A GRAMMAR OF THE URBANISED TOBA-BATAK OF MEDAN

by

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td></td>
<td>v1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CHAPTER I : INTRODUCTION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>References</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CHAPTER II : PHONOLOGY</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Segmental Phonemes</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Syllables</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Stress</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Pitch</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. Distribution of Phonemes</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6. Sample Phonemic Transcription</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CHAPTER III : MORPHOPHONEMICS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A. INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B. AUTOMATIC MORPHOPHONEMICS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Replacement Rules</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Examples of Replacement Rules</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Glottal Stop Alternating with Zero</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Vowel Contraction</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. Sample Morphophonemic Transcription</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C. NON-AUTOMATIC MORPHOPHONEMICS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Insertion of s and t</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Reduplication</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Nasal Extension</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Infixes Alternating with Prefixes</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Noun Morphology</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Compound Nouns</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Phrasal Nouns</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Complex Nouns</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. De-Adjectival Nouns</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Verb Morphology</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Introduction</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Formation of Verb Bases</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Conjugated Verb Stems</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Formation of Non-Conjugated Verb Stems</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. Inflectional Affixes</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6. Special Non-Conjugated Verbs</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7. Defective Conjugated Verb Inflections</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Adjective Morphology</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Numerals</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Principle Clauses</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Predicate Types</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Predicate Particles</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Predicate Satellites</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Complex Predicates</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. Prepositional Objects</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6. Adverbial Phrases</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7. Adjectival Phrases</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8. Noun Phrases</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9. Demonstratives</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10. Prepositional Phrases</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11. The ni-Construction</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12. Complex Principle Clauses</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Topicalisation</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Co-ordination</td>
<td>101</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. INTERROGATIVE SENTENCES</td>
<td>102</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. IMPERATIVE SENTENCES</td>
<td>104</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. COMPLEX SENTENCES</td>
<td>104</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Co-ordinate Clauses</td>
<td>104</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Subordinate Clauses</td>
<td>106</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. SENTENCE-FRAGMENTS</td>
<td>111</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>113</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PREFACE

This study of one of the most important languages of Sumatra is a revised and expanded version of my doctoral dissertation, presented at Yale University in 1964. In undertaking this revision I have aimed above all to verify my findings and, wherever possible, to extend the factual coverage. I consider myself fortunate in having had the opportunity to work with a native speaker of Toba-Batak while this was being done. I have also derived benefit from consulting two doctoral dissertations written by native speakers which have been completed since 1964.

I should like to take this opportunity to express my sincere thanks to my informants, and also to Professor Isidore Dyen of Yale University, who introduced me to the study of the Austronesian languages and supervised the writing of my dissertation.

W. Keith Percival
May 1980
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Toba-Batak is an Austronesian language spoken on the island of Sumatra to the east, south, and south-west of Lake Toba, and on the island of Samosir in Lake Toba. The exact geographical extent of the speech community at the present time is not known; one presumes that it is still roughly as Esser indicated in his linguistic map of Indonesia in the *Atlas van tropisch Nederland*, published over forty years ago.

Many political upheavals have occurred since that time. In particular, the Batak were involved in the rebellions against the central government which took place in the late 1950s; as a result of the ensuing political insecurity extensive migrations occurred which left some country districts less densely populated than previously and added appreciably to the number of Batak living in the city of Medan. The precise extent of these demographic shifts will not be known until fresh linguistic cartography is undertaken. For this reason, our knowledge of the geographical distribution of the Batak peoples will remain largely conjectural for some time to come.

It has been customary to refer to the Batak languages as 'dialects', but the propriety of this term is questionable. Karo, for example, differs from Toba so much that mutual comprehension is not possible. In his *Critical Survey of Studies on the Languages of Sumatra* (1955), Voorhoeve distinguishes two main dialect groups. The northern group consists of Karo, Alas, and Dairi, and the southern group of Toba, Angkola, and Mandailing. Intermediate between the two he places Simalungun.¹

Moreover, Toba-Batak itself is not uniform. Voorhoeve emphasises that it comprises many sub-dialects. Nababan, in his 1966 dissertation,
enumerates five geographical varieties which, according to him, are distinguished by speakers of the language. They are Samosir, spoken on the island of Samosir, Toba Holbung, spoken on the plain to the east and south of Lake Toba, Humbang, spoken in the mountains south of Toba Holbung, Silindung, spoken in the valley south of Humbang, and Hullang, spoken in the mountains south-west of Humbang as far as Upper Barus. It is not known, of course, to what extent this classification has any genuine linguistic basis.

My informants were also keenly aware of different varieties of the language, referring most often to the difference between the speech of country dwellers and their own urbanised dialect. They usually explained this difference as a consequence of the close contact which urban dwellers have with speakers of Sumatran Malay and Bahasa Indonesia, people in rural areas being less exposed to these outside influences. Furthermore, the influence of the national language has greatly increased since Independence, especially among younger speakers who have been to secondary school or university. A further fact which should be borne in mind is that the Batak migrants in Medan originally came from different parts of the Batak speaking area and are, moreover, socially stratified. It seems unlikely, therefore, that their speech is uniform.

Superimposed on these differences between urban and rural dialects and the differences within the urbanised dialect of Medan, there is also a marked contrast between colloquial and formal styles of speech. Prior to the arrival of the Dutch, the Bataks, like other Indonesian peoples, had a rich repertory of folk tales (turiturian), riddles (tortorhanan), and several genres of poetry (uppama, edde, and addung). In addition to this vigorous oral tradition, there existed a written language which employed an indigenous alphabet, was devoted in the main to magic, and is preserved in bark books (pustaha). After the Bataks were converted to Christianity, another kind of written literature emerged, consisting of Bible translations and devotional material. The vocabulary and phraseology used in this literature are familiar to most speakers of the language. Moreover, special speech styles of a more traditional kind have continued to be used on ceremonial occasions. The complex interplay of these many varieties of speech has yet to be investigated.

The present study is based on the speech of three informants: Miss Minar Tobing and Mr Apul Tobing, both students at Yale University, and Mr Bennet Silalahi, a student at the University of Kansas. The Tobings were originally from Silindung but grew up in Medan. Mr Silalahi was
from Pansur Batu, had a Malay mother, had lived for many years away from his birthplace, and at the time I worked with him was an employee of the Malaysian government in Borneo. However, he continued to speak Toba-Batak with his wife, who was from the island of Samosir but whom I regret I was never able to interview.

Mr Tobing acted as an informant in a course on linguistic analysis in the spring term of the academic year 1957-58. I was enabled to work with Miss Tobing during the academic year 1959-60 by a generous grant from the American Council of Learned Societies. One other informant, Mr Bill Napitupulu of Porsea, was interviewed for a few hours in November 1959. My doctoral dissertation, which was based almost entirely on the speech of the Tobings, was completed in the summer of 1963 and defended in the following spring. Subsequently, assisted by grants from the University of Kansas, I worked with Mr Sillalahi during the academic years 1970-71 and 1976-77. The revision of my dissertation was completed in the summer of 1977.

The Batak languages are among the better-known Austronesian languages. The first scholar to study them, Hermanus Neubronner van der Tuuk (1824-94) was sent to the East Indies by the Dutch Bible Society in 1849 and spent the years 1851 to 1857 in Sibolga and Barus, gaining first-hand knowledge of three Batak dialects: Toba, Dairi, and Mandailing. After returning to Holland, he published a four-volume collection of texts (1860-62), a Batak-Dutch dictionary (1861), and a grammar in two parts (1864, 1867). His description of Toba was based on the dialect of Upper Barus. His grammar is a monument of painstaking accuracy and has not to this day been superseded. The coverage of morphology is especially comprehensive. Syntax, on the other hand, while not ignored, is nowhere presented in a systematic fashion. An English translation of Van der Tuuk's grammar, with a valuable introductory essay by A. Teeuw, was published in Holland in 1971.

Meerwaldt's textbook, published in 1904, cannot compete with Van der Tuuk's grammar in coverage, but it offers a lucid survey of the main grammatical phenomena, including the syntax. It also contains a useful collection of texts and a glossary.

Warneck's Toba-German dictionary, which first appeared in 1906 and had recently been reprinted, is an invaluable supplement to Van der Tuuk's dictionary. It is especially informative on the subject of nominal and verbal derivatives. Many entries contain proverbs, illustrative sentences, and material of ethnological interest. A revised edition, supplemented with Winkler's material, has recently appeared in Holland (1977).
Marck's Toba-Batak primer (1912) can still be used with profit. It contains graded translation exercises from and into German with grammatical commentary.

Braasem, in a book published in 1951, presents an account of the various genres of traditional Batak literature. His Dutch translations of three folk tales from Van der Tuuk's collection are especially useful. The book also contains an extensive bibliography of primary and secondary source materials.

Nababan's study of Toba-Batak phonemics (1958) is a well-organised and carefully presented analysis of the facts of Toba-Batak pronunciation. It contains especially valuable discussions of vowel length and phonotactics. It is clear that Nabanan's dialect is the same as the one spoken by my informants.

Nababan's doctoral dissertation (1966) is an attempt to describe the whole language. It comprises an extremely brief account of the phonology, somewhat fuller treatments of the morphophonemics and syntax, and a central section on the morphology. There is a sample literary text with grammatical analysis. It is unfortunate that the coverage of many basic phenomena is inadequate and that the arrangement of the material lacks perspicuity.

Silitonga's dissertation (1973) is in a purely theoretical vein and concentrates on three syntactic phenomena: topicalisation, question formation, and relative clauses. The author uses a version of generative-transformational grammar as his theoretical framework, but it is unfortunate that he comes to no firm conclusions. However, he succeeds in presenting much fresh information on the syntax of the language, which is certainly welcome. It may be noted in passing that the dialect he describes is especially rich in Indonesian borrowings. One must, however, deplore the fact that he transcribes his examples in traditional orthography; it would have been helpful if he had at least indicated the position of stress.

In the present study, I make explicit reference to analyses by previous investigators only in footnotes, which are numbered consecutively beginning afresh with each chapter and placed at the end of the chapter in question. Where I cite data other than those provided by my informants, they are so identified. It should be emphasised that my aim has been to describe the speech of my informants, not Toba-Batak as a whole. No attempt has been made to treat the literary language, but literary forms which occur in the speech of my informants have perforce been cited.
Readers already familiar with earlier treatments of Toba-Batak will be struck by the fact that the dialect of my informants differs appreciably from the language described by Van Der Tuuk, Meerwaldt, and others. A number of factors are involved. First, nineteenth-century grammars of the language were based on textual material. For example, it appears that Van der Tuuk did not elicit samples of spoken Toba-Batak from his informants, but instead had them write down texts for him, which he then subjected to grammatical analysis. We have, therefore, little direct knowledge of the colloquial language of Van der Tuuk's day. Second, the dialect described by Van der Tuuk was spoken in Upper Barus, i.e. quite a distance from the area from which my informants' families originated. Third, the Toba-Batak which has developed in the city of Medan since the extensive migrations of the past few generations, has characteristics of its own, in particular a certain degree of morphological simplification. It is unfortunate, however, that we have little or no information about the present-day rural dialects of Toba-Batak. I have, therefore, abstained from making detailed comparisons between the speech of my informants and what one might term 'classical' Toba-Batak, i.e. the literary language described by scholars in the past.

The following is a list of the literature consulted, including works on general linguistics.

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NOTES

1. On the basis of lexical statistics, Dyen finds that Simalungun is equidistant from Karo and Toba-Angkola (Dyen 1965:27), and comments as follows on the relationship within the southern group: 'Interestingly enough, one Toba list scored slightly higher with one of the two Angkola lists than with the other Toba list' (1965:28). Braasem (1951:36) cites the following figures from the 1930 census for the numbers of speakers of the various Batak dialects: Karo 154,350; Pakpak and Dairi 20,144; Simalungun 96,135; Toba 597,748; Angkola 86,555; Mandailing 134,783.

2. Uppama is thus defined by Warneck (1906:230; Warneck-Winkler 1977:283): 'Gleichnis, Bildrede, Sprichwort, verzichtetes Verschen von 2 oder 4 Zeilen, deren 2 erste oft nur zur Verzierung der Rede dienen, oft gereimt.' cf. Braasem 1951:54-73. The edde had the same metrical form as the uppama, but were devoted to amorous topics: see Braasem 1951:74-84. The addung were lyrical poems in which a widow mourned the loss of a husband, or a mother the loss of a child: see Braasem 1951:85-91. According to one of my informants, addung singers are still active to this day in some country districts.

3. For accounts of the indigenous script, which is of Indic origin, see Van der Tuuk 1964-67, paragraphs 1-21, and 33; Meerwaldt 1904:1-2, 118-120; Neumann 1922:4-6. It has been customary for the past half-century to write the Batak languages in roman script. I have not used the current orthography in this study, but the morphophonemic transcription developed in Chapter III and used in the last two chapters is close enough to it to occasion readers familiar with it little or no difficulty.
CHAPTER II

PHONOLOGY

1. SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

The segmental phonemes of Toba-Batak are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Phonemes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oral stops</td>
<td>p t k b d g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glottal stop</td>
<td>q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>s h</td>
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<tr>
<td>Affricates</td>
<td>c j</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m n N</td>
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<td>Liquids</td>
<td>l r</td>
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<tr>
<td>Semi-vowels</td>
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<td>Vowels</td>
<td>i e E a o o u a</td>
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</tbody>
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Except for glottal stop all consonants occur in two lengths; a long consonantal segment is analysed here as a sequence of two identical short segments.

Oral stops occur in tense-voiceless and lax-voiced pairs at three points of articulation: bilabial, alveolar, and velar. Voiceless stops are not noticeably aspirated before vowels. In normal rapid speech they are unreleased utterance-finally and before another stop. Final voiceless stops are sometimes released in slow deliberate speech.

The two affricates, one voiceless and the other voiced, are articulated in the pre-palatal position with the blade of the tongue. The voiceless affricate occurs only in the speech of the urban population. Elsewhere short voiceless affricate segments are replaced by a voiceless groove fricative, i.e. by [s], and long voiceless affricate segments by [ts]. In some areas, e.g. on the island of Samosir, the voiced affricate is pronounced [z].
Nasals occur at three points of articulation: bilabial, alveolar, and velar. They are voiced in all environments. Of the liquids, /l/ is an alveolar lateral and /r/ an apical trill or flap. They are both voiceless utterance-finally and voiced elsewhere. In some areas /r/ is pronounced as a uvular trill or voiced velar fricative.\(^1\)

The apical groove fricative /s/ is articulated in the alveolar or palato-alveolar region. It is voiceless in all positions.

The semi-vowels occur only short. /w/ is more frequent than /y/; both occur relatively infrequently and only in the speech of the urban population. Other speakers replace them by vowels, e.g. /uːlʊ/ for /wːlu/ 'eight', /saːrɔːr/ for /sarɔːwɔ:/ 'trousers', /bɔːa/ for /bɔːwa/ 'man'. /y/ occurs exclusively in Malay-Indonesian borrowings, /w/ largely so.

Finally, one other case of synchronic variation in the distribution of phonemes must be noted. In the dialect of Toba-Batak described by Van der Tuuk [k] and [h] were in complementary distribution, [h] occurring initially and intervocally and [k] elsewhere. One might say, therefore, that in the dialect of that period the phoneme /k/ had two allophones [k] and [h]. When we turn to the Toba-Batak spoken by my informants, on the other hand, this statement is no longer valid. As a result of extensive borrowings from Malay-Indonesian [k] now occurs freely in initial and intervocalic position. Clearly [k] and [h] must now be analysed as members of separate phonemes, as has been done in the present study. However, speakers with more conservative habits, especially in rural areas, replace initial [k] in these borrowings by [h], and thus have, for instance, [hʊpɪ] instead of [kʊpɪ] 'coffee'.

In idiolects in which this is the case [h] and [k] are still members of the phoneme /k/, and no independent phoneme /h/ exists.

As regards intervocalic [k] in borrowings from other languages the following is the case. Traditionally Toba-Batak speakers have replaced intervocalic [k] by [kk], hence /tʊkkaN/ 'craftsman' from Malay-Indonesian tukang. As far as I am aware, no tendency to replace /tʊkkaN/ by /tʊkaN/ has developed. On the other hand, a few words with intervocalic /k/ do now occur in the speech of my informants, and in these cases I have observed no competing pronunciation with intervocalic /kk/ (e.g. /pɔkaränan/ 'yard' from Indonesian pekarangan), but the situation merits further investigation.

Toba-Batak has a seven-vowel system: /i e E a o u/, Vowels are longest utterance-finally in a stressed open syllable, shortest in unstressed closed syllables. A mid central vowel /a/ occurs in Malay-Indonesian borrowings, e.g. /sutərə/ 'silk', /sulətən/ 'south'.
The vowel /a/ has a low central, often markedly pharyngealised allophone (1) when preceded or followed by a voiced consonant and (2) when followed by one of the following vowels: /i e o u/, e.g. /bádan/ 'body' [b̥ádan], /lálan/ 'way' [d̥álan], /bába/ 'mouth' [b̥ába], /bágas/ 'house' [b̥ágas], /bajár/ 'young' [b̥ajár], /balgá/ 'large' [b̥álğa], /jágal/ 'meat' [j̥ágal], /láda/ 'pepper' [l̥áda], /hâu/ 'wood' [h̥âu], /látul/ 'sea' [l̥átul], /batúhOn/ 'to cough' [b̥atúhOn], /harinán/ 'wasp' [h̥arinán], /sirábun/ 'ashes' [sirábun], /bátu/ 'stone' [b̥atu], /dápIt/ 'David' [d̥ápIt], /dátu/ 'medicine-man' [d̥átu], /máup/ 'to float' [m̥áup], /gánup/ 'every' [g̥ánup], /páuN/ 'umbrella' [p̥áuN], /sáu/ 'anchor' [s̥áu], /gálé/ 'weak' [g̥álé].

This allophone of /a/ is a noticeable distinguishing feature of Toba-Batak speech. For this reason speakers of the language endeavour, often with limited success, to avoid using this sound when speaking Bahasa Indonesia. As a result of this constant effort bilingual speakers often replace [A] by fronter non-pharyngealised allophones when they are speaking Toba-Batak. In the speech of my informants there is a marked fluctuation in the distribution of the pharyngealised allophone. Thus /ráut/ 'knife' is pronounced [r̥áut], /máfla/ 'embarrassed' sometimes [m̥áfla], and at other times [m̥áflA]. One may conclude from the available evidence that, at least in the speech of urbanised Batak, this allophone of /a/ is in the process of being replaced by fronter allophones.2

The phonemic distinction between the close vowels /e/ and /o/ on the one hand, and the open vowels /E/ and /O/ on the other, is consistently maintained. However, minimal pairs are rare, e.g. /bél/ 'each', /bÉl/ 'already, any longer', /jólo/ 'front', /jólo/ 'please'. It may be noted that the close vowels do not co-occur with the open vowels in the same morpheme. Thus while the following occur: /bégé/ 'hear', /gogó/ 'strong', /hÉpEN/ 'brass, money', /pósó/ 'young', /bÉO/ 'cookatoo', /tÔE/ 'Come now!', /lótE/ 'kind of bird', the following would not be permissible: /gogó/, /bÉge/, /bÉo/, /tÔE/, and so forth. Moreover, the close vowels predominate statistically before a single medial voiced stop, affricate, or before medial /l/, while the open vowels predominate before geminates, single voiceless stops, and before nasals. Examples follow:

'rook (in chess)', and so forth. The following are counter-examples: /berńt/ 'distressed', /hélal/ 'son-in-law', /bőru/ 'daughter', /deNgán/ 'good', and so forth.

This evidence, together with the fact that the traditional orthography did not distinguish between open and close vowels, points to the conclusion that the phonemic distinction between them is of recent date. A comparative study of different local varieties of Toba-Batak and the other Batak languages is likely to throw much light on this interesting problem.³

Examples of different segmental phonemes occurring in a variety of environments follow:

/p/ initially, medially between vowels, medially before and after a consonant, geminated, and finally: /póda/ 'instruction', /dópa/ 'fathom', /ráp/ 'together', /jarúptal/ 'our needles', /Onópsa/ 'all six', /Óppu/ 'grandfather', /sálpu/ 'to elapse'.

/b/ initially, medially between vowels, medially preceded by a consonant, and geminated: /búlu/ 'bamboo', /rálbl/ 'knife', /ffbo/ 'kind of monkey', /hólbuN/ 'valley, plain'.

/t/ initially, medially between vowels, medially after a consonant, geminated, and finally: /tán/ 'year', /pítu/ 'seven', /dúhut/ 'grass', /gúsiN/ 'scissors', /gátuN/ 'to hang'.

/d/ initially, medially between vowels, medially after a consonant, geminated: /dêkkle/ 'fish', /ládaN/ 'field', /dáldal/ 'wasp', /daqdanak/ 'child', /hóddul/ 'to sit', /sòrdák/ 'closed'.

/c/ initially, medially between vowels, medially after a consonant, geminated: /cél/ 'paint', /mócci/ 'rat', /hucúbo/ 'tried by me', /parcúma/ 'of no avail'.

/j/ initially, medially between vowels, medially after a consonant, geminated: /jąhút/ 'meat', /báju/ 'shirt, jacket', /marjájji/ 'to promise', /sálju/ 'snow'.

/k/ initially, medially before a consonant, geminated, finally: /kăttor/ 'office', /múlak/ 'to return', /nakkin/N/ 'just now', /lóksa/ 'ten thousand'.

/g/ initially, medially between vowels, medially after a consonant, geminated: /guráppaN/ 'crab', /ígáN/ 'nose', /márga/ 'lineage', /tóngé/ 'sweet', /bálga/ 'large', /uggógo/ 'stronger'.

/q/ initially, medially between vowels, medially before a consonant, finally: /qfón/ 'tooth', /bůluq/ 'bamboo', /matqáqek/ 'spring', /mOqmók/ 'fat', /páqna/ 'his foot', /daqdanak/ 'child'.

⁴
/s/ initially, medially between vowels, medially before or after a consonant, finally, geminated: /sóban/ 'firewood', /násal/ 'ail', /úrsa/ 'deer', /dósson/ 'like', /lóksa/ 'ten thousand', /gústiN/ 'scissors', /marúrus/ 'to fall out'.

/h/ initially, medially after a consonant, medially between vowels: /háiI/ 'fish-hook', /g0árhu/ 'my name', /fíur/ 'tail'.

/m/ initially, medially between vowels, medially after a consonant, geminate, finally: /máta/ 'eye', /tamúE/ 'guest', /pósma/ 'a boy's name', /húrum/ 'cheek', /úmma/ 'kiss'.

/n/ initially, medially between vowels, medially after a consonant, finally, geminated: /napúran/ 'betel', /nínna/ 'he said', /alúsna/ 'his answer', /gúna/ 'use'.

/N/ initially, medially between vowels, medially before and after a consonant, geminated, finally: /jéRNéR/ 'slow', /jónjón/ 'to stand', /búNa/ 'flower', /arimNgu/ 'Sunday', /mísan/ 'viverra', /bór Nin/ 'night', /núnna/ 'already', /UNNáli/ 'colder'.

/l/ initially, medially between vowels, medially before or after a consonant, geminated, finally: /lílu/ 'to lose one's way', /sálpu/ 'to elapse', /tállus/ 'to slip', /píGNgol/ 'ear', /mállitínlitíN/ 'to make a clinking noise'.

/r/ initially, medially between vowels, medially before or after a consonant, geminated, finally: /rúpa/ 'appearance', /járijári/ 'finger', /sóRNA/ 'spinning-wheel', /bór Nin/ 'night', /bíbir/ 'lip', /marrará/ 'to be red', /pábrík/ 'factory'.

/y/ medially between vowels: /áyat/ 'verse'.

/w/ initially and medially between vowels: /wálu/ 'eight', /báwa/ 'man'.

/i/ initially, medially between consonants and vowels, finally: /ínaN/ 'mother', /díla/ 'tongue', /bábi/ 'pig', /babít/ 'tiger', /sái/ 'continuously'.

/e/ medially between consonants and vowels, finally: /médan/ 'Medan', /parbú/ 'fruit', /deNGán/ 'good', /leléN/ 'long', /peléO/ 'to be worshiped'.

/E/ initially, medially between consonants and vowels, finally: /ÉddE/ 'song', /IrÉE/ 'carpet', /búla/ 'crocodile', /ákEK/ 'water'.

/a/ initially, medially between consonants and vowels, finally: /álálE/ 'friend', /más/ 'gold', /paÉt/ 'bitter', /nápO/ 'manure', /bálga/ 'large'.

/í/ medially between consonants and vowels, finally: /ínaN/ 'mother', /díla/ 'tongue', /bábi/ 'pig', /babít/ 'tiger', /sái/ 'continuously'.

/é/ medially between consonants and vowels, finally: /médan/ 'Medan', /parbú/ 'fruit', /deNGán/ 'good', /leléN/ 'long', /peléO/ 'to be worshiped'.

/é/ initially, medially between consonants and vowels, finally: /ÉddE/ 'song', /IrÉE/ 'carpet', /búla/ 'crocodile', /ákEK/ 'water'.

/a/ initially, medially between consonants and vowels, finally: /álálE/ 'friend', /más/ 'gold', /paÉt/ 'bitter', /nápO/ 'manure', /bálga/ 'large'.

/í/ medially between consonants and vowels, finally: /ínaN/ 'mother', /díla/ 'tongue', /bábi/ 'pig', /babít/ 'tiger', /sái/ 'continuously'.

/é/ medially between consonants and vowels, finally: /médan/ 'Medan', /parbú/ 'fruit', /deNGán/ 'good', /leléN/ 'long', /peléO/ 'to be worshiped'.

/é/ initially, medially between consonants and vowels, finally: /ÉddE/ 'song', /IrÉE/ 'carpet', /búla/ 'crocodile', /ákEK/ 'water'.

/a/ initially, medially between consonants and vowels, finally: /álálE/ 'friend', /más/ 'gold', /paÉt/ 'bitter', /nápO/ 'manure', /bálga/ 'large'.

/í/ medially between consonants and vowels, finally: /ínaN/ 'mother', /díla/ 'tongue', /bábi/ 'pig', /babít/ 'tiger', /sái/ 'continuously'.

/é/ medially between consonants and vowels, finally: /médan/ 'Medan', /parbú/ 'fruit', /deNGán/ 'good', /leléN/ 'long', /peléO/ 'to be worshiped'.

/é/ initially, medially between consonants and vowels, finally: /ÉddE/ 'song', /IrÉE/ 'carpet', /búla/ 'crocodile', /ákEK/ 'water'.

/a/ initially, medially between consonants and vowels, finally: /álálE/ 'friend', /más/ 'gold', /paÉt/ 'bitter', /nápO/ 'manure', /bálga/ 'large'.
/0/ initially, medially between consonants and vowels, finally: /dÔNan/ 'companion', /bÝ0/ 'parrot', /gÔar/ 'name', /ûbbun/ 'cloud', /marbáb0/ 'to weed'.

/o/ initially, medially between consonants and vowels, finally: /módom/ 'to sleep', /daól/ 'far', /mabhóon/ 'to take', /ûbuk/ 'hair'.

/u/ initially, medially between consonants and vowels, finally: /ûhum/ 'law', /mûlak/ 'to return', /dûa/ 'two', /râut/ 'knife', /pêut/ 'to fall', /parbûel/ 'fruit', /ûr/ 'dry land'.

/ol/ medially between consonants: /sutará/ 'silk', /salátan/ 'south'.

2. SYLLABLES

In a sequence consisting of two vowels with an intervening consonant the consonant belongs in the same syllable as the second vowel. A syllable boundary occurs between two adjacent consonants and between two adjacent vowels.

Examples of syllable divisions: /lô-bi/ 'more', /sôd-duk/ 'spoon', /bu-Ý-o/ 'crocodile', /ma-ra-ú-an/ 'to bark'.

There are four types of syllables: those consisting of a vowel, e.g. /î/ 'the', those consisting of a vowel preceded by a consonant, e.g. /ni/ 'of', those consisting of a vowel followed by a consonant, e.g. /ôn/ 'this', and those consisting of a vowel preceded and followed by a consonant, e.g. /más/ 'gold'. The first two types are open syllables, the last two closed syllables. A closed syllable is never followed by a syllable beginning with a vowel.

The following are examples of syllable sequences: /hôr-bo/ 'buffalo' (closed syllable followed by open), / tô-lu/ 'three' (open syllable followed by a second open syllable), /bá-En/ 'do!' (open syllable followed by closed).5

3. STRESS

It is convenient to distinguish three degrees of stress: primary (indicated by an acute accent over the vowel), secondary (indicated by a grave accent over the vowel), and tertiary (unmarked). Primary stress is the most prominent stress in an utterance; secondary stress is the degree of stress which occurs on all other strongly stressed syllables; all other syllables have tertiary stress.6

The rules of stress placement are given in Chapter III, section C7.
4. PITCH

In an utterance containing one occurrence of primary stress, and no instances of secondary stress, the pitch is highest on the syllable bearing primary stress. In longer utterances with several occurrences of secondary stress, there is a stepwise drop in pitch on each succeeding strongly stressed syllable.

There are two distinctive terminal pitch contours. In yes-no questions the pitch rises on the final syllable of the utterance. In declarative sentences and supplement questions no such rise in pitch occurs.?

5. DISTRIBUTION OF PHONEMES

Affricates and voiced stops do not occur utterance-finally. The phoneme /h/ does not occur syllable-finally. Consonant clusters are limited to two members and occur only utterance-medially. In consonant clusters /q/ occurs only as first member. The semi-vowels do not occur in consonant clusters.

The following diagram tabulates consonant clusters. The rows represent first members of clusters, the columns second members. An x at the intersection of a row and a column indicates that the cluster consisting of the phoneme on the extreme left of the row followed by the phoneme at the head of the column has been observed to occur. A blank indicates that no such cluster occurs. Examples of consonant clusters follow after the diagram.

```
b  c  d  g  h  j  k  l  m  n  N  p  r  s  t
b x            x
        c    x
        d    x
        g    x
        j    x
        k    x  x  x  x  x
        l  x  x  x  x  x  x  x  x  x  x
        m  x  x  x  x  x  x  x
        n  x
        N  x  x  x  x  x  x  x  x  x  x  x
        p  x  x  x  x  x  x  x  x  x  x  x  x
        q  x  x  x  x  x  x  x  x  x  x  x  x  x  x
        r  x  x  x  x  x  x  x  x  x  x  x  x  x  x  x
        s  x  x  x  x  x  x  x  x  x
        t  x  x
```
In the second diagram all sequences of two vowels are tabulated. The same conventions obtain as for the first diagram. Examples follow the diagram.
/ia/ : /iás/ 'clean'
/i0/ : /kái0/ 'pawn (in chess)'
/io/ : /tió/ 'clear'
/iu/ : /tiúr/ 'light'
/ea/ : /parbinéean/ 'hearing'
/e0/ : /bégé0n/ 'to be heard'
/eu/ : /péut/ 'to fall'
/EI/ : /marÉddÉi/ 'to sing continually'
/Ea/ : /maNalÉan/ 'to give'
/E0/ : /báÉ0/ 'parrot'
/a1/ : /háil/ 'fish-hook'
/aE/ : /áEk/ 'water'
/a0l/ : /daó/ 'far'
/au/ : /ráut/ 'knife'
/o1/ : /maddóiit/ 'to sting'
/oa/ : /mabbón/ 'to bring'
/o1/ : /babói/ 'to weed'
/oá/ : /r0á/ 'bad'
/o0/ : /cubbó0n/ 'to be begun'
/u1/ : /huídá/ 'seen by me'
/ue/ : /parbúé/ 'fruit'
/uE/ : /tamúÉ/ 'guest'
/ua/ : /dúá/ 'two'
Sequences of three vowels are rare. The following have been observed:

/iEa/ : /diEáhi/ 'was chased'
/Eai/ : /maNalEái/ 'to slander'
/aia/ : /naiápul/ 'mother of Apul'
/a0a/ : /baōa/ 'man'
/aua/ : /maruáaN/ 'to bark'
/ou0/ : /jo0On/ 'to be called'
/UEa/ : /buēa/ 'crocodile'
/uaE/ : /nuáEN/ 'now'
/ua0/ : /parhuáOn/ 'manner of relationship'

Across word boundaries longer sequences of vowels occur, e.g. 
/baōa I/ 'the man', /buēa ŏn/ 'this crocodile', /r0ā au/ 'I am ugly'.

6. SAMPLE PHONEMIC TRANSCRIPTION

Utterances are numbered and pauses indicated by a plus sign. Word boundaries are indicated, wherever possible, by spaces, but they have no phonemic significance.

1. /dina sadáriq + marbáda d0 alògo d0h0q mataniári + tarÎN0q tu hagogonasídqa/
2. /jála di tikkfé + mamòlus d0 sa hàlaq pardálan = na mamàkkE bajujásnaq/
3. /mardósniroha d0 nasîda + na manaN îsE na boî mabbaEn + si pardálan i manàNgal bájujasna.í + na i ma na gumògoq/
4. /di tikkfé + maNûllus m alogo î maccai gogóq/
5. /qalái + lam digògo maNóbbus + lam takkás d0 dialítt0p pardálan î bájujasna íq/
6. /qujûNujûNnaq + macc0h0q d0 ibàna maccûboq/
7. /duNî + mulài ma mataniarî marsinûddaN + jála tuN maccai lás d0q/
8. /manigôr d0 attON dibûkka pardálan î bájujasnaîq + jala maNôkkku d0 alogo íq + na gumògo mataniarî sian ibànaq/

English Translation

1. 'One day the wind and the sun were arguing about their strength'
2. 'And then a traveller passed by dressed in a coat'
3. 'They agreed that whichever of them could cause the traveller to undo his coat would be the stronger'

4. 'Then the wind blew very hard'

5. 'But the stronger he blew, the tighter the traveller wrapped his coat around him'

6. 'Finally he stopped trying'

7. 'Then the sun began to shine and it was quite hot'

8. 'Immediately the traveller opened his coat, and the wind admitted that the sun was stronger than he'
NOTES


2. Van der Tuuk (1864-67, paragraph 4) notes two phonetic shades of a, one reminiscent, he claims, of the o in French école, which occurs in unaccented final syllables before n and m (he cites lejan 'to give'), the other similar to the Dutch a in closed syllables, occurring elsewhere. Meerwaldt (1904:3) mentions a variety of a, which he transcribes ae, occurring after b in the speech of women and children, and cites baetu 'stone' and baebi 'pig'. This is clearly the [ʌ] of my informants. Compare also Marcks 1912:7.

3. Van der Tuuk (1864-67, paragraphs 5-6) distinguishes open and close varieties of e and o, but the pronunciation rules he offers do not apply to the dialect of Toba-Batak spoken by my informants. For instance, he cites /mælə/ 'hungry', /bɛrl/ 'nephew, niece', /tɔrə/ 'underneath', /ˈɡoːɾə/ 'shout', /ˈbɔɾət/ 'heavy', while my informants have /mælə/, /bɛrl/, /tɔrə/, /ˈɡoːɾə/, and /ˈbɔɾət/. Nababan's account of the distribution of close and open vowels agrees exactly with the speech of my informants.

4. Nababan argues (1958:22-26, and 1966:7) that glottal stop is an allophone of /k/. But [q] is not phonetically more similar to [k], than it is to [t], or [p]. Moreover, [q] and [k] both occur before [k], e.g. [sʊraqkəbaɾ] 'newspaper' : [ˈtʊkkakkəbʊn] 'gardener'. If one adopts the approach of classical phonemics, as is done in the present
study, it is impossible to refuse phonemic status to glottal stop.
That this solution appears to violate the Sprachgefühl of a native
speaker is an interesting fact with possible theoretical implications,
but it can hardly be considered a valid argument in favour of relaxing
the principles of phonemic analysis in this one instance.

5. Nababan (1966:8f) reports that some speakers have a syllable type
in which a vowel is preceded by a geminate stop, e.g. /ddáN/ 'not',
/ddí/ 'that one', /ddión/ 'this one', /ddián/ 'that one', /ddadú/ 'that
one'. My informants have single syllable-initial stops in these forms,
and no such syllable type occurs in their speech.

by splitting up secondary stress into a heavier and a weaker variety.
The heavier kind occurs on the noun in a noun-adjective construction,
e.g. /hálaq na búrju/ 'an honest person', and on the imperative verb
in a sequence consisting of an imperative and a subject noun phrase
when the latter has emphatic stress, e.g. /ákkáq lóbbana/ 'Jump across
the gorge!', /állana iddáhan/ 'Eat rice!'. The weaker variety supposedly
occurs on the first of the two members of a compound noun, e.g. /háta
bátak/ 'the Batak language', and on the subject of an imperative verb
when no emphasis is placed on it, e.g. /ákkáq lóbbana/ 'Jump across the
gorge!'. Nababan further asserts that the two varieties contrast
minimally in /ánín na úli/ 'good air' (noun-adjective sequence), as
against /ánín na úli/ 'Anginnauli (place name)'. I have heard no such
consistent difference of stress in the types of sentences and phrases
which Nababan quotes.
CHAPTER III
MORPHOPHONEMICS

A. INTRODUCTION

This chapter is concerned with the phonemic representation of morphemes. The first part, entitled Automatic Morphophonemics, deals with morphophonemic alternations which, but for a small number of exceptions, can be described entirely in terms of phonemes and phonemic environments. The second part, entitled Non-automatic Morphophonemics, deals with morphophonemic alternations which can be described only by mentioning the identity of the morphemes involved. The third part, entitled Morpheme Structure, deals with typical morphophonemic shapes of morphemes.

A reader unfamiliar with the terms morpheme, morph, and allomorph should consult Charles F. Hockett's article 'Problems of Morphemic Analysis' (Hockett 1947). It is convenient to extend Hockett's terminology to accommodate certain phenomena which would otherwise be difficult to describe. Thus certain morphemes in Toba-Batak are represented by a string of two identical phoneme sequences, e.g. /ələləl/ 'friend'. The peculiarity of such morphemes is that the two phonemes on either side of the boundary between the two sequences participate in the same system of regular alternations which characterise phonemes occurring across a morph boundary. For instance, /ʊtohʊtok/ 'brain' can be regarded as a single repetition of the same morphophonemic sequence provided the /h/ can be explained as resulting from k by the application of the regular morphophonemic rule which replaces k by /h/ before an immediately following morph-initial vowel. (Compare /hələk/ 'person' and /həlah ən/ 'that person'.)

It seems reasonable to conclude, therefore, that such a phonemic string as /ʊtohʊtok/ represents a single morpheme but consists of a
string of two identical morphophonemic sequences. In this way there
is no longer a one-to-one relation between morphemes and the morpho-
phonemic sequences subject to automatic morphophonemic rules. That is
to say, morphophonemic sequences must be regarded as a level of represen-
tation intermediate between morphemes and phoneme sequences.

Moreover, certain morphemes have more than one morphophonemic se-
quence associated with them. For example, the morpheme meaning 'village'
is represented by the two morphophonemic sequences ḡūta and ḡūtan. The
allomorph /ḥuṭāk/ which occurs in the form /ḥuṭāk-ku/ 'my village'
results from the second of these sequences by the application of regular
morphophonemic rules. The two sequences ḡūta and ḡūtan will be termed
basic allomorphs of the morpheme meaning 'village'. Basic allomorphs
are subject to morphophonemic rules yielding allomorphs. (See further
in section Bl of this chapter.)

In addition, a small group of morphemes occurring in complex nouns
have a still more distant relation to phonemic shapes. More specifically,
a certain set of affixes is distributed as representatives of this set
of morphemes in such a way that the relation between the two sets is
many-many. Thus the morpheme meaning 'action' is represented by six
affixes: paN-, par-, ha-, paN-...-an, par-...-an, and paN-...-On.
However, the first of these affixes is shared by the morphemes meaning
'instrument' and 'location'. Furthermore, the affix paN- has four basic
allomorphs paN-, paNA-, pan-, and pa-. One of these, pan-, is in turn
represented by six phonemic shapes in different environments, namely
/paN paN paN paN paN paN/. (See further in Chapter IV, section 2 (3).)
In these instances, therefore, four levels of analysis must be distin-
guished: morphemes, affixes, basic allomorphs, and allomorphs (phonemic
shapes).

The linguistic model used in describing the automatic morphophonemics
is what Hockett called 'item and process' in his article 'Two Models of
Grammatical Description' (Hockett 1954).

B. AUTOMATIC MORPHOPHONEMICS
1. REPLACEMENT RULES

When the phonetic transition between two morphs occurring in sequence
is close the two phonemes on either side of the morph boundary partici-
pate in a system of regular alternations.

Thus in the utterance /siak kamú/ 'from you' the last phoneme of the
first morph alternates with /s/ in /sias sōp0 i/ 'from the rice-barn',
with /p/ in /siap pūdi/ 'from behind', with /b/ in /siab bīlaN / 'from
the dog', with /n/ in /sian nasīda/ 'from them', with /m/ in /siam
médan/ 'from Medan', with /t/ in /siat taNákků/ 'from my hand', with /j/ in /siaj jábu/ 'from home', and so forth. In a similar way the initial phoneme of the second morph /kamû/ 'you' alternates with /p/ in /módp pamû/ 'you were asleep', with /t/ in /dôh0t tamû/ 'with you', with /s/ in /dígàdis samû/ 'sold by you', with /h/ in /ítûh0r hamû/ 'bought by you'.

These alternations are described here by setting up for each morpheme one, and in some cases more than one, basic allomorph. Basic allomorphs are represented in morphophonemic transcription. The inventory of morphophonemic symbols is the same as the inventory of phonemic symbols except that it lacks the symbol q. A morphophoneme is the theoretical entity designated by a morphophonemic symbol. Citations in morphophonemic transcription are italicised.

Morphophonemes are related to phonemes by replacement rules. The following is an example of a replacement rule: 'nh is replaced by /kk/'. This means that wherever a morphophonemic transcription contains the sequence nh, the corresponding phonemic transcription contains the sequence /kk/. For instance, the morphophonemic representation siaň hamu 'from you' can be converted into its corresponding phonemic transcription by applying this rule, yielding the representation /siak kamû/. When a replacement results in phonemic symbols which have the same shape as the morphophonemic symbols, the morphophonemic sequence will be said to remain unchanged.

Replacement rules are described here by means of the matrix which follows. The rows represent first members of a sequence of two morphophonemic symbols, and the columns second members. The symbols at the intersection of a row and a column represent the phoneme sequence resulting from the replacement of those two morphophonemic symbols. V represents any vowel. To read off the replacement for, say nh, follow the row which has n at the extreme left until the column under h is reached, at which point the sequence /kk/ will be found.
These replacement rules may be summarised in the following statements:

1. A voiceless stop is replaced by /q/ before stops, affricates, fricatives, nasals and liquids.
2. n first assimilates its point of articulation to a following stop, then assimilates completely to it. Thus nb changes first to mb, and then to /bb/. Before g only the first step takes place, i.e. ng becomes /Ng/.
3. m is replaced by /p/ before voiceless stops, assimilates completely to b, and remains unchanged before d and g.
4. N is replaced by /k/ before voiceless stops, and remains unchanged before voiced stops.
5. Before s a nasal is replaced by the homorganic voiceless stop.
6. The nasal in a nasal plus h sequence is treated like the homorganic voiceless stop and then statement 8 applies.
7. n and r assimilate completely to a following l, and n to a following m.
8. h completely assimilates to a preceding voiceless stop or s.
9. k is replaced by /h/ before a vowel.

Certain of these statements require further comment.¹

1. In a number of instances at morph boundaries within words nh is replaced by /tt/. For example, /p0n 'tooth' + hu 'my' yields /ipóttu/, and hudónhu 'my pot' yields /hudóttu/. In some cases informants offer two forms, e.g. /daláttu/ and /dalákku/ 'my way' for morphophonemic dalán-hu, and /mánat tamú/ and /mának kamú/ 'you eat' for morphophonemic
máNan hamû. One informant offered /padeNgakkû/ 'too good' for morphonemic padeNganhu, while another offered /padeNgattû/ and rejected the other pronunciation. For more examples of /tt/ from nh see section 2 below.

2. At morph boundaries within words ns is replaced sometimes by /ts/, and sometimes by /cc/. Thus both /tolúcca/ and /tolútsa/ from tolún-sa 'all three' occur. According to my informants /tolúcca/ is not heard in the countryside. At morph boundaries between words ns is replaced by /ts/ or by /ss/, e.g. /tágat s0/ and /tágas s0/ from tagan s0 'before (conjunction)'. For more examples see section 2 below.

3. The m of the prefix um- becomes k before h, and the h assimilates completely to it, e.g. /ukkólom/ from umhólon 'darker'. Before all other consonants this m assimilates completely, e.g. /uddéNgan/ from umdéNgan 'better', /uggógo/ from umgógo 'stronger', /ullógo/ from umlógo 'drier', /unnéAN/ from umnéAN 'thinner', /unNÉRNER/ from umNÉRNER 'slower', /urrára/ from umrára 'redder', and /ussómal/ from umsómal 'more usual'.

4. At word-internal morph boundaries voiceless stops sometimes assimilate completely to a following voiceless stop instead of being replaced by /q/. This is common in morphemes represented by a sequence of two identical morphs, e.g. /martítup/ from martúttup 'to decide', /ditáttap/ from ditáptap 'washed'.

2. EXAMPLES OF REPLACEMENT RULES

In all the examples in this section the formula on the left is of the form wx -- yz, and it should be interpreted as follows: to a sequence in a morphophonemic transcription consisting of the morphophonemes wx there corresponds in the phonemic transcription of the same linguistic form a phonemic sequence yz. This is followed by one, or in some cases by two, examples in phonemic transcription. Each example is followed by an English gloss and the same form in morphophonemic transcription. Where two examples are cited, the first is an instance of the morphophonemic sequence occurring within a word, and the second an instance of the same morphophonemic sequence occurring across a word boundary.

pt -- qt /martúttup/ 'to decide' martúttup, /råq táNis/ 'weep together' råp táNis.

pd -- qd /dáqdap/ 'shadow-tree' dáqdap, /sólup dahànOn/ 'a measure of rice' sólup dahànOn.
ps -- qs /sàkkasàkkaq ni róha/ 'desire' sàkkapsàkkaq ni róha.
pj -- qj /gànuq jábu/ 'every house' gànup jábu.
pm -- qm /hatòq ma/ 'straightway' hatòp ma.
pl -- ql /raq lá0/ 'go together' rap lá0.
pr -- qr /disàkkakaq róhàna/ 'he desired' disàkkak róhàna.
ph -- pp /marìsap pilta/ 'Let us smoke' marìsap hìta.
tk -- qk /pòjòq kamar 1/ 'This room is crowded' pòjòt kamar 1.
tb -- qb /mabbùaq bóru/ 'to marry (said of a man)' manbùat bóru.
td -- qd /mEqmèq dò/ 'It is small' mÈtmèt dò.
ts -- qs /dòhòq si mëna/ 'and Mëna' dòhòt si mëna.
tj -- qj /jumúqjut/ 'more often' jumújtut, /sipaq jábu/ 'as big as a house' sipat jábu.
tm -- qm /mEqmèt/ 'small' mÈtmèt, /tarsòNgòq ma/ 'takes fright' tarsòNgòt ma.
tn -- qn /sàhiqna f/ 'her illness' sàhitna f, /pitòlòq na gájjjan/ 'a long pencil' pitòlòt na gájjjan.
tr -- qr /haccìq rukkúkku/ 'My neck is stiff' haccìt rukkúNhu.
th -- tt /pamEqmÈttú/ 'to small' pamÈtmÈthú, /dàpòt tò/ 'you are caught' dàpòt hò.
kp -- qp /tòbbaq parbegúan/ 'the forest where the spirits live' tòbbak parbegúan.
k t -- qt /dídòq tu au/ 'He told me' didòk tu au.
kb -- qb /bùkkúqbùkkúqna f/ 'her hump' bùkkúkbúkkuk na f, /mülaq botí/ to be unsuccessful mülaq botí.
kd -- qd /madégdek/ 'to fall' medékdek, /jumÈppEq dò/ 'It is shorter' jumÈppEk dò.
kg -- qg /dòppaq gíjjan/ 'upwards' dòppak gíjjan.
ks -- qs /dòppaq siámun/ 'to the right' dòppak siámun.
kc -- qc /hàlaq cína/ 'a Chinese' hàlak cína.
kj -- qj /dòq jò/ 'Say it!' dòk jò.
km -- qm /mòqmòk/ 'fat' mòkmòk, /na lòsòq ma hò/ 'How lazy you are!' na lòsòk ma hò.
kn -- qn /jinàqna/ 'its tameness' jinànàna.
kl -- ql /ditâdduq lôbbu/ 'thrown by a bull' ditâdduk lôbbu.
kp -- qr /babûlaq rErE î/ 'Roll the mat out!' pabûlak rErE î.
kh -- kk /pajEppEkkû/ 'too short' pajEppEkhû, /nâEk k0/ 'Climb!' nâEk h0.
kV -- hV /bukkûhon/ 'hunchbacked' bukkûkôn, /hâlah Òn/ 'this person' hâlak Òn.
sp -- sp /sibûlîsi paNâgû/ 'Satan the destroyer' sibûlîs paNâgû.
st -- st /dipûs tutûp/ 'tight shut' dipûs tutûp.
sb -- sb /alpûs butuhâna/ 'her stomach is shrunken' alpûs butuhâna.
sd -- sd /halûs dû/ 'It is fine' halûs dû.
ss -- ss /targadîssà/ 'can be sold' targadîssà, /dîgâtûs sî pûsmà/ was sold by Pûsmà dîgâtûs sî pûsmà.
sh -- ss /parahîssû/ 'too steep' parahîshû, /pûgos sîta/ 'we are poor' pûgos hita.
mp -- pp /uppîr/ 'harder' uppîr.
mt -- pt /jûrépta/ 'our needles' jûreamta.
mk -- pk /maNûnup kûpî/ 'to drink coffee' maNûnum kûpî.
mb -- bb /dînûb bîanû/ 'drunk by a dog' diînum bîanû.
md -- md /lâm dipûs/ 'the tighter' lâm dipûs.
mg -- mg /lâm gogû/ 'the stronger' lâm gogû.
ms -- ps /Onûpsa/ 'all six' Onûmsa.
mn -- mn /jûrumûna/ 'her needle' jûrumûna, /mûdom nasûda/ 'they slept' mûdom nasûda.
ml -- ml /nadidâtûlamalu/ 'foetus' nadidâtûlamalu.
mb -- pp /paholoppû/ 'too dark' paholomû, /ûnûp pûlak/ 'six people' ûnûm hâlak.
np -- pp /dîpaNputûkkûn/ 'picked in large numbers' dîpaNputûkhûn, /sîap pûdû/ 'from behind' sîan pûdi.
nt -- tt /sîat tânakkû/ 'from my hand' sîan tânakhû.
mb -- bb /mabbaên/ 'to do' manbâen, /tubûb bûru/ 'to give birth to a daughter' tubûbân bûru.
nd -- dd /maddONâni/ 'to accompany' mandONâni, /sumûd dû/ 'It is similar' sumûn dû.
ng -- Ng /maNgurúhOn/ 'to learn' mangurúhOn, /sàNON gottína/ 'in exchange' sàNON gottína.
nc -- cc /maccúbo/ 'to try' mancúbo.
nj -- jj /harbànAj júlu/ 'front entrance' harbànN júlu.
nm -- mm /pukkulÔmmu/ 'to be beaten by you' 'pukkulÔmmu, /siam màs/ 'of gold' siam màs.
nn -- nn /ipÔnna/ 'his tooth', ipÔnna, /iNànàn nàsiN/ 'another place' iNànàn na nàsiN.
nl -- ll /iNàlÌlaNÀn/ 'pale' lÌNàlÌlaNÀn.
nr -- rr /di bagàsàr rohàna/ 'to himself' di bagàsan rohàna.
nh -- kk /si boanôkkü/ 'to be carried by me' si boanônhü, /siak kuría/ 'from church' siak huría.
Np -- kp /pàlikpáliN/ 'at most' pàlikpáliN, /dàk pârdüli/ 'of no concern' dàN pârdüli.
Nt -- kt /dàk tutú/ 'not true' dàN tutú.
Nk -- kk /tûkkak kóbun/ 'gardener' tûkkak kóbun.
Nb -- Nb /hûràN bâlga/ 'not big enough' hûràN bâlga.
Nd -- Nd /dàN dimanàNdúfà/ 'nowhere' dàN dimanàNdúfà, /dàN dònåkkü/ 'I have a friend' dàN dònånhü.
Ng -- Ng /maNgádis/ 'to sell' maNgádis, /nàEN guruhôNôkkü/ 'I want to learn' nàEN guruhôNônhü.
Ns -- ks /dûk sàlpù ñ/ 'after that' dûN sàlpù ñ.
Nj -- Nj /tûkkâN jàì/ 'tailor' tûkkàN jàìt.
Nm --Nm /dàN múrûk/ 'not angry' dàN múrûk.
Nn -- Nn /inàNnà/ 'his mother' inàNnà, /dàN nîpís/ 'not thin' dàN nîpís.
Nl -- Nl /ûNûN ñòas/ 'do not let' ûNûN ñòas.
Nr -- Nr /dàN ràrà/ 'not red' dàN ràrà.
Nh -- kk /patÔràkkôn/ 'to make clear' patÔràNhôn, /dàk kàru/ 'not really' dàN kàru.
lp -- lp /pûkkìl píga/ 'What time is it?' pûkkìl píga.
l t -- lt /tôltôl/ 'stiff' tôltôl, /sàp pôNgôlâl tâlî/ 'a piece of string' sàp pôNgôlâl tâlî.
lb -- lb /màmûkkìl bìfàN/ 'to beat a dog' màmûkkìl bìfàN.
l d -- ld /na nÈNÈI do hò/ 'You are deaf' na nÈNÈI do hò.
Is -- Is /ùnak pùkkul si ucc0h / 'Don't beat your little brother'
ùnaN pùkkul si ucc0k f.

1j -- 1j /ápil j010 0n/ 'Learn it!' ápil j010 0n.

1m -- 1m /ápil ma 0n/ 'Learn it!' ápil ma 0n.

1n -- 1n /dipùkkul nasída/ 'beaten by them' dipùkkul nasída.

Ir -- Ir /tarsúNgul r0hàkku/ 'my spirit awoke' tarsúNgul r0hànhu.

1h -- 1h /piNgó1hu/ 'my ear' piNgó1hu, /mamùkkul háu/ 'to beat a tree'
mamùkkul háu.

rp -- rp /marpùkkul/ 'to play at marbles' marpùkkul.

rt -- rt /tartá0n/ 'tolerable' tartá0n, /àttar tabó/ 'quite tasty'
àttar tabó.

rk -- rk /lùar kapála/ 'by heart' lùar kapála.

rb -- rb /marbadái/ 'to quarrel' marbadái, /j0j0r bàEn/ 'Put them in
order!' j0j0r bàEn.

rd -- rd /mardálan/ 'to walk' mardálan, /àttar deNgán/ 'quite good'
àttar deNgán.

rg -- rg /margúli/ 'to play at marbles' margúli.

rs -- rs /marsógot/ 'tomorrow' marsógot.

rc -- rc /parcúma/ 'to no avail' parcúma.

rj -- rj /marjájji/ 'to promise' marjájji, /ükko r j0/ 'dive!' õkk0r j0.

rM -- rm /na hinúrhurm f/ 'which was grated by you' na hinúrhurm f,
/harúar ma/ 'it came out' harúar ma.

rn -- rn /àsarnilóba/ 'beehive' àsarnilóba.

rN -- rN /marNiNíN/ 'to make a ringing sound' marNiNiN.

rl -- ll /malláNE/ 'to swim' malláNE.

rr -- rr /marrára/ 'to be red' marrára.

rh -- rh /marhúsip/ 'to whisper' marhúsip.

ns -- ss /na madábu d0 Os siat taNákkul/ 'It fell from my hand' na
madábu d0 0n siat taNánhu, /s0N0s silúa/ 'as a present'
s0N0n silúa, /mabbaÈs sàda s0p0/ 'to make a rice-barn'
manbàen sàda s0p0, /doss0s sùddaNNi mataníári/ 'like the
sun's rays' doshoN sùddaNNi mataníári, /daN deNgàs
sipanàNN0nnami 0n/ 'This food of ours is not good' daN deNgàn
sipanàNN0nnami 0n, /hòlás sa hálak/ 'only one person' hòlán sa
hálak, /d0Nas sa sikkóla/ 'school friend' d0Nan sa sikkóla,
/síppas sudena f/ 'Put them all away' sìppan sudena f.
ns -- ts /tarbaētsa/ 'it can be done by him' tarbaēnsa, /tarboātsa/ 'it can be carried by him' tarboānsa, /matsusuarı/ 'to sun-bathe' mansūsuāri, /hōlat sian nadāo/ 'only from a distance' hōlan sian nadāo, /dibōat si sūtan/ 'brought by Sutan' diboān si sūtan, /manutsāddē/ 'to lean' maNunsāddE, /paradehōtsa/ 'to prepare it' paradehōnsa.

ns -- cc /maccōhōt/ 'to cease' mansōhōt, /manabunihōcca/ 'to hide it' manabunihōnsa, /maccuākkōn/ 'to break off something' mansuākōn, /paNuccaddēān/ 'something to lean on' paNunsaddēān.

nh -- tt /paluNuttū/ 'too quiet' paluNunhū, /ūdat tabahāba/ 'rain storm' ùdan habahāba, /padalāttōn/ 'to drive (a car)' padalānḥōn, /ubāttu/ 'my grey hair' ubānhū, /padeNgāttōn/ 'to reconcile' padeNgānḥōn, /napurūttu/ 'my betel' napurānhū, /tittīttu/ 'my ring' titīnhū, /gattukkōttōn/ 'to be hung up' gattuNŋōnhōn, /ipōttu/ 'my tooth' ipōnhū, /paribāttu/ 'my cousin' paribānhū, /maNāttōn/ 'to eat (something)' maNānḥōn, /sobāttu/ 'my firewood' sobānhū.

3. GLOTTAL STOP ALTERNATING WITH ZERO

In utterance-final position a morpheme which in other positions has allomorphs ending in a vowel has an allomorph with an additional final glottal stop. For example, the morpheme nasıda 'they' has an allomorph /nasıdaq/ which occurs in utterance-final position. They type of allomorph often occurs before a brief pause within an utterance.

In utterance-initial position a morpheme which in other positions has allomorphs beginning with a vowel has an allomorph with an additional initial glottal stop, for example, the morpheme ugāsan 'thing' has an allomorph /ugāsan/ which occurs in utterance-initial position. This type of allomorph often occurs after a brief pause within an utterance.

Between a morph ending in a vowel and a following morph beginning with a vowel /q/ is often inserted, e.g. /maN-ul-a-q-akka-q-ula-On/ 'to do jobs'. This occurs more often between words than between morphs belonging to the same word, more often in careful, deliberate speech than in rapid speech.

4. VOWEL CONTRACTION

A sequence of two identical vowels occurring across a morph boundary is contracted to a single vowel. If either vowel had primary or secondary stress, the resultant contracted vowel is similarly stressed. Examples: /ganaganān/ 'effigy' gana-ganā-an, /b0t0kku/ 'I shall know'
bOt0-ôn-hu, /dfda/ 'is seen' di-fda, /ditikkı/ 'at that time' di tikki f, /burf/ 'Wach!' burf-i, /marnı-pı/ 'to dream' marnı-pı. In slow, deliberate speech uncontracted forms occur.

In rapid speech a sequence of two non-identical vowels is often contracted to a single vowel, e.g. /pêtte/ 'Wait!' paîtte. There is a tendency in rapid speech for high and mid vowels to be replaced by semi-vowels after /a/, e.g. /áyk/ 'water' (for /aÉk/), /áw/ 'I' (for /áu/).

5. SAMPLE MORPHOPHONEMIC TRANSCRIPTION

The following is a morphophonemic transcription of the passage transcribed phonemically in Chapter II, section 8. A plus sign denotes pause; spaces denote word boundaries.

1. dina sada ári + marbáda d0 alógo d0h0t mataniári + tarıN0t tu hagoganasfda.

2. jàla di tikki f + mamólus d0 sa hàlak pardálan + na mamákkE bajùjasna.

3. mar dol nóha d0 nasılda + na manaN lıE na boi manbáEEn + si pardálan l manáNgal bàjujasna f + na f ma na gumógo.

4. di tikki f + maNülus ma alogo l maccai gogó.

5. aláj + lam digógo maNóbbus + lam takkás d0 dialıthıOn pardálan l bàjujasna f.

6. újuNujúnna + mansıh0t d0 ibána mancúbo.

7. duN f + mulài ma mataniári l mar sinóddaN + jàla tuN maccai lds d0.

8. manıgòr d0 attıN dibükka pardálan l bàjujasna f + jala maNökku d0 alogo f + na gumógo mataniári l sıan ibána.

C. NON-AUTOMATIC MORPHOPHONEMICS

The phenomena covered in this part are morphophonemic in character, i.e. have to do with the phonemic representation of morphemes, but are such that the identity of the elements in question must be taken into consideration.

1. INSERTION OF s AND t

Between the prepositions tu and di, and a demonstrative, s is inserted. Examples: tu-s-ôn 'hither', di-s-adú 'there', tu-s-f 'hither', di-s-ôn 'here'.

37
Between the base inOt 'memory' and the causative affix pa-, s is inserted, e.g. pa-s-inOt 'to remind, warn'.
The base ijur 'spit' receives a prefixed t when it occurs in the non-conjugated stem marsi-t-ijur 'to spit (intransitive)' and in the conjugated stem tijur-h0n 'to spit out (transitive)'. Note also the third passive ni-t-ijurh0n to the stem t-ijurh0n, with the alternant ni-appropriate to a stem with an initial vowel.

2. REDUPLICATION

After the nominal affix ha-'abstract' the first two morphophonemes of the underlying form are repeated. Examples: ha-lalás 'heat' (underlying form lás 'hot'), ha-mamársak 'sadness' (underlying form mársak 'to be sad'), ha-sasáhat 'arrival' (underlying form sáhat 'to arrive').
The morpheme sabi 'sickle' has an allomorph sasabi which occurs in the compound noun bûlan-sasábi 'crescent moon'.

3. NASAL EXTENSION

A final n is added to certain words in certain contexts:
1. To numerals which end in a vowel and to the interrogative particle péga 'how many?', when they occur before sôddut 'generation', pôNg0l 'piece', gôtap 'piece', jôkkal 'span', lâkka 'step', lôppit 'fold', bôla 'half', barîba 'half', lëbb0r 'page', sôdduk 'spoon'. Examples: sán sôdduk 'one spoonful', tôlun sôddut 'three generations', slân gôtap 'nine pieces', sán pôNg0l 'one piece', sán bôla 'one half', duän lôppit 'two folds', sán lëbb0r 'one page', sán jôkkal 'one span'.
2. To the numerals dûa 'two', tôlu 'three', and îfûa 'five' before enclitic -sa 'all'. Examples: tôlûnsa 'all three', duânsa 'both'.
3. To nouns ending in a vowel before any enclitic pronoun which does not begin with a nasal. Examples: bajûn-hu (phonemically /bajûku/) 'my clothes', bâju-mûna 'your clothes', rajân-ta 'our rajah', ràja-nasîáda 'their rajah'. Also to kinship terms ending in -N, with deletion of that final N, in the same contexts, e.g. tulàn-ta 'our maternal uncle', tûlán-nasîáda 'their maternal uncle'.

4. INFIXES ALTERNATING WITH PREFIXES

The infixes -in- and -um- alternate with prefixes under certain conditions, the conditioning factor being the nature of the initial morphophoneme of the underlying form.
-in- is replaced by the prefix ni- where the initial morphophoneme of the underlying form is a vowel or a voiced apical consonant.
Examples: ni-ajár hôn 'is taught' (stem ajár hôn), ni-dôk 'is said' (stem dôk), ni-léän 'is given' (stem léän). The prefix also occurs in ni-tijûr hôn 'is spat out' (stem tijûr hôn). In some instances competing forms occur, e.g. ni-hûrâk alongside h-in-ûrâk 'is dug out'.

-um- is replaced by the prefix um- where the initial morphophoneme of the underlying form is a bilabial consonant. Examples: um-mâol 'more difficult' (root mâol 'difficult'), um-pîr 'harder' (root pir 'hard'), um-bûtô 'to know' (stem bûtô 'know'), um-bân 'to do' (stem bân 'do'). Underlying forms in initial vowels add an initial m before taking the prefix um-. Examples: um-mûli 'more beautiful' (stemûli 'beautiful'), um-mârga 'more expensive' (stem arga 'expensive').

Before underlying forms beginning with other morphophonemes the prefix and the infix are in competition. In general my informants regard the forms with the infix as 'more correct', and in some cases label the forms with the prefix as 'childish' or 'unacceptable'. The prefix is preferred in the following cases: umsômal (phonemically /ussômal/) 'more usual' (stem sômal 'usual'), umrâra (phonemically /urrâra/) 'redder' (stem râra 'red'), um-dâtû (phonemically /uddâtû/) 'wiser' (stem datû 'wise'), um-hôlom (phonemically /ukkôlom/) 'darker' (stem holom 'dark'). Examples of competing forms: umlappôt and um-lôppôt 'softer' (stem lappôt 'soft'), rumâhis and um-râhis 'steeper' (stem rahís 'steep'), rumfar and um-rîfar 'wilder' (stem rîar 'wild'), gümôppis and umgôppis (phonemically /uggôppis/) 'more agile' (stem goppis 'agile'), gumôgo and um-gógo (phonemically /uggôgo/) 'stronger' (stem gogo 'strong'), lumôgo and um-lôgo 'drier' (stem logo 'dry'), humâduk and um-hâdûk (phonemically /ukkâdûk/) 'more obscene' (stem hadûk 'obscene'), humôrmat and um-hôrmat 'more polite' (stem hûrmat 'polite'), jumêppék and um-jêppék (phonemically /ujjêppék/) 'shorter' (stem jêppék 'short').

5. INFLECTIONAL AFFIXES

The intensive affix has the basic allomorph -an when it co-occurs with the second or third passive affix, e.g. ha-ulâk-an (phonemically /haulâhan/) 'can be repeated' (second passive affix ha-, intensive stem ulâk-i 'to repeat', consisting of the base ulâk (cf. the verb stem m-ulâk 'to return') and the intensive affix -i), b-in-abô-an 'was weeded' (third passive affix -in-, intensive stem babô-i 'to weed', consisting of the base babô (cf. the verb stem mar-babô 'to do the weeding') and the intensive affix -i).

When the intensive affix and the fourth passive affix co-occur they are represented by the suffix -an, e.g. gôar-an 'to be called' (intensive stem gôar-i 'to call', consisting of the base gôar (cf. the noun gôar 'name'), intensive and fourth passive affixes represented by -an).
The second passive affix has the basic allomorph ha- when it co-occurs with the intensive affix, e.g. ha-dalán-an 'can be covered, walked' (intensive stem dalán-i, consisting of the base dalan (cf. the noun dálan 'way') and the intensive affix -i). Thus a combination of the intensive and second passive affixes regularly results in the replacement of tar-...-i by ha-...-an. It may be noted, however, that one informant distinguished between ha-podá-an 'teachable (in general)' and tar-podá-i 'can be advised (on this one occasion)' (intensive stem podá-i 'to advise, teach'). Another informant offered the form tar-pikkir-i 'can be imagined' (intensive stem pikkir-i 'to imagine').

The active affix has the basic allomorph mar- before the stems suru 'send' and sáli 'borrow', hence mar-súru 'to send' and mar-sáli 'to borrow'. The regular forms manfru and manáli also occur.

The active affix has the basic allomorph -hOn after the causative affix, e.g. pa-ulí-hOn 'to construct' (active affix -hOn, causative stem pa-ulí consisting of the base ulí and the causative affix pa-).

The active affix has the basic allomorph m- before the stem inum 'to drink', and the basic allomorph marni- before ída 'see', and ipí 'dream', hence mínun 'to drink', marnída 'to see', and marnípi 'to dream'. The regular forms mánfrum, mánída, and mánípi also occur.

Before the following stems -um- is in competition with máN-: bótO 'know', bege 'hear', tadda 'recognise', dEREn 'look at', and tubuhOn 'bear (a child)'. The following pairs of forms occur therefore: mánbóto and mánbóto 'to know', mánbegé and umbégé 'to hear', mánmáda and tumáda 'to recognise', mámfrÉEN and umbÉEREn 'to see', manubúhOn and tumubúhOn 'to bear (a child)'.

The fourth passive affix is doubled after dOk 'say', hence dOkn0hOn (phonemically /d0hOn0hOn/) 'to be said'.

After the circumstantial affix -hOn the fourth passive affix -On adds -hOn after it unless the verb it occurs in is immediately followed by an agent noun phrase. Examples: gadis-h0n-0n-h0n (phonemically /gadiss0n0tt0n/) 'to be sold' (circumstantial stem gadis-h0n, consisting of base gadis and circumstantial affix -h0n, followed by fourth passive affix -On, followed by -h0n), gattuN-h0n-0n-h0n (phonemically /gattukk0n0tt0n/0 'to be hung' (circumstantial stem gattuN-h0n, consisting of the base gattuN and circumstantial affix -h0n, followed by the fourth passive affix -On, with added -h0n). Examples in sentences: áha si gadishOn0nh0n 'What is going to be sold?', dIa si gattuNh0n0nh0n 'Which one is going to be hung up?', áha si gattuNh0n0nh0n-hu 'What shall I hang up?'.

After the causative affix pa- the fourth passive affix is -On after certain bases and -hOnOn after others, the latter affix adding an
additional -hOn under the same conditions as the -On which occurs after the circumstantial affix (see preceding paragraph), e.g. pa-bal'-On 'to be banned' (causative stem pa-bali 'to ban'), pa-masuk-On 'to be inserted' (causative stem pa-masuk 'to insert'), pa-bEREN-bEREN-On 'to be looked at' (causative stem pa-bEREN-bEREN 'to look at'), pa-tudu-hOnOn 'to be shown' (causative stem pa-tudu 'to show'), pa-lumE-hOnOn 'to be sold' (causative stem pa-lumE 'to sell').

6. THE AFFIXES maN- AND paN-.

The affix maN- is represented by the following basic allomorphs:

1. maN- before vowels. Examples: maN-állan 'to eat', maN-úsùn 'to carry', maN-lhut-Íhut 'to follow', maN-usÉ-hOn 'to spill'.

2. maNa- before l, n, and r. Examples: maNa-lÉan 'to give', maNa-napuran-i 'to hand round betel', maNa-ríppu 'to guess'.

3. ma n- before d, g, k, h, j, c. Examples: ma n-dúda (phonemically /maddúda/) 'to stamp (rice)', ma n-gádis (phonemically /maNgádis/) 'to sell', ma n-karejó-hOn 'to do' (phonemically /makkarejóhOn/), ma n-jál0 (phonemically /majjál0/) 'to receive', ma n-cúbo (phonemically /maccúbo/) 'to try'.

4. ma- elsewhere. If the initial morphophoneme of the underlying form is not a nasal, it is replaced by the nasal with the same point of articulation: p and b by m, t and s by n. When an underlying form contains a doubled root the initial morphophonemes of both sequences undergo the replacement rule. Examples: ma-múkkul 'to beat' (stem pukkul), ma-mikkir-mikkir-hOn 'to ponder over' (stem pikkir-pikkir-hOn), ma-máta-hOn 'to supervise' (stem mata-hOn), ma-mólus 'to pass' (stem bolus), ma-narú-hOn 'to convey' (stem taru-hOn), ma-nómú-nómú 'to go and meet' (stem tómú-tómú), ma-náÉk-i 'to ascend' (stem naÉk-i).

Verbs from three common roots with initial b- take ma-, namely baÉn 'do', boan 'bring', and buat 'take', hence ma-báÉn (phonemically /mabáÉn/) 'to do', ma-bóan (phonemically /mabbóan/) 'to bring', and ma-búat (phonemically /mabbúat/) 'to take'.

In my informants' speech a number of verbs which are listed in Van Der Tuuk's and Warneck's dictionaries as taking ma-, either take man- exclusively or have both forms in competition. Examples of verbs which now take ma- are as follows: ma-baták-i 'to ride a horse' (stem batak-i), ma-bódíl 'to shoot' (stem bodil), ma-bádí-i 'to scold' (stem bada-i), ma-bugáN-i 'to wound' (stem bugáN-i). Examples of verbs which show competing forms are as follows: ma-bót0 and ma-mót0 'to know' (stem bót0), ma-búkka and ma-múkka 'to open' (stem bukka),
man-béren and ma-méren 'to see' (stem béren), man-búnu and ma-múnu 'to kill' (stem bunu), man-bílaN and ma-mílaN 'to count' (stem bílaN), man-bálOs and má-maílOs 'to answer (a letter), take revenge on' (stem bálOs).

The initial ma of the affix maN- is deleted before two stems beginning with paN, namely paNan 'eat' and paNidO 'ask', hence máNan 'to eat' and máNidO 'to ask'.

The following stems with initial s occur with man-: man-sóh0t 'to cease' (stem sóh0t), man-suák-h0n 'to break off' (stem suák-h0n).

The affix paN- has analogous basic allomorphs:

1. paN- before vowels. Examples: paN-íhut 'follower', paN-ágo 'destroyer', paN-fsi 'inhabitant'.

2. paNa- before l, n, and r. Examples: paNa-lóppa 'cook', paNa-nápu 'person who spreads fertiliser', paNa-lúga 'ear'.

3. pa- before d, g, k, h, j, and c. Examples: pan-dúda 'person who pounds (rice)', pan-gátti 'successor', pan-húliN 'voice', pan-jága 'watchman'.

4. pa- elsewhere. If the initial morphophoneme of the underlying form is not a nasal, it is replaced by the nasal with the same point of articulation: p and b by m, t and s by n. When an underlying form contains a doubled root the initial morphophonemes of both sequences undergo the replacement rule. Examples: pa-nákk0 'thief' (root takk0), pa-múnu 'murderer' (root bunu), pa-mót0-an 'knowledge' (root bot0), pa-nurát-an 'something on which one writes' (root surat), pa-másu-másu-0n 'wedding' (root pasu-pasu 'blessing').

Roots with initial b which take man- also take paN-, and there is the same fluctuation in usage between paN- and pa- that we have observed in the case of man- and ma- above. Examples: paN-baén-0n 'action' (root baén), paN-bálOs-0n and paN-maílOs-0n 'revenge' (root bálOs), paN-buhá-i 'seducer' (root buha), paN-búkkus and paN-múkkus 'wrapper' (root bukkus).

The morpheme paN- 'plural' has the basic allomorph paN- before p and b as well as the morphophonemes listed under 3 above. Examples: di-paN-putík-h0n 'plucked in large numbers or several times' (root putík), di-paN-péak-h0n 'placed' (root péak), di-paN-boán-i 'brought' (root boán), di-paN-buát-i 'taken' (root buat).

7. STRESS PLACEMENT RULES

The domain within which stress rules apply is the stress unit. A stress unit is any one of the following:
a. A sequence consisting of a noun stem and an enclitic pronoun, e.g. tulán-na 'his maternal uncle'.

b. A sequence consisting of a verb and an enclitic pronoun, e.g. pukkulón-na 'he will strike', manbuát-sa 'to take it', tarbuát-sa 'can be taken by him'.

c. A sequence consisting of a noun and a demonstrative, e.g. râja ón 'this rajah', hòdana i 'his horse'.

d. Any word which is not part of a stress unit by virtue of any of the preceding definitions, e.g. hóda 'horse', ón 'this one'.

Note that in the morphophonemic transcription used here an enclitic pronoun is written together with the preceding noun or verb, e.g. hodána 'his horse', bótônna 'he will know'.

The stress placement rules within a stress unit are as follows:

1. In a stress unit consisting of a noun and a demonstrative, primary stress occurs on the demonstrative, e.g. hóda ón 'this horse', hóda ón 'that horse'.

2. Monosyllabic stress units have primary stress on their only syllable, e.g. ón 'this one', râk 'lung', màs 'gold', rô 'to come', sô 'to stop', lâs 'hot'.

3. A polysyllabic stress unit has primary stress on the final syllable if any one of the following conditions holds:
   a. The penultimate syllable of the stress unit is an infix, prefix, or reduplicated syllable, e.g. l-um-ás 'hotter', um-pir 'harder', ha-la-lâs 'heat'.
   b. It is an adjective and either
      (i) it contains the affix -hu or the affix -an, e.g. pa-las-hú 'too hard', pa-pir-hú 'too hard', pa-deNgan-hú (phonemically /padeNgakkú/) 'too good', uli-án 'more beautiful', d-um-eNgan-án 'better'; or
      (ii) it contains no affix, and is not immediately preceded by the adjectivising particle na, húraN 'insufficiently', or sadîa 'how much', e.g. deNgán 'good', gogó 'strong', tibbó 'high', bukká 'open', hórmát 'polite'.
   c. It is a noun and either
      (i) it is a vocative form, e.g. bErê 'Nephew!', râja-namî 'Sir!', amân 'Brother!', ìnaNudá 'Aunt!';
      (ii) it contains the enclitic pronoun allomorph -m, e.g. hutá-m 'your village'.


d. It is a verb, and either

(1) it is an onomatopoeic verb containing the prefix mar-, e.g. mar-labáp 'to bump', mar-laták 'to snap', mar-líník 'to squeal, yelp', mar-sarák 'to gush', mar-tátá 'to laugh'; or

(2) it contains one of the following roots: bege 'hear', paula 'pretend', and no suffix, e.g. man-bege 'to hear', di-bege 'heard', hu-bege 'heard by me', hu-paulá 'I pretended'.

e. It is a word belonging to the following list: debutá 'god', sutará 'silk', datík 'second', minít 'minute', hótel 'hotel', tíngán 'to fall', dábú 'to fall', tuNgálíN 'to topple over', ragé 'to lie about (of corpses)', péák 'to lie', rappíN 'to loosen', manát 'to take care', hamú 'you (plural)', sudé 'all', béHá 'how', hián 'previously', nián 'in actual fact', huuHú 'at the same time', hapé 'however', attón 'indeed', musé 'again, later', dopé 'still, yet', nakkiníN 'just now', tibu 'soon', píttór 'immediately', manígór 'immediately', tórúp 'straightway', girá 'as soon as possible', tontón 'always', sogót 'early', saótík 'a little', tótóp 'continually'.

4. Otherwise a polysyllabic stress unit has primary stress on the penultimate syllable, e.g. bégu 'spirit', tamúE 'guest', húddul 'to sit', mar-láNE 'to swim', hámi 'we (exclusive)', nasída 'they', lābú-an 'harbour', bārsi-barsi-On 'to sneeze', dápót-an 'to find', na déngan 'good', sadía déngan 'how good', dāN sadía déngan 'not very good', hūraN déngan 'not good enough', duméngan 'better', umbótó 'to know', bagás-mu 'your house', hódán-hu 'my horse', halibutónan 'rainbow'.

5. A secondary stress falls on the penultimate syllable of the first of two identical dissyllabic morphs, e.g. lāNan-laNán 'pale', hādānhadān-an 'pouch carried over the shoulder', hāu-hāu 'stick', hōda-hōda 'hobby-horse'.

6. A secondary stress falls on the penultimate syllable of a noun stem if any one of the following conditions holds:

a. It is immediately followed by a demonstrative, e.g. hōda ʃ 'the horse', jàbu ón 'this house';

b. It is immediately followed by an enclitic pronoun with two or more syllables, e.g. jàbu-nasída 'their house', húta-námi 'our village'

c. It is immediately followed by an enclitic pronoun with fewer than two syllables, provided a demonstrative immediately follows, e.g. jàbu-an ʃ 'his house', jàbu-m ʃ 'your house', jàbun-h ʃ (phonemically /jábukkí/) 'my house'. 
8. DELETION OF FINAL -u

1. The enclitic pronoun $\mu$ 'you (singular)' has the basic allomorph $m$ when the preceding stem ends in a vowel, e.g. jabú- $m$ 'your house', cf. bagás-$m$ 'your house'.

2. The enclitic pronouns $\mu$ 'you (singular)' and $h$ 'I' have basic allomorphs $m$ and $h$ respectively when they are immediately followed by a demonstrative, e.g. âNgí- $m$ ōn 'this brother of yours', bâjun-$h$ (phonemically /bâjukkil/) 'my clothes', jôlman-$h$ ōn (phonemically /jôlmakkàn/) 'that wife of mine'.

0. MORPHEME STRUCTURE

By morpheme structure is meant the morphophonemic composition of single unanalyzable forms before morphophonemic rules have been applied.

The majority of non-affixal morphemes are disyllabic, the majority of affixal morphemes and particles are monosyllabic. The following are the shapes of non-affixal morphemes in terms of syllabic structure. $C$ stands for any consonant and $V$ for any vowel.

- CV: $sá$ 'kind of snake', só 'to stop'
- CVC: râk 'lung', tûr 'dry land', Nôt 'awake', dôk 'say', lâs 'hot', râp 'together'
- VV: lû 'shark', âu 'I'
- VCV: uif 'beautiful', âri 'day', ÉmE 'paddy', ôlô 'wish', ìpi 'dream'
- VVC: lâs 'clean', uâs 'thirst', âEk 'water'
- VCVC: îPoN 'tooth', îguN 'nose', ôbuk 'hair'
- CVV: jôu 'call', sîa 'milk', tâO 'lake'
- CVCV: gogó 'strong', mâta 'eye', rája 'rajah'
- CVVC: lîan 'give', bâEn 'do', túan 'master'
- CVCVC: sfisik 'fish-scale', sogot 'early', bíbir 'lip', pâtik 'law, agreement'
- VCCV: ÉddE 'song', âNgô 'smell', ârta 'property', pûrba 'east'
- VCCVC: úkkôr 'dive', ôrbuk 'dust', áppaN 'basket'
- CVCCV: jôlma 'human being', táNga 'ladder', hôrja 'religious feast'
- CVCCVC: bûrnin 'night', lôppit 'fold', táNgal 'loose'
The following is a selection from possible trisyllabic stem morpheme shapes:

VVCV  aíli 'wild boar'
VCCV  adúi 'that yonder'
VCVCV ałógo 'wind', abára 'shoulder'
VCVCVC uğásan 'thing, property'
CVVV  buela 'crocodile'
CVVCV muára 'mouth (of a river)'
CVVCV  tamúE 'guest'
CVVCVC hudáli 'spade', debatá 'god'
CVVCVCV halúan 'flying fox', babfat 'tiger'
CVVCVCVC binátan 'wild animal', haráNan 'jungle', sibágur 'toad'
CVVCVCV panáNga 'dog'
CVVCVCVC guráppan 'fresh-water crab', harábbir 'coconut'
VCCVV  ikkáu 'side-dish'
VCCVCV addóra 'chest', appára 'brother by adoption'
VCCVVC  aNgfat 'in the hope that'
VCCVCVC  abbálaN 'sling', abbólás 'hail'
CVCCVV  parbúe 'fruit'
CVCCVCV tiNgalá 'plough', jadde la 'window'
CVCCVCVC  jappálán 'meadow', takkúrak 'skull'

Many non-affixal morphemes fall into types:

1. Comprising two identical open syllables: búbu 'fish trap', gogó 'strong', tutú 'true', lúlu 'look for', hÉhE 'get up', NÉNE 'chicken-pox', súsu 'breast'.

2. Comprising an open syllable followed by a closed syllable such that the morphophonemes comprising the open syllable and the first two morphophonemes of the closed syllable are identical: búbir 'lip', jójór 'in order', NONÓN 'dumbfounded', huhút 'at the same time', tútúN 'burn'.

3. Comprising two identical closed syllables: láklak (phonemically /láqlak/) 'skin (of fruit)', dáqdap (phonemically /dáqdap/) 'shadow-tree', NERNÉR 'gradual', tONTÓN (phonemically /tɔktɔn/) 'always', dİNDİN 'wall', mETMÉT (phonemically /mEQmÈt/) 'small', törtÖR 'dance'.

4. Consisting of -si- followed by two syllables: siámun 'right', sibáruN 'heron', sibás0 'midwife, medium', sijóbbiN 'spider', simáta 'bead', sirábuln 'ashes', sisílon 'nail'.

5. Consisting of the sequence -in- infixed in a dissyllabic sequence: bináNa 'small river', binátan 'wild animal', sinám0t 'bride price', pináhan 'domesticated animal'.

6. Consisting of the sequence -al- infixed in a dissyllabic sequence: baláNa 'iron pan', balóbas 'ruler', galúbbaN 'wave', halfaN 'around', halflu 'shadow', halúaN 'flying fox', lalaEn 'mad', salíbon 'eyebrow'.

7. Comprising two identical dissyllabic sequences: âLEâLE 'friend', hàehâE 'thigh', ûtOkût0k (phonemically /ût0hût0k/) 'brain', hûlînhûlîN (phonemically /hulikkulîN/) 'leather, skin', âruâru 'throat'.

Affixes have the shape CV or VC (e.g. di-, pa-, ta-, hu-, -On, -an, -na, -um-, -in-), more seldom V, CVC, or CVCV (e.g. -i, par-, maN-, tar-, -hOn, maNa-).

Voiced stops do not occur finally in basic allomorphs.
Notes

1. For the replacements rules which characterise the dialect described by Van der Tuuk, see his Tobasche Spraakkunst (1864-67), paragraphs 8-16. Those rules differ from the ones presented here in the following respects:

a. ns is replaced by /ts/ in all environments. Van der Tuuk's dialect did not have /c/.

b. ss and sh are replaced by /ts/. Thus hushús 'sweet smelling' was pronounced /hutsús/, and tartÔnôssa 'can be sent by him' /tartÔnôtsa/.

c. Van der Tuuk mentions two possible outcomes of mh, namely /pp/ and /kk/. His examples are as follows: hadâmhu 'my box' phonemically /hadáppu/, Ôn0n hûpaN 'six kupanga' phonemically /Ôn0k kûpaN/, and Ôn0m hûrbo 'six buffaloes' phonemically either /Ôn0p pûrbo/ or /Ôn0k kûrbo/. It may be noted that Van der Tuuk also mentions the two outcomes of nh which characterise the dialect of my informants. His examples are as follows: tian hûta 'from a village' phonemically /tiak kûta/, tîtînhu 'my ring' phonemically /tîtîttu/, and napûranhu 'my betel' phonemically /napûrâkku/ or /napûrâttu/.

d. The sequences mb, nd, and nj remain unchanged, i.e. are not replaced by /bb/, /dd/ /jj/.

e. Van der Tuuk does not mention hearing a glottal stop.

f. /h/ and /k/ were complementarily distributed, /h/ initially and intervocalically, /k/ elsewhere.

g. According to Van der Tuuk (1864-67:24, fn.1) the replacement rules did not apply between a first passive verb and an immediately following subject. Hence dipâNan mânuk / was pronounced /dipâNan mânûh / if it meant 'The chickens were eaten', but /dipâNâm mânûh /
if it meant ' (It was) eaten by the chickens'. I have found no such consistent distinction to be made in the speech of my informants.

2. Nababan (1966:13-14) regards this as the normal outcome of a sequence of two voiceless stops. In the speech of my informants, however, the assimilation does not occur at word boundaries and is in free variation with replacement by glottal stop word-internally.

3. For Van der Tuuk's description of stress see Tobasche Spraakkunst (1964-67) paragraphs 18-20. Note that he makes the following statement: 'Batak has only syllable stress within a word; word stress by means of which emphasis is placed on a particular word in a sentence is unknown' (paragraph 20, note 2). This statement is not true of the speech of my informants.
A. INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the morphemic composition of words. Except for certain special cases the relation between two immediate constituents below the word level is either one of co-ordination or one of subordination. In the case of co-ordination both immediate constituents are members of large form classes and typically occur as free forms (though in certain instances this may not be so). In the case of subordination, on the other hand, only one immediate constituent is a member of a large form class capable of occurring as a free form, while the other is a member of a small class and is invariably a bound form. Immediate constituents of this latter type are termed affixes. Any immediate constituent which is not an affix is an underlying form.

For example, pl ra-manuk 'hen's egg' consists of two immediate constituents, pirá and manuk. The relation between them is one of co-ordination since both of them belong to the form class of nouns and occur as free forms: pirá 'egg' and manuk 'hen'. Hence pirá and manuk in pl ra-manuk are termed co-ordinate underlying forms.

An example of subordination is provided by the word mar-píra 'to lay eggs'. Here only the second immediate constituent, pirá 'egg', belongs to a large form class, while the first mar- belongs to a small class, the class of verbal affixes.

In many instances words reveal more than one layer of affixes. The word ditabunfhón 'is hidden', for example, consists of the affix di- and the underlying form tabunfhón 'hide'. The latter form is, however, still analysable, as can be seen if it is compared with the adjective bunf 'hidden' and the verb di-bunfhón 'is hidden'. It follows that the underlying form tabunfhón consists of the affix -hón and the underlying
form tabuni, and that the form tabuni consists in turn of the affix ta- and the underlying form buni. There are thus three different underlying forms exemplified: tabunihon, tabuni, and buni, and as many affixes: di-, ta-, and -hon.

Since it is not the case that all underlying forms co-occur with all affixes, it is convenient to use different terms in referring to the several layers of immediate constituents. In the example just discussed we say that buni is a root, tabuni a base, and tabunihon a stem. Similarly di- is an inflectional affix, -hon a derivational affix, and ta- a primary affix. In this way it is possible to specify what affixes co-occur with what underlying forms. Primary affixes derive bases from roots. Derivational affixes derive stems, either from other stems, or from bases. Inflectional affixes derive words from stems. A word which does not contain an inflectional affix is itself a stem. Hence all nouns are stems, since in Toba-Batak no noun contains an inflectional affix.

It follows also that it is possible for an underlying form to be a root, a base, and a stem at the same time. Thus the word di-gádis 'is sold' consists of the inflectional affix di- and the stem gadis. But since this stem is not further analysable, it is also a base and a root.

In certain instances an underlying form may itself be a morphemically complex word. Thus the noun hamarsák0n (phonemically /hamarsáh0n/) 'sadness' is a stem and consists of the affix ha-...-0n and the underlying form marsak. The latter form, however, is an intransitive verb mársak 'to be sad', which is a stem consisting of the affix m- and the base arsak (compare the noun àrsak-ni-róha 'melancholy'). The noun hálé0n 'hunger', on the other hand, contains the same affix as hamarsák0n, but its underlying form is not a word: hálé is a base which recurs in the verb ma-hál 'to be hungry'. Thus hálé0n is an example of base-to-stem derivation, and hamarsák0n an example of stem-to-stem derivation. It follows also that the affix ha-...-0n derives stems from stems, and also stems from bases.

Affixes, stems, bases, and roots are also classified in terms of the word class of the word in which they appear. There are, therefore, verbal affixes, noun stems, and so forth. As in the case of stem, base, and root there is some overlap among noun stems and verb stems. Many stems appear both in nouns and verbs. Moreover, in cases of stem-to-stem derivation a single word may contain an outer noun affix and an inner verbal affix. Such was the case in our example hamarsák0n 'sadness' cited above.

Primary and derivational affixes have limited productivity. Given an arbitrary root, for example, it is not possible to predict what bases
and stems it will appear in. Hence the lexicon of Toba-Batak is a list of stems, not a list of roots.

In a few cases the relation between immediate constituents on the stem level is like that which exists between words in a syntactic construction. An analysis into affix and underlying form is not possible in these cases. For example, some noun stems consist of two noun stems separated by the constituent ni, just as many noun phrases consist of two noun phrases separated by the word ni. An example of such a word is the noun stem māta-ni-āri 'sun', which contains the two noun stems māta 'eye' and āri 'day' together with the constituent ni. This arrangement may be compared with a noun phrase such as rāja ni hūta f 'the rajah of the village'. Stems such as māta-ni-āri will be termed phrasal stems. Like other stems a phrasal stem may appear as a sub-constituent in a word and co-occur with an affix which derives stems from stems. For instance, the phrasal stem lās-ni-rōha 'joy' (containing the nouns lās 'heat' and rōha 'disposition') occurs in the noun hālālasnirōha 'joy' together with the affix hā- 'abstract', and also in the non-conjugated verb marlāsnirōha 'to be joyful'. It is not clear to what extent this type of formation is still productive.

B. NOUN MORPHOLOGY

All nouns are stems, i.e. no noun contains an inflectional affix. A morphemically unanalyzable noun stem consists of a root, e.g. bōrnīn 'night', hālāk 'person', bēgu 'spirit'. Morphemically analyzable noun stems are of three types: compound nouns, phrasal nouns, and complex nouns.

1. COMPOUND NOUNS

In a compound noun the relation between the two immediate constituents is one of co-ordination. In a doubled root noun the two constituents are identical. The semantic relation between a doubled root noun and the corresponding root noun varies in different instances:

a. In many cases the doubled root noun has a connotation of smallness or refers to an object which is a representation of the object referred to by the root noun, e.g. hōdā-hōdā 'hobby horse'--hōdā 'horse', rāttīn-rāttīn 'twig'--rāttīn 'branch', sōpō-sōpō 'small look-out hut'--sōpō 'rice barn', dōlok-dōlok 'hill'--dōlok 'mountain'.

b. Some doubled root nouns designate the instrument required to carry out the action referred to by the underlying form, e.g. pāsak-pāsak 'hammer' (cf. the verb pasak-i 'to hammer'), úla-úla 'tool' (cf. the verb ula 'to work').
c. In some instances the doubled root noun is related semantically to the root noun in a manner peculiar to each case, e.g. ña-ñа 'married woman'--ñа 'mother', òsaN-òsaN 'jaw'--òsaN 'chin', lànit-lànit 'ceiling'--lànit 'sky'.

Among remaining compound nouns two types can be distinguished. In the first type both constituents recur as independent noun stems, while in the second type only the first constituent does so, the second constituent recurring as an adjectival stem. In both types the second constituent semantically limits the first.

Examples of the first type: hútìN-bòrubóru 'female cat' (hútìN 'cat', bòrubóru 'girl'), pàddè-más 'goldsmith' (pàddè 'craftsman', más 'gold'), hàu-taNgúrùN 'spine' (hàu 'tree', taNgúrùN 'back'), dòstòr-ìpòn 'dentist' (dòstòr 'doctor', ìpòn 'tooth'), àri-hàmámàtè 'Good Friday' (àri 'day', hàmámàtè 'death').

Examples of the second type: hòrbò-rìlì 'wild buffalo' (hòrbò 'buffalo', rìlì 'wild'), àri-lògo 'dry season' (àri 'season, day', lògo 'dry') tào-bolàk 'sea' (tào 'lake', bolàk 'broad, wide'), tàoN-bàru 'New Year' (tàoN 'year', bàru 'new'), dálàn-bálga 'main street' (dálàn 'way', bálga 'large').

2. PHRASAL NOUNS

Phrasal nouns are phrasal stems (see the introduction to this chapter). There are three types:

a. In the first type the immediate constituents are si, a conjugated verb stem, and a noun stem. Thus in the noun si-pèlè-bégu 'heathen', the second constituent is the conjugated verb stem pele 'to sacrifice to, worship' and the third constituent is the noun stem bégu 'spirit'. Thus the constituents are related to one another as in the verb phrase màmèlè bégu 'to worship spirits'. Further examples are as follows: si-tàrik-tàli 'rope-puller' (tàrik 'pull', tàli 'rope'), si-gàgàt-dùhùt 'grass-eater', i.e. 'buffalo' (gàgàt 'eat', dùhùt 'grass').

b. In the second type the immediate constituents are si, an adjectival stem, and a noun stem. Examples: si-bòttÀr-màtà 'white-eyed person, white man' (bòttÀr 'white', màtà 'eye'), si-bàlàga-ìgùN 'a person with a big nose, Big Nose' (bàlàga 'large', ìgùN 'nose').

c. In the third type the immediate constituents are arranged as in a noun phrase, e.g. màtà-nì-àrì-nì-pàt 'ankle' (immediate constituents màtà-nì-àrì 'sun', ni and pàt 'foot'), lòmò-ì-ròha 'pleasure' (lòmò 'pleasing', ròha 'disposition'), nà-màrbàjù 'woman who has not yet borne a child' (na 'relativising particle', màrbàjù 'to wear a skirt') cf. nà màrmànúk 'who has a chicken'.
3. COMPLEX NOUNS

In a complex noun the immediate constituents are an underlying form and an affix.\(^3\) The affixes which appear in complex nouns fall into two main groups. In the first group are nine affixes which occur as morphological representatives of five distinct morphemes. Each of the five morphemes chooses a subset of these nine affixes, no morpheme having fewer than two different affixes to represent it. The choice of affix depends on the nature of the underlying form with which the morpheme occurs.

The five morphemes have the following meanings:

(1) Actor: the person who performs the action.
(2) Action: the process of performing the action.
(3) Quality: the possession of such and such an attribute.
(4) Location: the place where some action is performed or some object is appropriate.
(5) Instrument: the object used in performing some action.

The nine affixes are *paN-*, *par-*, *ha-*, *paN-...-an*, *par-...-an*, *ha-...-an*, *paN-...-On*, *ha-...-On*, and *-an*. The distribution of affixes among morphemes is represented in the following diagram. The columns represent morphemes and the rows affixes. A check mark appearing at the intersection of a row and a column indicates that the affix occurs as a representative of that morpheme.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Quality</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Instrument</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>paN-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>par-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paN-...-an</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>par-...-an</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha-...-an</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paN-...-On</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha-...-On</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-an</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The factors on which the choice of affix depends are as follows:

The first morpheme, with the meaning 'actor', is represented by the following affixes:
1. **pan-** when it occurs with conjugated verb stems:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Complex Noun</th>
<th>Verb Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>panakkO</td>
<td>takkO</td>
<td>'to steal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panaNoppa</td>
<td>oppa</td>
<td>'to cook'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panjaga</td>
<td>jaga</td>
<td>'to guard'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panifute</td>
<td>ihut</td>
<td>'to follow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panjatti</td>
<td>gatti</td>
<td>'to substitute'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panunu</td>
<td>bunu</td>
<td>'to kill'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pandanga</td>
<td>danuru</td>
<td>'to throw'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paninani</td>
<td>innani</td>
<td>'to dwell'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panurupi</td>
<td>urupi</td>
<td>'to help'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. **par-** when it occurs with non-conjugated verb bases. In the following examples the complex noun is quoted in the left column, the verb base in the middle column, and the verb stem in which the base occurs in the column on the extreme right.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Complex Noun</th>
<th>Verb Base</th>
<th>Verb Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>parEddE</td>
<td>EddE</td>
<td>marEddE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parEkkeI</td>
<td>EkkkeI</td>
<td>marEkkeI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parkarejo</td>
<td>karejo</td>
<td>markarejo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pararguru</td>
<td>guru</td>
<td>marguru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paramuruk</td>
<td>muruk</td>
<td>muruk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parunutunut</td>
<td>unutunut</td>
<td>murunutunut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pardalan</td>
<td>dalan</td>
<td>mardalan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parssikkola</td>
<td>sikkola</td>
<td>marsikkola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parsulIN</td>
<td>sulIN</td>
<td>marsulIN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The morpheme which has the meaning 'action' is represented by the following affixes:

1. **ha-** when the underlying form is (a) a non-conjugated verb stem which is either a base stem or contains the affix m-, or (b) an adjectival stem:
(a) habO bórhat 'departure' bórhat 'to depart'
hasasáhat 'arrival' sáhat 'to arrive'
hatutúbu 'birth' túbu 'to be born'
mamamátE 'death' mátE 'to die'
hamumúlak 'return' m-úlak 'to return'
hamamársak 'sadness' m-ársak 'to be sad'

(b) hasisítton 'truth' sítton 'true'
halalás 'heat' lás 'hot'
hasosógo 'hatred' sogó 'unfriendly'

2. pan- when the underlying form is a conjugated verb stem:
pamérEN 'sight' bérEN 'to see'
panúllus 'blowing' ullus 'to blow'
panhúlIN 'sound' húlIN 'to make a sound'
pangóra 'shout' góra 'to shout'
panúkkOr 'snoring' ukkOr 'to snore'
panétEk 'dropping' tétEk 'to drop'

3. pan---On when the underlying form is a conjugated verb stem:
panjuâON 'refusal' jua 'to refuse'
pamásumasâON 'blessing' pasupasu 'to bless'
panbaénON 'action' baEn 'to do'
panhatâfON 'speech' hatâ-i 'to talk'

4. par- when the underlying form is a non-conjugated verb base:
parbfccar 'rising' bfczar 'to rise'
parjóNjON 'standing' jónjON 'to stand'
parmáTE 'death' mátE 'to die'
parjádi 'happening' jádi 'to take place'

5. par---an when the underlying form is a non-conjugated verb base:
parhatáán 'language' mar-háta 'to speak'
parmuláán 'beginning' mulá-i 'to begin'
parNólúán 'life' ma-Nólú 'to live'
parmaráán 'danger' mára 'to be dangerous'
6. **paN-...-an** when the underlying form is a conjugated verb stem:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Stem</th>
<th>Affix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pamOtóan</td>
<td>-to</td>
<td>'knowledge'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pamErÉNan</td>
<td>-to</td>
<td>'sight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panhilañan</td>
<td>-to</td>
<td>'feeling'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panagáman</td>
<td>-to</td>
<td>'expectation'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The morpheme whose meaning is 'quality' is represented by the following affixes:

1. **ha-...-an** when the underlying form is (a) an adjectival stem, or (b) a non-conjugated verb base:

   (a) hatigóran   | tigó     | 'honest'    |
   hatOránan      | tOrán    | 'clear'     |
   hapastíanan    | pastí    | 'certain'   |
   hapOriúnan     | pOriú    | 'necessary' |

   (b) hasOmálan   | sómal    | 'to be usual' |
   haNólúan       | ma-Nólú  | 'to be alive' |
   haróan         | ró       | 'to come'    |
   hasOnánan      | sónan    | 'to be happy' |
   ha1ONánan      | lóNaN    | 'to be astonished' |
   habiáran       | ma-bfar  | 'to be afraid' |

2. **ha-...-On** when the underlying form is either (a) an adjectival stem, or (b) a non-conjugated verb stem, or (c) a non-conjugated verb base:

   (a) hamalóOn    | maló     | 'skilful'   |
   hapogósOn      | pogós    | 'poor'      |
   haulión        | ulí      | 'beautiful' |
   hapOrsúkOn     | pOrsúk   | 'unfortunate' |
   hapOsoOn       | pósó     | 'young'     |
   hajahátoñan    | jahát    | 'wicked'    |

   (b) halojáOn    | lója     | 'to be tired' |
   hagabéOn       | gábe     | 'to be prosperous' |
   hamarsákoñOn   | m-ársak  | 'to be sad'   |

   (c) halEñOn     | 1E       | 'hunger' (verb stem ma-1E 'to be hungry')
The morpheme whose meaning is 'location' is represented by the following affixes:

1. **ha-**. . -an when the underlying form is a non-conjugated verb base:
   - `hatubúan` 'birth place'
   - `habiccáran` 'east'
   - `hasuddútan` 'west'
   - `hajONjóNan` 'standing position'
   - `hapEákan` 'lying position'

2. **par-**. . -an when the underlying form is either (a) a non-conjugated verb base, or (b) a noun stem:
   - (a) `parbOrNínan` 'inn', base bórNin 'night', verb stem marbórNin 'to stay the night'.
     - `parburífan` 'bowl', base buri, verb stem marbúri 'to wash'.
     - `paríðifan` 'bathing place', base idi, verb stem marídi 'to bathe'.
     - `paríOnúnan` 'place where weaving is done', base tólnun, verb stem martólnun 'to weave'.
   - (b) `pargadONan` 'sweet potato field, place suitable for growing sweet potatoes', gádON 'sweet potato'.
     - `paranákan` 'womb', ának 'son'.
     - `parsOóbbaONan` 'place where a spirit dwells', sóbbaON 'spirit'.
     - `pargOóláNan` 'wrist', góláN 'bracelet'.

3. **paN-**. . -an when the underlying form is a conjugated verb stem:
   - `panurátan` 'medium on which one writes, something suitable to write on', surat 'to write'.

4. **-an** when the underlying form is (a) a conjugated verb stem, or (b) a non-conjugated verb base:
   - (a) `tanÓnan` 'cemetery'
     - `tanOm` 'to bury'
   - `hurúNaN` 'prison'
     - `hurúN` 'to enclose'
   - `panánan` 'plate'
     - `panán` 'to eat'
   - `usúNan` 'stretcher'
     - `usuN` 'to carry'
   - (b) `podÓman` 'place where one sleeps'
     - `podom` 'to sleep'
     - (verb stem módom 'to sleep')
iNánan  'place'  
(verb stem mariNánan)

adíán  'place of rest'  
(verb stem marádi)

isíán  'contents'  
(verb stem marísi)

labúán  'harbour'  
(verb stem marlábu)

huddúlan  'seat'  
húddul  'to sit'

jugúkan  'seat'  
júguk  'to sit'

The morpheme whose meaning is 'instrument' is represented by the following affixes:

1. paN- when the underlying form is a conjugated verb stem, e.g.
   panbükkus 'the wherewithal to wrap something in', verb stem bükkus 'to wrap';
   panbúró 'scarecrow', verb stem búró 'to scare (birds)';
   panúras 'charm used in exorcising a house', verb stem urás 'to exorcise'.

2. paN-. ... -an when the underlying form is a conjugated verb stem, e.g.
   panóto'tóman 'carpenter's bench', verb stem ótom 'to plane'.

3. par- when the underlying form is a non-conjugated verb base, e.g.
   paróppa 'garment with which one carries a child on one's back', verb base óppa, cf. the verb stem maróppa 'to carry a child on one's back'.

4. par-. ... -an when the underlying form is a non-conjugated verb base, e.g.
   parósuapán 'washing utensil', verb base suap, cf. the verb stem marásuap 'to wash (one's face)'.

A form difficult to classify is paNaIúga 'oar', cf. marlíIúga 'to row' and parIúga 'rower'.

It may be noted that classes of underlying forms which occur with different affixal representatives of the same morpheme are not in all cases mutually exclusive. For example, the morpheme 'instrument' is represented by two different affixes (paN-, and paN-. ... -an) with conjugated verb stems. But it does not happen that some particular conjugated verb stem co-occurs with both those affixes with the same resulting meaning.

The following table summarises the distribution of affixes among morphemes according to the class of the accompanying underlying form. The columns represent morphemes and the rows classes of underlying forms. The form or forms appearing at the intersection of a row and a column are the affixes which represent the morpheme with that type of underlying form.
In the second group of affixes occurring in complex nouns there are, first of all, a number which have clearly defined meanings:

par- 'object distinguished by a certain position', e.g. pargijjaN 'the top one' (the base giijaN recurs in the adjective stem giijân 'high' and in the noun stem giijân 'high place'), parjólo 'the first one' (cf. noun stem jóló 'front'), parpúdi 'the last one' (cf. noun stem púdi 'back, back-side'), partóru 'the bottom one' (cf. noun stem tóru 'underneath').

par- 'those related to', e.g. parának 'bridegroom's relations', parbóru 'brides's relations'.

par-...-an 'person referred to by a kin term who does not have the relationship denoted by it', e.g. paramáNan 'person whom one calls áman but who is not one's true father', parináNan 'person whom one calls ínan (mother)'.

də- 'my' with kin terms only, e.g. dâman (usually /dáman/) 'my father', dâinân 'my mother', dâppun 'my grandfather', dâhâân 'my brother, my sister' (hâhaN 'older sibling of the same sex as ego'). But note that dânt0 (t0 'sibling of the opposite sex to ego') does not occur.

-an 'object resulting from an action'. Underlying forms are conjugated verb stems, some of which are doubled roots, e.g. bagân 'share, part' (conjugated verb stem bagi 'to divide'), pakkēN 'clothes' (conjugated verb stem pakké 'to wear'), bilân 'number' (conjugated verb stem bilân 'to count'), suksân 'washing, washed clothes' (conjugated verb stem suksi 'to wash clothes'), pâhanpâhân 'domesticated animal' (pâhan 'to feed (animals)'), suansuân 'plant' (conjugated verb stem suan 'to plant'), hâdaNhadâN 'pouch carried over the shoulder' (conjugated verb stem hadâN 'to carry over the shoulder'), tônostôNôsan 'a present sent' (conjugated verb stem tôNôs 'to send').
The remaining affixes in the second group have no assignable meanings. They can be isolated because the underlying forms with which they appear recur elsewhere.

-an. Examples: tOrúan 'a place underneath', cf. tóru 'underneath', bagásan 'interior', cf. bágas 'house'.

-hón. Examples: anákh0n 'child' (cf. ának 'son'), ianákh0n 'child', with a prefix i-.

-in-. Example: sinôddaN 'ray (of light)', cf. sóddaN 'light'.

ni-. Examples: ni căpi 'dream' (conjugated verb stem ipi 'to dream'), ni ársik 'dish of drained fish' (conjugated verb stem arsik 'to drain'), níóli 'wife' (conjugated verb stem oli 'to marry (said of a man)'.

in-. Example: indáhan 'cooked rice' (cf. the base dahan in the non-conjugated verb stem mandáhan 'to cook rice').

si...-On. Examples: sipaNánOn 'food' (cf. the conjugated verb stem paNan 'to eat'), siinúmOn 'drink' (cf. conjugated verb stem inúm 'to drink').

-0n. Example: dahán0n 'uncooked rice' (cf. the base dahan in the non-conjugated verb stem mandáhan 'to cook rice').

pasí- 'the wherewithal to procure'. Underlying forms are nouns. Examples: pasí-dékke 'the wherewithal to procure fish' (dékké 'fish'), pasí-tibbáh0 'the wherewithal to procure tobacco' (tibbáh0 'tobacco'), pasí-bajúna 'the wherewithal to procure a shirt for him' (bajú-na 'his shirt'), pasí-kuém 'the wherewithal to buy cake for you' (kuém 'your cake'). These nouns are matched by non-conjugated verbs with the affix masí-, see section C4 of this chapter.

4. DE-ADJECTIVAL NOUNS

To many adjectival stems there correspond derived noun stems differing from the adjectives from which they are derived in having penultimate stress. Examples: ulí 'beauty' from ulí 'beautiful', tábo 'tastiness' from tabó 'tasty', háccit 'painfulness' from haccít 'painful', gógo 'strength' from gógó 'strong'. Examples in sentences: ìOnaN nasida mamEn ùli ni òbukna ì 'They were amazed to see the beauty of her hair', maNaNguk ala ni haccítna 'She cried out in pain', gógo ni ukkórmu ì 'What loud snoring!', The strength of that snoring of yours!'. Note especially the following use of these derived nouns: gógona ì 'How strong (he is, you are, etc.)!', ùlina ì 'How beautiful!'. See Chapter V, section B9 for more examples.
C. VERB MORPHOLOGY

1. INTRODUCTION

Verbs are either conjugated or non-conjugated. A conjugated verb consists of an inflectional affix and a conjugated verb stem. A non-conjugated verb consists of a non-conjugated verb stem. For instance, the conjugated verb maNárOp 'to hope' consists of the inflectional affix maN- and the conjugated verb stem arOp, while the non-conjugated verb marláNE 'to swim' consists of the non-conjugated verb stem marláNE. The class of conjugated verb stems and the class of non-conjugated verb stems overlap. For example, tándgal 'to be loose, undo' consists of the non-conjugated verb stem tándgal, and the conjugated verb manáNdgal 'to loosen, undo' consists of the inflectional affix maN- and the conjugated verb stem tándgal.

A set of conjugated verbs which share the same stem will be termed an inflection.

2. FORMATION OF VERB BASES

Most verb bases are roots. When a base is morphologically analysable it consists either of a doubled root, or of a root and a primary affix. A non-conjugated or conjugated verb whose base consists of a doubled root has the connotation 'repeated or prolonged action'. The following are examples of doubled roots in non-conjugated stems:

- marhullaNhulfaN 'to go around in circles'
- marmèamméam 'to play'
- margàttigátti 'to alternate, change places'
- marhíllonoHíllOOn 'to sparkle, twinkle'
- diadiáOn 'to be undecided'
- bàrsibarsoN 'to sneeze'
- mèkkEélékEÉI 'to laugh'
- mòkkDíókkOIl 'to cough'

The following are examples of doubled roots in conjugated stems:

- ihutihut 'to follow around'
- t0mut0mu 'to go out and meet repeatedly'
- pikkirpikkir 'to ponder over'
- aNg0aNg0i 'to sniff at'
- ihutihuti 'to follow around'
All examples of primary affixes in conjugated verbs are either in intensive or in circumstantial stems. The following primary affixes occur: ha-, ta-, tar-, parsi-, paN-. Examples:

- habiari 'to be afraid of'
- haporsEai 'to believe'
- harIngashOn 'to do with zeal'
- hasogohOn 'to dislike'
- tabunihOn 'to hide'
- tariNOfi 'to recall, remind'
- panHuliNi 'to speak to'
- parsiajari 'to learn'

The following primary affixes occur in non-conjugated verbs: ta-, tar-. Examples of non-conjugated stems containing primary affixes:

- martabuni 'to hide (intransitive)'
- marsitarfNOfi 'to recall the past'

3. CONJUGATED VERB STEMS

Conjugated verb stems are either base stems or derived stems. A base stem consists entirely of a base, a derived stem consists of a base and a derivational affix.

Three such derivational affixes appear in conjugated verb stems. They are the intensive, the circumstantial, the causative affixes, with the morphophonemic shapes -i, -hOn, and pa- respectively. A derived stem which contains an intensive affix is termed an intensive stem, one which contains a circumstantial affix a circumstantial stem, and so forth. The following are examples of conjugated stems:

- base stem: gadis 'to sell'
- intensive stem: g0ar-i 'to name'
- circumstantial stem: g0bbar-hOn 'to describe'
- causative stem: pa-balga 'to enlarge'

Intensive and circumstantial stems may be extended by the addition of the plural affix, which has the morphophonemic shape paN-. Stems which contain this affix are termed plural stems. Examples follow: pan-putikhOn
'to pluck', pan-pEakhOn 'to lay down', pan-daNgurhOn 'to throw about', pan-bukkusi 'to wrap', pan-boani 'to bring', pan-buati 'to take'. Plural stems co-occur only with first passive affixes, e.g., dipanboání ibàna akka gidlok gidlok tu jábu 'He brings insects into the house (repeatedly)', dipanputikhOn akka dákànak dO akka bûNa 'The children were picking flowers', dipanpEakhOn dO baràNna disón 'His things had been left lying about'.

This is, therefore an example of stem-to-stem derivation: putikhOn and pan-putikhOn, for instance, are both conjugated verb stems. It is not clear whether all intensive and circumstantial stems can be extended in this way.5

The meanings of the derivational affixes can best be approached by way of the meanings of the resultant stems. Two situations can be distinguished. In the first there is some specifiable semantic difference between a derived stem and the corresponding base stem, or between two derived stems which have the same base but different derivational affixes. In the second situation the derived stem is not matched by a corresponding base stem or by another derived stem containing the same base.

Examples of the first type of meaning difference are as follows:

a. Intensive stems compared with the corresponding base stems have the meaning 'repeated or prolonged action'. Thus from the base daNgur there are two stems daNgur 'to throw (once)' and daNgur-i 'to throw (repeatedly)'. The following pairs of stems are further examples of the same meaning relation:

bolus-i 'to pass by several times, to pass to and fro in front of': bolus 'to pass by (once)', bErEN-i 'to look round at, gaze at': bErEN 'to look at', sEat-i 'to cut (and in doing so carry out several movements, e.g. cutting bread)': sEat 'to cut (and carry out only one movement, e.g. cutting a piece of string)', pONg01-i 'to break off (several things, e.g. twigs on a tree)': pONg01 'to break (carrying out only one movement)', pikkiri 'to ponder over': pikkir 'to think'.

b. There are instances of an intensive stem having the connotation 'repeated action' and being matched by a circumstantial stem from the same base: karejo-i 'to do (several times)' and karejo-hOn 'to do (once)', putik-i 'to pluck (several times)' and putik-hOn 'to pluck (one thing)'.

Other similarly related stems show no consistent semantic distinction. They are the following: ajar-i 'to teach (a person)' and ajar-hOn 'to teach (something)', u10s-i 'to cover with a blanket' and u10s-hOn 'to cover up'.

No general statement can be made to account for the meaning of circumstantial stems as compared with the corresponding base stems: lakka-hOn 'to take a step': lakka 'to walk', d0k-hOn 'to tell (someone to do something)': d0k 'to say', dap0t-hOn 'to go to meet': dap0t 'to find', jou-hOn 'to shout (something)', sabur-hOn 'to scatter': sabur 'to sow', p0Ng01-hOn 'to destroy by cutting (e.g. a bamboo bridge)': p0Ng01 'to cut', udduk-hOn 'to bend (the head)': udduk 'to nod', ipi-hOn 'to dream of (someone)': ipi 'to dream (something).

Examples of the second type of meaning relation are as follows:

Intensive stems: alus-i 'to answer', poda-i 'to advise, instruct', datdat-i 'to continue', sungul-i 'to wake up (transitive)', lulu-i 'to look for', olo-i 'to obey', duNoi 'to wake up (transitive)', s6ddaN-i 'to illuminate', suddat-i 'to prevent', attus-i 'to understand', leA-i 'to slander', naEk-i 'to mount (a horse)', iN-an-i 'to inhabit', halian-i 'to surround', d0N-an-i 'to keep (someone) company', ulak-i 'to return', j0N0k-i 'to approach', ubat-i 'to cure', urup-i 'to help', laNE-i 'to cross by swimming', dalan-i 'to tread (a path)', mula-i 'to begin'. No general statement can be made to account for the meaning of these stems. The bases exemplified in them recur for the most part in noun stems and in non-conjugated verb stems, e.g. alus 'an answer', olo-an 'agreement', s6ddaN 'light', iN-an 'place', d0N-an 'companion', g6ar 'name', ubat 'remedy, medicine', dalian 'way, path', mula 'beginning', tar-sungul 'to wake up (intransitive)', d0No 'to wake up (intransitive)', naEk 'to ascend', m-úlak 'to go back, return', mar-láNe 'to swim'.

Circumstantial stems: taru-hOn 'to bring', taNi-hOn 'to listen to', usE-hOn 'to spill', Éddé-hOn 'to sing (something)', jadi-hOn 'to cause (someone to do something)', jajji-hOn 'to promise', togi-hOn 'to urge', guru-hOn 'to learn', mata-hOn 'to keep an eye on, observe', buni-hOn 'to hide', ta-buni-hOn 'to hide', pira-hOn 'to lay (an egg)', pEak-hOn 'to place', lua-hOn 'to make off with', tahuak-hOn 'to crow (something)', t0ttu-hOn 'to lay down (laws, etc.)', tubu-hOn 'to bear (a child)'. No general statement can be made to account for the meanings of these stems. The bases exemplified in them recur for the most part in noun stems and in non-conjugated verb stems, e.g. Éddé 'song', guru 'teacher', mata 'eye', pfra 'egg', mar-t-in-áni 'to be able to hear', mar-usE-an 'to spill over (intransitive)', jádi 'to become', mar-jajji 'to make a promise', mar-guru 'to learn', mar-tahúak 'to crow', túbu 'to be born'.

The meaning of the causative affix is 'to cause something to be, to make someone or something be'. Most of the bases which appear in causative verbs recur in adjectives or in non-conjugated verbs. Examples of causative stems whose bases recur in adjectives: pabEkkuk 'to bend'.
Examples of causative stems which recur in non-conjugated verbs:

- pasiduN 'to finish (something)': siduN 'to have done, to have finished',
- patiddaN 'to stand (something) up': tiddaN 'to be standing',
- malaN 'to be free', pasaut 'to put into effect': saut 'to succeed',
- pamaTE 'to kill': mTE 'to die',
- patOlas 'to carry out': tölhas 'to go into effect',
- pahOhom 'to silence': hOhom 'silent',
- pahEbbAN 'to spread out': hEbbAN 'spread out'.

4. FORMATION OF NON-CONJUGATED VERB STEMS

Non-conjugated verb stems are either base stems or derived stems. A base stem consists of a base, a derived stem consists of a base and a derivational affix.

It may be noted that a restricted set of base stems have stress on the final syllable. They are the following: dabú 'to fall', tiNgáN 'to fall', tungalN 'to topple over', peák 'to lie', ragé 'to lie about (of corpses)'.

Other examples of base stems follow: börhat 'to depart', habaN 'to fly', húddul 'to sit', lúpa 'to forget', lóNan 'to be surprised', lág 'to go', lflu 'to lose one's way', mása 'to take place', másk 'to be ripe', másk 'to be ripe', másk 'to arrive', bónot 'to go in', nákkok 'to climb, ascend', ró 'to come', sáhat 'to arrive', sálp 'to elapse', só 'to stop, halt', síran 'to get divorced', suddut 'to set (of the sun)', bíccar 'to rise (of the sun)', tání 'to weep', péut 'to fall', lója 'to be tired', sála 'to be wrong, mistaken', tónu 'to be wet', núnu 'to be dumb', lóNOn 'to sink', mórak 'to be angry', rá 'to come out', túb 'to be born', ládän 'to be mad', náek 'to rise, ascend', túa 'to climb down', jónjon 'to stand'.

A great variety of derivational affixes occur in non-conjugated verb stems. Many of them occur in few stems and have no clearly assignable meanings. The following affixes occur with reasonable frequency and have identifiable meanings:

- mar---an 'plural or mass subject'. Underlying forms are either (1) non-conjugated verb stems, or (2) adjective stems. Examples of (1): mar-modóm-an 'to sleep' (the underlying form here is módom, a non-conjugated verb stem, of which podom is the underlying form, i.e. the
base), mar-salá-an 'to be wrong' (sála 'to be wrong'), mar-habán-an 'to fly' (hábán 'to fly'), mar-són-góp-an 'to alight' (són-góp 'to alight'), mar-bukkás-an 'to move house' (bukkas 'to move house'), mar-mulák-an 'to return' (múlak 'to return'). Examples of (2): mar-pón-gól-an 'to be broken' (pón-gól 'to be broken'), mar-tól-tól-an 'to be stiff' (tól-tól 'to be stiff'). One informant distinguished between hábán 'to fly, i.e. to be in the air' and mar-habán-an 'to fly off, take off in flight'.

masi-...-an 'reciprocal action'. Underlying forms are conjugated verb bases. Examples: masi-dán-gúr-an 'to throw things at one another' (dán-gúr 'to throw'), masi-bé-rén-an 'to look at one another' (bé-rén 'to look at'), masi-bódil-an 'to shoot at one another' (bódil 'to shoot at'), masi-attús-an 'to understand one another' (attús-i 'to understand'), masi-lelé-an 'to chase one another' (lelé 'to chase'), masi-jóu-an 'to call one another' (jóu 'to call'), masi-ummá-an 'to kiss one another' (ummá 'to kiss'), masi-hélá-an 'to insult one another' (hélá-i 'to insult').

masi- 'individual action by each of two or more persons'. Underlying forms are conjugated verb stems. Examples: masi-jóu 'to call' (jóu 'to call'), as in masi-jóu anák-na do nasída 'Each of them called his son', masi-búat 'to take' (búat 'to take'), as in masi-búat bodil-na do halak 'Each of them took his rifle', masi-hahólón 'to love' (hahólón-i 'to love') as in masi-hahólón anák-na bé ma hítá 'Let each of us love his son'.

masi- 'to procure, obtain, buy'. Underlying forms are nouns. Examples: masi-nápúran 'to procure betel', masi-hótán 'to obtain rattan', masi-bajún-hu 'to procure a shirt for me, myself', masi-bajú-na 'to procure a shirt for himself, for him'. Noun phrases are also permissible as underlying forms: masi-bajú-na-bíron 'to procure a black shirt', masi-tól-hóbó 'to get three buffaloes'. These verbs are matched by derived nouns with the affix pasi-, e.g. pasi-tíbbáhó 'the whereithal to buy tobacco', pasi-háuma 'the whereithal to acquire a rice field', pasi-gadón-hu 'the whereithal to enable me to buy sweet potato'. See section B3 of this chapter. (p.62).

mar-...-in-'to be capable of'. Underlying forms are conjugated verb bases. Examples: mar-t-in-áni 'to be able to hear' (cf. conjugated verb stem táni-hón 'to listen to'), mar-b-in-égé 'to be able to hear' (bege 'to hear').

mar- 'possessing a quality temporarily'. Underlying forms are adjectival stems. Examples: mar-bíron 'to be black', mar-tíkkó 'to be round' (tíkkó 'round').
mar- 'to call someone by a kin term'. Underlying forms are noun stems. Examples: mar-ákkan 'to call someone ákkan' (ákkan 'older sibling of the same sex as ego'), mar-ít0 'to call it0 (ít0 'sibling of the opposite sex to ego')

mar- 'to have'. Underlying forms are noun stems. Examples: mar-mánuk 'to have a chicken' (mánuk 'chicken'), mar-hóda 'to have a horse' (hóda 'horse'), mar-bóru 'to have a daughter', mar-búkkus 'to have a wrapper' (búkkus 'a wrapping').

Other affixes appearing in non-conjugated verb stems have no clearly assignable meanings. They can be isolated because the underlying forms they appear with recur elsewhere. Examples follow:

mar-. Underlying forms are either (1) verb bases, or (2) noun stems. Examples of (1): mar-báda 'to quarrel', mar-láNE 'to swim', mar-bábo 'to weed', mar-dáhan 'to cook rice', mar-jájji 'to agree', mar-bágas 'to marry', mar-ádí 'to rest', mar-aúan 'to bark', mar-píkkir 'to think', mar-búri 'to get washed', mar-búru 'to go hunting', mar-húsip 'to speak in a whisper', mar-gúlása 'to wallow', mar-ÉtON 'to count, add up'.

Examples of (2):

| mar-gúna      | 'to be of use'      | gúna     | 'use'     |
| marsikkóla    | 'to go to school'   | sikkóla  | 'school'  |
| margúru       | 'to learn'          | gúru     | 'teacher' |
| marónan       | 'to go to market'   | ónan     | 'market'  |
| marróha       | 'to be conscious'   | róha     | 'disposition' |
| mardálán      | 'to travel'         | dálan    | 'path, way' |
| marújuN       | 'to come to an end' | újuN     | 'end'     |
| marísap       | 'to smoke'          | ísap     | 'smoke'   |
| marjamíta     | 'to preach'         | jamíta   | 'sermon'  |
| marnapúran    | 'to chew betel'     | napúran  | 'betel'   |
| marsátur      | 'to play chess'     | sátur    | 'chess'   |
| marháta       | 'to speak'          | háta     | 'word'    |
| marsáhit      | 'to be sick'        | sáhit    | 'disease' |
| margóar       | 'to be called'      | góar     | 'name'    |
| martónun      | 'to weave'          | tónun    | 'loom'    |
| marápi        | 'to burst into flame'| ápi      | 'fire'    |
mar-. Underlying forms are verb bases which are either simple roots or doubled roots. Such verbs generally have an onomatopoeic flavour. Examples: mar-NiN 'to ring', mar-sisif 'to stand on end', mar-linif 'to squeal, yelp', mar-sasak 'to gush', mar-latân 'to make a knocking sound', mar-dobom 'to thud', mar-labáp 'to bump', mar-litin-litin 'to clink', mar-latâk-latâk 'to crackle', mar-linik-linik 'to squeak'.

ma-. Underlying forms are verb bases. Examples: ma-pitun 'to be blind', ma-tútun 'to burn (intransitive)', ma-nólu 'to live', ma-rúrus 'to fall out', ma-súak 'to break off', ma-tós 'to break, snap', ma-búgan 'to be wounded', ma-púrus 'to flee', ma-gúrbak 'to swell', ma-hían 'to be dry', ma-dékdék 'to fall', ma-bóla 'to break in two (intransitive)', ma-tóras 'to become ripe', ma-gódan 'to grow up', ma-ráppin 'to be loose', ma-nónu 'to be dumb'.

m-. Underlying forms are verb bases. Examples: m-ekkêl 'to laugh', m-ókkol 'to cough', m-áup 'to float', m-fiuj 'to descend', m-ulak 'to return', m-ágô 'to get lost', m-árisak 'to be sad', m-énge 'to be soaked', m-úppat 'to have fallen out', m-úbbân-úbbân 'to float', m-ónqop 'to hide (intransitive)', m-áup 'to float', m-ulak-ulak 'to return (repeatedly)'.

marsi-. Underlying forms are verb bases. Examples: marsi-âjar 'to study, learn', marsi-húddul 'to ride (a horse)', marsi-tiujur 'to spit', marsi-tabûni 'to hide (intransitive)' (base tabuni, root buni).

tar-. Underlying forms are verb bases. Examples: tar-baríta 'to be famous', tar-súnqul 'to wake up (intransitive)' (cf. the conjugated verb sónqul-ì 'to wake up (transitive)'), tar-lónán 'to be astonished' (cf. the non-conjugated verb lónán 'to be astonished'), tar-túra 'to cut oneself' (cf. the conjugated verb tura 'to stab'), tar-jûjima 'to regain consciousness', tar-ulân 'to lie fallow', tar-tárík 'to be drawn, attracted' (cf. the conjugated verb tarik 'to pull'), tar-hói-hoi 'to pant', tar-súga 'to step on a thorn', tar-dápôt 'to be discovered', tar-tákkup 'to be caught'.

-um-. Underlying forms are verb bases. Examples: s-um-úrut 'to retreat', j-um-ólo 'to go first', j-um-ólo 'to die', t-um-atânis 'to weep' (base ta-tânis, root tânis, cf. the non-conjugated verb tânis 'to weep'), h-um-áláput 'to be in a hurry'.

-an. Underlying forms are verb bases. Examples: agô-an 'to lose something', dapôt-an 'to find something', tubú-an 'to give birth', maté-an 'to lose (a relative)', juppán-an 'to find something', haccît-an 'to have a pain', hodók-an 'to sweat'.

-On. Underlying forms are either (1) noun stems, or (2) verb bases. Examples of (1): lobán-On 'to have a gap in one's teeth' (lobán 'gap in the teeth'), tasík-On 'to be rusty' (tási 'rust'), batúk-On 'to cough' (bátuk 'cough'), jást-On 'to have a rash' (ját 'rash'), jőriN-On 'to suffer from a kidney complaint caused by eating jőriN' (jőriN 'pithecolobium bigeminum'), bukkuk-On 'to be hunchbacked' (bükku 'hump'). Examples of (2): bársi-bársí-On 'to sneeze', jálak-jálák-On 'to search for something'.

ha-. One example: ha-rúár 'to come out' (rúár 'to come out').

pa-. Examples: pa-júppaN 'to meet', pa-túddal 'to sit back to back'.

-i. One example: mulá-i 'to begin'.

attu-. On. One example: attu-rápår-On 'to starve'.

patu-. On. One example: patu-rápår-On 'to starve'.

marsi-. On. Examples: marsi-tárík-an 'to play at tug-a-war', marsi-dőppák-an 'to face one another'.

mar-. -i. Examples: mar-EddÉ-i 'to sing', mar-mÉám-i 'to play', mar-bádá-i 'to quarrel'.

5. INFLECTIONAL AFFIXES

An inflection is a set of conjugated verbs which share the same stem. Each member of such a set consists of a stem and an inflectional affix. There are eight verbs in an inflection, and there are consequently eight different inflectional affixes. Their morphophonemic shapes are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affix Type</th>
<th>Shape</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imperative affix</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active affix</td>
<td>maN-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First passive affix No.1</td>
<td>di-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First passive affix No.2</td>
<td>hu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First passive affix No.3</td>
<td>ta-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second passive affix</td>
<td>tar-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third passive affix</td>
<td>-in-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth passive affix</td>
<td>-On</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the morphophonemes of the inflectional affixes see Chapter III, sections C4 and C5 (pp.39-41).

The following is a tabular survey of conjugated verbs. The stems appearing in it are the base stem gadis 'to sell', the intensive stem g0ar-i 'to name', the circumstantial stem g0bbar-h0n 'to describe', and the causative stem pa-balga 'to enlarge'. Of the three first passive
verb forms only the first, the one which contains the affix di-, has been quoted in the table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Intensive</th>
<th>Circumstantial</th>
<th>Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>gadis</td>
<td>g0ari</td>
<td>g0bbahr0n</td>
<td>paddalga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active</td>
<td>mangadis</td>
<td>mang0ari</td>
<td>mang0bbahr0n</td>
<td>paddalga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Passive</td>
<td>digadis</td>
<td>dig0ari</td>
<td>dig0bbahr0n</td>
<td>dipaddalga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Passive</td>
<td>targadis</td>
<td>hag0aran</td>
<td>targ0bbahr0n</td>
<td>tarpadalga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Passive</td>
<td>ginadis</td>
<td>gin0aran</td>
<td>gin0bbahr0n</td>
<td>pinpadalga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th Passive</td>
<td>gadin0s0n</td>
<td>g0aran</td>
<td>g0bbahr0n0n</td>
<td>paddalga0n0n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The meaning of the imperative affix is 'peremptory command', e.g. pama tE ibana 'Kill him!', unaN 0bbus api l 'Do not blow the fire!'.

The second passive affix has the meaning 'can be done'. e.g. sadia d0 targaNgur h0 batu 'How far can you throw stones?', daN hau0ikan 'It cannot be done again' (intensive stem ulak-i 'to do again').

The fourth passive affix has the meaning 'to be done, will be done', e.g. d1e0an nas1da d0 hiraN usuN0n ni akka amaama 'They gave the baskets to be carried by the men', dib0t0 ibana na g0aran musE dakdanak l s1 gid10n 'She knew that the child would later be called Gideon', haduk bo00n 'awkward to carry'.

In one syntactic construction the third passive has the meaning of a general injunction, e.g. pina1u0 pe manuk l 'The chickens should be set free'. In two other constructions, namely in relative clauses and in questions, it has no explicit connotations of tense or aspect, e.g. hat0p ma dipa0nan nas1da akka sipa0nan0n na binoanna l 'Immediately they ate the food which she had brought', aha na binoammuna 'What have you brought?'.

The active affix and the first passive affixes have no explicit connotations of tense or aspect. There is, moreover, no more than a stylistic difference between the active affix and the first passive affixes, e.g. between dibuat and manbuat in the sentences dibuat ibana d0 bukku 1 'The book was taken by him' and manbuat bukku l d0 ibana 'He took the book'. In narrative prose verbs with passive affixes predominate over verbs with active affixes.

The first passive affixes, however, differ from the active affix in one respect: they are capable in certain cases of implying pronominal reference. Verbs containing a first passive affix occur in two syntactic constructions. In the first such a verb is immediately followed by an
agent noun phrase, while in the second construction no overt agent noun phrase occurs, and the passive affix itself conveys the meaning otherwise conveyed by an overt noun phrase.

For example, in the sentence *dibuat ibána d0 bukku* 'He took the book', the overt noun phrase *ibána 'by him' functions as the agent of the passive verb *dibuat*. In the sentence *hubuat d0 bukku* 'I took the book', on the other hand, no overt agent noun phrase occurs after the passive verb *hubuat*, but instead the first passive affix *hu-* conveys the reference to the agent 'by me'.

There are three first passive affixes: *hu-, di-, and ta-,* and correspondingly three first passive verbs in every inflection, e.g. *hubuat, dibuat,* and *tabuat.* These three forms are distributed in the two constructions in the following manner. In the first construction *hubuat* and *dibuat* occur, the former before *hámi 'we (exclusive)',* and the latter before *hó 'you (singular)', hamú 'you (plural)',* *ibána 'he, she', nasída 'they',* or any other noun phrase. In the second construction *hubuat* and *tabuat* occur, *hu-* with the meaning 'I', and *ta-* with the meaning 'we (inclusive)'. The following set of sentences will make this distribution clearer:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hubuat d0</td>
<td>'I took it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dibuat hó d0</td>
<td>'You (singular) took it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dibuat ibána d0</td>
<td>'He (or she) took it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dibuat rája d0</td>
<td>'A rajah took it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tabuat d0</td>
<td>'We (inclusive) took it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hubuat hámi d0</td>
<td>'We (exclusive) took it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dibuat hamú d0</td>
<td>'You (plural) took it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dibuat nasída d0</td>
<td>'They took it'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the first construction the agent noun phrase may be absent, and this is interpreted to imply a reference to 'someone', e.g. *dibuat d0* 'It was taken, someone took it', or to 'the afore-mentioned', e.g. *di jòu ibána ma anàkna jala didòk ma* 'She called her son and (she) said'.

6. SPECIAL NON-CONJUGATED VERBS

Two verb stems *nin 'to say'* and *dapót 'to find'* occur only before monosyllabic enclitic pronouns, e.g. *nín-hu (phonemically /ní krótku/) 'I say',* *nín-mu (phonemically /nínmu/)*, *nín-na 'he says', nín-ta (phonemically /nínnta/),* *dapót-hu (phonemically /dápmutu/) 'I find',* *dapót-mu 'you find',* *dapót-na 'he (or she) finds',* *dapót-ta 'we (inclusive) find'*. 
The verb nínna 'say' occurs before the pronouns hámi 'we (exclusive)', hamú 'you (plural)', ibána 'he/she', nasída 'they', and any other noun phrase except àu 'I', híta 'we (inclusive)', and hó 'you (singular)'.
Examples: nínna ibána 'he/she says', nínna hamú 'you say', nínna nasída 'they say', nínna hámi 'we say', nínna amànnia 'his father says'.

Three verbs júppa 'to meet', júppañ 'to meet', and dápO 'to find', behave syntactically like first passive verbs in the first of the two constructions mentioned above. Thus dápO ibána dO 'He found it' is parallel to dibùat ibána dO 'He took it'. They differ from first passive verbs like dibùat in that they can be followed by any noun phrase whatever, e.g. dápO àu dO 'I found it', dápO hó dO 'You found it', dápO híta dO 'We found it', dápO dákáán dO 'A child found it'.

7. DEFECTIVE CONJUGATED VERB INFLECTIONS

Certain conjugated verb inflections are defective, that is to say, they lack one or more forms normally associated with such inflections. A stem appearing in such an inflection will be called a defective stem.

The defective stem dápO 'to find, meet' occurs in the following forms: man-dápO, di-dápO, hu-dápO, ta-dápO, and ni-dápO. Imperative, second passive, and fourth passive forms are lacking. Examples: húdápO ibána disì 'I found him there, I met him there by accident', disádápO dO ibána manjáha di kamar 'He found him reading in the room', àu dO na manda-pótsa 'It was I who found it', aha dibátèn hO tu na nídápOtm ì 'What did you do with the thing you found?'.

The defective stem paulà 'to pretend' occurs in the following forms: imperative paulá, first passive hu-paulá, etc., third passive p-in-aualá. Examples: dipaulà dO ibána na marsáhit 'He pretended to be sick', hupaulà dO àu mársak 'I am pretending to be sad', paulà hO na òtO 'Pretend to be a fool'.

The conjugated verb stem par-1Éän 'to distribute, hand out' lacks an active form. Examples: dipar-1Éän ibána na losi ni hajutna ì tu ibótòna 'He handed round the contents of his sack to his sisters', par-1Éän-ì hamú bé guguanmùna ì 'Hand over your contributions, each one of you!'.

D. ADJECTIVE MORPHOLOGY

Adjectives consist either of a stem alone or of a stem and an affix. The former are simple adjectives, e.g. tibbó 'high', balgá 'large', mokmòk 'fat', gogó 'strong', burjú 'honest', polite'. The latter are derived adjectives, e.g. g-um-ógo 'stronger', um-bálga 'larger', par-tibbo-hú 'too high', uli-án 'more beautiful'. All adjective stems occur in derived adjectives. The affixes which appear in derived adjectives are the following:
-um- 'more'. Examples: sumônaN 'happier', humícca 'more cheerful', lumás 'hotter', uppîr 'harder', ummókmôk 'fatter', umbôdo 'more stupid'. The corresponding simple adjectives are sônaN 'happy', hiccá 'cheerful', lâs 'hot', pîr 'hard', mûkmôk 'fat', bodô 'stupid'.

-an 'more'. Examples: maluaân 'freer', uliân 'more beautiful'.

-um-...an 'more'. Examples: gumokân 'fuller', ummuliân 'more beautiful', dumeNganân 'better', humalusân 'finer'.

pa-...-hu 'too'. Examples: pagogohú 'too strong', paulihú 'too beautiful', par0ahú 'too ugly', pamEtmethú 'too small', pabalgahú 'too large', pahojothú 'too fat', parahishú 'too steep'.

One adjective stem is analysable into a root and a primary affix, namely in-barú 'new'. The root baru recurs in the compound noun tâon-báru 'New Year'.

For the stress patterns characteristic of adjectives see Chapter III, section C7, p. 43.

E. NUMERALS

The cardinal numerals are as follows: sâda 'one', dúa 'two', tólû 'three', òpat 'four', lîma 'five', Ônôm 'six', pîtu 'seven', wâlû 'eight', sîa 'nine', san pûlû 'ten'. The cardinal numerals from eleven to nineteen are formed by means of san pûlû followed by sâda, dúa, and so forth, e.g. san pûlû Ônôm 'sixteen'. The other tens are formed by means of pûlû preceded by sâ', tólû, and so forth, e.g. pîtu pûlû 'seventy', Ônôm pûlû sîa 'sixty nine'. The morphemes râtus 'hundred', rîbu 'thousand', lôksa 'ten thousand', and jûta 'million' occur pre­ceded by sâ 'one', dúa 'two', etc., sa râtus 'one hundred', lîma rîbu 'five thousand', sa lôksa 'ten thousand'.

The morpheme sâda functions as an optional indefinite article, e.g. dibêREn ma sâda Òbbun 'She saw a cloud', adôn ma sâda amaáma na mapîtuN 'There was a blind man', adôn do sâda biànnâ dohût hutîNna 'He had a dog and a cat', rô do panâkkô manâkkô mutiha i 'A thief came and stole the pearl', nùNNA adôn di ganup nasîda sâda be rábi 'They each had a knife', nûNNA adôn di ganup nasîda rábi 'They each had a knife'.

The shorter form sa 'one' occurs, as we have seen above, before râtus 'hundred', rîbu 'thousand', lôksa 'ten thousand', and also, with the nasal extension -n, before pûlû 'ten'. It is also regularly used in measure constructions, e.g. san sôdduk 'one spoonful' (for other examples see Chapter III, section C3, p. 38), and in many other common expres­sions, e.g. sa búlan 'one month', sa hâlak 'a person, somebody' (as in sa hâlak namarbáju 'a girl', sa hâlak amaáma 'a man', sa hâlak dolidóli
'a young man', sa hálak sián nasída 'one of them'), dina sa hálí 'once upon a time' (but dina sada árí 'eines Tages'), sa hálí 'once, une fois', sa Otík 'a little', sa tókkín 'one minute', sa bátu 'one kilometer', sa par-ópat 'one quarter'.

Ordinal numerals contain pai- or pa-...-hôn, e.g. pai-dúa and pa-duá-hôn 'second', pai-tólú and pa-tólú-hôn, and so forth, but pai- is not attached to numerals higher than nine, hence pa-san-pulu-sadá-hôn 'eleventh', not ñpai-san-pulu-sada, pa-sa-ribú-hôn 'one thousandth', and so forth. Note par-jólo 'first'.

Fractions contain par-, e.g. dúa par-líma 'two fifths', tòlu par-ópat 'three quarters'.
NOTES

1. For Van der Tuuk's discussion of this type of noun see Tobasche Spraakkunst (1864-67), paragraphs 152, 2. Compare also Silitonga's remarks (1973:122, and following).

2. This type of phrasal noun is briefly discussed by Van der Tuuk (1864-67, paragraph 167).

3. This analysis of complex nouns differs from Van der Tuuk's. See in particular his discussion of what he calls 'nominal forms' (1864-67, paragraph 99) and 'derived substantives' (1864-67, paragraph 120). His treatment of nouns such as pargûru 'pupil' is in essence a transformational one. He derived pargûru from the corresponding verb margûru 'to learn' by means of a replacement rule (m being replaced by p). But this does not account for such forms as pmantE 'death' (from mâtE 'to die', not *marmatE). His analysis has the virtue of emphasizing the relation between verbal nouns and the verbs from which they are derived. In this way he is able to account for such syntactic structures as panakk0 mutîha í 'the person who stole the pearl' (verb stem takk0 'to steal') and pânu râja í 'the murderer of the rajah' (verb stem bunu 'to kill'), in which a verbal noun is followed immediately by a noun phrase instead of an instance of the ni-construction (contrast pângâtti ni râja í 'the successor of the rajah').

4. The treatment of verb morphology offered here differs from Van der Tuuk's in that I do not consider passive verbs to be noun-like; see Tobasche Spraakkunst (1864-67), paragraphs 37-96, 100-119. Van der Tuuk's notion that passive verbs are nominal forms is motivated in paragraph 63, note (page 126 of the Dutch edition, page 123 of the English translation). Essentially he argues that a passive verb such
as di-sūrat 'is written' is more similar morphologically to the noun sūrat 'letter' than to the active verb ma-nūrat 'to write'. But from the mere fact that stems do not undergo the same morphophonemic changes after the affix di- as they do when they occur after the affix maN- no such sweeping conclusions can be drawn. It may be noted also that Van der Tuuk classifies active verbs and non-conjugated verbs strictly according to the shape of their affixes. Thus he puts the second passive of a conjugated verb (e.g. tar-būat 'can be taken') in the same verb class as a non-conjugated verb such as tar-begé 'to come to (someone's) knowledge' (see Tobasche Spraakkunst (1864-67), paragraph 109). In general he fails to distinguish explicitly between conjugated and non-conjugated verbs. This is not to say, of course, that he was unaware of the difference between them, but contrast his approach with Hazeu's lucid description of the Gayo verb (1907:XIV).


6. Van der Tuuk (1864-67, paragraph 104) describes a fourth first passive affix da-, which he calls the poda-passive affix (from poda 'instruction'). These forms are used only in the special literature dealing with magic and divination. The meaning of da-būat was 'let it be taken'. In colloquial speech the third passive (binūat) was used instead.
A. INTRODUCTION

In the terminology used here the basic syntactic unit is the sentence. A sentence is a sequence of one or more clauses. A sentence which contains only one clause will be termed simple, one which contains more than one clause will be termed complex. In a complex sentence at least one clause is a principal clause. A simple sentence consists entirely of a single principal clause. Principal clauses are either declarative, interrogative, or imperative. The structure of declarative principal clauses provides a convenient basis for the description of all other sentence types. Accordingly this chapter will first treat declarative principal clauses (section B), then interrogative principal clauses (section C), imperative principal clauses (section D), complex sentences (Section E), and finally sentence fragments (Section F).

B. PRINCIPAL CLAUSES

1. PREDICATE TYPES

A principal clause consists of two constituents: a subject and a predicate. For example, the sentence s0rdak d0 pittu 'The door is locked' consists of a single principal clause of which the sequence s0rdak d0 'is locked' constitutes the predicate, and the sequence pittu 'the subject. The predicate precedes the subject.

In conversational style an isolated principal clause is often introduced by the sentence-particle na. For example, the sentence na hulda d0 jabumûna 'I happened to see your house' consists of the principal clause hulda d0 jabumûna 'I saw your house' preceded by the particle na. The presence of the introductory particle seems to add vividness to the
utterance of the sentence. Further examples: na maté an d0 nasída 'The reason is) they have had a death in the family', na múlak tu jabú d0 ibānā 'He is going home (i.e. is now on his way)', na malē hámi 'We are hungry', na pauilhôn jábu d0 hámi 'We are building a house', na rò d0 sogòt haporṣùkôn na bólon 'A big disaster will surely come soon', na paimainhôn ibānā d0 àu 'I am waiting for him'.

In all other respects a principal clause introduced by na has the same syntactic structure as one which lacks this introductory particle. For instance, na malē hámi 'We are hungry' contains a subject hámi 'we', preceded by a predicate malē 'hungry'.

A predicate is either verbal or non-verbal. A verbal predicate contains a verb as one of its constituents. For example, the sentence nūnna lâo ibānā 'He has already gone' has a predicate nūnna lâo which contains the verb lâo 'go'. In the sentence di hūta hiân d0 àu 'I have been in the village before', on the other hand, the predicate di hūta hiân d0 'previously in the village' consists of the predicate satellite hiân 'previously' and the adverbial phrase di hūta 'in the village', but no verb.

A verbal predicate is either intransitive or transitive. An intransitive predicate consists of a verb phrase containing an intransitive verb, e.g. marúrus d0 obûkna 'His hair is falling out'. Here the predicate marúrus d0 'is falling out' contains the intransitive verb marúrus 'to fall out'. Intransitive predicates do not contain objects or agents.

A transitive verbal predicate is either active or passive. An active transitive predicate contains an active verb followed by an object noun phrase, e.g. maml0 anakhōnna d0 ibānā 'She has called her children'. Here the predicate contains the active verb maml0 'to call' (root pi0) and the object noun phrase anakhōn-na 'her children'. The term active predicate will mean an intransitive predicate or an active transitive predicate.

A passive transitive predicate contains a passive verb followed by an agent noun phrase, e.g. dibêrēn rája l d0 sada flik 'The rajah saw a lizard'. Here the predicate consists of the passive verb dibêrēn 'was seen' followed by the agent noun phrase rája l 'by the rajah'. The agent noun phrase may be deleted, e.g. nūnna diuras bē jábu ōn 'This house has already been exorcised'. In this sentence the passive verb in the predicate (diuras 'is exorcised') is not followed by an agent, as it is, say, in the sentence nūnna diuras ibānā jabu ōn 'He has already exorcised this house'. It is the fact that agent noun phrases are freely deletable in passive predicates which makes the traditional term passive an appropriate one for referring to such predicates and the verbs contained in them.
The subject in a principal clause is a noun phrase, e.g. nuNNa marbúNa maNganàmì 'Our mango tree has blossomed' (subject maNgà-nàmì 'our mango tree'). The object in a principal clause containing an active transitive predicate is likewise a noun phrase, e.g. maNeàtí róti d0 àu 'I am cutting bread' (object róti 'bread'). An agent is a plain noun phrase if the verb which precedes it is a first or second passive, e.g. dibòt0 ràja i d0 i 'The rajah knew this' (agent ràja i 'the rajah'), dan tarbërEN nasìda hau i 'They could not see the tree' (agent nasìda 'they'). After a third or fourth passive verb the agent noun phrase is preceded by ni and constitutes what will be termed a ni-construction (see section B11, pp.97-98). Examples dilulùi ibàna ma na tinubùhOn ni jòlmana i 'He searched for what his wife had given birth to' (third passive verb tinubùhOn 'was given birth to' followed by the agent ni jòlmana i 'by his wife'), dipaNíd0 ibana asa takkúPOn ni tunGanèdOlina sada Úrsa 'She asked that her husband might catch a stag' (fourth passive verb takkúPOn 'to be caught' followed by the agent ni tunGanèdOlina 'by her husband').

Non-verbal predicates consist of one of the following: a noun phrase, an adjectival phrase, or an adverbial phrase. In gùddur d0 i 'It's a gourd', the predicate consists of the noun phrase gùddur 'a gourd'. In di médan d0 ibàna 'He's in Medan', the predicate consists of the adverbial phrase di médan 'in Medan'. In nián d0 ibàna 'She's thin', the predicate consists of the adjectival phrase nián 'thin'.

2. PREDICATE PARTICLES

There are two predicate particles: d0 and ma.2 They appear finally in the predicate, or before the subject in discontinuous predicates, e.g. marbIrOn d0 tanànhu 'My hands are filthy' (predicate marbIrOn d0 'are filthy'), maNúllus d0 alògo 'The wind blew' (predicate maNúllus d0 'blew'), lâo d0 ibàna tu húta 'He went to the village' (predicate lâo d0...tu húta 'went to the village'), lkkón marlànNÈ d0 hàmì 'We shall have to swim' (predicate lkkón marlànNÈ d0 'shall have to swim').

In sentences with an initial adverbial phrase the predicate particle occurs immediately after the adverbial phrase, e.g. halús d0 ibàna manhàtaì 'He speaks beautifully', hatòp ma harùar inanta l sian jábu 'Straightway the old woman came out of the house'.

Neither predicate particle occurs if any of the following appears in the predicate: dàN 'not', ünàN 'do not', nùNNa 'already', nà 'already', d0PÈ 'still, yet', pÈ 'in future', bÈ 'any more'. Examples: dàN rOá soArànà 'His voice is not bad', dàN tarusùN au òn 'I cannot carry this', dàNHea hupákkÈ l 'I never use it', ünàN bûnu àu 'Do not kill me!', nùNNa söHot ibàna 'He is already married', Nà màtÈ api l 'The fire has already
gone out', di jàbu dòpè ibàna 'He is still at home', hupatúdu pè dàlan 'I will show you the way', dàn tarída bè 'It could no longer be seen'. ma, rather than dò, occurs under the following conditions:

(1) in principal clauses of sentences forming part of a connected narrative.

(2) in a principal clause in which the predicate contains an attributive adjective, e.g. na pàddè ma hò 'How clever you are!', na tábo ma ön 'How tasty this is!'. In such sentences replacement of ma by dò results in a difference of meaning: na pàddè dò hò 'You are clever', na tábo dò ön 'It is tasty'.

(3) in imperative sentences, e.g. marhóbas ma hò 'Please get ready!' (cf. marhóbas hò 'Get ready!'), tòrús ma hò mardàlan 'Keep straight on!', l'àò ma híta 'Let us go!', gàdis hamú ma l 'Please sell it!'.

(4) in an isolated antecedent to a conditional sentence, e.g. aut surá disì ma àù 'If only I had been there!', aut boi ma nian múlak àù tu hutànhu 'If only I could go back to my village!', aNglat ma rò ibàna 'If only he would come!'.

The particle dò is, however, not excluded from context (1), though it occurs there less frequently than ma. Principal clauses which form part of isolated statements (not connected discourse) tend to contain dò rather than ma. In connected discourse of a non-narrative type the principle clauses frequently contain no predicate particles.

In questions dò and the absence of a particle are equally frequent, e.g. bòsà múlak hò nàèèn 'Why are you going back now?', pòrlú dò ön di hò 'Do you need this?', Isè dò si tòpòtònta disì 'Whom are we to visit there?', (also Isè si tòpòtònta disì).

dò occurs after the preposed subject in topicalised sentences, e.g. ibàna dò na bàsa 'He's the one who is polite', as also does ma, e.g. àù ma marbàbò 'I'll do the weeding'.

In performative utterances dò is not used. Thus hòlùn rohànhu di hò 'I love you' is a declaration of love, while hòlùn dò rohànhu di hò 'I love you' is a statement of fact. 3

3. PREDICATE SATELLITES

Predicate satellites are constituents of the predicate which occur in various positions relative to the other constituents of the sentence.

In sentences in which a predicate particle is excluded the following predicate satellites occur: dàn 'not', núNNa 'already', Nà 'already', bè 'already, any more', dòpè 'still' pè 'in future, surely'. Of these the first three occur sentence-initially and the others in the same position
as the predicate particles appear, i.e. between the predicate and the subject. Co-occurrence restrictions among predicate satellites are as follows: be must co-occur with either dàn or núnna (in imperative sentences with únan 'do not'), dopè may co-occur with dàn, pè does not co-occur with either dàn or núnna, satellites which appear in the same sentence position do not co-occur (hence dàn does not co-occur with núnna). Examples follow:

dàn 'not': dàn maló ibána 'He is not clever', dàn ró hamù marsegot 'Aren't you coming tomorrow?', dàn ráuthù ìn 'This is not my knife', dàn di jàbu ibána 'He is not at home', dàn difdi nasìda hàmi 'They did not see us', dàn dibòto ibána marhàta bátak 'She cannot speak Batak', dàn huìNót goàrmùna 'I do not recall your name', dàn pòla roà sùOàràna 'Her voice isn't so bad', dàn hëa lója ibána 'He is never tired', dàn sadìa péjet aekgòdan 'The river is not very shallow', dàn di manàndìa hubèREN 'I could not see it anywhere', dàn adòn ulaóñhu 'I have no work', dàn adòn obùkà nàngo sàda pè 'He does not have a single hair', dàn 10mò rohànhu mamèREN úlok 'I do not like to see snakes', dàn porlú lòò au 'There is no need for me to go'.

núnna 'already': núnna múli ibána 'She is already married', núnna múppat ipòñhu 'My teeth have already fallen out', núnna dibòto ibána martugàràn 'He can already creep', núnna màccai bagàs aek ìn 'This water is already very deep', núnna sùddut mataniári 'The sun has already set', núnna dápot au hò 'I have found you', núnna sàlpù sa mìngu dun panhàtaànnasìda 'A week had already elapsed since their conversation', núnna dapòthù bò 'I have already found it', núnna ditònòs hò cùrat tu nàtoràsmu 'Have you already sent a letter to your parents?', núnna mûlak pogòs hità 'We are already poor again'.

Na 'already': Nà lìm tobàñ ibána 'She is already getting older', Nà lója au 'I am already tired', Nà màte abl ì 'The fire has already gone out', Nà lèlèn ibána dun mûl 'It is a long time since she got married'.

be 'already, any more': núnna màNàn bò nasìda 'They have already eaten', núnna dapòthù bò bukku ì 'I have found the book', núnna dìgàdíí hò be 'Have you sold it yet?', dàn pòsò bò ibána 'He is no longer young', dàn hupàkke bò ì 'I do not see it any more', dàn tartaòn au be uashù ìn 'I cannot tolerate this thirst any more', dàn adòn bò rohànhu màNÀn 'I do not feel like eating any more', dàn adòn bò di àu 'I have none left', dibèREN ibána mà dàn disí bò muthìna ì 'He saw that his pearl was not there any more'.

dòpè 'still': huìNót dòpè ibána 'I still remember him', tòn dòpè diìNó bò ibána dàlàn tu sìlìddùN 'He still remembers the way to Sìlìndùn',
bibi dopE 'It is still unripe', hupakke dopE 'I still use it', meمت dopE anakibian 'The puppy is still small', dan haru rotak dopE 'They are not really dirty yet', dan hût dopE pardalanna 'His gait is still not steady', dan hea dopE hulda jabumuna 'I have not yet seen your house', naba ku dopE dibëto mardalann 'He has only just learned to walk', tonTÖN dopE hupakke 'I am constantly using it'.

PE 'in future, surely': hutûhor pe ì marsogot 'I shall buy it tomorrow', hupatüdu pe dålan 'I will show you the way', huban pe h0 tu ibâna 'I will bring you to her', ró pe au marsogot 'I will certainly come tomorrow', rò pe hamu marsogot 'You will be coming tomorrow, won't you?', baEnôna pe peSta ì 'He will certainly perform the ceremony', lâ0 pe hàmi 'We will certainly go'.

The remaining predicate satellites may co-occur with the predicate particles do and ma. They are the following: săi 'continually', nàON 'already', hiàn 'previously', j0 'please', j010 'please', hapë 'really', rå 'perhaps', tÖN 'also', nàN 'also', attÖN 'in fact', musë 'again', nian 'actually'.

They occur in four positions: (1) initially in the sentence, (2) immediately before the predicate particle, (3) immediately after the subject. The following occur only in position (1): săi and nàON; hiàn occurs in position (2); in position (3) the following: j0, j010, hapë, tÖN and nàN; rå in positions (1) and (3); attÖN, musë, and nian in positions (3) and (4).

Examples follow:

sái 'continually' (position 1): săi didatdati do 'He kept on doing it constantly', săi marhullañhulîñ do nasîda 'They went around in circles continually', săi h0lan na marsâhit do ulaônna 'He was just sick continually', săi lâ0 do ibâna tusî 'He goes there all the time', săi marsâlan do na hudök 'The things I say are always wrong'.

nàON 'already' (position 1): naON lâ0 do ibâna 'He has gone', naON matë hiàn do api ì 'The fire had already gone out', naON tûnu do nuaEN si butët ì 'The baby is wet again', naON hulda do jabumuna 'I have seen your house (once)'.

hiàn 'previously, in the past' (position 2): mamënra hiàn do âu 'I used to be rich', di huta hiàn do âu 'I have been in the village before', didok ibâna na dekkë hiàn ibâna 'She said that she had been a fish previously', huàrëp hiàn do hatëp h0 mûlak 'I had hoped that you would come home quickly'.

j0 'please' (position 3): só ma j0 hîta 'let us rest', pikürî ma j0 tårîNÖt tusî 'Please think it over', òn ma j0 tahatài 'Let us discuss
It, please!', ré jo hamu marsogot 'Please come tomorrow!', pai'ma jó 'Please wait!', lákhó njo 'Do it again!'.

jó10 'please' (position 3): tabàèn ma jó10 sàà fà 'Let us have a feast', úkkɔɔr jó10 'Please dive!', ajàri jó10 au marhàtà bátak 'Please teach me to speak Batak!', pápèak jó10 'Please lie down!'.

hapé 'really' (position 3): ó̓n dó hapé ulà̑nmu 'So this is what you have been doing!', nián dó hapé ibànà 'She is really thin!'.

rà 'perhaps' (position 1 and 3): rà ró dò nasa halàk ˈi 'Probably all of them will come', rà dòhɔt dò ibànà marèdre 'Perhaps he will sing too', rà ró dò hàmí marsòget 'Perhaps we shall come tomorrow' (also ró dò rà hàmí marsògot), ón ma ra dàlan laa0 manbàèn ibànà múlak 'Perhaps this will be a way of making her come back'.

tòn 'also' (position 3): adòn dò tòn ibòtònhù 'I have a brother also', maNàjàri dò tòn ibànà 'He also teaches', tàkkùp ma sàda pínàhanlòbù, sèat ma, jàla lòppa ma tòn 'Take a pig, slaughter it, and cook it also!', dibòtò ibànà dò tòn na gòrarònna musè dakdanak ˈi si gidfòn 'She also knew that the child would later be called Gideon', nàèn gùrhònna dò tòn 'He also wants to learn'.

nàn 'also' (position 3): matùtuN mà nàN jàbu ˈi 'The house also burned down', sudè hàbaN nàN akka manukà na 'All his chickens also flew off', sònòn dò nàN ràja maNàlùt 'That was also the case with Rajah Mangalaut', sònòn dò nàN diplomaN akka akkaNna na 'And her sisters thought so too', diulahòn ibànà dò nàN na 'And she did so'.

attòn 'in fact' (positions 3 and 4): làò ma attòn nasidà 'And they did in fact go', dijàlò si girsaN mà attòn manukà ˈi 'Girsang received the chicken alright', maNànguk dò ibànà attòn 'She did indeed wait', sàñà mò nasidà attòn tu hùta ni pànàkkɔ ˈi 'They arrived in fact at the thief's village', dipànìdiò ibànà mò tu amànnà na manbàèn sàda sòpò di ibànà jàla dìòlòi amànnà dò attòn 'She asked her father to build her a hut and he in fact consented to do so'.

musè 'again, later' (positions 3 and 4): Nàtòn ibànà musè 'He is already wet again', disùru ràja ˈi ma musè plò tu hàlak nàí 'The rajah sent seven more men out again', lùlu dò ibànà musè 'He lost his way again', ràp marèdre dò nasidà musè 'They sang together again', dibòtò ibànà na gòraròn musè dakdanak ˈi si gidfòn 'She knew that he would later be called Gideon'.

nián 'actually' (positions 3 and 4): nàèn làà dò au niān, alài dàn sàut 'I intended to go, but I did not manage to', aut surà dišì ma au niān 'If only I had been there!', aut huhapòrsèài ma hatanhù ˈi niān
"If only I believe in what I say!", aut boi ma nian mülak au tu hutánhu "If only I could return to my village!", didok ibàna ma asa takkúpón nian pidoN "He told them to catch the bird".

4. COMPLEX PREDICATES

A complex predicate contains two verbs. The first of these two verbs is the auxiliary verb, the second the main verb. There are two types of complex predicate. In the first the auxiliary verb is followed by a subject noun phrase, and a whole second predicate occurs after that subject. In the second type the auxiliary verb occurs before a sequence which could occur on its own as a clause (that is, a predicate-subject sequence). The predicate particle, if it occurs, appears between the auxiliary and the subject in the first pattern, and between the predicate and the subject in the second. In other words, in the first type of structure an extra predicate is attached after a clause containing the auxiliary, while in the second an auxiliary is attached before a clause containing the main verb.

The first type is exemplified in the sentence boï dò au marláNE 'I can swim'. Here the auxiliary verb boï 'to be able, to be possible' behaves syntactically like an intransitive verb such as lójà 'to be tired', as in a sentence like lójà dò àw 'I am tired'. After the subject of the first predicate there occurs a second predicate, viz. marláNE 'to swim'.

The second type of complex predicate is exemplified in the sentence ëkkôn lâdò àw 'I must go'. In this case the auxiliary ëkkôn 'to have to' occurs before a sequence which constitutes a clause, viz. lâdò àw 'I am going'.

In the first type the main verb is an active verb (i.e. either an intransitive verb or an active transitive verb). In the second type the main verb is one of the following: an active, a first passive, or a fourth passive.

The auxiliary verbs are: boï 'to be able, to be possible', ëkkôn 'to have to', jàdi 'ought', náÊN 'to be about to, to want', pûla 'to have to', ëlò 'to be willing, to want to', lâdò 'to go (and)', ró 'to come (and)'. Examples follow:

boï 'to be able' occurs in the first type of complex predicate and also in the second together with either a first or a fourth passive verb, e.g. boï dò au maméÊN 'I can see', dàN boï dápót nasídà ibàna 'They could not find her' (dápót 'to find' behaves syntactically like a first passive), dàN boï gattûfôn à 'It cannot be exchanged', dàN adÔN nàngô sàda sian nasídà na boi mañalÈhônsa 'There was not a single one
among them who was able to give him it', dàn bòi pāniđōn lòbi sian sòulp dahanōn gottīnā 'One cannot ask more than one measure of rice in exchange for it'.

ikkōn 'to have to' occurs in the second type of complex predicate with either an active, a first or a fourth passive verb, e.g. ikkōn mārne dō hāmī 'We shall have to swim', ikkōn dibōtō hamu pājōrjōrhōn i 'You must learn this by heart', ikkōn hupajōrjōr dō ōn 'I must put these things in order', ikkōn butōnīnūma ma dūa mānūk 'You must take two chickens', ikkōn māte ma āu 'I shall have to die', ikkōn pahanōnhu bābi 'I must feed the pigs', ikkōn jōlō olōan ni amānnā 'She must first have her father's consent', ikkōn dibōtō hamu āu 'You must know this' (also ikkōn bōtōnmūna ā with the same meaning), ikkōn rāp marēdde dō nasīda 'They had to sing together'. Special emphasis is involved in the following sentences: ikkōn dō lāō āu 'I absolutely have to go' (cf. the neutral ikkōn lāō dō āu 'I have to go'), ikkōn dō bōtōnīnā ā 'He's bound to find out, that's something he must know about' (cf. ikkōn bōtōnīnā ā 'He must know that').

jādī 'ought' occurs in the second type of complex predicate with an active or fourth passive verb, e.g. dān jādī maNālēālī 'One ought not to slander', dān jādī laōsan na tinōtūhōn nasīda ā 'One ought not to violate what they have laid down', dān jādī pāniđōn manaNāhā gottīnā 'One ought not to ask for anything in exchange for it', dān jādī bōtōnīnā manaNāhā 'He must not know anything about it, it is impermissible for him to know anything about it'. Special emphasis is involved in jādī dō bōtōnīnā ā 'It is permissible for him to know about that'.

nāEN 'to be about to, to want to' occurs in the first type of complex predicate, and also in the second together with a first or fourth passive verb, e.g. nāEN dō au maNāllaN dūa mānūk 'I want to eat two chickens', nāEN diōli nasīda dō ibānā 'They wanted to marry her', nāEN baENōnmūna dō must pēsta 'You wanted to have another feast', nāEN takkōōnā jōm ā 'He is just about to steal the watch', di tikki nāEN boladuānnā tarbēgē ma sōāra sian bagāsan 'When he was about to chop it in two a voice was heard from inside', nāEN rāp marēdde dō nasīda 'They are going to sing together', dibōtō ibānā dō tībō nāEN māsa sāhit diśī 'She knew that there would soon be an epidemic there', nāEN tabaōnnāmī nama ā 'We are going to out just that one down'.

pōla 'to have to, to need to, to have an opportunity to' occurs in the first type of complex predicate, and also in the second with an active or fourth passive verb, e.g. dān pōla lāō au 'I do not have to go', pōla dō bōtōnīnā ā 'It is very likely he will find out', pōla dō hō
You had a chance to have a chat with your friend', dàN pôla likkôn b0t0ônna i 'He will not necessarily have to find out', pôla d0 likkôn b0t0ônna i 'It's quite likely that he will find out'.

Ô10 'to be willing, to want to' occurs in the first type of complex predicate, e.g. ô10 d0 h0 là0 tu nat0ráshu 'Are you willing to go to my parents?', ô10 d0 au mamikkíri i 'I want to think about it', dàN ô10 ibana mamakkulíni au 'He does not want to speak to me', b0àsa dàN ô10 h0 d0h0t måNan 'Why do you want to eat with us?', ô10 d0 au hat0p múlak 'I want to go home immediately'.

là0 'to go (and)' occurs in the first type of complex predicate, e.g. là0 ma ibana madaNàdaN tu balián 'He went walking outside the village', là0 ma ibana múlak 'He came back'.

rô 'to come (and)' occurs in the first type of complex predicate, e.g. rô ma laêna manjalàN ibana 'His brother-in-law came and greeted him', rô ma ibàna maNaluší 'He replied'.

It may be noted that some auxiliary verbs occur in non-complex predicates, e.g. bôi d0 'It can be done, it is possible', dàN ô10 ìu 'I am not willing', dàN pôla 'it is not necessary', rô d0 nasílda 'They came'.

5. PREPOSITIONAL OBJECTS

Certain intransitive verbs and adjectives are accompanied by an obligatory prepositional object. Such a prepositional object consists of a preposition and a noun phrase. The choice of preposition is dependent on the verb, i.e. a given verb or adjective governs a certain preposition. The position of the prepositional object is final in the sentence. An example of this construction is the sentence pajúppàN d0 hlta məsəgot d0h0t ibàna 'We are meeting him tomorrow', in which pajúppàN 'to meet' is an intransitive verb, d0h0t 'with' is the preposition governed by pajúppàN, and the pronoun ibàna 'him' is the noun phrase.

The prepositions which appear in such cases are di, tu, and d0h0t. Examples of intransitive verbs: məNág0 d0 h0 dì au 'You are letting me down', tartárìk d0 au tu ibàna 'I was attracted to her', dàN marbagås j0låna tu bègu 'Human beings do not marry spirits', margúna d0 ìn tu ìu 'It is useful to me', marft0 d0 au tu nasílda 'I call her it0 (sibling of the opposite sex to ego)', manhatåd d0 nasílda tu h0då 'They talk to horses', ô10 d0 au di ibàna 'I like him'.

marnaN d0h0t d0Nànu 'You had a chance to have a chat with your friend', dàN pôla likkôn b0t0ônna i 'He will not necessarily have to find out', pôla d0 likkôn b0t0ônna i 'It's quite likely that he will find out'.

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Examples of adjectives: porlú dò òn di hò 'You need this', IEà dò rohàna di àu 'He looks down on me', sumàn dò ibàna tu inànNna 'She resembles her mother', buní dò òn di ibàna 'This was hidden from her'.

6. ADVERBIAL PHRASES

A predicate may contain an optional adverbial phrase, e.g. nabbûra mfjur dò àu 'I just now went down', cf. mfjur dò àu 'I went down'. An adverbial phrase is either a time adverbial, as in the example just quoted, or a manner adverbial, e.g. halûs dò ibàna manhatài 'He speaks beautifully', or finally a place adverbial, e.g. làò dò ibàna tu haúma 'He went to the rice-field'.

Time adverbials and manner adverbials frequently occur initially in the sentence and cause inversion of the subject and the verb, e.g. hatòp ma ibàna harùar sian jábu 'Immediately she came out of the house', cf. harùar ma ibàna sian jábu 'She came out of the house'. The inversion is less common if the subject is a noun rather than a pronoun, e.g. hatòp ma harùar inatta l sian jábu 'Immediately the old woman came out of the house'. The predicate particle occurs immediately after the adverbial phrase.

Time adverbials may also appear in final position, e.g. lòja dò au nuàÈN 'I am tired now', làò dò au tu sikkóla nuàÈN 'I go to school now', huòbbus dò ápi nakkinIN 'I was blowing the fire just now', dihàrat ulók au nakkinIN 'I was just bitten by a snake' (cf. nakkinIN dò huòbbus ápi í 'I was blowing the fire just now').

Adverbial phrases are either adverbs or prepositional phrases. The class of adverbs includes the class of non-attributive adjectives, e.g. deNgán 'good, well', hatòp 'quick, quickly', gogó 'strong, strongly', and a number of other words, e.g. ujuNujúNna 'finally, at last'. The following is a short list of frequently occurring adverbs:

a. time adverbs: tibù 'soon', íPE 'just now', nabbûra 'just, recently', ujuNujúNna 'finally, at last', làòs 'still', marsógot 'tomorrow', mamíttòr, pittòr 'immediately', nabáru 'recently', sogót 'early', tòrùs 'continually', girà 'immediately', tòntON 'always'.

b. manner adverbs: roá 'badly', hojöt 'fast', murá 'easily', dipós 'tightly', deNgán 'well', gogó 'energetically', rENÉ 'hard' (as in rENÉ módom 'to sleep hard').

Adverbial prepositional phrases are of great variety. The following is a short list of frequently occurring phrases:

a. time adverbial phrases: dìnà sàdà ári 'one day', (di) tikki f 'at that time, then', sàdà ári ón 'today', nàttòári 'yesterday',
marsōgot 'tomorrow', bōrnin  ơn 'tonight', na tāon í 'last year', nattāri sādā 'the day before yesterday', hadāan 'the day after tomorrow', sidūn í 'after that', du  ún í 'after that', di tikki  ón 'at present', tagan í 'at that time', martāontāon 'for many years', marpūlpūlūtāon 'for decades', di āri marsōgotná í 'on the next day'.

b. place adverbial phrases: disón 'here', tusán 'thither', tusí 'hither', disán 'there', tusón 'thither', disadū 'there', sian IÓN 'by here, past here', tu hāumā 'to the field', sian jábu 'from home', tu jábu 'home, to the house', di jábu 'at home, in the house'.

7. ADJECTIVAL PHRASES

An adjectival phrase is either attributive or predicative. An attributive adjectival phrase consists of the adjectivising particle na followed by an adjective, e.g. na bólon 'big'. (It may be recalled that the adjective in this environment has penultimate stress.) A predicative adjectival phrase consists of a simple adjective or a comparative adjective (i.e. a derived adjective containing one of the affixes -um-, -an, or -um...-an), e.g. bolón 'big', umbolón 'bigger', bolonán 'bigger', umbolonán 'bigger'.

Adjectival phrases occur in two constructions: as non-verbal predicates, and as sub-constituents of noun phrases. Attributive adjectival phrases occur in both constructions, predicative adjectival phrases appear only as non-verbal predicates. Thus in the sentence na bólon do í 'It is big' an attributive adjectival phrase na bólon 'big' occurs as a non-verbal predicate, while in the phrase bagas na bólon 'a big house' an attributive adjectival phrase occurs as a sub-constituent of the noun phrase bāgas na bólon. In the sentence bólon do í 'It is big' we have a predicative adjectival phrase occurring as a non-verbal predicate.

The predicative adjective occurs in one other major construction, namely as a constituent of an active transitive predicate containing the verb baEn 'to make' and an object noun phrase. For example, in the sentence bunī baEn hēpEN í 'Hide the money!' the predicative adjective bunī 'hidden' is conjoined with the verb baEn and the object noun phrase hēpEN í 'the money'. This sentence is clearly related to the sentence bunī do hēpEN í 'The money is hidden', in which bunī appears as a non-verbal predicate, and the noun phrase hēpEN na bunī í 'The hidden money'.

An adjectival phrase containing a comparative adjective is optionally accompanied by a prepositional phrase consisting of sian and a noun phrase, e.g. umbālga do jabunasídā sian jabunāmī 'Their house is bigger than our house', cf. umbālga do jabunasídā 'Their house is bigger'.
An adjectival phrase may be accompanied by an adjectival modifier. The following adjectival modifiers occur before adjectives: màccai 'very', tár 'fairly', tūN 'completely', lám 'more', dàn póla 'not very', dàn sàḍà 'not very', hùràn 'insufficiently'. Examples: màccai ulf dò ibànà 'She is very beautiful', tūN asìN dò 'It is quite different', làm ulf dò ibànà 'She is more beautiful (than she used to be)', tár argà dò útte nuàÈN 'Oranges are fairly expensive now', dàn póla pejé t àékgođàN à 'The river is not very shallow', dàn sàḍà pejé àékgođàN à 'The river is not very shallow', hùràn bälga dò tás àÉn 'This handbag is not big enough'. The adjectival modifier sitútú 'extremely' occurs after adjectives: namàrbàjù na ùlì sitútú 'an extremely beautiful girl'.

8. NOUN PHRASES

Noun phrases occur as subjects, objects, agents, and non-verbal predicates, e.g. manùan ÉmÈ dò hàmì 'We are planting rice' (object noun phrase ÉmÈ 'rice', subject noun phrase hàmì 'we'), dipù̀kka ibànà ma āpì 'He made a fire' (agent noun phrase ibànà 'he', subject noun phrase āpì 'a fire'), gùddùr dò à É 'It is a gourd' (non-verbal predicate gùddùr 'is a gourd').

There are two types of noun phrases. In the first a nominal is preceded by an optional numeral or number marker, and followed by an optional attributive adjectival phrase and an optional demonstrative. Examples follow:

1. Nominal alone: pèsta 'a feast', ràja 'a rajah', hùtā ììn àmànnà 'his father's village'.

2. Nominal followed by an adjectival phrase: namàrbàjù na ùlì 'a beautiful girl'.

3. Numeral followed by a nominal: płù bòrù 'seven daughters', dùà mànuk 'two chickens'.

4. Nominal followed by a demonstrative: ràja à É 'the rajah', sipàtù ìn 'this shoe', hùtā àùn 'that village'.

5. Nominal preceded by a numeral and followed by an adjectival phrase: dùà ùttè na bälga 'two large oranges'.

6. Nominal followed by an adjectival phrase and a demonstrative: ùttè na bälga à É 'this large orange'.

7. Nominal preceded by a numeral and followed by a sequence consisting of an adjectival phrase and a demonstrative: dùà ùttè na bälga à É 'these two large oranges'.
8. Nominal preceded by a number marker: âkka hálak 'people'.

9. Nominal preceded by a number marker and followed by a demonstrative: âkka bükku ôn 'these books'.

In the second type of noun phrase the nominal is preceded by an optional number marker, and followed first by a numeral, which must be preceded by na, and finally by an optional demonstrative. Examples follow:

1. Nominal followed by a numeral: nasîda na dúa 'the two of them'.

2. Nominal followed by a numeral and a demonstrative: hôda na dúa 'the two horses', bôru na plîtu ôn 'these seven daughters'.

3. Nominal preceded by a number marker and followed by a numeral and a demonstrative: âkka hôda na dúa 'the two horses'.

A nominal is one of the following: a common noun, a proper noun preceded by the particle si, a pronoun, a ni-construction, or a demonstrative. Examples follow:

1. Common noun: dakdának 'child', tîkki 'time', hamamâtâ 'death', tûlañ 'mother's brother'.

2. Proper name: si mînar 'Mînar', si mûkmûk 'Fatty'.

3. Pronoun: âî 'I', hâmî 'we (exclusive)'.

4. A ni-construction: tûlañ ni si mînar 'Mînar's uncle', mànuñ ni râja ni hûta f 'the chicken owned by the rajah of that village'.

5. Demonstrative: Ôn 'this one'.

One more class of elements appear in noun phrases, namely the class of quantifiers. The quantifiers are as follows: sudè 'all', sudêna 'all', -sa 'all', nása 'all', saluhút 'all', gânup 'each, every', bê 'each'.

Of these nása and gânup appear before nominals, e.g. nása bajúnhu 'all my clothes', gânup âri 'every day'; -sa is enclitic to a preceding numeral, e.g. duânša 'both', tolûnsa 'all three', Opâtsa 'all four', Onômsa 'all six'; sudè occurs before a nominal, e.g. sudè jólma 'all human beings', before a number marker, e.g. sudè âkka háha 'all the brothers', before any demonstrative but i, e.g. sudè ôn 'all these', and after a pronoun or demonstrative, e.g. nasîda sudè 'all of them', ì sudè 'all of them'; sudêna occurs preceded or followed by the demonstrative i, e.g. sudêna î or î sudêna 'all of them'. It may be noted that -sa does not occur in the second type of noun phrase enumerated above. Thus there is no *nasîda na tolûnsa (rather sudè nasîda na tólù) 'all three of them'.


Noun phrases with a deleted nominal occur, e.g. sudè na àsin í 'all the others' (cf. sudè hàlak na àsin í 'all the other people'), akka í 'those things' (cf. àkka hòda í 'the horses'), àkka na àsin í 'the others' (cf. àkka hàlak na àsin í 'the other people'), àkka na manjfrir 'reptiles, (lit.) those (things) which creep'. Relative clauses with deleted antecedents fall into this category, see section E2, p.108 of this chapter. Thus the phrase na ñumtôsa 'who knows that' is a relative clause in hàlak na ñumtôsa 'a person who knows that' while it can function as a noun phrase in lse na ñumtôsa 'Who knows that? Who is it that knows that?', where it may be regarded as related to a structure such as lse d0 hàlak na ñumtôsa 'Who is the person who knows that?'.

The pronouns are àu 'I', hò 'you (singular)', ibâna 'he, she', hîta 'we (inclusive of the speaker)', hâm 'we (exclusive of the speaker)', hamú 'you (plural)', and nasída 'they'. Some speakers use the form ímâna instead of ibâna. It is customary to use hamú when one addresses a member of another marga (exogamous sib). Similarly nasída replaces ibâna when one is referring to a member of another marga. The demonstrative i functions as an optional inanimate third person singular pronoun, e.g. hupasâut d0 i 'I succeeded in doing it', lse na pamasúkhôn 'Who put it in?' A special set of pronouns is used in the ni-construction, see section BII of this chapter, p.98.

There are two enclitic pronouns with the morphophonemic shape ša:

ša₁ optionally replaces ibâna 'he, she' after a second passive verb, and after dâpOt 'to find', jûppa(N) 'to meet', and tôlap 'to be physically capable of', e.g. dàn tarídâsa 'He could not see it' (cf. dàn tarída ibâna with the same meaning), tarâNôssà d0 hépEN tu natoRássna 'She is able to send money to her parents' (cf. tarâNôs ibâna d0 hépEN tu natoRâssna with the same meaning), nûNnà dâpôtsa bë 'He has found it' (cf. nûNNa dâpOt ibâna with the same meaning), jupâNsà ma úlok 'He found a snake', jupâssà ma pûnu f 'He encountered the turtle'.

ša₂ optionally replaces i 'it' and less frequently ibâna 'he, she' after an active verb provided the element replaced is an object, e.g. ibâna d0 na manabunïônsa 'He was the one who hid it' (cf. ibâna d0 na manabunïÔn i with the same meaning), lào ma ibâna tu raja i ñanôsà 'He went to the rajah to ask for it', dijou nasída ma sàda dâtu ñanubatîsà 'They called in a medicine-man to cure him'.

In appositional constructions the two nouns occur side by side with no intervening syntactic marker; the generic term precedes the specific term. It is common for the second noun to be a location or instrument noun. Examples: marga harâhap 'the Harâhap family', hàta bátak 'the Batak language', tàO tôba 'Lake Toba', hûta hatubûan ni ràja f 'the
rajah's native village, the village in which the rajah was born',
haròtas panurátan 'writing paper'.
10. PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

Prepositional phrases occur as adverbial phrases (see section B6 of this chapter), either as subconstituents of predicates or as whole predicates. In the sentence lào dò ibàna tu hutàna 'He went to his village', the predicate lào dò tu hutàna 'went to his village' contains the prepositional phrase tu hutàna 'to his village' functioning as an adverbial phrase, while in the sentence di jábu dò ibàna 'He is in the house', the prepositional phrase di jábu is an adverbial phrase which constitutes a whole predicate.

A prepositional phrase is a noun phrase preceded by a preposition. The commonest prepositions are the following: di 'at, in', tu 'to', sfían 'from', dòho't 'with', ả, ángô, iàngô 'as regards', dûn, sfûn 'after', tàgan 'during', di tàkkì 'during', di bágas, di bagàsan 'within, in', tu bagàsan 'into', mànok 'to', sàhàt tu 'up to, as far as', humàlìàn 'around', dònà 'at (with temporal expression)', manjònôki 'near', dóppak 'in the direction of', mandàpòthôn 'towards', múlak tu 'back to', manjùppàkhôn 'outside', sfàt 'the same size as', dìbàn 'by means of', dòshôn 'like', dûnhôn ni 'except', tarfnòt tu 'concerning', hìra 'like'.

di 'in': di jábu dò ibàna 'He is at home', tòlu ári àu di mèdan 'I was in Medan three days', àdòn dò ònòn nàì di àu 'I have six left', dàn àdòn bê di àu 'I have none left', mò10du'n sâ È di hò marîsap hîta 'When you are satisfied we will have a smoke', núNNà àdòn di gànup nasîda râbî 'They each have a knife', mubbànùbbàn dò àkka hàu di tâo 'Trees are floating on the lake', hòras mà di hamû 'Greetings to you!', di jábu dì mà hamû marinènan 'In which house do you live?'.

tu 'to': lào dò ibàna tu jábu 'He went home', nînhu mà tu nasîda 'I told him', hülèàn dò pítólùt tu ibàna 'I gave him a pencil', màccâl sumàn dò hò tu inàNmu 'You are very similar to your mother', òha dìbàÈn hò tu na nîdàpòtmù 'What did you do with that thing that you found?', nàèk kàpàhìbàn dò àu tu mèdan 'I flew to Medan', tu ìsÈ didàNgùrhôn
'To whom did he throw it?', tu tórùan hò marmEammÉam 'Go to the bottom (of the village) and play!'.

sìan 'from': mapôrus ma nasìda sìan jábu 'They fled from the house', dàn marásal sìan huta  Ön ìbànà 'He did not originally come from this village', isì sìan híta na sàla 'Which of us is wrong?', sìan dìa dò i 'Where is it from?', margvùru dò nasìda sìan ibànà 'They are learning from him', mamólus dò ìbànà sìan  Ön 'He passed by here', dipabàli dò ìbànà sìan hùrià 'He was banned from the church'.

dòhòt 'with': dipùkkul mà tuNganèborùna dòhòt hau-háu 'He beat his wife with a stick', marmEàmi dòhòt itòna dò nasìda 'They are playing with their brothers', marèddÈ mà ìbànà dòhòt soàra na maccai gogó 'She sang in a very loud voice', dibòàn mà dòhòt suksìan î múlàk tu jàbùna 'She took it along with her washing back to her house'.

íà 'as regards': ìa raja  Ön pìtu borùnà 'As for this rajah, he had seven daughters', íà tòbù ni sì parjólo sáda dò 'As for the first wife, she had one child', íà mutìha  Ön dişìpìpan dò î dì bagàsàn pòti 'As for this pearl, he put it away in a chest', íà sì sútàn hò1àn na marsàhit ulàònnà 'As for Sultan, all he did was to be ill, he was constantly ill'.

anGò 'as regards': anGò màrà dàn adòN 'As for danger, there is none', anGò  î dàn dènGàn 'As for this one, it is no good', anGò  Ön dàn hubòtò 'As for this, I do not know', anGò sì sútàn gàbÈ parhaúma dò ìbànà 'As for Sultan, he became a rice farmer'.

duN 'after': dùN dàu bùlàn 'after two months', duN î 'after that, thereupon', duN  Ön 'after this'.

sìduN 'after': sìduN î 'after that, thereupon', sìduN  Ön 'after this'.

tàgàn 'during, at': tàgàn î 'at that time', tàgàn  Ön 'at the present time'.

dì tìkki 'during': dì tìkki hálÈòn atturapàròN dò nasìda 'During the famine they starved'.

dì bágàs, dì bagàsàn 'inside, within': dì bágàs î 'inside here', dì bagàsàn jábu 'within the house'.

tu bagàsàn 'into': disùrûk ibànà mà liaN î tu bagàsàn tànò 'He followed the cave into the earth'.

màndòk 'to': dîdòk ìbànà màndòk ibànà 'He said to him'.

sàhàt tu 'up to, as far as': dibòàn dò mutìha î sàhàt tu bàrlîba ni lâùt 'He took the pearl all the way to the sea shore'.
humalān 'around': dipūkka ibāna ma āpī humalān ibāna 'He started a fire around him', disaburhōn ibāna ma sugasūga humalān būna ni pīsan 'He scattered thorns around the trunk of the banana tree'.

dīnas 'on, at': dīna sa hali 'once upon a time', dīna sada ari 'one day', dīna sa bōr Nin 'one night'.

manjōnōkī 'near': manjōnōkī hūta i pajuπpān dō hāmi 'We met near the village'.

dōppak 'towards, in the direction of': manallī ma ibāna dōppak gījjān 'She glanced upwards', dān adōn tálinhu láō dōppak 'I have no intention of going there, as far as that', adōn dō vàlan nā láō dōppak hūta 'There is a path which goes to the village'.

mandapōthōn 'towards, to meet': hatōp ma láō akka namarbāju mandapōthōn ibāna 'Immediately the girls went towards him'.

mūlak tu 'back to': dibōdan ma dōhōt suksanu nī mūlak tu jābūnā 'She took it along with her laundry back to the house'.

manjuppākhōn 'outside': manjuppākhōn mēdan rō ma ūdan 'Outside Medan it began to rain'.

sipat 'the same size as': sipat jābu dō bālga ni galūbbān 'The waves were as high as a house', sipat ūd dō rabbarabbā 'The grass was as tall as I am'.

dībaēn 'by means of': tarsūga ma ibāna dībaēn akka sugasu gā 'He was pricked by the thorns', màccāi marrāra dībaēn lamūnna 'very red on account of its ripeness'.

dōshōn 'like': dōshōn sūddān ni mataniāri 'like the rays of the sun'.

dūnḥōn ni 'except': mablār ma sudē akka hāhāna nī dūnḥōn ni si sāda dōpa 'All his brothers were afraid except Sada Dopa', dūnḥōn ni hō īṣē 'Who is next after you?'.

tarīνōt tu 'concerning': marbardāi dō nasīda tarīνōt tu hagogonāsīda 'They had an argument concerning their strength'.

hīra 'like': manōrtōr dō ibānā hīra borübōru nā rīttik 'She danced like a mad woman'.

11. THE ni-CONSTRUCTION

This construction has three immediate constituents: the first is either a noun phrase or a third or fourth passive verb, the second is the word ni, and the third is a noun phrase, e.g. pāt ni hōrbō i 'the buffalo's legs' (immediate constituents: pāt + ni + hōrbō i), na bīnāēn
ni rāja i 'that which was done by the rajah' (immediate constituents
na binān + ni + rāja i). A ni-construction is a noun phrase and hence
its first or third constituent may also be a ni-construction, e.g. hājut
ni rāja ni hūta i 'the pouch belonging to the rajah of that village'
(immediate constituents hājut 'pouch' + ni + rāja ni hūta i 'the rajah
of that village', the latter constituent being itself an instance of
the ni-construction).

The pronouns do not occur as third constituents in the ni-construction.
Instead a member of a special set of enclitic pronouns occurs after the
first noun phrase or passive verb. The enclitic pronouns are: -hu 'I',
-mu 'you (singular)', -na 'he, she', -ta 'we (inclusive)', -nāmi 'we
(exclusive)', -mūna 'you (plural)', -nasīda 'they'. Examples: tānān-hu
'my hand' (cf. tānān ni rāja i 'the rajah's hand'), hājut-ni-napurānmu
'your betel pouch' (cf. hājut-ni-napurān ni rāja i 'the rajah's betel
pouch'), lāgē na bināu-na 'a mat which was woven by her' (cf. lāgē na
bināu ni sī mīnār 'a mat woven by Mīnār').

The ni-construction has a distributive meaning in sentences containing
pīga 'how many?', e.g. pīga hālāk māddur ni pabrik Ōn 'How many foremen
has the factory got?', pīga pīra ni mànuk ī 'How many eggs does the
chicken lay?'.

Otherwise the ni-construction has a possessive meaning if the first
constituent is a noun phrase, e.g. jābu ni rāja i 'the rajah's house',
and an agentive meaning if the first constituent is a verb, e.g. takkūpōn
ni tūnganēdōlīna 'to be caught by her husband'.

Demonstratives do not occur after the first immediate constituent,
but only after the third, e.g. rāja ni hūta i 'the rajah of the village',
not *rāja i ni hūta i. Similarly in a series of encapsulated ni-
constructions the demonstrative occurs at the end of the last noun
phrase, e.g. hājut ni rāja ni hūta ni amānnî ī 'the pouch belonging to
the rajah of his father's village'. The same rule applies to cases in
which the second and third constituents are represented by an enclitic
pronoun, e.g. hōdana Ōn 'this horse of his'.

12. COMPLEX PRINCIPAL CLAUSES

Intermediate between simple and complex sentences are sentences
consisting of a complex principal clause. For example, the sentence
adŌn dō sāda sōbbāōn manhacciī anakna ī 'There is a spirit tormenting
his son' is related to the pair of sentences adŌn dō sāda sōbbāōn 'There
is a spirit' and manhacciī anakna ī dō sāda sōbbāōn 'A spirit is tor-
menting his son'. The first sentence quoted will be said to contain two
predicates adŌn dō 'there is' and manhacciī anakna ī 'is tormenting his
son', and a single shared subject noun phrase sàda sòbbáOn 'a spirit'. The types of complex principle clauses will be enumerated under the verb appearing in the first predicate in sentences of this kind:

adón 'there is' occurs a. with an active predicate and the shared subject placed after the second verb, e.g. adón rò sa hàlak tu labbúnna 'A man came to her side', or placed between the two verbs, e.g. adón dònànhu rò nàttòàri 'A friend of mine came yesterday', and b. with a passive predicate, e.g. adón ma dàpót nasída ãkkal 'They hit upon a stratagem', dàn adón dàpótsa 'She did not find any', dàn adón ëmè pànànònta 'There is no rice for us to eat, we have no rice to eat', adón dò dìdàngùrhòn nasída 'Have they thrown anything?', adón si ulàónhu 'I have something to do'.

bàèn 'to make'. The active manbàèn occurs with a second active verb, the object phrase dependent on manbàèn functioning as the subject noun phrase of the second verb, e.g. manbàèn ibàna marsíájar dò òu 'I made him study'. The first passive forms occur with a second active predicate, the subject of the passive verb functioning as the subject of the second verb, e.g. hubàèn dò ibàna marsíájar 'I made him study'. The second passive form tarbàèn 'can be done, is possible' is conjoined with a second active predicate, the agent of tarbàèn functioning as the subject of the second verb, e.g. dàn tarbàènsa manbùatsa tu tànò na manhàn 'He could not take it to dry land'.

lèèn 'to give'. The first passive forms occur with a fourth passive verb, the subjects of the two predicates being identical, e.g. dìllèèn ibàna ma pànànòn ni tunñgàñbòrùnà 'He gave it for his wife to eat'.

paulà 'to pretend'. The first passive forms occur with active predicates, the agent of the first verb and the subject of the second verb being identical, e.g. hupaulà dò au màrsak 'I pretended to be sad'.

dòkhòn 'to tell, order'. The first passive forms occur with active predicates, the subjects of the two predicates being identical, e.g. didòkhòn raja ò ma nàpòsòna manàkkup mànuk 'The rajah told his servants to catch a chicken'.

A group of intransitive verbs occur with second active predicates, the subjects of the two predicates being identical in each case, e.g. maràdjàn ma nasída làò mandá-ngùr 'They stopped throwing', dùn sùn nasída marhàta 'When they had finished talking', marsàkkap ma ibàna làò manópótsa 'He decided to go and meet him', sò ma ibàna làò mandá-ngùr 'He stopped throwing', martàhi dò nasída naèn làò tusàn 'They intended to go there', mártùptùp ma nasída mañalùlùi mutlíhà fì 'They resolved to look for the pearl', marjàjji ma ibàna mañubàtsa 'He promised to cure him'.
A group of first passive verbs occur with second active predicates, the agent of the passive predicate coinciding with the subject of the second (active) predicate, e.g. disàkkap ibàna ma hatòp múlak 'He decided to return immediately', dijajjihôn ibàna ma manajàri nasìda 'She promised to teach them', didatàdàti ibàna ma manhatài 'He continued to talk'.

In the case of the two verbs ulak-hôn and ulak-i 'to do again' the first passive forms occur with a following active predicate while the active forms occur with a preceding first passive predicate. In the first construction the agent of the first verb, whether ulak-hôn or ulak-i, coincides with the subject of the second (active) predicate. In the second construction the subject of the second verb (i.e. ulak-hôn or ulak-i) coincides with the agent of the first (passive) predicate. Examples of the first construction: diulàkhôn ibàna ma manùrât 'He wrote it again', nùnna diulàkì ibônhu paulìhôn tiNgàla 'My brother is making a plough again'. Example of the second construction: dsiùrat ibàna ma manulàkhôn 'He wrote again'.

The first of these two constructions is also found with verbs derived from adjectival roots, e.g. pagìra 'to do quickly' from girà 'quick', pahøjot 'to do quickly' from hojòt 'quick', pajòlo 'to do earlier' from jólo 'early', gogo 'to do energetically' from gogò 'strong', hariNgàshôn 'to do industriously' from riNgàs 'industrious'. Examples: dipagìra ibàna marbàlan 'He walked more quickly', dipahòjot ibàna marbàlan 'He walked more quickly', dipajòlo ibàna máNan 'He ate earlier', dipasògot ibàna làò tu sikkòla 'He went to school earlier', digògo alogò la màNòbbus 'The wind blew vigorously', dihariNgàshôn nasìda ma manbàu 'They wove baskets industriously'.

13. TOPICALISATION

When the subject of the sentence is topicalised the normal order of the subject and the predicate is reversed, the predicate particle being unaffected by this transposition of order. Thus the subject of the sentence dijou ibàna dò anákna 'He called his son' is topicalised in the following sentence anákna dò na dijou ibàna 'It was his son that he called', in which the relative positions of the subject anakna and predicate dijou ibàna have been reversed, and the predicate particle dò occurs between subject and predicate. Note also the occurrence of the word na before the predicate in this example. In other examples this element is not present, e.g. àù ma marbàbò 'I will do the weeding', lìsìe paluàhôn manuk i 'Who let out the chickens', àù dò manalùhôn ibàna 'I made him lose', ìòmò ni amànta dò dibàEn ibàna 'He does just what
his father wants, his father's wish is what he does', làò do amànta i marsiòban jala inàta i diòkkà sipatùnà 'The old man went to collect firewood, while the old woman took off her shoes', àu sàddùri do manbùàt 'I myself took it'. Sentence stress occurs on the preposed subject in all cases.

To topicalise the agent in a passive predicate the sentence must be converted into the active and the resulting subject may than be topicalised, e.g. to topicalise the agent ibàna 'he' in the sentence dijou ibàna do anàkna 'He called his son', the active sentence manjou anàkna do ibàna must be used as a point of departure, and the resulting topicalised sentence reads ibàna do na manjou anàkna 'He was the one who called his son'. Conversely the object noun phrase in an active predicate cannot be topicalised until the sentence has been passivised. Thus anàkna 'his son' in the sentence manjou anàkna do ibàna 'He called his son' is topicalised in the sentence anàkna do na dijou ibàna 'It was his son that he called'.

It is possible to topicalise the verb in a transitive predicate, e.g.

manjoudo ibàna dàn na mamèren 'He called his son, he didn't see (him)', hòlan na manjoudo anàkna do ibàna dàn na mamèren 'He only called his son, he didn't see (him)'.

In another type of topicalised sentence the topicalised element becomes a preposed prepositional phrase introduced by ìà, iàngò, iàngò 'as regards', e.g. àngò disòn dàn 10mò ròhànhu tíngal 'As for here, I should not like to stay (here)', àngò ón dàn hùbòtò 'As for this, I do not know'. In some instances the topicalised element leaves a pronominal trace before being preposed, e.g. ia begù ón tòlu borùna 'As for this spirit, it had three daughters' (cf. adòn dò tòlu borù ni begù ón 'This spirit had three daughters', adòn dò tòlu borùna 'He had three daughters')

14. CO-ORDINATION

The particle dòhot occurs between co-ordinate noun phrases, prepositional phrases, and co-ordinate predicates, e.g. adòn bè do pittùna dòhot jaddelàna 'Each of them has doors and windows', dibèren hò dò natòrasù dòhot ibòtonhu 'Can you see my parents and my brother?', diidda ibàna dò såda hùtin dòhot såda bliàn 'He saw a cat and a dog', dipabòa ibàna ma sudè na màsa tu ibàna dòhot na dëkkè hiàn ibàna 'She told him everything that had happened to her and that she had been a fish before', dàn såe di hò dòhot di hámì 'There is not enough for you and for us'.

Between adjectival phrases the co-ordinating particle is jala, e.g. ròk na bíròn jala na jéppèk 'a short black skirt'.
In a sequence of more than two co-ordinated elements a co-ordinating particle appears only between the last two, e.g. lào dò ibana tu huta manàlap ûtte pànir süri dòhût sàpa 'She went to the village to fetch some lemon (ûtte pànir), a comb (sùri), and a dish (sàpa)'. In a co-ordinate noun phrase the demonstrative appears after the last conjunct, e.g. biànnu dòhût hùtinna ́his dog and his cat'. Note, however, that the enclitic pronoun -na 'his' is repeated after each nominal (not *biàN dòhût hùtinna i).

màñàN 'or' occurs in the same positions as dòhût, e.g. hapòrlúan ni ûbat màñàN na ãsìN 'things necessary for a remedy or other things'.

C. INTERROGATIVE SENTENCES

A yes-no question differs from the corresponding declarative sentence in intonation only: a rising terminal contour as against the falling contour characteristic of declarative sentences, e.g. sòrdák dò plítu ́Is the door locked?», nùNNA lào ibàna 'Has he already gone?'.

Yes-no questions are frequently introduced by the sentence-particle na, e.g. na dîtùhôr ñó hoda ́Did you buy the horse?», na manbòán hamagóan dò hò 'Will you be bringing bad luck?», na gòtáp dò màñàN na digòtáp dò ́Has it got broken (by itself), or was it broken (by someone)?'.

Supplement questions contain one of the interrogative particles: ìsè 'who', dìñà 'which', ãhà 'what', bòása (and bòdasà) 'why', bëhà 'how', ñígà 'how much, how many', sàdà 'how, by how much', addígan 'when'.

Interrogative particles occur most frequently in initial position, e.g. ìhà dàpìkkfi hò 'What are you thinking about?'. When an interrogative particle replaces the noun phrase in a prepositional phrase, the whole prepositional phrase is preposed, e.g. sìa ìhà dò ́What is it made of?», dì dìà hò màrìnànà ́Where do you live?'. When an interrogative particle replaces an adjectival phrase within a noun phrase, the whole noun phrase is preposed, e.g. mòtòr na dìà mòtorumu 'Which is your car?', jàbù na dìà dììnànì hamù ́Which house do you live in?», ròk dìa pàkkèònhu 'Which skirt shall I wear?'.

Examples of non-initial interrogative particles are rare: màNälúlí ìhà hò 'What are you looking for?', dùkkôn ni hò ìsè 'Who is after you?', dibùkkùshòn ìsè nìnnmu 'Who did you say wrapped it up?', màrìnànà dì dìà hò ́Where do you live?'.

When an interrogative particle replaces a subject noun phrase the remainder of the sentence is frequently cast in the form of a relative clause and is introduced by the relativising particle na, e.g. ìhà na nìluluàñmu 'What are you looking for, what is being looked for by you?'.
"What is she eating?". Note the occurrence of a third passive verb in these examples, a verb form characteristic of relative clauses. In some instances the introductory na is absent, e.g. "What are you going to say to us?".

It may be noted from these examples that objects and agents are for the most part not directly questioned. When an object needs to be questioned the sentence is usually cast into the passive and the resultant subject noun phrase is questioned, e.g. "What are you afraid of?", "What are you afraid of?", "What are you eating?". Similarly when an agent noun phrase needs to be questioned the sentence is usually cast into the active and the resultant subject noun phrase is then directly questioned, e.g. "By whom was this wrapped?". This is not a hard and fast rule, but if an object or agent noun phrase is directly questioned it cannot in that case be preposed, e.g. "What are you looking for?" (not *"What are you looking for?"").

in the same position relative to the accompanying nominal as the corresponding numeral would, e.g. "How many eggs does this chicken lay?" (cf. "The chicken lays two eggs"), "What number are you?" (cf. "number two"), "What time is it?" (cf. "It is three o'clock").

There are two interrogative verbs, both derivatives of the root hua, namely marhua 'what doing' and mahua 'what is (was) happening to', e.g. "What is the dog doing?", m010duN siduN On marhua ñu 'What this is finished what shall I do?', na marhua d0 hamu umbaEn na pòla ñu hamu tusOn 'What has made it necessary for you to come here?', mahua ibaEn 'What happened to him?', mahua simal010Onmu ñu 'What is the matter with your eye?'. Note also the conjugated verb ha-hua-i, e.g. dihuaI ñubum ñu 'What has somebody done to your house? Has somebody done something to your house?' (compare dÀN dihahuI manaNfisE PE 'Nobody has done anything to it').
D. IMPERATIVE SENTENCES

Imperative sentences are of two types: non-transitive and transitive. A non-transitive imperative sentence consists of an intransitive or non-verbal predicate and a subject, the subject being one of the following pronouns: áw 'I', hò 'you (singular)', hamú 'you (plural)', hfta 'we (inclusive)'. The usual syntactic particle is ma. Examples: múlak ma hò 'Go home!', marísap ma hfta 'Let us smoke', lào ma hamú 'Go!', tu tōruán hò 'Go out (of the house)!', gogó pé áw 'Oh that I may be strong!'. In peremptory second-person commands the pronoun is often deleted, e.g. lào 'Go!'. The predicate particle ma introduces a less peremptory note, e.g. burjú hò 'Be polite!' is more imperious than burjú ma hò.

A transitive imperative sentence consists of a predicate and a subject, the predicate in turn consisting of a transitive verb in the imperative form followed by either hò or hamú. The predicate particle is ma, but it is optional as in the case of the non-transitive imperative sentences. Any subject of a passive transitive sentence can appear as the subject of a transitive imperative sentence, e.g. gādīs hamú ma l 'Sell it!', búnú hamú ibàna 'Kill him!', p'amáte áw 'Kill me!'.

Negation in imperative sentences is marked by the particle ûnaN in initial position, e.g. ûnaN búnú áw 'Do not kill me!', ûnaN ìnum àék l 'Do not drink that water!', ûnaN lào hò 'Do not go!'. If the verb and the subject pronoun in a non-transitive imperative sentence are inverted, a less harsh command results, e.g. ûnaN hò lào 'Don't go, please!'. The predicate particle ma does not occur in negative imperative sentences.

In non-transitive imperative sentences containing a preposed adverbial, the verb is shifted to final position, e.g. disón ma hò húdul 'Sit here!' (cf. húdul ma hò 'Sit!'), disán ma gattùNhOn 'Hang it there'.

E. COMPLEX SENTENCES

A complex sentence contains more than one clause. The relation between two clauses in the same sentence is either co-ordinate or sub-ordinate.

1. CO-ORDINATE CLAUSES

Co-ordinate clauses are separated by one of the co-coordinating particles: jála 'and', gābē 'and', jádī 'and', alái 'but', hāpē 'but', ái 'for', ála 'for', hūhūt 'and at the same time'. Elements in the second of two co-ordinate clauses which would otherwise be identical with elements in the first are commonly deleted, e.g. manallī ma ibàna dōppak gǔjján jálá dibèren ma sădà òbbun 'She looked up and saw
a cloud' (for manallì ma ibàna dòppak gíjjàn jala dibérëN ibàna ma sàda òbbun, in which the first occurrence of ibàna is a subject noun phrase and the second an agent noun phrase). Examples follow:

jàla 'and': diparùr ibàna ma akka islan ni hadàNHadaNànna jala dipàNân nasída ma akka sipánàNNòN i 'She took out the contents of her bag and they ate the food', làò ma músi namarbaju f jàla girà dò múlak dòhòt akka sílEànÈèàn f 'The girl left again and immediately returned with the gifts', matùtùN ma amattà f jàla màtÈ ma ibàna 'The old man got burnt and he died', duànsa nasída naèN mànòli ibàna jàla dàn àdÒN na òìò tàlù 'Both of them wanted to marry her and neither was willing to admit defeat', nàkkòk ma ibàna tu tàNga jàla sò ma di jòlo ni pìttu 'She climbed the ladder and paused in front of the door', rò ma musè bòruna f jàla màccai lòNàN nasída maàrèN ùli ni òògùkò f 'His daughter came again and they were astonished at the beauty of her hair'.

gàbè 'and': màrtabùnì ma ibàna gàbè dàn bòì dàpòt nasída ibàna 'She hid herself and they were unable to find her', dipàNìdò hamù dò sàda panuhùhàn dàhànòN gàbè dílÈàN ibàna dò na pìNàÌdòmuòna i 'You asked for one panuhùhàn of rice and he gave (you) what you asked for', naèN dìtàkkup ma pìdòN f gàbè màkkùk f dò hòna 'He wanted to seize the bird but what he hit was the cup'.

jàdì 'and': tәrbègè ma tu làè na mardàkànàk ibòtòña jàdì màrsákàkkap ma ibàna làò mànòpòtsà 'It came to the knowledge of the brother-in-law that his sister had had a child and he decided to go and see her', dibérëN nasìdà ma sàda hàù jàdì làò ma nasìdà túsì 'They saw a tree and went to it'.

alàì 'but': sùkkup dò hâgabeònna alàì dàn àdÒN dàkàndàkàn nasìdà 'His wealth was considerable but they had no children', dìtòghìòN nasìdà ma ibàna màNàn alàì dìjúà dò 'They pressed her to eat but she refused', làò dò ibàna alàì dìlèlàhòN dò músè rò 'He went away but came back again', dìdùNdùN ma dòhòt tàNànna làò mànùùatsà alàì dàn tàrdùNdùNsà 'She reached out with her hand to grasp it, but she could not reach it'.

hàpè 'but': màrtabùnì ma ibàna hàpè rò dò hàhàna l naèN màNàllànàNsa 'He hid himself but his brothers came with the intention of eating it', naèN dìÈàki pánnàkò l ma huítìn l tu tòòrù hàpè màmìttòr màràunàN mà bìàN l 'The thief was about to chase the cat downstairs but immediately the dog barked'.

àì 'for': màN màlàn ma hò màndàpòthòN màNàn ai l dò dùmèNgàN tu hità bè 'Father! Go back to mother, for that is best for us both', màccài màlè àu jàdì aNòN pè àu màrdì ai naèN girà àu màNàn 'I am very hungry and so I will bathe later, for I would like to eat immediately'.
ala 'for': disakkap rOhanasida ma pagôNhôn pôsôpôsô ñ ala daN adôn tubunasídâ saddôri 'They decided to bring the baby up, for they had no children of their own', daN bôi manaN îsE sian nasida dapôtan ibânâ ala daN marbâgas jôlma tu bëgu 'Neither of them can have her, for human beings do not marry spirits', dibôtô ñ bânô ñ ala adôn hamalôn umbôtô na bunô di ibânâ 'She knew this for she had the ability to know about things which were hidden from her'.

huhût 'and at the same time': marëddë ma ibânâ huhut mar tôpëk 'She sang and at the same time clapped her hands', dipukkil ibânâ ma tuNganëbôruna ñ huhût dikôk 'He hit his wife and said at the same time', diparsurâgë bâblâ ñ ma ibânâ huhut dipânân 'The tiger tore him to pieces and ate him'. It may be noted that huhût conjoins clauses which have identical subjects or identical agents, and deletion of the second occurrences of these elements appears to be obligatory.

2. SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

A subordinate clause stands in a special relation to some other clause, namely the subordinating clause. A subordinating clause may be a principal clause or another subordinate clause. Both subordinate and principal clauses may be co-ordinated. The relation of subordinate clause to subordinating clause will be referred to as subordination.

There are two types of subordination. In the first the subordinate clause is a sub-constituent of the subordinating clause. For example, in the sentence dun sùn nasida marhôta múlak ma dàtu i 'After they had finished talking the medicine-man went home', the subordinate clause is a sub-constituent of the predicate of the principle clause múlak ma 'went home'.

In the second type of subordination the subordinate clause and the subordinating clause are constituents on the same level. Such sentences have three immediate constituents: the subordinating clause, the subordinate clause, and the particle introducing the subordinate clause. This type of subordinate clause is introduced by one of the following particles: åsa 'in order that', ñut, autsúra, autsugâri 'if (counter-factual)', marâdu 'so much so that', mòlô 'if', nànpe 'although', sugâri 'if (counterfactual)'. Examples follow:

åsa 'in order that': åha baëNônhu åsa 10asônmu àu 'What shall I do so that you will allow me (to do it)?', tabâEn ma jòlô sada pésta åsa tasûkkun akka sôbêôn 'Let us hold a feast in order to invoke the spirits'.

"aut, autsūra, autsugāri 'if (counterfactual)': aut disī au daN màsa 1 'If I had been there this would not have happened', autsūra mamōra manian àu nūNNa là0 tu médan àu 'If I were only rich I would go to Medan alright', autsugāri hutiuhor hiàn ma mòtor i nuNNa mamōra au 'If I had bought that car I would have been rich'.

marādu 'so much so that': lònAN do nasída marādu sò tard0k nasída manaNāha 'They were so amazed that they could say nothing'.

mó10 'if': m010 ró h0 tusōn margsōt disōn ma àu paimāh0n h0 'If you come here tomorrow I will wait for you here', m010 máNan àu lkk0n māTE ma àu 'If I eat I shall have to die', m010 nāEN dōh0t h0 manguruhōnsa hubōan pē h0 tu ìbāna 'If you want to learn too I will take you to her'. It may be noted that mó10 is also used with counterfactual force, e.g. m010 mamōra hiaN au nūNNa tibù au lā0 tu médan 'If I had been rich I would long since have gone to Medan'.

nānPE 'although': nānPE dīgōgō àlōgō l maNōbbus didatdati ìbāna ì0 manjākkit hau l 'Although the wind was blowing hard he continued to climb the tree', nānPE tōngī lākkat ni pīsāN ìn dān dāngurhonōnhu agīhā tu hō 'Although these banana skins are sweet I will not throw any of them to you'.

sugāri 'if (counterfactual)': sugāri disī au daN màsa 1 'If I had been there this would not have happened'.

Subordinate clauses of the first type can be classified into the following sub-types: adverbial, adjectival, and nominal.

Adverbial clauses can be replaced by adverbial phrases. For example, in the sentence m010duN sāē 1 hō lā0 ma hīta 'When you have finished let us go', the adverbial phrase m010duN sāē hō 'When you have finished' can be replaced by an adverbial phrase such as duN i 'thereupon'.

Adverbial clauses are introduced by: duN 'after', salēlen 'while, as long as', mó10duN 'when', pātī 'until', disī 'as soon as', disīduN 'as soon as', tágan (na) 'while', addōran 'while', dūnH0n (na) 'after', tágan (na) sō, addōran sō 'before'. Examples follow:

duN 'after': duN múlak jōlmana l sian pāccur disūkkun raja j ma 'After his wife had returned from the bathing place the rajah asked', duN tōlu būlān ìbāna di tŏbbak f tūbūtūbūan ma mūN laNNA 'When she had been in the forest three months, her mother gave birth again', hàbAN dō pidōN f duN hujōNōki hau l 'The birds flew away when I approached the tree'.

salēlen 'while, as long as': nōnotōhu do l salelen maNōlū au 'I shall remember that as long as I live', adōN na màsa salēlen na 1a0 f au 'Has anything happened while I have been gone?'.

mōldun 'when': mōldun sīduN On marhu’a āu ‘What shall I do when this is finished?’, mōldun di jau āu amatta dō hurupi ‘When I am at home I help my father’, mōldun tāN āu nāEN marsaba sādfri dō āu ‘When I am big I want to have a rice-field of my own’.

paītte 'until': palma disōn paītte mūlak āu ‘Wait here until I come back’.

disī 'as soon as': disī dibōtō ibāna āi mūlak ma ibāna tu jābu ‘As soon as he learned of this he went home’, disī pēut mutiha āi gūmak ma ‘As soon as the pearl falls grab it!’, disī màsuk nasida tu aEk āi rō ma sāda pīdoN ‘As soon as they reached the river a bird came’.

disīdun 'as soon as': disīdun dilōtak ibāna niolina āi tigōr ma bukkukna āi ‘As soon as he hit his wife her back became straight’, disīdun mūlak ibāna lāO ma akka bōru ni raja āi mandapōthōn ibāna ‘As soon as he returned the rajah’s daughters came out to meet him’.

tāgan 'while': tāgan disōn ibāna sōnāN dō āu ‘While he was here I was happy’, tāgan na māNān āi āu rō dō ibāna ‘While I was eating she came’.

addōrāN 'while': addōrāN māNōlu ibāna ‘While he was alive’.

dūNhōn (na) 'after': dūNhōn na rō āi āu dāN adōN na māsa ‘After I came nothing happened’.

tāgan (na) sō, addōrāN sō ‘before’: tāgan sō māNān āu jōlō hūdōk dō tāNfāN ‘Before I eat I first say a prayer’, tāgan na sō maNān āi dōpē āu nuN Na marmulākan jōlma ‘Before I had eaten yet people already left’, addōrāN sō rō ibāna tu hūta āi māNājārī dō ibāna di mēdan ‘Before he came to the village he taught in Medan’.

A clause which can be replaced by an adjectival phrase is an adjectival, or relative clause. For example, in the sentence adōN dō amaāma na sō adōN obūkna ‘There was a man who had no hair’, the relative clause na sō adōN obūkna ‘who had no hair’ can be replaced by an adjectival phrase such as na pōgos ‘poor’.

Relative clauses are introduced by the relativising particle na, which takes the place of the relativised noun phrase. Only subject noun phrases may be relativised. Thus amaāma ‘man’ in the sentence mapītun dō amaāma āi ‘The man was blind’ may be relativised to yield a noun phrase amaāma na mapītun āi ‘The man who was blind’, or sāda amaāma na mapītun ‘A man who was blind’. It may be noted that in the definite noun phrase amaāma na mapītun āi ‘The man who was blind’ the demonstrative āi ‘the’ appears at the end of the relative clause. This may be compared with the position of the demonstrative in noun phrases containing adjectival phrases, e.g. amaāma na pōgos āi ‘the poor man’.
To relativise an object noun phrase it is necessary first to convert the sentence into the passive. Thus the object noun phrase rôti 'bread' in the sentence manEåti d0 àu 'I cut the bread' cannot be directly relativised. On the other hand, the passive sentence husEåti d0 rôti | 'I cut the bread' can be used as a basis for the relative clause rôti na husEåti i 'The bread that I cut'. Similarly it is not possible to relativise an agent noun phrase unless the sentence is first converted into the active, e.g. disEåti boruboru i ma attON rôti | 'The woman did in fact cut the bread' would yield boruboru na manåti rôti i 'The woman who cut the bread'.

In relative clauses containing a passive verb it is the first passive which is used if the agent is first person singular or first person plural inclusive, otherwise the third passive form is used. Examples:
píra na huqådis i 'the egg which I sold', píra na taqådis i 'the eggs which we (inclusive) sold', píra na ginådismu i 'the egg which you sold', píra na ginådisna i 'the egg which he sold', píra na ginådis ni råja i 'the egg which the rajah sold', and so forth. 6

There is one exception to the rule that only subject noun phrases may be relativised. In a sentence containing the verb adON 'there is, has' it is possible to relativise the third constituent of a ni-construction appearing as the subject of the sentence. It is possible, for instance, to relativise the constituent amaåma i 'the man' in the ni-construction contained in the sentence adON d0 pltu bòru ni amaåma | 'The man had seven daughters'. When such a noun phrase needs to be relativised it is prepended with the relativising particle na immediately after it, and the enclitic pronoun -na is attached to the first constituent of the ni-construction, ni itself being deleted. In this instance, therefore, amaåma is prepended, the relativising particle is placed before it, and the enclitic pronoun -na is attached to the word bòru 'daughters'. The resultant relative clause is amaåma na pltu borúna 'A man who had seven daughters'. Thus in the sentence adON d0 pltu bòru ni amaåma i 'The man had seven daughters', the noun phrase amaåma i 'the man' is treated syntactically as if it were the subject of the sentence.

Note that in interrogative sentences and sentences with topicalised subjects syntactic structures occur which may be analysed as relative clauses with deleted antecedents. Thus isÈ na tumådda ibåna 'Who knows him?' may be regarded as related to the sentence isÈ d0 hålak na tumådda ibåna 'Who are the people who know him?' and anåkna d0 na dijou ibåna 'It was his son that he called' to anåkna d0 hålak na dijou ibåna 'His son was the person whom he called'.
Before a fourth passive verb in such a clause na is replaced by si, e.g. *isE d0 si t0p0t0nta disi 'Whom are we going to visit there?' (not *isE d0 na t0p0t0nta disi), Ðha si usunOn 'What is there to carry?', si pujón d0 ibàna 'He is a person who must be praised', si inótOn d0 on 'This must be remembered', adón d0 si usunónhu 'I have something to carry', piga báju si boanônhu 'How many clothes shall I bring?', adón d0 si boanônnaslda bé 'Each of them is bringing something, there is something which each of them is bringing'.

This may be the source of constructions such as the following: lumàppOt d0 indahan Òn sian si nattofri 'This rice is softer than yesterday's, i.e. softer than the rice we ate yesterday'.

A clause which can be replaced by a noun phrase is a nominal clause. Thus in the sentence dibérEN ibàna ma na disi d0 takkE î 'He saw that the axe was there', the nominal clause na disi d0 takkE î 'that the axe was there' can be replaced by a noun phrase such as borubòru Î 'the woman'. Nominal clauses are introduced by the particle na. Examples follow:

marnipi ma ibàna na adOn rò sa hàlak dolidòli tu labbùNna 'She dreamt that a young man came to her side', dibérEN matânhu d0 na ditàkkò hò manuk î 'I saw you steal the chicken with my own eyes', didòkhOn ibàna d0 na cubòônna d0 musè 'He said that he would try again', dibOt0 ibàna na goàrOn musè dàkdanak î si gidfOn 'She knew that the child would later be called Gideon', didòk d0 na só adÔn bòru ni hàlak na ó10 di ibàna 'He said that no woman (lit. no daughter of a person) would have him'.

In some instances the introductory na is deleted, e.g. dibOt0 ibàna d0 tibù nàEN màsa sáhit disi 'She knew that there was soon going to be an epidemic there', hupaùlá só hubòt0 'I pretended that I did not know'.

Interrogative clauses are a sub-class of nominal clauses. They are introduced by the particle mánaN. In yes-no interrogative clauses the particle na commonly occurs after mánaN. Examples: daN hubòt0 manaN na ûdan d0 'I do not know whether it is raining', bërEN j0 manaN na ûdan d0 'Please look and see if it is raining', sukkun j0 manaN na nàON lâ0 d0 ibàna 'Ask him, please, whether he went'.

In supplement interrogative clauses an interrogative particle appears between mánaN and na, e.g. marbadàji d0 alògo dh0t mataniàri manaN isE sian naslda na gunógó 'The wind and the sun quarrelled as to which of them was stronger', asa dibOt0 manaN Ðha d0 đìula dì tOnan dalan la0 tu haùma 'so that he might know what she was doing on the way to the rice-field', disùkkun ma manaN Ðha d0 alàna umbàèn na marsàhit anàkna î 'He asked what the reason was that his son was ill'.
Imperative clauses, likewise a sub-class of nominal clauses, are introduced by the particle asa, e.g. dipaNdO naslda ma ñasa diloas nasida lâo tusi 'They asked that they might be allowed to go there', didok ibâna ma tu nasida asa bâëNnasida sada ganaganân 'He told them to make an affigy', hupaNdO do asa unaN rô ibana 'I asked him not to come'. Negation in imperative clauses is expressed by ñunaN, see the last example cited.

In subordinate clauses the negative particle dan is replaced by so, e.g. hupikkir do na sô rô hô 'I thought that you were not coming', dikok hô na sô malê hô 'You said that you were not hungry', uhumônhu ma hô dohôt ûhum na sô pinaNdôm 'I will give you the punishment you did not ask for', nása na sô margëlENN lkkOn manbôan uppëti 'All those who have no children must pay a tax'.

Clauses are for the most part linearly ordered. There are, however, cases of discontinuous clauses, e.g. lâo ma ibàna duN sâlpur piga àri tu jàbu ni tulândNa 'She went, after a few days had elapsed, to her uncle's house'.

Subordinate clauses introduced by asa 'in order that', marádu 'so much so that', na 'that' occur after their subordinating clauses. Clauses introduced by ñut, autsura, autsugari, sugari 'if', mólo 'if', and nânpe 'although' occur before their subordinating clauses.

In other cases either order is possible. For example, a clause introduced by duN 'after, when' occurs either before or after its subordinating clause, e.g. hàbaN do pidoN ñ duN hujônoki hau ñ 'The birds flew away when I approached the tree', duN múlak jôlmana i sian pâccur disûkkun raja ñ ma 'After his wife had returned from the bathing place the rajah asked'.

F. SENTENCE-FRAGMENTS

The following types of sentence-fragments occur:

1. Interjections, e.g. bá 'Come now!', alé 'Oh!', bo exclamations of astonishment, inaNoi inaN and amaNoi amaN exclamations of pain or sorrow, ná 'Here you are! Take it!' .

2. Greetings and polite formulas, e.g. sattâbi 'Excuse me!', hôrashôras 'Hello! Good-bye!', (sai) hôras ma di hô (or hâmû) 'Greetings to you!', mauliâti 'Thank you!'. The words ninna hamû or râjanami are often added at the end of utterances to indicate respect to one's interlocutor.

3. Vocative expressions, e.g. amâN 'Father!', inaN 'Mother!', inaNudâ 'Aunt!', ápûl 'Apul!', silalahî 'Silalahî!', hûtûN 'Kitty!', hûlîs 'Shoo!' (uttered in order to scare away marsh-harriers). Note that in
cases where a kin term has an alternative form with an extra final -N, it is the longer form which appears in vocative expressions, e.g. amán 'Father!' (not *ama), hahán 'Older brother! Older sister!'. In the case of ibótö and ñtö 'sibling of the opposite sex to ego', the corresponding vocative expression is always ñtö. There are also special vocative expressions corresponding to anak 'son' and ñngi 'younger sibling of the same sex as ego', namely anak-á (phonemically /anahá/) and ñngi-á.

4. Short answers, e.g. óíó 'Yes!', dáón 'No!', tutú sitút 'Precisely!', di médan 'In Medan', as an answer to a question such as di dîa hamu marmán 'Where do you live?'.
NOTES

1. See Van der Tuuk, *Tobasche spraakkunst* (1864-67), paragraph 165*. I cannot agree with Van der Tuuk that the function of the introductory na is to nominalise the predicate. He cites the sentence na mabiar dō hō 'You are afraid', and suggests translating it *Die bevreesd is zijt giij, giij zijt een lafaard* ('The one who is afraid is you, you are a coward'). My informants express that meaning by the sentence hō dō na mabiar, in which na mabiar is analysable as a relative clause. Warneck cites the following sentences: na rō lōsókhu 'Ich bin faul, ich mag nicht' (1906: 120, Warneck-Winkler 1977:149), na 610 dō au 'Ich will' (1906:131, Warneck-Winkler 1977:160), na rō rimâsna 'Er wird zornig' (1906:165, Warneck-Winkler 1977:203), na rō údan 'Es kommt Regen' (1906:227, Warneck-Winkler 1977:279). It is conceivable that such sentences are nominal clauses with an understood subordinating clause, e.g. na rō údan '(I see) that it is raining'. The matter clearly deserves more study.

2. Van der Tuuk classifies dō and ma as emphatics (nadrukwijzers), along with ângō 'as regards', fa 'as regards', pē 'in future', dopé 'still', musē 'again', and be 'already'; see *Tobasche spraakkunst* (1864-67), paragraph 165. But ângō and fa clearly do not belong in this class at all (I analyse them as prepositional markers of topicalised noun phrases), and dō and ma are so peculiar in their syntactic behaviour that they constitute a class by themselves. The remainder I have called predicate satellites (see section B3 of this chapter, pp.82-86). Nababan (1966:82) refers to dō as a predicate marker in sentences such as 160 dō ibâna. See also Nababan 1966:93.

3. Silitonga (1973:2) suggests that dō has the effect of emphasising the preceding word. Thus he sees mariajar ibâna natt0ari 'He studied
yesterday' as an answer to the question 'What was he doing yesterday?', while marsiajar d0 ibana natt0ari 'emphasises his activity: marsiajar 'to study' as opposed to other activities' (1973:2). It is true that the d0 appearing in topicalised sentences after the preposed subject does indeed serve to emphasise the element which precedes it, but the same cannot be said of the d0 occurring in other types of sentences.


5. Silitonga (1973:95ff) points out that the sentence-particle na occurs in questions, but he fails to mention the fact, known already to Van der Tuuk, that these questions are matched by positive statements also introduced by the sentence-particle na. Hence the preposed na cannot be regarded as a way of forming questions, as Silitonga appears to maintain.

6. See Nababan 1966:28. It is perhaps worth pointing out that the relativiser na may co-occur with the adjectiviser na in the same clause, e.g. sada hariàra na màccai na tìbbo 'a banyan tree which was very tall' (compare màccai na tìbbbo d0 hariàra On 'this banyan is very tall'). Thus although adjectival phrases and relative clauses are syntactically related they are clearly distinguishable. The adjectiviser na causes the stress on an accompanying adjective to move to the penult; the relativiser na does not have this effect, e.g. âk na pàët 'bitter water' (noun phrase consisting of a nominal preceded by an adjectival phrase), âk na pàët 'water which is bitter' (noun phrase consisting of a relative clause preceded by a nominal antecedent).
GENERAL INDEX
GENERAL INDEX

action, reciprocal 68
    repeated ~ 63-5, 70
action noun - see noun, action
actor noun - see noun, actor
address, pronouns of 93
Adellar, K.A. 8
adjectival modifier - see modifier, adjectival
adjectival phrase - see phrase, adjectival
adjectival stem - see stem, adjectival
adjective 62, 88-9, 100
    attributive ~ 82, 90
    comparative ~ 90
    derived ~ 74-5
    ~ morphology 74-5
    predicative ~ 90, 103
    stress on ~ 25, 43, 62, 90, 114
adverb 89, 103
adverbial, manner 89
    place ~ 90
    time ~ 89
adverbial phrase - see phrase, adverbial
affix, active 40-2, 71-2
    causative ~ 40, 66-7
    circumstantial ~ 40
    definition of ~ 51
    derivational ~ 52, 64, 67
    derived ~ 74-5
    imperative ~ 71-2
    inflectional ~ 39-41, 52, 63, 71
    intensive ~ 39-40
    passive ~ - see passive affix
plural ~ 64, 67
    primary ~ 52, 63
affixes, relation to morphemes 55, 60-1
affricates 11, 14, 30
agent 40, 49, 80-1, 91, 98-101, 103, 109
Alas 1
allomorph 27-8
    basic ~ 28-9
alternations, regular 28ff.
Angkola 1, 9
apposition 93
article, definite 94, 108
    indefinite ~ 75
aspect 65, 72
aspiration, post-consonantal 11
Atlas van tropisch Nederland 1, 6
bark books 2
Barus 3, 5
base, conjugated verb 68
    definition of ~ 52
    non-conjugated verb ~ 56-9,
    60-1
    verb ~ 63, 69, 70-1
basic allomorph 28-9
borrowings, treatment of 12
Braasem, W.A. 4, 5, 9
Bruner, Edward M. 5
causative - see affix, causative;
    stem, causative

116
clause, adjectival - see clause, relative
adverbiai ~ 107-8
complex principal ~ 98-100
co-ordinate ~ 104-6
imperative ~ 111
interrogative ~ 110
nominal ~ 110-11, 113
principal ~ 79-104
relative ~ 93, 102, 108-10, 113-4
subordinate ~ 93, 102, 108-10, 113-4
subordinating ~ 116, 113
clusters, consonant 17-20
vowel ~ 21-2
commands 72
complex noun - see noun, complex
compound noun - see noun, compound
coordination below word-level 51
~ between clauses 104-5
~ between phrases 101-2
counterfactuals 106-7
dairi 1, 3, 9
defective inflections 74
deletion, morphophonemic 42, 45
syntactic ~ 73, 80, 93, 104, 106, 109-10, 113
demonstratives 43-5, 91-5, 98, 102, 108
derivation, base-to-stem 52
stem-to-stem ~ 52, 62, 65
devoicing, utterance-final 12
dialects, Batak 1-2, 14, 24
Toba-Batak ~ 2, 5, 14
dictionaries 3, 6-9
distribution, phoneme - see phonemes, distribution of
doubled root noun 27, 44, 53-4
~ root verb 41, 63, 70
doubling, affix 40, 44, 46-7
dyen, isidore vi, 5, 9
emphasis 25, 113-4
extension, morphophonemic 38
esser, S.J. 1, 6
folk tales 2
fricatives 11, 15, 30
Gayo 6, 78
geminates 12-13, 25
glottal stop 11, 14, 19, 24-5, 29-32, 48
alternations involving ~ 24-5, 30-3, 36, 46, 49
phonemic status of ~ 24-5
grammars, Batak 3-4, 6-8
greetings 111
Hazeu, G.A.J. 6, 78
Hockett, Charles F. 8, 27-8
Hullang 2
Humbang 2, 24
imperative - see affix, imperative; commands stress on 25
Indonesian 2, 12-3
infixed 38, 43
inflection, definition of 63
informants, names of 2-3
insection, morphophonemic 37-8
instrument noun - see noun, instrument
interjections 111
intonation 102
Joustra, M. 6
Karo 1, 9
kinship terms 38, 61, 69, 112
length, consonantal 11
vowel ~ 12
levels of analysis 27-8
liquids 11-2, 15, 30
literary style 2, 4-5
location noun - see noun, location
loembantobing, arsenius 6
Malay 2-3, 12
Mandailing 1, 3, 9
manner adverbial - see adverbial, manner
Marcks, O. 4, 6, 24
Meerwaldt, J.H. 3, 5-6, 9, 24
modality 72
modifier, adjectival 91
morph 27
morpheme 27
\sim structure rules 45-7
morphology 51-78
adjective \sim 74-5
noun \sim 53-62
pronoun \sim 73-4
verb \sim 63-74
morphophonemes 29
morphophonemic sequence 28
morphophonemics 27-49
automatic \sim 28-37, 48-9
non-automatic \sim 37-47
Nababan, P.W.J. 1, 4, 6, 24-5, 78, 113-4
nasal extension 28, 38, 112
nasalisation, initial morphophoneme 41-2
nasals 11-13, 15, 30
Neumann, J.H. 6, 9
nominal 91-2
noun, action 28, 42, 55-8
actor \sim 42, 55-6
\sim as underlying form 68
common \sim 92
complex \sim 55-62, 77
compound \sim 25, 51, 53-4
de-adjectival \sim 62
diminutive \sim 53
instrument \sim 28, 53, 55, 60, 93-4
location \sim 28, 42, 55, 59-60, 93-4
phrasal \sim 53-4, 77
proper \sim 92
quality \sim 55, 58
noun phrase - see phrase, noun
nouns, stress on 25
number marker 92
numerals 38, 75-6, 91-2, 103
object, prepositional 88-9
verbal \sim 80, 90-1, 93, 99, 101, 103, 109
onomatopoeia 44, 70
Ophuijisen, C.V. van 7
oral literature 2
Pakpak 9
particle, adjectivising 43, 90, 114
co-ordinating \sim 101-2, 104-6
interrogative \sim 38, 104-6
introductory \sim 79-102, 110
predicate \sim 81-2, 84, 86, 100, 104, 113
relativising \sim 102, 108-9, 114
sentence \sim 79, 102, 114
subordinating \sim 106ff.
passive, appropriateness of
term 80
first \sim 81, 86-7, 99-100, 109
fourth \sim 81, 86-7, 97-9, 110
second \sim 81, 93, 99
third \sim 81, 97-8, 103, 109
passive affix, first 71-3
fourth \sim 39-40, 71-2
second \sim 40, 71-2
third \sim 71-2
passive verb - see verb, passive
performative utterance 82
pharyngealisation 13
phonemes, distribution 14-22
segmental \sim 11-16
phonology 11-25
phrase, adjectival 81, 90-1, 101-2, 108, 114
adverbial \sim 81, 89-90, 95, 107
noun \sim 68, 80-1, 90-4, 97, 101-2, 110, 114
prepositional \sim 95-7, 101-2
verb \sim 80
pitch 17, 102
place adverbial - see adverbial, place
plural - see stem, plural; affix, plural
poda-passive 78
poetry, genres of 2, 9
points of articulation 11-12
possession, expression of 98
predicate, active 80, 99-101
active transitive \sim 80-1, 90
complex \sim 86
definition of 79
discontinuous \sim 81
intransitive \sim 80, 104
non-verbal \sim 80-1, 90-1, 104
passive transitive \sim 80, 99-101, 104
transitive \sim 80, 101
verb \sim 80
underlying form, definition of 51
urban speech 2, 5, 11-3, 31
uvular r 12, 24
Van der Tuuk - see Tuuk, H.N. van der
variation, synchronous 12-13, 24-5, 30-1, 39-42, 48-9
verb, active 80, 86-7, 93
auxiliary ∼ 86-8
conjugated ∼ 63-7, 74
∼ derived from adjectival base
interrogative ∼ 103
intransitive ∼ 80, 86, 88, 99
main ∼ 86
non-conjugated ∼ 62-3, 73
onomatopoeic ∼ 44
passive ∼ 48, 80, 86-7
special non-conjugated ∼ 73
stress on ∼ 44
verb phrase - see phrase, verb
vocatives 43, 111
Voorhoeve, P. 1, 8
vowel, mid central 12, 16
vowel contraction 36-7
vowels 12-13, 15, 21-2
Warneck, J.G. 3, 8-9, 24, 41, 78, 113
Winkler, J. 3, 8, 24, 78, 113
word order 79-80, 82-4, 91-3, 98, 100, 102-4, 108-9, 111
yes-no questions 17, 102

INDEX OF TOBA-BATAK FORMS

a, vowel phoneme 12-13, 15, 21-2, 24
addigan, interrogative particle 102
addoraN, subordinating particle 107-8
addoraNs0, subordinating particle 107
adón, in complex clauses 98-9
adón, relativisation with 109
adu(i), demonstrative 94
aha, interrogative particle 102-3
ai, co-ordinating particle 104-5
akka, number marker 92
ala, co-ordinating particle 104, 106
alai, co-ordinating particle 104-5
-an, comparative affix 43, 74-5, 90
an, demonstrative 94-5
-an, intensive affix 39-40
-an, noun affix 55, 59-62, 66
-an, verbal derivational affix 70
aNgO, preposition 95-6, 101, 113
asa, introducing imperative clauses 111
asa, subordinating particle 106
attón, predicate satellite 85
attu-...-0n, verbal derivational affix 71
au, pronoun 74, 93, 104
aut, subordinating particle 106-7, 111
autsugari, subordinating particle 106-7, 111
autsura, subordinating particle 106-7, 111
b, consonant 11, 14, 17-20, 30
baEn, in complex clauses 99
baEn, with predicative adjectives 90
be, quantifier 92
be, predicate satellite 82-3, 113
beEasa, interrogative particle 102
beHã, interrogative particle 102
boi, auxiliary verb 86-8
boasa - see beasa
c, consonant 11, 14, 17-19
d, consonant 11, 14, 17-20, 25, 30
da-, noun affix 61
da-, poda-passive affix 78
daN, predicate satellite 82-3
daN pOla, adjectival modifier 91
daN sadia, adjectival modifier 91
dapOt, before sa 93
special non-conjugated verb 73-4
di-, first passive affix 51-2, 71-3
di, preposition 88-9, 95
di bagas(an), preposition 95-6
di tikki, preposition 95
dia, interrogative particle 102
dibaEn, preposition 95, 97
dina, preposition 97
disi, subordinating particle 107-8
disiduN, subordinating particle 107-8
doshOn, preposition 95, 97
dO, predicate particle 81-2, 113-4
dOhoT, co-ordinating particle 101-2
dOhoT, preposition 88, 95-6
dOkhOn, in complex clauses 99
dOpe, predicate satellite 82-4, 113
dOppak, preposition 97
duN, preposition 95-6
duN, subordinating particle 107, 111
duNhoN, subordinating particle, 95, 97, 108
duNhoN ni, preposition 95, 97
e, vowel phoneme 12-13, 15, 21-2, 24
E, vowel phoneme 13, 15, 21-2, 24
e, vowel phoneme 12, 16
g, consonant 11, 14, 17-19, 30
gabE, co-ordinating particle 104-5
ganup, quantifier 92
h, complementation with k 12, 27, 30, 32, 34, 48
h, consonant 11, 15, 17-18, 20, 32
-h, enclitic pronoun allomorph 45
ha-, verbal derivational affix 64, 71
ha-, noun affix 38, 55-7, 61
ha-, primary affix 64, 71
ha-, second passive affix 40
ha-...-an, noun affix 55, 59, 61
ha-...-On, noun affix 52, 55, 61
hahuai, interrogative verb 103
hami, pronoun 73-4, 93
hamu, pronoun 73-4, 93, 104
hapE, co-ordinating particle 104-5
hapE, predicate satellite 84-5
hlan, predicate satellite 84
hira, preposition 95, 97
hita, pronoun 74, 93, 104
h0, pronoun 73-4, 93, 104
-h0n, basic allomorph of active affix 40
-h0n, circumstantial affix 40, 51, 64-6
-h0n, noun affix 62
-h0n0n, fourth passive affix 41
-hu, enclitic pronoun 28, 30-1, 45, 73, 98
hu-, first passive affix 71, 73
hua - see hahuai; mahua; marhua
huhut, co-ordinating particle 104, 106
humaliaN, preposition 95, 97
huraN, adjectival modifier 43, 91
i, demonstrative 93-5, 98, 108
-i, intensive affix 39, 63, 64-6
i-, noun prefix 62
-i, verbal derivational affix 71
i, vowel phoneme 12, 15, 21-2
ia, preposition 95-6, 101, 113
iaNg0, preposition 95, 101
ibana, pronoun 73-4, 93
ikkOn, auxiliary verb 86-7
imana, pronoun - see ibana
-in-, infix 39
in-, noun affix 62
-in-, noun affix 62
-in-, third passive affix 71-2, 78
isE, interrogative particle 102-3
j, consonant 11, 14, 17-20
jadi, auxiliary verb 86-7
jadi, co-ordinating particle 104-5
jala, co-ordinating particle 101, 104-5
j0, predicate satellite 84-5
j010, predicate satellite 84-5
juppa(N), special non-conjugated verb 74, 93
k, complementation with h 12, 27, 30, 33-4, 48
k, consonant 11, 14, 17-8, 20, 24, 30, 32-3
l, consonant 11-3, 15, 17-20, 30, 34-5
la0, auxiliary verb 86, 88, 99
IeAn, in complex clauses 99
m-, basic allomorph of active affix 40
m, consonant 11, 15, 17-20, 24, 30-1, 33, 48
-m, derivational affix 52, 63, 70
-m, enclitic pronoun allomorph 43, 45
ma-, basic allomorph of maN-40-1
ma-, deletion of 42
ma, predicate particle 81-2, 104, 113
ma-, verbal derivational affix 70
maccaI, adjectival modifier 91
mahua, interrogative verb 103
man-, basic allomorph of maN-41-2
manaN, co-ordinating particle 102
manaN, introducing interrogative clauses 110
mandap0th0n, preposition 95, 97
mand0k, preposition 95-6
manj0n0ki, preposition 95, 97
manjuppakhoN, preposition 95, 97
maN-, active affix 71-2, 78
maN-, alternating with mar- 40
maN-, morphophonemics of 41-2
maNa-, basic allomorph of maN-41
mar-, active inflectional affix 40
mar-, verbal derivational affix 51, 60, 63, 68-70, 77
mar-...-an, verbal derivational affix 67
mar-...-i, verbal derivational affix 71
mar-...-in-, verbal derivational affix 68
maradu, subordinating particle 106-7, 111
marhua, interrogative verb 103
marni-, basic allomorph of active affix 40
marsi-, verbal derivational affix 70
marsi-...-an, verbal derivational affix 71
masi-, verbal derivational affix 68
masi-...-an, verbal derivational affix 68
m010, subordinating particle 106-7, 111
m010duN, subordinating particle 107-8
-mu, enclitic pronoun 45, 73
mulak tu, preposition 95, 97
-muna, enclitic pronoun 98
musÉ, predicate satellite 84-5, 113
n, consonant 11, 15, 17-20, 24, 30-6, 48
-n extension 28, 38, 75
na, adjectivising particle 43, 90, 114
na, between nominal and numeral 92
-na, enclitic pronoun 73, 98, 109
na, in topicaлизed sentences 100
na, introducing nominal clauses 110, 111
na, relativising particle 54, 102, 108-10, 114
na, sentence-particle 79-80, 102, 113-4
naEN, auxiliary verb 86-7
-nami, enclitic pronoun 98
naN, predicate satellite 85-6
naNpE, subordinating particle 106-7, 111
naON, predicate satellite 84
nasa, quantifier 92
-nasida, enclitic pronoun 98
nasida, pronoun 73-4, 93
ni-, noun affix 62
ni-, prefix 38-9
ni- construction 77, 81, 92, 97-8, 109
nián, demonstrative 94
nián, predicate satellite 84-6, 94
nin, special non-conjugated verb 73-4
nión, demonstrative 94
nuNna, predicate satellite 82-3
N, consonant 11, 15, 17, 19-20, 30, 34
Na, predicate satellite 82-3
o, vowel phoneme 12-13, 16, 21-2, 24
0, vowel phoneme 12-13, 16, 21-2, 24
OddEN, demonstrative 94
010, auxiliary verb 86, 88
0n, demonstrative 94, 98
-on, fourth passive affix 40-1, 71-2
-on, noun affix 62
-on, verbal derivational affix 63, 71
-onh0n, fourth passive affix 40
p, consonant 11, 14, 17-20, 30-2
pa-, basic allomorph of paN- 42
pa-, causative affix 40-1, 64, 66-7
pa-, verbal derivational affix 71
pa-...-h0n, numeral affix 76
pa-...-hu, adjectival affix 31, 43, 74-5
pal-, numeral affix 76
paitte, subordinating particle 107-8
pan-, basic allomorph of paN- 42
paN-, morphophonemics of 42
paN-, noun affix 42, 55-7, 61
paN-, plural affix 42, 64f.
pan-, primary affix 64
pan-...-an, noun affix 42, 55, 59-61
pan-...-i, noun affix 42
pan-...-on, noun affix 42, 55, 57, 61
pana-, basic allomorph of paN- 42, 60
par-, noun affix 55-7, 60-1, 77
par-, numeral affix 76
par-...-an, noun affix 55, 57, 59-61
parEan, defective verb inflection 74
parsi-, primary affix 64
pasi-, noun affix 62, 68
patu-...-on, verbal derivational affix 71
paulá, defective verb inflection 74
paulá, in complex clauses 99
pE, predicate satellite 82, 84, 113
piga, interrogative particle 98, 102-3
pola, auxiliary verb 86-8
q, consonant 11, 14, 19, 24-5, 29-33, 36, 46, 48
r, consonant 11-12, 15, 17-20, 24, 30, 35
ra, predicate satellite 84-5
r0, auxiliary verb 86, 88
s, consonant 11-12, 15, 17-20, 30, 33
s, insertion 37-8
-sa, enclitic pronouns 93
sa, numeral 75
-sa, quantifier 31, 38, 92
sada, numeral 75
sadfa, interrogative particle 43, 102-3
sahat tu, preposition 95-6
sai, predicate satellite 84
saleleN, subordinating particle 107
saluhút, quantifier 92
si, before fourth passive verbs 110
si, before proper nouns 92
si, constituent in phrasal nouns 54
si-...-on, noun affix 62
sian, preposition 90, 95-6
siduN, preposition 95-6
sipat, preposition 95, 97
sítu, adjectival modifier 91
só, negative particle 111
sudé, quantifier 92
sudena, quantifier 92
sugari, subordinating particle 106-7
sun, with active predicate 99, 106
t, consonant 11, 14, 17-20, 30, 32
t, insertion 38
-ta, enclitic pronoun 73, 98
ta, first passive affix 71, 73
ta-, primary affix 51-2, 64
tagán, preposition 95
tagán, subordinating particle 107-8
tagán só, subordinating particle 31, 108
 tar, adjectival modifier 91
tar-, primary affix 64
tar-, second passive affix 71-2, 78
tar-, verbal derivational affix 70, 78
 tariN0t tu, preposition 95, 97
t0lap, before sa 93
tON, predicate satellite 84-5
tu, preposition 88-9, 95-6
tu bagasan, preposition 95-6
tuN, adjectival modifier 91
-u, deletion of 45
-u, vowel phoneme 12, 16, 21-2
ulakhon, in complex clauses 100
ulaki, in complex clauses 100
-um-, basic allomorph of active affix 39-40
-um-, comparative affix 31, 39, 74-5, 90
-um-, infix 39
um-, prefix 31, 39

-um-, verbal derivational affix 70
-um-...-an, adjective affix 43, 90
unaN, particle 104
w, semivowel 11-12, 15
y, semivowel 11-12, 15
z, fricative 11