LINGUISTIC VARIETIES IN TOBA-BATAK

J.P. Sarumpaet

1. INTRODUCTION

The Toba-Batak of North Sumatra are well known for their partiality for effective and elegant speech. This is evident in the heavy preoccupation with speech-making at the conclusion of the very frequent communal and ceremonial meals. Mandok hata *to say a word or two* usually develops into the delivery of a lengthy speech, with a lot of poetic recitals of proverbial sayings (umpama) interspersed in it.[1]

It is regarded as most important to utter the right word in the right place at the right time. Hata i do pardebataon *The quality of worship is in the utterance* says one proverb, underlining the supreme importance of propriety in speech and of precise code-switching. Another well-known proverb says that Pantun do hangoluan, tois do hamagoan *Politeness brings life, whereas bad behaviour and bad manners are destruction.*

In this paper I attempt to discuss the functions and the forms of some varieties[2] used frequently in the Toba-Batak region.

The following varieties are clearly distinguishable in present-day Toba-Batak.

1. Everyday Speech (Hata siganup Ari)
   1.1 Intimate Language
   1.2 Standard Language
2. Ceremonial Language (Hata ni na Mandok Hata)
3. Language of Lamentation (Hata Andung)
4. Medico-Magic Language (Hata Hadatuon)

Van der Tuuk (1864, vol.1:v-vi) enumerated the following varieties (taalsoorten): 1. Language of Lamentation (Hata Andung), 2. Language in Trance (Hata ni Begu Siar), 3. Language of Teaching and Philosophy (Hata Poda), 4. Magico-Religious Language (Hata Pangaraksaon), 5. Magical Formulae (Hata Tabas), and 6. Language of Camphor-gatherers (Hata ni Partodung). He did not give examples.

Amran Halim, Lois Carrington and S.A. Wurm, eds *Papers from the Third International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*, vol.3: *Accent on variety*, 27-78. *Pacific Linguistics*, C-76, 1982.

Some of Van der Tuuk's varieties are incorporated or subsumed in the varieties that I am going to discuss. His Language of Teaching and Philosophy is lexically part of the Standard Language. Excepting the most esoteric terminology and phrases of his Magical Formulae, that variety, together with his Magico-Religious Language, is subsumed under my Medico-Magic Language. The Language in Trance and Language of Camphor-gatherers are also part of the Medico-Magic Language.[3] His Language of Lamentation is coterminal with mine.

Ceremonial Language uses the respect vocabulary of the Standard Language. A lot of sayings and proverbs are used for description and illustration. These sayings or proverbs are of two kinds: an umpama has an unalterable form, while an umpasa has parts which can be changed to suit a particular situation. Both are the codification and embodiment of the principles and rules pertaining to the social, legal and religious life of Toba-Bataks. Many items in the respect vocabulary of the Standard Language, in turn, originate from the Language of Lamentation.

Thus I am going to discuss three varieties in this paper: Intimate Language (IL), Language of Lamentation (LL) and Medico-Magic Language (MML). Standard Toba-Batak (SL), which is the language used in schools, in sermons and in formal situations will be used as material for comparison.

2. INTIMATE LANGUAGE

This is the most lively and colourful variety in Toba-Batak. It is largely used by people living in remote areas, especially in the hills of Samosir. Indeed some parts of it are akin to the dialect of that island. This variety is also used a lot in the convivial atmosphere of that famous Batak institution, the palm-wine stall (lapo tuak). To a certain extent this variety is also used by young children among themselves and within their immediate surroundings in the nuclear family. It is a relaxed type of speech, whose use can only be given rise to by an equally relaxed atmosphere.[4]

Normally, a young child outgrows his IL when he goes to school. In all cases, speakers immediately revert to the SL whenever a senior person or a stranger joins the conversation.

The IL is primarily a spoken variety of Toba-Batak. Fortunately, we do have some written data in the newspapers of the 1930s, which I have been able to use to complete my own data.

The distinct features of the IL when compared with the SL are the following phonological and lexical changes:[5] (1) Consonant Change; (2) Elision; (3) Simplified Affixation; (4) Contraction; (5) Syllabic Inversion; (6) Lexical Change, and (7) Amusing Formation.

(1) *Consonant Change:* there is a tendency to replace a consonant in the SL with another which is closer in its place of articulation to that of the preceding vowel or consonant, or to repeat a consonant rather than to use two different consonants in succession:

p — k; b — m; n — t; r n — r r; t n — t t;
m d — m b; ng d — ng g; ng n — ng ng; k n — k ng;
rs — rh; l d — l l; l n — l l; n — h; s — t.

STANDARD	INTIMATE
p — k	
dapot *to get*	dakot
dapotan *in receipt of something*	dakotan
di Porsea *in Porsea*	i Korsea
dirimpu *thought*	iringku *
dua pulu *twenty*	dua kulu
gari apala *even though*	gari akala
garpu *fork*	garku
hape *whereas*	hake
hapengani *however*	hakengani
i pe *just now*	i ke
pamondut *swallower*	kamondut
pandorguhon *to hiccup*	kandorguhon
rupani *it seems*	rukani
sampulu *ten*	sangkulu *
sipanganon *food*	sikanganon
b — m	
ibana *he; she*	imana
n — t	
hulaning *really?*	hulating
r n (especially the possessive or agentive -na) — r r	
na ginararna *what he paid*	na ginararra
na sinoburna *what he drank up*	na sinoburra
mudarna *his blood*	mudarra
ala ni hodarna *because of its filthiness*	ala ni hodarra
Ise goarna ? *What is his name?*	Ise goarra ?
t n — t t	
atik nanggo *if at all*	ait tanggo

* mp is pronounced as pp, and ngk as kk in the SL.

STANDARD	INTIMATE
m d (especially with the emphatic do) — m b	
modom do *was asleep*	modom bo
huntam do *was shut* (about mouth)	huntam bo
tombon do *did bump*	tombom bo
ng d (especially with the emphatic do and the word dope *still*) ng g	
dung do *did happen*	dung go
adong do *there is*	aong go
adong dope *there still is*	aong gope
naeng do *was going to*	naeng go
adong di si *there exists there*	aong gi si
ng n — ng ng	
longang ni rohangku *my surprise*	longang ngi rohangku
lambungna *his side*	lambungnga
tondongna *his relatives*	tondongnga
lombangna *its ravine*	lombangnga
hampungna *its village headman*	hampungnga
k n — k ng	
terek ni uang satali *the difficulty of earning 25 cents*	terek ngi uang satali
burukburuk ni angkangna *cast-off clothing from his brother*	burukburuk ngi angkangnga
muruk ni na talu *the anger of a loser*	muruk ngi na talu
rs (especially with si) — rh	
marsipatu *wearing shoes*	marhipatu
marsiduadua *to have two wives*	marhiduadua
marsilobongan *clobbering each other*	marhilobongan
marsiadu *to compete*	marhiadu
l d (especially with the emphatic do) — l l	
ambal do *was different*	ambal lo
andul do *was prominent*	andul lo
hundul do *was sitting*	hundul lo
muntul do *did bounce*	muntul lo

STANDARD	INTIMATE
l n — l l	
Ambal ni nonang ma jolo. *By the way....*	Ambal li nonang ma jolo.
sompolsompolna *its plug*	sompolsompolla
parhundulna *the way he sits*	parhundulla
n — h	
nasida *they*	hasida
napuran *betel-leaf*	hapuran
naposo *servant*	haposo
s — t	
bustak *mud*	buntak *
sian *from*	tian **

(2) *Elision:* as can be expected, an intimate variety of a language tends to drop certain consonants. In intimate Toba-Batak the consonants which are frequently dropped are d, n, t, g and h:

d (especially, though not exclusively in the case of the passive prefix di- and the locative preposition di):

diantusi *understood*	iantusi
dipaboa *told*	ipaboa
diambolongkon *thrown away*	iambolongkon
disampathon *cast*	isampathon
dibuat bodil *shot dead*	ibuat bodil
didok rohangku *in my opinion*	idok rohangku
dipaboa ibana *he said*	ipaboa imana
dijaha nasida *they read*	ijaha asida
so diingot ibana *he does not remember*	so iingot imana
so diboto nasida *they do not know*	so iboto asida
di dia *where*	i dia
di si *there*	i si
adong *exist*	aong
molo dung do *when it is done*	molo ung go

---

* This form is now a SL variant, pronounced buttak.
** This form is further reduced to tan.

STANDARD	INTIMATE
initial n	
nasida *they*	asida
nunga *already*	unga
ninna *said*	inna
ndang *not, no*	dang *
nangkining *just now*	angkining
na niallangna *what he ate*	na iallangnga
t	
tagonan *preferably*	agonan *
timbung *to jump*	imbung
atik beha *just in case*	aik beha
g	
jagung *maize*	jaung
medial h	
beha *how*	bea
huroha *it seems*	huroa

(3) *Simplified affixation:* the prefixes ni- and pi- undergo change in the following:

ni- — in-	
na nidokna *what he said*	na indokna
na nidohan *what one says*	na indohan
pi- — ni-	
pinaolooloan *obeyed*	nikaolooloan

(4) *Contraction* is effected in the following:

nunga *already*	unga
molo dung do *if already*	molong go
ndada apala i *it was not actually that*	dada pala i
sian *from*	tan

* These are variants in the SL now.

STANDARD	INTIMATE
(5) *Syllabic inversion* (sometimes with variation) takes place in the following:	
hansa mata *spectacles*	sangka mata
patar *clearly visible*	tapar
hunsi *key*	hinsu
(6) *Lexical change* is evident in the following:	
holan *only*	hoin; hondal; mondal
pokrol *advocate*	pokonor
pokrol bambu *bush lawyer*	pokonor mambu
sian *from*	timan
gari *even*	salang
posoposo *baby*	pesepese
dope *as yet*	podo
olo *yes*	ong; ung; oung
atik *in case*	ait
lasiak *chilli*	lasinga
(7) *Amusing forms* are seen in the following loanwords:	
juru tulis *clerk*	hujurtulluk *
pulpenhouder *fountain-pen*	pullupenhodar *

3. LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION

Lamentation takes place when a person is dying and during a ceremony prior to his burial. It is an expression of the deep feeling of loss. It is common to lament at the death of one's own wife,[6] husband, son, daughter and a close friend, but people also lament at the death of their relations within the large extended family. In the old days people showed respect by lamenting at the death of their village headman or king.

This verbalisation of one's feeling of deep agony of bereavement takes the form of half-singing and half-recitation, using a special set of vocabulary and phrases.

The following are important requirements in lamentation: (1) its purpose is to relate the life history of the deceased truthfully; but it is important to underline the positive or good points only; (2) to show sympathy to those left

---

* Literally *stabbing lance* (cf. *pen-pusher*) and *messy pen*, evidently a cutting remark about white-collar workers and their paraphernalia.

behind by the deceased by reiterating their loss; (3) to emphasise the futility of man's efforts in the face of God's disposal to the contrary; (4) to honour the deceased and the people he left behind with a good performance, both linguistically and vocally.

Strict rules apply to the conduct of lamenters. Since the main purpose is to honour the deceased, respect, dignity and solemnity should at all times be observed.[7] A saying expresses this point most strongly: Maradat andung, marhata Debata *To observe the rules of lamentation, to watch one's language when referring to God.*

The most reprehensible thing to do in a lamentation is to launch a veiled attack on others. This is called to conduct an andung salik,[8] which is a clever use of what should be a solemn occasion to criticise or attack others. To put an end to such a disgraceful act, a more senior member of the community would usually be asked to intervene by starting a lamentation herself, but now in the proper and dignified manner that such a bereavement ceremony requires.

The linguistic rules of lamentation dictate that a lamenter must avoid as far as possible the use of ordinary words taken from the SL. In many instances, words from the respect vocabulary in the SL are adequate, and may indeed be the only ones that the lamenter can use. However, the specialist vocabulary of the LL is to be employed.[9]

The vocabulary of the LL consists mainly of nouns, adjectives and adverbs, although some verbs do also exist.

There are four distinct groups in this variety: (1) proverbial sayings; (2) attributive phrases to replace SL adjectives or adverbs; (3) personifying phrases to replace SL nouns, and (4) some verbs.

(1) *Proverbial Sayings* used instead of SL adjectives:

Here are some examples of this refined way of expressing quality or character:

Songon na hehe sian gambo ahu, songon na mungkap sian lombang i
I feel like a person who has got out of a quagmire, like a person who has climbed out of a ravine: I am relieved.

songon bondar na unong, songon gordang na polpol i
like a blocked canal, like a story that cannot be finished: stunned; unable to think clearly.

songon batu magulang, songon aek mabaor i
like a fallen rock and like water which has been drained: finished; nothing left (said especially about property or money)

songon hoda pinalua, songon giringan niromparhon
like a horse left to roam, like a spike thrown away: neglected; taken for granted; not appreciated.

songon anak ni manuk na sioksiok i
like young chicken crying for help: used to refer to orphans, or the members of a family left by the deceased.

marpungupungu songon siborok di guluan
to be together like tadpoles in a puddle: referring to unhappy and sad people huddled together.

songon sangge hinuntam, songon gansip na niodothon i
like a purse kept shut and like tongs squeezed: not allowed or not able to express an opinion.

(2) *Attributive phrases* to replace SL adjectives or adverbs:

didadang ari, diullus alogo
baked by the sun, swept by the wind: alive

maulibulung
to have good and healthy leaves: rich; respected; endowed with a large family

na ginjang na tarias
high and tall: tall (of a person)

mangganupi siarianan
to give each daily task its due: every day

manjojori siabornginan
to go systematically through each nightly task: every night

paubauba pasalinsalin
to shift one's position and to change one's appearance: unstable; fickle

marsitungkion
to bow one's head: to be sad; to be in mourning

The following intransitive verbs are used to mean *to die; dead*: magulang lit. *to roll down*; matompas lit. *to collapse*, of buildings, etc.; marobur lit. *to cave in*; malonglong lit. *to cave in.*

(3) *Personifying phrases* to replace SL nouns:

Many nouns in the LL consist only of one word, but prefixed with the personifying si *the one who; he who; the one called*: simanangi *the one who is the listener: ear* (SL pinggol); simanonggor *the one who sees: eyes* (SL mata); simangido *the one who asks for something: hand* (SL tangan) etc.

The following are more complex phrases:

sigongkonon bodari, sialapon manogot
the one who has to be invited at night, and to be met early in the morning: the headman, the king

tanduk so suharon, mata ni ari so dompahon i
the horn which cannot be reversed, the sun which cannot be faced directly: the great king, whom one cannot contradict

babiat di pintu, gompul di alaman
the one who is a tiger at the door and a bear in the streets: a powerful and wise king

parjagajaga di bibir, parpustaha di tolonan i
the one who is always watchful when speaking, and who has the books in his throat: a king or medicine-man who is a great speaker and debater

panggaduan na ginjang, lombulombu na hapal i
the high wall and the heavy shield: the king; a great protector; one's patron and benefactor

siusung dolok na so ra sorat, siinum aek sampuran na so ra mogap i
the one who would not feel tired when carrying a mountain, and who would not get out of breath when drinking from a waterfall: a spoilt person; a person who always gets what he wants.

tambar daon aluk, sira daon impol i
medicine against frustration, salt to satisfy one's craving: cold comfort

na hinunti madabu, na tineatea magulang i
that which was carried on the head and fell, and that which was carried on one's hand and rolled off: a very dear one who is dead.

halak na jaluk marabit, na haloat mangkuling
a person who dresses in a 'left-handed' fashion and who speaks inarticulately: a stranger; a foreigner.

(4) *Verbals.*

Verbals are very limited in number. They are formed by the prefix mar- or marsi- :

marsilungunon
to lament (from lungún *saddening*)

marsinununton
lament continually (from nunút *to work or proceed slowly but surely*)

marsimangkudap
to have a chat; to be in conference (from simangkudap *that which smacks: mouth*)

marsileapon
to perform a ritualistic dance during a bereavement (from sileapon *suffering*)

marsirumata bulung
to chew betel-leaf (from sirumata bulung *green leaf; betel-leaf*)

4. MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE

The datu is a priest-doctor, whose duties are essentially religious, medical or educational in character. Although the present-day datu does not enjoy the prominence and esteem that his predecessors had, he is still active in the villages of the Toba-Batak region. His main activity is probably now medical more than anything else, but his advice is still sought in order to find a lost person or object, in order to identify a criminal, to decide upon an auspicious day, and in a few cases to communicate with spirits.

The linguistic variety used by the datu in his work is here called Medico-Magic Language (MML). It can be read in its written form in bark manuscripts (pustaha).

The specific vocabulary of the MML consists almost exclusively of nouns. Other parts of speech are taken from the SL, especially from the respect vocabulary of that variety. The MML also shares a number of lexical items with the LL.

Personification is the main characteristic of this linguistic variety. Since inanimate objects and non-humans are believed to have spirits,[10] they are entitled to the respect that distinguished human beings normally enjoy. Thus, rather than calling an object in a direct manner by its common name in the SL, the datu uses an appellation or title in the form of a descriptive phrase. The phrase may begin with si *the one who; he who; the one called.* It may also begin with other honorifics like 'Miss', 'mother of' or 'King'.

The vocabulary can be divided into eleven groups, nine of them using a personifier or honorific: (1) si *the one who; he who; the one called;* (2) boru *Miss;* (3) nan or nai *mother of;* (4) deang or dayang *young maiden;* (5) purti *Princess;* (6) naga *lord mythical serpent;* (7) tuan *lord; master;* (8) aji *hero; knight; lord;* (9) raja *King; lord;* (10) terms without honorific; and (11) non-substantives:

(1) si:

si pondok *the one with short legs*: SL babi *pig*

si marngingik di tonga talun *the one who squeaks in the middle of the fallow land*: SL bagudung *mouse; rat*

si rumia horning *the one who is gladly shared by all*: SL indahan *boiled rice*

si rumimpang *the one whose parts are intertwined*: SL hunik; pege *turmeric; ginger*

si tapion *the one who should be respected*: SL boru *daughter*

si radang *the one sought after*: SL timbaho *tobacco*

(2) boru or si boru:

si boru deang sinsalsinsal *the critical young lady*: SL boru ni na sangap *daughter of a nobleman*

si boru marpinda omas *the lady where gold changes hands*, referring to a field as the source of livelihood: SL peapea *wet field*

si boru purtipurti *the lady princess*: SL gambiri *candlenut*

si boru na birong panuatan, sitabo utauta *the dark lady, source of things, whose disgorgement is tasty*: SL hudon *cooking pot*

(3) nan or nai (usually used to refer to objects related to the preparation of meals):

nan tunggu tiga *the three ladies expecting things*: SL dalihan na tolu *the three rocks used as a cooking stand*

nai basang basuhi *mother of the rectangular fireplace; mother of the spirit of the fireplace*: SL tataring *fireplace*

(4) deang, dayang or si deang:

si deang halasan *the young maiden with a lot of warmth*: SL tataring *fire-place*

si deang gumarisik *the young maiden who moves around playfully*: SL dengke *fish*

si deang tumalas *the young maiden which is spread out and open*: SL amak panjomuran *mat used for drying rice in the sun*

si deang haruaran *the young maiden through whom one goes out*: SL harbangan *village gate*

si deang sampurborna *the multicoloured young maiden*: SL bunga pansur *plant with red and white flowers*

(5) purti (usually used in combination with the honorifics deang or boru):

si deang purti ni aji *the young maiden, daughter of the lord*: SL napuran *betel-leaf* (especially when used in an oracle)

si boru purtipurti *the lady princess*: SL gambiri *candlenut*

(6) naga:

naga partumpuan *the lord serpent in whom all come together*: SL bungkulan *ridge of roof*

naga tumording *the lord serpent in alignment*: SL urur *rafter*

tuan naga tumotap *the lord serpent in perfect alignment*: SL papan *floorboard*

naga tumulaktulak *the lord serpent wind- and rain-catcher*: SL jenggar *projecting part of roof*

naga rumurus *the lord serpent who has subsided*: SL na matolbak *landslide*

(7) tuan:

tuan sumerham *the lord glorious*: SL habinsaran *the east*

tuan sumindang *the lord erect*: SL daging *body; torso*

tuan si ojir *the lord rain*: SL aek udan *rainwater*

tuan naga tumotap *the lord serpent in perfect alignment*: SL papan *floorboard*

(8) aji or si aji:

si aji paninaran *the knight, who is a place for drying things*: SL salean *rack over fireplace*

si aji marruang porhis *the knight with a hole as small as an ant*: SL sarune *trumpet; horn*

(9) raja or si raja:

raja martingguang di dolok *the king who booms on the hills*: SL doal *small gong*

si raja sumbaho *the smoothened king*: SL pandingdingan *wall-planks of a rice-shed*

raja manubung dolok *the king who pierces the hills with his voice*: SL imbo *a kind of screaming monkey*

si raja parpunguan *the king with whom everything is deposited*: SL parapara *rack in which to keep things*

raja mangande dangka *the king hanging on branches*: SL bodat *monkey*

si raja ongkat di ruangruang, parbajubaju bosi *his majesty who lives in holes, with his iron coat*: SL ilik *lizard*

(10) Terms without honorific:

parpadangan: SL parhutaan *settlement*

mardomuate: SL pining *areca nut*

garunggang jau: SL timbaho *imported tobacco*

parsiangan: SL hamailaan ni baoa *male genitals*

anggundea: SL pinasa *jackfruit*

tarajuan: SL butuha na mapitung *intestinal appendix*

na mangolu di ruangruang, parmise na songon jarum *the one living in holes, with a moustache like a needle*: SL sibahut *catfish*

(11) Non-substantives:

matinda: SL mate *to die; dead*

tidang: SL ndang adong *not there; non-existent*

patasimangot: SL mamele ompu *to give offerings to the clan ancestor*

5. CODESWITCHING, CODEMIXING AND INTERVARIETY TRANSFER

Codeswitching frequently takes place during a conversation. Hence it is common practice to switch to the SL from the IL as soon as a stranger or a senior person joins the group engaged in conversation. Codemixing, which is the careless confusion of two or more linguistic varieties, is regarded as bad style. Thus a conversation conducted in the SL must never be interspersed with lexical items taken from the IL. Conversely, whenever proverbial sayings from the LL are used in the SL, the speech or piece of writing is regarded as affected style or inappropriately flowery.

Transfer of lexical items between varieties, however, does occur over a period of time. Mention has been made above of the IL words dang (SL ndang), agonan (SL tagonon) and buntak (SL bustak), which have now been accepted as variants in the SL. The word simanjujung is now also used as a respect term in the SL and not exclusively in the LL for ulu *head*. The MML also shares a number of lexical items with the LL, such as si lomlom di robean *the dark one on the hillside*: SL lombu *cow; cattle*.

NOTES

1. About the emphasis placed on the efficacy of speech, see also Vergouwen 1964:95ff.
2. I consider the more general term 'variety' more appropriate here, whereas others might prefer the term 'register'.
3. See Hariara 1968:77. One can still distinguish further small varieties: the Language of Thieves (Hata ni Panangko) and the Language of Warfare (Hata Parmusuon) which, together with some other vocabularies used by fishermen and hunters, are not sufficiently significant to warrant separate classification as linguistic varieties in the sense used here. Only five lexical items are referred to as Language of Warfare in Warneck 1977.
4. It would be interesting to find out whether the phonological character of the IL has its origins in the inexperienced stages of a child's articulative development, or in the inevitably slurred speech of half-inebriated palm-wine drinkers.

   One can speculate that young children, growing up under the care of betel-chewing grandmothers who cannot properly pronounce labials acquire and retain this habit until they are taught otherwise at school. (cf. Farid Onn and Simanjuntak in *TICAL* 2:278-279.) Van der Tuuk (1971:12) noted that the p was unpronounceable by some people living near Lake Toba.
5. It is a moot point whether the changes have taken place over the years *towards* the SL rather than *away from* it.
6. It is often erroneously thought that only women participate in lamentations. This is definitely not so, although men may engage in them less frequently.

7. When uttering something awkward and untoward about a dead person, a Batak would say as an aside immediately afterwards: Na so binege ni simangotna *I hope his spirit did not hear it.*

8. From the verb manalik *to say something hateful or inappropriate about somebody in a disguised manner.*

9. The slight decline in the frequency of lamentations nowadays must at least in part be ascribed to the decline of this linguistic art among modern Bataks. An imperfect knowledge of the LL vocabulary can easily give a farcical turn to a lamentation.

   In one religious instance the LL was used most effectively in a special afternoon service to celebrate Good Friday in 1971 in the Batak church in Pematang Siantar. See Sihombing 1971. Members of the congregation were most impressed by the efficacy and solemnity of the service.

10. See Tobing 1956:94ff.

APPENDIX

The following is a list of Standard Language (SL) words or phrases with their equivalents in the Language of Lamentation (LL) and/or Medico-Magic Language (MML)

When the same word or phrase is used for both the LL and the MML, the translation is given under the LL only.

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
abara *shoulders*	[1]sitangkingon *the ones to carry things;*	–
	[2]situmalha *the ones arranged in tiers*	
abit *clothes*	[1]sait; saop *things to wear;*	–
	[2]saop ni sitipahon *the cloth that one weaves*	
aek *water*	[1]sibangkion; sibongkion *springwater;*	–
	[2]sitarison *the one that one should level;*	
	[3]si lumanlan *the large stretch;*	
	[4]simalummalum *the cool one;*	
	[5]aek sorba jati *totally pure water*	

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
aek tabar *fresh water*	–	aek sorba jati *totally pure water*
aek udan *rainwater*	–	tuan si ojir *the lord rain*
ahu *I*	–	ibangku diri *oneself*
alaman *village compound*	[1]siagalangan; sihagalangan *the place for hospitality*	–
	[2]antaran na bidang *the wide stretch*	
Alap ma nang ahu! *Take me, too!* (said to the spirit of the deceased)	Parsiulahi ahu songon na tading i, parsibalihi ahu songon na manaili tu pudi i *Come back again for me, who is staying back here; turn around to look at me, who is also looking back.*	–
aleale *friend*	sirundaon *the one to be guided*	–
ama *father*	na marsinuan *the one who cultivates*	–
ama naung marianakkon *a man who already has children*	ama parsinuan tunas *a man who has planted a shoot*	–
amak; lage *mat*	rindang sibalunon *a token which has to be rolled up*	–
amak panjomuran *mat used for drying rice in the sun*	–	si deang tumalas *the young maiden spread out in the sun*
amang boru *father's sister's husband*	[1]amang sibijaon *the man with whom one conspires;*	–
	[2]amang silungbane *the man with whom one shares*	
ampang *rice-basket*	–	sitahang di balena *the one always ready with a measuring tin*
ampodi *large bamboo-rat*	rahar bulu *the one that makes plants wither*	–
anak *son*	sinuan tunas *the offshoot*	–
anak ni tangga *rungs of a ladder; steps*	–	si deang martinditindi *the young maidens, the one on top of the other*
anak parjalang *a son who has left to settle elsewhere*	–	sitindaon *the dead one*

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
anak sasada *an only child*	[1]na songon sagak ni panabian *the one who is like a rice-shoot on a harvested field;*	–
	[2]songon halakhalak na tarpunjung, songon tandiang na hapuloan *like a scarecrow standing on its own, like a tree-fern stranded on an island*	
andalu *rice-pounder*	–	si deang tumadoa *the young maiden who works on, oblivious of everything*
andor; hotang *liana; rattan*	–	naga panjalap *the lord serpent, who holds things*
andung *lamentation*	siluluton *the one that goes on and on*	–
anduri *winnow*	–	garege *the one which is worked hard*
anggi *younger sibling*	sialosan; siadosan; sialasan *the one to whom one must respond*	–
ansimun *cucumber*	pangalambohi *the one to calm you down*	–
api *fire*	si gumorgor *the roaring one*	ai aji marhirlohirlo *the knight who is aflicker*
apulapul *consolation*	sobosobo ni na lungun *something to calm down a sad person*	–
ari *day; daylight*	siarianan; siharianan *what is spent in the daytime*	–
ari parudan *rainy day*	si rumondo *the rainy one*	–
arsak *sadness*	sidangolon *what has to be borne*	–
ateate *liver; heart*	silamoton; silameton *the smooth one*	–
babi; aili *pig; wild pig*	[1]si mardokdak di nambur *the one who smacks with his tongue out in the mist;*	[1]si pondok *the one with the short legs;*
	[2]si marnangkat di nambur *the one who shoots off in the morning-mist;*	[2]sibabolon *the huge one;*
	[3]si maranakanak ni nambur *child of the morning-mist*	[3]sipabundat *the one who moves slowly*
babiat *tiger*	si marinte di dolok *the one who waits in the hills*	pongpang bala saribu *the one who stops a thousand men*

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
bagot *sugar palm*	[1]si lumambe bulung *the one with young yellow leaves* [2]si lumambe hodong *the one with yellow ribs*	–
bagudung *mouse; rat*	–	[1]si lasang *the majestic one;* [2]si leseng *the sarcastic one;* [3]si marngingik di tonga talun *the one who squeaks in the middle of the fallow land*
bahenon *to be carried out*	–	jualan
baion *pandanus strip*	siputihon; rindang siputihon *something that has to be picked*	–
bajubaju *shirt; jacket*	saep sipoholon *a cloth to hold on to*	soluhon *the one to put on*
baju pendek *short blouse*	simanulpang *the one that perches*	–
balga *big*	magodang panaguan *large in content*	–
bao *wife's brother's wife; husband's sister's husband*	sisumbaon *the one who should be respected*	–
baringin *banyan tree*	–	sipulang bariba *the one who returns on his own; the solitary one*
baringin naung robirobian *a very old banyan tree*	–	sambang so suda *the one which is never out of season*
baringin sanggulsanggul ni panortor *banyan-twig worn on the head when performing a ritual dance*	–	si rumadang *the one which is always sought after*
barita; hatahata *news; gossip*	–	tonjatonja *visitations*
batang ni hau *felled tree-trunks*	tuan rumedang *the quiet and unmoving lord*	–
batu na gukguk *a heap of stones*	–	ulubalang na hohom *the quiet warriors*
bere *sister's son; sister's daughter*	sibijaon *the one to conspire with*	–

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
biang *dog*	[1]siteuon *the one with the sad eyes*	siteuon
	[2]si marpangpang di jabu *the one who stays indoors*	
bibir *lips*	sitalbeon *the one which protrudes*	–
binatang di aek *creatures living in water*	[1]gulok ni sibongkihon; gulok-gulok ni sibongkihon *the worms of water*	–
	[2]ulok ni sibongkihon *the snakes of water*	
bindoran *chameleon*	–	bursikbursik *the one to spit upon* (during a ritual ceremony)
bintang *star*	sihumirlo *the one that twinkles*	sihumirlo
bodat *monkeys and apes*	–	[1]raja mangande dangka *the king hanging on branches*
		[2]na mora di dangka *the rich gentleman on the branches*
bodil *gun*	[1]sirumonggur *the thunder*;	–
	[2]siteaon *the one to hold up*;	
	[3]si tenggar di banua *the one with an aim in the land*	
bohi *face*	si mangarudok	–
bolon *heavily built*	na bolon na barombom *large and rotund*	–
bonang *thread*	siudoron *the one which is to be spun*	–
boraspati *wall-lizard*	–	siruru *the one who should slide down*
borngin *night*	sihaborngінan *what is spent at night-time*	–
boru *daughter*	sinuan beu *the loved one*	sitapion *the one who should be respected*
boru ni na sangap *daughter of a nobleman*	–	si boru deang sinsalsinsal *the critical young lady*
botabota *rice-grain which is still not unhusked during stamping*	–	si aji marsegesege *the knight who eludes selection*

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
bubu *fish-trap*	sijalinon *the one to spin*	–
buhabuha ijuk *dawn*; urmun *sunset*	si ala manotari *the one providing an interval*	–
bulan *moon*	si rumondang *the one that shines*	–
bulan *month*	si rumondang bulan *the moon that shines*	ari na tolu pulu *the thirty days*
bulu *bamboo*	[1]situlison *the one to be engraved*;	–
	[2]sisuraton *the one to be written upon*	
bulungbulung *leaf*	si rumata bulung *green leaf*	–
bulung motung 'motung'-*leaf, one side of which is white; often used as plates*	–	[1]pinggan puti harangan *the large white plate of the forest*;
		[2]saoan puti *the white bowl*
bulu sisuraton *type of bamboo, suitable for writing correspondence on*	boru ni situlison *daughter of the one to be engraved*	–
bunga pansur *plant with red and white flowers*	–	si deang sampurborna *the multicoloured young maiden*
bungkulan *ridge of roof*	si naga partumpuan *the lord serpent, in whom all come together*	si naga partumpuan
butuha *stomach*	[1]boltok *the round part*;	–
	[2]siubeon; sihubeon *the inner part*	
butuha na mapitung *intestinal appendix*	–	tarajuan *the one that is turned up*
dahanon *husked rice*	[1]sisaburon *the ones to be spread around*;	–
	[2]siringgiton *the ones to be exchanged with money*	
dainang *my mother*	[1]ina na mangintubu *the woman who brought me to this world*	–
	[2]inang na marbeu ahu *mother who loves me* (said by a male)	
dakdanak na simbur dagingna *a child who is growing up fast*	songon tubis na tumandok, songon tumbur ni siala na bolon i *like a bamboo-shoot growing large in the soil, like a large* 'siala' *shoot*	–

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
dakdanak na so marama so marina *orphans; members of the family left by the deceased*	songon anak ni manuk na sioksiok *like a young chicken crying for help*	—
dalihan na tolu *three rocks used as a cooking stand*	nan tunggu tiga *the three ladies waiting for things*	nan tunggu tiga
damang *father*	ama na marsinuan; ama na sumuan ahu *the man who planted me*	—
damar *resin*	—	tidoan *the one which has to be searched for*
dengke *fish*	[1]sibongkion *the water creature;* [2]urat ni hapongkion; urat ni sipongkion *the vein of water;* [3]urat ni nai bongkihon *the vein of the mother of water;* [4]gulokgulok ni aek sibongkihon *the worms of water*	si deang gumarisik; si deang gumaristik *the young maiden who moves around playfully*
desa *points of the compass*	—	panggorda na ualu *the eight astrological deities*
Dibobok dihilala ala ni hinamago i *to feel like being in a straitjacket because of the bereavement*	dijambak songon jambulan i, ditimpus songon panihat i *like forelock grabbed, and like mortal remains thrust in a bag*	—
dila *tongue*	simarhuat *the one that probes*	—
Di mulana denggan, hape di pudi gabe hinamago *good at the outset, but things turn bad later on*	na jagar di molangon, songon eme sibaboan i *one which is exceptionally beautiful like rice-plants before weeding-time*	—
Dipabaris manang piga na mate sian ibana asa ditanom *several bodies arranged for burial*	songon ogung pinarunggu, na songon taganing pinatutur i *like gongs assembled, like drums neatly arranged*	—
dipasombu *neglected;* ndang diargahon *taken for granted;* ndang dipekkon *not heeded*	songon hoda pinalua, songon giringan niromparhon i *like a horse left to roam, like a spike thrown away*	—

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
Dirungkai sidangolon naung salpu *to open up old wounds; to remind one of previous miseries*	dibuhai songon luhutan i, dirungkai songon parrambuan i *turned upside down like stacks of harvested rice, investigated like a garbage-bin*	–
Ditambai arsak naung adong hian *to have more trouble on top of existing ones*	situnjang na rugut, sidegehon na ompas *the one who kicks a person who has stumbled, and who stands on a person who is down*	–
doal *small gong*	–	raja martingguang di dolok *the king who booms on the hills*
dolok *mountain*	[1]dolok sinabung *the challenging mountain;* [2]simanabung *the challenger*	naga sihabuntulan *the lord serpent with a bulge*
dongan sabutuha *people of the same* 'marga'; *fellow clansmen*	si mardung ni bulunta *the ones sharing the same bamboo-hedge*	–
dorpi *wall of house*	–	[1]si deang pangunsandean *the young maiden against whom to lean* [2]si raja sumanderasandera *the leaning king*
dos *equal;* suman *similar*	martinondong martinudu *to be related and to share the same symbols*	–
dugul *knee*	si dagal *the knob*	–
duhutduhut *weed in rice-field*	[1]pangkat; [2]siluhuton; silumuhut *the ones to collect*	naga tumotap *the lord serpent ever-present*
duhutduhut pulungan taoar *medicinal herbs*	–	si pursara ni langit, si pusara ni tano *the cure for heaven and earth*
duma *rich; to occupy an important position*	–	[1]marbunga nasi *with blooms of rice;* [2]marompon na so hasigean *to have a rice-silo whose top cannot be reached with a ladder*
eda *brother's wife; husband's sister*	sialosan; siadosan; sialasan *the one to whom one must respond*	–

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
eme *unhusked rice*	paiogon *the one that one has to toil for*	bunga padi *flower of rice*
eme *rice-plant*	si gumorsing *the golden*	padi
eme na boltok *rice which has developed ears*	—	si raja marsigalang *the king who is feasting*
gabe *blessed with many children*	na toga; matoga *respected*	—
gadong jurur *sweet potato*	andor siramoson *the creeper with plenty of fruit*	—
gading *ivory bangle*	sijagaron *the pretty one*	—
gambir *Uncaria gambir leaf*	—	marlopian *arranged systematically*
gambiri *candle-nut*	—	si boru purtipurti *the lady princess*
gana *oath*	asiasi tinimpus *grace which is shrouded in secrecy*	—
ganup ari *every day*	mangganupi siarianan *to give each daily task its due*	—
ganup borngin *everynight*	manjojori siaborngin*an to go systematically through each nightly task*	—
gaol *banana*	siaunon *the one to swing around*	—
gara ni api di sipusipu *glowing firewood*	[1]silaiton *the one to burn* [2]sinahiton *the one that burns steadily*	—
ginjang rias *tall* (of a person)	na ginjang na tarias *high and prominent*	—
godang *plentiful*	magodang panaguan *large in content*	—
Gok pangkilalaan ala ni hinamago i *I feel as if I cannot breathe because of my misery*	Mabuk so minum ahu, butong so marpiogon i *I am drunk and I have not had any drink, I feel sated, and I have not eaten*	—
golanggolang *armband*	rindang sililiton *a token to be twisted around the arm*	—
goligoli *seat in a dugout canoe*	si amak pandan *the pandanus mat*	—
gompang mangingani dohot pauliulihon *to stay in one place watching over and looking after the deceased*	songon tungko ni solu, songon garut di panabian i *like a mooring-post for a canoe, like rice-stumps after harvest*	—

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
gonting *hip*	siholtingon *the one to keep tight*	–
gordang *large drum*	[1]si rumonda *the one that brings the crowd;*	–
	[2]simarjojong *the one with the heavy boom*	–
gundur *pumpkin*	pangalumi *the cooling agent*	–
guriguri *medicine-pot*	–	sirengrung parmiahan *the oil-pot that clinks*
habinsaran *the east*	–	tuan sumerham *the lord glorious*
haha *elder sibling*	sialosan; siadosan; sialasan *the one to whom one must respond*	–
hailaan ni baoa *male genital organ*	situmorjok *the one standing erect*	parsiangan *the originator*
hailaan ni boru-boru *female genital organ*	situmeok *the one asking to be blessed with child*	–
hajut hadanghadangan *handbag*	[1]saep sipistuhon *a cloth bag with decorative holes;*	–
	[2]rindang siputihon *something to pick up*	
halak (class-word for people); *person*	[1]si mardung *the one(s) already there;*	–
	[2]si mardum *the one who eats just plain rice*	
halakhalak *scarecrow*	–	si raja rampasan *the master over intruders*
halak na asing *stranger;* bangso na asing *foreigner*	halak na jaluk marabit, na haloat mangkuling i *a person who dresses in a 'left-handed' fashion, and who speaks inarticulately*	–
halak na olo mangondihon halak na metmet jala na lea *protector of the weak and the humble*	pangalualuan ni na bile, pangompasan ni na maliali i *where the miserable come for protection and where the unlucky come to throw themselves*	–
halak na sirang-sirangon *a person trying to get a divorce;* ndang hot *untrustworthy;* mambalambal *fickle*	songon limut di aek simumbalmumbal i *like weed floating around in water*	–

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
halak na tarpasaut lomo ni rohana *a person who always gets what he wants*	siusung dolok na so ra sorat, siinum aek na so ra mogap i *the one who would not feel tired when carrying a mountain, and who would not get out of breath when drinking from a waterfall*	–
halak na tuk bisuk dohot haadonganna *a wise and rich man, who needs no help from others*	na pande so tuturon, na gogo so urupan *a skilful person who needs no organising, and a strong man who needs no help*	–
halak si ginjang roha *a haughty person*	partali ganjang so hadudurán, partalun bolak so haulaan *the one with rope which cannot be reeled in, and with land which cannot be cultivated*	–
halang ulu *sleeping section of a house*	parpidoan *the place which beckons*	–
halehetanna *in balanced proportions*	magodang so maotik *not too large and not too small*	–
haluang *flying fox*	–	sirumambang di langit *the one spreading itself in the sky*
hamatean *death*	[1]siroburon; haroburan *the abyss;*	–
	[2]halonglongan *where one sinks into;*	
	[3]padang silungunon *the lonely field;*	
	[4]toru ni situmandok *under the grave*	
hamatean na tompu *sudden death*	na so hinirimhirim, na so panagaman i *the one which is not hoped for, nor expected*	–
hambing *goat*	siulangon *the one that grazes on fallow land*	–
hapur *lime*	–	[1]sirumonang na laga *the clear and angry one;*
		[2]si boru rista holbung *lady lime in the valley;*
		[3]na galetongan *the one that is itchy all over*
haramoja *type of melon*	situmandi *the prominent one*	–
haraparon *starvation; poverty*	siraparon *the one who is hungry*	–

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
harbangan *village gate*	–	si deang haruaran *the young maiden through whom one goes out*
hasiangan *the world*	si ulubalang ari *the one in command of the day*	–
hau *tree*	–	[1]tuan di hasaingan *the lord who is always in friction with his fellows;* [2]naga sihatimbulan *the lord serpent standing out*
hauma *rice-field*	[1]bonggaran; sibonggaron *the one which has to be broken up;* [2]tonga ni lobongon *centre of sowing;* [3]tonga lobongon marsibonggaron *centre of sowing which has been broken up;* [4]parpaiogonan *where one has to toil*	–
hela *son-in-law*	[1]ama na hubalos *the man I have responded to;* [2]na binalos *the one to whom one has responded*	–
hepeng *money*	[1]si humisik *the jingler;* [2]riar *the restless one;* [3]siriaron *the restless one*	–
hesek *gong, used to give the beat in an orchestra*	–	[1]si aji marringoringo *the knight with the loud voice;* [2]si aji rumingo *the loud knight*
hinambor *grave-mound*	gugung *the one which is raised*	–
Hira so tarusung be sitaonon i *My misery seems to be unbearable*	Loja so marusungusung ahu, boratan so marboanboan i *I am tired and I have not carried anything, things are heavy and yet I am not carting anything*	–
hoda *horse*	[1]si jambe ihur; si jumambe ihur *the one with falling tail* [2]si gontam di banua *the one that frightens the land*	silindangon *the one with spots*

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
hohos *belt*	simanitik *the one that holds fast*	simanitik
holan godangan sihataon *a person who is the object of gossip*	sipagodang hataon, so ada pujion i *the one who increases the amount of gossip and who has nothing in him to praise*	—
holan hinamago nama mardapotdapot siholsohononhon *there is only continuous suffering to bear*	Talaga panduduran ahu, hudon ni babi parimpuan i *I am the drain in the house and the cooking-pot for pigs' food*	—
Holan mangapian nama tu halak na so marhinamago i *It remains now to envy those not beset by misery*	Loja mangapian ahu, ngalutan manudosi i *I am exhausted as I envy people, and feeling miserable from comparing myself with others*	—
holan satongkin tarpuji jala tandi, hape pintor mate *to be honoured and prominent for a while and then died*	na mangilas songon harimborbor, na maindo songon eme siganjang rungkung i *showing signs of imminent death with beauty like the* 'harimborbor' *insect, bowing low like long-eared rice*	—
hole *oar*	si bulung bira *the taro-leaf*	—
horbo *water-buffalo*	[1]si limatok *the leech;* [2]silumatahon *the one hit on the body;* [3]sirumanggas di padang *the one that stands out in the field*	sirumanggas di padang
horis *creese*	sirumantos *the sharp one*	—
hotang *rattan*	—	naga rumambit *the lord serpent who is very tough*
hot jala togu *consistent and with a strong will*	—	matangkang majuara *ready to defend one's beliefs and to protect others*
hotorhotor *network of ropes used to pull bells and tins to scare birds away from a field*	—	si deang martali rundut *the young maiden with ropes in disarray*
hudon *cooking-pot*	—	si boru na birong panuatan, sitabo utauta *the dark lady, source of things, whose disgorgement is tasty*
hujur *lance*	sirumantos *the sharp one*	—

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
hulahula *wife-giving family*	simarimbun *the family where everyone assembles*	–
hum rohana *to have the heart to do something*	barani pulut	–
hundulan *buttocks*	siamburuk *the one which releases air*	–
hundulhundul *to sit around for a chat*	marsijuguhon	–
hunik *turmeric-root*	si rumimpang *the one whose parts are intertwined*	si rumimpang
huta *village*	[1]lobuan na godang *the large assembly-place;* [2]tonga ni asean *centre of worship;* [3]tuktuk pangadosan *the cape where people respond to one another*	si deang partumpuran *the young maiden into whom people crowd*
ianakkon *son; daughter*	boras ni siubeon *the fruit of one's womb*	–
iboto *brother; sister*	[1]si raja ibot; [2]raja ni ibotna; [3]si tuan ni ibotna;	–
igung *nose*	[1]simanganggo *the one used to smell something;* [2]siputoron *the one to turn*	–
ilik *lizard*	–	si raja ongkat di ruangruang, parbajubaju bosi *his majesty who lives in holes, with his iron coat*
ilu di tingki mangandung *tears shed during a lamentation*	[1]sibongkion; sibangkihon *water;* [2]tapian pardangolan *water of suffering*	si ari mojan *the day when one's breath is short*
imbo *a kind of screaming monkey*	–	raja manubung dolok *the king who pierces the hills with his voice*
ina *mother*	[1]na mangintubu *the one who gives birth;* [2]na umbeu *the one who loves*	–
ina na marbabo *a woman who is weeding in the field*	–	si raja mungkit monggal *her majesty who goes up and down and sways about*

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
ina naung mardakdanak *a woman who has borne a child*	ina parsinuan beu *a woman who has established love*	—
indahan *boiled rice*	[1]paiogon *the one for which one has to toil;* [2]nasi; [3]indahan jorajora *food as a pledge for improvement*	si rumia horning *the one who is gladly shared by all*
indahan na ginasingkon *boiled rice left on low fire to dry*	—	si aji marsalasa *the knight basking in the warmth*
itak *flour*	sigurguron *the one which has to be steamed*	—
jabu *house*	[1]sigalangon; sihagalangan; pargalanggalangan *a place for hospitality;* [2]isian ni hagalangon; sianniangganlangon; sianniagalangon *the repository of hospitality;* [3]parbidoan	[1]bondul; [2]ruma na marampang na marjual *a house with a rice-basket and where there is rice;* [3]si baganding tua *the colourful and the old;* [4]jorojoro na godang *a large temple*
jagal *meat*	sitanggoan *the one to be chopped up*	—
jagung *maize*	[1]sirumondang *the one to be roasted;* [2]sipinjoton *the one which is full of grains*	—
jarijari *fingers*	sirimpur *the slender ones*	—
jea tonan *bad luck* (as foretold by an oracle)	—	pondom *death without any convulsions*
jenggar *projecting part of roof*	—	naga tumulaktulak *the lord serpent, wind- and rain-catcher*
jolma parhatahata *an articulate person; an orator*	parpustaha di tolonanna, parjagajaga di bibirna *the one who keeps his books in his throat, and his alertness on his lips*	—
jolma tanda *a prominent figure*	na tanda di arian songon hoda sibolang i *the one who is prominent among the crowd in a resting-place like a horse with spots*	—

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
jongong boti *unable to think clearly; stunned*	songon bondar na unong, songon gordang na polpol i *like a blocked canal, like a story that cannot be finished*	–
lae *sister's husband; father's sister's son*	[1]siadosan *the one to whom one must respond;* [2]silansapon *the one who is overrated*	–
lagu *kindness*	palilung *speech*	–
lais *slats on which sugar-palm fibre is fastened as roofing*	–	tuan naga ruminte *the lord serpent in perfect rows*
lampet *steamed cake*	timpal sigaburon *the soft missile*	–
laut *sea*	si lumanlan na bidang *the vast stretch of water*	–
limatok *leech*	uotuot di tonga talun *the one stalking in the fallow land*	–
limut *seaweed*	–	si lumimbe *the demonstrative one*
lindi *slow-worm*	rahar dolok *the one that brings the hill down*	–
loloan *audience; gathering*	tonga ni mangajana *centre of solemn assembly*	–
lombang *ravine*	siruruson *the one into which one has to slide*	–
lombu *cows; cattle*	si lomlom di robean *the dark one on the hillside*	si lomlom di robean
longa *sesame*	si sumarsar *the one that bursts*	–
lote *quail*	simarngunguk di adaran *the one who yodels in the fields*	–
loting bosi *flint lighter*	santik marsantihan *the one which hits the other*	–
luat na dao *far-off places*	toding parjauan, toding sihadaoan *foreign and remote regions*	–
lubanglubang *hole*	–	talaga panduduran ni na roa *the lower part of the house, from which waste is thrown away*
lungguk *a heap*	–	si deang marunggununggun *the young maiden stored in a heap*

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
lupaklupak *puddle*	–	si deang parromboan *the young maiden where water stands still*
magodang *grown-up*	magodang panaguan *large in content*	–
male *hungry*	marsiraparon *to be starving*	–
malgipalgip laho mate *gasping when dying*	songon gea na tipul na margellokgellok i, songon simarhuruk na nirambas na marheporhepor i *like a cut worm, twisting and turning; like a reeling hen after being hit with a stick*	–
malo *clever; skilful*	uja; mauja *suitable; fitting*	–
malo jala pantas marroha *intelligent and wise*	[1]mauja matogu *suitable and consistent;* [2]na uja marroha *the one whose thinking is fitting*	–
mambahen parengkelan *to crack jokes*	marsituriak *to make people happy; to be happy by playing games*	–
mambuat *to take away; to fetch*	manggagang *to hold; to grab*	–
mamele ompu parsadaan *to give offerings to the clan ancestor*	–	[1]gohan *to hold a complete ceremony* [2]patasimangot *to address the spirit of the clan*
mananom *to bury* (a person)	marsitumalin *to place somebody in his grave*	–
manghabengethon *to suffer quietly*	mangonjaphon *to hold things down*	–
mandera ni na mate *white cloth flown over grave*	–	panji *banner*
mangalehon sipanganon tu halak *to serve food to visitors*	mangganupi na so taruli, manjojori na so tarola *to give their due to those who miss out, and to distribute equally among those without share*	–
mangambe *to walk with arms swinging*	tarambe simangido *with the hands swinging*	–
mangan *to have a meal*	marpaiogon *to have rice*	–

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
mangandung *to perform a lamentation*	[1]marsilungunon *to be sad;* [2]mangandung sipariron *to lament because of suffering*	–
mangandungkon sidangolon *to express one's misery through a lamentation*	na mangandung na dangol, na papuas na parir i *to perform a sad lamentation and to let out one's miserable feelings*	–
mangarimangi *to consider carefully*	mangaramparampa songon parmahan, mardabudabu songon parjuji i *counting sheep like a shepherd, and counting his money like a gambler*	–
manghatai *to be in conference*	[1]malilung *to make a speech;* [2]mauja *to say fitting things;* [3]marsimangkudap *to use one's mouth*	–
mangolu *to be alive;* hipas *in good health*	[1]marsiulubalang ari *to have control of the day;* [2]didadang ari, diullus alogo *baked by the sun, swept by the wind*	
manortor di tingki sitaonon *to perform a ritualistic dance during a bereavement*	marsileapon *to make one's body perform*	marsileapon
manuk *chicken*	[1]simarhuruk *the one that sits on eggs* [2]simarhusuk *the one that shakes itself*	na umpaspas habongna, na umpalu sarunena *the one who shakes out his wings, and who blows his horn*
manuk na balga *a chicken large enough to be used in an oracle*	sitonggor di banua *the one that can overlook the world*	–
manuk na rara *red hen* (favoured to be slaughtered for festivities)	–	ompu rigop *the quick grandfather*
marbabo *to weed*	marsilumuhut *to collect things*	–
marbada *to quarrel*	marsiruntuson *to be brief and short*	–
marbalik *to change one's mind*	–	marrantos *to act suddenly*
marbarita *to spread news;* marhatahata *to gossip*	–	martonja *to drop in on a visit*
mardalan *to walk*	tarlangka simanjojak *with the feet stepping*	–

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
marhinamago *to be in mourning*	[1]marsitungkion *to bow one's head;* [2]marsidangolon *to be in misery;* [3]marsiluluton *to be weeping incessantly*	–
Marjea do iba na tongtong diingani hinamago *I am an accursed person, beset with misery*	Rasun ni panurungi do ahu, sirabun na mohop i *I am poison despatched by a priest-doctor, and also hot fire-ash*	–
marlas ni roha *happy; joyful*	marsituriak *to play games*	
marnapuran *to chew betel-leaf*	[1]marsitopahon; [2]marsirumata bulung (see napuran)	–
marniang *thin* (of a person)	songon ranggas ni hau sinaiton *like dead twigs of a tree*	–
marningot *to remember*	marnaingothon *to remind oneself*	–
marpungu holan na maliali *unhappy and sad people huddled together*	marpungupungu songon siborok di guluan *to be together like tadpoles in a puddle*	–
marrapot *to attend a meeting*	marsijuguhon *to sit around; to sit together*	–
marsadasada *alone; one by one*	marsadasada bulung *to be the only leaf on a tree*	–
marsahit *to be ill*	pinartubol ni siaginon *to be avenged by suffering*	[1]panggirgiron *trembling because of eagerness;* [2]margulunggulung *to roll about*
marsak *sad*	[1]marsitungkion *to bow one's head;* [2]marsiruntuson *to be brief and short*	–
marsapata *to be under a curse*	marsapata sipurpuron *to be under a curse which has to be scattered in the wind*	–
marsiak bagi *to live in poverty*	pinartubol ni siaginon *to be avenged by adversity*	–
martonatona ni begu siar *to pass on a message through a person in trance*	–	martonatona ni na mate *to pass on a message from the dead*
martonun *to weave*	marsitipahon *to get things ready*	–
mas *gold*	si gumorsing *the yellow one*	–

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
mata *eyes*	[1]simalolong *the one used by those who are separated;* [2]simanonggor; sipatonggor *the watcher*	–
mata ni ari manogotna *morning sun*	siala manotari *the motivation for spreading one's wings*	–
mate *to die*	[1]marobur; madobur *to fall into an abyss;* [2]magulang *to fall down a cliff;* [3]mapulha *broken like a dam;* [4]malonglong *to cave in;* [5]maguling *to roll down;* [6]matompas; marompas *to collapse;* [7]marangin sipurpuron *to be in the fresh air*	matinda *to change one's appearance*
mate sian na so ada ala, so ada dalan *to die for no known reason or cause*	binuat ni godung na so marhinambor, suga na so marpatudu i *to fall into a pit which has no mound to show it, and caught by an invisible thorn*	–
mengkel *to laugh*	marsituriak *to be happy*	–
metmet *small*	maetek panaguan *small in content*	–
minggu *week*	–	ari na pitu *the seven days*
modom *to sleep*	marpidon *to close one's eyes*	–
mubauba *unstable;* paasingasing *fickle*	paubauba pasalinsalin *to shift one's position and to change one's clothes*	–
mudar ni manuk di ampang *blood of a chicken used in an oracle*	–	saniang naga setan *water deity* (in the form of a snake) *and ghost*
mula ni las ni ari *the onset of the warmth of the day*	–	si deang mangilasilas *the young maiden showing signs of disappearing*
muruk *angry*	marsiruntuson *to be sharp and brief*	–
naek pangabahan *to improve one's financial position*	magodang panaguan *to increase in content*	–

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
na jotjot niebatan *a place which is often visited; stamping ground*	alamat parniloniloan *a place where things glitter*	–
na lea jala na dangol *a humble and poor person*	ponjot so na bolon, sungkot so na ginjang *he needs more space while he is not large, he touches the ceiling while he is not tall*	–
na manabi eme *harvesting women* (using sickles)	–	si deang na ruminte *the young maidens in perfect rows*
na mate *the deceased*	sirumondo *the one who has gone down*	–
na matolbak *land-slide*	–	naga rumurus *the lord serpent who has subsided*
namboru *father's sister*	[1]ina silungbane *the women with whom one shares;* [2]inang sibijaon *the woman with whom one conspires*	–
nantulang *mother's brother's wife*	inang sibijaon *the woman with whom one conspires*	–
na padot jala na nunut *a hard and meticulous worker*	Parholiholi na so ra ngalutan, parjarijari na so ra mansohot i *The one whose bones never ache and whose fingers never stand still*	–
na pinadimundimun *something or someone treated with great care and love*	na ginolomgolom buni, na pinuntalan tarida i *the one which/whom one hides in the palm and which/whom one covers up in the open*	–
na pinaolooloan, hape gabe mate *one who has been spoilt and who is now dead*	na hinunti madabu, na tineatea magulang i *that which was carried on the head and fell, and that which was carried on the hand and rolled off*	–
naposo sisurusuruon *servant*	halung ni na maulibulung *the neckband of a rich person*	–
napuran *betel-leaf*	[1]sirumata bulung *green leaf;* [2]sitopahon *the one that falls off;* [3]sirargurak *the one that bubbles;*	[1]si deang purti ni aji *the young maiden, daughter of medical magic;* [2]sitopahon na mauliate *most welcome one that falls down*

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
napuran na gok *betel-leaf complete with ingredients: betel-leaf, lime, Uncaria gambir leaf or essence, areca nut and tobacco*	na opat saharoburan, na lima sada hatompasan *the four going down the same pit, and the five collapsing on the same spot*	–
na so hapodaan *a person who would not listen to advice*	na so tampil sipaingot, so siat siajaron i *the one who would not accept advice or instruction*	–
na so marguna tu manang aha *a ne'er-do-well*	na so tampil tu aha, na so bolas tu dia i *the one who cannot fit and cannot go anywhere*	–
na so umboto hinamago manang soro ni ari dope *a child who is still unaware of suffering and adversity*	na so tumanda na dangol, na so umboto na parir i *the one who does not know what is sad and terrible*	–
na tading metmet *a very young orphan*	na tading malapalap, na tading maliali i *the one left destitute and without hope*	–
na tarduru *a person, socially ostracised because of his/her humble situation*	na di duru ni bale, na di balian ni patula i *one who is outside the hut and beyond the pale*	–
ndang adong *not there; non-existent*	–	tidang
ndang adong be sihirimon ala ni hinamago i *there is no hope any more because of this bereavement*	dihunsi songon baba ni sopo i, diharsap songon baba harbangan i *locked like a barn-door, bolted like the village gate*	–
Ndang adong na songon sitaononki dokdokna *There is no suffering greater than mine*	Hupasuman ahu soada sumanhi, hupatudos ahu soada tudoshi *I compare myself with others, there is no comparison; I cannot find my equal*	–
ndang adong teba *finished; nothing left* (said especially about property or money)	songon batu magulang, songon aek mabaor i *like a fallen rock, and like a body of water which has been drained*	–
ndang adong tondong na tau pangalualuan *without a relative to whom to go for help*	tu jolo soada pareahan, tu pudi soada hasurutan i *nothing to go forward to, nor to retreat to*	–
Ndang adong tudosan ni sitaonon i *The bereavement is without equal in sadness*	Tudosan so anian ahu, anian so tudosan i *I am not a comparison nor an example*	–
Ndang adong tutur na ro, ndang adong tutur topoton *To have no relatives to visit or to come and visit one*	Soada na malilung, soada palilungan i *There is no one to speak to you, and no one for you to speak to*	–

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
ndang be diargahon; diparhamuda *not appreciated any more; belittled*	songon pege na lambang, songon hunik na halaosan i *like ginger which is unable to produce shoots and like too much turmeric in food*	—
ndang boi mandok hatana ala dipodui jala diporduti *unable to say anything because he is shouted at and found fault with*	songon anduhur niopopan, songon amporik na sinioran i *like a wild dove frightened away, and like rice-birds attacked with slings*	—
ndang diparhaseang *deemed useless; a woman divorced*	songon rompu so siat, songon dangdang so bolas i *like rattan bands which are too tight and like penitence which is unacceptable*	—
Ndang huboto mara laho ro tuson *I left everything to come here*	Songon hinabahaba ahu, songon hinipuhipu i *Like a person pushed by a whirlwind, like a person hurried along*	—
ndang maradian mardalani tusan tuson *endlessly walking to and fro*	tu dolok tu toruan songon lali silampeang i *flying towards the hills and then down again, like a falcon looking for chickens*	—
ndang margogo patupa manang aha *utterly unable to do anything*	sungkot so na ginjang, ponjot so na bolon i *touching the ceiling while not being tall, cramped while not being large*	—
ndang marhasoan *restless*	hundul pualpualon, tindang pangalelaon *to cry when sitting down and to look behind one's back when standing*	—
ndang marrindang *childless*	songon jonggol ni bauta, songon ranggas ni hau sinaiton i *like the end of a discussion and like the smallest twig of a tree*	—
ndang sadia leleng umurna *not living long; not lasting long*	songon si rumata bulung na mura malos i, na songon bungabunga na rondang maleu i *like leaves which wither easily, like flowers which wilt in a short time*	—
ndang siat mandok hatana *not allowed or not able to express an opinion*	songon sangge hinuntam, songon gansip niodothon i *like a purse kept shut and like tongs squeezed*	—
Ndang tarhatahon dangol ni sitaonon i *The bereavement is indescribable in its intensity*	[1]Na lobi ansaansaan ahu, lompo turiturian i *I have more than enough solutions, I am overflowing with stories;* [2]na sirngom songon golap, so boi suluon i *unfathomable like the dark, impossible to light*	—

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
Neang pangkilalaanku *I feel relieved*	Songon na hehe sian gambo ahu, songon na mungkap sian lombang i *I feel like a person who has got out of a quagmire, like a person who climbed out of a ravine*	–
ngolu siap ari *livelihood; subsistence*	si ulubalang ari *the one in command of the day*	–
Nunga bolong, magulang, maup dihilala ala ni hinamago i *I feel deserted, down on my face and drowned because of my misery*	Nunga diaup ahu na so tu aek silumanlan i, nunga digulang ahu na so tu lombang siruruson i *I have been left to drown, but not in a lake; thrown down, but not into an abyss*	–
Nunga disalpuhon rohangku na sailaon *I have forgotten what was past*	Hubolus songon parhubuan i, hulangkai songon dalan niulang i *I bypassed it like a defence position and I stepped over it like an unrepaired footpath*	–
obuk *hair*	sitarupon; simanarup *the roof*	–
obuk na ganjang situtu *very long hair*	–	paspasan baliga hodong *a spread like sugar-palm rib*
ogung *gong*	silonggahon *the one which is made to boom*	–
ompu *grandparent*	sisumbaon *the one who should be paid respect to*	–
onan *marketplace*	[1]parsimburan *where one grows up fast;* [2]onan parsingguran *where things come and go fast;* [3]tiga parsaoran ni halak maulibulung *the market where gentlemen socialise;* [4]tiga parsaoran *the market where people socialise*	–
onggang *hornbill*	si raja porhas di soara *the lord with a sound like that of lightning*	raja siborang laut *the king who gazes at the sea*
ontong dirimangi rohana, ragam diransapi rohana *to consider exhaustively; to consider all options*	dadapdadap songon na mapitung, jamajama songon na oto i *probing about like a blind man, trying everything like an ignoramus*	–
ordang *three-pronged stick, used to make holes in the soil, into which seed is put*	–	si aji rumondaronda *the knight who moves about gracefully*

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
osangosang *chin*	simangisang *the one poised at an angle*	–
otik *little; small in quantity*	maotik panaguan *small in content*	–
padung *the flat part of a rice-mortar, between the hole and the edge*	–	si deang manarenare *the young maiden catching things*
pahean *clothes*	sijagaron *something with which to beautify oneself*	–
pahompu *grandchild*	sisumbaon *the one who should be respected*	–
paintophon *to extinguish*	–	palalishon *to send to wander*
palito *oil-lamp*	si rumondang bulan *the one like the moonlight*	–
pamangan *mouth*	simangkusap; simangkudap *the one that smacks*	–
pamatang *human body*	[1]simangarudok *the one that moves;* [2]simangaliok *the fat one;* [3]sileapon *the one which should be moved;* [4]angkula *the one which is moved up and down;* [5]si manare *the one which is turned towards something*	tuan sumindang *the lord who stands erect*
pamuro di biuron *one who watches over a rice-field when the rice-ears begin to fill*	–	raja manjoai *the king who claps to show his appreciation*
pandiloan *small window*	si raja bondul *the lord in the house*	partidoan *the one through which one peeps*
pandindingan ni ruma *wallboard of a house*	[1]si baganding naga mangupar *the lord multicoloured and moving serpent;* [2]siupar parpidoan *the moving ones, wanting to invite*	[1]si baganding naga mangupar; [2]siupar parpidoan [3]si upar mangalele *the moving ones, wanting to give chase*
pandingdingan ni sopo *wallboard of a rice shed*	–	si raja sumbaho *the smoothened king*
pang *strong* (of drinks)	–	maga

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
Pangalelaon mataniba *I am seeing things*	Mago tarsurasura ahu, mago tarmatamata i *I am suffering from feeling and seeing non-existent things*	–
pangarahut *rope or band* (around firewood, etc.)	–	si deang jumalimot *the young maidens in disarray*
pangir *shampoo*	–	si boru rintik di ahasa *the mad young lady in the bottle*
panjomuran eme *mat on which to dry rice in the sun*	–	si deang sumange *the young maiden spread around*
papan *floorboard*	–	tuan naga tumotap *the lord serpent in perfect alignment*
paradianan *resting spot*	[1]si martudos *the equaliser*; [2]si deang pangulonan; si deang panulonan *the young maiden where one rests*	si deang panulonan
parapara *rack in which to keep things*	–	si raja parpunguan *the king with whom everything is deposited*
parbandaan *graveyard*	[1]tano pangarantoan *distant colony in which one settles*; [2]tano rura sihadaoan *distant land and valley*	–
pargadombus *spendthrift*	–	padang lalis *the wanderer; the hobo; the gypsy*
parhata na lambok *a well-spoken person; a perfect gentleman*	parsimangkudap sibanebane i *the one with the fragrant mouth*	–
parhohom *a quiet person*	parsoara igilon *the one whom one has to beg to produce a sound*	–
parhutaan *a spot on which to build a village*	[1]parpadangan *where grass grows*; [2]parpiloan *a spot where young palms grow*; [3]sihasaean *the cleared field*	[1]parpadangan; [2]parpidoan *where hospitality is shown*
parik ni huta *village wall*	–	si dayang partahi tuk *the young maiden who reaches her objectives*
		–

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
parindahanan *woven rice-bag*	rindang sipagoon *the one to be kept full to stand erect*	—
parjabuan *a spot on which to build a house*	[1]parpadangan; [2]parpiloan (see parhutaan)	—
parlambok *a person who is never angry*	luli so sumungkar, banebane so tupa sumogar i *tuft which is not difficult to work, and mint which never loses its aroma*	—
parmateon na jimput, manggotap pangkirimon *a sudden death, which upsets a lot of plans*	sitostos hirahira, sidabu pargumbangan i *the one which cuts the creepers, and brings down the doorposts*	—
parmateon ni sada halak na manggotap pangkirimon *death of a person which eliminates a lot of hope*	siarsik aek tao soada partobaan i, sirabi hau harangan so ada parsobanan i *the one which drains the lake and thus eliminates a place for fishing, and which fells the forest trees and thus eliminates a source of firewood*	—
parmuruk *an irritable person*	parateate gara ni api sihumilas na so boi intopan i *the one with the heart like unextinguishable amber*	—
parsahitsahit *a sickly person*	panduduran ni siaginon *where sickness flows down to*	—
parsili *puppet made of banana-stem, used as defensive medical magic*	—	ompu raja di porlak *the great king in the garden*
parsori ni ari *a person beset by bad luck*	lubanglubang panarean, talaga panduduran i *a hole that receives rubbish and the lower part of the house where dust collects*	—
partungkoan *meeting place; village assembly spot*	tonga ni mangajarajar *centre of teaching*	—
parumaen *daughter-in-law*	[1]ina na hubalos *the woman I have responded to;* [2]na binalos *the one to whom one has responded*	—
pat *foot*	simanjojak *the ones planted on the ground*	—
peapea *wet field*	—	si boru marpinda omas *the lady where gold changes hands*

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
pege *ginger-root*	si rumimpang *the one whose parts are intertwined*	[1]si rumimpang; [2]sipasiang di bona *the one that induces articulateness in the house;* [3]si tajagar di portibi *the beautiful one in the world*
pidong *bird*	[1]sihumabang *the flyer;* [2]sirumambe di tonga talun *the ones crowding uncultivated land*	—
pinasa *jackfruit*	—	[1]anggundea *the one that swings;* [2]sungsang duri *the band of thistle*
pinggol *ear*	[1]sipareon *the receptive one;* [2]simanangi *the listener*	—
pining *areca nut*	—	mardomuate *the one which is in agreement*
Pinirpirhon nama hinamago i *I simply have to shake off my misery*	Huparsituriakkon nama i di simangkudaphi, huparsanggulsanggulhon di simanjujungki *I just laugh it off and wear it playfully on my head*	—
pira ni manuk *chicken-egg*	pira ni ambalungan *the egg from the ravine*	pira ni ambalungan
podang *sabre*	sirumantos *the sharp one*	si panjongkat *the one used to bring things down*
portibi *world*	sumanggo *the one that sniffs*	—
posoposo na tinadingkon ni ama manang inana *a baby orphan*	na tading di ampot, na longkot di sapor i *the one left on a nappy and stuck on a strainer*	—
punsu ni hotang *edge of rattan creeper*	—	si rimbur ni hotang *the sharp end of rattan*
raja *the headman; the king*	sigokkonon bodari, sialapon manogot *the one who has to be invited at night, and to be fetched early in the morning*	—
raja manang datu na pistar marhata *a king or priest-doctor who is an orator*	parjagajaga di bibir, parpustaha di tolonan i *the one who is always alert when speaking, and who keeps the books in his throat*	—
raja na boi asangasang *the king who is the pride of his fellow men*	tungkot siarudan di dalan na landit, sulusulu di ari golap i *the staff to be used when going through slippery paths, the torch in the dark*	—

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
raja na gogo jala na sangap *a powerful and respected chief*	si tumorus habang *the one who can fly anywhere*	–
raja na olo loja mambahen pardamean *a king who leaves no stone unturned to bring peace*	pangimpal pangimbalo, pamijor pangarapoti i *the one who fastens and repairs*	–
raja na sangap na so jadi suharon hatana *a great king, whom one cannot contradict*	tanduk so suharon, mata ni ari so dompahon i *the horn which cannot be reversed, the sun which cannot be faced directly*	–
raja na singal jala na bisuk *a powerful and wise king*	babiat di pintu, gompul di alaman i *the one who is a tiger at the door and a bear in the streets*	–
raja pangondian *a great protector, one's patron and benefactor*	panggaduan na ginjang, lombulombu na hapal i *the high wall and the heavy shield*	–
raja pargomgom *the charismatic unifier*	tali panggongga, bonang pangarahuti i *the rope which bounds things together*	–
rangrang rusukna *emaciated*	songon palangka tinahuran, songon lampak na niodothon i *like a dugout basin, like a banana-bark pressed flat*	–
rangsa ni datu *the priest-doctor's utterings*	–	si aji marhirian *the knight who comes down in extended form*
ransang *bolt*	–	[1]naga mangarusuk gunung *the lord serpent piercing the mountain;* [2]si deang pangarusuk gunung *the young maiden who pierces the mountain*
rapakrapak *a thread-bare winnow*	–	si sarasa
rihit *sand*	naga marlinolino *the lord dragon glittering in the sun*	alamat parniloniloan *sign of glitter*
rihit na balga *rough sand*	–	bintang naga marnilonilo *the dragon-star which glitters in the sun*
robean *steep hillside*	–	si deang sumandar *the leaning young maiden*
ronggur *thunder*	sigumorok *the one that rumbles*	–

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
saborngin *for one night*	sada siaborngin an; sada sihaborngin an *the spending of one night*	–
sabulan *for one month*	sada sirumondang bulan *the period of one month*	–
sadari *for one day*	sada siarianan *one daylight spent*	–
saganan ni na tubutubuan *firewood which burns during childbirth*	–	sinahiton *the one that burns steadily*
sahan *drinking-horn*	–	tudutudu *pointer*
sahit *disease*	siaginon *what has to be borne*	–
sai mangandungi *to lament continually*	marsinununton *to work steadily and for a long time*	–
salean *rack over fireplace*	–	si aji paninaran *the knight who is a place for drying things*
sambil *bird-snare*	–	si deang marsabar *the enticing young maiden*
sangap *respected;* mora *rich*	maulibulung; na uli bulung *provided with beautiful leaves*	–
sangasanga *saucepan*	si tahar baba *the one with the wide mouth*	–
sangkap ni roha na taruntul *thwarted plans*	songon timpal na tardangka, songon ansuan na tarbatu i *like a throw hindered by branches and like a digging stake hitting a rock*	–
santan *coconut milk*	–	sitahuning ni portibi *the world's yellow fluid*
saringsaring mandolok *echo*	siringanringani *the one that lifts the spirit*	–
sarune *flute*	situmoar *the one that says: toar! toar!*	[1]si aji marruang porhis *the knight with a hole as small as an ant;* [2]si raja marnoninoni *the king who goes on and on performing*
sataon *one year*	sada partaonan *one full cycle of seasons*	–
satongkin *for a short while*	sada siatongkinan *one of a short pause*	–

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
sendal *slats which support the projecting edge of a roof*	–	si ala manotari *the reason for spreading*
siampudan *youngest child*	[1]tungtung ni siubeon *last fruit of the womb*; [2]pansadian ni siubeon *the end of the womb's activity*	–
siarsiaran *in trance*	–	rumingkas siaiangan
sibagure ni tano *low brush with hard stem*	–	rampi marpuhung *small and bent low*
sibahut *catfish*	–	na mangolu di ruangruang, parmise na songon jarum *the one living in holes, with a moustache like a needle*
silinjuang *Dracaena shrub* (used to ward off disease)	sisuang tumpuran *the one that repeats its defensive actions*	–
sillam *lightning*	–	sintamoning *that which gives one a temporary headache*
simata *beads*	rindang siruruson *a token which drops off easily*	–
simatua boru *mother-in-law*	[1]ina na umbalos ahu *the woman who has responded to me*; [2]inang na umbalos *mother who has responded*	–
simatua doli *father-in-law*	[1]ama na umbalos ahu *the man who has responded to me*; [2]amang na umbalos *father who has responded*	–
sior *sling* (used to kill birds)	sarnak	–
sipasabam roha *cold comfort*	tambar daon aluk, sira daon ampol i *medicine against frustration, salt to satisfy one's craving*	–
sira *salt*	silumangsa ijur *the one to make the saliva run freely*	[1]siojuron *the one that one craves for*; [2]simanggiling di horsik *the one pounded like sand*
sitaonon *suffering; adversity*	[1]siaginon *what has to be borne*; [2]sileapon *the one that should be moved*; [3]pangumbang *the one that opens old wounds*; [4]parsilungunon *sadness*	–

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
sitaonon na ngorngor *lasting suffering*	songon gara ni pangko simenggarmenggar i, songon gara ni sobuon simohopmohop i *like the amber of sugar-palm wood which never dies out, and that of rice-husks which goes on burning hot*	–
si torop anak, si torop partubu *to belong to a large family*	matorop bulung; na torop bulung *with leaves aplenty; the one with many leaves*	–
siusung eme tu huta *the women who carry rice home from a harvest*	–	si deang na ruminda *the young maidens who carry things*
soban *fuel*	[1]silaiton *the one to burn;*	–
	[2]sinahiton *the one that burns steadily*	
soban hau *firewood*	[1]ranggas ni hau silaiton *twigs of trees to be burnt;*	–
	[2]situmalas *the one which produces a lot of heat*	
sobuon *rice-husk*	si aji marhirian *the knight that flies like dandruff*	–
soit *hipbones*	singendulon *the convulsive ones*	–
solu *dugout canoe*	[1]siruminsir *the one that glides;*	toras tumonggung *the one that reaches old age*
	[2]sirinsiron *the one to be made to glide;*	
	[3]si gumolang gumoling *the one that tips from left to right*	
songgop *to alight; to perch*	marsitinggir *to come down and sit on something*	–
Songon jolma sibursikkononhon iba hinilala *I feel like one to be despised*	diultophon songon sopasopa i, dibursikkon songon nipi na sambor i *spat out like used tobacco and a bad dream*	–
Songon na mogap iba ala ni hinamago i *I feel like a drowning person because of my misery*	Hundul pualpualon ahu, tindang pangalaloon i *I scream when I sit down and I am unsteady when I stand up*	–
Songon na neang jolo pangkilalaan, hape ro ma tompu na dokdok *I feel relieved for a while, and suddenly this heavy blow*	Pujion sitongkin ahu, hapianon sasaindahan i *I was praised and envied only for a fleeting moment*	–

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
sopo eme *rice-shed*	situngkolon; sianniatungkolon; isian ni hatungkolon *the one which has to be supported*	–
sopo partonunan *outhouse where one weaves*	[1]pangandungan saop ni sitipahon *where woven cloth weeps;* [2]pangandungan ni saep siteburon *where cloth that is spread also weeps*	–
suansuanan *plants*	–	si aji rumondop *the knight lying low*
suda sinamotna, marmatean pinahanna *to lose all one's money and one's cattle*	songon raruan binurian, songon balanja nilusoan i *like a fermentation bowl being washed, like a bamboo vessel being cleaned*	–
suhatsuhat *measuring tin for rice*	si aji marsoluhan *the knight who goes in and out*	–
surpu *tree-trunk floating on a river*	–	si rimba paya *the forest that has been washed away*
surut pangabahan *to be reduced in fortunes*	maetek panaguan *to grow smaller in content*	–
susu *mother's or woman's breast*	[1]sitairon *the one to be pulled by babies;* [2]sitabeon *the source of life*	bagot sinta *the sugar-palm for which a baby craves*
Tading iba marsitaonon *I am left here to suffer*	Dipasurung ma ahu, songon na marpaiogon i *I am given special food, like one who is having a feast*	–
Taganan nama mate ala ni hinamago i *I'd rather die now*	Na bulusan marobur nama ahu, na ulian matompas i *It is better for me now to fall into an abyss and to collapse*	–
Taganan unang tubu, anggo so hipas jala hasea ngoluna *It is better not to have been born, if his life is not to be good or if he is not to be healthy*	na buragan so lolo, songon hudon parsihodoan i *that which is better not to have been made, like a bad cooking-pot*	–
Taganan unang tubu, anggo so leleng mangolu *It would have been better not to have been born, if he is not to live long*	na buragan so mungkap, songon bungabunga na pitpit i *that which is better not open, like a flower-bud*	–

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
taganing dohot odap *drums in an orchestra*	simarlutung simarlatang *the ones which boom and bang*	–
tali paningkotan *rope used to commit suicide*	tali siudoron *rope to be spun*	–
tangan *hand*	[1]simangido *the one that asks for something;* [2]simanare *the one ready to receive*	simangaridop *the snatcher*
tangga ni jabu *steps into a house*	sihite bondul *the communication with the house*	–
tanggurung *dorsum*	[1]ambitan *the part which is covered up;* [2]simandorpi *the part facing the wall*	–
tano *earth; land*	situmalin *what is left*	naga humimpal *the solid lord serpent*
tano na tarulang *fallow land; deserted land*	situmalun *the one which was once cultivated*	–
tano on *this world*	siaginon *the one which has to be borne; the suffering*	–
tanoman *grave*	[1]panduduran siaginon *the disposal of suffering;* [2]situmandok *the container*	–
taon *year*	–	bulan na sampulu dua *the twelve months*
tao na bidang *wide part of a lake*	–	si deang tumaotao *the young maiden out in the open lake*
tarduru dihilala ala ni hinamagona *to feel discriminated because of one's misery*	tarpulik songon horbo siporoon, na tarduru songon handang di balian i *set apart like a water-buffalo to be milked, put outside like an outer fence*	–
tarpunjung *without friends; ostracised*	tilil; tinil	–
tarup *roof*	–	[1]naga mangulosi *the lord serpent who provides a blanket;* [2]naga haluphalup *the lord serpent who covers up*

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
tataring *fireplace*	nai basang basuhi *mother of the rectangular fireplace; mother of the spirit of the fireplace*	[1]nai basang basuhi; [2]si deang halasan *the young maiden with a lot of warmth;* [3]si deang martambian *the young maiden with even and uneven parts*
tiang *pillars* (in a house)	—	raja na masipollungan *the kings arguing against one another*
Tihas nama iba didok roha saleleng ni lelengna *I feel like a permanent defect*	Tupik di bibir nama ahu na so boi jarumon i, landong di bohi na so boi sapsapon i *I am like a harelip which cannot be sewn up, a mole which cannot be taken out*	—
timba *water-scoop used in a dugout canoe*	siantuk na risi *the one which touches rough parts*	—
timbaho *tobacco*	[1]sitimpulon *the one to make to produce smoke;* [2]sipuloson *the one to be rolled*	[1]si radang; si rumadang *the one sought after;* [2]lumutlumut ni si rumadang *the weed of the one that is sought after;* [3]garunggang jau *imported weed*
tinggal holan sada sambing *left on one's own*	songon siala na lungunan, songon tandiang na hapuloan *like a siala-plant standing on its own and like a tree fern stranded on an island*	—
tintin ni boru sibaso *ring of a female medium*	—	si dayang ratna rumiri *the young maiden, precious and in several layers*
tobu *sugarcane*	—	siojuron *the one that one craves for*
togap *physically strong*	matoga bulung *endowed with powerful leaves*	—
tompitompi *bundle carried on the back*	—	si deang partumpuan *the young maiden into whom things come together*
tompu masa, pola bohabohaon roha ni halak *to happen suddenly, upsetting everybody*	Tarhirap simarhuruk, tarhuntal siteuon i *The hens were scattering in all directions and the dogs were shaken*	—

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
tona *message*	–	tana
tondi *spirit*	–	salindung *the invisible*
tondong *relatives*	sirundaon *the ones to be helped and guided*	–
tondung *oracle*	–	[1]siringkiron *the one to be consulted;* [2]alamat sori matandang *sign of future fortunes*
tonun *weaving*	sitipahon *the one to get ready*	–
tos hosana *to die*	polut angin sipurpuron *the breath of life has stopped*	–
tuak *palm wine*	hua ni si lumambe bulung; hua ni si lumambe hodong *the sauce of the sugar-palm*	–
tuak tangkasan *unadulterated palm wine* (used as an offering)	–	tuak sorba jati *totally pure palm wine*
tujung *weeping-cloth*	saep siteburon *a cloth to put over the head*	–
tulang *mother's brother*	[1]simarimbun *the one who bestows love;* [2]sibijaon; amang sibijaon *the man with whom to conspire*	–
tunggal panaluan *magic staff*	si upar manorus *the one who moves about with force*	si upar manorus
tunggane *wife's brother; mother's brother's son*	[1]silansapon *the one who is overrated;* [2]siadosan *the one to whom one must respond*	–
tunggane boru *wife*	[1]siadopan *the one I face;* [2]ina siadopan *the woman I face;* [3]simarubun *the one who looks after me;* [4]si boru nialuna *the woman in whom I confide;* [5]ompu api *the mistress of the fireplace*	simarubun

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
tunggane doli *husband*	[1]siadopan *the one I face*; [2]ama siadopan *the man I face*; [3]simarubun *the one who looks after me*; [4]si raja nialuna *the master in whom I confide*; [5]ulu *head*	simarubun
tungkotungko *tree-stump*	—	raja tumotop *the stable king*
tu utara tu dangsina *to and fro; scattered; to settle in faraway places*	tu atara tu apotan *gone north and south*	tu atara tu apotan
ulaula na tajom *sharp implements*	sirumantos *the sharp one*	—
uli *beautiful; good*	—	sijagaron
ulos *woven cloth used as clothing*	[1]saep; [2]sitipahon *the one to get ready*; [3]siteburon *the one to spread*	—
ulu *head*	simanjujung *the part that carries things*	saporti tunggul *the one resembling the leader*
unte *lemon*	—	raja manotap *the stable and consistent king*
uraturat ni hau *roots of tree*	—	si raja martotopan *the stabiliser king*
urur *rafter*	—	naga tumording *the lord serpent in alignment*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BAHARADJA

1938 Hata andoeng. *Partoengkoan*, 18-20. Pematang Siantar.

BRAASEM, W.A.

1951 *Proza en Poezie om het heilige Meer der Bataks — De Bataks en hun Volksletterkunde*. Djakarta: Moderne Boekhandel Indonesia.

Gema

1949 Nomor istimewa: Batak. Tahun 2, 11, Nopember. Djakarta.

HARIARA, J.M.

1968 *Hata Batak maninggoring — Bagian rangsa ni andung dohot hadatuon.* Pematang Siantar.

MATANIARI, R.

1938 Adat andoeng dohot pangandoengon. *Partoengkoan,* 20-30. Pematang Siantar.

NIEMANN, G.K.

1866 Mededeelingen omtrent de Letterkunde der Bataks. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (BijdrTLV)* 13:245-303.

Pardomoean Batak

1931 Portoeahan. Februari — Maart. Taroetoeng.

SARUMPAET, J.P.

f/c *Kamus Batak-Toba — Indonesia.* (To be published by Nusa Indah, Ende.)

SIAHAAN, Mangaradja Asal

1964 *Umpama ni Halak Batak.* Medan: Bin Harun.

1971 *Adat Batak.* Balige: Karl Sianipar.

SIHOMBING, J.M.

1927 Hata Hadatoeon. *Siadji Panoetoeri.* 1 April. Taroetoeng.

SIHOMBING, P.M.

1971 *Golgata — Punguan na hohom di Parningotan Ari Hamamate ni Tuhan Jesus.* Pematang Siantar.

TOBING, Ph. L.

1956 *The structure of the Toba-Batak belief in the High God.* Amsterdam: Jacob van Kampen.

TUUK, H.N. van der

1864-67 *Tobasche Spraakkunst.* 2 vols. Amsterdam: Frederik Muller.

1971 *A grammar of Toba Batak.* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

VERGOUWEN, J.C.

1964 *The social organisation and customary law of the Toba-Batak of Northern Sumatra.* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

VOORHOEVE, P.

1927 *Overzicht van de Volksvertellingen der Bataks.* Vlissingen.

1977 *Codices Batacici.* Leiden: Universitaire Pers.

WARNECK, J.

1909 *Die Religion der Batak.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

1977 *Toba-Batak — Deutsches Wörterbuch.* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

Sirumpaet, J.P. "Linguistic varieties in Toba-Batak". In Halim, A., Carrington, L. and Wurm, S.A. editors, *Papers from the Third International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, Vol. 3: Accent on variety.*
C-76:27-78. Pacific Linguistics, The Australian National University, 1982. DOI:*10.15144/PL-C76.27*