often omitted, e.g., *nunga sun tarduda*, etc. (100); *indaong olo sun* (RB. p. 225, l. 6 fb.) - *if this matter cannot be concluded*, etc.

*Na olo* is also used; this is further proof that *molo* is really a verb (62 4 Obs.) in which the meaning of *olo* (158 22) is implicit, e.g., *na olo sondot, pinasondot, na so olo sun, pinultoppo goramuna on* (RB. p. 275 m.) - *if it is to come to an end, then let it be brought to an end. If it is not to come to an end, then let the affair proceed* (i.e., let us start hostilities, cf. another example on p. 315, l. 3).

*Muda* (also *mula*) can also be used, as in M. and D. (See example in 158 1).

In a second conditional clause containing a contrast, the conjunction is preceded either by *hapé* (158 17 and RB. p. 54, l. 7 fb; p. 55, l. 3) or replaced by *anggo* (165).

In *poda, djaha* (see Dict.) - which must have come from Malay - is used. Foreign words are often used in *poda* (RB. IV, p. 182 b.).

For *nanggo*, see 150 7.

M. frequently suppresses the conjunction, e.g., *na mora manise ija, sai na hurang mora* - *when a rich man asked for her, it was always one who was not rich enough*; *di-begé halak nannón, di-bunu halak ma au* (RB. p. 212, l. 6) - *by and by, when they hear it, they will kill me*. Besides *muda*, M. has *mida* (North), which is also used = *dung* in the sense of *then, after* (RB. p. 277, l. 6 fb.; p. 276, l. 2 fb.); *dung* also = *muda*, e.g., *dung na dung mate dainang, di dija do tanomanna* (RB. p. 46, l. 13) - *if mother has died, where, then, is her grave?* *dung ibó roamu di au* (RB. p. 130, l. 13) - *if you have compassion for me*. *Muda* used with *busé* expresses the same thing as *molo tung* (158 12) does in T., *muda muruk halak busé di hamú, mulak hamú tu son* (RB. p. 218, l. 5) - *should they become angry with you, return here* (see also below, 6 M.).

D. has *muda tah* = *molo tung* (RB. p. 82, l. 7).

6. *atik* (158 20): it expresses *supposition*, e.g., *atik anak ni na pogos, bejasa songon i denggan ni abitna* (122); *atik anak ni na gabe ibana, bejasa do lao tu ramba on* (RB. p. 32, l. 3, and cf. p. 273, l. 7 and 15).

The negative used with *atik* is *unang* (164), e.g., *ati-hunang dipabowa hamuna, adóng binoto* (158 23). *Atik* can be omitted and *na*

*unang* used, e.g., *na unang lomó rohakku dibana, bejasa hu-pasombu ro tu gindjang on* (RB. p. 33, l. 7 fb.). When the clause containing the supposition stands first, the main clause following is usually interrogative. When the clause containing the supposition stands after the main clause, the latter often begins with *indá tung* (p. 281, l. 5 fb.); it seldom begins with *aso*. E.g., *atik na saut nakkín maruppak hariara i di-baen halak, aso nunga mate au* (RB. p. 295 m.) - *if that fig tree had really been felled just now, then I would be dead*. *Atik* is also used = *barang* (147), e.g., *atik djolma mambuwat, sowadadóng hu-boto* (RB. p. 91 b.) - *I don't know if a human being has taken it*. (The equalization of *atik* with *barang* can be seen clearly in RB. p. 178, l. 18 fb., and p. 179, l. 10).

A weakened form of *atik* is *aik*<sup>1</sup> or *aek* (see Dict.) which, in order to indicate a great degree of probability, is used with *tung* after it, e.g., *haru marsipanganon ma hamuna, aek tung ro nanón laemuna i, aek tung di-pangan na maon hamuna* - *hurry up and finish eating. Your brother-in-law (the spirit) may come and may eat you up*.

A suppositional conjunction is *aut*, which also is followed by an interrogative main clause, e.g., *aut hu-boto, basa hu-sukkun* - *if I knew it, why, then, should I ask about it?* (cf. 151 3 and p. 273, l. 10).

The negative used with *aut* is again *unang*; *ni*<sup>2</sup> *indáng* (p. 273, l. 13 and 165 \*), or *na sowada* (RB. p. 236, l. 4 fb.) is sometimes used. *Sura* and *suraní* (see Dict.) are also used.

M. can also use *muda* in the same way (above, 5), but then the clause following is interrogative, e.g., *muda na tutú do na ni-dokkonmí, si-tolon na tutú hami, indá po mate hami* - *if what you said was the truth, that we are perjurers,<sup>3</sup> then wouldn't we be dead?*

*Gari*... *niján* is also used, see 158 5 for an example.

*Anta* is sometimes used (see Dict. Appendix); usually it means *perhaps* (RB. p. 237, l. 10 fb.); see also *antap* and *tap* in the Dict.

D. uses *hakum* (165) with *němukěn*: here, also, the main clause is often interrogative (158 5). When the main clause is affirmative, *kín* (158 4) is also used in the subordinate clause, e.g., *hakum ni-bětōh kın ngo kono mēngkěmbalikěn dirimu kěmbali tēnggolěn, mada ngo kono němukěn ni-buwat* (RB. p. 41, l. 11 fb.) - *had they known that you had changed yourself into a tēnggolěn, they would not have taken you*. The negative to be used is *mada* (RB. p. 42, l. 9 fb.).

<sup>1</sup> In RB. p. 244, l. 17 fb., it also appears to be used = *asalá*, for the writer uses *atik* otherwise in the sense of *who knows but that* (164), e.g., *atik gedukta ma i ninna debatá na di gindjang* (RB. p. 271, l. 7 fb.) - *who knows, but that the Upper Gods may say that the thing we have committed is unlawful*; see also RB. p. 272, l. 1.

<sup>2</sup> I cannot understand the function of *ni* here.

<sup>3</sup> Literally, *the ones who have swallowed the truth*.

7. *hotsa*<sup>1</sup>: this is placed after the predicate<sup>2</sup> in order to make a *temporal clause*, e.g., *bot-totsa ari musé, lao ma* (RB. p. 301 t.) - *as soon as it had become night again*, Dj. *went*, etc.; *bakkít-totsa ibana ro di bagas, di-baen*, etc. (RB. p. 315, l. 3) - *as soon as he had climbed up to the house, he placed*, etc.; *suda-hotsa sa-bulan* (RB. p. 237, l. 9) - *as soon as a month had passed* after Dj. had received Prince B's panula, there arrived a creditor, etc. In an after-clause with *dung*, *hotsa* means *after* (as a conjunction), e.g., *duk-kotsa di-tadikkon*, etc. (RB. p. 241, l. 6 fb., and p. 225, l. 17). When, with this meaning, *hotsa* introduces an after-clause without *dung*, it is a Dairi-ism (see an example in the Dict. under *honsa* II).

Placed between *na sa* and a substantive, *hotsa* has a meaning that cannot be reconciled with that of time.

M. uses *hontja* but with another meaning (see Dict. Appendix); see also below, 11 M.

D. uses *kěntja* = *dung* (157 D. and RB. p. 61, l. 7; p. 171, l. 4 fb.); *kěntja bagidi* = *dung ni*, and is followed by a clause beginning with *asa*. Usage otherwise is as in T., e.g., *pulung-kěntja page tahun roh ena* (RB. p. 52, l. 8) - *as soon as this year's rice has been harvested*, etc.; *muda lot-kěntja idah kono* (RB. p. 4, l. 6 fb.) - *as soon as one is seen by you*, etc. *Kěntja* can be used twice: first = *dung*, and secondly, as in T., but in an after-clause, e.g., *kěntja i-deja kono kěntja aku* (RB. p. 148 m.) - *as soon as you will have sold me, you will gain by it*.

8. *djala* or *djana* (30 IV): it is *copulative*. When this conjunction is used, the subject or the predicate of the clause that is connected by it is different from that of the preceding clause, e.g., *na gindjang na bolon ibana djala na birong pamatangna* (RB. p. 157) - *tall, and heavy of build is he, and black is his body*; *nunga hami bosur radjanami djana mahap hami mangan djuhut* - *we are satisfied, prince, and we are sated with eating meat* (another example 158 9 and RB. p. 148, l. 17 and l. 20 fb.). *Djala* is repeated in sentences following on each other, e.g., he saw that the breasts of T. Dj. stood firm and high *and that in addition, her appearance was graceful and her voice was beautiful*<sup>3</sup> - *djala djokkás rupana, djala denggan sowarana* (RB. p. 68 m.).

*adjana* (22 III): also used copulatively, e.g., *di-baen pittorhi do*

<sup>1</sup> It appears to have arisen from the preposition *hon* and the pronominal suffix *sa* (151 8).

<sup>2</sup> When it consists of a passive form, which may not be separated from a substantive (102 and 109), *hotsa* must stand after the substantive, e.g., *djupang au hotsa ibana* (see Dict.) - *as soon as I could find him*.

<sup>3</sup> In the RB. p. 44, l. 2, it connects a second adverbial adjunct; people bathe there to wash away the filth of the body, and as *a medicine against being hot* - *djala daon ni na hodohan*.

*umbaen na so dapotsa hutakkón tabanonna adjana mate paranganna hu-bunu hami pitu* (RB. p. 258 b.) - *it is because I was in the right that he has not been able to conquer my village and that we have killed seven of his warriors*; *ia on pe bosur do hami adjana mangan horbo di-baen ho* (RB. p. 309, l. 19 fb.) - *the more so now, because we are sated and moreover have been regaled by you with buffalo meat* (cf. RB. p. 319, l. 1 fb.).

D. uses *djanah*, which is sometimes explanatory and can be translated with *for, indeed*, e.g., please tell us, what can we occupy or amuse ourselves with?, *djanah mëlóngosú denga ngo si-akap i tëruh ena* (RB. p. 14, l. 1 fb.) - *for we here below still feel lonely*. Otherwise as in T., e.g., *mentër mo idah djëlma sada i bagasën buluh idi nari anak përana ëmbëlgah djanah djengkar tëmpana* (RB. p. 25, l. 10) - *thereupon, he saw a man coming from that bamboo, a young man, an adult, whose form was beautiful* (cf. RB. p. 184, l. 3; p. 197, l. 13 and l. 18); *djanah kono mangani tokor rijar si-si-puluh idi djanah aku mëndjudjung kono këpekën* (RB. p. 278 t.) - *not only have you eaten what was bought with those ten reals, but I've also got to carry you on my head* (cf. RB. p. 199, l. 11 fb.).

9. *appe*<sup>1</sup>: *concessive*, and the clause beginning with it is a following one, e.g., *molo djadi do dohonon iba nappunasa, appe indá iba nappunasa, hami ma talu baenommu* (RB. p. 286, l. 11) - *if it is lawful to say that one is the owner of it, though one is not, then may we be vanquished by you*; *haumám do i tehé djonahá hauma ni na sa-huta on binaen ni hatám hu-begé do tijan harijara on, appe di ruma hamuna na marhata inon* (RB. p. 293, l. 2 fb.) - *certainly, the fields of all the inhabitants of this village are yours, Dj., for you have said so. I have heard it from this fig tree, though you people who made the agreement were in the village*.

*Agijá* is another concessive conjunction; the clause with which it begins is a preceding one, e.g., *agijá songon i, sai di au gana-ganamí* (RB. p. 307, l. 15 fb.) - *although that is true, I must have those images from you* (another example, see Dict.). *Agijá* is used before interrogatives, e.g., *indáng adóng na olo agijá ise manuhor tobu on - is there not even one person who will buy this sugar cane?*

Just as *akka* (58 3), it is placed before a preposition, e.g., *indadong olo au agijá tu ise - I will not belong to anyone* (i.e., I will not be a wife to anyone); cf. 164 IV 11.

Concession can also be expressed by *pe* (165), or by a particular form of the passive (115 3 a).

<sup>1</sup> It has probably arisen from *an + pe* (11 a) when *an* was not applicable to a specific, or a visible, point in space (cf. 158\* a and M.). The real meaning is, therefore, *notwithstanding*.

M. has *bagi* (147, 150, 7 M.), e.g., *bagi ise* (RB. p. 218, l. 4); *bagi aha* (RB. p. 216, l. 4 and l. 18 fb.).

D. uses *kasi pe*, e.g., *si-pangan mango kasi pe malot si-bětoh si-měrtasak* (RB. p. 97 m.) - *let us eat it, even though we don't know who has prepared it* (see also RB. p. 147, l. 8). For *němu* and *nola* with *pe*, see 158 5 D. and 23 D.

D. also uses *hape* (DAIRI c), e.g., *hape ku-dokkěn na sa-děkahna idi ku-elekelek kono, bangku, ningku, djělmamu ena, malot i-duwe kono* (RB. p. 31 t.) - *though I have always tried to persuade you in a friendly manner, suggesting that your wife should be mine, you have not consented*; *hape mate pe aku i-bakin kono, gijam lot si-bětoh-bětohěn měr hukum kita gijamkěn* (RB. p. 167 t.) - *even if I am to be killed by you, may someone who is qualified pass judgment on us*.

10. *salá* or *asalá*<sup>1</sup>; the translation is *if only, provided that, so that*. It is often used with *namaná* (158 14); *asalá saé namaná utakkí di ho* (RB. p. 209, l. 2) - *so that my debt to you may be settled*; *asalá na<sup>2</sup> hu-paboa di ho pattang ni ultopta inon* (RB. p. 209, l. 8 fb.) - *provided that I have told you the prohibition with regard to the use of that blow-pipe of yours* (cf. also 158 14). *Salá* or *asalá* is also used with *dung* (RB. p. 199, l. 13 fb.) and with *nunga* (RB. p. 173, l. 2).

11. *ija*: a conditional word that is often used before two contrasting clauses, e.g., *ija pinabowa, mandjadi hailaon; ija so pinabowa*, etc. (128); *ija pinisat, bottár gotana; ija tinallik*, etc. (115 3). It is frequently placed before *dung* (115 3) and *nunga*, e.g., *ija nunga hu-djalo pokpangmuna on* (RB. p. 257, l. 5 fb.) - *now that I've accepted your pokpang*, etc. Sometimes it is used before *nung i* (RB. p. 259, l. 4 fb.).

*Ija* is also used like *anggo* (165) before a subject, which comes first, e.g., thereupon, the prince asked: "What must I say, O cloud?" "*What you have got to say, O prince, is . . .*", etc. - *ija si-dohonommu radjanamí* (RB. p. 33, l. 7). The word before which it is placed is often in contrast to another one, which precedes (148 1), e.g., after his request to take the betel had been refused, he said: "*this betel that is fouled with birds' droppings, may I then take that?*" *ija na marté ni pidong on, djadi do hu-burwat* (RB. p. 49 m; cf. RB. p. 50, l. 2).

It is clear that *ija* is really only an exclamation that precedes the statement by way of a lead-in, in order to express a transition to something different from what has been said previously. In RB. p. 69, l. 8 fb., it is used as a means of introducing again a person who has not been mentioned for some time; see also 165 VIII.

M. uses *sanga* (147) and *bo* as *disjunctive conjunctions*, e.g., *djadi di-lehen boru i ma sanga na omon, sanga na lojang na so marimbar do sanga aha anggo parnipian* - *thereupon, the girl gives a breast cloth or a bracelet, it is immaterial*

<sup>1</sup> From Men. (see Dict.); *unang so* (164 IV 7 c) is more often used.

<sup>2</sup> See 158\*.

*which, as a parnipian, i.e., a thing on account of which the bridegroom should dream; bo anak ni bajo-bajo bo anak ni suhu nada i marimbar pihon martandang - ask someone either from the bajo-bajo or the suhu to come, it doesn't matter which.*

*Tapi* or *tai* (31 XVI NOTE 2) = *alai*, see 158 5 M.

*Djadi* is used to connect two actions that follow each other (example, see 159 2). It = *asa* as a means of indicating a sequel (RB. p. 136, l. 5).

*Rangkon* or *rongkon* (South) = *dohot* (T. and North M.), e.g., *djalai ma di au balijung rangkon rimbas* (RB. p. 136, l. 3) - *try to get me a balijung and a rimbas.*

*Ambaen* = *umbaen na*, e.g., *na gijot bunuon nija ma au, ambaen di-tanom ija au tu son* (RB. p. 194 m.) - *he wants to kill me and for that reason he has buried me here* (cf. RB. p. 162, l. 14 fb.).

*Antjo* and *so* = *asa*, e.g., *i ma so tarbuwang au tu harangan si-tumalun on* (RB. p. 130, l. 3) - *that's why I've been cast, as it were, into this wilderness; nada be na tarantak ko au so mate* (RB. p. 25, l. 4) - *you can't any more prevent my dying; balutkon au tu bide i, antjo hu-buwat di ho lantjat* (RB. p. 56, l. 16) - *wrap me up in that mat, so that I may take lantjat for you* (cf. also 158 2 M.).

*Dung busé* is used instead of *duk-kotsa* (above, 7), e.g., *sigóp do au mulak, dung busé dapat au horbo i* (RB. p. 213 b.) - *as soon as I've got the buffalo, I'll come back quickly.*

In M., an interrogative sentence with which the sentence beginning with *antjo* is connected, is often omitted, e.g., her father asked her: "What is the reason, my dear, that you've been so long in the lower world?" - *antjo lolot ko ináng di lumban dibata di toru* (RB. p. 262, l. 7 fb.).

Conjunctive adverbs of time are: *sindoráng*, e.g., *sindoráng hudúk au maridi di-takko manggarang-guring begu anakku* (RB. p. 293, l. 9 fb.) - *while I had turned round to bathe, the spirit M. stole my child from me* (cf. RB. p. 211, l. 6 fb.); *targan* (RB. p. 214, l. 6 fb.) and *taran*, usually with a negative, *so*, e.g., *ulang djolo ni-bunu si-adjí urang mandopa, ning i si-dajang rante-omas, taran so ro ija* (RB. p. 30, l. 4 fb.) - *may the prince U.M. not be killed, says the lady R.O., until she has arrived.*

*Dung*, here also, is used in an after-clause, e.g., *hupa do ho, dung ro di huta* - *as soon as you come into the village, I shall welcome you by entertaining you.*

*Ampot* has the same meaning as *sanga* (147 M.) and *betak* (158 20 M.), e.g., *i ma ibana antjo di-tandai amú, ampot adóng dida amú alak na gumatal di sija antjo di-boto amú mangora alak i* (RB. p. 238, l. 6) - *there he is so that you people may know him, and should you see someone molesting him, I hope that you may know how to restrain that one; na manjapai o do ami, ampot di-lehen ko do ibotomí di, etc.* (RB. p. 239, l. 5) - *we have come to ask you if you would be willing to give your sister to, etc.* *Ampot* is also used as well as *muda* in an after-clause if, by means of *busé*, the preceding clause indicates the future, e.g., *hu-sapai busé, ampot lopus au* - *I shall ask it when I arrive; hu-pabowa pe busé, ampot lopus au* - *I shall say it as soon as I arrive*, which can also be *hu-pabowa pe busé, muda lopus au, etc.*

In the South, *bulús* (RB. p. 111, l. 6; p. 250, l. 1) is used instead of *pittór* (162); in the North, there is also *mamigor*.

*Dja* (instead of *djaha*?) is also used as a conditional conjunction (see also 165 I).

D. often uses *asa* before a substantival clause, and the reason for the thing expressed in such a clause is then mentioned in the clause following, e.g., *asa ku-dokkēn bagidi katangku* (RB. p. 164, l. 11) - *that I speak thus, is because if you are well-disposed towards me and release me, I shall protect you, etc.;*

*aku, asa roh aku mi bagas ena, lot ngo bagahēnkēnku bamu* (RB. p. 159, l. 4 fb.) - *as far as I'm concerned, the reason that I've come into this house is that there is something I have to say to you.* *Asa* is also used before an after-clause in which something is mentioned of which the cause is asked in a preceding clause. It is also used with *mahantja = umbaen na* (151 8 D.) and for the rest as in T., e.g., *kasa mo kono dēkah asa roh = bejasa ma lelung ho asa ro* - *why have you been so long in coming? kade mo tongkirinmu mi bagas ena, asa roh kono* (RB. p. 69, l. 17) - *what is it that you are looking for in this house, that you have come?*

*Bakin = di-baen na*, e.g., *tah bakin lot ngo dosamu, asa djumpa djebak ni deba ena kono* (RB. p. 163, l. 3) - *perhaps it is because you have committed the one or the other offence that you have been caught by (in) somebody's trap here.*

*Kembali* (39 Obs.) = *djadi*, e.g., *kembali malot saut i-pertinokor si-radja uwēn tinokor urang kaja tuwa* (RB. p. 75, l. 2) - *so that R.U. did not succeed in using as wife the wife of U.K.T.*

*Tapi* is used as in M. (RB. p. 186, l. 3). *Dēkēt = dohot*, but it can also connect clauses, e.g., *ku-dokkēn mi dukut ēmbagas idi i-pētula, ningku, kambingna idi asa murah bēsūr, katengku, kambingna idi, dēkēt asa lot, katengku, lenggēm-lenggēmna i kērang-kērangēn idi* (RB. p. 186, m.) - *I told him to drive his goats into the thick grass, so that, so I thought, they would be easily satisfied and, so I thought, it would be shady for him.* Usually, however, it connects two substantives as the subjects of one predicate, e.g., *kētja tasak nakan dēkēt djukut si-ni-pertasakna idi* (RB. p. 227, l. 9) - *when the rice and the meat they had prepared was cooked, etc.; bangku mo kērina na sa-ugasēnmu dēkēt hambamu dēkēt bagasmu idi* (RB. p. 230, l. 19 fb.) - *then to me must accrue all your property, your slaves and your house.* The use of *dēkēt* otherwise is as that of *dohot* in T., e.g., *rēndēs dēkēt mo udan* - *the rain also pelted down.*

*Kētja nari*: e.g., *kētja nari ngo roh urang-kaja tuwa mi kuta ena* (RB. p. 64 t.) - *since U.K.T. has come into this village.*

*Kētikana = while*, e.g., *kētikana mada idi mo i rumah urang-kaja tuwa* (RB. p. 66) - *while U.K.T. was not in the house.*

Where a conjunction is suppressed, *ēmalot* is sometimes used instead of *malot*, e.g., *ulang roh pusuhmu, ēmalot ēmbuwe ku-ēntatkēn pola kono, djanah tjitok kēn ngo lae pola kudung-kudung* - *don't be angry because the palm wine that I've brought with me for you is not much, for a dwarf palm tree gives only a little fluid.*

In D., a substantival clause is not introduced by *si-*, as the equivalent of *na* (149); it is often introduced by the subject's being placed at the beginning of it, e.g., *i-sukutkēn mo, ija mērubat*, etc. (RB. p. 183 b.) - *he told that he had had a quarrel, etc., (see 158 9 D.).*

## IX. INTERJECTIONS

### 164. KINDS OF INTERJECTIONS.

Interjections can be divided into:

I. *pronominal* (dealt with in 153); and

II. *ordinary*. The latter are:

1. *to*, *djo* or *o*, all of which are used to call out to someone.

2. *dogé* (also *dagoé* and *dogowé*), which expresses astonishment, e.g., *dogé horbo asu on ijadóng duhut gagatonna, marnijang horbo ni ladang on* (RB. p. 71, l. 5) - *just look at those confounded buffaloes! When there is grass for them to feed on, then the buffaloes of this land are lean*; *dogé alé anggí dija ma on ta-ihutton dalan on* (RB. p. 65, l. 7) - *look now, brother, which of these paths shall we follow?* (cf. RB. p. 65, l. 11 fb.; p. 71, l. 8 fb.).

3. *bo*, which is used by anyone approaching a bathing place to warn people bathing there (cf. 52 6).

M. has *bou* (52 6 Obs.).

4. *li*, which is used to scare away kites (birds that are stealing chickens); *tsa* is used to scare off a dog (Dict. *gora*), and *pus* to scare off a cat.

a. Formerly, *li* was an imitation of the sound made by birds that steal chickens (135 I a).

5. *alé*, which is often used before a proper name or before a kinship term with which one addresses a person, e.g., *alé dongán*, *alé amáng*, etc. It is usually used when one addresses a person in a friendly manner or when one wants a person to listen to one. The substantive following it is often omitted, especially at the end of a story and, in *poda*, of a precept, etc., where such is directed to the reader or the listener (RB. p. 87; cf. also p. 80, l. 18 fb.). For *aloi* in *poda*, see *a* below. *Alé*, particularly in prayers, becomes *aleá*, e.g., *aleá oppúng* (RB. p. 303, l. 9 fb.). Added to *ija*, *alé* gives *ijalé*, which is an expression of dejection, such as when one is complaining of one's lot (RB. p. 80, l. 7 fb.).

a. The use of this interjection, and its repeated form, *ale-ale* - *friend*, gives the impression that originally *ale* was a substantive meaning *someone with whom one converses* (*akkup*<sup>1</sup> is used at present). It is, therefore, a variant of *alo* (29 III) and arose before *alo* was applied particularly to a person who is hostile or is so regarded (for example, a person with whom one gambles) and when it still had the meaning of a *partner* in a conversation, who is not necessarily an antagonist. Such a conclusion may be drawn from *məngalowi*, (D.), which means *to answer, to speak to*, though its real meaning is *to provide someone with a partner in a conversation* (50 1). Also in *mangalo-alo* (M., *to go to meet someone, to welcome him*), there is no sign of the present-day meaning of *adversary*. As confirmation of the derivation of *alé* from *alo*, in *podə*, *aloi* is often used instead of *alé*, and what is *aloi* but an imperative of *mangaloi*<sup>2</sup> - *pay attention (to the writer)?*

M. puts *nomán*, or *nongán* (30 III), from *dongán* (30 VIII a), in the mouths of narrators when addressing listeners.

6. *bawá* (*baová*) ; this is really a vocative of *bajo* or *baó* (27 II 2 Obs. 3). For the meaning, see Dict.

M. has *bajá* instead of *bajoá*.

7. *ináng* (98) : this is often used as an exclamation of *impatience, grief, pain, sorrow*, etc. The following are also so used: *ijalé ináng* (RB. p. 76, l. 12) ; *ináng oé* ; and *inangé*, which is often abbreviated to *nangé* or *nongé* (28), e.g., *inangé alé ináng sori ni arikkí* - *oh, how sad is my fate!* An exclamation that expresses great pain is *mate ináng* - *mother, I'm dying!*

M. has *inanggoís* as an exclamation of spite ; it uses *amáng* - *father* as an exclamation of amazement.

8. *oi*, which is used after the substantive before which *alé* is often used, is an exclamation with which someone is hailed (19 III a).

9. *ba*, which is used before a name or a kinship term with which one

<sup>1</sup> Especially used with *makkatai*, e.g., *asa hu-akkupi ibana makkatai* (RB. p. 121, l. 2) - *so that I may speak with him* (lit.: make him my partner in speech).

<sup>2</sup> In Mal., *lawan*, which usually means *antagonist*, can also mean *someone with whom one trades*. It is even probable that *lawan* is a passive verbal substantive, from a verb *məngalow* (MANDAILING G NOTE) or *māhalow* (Men.) as the equivalent of *mangalo*, so that it really means *someone to whom one is always opposed* (i.e., has as an opponent).

addresses someone, especially when one refuses something or is dissatisfied, e.g., *ba djonahá* (RB. p. 289, l. 11 fb.); *indadong ba amáng* (see below, IV 2). It is also used to express disappointment, e.g., when they did not see the deer with which they had intended to regale themselves, they said: *ba di dija do ursa ni-dokmi* (RB. p. 52, l. 11) - "well, where is the deer that you spoke of?"

In contrast with *alé*, which is more common in questions, *ba* is especially used in answers. It is then placed at the beginning of the sentence, e.g., *ba i ma torhat-torhanammí* (RB. p. 50, l. 19) - *there you are, with your riddle!* (cf. RB. p. 322, l. 1 fb. and p. 301, l. 16).

Sometimes it is used as an introduction when a story is continued, e.g., thereupon they went to look for the women who were left behind in the *sopo* on the great plain. *Ba sali mardalan ma nasida ba sahat ma nasida ro di boru-boru i, ba di-arahon ma tijan sopo i ba* (RB. p. 82, l. 16 fb.) - *they went on and on. They met the women and invited them to leave the sopo and accompany them, etc.* (cf. RB. p. 83, l. 2 and l. 4).

M. uses *bo* in a friendly command, an invitation, etc. not only before a vocative but often in the same way as it uses *djolo* (158), e.g., *palu bo anggí alto-alto i* (RB. p. 248, l. 13; p. 52, l. 7 fb.; p. 53, l. 18 fb.) - *now, my dear young man, strike the halto-halto!*; *marsigantung bo ho di lai-laingkón* (RB. p. 49 m.) - *come, hang on to my tail!*; *ro bo ho tu son* (RB. p. 49 m.) - *come here!*; *oban bo tu on luli i, antjo, etc.* (RB. p. 41 b.) - *come, bring the luli here, so that, etc.!*

*Ija bo* (also *ijo bo*) indicates a friendly reply (RB. p. 49, l. 19 fb.).

*Bo*, like *ba*, also has a conjunctival meaning, e.g., *djadi milas roangkú, bo u-suru bajangkón* (RB. p. 268, l. 3) - *so that I became angry and had him put in the stocks.*

III. *Onomatopoeic exclamations*, e.g., *pak! ninna bulu inon* (RB. p. 285, l. 18 fb.) - *pak! That was the sound that those bamboos made* (cf. Dict. *bus, bom, par, etc.*). The manner in which a verb is made of such words has been dealt with in 52 4.

IV. *Words that are used in an exclamatory manner and which are in themselves a sentence:*

1. *olo* = *yes, so that's it*. It is used to let a person know that what he has said has been understood, e.g., the prince asked: "Where is that which you have brought into the world, O beloved wife?" "Well prince", replied his wife, "I've placed it on the *takkingan* because it's different from other people's offspring." - *Olo radjanami di takkingan i do hu-baen, etc.* "So that's it", said the prince. "What then", he asked, "is it that you've given birth to?" - *Olo ború ni radjanami ai aha do lejatni na tinubuhommí.* "Well, beloved husband, I've give birth to an *ilik*" - *Olo anák ni namború ilik do na hu-tubuhon i.* (See Dict. for

another example). There is no doubt that this interjection is the verb *olo* and that, therefore, it is a sentence which should be translated as "I am *willing* to listen to you and to reply", etc.

A confirmatory reply to a yes-or-no question in which no interrogative is used is not expressed by *olo*, but by repeating the words in the question, e.g., to the question *adóng do i di rohám djuppa sogot*, "In your opinion, can that be found?" - the reply is *adóng do i sogot djuppa ho*, "It can be found by you"; to the question *nunga malum di-ahap ho*, - "Do you feel better already?" - the answer is *nunga* - "I do (already)"; see also 165 I.

M. also uses *olo* where a person comes to tell something, when, for example, one person tells another that what he has asked to be done has been done (RB. p. 31, l. 4) or when one person gives another a command (RB. p. 30, l. 16 fb.). *Olo* is rarely used with the meaning of *to wish, to want to*; *ra* and *gijot* are used with this meaning.

The use of *ra* and *gijot* requires a better explanation than that given in the Dict. The difference between them lies in construction: *ra* is used in a passive sentence<sup>1</sup> or where the verb is suppressed, e.g., *ulang ko amáng ra di-oban halaní* (RB. p. 169, l. 7) - *please don't be carried off by him, father!* *nada ija ra* (RB. p. 225, l. 10 fb.) - *she didn't want (to be married)*; cf. also l. 8 fb.; *ra do ho hu-partonai* - *are you willing to be sent by me on a mission?* (also *ra do ho partonaanku*). *Gijot* is used when the sense is active; when the sentence is passive, *gijot* still refers to the agent, e.g., *i ma da muda kahanggi ulang gijot ni-bunu* (RB. p. 104, l. 1 fb.) - *listen: If a man is a brother one should not want to kill him* (if one kills him one is, in this way, visited by the gods); *na gijot bunuon ni halaní ma au* (RB. p. 194, l. 20) - *he wants to kill me* (that's why he has buried me here); *laet do na so gijot ija, ning ija, marbagas* (RB. p. 227, l. 10) - *she still did not want to marry, she said*; *gijot ro hamí tu son* (RB. p. 70, l. 5) - *we want to come here* (also RB. p. 30, l. 17). With *di* before the object, *gijot* means *to desire to have something*, e.g., *muda na tutú do gijot ho dibotohí*<sup>2</sup> (RB. p. 41, l. 17) - *if you wish to have my sister as wife* (cf. RB. p. 239, l. 10). In a case such as this, *ra* is used of a woman who wants a man as a husband, so that *ra* becomes the feminine form and *gijot* the masculine, e.g., *muda ra halaní, burwat hamú, muda so ra, na so ra ma i di hamú* (RB. p. 227, l. 7) - *if it is her wish, take her! If she does not wish it, then she won't have you as a husband*. *Gijot* is also used = *sijol* in T. (158 16), e.g., *gijot mate* (RB. p. 202, l. 16 and l. 17).

D. uses *uwe*, which also functions as a verb, e.g., *ai énggo kono uwe i-sěreja si-sěrido* (RB. p. 255, l. 10) - *because, when asked by S. for your support, you gave your consent*. For *geut*, see 158 16.

2. *indadong* or *indaong* (153 3 c) - *no, not*. In a refusal, it is often used with *ba*, e.g., grandmother, may we take a leaf of your betel? *Certainly not, my dear sir!* - *indadong ba amáng* (RB. p. 49, l. 11;

<sup>1</sup> Except in a question, e.g., *ra do hamú manolon, soro tutú tano ni amamunju inganan ni hutamunju i* - *will you swear that the place where your village stands is your father's land?* To which the reply is also *ra* (see above IV 1).

<sup>2</sup> See 151 1.

cf. RB. p. 49, l. 3 fb.; p. 50, l. 5 fb.). *Indada* can also be used in an exclamatory manner: *that's not true! certainly not!* see also 165 I.

M. uses *nada* or *ngada* (South) in a denial made in an exclamatory manner.

D. uses *mada* as an exclamation.

3. *na* - *take it! There it is!* *Na* is used when one hands something or passes something to a person, e.g., *ba na alé radjanami garar ni utakku si-saribu bitsang i ma on di ho bijakkinnon* (RB. p. 221, l. 4 fb.) - *here it is, prince! Let this dog of mine be yours in payment<sup>1</sup> of my debt of 1,000 bitsang; na hamú, etc.* (Dict.).

A word that is derived from *na*, and which to all appearances is an imperative, is *nakkon*, of which the translation is *hand over, pass*, e.g., *puluk-pulungan ni pagar i nakkon* - *hand over (pass) the ingredients of the charm!* *Tu son* (cf. *botson, infra*) is sometimes used with *nakkon*, e.g., *dahanon na hinunihan i nakkon tu son ináng! indahan ni manukta on* (RB. p. 266, l. 11 fb.) - *mother! Pass that rice prepared with turmeric as<sup>2</sup> food for this fowl of ours!* (cf. RB. p. 228, l. 2).

*Dija* (165 VI I) is also used; so is *botson*, an abbreviation of *bowat tu son* (11) or *botton*, an abbreviation of *bowat tu on* (143), e.g. *botton djolo hudjur i alé amangudá* (The Quarrel between S.M. and D.D., p. 2, l. 6 fb.) - *if you please, uncle, hand over the lance!*

M. uses *na* with *di* before the substantive representing the person being addressed, e.g., *na ma di ho panimbungon on* (RB. p. 48, l. 3) - *here, this is something by means of which you can jump!* (Cf. RB. p. 47, l. 17 fb.; p. 245, l. 12; p. 257, l. 6). *Na le* (8 c) is also used, e.g., *na le mulak sandungmu on* (RB. p. 282, l. 12) - *there, you've got back the sandung!* *Bokkon* is usually used instead of *nakkon*, e.g., *bokkon tu on tintinkí* (RB. p. 282, l. 13; p. 293, l. 6).

D. uses *nah* as well as *na*, e.g., *ena mo énggo sun ku-bahan pèngke bëras-banu si-ni-dokkènmu idi alé anak nambèrú na mo* (RB. p. 61, l. 12) - *here, dearest husband, is the sacrificial rice, prepared by me, which you have ordered. Here it is!*

4. *atik*; used as an exclamation, it expresses uncertainty and is translated by *who knows how*, e.g., *atik sadihari mate au* (RB. p. 199, l. 13 fb.) - *who knows how quickly I shall die!* (cf. 158 20).

M. uses *ampot sipata sipatau* (RB. p. 161, l. 16), or *sipata sipatau* (RB. p. 162, l. 5).

D. uses *tah* (147 D.).

5. *maradatuwa* - *oh, may fate be so auspicious that*, e.g., *maradatuwa di-patumbuk debatá di-patuduhon partondion pidong na maló marhata-*

<sup>1</sup> See 159 3.

<sup>2</sup> See 161, *bage*.

*hata* (RB. p. 64, l. 17) - *may it please the gods that it is our fate for the tondi to point out a bird that can speak*. When *maradatuwa* is used, mention of the gods or the spirits need not be made, e.g., *maradatuwa masi<sup>1</sup> tung dapot i baenonnami dohot anggitta* (RB. p. 116 m.) - *may we be so fortunate that the gods or the spirits will be gracious, so that my younger brother and I may find that*.

*Adatuwa*, which often occurs as a parenthetic clause, is also used, e.g., *anggo pidong na ni-dokmuna i, adatuwa, tarbunu au i* - *concerning the bird of which you speak, if I'm lucky, I'll be able to kill it*. *Si-adatuwa* is also used.

D. uses *adaturwah* and *madaturwah*.

NOTE. It is probable that *adatuwa* has been taken from Malay, so that it is *adaturwah* which, expressed in an exclamatory manner, can mean *may there be good fortune!*

6. *da*: this is probably an abbreviated form of *indá* (see M.) and is used in a consultative manner (see Dict. for examples). It is often used with *ba* and a word with which a person is addressed, especially when surprise is expressed with a certain degree of animation, e.g., *bejasa lat-sowada marbabo ho da ba djonahá di haumami* (RB. p. 304, l. 2 fb.) - *for what reason, Djonaha, aren't you getting on with weeding your field? ho ma na holsona da ba<sup>2</sup> anggi* (RB. p. 169, l. 10) - *really brother, you're too anxious!*

M. uses *da* in an admonitory question, e.g., *hu-pangan ma da* (RB. p. 6 m.) - *I shall eat it, do you hear!* It also uses *da = indá*, e.g., *da niján na u-lidungkon* (RB. p. 134, l. 12 fb.) - *have I not said to...?*

7. *unang*: this is variant of *ulang* (30 IV and 31 XIV NOTE 2) and is therefore an imperative of *mangulang* (*not to use something, to let something fall into disuse*). *Unang*, as an exclamation, means *let it be! it doesn't matter!* and, just as *pasadi* (The Quarrel between S.M. and D.D., p. 12, l. 4 fb.), is used to express indifference at a refusal (see 1st and 4th quotation in Dict.).

*Unang* is used:

a. as a negative in expressing one's desire for something and, therefore, expresses a negative imperative or optative; the subject is then placed before the predicate, e.g., *unang ho mambaen undang-undang* (RB. p. 17, l. 7 fb.) - *do not devise any means for putting us to the test;*

<sup>1</sup> See 42 c.

<sup>2</sup> See 8 b.

*unang ho sali tangis* (The Quarrel between S.M. and D.D., p. 6, l. 2) - *don't cry continually!* or, *that you may not cry continually...*; *unang ho mabijar* (RB. p. 35, l. 15 fb.) - *don't be afraid!* *unang ho lao* (RB. p. 175 b.) - *don't go!* *unang be au di huta on baen hamuna* (RB. p. 6, l. 17) - *don't let me remain in this village!* (cf. RB. p. 4, l. 8 fb.). The construction is, therefore, the same as in an affirmative imperative, e.g., *ugasattu ma baen hamu* (RB. p. 7, l. 4) - *get my things ready for me!* (51 5 a); *di son ma au baen* - *put me here!*; *panganon ni na saratus loppa dainang*<sup>1</sup> (RB. p. 218, l. 8) - *cook food for 100 people, mother!* When the subject has already been mentioned, it is then only referred to, e.g., *honong anggikku ma djolo* (140 2). When the subject is to be stated after the predicate, then *ma* or *do* (165) is used preferably after the predicate, but either of these words can be omitted in a sentence that is connected by a conjunctive with one preceding it in which either of these words has been used, e.g., *ro ma ho djolo, urupi au* (RB. p. 160, l. 17 fb.) - *come, I beg you, and help me!*; *djaga anggikku ma parautta on*, and, *buwat damang ma djuhut i* (140 2); *pargogoi do au alé oppung* - *give me power, O, master!*; *bowan ma au alé apáng, toppi do au* (RB. p. 7, l. 10 fb.) - *carry me father, but carry me in a cloth!*; *paluwa ma au* - *let me go!* When the active is used, the 2nd pers sing pronoun is not suppressed, e.g., *mangaloppa ho ináng* (RB. p. 218, l. 6) - *cook, mother!*; *tunduk ma ho* (RB. p. 139, l. 16) - *surrender!*; *marnapurán ho* (RB. p. 15, l. 20 fb.) - *take some betel!*

b. as a negative after *asa* when the latter has the meaning of *so that* (163 4 a), and on its own as negative final conjunction, in which case the subject is placed after the predicate, e.g., *unang tarida on* (158 3 b); *ija hutatta on djagá djolo baen hamuna, unang ro panakko tu huta on* (RB. p. 320, l. 3 fb.) - *guard this our village well, so that no thief may come into it!*; *unang ro begu-masa* (RB. p. 26, l. 1) - *so that no epidemic may come to this village*; *unang adóng dalan*<sup>2</sup> *ni halak lao tu gindjang* (RB. p. 196, l. 13) - *so that there be no means for another to ascend*; *unang di-panakkoi deba hutatta on* (118 2 footnote). With such an example as *unang sanga hami marmusu* (158 18 *sanga*), it should be noted that here *sanga* is a verb functioning as a predicate. If the subject has already been stated, then *sanga* drops out, e.g., *di-tukkol mata ni ari unang sundut* (RB. p. 41, l. 14 fb.) - *the sun was checked by her in its course, so that it could not set*;

<sup>1</sup> See 140 2.

<sup>2</sup> See 131, end.

c. with the negative *so* after it and then has the meaning of *asalá* (163), e.g., *unak so nung djuppa hudjur i* - only provided that the lance be found; *unak so di-leon ho di au manukmí* (RB. p. 267, l. 18 fb.) - if you just give your fowl to me; *unak so dung do ho midjur* (RB. p. 172, l. 7 fb.) - if you just come below; *unak so horas hami di huta on* (RB. p. 195, l. 12 fb.) - provided that we are in good health in this village;

d. with the pronoun *na* before or after it, it then has a suppositional meaning, e.g., *unang na di-dok ho lat-so indadong dapé, nimmu, djuppa ho pidong na ni-dok ni rohám indadong lao anakta i attóng*<sup>1</sup> (RB. p. 37, l. 13) - "had you not said that you had still not been able, as you said, to find the bird you sought, our son would not have gone"; *na unang lomó rohakku* (see 163 6). Here, the original meaning of *unang* as an imperative can be seen, as it could also be rendered as 'suppose that . . . not';

e. with *atik* and *aut* (163 6), it is used as a negative; with *rahanán* (134 II e), it has the meaning of *than*, e.g., *rahanán au manikkot unang tu anakmí* - I'd hang myself rather than belong to your son; *angitta i ma hu-tonahon rahanán ma salí tu ibototta i ni-leon mas i unang tu halak namaná* - let me send for our younger brother, the gold should be given to our brother rather than to some-one else; *dohot do hami indáng hu-paida-ida hami ho akkín mate, rahanán do hami mate unang ho* - we shall go with you; we can't see you die. It is better that we should die rather than you. *Rahanán* can also be omitted, e.g., *pisó sijan gindjang sakkalan sijan toru so behá rohakku unang hu-honong namaná lubuk on* - a chopper from above, a chopping-block from below, it's immaterial to me, rather than that I should have to dive into this deep river; cf. also RB. p. 207, l. 6 fb.; p. 221, l. 2.

M. has *dangkon* or *indangkon* (22 III) as an exclamation. It appears to be an imperative and to be derived from *indáng* which, in M., has fallen into desuetude. Otherwise, it uses *ulang* (RB. p. 256, l. 16; p. 21, l. 9 fb.; p. 25, l. 3), which is interchangeable with *ampodo* (159 4); *ampodo* is used with *ranán* (RB. p. 258, l. 25 and l. 5 fb.), and *ulang* and *asa* with *agonán* (RB. p. 216, l. 12 and l. 14; cf. also p. 219, l. 14, p. 217, l. 17 fb.). *Ulang* is also used with a comparative where, in T., *asa* would be used, e.g., *gogoán do ija ulang au* (RB. p. 28, l. 20) - he is stronger than I.

D. has *dosah* (29 IV Obs. 7) as an exclamation; otherwise it uses *ulang*, as in M.

8. *uwa*: this is an invitatory exclamation and is placed at the beginning of a sentence and expresses a request to one or more persons to do something, e.g., *uwa pala rap ma hamú djolo* - come, I beg you,

<sup>1</sup> See 158 11.

*get together!*; *uwa hundul ho maradijan hita djolo* (RB. p. 41, l. 4 fb.) - *come, sit down; let us rest!* (other examples, see 158 8).

When one asks someone to accompany one, *beta* or *beka* (10 a) is used - *beta hita atik na sadia dao nari hutatta i* (RB. p. 105, l. 14) - *come, let us go; who knows how far your village still is!* *beta ma hita tu ruma* (RB. p. 57, l. 14 fb.) - *come, let us go together towards our village!* (another example in RB. p. 239, l. 8 fb.; and also in 150 6).

With *besi*, one invites someone to accompany one but to go first.

When someone is asked to participate in something, *tole* is used, e.g., *tole ma hita ta-tabu* (RB. p. 295, l. 7 fb.) - *come, now, let's fell this tree together!*; *tole ma hita* (RB. p. 181, l. 5) - *come, let us both start fighting!*; *tole hita mardjudji* (RB. p. 81, l. 8) - *come, let us play together!* to which the reply is: *tole ma hita tutu* - *yes, let's do just that!* (for another example, see 150 6).

It is singular that *tole* is also used at the beginning of a pre-clause with the meaning of *as soon as*, e.g., *tole ma potangna i, asa di-pangido* (RB. p. 153, l. 16) - *as soon as the evening came* (of that day), the prince requested, etc.; *ija tole ma nunga pinartolu*<sup>1</sup> (RB. p. 294 b.) - *as soon as only a third of that tree trunk remained*; *tole mulak anakna i, di-tuhori*<sup>2</sup> *radja i ma si-pangap-panganon* (RB. p. 152, l. 17) - *when his son was ready to go back, the prince bought some sweets* for his son to take with him. In order to connect this meaning with that which the word has as an interjection, it must be presumed that it has the sense of *to be ready*; *tole ma potangna i*, for example, would therefore mean *the evening thereof being about to* (fall). It can, therefore, be presumed that the meaning of *together*, which is implicit in the word as an interjection,<sup>3</sup> is really derived from a question: *are you ready?* The meaning of *to be ready* can best be seen from *ai "tole", ma ninna radja, "indadong", ninna namora* (RB. p. 145, l. 1) - *"for", if the prince says, "I am prepared to do it", then "no", says the namora* (cf. also RB. p. 42, l. 13: *if they are ready to depart*, etc.). *Tole* is also interchangeable with *naeng*, e.g., *dung ni, naeng lao ma ibana nunga di-lakka tolu hali* (RB. p. 150, l. 19 fb.) - *when, thereupon, he wished to go away, and when he had taken three steps, spoke*, etc.

M. (South) uses *keta* (MANDAILING B II b) as well as *kehe ita = beta*, e.g., *dung na so tarpangan ko indahan*<sup>4</sup> *na mata keta! so u-djalai donganmu na sa-*

<sup>1</sup> See 115 5.

<sup>2</sup> See 118 2.

<sup>3</sup> To judge from *hele* (9), it is a contraction of *to* and *alé*. This is all the more likely because *ale*, after another interjection, drops its first syllable (8 c).

<sup>4</sup> MANDAILING E a.

*untung* (RB. p. 135, l. 2 fb.) - *if you cannot eat uncooked rice (will not have as a wife one who is not suitable because the kinship is too close), then, let us go, so that I may look for a better half for you* (cf. RB. p. 260, l. 7 fb.).

*Mare* = *tole* (RB. p. 282, l. 8 fb.) and *mari* (RB. p. 268, l. 17 fb.). *Dja* = *uwa*.

D. uses *kune* = *uwa*, but with a wider meaning; it implies the suggestion that something should be done together. As far as I know, *tole* is usually circumscribed by the placing of *kita* after the imperative, e.g., *bahan kita mo djinahita* (RB. p. 135, l. 7) - *let us make our pact together* (i.e., let us promise to be loyal to each other); *muda si-pangan mo, nimu, pangan kita* (RB. p. 95, l. 16) - *if you say we must eat it, let us eat it*; *bahan kita mo djumanta tjitok pëmungkahënta* - *let us make a field for ourselves; just on a small scale to begin with* (RB. p. 145, l. 14 fb.).

9. *hele*<sup>1</sup>: placed before a word with which someone is addressed, either a proper name or a kinship term, it is consultative (examples, see Dict.).

M. uses *he*, especially after a negative in a false question in which conviction is stated in the form of a question, e.g., *indada he si-baun-pedjel i* (RB. p. 9, l. 9 fb.) - *that's B.P., isn't it?*; *nada he di-boto ho inamu na dapot di porlak parsanggulan* (RB. p. 43, l. 16 fb.) - *don't you know then that your mother was found in a flower garden?* cf. RB. p. 43, l. 6 fb. *Hele* is also used in a polite question, e.g., *pigã borngin nari he radjanami* (RB. p. 240, l. 17) - *how many more nights, prince?* (cf. RB. p. 63, ll. 2 and 12); *songon dija ma he huta di si-potang ari i* - *like what, then, is a huta in the territory called Potang Ari?* (cf. RB. p. 99, l. 6). *Hele* is used after *indap* or *andap* in a question which is put out of uncertainty about what someone wants, e.g., *aha dopé ulahanmu tu on? indap ke omon bariba tangan simbora bariba pinggol* (RB. p. 33, l. 2) - *what else is it that brings you here again? Is it half a breast-cloth or just one earring?* (cf. RB. p. 216, l. 8 and l. 16 fb.).

*He*, like *ne* in T. (165), is an exclamation used to point out something, e.g., *on do he na mangkuling nangkina i* - *look here, this is what made a sound just now*.

*Angke*<sup>2</sup> appears to be derived from *he*. *Angke* is placed at the beginning of a sentence in order to say something that conflicts with what has been said in a previous sentence, or to explain it further, e.g., *aha ambaen mangido tano au di hamú, angke tano ni damang do on tano ni daompung* - *for what reason should I demand the land from you? It is, indeed, land owned by father and grandfather*; *haru djadi aha pe ho di-baen ko, angke<sup>3</sup> djolma do ho hu-ida nangkin* (RB. p. 7, l. 10) - *whatever you may change into, you are still a human being, as I saw a moment ago*; this serving girl is impertinent. She dares to say that father is sick; *but yesterday evening he was quite well* - *angke torkis do na potangin<sup>4</sup>* (RB. p. 23, l. 15); don't be angry with me because I've not come

<sup>1</sup> M. also uses *he* alone and it would therefore appear that *he* also is contracted with *alé* (cf. *tole*). This is the more likely because it is used before a word with which a person is addressed: *he alé anggí*, for example, would really have the same sense.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *tehé* (below, 10).

<sup>3</sup> In transliterating the nasals, I have followed the pronunciation of South M. because it is more in agreement with the spelling.

<sup>4</sup> See 27 II 2, Obs. 1.

back quickly, *but first I had to wrestle with* the person who had stolen my jacket - *angke marmusu au djolo dohot* (RB. p. 45, l. 6 fb.).

M. uses *nangke* as an exclamation of astonishment (see Dict.), and also where it is desired to point out something to someone because one is astonished that he does not know it or that he has not seen it, e.g., *nakke on ma sinuwan tunasmu* (RB. p. 268, l. 13) - *now, don't you see that this is your son* who, etc.

*Po* is used after *indá* in a main clause that follows a suppositional clause (example, 163 6 M.).

NOTE. It is more than probable that *he* is a base-sound which, as an exclamation, expresses doubt and as a gesticulatory sound, has acquired a pronominal meaning, such as can be seen from the meaning of *he* above, 9 M. l. 14, and also from the interrogative pronouns *mike* and *dike* (D., 146).

10. *tehé* (also *tahé*, 28): an exclamation whereby one seeks to reassure oneself or other people: it serves to preclude all doubt or fear, e.g., *di ho do téhé hauma i* (RB. p. 291 t.) - *there's no doubt that the field is for you*; *haumamá do i téhé* (RB. p. 293, l. 2 fb.) - *that is your field, rest assured*; *au do téhé nappuna djolma* - *I'm that woman's husband, there's no doubt about it*; *olo ma tahé* (The Quarrel between S.M. and D.D., p. 15, l. 10 fb.) - *certainly! assuredly! unang téhé amáng na mangago do i* - *believe me, my friend, don't do as he says; that one is a bringer of ruin*. A person will often use *tehé* when he is reassuring himself about a decision he has plucked up the courage to make, e.g., *di son mau modom téhé marborngin* (RB. p. 77, l. 3) - *well then, I had better spend the night sleeping here*; *di son mau téhé modom* (RB. p. 71, l. 20) - *well, I'm going to sleep here*; having come to the decision to leave his brother, he said: "*well then, if I'm always with my brother, we shall, etc.*" - *molo salí rap hami téhé dohot anggikkón* (RB. p. 66, l. 3); "I wonder if what the *hulis-hulis* says is the truth", he said to himself, "*well, I'll try it*" - *alái téhé hu-subo do; dainang do téhé si-baen on* (RB. p. 21, l. 12 fb.) - *it is mother who has made these things, that's certain*. *Tehé* is rarely used when one expresses a doubt to oneself, but an example is: *atik na so dainang do téhé mambaen on* (RB. p. 21, l. 14 fb.) - *wouldn't mother perhaps have made these things?*

*Tehé* is used before a person's name, or a kinship term, to ask a polite question, e.g., *ise ma gowarmu téhé itó* - *tell me, young woman, what is your name?*; *botí téhé anggí adóng sadíja dao nari tijan adijan on hutatta i* - *now, listen to me brother! How far away from this resting place is our village?*

*Atehé*, which is particularly used when one wants the person addressed to pay attention to what one is going to say, is placed right at the beginning of the sentence, e.g., *atehé oppúng tutú do malitap ulosna*

(see quotation in Dict.); *atehé radjanamí adóng halak di balian* (RB. p. 133, l. 4 fb.) - *listen prince! There's someone outside.*

M. In the North, M. uses *tehé*, but in the South, *tuwé* and *tijé* (28), e.g., *u-sapai do tijé, antjo u-boto* (RB. p. 269 m.) - *now, I'll ask about it again, so that I shall know it!*; *aha ma ulami téhé na ni-pardabu-dabuhon nibotku di bajona, di-baen* (RB. p. 217, l. 16 fb.) - *what is it that my brother reproaches me about, that he, etc.*; *amáng andap ke ulami téhé di-baen na dulaha marpojogon i ma boruna, di-baen* (RB. p. 216, l. 16 fb.) - *father, is it perhaps because your daughter eats too greedily, that...?* (cf. RB. p. 218, ll. 3, 9 and 15 fb.); *songon dija ma u-dokon ruwai tijé* (158 6 M.); in a quandary, asking oneself what one should do); *anta ruwai tijé adóng* (RB. p. 237, l. 9 fb.) - *who knows if there... not...?* In M., *tehé* is more used to express uncertainty (cf. an example in 158 6 M.). In the South, *ettehé* = *atehé*, but the former is also used where one is telling someone something, e.g., *ettehé ompúng na ni-buwang ni dainang do au* - *O, my dear lady! Mother has thrown me out!*

D. uses *tupe* for the expressing of a conviction, e.g., *tuhu tupe si-ni-adjarkén inang idi* (RB. p. 140, l. 13 fb.) - *really, it is true what mother has counselled me to do, that I then go...*, etc. *Nari* is used to indicate that one has taken a decision, e.g., *ku-tjuba nari ngo* (RB. p. 5, l. 17 fb.) - *now, let me have a look to see how deep this hole is* (another example: 158 14 D.). D. uses *atupe* instead of *atehé*. In addition, there is *kune*, which is also = *uwa* (see *supra*, 8 D.); it is placed at the beginning of the sentence, e.g., *kune kubèrètkèn i bukkuk bitisku ena katengku* (RB. p. 246, l. 14) - *now, I said to myself, I'll tie it fast to the hair on my calves.*

11. *anggiját* or *agiját* (27 II 1; 22 III a): really a vocative of *anggi* (27 II 2 Obs. 3), a word that, especially in M., is often used when speaking kindly to an inferior.<sup>1</sup> *Anggiját* is a word used to express a request in an entreating manner; the translation is *please, permit me, allow me*. *Anggiját* is usually used to express a desire for something one has to put up with, because nothing better can be obtained, e.g., if you won't say where he has gone, *at least tell me what he looks like* - *anggiját do parhalakna pabowa di au* (RB. p. 157, l. 16 fb.); *anggiját ma sa-borngin nari hu-togong bubu i* (RB. p. 325, l. 12 fb.) - *then let me at least set the fish nets for one more night*; *agiját ho hu-pangan daon ni butuha-male* (RB. p. 139, l. 17 fb.) - *at least let me eat you, as a remedy*<sup>2</sup> for my hunger; since I've been so unfortunate in trying to find a wife, *you go, please, and buy one* - *anggiját ma apalá ho mangolí* (RB. p. 61, l. 4).

*Anggiját* has conjunctive force at the beginning of an after-clause and is to be translated as *so that at least, in the hope that*, e.g., I shall take this as the handle of my lance, *so that at least it is my token from*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *baoa* (164 II 6) and the use of *ěmbok* - *mother!* in Jav. as a means of giving a friendly admonition.

<sup>2</sup> It should be remembered that *ni* can also introduce the object (159 3).

*the Upper World - agiját do i tandakku sijan gindjang on* (RB. p. 150, l. 1 fb.); let us go there to pass the night, *in the hope that we can sleep and be better sheltered* against the rain - *anggiját suminok tahap modom* (RB. p. 65, l. 15 fb.); (for another example, see *The Quarrel between S.M. and D.D.*, p. 2, l. 11).

*Agijappon* (see *gijamkĕn, infra*) is a Dairi-ism.

M. uses *pinomat*.

D. uses *gijam*, e.g., if you must eat me up, *let me first sing (a charm song) to you*<sup>1</sup> - *ku-dimban kono lĕbekĕn gijam* (RB. p. 216, l. 6 fb.); I shall content myself with this bird, *so that at least I shall be eating it as compensation for what I've had to pay on its account* - *asa ku-pangan gijam balĕs aku mĕnggarar karnasa idi* (RB. p. 155, l. 7 fb.); I may not be able to offer this bird for sale, *but at least I can keep it to delight the eye* - *ku-pakani mo mahan nejam-nejam ni mata gijam* (RB. p. 154, l. 9); *muda roh, katenami, musuh, gijam rĕbak mate kami* (RB. p. 205 b.) - *if the enemy comes, we thought that we could at least die together*; *hĕntat kita mo gijam takalna idi* (RB. p. 158, l. 11) - *let us at least take his head*; *mate pe, nina, ija, gijam hukum mĕndokkĕn* (RB. p. 169, l. 12) - *he says that should he die, the law at least should have so ordained*. *Gijam* is also used before, or after, a number to lay stress on it, and also in a request for an only trifling thing to indicate that one will be contented with it, e.g., *rijar gijam si-puluh, malot nenge sada gijam* (see 150 7 D.).

*Gijamkĕn*, which appears to be an imperative (158 1 D.), is placed right at the end of the statement; *gijam* may, at the same time, be placed at the beginning, e.g., *gijam lot si-bĕtoh-bĕtohĕn mĕrhukum kita gijamkĕn* (163 9 D.) - *that at least there may be someone who is qualified to pass judgment on us*; *mĕrhukum mo kita gijamkĕn* (RB. p. 165, l. 14) - *that at least we make use of the law*. *Gijamkĕn* is also used in conjunction with a negative to stress a word expressing a small amount of, e.g., *i-hargai deba pe malot gijamkĕn* (RB. p. 153, l. 5 fb.) - *not even one offer was made*; *si-pĕsulak mo sada nari gijamkĕn mĕndĕngani kĕkta idi* (RB. p. 14 m.) - *let us send out though it were but one of our swallows to keep our raven company*.

*Gija* is used = *agijá* (163 9) and = *pe* (165), e.g., *masa-kade gija na sa-si-sĕlam* (RB. p. 32 m.) - *however many Muslims there may be*; *ise gija* (RB. p. 95, l. 11) - *whosoever may have prepared that food*. *Gija* is also used with *barang* (163 1), e.g., *muda tubuh nola i podĕn ena anakmu barang bĕrumu gija* (RB. p. 35, l. 6 fb.) - *should hereafter a son or a daughter be born to you*; *barang kade gija pĕrtĕntunta si-ni-ladang ena* (RB. p. 46 m.) - *may he be our oracle, should there be anything that we, the inhabitants of this territory, have to settle* (cf. also RB. p. 136, l. 17; p. 140, l. 19 fb.).

12. *mari*: this perhaps comes from Mal.; it is used to invite someone to come to one. In *tabas, mari la* (Mal. *mari-lah*<sup>2</sup>) is usual.

When someone is required to make haste, *haru* is used with *mari*, e.g., *haru mari ma tu on* (*The Quarrel between S.M. and D.D.*, p. 15,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 158 1 D.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *mare* (M., see *supra*, IV 8 M.).

1. 10 fb.) - *come here, quickly!* (For other examples, see Dict. and 163 6). In *tabas*, when extending an invitation to the tondi *hurri* (see Dict.) is used, e.g., *hurri mari la mari la*.

#### 164\*. SUBSTANTIVES USED AS INTERJECTIONS.

Substantives can also be used in an exclamatory manner and are then defined by the pronominal suffix *na*, or by another substantive introduced by *ni*, e.g., *dengganna* (see 151 3). The following should be put under this heading:

*tuwa*, e.g., *tuwa ni*, with a substantival sentence after it (p. 302, l. 5) or *tuwana*, e.g., *tuwana hu-baluti au tu bagasan idjuk i* - *how fortunate that I had wrapped myself up<sup>1</sup> in that idjuk* (other examples, see Dict.);

*bijan* (also *bitsan*): this is used more in Dairi Sub-Toba and I shall, therefore, give examples from D. (see also Dict.), e.g., *bijanna ěnggo kene roh kĕrina* (RB. p. 173, l. 5 fb.) - *how fortunate that all you people have come*; *bijanna ku-idah kono* (RB. p. 215, l. 1 fb.; p. 216, l. 14) - *how fortunate to see you*.

Examples of other such words used in an exclamatory manner are: *bilang* (in anger), e.g., *bilang ni tambottón ma* (see Dict.);

*laja* or *lea* (in reproach), e.g., *leana so di-alap ho* (The Quarrel between S.M. and D.D., p. 12, l. 5 fb.) - *how disobliging of you not to want to fetch it*;

*radja* (see Dict.), e.g., *radja ho amáng unang marbulbul timus ni api tu gindjang di-baen hamuna* - *I beg you, don't let the smoke from that fire swirl upwards*. It is even used when speaking to a woman (The Quarrel between S.M. and D.D., p. 11, l. 8, etc.).

It would be impracticable to deal with all the other words that function as interjections. There is, for example, *dung*, which is used when something has happened by accident, e.g., *dung! nunga madekdek gandarhu* (The Quarrel between S.M. and D.D., p. 12, l. 6; p. 11, l. 4) - *now look what's happened! Now my pipe (= tube) has fallen down*.

For *ngalutna*, see 151 3.

D. uses *tuwah*, e.g., *tuwahna mango kono mĕngepuh idi alé bapak<sup>2</sup>* (RB. p. 149,

<sup>1</sup> See 145.

<sup>2</sup> See 98 D.

1. 8) - *how fortunate, young man, that you began to shoot with ipu!* D. also uses *těka* (165 I D.), but more when a wish is expressed, e.g., *těka męrganda męrbunga nola pęnokormu ena* (RB. p. 153, l. 2) - *if you sell it again, may what you paid for this bird be doubled*; *těka sarintuwa kono makani idi* (RB. p. 153, l. 15) - *if you keep that bird, may you reach a blessed old age by doing so* (cf. RB. p. 153, l. 20, l. 22; p. 55, l. 12). With the pronominal suffix *na*, *těka* becomes an adverb<sup>1</sup> that must be translated with an adverbial adjunct, *by accident*, e.g., *ęnggo tuhu tękana ęndai leleng, alé,<sup>2</sup> si adji tonggěl* (RB. p. 93, l. 3) - *A.T. has, really, just forgotten it by accident* (cf. RB. p. 163, l. 13).

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<sup>1</sup> This word has been incorrectly explained in the Dict.

<sup>2</sup> This interjection is directed to the audience, not to A.T., see p. 247, m.

## X. EMPHASIZERS

### 165. VARIOUS EMPHASIZERS.

By this definition should be understood not only the words that give emphasis to another word as a constituent of a sentence, an emphasis that we express by intonation (20 Obs. 2), but also those which are only placed after a word in order to further specify its meaning: these words must not be equated with suffixes (20 b.). They will be dealt with one by one and it is hoped to produce convincing evidence that it is difficult to give them another name. They have so many meanings that there is a risk of creating misunderstanding if they are given a more significant name. In treating of these words, it will be obvious that even more must be said about word-order than was done before.<sup>1</sup>

I. *Do*. This word is placed after a word and stresses it: this stress we effect by intonation. E.g., *sai ro do i mangalap iba* - without doubt, it (the tiger) will *come* to get you; *sai mago do ho di-baen begu* - without a doubt, you will be *destroyed* because of the actions of the spirits. In these examples, *do* gives emphasis to the predicate of a main clause (158 3 b.), but it is also used in a sentence standing by itself, e.g., *pargogoi do au oppung* - *grant me, O master, power!* Likewise in a comparison after a predicate or a predicative adjunct in order to express a perfect similitude, e.g., *nunga songon na ni-dosdosan do tortornasida* (RB. p. 173, b.) - lit. *their dance was as though it had been made exactly alike*, i.e., their dancing was quite regular; *dida butuha-bolon i nunga sai songon gara ni api do* - he saw the stomach (of the fish) as being just like *fire coals*.

In a question, *do* lays the emphasis on the word representing what it is one wants to know, e.g., *ise do gowarmu* - *what is your name?*; *aha do naing panganommu* - *what do you want to eat?*; *sali olo do i mambalbal* (RB. p. 84 b.) - *is it always willing to strike?*; *adóng do i di*

<sup>1</sup> It will already have been seen that it is impossible in Batak to deal with word derivation without at the same time dealing with word-order because many forms of words are used in particular constructions (see 120, among others).

*rohám djuppa sogot* - in your opinion, is that to be found at one time or another?; *tartuhor hita do na sa-i* - can it be bought by us for so much?; *olo do ho pasada sowara hita* - do you want us to make our voices the same? (cf. VI).

In a question in which a request is made to be allowed to do something, *djadi do* is used (163 11). *Do* is also used in the reply to such a question, e.g., *ho do i* - is that you? To which the reply is *au do i* - it's me. To the question *aha do na tinopotmu tu hutunami on* - what have you come into our village to look for? the answer is: *pidong na maló marhata-hata do niján na hu-djalahi* - what I'm really looking for is a bird that can speak. When the reply to a question beginning with *adóng do* is a negative one, the reply begins with *indáng adóng* (153 3 c), e.g., *adóng do i di ladangmuna on* - is there such a one in your country? The reply, in the negative, is: *indáng adóng pidong na maló marhata-hata di ladangnami on* - here, in our country there is no bird that can speak. A question is often introduced by *behá do* (examples in 158 22, see *toppa, tumaram*).

*Do* places the emphasis on a substantive, or on a pronoun functioning as such which is used as the subject; the translation of *do* is then *alone, self, no one else, nothing else than*, e.g., *debatá do manadjomi*<sup>1</sup> - the gods alone made it sharp; *ai si-djonaha inon do mamunu*<sup>1</sup> - the aforesaid Dj. alone killed them; *nasida na duwa do martaban* (RB. p. 178, l. 14) - the two of them captured (this village) themselves.

*Do* places an emphasis on a demonstrative pronoun, which emphasis must be translated by *the same*, for which Batak has no particular word, e.g., *hundul ma nasida di taru-sopo,*<sup>2</sup> *di sopo i do hundul si-djonaha di-dapot partunggu i* - they sat down in a sopo, and in the same sopo the duns found Dj. sitting there. *Do* is quite usual after the pronoun *i*, when it is a substantive, to stress its being the motive, or the reason, for what is said in the sentence following, which begins with *asa* or *di-baen* (163 3, 4), e.g., *i do asa hu-suru maralap ho* - that's why I've had you fetched; *i do ibana di-baen ro tu son* (163 3); *i do di-baen na hu-dokkon di ho papunguommu* - that's why I tell you to collect it. In a question in which the reason for something is asked, *do* likewise functions as an emphaziser, e.g., *aha do radjanami asa di-dokkon ho maralap au* - why, prince, have you sent for me?

A predicate that is expressed by a verb can also be put in front and be followed by *do*, but it must then be preceded by the pronoun *na*,

<sup>1</sup> See 105.

<sup>2</sup> See 159 3 a.

e.g., *na di-bursik do au di-baen na mate* - the reason that I must die is *because I have been spat upon by him* (lit. my being spat upon by him is the reason . . .).

If *do* stands after a substantive used predicatively or after a pronoun functioning as such a substantive, then, in order that the verb may function as the subject, it must be made into a substantive by *na* (126), e.g., *au do na mangoli* - I am one who comes to buy a wife. When the verb that has been made into a substantive is placed at the beginning of the sentence, and if the subject is a second person, then a reproach is contained in the sentence (126 1).

When *do* is used in contrast with a negation, an undoubted fact is expressed and it is translated with an adversative conjunction, e.g., *indada au pais, landuk do* - I'm not a *pais*, but a *landuk*; *indáng mangolu, mate sijan butuha do* - the child is not alive *but has died in the womb*. Here the sentence-connecting significance of the word can be seen. It is further apparent from the position it occupies after the predicate of a substantival clause, even where this contains an indirect question, e.g., tell him that the newly born child *is a boy* - *lahi-lahi do na tubu i; pamanat ma djolo tu ama ni na mate i djadi do pasondoton ni pangula gora on, aso binoto* - be so good as to interrogate the father of the person who has been slain, whether this matter *is to be settled* by the arbiter, so that it be known.

*Do* is used in an imperative statement to give emphasis to an express desire that a thing should be done, e.g., *bowan ma au alé apáng toppi do au* - carry me, father, *but carry me wrapped up in your cloth* (so that no one shall see me, 164 IV 7 a); *sali bunihon do i* - *above all, hide it!*

*Do* is used after an adverb or an adverbial adjunct to lay stress on it; the translation is then *notwithstanding*, e.g., *behá ma di-baen na dapot bodat parbuwe ni atsimun, tu tonga-bire do manaek* - how was it that a bodat monkey was able to get a cucumber, its *hanging against a steep rock, notwithstanding?*

*Do* is often placed after a word, that we translate as an adverb, to announce a clause, e.g., *otik do hita marbada musé nunga lao ibana tu gindjang* (RB. p. 197, l. 21) - *just as soon as we begin a quarrel again (with our wife), off she'll fly to heaven*. In such a case, the subject stands before the predicate.

*Do* is often placed after the predicate in a second conditional clause in which a contrast is expressed to something in the clause preceding it; the translation of *do* is then, *however, on the other hand*, e.g., if you dare to kill me, ill luck will certainly be yours; if, *on the other hand*,

you let me live, good fortune shall be yours - *hapé molo di-pangolu ho do au, sai gabe do ho* (RB. p. 4, l. 5 fb.).

Placed after a predicate, *do* can even make a sentence into a conditional subordinate clause, e.g., *di na gabe ma i, hatoropan do halak, indadong tarulasa songon i* - that's for the rich, if one belongs to the common herd, then one can't do that.

*Do* is placed after the subject when, for the sake of emphasis or when it is to be contrasted with something else, the subject stands at the beginning of the sentence, e.g., *molo hatakku do di-bege ho marsogot, olohon ma hatakki; ijanggo barang hata ni halak do di-bege ho marsogot, unang di-olohon ho* (RB. p. 292 l. 13) - if, tomorrow, my words are heard by you, confirm them but if, tomorrow, the words of another are heard by you, whatever they might be, don't confirm them.

*Do* is also used to emphasize the manner in which something occurs or should occur, e.g., *nung i di-taruhon si-djonaha ma inana si-borngin tu hariara inon, di-oppa do marboan inana i tu gindjang* (RB. p. 292, l. 16 fb.) - thereupon Dj. led his mother at night to the aforesaid fig tree; he carried her in his arms, taking her upwards.

Finally, it should be noted that *do* is often used with *sai* (158 3) and *nikkon* (158 2) but rarely with *nunga*, except in comparisons (RB. p. 169, l. 11 fb.; p. 173, l. 7 fb.; and here p. 341, l. 12 fb.), or where a *sai* precedes (cf. RB. p. 160, l. 10, 12, 14; p. 174, l. 1 and 11; p. 166, l. 1 fb.; and in 150 7).

M. In the South, *do* is used as a conditional conjunction before a clause, e.g., *do ngada di-patidaon ko, ita marmusu* (RB. p. 116, l. 11) - if you don't wish to point him out, we must go to war (another example is in the Dict.). The verb used in such a clause usually implies wish. *Bija do*, just as *béha do* (p. 342), announces a question (RB. p. 187, l. 3).

*Djuwo*,<sup>1</sup> which has been borrowed from Men., is used especially in the South with *do* with the meaning of yet, notwithstanding, e.g., "have I not", said I, "in fact asked U.T.D. not to let me accompany him?" "Nevertheless", said he, "we go" - *kehe djuwo do ita* (RB. 134, l. 10 fb.); *di-pangkulingkon napé suwada, manaili pé suwada, lalu*<sup>2</sup> *djuwo do ibana tu tano pinang na rorondan* - he didn't even bother to reply to it, paid no attention to it and, notwithstanding, continued his journey to the country P.n.R. Also in the South, *de* is used instead of *do* before the pronoun *i* (e.g., RB. p. 261, l. 2).

<sup>1</sup> (Men. <dj-w>); omitted in the Dict.

<sup>2</sup> Not given in the Dict. Add thereto III: Mal. *lalu* - to proceed (RB. p. 130, l. 13 fb.); *lalu tu* - as far as (RB. p. 111, l. 2), to arrive at (RB. p. 111, l. 12 fb.); *ngon... tu* - from ... to (RB. p. 246, l. 5 fb.); *palalu(hon)* - to go on, e.g., *ita-palalu domá tu bariba i* - that we simply go on to the opposite side (the other shore).

D. uses *ngo*, e.g., the bird was not hit, but the bowl containing the means of purification was - *tjawan pèngurasèn ngo këna* (RB. p. 117, l. 1 fb.). Before *ngo*, *mada* is always used instead of *malot*. If, however, *malot ngo* is used, *ngo* must be repeated after the predicate, e.g., *mada ngo ku-kènakèn*, etc. (154\* 7 D.), *tah malot ngo i-bèrekèn deba ngo anakku idi* (ibid.).

*Mango* is used with the meaning of *still*, e.g., *mèrtahan<sup>1</sup> sip mango* (RB. p. 101, l. 17 fb.) - *still she remained silent*; *malot mango ènggeut mangankèn* (RB. p. 101, l. 15) - *still that woman did not want to eat that rice*; *leleng mango si-hadji tonggèl mènghèlapah takal kërbo si-ranggir idi* (RB. p. 95, l. 14 fb.) - H.T. *still forgot to cut the head of the buffalo R. into pieces*. *Mango* is often used with *nola* to strengthen the latter (cf. *na musé* in T., below, IV), e.g., *i-dapèt nola mango ènggo tasak panganèn i bagasèn kodèn* (RB. p. 96, l. 13) - *again he found food already prepared in the pot*; *i-olihi nola mango lako i-deja* (RB. p. 153, l. 1 fb.) - *again he went to peddle the bird*. *Mango* is also used in questions, e.g., *djadi mango katemu* (RB. p. 123, l. 11 fb.) - *do you think that is allowed?*; *ise mango kono si-roh idi* (RB. p. 11, l. 4) - *who is it who is coming?*; *ènggo mango alé kaltú i-bahankèn manuk-manuk saip-ladang gèrar kene* (RB. p. 121, l. 14) - *has the bird S.L. already got a name for you people?* (to which the reply, ibid., l. 18, is *ènggo*); *si-kade mango gèrarmu* (RB. p. 128, l. 20) - *what is your name?*; *ise mango èndija si-mèrtasakkèn panganènnami idi* (RB. p. 97, l. 4 fb.) - *but who is it who has prepared our food?* (cf. RB. p. 129, l. 17 and l. 10 fb.; p. 6, l. 17 fb.). It is also used when an inquiry is made regarding the reason for something, e.g., *kade mango asa mengër, nina, manuk-manuk saip-ladang* (RB. p. 122, l. 9 fb.) - "*what*", says he, "is the reason that the bird S.L. makes such a noise"?

In D., *mada mango* has the meaning of *however... not, never* (cf. 158 10 D.), e.g., *ku-dabuh pe buluh singawan, mada mango ku-bège pèrdabuhna* (RB. p. 6, l. 4 fb.) - *though I've let a section of bamboo fall, I never heard it drop* (cf. RB. p. 5, l. 8 fb.); *mada mango kumatakèn so mada tuhu sulengku idi* (RB. p. 28, l. 2, where there is a printer's error) - *my augury-pipe has never said what was not true, it has, on the contrary, always spoken the truth - kumatakèn si-tuhu mango*.

*Mango* is also placed after a word that, for emphasis, is repeated, e.g., *dori da ni-suwan, dori mango mahan dapètèn i podin, bunga ni-suwan, bunga mango mahan dapètèn* (RB. p. 166, l. 4 fb.) - *if, in fact, one plants thorns, then thorns one will get, but, if, on the other hand, one plants flowers, then flowers are to be expected later on*; *djèlmana idi pe tongkik mango* (RB. p. 183, l. 18) - *his wife also was deaf (just as were the two persons already mentioned)*. In conditional clauses, *mango* is used after the predicate with the meaning of *indeed, really*, e.g., *muda masih mango pènarihinèndene midah aku* (RB. p. 134, l. 13 fb.) - *if you really have compassion for me*; *muda si-èmpo mango, nimu, alé pa bagasta idi* (RB. p. 76, l. 5 fb.) - *if, as you say, father, we really wish to consecrate our house*. *Mango* is also used to stress a designation of quantity, or to strengthen a negative, e.g., *kèrina mango ènggeut* (RB. p. 134, l. 2; p. 133, l. 3 fb.) - *all were disposed to*; *malot mango ise mènokor* (RB. p. 154, l. 1) - *not one person wanted to buy it*. It is also used after exclamations, e.g., *tèka mango mentèr djumpaku i-ombang-ombang lae ena* - *how fortunate that I find (that piece of bamboo) immediately, while I am being hurled to and fro by this water (another example, 164\* D.)*.

The abbreviation *mang* also occurs and is placed after a word to express contentment with what one observes, e.g., seeing her son coming home with so many birds, she said: "My dear, you really have caught something, for I see you

<sup>1</sup> See 154\* 7 D. and 158 3 D.

are carrying many birds. Now we'll have plenty and we can eat our fill of birds' flesh." - *kĕnĕn mang kono da bapá* (98 D.) *piduk idi ĕmburwe mango ku-idah i-hĕntat kono, ĕnduma mamó kita kĕpekĕn bĕsur mangani djukut piduk* (RB. p. 143, l. 12 fb.); having heard that the tiger was caught in the trap, he said: "How fortunate we are, my dear friend! The tiger that ate my son has *already* been caught in the trap." - *tuwahnami alé ĕnggo mang kĕpe djumpa djĕbak idi bijahat si-mangankĕn anakku idi* (RB. p. 172, l. 9 fb.).

II. *Anggo*. This word is used before a word that, in order to give it emphasis, is placed at the beginning of the sentence. It is placed before a substantive that, as the subject, precedes the predicate, e.g., *anggo gowarna si-boru martijang omas*<sup>1</sup> (RB. p. 63, l. 16 fb.) - *her name* is Miss M.O. It is so used often in reply to a question where it is placed before the word representing the thing one wants to know something about, e.g., tell me, then, what does he look like? *anggo parhalakna na gindjang na bolon ibana* (RB. p. 157, l. 14 fb.) - *as to his appearance*, he is tall and heavily built; where is the quail with the pointed tail and the cock that lays eggs? *anggo manuk sabungan na marpira, on ma na hu-bowan, alai anggo lote na mallai-lai, marsogot pe hu-buwat* - *the cock that lays eggs*, look, I'm carrying it, but *the quail that has a pointed tail*, not until tomorrow shall I take that. *Anggo* is placed before an adverb, or an adverbial adjunct, on which emphasis falls, e.g., *anggo nanón sai na mate do ho baenokku* - *now*, you shall certainly be put to death by me (the previous time you escaped). When an adverbial adjunct expresses a contrast with another, *ija* is often put before it and then has an adversative meaning equalling *alai* (cf. following page), e.g., *anggo di son indadong hita manaon, ai dorás aek di son; ijanggo di si unóng do aek* - *here* we won't be able to hold out because the water is flowing strongly, but *there* the water is calm.

A substantive that, by means of *di* (159 1) functions as the object of an active verb and stands first in the sentence, must have *anggo* before it, e.g., *anggo di dalan si-degeon unang ho humolso* (RB. p. 6, l. 3 fb.) - *about the road that is to be taken*, you must not be anxious (were *anggo* omitted, then *di dalan si-degeon* would stand after *humolso*). When an active verb, functioning as a substantive, is placed first in the sentence then, by the same use of *anggo*, it can be indicated as being the object, without *di* and even without the pronoun *na*, e.g., *anggo martogi unang ho humolso* (RB. p. 40, l. 16 fb.) - (regarding) the one who *goes in front* (to indicate the path) don't be anxious. Using *anggo* in the same way, even an active verb functioning as an

<sup>1</sup> The reply to the question *ise ma gowarni* - *what* is that person's name?

adverbial adjunct without a preposition (126 a), can stand in the front of the sentence, e.g., *anggo mambaju mattuwa pande* - (at) *wearing* (she) is very skilful; *anggo marbulán olo do au* (RB. p. 32, l. 9 fb.) - *solemnly to conclude an alliance* is what I'm willing to do.

*Anggo* is also placed before an adverb where it stands before a clause which, by a conjunctival adverb, is placed in relation to the clause following, e.g., *anggo botí ma di-begé pamilangina, mattuwa sowada do dida na sinuhatanna i* (RB. p. 74, l. 11) - *in that manner* was the way in which she was counting heard by him, yet what it was she was measuring out was not seen by him, i.e., though he heard her counting in that manner, he did not see . . . etc.

*Anggo* is placed before a substantive that functions as the subject, in order to prevent people's getting the wrong impression, for example, when the visitor pushed the betel pouch towards her with the request that she should partake of it, *Nandjomba ilik* said: *anggo hadjuttu indadong marisi* (RB. p. 18, l. 4) - "*my pouch is empty*", (by which she prevented the visitor's accusing her of being impolite, it being the custom that when a person receives a visitor, and takes his betel, betel is presented in return). *Anggo* is also used where an assertion is doubted because it is not in agreement with what has already been heard, e.g., *anggo pahoppum pabowahon di au* (RB. p. 157, l. 9 fb.) - *on the contrary*, your grandson has told me that, etc.

*Anggo* is placed before an imperative to give it emphasis; the translation is *by all means, especially, please*, e.g., *anggo patuduhon aili na marbowan hudjur i* - *please show me the wild boar that has carried away the lance!*; *unang anggo pandekdekkon* (118, The Quarrel between S.M. and D.D., p. 11 t.) - *please, don't let (that comb) fall*.

A substantive, or a pronoun functioning as such, is, by means of *anggo*, often proleptically used and placed at the beginning of the sentence, while in the clause following, as the agent or the subject, it is only indicated by means of a 1st passive or a pronoun, e.g., *ai anggo si-adji panurat indadong di-tanda anggina i be, alai anggo ibana, sali di-tanda do hahana i* (RB. p. 80, l. 13 fb.) - *as for Adji Panurat*, his younger brother was no longer recognised by him, though he *himself* did recognise his older brother; *anggo ni-dokmi, tongón do i* - *what you have just said* is quite right. Before a substantive mentioned merely in this way, *tarsingot di* can be placed after the *anggo*, e.g., *anggo tarsingot di pangguru barang sa-dija, nimmu, indadong hu-djuwahon* (RB. p. 18, l. 12) - *with regard to the apprenticeship premium*, I shall not refuse (to pay) it, whatever it is.

When the substantive stands after the predicate, *anggo* gives the substantive an emphasis which effects a restriction, e.g., *hu-topa pe anggo rautmu* - all right, I'll forge a *raut* for you (i.e., because that's all you want me to do, I'll forge a *raut*); *unang damang rusak anggo pangolim* - don't be anxious about money to buy you a wife, in which example the preposition is suppressed. Should the substantive stand before the predicate, *pala* or *apala* is frequently used before the substantive (158 7), but that this is not necessary can be seen from the frequent use of *anggo i*, in order to lay emphasis on something stated previously as a thing that can either be granted easily or that can be explained with little difficulty; it can be equated with *if that's all . . .*, *if all that . . .* e.g., *anggo i buwat damang* (RB. p. 49, l. 18) - *if that's all*, friend, take it!; *anggo i borotton hamu tu tobu i* (RB. p. 50, l. 4) - *if that's all* you want to do, tie your dog up to the sugar cane; *anggo i, mangido ma pallandja i tu nappunasa i* (RB. p. 49, l. 7) - *if that's all*, it's easy enough, the pedlar asked it from the owner.

*Anggo* usually has a restrictive meaning when it stands before a word which is at the end of a clause, e.g., *sukkot ni hagabeon ma ibana anggo maromas, alai anggo dakdanak sada pe sowada* (RB. p. 1 t.) - he was extraordinarily rich, in that *he had gold*. But *as regards children*, there was not even one; *molo dung hu-baen i, ninna, indadong olo ro begu tu huta on, anggo lao mambuwat djolma* - if I have prepared that remedy, says she, then no spirit will enter this village with the intention of *taking away human beings* (i.e., a spirit may be able to produce diseases, but it will not be able to kill anyone). Here it can be seen how, by means of *anggo*, too broad an interpretation is avoided.

With this meaning, *anggo* can also imply a conditional conjunction, e.g., *indadong olo mulak au, anggo indadong dapot au* - I shall not return, that is to say, *if I am unable to find it*.

When *anggo* is placed at the beginning of a sentence, it can make the use of *molo* superfluous, e.g., *anggo i hinabijarammu inda tung bunuokku hamu* (RB. p. 31, l. 16 fb.) - *if that is what you're afraid of*, rest assured, you people will not be killed by me (one can also say: *molo i do hinabijarammu*, etc.). Before *tung*, especially, *anggo* is interchangeable with *molo* (cf. RB. p. 34, l. 13 and l. 20). *Anggo* frequently takes the place of *molo* in a following sentence, or in a second conditional clause in which is expressed contrast to the one preceding; *hapé* or *alai* often drop out (163 5), e.g., *molo na olo do ho marbulán dohot ibana unang di-bunu ho, manaek ma ho tu gindjang; hapé anggo indadong ra ho marbulán, di toru on ma ho pamburhungon* (RB. p. 32,

1. 16 fb.) - *if you wish to take an oath with her that you will not kill her, then climb above, but if you don't want to do that, then stay here below and suffer from numbness* (cf. RB. p. 251, l. 6 fb., where there is *alai anggo*); *anggo di-leon do pangurason* (101); *anggo songon na hu-dok i tutú binaen ni hatatta* (RB. p. 252, l. 17 fb.) - *but if what I have said is in accordance with our agreement* (cf. another example in 128).

The second conditional clause often begins with *ija* added to *anggo*, e.g., *molo nunga mate tutú asa lao hita, ijanggo mangolu na podó leon tittin on* (RB. p. 83, l. 12 fb.) - *if he is really already dead, then we'll go, but if he is still alive, then give him this ring. Ijanggo* can be placed before a word to express contrast, e.g., *if that's so, then go, but I, I won't return yet - ijanggo au, indadong olo au mulak na podó* (RB. p. 83 m.); *no matter how many people have come to gamble, I've never lost, but that one, he has defeated me - ijanggo i nunga talu au di-baen* (RB. p. 81, l. 17 fb.).

*Ijanggo* is also used to emphasize condition and then agrees with *provided that*, e.g., *indadong daé i da ba amáng, ijanggo denggan ni roha be do songon i* (RB. p. 55, l. 3 fb.) - *well, my dear son, there's nothing wrong with it, provided everyone is in agreement.*

*Anggo* is often used after a conjunction instead of *molo*, e.g., *ai anggo na binunu ni djolma do si-adji pamasa, sowada olo au habijaon* (RB. p. 83, l. 21 fb.) - *because if A.P. has been killed by somebody, then I will not be taken as wife by his brother.*

*Anggo* is also used to contrast a negative statement with *do*, e.g., *tatá do i da-buwat indadong djadi anggo na masak* - *it should be taken uncooked, (if) cooked, it may not (be taken).*

*Anggo* seldom = *nanggo* (150 7; for an example, see Dict. under *sada*).

M. often uses *anggo* at the beginning of a clause as an indication that one or two conjunctions have been suppressed, e.g., *go, my son, wherever your journey may lead you, (because if) you continue to stay here - anggo lang di son do o* (RB. p. 129, l. 16 fb.); *na so tola do paodongkon do i damak i, anggo di-paodong ko do i, along sadarianan ma tano rura tandjung telom on* (RB. p. 128 m.) - *it is not advisable that that child be allowed to live, because if you let it live, then this land of R.T.T. will, at some time, be devastated* (cf. also 68). To emphasize a contrast, *niján* is often used instead of *ijanggo*, but follows the word, e.g., *au niján* (see 158 5) = *ijanggo au, ro do nipikku* (T.).

D. uses *hakum*, e.g., *hakum ni-dokmu idi, tuhu ngo idi* (RB. p. 262, l. 4 fb.) - *with regard to what you have said, it is true*; *hakum gérar pidukku idi alé, manuk-manuk saip-ladang mo gérarna idi* (RB. p. 149, l. 4 fb.) - *the name of my bird, friend? S.L., that's its name* (cf. RB. p. 9, l. 11); *hakum harga manuk-manuk*

*saip-ladangku idi alé silih, si-puluh duwa hargana* (RB. p. 130, l. 11) - *the price of my bird, S.L., brother-in-law? Twelve (Spanish pieces) is its price!* (cf. 136 D.); *malot ku-bërekën hakum si-sëlup bëras* (RB. p. 116, l. 6 fb.) - *I'm not going to give it for just a solup of unhusked rice.* With *hakum*, too, a conjunction may be suppressed, e.g., *hakum pitu rijar ngo kantja pënarwamu, mada mo saut bamu përbïnaganta idi* (RB. p. 150, l. 11 fb.) - *if your bid is only seven reals, then my merchandise shall certainly not be yours.*

It is also used in a second conditional clause, instead of *muda*, e.g., *tapi hakum lot ngo i bagasën bulan si-sada ena, mëngkatakën si-tuhuna ngo sulengku idi* (RB. p. 23, l. 4 fb.) - *but if there is such (an increase in those people) in this month, then my augury-pipe has told the absolute truth.* *Hakum* is also used, instead of *muda*, with the negative *mada* (RB. p. 71, l. 19 fb.); *hakum malot* indicates a necessary condition, e.g., *hakum malot ngo djumpa kene pëlanduk tonggal balëmën idi, malot surung këmbali dukak bërtihku ena* (RB. p. 21, l. 9 fb.) - *unless you people find a pregnant male roebuck, that which I carry in my womb cannot become a child.*

As a conjunction, see 163 6 D.

III. *Ne*. The predominant meaning of this word is insistence on the speedy completion of that which is desired, e.g., *lao ne pidóng puné tu ruma* (RB. p. 206, l. 6) - *go now, bird Pune, to the village!*; *loppa di hami si-panganon i ne tu bagasta* (RB. p. 203, l. 9) - *go now and cook food for us in your house* (cf. RB. p. 217, l. 9); *lao ne habang* (RB. p. 206) - *now, fly!*; *radja ho alap ma ne* (The Quarrel between S.M. and D.D., p. 11, l. 8) - *get it now, I bid you!* *Ne* is seldom used before *ma* directly after the predicate as a means of showing that that which is expressed by the predicate is on the point of taking place, but an example is: *sun ne ma* - *it will soon be finished* (see the example in V 1).

It is also used as an exclamation, e.g., *on ma ne abapna, adui ma ne hutatta* (quotation in Dict.); *on ma ne imbuluna madekdek di tonga ni alaman* - *look, its feathers have fallen on the alaman!*

M. uses *ni*, e.g., *alap ni djolo* (RB. p. 23, l. 4) - *go now, if you please, and fetch A.U.M.*; *pijo ma ni djolo* (RB. p. 23, l. 6 fb.), *antóng alap ma ni* (RB. p. 28, l. 21) - *now, fetch him immediately!*; *kehe ma ho ni* (RB. p. 49, l. 4; p. 65, l. 15). However, M. uses *ne* with *beta* and *djumolo* to express *besi* (164 IV 8), e.g., *beta ma ne djumolo ho* (RB. p. 168, l. 16) - *now, let us go together! You go first.*

In M., *he* is used as an exclamation (see 164 IV 9).

D. *Ne* is an abbreviation of *nenge* (see under V), e.g., *otang ënggang ne gërarku* - *my name is no longer Enggang.*

NOTE. The *ne* of T., and the *ni* of M., can only be pronominal interjections, i.e., variants<sup>1</sup> of *indí* (153) or an earlier *ondé* instead of the present-day *ondé* (141 II 2); *ne* has, therefore, come to be used as an adverb of time, *now* (cf. *ondi* in M., and *on* as an adverb of time, 143).

<sup>1</sup> See 30 IX.

IV. *Pe*. It is placed after a word to emphasize the thing represented by that word as being something added. This addition may be meant either for introducing an explanation by repeating the thing, the explanation of which is requested, or for setting in the future that which the word represents. The following usages derive from this definition:

1. a positive assertion that something will occur, in order either to reassure a person, or to express a firm conviction, e.g., *molo so djadi au di son, lao pe au barang tu-dija, hu-djalahi inganattu* - if I can't stay here, I'll go elsewhere and look for a place for myself; *hu-leon pe marsogot di ho* - I shall give it to you tomorrow; *marsogot indang pe manunda* - tomorrow they will not do damage to the plantation; *marsogot pe hu-buwat* - I shall take it tomorrow; *au pe patupa haidjurrammu* - I shall effect the manner in which you come down; *girá pe au ro mangajahi ho* - I shall pursue you without delay; *akkín pe di ahap* - he will catch it presently; *molo daís na birongmuna i, hu-buri pe* - if that blackness (on you) comes off (on me), I shall wash it off; *pos rohā<sup>1</sup> ni dainang indada pe hu-pangan* (RB. p. 78, l. 3) - don't be anxious, beloved daughters, I shall certainly not eat him up; *indada pe hu-tilik hami* (The Quarrel between S.M. and D.D., p. 2, l. 19) - we shall not look at it at all. When the negative is the first word in the clause, it is usually expressed by *indada* and the clause following *pe* is to be regarded as a substantival clause functioning as the subject, so that *indada pe hu-pangan* really means that I shall eat him, is not (the case), i.e. I shall not eat him up.

*Indang pe* is also used, but then there is less stress on the negative, e.g., *indang pe pasuan di ho ibana sogot, au do mangappu ho* - after this, he won't be angry with you, I shall speak for you. *Indang pe* is found alongside *indada pe* in the same text, so there is no question of there being a difference in dialect, e.g., *indada pe hu-pabowa tu si-anak ni namborúm* - I shall not tell it to your bridegroom, and *indang pe hu-pabowa tu si-anak ni namborúm*. Here, *indada* must be interpreted as a stronger negative by explaining it as a predicate.

*Pe* is used after *olo* to express complete agreement, e.g., *olo pe anak ni namború* - certainly, beloved husband!

M. uses *nada i* = *indang pe*, e.g., *nada i lupau di hamú* (RB. p. 128, l. 10); *nada i* is also used with *be*, e.g., *nada be i hu-bunu ho* - I no longer want to kill you.

2. in order to emphasize an adverb of time, e.g., *on pe* (11 a) *lao ma hamú djumolo tu huta* (RB. p. 45, l. 7) - go now first to the

<sup>1</sup> See 140\*.

village; *on pe masuk ma ho anggi tu hutatta on* (RB. p. 46, l. 17) - go now, brother, into this, our village!; *on pe molo ra do ho mambuwat i panganokku unang hu-pangan ho* (RB. p. 53, l. 4) - well, now, if you are willing to fetch that for me to eat, then I won't eat you up!; *basaonan pe ta-ulahi* - let us do it again in four days' time. *Pe* is often used to represent the point of time at which what is mentioned could first take place, e.g., *on pe<sup>1</sup> asa djuppa* - it is at this point of time that it is found, i.e., only now have we been able to obtain it; *nung pe au daó asa buwat* - only when I am far off, must you take it; *si-tokkin on pe lao* - he has only been gone a moment (another example, 64 a, end). *Djolo* can be used before the adverb instead of *pe* when time is specified (157), provided that *asa* is also used, e.g., *djolo si-borngin asa sirahon tu ikkajumuna* - only when night comes, then use it as salt on your side-dishes.

*Pe* can be used with the pronoun *i* when it is functioning as a substantive, to indicate a time in the past and also to refer to something that has been mentioned before and is given as the reason for something that is being said, e.g., *i pe asa djuppa* - only then could it be found; *sumalin ho tijan halak, sijapor di-tubuhon ho, i pe bali ma ho tijan huta on* - you are different from another being, because you brought a grasshopper into the world. That is the reason that I desire you to leave this village. *Di si* can also be used instead of *i* in order to express time more specifically, e.g., *nung mate akkin musutta i saluhutna, di si pe asa ro hamuna pataru<sup>2</sup> ugasan ni musutta i* - when all our enemies are dead, then only must you come and bring their property; *aik na di-boto i do daon ni boru ni radja i, molo indang di-boto, di si ma ta-pangan* - perhaps that man knows a remedy for the princess' complaint. If not, then we shall eat him (cf. 158 2).

When *pe* is used with the adverb *musé*, the latter acquires the meaning of *later, afterwards* (here the influence of Mandailing asserts itself,<sup>3</sup> 20 II Obs. 1), e.g., *musé pe hita marharowan ita-suru ma djolo*

<sup>1</sup> *On* (*ena* in D., see example, 158 5 D.) used by itself at the beginning of a clause indicates that the clause is adversative, e.g., *aut djolma niján anakmu olo do au mambaen parumaemmu, on robar do* - were your son a human being, then I would wish to be your daughter-in-law, but now he is an iguana; *indang tamau* (8) *anakmi, aut ni djolma niján olo do au dibana, on alé namború sijapor-hunik do anakmi* - I don't want your son. Were he a human being, I would want to belong to him, but as it is, he is a hunik grasshopper.

<sup>2</sup> See 161\* 2.

<sup>3</sup> This I conjecture, because it only occurs with this meaning in the Toba spoken by the Nai Pospos.

*na poso i mangalapi radja na humalijang ladang on* - later, we shall have a feast, but first, let us send the servants to fetch the neighbouring princes.

3. places emphasis on a word in such a way that the thing represented is marked as something added. The translation of *pe* is then *also, even*, e.g., the fruit above was uncountable; *underneath also*, he saw that the fruit that had fallen was lying spread out in great quantities - *di toru pe na marurus nunga darák dida* (RB. p. 70, l. 1); *ho pe so maoto ho hundul di batu i* - you, also, are not so stupid as to sit on the stone; take that (woman) as your wife, *her hair, too*, is very long (i.e., this additional factor is further proof of her beauty) - *obukna pe mattuwa gindjáng* (RB. p. 23, l. 15 fb.); *molo i do hatsa dapot ho, i pe hu-djalo* - if *that's all* you've been able to get, I'll take *that, too*; *au pe, daoppung do i* (RB. p. 151, l. 19 fb.) - she is *also* my grandmother (lit. me, too, she is grandmother); *sopa-sopa ni napuran on pe dos dohot sopa-sopakku* (RB. p. 97, l. 9 fb.) - *this chewed betel quid also is like* my chew; *bulung-djelok pe di lobu i lomák* (RB. p. 279, l. 2 fb.) - *the vegetable called djelok also grows* abundantly in the aforesaid ruin. *Pe* is often used with this meaning after an interrogative to express the general and the unspecified (cf. 147), e.g., *andigan pe gararon do utang tungguon singir* (RB. p. 262, l. 9 fb.) - *whenever*, a debt has to be paid and a claim to be settled; *bohá pe nimmu indáng olo au manottor* - I will not dance, *whatever* you say; *ise pe indáng bolas hundul di si* - *no one whosoever* may sit there; *bohá pe<sup>1</sup> di-apoi indáng olo sip* - *however much* his mother tried to soothe him, he would not be quiet; *songon dija pe pogos ni halak, sai marhuta do* - *what-ever* the poverty of a man, he still has a village.

By means of *pe*, with the meaning of *also, even*, an active verb that, without a preposition functions as an adverbial adjunct (126 2 a), can be placed at the beginning of a clause, e.g., *marhapetan pe maló* - he is *also* skilled at *playing the hapetan*; *matuaek anak poso-poso pe djaóát* - it (the time) *also* is *unfavourable for taking a newly-born child to the water*. In *mangan pe ho indadong olo* - *you don't even want to eat, mangan*, because it refers to something that is so obvious that a denial of it is unbelievable, reinforces the negative.

To strengthen a negative, *pe* is placed after a word designating a small quantity, either a number or words such as *ipos, lanok* and *lisa*;

<sup>1</sup> *Naing* can be used instead of *be* before *bohá* or *behá*, e.g., *naing behá di-dok ho, panganon ma ho* - *whatever you say, you are to be eaten*.

it is also used after a verb that represents a small movement, e.g., *sada pe indáng adóng mangolu musuna i* - there was *not one* of his enemies that lived; *tung sada pe na ro i indadong na mangate mangalo* (RB. p. 112, l. 5) - of those that came, *not one* dared to oppose him; *tung ipos pe sada sowada dapot, humutik pe sowada* (150 7 a); *begu ahana pe sowada* - *he had nothing whatsoever*. The negative used in such cases is usually *sowada*. *Pe* placed after the predicate makes a concessive clause, which stands first, followed by the main clause in which *do* comes after the predicate, provided the main clause is affirmative; if the main clause is negative, the negative is expressed by *sowada* or by *indada*, e.g., *di-dok hamú pe songon i, si-paoto-otomuna do i* - even if you people do say such a thing, it's *just* a piece of deceitful prattle (of yours); *so mate pe di-baen api, mate do di-baen rasun* - even if he doesn't die by fire, he'll *still* die by poison; *songon dija pe pogos ni halak, sai marhuta do* (p. 353); *di-tallik pe, sowada olo bil* (The Quarrel between S.M. and D.D., p. 1) - though he hacked with all his might, *still* (the wild boars) were *not affected*; *hu-tallik pe, sowada olo mabugang* (The Quarrel, etc. p. 2) - though I hit out at them, *still* they were *not* wounded (for an example with *lat-sowada*, see 154, end). When, in a main clause, the predicate is expressed by a 1st passive, then *indada* is used, e.g., *di-leon ho pe horbomí saluhutna, indada hu-djalo* (The Quarrel, etc., p. 2, l. 3 fb.) - even if you give all your buffaloes, I *still won't* take them. *Pe* is also used after a subject that stands at the beginning of a clause the meaning of which is in contrast with the one following, which begins with *ija tung*, e.g., *dongan na talu i pe, hu-ida, di-sopomí di-bajakkon ho, ija tung sasadau tu toru ni balatuk ni sopomón au di-bajakkon ho* (RB. p. 69 m.) - *those who, just as I have, have lost to you, I see them held by you as prisoners in your sopo, but me alone have you put in the stocks, here under the steps of your sopo*. In the same way, *pe* is used with *apalá*, e.g., *apalá hamuna pe djolma, apalá au boru ni debatá tung di-tijop hamuna au* - *although you are a human being, and I am the daughter of a god, you dare detain me?!*

*Pe* is also used to bring distinct subjects in clauses to the beginning of each clause, when the predicate in each clause is expressed by the same word, e.g., *badja-ure pe denggán sikkoru pe denggán* (RB. p. 280, l. 3) - *both badja-ure and sikkoru* are doing well there.

*Pe* follows many words that are used as concessive conjunctions, e.g., *atík pe* (Dict. under *atík*), *asi pe*, *kasi pe* (D. 163 9 D.), *haru pe* or *djaru pe* (M., RB. p. 238, l. 14 fb.; p. 60, l. 13 fb.), etc.

4. *pe* placed after the predicate in a pre-clause, makes a clause in which a fact is mentioned of which the motive or the reason is given in the clause following, e.g., *ro pe au tu son, adóng ma na hu-dok* - with regard to my coming here, there is something I wish to say; *tu tombak on pe au maringanan, lomo ni rohakku do on* - that I have come to this forest to live, (it) is my own choice; *umbaen na di-undjoppon pe anggina i, naing dibana boru-boru na tolu i* (RB. p. 83, l. 7) - what made him push his brother into the ravine was that he wanted those three women for himself; *umbaen na ro pe hami tu son on do na hu-alap pidong on* - the reason that we have come here is that I want to fetch this bird; *marngolngolan pe au di tombak on, tombal napuratti do na hudjagai* - the reason that I am so alone in this wood is my betel, which I must guard (I'm alone in this wood because I must guard my betel plants); *tadjóm pe duri niján, tibasna do* - thorns are sharp because it is their nature to be so; *so mangan pe au, sai na marmunik do rohakku* (RB. p. 128, l. 13 fb.) - I do not eat because I am meditating. Such pre-clauses with *pe* are especially used in answers to questions regarding the reason for something (examples see RB. p. 1, l. 2 and l. 5 fb.; p. 164, l. 8 fb.; p. 264, l. 4 and 9 fb.; and here 163 3).

In Dairi sub-Toba, *asa* is often used before such a pre-clause, e.g., *asa ro pe au, adóng ma na hu-dok* - the reason that I have come is that I have something to say. Examples in D. are: *asa roh pe aku alé turwáng lot mo lehe pñarihinku lako bamu, otang lehe ni bëltëkku* (RB. p. 67, l. 12 fb.) - the reason, sister, that I have come, is that in my mind there is a hunger<sup>1</sup> for you; the hunger is not in my stomach (this is the reply to: *kade mo tongkirinmu mi bagas ena*, RB. p. 67, l. 17; see also RB. p. 259, l. 3 fb.).

*Dopé*, which is an adverb indicating duration and addition of time, is a combination of *do*, or *na* (165\*), and *pe*.<sup>2</sup> *Dopé* is the form that predominates in M.; variants are *depé*, *dapé* (28), *pedé* and *podó*

<sup>1</sup> I.e., because there is something in your manner that puzzles me, and I want to find out what it is.

<sup>2</sup> That this is a compound with *pe*, cannot be doubted (*si-tokkin on dapé*, RB. p. 11, l. 20, as well as *si-tokkin on pe*, above IV 2, occurs). It is not so certain, however, whether *na* (cf. *napé*) or *do* is the first constituent, cf. *domá* (M., 158 14 M.) with *namá* and *nomá* (M.), and *dapedé* with *na pedé* (below). In the texts from the east coast that were sent to me recently by Mr. E. Netscher, I found *da*, as well as *na*, used as a relative pronoun, e.g., *babi da bolon* - a huge pig.

(26 Obs. 2 and 28 I a). *Pedé* and *podó* often have *na*<sup>1</sup> before them, e.g., *na podó* and *na pedé*. Another variant is *napé*. *Napé* (still . . . more, yet) can also imply futurity, but must then be used with an active verb. M. and T. do not differ in the use of *napé* and therefore examples from both languages will be given, e.g., *na mardalan napé au anggo duwa taon on* (RB. p. 321, l. 2) - *the one who'll still be travelling these two years is I* (I'll be travelling these two years); *marsogot maronan dapé hami dohot dahahang* (RB. p. 158, l. 18) - *tomorrow, my brother and I* (140 7) *shall go to the market*; *dumejak napé* (163 4 b); *adóng pe borukku, pasigadongon napé si-ulaonna di-baen hurija ni rohana* - *I do have a daughter, though, because of the state of her spirit* (i.e., her age), *the only work she can do in the field is lifting the gadong* (as she is not yet old enough to do other work); *si-alapon na pedé* - *it has still to be fetched*; *ami, aruwar dopé tu batu mamak* (RB. II, p. 140, l. 19 fb.) - *as far as we're concerned, we'll go to B.M.*; *au kehe dopé mangalului ina ni si-mogot radja lalu* (RB. II, p. 13, l. 10 fb.) - *I'm still going to look for M.R.L.'s mother*; *au mangalap pinggan dopé tu lumban dibata di gindjang* (RB. II, p. 44, l. 33) - *I'm going to heaven to get dishes* (cf. also RB. II, p. 60, l. 3 fb.; p. 112, l. 17 fb.; p. 278, l. 2 fb.).

*Indaong napé* (RB. I, p. 265, l. 17 fb.) or *indáng napé*, *indáng na podó* (see example, 158 7) or *indáng na pedé*, *indáng podó* and *indák kodó* (12 Obs.) are negative forms, in order to indicate something that has not yet taken place. The same idea is expressed by means of *lut-so* (158 10), as can be seen in RB. p. 167, l. 19; p. 166, l. 19 fb. In North M., especially where it tends towards T., *nada podó* (RB. p. 277, l. 12 and l. 18 fb.) occurs, notwithstanding the use of *depé* (RB. p. 282, l. 19 fb.) or *dopé* (RB. p. 278, l. 2 fb.) without a negative.

*Gapé* is another variant; I can offer no explanation of the form. *Dapedé* and *dapedengan* (above, footnote and 27 II 2 Obs. 2) also occur.

*Nari* is used with a designation of a quantity, indicating the addition of the quantity and is placed at the end of the clause, e.g., *pitu borngin nari* - *still seven periods of 24 hours*; *sa-dija dao nari* - *how far still?* *piga borngin nari* - *how many nights or days still?* *sa-hali nari* - *once more* (as an adverbial adjunct: at another time); *sa-otik nari* - *a little more* (in D., *tjitok nari*, RB. p. 79, l. 17; p. 183, l. 8); *agiját sa-bulan*

<sup>1</sup> The pre-placing of *na* also occurs in *namaná* (158 14), so that it must be assumed that, by virtue of 26 (Obs. 1), *namaná* is used instead of *na namá* (see 165\*).

*nari rap hita di son* - may we have still a month here together! *indahan i di au deba nari* (RB. p. 166, l. 1) - still some more rice for me! *Nari* is often used with attributive designations of quantity, in order to stress a thing or a number of things in a contrasting manner as belonging to something, or things, already stated, e.g., *anakna i si-onom halak nari* - his sons, the remaining six (his six other sons); cf. 148 6 and Dict. under *sada* and *deba*.

*Sanga* (158 18) is used with a negative to indicate a quantity that has not been reached; it precedes the number, e.g., *indaong sanga pitu noli* - not yet seven times.

*Musé*, preceded by *na*, is used to express the repetition of an action, especially where the predicate relates to different subjects, e.g., he put on his trousers . . . and also his scarf - *di-soluk ma na musé ma hohosna* (RB. p. 57, l. 1; cf. RB. p. 57, l. 10 and p. 63, l. 11 and 14); *di-hara na musé ma halak si-adji taroktong* (RB. p. 269, l. 4, and l. 6 fb.) - he also invited A.T. to come (cf. RB. p. 270, l. 2). *Musé* is sometimes used, with *dohot* as the adverb (163 1), e.g., *masak na musé ma dohot indahan* (RB. p. 319, l. 10 fb.) - the rice, also, was ready. *Musé* can also indicate futurity,<sup>1</sup> especially in M. (cf. above IV 2 end), where the variant *busé* = *sogot* is used (20 Obs. 1), e.g., *dung mulak au busé teman langit, dung na bunuonmu, bunu ma au* - if you still must kill me after I shall have come back from heaven, then kill me (cf. also 163 11). Where M. leans towards T., *busé* is used just as *musé*; the lengthened form, *busengani* (cf. 30 VIII), is also used, e.g., *dida ija ma busengani halak nampuna bodil i* (RB. p. 287, l. 10) - he saw the person again from whom the gun had come (see also 148 6).

D. has *denga*, or the abbreviated *deng* = *dapé*; e.g., *tèridah denga* - it can still be seen; *dike denga ngo èmpungmu holi* (RB. p. 17, l. 12) - where is your master now? (RB. p. 14, l. 4); *malot denga kene murah molih mi kutandene, si-sègèn denga ngo asa bèngkèt kita mi bagasku rimbaru idi* (RB. p. 57, l. 4 fb.) - it is still not possible for you to return home, because only tomorrow we shall enter my new house (i.e., I can't let you go home, because tomorrow we shall consecrate my house with a feast); *tèngèni mo tèmpana tah dikena denga si-kurangna* (RB. p. 56, l. 12) - look at its form, to see which part is still lacking; *èngèt mo kono tèngèn mo kèpandèmmu, tah ènggo djadi tah malot denga djadi* (RB. p. 250, l. 4) - wake up and look at your smith's work to see whether it is good or not good enough; *kusokèn lèbekèn, tah kadisa denga mango, nina, pahatna idi molih, tah mada* (RB. p. 236, l. 10) - first ask whether he, says he, still wants his chisel or not. The negative *malot denga* (see third example here) is also abbreviated to *madènga* and *madèng*.

For *nola* and *ena nola pe*, see 158 23 D.

<sup>1</sup> This agrees with the use of *nola* in D. (158 23).

V. *Be*. This word is placed after the word to which it relates. It has two meanings which it is difficult to connect with each other:

1. placed after the predicate and the object, when the verb is active, and after the agent, which follows the verb, when the verb is passive, it spreads the action represented to each of the persons concerned; it precedes *ma* and *do*, e.g., *di-gohi be ma hondi panginuman i* - each of them filled the hondi from which the drinking was to be done; *anggo gararnami, hu-boan hami be tijan hami* - as to our payment, we shall each bring it from our side; *di-pagohon be ma tolong i* - each of them erected the tolong that was to represent him as a warrior (see Dict.); *di-patadjom nasida be ma pisona (76\*)*; *ita-dok be ma djolo lungun ni rohatta* (RB. p. 175, l. 2) - let each of us, from his side, lay bare his grievances; *midjur be ma na tarpijo inon* (RB. p. 314, l. 3) - each of the invited guests went below; *pulik daling be nasida modom* - each of them was sleeping at a different daling; *mulak be ma hadjutna i* (RB. p. 164, l. 12 fb.) - that pouch of his was given back on both sides (100) (i.e., each one of them handed back the pouch which had been pushed towards him); *mambaen hubuna be ma nasida* - each of them made a trench for himself (one can also say *masibaen hubuna ma nasida (76)*); *tabaon ni dongat-sa-balokkón akka sun ne<sup>1</sup> ma, ai akka nadóng be do lahi-lahina* - the felling to be done by the owners of the fields adjoining mine will soon be completed, because each field has a man in it.

A designation of a quantity can also stand first in a clause as a predicate, e.g., *si-tongá be hita* - we get half each. With such a designation of quantity, or where more than two things have already been mentioned, *ganup* or *gonop* is often added, the *be* being placed after the number and forming with it an adverbial parenthetical clause, e.g., *nunga ganup, sa-rabanan be, nasida* - each of them already had a rabanan; *asa gonop laena na pitu halak, sa-pinggan be, di-lean guru i* - each of his seven brothers-in-law presented that guru with a dish (a gold dish, so that he should take their sister to wife); *ganup sattung i di-paodjak, sada be, tu losung inon* (RB. p. 253, l. 6) - each of the seven *sattung* referred to were erected by him on each of the seven *losung*. The verb *mangganupi*, which means especially to provide everybody without exception with something (cf. Dict.), is also used, e.g., *di-ganupi ma ganup ripe isi ni huta i sappohul be, timbaho-lata inon* (RB. p. 322, l. 15) - he presented each of the households that made up the inhabitants of that village with that *lata* tobacco, each of them

<sup>1</sup> See above, III.

a handful. When a negative is used, *ganup* (or *gonop*) is absolutely necessary, in order to prevent confusion with *be* when the latter has the meanings given under 2 (hereafter), e.g., *anggo pala hami on sowada ganup hami maruli djuhut, malám di ho hapé leonon* - even us here, not everyone of us has been given meat, and yet it should be given to you!

2. *be* has a *continuative* meaning when used with a negative or in a question, and it is often used twice. At the same time, in a question it especially expresses futurity, e.g., if again a creditor turns up, *what will then serve as part payment of my debts? aha be panopik-nopihini utakku be* (RB. p. 221, l. 23); *adóng tu dija be au lao dohot anggikkón* (RB. p. 168, l. 3 fb.) - where would I still be able to go with this, my younger brother?; *indadong be mulak ho tu debatá di gindjang* (RB. p. 104, l. 13) - you will not return again to the Upper Gods; *unang be ho marbubu* (RB. p. 325, l. 14 fb.) - don't set any more fish traps!; *indadong be hu-lopas ho mulak tu gindjang* - I am no longer going to release you so that you can go to the upper-world; *indadong be di-boto radja i be gamuonna di tombak i* (RB. p. 7, l. 5 fb.) - the prince no longer knew which path he had to take in the forest (other examples, see 133 1).

*Be* is often used with *sa-dija* and a 2nd passive when the uselessness of doing something is expressed in the form of a question, e.g., *na ung songon i do soro ni arini di-pangidohon radjokkina; sa-dija be i tartangitson* - like that is now the fate of that one, demanded by his destiny, of what avail is it to weep about it? In a case like this *adóng* can be placed at the beginning of the clause instead of *be*, e.g., *adóng sa-dija tarpanomor pogos ni na ni-ahap* (RB. p. 144, l. 17) - of what use is it to go into details of the miseries one experiences?; *adóng sa-dija tarholsohon hosa mate* (RB. p. 169, l. 10) - of what use is it to be apprehensive about death? (see also RB. p. 119, l. 16 fb.).

M. uses *longkop* = *gamup* (see Dict.) but does not otherwise deviate, e.g., *nada ija di on be* (RB. p. 192, l. 1) - he is no longer here (cf. RB. p. 193, l. 7); *nada be na tarantak ko au so mate* (RB. p. 25, l. 3) - you can no longer prevent my dying (cf. RB. p. 185, l. 19; p. 256, l. 17 fb.). From these examples it can be seen that if the subject stands first in a clause, *be* is placed right at the end of it.

D. does not deviate as regards (1) (for examples, see 113 D.). In a question, it uses *nola* (158 23) but with a negative, *nenge*, or the abbreviation *ne*, e.g., *ahankén kita pitung kēlang ulang nenge paku kita* - let us leave seven lengths and not cut any more of it (other examples above 133 1 D., 153\* D., and here, III D.).

For *nola* with *mango*, see I D.

VI. *Ma*: also lays emphasis on the word, or words after which it is

placed, at the same time expressing the desire of the speaker, either by a wish, a request or a command, that something should take place, or it expresses his wish that something be regarded as taking place. *Ma* is, therefore, used not only for the expressing of a wish, as, for example, in a command, an order, an invitation, etc., but also where a being in a state or an act is represented as being unfinished, the effectuation of the state or the completion of the act being brought about by an additional circumstance. The examples explaining the use of *ma* will be divided into those expressing a wish and those that do not.

1. Expressing a wish that something should take place. E.g., *maridi ma hita djolo* (RB. p. 43, l. 5 fb.) - *let us bathe!*; *ta-palu ma djolo gondang di bagasta on* (RB. p. 37, l. 14 fb.) - *let us make music here in this, our house!*; *ta-tikkir ma i djolo marsogot* (RB. p. 78, l. 11 fb.) - *let us go there tomorrow!* All these examples contain a friendly invitation, the friendliness being expressed by *djolo* (158), the use of which would have been sufficient; the *ma* can, in such cases, be omitted, e.g., *maradijan hita djolo* (RB. p. 41, l. 3 fb.) - *let us rest!* *Ma* is used with an imperative expressed in a friendly manner, e.g., *lao ma ho* (RB. p. 8, l. 6 fb.) - *please, go now!*; *marnapuran ma ho* (RB. p. 18, l. 2) - *please, take some betel!*; *baen hamú ma sada salapakku, salapa omas* (RB. p. 7, l. 8) - *prepare a salapa for me! A salapa of gold.* It is also used when the speaker wants something to be done by a third person, e.g., *di-pasombu ma las majup* - *he must let it float along.* In all these examples, *ma* stands after the predicate, thereby placing the emphasis on it. Where, however, one subject is in contrast to another and because of this has the emphasis on it and stands first in the clause, *ma* is placed after this subject, e.g., *molo gumogo ho, ho ma mangolu, hapé molo gumogo au, au ma mangolu* (RB. p. 168 m) - *if you are the stronger, may you live, but if, on the other hand, I am the stronger, may I live; ho ma talu hu-baen, au ma monang* - *you be vanquished by me! may I be victor; ho ma djolo mangatton* (RB. p. 43 b.) - *you eat it first (before I begin to eat); ho ma djolo maridi* - *you bathe first!*; *i ma baen ugasattu* (RB. p. 7, l. 11) - *let those be made my things by you, i.e., make those things ready for me (see 161 c); si-boru marpinda omas ma baen gowarna* - *let M.O. be the name you give her!*; *ugasatta ma baen hamú* (RB. p. 7, l. 4) - *prepare things for me (not food, panganon, which is mentioned a few lines earlier in the story), i.e., for preference, prepare articles of ordinary use for me; unang be hamú lalap marhata-gait, hata si-burdju ma ta-baen* (RB. p. 33, l. 13 fb.) -

don't waste any more of your time in raillery; *let's talk seriously!*; *hita ma lao tu aek* (RB. p. 82, l. 7 fb.) - *let us* (you and me without the womenfolk) go to the water! Likewise, *ma* is placed after an adverb or an adverbial adjunct on which emphasis lies and which, therefore, stands first in the clause, e.g., *di son mau baen* (RB. p. 8, l. 13) - *put me down here!*; *di si ma ho marsigattung* (RB. p. 77, l. 20) - *hang on to it!*

In questions, *ma* can not only be used to express the wish of the speaker; it can also be used when the speaker enquires about what someone else wishes, e.g., *aha ma si-borwanotta baen panganon ni dainang* (RB. p. 6, l. 2 fb.) - *what* is it that we must take with us for you to eat?; *aha ma ugasan ni dainang hu-baen* (RB. p. 7, l. 5) - *what* do you want me to prepare as your things?; *aha ma ni-ulamuna di-baen na ro tu huta on* (RB. p. 17, l. 4) - *what* do you want, that you come into this village? (see also, RB. p. 18, l. 7; p. 172, l. 16). If *do* is placed after the interrogative instead of *ma*, then it is usual to place *na* before *ni-ulamuna*, in order to make this passive into a substantive (165 \*); the question then asks about something in particular, e.g., *aha do na ni-ulamuna umbaen na ro tu huta on* (RB. p. 259, l. 17) - *what exactly* is it that you are doing, that you have come to this village? (to which the reply also begins with *na*, see *ibid.*, l. 20).

*Ma*, in contrast to *do*, is used in questions in which one's state of mind is expressed, for example, inquisitiveness, doubt about receiving an answer. *Ma* is also used in questions that are expressed in an exclamatory manner, as a means of convincing a person of the reverse of what he assumes, or of expressing surprise about what someone says or does, e.g., *aha ma manolsol ho di au* (RB. p. 37, l. 22) - *why do you reproach me?* (said in astonishment that her husband throws it up at her that she is the reason for their son's roaming about in the forests); if a guest is coming this evening, *what* is to be served? - *aha ma leonon* (RB. p. 45, l. 20) (the question was asked because the prince expresses surprise that his subjects have returned home without gadong, knowing that there was nothing to eat); *aha ma djuhut leonokku panganommu* (RB. p. 203, l. 9 fb.) - *how should I be able to give you meat?* (i.e., how could you be so unfair as to insist on such a thing when you know that I am too poor to be able to regale my guests with meat); *aha ma olo makkuling, utsim do* (The Quarrel between S.M. and D.D., p. 15, l. 7) - *how could it make a sound?* It is only *the trunk of a wild banana palm!* (not a human being as the man embracing the statue thought); *aha ma mallopu'k anggo akka di*

*haumamuna i dohonon*<sup>1</sup> (RB. p. 285, l. 5) - *how could the sound of cracking be expected on your fields?* (cf. RB. p. 285, l. 11); *ai aha ma au muli anggo indadong hu-bowan* - *why should I come home, especially if I don't bring it with me?* Another example see 158 22 *rupa*. *Apalá* is often used with *ma* in such cases; see RB. p. 148, l. 12 (cf. 158 7).

With a negative, *aha so* is used, e.g., *aha so di-oloi na ni-dokmu, ai anakna do ho* - *how could she not consent to what you say, as you are her son?*; *aha so hu-dok haumakku inon luhutna, ai songon i binaen ni hatatta tijan ruma on* (RB. p. 287, l. 9) - *why should I not say that all those fields are mine? It has been so established by our agreement from this village*. *Maló*<sup>2</sup> *ma so* (see Dict.) is also used.

Other kinds of questions in which *ma* is used are: *huta nise ma ditaban hamú* (RB. p. 170, l. 4 fb.) - (I want to know) *whose village have you conquered?*; *ise ma gowarmu* (The Quarrel between S.M. and D.D., p. 8, l. 3 fb.) - *what is your name (tell it, if you please?)*; *ise ma si-baju hadjutmón* (RB. p. 15, l. 14 fb.) - *who is the weaver of your pouch?* (asked because the speaker is amazed at the beauty of the weaving); *ise ma ho na ro inon* (The Quarrel between S.M. and D.D., p. 16, l. 5 fb.) - *who are you that has come?* (expressing astonishment that someone has come). *Tehé* is also used in this type of question, e.g., *ai ise ma tehé gowar ninatta* (RB. p. 151, l. 18 fb.) - *what, then, is your mother's name?* (expressing great interest on the part of the speaker in a person in whom he thinks he recognises somebody he knows); *ise ma djolma manisija ro tu hutatta on* (RB. p. 103, l. 13 fb.) - *what mortal would come here, to our village?* (says the old woman, in an attempt to convince her visitor that there was no one in the house); *ise ma tarhona dege bagas on* - *who would dare to visit this house!*

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<sup>1</sup> *Dohonon* (132 a) is often used at the end of a question, with the sense of (*how*) *can one say*, e.g., *na ung dapot do pidong na ni-ultop dohonon?* *Songon na habang do hu-ida pidong i tu na dao sowada hona di-ultop ho?* (RB. p. 205, l. 16) - *can one say that the birds, shot at by the blowpipe, have been got (100)? I see them as it were flying away not hit by your blowpipe*; *na malé do dohonon, na so mahap do dohonon* (RB. p. 274, l. 10 fb.) - *how can one say one is hungry? How can one say one is not satisfied with meat?*

<sup>2</sup> It is probable that *maló* is the same as the homonymous word (see Dict. under *lo*), because *maló ma so tangis au* really means *how would I be able to be so clever as not to cry?*

*Dija* is used with *ma*, e.g., *tijan dija ma i, sali di sopón do hami* (RB. p. 77, l. 4 fb.) - *where would they have come from? We have not left this sopo*; *na tu dija ma di-baen tubuna i* (RB. p. 4, l. 14) - *where would she have put her child?* (said by the husband, speaking to himself).

*Ise do* asks specifically about one person among a stated number of persons, or it is used where an answer is expressly demanded or is anticipated, e.g., *ise do hamú na olo mangakkupi anggikkón marmotsak* (RB. p. 167, l. 4) - *who among you is the man who wants to match my younger brother at fencing?*; *ise do gowarmu* (RB. p. 78, l. 12) - *what is your name?* (I command you to tell me); *ise do, ninna, gowar ni hahamí* (RB. p. 170, l. 2 fb.) - “*what*”, he asks, “*is the name of your elder brother?*” (a question which implies the certainty that the person addressed is in a position to give an answer); *boru nise do* (RB. p. 13, l. 13) - *whose daughter is she?* (you know her, so that you can tell me).

*Ma* is often used with *dija* to express the wish to have something or to see something, e.g., *dija ma tubu ni dahahang-boru*<sup>1</sup> (RB. p. 5, l. 2 fb.) - *where is the child my sister-in-law has given birth to?* (i.e. I want to have the child here (with me) so that it can be welcomed into the world by being presented with this rice); *dija ma dalan lao tu toru* (RB. p. 324, l. 6) - *which is the path below?*; *dija ma lungun ni rohamu* (RB. p. 175, l. 14 fb.) - *what is it that is hurting you?* (be so good as to let me know). *Djolo* can be used instead of *ma*, e.g., *dija djolo gararmu* (RB. p. 82, l. 10) - *where, I beg you, is your payment?* *Dija*, with the 2nd person pronoun after it, can even have the same meaning as *nakkon* (164 IV 3), e.g., *dija hamú ma mas i, asa hu-djalo* - *give me that gold, so that I can take receipt of it.*

In combination with *do*, *dija* refers to a specific place, e.g., *dija do hadekedehan ni ugasammí* (The Quarrel between S.M. and D.D., p. 14 m.) - *which is the place where that thing of yours fell (within this defined space)?*; *di-dija do ursa ni-dokmi* (RB. p. 52, l. 12) - *where exactly is the deer you spoke about?* (we have reached the place where it is supposed to be). Here it should be noted that *do*, because it refers to a fact, is often used where something has been effected; hence it is often used with the pronoun *na* (165 \*) or with *i*; in addition to the examples already given, this can be seen from the following: *tu dija do di-baen*

<sup>1</sup> *Wife of my elder brother*, because *iboto* = *sister* (of a male person).

*ho isi ni huta on* (RB. p. 324, l. 15 fb.) - *whither* have you taken the inhabitants of this village?; *tu dija do na tinubuhommí* (RB. p. 4, l. 17) - *whither* have you put what you have brought into the world?; *aha do leatni na tinubuhommí* (RB. p. 4, l. 17 fb.) - *what*, then, *is* it that you've given birth to?; *na songon dija do ulaning na tubu i* (RB. p. 4, l. 9) - *what kind of thing*, then, *is* what has been born?; *na tijan dija do ho* (RB. p. 84, l. 15 fb.) - *whence* have you come? (RB. p. 85, l. 16 fb.).

In this kind of question, where the predicate represents something as having been completed, the mere use of *nunga* is sufficient (cf. 158 9), e.g., *nunga tu dija lejatni lao nappuna sopón* (RB. p. 11, l. 9) - *where* would the inhabitants of this sopo have gone?; *nunga tu dija anggimuna* (RB. p. 83, l. 11) - *where* has your brother gone? (cf. examples in 158 6).

In the same manner *bohá* (*behá*) *do* is in opposition with *bohá ma* (146 3 b), e.g., *behá ma baenokku bijang si-patogi dalam* (The Quarrel between S.M. and D.D., p. 6, l. 7) - *what* must I do with the dog P.D.? (other examples, 121 1); *bohá do di-dok amangudám* (The Quarrel between S.M. and D.D., p. 4, l. 13) - *what* did your uncle say? This accounts for *behá ma indá* = *aha so* (above), e.g., *behá ma indá tangis au* (RB. p. 125, l. 13) - *why* should I not cry? (other examples, 153 3).

*Ma* with *bejasa* has already been dealt with in 133 1 (cf. also RB. p. 7, l. 2 fb.; p. 9, l. 5; p. 11, l. 2; p. 14, l. 10), and with *hinán* in 158 4.

*Ma* is also used in a question in which there is no interrogative (subjective question), e.g., *tadikkonommu mau* (RB. p. 100, l. 17) - *do you want to leave me behind?*

Finally it is necessary to draw attention to the fact that the imperative, or any other way in which a wish is expressed, *always* has a passive form if a transitive verb is used, because, even though the subject is undefined or unknown, in an imperative the agent, as the suppressed addressed person, is always known (105), e.g., *patuduhon ma di au pidong na maló marhata-hata* (RB. p. 67, l. 3) - *show me a bird that can speak*. The active voice is rarely used, but when it is it has the form of a substantive (see 99) which is followed immediately by the object, e.g., *pahundul<sup>1</sup> datu ma hita, asa di-attan parsori-ni-ariatta* - *let us have a datu sit, so that he can look into the reason for*

<sup>1</sup> When a *datu* is engaged in divination he *sits*, whereas a *sibasó* engaged in divination, because she dances, *is on her feet*.

*our fate*. That this need not be so, can, however, be seen from *pahundul ma djolo datu* (RB. p. 61, l. 20) - *let us have a datu sit*, and *ta-patindang boru si-baso* (RB. p. 61, l. 21) - *let us have a sibaso stand*.

Where *for*, *on behalf of*, is to be expressed when the subject is undefined, the person on whose behalf something must happen is indicated by a substantive and the preposition *ni*, or by means of a pronominal suffix; where the subject is defined, the preposition *di* is used before the substantive representing the person, e.g., *ugasattu ma baen hamú* (above, VI); *tu haju na timbón ma baen sopokku* (RB. p. 8, l. 18) - *go and make, or place, a sopo in this high tree for me!*; *ogos nanón purehetku* (RB. p. 21, l. 2) - *polish a purehet for me directly*; *buwat ma di au ate-ate ni lali-piuan* (RB. p. 114, l. 16) - *take the heart of a pujuwan-lali for me* (other examples, see 51 V a).

*Ma* can also drop out in an imperative if a 2nd pers pronoun is placed between two verbs that qualify each other; the adverbial adjunct then comes to the front of the clause, e.g., *totóp ho maruhum lehét ho marhata* (RB. p. 137, m.) - *be firm in giving judgment, be correct in what you say!*; *tibú ho mulak* (M.) - *return quickly!*; *sigóp kamú mulak* (M. RB. p. 213, l. 7 fb.).

2. *Ma* further indicates that an action is represented as uncompleted, or a state as unfinished or as having not yet become reality. The predicate then represents something as taking place at a certain time, be that time past, future or present, while the action expressed either ceases to continue by virtue of a subsequent action, or the action itself remains uncompleted (see examples in 106, 107 and 119). *Ma* therefore is often used after the predicate in sentences containing successive actions or states occurring in the past, so that in the translation we have to use the imperfect tense, e.g., *torang ni arina, lao ma nasida mardalan, dung ni makkuling ma si-tapi mombak-suro* - *the next day having dawned, they went on a journey, and having gone on the journey M.S. said, etc.*

At the beginning of stories one finds *adóng ma halak*, etc. - *there was once a man*, or, *there lived a man*; the literal meaning is *imagine, there is a man*. In this case also, *ma* indicates the desire of the speaker, as he requests the listener to let his imagination take him back to a former time. *Adóng ma halak* can, however, also imply a desire of the speaker, other than the request to the person addressed, to imagine himself to be in another time. Depending on the context, it can mean: *there may live a man*, or, *there is a man* (imagine!). In RB. p. 44, l. 1, we find *maridi ma halak di si* - *people bathe there*, i.e., they are accus-

tomed to bathe there, because, by *ma*, the act of bathing is represented as being uncompleted; the bathing could take place at either the time the speaker is speaking, or at any other time. Were *do* to be used instead of *ma*, the meaning would be *they only bathe there* (and nothing else is being done there).

*Ma* is often used in sentences in the translation of which the present tense<sup>1</sup> must be used, e.g., *i ma isijan ni sombaon radja tumording* (RB. p. 8, l. 12) - *that is the dwelling of the sombaon R.T.*, but as distinctions in tense of this kind are of no consequence to the Batak, the *ma* in *i ma si-appudan boruna* (RB. p. 9, l. 2 fb.) refers to the past, i.e., *that was the youngest of his daughters*; by contrast, there is *i do na makkuwati* (The Quarrel between S.M. and D.D., p. 14, l. 7 fb.) - *that is the one who carries the light* (not Sang Maima, as we thought).

Other examples of the use of *ma* as opposed to *do* are: *pargadongan ni amatta ma i* (RB. p. 44, l. 15) - *those are your father's gadong fields*; *on ma sombaon na hu-dok i* (RB. p. 8, l. 14) - *this is the sombaon of whom I spoke*. By the use of *ma*, the speaker is simply expressing the wish that the listener should pay attention to what he is saying. This also applies in the following examples: *i ma na masigadong gowarna, hali-gadong ma i tinullakkonna i, gadong ma na pinandanggurhonna i, pasigadongan ma parbubean na di pudina i, pasigadong ni amatta do i* (RB. p. 44, l. 16 fb.) - *look, that is what is called 'lifting gadong'!* '*hali-gadong*' are the things they make a hole (in the ground, 51 4) with; '*gadong*' are the things they are throwing aside; '*pasigadongan*' are the sacks behind them. *Those people are your father's gadong lifters*.

In subordinate clauses, *ma* often expresses the wish of the person spoken to or of the person referred to, e.g., *molo pangulu<sup>2</sup> ma ho nimmu di gorakkón, denggán* (RB. p. 225, l. 1 fb.) - *if, as you say, you will be the pangulu in this case of mine, good!* *Naing* is used with *ma* particularly in subordinate clauses in which the point of time at which something is about to happen is stated, e.g., *naing di-sappatton ma ilik i* (RB. p. 4, l. 9 fb.) - *when he wanted to throw away the ilik, . . . said, etc.*; *naing tubu ma na di dalam laut, ro ma udan si-toppo langit* (RB. p. 120 m.) - *when what was in the sea was on the point of being born,*

<sup>1</sup> This also applies to *i ma gurunami* (RB. p. 15, l. 2 fb.) - *that is our teacher*.

<sup>2</sup> Here it should be remembered that this word has the form of an active verbal substantive, and, by means of the preposition *di* (159 1) has *gorakkón* as the object (121).

*there came terrible rain*, etc. (another example, 164 IV 8). A subordinate clause of time can also be indicated by the use of *ma*, without *naing*, after the predicate, e.g., *manaili ma ibana tu gindjang, sitohá marsitidjur si-boru purti di bulan* - *when he looked above, P.D.B. accidentally spat* (upon him).

*Ma* seldom comes after the predicate in a clause containing simultaneous actions, e.g., *lao ma ibana maridi tu tapijan i, di-bowan ma pahoppuna i* - *she went to the bathing place to bathe and took her grandson with her*; in such cases, *asa* cannot be used in front of *di-bowan*, see 163 4. *Ma* is as seldom used in a predicative adjunct, but an example is: *di-dapot ina ni si-djonaha na sinoro ni babijat ma* (RB. p. 326, l. 3) - *Dj's mother found him (her son) being clutched by a tiger*.

It is noteworthy that some people always drop *ma* when *manigor* (162) is used at the beginning of a series of main clauses in which successive actions are mentioned, e.g., *nung i manigor di-seat manuk na durwa i; sun di-seat, manigor di-tutunggi; sun di-tutunggi, manigor di-loppa djuhut-manuk i; sun masak, manigor di-saputi tu* (50 4) *bulung-gaol*<sup>1</sup> - *that being done, he killed both the fowls; having killed them, he burnt off their feathers; having removed their feathers by burning them, he cooked the two fowls he had killed, when (their meat was) cooked he wrapped it in banana leaves*. *Manigor* is also used in a main clause, with *do* after the predicate, while the preceding subordinate clause has *ma*, e.g., *di-bege pananggih ni si-djonaha i ma di bagas sowara ni oppuna i dodá dodá, manigor mallodjong do pananggih tijan bagas lao tu sopo* (RB. p. 220, l. 4) - *when Dj's dog in the house heard his master's voice calling 'doda', he rushed from the house to the sopo*.

When *djadi* is used to express approbation, *do* is often used with *attóng* or with *tutú*, neither of these words occurring if *ma* is used, e.g., after his daughter had reassured him, he said: "*that is good!*" - *djadi ma i* (RB. p. 8, l. 1); after Djonaha had told her who had been carried off as the debtor instead of him, she said: *djadi ma i* (RB. p. 245, l. 16 fb.); *molo songon i, djadi ma i* - *if that is so, then it is good*; but: if you can get leaves for weaving, *that will be fine* - *djadi do tutú* (RB. p. 13, l. 9; cf. RB. p. 16, l. 15 fb.; p. 17, l. 11; p. 159, l. 8); if you want to take lessons, *then that is good* - *djadi do attóng* (RB. p. 18, l. 19; cf. RB. p. 158, l. 14 and l. 22). It can be seen from these ex-

<sup>1</sup> From a *si-bobak* tale, written in the Tukka Holbung district.

amples that *djadi do* is more used in a main clause if the preceding subordinate clause begins with *molo*. *Attóng* and *tutú* can be omitted and *do* only used, or *attóng*, or *tutú*, can be used without the *do* (see RB. p. 11, l. 1 fb.; and p. 6, l. 7 fb.). From this use of *do* with *attóng* or *tutú*, it appears that *do* indicates reality more than *ma*; as a consequence, *djadi ma i* has more the sense of *that'll be fine*, and is a more friendly way of expressing oneself.

In true Toba, *ija dung do* (The Quarrel between S.M. and D.D., p. 16, l. 12; p. 19, l. 5 and l. 9) is used instead of *ija nung ma* (RB. p. 79, l. 16 and l. 18) or *ija nunga* (RB. p. 81, l. 5 fb.; cf. 11 b.).

M. furnishes nothing noteworthy. In the South, *me* is used instead of *ma* before the pronoun *i* when functioning as a substantive (29 I).

D. uses *mo*, before which *mada* is used as a negative (see RB. p. 70, l. 16; p. 203, l. 15), just as it is before *ngo* (165 I D.). The *o* of *mo* and *ngo* is often omitted before a pronoun functioning as a substantive. *Kade ngidi* is used instead of *kade ngo idi* - *what is that?*; see also DAIRI E. Likewise, one finds *mada mo* abbreviated to *madam* (RB. p. 183, l. 1).

D. also uses *ma*, but after the predicate in an indirect question in which *tah* is used (147 D.), e.g., *tah masa-kade bagas ma* (RB. p. 6, l. 8) - *in order to know how deep it is*; *təngən mo tah kade ma* (RB. p. 7, l. 16) - *look at it (in order to see) what it is*; let me find out how deep it is, so that I shall know what its depth amounts to - *tah masa-kade ma bagasna* (RB. p. 5, l. 16 fb.).

In addition, there is *mamo*, which may also be abbreviated to *mam*. Both *mamo* and *mam* are used to lay emphasis on either an interrogative in an urgent request or on a predicate which expresses particular longing or joy, or on a negative, in order to strengthen it, e.g., *ənduma mamo kita kəpekən* (RB. p. 143, l. 9 fb.) - (now) *we shall have food in abundance* (said by a mother who expresses gladness at her son's catch); *labangku mamo kəpe idi* (RB. p. 147, l. 5) - *that's a gain for me* (expressing joy); *mada mamaku (mamo + aku) ənggeut pəluwəhəkən kono* (RB. p. 170, l. 5) - *I've absolutely no intention of letting you go*; *ulang kejah mam katengku* (RB. p. 254, l. 7) - *so that, thought I, that iron would not be damaged*; *pəngke mam tuhu pənarihinəndene ku-bahankən gərar mo kene* (RB. p. 131, l. 5 fb.) - *do you really wish me to give you all a name?*; *əmbuwe mam pangan-panganən ena* (RB. p. 275, l. 16) - *what a lot of these sweets there are*; *lehe mam pənarihin* (RB. p. 6, l. 1 fb.) - *the mind is hungry* (i.e., anxious to find out what is at the end of the cave); *mike mam kono katemu mərbina idi* (RB. p. 274, l. 16) - *where is it then that you have a mind to go to trade?*

VII. *Ada* is placed before a substantive to confirm earlier information about the thing represented by it; its function is, in fact, to recall to the listener something that he already knows about it, e.g., *ada bodil, molo salpu djakkana, mapultak* (quotation in Dict., under *ada*) - *of course, a gun will burst if it's loaded too heavily*.

M. adds the pronoun *i* before the substantive, e.g., *ada i danak nangkinondi, ro ma labi na bontar* (RB. p. 128, l. 2 fb.) - (regarding) *that child* (which I mentioned) *some time before, a white labi came* etc. *Ada i* is used, as is *ija* in T., where a person is spoken of who has not been referred to for some time.

VIII. *Ija* introduces something that is about to be spoken of in contrast to something that has just been dealt with. The matter introduced by *ija* is either something that has not been mentioned, or something that has not been mentioned for some time, e.g., after the sombaon's daughters have been mentioned by name, one by one, the storyteller goes on to speak of the sons. *Concerning sons*, he had two (99), the one was R.T., the other . . . - *ija anakna duwa, sada si-radja tondja-tondja, sada . . .* (RB. p. 9, l. 1 fb.); after speaking of his mother, Mogot Daoana began to speak of his father, saying: "*My father, now, has stayed behind in the Middle World*" - *ija amattanami di toding debatá di tonga do tinggal* (RB. p. 151, l. 9 fb.; see also 163 11). *Ija tung* is also used for the same purpose, see example 165 III 4. There is no doubt that *ija* is the same as the word dealt with in 163 11 (cf. also 165 II).

#### 165\*. THE USE OF NA AS EMPHASIZER.

*Na*, functioning as a relative pronoun, is often used to give emphasis (cf. 150 7). As such it occurs before a passive verbal substantive, e.g., *aha na buwaton* (RB. p. 168, l. 6) - what is it *that must be taken*?; *adóng ma na buwaton* (RB. p. 168, l. 8) - there is something *that must be taken*; *boru-boru na djuppa sijan porlak ma hapé na so buwaton baen paru-maen* (RB. p. 175, l. 16) - a wife that is obtained from a garden is *not one that must be taken* as a daughter-in-law; *sai na gararommu do marsogot di au luhutna* (RB. p. 218, l. 1) - the whole of it (your debt) *must be paid by you* tomorrow to me, without fail; *sai na bajakkonokku do si-djonaha* (RB. p. 222, l. 5 fb.) - *Dj. must be put in the stocks by me*, without fail; *sai na bowanonnamí do pananggaimí nanón* (RB. p. 221, l. 12 fb.) - your dog *must now be taken with us*, without fail. In all these examples, it can be seen that *na* expresses a definite intention or aim: I will certainly put Dj. in the stocks, I insist you pay me all tomorrow, etc.

Before an active form, which thereby becomes substantivized, *na* is sometimes used and sometimes not, e.g., *na mandjalahi* etc. (RB. p. 71, l. 3 fb.) - *the one who is seeking a bird that can talk* is I. *Na* is also so used on p. 72, l. 10; and p. 76, l. 17, but on p. 72, l. 6 and on p. 74, l. 17, it is omitted.

Before an active verbal substantive, *na* may also occur, e.g., *molo na so pangalatsum do ho di au* (RB. p. 223, l. 14 fb.) - if you are *not one who has cheated me*; *molo na pangulu ho* (RB. p. 256, l. 7 fb.) - if you will come *as pangulu*.

*Na* is used especially before a 1st or a 3rd passive to indicate a completed action, e.g., *na di-pasulak radja i do au* - I am *the one who has been sent by the prince*; *na ni-dokkonnasida do hami* (RB. p. 45, l. 14 fb.) - we are *the ones who have been commanded by them*; *ai anggo na binunu ni djolma do* (RB. p. 83, l. 9) - because, if he has been killed by a human being. This meaning flows naturally from the substantivizing force of *na*, the action thereby being represented as a fact (see below).

*Na* is often used before *adóng* (158 23) to give it an affirmative meaning, e.g., *nadóng ma ulaonna* (RB. p. 2, l. 13 fb.) - *there is something that must be done with it*. It has the same effect where a conjunction is suppressed, e.g., *nadóng si-dohonon, barang di utang gararon barang di singir tungguon* (RB. p. 252, l. 18) - *if there is something that must be said, either about a debt to be paid, or about a claim to be collected*.

*Na* is frequently used before a word that stands at the beginning of a main clause to indicate the dependence of the main clause on the preceding subordinate clause, e.g., *molo doppak ruwar do gana-gana sattung inon, na olo martubol do na mate inon* (RB. p. 253, l. 4) - if those images of *sattung* turn their faces to the outside, *then* the dead will be avenged. *Na so* is used when the main clause is negative, e.g., *anggo doppak bagasan huta do gana-gana sattung inon, na so martubol do na mate inon* (RB. p. 253, l. 17) - if, on the other hand, those images of *sattung* turn their faces towards the interior of the village, *then* the dead will *not* be avenged. In such a main clause, *sowada* can be used instead of *na so*, but the preceding clause must then have the same negative, e.g., *molo sowada olo, sowada saut sun goramuna on* (RB. p. 275, l. 3) - if he won't (pay a dangdang, 153 \*), *then* the case of you people will *not* be brought to a conclusion. *Na* is used before a clause explaining the reason why a person has done something, e.g., *na unang dida hamú* (The Quarrel between S.M. and D.D., p. 9, l. 16) - (I have done it) *so that you should not see it*.

After comparing the places in which *na* is used, I have come to the conclusion that the preplacing of it only serves to give the form of a substantive to the predicate, hence its use where one reproaches someone about something he has done, for example, 'you are a *deceiver*' is a more definite assertion than 'you have deceived'. In Batak, however, a word like *deceiver* can take an object, so that one can also say *you are a deceiver* (of) *me* (above). In addition to the examples already given in 126 1 and on p. 296, l. 5 fb. and p. 343, l. 7, there are still one

or two that should be mentioned, *na mabijar do ho* (RB. p. 14 m.) - *the one who is afraid is you, you are a coward*. There is also reproach in *na lao do i na modom do ibana* (RB. p. 52 m.) - *it was it* (the deer) *that went off*; it was *he* who slept (the speakers are complaining, because the man who had asked them to go with him to fetch the deer he presumed to be dead had caused them a lot of trouble by his stupidity), and *na naing mangguru pambajuon do* (RB. p. 17, l. 8 fb.) - she is *simply one who wants to learn the art of weaving* (an attempt to dissuade someone from holding an ill-founded opinion based on mistrust, i.e., how can you mistrust the reason for this woman's coming? She is quite clearly not someone who is seeking a quarrel, *indá tung na naing marbada*, see the lines preceding in the RB.).

*Na* is also used to give emphasis when one wants to avoid an expression of disbelief, e.g., having hidden his mother up a tree, so that, as though she were a *sombaon*, she would give a decision in his favour and fearful lest his listeners would not believe what the supposed *sombaon* had said, *Djonaha* said: "*It is nothing but the truth, what that sombaon said*" - *na sittong ma i hata ni sombaon i* (RB. p. 294, l. 12). *Na* is even placed before an adverb functioning as a predicate, for the sole purpose of emphasizing it, e.g., *ba bowan ma gararhón na boti ma ninna si-djonaha* (RB. p. 307, l. 10) - "there, take my payment!" thus spoke *Dj*.

That *na* itself often implies the completion of an action (above) of which the translation requires the perfect (158\*) also appears from its use with *dapot* (106), e.g., *na dapot hu-taban hami do i* (RB. p. 170, l. 4) - that we *have captured*; likewise in *atik na lupau di rupana* (RB. p. 157, l. 1 fb.) - perhaps I *have forgotten* what he looks like.

*Na* is also used where something is only supposed to have reached completion, e.g., *atihunang na hu-taoar* (p. 281, l. 6 fb.) - *had* I not *cured* you; even had you told me not to do so, *I would still have consulted* this, my augury-pipe - *na sulengokku do attóng alamat on* (RB. p. 123, l. 2 fb.); *atik na di-oloi ho ma uhuppu, adóng ho marutang niján* - *had you accepted* my decision, would you then have been fined? (another example, 164 IV 7 d.). From these examples it can be presumed that *ni* (163 6) in *aut ni*, is only a variant of *na*, e.g., *aut ni unang di-ruruhon ho dongat-sa-hutám tu bagasan lombang, indá tung mate napé ho niján* (RB. p. 326, l. 7) - *had you not thrown* your fellow villagers into the abyss, you would not now be dead (other examples, 158 5 end).

*Na* is placed before a qualificative verb having the infix *um* (61)

when it is the predicate and stands after the subject, e.g., *tumabo do i* (RB. p. 70, l. 8) - *those are more tasty*, but, *na di toru i na tumabo* (RB. p. 70, l. 11) - *those beneath are more tasty or the most tasty*. *Na* is also used after *matsadi*, e.g., *matsadi na uli* (RB. p. 45, l. 16 fb.) - (your daughter is) *very beautiful*. *Sai na borat* (RB. p. 325, l. 16) = *sai boratan* (134 II c) is also found.

For *na sai*, see 154 \*, and for *na* before such words as *musé*, *podó* and *namá*, see 165 IV 4. Likewise before *maon* (158 26), e.g., *mate ho na maon di-soro babijat* - you are *at the point* of dying, being caught by a tiger.

The Batak has a preference for using *na* before an active verb with an object, in order to make the verb function as the subject of a verb that expresses a command if the person who is given the command is not specified by name, or is, for preference, not designated by a substantive, not even one indicating an unspecified person such as *halak*, e.g., *di-dokkon ma na marpijo radja i* - *the one who had to summon the prince was commanded by him* (he sent for the prince). *Na* can, however, be omitted, e.g., *hu-suru maralap ho* (165 I) - *I have sent for you*; *di-dokkon ho maralap au* (ibid.) - *you have sent for me*; *asa ta-suru mangalap* - *so that we send for him*. If the person who is given the command is named, the construction is very free; the substantive indicating the person can be put before or after the verb representing the action he has to effect.

Verbs with the prefix *pa*, which have the suffix *hon* only in the active (66), must here always have the nominal form (99), e.g., *di-dokkon ma halak mangan* - *he commanded the people to eat*; *di-dokkon ma naposona pahembang amak* - *he ordered his servants to spread a large mat*; *di-suru djolma ni radja i ma naposona manaruhon lage tu sopo podoman ni toba i* - *the prince's wife ordered her servants to take small sleeping mats to the sopo where the people from Toba were to sleep* (133 3); *di-dokkon ma djolmana i manduda si-toppion dohot pauli satti-satti* - *he commanded his wife to pound rice for si-toppion and to prepare other sacrificial rice*. Examples of the substantive representing the person who is being commanded being placed after the verb are: *di-dokkon radja i na musé marmahan horbona i si-piso so malum* - *the prince commanded P.S.M. also to guard his buffaloes*; *di-dokkon pataru ugasanna i halak tu hutana* - *he ordered someone or certain persons to take his goods to his village*; *di-dokkon mangaloppa boruna* - *he ordered his daughter to cook rice*; *di-dokkon ma mangan djolma-torop i* - *he let the company eat*.

The thing that is ordered to be done can also be expressed by a passive verbal substantive, or by a 1st passive, e.g., *di-dokkon ma disi* (8) *djolmana hadjutna* - *he ordered his wife to fill his pouch*; *di-dokkon si-adji pamasa ma hosana suhaton ni boru-boru i* (R.B. p. 75, l. 9 fb.) - *A.P. commanded the woman to measure his life's span*. The person given a command can also be introduced by *di* (see example on p. 342, l. 6 fb.) instead of by *ni*, as in the previous example.

M. places the verb representing the thing that is commanded to be done immediately after the verb that expresses the actual command (*manjuru*, MANDAILING F III), so that when a 1st passive is used the former stands before a substantive, or a pronoun, functioning as the agent; two nominal forms are then side by side and form a compound, e.g., *di-suru-alap ija* (102) - *the aforesaid person was commanded by him to be brought*, i.e. he sent for him (see example in 158 6 M.). Malay has a similar construction when the verb representing the command is in the passive, e.g., *di-suruhnja pārбуwat* (99), but *mānjuruh bārбуwat*.

## XI. COMPOUND WORDS

### 166. THE FORM OF COMPOUND WORDS.

*Compound words* are made by placing side by side two words, of which that standing last is the determinant. When the last word has its accent on the last syllable, it is then moved to the penultimate, e.g., *datu-bolon*, *gabe-bolon* (42 b.), *butuha-male* (*malé*, 20 and 44), *djolma-torop* (*toróp*), *ari-logo* (*logó*), *mate-boti* (*botí*, 8 Obs).

a. A singular exception is *djau-ruma*, in which it is the first word that is the determinant. As a proper name it may have been taken direct from a foreign language, either Old Javanese or Old Malay (cf. Bat. RB. IV, p. 43). A comparable case is *halijáng-durú* used as an adverbial adjunct, e.g., *halijáng-durú ni onan i* - *on the circumference of the market*.

### 167. THE MEANING OF COMPOUND WORDS.

The meaning of compound words cannot be made to conform to rules but must be learnt from the usage, because the compounding can often greatly modify the meaning of the first constituent, as well as that of the second, e.g., *anak*, in contradistinction to *boru* (*daughter*) means *son*, but compounded, it means *child*, e.g., *anak-tubu* - *a newly-born child*. When *ari*<sup>1</sup> is a constituent of a compound word, it usually gives the meaning of *weather*, *state of the weather*, e.g., *ari-logo* (166) - *dry weather, a state of prevailing dryness*; *ari-las* - *warm weather*; *ari-udan* - *rainy weather* (also *ari-parudan*, 120); *ari-golap* - *overcast, cloudy weather*. *Hosa* has as its predominant meaning *breath* - whereas it is less frequently used with the sense of *life force* (example, 165 \* end), but in a compound, it means *life*, e.g., *udjuk-kosa* (11) - *the end of life, hour of death*; *hosa-mate* - (case of) *death*. *Butuha*, or *bituha*, means *belly* as well as the *intestines*. In the compound *butuha-male* (166), however, where *malé* is the determinant, it means *hunger*, but

<sup>1</sup> *Ari* used by itself seldom means *weather*, for example, *denggán ari* - *the weather is fine (it is a beautiful day)*. The predominant meaning is *day* or *sun* (78), e.g., *di-dadang ari* - *burned by the sun*; *utte pinangan ni ari* (*poda*) - *a lemon eaten by the sun*, i.e., burst open by the heat; *na bolarion*, see Dict. under *bola* and 134; *i-sinar mo i ari* (D.) - *he laid it in the sun to dry* (RB. p. 18, l. 11); cf. Mac. *álowi*, from *álo*.

in the compound *butuha-bolon*, where *bolón* is the determinant, it means *stomach*.<sup>1</sup>

*Hata* also loses its meaning, more or less, in a compound, e.g., *hata-pittor* (*pittór*, 166) - *the right*<sup>2</sup> (that a person has); *hata-gait* - *joke* (i.e., words that are not meant, in contradistinction to *hata si-burdju*). *Ulu* used alone never refers to a person, but the compound *ulu-porang* (24) is a designation of someone who regulates a gambling party (see Dict.). Other compounds of this kind are: *ramba-poso* (*posó*) - *brush-wood, undergrowth, low trees*; *ramba-bolak* (*bolák*) - *high trees*; *djolma-torop* (166) - *the crowd, the public, the company present*; *ipos-ngolu* (*mangolu*) - *the scab of a wound, but ipos na mangolu - a live cockroach*.

*Pande*, as the first constituent of a compound, indicates a person who is particularly occupied with doing something, either his means of bread-winning, or something at which he is proficient, e.g., *pande-haju* - *carpenter, master builder*, of a house or of a *sopo*; *pande-bosi* - *smith*; *pande-bodil* - *gunsmith*; *pande-djuhut*, *pande-hata*, etc. (cf. 121 3). *Djuhut* has the particular meaning in compounds of *slaughtered animal*, so that *djuhut-manuk* can mean *flesh of a fowl*, as well as *slaughtered fowl(s)* (p. 367).

When the adverb *boti* is the second constituent, the meaning must be deduced from the context, e.g., *mate-boti* (166) - *to die so* (i.e., unavenged); *mate-bagidi* (RB. III, p. 214, l. 10 fb.); *mulak-boti* (RB. p. 52, l. 14) - *to return empty-handed*; *halak na mardalan-boti* (RB. p. 42, l. 7) - *people travelling with nothing with them, no trade goods, for example*.

Many compound words are simply designations of things, e.g., *sira-bodil* - *saltpetre* (22 IV b 1); *baro-ulok* - *an oblong, snake-like boil*; *rusuk-kadangan*, *urak-tonga* (25), *buluhut* (8), *tanoh-dëndang* (D.), *dila-horbo*, *timbaho-lata*, etc. *Bolón* occurs frequently as the second constituent of a compound as a means of distinguishing, by its extraordinary size, its excellence, or its renown, one thing or a person from others of its kind, e.g., *datu-bolon* - *a great datu*, i.e., someone who, as a *datu*, is famed for his knowledge of the art of the *datu*<sup>3</sup>; *taon-bolon*

<sup>1</sup> E.g., *di-buwat radja i butuha-bolon ni dekke i* (RB. p. 96, l. 11 fb.) - *the prince took the stomach from the fish* (140\*).

<sup>2</sup> E.g., although you people may not be satisfied, *please, Lord, do not ruin this just case of ours* - *unang mago di-baen ho amáng hata-pittornami on* (RB. p. 274, l. 17 fb.).

<sup>3</sup> Hence also used of a woman who is famed for her skill in the art of divination (see RB. p. 17, l. 18 fb.).

- a year of 12 months (as distinct from the rice-year); *butuha-bolon* (above). It is singular, however, that *bolón* is used as an adjective (42) after *dalan*, e.g., *dalan na bolon* - the main path (as distinct from a by-path).

*Godáng*, also, is used as the second part of a compound, e.g., *huta-godang* - the main village (in contrast to *pagaran* - a newly established huta which has not yet a name of its own). *Raja*, in compounds, has already been dealt with (42 b.). *Baba*, as a first constituent, is often found in a compound designating something one enters or leaves, e.g., *baba-muwara* and *baba-pittu*.

When a verb is the second constituent, it is to be interpreted as an adverbial adjunct: the translation is a gerund, e.g., *upa mangalapa* - the fee for cutting (the animal) in pieces (i.e., the beast that is to be slaughtered); *upa-marsarune* - the fee for playing the sarune; *upa-manggordangi* - the fee for playing the kettledrums.<sup>1</sup> It follows from 161 \*, 2 and a, that no preposition is used in such cases.

An active verb can also occur as the second constituent, without the pronoun *na*, with the meaning of an attributive adjunct, e.g., *pisomangasup*, *bodil-marsukkun* - side-arms that threaten and matchlocks that call one to account. This usage occurs generally in old maxims that are used as formulae, so that the above example is a fanciful way of designating an armed attack; similarly, *dadal-lao* (15) *tu toru* - the path that goes down (p. 363).

A substantive frequently occurs as the second constituent, with the meaning of an adverbial adjunct and it is then immaterial whether it is a nominal form or an actual substantive, e.g., *gondang-dalan* - path-music, i.e., music for the journey, hence the verb *margondang-dalan*.<sup>2</sup> Other examples are: *talugogo* - to be conquered, as far as one's power is concerned; *lao-porang*, *lao-badjo*, *lako-binaga* (D., to go trading), etc.

Numerous are compounds in which the second constituent qualifies the thing meant by the first in relation to its position, e.g., *harbangan-djae* - the lower gateway (the village gate situated riverwards), and *harbangan-djulu* - the upper gateway (the village gate facing the mountain). Among these compounds are to be included those place names

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, one uses *upa-ogung* - the ogung fee (i.e., for playing the ogung); *upa-pamikkang* (121) - fee for pulling over by the feet (i.e., of the beast that is to be slaughtered, see RB. p. 268).

<sup>2</sup> Compound words can also acquire the form of verbs; e.g., *mandudu-godang* - to make the main dudu-music; *martalu-monang* - now to lose, now to win.

which carry a designation indicating whether they are high or low, etc., such as *lombang*, *dolok*, *holbung*, *djae* and *djulu*.

An adverb consisting of a preposition and a substantive can, without a preposition, function as a second constituent, e.g., *parmodom-balijan* (124) = *na modom di balijan*.

Words that express sex can occur as a constituent of a compound word, because they are already substantives in their own right (see 97).

The second constituent often stands in object-relation to the first, even though the latter is also a substantive, e.g., *daot-sihol* (11) - a remedy for melancholy; *daon-le* (M.) - a remedy for hunger; *daon-uwas* or *daon-nguwas* (M.) - a remedy for thirst. *Garar ni utang* (159 3) occurs as well as *garar-utang* (152 2 b.).

Names of villages are compound words; they are preceded by *lumban*, *huta*, or *lobu*, e.g., *lumbang-radja* (15), *lobu-tala*, *huta-padang matogu*. Names of persons are expressed, according to their region, by *bajo* or *bala*, e.g., *bala-toba* or *bajo-toba* - someone from Toba; *boru* is used for women. A person is designated according to his or her *marga*, *anak ni* or *boru ni*, e.g., *anak ni marbun*, *anak ni rambe si-manalu*. Rivers are designated by *aek* or *batang*; territories by *tano*, which is also used before names of villages, and *rura* (see Dict.). Names of *marga* are sometimes derived from the name of a person, e.g., *si-manullang*, and sometimes from a place, e.g., *huta-galung*. *Na di . . . on* is also used to designate a *marga*, e.g., *na di tukka on* (lit.: *that which is here in Tukka*). *Anak ni* or *boru ni* can also be placed before a *marga* name, though the *ni* can be omitted, e.g., *anak ni na di ambat on* - someone from the *marga Si-Ambaton*; *asa ro ma di ho guru sabungan ni adjí na mijan di tano borotan anak na di tukka on* - then instruction may come to you, *S. n.a.*, who lives at B. and whose *marga* is Tukka.

Things that have a name derived from their origin are expressed by a compound containing a place or a proper name e.g., *utte-djau*, *isap-toba* (168).

Compounds that have acquired a special meaning through use, such as *sala-pattang*, and compound words such as, for example, *sajur-matuwa*,<sup>1</sup> *borat-daging*, *mate-sat-tokkin*, etc., must be learnt from the Dict.

The verbs *sahat*, *sanga*, *sappe*, *saut* and *sundat* occur as the first

<sup>1</sup> In a MS. written in a dialect that is between Dairi and Toba, I have found *idup-dorgaju*, which has been taken direct from Mal. (*dārgaju* and *hidup*).

constituent of compound words, and they, and not the verb that is used as the second constituent, must be regarded as the predicate; they can, therefore, be separated from the determining verb by a substantive, or a pronoun, as the subject, 158 18. From this, in addition to 168, it can be seen that such compounds are really only *words that are placed contiguously*. It is for this reason that, according to use, the preposition *ni* sometimes unites both constituents and at other times does not, for example, one says *bobak ni hambing* - *goat's skin that has been treated*, and not *bobak-kambing*, though one does say *djuhut-tambing* (14) - *goat's flesh*, or *the goat that has been slaughtered*; *daon ni sala* - *remedy for an offence* (see Dict. under *daon*), and *daon ni arun* - *remedy for fever*, though one says *daot-sihol* and *daon-le* (cf. above). Hence the closing with a nasal of words, ending in a vowel, before a word in apposition<sup>1</sup> (159 3, and D.). There is no doubt at all that kinship terms, such as, for example, *naboru*, *nampuhun* (D.), *nanguda*, *amanguda*,<sup>2</sup> are compound words; this is quite clear from the construction, i.e., with a pronominal suffix (168).

a. The use of *tonga-bire* (165 I), where one would expect *tongam-bire* (cf. 159 3), is singular. *Huta-rimbaru*, which should really be *huta na imbaru* (42), has probably been taken from M. In M., it is mainly in use as a proper name, but in T. and D. it is used in the elaborate *poda* language (63), or when speaking of the festival for blessing a newly-built house (165 IV D.).

*Pulik*, with its accent shifted, is often used as the first constituent, a substantive being the second, to express being in a different place, e.g., *pulik-daling* (165 V 1), *pulik-kuta* - *to belong to a different village*.

#### 168. COMPOUND WORDS WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.

When a compound word is determined by a pronominal suffix, the suffix is placed after the first constituent, e.g., *anakku tubu i* - *my newly-born child* (167, beginning); *empungmu holi* (D., 165 IV D.); *bagasku rimbaru idi* (ibid.). In compounds with *dongan*, the placing of the suffix is optional; it can stand after either the first or the second constituent, e.g., *dongat-sabalokkón* (165 V 1; see 152 3 d). When

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *darambanuwa*.

<sup>2</sup> *Uda* is connected with *muda* (Mal.), as appears from *mənguda* (to be entered in the Dict. under *nguda*, cf. DAIRI κ III) in D., and the Sundanese *ngora* (cf. 30 VII c).

the second constituent is a proper or a place name, the suffix is placed after it, e.g., *isap-tobana* - *his Toba tobacco*. When *begu* is used before an interrogative, in order to give it a general meaning, the suffix is placed after the latter, e.g., *begu ahana pe sowada* - *nothing at all of his was there*, see 165 IV d. The suffix is also placed after kinship terms, which must be regarded as true compounds, e.g., *amangudám* (p. 364). When a determining substantive introduced by *ni* follows a compound word, the two constituents cannot be separated, e.g., *imbulu-hori ni dagikkón* - *the flaxen hair of this, my body*; *butuha-bolon ni dekke i* (p. 375 footnote 1).

- a. It is singular that one says *patna djolo* and *patna pudi* - *his foreleg* and *his hind leg*, respectively, whereas *pat-djolo* and *pat-pudi* do not occur. M. accepts *halak na djadji* as a compound, hence *halak na djadjinija* - *his subjects*, and also *halak na bahatnija* (not *halaknija na*, etc.).

## XII. REPETITION

### 169. THE FORM OF THE REPETITION.

In repetition only the stem word is repeated. The following principles apply:

1. A nasal which has replaced a consonant provided the latter is not a vowel-carrier (2), is repeated, e.g., *manomba-nomba* (*manomba*, *somba*); *panopik-nopihi* (*manopihi*, *topik*); but, *mangakkat-akkat* (9, *mangakkat*, *akkat*); *mangulete-ulete* (M. *ulete*<sup>1</sup>); *manduru-duru*, etc

D. also repeats the nasal where the stem-word begins with a vowel, e.g., *měngangkat-ngangkat* (*angkat*); *si-pěngido-ngidōn* (*ido*); *pěngago-ngago* (*ago*).

2. A verb with an *m* which arises from the infix *um* (61), repeats this nasal if the stem-word begins with *p*, e.g., *modom-modom* (*podom*); *mate-mate* (*pate*), but *meppang-eppang* (9 and 62 3 a); *monggal-onggal* (*bonggal*, 61); *humosa-hosa*; *mungut-ungut* (M.); *sumorop-sorop*, etc. *Muli* (66 2) also repeats the *m*, hence *hamuli-mulian*.

a. The repetition, in its entirety, of a derived word usually occurs together with the changing of the vowels of the word that is not repeated (see 182). Where this happens without the changing of the vowels, it indicates that the action represented by the word that is not repeated, occurs repeatedly, e.g., *marbalik marbalik ma ibana* - *he turned upside down over and over again* (because he could not fly against the wind). When the word is not a derived word, it is not possible from the form to see whether it has been repeated to give it another meaning; e.g., *hundul-hundul* can not only mean *as if one were sitting* but, just as the unrepeated word, *to sit*, e.g., *di-dapot ma radja i hundul-hundul* - *the aforesaid prince was found by him, sitting*; *dida ma ursa i paják-paják* - *the deer was seen by them, lying down*. Here, the repetition only serves to make the word

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<sup>1</sup> I have not come across this. In the Dict., placed in error under *lete*; there read: *mangulete-ulete* and not *mangulete lete*. It should have been placed under *ulete*.

function as a predicative adjunct of the subject and could have been replaced by *nunga* (158 9 and see e.g., RB. p. 130, l. 18 fb.).

Even a repeated word, as a predicative adjunct of the subject, can also assume a form in order to have another meaning, e.g., *di-dapot manottor-nottor* - the aforesaid person was found by him, dancing; *dida ilik do mandjirir-djirir* (RB. p. 11, l. 18) - he saw an ilik creeping (cf. RB. p. 4, l. 10 fb.); *hu-ida buluk-suhat sumotik-soting* - I see the suhat leaves turning round (170).

In D., when a derived word is repeated in its entirety, it is usually done to strengthen a negative, e.g., *ulang kene mërubat mërubat* (RB. p. 8, l. 15; p. 41, l. 6 fb.) - don't always quarrel with each other; *malot i-duwe rëmuwar rëmuwar mërdalan-dalan* (RB. p. 63, l. 2 fb.) - he did not allow her to go out walking at all; *ulang mo kita mike-mike mërdalan-dalan* - don't let us go walking anywhere.

From *modom-modom*, for example, (in 2), it can be seen that the word form can be the reason for the repetition, in its entirety, of a derived word, for *modom* repeated means *acting as though one is asleep* (lying down with the eyes open, for example).

The suffix is never repeated. Where, therefore, two different words having the same suffix are side by side, the suffix occurs only on the last word, see, for example, *manombak-manaluni* in 50 4 b, and *somba-solutonkon* instead of *sombaonkon solutonkon*, in 133 2 in M.

#### 170. THE MEANING OF REPETITION.

*Modification in the meaning* of a word brought about by repetition depends on the meaning of the word. If it represents an action, its repetition usually indicates a repetition of that action, sometimes because the action needs repetition to be completed, so that the repeated word indicates *an attempt, an endeavour* (175); in other cases, repetition represents the action as still continuing (hence with *sai*, see 158 3 a; cf. also 169 a). On the other hand, a word that represents a condition or a thing, when repeated, indicates something that is more or less like the thing represented by that word when not repeated (171). The following examples will show that these different meanings, depending on usage, or context, tend to merge. Repetition of words representing a thing will be dealt with first, the other will then follow.

## 171. REPETITION OF SUBSTANTIVES.

1. When the non-repeated word represents a thing, the repeated word means something that resembles it in one way or another, e.g., *dakka-dakka* - *branch-like thing*, i.e., the stalk to which the fruit is attached (RB. p. 138, l. 1 fb.); *lijang-lijang* - *hole-like thing*, a small hollow, the kind that is immediately filled by rising water; *lali-lali* - *a thing like a bird of prey*, i.e., a scarecrow to frighten off birds in the paddy fields; *manuk-manuk* - *a fabled bird*, of the kind found in tales about the gods, from *manuk* - *fowl* (see Introduction II); *buwaja-buwaja* (see Dict. in the explanation to plate II); *halak-halak* (see Dict.); *lombu-lombu* (see Dict. for example); *dalan-dalan* - *an apparent path*, i.e., one that is not used daily and is more or less unknown generally; *habok-kabong* - *things serving as wings*, such as a garment enabling heavenly beings to fly; *bosi-bosi* - *iron-like*, not real iron (*bosi*), i.e., a jungle of old iron, like rusty nails, lance shafts, etc.; *bodat-bodat* (M.) - *figures of a bodat*, like the figures on coffins; *mallo-mallo*, from *mallo* (see Dict.); *gulok-gulok* (22 IV a) - *resembling a snake (ulok)*, i.e., a worm (in North M., *ulohulok* (10) is used); *si-pangap-panganon* (11 a and 169 a) - *foodlike things*, i.e., sweets a man takes home for his family; *nipi-nipion* (134) - *to act as though in a dream (nipi)*, i.e. to sleepwalk. In these examples, the repetition expresses the speaker's hesitation to give a thing an actual name, hence e.g., *di-pattullakkon haju-haju* (RB. p. 44, l. 20) - *they stab with something, but I don't know what. I can only call it a haju* (cf. a little further on where the actual designation, *hali-gadong*<sup>1</sup> is mentioned).

In *doli-doli* - *a youth* and, just as the French *garçon*, an unmarried male, the non-repeated word is only in use to indicate sex (97); *boru-boru* - *woman*, comes from *boru* - *daughter*, and, just as *manuk-manuk*, confirms the statement made in the Introduction II that a word for a general idea is of later date than that which represents a more specific one.

a. *Inang-inang* and *amang-amang* (9) come from *ina* and *ama*, respectively. The nasal can probably be explained from the nasal of the vocative, so that *inang* and *amang* represent a person who is addressed as *mother* and as *father*,<sup>2</sup> respectively. But because *inang* = *ina* is used in D. as well as in South M., and *amang* = *ama* in

<sup>1</sup> See 152 2 b.

<sup>2</sup> In many of the sister languages, the words for *man* and *woman* are related to those meaning *mother* and *father*.

South M. and in some dialects of North M., I am quite willing to reject this explanation in favour of a better one.

b. In some words the meaning cannot be associated with that of the non-repeated word (cf. e.g., *hijok-kijong* with *hijong*), while in other words the non-repeated word is not in use, e.g., *holi-holi*, *utohutok* (10), *hulik-kuling*, etc. The repetition of *badju*,<sup>1</sup> which has been taken from Mal., is singular: it is not repeated after the prefix *mar* when this form means a woman who has not had children (*na marbadju*).

For *hae-hae*, see 152 3 e NOTE. For *dakdanak*, *balbahul*, *palakpak*, and *hik-kijong*, see 22 IV a.

D., just as Mal., has *pëndahan*, from *dahan*, = *mallo-mallo*. For *kade* repeated, see 146 D. D. has *kěrang-kěrangěn*<sup>2</sup> for Toba *harangan*. For *kanak-kanak*, see 22 IV a. D. has *daběru* (152 1 Obs.) instead of Toba *boru-boru*, while a MS. written in a dialect between T. and D. has *nada-boru*<sup>2</sup> (cf. *dadaboru* in M.).

Other than these examples, D. does not differ, e.g., *sěringo-sěringo* (RB. p. 186, l. 6).

2. When the non-repeated word is a qualificative verb functioning as a substantive (42), the repeated word means a thing that has as its main characteristic the quality represented by the non-repeated word, e.g., *poso-poso* - a newly-born young (of animals), a newly-born child, from *poso* (*posó* - to be young); *tabo-tabo* - fat, grease, from *tabo* (*tabó*); *rosak-rosak*, from *rosák*. Substantives derived from a verb with the prefix *ma* (44) and which are repeated, have the same form, e.g., *ribak-ribak*, from *maribak*; *topar-topar*, from *matopar*.

When the repeated word occurs attributively with the pronoun *na*, it represents not a thing but a quality more or less resembling that of the non-repeated word, e.g., *aha ma gowar ni na rata-rata i* (RB. p. 44, l. 12) - what is the name of those greenish things? Similarly, *boru na tuwa-tuwa* - an oldish girl, a not-so-young woman, a woman who is aging. When the repeated word is a predicate, with the dropping out of the prefix *ma*, it has the accent on the last syllable and can then function as an adverb or as an adverbial adjunct (165 IV), e.g., *godáng-*

<sup>1</sup> I should have made it clearer in the Dict. that the Mal. *badju* is the Persian <*bazu*> - *arm*. The names of garments and ornaments are often borrowed from the part of the body on which they are worn (cf. RB. IV, p. 41 and pp. 206 and 211 fn. 3, and also in Dict. under *tahuluk*). The Mal. word must, therefore, originally have meant *garment with arms*, i.e., sleeves. A jacket is unknown in the Toba country.

<sup>2</sup> Omitted in the Dict.

*godáng pangan djuhut i* - eat as much of that meat as possible; *napuranna pe nunga godáng-godáng* (RB. p. 18, l. 6 fb.) - her betel was also abundant.

## 172. REPETITION OF NOMINAL FORMS.

When the *nominal form* of a verb having only the prefix *mang* (49) is repeated it means:

1. an implement, or something that is or can be used as such in order to execute that represented by the verb, e.g., *ratsang-ratsang* (*mangaratsang*), *gorit-gorit* (*manggorit*), *lombut-lombut* (*mangalombut*), *somba-somba* (*manomba*), *surbu-surbu* (*manurbu*), *sulhut-sulhut* (*manulhut*), etc. Such a word can, through *ni*, have an object (159 3), e.g., *di-buwat musé haju baen usung-usung ni si-djonaha inon* - he used wood as the instrument to carry *Dj.* (i.e., to make a carrying stick).

When the meaning applies to a person, the prefix *si* is used with the repeated word, e.g., *si-buwat-buwat pinggan* (RB. p. 125, l. 5 fb.) - as though I were something for the fetching of dishes.

*M.* has *pole-pole* in the *hata begu siar* to indicate food. It really means that which serves to regale the spirits and comes from a verb, now fallen into desuetude, *mamole* = *mamele* in T., see 51 5 Obs.

2. a particular act, and frequently, an offence, e.g., *bunu-bunu djolma* - manslaughter; *takko-takko napuran* - theft of betel; *surbu-surbu* (cf. in 1) - arson; *gombang-gombang*, etc. *Topot-topot*, though it does not mean an offence, represents an act that is anything but amiable (see Dict.).

3. The repetition of this nominal form seldom means what has arisen as a consequence of the action represented by the verb, e.g., *tunda-tunda*, *goris-goris* (see Dict.); *deja-deja* (D., RB. p. 149, l. 8 fb.); *gana-gana* - an image (*manggana* - to give something, e.g., a piece of wood, the form of an image). The meaning of *gana-gana* must also be the reason that *manggana-gana* is used, as well as *manggana*. As the second constituent of a compound, or with a particular meaning (see Dict.), only the non-repeated *gana* is used, e.g., *tonggal-gana* (D.).

a. A repeated substantive consisting of the stem-word of a verb with *m*, from the infix *um*, such as *aos-aos* (*maos*) rarely occurs.

173. REPETITION OF SUBSTANTIVES WITH THE SUFFIX *AN*.

A repeated substantive carrying the suffix *an*, which, as has already been shown many times, also gives a plural meaning, has not only a collective meaning but can also represent a thing that is usually the object of a certain act. In this last case, it is derived from a nominal form and must be regarded as a passive verbal substantive (cf. 134). Examples are: *suwat-suwanan* - *seedlings, saplings, what is usually planted (manuwan), a plant or a tree that is cultivated* (RB. p. 69, l. 2 fb.); *utte-djau suwat-suwanan ni begu* - *a djambu tree planted or cultivated by a spirit or spirits*; *pahan-pahanan* (M.) - *what it is one's wont to tend (marmahan, 53 2 Obs.) or feed (mamahan), a domestic animal or animals, e.g., cattle, buffaloes, horses, dogs, pigs or birds (= pinahan in T.)*; *gadis-gadisan* (see Dict.); *baen-baenan* - *whatever is effected, some act or other* (M., RB. p. 216, l. 4 fb.); *puluk-pulungan* - *what it is usual to bring together (mamulung), i.e., the ingredients of which something is made*; *tabat-tabanan* - *what it is usual to take as loot (manaban), i.e., cattle, women, goods, etc.*

When such a substantive is derived from a genuine substantive, it summarises as a unit all the things that are embraced by what the latter word means, e.g., *pattak-pattangan* - *everything that is forbidden at a ceremony*; *djaja-djajan* - *all kinds of misfortunes, everything that has an unfavourable significance*; *muni-munian*; *radja-radjan*; *guro-guroan* (see Dict.); *gowar-gowaran* - *everything that has a specific name, all kinds of things* (e.g., *gowar-gowaran ni duhut dohot haju* - *everything that comes under duhut and haju*; cf. RB. p. 282, l. 6 fb.; p. 283, l. 1).

*Bau-bauan* appears to have been taken from Mal., and also *tau-tauan*. *Podop-podoman* - *in order, as it were, to sleep there*, is a repeated passive verbal substantive.

D. has *si-bětōh-bětōhěn* not only with the meaning of *one who is in a position to devise ways and means* (with *pikiran* as the object, RB. p. 11, l. 4 fb), but also with that of *everyone who knows how to make something* (RB. p. 61, l. 18).

174. REPETITION OF INTRANSITIVE VERBS WITH THE INFIX *UM*.

An intransitive verb with the infix *um*, when repeated, means that a thing takes place repeatedly or that it can be observed to take place continuously (hence also with *sai*, RB. p. 157, l. 11; p. 109, l. 3 fb.), or that it can be perceived by the sense organs. The repeated verb, according to usage and to context, may also represent something that more or less resembles the content of the verb, for example, *modom-*

*modom* can not only mean *to sleep with the eyes open, to lie as though one is sleeping when one is not*, but also *to sleep*, i.e., the continuing of the act of sleeping and its being observed, for example, *I found him, sleeping*. On the other hand, *mate-mate* really means *half dead*, of someone who has had a drubbing, etc., so that in *I came across him, dead, dead* cannot be translated with *mate-mate*, but with *nunga mate*; this is logical, because being *dead* is a condition, which cannot be discontinued.

Further examples are: *sumotik-soting* (cf. 169 2 a); *mekkel-ekkel* - *to be laughing, to laugh quietly*; *mesehesek* - *to be laughing*, because one is pleased about something, or because one is flattered; *mundu-hunduk* (RB. p. 44, l. 18) - *to be stooping, to stoop now and then*; *meoleol* (153 \*); *medangedang* - *to wander, to walk for one's own pleasure*; *dumatsa-datsa, dumuruk-duruk, sumormit-sormin, humosa-hosa, mambalambal, mumbangumbang, meppangeppang*, etc. The *m* is repeated in *maos-maos* - *to be completely worn out (maos, aos)*. In this example, the repetition of the *m* must be attributed to the meaning.

#### 175. REPETITION OF VERBS WITH THE PREFIX *MANG*.

*A verb with the prefix mang, when repeated*, represents at one time the action represented as something that takes place repeatedly; the repetition being either *an attempt* to effect something or the direction of the action towards *different undefined direct, or indirect, objects*; at another time, the act is represented as something that resembles the act meant by the non-repeated word; it can also be used to strengthen a negative. Which of these meanings is being used can only be determined from the context (cf. also 169 2 a). The following examples will elucidate this point: *borhat ma nasida tu tombak na limuton tu harangan rumba-raja manangi-nangi sowara ni pidong na maló marhata-hata* (RB. p. 64, l. 6 fb.) - *they went off to ancient forests and vast wildernesses, in order to listen everywhere for the voice of the bird that can talk: here, the verb is repeated because the listening took place at different, unspecified places in the forest in which they were walking*; *i ma binaen di-harut-tarut* (14) *gana-gana i tabu-tabu i* - *those images must be so placed that they appear to be biting into those gourds*; *sai di-gondang-gondangi* (RB. p. 185, l. 2 fb.) - *music was constantly played by him over the aforesaid things*; *sai di-ende-endei* (RB. p. 187, l. 4) - *that pangulubalang was constantly being celebrated by him in song (i.e., he was always murmuring formulas, giving a name to each part of the pangulubalang)*; *asa bëre-bëre* (102 D.)

*panganěn mo manuk-manuk saip ladang* (D., RB. p. 153, l. 12 fb.) - after that, he always presented food to the bird S.L. (i.e., he gave it food daily); *asa i-těngěn-těngěn katengkku kěpanděnna* (D., RB. p. 254, l. 4) - so that, thought I, he would keep an eye on his work; *adjar-adjari aku* (121 1 D.) - try to explain to me how I must do it; *i-ekut-ekut* (D., RB. p. 157, l. 17 fb.) - they always followed the tracks they had found of the missing man; *maniris-niris* (M., RB. p. 217, l. 10) - falling in drops, of rain; *manatap-natap* (RB. p. 157, l. 4) - he sat in that tree peering (at what was happening in the distance, 49); *di-tijop-tijop* (RB. p. 125, l. 5) - he held that comb lightly in his hands (playing with it as a child does); *manduru-duru* - to keep oneself apart (by keeping to the side), i.e., to be shy; *manganggo-anggo* - to sniff at someone, said of a buffalo, which smells at different parts of a person's body in order to recognize him: *asa adóng si-loppa-loppa*<sup>1</sup> *panganonnami* (RB. p. 16, l. 18 fb.) - so that there is someone who can cook something for us - were *loppa* not repeated here, *panganon* would be specified (152 2).

The variants of those verbs that have *um* (63), when repeated, have a form with the prefix *pa*, e.g., *nunga sundat modom si-purti boksu olowan pabege-bege sowara ni gondang i* (RB. p. 123, l. 15) - B.O. could not sleep at all because she was continually hearing (*umbegé*) the sound of that music. This method of expressing a repeated verb is especially usual in the passive with the principal form, e.g., *ganup bodari sai di-padjou-djou datu i tondi ni musuna i lao mangan tu raga-raga i* - each evening the *datu* tries to invite the souls of his enemies to come to eat in the *raga-raga* (in which example, *di-padjou-djou* is the passive of *mandjou-djou*); *pinatongot-tongon* (RB. p. 139, l. 1) - they should try to hit (*manongoni*) the stems; *dipadilat-dilat* (RB. p. 71, l. 3) - they lick continually at it (*mandilat* - to lick at something); *balbal si-pasuru-suruon do i* (RB. p. 84, l. 10 fb.) - it is a *cudgel* that can be dispatched as a servant, i.e., can be made to do (*manuru*) things like a human being; *di-papele-pele hami, si-paholon, ma sombaon i* - we, the *marga si-Paholon*, customarily give food (*mamele*) to that *sombaon*. As a consequence, one finds *hapatangi-tangi* and *hapaida-ida* (109) in the passive, despite the fact that one uses *manangi-nangi* (above) and *marnida* (49 Obs.). The prefix *pa* can even occur in the active, but this usually happens in an adverbial adjunct of intent or

<sup>1</sup> From *mangaloppa*. *Si-buwat-buwat* (172 1) comes from *mambuwat* in the same way.

where a being occupied with, or simultaneity, is expressed, e.g., *sai mulahulak do tu son palapalap sanggul* (RB. p. 103, l. 3) - for they come here every now and then to get flowers for hair decoration; *pasari-sari anakna i* (RB. p. 37, l. 10) - always thinking of her son; *pěněp-pěněp ugasanna idi* (D., RB. p. 277, l. 9) - while Běru Rajam was busy packing up her things.

Often, the repetition of these verbs does not, therefore, deviate in form from those which, in the active, always have the prefix *pa* (66), e.g., *indada pe hu-pabowa-bowa na djuppa hudjur i* - I shan't tell a soul that the lance has been found (*pabowa[hon]*); *unang di-pabowa-bowa au barang tu ise* (RB. p. 144, l. 17) - so that they won't speak of me to anyone, i.e., they'll tell no one that I'm here; *ku-pěsuman-suman* (D., RB. p. 143, l. 4) - thus shall I try to do (*pěsuman[kěn]*)<sup>1</sup>; *di-pasotik-soting* (121 l) is not in opposition to *manoting-noting*, but to *pasotik-soting(hon)* which, in turn, comes direct from *sumotik-soting*; similarly, *di-pahosik-kosing*, from *pahosik-kosing(hon)*, which comes from *humosik-kosing*. In the same way there is *pagodang-godang*, from *pagodang(hon)*, which comes from *magodang*, e.g., *di-pagodang-godang anakna i* - he educated his son (lit. he continually made him great); *asa adóng pasulak-sulahonmu* - so that there is someone that you use as if he were a messenger, or for doing other things, from *pasulak(hon)*. From a comparison between *pasulak-sulahon* in this example and *si-pasuru-suruon* (above), it can be seen that two words, which in the active are quite different in form, can, when used in the passive in the repeated form, become alike.

#### 175\*. REPETITION OF THE SIMPLE FORM OF VERBS WITH THE PREFIX *MANG*.

The simplest form of verbs with the prefix *mang* can also be repeated; the accent is then moved to the ultimate syllable, e.g., *djalák-djalák*, from *mandjalak* - to search (e.g., a room); *djóú-djóú*, from *mandjou*; *píjó-píjó* (RB. p. 302, l. 16). Words of this kind, when repeated, usually signify the making of a sound that continues for some time; less often do they indicate movement of some duration: a verbal counterpart does not always exist, e.g., *pejók-pejók* - to be cackling, of fowls, *sijók-sijók*, *ngiják-ngiják*, *ngaúr-ngaúr*, *behét-behét*, *mejóng-mejóng*, *nguwék-nguwék* (see Dict.), *radjá-radjá* - to be saying "radjá"

<sup>1</sup> *Manuman* rarely occurs (examples are in The Quarrel between S.M. and D.D., pp. 3, 28).

(164\*), *ongá-ongá, borák-borák, koték-koték* (see Dict.), *laló-laló* - to be shaking, of the ground, e.g., in an earthquake (*lalo*), *gumír-gumír* (61 a), *batúk-batúk*. So one finds, as opposed to *mahusó* (79 a), *husó-husó*, e.g., *nung i, husó-husó ma nasida: tu dija apá si-saringgupan* - there-upon they called out, asking: "father, where is S. off to?" An example with *djoú-djoú*: *djoú-djoú ma boru ni begu i: beta ma hita tu huta ninatta* - the spirit's daughter called out: "come, let us go to my mother's village!"

A word that is repeated in this way is not only used as a predicate, as in these examples, but frequently as a predicative adjunct (for examples, see 150 5 and 165 VI 2). Less often is a word repeated in this way placed at the beginning as a predicate in order to make the clause a preclause, e.g., *langá-langá halak, ro pe au tu parmahanan* - as soon as the people have thinned out, I shall go to the pasture.

If the numerous examples of this manner of repetition are studied, it will be clear that it occurs especially with words that by their form alone show their onomatopoeic character (see 38 Obs.; 52 5 Obs.). It should be particularly borne in mind that if the accent is on the penultimate syllable, the repeated word is a substantive (19 I), cf. *hulit-sulis* (14) with *hulit-sulis*; (*manuk*) *sijok-sijok* - a fowl that is so large that it can step over a rice pounder (as a definition of the extent to which the bird has grown), with *sijok-sijok*, given earlier. When such words have a prefix, the accent shifts, hence *marbehet-behet*.

D. has *měněnda něnda*, from *sěnda* (143 D.), with the literal meaning of to make someone so to speak the object of "sěnda" (stay here! cf. Dict. under *tading*, and 158 1 NOTE); *ku-pětahan-tahan* (RB. p. 266, l. 1); *ku-pědeja-deja* (RB. p. 154, l. 7); *poliholihí* - repeat it continually (RB. p. 144, l. 4). There is no differentiation of accent (DAIRI A II b and cf. 87), hence *mehek-mehek* (DAIRI c) = *behét-behét* (30 XIII). I use this example precisely because in it the *h* occurs as a fluid consonant (52 5 Obs.), notwithstanding this dialect's representing the *h* of T. with a *k*, even in onomatopoeic words such as *ěndukur* (31 NOTE 2). Can one conclude from this that *mehek-mehek*, just as *kětjeur* (10 Obs.), has been taken from T.? I do not believe it has. I presume that *k* between identical vowels is a hardening of the *h*, which is the most natural transitional consonant in such a case. The Sund. *aha* is, therefore, a remnant from a time when this language did not use a *k* between vowels. How can one account otherwise for the fact that Sundanese has a *k* just as D., Mal., and Jav. against an *h* in T.?

#### 176. REPETITION OF VERBS WITH THE PREFIX *MAR*.

Verbs having the prefix *mar*, when repeated, differ in meaning according to whether or not they are derived from a repeated substantive. When they are so derived, they only mean the having of, etc., (52) that which the repeated substantive represents, e.g., *marilu-ilu* (RB. p.

198, l. 5) - *to have that which resembles tears*, i.e., not real tears, such as those shed in sorrow, but wetness due to stinging smoke, etc.; *marondingonding* - *to help oneself to an ondingonding*, i.e., making use of something as a hide-out, e.g., *marondingonding ma ho di<sup>1</sup> tunas na di bonandakka on* (RB. p. 292, l. 9 fb.) - *use the leaves growing on those lower branches as shade*, i.e., conceal yourself behind the leaves on the main trunk; *martonga-tongal-langit* (139\* footnote) - *suspended in the atmosphere*, literally, making use of something which is like the middle of heaven: *in the atmosphere* as an adverbial adjunct, RB. p. 159, l. 4 and l. 17 fb. When, however, the repetition is one of the whole verb, the meaning is that of *continually*, something that is constantly happening, constantly being done, or that one does something 'as it were', not in reality, e.g., *marborngin-borngin* - *constantly to pass the night, to stay somewhere night after night*; *mardjehe-djehe* - *to use stratagems in one way or another, or on and off*, with the object of deceiving a person or of bringing about his ruin; *marhata-hata* - *to act as if it speaks*, said of a bird that cannot really speak, but can say a few words only (also said of a person possessed by a spirit and who speaks in a strange language not known to human beings); *marihe-ihe*, or *mariho-iho* (M.) - *to neigh*. Both meanings can merge, e.g., *marungutung<sup>2</sup>* - *to make a slightly muffled sound*, for example, when a person sobs (RB. p. 30, l. 4, and also the designation of a *guttung*), can also be derived direct from *ungutungut*. As a matter of course, the repeated verb can also represent an endeavour, or a similarity, e.g., *mardalan-dalan* - *to try to walk*, of a child at the toddling stage; *marsikkoru-sikkoru* - *to swell like a sikkoru ear<sup>3</sup>* (cf. 52 I 1 b).

Such a verb can also be in the passive, or it can have the form of a substantive, e.g., *ɸargondang-gondang ma djolo bulu i* - *try to use that bamboo as a musical instrument*; *barang adóng ma anak-boru na matois di hita so ra ɸarhata-hatahonokkon* (132) - *or if there may be someone (from another marga<sup>4</sup>) who disdains us, not even desiring to be spoken to*; *ia ama ni si-djonaha i ragan mangolu indang adóng ɸarutangutang* (RB. p. 202, l. 10) - *throughout his life, Dj's father was not a maker of debts, was not one to make debts*.

<sup>1</sup> Here, this preposition makes *tunas* the object (159 1).

<sup>2</sup> M. uses *mungutungut* (RB. p. 242, l. 17 fb.).

<sup>3</sup> E.g., *anggo bitis ni ɸatna nunga marsikkoru-sikkoru* - *her calves were very beautiful; they were like the swollen ears of the sikkoru* (cf. the Mal. comparison *bätisnja bunting ɸadi*).

<sup>4</sup> A girl is meant here.

Repetition where the word without the prefix is placed before the prefixed form, is rare, but an example is *sundut marsundut* - *passing from generation to generation*, for example, a princely title.

*Santik marsantihan* and *djangging mardjanggingan* are substantives determined by verbs.

D. has *měrnidah-nidah* (RB. p. 266, l. 5) - *to do as if one looks on*, i.e. to be an impartial observer of a quarrel; *měrtuwah-tuwahi* (RB. p. 110, l. 4 fb.) - *to keep saying of someone "he's lucky"!*; *měrentat-ěntatkěn* - *to carry something round with one*, said of a woman with child; *měranak-anakěn* - *to have many offspring*.

#### 177. REPETITION OF VERBS WITH THE PREFIX *MASI* AND THE SUFFIX *AN*.

*Verbs with the compound prefix masi and the suffix an* (77), when repeated, mean an endeavour to perform something better than another person, rivalry, e.g., *masitait-taitan* (RB. p. 137, l. 2 fb.) - *to have a tug-of-war with each other to see who can pull (manait) the harder*; *masidjolon-djolowanan* - *to try to be before each other*, from *mandjolowani*, from *djolowán* (134 II e). The closing *n* of the first part is, perhaps, attributable to this.

With intransitive verbs, rivalry is also expressed by *maradu-adu* followed by the stem-word, e.g., *maradu-adu ikkat* - *to walk hard (marikkat) against each other*.

M. The repeated verbs mean something that is done mutually and repeatedly, e.g., *marsisarbut-sarbutan* (77) - *to bite (manjarbut) each other repeatedly*; *marsitombom-tomboman* - *repeatedly to hurl (manombomkon) each other down to the ground*. Reciprocity can, however, also be expressed by the stem-word's being repeated before the derived form, e.g., *susat-manjusatkon*.

D. has *měrsisahut-sahutěn*<sup>1</sup> (77) - *repeatedly to wish each other luck*, for example, on taking leave of each other (RB. p. 83, l. 13 fb.); *měrsisejang-sejangěn* - *always to treat each other with love*, or, *in a propitiatory manner*; *měrsiadjar-adjarěn* (RB. p. 39, l. 14) - *to try to set each other right*; *měrsiuwe-uwěn* (RB. p. 27, l. 9 fb.; p. 39, l. 15) - *to try to make things agreeable for each other, to agree (měnguwei) with each other*.

#### 178. REPETITION OF VERBS WITH THE PREFIX *MARSI*.

*Verbs with the compound prefix marsi*, when repeated, have a meaning which is not always connected with that where the stem-word is not repeated; often, such a verb without repetition does not exist.

<sup>1</sup> *Sahut* is distinct from *saut*, which is spelt *sawut* (DAIRI C I), and = *saut* (I); it is not used as frequently as *tulus* and *surung* (158 19). In the Dict. [*sawut*] (D.) should be added in *saut* I.

Examples are: *marsibutong-butong* - to try to eat until one is as full as possible; *marsironu-ronu* - to be noisy, of a multitude; *marsimonang-monang* - to say "monang" on both sides, said of a buyer and a seller each wishing the other gain; *marsitalu-talu* - to call out "talū" to one's adversary, saying: "If I am wrong, may I be vanquished!" (RB. p. 286, l. 8 fb.); *marsigabe-gabe*, etc.

#### 178\*. REPETITION OF VERBS WITH THE PREFIX *PA*.

Repetition of verbs with the prefix *pa* has been dealt with in 64 a.

#### 179. REPETITION OF NUMERALS.

A repeated numeral is used as an adverbial adjunct, in order to indicate that what the verb, in a sentence or a clause, represents occurs either alternately or consecutively, e.g., *sada-sada do nasida mamorsan i* - they have to carry that one by one, or in turns on their shoulders; *sada-sada mo kene lēbēkēn ro mi lambungku ena* (D.) - come here with me, one by one; *sam-bola sam-bola sa-hali makkilhil* - one (148) chews that sugar cane in pieces, i.e., piece by piece (RB. p. 43, l. 16 fb.). As a predicate, the repeated numeral has a distributory meaning, e.g., *sak-kolak sak-kolak gindjang ni haju na pinonggolanna i* - the length of the piece of wood cut by him into pieces was six feet (the length of each piece was six feet); *pitu-pitu rijapna sa-riritan* - in rows of seven each were his sunspots (the sunspots on his body).

An example of a repeated numeral with the suffix *na*, or *sa*, has already been given (151 8 b); another is *tolu-toluna* (RB. p. 79, l. 7 fb.) - all three, the three of you. For *maradu*, see Dict. under *adu*. For *mēraduna* (D.), see 60 D.

#### 180. IRREGULAR FORMS OF REPETITION.

Some irregularities occur with repetition which would not justify time spent treating of them, because no result of importance would be produced, e.g., T. uses *paima-ima* as well as *maima-ima* (66 c), but D. has only *mema-mema*, of which the 2nd passive, *tērpema-pema*, is often used, e.g., *ēnggo mo kami ngēlngēlēn mema-memasa* (RB. p. 9, l. 2) - we are already tired of always waiting for him; *ēnggo mo matjēm bari, nina, pola i djantar ēmpungta mema-mema kono* (RB. p. 80, l. 7 fb.) - the palm wine in our master's djantar, says he, has become sour just waiting for you (cf. RB. p. 85, l. 7 fb.); *ulang kene inang*<sup>1</sup> *tērpema-*

<sup>1</sup> See 98.

*pema bangku* (RB. p. 82, l. 12 fb.) - *don't wait for me my dearest daughters, it is in vain.*

In the active, *pamate-mate(hon)* - *to thrash someone half dead* (174), is used; the 2nd passive is *tarpate-pate*, e.g., *sondot tarpate-pate pe hubalbal* - *I shall give him a sound thrashing*. Similarly, there occurs *di-parbaga-bagai* - *he mollifies him with promises*.

Repetition of a qualificative verb can also distribute the quality over each of the things mentioned, e.g., *denggán denggán* (157); *ěmbisa-mbisa* (D., RB. p. 42, l. 11) - *all were capable*; *ěnggomok-gomok* (D., RB. p. 180, l. 3).

In addition to *hadak-kadangan* - *what one is accustomed to carry on the shoulders* (173), there is *akkadangan*. The form of this word can equally well be explained as coming from a *hang* + *hadang* (instead of *hadak-kadang*, 22 IV a) with the suffix *an* and the omission of the first *h*, as from a *hadangan* (134, end) with the prefix *ang* (135 IV).

For *pangani-ganion*, *panogo-nogón* and similar words indicating the having of diseases or infirmities, see 134.

Words such as *lijang ni-lijangan*, *solok-simolohan*, *hombung-hinombungan*, etc. (cf. 115 3 a), cannot really be put in the category of repetitions, the more so because they are often used in elevated language.

In the passive, there is *di-papodop-podom*, despite the fact that *di-pamedep-medep*<sup>1</sup> is used, e.g., *di-papodop-podom ma pangalahona songon na di-pamedep-medep* - *he acted as though he were asleep, closing his eyes*.

The meaning of *di tonga-tonga ni* - *approximately in the middle of* (RB. p. 65, l. 19; p. 41, l. 19 fb.) is to be ascribed to the use of *tonga* mentioned in 160 1.

*Manogot-nogot* means *so early in the morning* (RB. p. 156, l. 11 fb.), while *si-manogot-nogot*, as an adverb, means *in the early morning*.

Words such as prepositions, which do not express an idea, are seldom repeated, but an example is: *tartijan-tijan dija mula ni roha-tubu, na tijan panaili masiendependepi* (84) - *what may be the cause of the feeling rising within you?* (i.e., what has brought love into being?) *It comes from glances that are more or less closed* (i.e., from eyes which, by the fluttering of the eyelids, show that we long for each other; love song).

*Bolóng-bolóng* (RB. p. 147, l. 6 fb.) - *to be more or less thrown aside (to be cast off)*.

<sup>1</sup> See 29 III Obs. 2.

a. Repetition of the same word in clauses connected with each other has already been dealt with on p. 314, but other examples are: *sa-huta tombal pat ni djolma, sa-huta tombal tangan, sa-huta tombal bakkurak* (RB. p. 143, l. 10) - (the inhabitants of the) *one village consist only of legs, the other, however, only of hands, another again, only of skulls*; *molo di si ma na mangido, di si do na leonon, di si ma na martunggu, di si do na gararon* (RB. p. 94, l. 11 fb.) - *if there is one who demands, then the thing must be given, and if there is one who insists on payment, then payment must be made*; *di si hinán di-pagohon di si do di-dapot* (RB. p. 310, l. 13 fb.) - *he found them where he had set them up earlier*; *na sa-i nadóng si-panganon inon, na sa-i pinangatton* (RB. p. 309, l. 20 fb.) - *one should eat whatever there is* (i.e., one takes what one is given to eat, even though there is not much of it); *molo songon i, nimmu, songon i* (RB. p. 85, l. 3) - *if it is as you say, then so be it*; *ija molo songon i ninna radjatta songon i ma tutú* (RB. p. 56, l. 9) - *whatever the prince desires, we abide by it*.

### XIII. REDUPLICATION

#### 181. REDUPLICATION.

Reduplication consists of the repetition of a beginning consonant and its vowel and affects only the stem-word, e.g., *padjodjorgok* (65), *harorobo* (122). By this means, the meaning of a word is modified in the same way as with repetition. It is therefore probable that reduplication is only an abbreviated form of repetition; hence *mamboboru* - *to present oneself as a young girl*, said of a palm tree that has not borne fruit; *matsisijali* - *in one way or another*, e.g., by the use of certain words, *to bring bad luck* to the hunt; *mamangani* or *mamanganikken* - *to eat* something that is either large, or present in great quantities, *to eat of* something, said of many people, e.g., *sobu ma nasida mamangani dekke i* - *they were busy eating of that large fish* (cf. p. 200, l. 19; RB. p. 54, l. 5; p. 55, l. 11; p. 52, l. 5); *tatangisan* - *that about which* or *for which one cries* (*hatatangisan ni dakdanak hasijolan ni na godang* - *for which children usually cry, and, which adults desire*, said of a woman's breasts); *tumatangis* (*unang be ho sadi tumatangis* - *don't keep on crying*); *manggagairi*, *manggagaruti* (Dict. under *bela*); *masigagarutan* - *to tear at each other*, said of madmen fighting); *marhohondo*, *mandodowiti*, *makkaharati*, *makkuhuwangi*, *marhahaele*, *marhahaebo*, *martatahuwak* (52 5), *si-tataingan*, *si-raraisan*, *sosombopon* (134 I), *makkehelai* (29 II Obs. 1), etc.

In *makkahuwa*, the repeated syllable must have undergone a change of vowel, as would be expected from *mëngkëkade* (D.).

The stem-word of *hohojamon* (134 I) does not occur (M. uses *markowajam*); neither does that of *pëhëhowam* (DAIRI C).

*Sada*, by reduplication, is applied particularly to one person, e.g., *boru-boru na sasada i* - *that one woman* (56); *alai na sasada i do na balga* (RB. p. 150, l. 4 fb.) - *but the one that was large, was that one*. Before a substantive or before a personal pronoun, *sasada* expresses *only*, e.g., *sasada si-djonaha* - *only Dj.*; *sasada ho* - *you alone*. The 3rd pers sing is expressed by the suffix *sa* (20 II), e.g., *sasadasa* - *he alone* (151 8).

*Lumagorsing* is used instead of *gumagorsing* to be in agreement with *lumalangan*, with which it is usually used (Dict., Addenda, under *polut*).

M. uses *sangkibung ija* or *sangkibul ija* = *sasadasa* (139 M.). *Hahuwa* is used as a substantive (see Dict. under *huwa*).

D. has *sadasa* = *sasadasa* and does not deviate otherwise, e.g., *pěhěhowam* (above), *kěkělsöhēn* (RB. p. 271, l. 19 and l. 12 fb.), from *kělsöh* (134), *kěkěrinkēn* (RB. p. 224, l. 17 and l. 13 fb.), from *měngkěrikēn* (from *kěri*, 132 D.), *měngkě-kade* = *makkahurwa*.

#### XIV. REPETITION WITH CHANGE OF VOWELS

##### 182. FORM OF REPETITION WITH CHANGE OF VOWELS.

This manner of repeating a word differs in the main from the usual one (169) in that it applies to the whole word, with the repeated word usually standing first, e.g., *humaratak humaritik, tumalat tumulut, luma-pang lumepeng, lumajap lumujup, mardarang mardoring, pangabangabang pangabungung*. If the word that is being repeated has vowels other than *a* in the last two syllables, the vowels of these syllables in the first word must be *a*, e.g., *raba rubu, djaba djobi, talsá tolsú, udan patar potir, marak morik, gajá gujú, randat rundut*, etc. If the word that is to be repeated has *a* in those syllables, the repetition of the word stands after it and then has two different vowels, e.g., *hata hoti, mangabas mangebubus*, etc. If the word to be repeated has an *a* only in the penultimate syllable, this vowel then becomes the vowel in the ultimate syllable of the repeated word, whereas in the penultimate it becomes an *u* (which can be an *o* in D.), if the repetition of the word stands first, e.g., *rubas rabis, rubang rabing, bulang baling, suppar sappir, ongakap angkip* (D.)<sup>1</sup> If, however, the repetition stands after the repeated word, it has *a* in both syllables, e.g., *gamir-gamár*.

The stem-words of many of the words repeated in this manner cannot be determined, e.g., *burat berut*.

a. In proper names or in honorifics, the prefix *si* is not repeated, e.g., *si-tahar tuhur*, and the prefix *mar* is often dropped, especially if the stem-word itself has more than two syllables, e.g., *martahuwak tahejak*.

##### 183. USE OF REPETITION WITH CHANGE OF VOWELS.

This means of repetition, by virtue of the contrast of sound in corresponding vowels, produces not only a difference in sound but also a difference in the representation of the direction, distance, place and

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<sup>1</sup> Rarely is it otherwise, e.g., *sokta sokti*, in the formula *asa sokta sokti do au - may* what I as an augurer, say *be confirmed by the results*. *Hara-horu* (M.) comes from *hara* and means *to approach from all sides*, of a number of men who are being called together (in the Dict., connected in error with a Mal. word).

manner in which a thing presents itself (cf. 34, Obs., and 38 and 63 NOTE). It is also much in use in elegant language without causing a noticeable modification in the meaning of a word, so that it must often be classed as a stylistic trimming, e.g., *tittin humarorang humaroring* (RB. II, p. 119, l. 10; cf. also Dict. under *ubung*); examples are: *hata hoti* - *gossip about this and that*; *rubas rabis* - *to hang in rags and tatters*, in different sizes, different colours, or at different places, said of a piece of cloth; *mangabas mangebuis* - *to strike right and left*, e.g., of the tail of a crocodile; *mambarangbang mambarungbung* - *to sound hollow with a different tone*, at one moment clear, at the next dull, or, at one time nearby, at another, at a distance.

This form of repetition is also used in expressing something that is designed to create laughter, e.g., Baldhead asks Bleary Eyes: "Where have you come from?" to which Bleary Eyes replies: "*tijan palpal pulpul takkás di-dijang ari*" - "from Palpal-Pulpul, upon which the sun shines nicely." *Palpal-pulpul* is the name of a place and the allusion is to the baldness (*palpal* - *bald*) of the questioner, *si-palpal*.

a. The placing side by side of words with a meaning that is almost identical must be considered as stylistic (this is particularly applicable to the *andung* of M.), e.g., *manimbas manderse*, *marongas maripur* (24), *tarsonggot tarkuntal* (M.), *humalijang humaloho* (M.), *mamulus mamodjom* (M.), *parsahitan pardangolan*, *pirambat pirabun* (RB. II, p. 140, l. 13 fb.), *tupa tola* (RB. II, p. 230, l. 4 fb.), *tumitik tumampung* (RB. II, p. 248, l. 14), *mangintopak mangintubu* (RB. II, p. 256, l. 15 fb.), *hu-paihut hu-patompanjang* (RB. II, p. 106, l. 1), *hu-paihut hu-padohot* (RB. II, p. 17, l. 14), *bajo manunggal manuwalang*, *hona luntak hona dege* (101 2); *na lumalangan na lumagorsing* (181), etc.

For *pahaja pahuju*, see Dict. and 64 Obs.

It can be seen from these examples that agreement in form tends to occur in such cases.

## APPENDIX

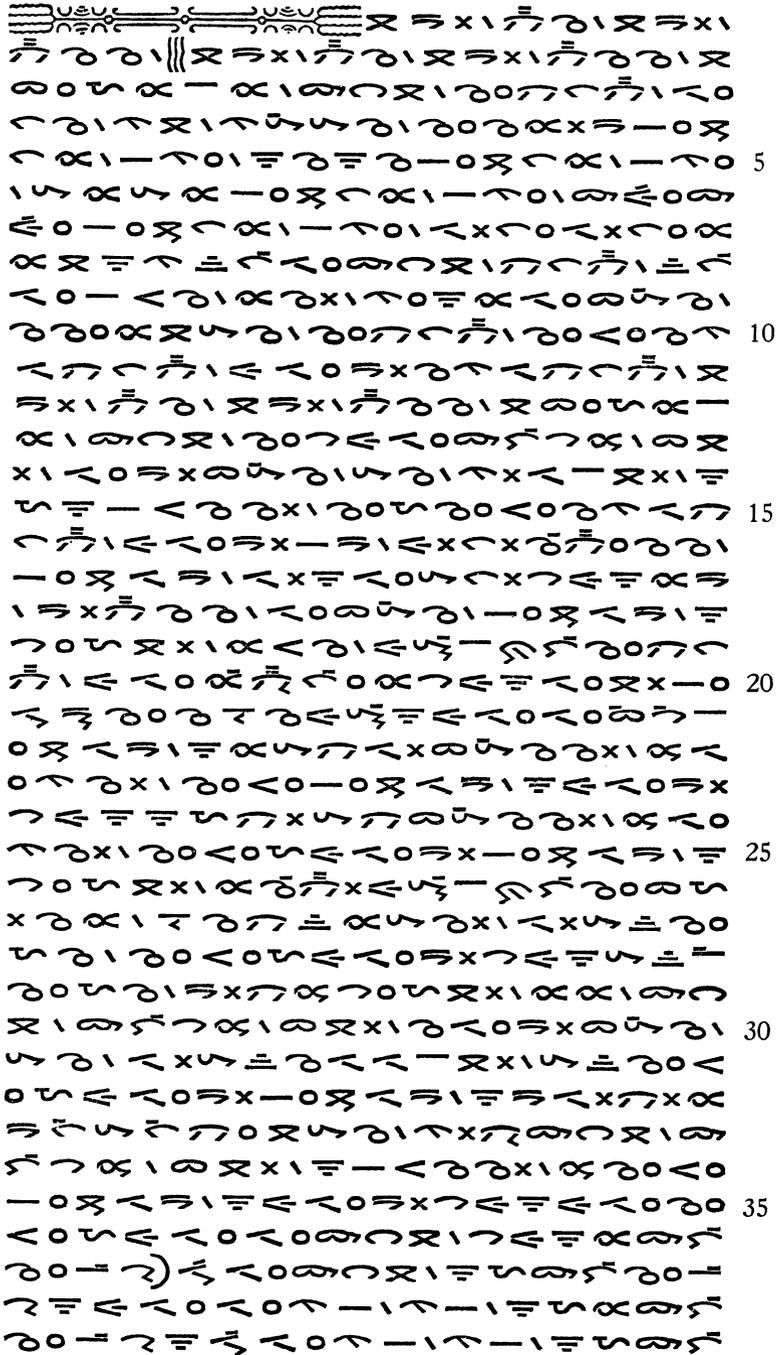


I. *Transliteration:*

- Suhutan Nan-Djomba-Ilik/// A-  
 sadóng ma halak na saingan, mar-  
 gowar Si-Singa-Ulubalang. Asa i ma  
 na mardjolmahot Si-Boru Suri-  
 5 ga, i ma na marhutihok Kuta Padang  
 Matogu; sukkot ni hagabejom ma  
 ibana anggo maromas, alai anggo  
 dakdanak sada pe sowada. Nung<sup>1</sup> ni, a-  
 sa lao ma ibana meda-ngedak tu bali-  
 10 jan, dida ma parbuwe ni rukkung bang-  
 gik nunga sai marrara do di-bael  
 lamunna. Dung ni, asa di-panaek  
 ma tutú; dung ni, asa di-tultuli ma dak-  
 ka ni haju i. Duk sappe bowanonna  
 15 di rohana, midjur ma ibana, di-puti-  
 hi ma, di-pambaet tu akkadangan-  
 na. Dung ni, lao ma ibana muli, di-lejom  
 ma di-pangan djolmana i; sahat  
 butong ma djolmana i na mangap par-  
 20 buwe ni rukkung banggi-hi. Dung ni, asa  
 modom ma nasida, marnipi ma  
 djolma ni radja i, dipi ma ro do-  
 li-doli tu lambungna. Dung ni, asa ma-  
 nukum ma ibana: "Aha ma ni-ulamú, a-  
 25 lé itóng, di-baer ro hamú tu lambuk-  
 kón?" botí ma ninna. "Olo itó,  
 ro pe au tusón, adóng ma na hu-dok:  
 di-pangak kamú narijap parbu-  
 we ni rukkung banggik, molo naek par-  
 30 saulijak kinorhon ni  
 di hamuna, pangak kamú ma sada manuk  
 na marpuli, sada manuk sabur bit-  
 tang baek karowanna. Molo so  
 di-pangak kamú i, ra tuk kamagowan  
 35 do hinorhon ni; alai mo-  
 lo di-pangak kamú i, ra tuk parsau-  
 lijan do hinorhon ni; [op . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> So in the text; read *dung*.

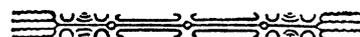
II. MANDAILING BATAK SCRIPT.


  
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II. *Transliteration:*

- Torkat-tor-  
 kanan/// "Torkat-torkanatta :  
 bijá ma pambuwat ni halak di  
 lattjat saean ni namora, pitu  
 5 lappis ina ina, pitu lappis  
 ama ama, pitu lappis budjing bu-  
 djing, pitu lappis doli doli ma-  
 mataisa, ulang di-buwat kalak, ulang  
 di-pangan mottji, i ma di-baen  
 10 na ni-mataan ni halak?" ni-ngi na sa-  
 da halak. Djadi ro na sada halak: "Tor-  
 kat-torkanatta : bijá ma pam-  
 buwat ni gadja di bulung gumbot  
 di robaen, attjo dapo-ti-  
 15 ja i panganonnija?" ni-ngi na sada ha-  
 lak. Djadi ro pardjolo nakkinán :  
 "Pitudar do i di-alo gadja i mar-  
 rokanan; di-baet pituda-ri  
 gijot mangan djauk panjulung ni halak,  
 20 djadi makkuling ma gadja i di topi-  
 duru ni na puna djau-ngi, djadi di-begé pi-  
 tuda-ri ma. "Aha do baenonmu di-  
 són?" ni-ngi pituda-ri. Djadi ro  
 gadja i: "Ija ho, aha baenonmu di-  
 25 són?" ni-ngija. Djadi ro pituda-ri:  
 "Gijot manakko djauk panjulung ni bajo  
 nappuna hauma on do au ni-  
 ján", ni-ngija. Djadi ro gadja i: "Au pe  
 niján, rohamu, gijot mambuwat  
 30 bulung gumbot na di robaen  
 an do au, nada dapo-tau", ni-ngi-  
 ja. Djadi ro pituda-ri: "Ra do ho mar-  
 alé-alé hita, attjo hu-buwat bu-  
 lung gumbo-ti panganonmu?" ni-ngi  
 35 pituda-ri. Djadi ro gadja i: "Djadi", ni-  
 ngija. Djadi di-buwat gadja i ma bulung  
 ni panggu; dung di-buwa-tija bulung ni pang-  
 gu i, djadi di-sapsa-pija ma bulung  
 ni panggu i. Dung di-sapsa-pija bulung . . . . .

III. DAIRI BATAK SCRIPT.


 5 10 15 20 25 30 35

5-01 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

III. *Transliteration:*

- Manuk-manuk sa-  
 ip ladang/// Asa lot mo kunukĕn  
 sukut-sukutĕn arnija i-sukut-  
 kĕn sintĕrĕm<sup>1</sup> lako bangku,  
 5 asa ku-suratkĕn mi kĕrta-se-  
 na, asa i-bĕtoh kono, alĕ si-mĕnggu-  
 ru sukutĕn, asa i-pĕtĕrĕm ko-  
 no nola bai si-debĕn. Asa lot  
 mo kunukĕn piduk arnija  
 10 mĕrgĕrar manuk-manuk sa-  
 ip-ladang; tah i dike nari rohna, malot  
 i-bĕtoh sintĕrĕm kĕ-  
 rĕrohna, i-kuso si-midahsa pe ku-  
 nukĕn, malot i-bagahkĕn bĕ-  
 15 kasna roh, gĕrarna ngo kunukĕn  
 kantja i-bagahkĕn mĕrgĕrar  
 manuk-manuk saip-ladang; malot  
 kunukĕn mĕrbukbuk manuk-  
 manuk saip-lada-ngidi; gahgah mĕngang-  
 20 kat-ngangkat ngo kantja i tanoh, gahgah  
 mĕrdĕngak-dĕngak sorana pida-hi-  
 dah piduk si-debĕn mĕngkehe mĕngkulu mĕr-  
 kabangĕn, kĕnan panganĕn. Asa  
 gahgah mo kunukĕn mĕngangkat-ngangkat  
 25 manuk-manuk saip-lada-ngidi; i-  
 dah mo kunukĕn mĕrbuwah kaju-ara  
 tuganna mĕrbĕlgah kajuna, tuga-  
 na djumĕrangkar dahanna, tuga-  
 na binbin buwahna, tuganna mĕr-  
 30 sembur piduk ĕmbĕlgah-bĕl-  
 gah, dĕkĕt piduk kedek-ke-  
 dek, dĕkĕt binatang i-datas  
 mangani buwah kaju-ara idi, sada pe  
 malot<sup>2</sup> ĕndabuh buwah kaju-ara i-  
 35 di djumpa manuk-manuk saip-  
 lada-ngidi, makin kĕlĕk-kĕ-  
 lĕk mo i-bakin sorana idi,<sup>3</sup> mĕngĕr  
 mo kunukĕn i-bĕge 'ntjawi;  
 i-pĕsulak mo kunukĕn i-tong- . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> The Batak text contains a printer's error: the sign for *u* attached to the letter *ma* should be removed.

<sup>2</sup> The text has, wrongly, *malota*.

<sup>3</sup> The text has, wrongly, *i*.