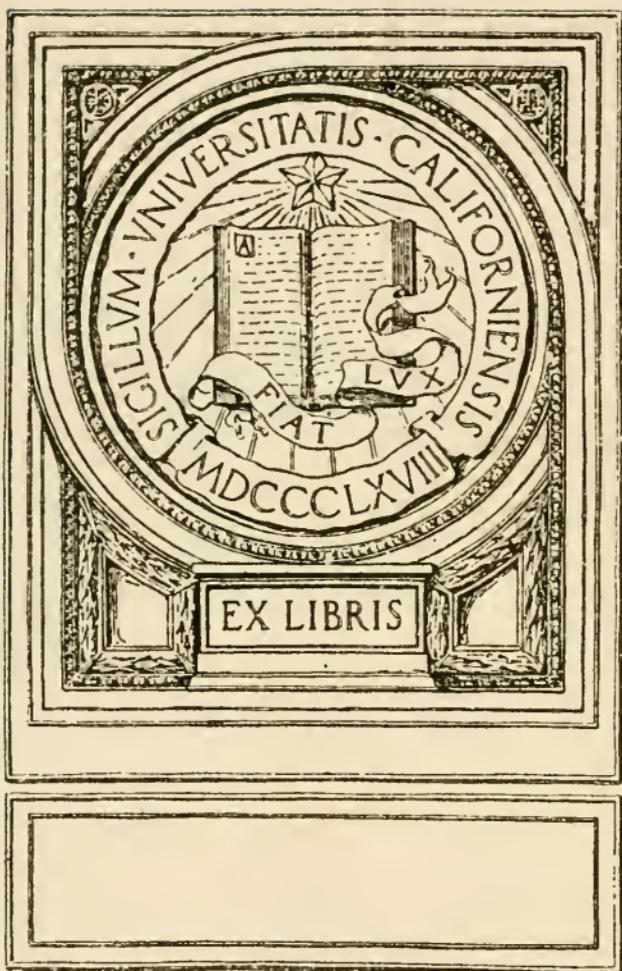


UC-NRLF



B 4 021 914



EX LIBRIS

MALAY GRAMMAR

BY

R. O. WINSTEDT

MALAY CIVIL SERVICE



OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1913

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON EDINBURGH GLASGOW NEW YORK
TORONTO MELBOURNE BOMBAY
HUMPHREY MILFORD
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY

PREFACE

PL 5
W5
1913
MAIN

THIS grammar was commenced to supply the want of a text-book for the second or higher examination in the Malay language, prescribed for officials.

In English there are no books in print dealing with the subject except Maxwell's *Malay Manual*, which is not strictly a grammar, and Shellabear's *Practical Malay Grammar* (printed in Singapore), which is quite elementary. This book will in no way supplant or interfere with those. Out of print are Crawford's Grammar, which among scholars hardly counts, and Marsden's, which so far as it goes is excellent, but it is a century behind modern research.

In Dutch there are several standard works, to which I owe a great debt, especially the grammars of Gerth van Wijk, Tendeloo, Spat, and van Ophuijsen; but Dutch is an insuperable obstacle for the casual student of Malay in the Peninsula. I too must ask forgiveness, if the refraction of an unfamiliar language has led me anywhere to distort the views of authorities I have quoted or criticized.

Arrangement is a difficult problem in Malay grammar. Before the chapter on *Affixation* it is desirable to deal with the simple forms of such parts of speech as will recur in that chapter as derivatives; and it is also important to deal with the radical form of the verb and then without a break to

proceed to derivative verbal forms. Now the important derivatives are substantival, verbal, and adjectival. Hence the arrangement in this book. While considering all the theories that have obtained on that terribly moot point the Malay verb simple and derivative, I have not hesitated to advance opinions of my own. At the risk of being egotistical, I may perhaps explain that I formed my views originally in the ward of a tropical hospital during an interminable illness, cut off from access to all books of reference except a few Malay classics, which I found it an amusement to parse and analyse; and subsequent acquaintance with the results of modern comparative study has seemed to me on several important points to give those views support. Sometimes I found that I had unknowingly furbished up an old theory. The distinction I drew between the function of the simple and *mě* forms of the verb, though based on a very different premise, viz.: that *mě* (and *bě*) derivatives are adjectival, would seem to underlie in a sense that unfortunately put 'subjective passive' theory, which in the hands of many grammarians went so far as to deny that the simple verb could ever be active!

I count it an important point in support of the theories I have ventured to advance, that all the examples quoted in this grammar are extracts from the Malay classics, notably the *Sejarah Melayu* and the *Hikayat Hang Tuah*.

I give a short bibliography of the principal works consulted. References to chapter and page it was decided, after some hesitation, to omit *passim*, since those who are expert and interested enough to find their way about in Dutch grammars will have no difficulty in turning to the

passage required, while for others many and minute references are tiresome.

The arrangement or ground-plan of this work was suggested to me originally by Mr. R. J. Wilkinson, C.M.G., who has also read most of it in manuscript. I am greatly indebted to Mr. C. O. Blagden, member of the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society, for ungrudging and invaluable assistance extended over many months: if he will allow me to say so, his research work in Talaing is (directly) a loss to Malay scholarship. Above all, I must thank Dr. Fokker of Amsterdam, who read this book for my publishers with meticulous care, pointed out many inaccuracies, and suggested many improvements; I can only wish it were better worth the trouble he lavished upon it so generously.

Mr. Blagden and my brother Mr. E. O. Winstedt have seen the book through the press.

CONTENTS

CHAP.	PAGE
BIBLIOGRAPHY	8
I. ETYMOLOGY	11
II. PHONETICS	25
III. SPELLING	33
IV. THE MALAY WORD	51
V. THE CHIEF PARTS OF SPEECH	55
(a) Substantive	55
(b) Adjective	56
(c) Verb	60
VI. THE SYSTEM OF AFFIXATION	73
VII. OTHER PARTS OF SPEECH	106
(a) Pronoun	107
(b) Numeral	123
(c) Adverb	131
(d) Preposition	140
(e) Conjunction	148
(f) Interjection	164
VIII. NOTES ON SYNTAX	166
(a) Emphasis	167
(b) Balance	168
(c) Ellipsis	173
IX. STYLE	177
APPENDIX. NOTES ON MALAY LETTER-WRITING. By R. J. WILKINSON, C.M.G.	183

BIBLIOGRAPHY

OF PRINCIPAL WORKS CONSULTED

I. ETYMOLOGY

KERN: 'De Fidjitaal', *Verlagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijken Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afd. Letterkunde, Amsterdam, 1889.

VAN DER TUUK: Outlines of a Grammar of the Malagasy Language (Second Series of *Essays Relating to Indo-China*, vol. i, printed for the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society).

BRANDSTETTER, R.: Die Beziehungen des Malagasy zum Malaiischen, Luzern, 1893.

Wurzel und Wort in den indonesischen Sprachen, 1910.

Sprachvergleichendes Charakterbild eines indonesischen Idioms, 1911.

Gemeinindonesisch und Urindonesisch, 1911.

Das Verbum, 1912.

NIEMANN: Bijdrage tot de Kennis van de Verhouding van het Tjam tot de Talen van Indonesie (*Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, Leyden, 1891).

SKEAT AND BLAGDEN: Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula, vol. ii.

SCHMIDT: 'Die Mon-Khmer-Völker, ein Bindeglied zwischen Völkern Zentralasiens und Austronesiens,' *Archiv für Anthropologie*, Neue Folge, Band v, Heft 1 und 2, Braunschweig, 1906 (translated as 'Les Peuples Mon-Khmer, trait d'union entre les peuples de l'Asie centrale et de l'Austronésie' in the *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, tome vii, 3 and 4).

II. PHONETICS

FOKKER, A. A.: Malay Phonetics, Leiden, 1895 (in English).

III. SPELLING

SHELLABEAR: 'Evolution of Malay Spelling,' *Journal of the R. Asiatic Society*, Straits Branch, No. xxxvi, 51-135.

Romanised Malay Spelling: F. M. S. Government Printing Office, Kuala Lumpor, 1904.

IV. GRAMMAR

MARSDEN, W.: A Grammar of the Malayan Language, 1812.

VAN WIJK, GERTH: *Spraakleer der Maleische Taal*, Derde Druk, G. Kolff & Co., Batavia, 1909.

TENDELOO, Dr. H. J. E.: *Maleische Grammatica*, 2 vols., Leyden, 1901.

SPAT, C.: *Maleische Taal*, 2nd ed., Breda, 1911.

OPHUIJSEN, CH. A. VAN: *Maleische Spraakkunst*, Leiden, 1910.

V. MALAY TEXTS

Hikayat Sri Rama (early seventeenth-century MS., Bodleian Library, Oxford).

Sejarah Melayu or Malay Annals, ed. Shellabear, Singapore, 1898.

- Hikayat Hang Tuah, 4 parts, ed. Shellabear, Singapore, 1908-10.
- Bustanu's-salaṭin, 2 vols., ed. R. J. Wilkinson, Singapore, 1900.
- Awang Sulong Merah Muda, a folk-tale, ed. A. J. Sturrock and R. O. Winstedt, Singapore, 1907.
- Hikayat Abdullah, Singapore.
- Pelayaran Abdullah, Singapore.
- Hikayat Indera Mengindera, Penang (lith.) *et alia*.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS

- R. J. WILKINSON: A Malay-English Dictionary, 2 vols., Singapore, 1901-2.
- R. J. WILKINSON: An Abridged Malay-English Dictionary (Romanised), Kuala Lumpur, 1908.

CHAPTER I

ETYMOLOGY

§ 1. Malay is the tongue of the Malay Peninsula, which embraces the Straits Settlements of Singapore, Malacca, and Penang; the Federated Malay States, Perak, Selangor, Pahang, and Negri Sembilan: the states of Kedah, Kelantan, and Trengganu and Johore; and in the extreme north under Siamese protection Patani. It is also the tongue of the Riau Archipelago, of the East Coast of Sumatra, and of the West Coast of Borneo. It is as closely related to Menangkabau as Sundanese is akin to Javanese.

The language belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian or Oceanic or Austronesian family, as it has been termed variously, which covers an area from Formosa to New Zealand, from Madagascar to Easter Island, and includes the languages of the Philippines, the Malay Archipelago, Micronesia, Melanesia excluding Papua, and Polynesia. To the easternmost branch belong the languages of Samoa, Tahiti, and Tonga. To the western or Indonesian branch belong Malay; Malagasy; Tagalog Bisaya and Bontok in the Philippines; Batak and Menangkabau in Sumatra; Sundanese, Javanese, and Madurese; Balinese; the Dayak dialects of Borneo; Macassar and Bugis in the Celebes, and many other less-known tongues.

This big Malayo-Polynesian family it has been attempted to connect with a family of Austro-Asiatic languages spread over the south-east corner of Asia and embracing Munda of Central India; Khasi of Assam; Mon or Talaing and Khmer or Cambojan &c. of Indo-China; Nicobarese; and in

the Malay Peninsula Sakai and Semang. This connection was first definitely asserted by Professor Schmidt of Mödling, Austria, and is now generally accepted; it establishes an ultimate prehistoric relationship between Malay and the languages of the aborigines in the Peninsula. p. 19

In a mere introductory chapter to a grammar on one particular language, Malay, it is impossible to do more than summarize briefly the conclusions of philologists like Professors Kern, Brandstetter, Schmidt, Kuhn, Niemann, and other scholars, whose works may be found cited in the bibliography on pp. 8-10; referring especially to points concerning Malay types of grammatical structure; and suggesting problems and difficulties raised by a study of this particular language.

§ 2. Malay, which phonetically is well preserved, has become simplified morphologically. Under the modern system of affixation, which will be handled in the body of this grammar, comes a *stratum*, out of which it has developed, common to Indonesia. This *stratum* reveals :

- (a) Prefixes **m**, **b**, **p**, **k**, **t**.
- (b) Suffixes **n** and **i**.
- (c) Infixes **in**, **m** and less widely spread **l** and **r**.

m appears as a prefix of the verb and of the adjective. Examples of the former are **makan** from a root **kan** *eat*, **minum** from **inum** *drink*, and from the roots **idar** and **aleh** the Javanese forms **midar** *revolve*, **maleh** *move*, that sometimes occur in Malay literature in place of **mëngidar** and **mëngaleh**. Instances of the latter are **masin** *salty* from **asin** *salt*, **masam** *acid* from **asam** *a sour fruit*, **masing-masing** *several* from **asing** *apart*.

As a verbal formative, **m** and the **m** compound forms generally denote the active, though there is uncertainty on the point. In modern Malay, even as a verbal formative **m** alone or with infixes would appear to have, in a sense, an

adjectival or participial force; adding an agent to an act, a verb to a subject (§ 38 *note*; § 47). It is quite possible that substantival forms like **měntua**, **měrlimau** are abbreviations of **orang měntua**, **buah měrlimau**: in the Bodleian *Sri Rama* (early seventeenth century) **rumah mērdērma** occurs for *almshouse*.

b is an Indonesian prefix widely spread in the language group and is said to form intransitive verbs, e.g. **běli** *buy* from root **ěli**, **bělah** *to split* from **ělah**. Less widely found in the family, **b** occurs like **m** as an adjectival prefix.

In modern Malay it occurs mostly as **bě(r)**, a prefix that may best be described as denoting reflexivity, reciprocity, addition, and possession. It would probably be safer to define the Indonesian **b** as having the same general functions rather than to define it as a formative of active or intransitive verbs.

p serves everywhere as a causal prefix. Examples of its verbal use in Malay are **pantul** (also **antul**) *cause to rebound*, **pěngap** (also **ngap**) *to make a pant, to pant*; and to form a substantive, **pangkat** *promotion, rank* from **angkat** *raise, be raised*. Professor Kern identifies it with the essential part of **apa** *something*.¹ In modern Malay it figures as **pě**, **pě** + nasal, **pě** + **r** (or **l**) (§§ 54-6).

k, which is probably the preposition **ka** signifying *place whither* and so *state into which*, is a prefix common to the Indonesian family and has a passive nuance, forming especially verbal adjectives and abstract nouns. It is also employed with numerals and e.g. in **kini** *now* as formative for adverbs of time. In modern Malay (§ 57) it is used with numerals; forms many abstract nouns with the help of the suffix **an**; and survives in a few stereotyped words to which may be added **kapit** *supporters of a bridegroom* from **apit** *press on either*

¹ Mr. Blagden tells me that in Talaing **pa** = *to do, to make*. In view of Schmidt's synthesis, this seems worth recording.

side; **alah**, **kalah** *be worsted*; **aleh**, **kaleh** *turn*; **antil**, **kantil**, **anting**, **kanting** *swaying*; **apong**, **kapong** *drift*. A passage in the early seventeenth-century MS. of *Sri Rama* in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, contains the verbal use, rare in Malay, **fakir miskin sĕmua-nya kĕanugĕrah ayapan raja** *beggars and the religious poor were all in receipt of food from the prince*.

t a prefix corresponding to the modern Malay **tĕ(r)** (§ 52) is a formative of function clear and intelligible. It has even the same nuances in different languages of the Malayo-Polynesian family. 'In Fiji', says Professor Kern, 'words thus formed differ from adjectives and passive verbs generally in this respect, that they imply a thing has become so of itself. But it appears to be used also, when they do not wish to mention or when they do not know the agent by whom the thing has come into the state expressed by this or that form of the verb.'

A sub-form **ti** has been detected. Kern sees it in **tiba** *arrive*, for which he suggests the same root as in **rĕbah** *fall*, and in the Javanese **tilem** *sleep*, which he contrasts with **malam** *night* (cp. **tilam** *mattress*); **tiarap**, **tiada** are other instances. In Malay one may compare **unjok** *offer* with **tunjok** *show outright*; **anggul** *pitch (of a boat)* with **tanggul** *bob right up*.

n. The modern Malay suffix **an** (§ 58) conceals two old suffix formatives, one substantival as in **labuhan** *anchorage* from **labuh** *to lower (anchor or curtain, &c.)*; the other superlative or intensative, a use that may be traced in words like **lautan** *ocean* from **laut** *sea*, **sayuran** *the vegetable world* from **sayur** *vegetable*.

i, which still survives as an intensative suffix for verbs (§ 62) was once also like **n** a substantival suffix. **tui** *master* in Fiji corresponds to the Malay **tuan**; and the use may be seen in the Malay **pĕlangi** *rainbow* from **pĕlang** *stripe*; **rambuti** *rough woollen cloth* from **rambut** *hair*. Like prefix **k**, this

suffix *i* was originally a preposition. It signified *place where* and corresponds to the modern Malay *di*. 'In Indonesian tongues article and preposition are often identical' and *i* was also an Indonesian article.¹

-in- is said to be a passive formative and is found in the Dayak **kinan** *eaten* from **kan** *eat*. It perhaps survives in the Malay word **binatang**, but it has no grammatical significance in Malay. Cp. also **sĕnantan** *milk white (of game cocks)* from **santan** *coco-nut milk*; **chĕnonut** *pope's nose in fowl* from **chonot** *projecting*.

-m- occurs in several Indonesian languages in **kuman** from the root **kan** *eat*. Professor Kern derives even the Malay word **tĕmpat** *place* from the old Javanese **tĕpĕt** *spacious, vast* + this infix, which he calls a durative. Schmidt summarizes its use in Austronesian tongues generally as expressing 'manner, internal movement, happening'. It is fairly common in Malay as a crystallized relic and conveys the notion of duration and repetition:—

kunchup *closing (of a flower)*, **kĕmunchup** *sensitive plant*; **kuning** *yellow*, **kĕmuning** *a yellow-wood tree*; **santan** *coco-nut milk*; **nyiu** **sĕmantan** *a coco-nut producing milk*. It is commonest with reduplicated forms:—**chĕrlang-chĕmĕrlang** *radiant*; **gilang-gĕmilang** *repeated glittering*; **guroh-gĕmuroh** *prolonged roll of thunder*; **turun-tĕmurun** *continuous descent*; **tabur-tĕmabur** *all sprinkled*; **silir-sĕmilir** *waving to and fro*; **tali** *cord*, **tali-tĕmali** *cordage*.

-r- and **-l-** are infixes, common enough in Malay in crystallized forms, but no longer living formatives. So far as can be judged from examples, they appear to denote duration, intensity, plurality, reciprocity, confusion and

¹ Like the other Indonesian articles *a* and *ra*, which are held to survive as prefixes and suffixes in such words as the Malay **anu**, **bunga** from O. J. **bung**, **ratu** (Malay *dato*) from **ra** + **tu** *master*, so too *i* has been traced in Malay **sigi** from O. J. **sig**, **tubi** from **tub**, **rugi** from **rug**.

kindred ideas. They are employed mostly with reduplicated forms. Their derivatives are nouns and adjectives as well as verbs:

-r- **jubong, jërubong** *a stretch of awning over cargo*; **chondong** *leaning, aslant*, **chondërong** *leanings (of the heart)*; **kuping, këruping** *a scab*; **gondong, gërongdong** *permanent swelling, goitre*; **jongkah jagged, jërongkah jagged (of a mouthful of teeth); **këdut, kërdut** *wrinkled*; **kusut, kërusut** *entangled*; **sabut** *fibre, sërabut* *fibrous*; **kas** (old Javanese), **këras** *hard*; **kibas** *shake, këribas* *shake thoroughly*; **këlip, kërliip** *twinkle*; **kuit, këruiit** *wag*; **titek** *drop, tëritek* *drop continually*; **sadong, sëradong** *trip up*; **këmut** (normal) *throb of the pulse, gëremut* (*faster*) *throb of a boil*; **sendeng, sërendeng** *heel right over*.**

-l- **biku** *zigzag, bëliku* *a river bend*; **kebak, këlebak** *gaping (of a deep cut)*; **këmbong** *inflated, këlëmbong* *a bubble, a blister*; **tingkah** *conduct, tëlingkah* *line of conduct*; **sirat, sëlirat** *mesh-work*; **kangkang** *a-straddle, këlangkang* *the perineum*; **këdut** *crumpled, këlëdut* *much crumpled*; **gëtar** *tremble, gëlëtar* (also **gëmëtar** and **gëmëntar**) *prolonged trembling*; **gigit** *bite, gëligit* *keep biting*; **gosok** *rub, gëlosok* *keep rubbing*; **kupas** *peel, këlupas* *keep peeling*; **këtak, këtok** *rap, këlëtak, këlëtok* *keep rapping*; **sidek** *search, sëlidek* *keep searching, search thoroughly*; **siseh, sëliseh** *quarrel one with another*.

These single or simple affixes or 'affixes of the first degree' may be traced in a few sets of words like **adu** *contest*, **madu** *rival*, **padu** *weld*; **alang** *across, cross*, **malang** *thwarting, vexatious*, **palang** *cross (kayu palang* *cross-bar)*, **kalang** or **galang** *roller, thwarts*; **ëlok** *curve, pëlok* *embrace*,

¹ Dr. Fokker remarks that all infixes seem to be nothing but shifted prefixes, found in words where the infixing conveys greater facility of pronunciation. So **lë** and **rë** interchanging with **li** and **ri**, are common prefixes: **lë-ng-kiang**, **rë-ng-kiang** *rice-holder*; **ri-mau** (*the roarer*) *tiger*. **-ëm-** will be identical with **më** and **-in-** or **-ing-** with **i + ng, i + n**.

kělok *curve, arc*, **tělok** *bay*, **jělok** *deep-curved (of a bowl)*, **kělun** (suffix **n**) *spirals (of smoke)*.¹

§ 3. What has made it harder to solve the functions of prefixes even in the restricted Indonesian group is that a prefix and an infix frequently combine to form a compound prefix² or 'prefix of the second degree' giving rise to a new and crystallized formative. The functions of the obsolete simple separate prefixes and infixes, it is then supposed, are obliterated.

In Malay we get

(a) **m** + nasal infix, § 44, especially II.

p + nasal infix, § 54.

(b) **m** + **r** that is to be seen as a relic in certain nouns and adjectives, especially plant-names, and for example in the rare variants **měrawan** and **měrap**i where **běrawan** and **běrap**i are the ordinary modern forms.

b + **r**,³ § 49, which is said by Kern to be a fusion of adjectival **měr** and verbal **b**.

t + **r**, § 52.

p + **r**, §§ 54-56.

¹ In addition to the 'simple' affixes given above, there are a few others which occur in one and another of the Indonesian languages, but which in Malay, at any rate, need not trouble the grammarian. Two may be mentioned. In Fiji there is **d-**, Javanese **j-**, Malay **j-** or **ch-**, examples of which Kern detected in **jěbul** (Malay **chabul**) *rape* from **bul** a *hole* and **jěbur** (Malay **chěbur**) *plunge into water* from the onomatopoeic **bur**. Relics of such a formative are clear in such doublets as **tengok**, **jengok** *see*; **pijak**, **jijak** *tread*; **kangkang**, **jangkang** *a-straddle*; **abu**, **jabu** (cp. **děbu**, **lěbu**) *dust*; **lotong**, **jělotong** *monkey*; **alit**, **palit**, **chalit** *smear*; **bělah** *split*, **chělah** *crevice*; **těgang**, **chěkang** *taut*; **kebek**, **sebek**, **chebek** *awry*. **s** which in a few Bugis words betokens reciprocity and reflexive action may be seen in the Malay **kěpit**, **sěpit** *pinch (one thing by another)*; **kilau**, **silau** *flash (flash after flash)*.

² Real 'compound prefixes' are those given in § 43 (II).

³ From **ajar** are formed **bělajar**, **pělajaran**; **l** taking the place of **r**. [With regard to the theory that the **-ng** and **-r** terminations of such

This **r** is commonly written in all cases in literary Malay, but it is often omitted in colloquial Malay. Dr. Fokker's analysis gives a widespread but not universal practice. 'A genuine Malay stem ending in **r** and having another initial than **a** never takes a prefix closed by **r**.' **bakar** forms **těbakar**; **labur**, **pělabur**; **layar** forms **bělayar**, **pělayaran**; **chichir**, **běchichir-chichiran**; **těngkar**, **bětěngkar**. Similarly, 'Malay stems with medial **r** and having another initial than **a**.' From **kirim** we get **běkirim**; from **sěrta**, **běsěrta**, **pěsěrtakan**; from **siram**, **běsiram**; from **đorong**, **těđorong**; from **pěranjat**, **těpěranjat**; from **kěrja**, **běkěrja**, **pěkěrjaan**; from **pěrměna**, **těpěrměnaï**. 'Before a stem with initial **s** the prefix without **r** is preferable; thus **běsisek** is better than **běrsisek**.' From **ribu** we get **měribu**, **běribu** *not* **měrribu**, **běrribu**; from **rangga**, **měrangga**; from **ragi**, **měragi**; from **ragong**, **těragong-ragong**; from **rajok**, **pěrajok** and so on.

In the Kedah dialect to quote an example from the Peninsula, this **r** is never sounded at all.

(c) A few crystallized survivals¹ like **kěndudok**, **sěndudok**, **sěkědudok** *a plant*; **diri**, **sěndiri**, **kěndiri** *self*; **sěngkarut** *interlaced*; **sěmbělit** *costiveness*; **sěnjolong** *long-snouted gavial*; **sěmbuang** *offering*; **sěmbulu** *rough-*

prefixes as **měng-** and **běr-**, &c., are mere phonetic links, it is to be noted that (1) it is not supported by the results of the comparative study of the Indonesian languages; (2) it is in conflict with the data of the Kota Kapur inscription (probably of the seventh century A.D.), which contains such forms as **mangujāri** *to speak with*; **marjjahāti** *to do harm to*; **parsumpahan** *curse*, and the like. (See Part 67 of the *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*.) It is more probable that **ng** and **r** were originally separate formatives.—C. O. B.]

¹ Dr. Fokker calls my attention to the fact that Kern considered any prefix to the name of animal, plant, thing, &c., an indefinite article; he suggests, rightly to my mind, that such a prefix may more probably be defined as a definite article, and instances **siakap**, **kakap** name of a *fish with protruding eyes*, with which one may compare **kakap** *a spy*, a *mata-mata*.

hewn; **buku**, **těmbuku** *knot*; **gulong** *roll up*, **těng-gulong** *a millipede which rolls up*.

§ 4. Finally Malay has a few instances of 'prefixation of the third degree', where a prefix will be compounded with two infixes: **dalu**, **měndalu** and **běndalu**, **kěměndalu** *mistletoe*; from root **lap** *flash*, **rělap** *a flashing rope (used in fishing)*, **gěrlap** *to flash*, **gěměrlapan** *flashing*.

§ 5. Comparison of words even in Malay alone shows below the above *stratum* a very old system of suffixation, which has not yet been unravelled.

(1) **gigi** *tooth*, **gěrigi**, **gěrigis** *serrated*, **gigil**, **gigir** *chatter (of teeth)*, **ěnggil**-**běřěnggil** *serrated (of hills)*, **ringgit** *tooth-edged, milled*. (2) **iku** *zigzag*, **siku** *elbow*, **sigong** *rest on elbows*, **biku** *zigzag pattern*, **bengkok**, **chengkok**, **chě-lengkok** *zigzag, twisted*. (3) **kuku** *claw*, **kokol** *curved*, **kokot** *claw-shaped*, **kokong**, **kěrukut** *very claw-shaped*, **kukur** *rasp, rasper*. (4) **gětu**, **gětil** *pinch*, **kětit** *a pinch, pinched off*, **kětíp** *nip between the teeth*. (5) **kait** *hooking*, **kail** *fish with a hook*, **kais** *clutch, grab*.

To look for verbal or adjectival or other meaning referable to the scheme of our own grammar were futile considering how hard it is to discover such import in the clearly defined Indonesian affixes. It seems probable that words like **gigir**, **gigil**, **ěnggil**, **kokol**, **kukur** exhibit what are the prefixes and infixes of Indonesian grammar cropping up as suffixes. But the question belongs to the province of comparative philology rather than to that of Malay grammar.

§ 6. Depending mainly, so far as it has been accepted, on identities in grammar, Schmidt's brilliant synthesis of Austro-nesian and Austro-Asiatic languages can appositely be recapitulated here. His arguments are as follows:

(a) The two families have an absolute identity of phonetic system.

(b) Both place the genitive after the noun.

(c) Both use inclusive and exclusive forms for the pronoun of the first person plural.

(d) There is absolute similarity in structure of words. The old view that Austronesian words were disyllabic had been dissolving for years. Professor Pijnappel a quarter of a century ago analysed words like **kələtek**, **kələtak**, **kələtok** (and one may add **bələtek**, **jələtek** *sparrow* and **bələtok**, **jələtok** *woodpecker*) through **kətek**, **kətak**, **kətok**, down to the onomatopoeic monosyllables **tik**, **tak**, **tok** imitating various notes in tapping. In English, Sir William Maxwell, following Logan, ventured the suggestion, that in **tangan hand**, **tangkap seize**, **tongkat walking-stick**, there existed a monosyllabic root (found in Sakai and Talaing) **teng hand**. Again scholars have shown that while Indonesian languages have many disyllables like **langit sky**, **bulan moon**, **puteh white**, **ulu head**, **mata eye**, they have running through all the group many monosyllabic roots **kan cat**, **tut wind** (Malay **kəntut break wind**), **num drink**, **pas loose** (Malay **lepas**), **tong hang** (as in **gantong**), **lit** (Malay **kulit rind**, **peel**). And critical study of Austro-Asiatic languages on the other side has shown that they contain disyllabic as well as monosyllabic words.

(e) Both families exhibit a remarkable identity in their systems of affixation simple and compound. So they have prefixes **k**, **p**, **m**; infixes **m**, **n**, **r**, **l**; suffixes **n** and **i**. And so far as they can be defined, the functions of these affixes in both families are similar.¹

¹ In this context may be cited some interesting points discovered by Mr. R. J. Wilkinson in his study of central Sakai, a Peninsular language representative of the Austro-Asiatic family, which in its vocabulary possesses old Indonesian words not known in Peninsular Malay to-day, and only to be paralleled in the vocabularies of languages in distant islands of the Archipelago. 'The introduction of an infix (**n**, **'n**, **ən**, or **ön**) in central Sakai makes the word substantival; **jīs daylight**, **jēnīs a day**, **twelve hours**; **pāp fire-warmed**, **pēnāp the thing warmed**; **kōh striking**,

§ 7. Foreign loan-words.¹

The oldest foreign loan-words in Indonesian languages are Sanskrit, which are found pre-eminently in Javanese, and *kĕnōh club, striker*; *chok prod, stab, chĕnok prodder, spike*. A prefix *pĕr* turns the root into a verb or a passive root into an active root *dat die, pĕrdat kill*; *nong journey, pĕrnong to go*; *lōt extinguished, pĕrlōt to put out (a fire)*; *bet sleep, pĕrbet close the eye*. These two forms can be combined to form a verbal noun; *dat die, pĕrĕndat murder*; *pĕrĕnglōt extinguisher*; *goī be married, pĕrgōī wed, pĕrĕnggōī marriage*. In certain cases the final letter of a Sakai word changes to *n, ng, or m*. Sometimes this follows a law of euphony owing to the coincidence of two consonants: *chip bird, chĭmklāk harok*; *klāk harok, klāng-blok roc*; *chĕrōk long, chĕrōng-sok long-haired vampire*. But there are cases where the alteration cannot be so explained; *mai person, nu mam one person, dōk house, nu d'ngnōn a house*; *rōk dart, nar r'ngnōn two darts*. The conjugation of verbs shows *gōī to be married, 'nggōī (I) am married, ĕn 'nggōī I am married; bĕrsōp to feed, 'mbĕrsōp (I) am feeding*. This system has notable points of resemblance with the Indonesian. The euphonic nasal reminds one of such Malay forms as *sĕlang-sĕli, bengkok-bengkok, golang-golek*.

There is one other peculiarity of (Southern) Sakai word formation that is paralleled in Indonesian idiom, for the building of polite and honorific doublets to common words. 'Given a word in Javanese', writes Mr. Blagden in *The Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, 'with an open penultimate syllable (and a final syllable preferably open and generally ending in *a*), to turn it into a *krama* or high form, close both syllables with a nasal (or the final one more rarely with a liquid), modify the initial consonant of the final syllable to suit the nasal which now closes the penultimate and change the vowel of the final syllable (as a rule *ĕ*, or it may be *a, i, or u*).' Mr. Blagden quotes from the Javanese *kira, kintĕn accounts*; *sĕgara (Skt.), sĕgantĕn ocean*; *sorĕ, sontĕn evening*; *kalapa, karambil (cp. Malay gĕlambir) coco-nut*. And he points out how it occurs in other Malayan languages without ceremonial or specialized meaning: *dara virgin (Malay), dantĕn virgin, of buffalo or hen (Sundanese)*; *jalu male (Sundanese), jantan (Malay)*; *alu and antan, Malay variants for pestle*; *pĕmali and partang, Malay variants for taboo*. Cp. *pĕmali, piantan due season, esp. for rice-planting*. And again, how it occurs in the aboriginal dialects of the Peninsula: *āsu, anjing, nyang dog*; *putĕh, pĕntol white*; *sĕrigala, sĕgala, sĕranggil jackal*; without definite evidence of ceremonial use, except that most big animals have honorific synonyms.

¹ Taken from Mr. R. J. Wilkinson's *Malay-English Dictionary*.

then in Malay, but also as far afield as the Celebes, the Philippines, and Madagascar. The borrowing includes not only words for religious, moral, and intellectual ideas but some astronomical, mathematical and botanical terms, a court vocabulary, and a large number of everyday words. A few examples only can be given here :

agama religion; **alpa** negligence; **anggota** limbs; **angkara** violence; **angkasa** heavens; **angsa** goose; **aniaya** oppression; **antara** between; **anugerah** gift; **atau** or; **bahagia** blessing; **bahaya** danger; **bahasa** language; **bakti** meritorious service; **bangsa** race; **benda** thing; **bentara** herald; **beta** servant; **biasa** accustomed; **bijaksana** wise; **binasa** ruin; **buta** evil spirit; **budi** intellect; **bumi** earth; **chahaya** lustre, glow; **chakrawala** the revolving vault of heaven; **chërana** bowl; **chëtëria** a kshatriya, warrior; **chinta** love, regret; **chintamani** a certain kind of snake; **chuka** vinegar; **daksina** south; **dëlima** pomegranate; **denda** a fine; **dërma** alms; **dina** poor; **dosa** sin; **duka** grief; **gaya** conduct, walk; **gëmpita** uproar; **gënta** bell; **gëta** divan; **harga** price; **harta** property; **hasta** cubit; **jaga** to watch; **jampi** magic; **jëlma** incarnation; **jëntëra** wheel; **jiwa** life; **juta** million; **karna** because; **këranda** three-plank coffin; **kërja** work; **kësumba** red; **këtika** time; **kosa** goad; **kuasa** might; **kurnia** gift; **maha** great; **makota** crown; **manek** bead; **mangga** mango; **mangsa** carrion; **mantëri** vizier; **manusia** man; **mara** danger; **masa** time; **mëlati** jasmine; **mërpati** pigeon; **mulia** illustrious; **mutiara** pearl; **nadi** the pulse; **nama** name; **naraka** hell; **pala** nutmeg; **papa** poor; **pënjara** prison; **përkara** affair; **përkasa** brave; **përtama** first; **përwira** warrior; **puja** prayer; **putëra** princeling; **putëri** princess; **raja** prince; **rajawali** eagle, hawk; **rupa** appearance; **saksi** witness; **sakti** supernatural power; **sëgëra** quickly; **seksa** punishment; **sëmpurna** perfect; **sëmua** all; **sëndi** muscle; **sën-**

jata *weapon*; **singa** *lion*; **surga** *heaven*; **těnggala** *plough*; **upaya** *resources*.

Arabic loan-words deal especially with the sphere of religion and law; but as Marsden maintained not so many are so common in conversation that they can be considered Malay by adoption. Among the commonest are:

alam *world*; **arif** *wise*; **akal** *ingenuity*; **adat** *custom*; **dunia** *world*; **fikir** *think*; **kadar** *power, ability*; **kubur** *a grave*; **kuat** *strong*; **shak** *doubt*; **sěbab** *cause*; **sujud** *kneel in prayer*.

A few Persian words occur, mainly in literature, and perhaps they came through a Hindustani channel:

astana *palace*; **bandar** *seaport*; **běděbah** *unlucky*; **biadab** *discourtesy*; **biapěri** *merchant*; **darya** *sea*; **diwan** *court of justice*; **gandum** *corn*; **jadah** *bastard*; **jam** *clock*; **juadah** *cakes*; **kawin** *marry*; **kěnduri** *feast*; **lashkar** *soldiery*; **mohor** *die-mark*; **nafiri** *trumpet*; **nakhoda** *master of a ship*; **nesan** *grave-stone*; **pahlawan** *champion*; **pěri** *fairly*; **sakar** *sugar*; **sakhlát** *broadcloth*; **sěrbán** *turban*; **těrmasa** *shoe*.

Hindustani are **jori** *buggy*; **lagam** *bit*; **ras** *reins*; **sardi** *glanders*; **tan** *stable*.

Tamil supplies a small number of established loan-words:

kapal *steamer*; **katil** *bed*; **kětumbar** *coriander*; **kolam** *pond*; **maligai** *tower*; **měmpělai** *bridegroom*; **mutu** *carat*; **tandil** *overseer*; **tirai** *curtain*.

Chinese loan-words are rare and apply to Chinese things:

kongsi *a (secret) society*; **loki** *Chinese courtesan*; **loteng** *upstairs floor*; **lu** *you*; **pekong** *joss*; **tanglong** *lantern*.

Of Western languages Portuguese has left a great number of words describing articles of European culture:

bangku *bench*; **bělēdu** *velvet*; **bola** *ball*; **bomba** *pump*; **garfu** *fork*; **kěbaya** *gown*; **lelong** *auction*; **meja** *table*;

měrinyu *superintendent*; **paděri** *priest*; **pěluru** *bullet*; **pěni** *pin*; **pěrada** *gold-leaf*; **pita** *ribbon*; **renda** *lace*; **rial** *dollar*; **sěpatu** *shoe*; **těratu** *torture*; **těrungko** *prison*; **tuala** *towel*.

The commonest Dutch loan-words are :

engsel *hinge*; **duit** *cent*; **pělěkat** *placard*; **sěkopong** *spade suit in cards*; **sěturup** *syrup*; **ransum** *rations*; **tong** *tub*; **sěnapang** *rifle*; **bom** *carriage shaft and landing-place*; **sopi** *gin*; **gělas** *glass*; **botol** *bottle*; **lampu** *lamp*.

CHAPTER II

PHONETICS

§ 8. In studying the Malay language which has for the vehicle of its expression an alien alphabet, it is necessary to remember that a language is built not of letters but of sounds. It were too elaborate here to deal with sounds so elusive that they have no graphic symbol. But Malay words are composed of the following sounds represented by letters.

§ 9. Consonants.

(a) Guttural class.

A glottal check or abrupt closing of a final vowel made by stopping the breath. It is represented by ء or ق, romanized ' or **k**, as in **پوکو** 'poko' or **پوکق** pokok (and in a few cases rendered confusingly by ك e.g. **بايك** baik, **تيليك** tilek and so on). Whatever the symbol in Arabic or Roman script, there need be no difficulty, if it is remembered that final **k**, no matter how represented, in Peninsular Malay never indicates any other sound than this of the glottal check.

h like the **h** in *Ah Amy*, *Ah Isabel*, *Ah uncle*; a semivowel rather than an aspirate. It is sounded distinctly only between two similar vowels **a . . . a**, **o . . . o** as in **rahang**, **bohong**, **leher**. [The Arabic ه occurs like *alif* at the beginning of Malay words as a graphic prop for a vowel, which in Arabic cannot stand as part of the syllable but must be accompanied by a consonant; e.g. for **u** and **i** except when they are used as semivowels **w** and **y**—**ايسف** or **هيسف** isap, **اولو** or **هولو** ulu: and to indicate the presence of the indeterminate vowel ẽ,

for which there is no Arabic symbol, an initial *alif* or ا are both used, sometimes indifferently:—امس *ěmas*, هلي *hělai*, امبوس or همبوس *ěmbus*. Its function as a semivowel may be seen in the spellings توهن *tuhan* a variant of توان *tuan*, توها *tuha*, فاهت *pahit*, where there is no aspirate sound at all.]

g as *geese, gaunt, good*, e.g. *gigi, gagah, gusi*; never as in *germ*.

k, usually represented by ك and occasionally by ك', is identical with k in *kiss, Kaffir, Koran*.

ng as in *fling, long*, never as in *tingle, sponging*.

r not the English cerebral (or lingual) but the Scotch guttural r, distinctly but not too emphatically enunciated. It differs in different parts of the Peninsula. In the south it is lingual, only more trilled than in English: in the north it is guttural.

(b) Palatal class.

y as in *mayer, ratepayer*; it exists unexpressed between words like *he ambles, she-ass*.

ny is the equivalent of the Spanish ñ or the individual consonant sound represented by n in *new, nude*, by ni in *pinion, onion*, by gn in *vignette*.

(c) Dental class.

ch nearly as in *chat, chisel, channel*, but really an affricate, where the tongue stops and then glides, while in English it is fricative, produced by a mere glide of the tongue.

j nearly as in *Jenny, jump*, but like Malay ch a dental, and not a palatal as in English.¹

s a superdental as in *sister* or as in *hiss* rather than *his*.

d a superdental as in *plunder, binding, landing*.

t a hard superdental identical with the initial t in *topple, tort, Tom*.

¹ See Dr. Fokker's edition of Beech's *Tidong Dialects* (Clarendon Press, 1908).

n 'may be compared with the superdental represented in English by the same sign when written before a **d** though it is a little more distinctly pronounced, i.e. more with the top of the tongue'.

l not quite identical with the English sound. 'What the English write with the same sign seems very often to be a superpalatal (lingual or cerebral), i.e. a consonant formed at the higher part of the palate with the tongue turned backward, the top pressed with its full breadth against the roof of the palate. The Malay **l** is produced at the *lower* part of the palate like what the Dutch write **l**, when pronounced by well-bred people.' Elsewhere, Dr. Fokker compares it with **l** in *hill-top* not in *hill*.

(*d*) Labial class.

w (not expressed in the system of romanizing employed in this grammar) as in *coward*, *power*, *sower*; the semi-vowel unexpressed between words like *rue it* or in a word like *dual*.

b as in English: *boot*, *bean*, *tub*.

p as in English: *pig*, *pup*, *pant*.

m as in English.

§ 10. Vowels.

Broadly the vowels in Malay are :

a as in *langit*, *api*, *kayu*, *ratus*.

e as in *bela*.

i as in *ingin*.

o as in *gopoh*.

u as in *kayu*.

ě as in *ěnam*.

and these are the only vowel sounds which will be distinguished in the body of this grammar, though a work on phonetics would make further distinctions and mark them by means of accents. The problem of definition is increased by the great

differences in Malay dialects, of which for the Peninsula at least no exhaustive study has been made. Dr. Fokker, who wrote primarily of pronunciation in West Borneo and who moreover, I believe, has since modified his views, distinguished in each of the first five vowels three variations of sound:

(a) *Long and clear.* **a** as in *Ah*: **ragut, jadi, chabut, sahut, batu.** **e** like *ea* in *swear*: **beta, merah.** **i** as *ee* in *week*: **siram, kirim.** **o** as in *bore*: **oleh, orang, tolak.** **u** like *oo* in *moor*: **kurang, surut.**

(b) *Short and clear.* **a** nearly equivalent to **u** in *cup*: **ikat, isap, kërap.** **e** as in *padre* or nearly like *i* in *kitchen*; **oleh, ekur, përentah.** **i** as in German *Sinn* or almost like *ee* in *been*: **pipi, manis, tapis.** **o** as in *pillow*: **taroh, jatoh, bongkar, pohon.** **u** as in *put*: **pulang, siku.**

(c) *Short and toneless surd.* **a** as in *canto* or nearly like *o* in *some*: **lënyap, kurap, lapis, banding, ganti.** **e** as in German *Brett* or shorter than *ai* in *said*: **oleng, chëbek, ejek.** **i** as in *kitten, sing*: **sëring, bëtis.** **o** as in German *Gott* or nearly as *o* in *lot*: **bohong, komeng, korek.** **u** as in German *Butter, dumm* or the French pronunciation of *gëranium, album*: **tërus, takut, kapur, subur.**

Some of these examples at any rate do not fit with the pronunciation of the Peninsula. It is easy to exaggerate the long clear **a**; and **jâdi, pâdi, pâdam, châbut,** are not heard in the Peninsula. Again, the distinction between **a** (b) and **a** (c) would seem to be merely that in unaccented syllables the vowel is less definite than in accented: and this fact leads to the blending of the sounds represented by **i** and **e**, by **o** and **u**, § 20 (c); e.g. **gesel** or **gesil, ekor** or **ekur,** a blending never found in accented syllables. Moreover, elaborate as it is, Fokker's analysis certainly fails to exhaust all the sounds in Malay: the first **o** in **bodoh** is closer than **o** in *bore* but longer than **o** in *pillow*; and **merah** has an **e** more open than that in **beta.**

§ 11. Diphthongs.

ai as in German *Kaiser* or like *i* in *light*, but sometimes shortened in unaccented syllables till it approximates to *ai* in *maid*.

au as *ow* in *cow*, but sometimes shortened in unaccented syllables till it approximates to *ow* in *know*.

§ 12. In the Peninsula, there are great differences between Riau-Johor and Kedah pronunciation and even between the pronunciation of each separate state. And these differences require exhaustive treatment, before the pronunciation of the Peninsular Malay can be profitably discussed. Moreover such discussion would be beyond the scope of a grammar. The Peninsula is fortunate in that 'the language of Malacca (Riau-Johor) played a prominent part in fixing the *κοινή διάλεκτος* of the golden age' and that its pronunciation is roughly in accord with classical spelling.

§ 13. Foreign sounds.

Malays have attempted in Arabic and other foreign words to imitate alien sounds, and they have incorporated Arabic letters representing rare sounds in their alphabet, though they have seldom conserved the right and original pronunciation. These are as follows :

Tha ث **th** as in *thin*, but commonly corrupted by Malays into an **s** sound: **thalatha** pronounced as **sĕlasa**, **ithnain** as **isnain**.

Há ح a strong aspirate, but not distinguished by Malays from the soft **h**, except that unlike the soft aspirate, it is never dropped out in spelling, e.g. **huruf** never **uruf**, **hukum** never **ukum**.

Khá خ a hard guttural like **ch** in German or in the Scotch word *loch*, commonly corrupted by Malays to **k**.

Dzal ذ pronounced by Malays as **dz**, **z**, or **j**.

Za ز = English **z**, e.g. **zaman**. But it is often corrupted by Malays to **j**, e.g. **pauh janggi** for **pauh zanggi**.

Shin ش = **sh**, but often corrupted to **s**.

Ṣád ص a very strongly articulated **s** popularly pronounced as an ordinary **s**. But educated Malays pronounce this and the four following letters very gutturally. This habit gives a throaty sound to the accompanying vowel, while leaving the consonant practically unaffected.

Dlad ض a sort of aspirated **d** pronounced something like the combination **dth**. Educated Malays pronounce it as a soft **th**: **retha**, **kathi**, but the ignorant as **l**: **rela**. Sometimes it is pronounced as **d**: **fěduli**. Its common romanized form **dl** as in **redla**, **hadlir** combines the Arabic **d** and the Malay **l**.

Ṭâ ط a strongly articulated palatal **t**, but Malays pronounce it as ordinary **t**.

Tlâ ظ a strongly articulated palatal **z**, but like *dlâd* pronounced by Malays as **l** or **dh**: **lohor**, **dhohor**.

'ain ع a strong guttural commonly pronounced by Malays like an *alif*: **adat**. In the middle of a word its presence is often marked by doubling the vowel or by a pause: **maana**, **ma'na**, but not always, **mana** also being heard.

Ghain غ pronounced by Malays like **r** with a *burr*: e.g. **ghaib** as **raib**, **mashghul** as **mashrul**.

Fa ف = **f**, often pronounced by Malays as **p**, e.g. **paham**, **arip**.

Kâf ق a deep faucal **k**, but commonly pronounced by Malays as ordinary **k**. The letter ق is wrongly used (but not sounded as a ق) in Sanskrit words, e.g. **لکسا** **laksa**.

§ 14. Accent.

The need to discuss accent tends to give an exaggerated idea of its importance in Malay. It is necessary to bear in mind that there is no strong accent on any syllable in a

Malay word; that words like **pěrkataan**, **pěrbuatan**, **aluran**, **kěděngaran**, **di-katakan**, for example, are pronounced practically with the same stress on every syllable.

Ordinarily in the Malay word, the accent falls on the penultimate except that

(1) when the penultimate is **ě** in an open syllable and rarely in a closed, then the accent falls on the last syllable, **ěnám**, **těngáh**;

(2) when a derivative is built up by prefixes from a monosyllabic root, the accent sometimes remains on that root, namely, on the last syllable;

(3) in the vocative, the stress is sometimes thrown on the last syllable.

The case of words built up of suffixes presents a special problem. The Arab system used the *huruf saksi* و ا ي and to indicate quantity, and in its application to Malay treated accent as the equivalent of quantity, putting the *huruf saksi* in accented open syllables. The early spelling has left this mark of accent in the penultimate of derivatives **pěrkataan** from **کات** *káta*, **chěmburúan** from **چمبرون** *chěmbúru*, **chěmbúru**, **kětahüü** from **کتھوی** *kětahuü* from **تاه** *tahu*, and even **jadikan** from **جاد** *jádi*, **katá-nya** from **کاتان** *káta*, **kudá-nya** from **کودان** *kúda*, and so on—except in the case of the particles **lah**, **tah**, **kah**. The Indonesian rule is that the accent falls on the penultimate whether of simple or of derivative words. The general opinion of Dutch scholars, from Werndly down to Tendeloo and Fokker, has insisted on the same rule holding good of Malay. Two notable exceptions, however, are von de Wall and Gerth van Wijk. Only the scientific study of dialect throughout the Peninsula and Archipelago could explain fully how experts have come to differ. In the Peninsula I confess I had supposed in common with Europeans who have lived there a quarter

of a century that the Malay had generally gone back on the old Indonesian rule. But special observation for the purposes of this work has led me to revise my opinion, and to think that while practically there is hardly any accent at all in the words in question, still the Malay does say **pěrkataán**, **ingátan**, **kudá-nya**, **namá-nya**, and **jadíkan**—though the suffix **kan** has not this shifting influence when the stem ends in a consonant, and **timbang-kan**, **támbatkan** will be correct.

CHAPTER III

SPELLING

§ 15. The following are the letters of the Malayo-Arabic alphabet with their Roman equivalents. The writing, of course, runs from right to left. The form of the letters differs according to their position and their connection with other characters; some letters never connect with others to the left of them, and therefore are found sometimes in isolation; both of these points are shown in the table.

Letter.	Unconnected.	Conventional Roman Equivalent.	Form in connection.			Examples.			
			With following letter.	With preceding letter.	With both.	With following letter.	With preceding letter.	With both.	
Alif	ا	...	...	ا	...	...	دفا	...	
Ba	ب	b	ب	ب	ب	ب	ب	ب	ب
Ta	ت	t	ت	ت	ت	ت	ت	ت	ت
Tha	ث	th	ث	ث	ث	ث	ث	ث	ث
Jim	ج	j	ج	ج	ج	ج	ج	ج	ج
Cha	چ	ch	چ	چ	چ	چ	چ	چ	چ
Ha	ح	h	ح	ح	ح	ح	ح	ح	ح
Kha	خ	kh	خ	خ	خ	خ	خ	خ	خ

Letter.	Uncon- nected.	Conven- tional Roman Equiva- lent.	Form in connection.			Examples.		
			With follow- ing letter.	With preced- ing letter.	With both.	With follow- ing letter.	With preced- ing letter.	With both.
Dal	د	d	...	د.	...	...	احد	...
Dzal	ذ	dz	...	ذ.	...	...	عذر	...
Ra	ر	r	...	ر.	...	...	لنتر	...
Za	ز	z	...	ز.	...	...	قلزم	...
Sin	س	s	س	س.	س	سيكت	تمس	بسر
Shin	ش	sh	ش	ش.	ش	شهدان	بخشيش	شمشير
Sad	ص	ṣ	ص	ص.	ص	صحبت	قميص	فصل
Dlad	ض	dl	ض	ض.	ض	ضرورة	فرايض	فضوليه
Ta	ط	t	ط.	ط.	ط.	طبيب	غاط	شيطان
Tla	ظ	tl	ظ.	ظ.	ظ.	ظهر	محفظ	عظمت
Ain	ع	ʿ	ع.	ع.	ع.	عدل	طمع	فعل
Ghain	غ	gh	غ.	غ.	غ.	غائب	بالغ	صغير
Nga	غ	ng	غ.	غ.	غ.	غري	فكغ	بلغكس
Fa	ف	f	ف.	ف.	ف.	فصل	شريف	عفريت
Pa	ف	p	ف.	ف.	ف.	فوسيف	سيلف	تمثت
Ḳaf	ق	ḳ, q	ق.	ق.	ق.	قدرت	فلق	فقير
Kaf	ك	k	ك	ك.	ك.	كنا	نأيك	فكين

Letter.	Unconnected.	Conventional Roman Equivalent.	Form in connection.			Examples.		
			With following letter.	With preceding letter.	With both.	With following letter.	With preceding letter.	With both.
Ga	گ	g	گگ	گگ	گگ	گیار	رگگ	فگگ
Lam	ل	l	لل	لل	لل	لنتق	تبل	بلم
Mim	م	m	مم	مم	مم	مالس	لمم	لمبق
Nun	ن	n	نن	نن	نن	نیایه	ایکن	نشد
Wau	و	u, w	...	وو	...	...	فیلو	...
Ha	ه	h	هه	هه	هه	هارس	لمبه	بهو
Ya	ی	y	یی	یی	یی	یا	ستسے	تیفو
Nya	ن	ny	پن	نن	پن	پات	بتلن	فپو

Of these letters چ **ch** is borrowed not from the Arabic but from the Persian, as also is the form گ **g** for which ك simply is often written : ف **p** is not Arabic. ن **n** or **ng**, پ (or ن) **ñ** or **ny** appear to have been constructed from غ and ن respectively. The fourteen letters already dealt with (§ 13) represent Arabic sounds and occur only in Arabic loan-words, except that, as stated in the aforesaid section, guttural ق **q** is employed as a symbol in Malay words. ۛ (*ta bersimpul*, as Malays term it) is used often by Malays for final **t**, e. g. اية *itu*, سورة *surat*, that is, in accordance with Persian and Hindustani usage, but wrongly, of course, according to Arabic usage, since in that language it is a variant of ۛ and called *ha-ta*, being pronounced like *ta* only when followed by a vowel. ف **fa** is commonly used by Malays for ف and pronounced

as **p**. In Malayo-Javanese works \ddot{s} represents a palatal **d** found in Sanskrit and in Javanese, though not elsewhere in Malayo-Polynesian languages; it is exotic and not employed now. \mathcal{Y} *lam alif*, a combination of two letters, is sometimes regarded as a separate letter of the alphabet. So too is *hamzah* ϵ .

§ 16. Besides the alphabet, Malays have borrowed from the Arabs certain diacritical signs, most of which have become almost obsolete in their writing. These are :

(1) The vowel points, in Arabic called *harakat*, in Malay *baris* or *sĕnjata*, which represent short vowels and when followed by **l**, **ي**, and **و** become long vowels.

Fathah or *baris di-atas* $\overset{\cdot}{\text{—}}$ = short **a** or if followed by *alif* long **a**.

Kasrah or *baris di-bawah* $\underset{\cdot}{\text{—}}$ = short **e** or **i** or if followed by *ya*, long **e** or **i**.

Dlammah or *baris di-hadapan* $\overset{\cdot}{\text{—}}$ = short **o** or **u**, or if followed by *wau* long **o** or **u**.

These vowel points have fallen into disuse, being replaced against Arabic usage by *huruf saksi* (§ 18 (*d*)).

(2) *Hamzah* ϵ is found in Arabic at the commencement of word or syllable with *alif* as a prop; *alif* by itself having no sound except that after a consonant it serves to prolong the vowel *fathah*: this use of *hamzah* is not practised in Malay. For its Malay use see § 18 (*e*).

(3) The *jazm* $\overset{\sim}{\text{—}}$ which shows that the consonant over which it is placed closes the syllable and does not begin a fresh one: for example, placed over **kh** in **bakhshish** it signifies that the word is pronounced **bakh-shish** and not **bakhĕshish**.

(4) The *tashdid* $\overset{\sim}{\text{—}}$: see § 18 (*e*).

§ 17. From the evidence of the earliest Malay manuscripts extant, it is clear that there was a fixed standard for the

spelling of Malay in Arabic characters, at the very beginning of the seventeenth century, a standard obtaining in many different places in the Malayan Archipelago. The introduction of this foreign alphabet was a direct consequence of the conversion of Malays to Islam. The earliest and most important missionary centre was N. Sumatra, which strictly was not Malay in speech, though Malay was used for commerce, literature, and religion; most of the old Malay MSS. were written there and von de Wall alludes to **eja acheh** *Achinese spelling* as the original style. A system of spelling there adopted naturally would spread with the spread of Islam to the rest of Sumatra, the coasts of Borneo, the Moluccas, to Malay settlements in Java and at Malacca. But it is possible that something more than repetition and imitation went to account for the uniformity of system. 'If the Arabs had attempted to make an adaptation of their own system of spelling to suit the peculiarities of the Malay language, the result would have been that in different parts of the Archipelago there would have been different modifications of the Arabic spelling, and a variety of Malay spellings would have been unavoidable. The uniformity in the spelling of the earliest MSS. would lead us therefore to expect that the system of orthography according to which the Arabs originally began to write the Malay language and which they taught subsequently to the Malays, was the same as they themselves used in writing their own language.' Certainly in the main they did attempt to apply Arabic principles.

The notes of the early seventeenth-century system¹ were :

(a) The use of *vowel points* : at any rate they were used on unusual words at their first occurrence in a work, so that **بَدَانُل** **Badanul**, a proper name, is fully vowelled on its first mention in the Bodleian *Sri Rama* but not subsequently.

¹ Cp. Shellabear's 'Evolution of Malay Spelling', *J.R.A.S.*, Straits Branch, xxxvi. 75-135.

(b) The *tashdid* is inserted to indicate that the letter over which it is placed, whether vowel or consonant, is sounded twice, e.g. u as uw, i as iy, s as ss, ng as ngng, and so on.

بوت buwat, دو duwa, ديم diyam, اي iya, سيغ siyang, سودّه suddah, بّسر bəssar, تّغه təngngah.

But the use of the *tashdid* to double the consonant, i.e. when it follows a short vowel (as in our words *better*, *fellow*, *galant* or *gallant*) is not generally observed in Malay MSS. and is not Arabic, nor does it represent any real phonetic doubling of the consonant. (One is tempted to compare with it the double **kk** in such words as فرتنجتکن pərtunjokkan, which are often said to be in imitation of Javanese double-letter forms and to exhibit a survival probably due to the existence of two forms of **k**; but Javanese influence hardly existed at all in Acheen, and it is more probable that the first **k** ق never represented anything but the mere glottal check (§ 9).)

(c) The omission of final و ا and ي :

کاي kayu, اک aku, ترلال tərlalu, پنتو pintu, مريب mēribu, برتم bərtəmu, اڤ api, جاد jadi, مات mati, لاک laki, پڠرک pəngri, بوم bumi, هات hati, سا-کالی sa-kali, سوک suka, دو dua, توه tuha.

Exceptions :

(1) A final vowel is inserted when required for the explanation of a foreign word. In the Bodleian *Sri Rama* the Sanskrit **puri** is written sometimes فور but oftener فوري and پڠرکسا is written فڠرکشا.

(2) It is inserted when ِ represents a uniform long a, and و, ي the diphthong sounds au, ai.

کرا kəra, بلا bəla, دڤا dəpa, کيلو kilau, ريسو risau, تويي tupai, هلي həlai.

(d) The omission of any symbol to represent the indeterminate short vowel ě unless the *tashdid* as used above (b) can be taken as an illegitimate symbol.

(e) The omission of ا, و, and ي as medial vowels in closed syllables.

بهرت *bĕrat*, بلم *bĕlum*, سبت *sĕbut*, اورغ *orang*, كمبرغ *kambing*, رڭگت *ringgit*, بمبغ *bimbang*, تمبه *tumbuh*.

Exceptions :

(1) When the spelling of Arabic words is retained (though Arabic pronunciation may not be followed), e.g. اسلام *islam*, فقير *fakir*, كتاب *kitab*—in Arabic of course one would get *kitabū, fakirū, &c.*, and the syllables would not be closed.

(2) The monosyllables دان *dan* and ڤون *pun*.

(f) ا, و, and ي are inserted in an open syllable upon which the accent falls—in Malay usually the penultimate.

تون *túan*, روس *rúas*, كڤيتغ *kĕpiting*, تليغا *tĕlinga*, سكدودق *sĕkĕdúdok*, لراڭن *larángan*, تماڭن *tambángan*, رراج *raja-rája*, اڤبيل *apa-bila*, هلبالغ *hulubálang*.

Exceptions :

A few words like مك *máka*, فد *páda*, در *dári*, سده *súdah*, سكل *sĕgala*, in which the vowel may have been omitted because it was short and had little stress on it.

[In certain derivative words formed by the addition of suffixes, ا, و, and ي are shifted to the penultimate of the derived word: ايغت *ingat*, ايغاتن *ingatan*, چمبرور *chĕmburu*, چمبرون *chĕmburuan*, تا *tahu*, كتهوي *kĕtahui*, جاد *jádi*, جديكن *jadikan*, كود *kuda*, كدان *kuda-nya*, كات *kata*, كاتان *kata-nya*. Many have thought that the accent does not now, in the Peninsula at any rate, fall on that syllable, but still remains on the penultimate of the root word. Consequently it has been suggested that this shifting arose from vicious analogy with Javanese forms and phonetics, which seems improbable considering the small influence Java had in the north of Sumatra : or that it might have arisen from vicious analogy with the spelling of Malay roots, but that again seems very improbable.

As I have stated on p. 32, it is really due to the prevalence even now of the old Indonesian system of accentuation (whereby the accent falls on the penultimate of simple and derivative words alike). Of course that accentuation may have been more pronounced at the time when the Arabic system of spelling Malay was introduced than it is now.]

(g) Reduplication of words was commonly signified by the Arabic cipher ۲ **angka dua** after a word, a symbol not so used in its native tongue: ۲ راج **raja-raja**, ۲ برکات **bĕrkata-kata**.

§ 18. The modern spelling of Malay in Arabic characters differs from the script of three centuries ago in several ways.

(a) It never uses vowel points except over words quoted from the Arabic or over foreign and ambiguous words.

(b) It has dropped the *tashdid*.

(c) It employs و, ا, and ي as finals, even when these final vowels are neither long vowels nor diphthongs. کایو **kayu**, اکو **aku**, ترلاو **tĕrlalu**, فنتو **pintu**, مریبو **mĕribu**, ائی **api**, جادی **jadi**, ماتى **mati**, لاکى **laki**, دوا **dua**, توا **tua**.

Exceptions:

(1) A few stereotyped common words preserve the old style: ایت **itu**, این **ini**, سوات **suatu**, سفرت **sĕpĕrti**, اد **ada**, اف **apa**, ای **ia**, دي **dia**, کیت **kita**, جوک **juga**, پول **pula**, فد **pada**, سرت **sĕrta**, مان **mana**, منسى **manusia**—most of them finals in a.

(2) The change in the use of **a** is not established, the old practice of omission being followed or neglected arbitrarily according to the will of the writer in the spelling of most words.

(d) و, ا and ي are used more and more as medial vowels in closed syllables—except again in the case of some common stereotyped words like *منتا* **mintā**, *مليا* **mulia**, *ايسق* **esok**, *راتس* **ratus**. ‘The use of these letters و, ا and ي, the **huruf saksī**, as they are called, is opposed to Arabic alphabetical theory. The syllable should consist of two letters; the introduction of a third,’ started even in our earliest MSS. ‘must have been a bold innovation . . . The innovation may have been to some extent countenanced by the disuse of case-endings in Arabic words such as **kitab**, **islam**, &c., but it was certainly developed, if not introduced by European influence. It must be remembered that until recently the printing of Malay books has been entirely in the hands of Europeans, especially in those of missionaries, and that the influence so exercised must have been great. The power of public instruction under European direction has also to be reckoned with. . . . It may be predicted that if nothing is done to check existing tendencies the use of the **huruf saksī** as English vowels will extend to all words. ‘This solution of the present system would not be an unsatisfactory one. It would certainly make Malay spelling consistent and easy.’ At present, the extended use of the **huruf saksī** is commoner among police and clerks trained on European lines than among pundits proud of a little Arabic learning. The latter propound three theories, which pretend to be practical rather than scientific but fail even of their limited object :

(1) و and ي should be inserted in closed syllables, except that when the vowel sounds of the two syllables are alike, the و or the ي should be inserted only in one of the two syllables : *بيغوغ* **bingong**, *بوتير* **butir**, *كوتيف* **kutip**, *كمقوغ* **kampong**, *تنجوغ* **tanjong**, *بيمبع* **bimbang** : *تنگي* **tinggi**, *دنديغ* **dinding**, *بورغ* **burong**. Apply this theory to the case of **tulang** *bones* and **tolong** *help* or **tunggal** *solitary* and **tunggul** *tree-stump*; either the spelling of each pair

must be identical, viz., تولغ and توغگل or else the well-established and convenient use of the **huruf saksi** to represent the accented vowel, i. e. the penultimate, must be abandoned. The theory is artificial, arbitrary and impracticable.

(2) Another theory would revert for guidance in the employment of the **huruf saksi** to the same system that determined the use of the *vowel points* in the seventeenth century; namely, for the determination of vowel sound in rare words. It has historical basis, but what are rare words? For the pundit, simple terms of husbandry; for the peasant, the Sanskrit and Arabic loan-words of literature.

(3) A third theory would employ **huruf saksi** to distinguish words like **tolong** and **tulang** which otherwise would be spelt alike. This might be a serviceable empirical device, but strict scientific uniformity would entail encyclopaedic knowledge of every word in the language.

(e) Modern spelling has adopted *hamzah* ء, which is rare in early MSS., to indicate :

(1) As in Arabic a break between two vowels, of which the first is **a** and the second begins with the *spiritus lenis*, or in other words when an **a** sound passes on to another vowel only by means of a gentle aspirate—it never marks a break between vowel and semivowel. For instance كاييل = **kai-yil**, كاييل = **kail** a diphthong; كاييل with *hamzah* = **ka'il**; and so too with **lain** لأين and **laut** لأوت, though such words are commonly written without *hamzah*. سئيكور **sa-ekur**, سئورغ **sa-orang**, سئيكات **sa-ikat**, كاللتن **kēalatan**, كككيان **kēkayaan**, كآنم **kēenam**, يايت **ia itu**, نامي **namaī**—it must be noted that when a word beginning with *alif* is preceded by **sa** the *alif* of that word is omitted.

(2) As an alternative to ق, indicating the glottal check, تيرو **tirok**, دانو **datok**, انچئي **inчек**.

§ 19. The following combinations of words are found :

(a) **sa** is joined to the following word سريبو **sa-ribu**,
سسيكات **sa-sikat**.

(b) The prepositions **di** and **ka** are similarly joined كرومه
ka-rumah, دتغه **di-tengah**.

(c) And so too, the unemphatic short forms of the
personal pronouns ك **ku** and كو **kau**, كليهت **ku-lihat**,
كوباوا **kau-bawa**.

(d) م **mu**, ن **nya** (and **ku** and **kau** when they belong to
a preceding word) are joined to the word preceding them ;
also **daku**, **dikau** and **dia** after **akan** and **dengan**. اولهم
oleh-mu, باوهن **bawah-nya**, ديريكو **diri-ku**, آكندي **akan**
dia, دغنديكو **dengan dikau**.

(e) The particles **lah**, **kah**, **tah**, **pun** are joined to the
preceding word, الڤكه **alang-kah**, آفتد **apa-tah**.

(f) يڤ **yang** may be joined with the preceding or following
word, or with both. اورڤيڤ **orang yang**, يڤتدراڤت **yang**
térdapat, اورڤيڤدداڤت **orang yang di-dapati**.

(g) The component parts of compound words are joined
افبيل **apabila**, هلبالڤ **hulubalang**.

The impossibility of formulating a logical system of spelling
shows the inadaptability of Arabic characters for the expression
of Malay phonetics. But the above general principles, such
as they are, are better guides than merely empirical rules
which are broken through and through by exceptions.

§ 20. Romanized Malay.

Two main systems of rendering Malay in Roman characters
have been practised :

(1) The old Dutch method of reproducing the Arabic
letters in Roman equivalents; the indeterminate vowel repre-
sented generally by **o** (and according to Dutch spelling,
ancient and modern, **u** represented by **oe**, **y** by **j**, **j** by **dj**,
ch by **tj**, **kh** by **ch**).

(2) The newer phonetic system, which disregards the fact that the language has been written in Arabic characters and seeks to reproduce the pronunciation of the educated Malay; a system which has been followed with varying degrees of failure and success by amateur native-born Chinese, by early voyagers, by the missionary press, by writers with an eye to popular needs and by scholars aiming at scientific phonetics.

The old Dutch method has been abandoned even by the Dutch in favour of the later system, which alone demands attention.

On the general principle of the modern system, there is nothing to add to what Dr. Snouck Hurgronje has written. 'A purely phonetic system, to serve scientific purposes, must be bound to one dialect and give a perfectly true image of its phonetic peculiarities. The semi-phonetic system that will fulfil practical requirements ought to give the average pronunciation of educated genuine Malays. So the texts of the most famous literary productions of the golden age of Malay civilization (sixteenth century A. D.), so far as they have not suffered from corruption, give us an image of the average pronunciation of Malay at that time. But this image is very imperfect, especially for the vowels, owing to the peculiar use of the Arabic alphabet; and besides that, the pronunciation of Malay has suffered many changes during the centuries which have elapsed since the gradual decay of Malay kingdoms. As political and literary centres lost their significance, dialects got increasing influence upon Malay style and orthography; the spreading of Malay over parts of the Archipelago widely distant from each other and without frequent intercourse, was very disadvantageous to the conservation of the unity of the written language and made many dialects develop almost to separate languages. Our own period with its rapid means of communication makes the need of a certain uniformity in written Malay more deeply felt than before. We cannot content ourselves with

attempts to restore the orthographical principles of three centuries ago, as (*a*) we have to make use of the Roman alphabet which is more suitable for expressing Malay vocalism and more in accordance with actual requirements of conversation than the Arabic; (*b*) the pronunciation of that time is very imperfectly known to us; (*c*) it has everywhere changed a good deal. So a mean will have to be sought between two extremes. The language of Malacca (Riau-Johor) having played a prominent part in fixing the *κοινή διάλεκτος* of the golden age, and so having left considerable traces in what has remained of the old uniformity of civilized speech, may be given more authority than most of its sister dialects, but these last nevertheless have to be taken very seriously into account. The local diversity of vocalism must keep us from marking too fine distinctions of sound and from fixing in script nuances which in a considerable part of Malaya are not observed.'

To put this general principle into practice :

(*a*) How is the Malay indeterminate short vowel to be represented? Some old writers used **a**: **bassar** *great*, **marampas** *seize*; Crawford affected **â**—**bârchârai** *divorced*; Marsden and older Dutch scholars **e**, **besar**. The missionary press in Singapore wavered between omitting it—**bsar**—and inserting ' or '—**b'sar**, **b'sar**. Swettenham, van Wijk and modern continental scholars generally have preferred **ě**—**běsar**. Now **a** and **e** represent its sound neither to the Malay nor to the foreigner; and **e** will be confused with **e** in words like **beta** and **besan**. Use no symbol and an agglomeration of consonants—**kbsaran**—results. Use ' or ' and **ěngkau** becomes **'ngkau** and **kěenam** becomes **k''nam**! Obviously **ě** best represents its sound and is no harder to write than a dotted **i** or a French accent or the German diaeresis.

(*b*) How are **ڱ** **ng** as in **دڱن** **děngan**, **اورڱ** **orang**, and **ڱ** **ny** as in **ڱاموق** **nyamok**, **ڱاڱ** **banyak** to be written? The scientific

Orientalist, especially the student of Sanskrit and Arabic, will of course shudder at anything but a scientific symbol; he will demand, for instance, \dot{n} or \bar{n} for غ and \ddot{n} for ح. But the student of Malay is in rather a different position. The great bulk of books on Malay, whether in the Straits Settlements or in the Netherlands Indies, have been printed by local presses, which have had no access to recondite symbols. Native readers of Romanized Malay abound; they have become used to the more slipshod way and cannot take kindly to change. And the student of Malay has to consider not only the wants of the native reader but the practice of Dutch scholars of high repute who outnumber the Englishman by twenty to one. The system adopted by the Dutch Government for the large literature of the Netherlands Indies and by Dutch scholars writing in Holland is not to be lightly regarded by other students. It is desirable that there shall be uniformity as far as possible; and it is futile for the solitary writer on Malay to pit the international scientific system against the weight of past prejudice and the current usage of two governments—for after careful consideration the Government of the Federated Malay States¹ decided to follow the Dutch line of expediency against scientific perfection. Considering that Malay is a living language of great vitality, area, and adaptability, read and written in Romanized form by children in village schools, by Straits-born Chinese, Tamils and Eurasians, by immigrants Asiatic and European; a language moreover with thousands of living Malays to guide one in pronunciation; considering this, the use of symbols is certainly impracticable and perhaps not indispensable to scholarship. **ng** and **ny** never represent divided sounds in Romanized Malay but always the letters غ and ح, so that their use need lead to

¹ See *Romanised Malay Spelling*, F.M.S. Govt. Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1904.

no difficulty. The Dutch Government, the English Government, and most Dutch¹ and English scholars have accepted this convention and it will be employed in this work.

(c) The same argument of expediency has swayed the Government with regard to letters representing exotic Arabic sounds. ه and ح are both represented by **h**, not by **h** and **ḥ**; ت and ط by **t**, not by **t** and **ṭ**; س and ص by **s**, not by **s** and **ṣ**; ض and ظ not by **dz**, **dl** and **tl** but all by **dz**; ز by **z**; ع and the *hamzah* both by an apostrophe; غ by **gh**; ث by **th**. Persian and Arabic words of established vogue in the Malay language have lost their native pronunciation and are spoken in Malay fashion, so that the Arabic double letters no longer represent differences in sound. Unusual literary and religious words anyhow require knowledge of Arabic on the part of Malay and European, if they are to be pronounced at all: and such readers will recognize them readily even in simplified Roman dress—especially as they will otherwise observe the foreign spelling; for example, **khattu'l-istiwa**. The spelling of exotic words is of very minor importance. The symbol for Malay final ق representing a glottal check is a more difficult matter. The **q** of scientific scholarship represents the Arabic ق in قدرت **quḍerat**, and distinguishes it from ك **k**, but it does not represent the Malay final ق as in بوق **burok**. Spat uses the other Malay convention (§ 18 (e)) the *hamzah* and prints **buro^h** which has a strange hybrid appearance. The Dutch and English Government spelling uses **k** alike for ك and ق. On the whole, this is as logical as any other method, seeing that the glottal check is represented in the Malay convention now by ق now by ك and now by *hamzah*—فَاتِيْق, فَاتِيك, or فَاتِيْ. **k** used for final ق need cause no difficulty, if it is remembered that **k** at the end of a Malay word always stands for the glottal check: ق elsewhere in

¹ Dr. Tendeloo accepts **ng** for غ but uses **ñ** for ن.

a word occurs only in a few Sanskrit and Arabic words which will be easily recognized.

(d) The representing of **ي** and **و** by **i** or **iy** and **u** or **uw** is debatable. Mr. Wilkinson¹ has put the scholar's point of view succinctly: 'The popular spelling of **tuwan** as **tuan** and of **iya** as **ia** . . . suggests that the second syllable . . . commences with the *spiritus lenis* when really it begins with a **w** or a **y**. It gives an incorrect idea of the value of *alif* by confusing the hamzated *alif* with the *alif* of prolongation. It is also faulty for etymological study; for instance, **watu** is the Javanese form of **batu**, and the bearing of this fact on the derivation of **suwatu** is not suggested by the spelling **suatu** which implies that **atu** and not **watu** is the second portion of the word. These points may seem trivial; but the confusion imported into Malay spelling is in great measure due to the inadequate comprehension of the alphabet fostered by the belief that the spelling **tuan** is not a mere approximation to the sound 'of a certain word but is an exact transliteration of certain Arabic letters.' The popular spelling has been followed by Mr. Wilkinson in his smaller dictionary, and by the government committee. And it can be defended from the point of view of pure phonetics. No system of spelling derivatives can be formed solely with an eye to the requirements of etymology. Phonetically, a **w** slips in automatically when one says **tuan**, unless one deliberately makes the effort to say **tu'an**: and the spelling **tuwan** is calculated to suggest a more distinct **w** sound than Malays actually enunciate.

(e) The most difficult problem of all is the choice of the Roman vowel, when the Malay sound lies between **o** and **u**, between **e** and **i**. The F.M.S. Government, after consideration of Peninsular dialects and of the Dutch system, has

¹ Wilkinson's *Malay-English Dictionary*, vol. ii. p. 714.

accepted the following convention for the selection of the vowel in final syllables :

(1) **ong** not **ung** ; **oh** not **uh** ; **ok** not **uk** ; **um** not **om** ; **un** not **on** ; **ul** not **ol** ; **up** not **op** ; **us** not **os** ; **ur** not **or** ; **ut** not **ot** ; **u** not **o**.

(2) **eh** not **ih** ; **ek** not **ik** ; **ing** not **eng** ; **im** not **em** ; **in** not **en** ; **il** not **el** ; **ip** not **ep** ; **is** not **es** ; **ir** not **er** ; **it** not **et** ; **i** not **e**.

(3) But if the penultimate vowel is **e** or **o**, the final should contain **e** or **o** in preference to **i** or **u**—**pohon** not **pohun**, **kotor** not **kotur**, **gesel** not **gesil**, **dongeng** not **donging**, **choket** not **chokit**. ‘The fact is that in the Riau-Johor dialect the two vowels in question approach the sound of **o** and **e**, while in the Kedah dialect they approach that of **u** and **i**. Consequently there is a certain affinity between **o** and **e** and between **u** and **i** ; were the spelling otherwise, it would suggest that the Riau pronunciation was accepted for one half the word and the Kedah pronunciation for the rest.’

§ 21. So much for general principles. The recommendation of the Government committee on the special case of certain classes of word will also be observed in this grammar. That committee decided as follows :

(a) Foreign words ‘magistrate’ ‘court’ **khattu'l-istiwa** shall *pace* the qualification in § 20 (e) *supra* be spelt as in their original language.

(b) Trisyllabic words where the first two syllables are separable by an **h**, **سهيا**, **سهاج**, **سهارو**, and so on, shall always be written with **h** between two letters **a**—**sahaya**, **sahaja**, **baharu**.

(c) In ‘the case of words like **kēmudian**, **dēmikian**, and **arakian**, which are often pronounced **kēmēdian**, **dēmēkian**, and **arēkian**, we are of opinion that there is sufficient variety

in local practice to justify the adoption of that form which lends itself best to the explanation of the composition of a word, especially as such a decision will tend to bring British and Dutch methods of Romanizing more closely into harmony. In the case of derivatives of combinations such as the word **měnyabělah** from **sa-bělah**, we consider there is no sufficient reason for treating ordinary derivatives of **sa** as distinct words with distinct spellings of their own, and we recommend that the **a** of **sa** be retained' (i. e. **měnyabělah** and not **měnyěbělah**). 'At the same time, a distinction may be fairly drawn between the words **kěluar** *to go out* and **ka-luar** *outwards*, though etymologically they are the same; and we recommend that where a derivative form has become specialized in use, it be written as a separate word.'

(d) 'The use of hyphens should be restricted as much as possible. Derivatives (such as **měnyakiti** from **sakit**) should not be divided up. But prepositional and other particles may be separated by hyphens from the word to which they are accretions: thus **sa-kali pun, ka-rumah, di-dalam-nya.**'

CHAPTER IV

THE MALAY WORD

§ 22. The Malay word may be :

I. Simple.

api *fire*, **bĕsar** *big*, **chĕkek** *strangle*, **tiga** *three*, **kurang** *less*.

II. Derivative, i. e. built up by

(a) affixation (chapter vi):

bĕrapi *fiery*, **tĕrbĕsar** *very big*, **mĕnchĕkek** *strangling*,
kĕtiga *third*, **tĕrkurang** *much less*.

(b) reduplication (§ 63):

api-api *mangrove*, **bĕsar-bĕsar** *fairly great*, **chĕchĕkek**
a 'yanking' noose, **tiga-tiga** *three together*, **kurang-kurang**
at the lowest.

III. Compounded (§ 65): where compounded the words acquire a conventional meaning that would not belong to them taken separately. **kayu-api** *firewood*, **orang bĕsar** *chief*, **chĕkek kĕdadak** *violent strangling, vomiting*, **tiga-ratus** *three hundred*, **kurang akal** *stupid*, **rumah tangga** *wife*.

Of course, not every simple word will undergo affixation, reduplication, and compounding. Some that take affixation are not reduplicated; some that are reduplicated are never compounded; some always remain simple.

§ 23. Often the Malay word cannot be assigned definitely to any one of our parts of speech. No hard and fast line exists between the radical used as substantive and the radical

used as adjective,¹ for example: **rumah bĕsar** *a large house*; **bĕsar rumah** *the size of a house*; **orang banyak** *many folk*, **banyak orang** *the number of folk*; **orang pandai** *a clever person*, **pandai bĕsi** *a blacksmith*. **sĕdikit** *few*, **bĕbĕrapa** *several*, **sakalian**, **sĕmua**, **sĕgala** *all* stand sometimes before, sometimes after the substantive; in the first case they must be parsed as substantives, in the second as adjectives. Classical usage may tend to give a word currency rather as substantive than adjective, or as adjective than substantive, but often it cannot extinguish its essential versatility. In the conversational prose of Munshi Abdullah we constantly find such examples as **pĕrgi main ka-panas** *go playing in the heat*; **mĕnurut adat dan bodoh orang** *following the customs and folly of men*, where classical usage would prefer **panas** and **bodoh** to be parsed as adjectives, but where the clipped popular phrase of the writer has caught the historical as well as the living genius of the language.

Similarly substantive and verb are not always rigidly distinguished :

sapu *to wipe*, **sapu tangan**, *a pocket-handkerchief*; **ikat** *to bind*, **ikat pinggang** *a waist-belt*; **kata** *a word or to speak*—**maka kata Sang Nila Utama sĕmua-nya di-pĕrsĕmbahkan ka-pada Pĕrmaisuri : maka kata Pĕrmaisuri 'Baik-lah'** *all the remarks of Sang Nila Utama are reported to the queen. And the queen remarks 'Very well'*, a dual function of **kata** to be found everywhere in the *Sejarah Melayu*, that model of classical Malay. So, too, **jalan** *a road, to travel*; **jala** *casting-net, to cast a net*; **pahat** *a chisel, to carve*; **kapak** *an axe, to cleave*, are examples of words which without inflexion may be substantive or verb.

¹ 'Probably adjectives neither derived nor foreign are at bottom words denoting a subject, that is a quality, and so coming in time to denote the possession of that quality.'—TENDELOO.

§ 66 will show how many words are both noun and pronoun : § 81 how many are adverb and noun, adverb and adjective, adverb and verb, adverb and conjunction. And the table in § 43 shows succinctly how one and the same affix will attach to several parts of speech, so that it is probably unscientific to differentiate its derivatives as we are wont to do in accordance with the concepts of our own grammar. No copula is required in Malay, and words which in our grammar would be subject words, in Malay may be subject or predicate words according to context and order.

pěnghulu-nya *his chief*; **pěnghulu dia** *the chief is he*; **orang baik itu** *that good man*; **orang itu baik** *that man is good*.

To sum up. Malay abounds in many such examples of the chameleon word as

{ **sakit itu těrok** *that sickness is severe*
 { **orang sakit** *a sick man*
 { **ia sakit** *he is sick.*

{ **rumah děkat** *a neighbouring house*
 { **děkat rumah** *near to a house*
 { **děkat habis** *nearly done*
 { **ia děkat** *he is near.*

{ **těngah hari** *mid-day*
 { **orang těngah** *umpire*
 { **potong těngah** *cut in halves*
 { **těngah tidur** *whilst sleeping.*

{ **dalam rumah** *interior of a house*
 { **tělaga dalam** *deep well*
 { **dalam pėkan** *in the town.*

and it is unscientific even to attempt to classify Malay words as subject words and predicate words as Dr. Tendeloo did. At the same time, this section must not induce the idea that

ordinarily a Malay word cannot for all practical purposes be defined as some one part of speech.

§ 24. The Malay word undergoes no inflexion to denote gender—whether the word is noun, adjective, pronoun or numeral.

§ 25. The Malay word undergoes no inflexion to denote number.

§ 26. The Malay word undergoes no declension to denote case.

§ 27. As verb, the Malay word undergoes inflexion for purposes which are often foreign to our ideas and require special definition.

CHAPTER V

THE CHIEF PARTS OF SPEECH

(A) THE NOUN

§ 28. If the gender of person or animal¹ needs to be defined, then the substantive is qualified by the words **laki-laki** *male* and **pěrěmpuan** *female* in the case of persons, and **jantan** *male* and **bětina** *female* in the case of animals (or coarsely of persons):

anak laki-laki *a boy*; **budak** **pěrěmpuan** *girl*; **ayam jantan** *cock*; **ayam bětina** *hen*; **patek mēnampun**²-**lah bėristėrikan orang bětina**; **patek hėndak mēnchari orang pěrěmpuan** *I beg to be excused from wedding a mere female*; *I want to search for a true woman.*

§ 29. The substantive whether simple or derivative stands without inflexion for singular and plural, as has been said above. Marsden, indeed, opined that 'the-noun in its simple state, without any accompanying term to limit or extend its signification, is more properly to be considered as plural than singular; or that in order to the determining its number, the application of a term expressing singularity

¹ 'The absurdity of attributing difference of sex to things or to the names of things not organized by nature to reproduce their kind,' Marsden remarks, 'did not suggest itself to the framers of the Malay language'—despite their animism. But there are a very few exceptions: **bah jantan** *the male flood* which is greater than **bah bětina** *the female flood*; **busut jantan** *ant-hill*; **kokot jantan, kokot bětina** *the parts of a pintle-rudder.*

² **mēnampun** = **minta ampun** (Perak).

is more commonly necessary than one of indefinite plurality. Thus, for example, in the phrase **ada orang di-luar** *there are persons without*, the word **orang** requires no plural sign, but on the contrary in the phrase **ada sa-orang di-luar** *there is a person without*, the numeral of unity is indispensable.' It is safer on the evidence to say that the indefinite rather than the plural is expressed.

Number therefore is determined :

(a) by context.

(b) by reduplication to form an indefinite plural with variety in it, § 63.

(c) by the employment of words like **banyak** *many*, **sědikit** *few*, **sěmua**, **sěgala** *all*, and of numerals and their coefficients.

§ 30. Without inflexion, the substantive can, and in conversation commonly does, have its case determined by context alone ; though the prepositions indicated in brackets are employed in literary Malay :

pukul budak *beat a child* ; **baju budak** *the coat of a child* ; **běri (ka-pada) budak** *give (to) a child* ; **pulang (ka-) něgěri** *return (to) one's country* ; **chawan (dari-pada) ěmas** *a cup (made) of gold* ; **jaga tidur** *awake from sleep* ; **sapu (děngan) kain** *wipe with a cloth* ; **di-timpah (oleh) halilintar** *struck by lightning* ; **dudok (di-) rumah** *sit in one's house* ; **datang (pada) hari esok** *come on the morrow*.

Derivative nouns may be traced in the table in § 43, and are dealt with under chapter vi.

(B) THE ADJECTIVE

§ 31. It may be noted that nouns denoting material and nouns denoting place may be used as adjectives :

batil perak *a bowl of silver* ; **lantai buloh** *a floor of bamboo* ; **těnun Kělantan** *Kelantan weaving* ; **buatan China** *Chinese workmanship*.

The adjective may be reduplicated not to denote the plural but with the nuances described in § 63.

Derivative adjectives are handled in chapter vi, *vide* § 43.

The syntax of the adjective is as follows :

I. As attribute, the adjective follows the substantive it qualifies, the demonstrative pronoun, if used, coming after the adjective.

rumah bĕsar *a house of some size*, **orang bĕrbangsa itu** *that well-born person*, **hulu-balang tĕrnama itu** *that distinguished captain*.

II. (1) As predicate, it may come after the subject. Then, if the combination is merely substantive + adjective, **rumah bĕsar** *the house is large*, only intonation distinguishes this use of the adjective from its use as attribute. But if demonstrative or possessive pronoun is employed, then the pronoun follows the substantive immediately and not as in (I) :

rumah-nya bĕsar *his house is large*; **rumah itu bĕsar** *that house is large*; **rumah-nya itu bĕsar** *that house of his is large*.

(2) More emphatically and frequently the adjective as predicate comes first (often with the emphatic **lah**, § 87) and the substantive follows :

bĕsar-lah rumah itu *large is ~~the~~ ^{that} house*; **tĕrmanis muka hamba** *more gracious is my face*; **bĕrbangsa-lah raja Mĕlayu** *well born are Malay princes*.

Comparison of Adjectives

§ 32. The comparison of adjectives is expressed not by change in form of the adjective but by various methods of circumlocution.

I. Equality of degree.

This is denoted by

(a) order and accent :

pinang tinggi nyiur *a betel palm as tall as a coco-nut*

palm; **pasir-nya serong bĕntok taji** *the sandy shore was curved like a cock's spur.*

(b) **sama** or **sa-**, with or without words like **sĕpĕrti** *like* or **dĕngan** *with* conjoined.

So *a betel palm is as tall as a coco-nut palm* may be expressed **pinang nyiur sama tinggi-nya**; **pinang sama** (or **sa-**) **tinggi nyiur**; **pinang sama** (or **sa-**) **tinggi dĕngan** (or **sĕpĕrti**) **nyiur**. The word of comparison **sama** or **sa** may come not before the adjective but before the thing with which the subject is compared: **pinang sa-nyiur tinggi-nya** like **pinang sĕpĕrti nyiur tinggi-nya**.

The second half of the comparison, viz. the object with which the subject is compared, must be expressed: **bĕlum pĕrnah ada nyiur sa-tinggi ini** *never were coco-nuts so tall*; in Malay must be added *as these*.

II. Comparative and Superlative.

No real distinction is made between these two degrees. Both can be expressed by

(a) order, accent and antithesis:

pinang nyiur, tinggi pinang *a betel palm is taller than a coco-nut palm*; **pinang nyiur pandan, tinggi pinang** *of betel, coco-nut, and screw palms, the betel palm is the tallest.*

(b) **dari** or better **dari-pada**:

tinggi pinang dari-pada nyiur *the betel palm is taller than the coco-nut*; **dari-pada pinang nyiur pandan, tinggi pinang** *of betel, coco-nut, and screw palms, the betel palm is the tallest*; **sa-orang mantĕri yang tua dari-pada mantĕri sakalian** *the oldest of all the viziers*; **jika dari-pada pihak Mĕlayu ia-lah alim** *on the Malay side he was the most learned.*

Moreover to either of these two constructions, emphasis can be given by the use of

(c) **yang**:

pinang nyiur, pinang yang tinggi or **dari-pada nyiur, pinang yang tinggi** *the betel palm is taller than the*

coco-nut; **pinang nyiur pandan, pinang yang tinggi** or **dari-pada pinang nyiur pandan, yang tinggi pinang** of betel, coco-nut, and screw palms, *the betel is the tallest.*

(d) intensive adverbs **kurang** *less*, **lěbeh, lagi** *more*, **těrlalu, těrlampau, amat, sangat, sa-kali** *very*.

pinang nyiur (yang) lěbeh tinggi pinang; pinang nyiur pandan, yang těr lalu tinggi pinang. kěbanyakan kaya dari-pada yang miskin *there are more rich than poor*; **jikalau těr lampau dari-pada adat bėsarnya itu** *if it is bigger than ordinary*; **kěbanyakan tanah yang tinggi dari-pada tanah rěndah** *there is more high land than low.*

III. The superlative absolute (as opposed to the relative where there is comparison) may be expressed by

(a) reduplication:

tinggi-tinggi pokok lěmbari *very tall is the lembari tree*; **jimat-jimat di-něgěri orang** *be very careful in a strange land*; **kěchil-kěchil anak rimau** *although it is very tiny it is a tiger cub.*

(b) **sa** + reduplication:

děngan sa-bėsar-bėsar harap *with the highest hopes*; **děngan sa-boleh-boleh-nya** *with the best endeavours.*

(c) the aforesaid intensives—often more than one is used:

sa-orang putěri těr amat sangat elok sa-kali *a princess of most exceedingly beautiful countenance.*

(d) by a few phrases: **bukan kěpalang** *literally not middling*, **bukan olah-olah** *without shilly-shallying*; **bukan main** *no child's play.*

medan-nya elok bukan kěpalang *the field was very fine*; **nyamok bukan main banyak-nya** *mosquitoes very numerous.*

(C) THE VERB

§ 33. Even the voice of the Malay verb, simple as well as derivative, has been a subject of controversy.

The earlier grammarians, Werndly, Marsden, Crawford, held that the verb in simple radical form was active. Then de Hollander borrowed the 'subjective-passive' theory¹ as it is called, from the conclusions of Dutch scholars in Javanese grammar. The subjective passive was alleged to be formed by prefixing the unemphatic abbreviated forms of the personal pronouns **aku** and **ěngkau** to the simple verb: **aku tutup** *I shut*, **ěngkau tutup** *you shut*, but **ku-tutup** *by me is shut*; **kau-tutup** *by you is shut*. 'The subjective passive points out the subject as if its expression were accidental; it has a passive sense but is not a passive directly opposed to the active or subjective form as *I was slain* is opposed to *I slay*. It is only a passive form which expresses the accident as a deed or result of the subject but not necessarily as done to the object or undergone by the object.' Favre and Dutch scholars down to Gerth van Wijk carried this theory further still and saw the subjective passive in all contexts where the simple verb was found: **Hassan tutup pintu** *by Hassan was shut the door*, **ěngkau tutup pintu** *by you was shut the door*. Derivatives in **mě** (§ 44) form the active; so the simple verb must be some sort of passive! Against this theory it may be urged that it is a needless torturing of grammar and logic, based on a misunderstanding of the peculiar functions of the **mě** derivative. Tendeloo returned to the older view that the simple root verb is active.

Now on the whole, it is true to say that the simple verb does denote the active voice, but at bottom there are too many exceptions, too many cases where the verb simple and

¹ At bottom the theory was an unskillful parody of the *dictum* laid down in § 38 *and note*, and overlooked the fact that the simple radical verb is often active.

derivative can denote both active and passive for one to be able to discern any fundamental logical conception or distinction of voice in the Malay language. Context determines voice. One prefix will express generally the active, another the passive—but with exceptions (§§ 46, 49, 52, 60 *et passim*): the simple verb will express generally the active—but with exceptions:

sorong *to shove*, **kĕreta sorong** *a push-cart (which is shoved)*; **bĕlah** *to split*, **batu bĕlah** *a split rock*, **tiba-tiba bĕlah papan pada tiang kĕmunchak khemah lalu gugur** *suddenly the board at the top of the tent-pole was split and fell down*; **angkat** *to pick up, to adopt*, **anak angkat** *an adopted child*; **champak**, **buang** *to throw, discard*, **champak buang javelins** *which are cast*, **sudah buang rupa-nya kami bagai ikan di-luar bĕlat** *discarded am I, it seems, like a fish rejected by the trap*; **pukul** *to beat*, **kĕna pukul** *incur being beaten*; **dapat** *to get*; **barang yang dapat oleh-ku habis ku-makan** *whatever is obtained by me I eat up*.

§ 34. The Malay language has been said by van Ophuijsen to have no intransitive verbs, since according to him transitive verbs can be conjugated in the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd persons, **ku-buat**, **kau-buat**, **di-buat**, while words like **pĕrgi** *go*, **datang** *come*, **dudok** *sit*, **jatoh** *fall*, **tidur** *sleep*, which we should call intransitive verbs, never appear in the conjugation **ku-pĕrgi**, **kau-pĕrgi**, **di-pĕrgi**, and therefore (he thinks) are not verbs at all. But the forms **ku-buat** and **kau-buat** are devised with the object of laying less stress on the agent than the full forms **aku** and **ĕngkau** (which alone can be used with words like **pĕrgi**) and cannot properly be called conjugation: his view of **di** is untenable and the whole question of conjugation very doubtful indeed (§ 37). It is safe to say that words like **pĕrgi**, &c., which can never be passive (or appear in the **di** form, § 40), are intransitive.

The Malay language no more distinguishes sharply between transitive and intransitive than it does between active and passive: the gradual adoption of the prepositions **akan** and **i** as suffixes shows the attempt to remedy this want.

Anyhow, the difference between transitive and intransitive is not the same in Malay as it is in European languages. Words like **jalan (darat)** *traverse, travel (over land)*, **tuju** *aim*, in Malay are transitive and can be constructed in the passive as well as the active.

§ 35. There is no inflexion in the Malay verb to mark mood.

'ku dēngar *I hear*; **supaya 'ku dēngar** *that I may hear*; **mudah-mudahan 'ku dēngar** *may I hear*; **dēngar** *listen*; **dēngar itu sēdap** *to hear it is pleasant*; **orang dēngar pun suka** *one hearing it is pleased*.

How far prefixes come indirectly and unconsciously to express mood in a rudimentary way may be seen in discussing the syntax of the verb (§ 39 *c, d*).

§ 36. There is no inflexion required in the Malay verb to denote tense, i.e. time relation.

sahaya lari *I run or am running*; **esok sahaya lari** *to-morrow I will run or shall be running*; **kalmarin sahaya lari** *lately I ran or was running*; **bělum dapat khabar sahaya lari** *before the news came I had run*.

mě derivatives are said generally to correspond to an imperfect; **tě(r)** derivative to a perfect; and the simple uninflected verb to an aorist, though such comparisons are confusing from the use of these terms to denote tense indicating *time* in other languages.

Maharaja pun bértēmpēk sěrta mėlompat may be translated *there is the Maharaja shouting and leaping* or *there was the Maharaja shouting and leaping* or *there will (or would) be the Maharaja shouting and leaping*, according to the context. To say **mě** derivatives denote the imperfect means no more than that they denote a process or activity imperfect

in the sense that the activity or process is, was, or will be happening; and similarly **tě(r)** derivatives are perfect in the sense that they denote acts or conditions which are or will be or have been realized or perfected.

To *emphasize* Present time,¹ a word like **sékarang** *now* will be used; to *emphasize* Future, words like **esok** *to-morrow*, **kémudian** *afterwards* or **mau, hěndak, akan, kělak** (and in the colloquial **nanti**); for Past time, **tělah, sudah, habis**; for the Imperfect **lagi, těngah, sědang**. Such words need not come next the verb they qualify but may stand in the emphatic forefront of the sentence. Such of them as are adverbial may stand anywhere. **kělak, sudah, lagi** often find their position of emphasis at the end of a clause.

To denote the Imperative, when exhortation rather than command is to be expressed, **hěndak** *the wish is*, **harus** *it is proper*: **baik** *it were well*, **choba** *try*, **biar** *let*, **silakan** *please*, will be employed. **hěndak-lah Běndahara karang surat ka-běnu Siam** *you, Bendahara, must compose a letter to*

¹ **ada**, *to be, exist*, is often termed an auxiliary but this leads to confusion as it is neither a temporal word nor a copula. Malay dispenses with the copula, **rumah běsar** *the house is big*, **bělum elok** *it is not perfect*. **ada** always emphasizes real existence, actual presence (whether in present, past, or future time), **anak-ku yang tiada ada tara-nya** *my child who has not her peer in existence*; **ada sěkarang kota-nya di-tanah Dinding** *there exists even now his fort at the Dindings*: **ada sa-buah pěrahu datang dari něgěri China** *there is present a ship come from China*; **ada sa-orang raja di-tanah Hindi** *there lived a prince in Hindostan*; **pulau itu sudah ada** *the island was in existence*; **apabila sudah ada kayu di-bawa bapa-nya** *whenever wood was there brought by his father*; **ada-nya** *it is so, such is the actual case*; **nyatalah ada-nya sěpěrti warta itu** *clearly it actually was as report said*; **ada-lah** *the fact is*; **jangan ěngkau běrchinta**; **ada-lah bunga yang di-kěhěndaki istěri-mu itu bukan-nya bunga mělur yang sa-rupa ada dalam dunia**; **ada-lah bunga mělur běrkěmbang sa-kali itu běrtumbuh di-kaki awan** *be not grieved; for the truth is that the jasmine your bride desires is not jasmine like that which exists in this world; the truth is that jasmine which flowers but once, grows on the horizon.*

Siam; **hëndak kědua kamu muafakat** *you two must plan together*; **biah-lah abang jalan sa-orang** *let me your elder brother set out alone*; **choba bėrtanam mumbang** *try and plant young green coco-nut seedlings*; **silakan dudok** *please be seated*.

§ 37. As there is no conjugation for mood or tense, so too there is no conjugation to denote person or number.

Van Ophuijsen, as has been said, and Spat consider that the Malay verb is conjugated, a view based on several idioms :

(a) The shortened forms **ku**, **kau** are said to be prefixes, indicating first and second persons. It has been shown above that they are merely unobtrusive forms due to the avoidance of egotism in the polite Malay.

(b) Van Ophuijsen further holds the quite untenable view that **di** (see § 40) is a shortened form of **dia** and marks conjugation in the third person. This involves an unparalleled contraction of **dia**; the use of **dia**, more usually accusative, where the nominative **ia** would be expected; and an inexplicable and redundant use of pronouns in the construction **di(a) + simple verb + nya**.

(c) Further proof is alleged to exist in order. One may write **aku bėlum sakit** *I am not yet sick*, but never **ku** (or **aku**) **bėlum bėrikan, sahaya bėlum bėrikan, aku nanti bėrikan**, always **bėlum 'ku** (or **aku** or **sahaya** or any other proper or improper personal pronoun) **bėrikan** *not yet have I given*; **nanti aku bėrikan** *I will give*. This order, however, is easily explained by the usual syntax governing the use of adverbs and the rule that the position for an emphatic word is at the beginning of the clause.

§ 38. Syntax of the simple uninflected verb.

When the verb is intended to denote not the activity of an agent, or the state of a *patiens*, expressed or implied, but solely the activity, act, fact, event, state or condition as a

phenomenon, then the simple non-derivative form is used.¹ This is the fundamental rule governing the (non-colloquial, § 107) proper use of the simple verb, to which other rules are but corollaries.

This rule may be illustrated by certain classified uses of the simple form of the verb :

(a) No prefix attaches to intransitive words signifying spontaneous states of feeling and simple acts :

kaseh, **sayang**, **rindu** *love*; **suka** *feel pleasure*; **harap** *hope*; **jěmu** *feel satiety*; **tidur** *sleep*; **tahu** *know*; **diam** *keep silent*; **jatoh** *fall*; **lari** *run*; **bangun** *rise*; **turun** *descend*; **těrjun** *leap down*; **naik** *ascend*; **masok** *enter*; **datang** *come*; **ada** *be*; **mau**, **hěndak** *wish*; **pěrgi** *go*; **těrěbang** *fly*; **sampai** *arrive*; **sujud** *kneel*; **tunduk** *stoop*

¹ In other words, one may say, when the simple form of the verb is used, the verb is the logical subject of the sentence and the noun or pronoun which our grammar would call subject is subordinate to it; when a derivative mě form is employed, the noun or pronoun is subject and the verb with the idea it expresses is subordinate or adjectival.

Were it practicable, Malay grammar, to my mind, ought to be arranged and written in accordance with a system suggested by Mr. Blagden in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, October, 1908, p. 1204, 'Is it not possible to conceive a language that should marshal its parts of speech (i.e. represent the mental relation of its ideas) in quite another way? Why should the verb necessarily fall into the predicative part of the sentence? Could it not just as well be the other way about? . . . What I conceive as possible is the treatment of the verbal idea, the action, process or (if one may so style it) the dynamic element of the sentence, as the subject, making the words that we should take as subject, object, &c., subordinate to it, while the real predicate (which in an affirmative sentence of this sort would be merely an affirmation that the action expressed by the verb-subject is an actuality) would either be represented by a particle of affirmation or be already implicitly involved in the form of the verb-subject itself. To me such a syntactical system . . . seems quite conceivable, nay more, I believe it to exist sometimes as a fact. Take as an example the following Malay sentence . . . **di-chium-nya dan di-tangis-nya oleh bonda-nya akan anak-nya itu** *There-was-kissing-and-weeping-over-it by her—(by its mother over her child).*

the head; **tiada jĕmu mata baginda** *there-was-no-satiety-in the prince's eyes*; **anjing kĕdua itu pun lari lalu tĕrjun ka-dalam sungai** *as for the two hounds—there was a rush and a leap—into the river*; **orang jadi raja muda itu bukan-nya mudah** *the post of crown prince is no sinecure*; **pintu kota pun roboh** *as for the gate—down it fell*; **raja muda pun suka mĕlihat** *there was joy—in the crown prince at the sight*.

The significance of the simple radical form can be seen by studying the change produced in such words by the addition of affixes.

sangat rindu baginda akan anakanda *great was the love of the prince—for his son*; **burong punggok mĕrindukan bulan** *'tis the owl loves the moon*; **tundok-lah tuan putĕri** *downcast eyes—that was the princess's (perhaps unconscious) attitude*; **orang mĕnundokkan kĕpala** *folk bow their heads in conscious homage*; **aku pun jadi-lah** *my birth—took place*; **Bukit Sĕguntang mĕjadi bandar bĕsar-lah** *there was Bukit Seguntang—became a large town*.

(b) Verbs which would otherwise take prefixes under the condition of the general rule omit them :

jikalau tuanku hĕndak bĕrgagah juga mĕndĕkati anakda chunda, sahaja patek amok-lah *if your highness persist in efforts to approach your grandchild, then there will be slaughter—done by us*; **jikalau ada budak ĕmpat, adakah nakhoda kĕnal** *if the four children are present, will there be recognition—on the captain's part?*; **chuchur-lah ayer mata-nya tiada bĕrasa** *there was no conscious process, just the falling of tears*; **jikalau ringgit ini, sĕpĕrti ayer basoh tangan** *the dollars I mention were wasted like washing-water (mĕmbasoh would throw emphasis on ayer whereas the point is washing-water not water—which, one may add, is used for washing)*; **baik-lah tuan pĕreksa 't were well there should be examination—by you; **pĕrgi-lah mĕmĕreksa****

go you—and conduct an examination; **sahaya lihat sa-puluh dua-bĕlas pondok orang laut mĕmbuat bĕlat diam di-situ** *there were visible (to me) ten or twelve huts occupied by sea-folk engaged in fishing*; **ia-lah mĕlihat burung mĕmbawa utusan** *it was he who was the conscious spectator of the bird that brought the message*; **pada kĕtika itu boleh Batin tunjukkan rumah ibu-nya** *then can his mother's house be shown me, Batin—there is no stress on Batin; any one may show the house, the point is it must be shown.*

§ 39. The use of the simple non-derivative form of the verb is especially common in certain types of sentence :

(a) Where the object is placed in the position of prominence at the commencement of the clause and before the subject.¹ There is no attempt to emphasize whether the act, fact, event or condition was brought about by an agent; the emphatic point is that the object has been somehow affected.

titah patek junjong *your royal commands meet with our obedience* (but **sakalian alam mĕnjunjong titah** *all the world are your servants*); **apa kĕhĕndak-nya tiada pĕreksa hamba datok** *his purpose has not been the subject of my inquiry*; **mana bichara mamak Bĕndahara, itu-lah kita turut** *your counsel, Bendahara, commands observance*; **ada sa-buah lading maka kita turun dĕngan bĕras bĕkal** *there was a boat launched (by us) with provision of rice.*

Under this head fall relative sentences where the relative pronoun is the object and the emphasis is on the attribute or condition ascribed by the relative clause to its subject, which is the logical subject of the whole.

ini-lah yang kita lihat sa-malam itu *this was last night's spectacle*; **dĕmi tuhan yang aku sĕmbah ini** *by God the object of my worship.*

¹ Or, in other words, the object is the logical subject of the clause.

Or the word emphasized need not necessarily be the object but may be what in our grammar would be some other subordinate part of the sentence.

esok hari-lah kita panggil raja Mělaka itu, tětėkala itu-lah kita suroh Laksamana bėriwayat *to-morrow will be the day for calling the Raja of Malacca and that will be the time to bid the Laksamana tell his stories.*

(b) In the case of direct and indirect commands, prohibitions, and requests, where the realization of a certain act or condition and not the perhaps abortive activity of an agent towards it is contemplated and where often no particular agent is in view. Contrast § 48 (c).

sėgėra ěngkau datang bawa anak-ku *go fetch my child quickly*; **lihat oleh-mu hal-ku ini** *behold my state*; **bawa-lah oleh-mu¹ bėliong ini ka-Manjapahit** *let this axe be brought—by you—to Manjapahit*; **hėndak-lah ěngkau turut wasiat-ku** *let obedience be your attitude to my will*; **jangan kamu tukarkan agama dėngan dunia** *exchange not your religion for worldliness—a general maxim*; **Sultan minta sandari ka-pada dayang-dayang** *the Sultan begged to be propped up—he asked the Court damsels*; **baik-lah kita suroh sėrang nėgėri-nya** *it were well our order issue for an attack on his land*; **di-suroh-nya bunch** *the mandate was death.*²

¹ This imperative form, which has puzzled some grammarians and excited the contempt of others, was probably designed to avoid confusion. **bawa kamu** might mean *fetch you* as well as *you fetch*; **oleh** (lit. *got*) is similarly used with the *di* construction or with the indicative radical verb: **sa-kali ini dapat-lah oleh kita budak-budak ini** *this time will see the capture of these children by us.*

² There are two exceptions to this section:

(1) Where an affix has come to be invariably employed and the derivative form is crystallized, then even in these imperatives such a derivative must be used: **bėrtitah baginda 'patek mėnari-lah pula, kita hėndak mėlihat'** *the king ordered 'Do you dance, for I would see you'*; **kata-nya 'sėgėra-lah kita bėlayar'** *said he 'Let us quickly*

(c) In the case of final clauses where the end in view is an actual result and not the employment of any particular agent, then again the simple radical form of the verb is found :

mēmohonkan anakanda baginda supaya kita rajakan *we beg your princely son for our ruler*; **baik-lah baginda kita suroh panggil, kita dēngar titah baginda** *the king should be called so that his commands may be heard*; **jikalau anak-ku hēndak pērgi bērmāin-main bēri tahu ayahanda supaya boleh ayahanda kērahkan sēgala rayat mēngiringkan tuan** *if you wish to go and play, let me know so that all your followers may attend you.*

(d) Similarly in conditional and concessive clauses, where the hypothesis is an act, fact, event or condition and not the employment of a particular agent or subject :

aku hēndak sērahkan dia mēngaji, maalim pun tiada *suppose his dispatch to school was my desire, there was no teacher*; **jikalau 'kau bunoh dia, bahwa nēgēri-mu binasa** *suppose his death result from your orders, assuredly it means destruction to your country*; **lihat-lah kēlak jikalau tiada aku langgarkan gajah-ku ini di-balairong raja Mēlaka** *see if in the future there be not a shattering of the palace of the prince of Malacca by this elephant of mine* (but **pēri raja Pahang hēndak mēlanggar balairong Mēlaka itu pun di-pērsēmbahkan** *information was laid that the*

sail'; **kētahuī oleh-mu** *be it known by you*; **jangan tērtawa-lah** *don't laugh.*

(2) Where the verb of command denotes the activity of an agent and takes the prefix **mē**, then by analogy the verb it governs also takes that prefix: **baginda mēnyuroh mēmanggil anakda Raja Muda** *the prince ordered that the crown prince be called*; **akan yang mēnyurohkan kami sakalian Batara Manjapahit mēnyurohkan mērompak katanah Palembang lalu naik ka-Bukit Sēguntang**; **di-suroh-nya rampas sa-kali** *the man who gave us all our orders was the prince of Manjapahit*; **he it was who bade us go to Palembang and rob and thence ascend Mount Seguntang**; **his order was to take it by force.**

prince of Pahang intended to attack the Malacca palace—all the emphasis being on the prince of Pahang).

§ 40. The use of **di** before the radical form of the verb.

Not only is a passive sense inherent in the simple radical verb and evocable at the requirement of the context, but it is also evocable by the prefixing of **di**. It seems certain that **di** is only the locative preposition in an idiomatic context. Compare a sentence like **sĕgala raja dalam hukum-nya** *all rajas are under his rule* with **sĕgala raja di-hukum-nya** *all rajas are ruled by him*. Or take sentences like **bunga di-naung batu** *flowers in the shadow of a rock*, **mati di-rahang buaya** *dead in the jaws of a crocodile*, where even in foreign idiom **di** retains its character of preposition. Then take it in conjunction with **nya**: **di-lihat-nya** *in his sight, seen by him*, **di-dĕngar-nya** *in his hearing* (where perhaps the verb is passive, and **nya** is a genitive). It is to be remarked that **di** as a preposition never refers to time but only to place, and that therefore its use as a prefix in no way does violence to the nature of the Malay verb.

bĕ(r) or middle derivatives never take **di**. **mĕ** derivatives, which are 'adjectival' and attaching the act to an agent denote process and activity and *not* state or condition, never take **di**. Nor yet again do **tĕ(r)** derivatives. Moreover unless their nature has been changed by the suffixes **i** or **kan**, **di** is superfluous and prefixed to none of the (intransitive) verbs in § 34, like **pĕrgi**.

§ 41. The use of **di** is governed by the same rule as that which governs the use of the simple form of the verb. It is an idiomatic sub-form when the construction is in the third person and there is no emphasis on the agent.

The noun or pronoun, denoting the subject by whom an act is done or condition experienced, if expressed, follows the verb incidentally as it were and may be said to be in the

genitive ; or if it stands separate from the verb, its place in the sentence is made clear and confusion avoided by the use of **oleh** before it.

muka yang di-bēnchi orang *a hated face* ; **musoh sudah di-hambat-nya** *the enemy had been chased by him* ; **ikan yang tiada boleh di-tangkap** *uncatchable fish* ; **tiada dapat di-katakan lagi** *indescribable* ; **budak itu di-suroh bunoh oleh baginda** *the boy's execution was ordered by the king*

oleh will often be pleonastic itself or introduce a pleonastic use of the noun or pronoun : **di-pěrbuat oleh sėgala utus itu sa-buah pėti kacha** *there was made by the envoys a glass case* ; **oleh orang dalam nėgėri itu akan Raja Suran itu di-bawa-nya** *by the folk in that country—Raja Suran was conducted by them.*

§ 42. The following illustrations of the general principle are notable :

(a) The **di** construction will be used in command, entreaty, and prohibition instead of the simple form when the subject of the second verb is not the speaker but another and third person or thing.

hamba minta anakanda di-kahwinkan *I ask that my daughter may be married* ; **titah baginda hėndak-lah di-pěrbuat astana akan saudara kita** *bade the prince 'There must be made a palace for our relative'* ; **biar di-lihat-nya nėgėri** *let the land be seen by him.*

It will naturally be often employed, when the wish, command, or prohibition is quite general and not addressed to any one in particular.

jangan di-kėnang yang hilang itu *let not loss abide in memory* ; **apabila ada chap sa-rupa ini, maka tėrimalah, jikalau tiada jangan di-tėrima** *where there is a seal like this, accept it ; otherwise let it be refused* ; **jangan di-bėri bėrmmain jauh-jauh** *don't let permission be given to play far away.*

(b) The construction is usual, when the subject is not expressed directly in that clause or part of the sentence where the verb stands but precedes it, i. e. in co-ordinate sentences where two verbs follow the same subject and the word for the subject is not repeated before the second verb but stands remote, stress falling on the act and not on the agent:

raja Mělaka pun bėrdiri di-tėpi balairong itu mė-nyambut adinda baginda di-bawa dudok bėrsama-sama *the prince of Malacca stood at the edge of the hall and received his younger brother; (the latter) was escorted to share his throne.*

maharaja bėrtėmpek sėrta mėlompat di-palu dėngan gada-nya ka-pada Sang Hanuman *the Maharaja shouted and leapt; a blow was struck with his mace at Sang Hanuman; baginda pun naik-lah ka-atas maligai itu lalu di-lihat-nya ada sa-orang putėri* *the prince mounted the tower, when the spectacle of a princess met his eyes.*

CHAPTER VI

SYSTEM OF AFFIXATION

§ 43. (I) The following table will illustrate the Malay modern system of affixation and show how difficult and improper it is to make strict divorce between parts of speech :

I. Simple prefixes			
	Verbal	Substantival	Adjectival
mě	§ 44	. . .	Obsolete §§ 2, 3
bě(r)	§ 49	. . .	§ 51 (3) (4) (5)
tě(r)	§ 52	. . .	§ 53 (4)
kě	§ 2	§ 57	§ 57
pě	§ 55	§ 56	§ 56
Suffixes			
an	. . .	§ 58	§ 58
i	§ 62	§ 2	. . .
kan	§ 61	. . .	. . .
II. Compound prefixes			
měmpě(r)	§ 45 <i>a</i>	. . .	. . .
běrkě	§ 51 (6)	. . .	. . .
di-pě(r)	§ 55	. . .	. . .
di-kě	§ 57	. . .	. . .
III. Prefixes and Suffixes			
mě . . . i	§ 45 <i>b</i>	. . .	. . .
kě . . . i	§ 57	. . .	. . .
pě(r) . . . i	§ 55	. . .	. . .
mě bě(r) tě(r) pě(r)	} . . . kan <i>Passim</i>	. . .	. . .
běr . . . an		§ 51 (6)	. . .
pě . . . an		. . .	§ 59
kě . . . an		§ 60	§ 59 § 60

(II) The following table of the *commoner* verbal forms which I borrow substantially from Spat is useful:

- I. (a) Simple root verbs.
- (b) Stems lengthened by suffix **i** or improper suffix **kan**.
- (c) Secondary stems formed by prefix **pě(r)**.
- (d) Secondary stems lengthened e.g. **pěristěrikan**.
- II. **mě** is prefixed to *a, b, c, d* of I.
- III. **bě(r)** to *a, b* of I.
- IV. **tě(r)** to *a, b* of I.
- V. **di** to *a, b, c, d* of I.

(III) The following will be my paradigm for the Malay verb—explained below under the different forms. I avoid the use of tense terms not strictly applicable to Malay grammar:

The Verb

is

*Active and Passive*¹

	mě(ng)	bě(r)	pě(r)	tě(r)
<p><i>The radical</i> expresses the phenomenon. (The idiomatic di use comes under this heading but may best be described as only passive.)</p>	<p>denotes activity or process; a kind of finite participle. (Usually active.)</p>	<p>forms a middle, denoting the reflexive, reciprocal, &c. (Active-middle and passive-middle.)</p>	<p>forms causative verbs and an imperative.</p>	<p>denotes the realized act or condition and forms a (non-temporal) perfect.</p>

mě + nasal infix.

§ 44. (I) The following are the rules for prefixing this formative to a ground word:

(a) When the ground word begins with a nasal, or one of the semivowels **w, y** or with **r** and **l**, then **mě** simply is prefixed:

¹ i.e. in this derivative as well as in its simple radical form.

ngada, **měngada** *boast*; **nyanyi**, **měnyanyi** *sing*; **naungi**, **měnaungi** *shelter*; **makan**, **měmakan** *eat*; **wakil**, **měwakilkan** *give power of attorney to*; **yakin**, **měyakinkan** *assert*; **rampas**, **měrampas** *seize*; **lambong**, **mělambong** *to surge*.

(b) When the ground word begins with **h**, **alif**, **k**, **g**, then **mě + ng** is prefixed and **alif** and **k** are dropped:

hela, **měnghela** *drag*; **ambil**, **měngambil** *take*; **iring**, **měngiring** *follow*; **kěpit**, **měngěpit** *carry under the arm*; **gigit**, **měnggigit** *bite*.

(c) When the ground word begins with **b** and **p**, then **mě + m** is prefixed and **p** is dropped¹:

balut, **měmbalut** *wrap*; **palu**, **měmalu** *strike*.

(d) When the ground word begins with **ch**, **j**, **d**, or **t**, then **mě + n** is prefixed and **t** is dropped:

chari, **měnchari** *search*; **jadi**, **měnjadi** *become*; **děngar**, **měnděngar** *hear*; **tarek**, **měnarek** *drag*.

(e) When the ground word begins with **s**, then **mě + ny** is prefixed and the **s** dropped:

suroh, **měnyuroh** *order*.

(II) These rules are fixed only in literary or Riau-Johor Malay, and even there with some few variants and exceptions; e.g. from **děngar**, **měněngar** also is formed; from **chukur** and **chinta**, **měnyukur** and **měnyinta**; from **pinta**, **pohon**, **pimpin** we get **minta**, **mohon**, **mimpin** as well as **měminta**, **měmohon**, **měmimpin**.²

§ 45. This formative is prefixed to

(a) Verbs, whether ground words, or stems lengthened by **i** and **kan**, or secondary stems having the prefix **pě(r)**, or

¹ But this does not apply to secondary stems commencing with the prefix **pě(r)**, e.g. **měmpěristěrikan** never **měměristěrikan**.

² Cp. Fokker's *Malay Phonetics*.

lengthened secondary stems with prefix **pě(r)** and suffix **i** or **kan** :

pukul, **měmukul** *beat*; **tangis**, **měnangis** *weep*; **nanti**, **měnanti** *wait*; **lihat**, **mělihat**, **mělihati**, **mělihatkan** *see*; **měmpěristěrikan** *take to wife*.

(b) Certain ground words that without the prefix are not verbal :

ikan *a fish*, **měngikan** *fishing*; **burong** *bird*, **měmburong** *catching birds*; **gětah** *rubber, lime*, **měnggětah** *liming (birds)*; **awan** *cloud*, **měngawan** *ascending into clouds*; **těpi** *edge*, **měněpi** *going along the edge*; **laut** *sea*, **mělaut** *traversing sea*; **titi** *bridge*, **měniti** *employing as a bridge*; **rantau** *river reach*, **měrantau** *traversing river reaches*; **kail** *a hook*, **měngail** *fishing with a hook*; **jala** *cast-net*, **měnjala** *throwing a cast-net*; **panah** *arrow*, **měmanah** *shooting arrows*; **batu** *stone*, **měmbatu** *becoming stone, petrifying*; **jarum** *needle*, **měnjarum** *shoot up to needle-like point*; **puteh** *white*, **měmuteh** *becoming white*; **sa-běrang** *over-stream*, **měnyaběrang** *crossing a stream*; **aku** *I, me*, **měngaku** *taking on oneself, acknowledging*.

§ 46. Laying stress on activity, **mě** derivatives will generally express the active voice, but there are exceptions, and the prefix has not entirely extinguished the dual nature of the root verb :

baginda **měmbawa** **těman** *the king was bringing a follower*; **Pateh Kěrma Wijaya pun sudah běrlěngkap akan pěrsěmbahan tujuh-puloh orang měmbawa-nya** *Pateh Kerma Wijaya had prepared a present of seventy slaves who were being brought by him*; **sěgala chětěria pun datang měngalu-ngalukan baginda** *all the warriors came welcoming the prince*; **Raja Pahang pun hilir měngalu-ngalukan oleh Raja Ahmad** *the Raja of Pahang came down stream being welcomed by Raja Ahmad*; **baik kita měmbacha hikayat pěrang** *it were well we read a tale of war*; **sa-tělah 'ku**

jawab maka oleh imam atau khatib pun mēmbachakan doa sēlamat *as soon as I answered, prayers for my safety were made by priests or readers.*

§ 47. As opposed to the simple ground form of the verb which lays stress on the act, fact, event or condition, derivatives in **mě** always express the activity, the tendency, the direction, the movement towards an act, fact or event and condition to which endeavour goes.

It may be said that the force of the prefix **mě** is essentially adjectival (cp. § 2), joining a word denoting activity or movement to an agent or *patiens* expressed or implied; or rather perhaps participial, its derivatives in modern Malay being mostly verbal¹; and at the same time often finite as deriving person and number from the substantive—a finite participle if such can be conceived.

Instances of the use of the derivative as a finite participle are common: **tělah Sri Bija 'di Raja mēmandang surat itu** *as soon as Sri Bija 'di Raja saw the letter*; **baginda pun mēnugěrahi pěrsalin** *the king gave a gift of raiment.*

Its purely participial use, unless one include (a) below, is not very common but is quite normal: **Laksamana mēmarang itu tiada mēmbunoh** *slashing, the Laksamana did not slay.*

So, too, its employment as a verbal noun. **pulang dari mēnchari makanan** *return from searching for food*; **mudah juga mēmbunoh dia** *easy is the killing of him*; **mēngambil kayu api juga kěrja-nya** *getting firewood was his work.*

§ 48. The idiomatic employment of the **mě** derivative may be learnt best from its special usages.

(a) It is very common after such words as **pěrgi** *go*, **datang** *come*; **hěndak** *desirous of*; **boleh** *be able*, **pandai** *clever at*,

¹ Similarly **bě(r)** derivatives are both verbal and adjectival, according to our idiom—a split in function evidently artificial and not real or evident to the Malay.

takut *afraid of*, hairan *astonished at*, tempat *place for*, and so on.

dudok mēnangis *sit weeping*; hairan mēlihat *astonished at seeing*; tērlalu-lah suka hati baginda mēndēngar-nya *very delighted was the heart of the prince at hearing it*; boleh-lah sudah mēnulis Koran *had the skill for writing the Koran*; tiada boleh hēndak mēlalui dari-pada hukum *you must not be desirous of transgressing the law*; tiada boleh mēmbunoh dēngan tiada bērtanya *lacks power of executing without requesting permission*.

And so on, even in the imperative mood. pērgi-lah mēmbawa ayer utama jiwa mēnghidupkan Sang Sambah *go and get the water of life for restoring Sang Sambah*; pērgi-lah mēmbuangkan Si Tuah *go about the business of banishing Si Tuah*; mari-lah kita mēlihat yang bērnyalanyala sa-malam *come and see what was blazing last night*; kata Tēmēnggong, 'ada pun di-tēmpat kayu Mēlaka ini-lah mēmbangunkan astana dan balairong' *said the Temenggong 'At the place of this emblica tree—this is the place for building palace and hall'*.

(b) In co-ordinate sentences, the mē form is employed as opposed to what has been laid down in § 42 (b), where the two verbs denote one consecutive activity on the part of an agent :

saudagar itu pun mēngangkat tangan lalu mēnyēmbah *the merchant lifted his hands and did obeisance (with them)*; Hang Tuah pun sēgēra mēngambil kapak mēmbēlah kayu itu *Hang Tuah quickly picked up an axe and split the billet with it*.

Similarly, when there is the same connection of one consecutive activity between the actions in a subordinate and principal sentence :

tēlah baginda santap, lalu mēmakai bau-bauan *use of scent concluded the royal repast*.

(c) In orders, entreaties, and prohibitions, where the injunc-

tion is laid on a definite person expressed or understood—Contrast § 39 (b).

biar kita mēnghantarkan anakanda *let us be your son's convoy*; **hēndak-lah kamu kēdua jangan mēngubahkan sētia dan jangan kamu mēnyēmbah raja yang lain** *you two, don't you be men to break faith and follow another prince*; **di-tangkapkan-nya baginda di-suroh-nya mēmbawa imam** *he was captured by the prince and ordered (personally) to embrace the faith*; **Sēri Pakrama Raja di-titahkan baginda mēnjēmput surat itu** *Sri Pakrama Raja was deputed to receive the letter formally*.

(d) Where the object comes at the beginning of the sentence and emphasis is required to fall equally on agent and act, then the object is repeated by means of a pronoun and the **mě** derivative employed—Contrast § 39 (a).

titah tuan-ku sakalian alam mēnjunjong dia *your highness's mandate—all the world proceeds to obey it*; **baik-lah Laksamana ini aku suroh pēngawitan yang tujuh ribu itu mēmbunch dia** *as for the Laksamana it were well I bid those 7,000 warriors proceed to slay him*.

bě(r)

§ 49. It has been said above that there is no sharp distinction of voice in the verb simple or derivative.

That distinction depends on context and on arbitrary usage. **bě(r)**, as will be explained below, forms broadly a middle voice, but this middle even often has the same dual nature as the simple verb and in many cases may be called active—middle and passive—middle, **běrsiap** *preparing*, **běrkēmas** *packing*, **běrgantong** *hanging*, may be active or passive according to the context. Sentences show such dual uses clearly. **baharu-lah Si Jēbat bēroleh lawan** *now only has Jebat got his peer*; **kēris itu bēroleh ka-tangan 'ku** *the dagger has got into my hands*; **běrtumbok bēras** *pounding rice*; **bēras yang bērtumbok** *pounded rice*; **běrgosok bau-**

bauan *rub scent on oneself*; **kuda itu tiada bėrgosok** *the horse has not been rubbed*; **bėrtėmu dėngan orang** *meet with folk*; **sėgala harta itu tėlah bėrtėmu balik** *all the property was met again*; **apabila ia lari bunch oleh 'mu, apabila ia bėrtahan, jangan sunggoh-sunggohi** *when he runs, slay; when he halts, don't persist*; **bėrapa di-tahani oleh Bėndahara, tiada mau makhdum bėrtahan** *however much the Bendahara sought to detain him, the Arab would not be detained.*

It is not necessary to reiterate here what has been said above generally of the inflexion of the Malay verb, namely that inflexion denotes neither mood nor tense.

Examples will show **bė(r)** derivatives in all moods and in all tenses, past, present, and future.

Tendeloo tried to discover that for the middle voice derivatives in **pė(r)** stand to those in **bė(r)** as the simple verb stands to derivatives in **mė**; but he had to admit that the Malay, when he wants the middle voice, nearly always uses a **bė(r)** derivative whether he is speaking of a phenomenon or of a process.

§ 50. **bė(r)** forms a middle voice, 'The Greek middle is midway between the active voice, in which the subject does something to an object and the passive in which something is done to the subject. The subject is represented as acting on himself': **bėrchukur** *shave oneself*; 'for himself': **bėrsimpan** *pack up for oneself*; **mari-lah kita bėrsimpan sėgala pėrkakas kita** *come let us pack up our belongings*; 'or with reference to himself': **bėrpukul, bėrtumbok** *fight and take blows*; 'or for an object which belongs to himself': **bėrbuat astana raja** *make a palace for one's prince*. The Malay prefix expresses the closely allied ideas of reflexive and reciprocal action, of repetition where something is added to the original, of connection between one person or thing and another, and of possession by oneself. It is to be noted that the derivatives need not bear one only of these meanings,

that **bĕrkata**, for example, may mean *have one's say, speak man to man, speak all together* according to context; **tiada bĕrlawan** *not fighting one another or not having a peer, peerless*; **bĕrnyanyi** *singing one's song, singing one to another, singing all together*; the division into classes is only an artificial way of viewing different aspects of the one central function.

The prefix is reflexive and not necessarily verbal. It can attach nouns and adjectives as well as verbs to an entity; and such of its derivatives correspond to adjectives. It is to be remembered that in Indonesian grammar the **bĕ** system is parallel to the **mĕ** system; and **mĕ**, as has been suggested, has an adjectival or participial meaning, even when its derivatives according to our grammar are finite verbs.

§ 51. Its various nuances may be seen best under different heads:

(1) Reflexive.

bĕrubah (muka) *change one's (countenance)*; **bĕrdiri** *raise oneself, rise*; **bĕrbaring** *lay oneself down, lie down*; **bĕrgopoh** *hurry oneself*; **bĕrlutut** *drop on one's knees*; **bĕradu** *compose oneself to sleep*; **bĕrpaling** *turn one's head aside*; **bĕrhĕnti** *stop oneself*; **bĕrbangkit** *raise oneself, rise*; **bĕrsantap** *feed oneself*; **bĕrsiram** *bathe oneself*; **bĕrpindah** *remove oneself*; **bĕrsĕmbunyi** *conceal oneself*; **bĕrjalan** *go on one's way, travel*; **bĕrbalik** *retrace one's course*; **bĕrpal** *tack (over one's course)*. **sunggoh pun tidur tĕtapi ia bĕringat** *he slept but he remembered himself*; **patek sudah bĕrlĕngkap** *I have prepared my equipment*; **pĕnjurit yang dua ratus itu bĕrbahagi tiga** *the two hundred robbers divided themselves into three parties*; **yang laki-laki bĕrkabong lagi bĕrchukur dan sĕgala pĕrĕmpuan bĕrtokong rambut di-kĕrat** *the men dressed themselves in mourning and shaved their heads and all the women had their hair cut*; **bĕrjalan sĕpĕrti tiada bĕrjjak di-bumi** *travelling on his way as if he never let himself touch the ground*; **ĕmpat lima orang China**

tinggal ka-pada sahaya bĕrtanam padi *there are four or five Chinamen live with me and occupy themselves in rice planting*; **ia bĕrfikir sa-bĕntar lalu kata-nya** *he thought to himself for a moment and said.*

This reflexive usage is confirmed by the employment of the prefix in certain redundant constructions: **bĕrsiap** or **bĕrsiapkan diri** *prepare oneself*; **bĕrdiam** or **bĕrdiamkan diri** *keep oneself silent.*

Where the action affects oneself viewed as something external (and if expressed by **diri**, in its primary sense of *body, person*) then the prefix **mĕ** may be employed: **mĕlindungkan diri** *shelter one's person*; **mĕmaling muka** *turn aside the face.*

Comparison between **mĕ** and **bĕ** where they are prefixed to the same root is fruitful. **mĕrasa** *feel (a thing)*, **bĕrasa** *feel (oneself)*—**bĕrasa mabok** *feel drunk*; **mĕnaung** *shelter another person or a thing*, **bĕrnaung** *shelter oneself*; **mĕndiri** *erect a thing*, **bĕrdiri** *hold oneself erect*; **mĕmakai don** *(a coal)*, **bĕrpakai** *dress oneself*; **mĕmalit** *smear (anything)*, **bĕrpalit** *smear oneself*; **mĕngangkat** *lift (an object)*, **bĕrangkat** *travel (lit. remove oneself)*; **mĕnjĕmur** *dry (an object) in the sun*; **bĕrjĕmur** *dry oneself in the sun.*

Sometimes the distinction has been nearly lost, as in the passage quoted by van Ophuijsen from the *Sejarah Melayu*: **Sultan Mansur Shah mĕmbĕri titah pada Bĕndahara mĕnyuroh bĕrbuat astana . . . maka orang Ungaran bĕrbuat astana bĕsar dan orang Tunggal mĕmbuat astana kĕchil**, and so on, **mĕmbuat** and **bĕrbuat** being used indifferently throughout a long paragraph; but even here probably, a distinction should be marked in translation *Sultan Mansur Shah commanded the Bĕndahara to order a palace to be made for himself; the men of Ungaran built him his large palace and the men of Tunggal built a small palace.* Certainly **bĕrbuat nĕgĕri** means *make oneself a settlement*; and **bĕrbuat jahat** *behave wickedly (lit. make oneself wicked)*

can never be changed into **měmbuat jahat**: **yang bėrbuat kėbaktian ka-pada tuan-nya** *who did his service to his lord.*

(2) Reciprocal :

bėrgomol *wrestle one with another*; **bėrkait** *interlock*; **bėrtukar** *exchange*; **bėrsalin** *change (one garment) for another*; **bėrgėlut** *rival one another in wrestling*; **bėrlaga** *fight one another*; **bėrantok** *knock (one) against (another)*; **bėgurau** *sport one with another*; **bėrjanji** *contract*; **bėrpinang** *plight oneself to another*; **bėrkėlahi** *fighting together*; **bėrsual**, **bėrtanya** *put one's questions to another*; **bėrgadai** *pawn (a thing for a consideration)*; **bėrėngkau** *using 'thou' in conversation with another*; **bėrchinta** *love one another*; **bėrbaik** *on good terms with one another*; **bėrtidak** *making one's denial to a person*; **bėrtitah** *issue one's commands to another*; **bėrmohon** *take one's leave of another*; **bėrtulis** *correspond*. **Hang Tuah bėrhikayat pėlbagai chėrita** *Hang Tuah gave them his repertory of tales*; **raja China tiada makan bėras yang bėrtumbok** *the prince of China did not eat rice which had been pounded (between pestle and mortar)*; **ada yang mėnjadi pėnchuri, ada yang bėrtikam** *some became thieves, others stabbers (lit. exchanging stabs with peoples, or making themselves stabbers, practising as stabbers).*

This reciprocal usage also is expended in a pleonastic construction. **ombak bėrpalu sėndiri-nya** *waves beat one against another*; **bėrbisek sama sėndiri** *whispering to one another*; **bėrbuat aniaya sama sėndiri-nya** *oppress one another.*

Again, one may contrast derivatives in **mė** and **bė(r)**. **mėnaroh** *set (a thing) down*, **bėrtaroh** *stake, set one thing against another*; **mėnjual** *sell (a thing)*, **bėrjual** *sell, barter (of one person to another)*; **mėmėgang** *hold*, **bėrpėgang** *hold (a person or thing) to oneself, hold one another*; **mėnggosok** *rub (a thing)*, **bėrgosok** *rub one thing with another*; **mėnėn-**

tang *front*, **běrtětang** *confront*; **měnangkap** *seize*, **běrtangkap** *seize and be seized*; **měmohon** *ask for (a thing)*; **běrmohon** *ask for one's leave of another*; **měnyimpan** *keep*, **běrsimpan** *have in one's keeping*. Compare **saudara-nya** **kědua** **pun** **datang** **běrpělok** **běrchium** **saudara-běrsaudara** **běrtangis-tangisan** *the two relatives came and embraced each the other with mutual tears* with the sentence **bonda-nya** **pun** **měmėlok** **měnchium** **anak-nya** *the mother embraced and kissed her child*—where the child is a passive object.

(3) Denoting repetition or addition to an original.¹

běrtindeh *lying one on others*; **běrtingkat** *storey upon storey*; **běrbaris** *row upon row*; **běrlapis** *fold on fold*; **běrsusun** *in layers*; **běrbanjar** *tier on tier*; **běrgantang** *measure by measure*; **běrlipat** *fold upon fold*; **běrganti** *in turn, one after another*; **běrlingkar** *coiled, coil upon coil*; **běrpusing** *revolving (turn after turn)*; **běrgolek** *rolling (roll after roll)*; **běrpanjang** *long, length upon length*. **lain dari-pada** **anjing** **dua** **itu** **běrpuloh** **anjing** **lain** **sěrta-nya** *besides these two dogs, tens of dogs accompanied*.

(4) Denoting connection.

běrdua *two together*; **běrsama** *in company with*; **běrkampong**, **běrhimpun** *assemble together*; **běrsaeng** *travel together*; **běrbichara**, **běrmashuarat** *take counsel together*; **běrtěmu**, **běrjumpa** *encounter*; **běrchampur** *mix together*; **běrkahwin**, **běrnikah** *marry with*; **běrsanding** *sit together, of bride and groom at a wedding*; **tiga** **běranak** *I and my two children*; **běrapa** *how many in all*; **běrmain** **kěkaseh** **orang** *fondle another's darling*.

(5) Possession.

běrbini *possessed of a wife, married*; **běrilmu** *possessed of magic*; **běrbulu** *hairy*; **běrguna** *useful*; **běrbudi** *tactful*;

¹ Most of the derivatives under this and the next two heads are adjectives.

běrbangsa *of good birth*; **běrpěrahu** (a) *possessing a boat*, (b) *using a boat, in a boat*; **běrkěreta** (a) *possessed of a carriage*, (b) *riding in a carriage*; **běrsarong** *wearing a cloth*. **Běrahma Guru bėrguru ilmu kėsaktian** *Brahma Guru was learning* (lit. *was possessed of a teacher of*) *magic*.

Here again derivatives in **mě** and **bě(r)** may be contrasted:

měnyarong *placing in a sheath*; **běrsarong** *ensheathed*; **měnandok** *butting with the horns*; **běrtandok** *horned*; **měnganak sungai** *making a streamlet*; **běranak** *bear* (*possess*) *a child of one's own*.

(6) Prefixed to other derivatives **bě(r)** has the same nuances as with the radical.

běrlarian *running together*; **běrtěrbangan** *flying together*; **běrlurohan** *falling (in numbers)*; **běrpandangan** *facing one another*; **běruptusan** *capable of being sundered (one from another)*; **běrfikiran** *possessed of the thinking faculty*; **běpě-kěrjaan** *possessed of work*; **běrkěnal-kěnal** *making one another's acquaintance*; **běrsahut-sahatan** *speaking in turn*; **běrkěliling** *encircling*; **běrkěhěndak** *possessed of a desire*; **běrkěsudahan** *having an end*, **barang siapa yang mě-mandang dia tiada bėrkěsudahan puji-nya** *whoever saw him praised him without end*; **běrkěputusan** *endowed with ability to be broken*.

tě(r)

§ 52. This prefix has been held (properly of its primary sense) to form the passive voice, though there are exceptions.

těrchabut *extracted, able to be extracted or able to extract*; **bahu-nya těrchabut** *his shoulder was pulled out*; **pěrgi-lah měreka itu měnchabut anak panah itu, sa-orang pun tiada těrchabut** *they went to extract the arrow but not one could extract it*; **těrangkat** *lifted, able to be lifted, able to lift*; **sěmbah těrangkat jari sa-puloh** *obeisance with ten fingers lifted*; **mari-lah kita bėrkuat-kuatan měngangkat batu ini, barang siapa tiada těrangkat alah-lah ia**

come let us use all our strength to lift this rock, the man who cannot lift it is worsted; těrjalan able to travel; Sultan Mahmud Shah pun tiada-lah těrjalan lagi Sultan Mahmud Shah was unable to travel further: these examples out of the classic Sejarah Melayu show that těr(r) cannot be described with absolute correctness as a passive formative.

§ 53. (1) The prefix těr(r) denotes the perfected act, the realized condition.¹

kamus yang těrpakai di-dalam sėgala nėgėri Mėlayu *a vocabulary of established use in all Malay countries; orang mėngamok itu datang dėngan kėris sudah těrhunus* *the frenzied man came with naked drawn dagger; kėris itu tiada tərbawa oleh kita tinggal di-astana* *the dagger was not brought right away by us but is left in the palace; di-dėngar-nya oleh Hang Jėbat suara Laksamana sayup-sayup, maka Laksamana bėrsėru-sėru pula, maka suara itu tėrdėngar-lah ka-pada Hang Jėbat* *the Laksamana's voice was heard faintly by Hang Jebat; the Laksamana kept calling and his voice then was heard distinctly by Hang Jebat; těr lupa-lah ia akan hal dunia bėrubah* *he clean forgot the changing fortunes of this world; dėmi aku těr pandang bapa 'ku* *as soon as I caught sight of my father.*

(2) It emphasizes not a process in which an agent takes part but a result—absolutely complete, sometimes sudden and due not to conscious activity on the part of the subject but to external compulsion or accident.

di-tikam lalu tėrduduk tiada dapat bangkit lagi *were stabbed and forced to collapse unable to rise; pėnchuri itu pun těrsepak-lah pada tuboh Laksamana, kata-nya 'Sudah těrjijak bangkai pula kaki chėlaka ini'* *the thief stumbled against the Laksamana's person, ejaculating 'These cursed feet of mine have trodden (accidentally) on a corpse';*

¹ The phrase tėrsėbut-lah pėrkataan, common in the exordium of tales, comes under this heading and means *now the story is.*

Hang Jébat tĕrgĕlinchir kaki-nya dari atas talam itu ; maka Hang Jébat pun tĕrtĕlut hĕndak bangkit tiada sĕmpat *Hang Jebat's feet slipped (accidentally) on the tray ; he flopped down on his knees and had no time to rise.*

Accordingly words like tĕrlupa *forget* ; tĕringat *remember* ; tĕrtawa *laugh* ; tĕrlihat *see* ; tĕrsĕdeh-sĕdeh *uncontrollable sobbing* denote not so much states the result of conscious effort as states induced by outside influences which 'come into a man's head'. suara-nya tĕrdĕngar ka-pada Siti Dewa *his voice reached Siti Dewa distinctly* ; sĕbab aku tĕringat pĕsanan itu *because the commission came into my head* ; ada pun orang yang bijaksana itu apabila ia masok ka-dalam taman itu, maka tĕrlihat-lah ia ka-pada sĕgala pohon buah-buahan itu, maka tĕringin-lah ia *all the fruit-trees of the garden arrest the attention of intelligent visitors and a longing overtakes them* ; ikan udang bĕrnang-nang dan lompat-lompat sĕraya tĕrtawa dan bĕrpantun *fish and prawns swam about and gave repeated leaps while laughter overtook them and they sang verses to one another.*

(3) Seeing that in denoting the perfected act, the derivative in tĕ(r) connotes ability to bring it about, tĕ(r) has come to be used to denote the possible (or more commonly with the help of a negative, the impossible).

tiga kali ia hĕndak mĕlangkah pintu itu tiada tĕr-langkah juga *thrice she wished to cross the threshold but was unable* ; sĕdang sa-buah pĕrahu tiada tĕrlawan oleh kita *since we were unable to fight even one boat to the finish* ; aku tiada tĕrlihat akan pĕrbuatan-mu, gĕram rasa hati-ku *I cannot bear the sight of your behaviour ; it angers me* ; usahkan ia tĕrbĕlah, makin bĕrtambah-tambah kĕras tunggul itu *so far from being able to be split, the stump of wood grew harder.*

This use may be seen clearly in derivatives from foreign

words, like the Arabic *hisab reckon*; *jawab answer*; *hikayat story*; *tiada tĕrhisab banyak-nya innumerable*; *raja pun tiada tĕrjawab kata Rangka itu the prince could not answer Rangka's argument*; *tiada tĕrhikayatkan lagi impossible to relate to the end*.

(4) Denoting completion beyond which one cannot go, tĕ(r) derivatives connote the superlative in degree and serve as intensatives. In this connection tĕ(r) is prefixed to nouns, adjectives, and adverbs, as well as verbs.

dari-pada sĕgala kĕrja itu apa kĕrja yang tĕrbaik of all those works which is pre-eminently good?; *baik juga Hassan itu karna ia orang muda tĕtapi tĕrmanis hamba sĕdikit Hassan is handsome on account of his youth, but I exceed a little in charm*; *hulubalang bĕsar lagi tĕrnama a great captain and of high fame*. Common examples of this use of the prefix are the crystallized forms *tĕrkĕmbang fully blown*; *tĕrmashur greatly distinguished*; *tĕrchĕngang utterly astonished*; *tĕrkadang very rarely*; *tĕrlalu, tĕrlampau, tĕrlangsong surpassingly*; *tĕrsangat very*. In the Federated Malay States Government Gazette, His Excellency the High Commissioner is styled *tĕrutama pre-eminent*, a Sultan *maha mulia*, a Raja Muda or Bendahara *tĕramat mulia*, and rajas without office *amat mulia*.

Derivatives in tĕ(r) preceded by the auxiliaries *boleh, dapat able to*, would appear to have the meaning indicated in this section and not that of (3) *supra*:

siapa dapat tĕrbilang who can completely count; *tiada dapat tĕrkatakan impossible to relate to the end*.

pĕ

§ 54. This prefix occurs as *pĕ, pĕng, pĕny, pĕm, pĕn*, and *pĕr* on the same principles under which *mĕ* undergoes similar changes except that before *l* either *pĕ* or *pĕng* may be used.

The present absence of grammatical distinction between

these two euphonic links, nasal or *r*, is borne out by such synonyms as **pěrkhbaran**, **pěmběritaan** *news*; **pěbuatan**, **pěrbuatan**, **pěmbuatan** *make, construction*; **pěrburuan**, **pěmburuan** *game*; **pěmburu**, **pěrburu** *hunter*; and by words analogous in grammatical import like **pělayaran** *voyaging*; **pělihatan** or **pěnglihatan** *sight, seeing*; **pěrtapaan** *asceticism*; **pěrėkat** *gun* (lit. *the sticker*); **pěngayoh** *a paddle* (lit. *the paddler*); **pěngaseh** *love-charm*; **pěrindu** *promoter of tender feelings*.

The connection, therefore, which some grammarians have traced between **pěr** and **běr** will be illusory; the only link between them being, that the same stems which take the prefix **běr** in one context, will in another naturally take **pěr** for euphony's sake rather than **pěng**. It is to be noted that there are many **pěr(r)** derivatives of which the original simple stems never take the prefix **běr(r)**: **pělon tar** *missile*; **pěrsunting** *wearing in the hair*; **pělalau** *hindering*; **pěr(r)langkahan** *journey*; **pělampong** *flotsam*; **pěrlěnteh** *dissolute*; **pěrlihatkan** *see*; **pěrsěmbahkan** *to salute*; and so on.

As may be seen from the examples of its use above, this prefix forms nouns and it is also prefixed to numerals. We will deal with it first as a verbal formative.

§ 55. In all Indonesian languages **pa** or **pě** is a formative of causative and denominative verbs and in some, as in old Javanese and in a few languages of Sumatra, it is said to form an imperative. These usages are borne out in Malay.¹

(I) The causative and denominative² force of the prefix may be seen in the following examples:

měmpěrbaiki *cause to be repaired*; **měnyuroh** **měng-**

¹ Note **pě** + nasal occurs probably only once as a verbal formative i. e. in **di-pěngapakan** from **měngapa**.

² i. e. power to make verbs from noun and adjective stems.

himpunkan sĕgala rayat dan pĕrbaiki kota *bade assemble all the people and have the fort put in repair*; **jikalau** dapat baginda mĕmbunoh ular, baginda-lah kita pĕrtuan *if your highness can kill the serpent, then we will make your highness ruler*; **baik-lah** kĕpala-ku pĕrchĕraikan dĕngan badanku dari-pada hamba bĕrchĕrai dĕngan hamba punya tuan *better have my head parted from my body than that I be parted from my lord*; **oleh** baginda tiada di-pasong dan sangat di-pĕrmulia-nya *he prince did not imprison him, but had him held in high honour*; **mari** kita suroh pĕrbuat lang *come let us get a kite made*; **pĕrhamba** *to ask to be made a slave, to offer oneself in marriage*; **minta** pĕrgunakan *to make use of*; **pĕristĕrikan** *to take to wife*; **pĕrhambakan** *to enslave*; **pĕrhatikan** *to get by heart*; **pĕrtĕtapkan** *to give fixity, security, &c.*

(II) It is also fairly common as a formative of the imperative.¹ **pĕrbuat-lah** oleh ĕngkau *get it done*; **jangan** ĕngkau pĕringankan ibadat-mu *let not your service to God be counted a light matter*; **pĕnaik** pĕlita *turn up the lamp-wick* (a Perak phrase); and the Bodleian *Sri Rama* has **mari-lah** pĕrjamu kamu dahulu dĕngan barang ada nemat dalam nĕgĕri Birusaprua pĕrjamu-lah kamu dahulu *come you entertain me first with whatever dainties exist in Birusaprua do you entertain me first.*

§ 56. According to Kern, in origin pĕ is the essential part of **apa** *something*, and this derivation is especially apparent in its noun derivatives, e.g. **pĕmanis** *a thing-giving-charm*; **pĕnabur** *something scattered, bullets*; **pĕmburu** *something that hunts, hunter*; **pĕrtĕlan** *something swallowed*; **pĕrsalin** *a change of raiment, a princely present.*

¹ Here Kern's derivation of the prefix from **apa** (§ 56) is borne out by the use of **apa** as a modal word to soften the imperative; the line of devolution would be **jangan apa(-lah) buat**, **jangan 'pa buat**, **jangan pĕrbuat**.

Anyhow it forms nouns¹(and adjectives) denoting (1) person or thing; and (2) it expresses measures of time and space. The stem words from which the derivatives are built may be substantive, adjective or verb; if they are verbal, the derivative may be neuter, active or causal according to the stem, and in a few cases passive.

A few of these derivatives generally take another substantive before them, as confusion would otherwise result—**orang pëngail** a fisherman; **përahu pëngail** a fishing-boat.

Of a few the root is obsolete; **pëngantin** bridegroom; **pëmuras** blunderbuss; of others it bears an obsolete meaning, e.g. **lima** now five formerly hand in **pënglima** chieftain.

1. Denoting person or thing :

pëmadat opium-smoker from **madat** opium; **pëmalas** idler from **malas** idle; **pëtëngkar** grumbler from **tëngkar** grumble; **pënyëngat** wasp from **sëngat** sting; **pënyamun** robber from **samun** rob; **pëmburu** hunter from **buru** hunt; **pëndiam** a silent person from **diam** be silent; **pënyuroh**, **pësuroh** (lit. one ordered) a messenger from **suroh** to order; **pëngaseh** a love-charm (causing love) from **kaseh** love; **pënggali** spade from **gali** dig; **pëngayoh** a paddle from **kayoh** to paddle; **pënyëpit** forceps from **sëpit** pinch; **pëmukul** hammer from **pukul** hit; **pëmimpin** a guide from **pimpin** to guide; **pënableur** bullets (lit. that which is scattered, a passive use) from **tabur** sow, scatter; **pënyakit** sickness from **sakit** sick.

Derivatives from a transitive verb sometimes retain the powers of a transitive verb: **pënebas lalang** a knife for cutting grass; **pënghalau itek** a driver away of ducks; **pënglipur lara** a soother of cares; **batu pëlotar ayam**

¹ Note. There are a few words where **për** is a corruption of the Sanskrit **pra**: **përmata** jewels; **përkasa** valour; **përkara** affair; **përwira** warrior; **përnama** full (of the moon).

stones for pelting fowls; **pěnyudah kaseh** finality in love (lit. *that which completes love*).

A few are adjectival, always being preceded by a substantive: **gong pēlaung** *the gong of call*; **chanang pēmanggil** *the drum of summons*; **pěluru pětunang** *a bullet pledged to take effect from tunang betroth*; **kayu pėnuju** *a guiding-post*.

2. Denoting measures of time and space:

pēmėlok *the space a man can encircle in his embrace*; **kayu bėsar-nya tiga pēmėlok** *a tree of girth three times the space of a man's embrace*; **pėlangkah** *the length of a person's stride*; **pėrunjong** *the length of a man with arms full stretch above his head*.

These derivatives are frequently prefixed by **sa**. **sa-pėrtanak nasi** *the time a man takes to boil rice*; **sa-pėnjulat pěluru mėriam** *the distance a cannon-ball carries*; **rambut sa-pėlėmpap panjang-nya** *her hair was only as long as a man's hand is broad*; **sa-pėludah** *the time it takes man to spit*; **sa-pėninggal** *the time one leaves a person*; **sa-pėrpisang** *the time it takes to eat a plantain*.

kě¹

§ 57. This prefix is of rare occurrence now in Malay, and except before numerals and **sėmua-nya** survives only in crystallized forms, so that both as a verb and a substantive formative it is obsolete. It denotes state or condition. It is found before substantival, adjectival, numeral and verbal roots: when the root word is verbal, the derivative will have an active, passive, or neuter nuance according to the nature of the verbal root. See § 2 for the Indonesian prefix **k**.

(¹tok) **kėtampi** (*gaffer*)-*winnow-the-rice* (active); **kėkaseh** *a mistress, one who is loved* (passive); **kėchundang** *a 'con-*

¹ I agree with Dr. Fokker that phonetically this should be written **ka** when the following syllable contains *ě*: **kėtampi** but **kahėndak**, **katėrangan**, &c.

quest'; **kětua** an elder; **kēmudi** a rudder; **kětageh** the condition of one who craves, a craving; **kěhëndak** desire. **kětiga** in the condition of being three; **kětiga orang itu** all three men; **yang kětiga** the third; **kěsěmua-nya** a complete set, all. (**kětahuĩ** from **tahu** in the condition of knowing or of being known; **kěhëndaki** from **hëndak** desiring; **di-kěsopani** being respected.)

-an

§ 58. This suffix is the Malay equivalent of the Indonesian **-n**, which formed substantives and sometimes gave the ideas of intensity, the superlative in degree and so on.

Accordingly **-an** forms substantives too (and adjectives, which in Malay and Indonesian grammar are often not separated by any hard and fast line from substantives but mainly by context); and it also forms substantives signifying number and extent. Its derivatives when formed from a verbal root partake of the character of that root, and therefore may have a neuter, an active, an active and passive, or a causal sense and may sometimes denote possibility: these nuances not being derived from the suffix.

(1) Substantival.

pangkalan starting-place from **pangkal** beginning; **kotoran** dirt from **kotor** dirty; **hadapan** position in front from **hadap** fronting; **buritan** stern, position behind from **burit** rear. There is no need to multiply examples of these substantival derivatives, as this function of the suffix will be illustrated under all heads.

Adjectival derivatives are **larangan** forbidden, **taman larangan** the forbidden earth; **pilehan** chosen, select; **lan-changan** counterfeit; **bantahan** quarrelsome; **goyangan** swaying, pliant, **pisang goyangan** the swaying plantain-tree; **junjong** supporting, **pinang junjongan** the betel-palm prop; **sulongan** tossing, **main sulongan** a game of pitch and toss;

rautan *cutting, smoothing*, **pisau rautan** *a trimming-knife*. These words may also be used as substantives.

(2) Denoting collectively plurality, extent, &c.:

lautan *ocean* from **laut** *sea*; **daratan** *a stretch of land (as opposed to sea)* from **darat** *land*; **sawah** *a stretch of rice-fields* from **sawah** *a rice-field*; **pěrkakasan** *an outfit of tools* from **pěrkakas** *tool*; **dagangan** *foreign goods* from **dagang** *foreign*; **manisan** *sweetmeats* from **manis** *sweet*; **hukuman** *laws* from **hukum** (Ar.) *order, decree*; **suratan** *writing in general* from **surat** *letter*; **tanaman** *plants* from **tanam** *to plant*.

Probably under this head are to be classed certain words, which are often said to have got from the suffix the idea of likeness to that denoted by the root, since in them too plurality is connoted, e.g. **rambutan** *a hairy fruit* from **rambut** *hair*; **durian** *a thorny fruit* from **duri** *thorn*.

Reduplication is employed in some cases to strengthen the plural sense denoted by the suffix: **buah-buahan** *fruits of all kinds* from **buah** *fruit*; **bau-bauan** *all kinds of perfumery* from **bau** *smell*; **anak-anakan** *puppets* from **anak** *child*; **orang-orangan** *images on the pupil of the eye* from **orang** *person*.

(3) -an derivatives from verbal roots:

(a) Neuter. **těrusan** *channel* from **těrus** *going through*; **aduan** *a complaint* from **adu** *complain*; also (by abbreviation for **orang aduan**) *complainant*.

(b) Active. **tutupan** *lid* from **tutup** *to shut*; **kukusan** *a steaming pot* from **kukus** *to steam*; **kukuran** *a coco-nut scraper* from **kukur** *scrape*.

(c) Passive. **hamparan** *carpet* from **hampar** *to spread out*; **kělian**, **galian** *a mine* from **gali** *dig*; **jawatan** *undertaking, profession* from **jabat** (**jabat**) *to grasp, hold*; **kumpulan** *a collection* from **kumpul** *collect*; **chagaran** *pledge* from **chagar** *to mortgage*; (**orang**) **surohan** *a messenger*

from **suroh** *order*; **pakaian** *clothes* or *worn*, **këris pakaian-ku** *a dagger worn by me*, from **pakai** *to wear*.

(d) Active and passive. **timbangan** (1) *scales*, (2) *consideration* from **timbang** *weigh, consider*; **ikatan** (1) *a binding, bond*, (2) *bound, joined*, **shaer ikatan** *a set of verses*, from **ikat** *bind*; **buatan** (1) *craftsmanship*, (2) *material*, **buatan baju** *material for a coat*; (3) *capable of accomplishment*, **bukan buatan**.

(e) Causal. **ingatan** *a reminder*, **surat ingatan** *a letter reminding* from **ingat** *remember*; **kënanngan** *a keepsake* from **kënanng** *to remember affectionately*; **sësalan** *a cause of repentance* from **sësal** *repent*.

(f) Denoting possibility. (**kain**) **basahan** *a washing-suit*; (**kambing**) **përahan** *a milch goat*; **harapan** *reliable*; **bandingan** *peer, comparable*; **nyamok lurutan bukan-nya tamparan** *mosquitoes so many that they cannot be slapped but can be wiped off*.

pě an

§ 59. These affixes form, mostly from verbal root, (1) abstract nouns denoting qualities and faculties; and more rarely nouns denoting (2) places, and (3) living things.

(1) **pëlihatan**, **pënglihatan** *faculty of seeing, range of vision*; **përasaan** *feeling*; **përtapaan** *asceticism*; **pëmandangan** *view*; **pëngëtahuan** *knowledge*; **pëñëngaran** *sense, power of hearing*; **përingatan** *remembrance*; **përjanjian** *agreement*; **pëlayaran** *voyaging*; **pëpëरणan** *warfare*; **përjalanan** *journeying*; **përgadohan** *quarrelling*; **përhimpunan** *an assembling, a meeting*; **përmulaan** *beginning, commencement*; **pëmbunohan** *slaughter*; **pëngajaran** *teaching, instruction*; **pëlajaran** *teaching, learning*; **pëñcharian** *source of livelihood*; **itu-lah asal përawangan dan përdaraan** *that was the origin of the common names Arwang and Dara*.

(2) **pěraduan** *sleeping-chamber*; **pěbean** *customs' house*; **pělabuhan** *anchorage*; (**balai**) **pěnghadapān** *a presence-hall*.

(3) **pěrěmpuan** *woman*; **pěranakan** *native*; **pěrtěmuan** *affinity*; **pěrburuan** *game (hunted)*.

kě an

§ 60. These affixes are found with substantival, adjectival, adverbial, and verbal root words. They denote state or condition of persons, things, events, places. The derivatives are substantives, adjectives, and sometimes verbal, predicating a condition of the subject; and, even though their roots be not verbal, some can signify cause or possibility or have nuances both active and passive.

1. Denote state or condition:

kěsěnanagan *ease*; **kěkayaan** *wealth*; **kěpandaian** *cleverness*; **kěbodohan** *folly*; **kěelokan** *beauty*; **kědatangan** *arrival*; **kěsědapan** *deliciousness*; **kělěngkapan** *equipment*; **kětěranagan** *evidence*; **kěbanyakan**, **kěsanganatan** *number*; **kějadian** *creation*; **kětěntuan** *certainty*; **kěsudahan** *end*; **kěnaikan** *that which is mounted, a mount, carriage, vessel*; **kědīaman** *a dwelling-place*; **kěinděraan** *a place where Indra is, heaven*; **kěyangan** *heaven*; **kěputusan** *limit, a breaking off*—**sampai mana kěputusan sungai ini** *how far is the place where this river breaks off?*—these derivatives denoting place often follow a word like **těmpat**, when they assume an adjectival character—**těmpat kědīaman**, **kuda kěnaikan**, **pěrahu kěnaikan**: and so **těmpat kěadilan** or simply **kěadilan** *the seat of justice, Justice (the ruler of a Menangkabau country)* and **orang kěturunan** or simply **kěturunan** *descendants*.

2. The derivatives may be verbal:

ia pun kěturunan dari-pada raja-raja *he too is descended from rajās*; **bulan pun kěsiangan** *the moon was eclipsed by*

day; **kĕmatian-lah angin** *the wind died down*; **sĕgala gajah itu kĕtakutan** *all the elephants were afraid*; **kĕnaikan itu kĕayeran** *the boat was filled with water*; **bĕbĕrapa lama Sri Tribuana kĕrajaan di-Singapura** *all the years Sri Tribuana ruled at Singapore*; **orang Mĕlaka kĕkĕringan sĕpĕrti ikan jĕmur** *Malacca folk (fell into poverty) dried up like fish in the sun*. This usage has been extended (being combined with the construction found in such a sentence as **orang itu pun, mati anak-anak-nya** *as for those folk they have lost their children*). So we get **dia kĕputusan wang** *he has incurred loss of money*; **sahaya kĕmatian anak** *I have lost a child*; **sahaya kĕkurangan ayer** *I am short of water*; **sĕpĕrti orang buta yang kĕhilangan tongkat** *like a blind man who has lost his staff*.

In calling the derivative under this section verbal, one means no more than that the versatile Malay word here stands sometimes for predicate, as well as standing more usually for substantive or attribute.

3. May have a causal nuance—derived from the ground word:

kĕmaluan *the pudenda and that which causes shame*; **kĕhidupan** *livelihood*; **kĕbinasaan** *that which causes destruction*; **kĕrugian** *occasion of loss*; **chandu mĕndatangkan bĕbĕrapa chĕlaka dan kĕbinasaan dan kĕrugian** *what fatalities and occasions of destruction and loss come from opium*; **kĕpapaan** *cause of poverty*; **aniaya chĕlaka dan kĕpapaan** *oppression, ill-doing, and begging*.

4. Some denote possibility :

(orang) kĕpĕrchayaan, (orang) kĕharapan *reliable (men)*; **kĕdĕngaran** *audible*; **kĕlihatan** *visible*; **sĕbab lidah itu kĕkĕnalan bukan-nya Inggĕris** *one could tell from their accent they were not English*.

5. Some of these derivatives have more than one significance :

kĕrugian (1) *occasion of loss*, (2) *actual loss*; **kĕmaluan** (1) *pudenda*, (2) *shame*; **kĕbinasaan** (1) *cause of destruction*

(2) *destruction*; **kěpapaan** (1) *cause of poverty*, (2) *poverty*; **kěběsaran** (1) *greatness*, (2) *mark of greatness, regalia*; **kěmuliaan** (1) *house*, (2) *mark of honour*, **ada suatu kěmuliaan ka-pada raja** *it is a mark of honour for a prince*; **kěhinaan** (1) *lowliness*, (2) *an occasion of disgrace*; **kělihatan** (1) *is seen*, **kampung itu kělihatan pěnoh dĕngan pohon kĕlapa** *the compounds were seen to be full of coco-nut palms*; (2) *can see*, **mata-nya tiada kĕlihatan lagi** *her eyes could no longer see*; (3) *visible, can be seen*, **pasir yang kĕlihatan itu tanah mana** *what is the name of that country of which the sands can be seen?*

'kan, -kan

§ 61. 'kan can only be termed an affix in the later stage of its evolution. In origin, it is akan the preposition denoting *direction towards an object*, or *towards a moment* and so *with respect to, concerning*.

I. These three nuances may be seen in its use separate and away from the verb.

(a) *Direction towards an object*:

jika ada kaseh tuan akan kakanda *if there is love in you towards me*; **di-chium di-pĕlok oleh baginda akan mĕnantu-nya** *there was kissing and embracing by the prince directed towards his son-in-law, i.e. the prince kissed and embraced his son-in-law*; **di-chinchang-nya akan Sayid itu** *he hacked at the Sayid*.

(b) *Direction towards a moment in time*:

mĕnanti 'kan musoh datang *wait for the coming of the enemy*.

(c) *Concerning*:

akan pĕndua-nya di-sungkap-nya *as for his dagger it was loosened by him*; **tĕmĕnggong tiada sĕdar akan hal itu** *the chief was unaware concerning the matter*.

II. The next stage is where there occur such dual forms as **sědar akan, sědarkan** ; **harap akan, harapkan** ; **rindu akan, rindukan** ; **khobar akan, khabarkan**.

III. Finally we get the suffix **-kan**.

(a) As a suffix it retains a trace of its prepositional force in so far as the indirect object, the object which would be governed by the preposition **akan** immediately, if it were employed, must follow the **kan** derivative immediately.

hantarkan sahaya wang send (to) me money ; **buatkan dia rumah make (for) him a house** ; **tinggalkan sahaya kasut leave (for) me shoes** ; **aku hěndak sědiakan chichit-ku I will make ready for my grandchildren**.

(b) It forms causative and denominative verbs from nouns and adjectives.

rajakan orang make a ruler of a person ; **sělimutkan cover, make a cover for** ; **pinangkan propose marriage to** ; **sarongkan (kěris) give a sheath to, sheathe (a dagger)** ; **kandangkan make a pen for, pen** ; **haramkan make a sin of, account a sin** ; **běsarkan enlarge** ; **pěnohkan fill**.

(c) Finally, the suffix may always be used with verbal stems wherever in English we have a direct object, the only criterion of its use being cadence or euphony.

buat or buatkan rumah make a house ; **panggil or panggilkan orang call a person** ; **pukul or pukulkan budak beat a boy** ; **irim or kirimkan surat dispatch a letter**.

[This suffix occurs also with a few conjunctions; conveying the nuances sometimes of *futurity* or *likelihood*, sometimes of *concerning*, *with respect to*.

jangkalan ayer hujan, ayer pěrigi pun kěring not to touch the topic of rain-water, even the well-water had dried up ; **asalkan dapat provided it shall be got** ; **sabar-lah dahulu** ; **masakan ia tiada datang be patient ; is it likely he will not come?**]

-i

§ 62. Stems ending in **i** or **ai** never take this suffix. With other words **i** and **kan** are sometimes used interchangeably. The form **kě + stem + kan** is never found, but **kě + stem + i** is not uncommon: **kě + tahu + i**, **kě + hëndak + i**.

The number of stems taking the suffix **i** is fewer than the number taking **kan**.

The suffix **i** is almost certainly the Indonesian locative preposition **i**.

(1) Derived from this locative preposition, the suffix frequently has for object a word denoting place, especially when the stem is verbal.

diami nĕgĕri *inhabit a country*; **supaya aku naiki astana** *so that I may ascend into the palace*; **ulang-ulangi kubur** *make repeated visits to a tomb*; **mĕngĕlilingi kota** *travel round a fort*; **mĕnghampiri pintu** *approach the door*.

(2) When the ground word is noun or adjective, then the derivative transfers the thing or attribute denoted by it to an object.

susu *milk*, **susuĭ** *suckle*, **hujan** *rain*, **hujani** *rain on*; **lĕmbut** *soft*, **lĕmbuti** *give softness to*; **tĕman** *follower*, **tĕmani** *to follow a person*; **kuat** *force*, **kuati** *to apply force to*; **nama** *name*, **namaĭ** *to give a name to*; **kurnia**, **anugĕrah** (Skt.) *gift*, **kurniaĭ**, **anugerahi** *to bestow upon*; **kipas** *a fan*, **kipasi** *to fan (a person)*; **sama** *sameness*, **mĕnyamaĭ** *compare with*; **baik** *good*, **mĕmbaiki** *to make good, to cause repair to*; **panas** *hot*, **panasi** *to heat, apply heat to*. In this context the suffix marks the verbal use of radicals which may be verb, adverb, noun or adjective, 'carrying on' as it were to the object, just as in English when employed as verbs, words like *dream, jump, hit, look* are carried on by the prepositions *of, on, at, to*.

(3) The derivative having become crystallized, the suffix often loses its special force and becomes merely intensative.

(4) It forms mostly transitive verbs, but a few examples of the intransitive occur, **sunggoh-sunggohi** *be determined, persist*; **mělauti** *traverse the sea, voyage*; **mulaĩ** *begin*.

(5) There is sometimes a distinction between derivatives built of **i** and **kan** from the same root; a distinction proceeding from the several functions of the original prepositions.

hampiri orang *approach a person*; **hampirkan orang** *cause a person to approach* (lit. *cause an approach in respect of a person*); **měrajaĩ orang** *be prince over people*, **měrajakan orang** *make a person prince*.

REDUPLICATION

§ 63. There are three methods of reduplication in Malay :

(1) Reduplication of the whole of the ground word.

(2) Reduplication of the first consonant of the ground word with indeterminate ě for its vowel¹: **kěkabu**, **gěgasing**, **gěgawar**, **běběrapa** (and in the Kedah dialect **lělaki**, **běbiri**, **pěpuyu**, &c.).

(3) Reduplication of the ground word with changes of vocalization or of consonants or of both, of which the dictionary provides a number of crystallized examples.

§ 64. Nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, numerals, pronouns, conjunctions all afford examples of words reduplicated in Malay. But the second method forms almost always substantives betokening *things*.

Broadly reduplication always implies indefiniteness—whether of number, or degree or contingency or time or likeness. It is not used where a definite number is mentioned. **lima orang** *five men* never **lima orang-orang**; **kědua pipi** *two cheeks* never **kědua pipi-pipi**.

¹ This, it has been alleged, is a Javanese form, but it is very common in the northern states of the Peninsula like Kedah.

For the sake of clearness, it will be convenient to classify usages superficially discrepant: and we may say that reduplication expresses

(a) Indefinite plurality with variety implied: **lěmbu-lěmbu** *oxen of all kinds*, **orang-orang** *all sorts of men*, **rumah-rumah** *all kinds of houses*.

(Sometimes the indefinite **sěgala** *all* qualifies these forms: **mahkota sěgala raja-raja** *the crown of all kinds of princes*.)

Under this head, comes the reduplication in the names of animals, which by going in flocks or shoals or having an abnormal complement of legs and wings suggest plurality; and also of things which by their nature suggest it. Most of these never occur in single form: **anai-anai** *white ant*; **lumba-lumba** *porpoise*; **kupu-kupu**, **rama-rama** *butterfly*; **biri-biri** *sheep*; **kala-kala** *scorpion*; **kura-kura** *tortoise*; **laba-laba** *spider*; **kisi-kisi** *trelliswork*.

Also reduplication to express plurality, or repetition, frequency and continuity in action: **mělompat-lompat** *keep leaping*; **běrnyala-nyala** *keep blazing*; **běrchuchur-chuchuran** *keep dropping*; **sěpuĩ-sěpuĩ** *blowing continually*; **ganti-ganti** *one after another, in turn*; **kili-kili** (*constantly rotating*) *reel to a rod*.

(b) Reduplication denotes indefinite ascending and descending degree—indefinite superlative, intensity: **jauh-jauh** *far far away*; **kěchil-kěchil** *tiny tiny*; **budak-budak** *a very small child*; **kanak-kanak** *very young children*; **pagi-pagi** *very early in the day*; **mula-mula** *at the very beginning*; **indah-indah** *very wonderful*; **lěkas-lěkas** *very quickly*; **lari-lari** *run fast*; **těrchěngang-chěngang** *very astonished*; **měmpěramat-amati** *look very closely at*; **lama-kělamaan** *after a very long while*.

(c) Indefinite resemblance to the object denoted by the root word: **layang** *fly*, **layang-layang** *kite*; **gunong** *mountain*,

gunong-gunong a pyramidal design in art; **ayam** fowl, **ayam-ayam** water-fowl; **kuda** horse, **kuda-kuda** clothes-horse; **langit** heavens, sky, **langit-langit** a ceiling-cloth, the roof of the mouth; **mata** eye, **mata-mata** police; **orang** man, **orang-orang** the pupil of the eye; **churi** thief, **churi-churi** privily (like a thief); **buat** do, **buat-buat** pretend; also of colours: **hitam-hitam** resembling black, blackish; **puteh-puteh** whitish.

And under this head comes its use with adverbs, pronouns, and conjunctions: **mana** where, **mana-mana** wherever; **apa** what, **apa-apa** whatever; **bila** when, **bila-bila** whenever; **kalau** if, **kalau-kalau** if perchance. (In Perak, the phrases **orang bĕsar-bĕsar** and **orang kaya-kaya** apply to the eight chiefs who are inferior to the four premier chiefs, the **orang bĕsar** or **orang kaya**, so that the reduplication does not indicate the superlative but rather mere resemblance to the really 'great' and 'rich' superior chiefs. Similarly **anak raja-raja** signifies a more distant relationship to royalty than **anak raja**.)

As a rule of syntax, it may be noted that in the case of subject and attribute, only one of the words is reduplicated, but which of them that is, affects the sense: **rumah tuan-tuan** different Europeans' houses, **rumah-rumah tuan** the different sorts of houses belonging to a particular European; **anak raja-raja** the scion of rajas of many houses; **anak-anak raja** the various children of one raja; **nĕgĕri lain-lain** countries altogether different, **nĕgĕri-nĕgĕri lain** various other countries.¹

¹ Dr. Fokker draws my attention to the fact that words denoting things that seldom or never show variety (e. g. nasi, darah) are never reduplicated: but words like those given above, or like pokok tree, kĕrtas paper, for example, of which many different kinds exist, are.

COMPOUND WORDS

§ 65. The meaning of a Malay word is often extended by compounding it with another word. Many parts of speech afford examples.

(1) Substantive + substantive, a combination which admits of further analysis, viz.

(a) The one substantive belongs to the other, i.e. stands in case relation to it: **ayer lëbah** *honey*; **këpala susu** *cream*; **ibu rumah main** *building of a house*; **anak panah** *arrow*; **mata kaki** *ankle*; **mata-hari** *sun*; **mata kain** *pattern*; **kaki langit** *horizon*; **tukang bësi** *blacksmith*; **wayang kulit** *shadow-play with leather puppets*; **nyiur gading** *ivory-coloured coco-nut*.

(b) The first substantive is added to the second: **anak bini** *household, wife and children*; **adek kakak** *relations*; **rumah tangga** *wife*; **ibu bapa** *parents*; **hamba sahaya** *servants*.

(c) The first substantive and the second both denote the person or thing indicated, the one generically, the other specifically: **orang Jahudi** *a Jew man*; **nëgëri Perak** *a country—Perak*; **burong ënggang** *the hornbill bird*; **gëmala hikmat** *magic talisman*.

(2) Substantive + adjective, the compound phrase acquiring by arbitrary usage a significance different from what the two words would ordinarily bear by juxtaposition.

këreta sombong *mail train*; **orang bësar** *a chief*; **raja muda** *crowned prince*; **pinang muda** *a procurer*; **sireh kuning** *a dainty morsel, viz. a girl, a mistress*; **bësi bërani** *magnet*; **orang puteh** *European*; **kuching pëkak** *a kind of trap*.

(3) Substantive + verb.

guru tënun *weaving mistress*; **tukang masak** *cook*; **pisau chukur** *razor*; **rumah pasong** *lock-up*.

(4) Adjective + substantive, forming an adjective.

mabok laut *sea-sick*; **merah jambu** *plum-coloured*;

susah hati *sad*; kėras hati *obstinate*; bėbal akal *insane*;
masam muka *glum*.

(5) Adjective + adjective.

merah muda *light red*; merah tua *dark red*; puteh
kuning *cream-coloured*; hitam manis *brown*.

(6) Verb + noun, forming a substantive.

chochok sanggul *hairpin*; sepak raga *football*; ikat
pinggang *belt*; korek api *matches*; gunting babi *a kind
of trap*.

(7) Pronoun + verb.

yang di-pėrtuan *ruler* (corrupted *yam tuan*); apa buat
(colloquially *awat*) *why*.

(8) Pronoun + adverb.

apa bila *when*.

(9) Compounding of words in derivative forms also takes
place.

lantai sa-lari *a floor on one plane*; gajah mėnyusu
a kitchen adjunct; mėmbabi buta *have an epileptic fit*;
mėmbusut jantan *form a high ant-hill*; mėnganak sungai
make a streamlet; mėrėmbang pėtang *decline to evening*;
mėnganyam gila *weave the mad stitch*; mėndairah
nėgėri *traverse a country's districts*; bėrjual-bėli *barter*;
bėrmaharaja Lela *play the Maharaja Lela*; bėrsual jawab
question and reply; bėrlaki-bini *in married estate*; bėrniat
jahat *have evil intentions*; bėrkain basah *wear wet clothes*;
bėrtandok panjang *be long-horned*.

CHAPTER VII

OTHER PARTS OF SPEECH

(A) PRONOUNS

§ 66. Personal Pronouns.

One can distinguish in Malay two classes of personal pronoun (I) the pronoun proper, (II) the noun employed in place of a pronoun.

I. The personal pronouns proper, like the Malay noun and adjective, undergo no declension and can be singular or plural—though in a few cases one word may be preferred for the singular and another for the plural.

They are :

1st person **aku**, **kita**, **kami**.

2nd person **engkau**, **kamu**.

3rd person **ia** or **dia**.

As a pronominal proclitic standing in an insignificant position before the root of the transitive verb **aku** is contracted to **ku** and **engkau** to **kau**. **hai Ruwana 'kau katakan-lah yang kehendak hati-mu itu, 'ku dengar** *tell, O Ravana, the desire of your heart, that one may hear it.*

As pronominal enclitic without emphasis **aku**, **engkau**, **kamu**, **ia** become **'ku**, **'kau**, **'mu**, and **nya** respectively. In literature, after **akan** and **dengan** prepositions ending in **n**, and after **akan** in the form of the verbal suffix **kan**, we find **aku** commonly changed to **daku**, **engkau** sometimes to **dikau** and **ia** always to **dia**.

The exact significance of these pronouns it is highly important to understand :

aku *I* or *we*; the term used by God addressing man, by a prince to a subject, master to servant, elders to younger folk, and relations familiarly among themselves. Used for *we* it often has a word to denote plurality: **aku kětiga** *we three*; **aku sakalian** *all of us*. It corresponds to **ěngkau**: **yang bėrkhabar itu bukan si aku si ěngkau** *my informant was not one whom you could address in familiar terms*.

kita *we*, more common in the plural, except when spoken by princes for the royal *we*. In the plural, it is not arrogant. Unlike **kami**, it includes the person addressed.

kami refers to the speaker and his party, and excludes the persons addressed: **sėmbah orang itu 'kami sakalian tiada tahu'** *the men did obeisance saying 'Our party does not know'*. It is rather a self-important form: **kami orang** (like **kita orang**, **kamu orang**, **dia orang**) is used sometimes to denote the plural use.

ěngkau *you*, an address to persons of no importance—except that **aku** and **ěngkau** are forms of address in prayer to the deity. It is common in literature and conversation. It may be singular or plural—**pėrgi-lah ěngkau kětujoh bėrsaudara** *do you seven brothers go*. In Perak, Kedah, and Penang **hang** is employed in conversation; in the Riau-Johor States, **kau** is preferred, as in literature.

kamu *you*, singular or plural. It is just civil, and is common alike in literature and conversation.

ia *he, she, they*. **ia** becomes **dia** as the object, and also for emphasis as subject: **itu-lah dia** *that is him*. **dia** too is commoner than **ia** in conversation. The genitive suffix form **nya** will be noticed under possessive pronouns.

II. The Malay looks upon the personal pronoun proper as a rude form of address. Rather than employ it, he will omit the subject altogether, or if he knows the rank and status of the person addressed he will employ some kind of

honorific, describing himself by some noun of self-depreciation. Many of these nouns are used so regularly that they may be reckoned personal pronouns improper. The following table will show the degrees of respect expressed variously by the pronouns proper and improper :

<i>Person speaking</i>	<i>I, we</i>	<i>Thou, you</i>	<i>He, she, they</i>
Peasants to one another	aku	ěngkau	dia
Superior pointedly to inferior	”	”	”
Superior ordinarily to inferior	sahaya	kamu or name of person addressed	dia or name
Superior with affected modesty to equals .	hamba (tuan)	tuan (hamba)	tuan (hamba)
All classes to Europeans	sahaya	tuan	tuan
Malay gentry to one another	kami	ěnehěk, tuan	ěnehěk, tuan
Commoner to chief .	hamba (datok) sahaya (datok)	datok	datok
Commoner to raja . .	patek	těngku, ěngku	těngku, ěngku, raja
Subject to a sultan .	patek	tuan-ku	yam tuan, tuan-ku
Literary	beta	sahabat beta	

sahaya (Skt. (1) *follower*, (2) *slave*) is a form of address civil but not obsequious, proper alike for raja, peasant, and European. Addressed to a Sayid or European or native gentleman, it is often used in the more deferential form **sahaya tuan**. It is commoner in the singular than in the plural, but serves for either.

hamba (*slave*) a self-depreciatory form for the first person, which may be used by any class; for instance, by small rajas to big or aged chiefs, to the wealthy and to Europeans as well as by inferiors to superiors. It can be either singular or plural. The forms **hamba datok** and **hamba tuan** are

common. It occurs also as **pěrhamba** and **di-pěrhamba**. **sěmbah pěrdana mantěri China** 'ya tuan-ku shah alam yang di-pěrhamba-lah měmbicharakan' *the Chinese Minister did obeisance, 'O sovereign of the world, I your slave will inquire.'*

patek the usual address of commoners speaking of themselves to any raja and even of rajas to a ruling prince or high officer of state; but not proper for Europeans.

beta (Hind. *brother*) *I* or *we*; used by rajas and gentry addressing equals or condescendingly to inferiors; but chiefly as the usual term for the first person in letters, and corresponding to **sahabat beta** *you my friend*. (Clifford says, that on the East coast it is rude except for the raja writing to his chiefs, and that in Pahang it was formerly an expression forbidden except for the ruler.)

tuan, literally *master*, is the usual form of polite address in speaking to or of European men, Malay men and women of birth and breeding (and all Malays have breeding), descendants of the prophet and Hajis of either sex. A Malay will say **tuan hamba** to chiefs and **tuan patek** to rajas. **tuan putěri** is the usual expression for *princess* in literature, and in titles is found **sěri paduka tuan** (which in Perak is the title of the state mufti). The form **tuhan** which is only a variant spelling has come now to be applied to the deity.

tuan-ku is simply **tuan** + the pronominal suffix of the first person, *my lord*. It has come to have a very restricted use and is reserved now for address to the deity and to Malay sovereigns. In Perak, it may be used also to the Raja Muda and the Bendahara, and is sometimes arrogated to themselves by important rajas with a claim to those offices.

těngku, in Riau the form of address to rajas of full blood on both sides: **těngku běsar** is the title of the Crown Prince of Pahang.¹ In Perak, it is proper to rajas of secondary

¹ In Negri Sembilan, rajas are styled **tunku**, a form which reminds of the old form **tun** commonly occurring in the *Sejarah Melayu*.

importance, to the greatest commoner chief **těngku mantěri**, **těngku tēměnggong** and to the **pěrmaisuri** or chief commoner wife of the Sultan. In Shellabear's edition of the *Hang Tuah*, which was copied largely from Perak manuscripts, it is applied to the Bendahara and his consort, but it is not to be found in Dutch versions of the work; and neither it nor **ěngku** occurs in the *Sejarah Melayu*. It is applied to Sayid, Sharif and Sharifah.

ěngku in Riau-Johor is the proper form for rajas of secondary rank, born generally of common mothers. In Perak it is applied to the more important rajas (below the three great officers, who are addressed as **tuanku**) and is so used in Maxwell's rhapsodist version of *Sri Rama*.

datok, literally *grandfather*, is a title of big hereditary commoner chiefs, but is also used of smaller headmen and of any aged respectable person; and specifically of grandfather or grandmother.

ěnchek has a history like our *esquire*. Specifically proper to the descendants of chiefs, it is applied to persons of either sex of any birth or position at all. The commoner wife of a raja will be **'chek puan**, of a chief **'tok puan**.

Other nouns so commonly employed as to deserve the name of improper pronouns but of more or less local range are **těman** (lit. *mate, equal*) *I*, corresponding with **mika** *you*, forms rare in literature and conversation, but occurring in Dutch editions of the *Hang Tuah* and in familiar and affectionate talk among the people of Perak.

kawan *friend*, **awak** and **diri** (both meaning *body*); humble forms for the first person, and also used for the second person in talking politely to inferiors. **silakan běntara dua**, **kita měnanti diri dari-pada tadi** *be seated, you two officers, we have awaited you some while* (cp. § 68, reflexive pronouns).

goa and **lu**, Chinese words for *I* and *you*, are adopted in conversation with persons of that nationality.

měreka itu and **orang itu** *those persons* are common for *they* in literature.

III. In addition to the above words, many of which have become limited to pronominal purposes or at any rate are commoner as that part of speech than in their original noun form, there are furthermore several classes of nouns pressed to do the work of pronouns of the first, second, and third persons. These may be classified as :

(1) Words denoting the relationship between the speaker and the person addressed.

(2) Proper names, real and conventional.

(3) Titles of rank, age and profession.

Used by the speaker of himself, the words of the last two of these classes are not usual and sound childish and assertive. Used in place of pronouns of the second and third persons, all three classes are very common as modes of polite address.

(1) **datok**, 'tok *grandfather*, **ninek** *grandmother*, **ayah** (polite), **bapa** (vulgar) *father*, **ěmak** *mother*, **anak** *child*, **abang** *elder brother*, **kakak** *elder sister* or rarely *brother*, **adek** *younger brother* or *sister*, **chuchu** *grandchild of either sex*.

The relationship may not be actual but merely a polite fiction. **ěmak ka-mana** *where are you going?* would be a proper form of address by persons of either sex to any woman whose years deserved the appellation.

abang of the man and **adek** of the girl are common expressions for one another between lovers. **buah hati tinggal-lah sayang**, **abang tiada pěrgi lama** *good-bye, my love, heart's darling, I do not go for long*.

There are honorific forms ending in **nda** applicable to persons of noble or distinguished birth or to persons whom it is desired to flatter and generally for politeness in letter-writing. **nenda** from **nenek** ; **ayahanda** from **ayah** ;

bonda from **ibu**; **kakanda** from **kakak**; **adinda** from **adek**; **anakanda**, **ananda** from **anak**; **chuchunda**, **chunda** from **chuchu**; **senda** from **sahaya**; **mamanda** from **mamak** *uncle* (a word often used with deference by a prince to an aged minister); **inangda** from **inang** *nurse*, occur in literature: of these honorifics, only **bonda** is found followed by a possessive pronoun.

(2) The proper name of the person addressed or referred to is very usually employed. **Hassan ka-mana?** *where are you (i.e. Hassan) going?* **Hassan sudah pĕrgi** *He (i.e. Hassan) has gone.* Where the name of the person spoken to or spoken of is unknown, common proper names like **Awang** or in Perak **Kulup** are hazarded in the case of boys. The *Sejarah Melayu* says that **awang** *youth* formerly corresponded to **dara** *virgin*. It also gives the following apposite example of its use. ‘*If one of his serfs came up from the river reaches wearing a fine pink coat, buttons, and a bright handkerchief, then the Bendahara would say, “Come up into the house, Awang.” When he came up, the Bendahara would ask, “What is your name? (namamu?)” Then the fellow would pay his respects, saying, “I am one of your serfs (sahaya ini hamba datok), my name is So-and-so, So-and-so was my father, and So-and-so my grandfather.” And the Bendahara would say, “Then you are So-and-so’s son (ĕngkau anak si anu-kah): go and sit below.” So great was his state that he could not recognize his own serfs on account of their number.*’ On the West coast **’Long = sulong** *firstborn* is similarly used in the case of girls. Parents often drop their own name and prefer to be called **’pa Awang** *father of Awang* or **’mak ’Nghah** *mother of ’Nghah* or whatever be the name of their child; **’pa Awang** indeed has become a conventional mode of address like **Awang**.

(3) Besides **tuanku**, **tĕngku**, **ĕngku**, **datok**, other honorifics of rank, age, and profession are used to suit the person addressed, or the person referred to in the third

person. So we find **wan**,¹ **'chek wan** as a form of address to the relatives of big commoner chiefs, **'chek pah** (= **sharifah**) to female descendants of the Prophet, **'yang** in the South, and **mek** in the North to ladies of good but not noble birth, **pēnghulu** or **'tok pēnghulu** to minor headmen, **'chek guru** to a pundit, **tuan kadli** to a priest, **'wa** (= **tuwa old**) to old men, **baba** to a Straits-born Chinaman, **tauki** to a Chinese employer of labour, **nonya** to a Chinese or Eurasian married woman, **nona** to an unmarried Chinese girl. Rhymesters frequently speak of themselves in the first person as **fakir yang miskin** *your poor mendicant* or **dagang yang hina** *your humble stranger*.

In literature particularly very high-flown titles of address are attached to princes—naturally never for the first person, seldom for the second, mostly for the third, **yang di-pěrtuan** contracted **yam-tuan** *he, his Highness*; **shah alam** *sovereign of the world*, **aku di-panggil oleh shah alam** *I am summoned by (him) the sovereign of the world*. **sěmbah ka-bawah duli** *lay homage in the dust* is a correct usage, but from it **ka-bawah duli** has been taken as a title (which is not the case with **ka-bawah kaus** and **ka-bawah chěrpu** *beneath the feet*, phrases employed towards chiefs and Europeans and superiors). Other honorifics meaning *your highness* formed on analogy are **duli yang di-pěrtuan**, literally *the dust of our lord's feet* and **duli shah alam** *the dust at the feet of the sovereign of the world*.

baginda (Skt. **bahagia + nda**) is a common term in the third person for a great prince.

mana titah ka-bawah duli *as your highness orders*; **ya tuanku shah alam** *O you my lord, sovereign of the world*; **payong naungan patek** *you my shade and shelter* are examples of these usages in the second person.

¹ In Negri Sembilan, **wan** means merely *grandmother*.

§ 67. Possessive Pronouns.

All the personal pronouns proper and all the words used as improper personal pronouns may follow a noun and serve for possessive pronouns, precisely as one noun placed after another may do. **kaki kuda** *a horse's leg*; **kaki sahaya**, **kaki hamba** *my leg*; **kaki tuan** *your leg*; **istëri tēman** *my wife*.

The abbreviated suffix forms **ku**, **mu** (and sometimes in speech **kau**), as for example **rumah-ku** *my house*, **hidup-mu** *your term of life*, are employed, except when emphasis is not on the object but on its possessor: **bukan baju dia baju aku** *it is not he who owns the coat, it is I*.

Similarly **ia** and **dia** may be used, if emphasis falls on the possessor; **di-kënal-nya këris ia** *he recognized that the dagger was his*; **siapa mēngaseh dia** *who is his lover*. Ordinarily the proper form is **nya**.

The uses of **nya** may be summarized as follows:

(1) Following a noun, it has the same varied case significance that one Malay noun following another will have. **rumah-nya** *his house*, **atas-nya** *its top*, **ubat-nya** *the medicine for him*, **hala-nya** *the direction for him or of it*.

(2) Often it makes for clearness. **dalam sungai** may mean *in a river* or *the depth of a river*; **dalam-nya sungai** can only mean *the depth of the river*; **anak raja itu** may mean *that princeling* or *the child of that raja*, but **anak-nya raja itu** only *the child of that raja*. In these cases it lends the sense of a genitive to the word following it. So, too, **oleh-nya mēndëngar khabar**, **itu-lah patek sakalian datang** *because (of) hearing the news, therefore we have all come*. And under this head falls the use **di-dëngar-nya baginda** *in the hearing of him, the prince*, expanded from the equally correct **di-dëngar baginda** *in the hearing of the prince* and sometimes into **di-dëngar-nya oleh baginda** *it was heard by him, the prince*, where the emphasis falls on **baginda**.

Moreover if it be true that the prefix *mě* cannot limit the versatile utility of the verbal root, identical with this idiom will be that when *nya* contrary to its use in other contexts is said usually to be a direct object or in effect an accusative, and in *siapa mēngaseh-nya* we shall have a normal genitive construction similar to that in *siapa kaseh-nya* *who is her lover*. Just so, unless there is exceptional emphasis on the pronoun, we find *ku*, *mu* and *nya* after compound preposition-*cum*-substantive forms, *ka-pada-mu*, *di-hadap-ku*, *di-atas-nya*, *oleh-nya*; in all of which cases the pronoun is in the genitive.

Its use in the following emphasizes the word to which it is suffixed: *muka-nya Sang Ranjuna* *the face of Sang Ranjuna*; *pintu-nya pēti itu* *the lid of the chest*; *pada esok hari-nya itu* *on the morrow of that day*.

(3) Also *nya* is used merely to accentuate that antithesis and balance which underlies the Malay sentence. *anak kita ini sangat nakal-nya* *this child of ours, great is his naughtiness*; *oleh baginda di-dēngar-nya* *by the king—it was heard by him*.

Possession may be indicated in several ways, notably by the word *ěmpunya*, *punya*. *yang ěmpunya hikayat* *he whose story it is*; *Demang Lebar Daun-lah yang pěrtama punya bahasa 'yang di-pěrtuan' dan 'patek'* *it was Demang Lebar Daun who first talked of 'yang di-pěrtuan' and 'patek'*; *lěmbu punya susu sapi punya nama* *the wild cow gets the credit for the tame cow's milk*. Used, however, to form a possessive genitive (*sahaya punya* *mine*, *dia punya rumah* *his house*) it is bazaar slang, and reaches its nadir in connecting substantive and adjective, as in *baik punya kuda* *a fine horse*.

Another circumlocution is expressed by *milek* (Ar.): *kampung itu di-milek sahaya* *that holding is in my possession*. Finally antithesis marked by repetition is common. *baju itu baju aku* *that coat is my coat*.

§ 68. The Reflexive Pronoun.

Reflexivity and reciprocity are denoted in Malay by the **bě(r)** derivatives often without, sometimes with, the help of the word **diri** *body* which like **awak** is really a noun used idiomatically.

diri + a possessive pronoun corresponds to our reflexive pronouns in *self*. **baik-lah aku mēmbuang diri-ku** *it were well I destroy myself*; **diri-mu** *you yourselves*; **ia pun pērgi mēmbuang diri-nya** *he went and destroyed himself*.

In certain idioms it stands alone. **doa sēlamat atas diri kakanda** *may the blessings of security be on your person*; **diri sahaya, diri hamba** *my person*; **sa-orang diri** *alone*; **di-dalam diri** *in one's own mind*; **bunoh diri** *slay oneself*; **minta diri** *take one's leave*.

Derivatives in **sě** (and **kě**) + the nasal infix are more usual. **aku sěndiri, kami sěndiri, sahaya sěndiri** = (1) *I myself*, (2) *I of my own accord*, or (3) *I alone*. **sěpěrti hartanya sěndiri** *as if it were his (her, their, your, my or our according to context) own property*; **tanah sěndiri** *my (our, your, his, her or their) own land*—the personal pronoun always being placed before the word **sěndiri** if the context in itself is not clear. **sěndiri-nya** *of its own accord*; **sama sěndiri-nya** *with one another*.

§ 69. Demonstrative Pronouns.

The demonstrative pronouns are :

itu *the, that, those*—the well-known, the distant in time and space, **ini** *this, these*,—the particular, the near in time and space.

(1) They follow the word they qualify and follow all the words, if any, denoting its attributes. **orang itu** *that man*; **orang bēsar itu** *that great man*; **orang bēsar yang mēměrentah itu** *that great ruler*, but **orang itu bēsar** *that man is of great size* and **itu orang bēsar** *that man is great*.

(2) They can qualify a preceding verb or clause as well as a noun. **patek datang ini** *I come now*; **sa-tĕlah itu** *after that (was done)*; **pĕrahu itu mĕlanchar-lah bĕrapa lamanya bĕlayar itu** *the ship darted forward and after some time on that voyage of hers*.

(3) They can stand alone or with **lah**, as predicate; generally but not necessarily in the emphatic forefront of a clause. **itu dia** *that is he*; **itu-lah hal-nya** *that is the state of affairs*; **ini-lah yang kita lihat sa-malam itu** *this is the spectacle we saw last night*; **elok-lah itu** *beautiful is what that is*; **itu-lah elok** *that! that is beautiful*.

(4) Their various nuances of meaning may be seen from the foregoing instances and from the following:

orang ini *this man (here)*; **nĕgĕri Perak ini** *this land of Perak here*; **ĕmpat lima bulan ini patek tiada mĕmĕgang kĕris** *this last four or five months I have not held a dagger*. **orang itu** *that man referred to, yonder man*; **Singapura itu** *Singapore yonder, Singapore the well-known*; **tĕtĕkala itu** *at that (more or less) remote time*.

§ 70. Interrogative Pronouns.

The following words serve for interrogative pronouns:

apa *what?*

si-apa *who? whose?*

mana *which? where?*

apa is not purely an interrogative pronoun—cf. § 86.

As an interrogative **apa** is applied to things and the names of things. **pokok apa itu** *what is that tree?* **apa namanya pokok itu** *what is the name of that tree?* **siapa** (the article **si** and **apa**) *who? whose?* is applied to persons and the names of persons. **siapa itu** *who is that?* **anak siapa tĕrtawa itu** *whose child laughed then?* **siapa nama orang itu** *what is the name of that person?*

mana bears often a certain locative character as an interrogative pronoun. **pokok mana itu** *which is the tree?* or

literally *where is the tree you refer to?* whereas **pokok apa itu** may mean *what species of the tree is that?* or *what sort of a thing is that for a tree?* neither of which meanings involves reference to place. So **mana** is frequently accompanied by **yang**. **pokok yang mana** *which tree?* literally *the tree which is where?* **balai mana yang chondong** *where is the hall that has fallen aslant?*

All three of these words can denote *who, which, what out of a number?* either standing alone or with **antara, pada antara, dari-pada**. **apa (daripada) pĕrkakas ini** *which out of these tools?* **siapa (antara) kamu** *which of you,* **mana pokok itu, mana (pada) antara pokok itu, mana dari-pada pokok itu** *which of these trees?* Derivative forms are **bĕrapa** *how much? how many?* **mĕngapa** *why? definite reason why?* **kĕnapa** *why?* **bĕtapa** *how? why?* **bagai-mana** *how?*

Examples of their use are **bĕrapa harga-nya** *how much is its price?* **bĕrapa umur-nya** *how old is he?* (also **bĕbĕrapa pun di-suroh panggil, tiada juga mau datang** *however much he was bidden and summoned, he would not come*); **hai Ruwana ngapa ĕngkau mĕlakukan diri-mu dĕmikian dan bĕrapa lama-mu sĕkarang** *why, Ravana, do you conduct yourself thus and how long now have you done so?* **supaya aku kĕtahuĭ bĕtapa hal-nya** *that I may know (more or less) what is his condition*; also **chukup lĕngkap bĕtapa adat raja-raja yang bĕsar** *sufficient preparation (more or less) like the custom of great princes*; **bagai-mana mĕnangkap landak** *in what way is the porcupine trapped?*

§ 71. The Relative Pronoun.

The substitute for a relative pronoun in Malay is **yang**, an idiomatic word which is rather a particle or emphatic relative conjunction, if such can be conceived. It may be omitted in translation, rendered by *who, which, whose, by that, by the, and so on.*

(1) **yang** serves to emphasize the word or clause which it precedes and introduces :

apabila Laksamana mati, yang raja itu mudah juga ka-pada kita *when the Laksamana is dead, the raja will fall an easy victim* ; **dengan kuat yang mana hamba mē-mē-gang dia** *what is the force with which I may hold him?* **pada masa ini-lah tuan hamba hamil yang akan pēroleh anak yang amat bijaksana** *this time the important point about your pregnancy is that what you will get is a son and the point about him will be his wisdom*—omit the two emphatic 'relative conjunctions' and the idiomatic rendering would be *this time you are pregnant—and I may add you will bear a clever son*. Similarly in such a sentence as **hamba dēngar ada hikayat Mēlayu di-bawa oleh orang dari Goa** *I hear there is a Malay romance—it was one brought from Goa*, the insertion of **yang** would imply *I hear there is that Malay romance, which was brought from Goa* : **yang** has a distinguishing individualizing sense.

Consonant with this function of **yang**, the word or clause introduced by it will occupy often that position of emphasis in Malay composition, the forefront of phrase or sentence. **yang bēhormat tuan Rēsident** *the respected Resident* ; **yang maha mulia Sultan Alaidin Shah** *his highness Sultan Alaidin Shah*. And in this case, sometimes **yang** will be used redundantly. **yang kurnia baginda itu sē-mua-nya beta junjong-lah** *the present from his highness we all humbly accept*.

Naturally **yang** will be employed when an intensative word accompanies the attributive adjective, its function being not merely to emphasize but also adjectival, indicating that the phrase following it is attribute and not predicate. **Hang Tuah yang amat bijaksana** *Hang Tuah noted for his wisdom* ; **budi yang baik sangat** *most excellent discretion*.

(2) In its broad office of 'relative conjunction' **yang** can introduce direct narration, often after **ada pun** and **bahwa** (§ 99).

ada pun yang hamba datang ini di-titahkan oleh Bětara Guru *now I have come here at the bidding of Siva*; ada pun yang kita datang ini bukan kita hëndak bėrsuamikan Raja Mělaka itu *now I have come here not with the desire of marrying the Raja of Malacca*; bahwa yang dunia ini tiada akan kėkal *now of a truth this world is transitory*; arti-nya yang arak itu ibu sėgala najis *the meaning is that drink is the cause of all filthiness*.

(3) yang stands always at the beginning of a clause, and can be omitted without change of construction, leaving the clause to stand parenthetical and complete in itself—just as the relative is omitted in English sentences like

*The king has written a braid letter
and signed it with his hand;
And sent it to Sir Patrick Spence
was walking on the sand.*

OR

I want to know a butcher paints.

sa-orang puteh yang 'ku kaseh akan dia *a white man, yes, I felt regard for him*; sarang lėbah yang tėlaha 'ku mēnunggu akan dia *a bee's nest, one I had watched over*; pėsaka pada sėgala waris-mu yang tiada ěngkau kaseh ka-pada-nya pada masa hidup-mu *an inheritance to all your relatives—I mean the very relatives you felt dislike for in your lifetime*; tērsėbut-lah pėrkataan sa-orang raja yang tērlalu amat bėsar kėrajaan-nya *the story is told of a prince, very large was his kingdom*.

In all these cases the relative pronoun can be avoided in translation. And in Malay yang may be and is often removed, without violence being done to grammar (though with a change in the meaning cp. (I) *supra*), as for example bėrtėmu dēngan orang mēnchari itu *meet with the people (who) were searching*; sėgala orang mēnghantarkan surat itu pulang-lah *all the people (who) were conveying the letter went to their homes*; mēmėgang kėris-nya sudah

těrhunus *holding his dagger (which) was drawn, i. e. holding his dagger—it was drawn.*

yang is omitted frequently after words denoting place and time: **těmpat** *place*, **něgěri** *land*, **bėkas** *trace of, ruin of*, **waktu**, **masa** *time*. **sahaya bėrtanya dari hal těmpat kěluar ěmas itu** *I inquired about the place the gold came from.*

(4) **yang** occurs often without an antecedent—its function then being not relative but emphatic; and in this context, it is said to correspond sometimes with other definite articles. So **yang ěmpunya** is used for *the owner*. **tiada di-kě-tahui yang ěmpunya suara** *it was not known who was the owner of the voice*; **oleh yang ěmpunya kėdai** *by the shop-keeper*; **kata yang ěmpunya hikayat** *says the author of the tale*. Similarly **apa guna-nya yang chėlaka di-hidupi** *what is the use of the knave being kept alive?* **boleh-lah kita bėrtěmu děngan (scilicet tunggal) yang kita chari itu** *we can meet with the object of our quest (sc. the tree-stump)*; **mari-lah kita mělihat yang bėrnyala-nyala sa-malam** *come let us see what was afire last night*; **yang buta datang bėrpimpin** *the blind came guided.*

(5) **yang** will not serve like our relative pronoun to introduce a clause containing a fresh topic; a fresh topic must be the subject of a fresh co-ordinate sentence.

ada pun akan baginda itu tahu akan diri-nya akan bėroleh anak; maka anak baginda itu-lah měnjadi raja di-Bukit Sěguntang; dari-pada anak chuchu baginda itu-lah kělak měnjadi raja bėsar-bėsar akhir zaman *now the king knew he would beget a son who should become prince at Mount Seguntang and whose children should be great princes till the end of time*—the Malay idiom disallows these relative pronouns.

§ 72. Indefinite Pronouns.

orang *any person, some persons, people*. **ekur mata-nya di-anak orang** *the tail of his eye was on people's daughters*;

ada suatu anak orang *there was a daughter of certain people*; **orang** bĕrkhobar *people say*; **sa-orang** kata bagini *one man says this, another that*; **sa-orang** kata bagitu *one man says this, another that*; **tiada** sa-orang tĕrlindong lagi *there was no one in hiding any more*; **sa-orang** sa-orang bĕrganti-ganti *one person after another in turn*.

suatu *any, a certain*, one may apply to things as **orang** to persons. **datang** suatu hal *there comes some event*.

apa can give a sense of doubt and indefiniteness to an expression. It is generally reduplicated: **kalau** jangan **apa-apa** gondala-nya *provided there is no accident of any kind*, but not always: **tidak** apa *it is no matter, it is nothing definite*; so too, **apa-tah** and even **apa-lah**: **hai** adinda **apa-lah** bichara kita akan anakanda ini *sister mine, have we any plan at all for this child of ours*.

barang *some, any* (also a noun = *chattels*; and a modal word), unlike nouns, adjectives or pronouns, stands before the word it qualifies and so has been compared with an indefinite numeral. **barang** sĕdikit *an indefinite small quantity*; **barang** orang, **barang** siapa *any one you like*; **barang** apa *anything*; **barang** bila *whenever*; **barang** kali *perhaps*; **suroh** urut badan **barang** ĕmpat lima hari *prescribed massage for some four or five days*; **barang** yang tĕrlintang di-tikam-nya *whoever was in his path was stabbed*; **barang** apa kĕtiadaan bĕlanja ambil-lah pada hamba *whatever money is lacking take from me*; **bukan-nya** bĕsi sa-barang bĕsi *it was not steel of any common sort*; **pĕdeh-nya** asap itu bukan **barang-barang** *the smarting caused by the smoke was not any ordinary smarting (i.e. was something extraordinary)*.

masing-masing *each (singly)* is used of persons. It can stand alone: **masing-masing** dĕngan ragam-nya *each with temperament peculiar to himself*.

tiap-tiap *each, every*, is used of things as well as persons and does not stand alone but qualifies a substantive. **tiap-**

tiap hari *every day*; **pada tiap-tiap** suatu rantai *at every single chain*.

sakalian, sĕmua *all*, serve to express an indefinitely large number; in which case, they do not stand after the word they qualify as they do in their adjectival use, but before it like **barang** and **tiap-tiap**. **mati-lah kuman kĕna pĕlantek**; **sakalian alam limpah darah-nya** *the louse died caught in a trap for big game, and all the world was flooded with his gore*.

(B) NUMERALS

§ 73. Cardinal Numbers.

I.	1	satu (also sa-, suatu and ĕsa)
	2	dua 6 ĕnam
	3	tiga 7 tujoh
	4	ĕmpat 8 dĕlapan
	5	lima 9 sĕmbilan

bĕlas (= **balas** *return*) is added to the above to form the numbers *eleven to nineteen*:

11	sa-bĕlas	16	ĕnam-bĕlas
12	dua-bĕlas	17	tujoh-bĕlas
13	tiga-bĕlas	18	dĕlapan-bĕlas
14	ĕmpat-bĕlas	19	sĕmbilan-bĕlas
15	lima-bĕlas		

puloh added to the first nine cardinals forms *multiples of ten*; for example:

10	sa-puloh	60	ĕnam-puloh
20	dua-puloh	70	tujoh-puloh
30	tiga-puloh	90	sĕmbilan-puloh

To form *intermediate numbers above twenty*, the units follow these last multiple-of-ten derivatives, e.g.

21	dua-puloh satu	66	ĕnam-puloh ĕnam
27	dua-puloh tujoh	77	tujoh-puloh tujoh
33	tiga-puloh tiga	84	dĕlapan-puloh ĕmpat
45	ĕmpat-puloh lima	93	sĕmbilan-puloh tiga

The *hundreds* are formed by adding *ratus* to the first nine units :

100 sa-ratus	101 sa-ratus satu
300 tiga-ratus	322 tiga-ratus dua-puluh dua
900 sembilan-ratus	850 delapan-ratus lima-puluh

The *thousands* by adding *ribu* :

1000 sa-ribu	4501 empat-ribu lima-ratus satu
3000 tiga-ribu	

The *tens of thousands* by adding *laksa* or *puluh ribu* :

70,000 tujuh laksa or tujuh-puluh ribu

The *hundreds of thousands* by *kĕti* :

500,000 lima kĕti (or lima-ratus ribu)

Millions by *juta* :

9,000,000 sembilan juta (or sembilan-ratus laksa)

II. (1) *kurang less, subtracting* is often used to express numbers closely approaching the multiples of ten :

9 kurang satu sa-puluh
97 kurang tiga sa-ratus
998 sa-ribu kurang dua

(2) *likur* is used in literature for 20 especially in dates, the units preceding it to form intermediate numbers :

21 sa-likur	29 sembilan likur
-------------	-------------------

(3) In literature in certain expressions, for instance, sometimes with *kurang*, the form *ĕsa* is used for *one*. **Tuhan yang ĕsa** *the one only God*; **sa-puluh kurang ĕsa** *nine*.

(4) An old literary form of *dĕlapan* is *dua-lapan*. **di-bunoh-nya dĕngan tangan-nya sĕndiri sa-ribu ĕmpat-ratus dua-lapan-puluh orang jin ifrit** *there were slain by his own hand 1480 evil spirits*.

(5) For the use of *tĕngah* to express *multiples of five* see below § 76.

§ 74. The Arabic ciphers employed by Malays are :

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
.	١	٢	٣	٤	٥	٦	٧	٨	٩

Thus 1912 will be ١٩١٢, 18000 ١٨٠٠٠.

Rarely the letters of the Arabic alphabet are employed as ciphers with the following values :

ا	1	د	4	ض	800	ك	20
ب	2	ذ	700	ط	9	ل	30
ت	400	ر	200	ظ	900	م	40
ث	500	ز	7	ع	70	ن	50
ج	3	س	60	غ	1000	و	5
ح	8	ش	300	ف	80	ه	6
خ	600	ص	90	ق	100	ي	10

§ 75. Syntax of the Cardinal Numbers.

(1) They will stand generally after the substantive they qualify, except **suatu, satu** which stands oftenest before it and in the unemphatic form **sa**. But, if emphasis falls on the numeral, then the other cardinals will stand before the substantive and **suatu, satu** after it: that is, both in the reverse of the usual order e.g. **pěrbuatkan aku jambatan ěmas satu, jambatan perak satu** *make me one bridge of gold and one of silver*.

(2) No conjunctions are employed to join or divide them :
 1911 **sa-ribu sěmbilan-ratus sa-bělas**; 5 *or* 6 **lima ěnam**; 15 *or* 16 **lima ěnam bělas**; 40 *or* 50 **ěmpat lima puloh**; *a day or two* **sa-hari dua**.

(3) They express dates :
pada dua-puloh hari bulan Jumad al-akhir ia-itu pada dua-bělas hari bulan October *on the twentieth day of Jumad-al-akhir, that is on the twelfth day of October*; **sa-tělah datang ka-pada tujuh hari, maka baginda pun**

běrangkat-lah *as soon as it came to the seventh day, the prince set out.* (But for *first* **pěrtama** is sometimes found; **pada** **pěrtama bulan Muharram ini-lah** *on the first day of the month of Muharram.*)

(4) Reduplicated, the cardinals signify:

suatu-suatu *one by one, one after another; one by one, severally; lima-lima* *all five or five of (us)—ěmpat-ěmpat* **pěnchuri lari** *all four thieves ran.*

(5) The following idioms are notable: **bahagi dua** *divide in two; lat tiga* *missing three, i.e. every fourth; sělang* **suatu** *every second; bongkok* **běrlipat tiga** **bělakang-nya** *her back bent in three curves; Laksamana* **běrjalan** **dua** **běrbudak** *the Laksamana set out with his page; sahaya* **tiga** **běranak** *I and my two children; dua laki* **istěri** *the couple, husband and wife (where one would expect* **kědua***); saudara* **dua kali** **pupu** *a cousin twice removed; děngan* **sa-ribu** **kěmuliaan** *with countless marks of honour; pě- kěrjaan-nya* **hěndak** **měnyambut duli** **yang di-pěrtuan,** **suatu** **lagi** **hěndak** **měnyambut** **paduka** **adinda** **itu** **gěrangan** *his business was to welcome his highness, and further (lit. one more) perhaps to welcome the princess.*

§ 76. Fractions.

suku, sa-suku *one-quarter; suku* **bahagian** *a quarter share; tiga suku* *three-quarters; lima kurang suku* *four and three-quarters.*

těngah, sa-těngah *a half, one-half; sa-těngah* **hasta** *half a cubit; sa-těngah* **jam** *half an hour; těngah* **hari** *midday.* The word **těngah** is employed also to subtract from the digit it precedes a $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1, e.g. **těngah** **tiga** $2\frac{1}{2}$; **těngah** **tiga** **puluh** $2\frac{1}{2} \times 10 = 25$; **těngah** **lima** **ratus** $4\frac{1}{2} \times 100 = 450$; **těngah** **tujoh** **ribu** $6\frac{1}{2} \times 1000 = 6500$. It is used, too, to express an indefinite number *some*. **měreka** **itu** **sa-těngah** **kafir,** **sa-těngah** **Islam** *half the people were infidels, and half of the Mohammedan faith; sa-těngah **di-***

bunoh dan sa-tengah lari dan sa-tengah di-tawan-nya
some were killed, some took flight and some were taken prisoners.

sa-paro (*Jav.*) is sometimes found, generally expressing an indefinite number. **sa-belah ringgit** is a rare phrase for *fifty cents* (lit. *half a dollar*).

Other fractions are made from the cardinal numbers by means of the prefix **pěr**. **sa-pěrtiga** *one-third*; **tiga pěr-lima** *three-fifths*; **tujuh pěr-puloh** *seven-tenths*. The suffix **an** is found occasionally with these derivatives: **sa-pěrtigaan** *a third*.

The use of derivatives to express fractions is avoided generally by idiomatic circumlocution, often with **bahagi, bahagian**. **di-bahagi tiga, dua bahagi akan Laksamana, sa-bahagi akan orang yang ěmpunya harta** *a division of the property was made, two-thirds of it allotted to the Laksamana, one-third to the owner*; **Těměnggong mě-mileh orang-nya, di-dalam tiga-ribu itu dua-ratus juga di-bawa-nya** *the Temenggong took a picked body of men, one-fifteenth of his force of three thousand*. Without further explanation **dua bahagian** = *two-thirds*; **lima bahagian** = *five-sixths*; **sěmbilan bahagian** *nine-tenths*, and so on: **tiga bahagian jiwa-nya sudah hilang** *he was three-quarters dead*.

§ 77. **kě** derivatives.

Ordinals are formed from the cardinals by prefixing **kě** (§§ 2 and 57) and by putting **yang** before the derivative so formed. **yang kědua** *the second*; **yang kěenam-puloh satu** *the sixty-first*; **yang kětiga-ratus sěmbilan-bělas** *the three hundred and nineteenth*. Very rarely and mainly in literature **kěsa** is found for *first*, but almost always the word **pěrtama** from the Sanskrit is employed.

The syntax of these derivative numerals is simple.

(1) The phrase **yang kě . . .**, used adjectivally, always follows the word it qualifies. **bab yang kětiga** *the third*

chapter; **fasal yang kělîma** *the fifth paragraph*; never **yang kětiga bab**, &c.

(2) Without **yang**, these **kě** derivatives may precede the noun they qualify; when they denote *a complete set*, *all*.

kědua pipi *both cheeks*; **kědua mata** *both eyes*; **kědua laki istëri** *the couple, husband and wife*; **kětiga anak-nya** *all three children of his* (whereas **tiga anak-nya** = *three of his children*). But these derivatives will follow and not precede personal pronouns or nouns standing for personal pronouns: **sahaya kětiga** *I and two companions*.

The stem may be reduplicated: **kělîma-lîma** *all five*.

(3) In the *complete sets* which these derivatives denote, the person or thing qualified by the numeral is included:

Hang Tuah kělîma bërsaudara *Hang Tuah and his four brothers*; **baginda kěëmpat istëri-nya** *the prince and his three wives*.

(4) If the **kě** derivative does not precede the noun (or follow the pronoun) immediately, then **-nya** is added to it for the sake of clearness and antithesis:

akan pënjurit ëmpat-puloh itu jika kita bunch kěëmpat-puloh-nya mati *as for the forty bravadoes, if we slay them, the whole forty of them will be dead and done with*; **sa-tëlah sampai tujuh hari kədəlapan-nya** *as soon as seven days had passed and the eighth which completed the period had arrived*.

(5) Standing alone at the beginning of a clause these derivatives denote *firstly*, *secondly*, *thirdly*, &c.: **di-suroh baginda hampir dari antara orang itu ënam orang, përtama Bëndahara, kědua Kadli, kětiga Paduka Tuan, kěëmpat Pënghulu Bëndahari, kělîma Të-mënggong, kěënam Laksamana** *the prince called six officers to his presence, firstly the Bendahara, secondly the Kali, thirdly the Paduka Tuan, fourthly the Keeper of the Treasury, fifthly the Temenggong, sixthly the Laksamana*.

§ 78. *běr derivatives.*

It has been seen how collective numbers may be expressed by reduplicating the cardinal (§ 75) and by the **kě** derivatives. Furthermore they may be expressed by prefixing **běr** to the cardinals—except that **běr** is of course neither required nor used with **sa, suatu, satu**. Like derivatives in **kě**, so too these precede substantives, but follow personal pronouns proper and improper: **běrpuloh-puloh orang** *scores of people*; **sahaya bértiga** *we three together*.

§ 79. *Miscellaneous.*

suatu *one*, as in **pada suatu masa** *once upon a time*; **suatu alamat** *a certain sign*; **banyak** *many*, **sědikit** *few*, **lěbeh** *more*, **kurang** *less*, **masing-masing** *each*, **tiap-tiap** *every*, **sěgala, sěmua** *all*, have been called indefinite numerals, because unlike adjectives they precede the word they qualify.

ganda *-fold*; **kali, kian** *times*, are words used in multiplication. **lipat ganda untong-nya** *he got one hundred per cent. profit*; **dua kali tinggi dari-pada kota itu** *twice as high as the fort*. The following words denote *addition*, viz. **himpun, kumpul** (literally *collect together*), **jumlah** (Ar.); **lagi** as in **tujuh lagi dua jadi sěmbilan** *seven with two added makes nine*; **lěbeh**, e.g. **dua lěbeh dua-pěrtiga** *two and two-thirds*; *subtraction* is denoted by **ambil, tolak, potong**; *division* by **bahagi**; *multiply* by **pukul, tharab** (Ar.).

§ 80. *Numeral coefficients.*

Qualifying words that denote material objects, the numerals are generally accompanied by class words or coefficients, 'in many cases descriptive of some obvious quality' of the material object; and corresponding to the English *head* in *three head of cattle*. The following is a list of the commoner:

batang of *trees, poles, spears, teeth*,
běntok of *rings*,

bidang of *widths* of *cloth*, *matting*, *sails*, *a man's chest*, *rice-fields*,

biji of *eyes*, *eggs*, *small stones*, *coco-nuts*, *caskets*, *chairs*,

bilah of *daggers* and *knives*,

buah of *fruits*, *countries*, *islands*, *lakes*, *ships*, *houses*,

butir of *coco-nuts*, *grain*, *jewels*,

charek of *scraps* of *paper*, and *linen*,

ekur of *animals*, *birds*, *insects*, and contemptuously of *men*,

hělai, **'lai** of *leaves*, *hair*, *cloth*, *paper*,

kajang of *palm-leaf coverings*,

kaki of *insects*, of *umbrellas*, of *long-stemmed flowers*,

kampoh of *pieces* of *fish* (**těrubok**) *roe*,

kayu of *cloth*,

kěping of *blocks* of *timber*, *metal*, and *hunches* of *bread*, *meat*,

kuntum of *flowers*,

laboh of *hanging* (*curtains*, *necklace*, &c.),

lapis of *folds* of *cloud* or *cloth*,

laras of *gun-barrels*,

mata of (*edges* of) *knives*,

orang of *persons*,

patah of *words*,

pěranggu of *sets* of *betel-boxes*, *buttons*,

pěrd� of *trees*,

pintu or **tangga** of *houses*,

potong of *slices* of *meat* and *bread*,

puchok of *guns*, *letters*, *needles*,

rawan and **utas** of *nets*,

rumpun of *grasses*, *bamboos*, *sugar-canes*,

sikat of a *layer* in a *bunch* of *bananas*,

tandan of a *bunch* of *bananas*,

tangkai of *flowers*,

urat of *thread*.

The numeral always stands immediately before its coefficient. And before a coefficient **sa** is used instead of

suatu. The syntax of numeral-*cum*-coefficient is identical with that of the cardinal standing alone :

- (a) *sa-cum*-coefficient stands before the substantive ;
- (b) other cardinals-*cum*-coefficient stand after it ;
- (c) but, if emphasis falls on the numeral the above order laid down in (a) and (b) is reversed.

Instances are :

sa-orang anak-ku *one (or a) son of mine* ; **anak-ku tiga orang** *my sons, they are three* : but **anak-ku sa-orang** *my one and only son* ; **tiga orang anak-ku** *three persons, i.e. my sons* : and **sa-orang budak hanyut bĕrpĕgang pada sa-kĕping papan** *a child afloat clinging to a plank*, where the numeral-*cum*-coefficient merely has the force of an indefinite article.

Used with words denoting measures of length, time and value, the cardinals take no coefficient ; so that the following must be distinguished : **sa-ringgit** *one dollar (of price)*, **sa-buah ringgit** *a dollar piece* ; **sa-kaki** *a foot (in length)*, **sa-buah kaki** *a foot (of a pedestal)* ; **sa-pinggan** *a plateful*, **sa-biji pinggan** *a plate* ; **sa-jam** *one hour*, **sa-biji jam** *a watch*.

(C) ADVERBS

§ 81. Even in languages less elliptic and elastic than Malay adverbs can hardly be termed essential to speech. They mostly express in a short and convenient manner what might be stated quite as explicitly if cumbrously by gesture accent and circumlocution. **tuan ada** *is the master here?* **pada pagi ini tuan sudah jalan ka (-kĕbun-nya itu)** *this morning he has gone to (his estate)*. **boleh hantarkan dia surat dĕngan sĕgera** *can you convey him a letter with dispatch?* **minta maaf-lah** *I beg to be excused* : substitute adverbs and we get the shorter but not more explicit

sentences, *He has just gone yonder. Can you convey him a letter quickly? No.*

So even on the analogy of other languages it is not surprising to find, as Marsden pointed out, 'few instances in Malay in which their derivation from verbs, adjectives, or nouns is not more or less apparent.'

A few examples of words which have acquired a more or less fixed and usual adverbial use will suffice :

(a) *Also nouns.*

siang *daylight; by daylight*; **malam** *night; by night*; **bawah** *the bottom; below* (adj. and adv.); so too **dalam** *depth; deep; deeply; in*; **atas** *the top; above*, and many others.

(b) *Also adjectives.*

dekat *near*, adj. prep. adv.; **běnar** *true, truly*; **jarang** *wide apart; seldom*—a list is otiose, since most adjectives can be used adverbially; **tarek kuat** *pull hard*, **pasang tęgoh** *fix firmly*, **pandang tępät** *look closely*, **jalan chępät** *walk quickly*.

(c) *Also verbs.*

habis *finish; utterly*; **balek** *return; behind*; **hampir** *to approach; nearly*. Very common is the form **běr**+reduplicated verbal root: **běrganti-ganti** *in turn*; **běrturut-turut** *repeatedly*.

(d) *Also conjunctions.*

Especially close is the connection between adverbs and conjunctions, so that it has been debated whether words like **hanya**, **mělainkan**, **sědang**, **makin**, **těngah**, **lagi** *shall be reckoned as the one or the other*; the fact being really that they are employed as both of these parts of speech.

§ 82. Foreign loan-words.

Many Malay adverbs are loan-words from foreign sources: **sěgěra** *quickly*; **sahaja** *only*; **něschaya** *certainly*; **istimewa** *especially* are Sanskrit; **saat** *in a moment* is Arabic.

§ 83. Formation of Adverbs.

(I) In addition to root forms like **amat** *very*, **bělum** *not yet*, **esok** *to-morrow*, **lama** *long (of time)*, we get fixed derivatives like **těrlalu** *very*, **sambil** (= **sa-ambil**) *at the same time*, **kě-mudi-an** *thereafter*.

(II) Furthermore adverbs are formed from different parts of speech by several devices :

(a) By reduplication of the root, especially of adjectival roots, **hari-hari** *daily*; **kira-kira** *approximately*; **tiba-tiba** *suddenly*; **churi-churi** *secretly*; **kurang-kurang** *at the least*; **rintek-rintek** *gently (of rain)*.

(b) By the prefix **sa**.

sa-bělah *on one side*; **sa-kali** *at once*; **sa-běnar** *truly*; **sa-kian** *so much*; *thus*; **sa-lalu** *always*; **sini** (= **sa-ini**) *here*; **situ** (**sa-itu**) *there*.

(c) By **sa** + reduplication of the root.

sa-hari-hari *daily*; **sa-lama-lama** *for ever*; **sa-kali-kali** *ever*.

(d) By **sa** + the root + **nya**.

sa-běnar-nya *truly*; **sa-sunggoh-nya** *in all reality*; **sa-kuat-nya** *with all vigour*; **sa-boleh-nya** *to the best of one's ability*; **sa-harus-nya** *necessarily*.

(e) By **sa** + reduplication + **nya**.

sa-lama-lama-nya *for ever*; **sa-boleh-boleh-nya** *to the very best of one's ability*.

(f) By the suffix **an**; in a few crystallized forms :

tambahan *furthermore*; **mudah-mudahan** *perhaps*; *may it be*.

(g) Isolated forms are **lama-(běr)kělamaan** *at last*; **pěrlahan-lahan** *slowly*; **pěrtama-tama** (from Skt. **prathama**) *firstly*.

(III) Some adverbs are formed by juxtaposition of two words. **barang kala** *whenever*; **barang kali** *perhaps*;

bagai mana *how*; **macham mana** (colloquial) *how*; **sěbab itu** *therefore*; **karna apa, apa fasal** *why*; **ta'usah** *don't, it is of no use*; **mana kala** *when*.

(IV) Adverbial phrases are formed by the help of the preposition **děngan** *with*; **děngan murahan** *cheaply*; **děngan adil-nya** *justly*; **děngan gopoh-nya** *quickly*.

§ 84. The classification of Malay adverbs as adverbs of place, time, degree, affirmation and negation marks no difference in their syntax. This latter is marked by their classification as

- I. Adverbs qualifying numerals, adjectives and other adverbs;
- II. Adverbs qualifying verbs.

I. To the first class belong mostly adverbs of degree like **kurang** *less*; **lěbeh** *more*; **amat, sangat, těrlalu, těr-lampau, sa-kali** *very*; **bagini** *so, in this wise*; **bagitu** *so, in that wise*; **sědang** *just*; **děkat, hampir** *nearly*; **barang** *about, more or less*; **bělaka** *entirely*; **sa-kian** *so far*; **bukan** *not*; **makin** *the more*.

Of these **kurang, lěbeh, těr-lalu, sědang, bělum, děkat, hampir, barang, sa-kian, bukan** and generally **bagini, bagitu** and **amat** stand before the word they qualify; others after it. **kurang dua tiga-puloh rial** *twenty-eight dollars*; **lěbeh chantek** *more pretty*; **kambing těr-lalu amat sangat chantek rupa-nya** *a goat surpassingly, exceedingly beautiful*; **bagitu chěrdek** *so clever*; **sědang masak** *just ripe*; **sědang bagitu gila juga** *even so, one is distraught*; **hampir mati** *nearly dead*; **kami ini lagi muda-muda bělaka** *we are still young, all of us*; **sa-tělah dēmikian** *after that*; **barang ka-mana** *any whither*; **sa-bělak sini** *in this direction*; **sa-kian lama** *all this while*.

Many of these (**sědang, bagini, bagitu, bukan, makin, bělum**) belong also to the next class.

II. Adverbs qualifying verbs have no fixed place in the sentence, beyond that they usually but not always precede the verb. Their position depends on the emphasis desired.

sĕkarang sudah sampai *has now arrived*; **Raja Suran sĕgĕra mĕlompat** *Raja Suran leapt quickly*; **tiada mau undur lagi** *did not wish to retreat further*; **Raja dan Ratu Mĕlayu lagi di-hadap oleh sĕgala pĕgawai** *all the officers were still in the presence of the Raja and the Javanese chief*; **baginda bĕlum lagi kĕluar tĕngah dudok di-balai** *the prince had not yet gone forth and still sat in the hall*; **tĕngah baginda bĕrfikir itu** *while still the prince thought over it to himself*; **gigi kami sĕmua-nya habis tanggal** *our teeth have all of them entirely dropped out*; **sangat tahu or tahu sangat** *know thoroughly*.

§ 85. *The following points require notice :*

Of adverbs of place **sini** denotes *here*, the place where the speaker is; **situ** strictly the place *there*, where the person addressed is; and **sana**, compounded of an obsolete demonstrative form in the third person, denotes the place *there*, where some one else is.

All adverbs of place, **sini**, **situ**, **sana** and **mana** *where*, **bawah** *below*, **balek** *behind*, **dalam** *inside*, **atas** *above*, **jauh** *distant*, **sa-bĕlah** *on this side*, **sa-bĕrang** *across water*, may have the locative prepositions **di**, **ka** and **dari** prefixed to them; because they are not really adverbs but substantives.

Many adverbs may be qualified by the demonstrative pronouns **ini**, **itu**. **sĕkarang ini** *now*; **sa-kali ini** *this time*; **sa-lama ini** *all this while*; **dĕmikian itu** *thus, in that way*; **tĕlah itu** *afterwards, after that*.

Different negatives and prohibitives have to be distinguished. **bukan**, it has been said, implies the copula *to be* and should be used where it is understood. But then **orang itu tidak kaya** *that man is not rich*; **orang itu kaya tidak** *is that*

man rich or is he not? **orang itu kaya** *that man is rich* also imply the copula. Really **tidak** simply denies; **bukan** not only denies but implies that the reverse of what has been stated should be affirmed; **tidak** qualifies the sentence, **bukan** the word to which it is attached in the sentence. **tidak dia jahat** or **dia tidak jahat** *he is not wicked*; **dia jahat tidak** *is he wicked or not?* But **dia bukan jahat** *he is not wicked but he is something else*; **bukan dia (yang) jahat** *it is not he but some one else who is wicked*; **dia jahat bukan** *he is wicked?* Surely the reverse is not true. **tidak-kah bĕnar** *is it not true?* (*I don't know*); **bukan-kah bĕnar** *is it not true?* (*I have heard it is true*). The following transpositions show the force of **bukan**:

bukan sĕngaja beta ka-mari *it is not of free-will but by compulsion I have come*; **sĕngaja bukan beta ka-mari** *of free-will not I but others would have come*; **sĕngaja beta bukan ka-mari** *of free-will I should have journeyed not here but elsewhere*.

bukan sometimes has the pronominal suffix **nya** attached to it. **nĕgĕri ini bukan-nya nĕgĕri bĕsar** *this country is the reverse of a large country*; **bukan-nya ia tiada tahu** *his is the reverse of ignorance*.

tidak, tiada or **t' ada, ta' not, no** are identical in meaning and use. **ta'** common in conversation occurs in a few phrases in literature. **ta' usah don't**; **ta' dapat tidak, ta' dapat tiada** *certainly must*; **ta' boleh tidak** or **ta' boleh tiada** *must without fail*; **tidak apa** or **tiada apa** *never mind*: **akan musoh itu tiada apa-lah ia tiga buah pĕrahu itu** *never mind that the enemy have three boats yonder*. Where there is emphasis on presence or existence **tiada** should be preferred, but where that emphasis is great a redundant use is often found: **sa-orang pun tiada ada** *there was no one present*.

Direct negatives, like the direct affirmative **ia** *yes*, are looked upon as too emphatic to be polite.

ada-kah kamu dengar *do you hear?* may be answered (1) **tuan sir** (or **encheh**, &c.), (2) **ada** *I am (hearing)*, (3) **dengar** or **dengar-lah** *hearing*, (4) **sahaya** *I (do)*, and (5) least politely by **ia** *yes*. Similarly *no* will be conveyed by **belum** *not yet*; **mana boleh** *how is it possible?*; **ěntah** *I know not*; and rarely and rudely by **tidak** *no*.

Prohibitives are **jangan** *do not*, **jangan dahulu** *don't yet*, and the politer evasions **ta' usah** *it is needless*, **ta' payah** *don't trouble to*, **ta' apa** *never mind*. Prohibitives may be used even when prohibition is only indirect or implied. **anak kita baik kita bėri atau jangan** *is it well we give our child or better that we don't?*; **jaga jangan ia masok** *guard that he do not enter*. **jangan** is the negative proper in final clauses, § 98 (j). A very strong positive command is expressed by **jangan tidak** or **jangan tiada**: **jangan tiada chuchu-ku pėrgi bėrguru ka-pada-nya** *go my grandchild without fail to his lessons*.

pėrnah *ever* is employed with negatives or in interrogative sentences where a negative reply is possible. **tidak pėrnah** *never*; **belum pėrnah** *never yet*. **bėbėrapa sudah lamanya ia mėnjadi tua tiada pėrnah ia mėnyuroh bėkėrja** *all the time he has been old he has never bidden us work*; **adakah pėrnah pėrgi** *have you ever gone?*

juga, jua is a word marking the antithesis and balance dear to the Malay, its exact rendering being dependent on the context: often it may be left untranslated.

orang itu sakit juga *he was sick and he is sick still or he is sick but he is not very sick*; **ia datang juga** *others come and he comes or he does not want to come but he does come*; **hari ini juga** *on this day and not on another day*; **sama juga** *alike this and that*; **kalau mau pėrgi boleh juga** *if you want to go, you can go*; **dėngan mudah juga ia mėngangkut** *it is not easy but with ease he lifts it*; **apa juga maksud-nya ia datang** *he has a reason, but what is his reason for coming?* **di-pandang dari hadapan tėrlalu**

tinggi dan dari bĕlakang rĕndah juga *in front it is very high and behind on the contrary low*; bunga harum itu ada juga duri-nya *the flower may be sweet but it has thorns*.

pula fulfils a similar function; sudah tahu bĕrtanya pula *you know and yet you ask*.

§ 86. There are certain modal words and phrases which affect the sense of a sentence fundamentally, changing it from a statement of fact to the expression of a wish or a doubt or inquiry; for instance gĕrangan, kira-nya, apa-lah, barang, masa(-kan), rĕmak. fikir di-dalam hati-nya tĕmpat raja-raja gĕrangan ini *thinking in his heart, may this perhaps be a prince's palace*; sudah mati, masakan hidup pula *he is dead and is it likely he will come to life?*; jika ada Laksamana, masakan Si Jĕbat boleh pĕrbuat dĕrhaka dĕmikian *if the Laksamana were here, is it likely Si Jebat would play the traitor in this fashion*; rĕmak mati di-tanah Pasai *better to die in Pasai*. apa, apa-lah, kira-nya, apa-lah kira-nya, barang, barang kira-nya, mudah-mudahan, muga-muga soften a command or prohibition into the expression of a wish. kata istĕri datok Bĕndahara 'Datang ibu Hang Tuah; mari apa-lah bĕrmain-main pada kita' *said the wife of the Bendahara 'Here comes the mother of Hang Tuah; please come and play with us'*; jangan apa-lah anak-ku tĕkĕbur dan ria *pray don't be arrogant and proud*; jangan apa di-pĕrbinasa hati kami sakalian dĕngan titah yang dĕmikian itu *pray do not break our hearts with such a mandate*.

§ 87. There are certain particles, the enclitics lah, kah, and tah, and also pun, all of which emphasize just the word they follow, which is the emphatic word in the clause. Naturally that word, whether subject or predicate, may often occupy the important forefront of the sentence, but not necessarily.

hamba-lah raja sĕgala manusia *it is I who am prince of all mortals*; **chunda baginda Raja Suran-lah kĕrajaan** *the King's grandson Raja Suran it was who became ruler*; **rata-lah sĕgala rumah kĕchurian** *everywhere houses were burgled*; **sĕgala hutan bĕlantara habis-lah mĕnjadi padang** *the whole forest absolutely all of it became open plain*; **baginda pun tĕrlalu-lah kaseh akan Hang Tuah** *the prince felt the very greatest affection for Hang Tuah*; **'tok bidan tujuh-lah pĕrgi sĕmbahkan** *it was the seven midwives who went and informed the prince*; **sang api pun bĕr-maharaja-lela-lah** *Mr. Fire played the Maharaja Lela*.

kah is the particle of interrogation: the interrogative sentence being distinguished from the affirmative often (especially in conversation) merely by intonation; also by the presence of an interrogative pronoun or adverb, also by the use of modal words like **masakan**, **gĕrangan**, and very frequently by **kah** suffixed to the word on which the interrogation lays stress. Thus *is he alive?* may be **ia hidup**; **ia hidup gĕrangan**; and **hidup-kah ia** or **ia hidup-kah**. **anak jin atau pĕri-kah tuan hamba ini** *is it child of spirit or of fairy that you are?* **ĕngkau-kah nama Malim Dewa** *is it you who are named Malim Dewa?* **alang-kah tinggi orang itu** *is it of slight height that the fellow is?* **kah** is suffixed even to interrogative words: **apa-kah hajat kamari** *what is it that has brought you hither?*

tah an enclitic signifying surprise as well as interrogation is suffixed only to interrogative pronouns and adverbs. **siapa-tah lagi lain dari-pada Laksamana yang akan dapat kita surohkan** *who in the world else besides the Laksamana is there whom we can commission?* **apa-tah bichara kita** *what in the world plan is there for us?* **mana-tah dapat** *where in the world can it be got?*

pun marks balance and antithesis, as may be seen by a study of the idiomatic usages that replace copulative, adverbative, alternative, proportional and conditional conjunctions.

Analogous with that is its use to mark repetition, when it refers back the word it qualifies and balances its mention in a previous clause. **sa-kali pĕrsĕtua nabi Adam alaihi al-salam bĕrjalan-jalan pada waktu suboh; maka tĕtĕkala itu nabi Adam alaihi al-salam pun bĕrtĕmu dĕngan Ruwana bĕrtapa itu** *once the prophet Adam on whom be peace was walking in the early morning. And then the aforesaid prophet Adam on whom be peace met with Ravana doing penance.* Often it emphasizes merely a single word and may be translated *even, too*. **sĕkarang pun** *even now, this moment*; **siapa pun** *any one even, any one at all*; **itu pun** *that too*.

Sometimes these particles merely balance one another and preserve antithesis between the parts of the clause. **piala pun di-pĕridarkan orang-lah** *cups were handed round by servants*; **maka Ruwana pun di-turunkan-lah ka-pada bukit itu** *Ravana was made to descend on the mountain*.

(D) PREPOSITIONS

§ 88. (1) There are three locative prepositions :

di *in, at*, denoting place where ;

ka *to*, denoting place whither ;

dari *from*, denoting place whence.

(2) These are often prefixed to adverbs of place, as for example **di-mana** *where?* **ka-mana** *whither?* **dari-mana** *whence?* also to words denoting place like **atas** *the top*, **bĕla-kang** *back, rear*, **dalam** *interior*, **luar** *the outside*, **bawah** *bottom*; e. g. **di-atas** *atop, on the top of*, **ka-atas** *up, to the top of*, **dari-atas** *from atop*. But it is to be noted that these last words are often used alone as prepositions and some especially, seldom take **di** even if in literature **ka** and **dari** are commonly prefixed to them; so, **masok ka-dalam goa** *enter inside a cave*, **kĕluar dari dalam laut** *issue from the depths of the sea*, but **dudok dalam** (or **di-dalam**) **nĕgĕri** *dwell in a land*.

(3) The placing of these locative prepositions before adjectives, numerals and nouns denoting persons, animals and things, in short before words other than those denoting place, is not permissible. **di-nĕgĕri ini** *in this land*, **ka-nĕgĕri ini** *to this land*, **dari nĕgĕri ini** *from this land* are correct, but never **di-suatu**, **ka-suatu**, **dari suatu nĕgĕri**, nor yet again **ka-Hassan** *to Hassan* or **dari Hassan** *from Hassan*. Such constructions are avoided by the use of **pada** (*infra*).

The one exception to this rule is that there is latitude in the case of **dari**, which may be

(a) locative, **dari daksina datang ka-paksina** *from south to north*; **turun dari kapal** *alight from a ship*.

(b) temporal, **dari dahulu** *from of yore*, **kĕmudian dari itu** *after that*; **patek dari kĕchil pĕrgi ka-Manjapahit** *from boyhood I went to Manjapahit*.

(c) denote origin: **anak dari jin** *a descendant of spirits*; **sa-orang dari anak China** *one of the Chinese*.

(d) denote comparison; **indah khabar dari rupa** *report is fairer than reality*.

(e) denote concerning: **dari sĕbab itu** *from that cause*; **dari hal itu** *touching that business*.

If the idea of *motion towards* however remote exists, not **di** but **ka** must be used. With words like **sampai** *arrive at*, **singgah** *visit*, **datang** *come to* the choice between **di** and **ka** will depend on the context, but **ka** is generally preferred. **lalu bĕrjalan ka-darat lalu bĕrmain ka-padang** *went ashore and visited the fields to play*; **kita sambut ka-Tuban-lah** *we will greet at Tuban, we will go to Tuban and greet*; **pĕrgi-lah aku tinggal ka-dalam kota** *I went and lived at the fort*; **jika hĕndak mĕnchuri ka-dalam astana raja** *if you will make burglarious entry into the palace*; **ka-pada malam sĕkarang patek sĕndiri bĕrkawal** *when it comes to night I myself will keep guard*; **datang-lah ka-pada ta-hun yang ka-hadapan** *down to the year which is (for) coming*.

§ 89. **pada** is invariably suffixed to **ka** and **dari**, if only for euphony, before **ku**, **mu** and **nya**; and it takes the place of **di** and is suffixed to **ka** and generally in elegant style to **dari** before words other than those denoting place, i. e. before numerals, adjectives, pronouns and nouns denoting animate beings, concrete things, time and so on. Of its use before the pronominal suffixes a few examples will serve.

bəri ka-pada-nya *give to him*; **ambil dari-pada-ku** *take from me*; **bapa ka-pada-mu** *your father*. Of the broader use, the following are instances. It will be observed that **ka-pada** unlike the locative **ka** can indicate possession and time, and that **dari-pada** while its uses can be classified like those of **dari** (*supra*) inclines to be used in metaphorical rather than purely locative contexts.

ka-pada (1) Place *whither*. **datang ka-pada** *suatu goa* *coming to a certain cave*; **layangkan surat ka-pada** *saka-lian nĕgĕri* *sending letters to all lands*; **mĕngutus ka-bĕnua Kĕling ka-pada** *saudara kita* *sending an embassy to Southern India to our relations*.

(2) Temporal. **datang ka-pada** *hari itu* *when it came to the day*. (N. B. Abdullah writes **sampai ka-hari khamis** *till Thursday* but it is not to be imitated.)

(3) Possessive. **hamba ka-pada** *tuan* *your slave*; **suatu pun tiada ka-pada** *aku* *there is not one belonging to me*.

dari-pada (1) Place *whence*. **dari-pada** *suatu dusun* *from a certain orchard*; **turun dari-pada** *wazir* *descend from the office of vizier*; **sihat dari-pada** *gĕring* *recovered from sickness*.

(2) Temporal. **dari-pada** *zaman dahulu* *from yore*; **kĕmudian dari-pada** *puji-pujian* *after compliments*.

(3) Denoting origin, material. **pakaian dari-pada** *ĕmas* *cloth of gold*; **gambar di-buat dari-pada** *kapur masak* *a picture made of chalk*; **bĕribu-ribu mati dari-pada** *laki-laki dan pĕrĕmpuan* *thousands dead both of men and women*.

(4) Denoting cause. **dari-pada** sangat kaseh *owing to great affection*; **dari-pada** fasal itu *on account of that*.

(5) Comparative. **supaya** sangat mati **dari-pada** hidup **sa-laku** ini *so that I may quickly die rather than live in this fashion*; **mě**ngang **dari-pada** aku *conquer (over) me*; **mě**-**mě**rentahkan **dari-pada** sěgala makhluk *rule over all creatures*.

When the context precludes confusion **pada** may stand alone for **ka-pada** and **dari-pada** as the case may be. **tě**rděngar **pada** raja *it came to the prince's ears*; **tě**rlalu kaseh sayang **pada** raja muda *very affectionate towards the heir apparent*; **kě**mudian **pada** itu *after that*; **pada** sěgala raja inděra sa-orang pun tiada mėnyamaĩ dia *of all the princes of fairyland none was his peer*. **pada** and not **ka-pada** is ordinarily employed where *purpose* is denoted. **bab** **pada** mėnyatakan *a chapter for explaining*; **anjing** baik **pada** mėnghambat *a hound good at the chase*; **tě**rlalu bijaksana **pada** hal mėmanah itu *very expert at archery*.

In honorific addresses *to* is expressed not by **ka-pada** but by **ka-bawah duli** (**tuanku**) *beneath the dust of your highness' feet*; **ka-bawah kaus** (or **chěrpu**) **tuan** *beneath your honour's shoes*. When **ka-bawah duli** is mistaken for a title (§ 66 II), we find **pě**sěmbahkan **pada** **ka-bawah duli** *lay in the dust of your feet*.

pada stands alone for **di** in the following uses:

(1) Locative. Under this head **di** and **pada** can sometimes be used interchangeably, **sing**gah **di**-rumah or **pada** rumah *pay visits to or at a house*; **dudok** **di**- (or **pada**) **tě**pi jalan *sit by the wayside*. But consonant with the general principle, **di** implies physical station in a place and **pada** metaphorical station not on the particular spot but in a locality or grade or medium. **dia** orang mulia **pada** bėnua Kěling *he is renowned in Southern India*; **di**-lihat-nya **bangkai** pěnggawa **pada** suatu pintu běrpuluh-puluh

orang mati *he saw at one gate the bodies of scores of officers dead*; **di-kěpala gajah Laksamana dan pada buntutnya Hang Jěbat** *on the elephant's head the Laksamana and at its tail Hang Jebat*; **masing-masing pada tarafnya** *each in rank*; **pada suatu riwayat** *in one version of the story*; **pada bichara patek** *in my opinion*; **běrfikir pada hati-nya** *thinking in his mind*; **pada bahasa Arab Omar nama-nya** *in Arabic his name is Omar*.

(2) Temporal. **pada hari ahad** *on Sunday*; **pada akhir-nya** *finally*; **pada tětékala měnjadi raja muda** *at the time he became heir apparent*; **pada sa-kali ini** *on this occasion*; **di-dalam pada itu** *meanwhile*.

§ 90. **akan** is a preposition, very common in literature but less so in conversation. Abbreviated to **kan** it has become a verbal suffix (§ 61). It signifies *approach to, towards, to, touching, concerning*.

dudok měngadap akan sětěru *facing towards the foe*; **di-ikutkan-nya akan kijang itu** *he followed after the deer*; **měnguchap shukur akan Allah** *utter thanks to God*; **těrkěnanng akan adinda** *yearning towards her*; **murka akan patek** *angry with me*; **akan kain dan ěmas ini akan pěnolong hamba-lah akan Laksamana** *as for this cloth and gold which are my contribution towards giving help to the Laksamana*; **akan bichara patek** *as for my opinion*; **akan tuan sudah běrchampur dunia akan sěkarang ini siapa dapat měněntang mata tuan** *as for your converse with earth who is there at the present time who can face you?*

akan denotes the *patiens* as opposed to **oleh** "which denotes the agent.

Denoting *approach to future time* it is adverbial and often takes the place of an auxiliary forming a future tense; **yang akan datang** *that which is toward*; **tiada akan chukup** *it will not be enough*; **bětapa akan bahagia-nya** *what will be his fortune?*

§ 91. oleh *by, by reason of*. (§ 41): with verbs, it denotes the agent or subject. Its original sense is still to be seen in *běroleh getting*. Other uses are: *ibu bapa oleh hamba my parents*—a rare use taking the place of the more common *pada*; *oleh sěbab itu on account of that reason*; *oleh yang dēmikian itu on account of those circumstances*; *oleh apa maka begitu why so?* *oleh itu-lah kita hendak jaga baik-baik for that reason we must be careful*. For *oleh* as a conjunction, see § 98 (e).

§ 92. *děngan with*, is a very common preposition denoting close companionship, close relation in time, close causal relation and manner or condition closely allied to some act or circumstance.

(a) *datang pěnglima itu děngan sěgala sakai-nya the chief came along with all his followers*; *bagai kuku děngan isi-nya as close as nail and quick*; *sěrta děngan, běrsama děngan along with*; *děngan sa-orang diri by oneself*. *běpěrang fight with*; *běrgadoh quarrel with*; *běrkaseh be in love with*; *běrnikah, běkahwin marry*, and other verbal derivatives in *bě(r)* denoting reciprocal relation are followed by this preposition: *bulu mata děngan bulu kěning sudah běrtěmu eyelashes had met with eyebrows*; *běrsahabat děngan raja friendly with a prince*; *běrbichara-lah děngan kapitan kapal discussing with all the ships' captains*.

(b) Temporal. *děngan sa-saat itu juga di-talak bagingda at that very moment the king divorced her*; *děngan tiada běrapa lama-nya in a short while*; *děngan tiga hari habis-lah pěkěrjaan itu in three days the work was finished*.

(c) Proximity of place. *děkat děngan rumah near to the house*; *běrtěntang děngan kota facing the fort*.

(d) Instrument and means. *potong děngan pisau cut with a knife*; *běrdiri děngan suatu kaki standing on (literally by means of) one leg*; *bělajar děngan bahasa*

Kěling *learn through the medium of the Tamil language*; **nilai mata dęngan intan** *assess the value of bright eyes in diamonds*; **běli dęngan harga yang mahal** *buy at a high price*; **běranak dęngan istěri-nya** *got a child by his wife*; **dęngan titah tuanku** *by royal command*; **dęngan bėrkat tinggi tuan** *by the blessing of your luck*; **dęngan takdir Allah** *by the will of God*.

(e) **Manner.** **masing-masing dęngan ragam-nya** *each with different temperament*; **datang sěrta dęngan lělah-nya** *came in a tired state*; **dęngan sęgěra** *quickly*; **sěmbah dęngan tangis-nya** *did obeisance in tears*; **mati dęngan nama yang baik** *dead with fair fame*; **jikalau patek mati ridla-lah dęngan pěkěrjaan shah alam** *I am content to die even, in your highness's service*; **dęngan mudah-nya juga Pahang itu alah** *it was with ease Pahang was conquered*.

dęngan in conjunction with a negative means *without*. **tiada dęngan sěpěrti-nya** *improperly*; **lihat-lah Běndahara tiada dęngan pěreksa-nya měmbunoh Laksamana** *see how the Bendahara without inquiry executes the Laksamana who is without fault*; **dęngan tiada boleh tidak** *without fail*; **tiada boleh měmbunoh dęngan tiada běrtanya** *may not slay without asking leave*.

(f) In oaths: **by dęngan karna Allah** *by God*; **dęngan nama nabi Muhammad** *in the name of the Prophet*. For **dęngan** as a copulative conjunction, see § 98 (a).

§ 93. In addition to the above prepositions, there are several characteristically indeterminate words that among other functions serve as prepositions.

děmi. **děmi Allah** *by God*; **sa-orang děmi sa-orang** *one after another*; **di-lihat sa-bilah děmi sa-bilah** *he inspected the blades one by one*. And see § 98 (f).

děkat, **hampir** *near*. **baginda pun tidur hampir pěti itu** *the king slept near the chest*. Both **děkat** and

hampir are also adverbs, so that we find **dĕkat dĕngan**, **hampir dĕngan**, **hampir ka-pada** for *near*.

Similarly **hingga** and **sampai** *up to, until* may stand alone or before **ka-pada** and **pada**. **hingga lutut** *up to the knees*; **jangan lagi bĕrputusan hingga hari kiamat** *let there be no further severance till the day of judgement*; **dari dahulu sampai sĕkarang** *from before till now*; **hingga sampai kĕsudahan** *up till the end*; **hingga pada masa sĕkarang** *until the present time*; **umur sampai ka-pada dua-bĕlas tahun** *having reached twelve years of age*. **datang** is used for *until* in the phrase **datang sĕkarang** *till now*: **di-sĕbut orang datang sĕkarang ini Patani** *it is called Patani down to the present time*.

bagi is an idiomatic expression, the use of which may be seen in the sentences: **ada bagi-nya sa-orang anak laki-laki** *there was belonging to him a boy*; **tiada bagi hamba pakaian hanya sa-hĕlai** *there belongs to me only one suit*; **nasihat bagi kanak-kanak** *advice to children*; **sĕgala puji-pujian bagi Allah** *all praise to God*.

§ 94. Among words used as prepositions, as among words as conjunctions, is a fair sprinkling of foreign loan-words. **antara** *between*; **sama** *similarity, similar* (in bazaar Malay *to*); **karna** *because* are Sanskrit; and **sĕbab** *cause*, an Arabic word, is used for *because of*. **karna Allah** *in God's name*; **sĕbab mulut badan binasa** *it is because of the mouth the body is destroyed*. Perhaps **karna** and **sĕbab** even in such contexts remain substantives, and the literal rendering of the last sentence may be *the mouth is the cause of the body's destruction*.

§ 95. Finally constructions without the preposition are found in the Malay idiom when in ours a preposition is required, and *vice versa*. Words like **mĕngadap** *confront*; **mĕnuju** *make for*; **ganti** *take the place of* are ordinarily not followed by prepositions. In many phrases, there is

nothing but the context to signify case. **naik gunung** *ascend a mountain*; **turun gunung** *descend from a mountain*; **kĕluar padang** *issue from a plain*; **dudok tanah** *sit on the ground*; **tinggal rumah** *stay at home*; **mĕnyĕmbah kaki** *do obeisance at the feet*; **pĕnoh sampah** *filled with rubbish*; **bijak bĕrchakap** *clever at conversation*; **pandai mĕnari** *clever at dancing*.

(E) CONJUNCTIONS

§ 96. Considering the genius of the Malay language, it is not surprising to find

I. That conjunctions can hardly be held necessary either in its literature or its conversation.

II. That more properly most of the words so employed belong to other parts of speech.

III. That a great number are of foreign origin.

I. The Malay equivalent for the conjunction is antithesis, marked by the balanced juxtaposition of word and clause. So there are omitted conjunctions of all kinds:

(a) Copulative.

hamba sahaya *serfs and servants*; **ikan udang** *fish and prawns*; **tĕpok tari** *clap and dance*; **pĕrgi balek** *go and return*; **tua muda** *old and young*; **ka-sini ka-sana** *hither and thither*; **bĕristĕri bĕranak, bĕranak bĕrchuchu** *wedding and getting children, by children getting grandchildren*; **makin sangat ia lari jatoĥ bangun** *song-sang balik lari juga* *the more he ran, falling and getting up, sprawling headlong but starting to run again*. And this omission will be maintained between contrasted words, though conjunctions unite in the same clause words that are not contrasted: **lĕmbu kambing dan biri-biri itek ayam pun murah bĕlaka** *cows, goats and sheep, ducks, chicken*

were all cheap. Sometimes the antithesis will be between a simple and a literary, or a native and a foreign synonym. **saudara** (Skt.) **daging** (Malay) *relations*; **hairan** (Ar.) **tērchēngang** *amazed*; **gagah pěrka** (Skt.) *valiant and strong*; **sělamat** (Ar.) **sěmpurna** (Skt.) *safety and security*; **kaum** (Ar.) **kěluarga** (Skt.) *friends and family*; **kělam kabut** *dark and dim*; **budi** (Skt.) **bahasa** (Skt.) *manners.* **turun-lah angin ribut tofan dan hujan pětir kilat halilintar sabong-měnyabong** *down came wind and storm, i. e. tempest, with rain and thunder flash and crackle of lightning* illustrates the omission of the copula both between contrasted words and between synonyms. (N. B.—It does not come under the general principle of antithesis, but the copula is also omitted where simultaneity is denoted, as for instance in dates, **tahun sa-ribu sěmbilan ratus sa-bělas** *the year 1911* or in phrases like **di-pělok di-chium-nya** *hugged and kissed.*)

(b) Adversative.

di-tikam-nya tiada kěna *he was stabbed at (but) not hit*; **běrchěrai kaseh běrtalak tidak** *parted (but) not divorced*; **hěndak hinggap tidak běr kaki** *wanting to alight (but) lacking claws*; **raja Siak měmbunoh orang tiada měmběri tahu** *the raja of Siak was executing people (but) not informing (Malacca).*

(c) Alternative.

dua tiga hari *two (or) three days*; **mau ta' mau** *willing (or) unwilling*; **pělenteh itu mati, patek tiada tahu** *whether the blackguard is alive or dead, I do not know*; **tiada těntu baik jahat-nya, hidup mati-lah** *it is uncertain whether his fortune be good or ill, whether he be alive or dead.*

(d) Final.

bawa mari pěnjurit itu, 'ku lihat *bring hither the robber (that) I may see him.*

(e) 'That' of indirect narration.

kěděngaran ka-Malaka raja Siak měmbunoh orang

news came to Malacca (that) the raja of Siak was executing people.

(f) Conditional.

datang orang budak hendak membeli layang-layang, 'ku tanya *came a boy to buy my kites, I asked him.*

(g) Causal.

datang 'ku ini hendak membunuh engkau *the reason I came now is because I would slay you.*

(h) Temporal.

ka-pada masa itu Laksamana Hang Nadim di-Johor ; mēnengar Sultan Abdul-jalil mangkat, ia balek *at that time the Laksamana Hang Nadim was in Johor, but when he heard of the demise of Sultan Abdul-jalil he returned ; pasar pun hampir akan ramai, pēnjurit itu pun naik ka-atas kēdai-kēdai itu* *when the market was nearly full of people, the robbers mounted the stalls.*

Antithesis, as will be seen below, pervades many conjunctive idioms, and is often accentuated by the repetition of a word or particle, **ěntah . . . ěntah, baik . . . baik, bukan . . . bukan, pun . . . pun, pun . . . lah, maka . . . maka**, or by an emphatic adverb marking the alternative or the consequence.

II. Almost all words used in Malay as conjunctions are either other parts of speech pressed into that service or perhaps actually become conjunctions by adaptation. 'Conjunctions', wrote Marsden, 'were originally nouns or verbs or phrases contracted.' A few instances will serve.

(a) Also nouns.

bagai *sort, species ; like ; takut* *fear ; for fear that.*

(b) Also verbs.

tělah *did, was ; after : jadi* *it happens ; therefore : lalu* *pass ; then : sampai* *arrive ; up to, until.*

(c) Also adjectives and adverbs.

lagi *more ; and : sědang* *medium ; just, midway, whilst, even though : baharu* *new, newly ; not till then.*

(d) Also prepositions.

dalam *inside, in*; **while**: **oleh** *by*; **because**: **děmi** (*one*) **after** (*another*); **as soon as**.

III. A great number of words used as conjunctions are borrowed from foreign sources.

Sanskrit are **sěpěrti** *proper appearance, like, as if*; **tětapi** *but*; **atau** *or*; **tětékala** *time, when*; **karna** *for, because*; **sěměntara** *while, before*; **supaya** *in order that*; **umpama** *example, like*. Arabic are (**wa-**)**lakin** *and yet, but*; **sěbab** *because*; **asal** *provided that*; **walau** *even if*; **misal** *for example*. **měski** *although*, is Portuguese; **agar** *so that*, Hindustani.

These like foreign nouns, adjectives and so on, are frequently explained by the nearest Malay equivalent or some better known foreign synonym placed alongside them: **sěrtā děngan**; **akan tětapi**; **oleh karna**; **oleh sěbab**; **karna sěbab**; **jika lau**; **agar supaya**. Many of them like Malay words have been forced into the service of conjunctions, though primarily they are other parts of speech. Thus we find several uses of **sěrtā**. **ada banyak sěrtā 'ku** *I have many companions*; **pěrgi-lah děngan sa-puloh orang hulubalang sěrtā-nya** *went with ten captains accompanying him*; **burong nuri dan tiong sěrtā bayan** *parrots and mynahs accompanied by parakeets*; **bunga mėlur těr-lalu banyak sěrtā běrbagai rupa-nya** *jasmine flowers very many in number and of various sorts*; **ia pun lalu bangun sěrtā běrděbar hati-nya** *he then rose with beating heart*; **sěrtā todak mėlompat lėkat jungur-nya pada batang pisang itu** *as soon as the fish leapt, their snouts stuck in the banana stems*. **karna** and **sěbab** are nouns, prepositions, and conjunctions.

§ 97. Like adverbs, some conjunctions are formed by the prefix **sa**. **sa-bělum** *before*; **sa-lagi** *as long as*; **sa-tělah** *after*; **sa-hingga** *until*; **sa-bagai**, **sa-rupa**, **sa-umpama**

like. **sampai** *until*; **sambil** *whilst*; **'kan** is found suffixed to several words used as conjunctions, does not affect them as parts of speech, but merely adds an idea of remoteness and unlikelihood to the root (§ 61).

§ 98. The Malay conjunction may be conveniently arranged and illustrated under the broader of the conventional classes into which this part of speech is ordinarily divided.

(a) Copulative.

dan *and*; **lĕbai dan haji, imam dan khatib** *elders and pilgrims, priests and readers*; **ka-nĕgĕri Pahang dan Tĕrĕngganu dan Kĕlantan Patani dan Singgora** *to the countries of Pahang and Trengganu and Kelantan, Patani and Singgora*. The use of this copula is influenced by the Malay fondness for balance, the sound and the fall of the sentence being studied rather than any strict rule of order. So in *Hang Tuah* occur variously **Tun Jĕbat dan Tun Kasturi, Tun Lĕkir dan Tun Lĕkiu**; **Tun Jĕbat Tun Kasturi Tun Lĕkir Tun Lĕkiu**; **Tun Jĕbat dan Tun Kasturi dan Tun Lĕkir dan Tun Lĕkiu**; **Tun Jĕbat Tun Kasturi Tun Lĕkir dan Tun Lĕkiu**. Its use between last and penultimate words is, unlike ours, unusual, unless the last word is polysyllabic and balances the sentence: **bayan nuri tiong dan kakatua itu** *the parakeets, parrots, mynahs and the cockatoos*. It is not used to connect sentences.

dĕngan. **suatu batu tĕrlalu bĕsar dĕngan tinggi-nya** *a rock very large and high*; **turun-lah ribut tofan kilat halilintar dĕngan hujan-nya** *came tempest, lightning, thunder and rain*; **sampai-lah ka-tĕngah arongan dĕngan-bĕbĕrapa mĕlalui kuala nĕgĕri** *arrived at mid-channel and passed many estuaries*.

sĕrta implies close or simultaneous connection.

lagi is employed especially between adjectives—as also are **sĕrta** and **dĕngan**. **tuan hamba pahlawan lagi budiman dan lagi pun anak raja bĕsar sĕrta bang-**

sawan *my lord is a warrior, moreover benevolent, moreover the scion of great and noble ancestry*; **ia orang gagah dan pĕrkasa dan pĕnjurit agong lagi sakti** *he is a mighty man and valiant and a warrior not only great but possessed of magic powers*; **ia pun tĕrlalu adil lagi mĕngaseh sĕgala hamba Allah** *he is exceeding just, moreover pitiful towards the servants of God*; **tĕrlalu jĕrneh lagi dĕngan sĕjok-nya** *very clear, moreover cold besides*; **tĕrlalu baik paras-nya sĕrta dĕngan adil-nya lagi murah** *very handsome and therewith just, moreover gracious*.

lĕbeh=*plus* and is used with numerals: **tiga lĕbeh dua-pĕrtiga** $3\frac{2}{3}$.

sambil denotes simultaneity of action: **bĕrbangkit sambil bĕrdiri sĕrta mĕnyĕbut nama Allah dan mĕnguchap sĕlamat** *got up and stood therewith invoking the name of Allah and calling down a blessing*; **sambil mĕnyĕlam sambil minum** *diving and drinking simultaneously*.

lalu denotes transitional action: **mĕnyĕmbah lalu kĕluar** *did obeisance and then went out*.

Some idiomatic usages that are copulative require notice. **bukan . . . bukan** *neither . . . nor*; **bukan ikan udang pun bukan** *neither fish nor even prawn*. **pun . . . pun**: **bĕrkĕlahi pun tiada, bĕrdamai pun tiada** *we are not friends and we are not foes*. Also: **ada yang mĕlihat dari balek pintu, ada yang mĕnengok dari kisi-kisi, ada yang mĕnengok dari tingkap, ada yang mĕnyingkap atap, ada yang mĕmasokkan dinding, ada yang mĕmanjat dinding** *some stared from behind the doors, some looked through the trellis-work, some through the windows, some pushed up the thatching, some bored holes in the walls, some climbed them*. For numerals *firstly, secondly, &c.*, see § 77 (5).

(b) Adversative.

tĕtapi *but*. **banyak lagi anak Laksamana tĕtapi lain bonda-nya** *there were many other children of the*

Laksamana but by another mother. mëlainkan and hanya differ from têtapi, being used where a negative precedes or is implied however remotely before them. pënjurit Mëlayu tiada bërilmu mëlainkan bërani sahaja *the Malay warriors possessed no art but only bravery*; tiada ia mêngërkakan suatu pëkërjaan mëlainkan dëngan mashuarat dëngan chuchu-nya *he undertook nothing without consultation with his grandchildren*; bërapa batang kisi-kisi yang di-këhëndaki mëlainkan putus *it did not matter how many strips of trellis were desired, they were broken*; jikalau ada pëlandok puteh mëlainkan tëmplat itu baik *if there is a white mouse-deer, the spot cannot be but good*. sëmua-nya ada hanya datok Bendahara dan Tëmënggong juga yang tiada *all were present except the Dato Bendahara and Temenggong*; ada pun yang kita harap hanya-lah Laksamana akan mëmbara anak kita këdua itu *there is no one whom we trust to bring our two children except the Laksamana*; sëgala orang habis lari hanya yang tërdiri Tëmënggong juga *no one stood their ground except the Temenggong*.

The following idioms are notable :

di-chari oleh baginda, itu pun tiada bërtemu or tiada juga bërtemu *search was made by the king, but they were not met with*; jikalau bësar dosa-nya di-bunuh, itu pun jikalau bër laku ka-pada hukum shara *if their crime is great, let them be slain, but only if it is lawful according to our religion*; hanya-lah ilmu orang bër tapa dan kësaktian juga yang tinggal ka-pada aku lagi, di-dalam pada itu pun lamun anak-ku bër këhëndak akan dia 'ku bëri juga *I know nothing more except the arts of the ascetic and the magician*; notwithstanding that, if you desire them, I will teach you.

(c) Alternative.

atau or, atau . . . atau *either . . . or, whether . . . or*. jika ada gajah yang baik atau kuda yang baik pinta

oleh 'mu *if there is a fine elephant or a fine horse, ask for them*; **ada-kah adek bĕroleh anak atau tidak** *do you possess children or not?* **tiada kĕtahuan lagi khabar-nya atau sampai-kah atau tiada sampai-kah atau masok hutan di-makan binatang-kah** *no news can be got yet, whether he arrived or did not arrive, or entering the jungle was devoured by wild beasts.* **baik . . . baik, baik . . . atau whether . . . or.** **baik di-lĕpas atau tiada, kita balek juga** *whether released or not, we will return nevertheless*; **ĕmpat baik lima pun baik, tiada 'ku indahkan** *whether four or five, I do not care.*

The following idioms are common :

mau-kah tidak *do you want it or not?* **aku-kah 'pa si bĕndul?** **ĕngkau-kah 'pa si bĕndul** *am I old father-sit-at-the-door, or is it you?* **pĕreksa sudah-kah ia sampai** *inquire whether he has arrived*; **ĕntah 'kan ia ĕntah 'kan tidak** *I do not know whether it be true or false*; **alah, tiada alah pun, kita kĕmbali** *whether worsted or not worsted, we will return.*

(d) Explanatory.

Several idioms are common. **misal-nya, umpama-nya** *for example*; **arti-nya** *that is to say.* **tĕrlalu amat bijak mĕmanah, umpama-nya mĕmembĕlah kayu dapat ia dĕngan panah** *an expert archer, for instance he could split a stick with an arrow*; **jikalau datang dua pĕkĕrjaan, ya'ni pĕkĕrjaan Allah dĕngan pĕkĕrjaan dunia** *if two duties are before you, namely your duty to God and your duty to the world*; **sa-orang raja lagi, ia-itu-lah kĕrajaan di-nĕgĕri Turkĕstan** *one more prince and that was the one who reigned in Turkestan.*

(e) Causal.

oleh, sĕbab, karna, oleh sĕbab, oleh karna are most commonly used. **tiga hari tiada di-tĕgur oleh tiada mau kĕmbali ka-Pasai** *three days he was not greeted because he would not return to Pasai*; **sukachita sĕbab pĕroleh**

kĕris itu *happy because he possessed the dagger*; karna ĕngkau sudah di-bunoh oleh Bĕndahara, sĕbab itu-lah maka aku hairan *because you have been slain by the Bendahara, that is the reason of my astonishment*; dĕngan karna Manjapahit itu nĕgĕri bĕsar *because Manjapahit is a great kingdom*.

Other idioms occur :

Laksamana itu tiada, itu-lah bĕrani Hang Jĕbat *the Laksamana is absent and that is the reason of Hang Jebat's courage*; di-lihat-nya bapa tiri-nya itu tiada, itu-lah maka ia bĕrani *the knowledge of his step-father's absence is the cause of his daring*; dari-pada ia hamba Mĕlayu tiada mau dĕrhaka, dĕmikian-lah laku-nya *because he is a loyal Malay servant opposed to treachery, he acts thus*. Laksamana itu orang bijaksana, jadi tiada mabok *the Laksamana was clever and therefore he did not become drunk*.

(f) Temporal.

bila, apa-bila *when*; bila mana *whenever*; barang bila *as often as*. apa-bila mĕmbĕri surat pada raja-raja, chap ini-lah di-chapkan *whenever you dispatch a letter to a prince, this is the stamp to be impressed*. tĕtĕkala *when*. (Cp. the use of tĕmpat *where*) tĕrkĕnangkan tĕtĕkala dudok dalam astana *remembering the time when he sat in the palace*; kita suroh adang tĕtĕkala ia ka-sungai *we bade intercept him when he went down to the river*.

Whilst is variously expressed :

dalam bĕrkata-kata itu *while the conversation was going on*; pĕrmaisuri pun bĕrpaling sĕraya bĕrsĕlubang *the princess turned aside, whilst drawing her veil*. tĕngah baginda bĕrfikir itu *while the king debated in his mind*. sĕdang baginda bĕrnĕgeri di-Pasai, dewasa itu-lah datang Raja Dewa Sayid *while the prince was at Pasai,—that was the time Raja Dewa Sayid came*. baik juga tuan bĕrangkat samĕntara ada musim lagi *it were well you set out while the weather lasts*.

sa-lama, sa-lagi *as long as*. sa-lagi ada hayat patek *as long as your slave lives*. sa-pëninggal *in the interim, since, after*. sa-pëninggal ayah kita mënnyabërang, maka datang dua orang *after our father crossed the river, two men came*. dëmi *as soon as* (cp. sërta, § 96 III). dëmi di-lihat oleh baginda *as soon as the prince saw*. baharu *not till then*. sudah itu, baharu di-lëkat dian dëngan api *not till after that was the candle lit*. sa-tëlah, sudah *after*. tëlah bëbërapa lama-nya di-laut sampai-lah ka-Malaka *after they had been some while at sea, they reached Malacca*. sa-bëlum, or bëlum *before*. bëlum di-panggil, sudah datang *coming before summoned*.

(g) Comparative.

sa-akan-akan, sa-olah-olah, sëpërti, sa-bagai, sa-umpama *like, as if*. mimpi sa-olah-olah datang ka-pada-nya mëlaiikat *a dream as if an angel appeared to him*; bunyi pëluru sëpërti kumbang këna jolok *the bullets buzzed like beetles buzz when prodded with a stick*.

(h) Proportional.

makin . . . makin, bërtambah . . . bërtambah, kian . . . kian *the more . . . the more*. makin bërkawal makin këchurian *the more guard is kept, the more thefts there are*; bërapa lama-nya ia dudok, makin baik feel-nya *the longer he lived, the better his conduct*; sëdang . . . istimewa, lagi . . . istimewa *since . . . so much the more*; usahkan, jangankan *so far from*. sëdang gajah liar lagi dapat kita jërat, ini konon gajah jinak *even a wild elephant we can snare, how much more this tame beast*; sëdang orang jahat lagi dëmikian, istimewa pula orang baik-nya bërapa lagi *seeing that a knave acts so, how much more a good man*; usahkan gëmal hikamat itu sëdangkan nyawa badan patek lagi sudah tërsërah ka-bawah duli *not merely that magic stone but my very life is placed at your highness's service*; usahkan ia turun, lagi bërtambah suka ria-nya *so far from descending he waxed in mirth*;

usahkan baik, sa-orang pun jadi-lah *so long as he is good, one man will do*; jangankan sa-bahara ěmas, tiga bahara pun kita bëri *so far from giving one weight of gold, we will bestow three*; jangankan bërkurang makin sangat galak-nya orang mënchuri *so far from abating theft increased*; jangankan sa-orang jikalau ěmpat-puloh orang sa-kali pun mêngamok itu, tiada aku indahkan *so far from one madman frightening me forty are powerless to do so*.

There are many idiomatic phrases. bagaimana pun bësar dosa-nya, jangan kamu bunoh *however great his sin, don't slay him*; bëbërapa pun di-suroh panggil, tiada juga mau datang *however often summoned, he refused to come*.

(i) Conditional and concessive.

jika, jikalau, kalau *if, although, in case*; kalau-kalau *if, in case, for fear that*. jikalau tuan mati dahulu, nantikan sahaya di-pintu sorga *if you die first, await me at the gate of heaven*; jikalau anak-mu sa-kali pun jangan ěngkau ajarkan *though your very own child, do not punish him*; tiada kami sëbutkan sëmua-nya, kalau jëmu orang mëndëngar dia *I do not mention everything in case people may tire at hearing it*; mari-lah kita intai kalau-kalau orang bërtanya *come let us spy if perchance there are folk cooking rice*; arak ini kalau-kalau ěngkau buboh rachun minum-lah ěngkau dahulu *do you taste this spirit first in case you have put poison into it*. asal, asalkan, sukat *provided that, if*. asal hidup bërtëmu juga *we shall meet if we live*; mati pun patek suka juga, asalkan jangan bërchërai dëngan adinda *I care not for death, provided I am not divorced from you*. sukat *supposing, if*. nëgëri Mëlaka itu sukat binasa puas hati-ku *if Malacca is destroyed, I shall be satisfied*. lamun *provided if*. ka-dalam laut api sa-kali pun patek ikut juga lamun mau kakanda mëmbawa patek *even into a sea of fire*

I would follow, if you wished to take me ; tiga bahara ěmas pun kita bĕri, lamun sĕgĕra sudah-nya three lumps of gold will I give, provided the work be soon finished. mĕski pun sampai ka-Pahang, sahaya ikut juga even if it be as far as Pahang, still I will follow.

There are idiomatic usages. *sĕbab kakanda tiada mĕmbĕri tahu, takut kĕlak adinda ta' bĕri pĕrgi the reason I did not tell you was for fear you should not let me go. hĕndak pun kakanda lawan, nĕschaya banyak mati suppose I wanted to fight, assuredly many would lose their lives. baginda pun mĕnitahkan biduanda pĕrgi mĕlihat sunggoh-kah sĕpĕrti khabar itu the prince bade an official go and see if it was correct as reported. budak ĕmpat itu sunggoh pun manusia sĕpĕrti anak dewa-dewa juga granted the four children are mortal, still they resemble the children of fairies.*

(j) Final.

supaya, agar, agar supaya in order that ; supaya jangan lest. chĕritraĭ oleh ayahanda supaya sĕdap rasa hati hamba continue the story, father, so that my heart may be glad ; baik-lah aku chari tĕmpat yang jauh dari kĕyangan ini, aku buangkan anakanda itu supaya ia jangan boleh kĕmbali it were well I cast away my child in a place far from fairy-land, so that he may be unable to return.

An example of a form of circumlocution is *ia datang itu pĕkĕrjaan-nya hĕndak mĕnyambut duli yang di-pĕrtuan he came to greet his lord.*

(k) 'That.'

Many idiomatic usages are current. *yang ; akan ; pĕri ; hal ; mĕngatakan ; even hikayat the story are employed : also bahwa and ada pun. tiada sah-kah yang maha mulia hĕndak kurnia nama akan patek is there not proof that your highness will ennoble me? ; yang hamba mĕmbuangkan orang kaya itu bahwa sa-kali-kali*

tiada hamba mau *I had not the slightest wish that I should banish the chief.* **běrhikayatkan akan pěrbuatan Sěri Bětara dan Pati Gajah Mada hěndak měmbunoh Laksamana itu *relating of Sri Betara and moreover of how Pati Gajah Mada would slay the Laksamana;* **di-chěritrakan akan hal ahual ia hěndak di-bunoh oleh Laksamana** *the story was told of the matter of his murder intended by the Laksamana;* **kěděngaran pada Batara Majapahit měngatakan Raja Champa datang** *news came to the Batara of Majapahit announcing that the Raja of Champa was coming;* **kamu suratkan sěgala hikayat kita masok ka-dalam laut itu** *do you write the whole story that we entered the sea.***

§ 99. Punctuation words.

Written Malay has certain punctuation words or words which serve to introduce the commencement of story, of paragraph, and of sentence; and to mark the balance of clauses. These words are not found in Malay conversation, and may be omitted in translating Malay composition into a foreign language.

(1) A story is introduced by **sa-běrmula**. **běrmula** *the story begins;* **sa-kali pěrsětua** (Skt.) *once upon a time;* **al-kesah** (Ar.) *the story is*—all of them followed by **maka**.

(2) A fresh topic or paragraph will be opened by **hata next;** **sahadan** (= *saha* Skt. + *dan*), **kalakian**, **arakian** *moreover*—again all followed by **maka**. (*Note*.—**sahadan** is sometimes used in old literature for the copula *and*: **maharaja Ruwana karar-lah děngan adil-nya sahadan děngan murahan** *Maharaja Ravana was established with justice and with graciousness;* **těrlalu luas huma-nya sahadan těrllu jadi padi-nya** *the field was very large and the crop bountiful.*)

A topic will be continued or restarted by **sahadan lagi;** **sa-bagai lagi;** **tambahan pula;** **dan lagi**.

(3) Sentences are introduced by several phrases. **ada pun**, which commences narration or a parenthetical explanatory clause in the course of narration. **děngar-lah oleh adinda kakanda běrchěrita jikalau adinda tiada tahu**, 'Ada pun nama něgěri kita Astana Pura Něgara' *hear me tell the story, my sister, if you do not know. 'Now the name of my country is Astana Pura Negara'*; **baginda běrjalan-lah masok hutan, maka sampai-lah ka-těpi sungai. ada pun luas sungai itu tiga ribu děpa. maka baginda běrhěnti di-bawah pohon** *the prince travelled into the forest and arrived at the bank of a river—now the breadth of the river was three thousand fathoms—and the king halted under a tree.* **bahwa** *the story is* (also **bahwa sa-sunggoh-nya, bahwa sa-nya**) corresponds sometimes with **ada pun**, but it belongs rather to the grand style, and often commences a strong positive assertion or a statement founded on positive knowledge. **kita děngar khabar bahwa raja Mělaka sěkarang sudah běristeri** *we hear positive news that the raja of Malacca has now wedded*; **maka Laksamana pun tahu-lah bahwa pěnjurit itu datang** *the Laksamana had sure knowledge of the swash-buckler's coming*; **ya tuanku bahwa raja Mělaka tělah datang ka-Tuban** *your highness, yes, assuredly the raja of Malacca has arrived at Tuban*; **děmi Allah dan rasul Allah bahwa aku tiada mau běrtikam děngan ěngkau** *by God and the Apostle of God, of a truth I do not wish to fight with thee*; **hai Tun Kasturi bahwa sa-nya ěngkau-lah hamba-ku yang běrsětiawan Tun Kasturi**, *assuredly you are a faithful servant to me.*

ada-lah, see § 36 (*note*).

(4) **maka**.

I. is written after the words in (1) and (2) above.

II. marks the temporal causal, or other antithetical connection between clauses and parts of sentence.

bělum habis ia běrkata-kata itu, maka di-lompat

oleh Sang Hanuman *before the conversation was finished, Sang Hanuman leapt away*; sa-lama anak-ku tiada itu, maka nĕgĕri Mĕlaka haru-hara *so long as my son has been absent, Malacca has been in confusion*; maka hari pun siang-lah, maka saudagar itu pun masok mĕngadap *when the day broke, the merchant entered into the presence*. cheh 'ku sangka bĕrani Sĕri Bija 'di raja itu, maka aku naik pĕrahu-nya Bah! *it was because I thought Sri Bija 'di Raja was brave, that I came aboard this ship*; manatah diri bĕrkawal, maka saudagar ini kĕna kĕchurian *where in the world did you keep your watch, that this merchant had his goods stolen?*; apa sĕbab-nya maka tuan hamba ka-mari *what is the reason that you have come?*; mĕngapa maka Laksamana turun dari-atas kuda itu *what is the reason that the Laksamana dismounts?*; barang kala ular itu mĕnghĕmbuskan nafas, maka sĕgala pohon kayu yang ĕmpat lima pĕmĕlok itu pun habis tĕrbunoh *whenever the serpent snorted forth his breath, then all the trees four or five armfuls in girth are utterly dead*. kalau-kalau mata-ku bĕkas tidur gĕrangan, maka salah pĕmandangan-ku *perhaps my eyes are sleepy that I cannot see properly*; sa-tĕlah hari hĕndak malam, maka raja Mĕlaka pun bĕrmohon kĕmbali ka-astana, maka Patih pun bĕrmohon kĕmbali ka-rumah-nya *when night fell, the raja of Malacca took his leave and retired to the palace, and Patih took his leave and retired to his house*.

III. It connects principal sentences in rapid staccato narrative, marking each separate event of the whole. maka dĕngan sa-saat itu juga, maka Bĕtara Kala mĕnjadi-lah katak; maka ia pun hĕndak lari; maka di-lihat diri-nya tĕlah mĕnjadi katak; maka lalu tĕrlompat-lompat, maka sĕrta bĕrbunyi gĕruk-gĕruk *at that very instant Betara Kala became a frog; he wanted to run, noticed his changed form, straightway made leap after leap, at the same time croaking*. maka istĕri-nya hamil-lah; maka

gĕnap-lah bulan; maka pĕrmaisuri pun bĕranak-lah *his wife became pregnant, her time came, she bore a child.*

IV. It conjoins subordinate clauses, see *infra*.

§ 100. The Conjunction of Co-ordinate Clauses.

The conjunction of co-ordinate clauses, whether principal or subordinate, is effected by the use of the same punctuation or other emphatic word or conjunction in the ensuing clause or clauses as in the first.

apa-bila raja Zainal akan bĕrkuda maka baginda mĕmakai, maka bĕrgosok bau-bauan, maka pĕrgi-lah baginda bĕrkuda *when raja Zainal would ride, he dressed and scented himself and went off riding*:—this is the construction in III above. **maka tĕtĕkala hampir-lah fajar maka sĕgala binatang bĕlum kĕluar mĕnchari makanan-nya, maka baginda itu pun kĕluar dari astana** *when dawn was nigh and the beasts had not yet gone forth in quest of food, (then) the prince went forth from the palace*; **maka jikalau ia tiada bayar utang maka ia hĕndak bĕrlayar, hĕndak-lah tĕgahkan** *if he has not paid his debt and he wants to sail, he must be restrained*. **mari kita suroh chari sa-orang pĕnjurit kita suroh churi kain baju Laksamana itu; maka kita tarohkan kain bajunya itu di-dalam astana, maka kita kata Laksamana itu bĕrmukah** *come, let us bid a swashbuckler be sought, let us bid-him steal the Laksamana's coat; then let us put the coat in the palace, then let us say the Laksamana is party to an intrigue*. **jika sa-suatu bichara jika Hang Tuah tiada masok bĕrbichara, tiada-lah putus bichara itu** *if there arose any discussion and Hang Tuah did not take part in it, it could not be decided*; **adat hulubalang Mĕlayu tiada dapat bĕrguraukan kĕris-nya itu di-hadapan majlis jikalau sudah tĕrhunus kĕris-nya jikalau tiada mati, luka** *it was a custom of Malay warriors that no one could play with their daggers in formal company; if daggers were drawn and no one was killed, at any rate some one would be wounded*; **sa-**

télah Maharaja Baladewa dan Maharaja Sali mēlihat Bētara Inděra datang, sa-télah bērtému, maka ia pun mēnyěmbah *when Maharaja Baladeva and Maharaja Sali saw Betara Indra coming and met him, they did obeisance.* This juxtaposition of clauses is, of course, just in accord with the fundamental structure of the Malay sentence.

(F) INTERJECTIONS

§ 101. I. The commonest interjections proper are :

hai a vocative interjection addressed by a superior to an inferior, such as king to subject, chiefs to soldiers, elders to youths. **hai kanak-kanak** *ho there, you boys.*

wah an exclamation of surprise. **wah datok kain datok di-samun orang** *why! chief, your coat has been stolen;* **wah apa pula mula-nya maka hidong 'Pa Awang pēchah** *well, I never! how did your nose get broken?*

wahai *hey there, oh, alas!*

ambohi an exclamation of astonishment: common in the form **ambohi ěmak** *hullo! well, I never!*

adoh or more emphatically **adohai** *oh! alas!* **adoh sakit 'mak Awang** *alas! how it hurts mother (= wife).*

chēh (Jav. **chis**) *bah, fie.* **chēh si chēlaka ini bah,** *the knave.*

ya (Ar.) a vocative interjection of respect. **ya Allah ya rasul Allah** *O God, O Apostle of God;* **ya adinda** *O love of mine;* **ya tuhan-ku** *O your highness;* **ya mamak Bēndahara** *O Bendahara.*

Others are **nyah,** **jum** *be off;* **nah** *take it away;* **nu** *yonder;* **chus** *silence!* **chup** the exclamation of a player who would recall a move.

II. The following words may be used alike as interjections and as other parts of speech :

sayang, kasehan *what a pity!*

mērachun *may I be poisoned (if I lie)!*

chēlaka *accursed luck!*

tobat (Ar.) *never again!*

haram (Ar.) *no (it were an offence against religion had I done it).*

chěkek kědadak, muntah kědarah or **muntahkan darah** an imprecation implying *may you die a violent death.*

III. Common invocations to Allah are :

děmi Allah *I call God to witness.*

insha' Allah *God willing.*

alhamdu lillah *praise God.*

astaghfiru'llah *God a mercy.*

wa'llahu a'lam *God knoweth best.*

IV. There are interjectional vocabularies :

(a) Of commands to animals, e. g. calls to approach, **doh** to dogs, **dik** to ducks, **kur** to chicken, **'ching** to cats, **nah** to buffaloes; calls to frighten, **bok** to ducks, **siuh** to chicken, **kus** to cats, **heh** to buffaloes.

(b) Of words imitating sounds; **bap** the sound of a fall, **bak bok** of a slap, **sar sir sur** various hissing sounds, **chir chur** of frizzling and frying, **ching** of jingling, **chak** of a smack of the lips, **chit** of the twitter of birds, **gap gup** of dull heavy falls, **das** of a shot.

CHAPTER VIII

NOTES ON SYNTAX

§ 102. The Malay language is characterized not so much by syntax as by idiom, which has been handled already under the various parts of speech. A few pages on the principal 'notes' of construction in the Malay sentence will suffice.

I. There is no copula in Malay, so that the simple sentence may consist of two words, i. e. noun (or pronoun) + noun or pronoun, adjective, verb, or adverb: **Ali pēnghulu** *Ali (is) chief*; **aku pēnghulu** *I (am) chief*; **aku dia** *I (am) he*; **Ali sakit** *Ali (is) sick*; **aku sakit** *I (am) sick*; **Ali jatoh** *Ali falls*; **bělum kětika** *not yet (is) it time*.

II. The normal order is: subject + verb + object; the direct object simply stringing itself on to the verb. **Ali mēmukul aku** *Ali is beating me*. Never is the order subject + object + verb found. **Ali aku pukul** = *Ali is the fellow I am beating*, never *Ali is beating me*.

III. But order in the Malay sentence is a very subtle matter, as may be seen by transposing words and marking the result. **anak orang itu mati** *the child of those people is dead*; **orang itu anak-nya mati** *those people have lost their child by death*; **mati-lah anak orang itu** *death has overtaken the child of those people*; **orang itu, mati anak-nya** *those people have suffered loss by death—their child's*.

The chief points aimed at are :

- (a) Emphasis.
- (b) Balance.
- (c) Brevity or ellipsis.

(a) EMPHASIS

§ 103. I. A principle of Malay construction is that emphasis falls on the first of two words: it will denote subject not attribute. **rumah bĕsar** *a large house*, **bĕsar rumah** *the size of a house*; **itu raja** *that is a raja*, **raja itu** *that raja*; **tidur baginda** *the sleep of a prince*, **baginda tidur** *the prince sleeps*; **mata ayer** *the source of a stream*, **ayer mata** *tears*; **anak lidah** *woula*, **lidah anak** *a child's tongue*.

II. A common artifice is to bring any word it is desired to emphasize as near as possible to the front of the clause (and often to attach to it the emphatic particle **lah**). The word may be:

(a) Subject.

ini-lah dahulu kala larangan raja Mĕlayu *these in former days were the privileges of Malay princes*; **baginda-lah yang pĕrtama mĕlĕtakkan kĕkuningan larangan** *this prince it was who first made yellow a royal privileged colour*.

(b) Object.

baik-lah ia kita bunoh *it were him we had better kill*; **mĕngapa aku ĕngkau ikat** *why is it me you bind*; **pada siapa baik aku minta tolong** *from whom were it well I ask help*.

(c) Predicate.

tĕrlalu chĕrdek sĕgala orang Mĕlaka ini *very shrewd are all these Malacca men*; **patah-lah pĕrang orang Singapura** *broken in battle were the men of Singapore*; **Mĕlaka-lah nama nĕgĕri ini** *Malacca shall be the name of this country*. **mĕnchari kakak Galoh rata-lah sudah tanah Jawa** *searching for Galoh we have been all over Java*.

(d) Any subordinate part of the sentence like an adverb of time, a qualifying noun or adjective, an auxiliary verb upon which it is desired to lay stress.

lagi-kah orang di-darat *still folk a-shore?* **sĕkarang ada-lah tĕtap hati kita** *now is our mind made up*; **tĕrlalu**

banyak ia bĕroleh rampasan *very great was the spoil he got*; **budak** itu tĕrlalu bĕsar akal-nya *that child's cunning is very great*; **Sang Ranjuna** tĕrlalu amat marah-nya *Sang Ranjuna's anger was very great*; **Laksamana** pada masa itu tiada-lah dua banding-nya *the Laksamana at that time had not his peer*; **sĕgala sĕnjata** kita suatu pun tiada boleh bunoh akan dia *of all our weapons not one can slay him*; **tiada** dapat ia bĕrtahan *unable was he to endure*; **pada** siang hari-nya di-dirikan orang kota itu, sĕrta malam burok *day saw the erection of the fort and night its ruin*.

(e) Sometimes this principle involves what to us seems clumsy repetition.

oleh si-pĕnyadap itu di-titekkannya ayer kanji ka-mulut budak itu *by that toddy-dealer—gruel was poured by him into the boy's mouth*.

III. Similarly a clause will be brought forward to the forepart of a sentence.

mana bichara tuan hamba, itu-lah hamba ikut *whatever you advise—that will I follow*; **ada** pun yang mĕmbinasakan Langkapuri ini kĕra dan manusia *the destroyers of Langkapuri were apes and men*; **mana** yang tiada dapat di-kĕrjakan oleh sĕgala raja-raja ia-lah **konon** hĕndak mĕngadakan *what never raja has been able to do, he forsooth will accomplish*.

(b) BALANCE

§ 104. Balance is an elementary principle in the Malay simple sentence with its lack of a copula, and of the complex sentence with its frequent disdain of conjunctive words. It has brought much discredit on Malay literary style and caused it to be blamed for tedious repetition and trailing redundancies, when really it makes for lucidity and for emphasis.

Its germ may be sought in the form and stress of the simplest sentences, such as **pěnghulu dia** *he (is) a chief*; **chantek 'Long 'Long** *(is) pretty*; **itu dia** *that (is) he*. And often the balance is accentuated by antithetical particles: **hari pun malam-lah** *day (grew) dark*. It lies at the bottom of the favourite double phrase; **champur baur** *mix (and) mingle*; **kaum kěluarga** *kith (and) kin*; **těmpek sorak** *cheer (and) shout*; **kěchil bėsar** *great (and) small*; **tua muda** *young (and) old*; **tuak dan arak** *wine and spirits*; **měrampas dan měrėbut** *rob and snatch*; **di-tikam-nya dan di-bunoh-nya** *they were stabbed and they were killed*. It may be detected in the fall and shape of such sentences as **orang mati | kěna pěluru | batang leher-nya** *a man dead | from a bullet | in the neck*; **baginda bėrputėra | sa-orang laki-laki | tėrlalu elok paras-nya** *the prince had a son | one child a boy | very handsome in feature*; **mari-lah | anak-ku dudok dėkat ayahanda | di-sini** *hither, my child, sit near your mother here*. From such beginnings antithesis has come to be a distinct literary device—often bound up with the principle that the emphatic word, whether subject or object, must be at the beginning of a clause and yet may need to be near its verb.

So we find repetition of

(a) The subject.

baginda tėrsėnyum titah baginda *the prince smiled, said the prince*; **tuan putėri itu pun makin sangat ia mėnangis** *that princess, the more bitterly she wept*; **ada pun bapa-ku itu bėsar-lah ia di-dalam Mėlaka** *now my father, he grew up in Malacca*; **karna Laksamana itu sa-lama ia dudok di-gunong itu tiada ia tidur dan makan** *because the Laksamana so long as he stayed on the mountain, he did not sleep and eat*; **tėrsėbut-lah pėrka-taan pulau Langkapuri itu sa-lama pėninggal pėrang Sėri Rama dan Hanuman, jadi sunyi-lah pulau itu** *the story is told of the island of Langkapuri, after the war*

of *Sri Rama and Hanuman had ceased, solitary was that island.*

(b) The words for 'all'.

sĕgala raja-raja sakalian every prince, all of them; sĕgala yang mĕmandang dia itu pun sakalian-nya bĕlas dan hanchur luloh rasa hati-nya all beholders, every one of them, felt pity; and broken and crushed were their hearts; kata Maharisi akan sĕgala pĕri hal ahwal itu, sakalian-nya di-katakan-nya ka-pada Dasarata Maharaja the sayings of Maharishi about all the matter were all said to Dasarata Maharaja.

(c) The verb.

titah baginda ka-pada anak murid baginda raja Chĕndĕra ĕmpat orang itu, titah-nya now the king ordered the king's son raja Chendera and his three brothers, he ordered; anak raja kĕĕmpat itu pun mĕnyĕmbah, sĕmbah-nya now the four young princes did obeisance, their obeisance was.

(d) A word in a following clause, which has occurred and refers back to a preceding clause. This is especially common in the case of the demonstrative *itu* and of *maka*. But it may be seen also in paragraphs of which the following is a common type. *maka Bĕndahara pun mĕnyĕmbah lalu kĕluar bĕrlĕngkap dan mĕngĕrahkan sĕgala pĕgawai dan pĕrtuanan akan mĕnyambut surat itu: maka pĕgawai dan pĕrtuanan itu pun bĕrjalan-lah mĕnyambut surat dan bingkisan itu the Bendahara did obeisance and went out to prepare, and summoned all officers and henchmen to receive the letter. And all the officers and henchmen set forth to receive that letter and offering.*

(e) Also we find opposition between subject and object. *Laksamana pun bĕrmohon-lah kĕlima-nya ka-pada Sang Pĕrtala Nala the Laksamana and his four brothers took leave of Sang Pertala Nala; supaya aku bĕri gan-*

jaran banyak akan ęngkau *that I may give a large reward to you*; sa-tělah Rangka dan Barat Kětika męnęngar kata Laksamana dęmikian itu, maka Rangka dan Barat Kětika męmandang pada Laksamana *as soon as Rangka and Barat Ketika heard that speech of the Laksamana, then Rangka and Barat Ketika stared at the Laksamana.*

(f) Finally antithesis becomes a literary artifice, at times exaggerated till it is possible to draw a line down the balanced clauses of a paragraph and see the halves, which are thus distinguished, make sense in themselves.

<p>ada pun pada bichara patek, jikalau ada sa-ribu tiada patek indahkan ; jikalau orang bęrani akan orang pęnakut itu-lah sukar patek akan męngęmbari dia, <i>In the opinion of your slave, if there are a thousand, your slave heeds not ;</i> <i>provided they are brave men, as for cowards, hard it is for your slave to match them,</i></p>	<p>yang hina ini, atau dua ribu pun, mudah juga pada patek męngęmbari dia, bęrhadapan ; męmbuat di-dalam diam- nya, banyak budi bichara hen- dak męngęnāi dia. <i>who is lowly, aye, or two thousand men, easily your slave can match them</i> <i>who fight face to face ; workers in secret, and much plotting is needed to encompass them.</i></p>
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

In that example, the first column taken alone makes sense : in the following, both columns are practically coherent and sufficient in themselves.

<p>apa-bila datang sa-orang męlayu bęlari dęmikian sifat-nya</p>	<p>hęndak męngęmbari ęng- kau Męlayu itu</p>
--------------------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------

maka oleh kamu kěpong-
kan kětujoh-puloh ini
turut

barang di-mana pėrgi-nya
bunoh bėri mati
bėsar-lah ganjaran-mu,

*When there comes a Malay
running,
thus and thus is his presence
surround him the seventy of
you
pursue,
wheresoever he goes ;
kill him dead
great shall be your reward,*

wahai adek-ku
nyawa bėradukan apa-
kah ini ?
anakanda sudah mėngi-
dari hutan
jiwa-ku bėlum juga sėdar
bangun-lah tuan
anakanda sudah hilang
di-pangkuan,

*Alas, my love,
what is it you embrace,
Our child wanders in the
forest,
And you, my life, knew it not ;
Arise, my mistress ;*

jangan bėri ėngkau lėpas-
kan
bunoh juga akan Mėlayu
itu
ikut juga oleh-mu
jikalau Mėlayu itu mati
di-anugėrahi oleh Sėri
Bėtara.

*if he will match himself against
you,
. . . that Malay ;
let him not get free,

slay him ;
do you follow him ;
if he dies,
the gift of Sri Betara.*

tuan adinda-ku
tuan mėrapatkan apa-kah
ini ?
putėra nin sudah mė-
langsi padang
nyawa-ku bėlum juga
bangun
sėdar-lah nyawa
putėra nin sudah raip di-
mata.

*my darling !
what is it you hug ?
our son wails in the fields !
you, my soul's love, had not
awakened.
awake, my darling.*

Our child is lost from your lap, | our son has vanished from our sight.

These passages are taken from prose classics, the *Hang Tuah* and the romance *Indra Mengindra*; but when we meet such exaggerated cases, we may remember that all Malay literature is chanted aloud by Malays.

(c) ELLIPSIS

§ 105. The part ellipsis plays in Malay syntax has been foreshadowed to a small extent in the remarks on case § 30, and on the conjunction § 96. It is carried, however, much further in the structure of the sentence. It has been well said:

*Little boy; box of paints;
Licked his toy; joined the saints*

would be verbose to a Malay who, in his own natural idiom and not for effect, would cut it shorter—

*Small boy; box paints;
Licked toy; joined saints.*

I. The subject may be omitted

(a) In a principal clause, if suggested by a preceding word. **akan nama baginda, Sang Pěrtala Dewa** *as for the prince's name, (it) was Sang Pertala Dewa*; **akan pėsan paduka ayahanda, suroh patek sėgėra kėmbali** *as for my royal father's instructions, (he) ordered me to return speedily*; **titah baginda suroh masok sa-kali** *the royal mandate was (the prince) bids you enter.*

(b) In one of two co-ordinate clauses, if suggested by a word in the other.

lalu gėmėntar sėgala sėndi Bėtara Brahma mata-nya kėlam-lah lalu pėngsan *all the limbs of Betara Brahma trembled, his eyes grew dim and (he) fell faint*; **di-palu oleh Sang Sambah kėna rusok-nya lalu mati**

struck by Sang Sambah in his side (he) fell dead; kĕlima-nya pun bĕrmohon-lah lalu bĕrjalan; dua hari bĕrjalan, maka sampai-lah the whole five took leave and started on the journey; after (they) had journeyed two days, (they) arrived; di-bĕlah-nya pagar rumah Laksamana itu lalu masok ka-bawah rumah the fence round the Laksamana's house was split by them and (they) entered beneath the house; mau beta nenek, minta ka-mari I want him, grannie, (you) ask him to come here; di-pĕrtimba orang, tiada tĕrtimba ayer lagi (the water) was bailed out, but the water could not be bailed more.

(c) In a principal clause, if suggested in a subordinate, or *vice versa*.

tĕlah baginda masok ka-dalam astana, lalu bĕrtitah ka-pada pĕrmaisuri as soon as the prince entered the palace, (he) straightway ordered the princess; jangankan ia hampir ka-pada patek, mĕmandang lĕkat pun tiada so far was he from approaching me, (he) did not even fix his gaze upon me; jikalau lain dari-pada baginda, nĕschaya tiada mau kĕmbali if it were another person and not the prince, assuredly (he) would not return; hai anak-ku jangan makan pada hidangan di-bawah itu, karna sudah bĕroleh martĕbat dari-pada paduka bĕtara cat not, my son, at the lower table, because (you) have been ennobled by the prince.

(d) Even though the reference is indirect, and not to the grammatical subject.

orang Pasai jikalau bĕrsurat, tiada dapat tiada di-aleh-nya as for the men of Pasai, if (one) takes (them) a letter, the letter will certainly be misread; sĕgala orang yang bĕrĕmas, jikalau tiada di-anugĕrahi raja, tiada boleh di-pakai as for all people who possessed gold ornaments, unless the prince's leave were obtained, (the gold ornaments) could not be worn; jikalau tiada di-lihat-nya aku pĕrgi, tĕntu kĕna rotan if he did not see me go, assuredly (I) was beaten.

(e) The subject may also be omitted when there is no word in the sentence to suggest it.

(1) In conversation, if the circumstances leave no doubt as to the subject.

sudah habis, jangan dudok; kalau tidak, pergi buat *if (such and such a work you know of) is finished, don't (you) sit down; if (the work) is not (finished), (you) go and do (it).*

(2) In literature, under all the circumstances enumerated above, even if there is no word actually in the sentence to suggest it, but the context leaves no doubt.

jikalau mēnjunjong duli, dahulu kēpala bēntara *if (folk) pay homage, the first in precedence is the court herald; raja Kōdah makan . . . tēlah sudah makan datang sireh dan bau-bauan the raja of Kedah dined. . . . As soon as (he) had dined, betel and scent were brought; titah baginda apa sēbab-nya maka Bēndahara mati? Maka sēmbah Tun Indēra Sēgēra 'Sēbab makan rachun tuanku' the prince asked 'Why did the Bendahara die? Tun Indra Segera replied 'Because (he) ate poison, your highness; sa-lama bērchērai muda bangsawan bagai bakat di-tumpu harus so long as divorced from that noble maid, (I) have been like drift in the eddy of the tide.*

(3) If the remark is general, and no special subject is in the mind of the speaker.

jimat-jimat di-nēgēri orang *(one) must be wary in a strange land; biar lambat asal sēlamat let (one) be slow, provided (one) is safe.*

II. The object may be omitted.

jangan bunoh *don't slay (him, her, or it, as circumstances make clear); sahut orang 'Ēmas-nya hilang.' maka kata Bēndahara 'Biar aku ganti' folk cried, 'Their gold is lost.' Said the Bendahara, 'Let me replace (it)'; sēkarang lēboh kita tiada bētul, baik juga tuanku mēm-*

bětuli *now our road is not straight, it were well your highness straighten (it)*; **apa nama sěnjata bulat-bulat ini? mana tajam-nya maka ia mēmbunoh** *what is the name of these round missiles? and where is their sharpness that they slay (folk)?*

III. The *verb* (and *both subject or object and verb*) may be omitted, if the context explains.

hëndak ka-mana *whither away?* **hai budak-budak mau-kah mēmandang ěmas?** *maka sahut anak buahnya 'mau datok' Boys, do you want to see some gold?' And his children answered, '(We) want (to see it), grandfather'*; **jangan lama** *don't (be) long*; **běrapa lama-nya ia di-Pasai itu** *all the time he (stayed) at Pasai*; **kita mēnyuroh** (scilicet **orang mēngutus**) **ka-Pasai** *we order (an envoy to go) to Pasai*; **jikalau kěrja kěchil, tiada buat; jikalau kěrja bėsar, bėrapa lagi** *if it is a small work, it is not done; if it is a large, still less (will it be done).*

IV. The whole of a clause may be omitted and left for the context to supply—especially in well-known proverbial sayings.

umpan sa-ekur kail sa-běntok *one bait and a hook (and the day's labour may be wasted owing to its loss)*; **hujan ěmas di-něgėri orang, hujan lėmbing di-něgėri kita** *it may rain gold in a foreign land and spears at home (but home is better).*

CHAPTER IX

STYLE

§ 106. There is no such great difference of vocabulary in Malay as will correspond to low and high (or **krama**) Javanese. The court style (**bahasa dalam**), the conversation of gentry (**bahasa halus** or **bahasa bangsawan**), the talk of the bazaar (**bahasa dagang**, **bahasa kachauan** or **bahasa pasar**): these various styles as defined by Malay pedants represent no mysterious or radical types, but summarize broadly differences which may be found in any language between the vocabularies of the practised *litterateur* and the man of breeding and education, the polyglot vocabulary of commerce and the slang of mean streets. Misconception in this matter is so common that it will be useful to point out the notes of these several styles.

§ 107. Bazaar Malay.

(a) It accepts foreign idioms like **dia punya baik** *his goodness* from the Chinese; **sahaya punya dĕkat** *in my possession*, **kaseh sama sahaya** *give to me* from Indians; or like the employment of **ada** (an emphatic word denoting existence) as a mere copula,—**kalau tuan ada suka** *if you are liking*; or like **bagi naik** and **kaseh naik** *make to go up* for **naikkan**: idioms which are alien to Malay, ugly, superfluous and inorganic.

(b) It perverts good Malay words to corrupt meanings modelled on foreign idiom. **banyak** *much*, an adverb of quantity is used for *very*; **mau** *wish* serves for an auxiliary *will, shall*; **bilang** *count* is used for *tell, inform*; **dĕkat** *near*

and **sama** *alike, like for to*; **mari** *here* as a verb *coming here*.

(c) It introduces foreign words correct in addressing a foreigner, and applies them to men of its own race; the Chinese **lu** to a Malay; or **tabek** to a Sultan or Raja.

(d) It introduces foreign words like **katil** (Tamil) *bed*, **tuala** (Portuguese) *towel*, **sětori** (English) *tale, lie*, **konsětēbel** *constable*, **bikin** *make*; some of them long since become part of the language as names for foreign things which have come to stay; others perhaps doomed to die out and never to become classical.

(e) For the benefit of the foreigner, it employs the root form of the verb rather than its derivatives.

(f) So, too, it uses the simplest synonym in place of the rich vocabulary of the race: **potong** *cut* for *slice, divide, mince, lop, fell*; **jatoh** for *fall* of a man, a house, trees, fruit; **pukul** for *hit* whether with cane, stick, stone, fist, or whip; **rumah** for *house, hut, lean-to, palace, or rice-shanty*; **pinggan pēchah** *broken plates* in place of **tēmbikar** *shard*; **sēmua** for *all* in place of **sakalian, sēgala** and so on.

(g) It employs many slang expressions: **gasak, rodok, radak, chēkek, lantak, parap** for *eat*; **gasak, bongkar, kibar, kabong, chabut, tuas, chachak, tēlungkup** *run*; **pusing** *cheat*; **lichin** *stony broke*; **bērķērēdak** *in a pickle*; **kapal sapu roué**; **kēnchang** *swell, dapper*; **galak** *lascivious*; **bagi** 'give' *it any one, beat*; **kēlam kabut** *surprised, confused*.

(h) It uses coarse words: **bětina** *female*, **jantan** *male*, **mampus** *die, 'croak' of persons as well as of animals*; **mēmbuta** *sleep*, and a number of coarse terms in sexual matters.

§ 108. Of the characteristics of the bazaar style (a) to (f) will be met only if the Malay is talking purposely down to a foreigner, or if he himself be the half-caste of a seaport town, (g) and (h) will be heard, also, in the ruder talk of the

real Malay, which is fond too of abbreviations and ejaculatory monosyllables like **awat** for **apa buat** (Singapore) *why*; **pi'** (Perak) **'gi** (Patani) for **pěrgi** *go*; **hang** for **ěngkau** *you*; **'nak** for **hěndak** *wish, will*; **ta'** for **tidak** *no*; **'ku** for **ěngku** *your highness*; **jum** (Perak) *be off*; and of provincialisms, which have not found their way into literature, **sahaya-ma, kita-ma** *all of us*, **kamu-ma** *you all* in Perak, for example, and the Perak forms **lanjar** for **langsong** *forthwith*, **sampang** for **sěmpat** *able to do*. Again, idiomatic talk between Malays of all classes will abound in ellipse. It will employ many words of minute significance in woodcraft, husbandry, industries, and domestic life: talking among themselves with no pretence to fine phraseology peasants unconsciously affect a nice precision in words, so that lists like the following are in daily use. **sepak** *kick with the side of the foot*; **těndang** *kick with the toes*; **těrajang** *kick with the heel*. **balut** *tie in a wrapper*; **bungkus** *tie in a bundle*; **běrkas** *tie, of recalcitrant articles like antlers or spears*. **potong** *cut*; **bělah** *cut in two, split lengthwise*; **chinchang** *cut in small pieces, mince*; **kěrat** *cut in two crosswise*; **pang-gal** *sever, decapitate*; **ranchong** *cut to a fine point (e. g. a pencil)*; **panchong** *prune, lop*; **pědang** *mow*; **tětak** *notch*; **tuai** *reap, cut rice-grain*; **raut** *cut, trim*; **chukur** *cut hair or beard*; **parang** *to sabre, cleave*; **těbang** *fell big jungle*; **těbas** *clear scrub*; **rěntas** *cut a trace or track*. **ambil** *carry away*; **angkat** *carry, lift up*; **angkut** *carry, lift up and away*; **ambin** *carry on the back*; **bawa** *bring, fetch*; **běbat** *carry in the girdle*; **bibit** *carry in the hand*; **jinjing** *carry in the fingers*; **dukong** *carry on the hip*; **kendong, gendong** *carry in a wrapper*; **kandong** *carry in a sack or in the womb*; **pikul** *carry on the shoulder*; **tatang** *carry on the palms*; **tanggong** *carry, support a heavy burden*; **julang** *carry with arm upraised*; **kěpit** *carry pressed under arm*; **kelek** *carry loosely under arm*; **galas** *carry slung over the shoulder or on the end of a stick*; **kandar** *carry on both ends of a stick over*

the shoulder; *junjong* carry on the head; *usōng* carry in a litter.

§ 109. Polite Malay (bahasa halus).

(a) It is especially careful in the choice of personal pronouns. Even a European with little knowledge of the language can earn a cheap fame for linguistic ability, if he takes trouble on this simple point (§ 66).

(b) It uses respectful words for the great events of life: *běrsalin* change oneself instead of the blunt *běranak* bear children; *istěri* (Skt.) instead of *bini* or *pěřempuan* for wife; *suami* (Skt.) instead of *laki* for husband; *mati* or *pulang ka-rahmatu ʼllah* (Ar.) for die.

(c) To a greater degree perhaps than peasant talk, it employs affixes with the verbs, especially *mě*, *bě(r)*, and *tě(r)* (and in a few words *pě(r)* too); also, though in a less degree— *-kan* and *-i*.

(d) It uses, of course, a larger general vocabulary and adopts many Arabic words, when talking of religion and literature.

§ 110. Court Malay.

This exactly resembles the polite style, except that it uses a score of special words, proper only to a raja. *patek* (Skt.) your slave for I; *tuanku*, *ěngku*, *těngku* your highness; *putěra* (Skt.) scion for child; *sěmayam* reside (literally sit enthroned); *běrangkat* (instead of *běrijalan*) travel; *siram* bathe; *santap* eat; *gěring* sick; *mangkat* be borne aloft; die; *titah* command, order; *sěmbah* do obeisance to; *wajah* (Ar.) countenance; *junjong duli* obey a royal order.

§ 111. Literary Malay.

(a) It avoids abbreviations of words such as is usual in all colloquial Malay, e. g. it employs *ta'* for *tidak* only in a few phrases (§ 85).

(b) It avoids provincialisms, the literary standard having been fixed in the golden age of old Malacca, and being known now generally as Riau-Johor Malay.

(c) It employs the whole system of affixation.

(d) It employs certain modal words and 'punctuation' words (§§ 86, 89),

(e) It employs conjunctions and builds sentences more complex than occur in conversation.

(f) It carries the principle of balance and antithesis to an extreme (§ 104).

(g) Its vocabulary is large, and contains a number of Sanskrit and Arabic words¹ and of flowery metaphors, which are found only in literature.

sĕgara *ocean*; **bahagia** *good fortune*; **kĕndaraan** *steed, vehicle*; **rupawan** *beautiful*; **sĕntosa** *tranquillity*; **mega** *clouds*; **mĕrdu** *soft, sweet*; **pĕkĕrti** *character*; **pĕrwara** *warrior*; **angkasa** *heavens*; **aneka** *kinds*; **asa** *hope*; **asmara** *love*; **bahtĕra** *vessel*; **biti** *female slave*; **chakĕra-wala** *firmament*; **dĕrma** *alms*; **sĕntiasa** *always*; **sokma** *soul*; **sarwa** (now corrupted **sĕru**) *all*; **pĕrkasa** *valiant*; **saksama** *inquiry*; **papa** *poverty*; **anugĕrah**, **kurnia** *gift (from superior to inferior)*; **putĕri** *princess*; **paksi** *bird*; **pahala** *gain*; **suaka** *refuge* are a few examples from Sanskrit. From the Arabic are borrowed such words as **azim** *august*; **afiat** *health*; **arwah** *soul*; **bahar** *sea*; **baka** *eternal*; **batal** *futile*; **fana** *perishable*; **feel** *conduct*; **fuad** *heart*; **haiwan** *creatures*; **hebat** *terrible*; **ibarat** *parallel, analogous case*; **ihtiar** *choice*; **ijtiħad** *zeal*; **isharat** *sign*; **istiadat** *custom*; **(tĕr)jali** *bright*; **kadam** *foot*; **kadar** *ability*; **khalayak** *mankind*; **khayal** *trance*; **khuatir** *consciousness*; **layak** *proper*; **lazat** *pleasant*; **lazim** *necessary*; **makhluk** *humanity*; **martĕbat** *rank*; **masaalah** *thesis*; **muslihat** *stratagem*; **mustaed** *ready*; **pĕrlu** *obligatory*. Persian, too, has intro-

¹ The spelling of these foreign words follows the Malay.

duced, for example, **bahaduri** *gallant*; **bahari** *noble*; **bena** *excellent*; **biadab** *discourtesy*; **biapěri** *merchant*; **darya** *ocean, river*; **diwan** *court*; **jahan** *the world*; **jogan** *state lance*; **juadah** *cakes*; **lashkar** *soldiery*; **piala** *goblet*. Instances of flowery metaphor are the Sanskrit **kėsoma** *flower* for *girl* or *boy*; **bunga di-pěraduan sudah layu** *the flower of the bed-chamber has faded*; meaning *your bride is dead*; and **bunga di-sěring kumbang** *the flower at which the bee has sucked* for *a maid deflowered*: these occur in prose romance, and many others may be garnered.

APPENDIX

NOTES ON MALAY LETTER-WRITING

BY R. J. WILKINSON, C.M.G.

I.—THE HEADING (*Kĕpala Surat*).

Near the middle of the blank space at the top of the sheet on which a Malay letter is written is a short Arabic formula such as *kaulu'l-hakk* (the saying is the truth) or *shamsu wa'l-kamar* (the sun and the moon). It is usually impossible to learn from Malays why this formula is used or what it really signifies; they can only say that it is the custom to write such things at the top of a letter. But there is significance both in the expression used and in its position on the page. If the formula is written in the centre of the paper, it signifies that the writer and the addressee are of equal rank and correspond as equals. If it is written slightly to the right, it implies that the writer of the letter claims a higher position than the person he is addressing. If the formula is slightly to the left it signifies that the writer is an inferior addressing a superior. The formula itself also varies: the words used as a heading to a letter to a great prince will not be the same as those used in the heading of a letter to a *pĕnghulu*.

The principal headings are :

يا امير المؤمنين

O Commander of the Faithful.

This expression, in former times, was the correct heading to a letter addressed to a powerful ruling prince by a subject. It is out of date at present.

قوله الحق

The Saying is the Truth ;

Appropriate when two rulers correspond : common on letters from native rulers to the Governor and *vice versa*.

و قلم الصديق

And the Writing is most sincere ;

A variant or continuation of the preceding heading. It is used under similar circumstances. Another variant is *al-mustahakk* : ' the truth.'

يا الله يا محمد

O God ! O Muhammad !

This heading is sometimes used when native princes correspond, but is, of course, inapplicable to correspondence between a Christian governor and a Moslem prince.

يا نور الشمس القمر

O light of the Sun and of the Moon.

This expression is a quasi-compliment meaning 'shining brilliantly—but not with the true light of religion'. It is used often by a Malay raja when addressing an 'infidel' potentate.

يا غفور الرحيم

O Merciful Pardoner.

This formula is very common on letters or petitions addressed to District Officers by pēnghulus, and to Heads of Departments generally by their subordinates. The 'Merciful Pardoner' is, of course, God (described by one of His attributes), and the Head of Department is reminded of this divine attribute in the hope that he will be indulgent to the petitioner.

يا فتاح القلوب

O Unlocker of Hearts.

This (rare) formula is appropriate to petitions asking for inquiry into some matter. Here, again, the ruler or administrator is reminded of his duty as the representative of a divine power 'from whom no secrets are hid'.

يا قاضي الحاجات

O Judge of Wishes.

This (rare) formula is appropriate to petitions containing a request of some sort. Here, again, we have an appeal to a divine attribute.

يا محييت الساءيلين

O Ocean (of information) to Inquirers.

This (rare) formula is appropriate to letters asking a superior authority for information on some point.

يا ولي الحسنه

O Lord of Loveliness.

A purely complimentary formula based on a divine attribute and used as a suggestion that the virtues of the official addressed have made a deep impression on the mind of his correspondent.

يا عزيز

O Precious One.

Used as a heading to letters to a teacher, or to a Syed or Kathi, or any religious dignitary of high rank.

يا كريم

O Honoured One.

This formula is used in a letter to a father or mother.

يا غاني الحميد

O Belauded Power.

The heading to a letter to an elder brother.

يا ثمرة الفواد

O Blossom of my Heart.

The proper heading of a letter to a sister of about one's own age or to a wife.

يا قرة العين

O Comfort of my Eyes.

This formula is really a term of endearment used as a heading to letters addressed to a younger sister, to a favourite daughter, or to a beloved girl of any sort. The heading *ya nâru'l-'âshikîn* may also be used over a love-letter. *Yâ nâru'l-'ain* (light of my eyes) is another formula of the same sort.

حق اليقين

Absolute Truth.

Used when addressing any one in whom one has perfect confidence.

بُحْرُ اللَّهِ الْعِلْمِ

God's Ocean of Knowledge.

This heading is placed above letters to very learned men.

الحكم واحد القهار

The Decree is from the All-Powerful.

A heading to a letter announcing a death.

ان الله الصبارين

God is with the Submissive.

A heading to a letter of condolence.

توكل على الله

God's Will be Done.

A heading to letters expressive of the writer's resignation to misfortune.

II.—THE 'COMPLIMENTS' (*Puji-pujian*).

A Malay letter begins with what are known as the *puji-pujian* or 'compliments', but these compliments are really only a formula indicating the names and relative positions of the writer and the person addressed. We may divide the

formula into nine essential parts and discuss each part separately

THIS LETTER
 FROM ME
 MAY IT BE CONVEYED
 BY GOD (OR MAN)
 TO
 YOU
 WHO LIVE
 AT X
 AMEN.

I. THIS LETTER.—This expression is usually much expanded. The following is an extreme case of expansion :

Warkatu 'l-ikhlas wa tuhfatu 'l-ajnas yang tērbil daripada fuadu'z-zakiah ya-itu hati yang puteh lagi hēning dan jērneh yang tiada mēnaroh shak dan waham di-dalam-nya sērta tiada mēnaroh lupa dan lalai sa-kētika jua pun sa-lagi ada pēridaran chakērawala matahari dan bulan ;

meaning :

‘ This sincere letter, this varied gift, issues from a pure heart, from feelings of a limpid and transparent candour that can harbour no suspicion or mistrust and that knows no neglect or forgetfulness—not even for one instant—so long as the firmament revolves and the sun and the moon pursue their courses.’

The full formula would only be used when a prince of the very highest rank addresses another prince of the very highest rank. In extreme cases, when a great ruler addresses a very minor official a mere *bahwa ini surat* would suffice. A Sultan addressing a Governor should use very nearly the full formula ; addressing a District Officer he should use a short formula such as *bahwa ini-lah surat tulus dan ikhlas sērta kaseh sayang*. A Malay chief (other than a ruling prince) would in such a case use a longer formula.

2. FROM ME.—The writer of the letter should describe himself very shortly. If he emphasizes his title in any way it is an assertion of superiority over the person addressed. If he depreciates himself by adding some such expression as

yang hina it is an admission of extreme inferiority. The use of *kita* (we) for *beta* (I) is a strong assertion of superiority except in the East Coast States where *beta* is not used.

The address is usually given: the exact terms to be used in such cases will be found further on in section (7) 'who live'.

The following is a typical lengthy specimen of this part of the *puji-pujian*:

Ya-itu datang daripada beta, Raja Muda X., wakiln's-Sultan, Nĕgĕri Perak, daru'r-ridzwan, bĕrsĕmayam di-Bukit Chandan, Sĕri Andalan.

The following is a humble variant:

Ya-itu datang daripada beta, Datok P., yang ada pada masa ini di-dalam daerah Nĕgĕri Rĕmbau.

3. MAY IT BE CONVEYED.—If the letter is a letter to a ruler or man of royal blood the expression for 'convey' is *waslkan*. In ordinary cases, *sampaikan* should be used. Love-letters (see next paragraph) are separately treated; except for these amatory effusions, this part of the *puji-pujian* should be either *barang di-waslkan* or *barang di-sampaikan*. *Barang di-taslimkan* may, however, be used as a polite equivalent of *barang di-sampaikan*.

4. BY GOD (OR MAN).—The importance and character of a letter is suggested by the means of conveyance. A letter to a very great dignitary is accompanied by a pious expression of hope that the Almighty will cause it to reach its destination safely. But, if the letter is addressed to a person of no importance, it is sufficient to express the hope that the post office will help the letter along. In the case of love affairs, convention insists that the conveyance of love-letters is the special duty of certain birds, notably the *bayan* or parakeet (*palaeornis longicauda*), the explanation being that these birds, being possessed of power of speech, are mentioned in old romances as the bearers of messages from a lover to his lass. The expression for 'convey' in such cases is, therefore, *layangkan* or even *bayankan*.

A further distinction is conveyed by the expression used to describe the Almighty. If the term used is some long expression such as *Tuhan, maliku'l-hinnân wa'l-mannân*, the letter is very formal and is suited for dispatch to a ruler. But if a simple expression like *Allah taala* is employed the letter is considered more familiar.

Another distinction, again, is drawn by expressions meaning 'perhaps', such as *mudah-mudahan* and *kira-nya* (or *apa-lah jua kira-nya*). These expressions suggest a reduced importance for the letter.

The following gives a list of expressions in a descending scale of formality :

- (a) Barang di-waslkan Tuhan maliku'l-hinnân wa'l-mannân ;
- (b) Barang di-sampaikan Allah ar-rahman ar-rahim ;
- (c) Barang di-sampaikan Tuhan rabbu'l-alamin ;
- (d) Barang di-sampaikan Tuhan sĕru sakalian alam ;
- (e) Barang di-sampaikan Allah subhana wa taala ;
- (f) Barang di-sampaikan Allah azza wa jalla ;
- (g) Barang di-sampaikan Allah taala ;
- (h) Barang di-sampaikan Allah ;
- (i) Mudah-mudahan barang di-sampaikan Allah ;
- (j) Apa-lah jua kira-nya datang ;
- (k) Minta tolong ěnchek-ěnchek dan tuan-tuan yang bĕrjumpa surat ini sampaikan.

5. To.—This very simple preposition may be expressed in various ways according to the respect that a letter is intended to suggest. Only a man of princely rank has the privilege of addressing himself to the 'face' (*wajah*) of royalty. Ordinary people address the 'presence' (*hadzrat*) of royalty, while very humble subjects address the dust beneath a prince's foot (*ka-bawah duli*). All these expressions are confined to royalty. In addressing a commoner a man cannot use *wajah* or *hadzrat* or *ka-bawah duli*; he may (if addressing a superior) lay his petition before the 'presence', but he should use the word *majlis*, not *hadzrat*. Only when addressing a man of little importance should the simple preposition 'to' (*kapada*) be used.

Further gradations are expressed by the use of the Arabic preposition *ala* for the Malay *kapada*, and also by qualifying with adjectives the expressions 'face' or 'presence'—e. g., 'the noble face' or 'the majestic presence'. The following are examples of this portion of the *puji-pujian*:

- (a) *Ala wajahu'l-karimu'sh-sharifu'l-'ali* ;
 'To the majestic, noble, and exalted countenance of —.'
 This expression might be used in a letter from one reigning prince to another reigning prince.
- (b) *Ala wajahu'l-karimu'l-kamal* ;
 'To the majestic and illustrious face of —.' This expression might be used by a prince of the royal house addressing his sovereign.
- (c) *Ka-hadapan sèri wajah* ;¹
 'Before the princely face of —.' This expression might be used by a Sultan to a non-reigning prince.
- (d) *Ka-bawah hadzratu'l-masraf* ;
 'Down before the presence of his highness.' This form of address would be used by a chief (not of princely rank) writing to his sovereign.
- (e) *Ka-bawah hadzrat*, or *ka-hadzrat*.
 These are less ceremonial variants of (d).
- (f) *Ka-hadapan medan majlis*,
 'In the field before the presence of —.' To a very high official such as a Resident.
- (g) *Ka-hadapan majlis*,
 'To the presence of —.' To an official such as a Magistrate or District Officer.
- (h) *Kapada*.
 'To —.' Only used to persons of no position.

6. You.—The person addressed is described in several ways. A prince writing to another prince will often use respectful terms of relationship—such as *ayahanda*, *kakanda*, *adinda*, *anakanda*—according to the relative age of the parties. Writing to Europeans of rank terms of friendship are used in place of those of relationship: *sèri paduka sahabat beta*, *paduka sahabat beta*, and *sahabat beta*. Strictly, the first

¹ The word *tèrhampar* ('laid down before', 'submitted to') may be used before this and the following expressions.

of these three expressions ought to be confined to the very highest European officers; a District Officer or Magistrate would be *paduka sahabat beta*, and an unofficial European of good position or a man of little official status would be *sahabat beta*. On the East Coast *kita* is used in place of *beta*; on the West Coast *kita* is used to inferiors only. Malays of low rank when writing to each other use terms of relationship if they are intimate. In other cases, they use the expression *sahabat sahaya*.

The following complimentary attributes should also be used:

Yang ĩrutama: to the Governor;

Yang muha-mulia: to a Sultan;

Yang ĩramat mulia: to a Regent, Raja Muda, or semi-independent chief like the Datok of Jelebu;

Yang bĕrhormat: to a Resident-General or Resident;

Yang mulia: to a Malay chief or European of high official rank.

7. WHO LIVE.—This portion of the ‘compliment’ is the expression in which most mistakes are made. A non-reigning member of a royal house and even a District Officer is often described in letters and petitions as ‘sitting in state upon a throne of sovereignty’ (*bĕrsĕmayam di-atas singgasana takhta kĕrajaan*). This is an obvious error and is often explained as mere oriental exaggeration, whereas, as a matter of fact, it is simply due to ignorance of the correct term to use. A ruling prince does theoretically ‘sit in state upon a royal throne’, and may use the expression *bĕrsĕmayam di-atas singgasana takhta kĕrajaan*. A better expression—for an administrator, at all events—is *mĕlakukan tadbiru’l-ihsan*, ‘munificently carrying on the Government.’ A non-reigning prince may be said to ‘sit in state’ (*bĕrsĕmayam*), but he cannot be said to do it ‘on a throne of royalty’, nor can he be said to ‘possess a throne of sovereignty’ (*mĕmpunyaĭ takhta kĕrajaan*) or ‘munificently to administer the Government’. He may, however, be said to ‘possess regal dignity

and importance' (*měmpunyai daulat kěrajaan dan kěbėsaran*). A District Officer may hyperbolically be described as 'munificently carrying on the administration', but not as 'sitting in state', nor as 'possessing a throne of sovereignty'. The correct expression is *běrmakam* or *běrmastautin*, 'officially presiding' or 'officially residing'. An honoured unofficial 'exists in peace and health and prosperity' (*ada děngan istirahat dan khairu'l-'afiat*, or *ada děngan kėsějahtěraan-nya*). A less dignified expression is the simple *ada di-dalam pělihara Allah taala*. A person of no importance simply 'exists' (*ada*).

To summarize :

(a) The proper descriptions for a reigning Prince are :

Yang běrsěmayam di-atas singgasana takhta kěrajaan ;

Yang mėlakukan tadbiru'l-ihsan ;

and (less dignified) *yang měmpunyai takhta kěrajaan dan kěbėsaran*.

(b) The best descriptions of a non-reigning Raja are :

Yang měmpunyai danlat kěrajaan dan kěbėsaran ;

Yang běrsěmayam.

(c) of a Governor :

Yang mėlakukan tadbiru'l-ihsan ;

Yang mēměrentah.

(d) of a Resident :

Yang mėlakukan tadbiru'l-ihsan ;

Yang měmpunyai pangkat Resident.

(e) of a District Officer :

Yang běrmakam ;

Yang běrmastautin ;

Yang mėlakukan jalan běkaseh-kasehan ;

Yang měmpunyai jawatan pėgawai jajahan.

(f) of an official, generally :

Yang běrpankat (name of office) ;

Yang běrjawatan (name of office).

(g) of an unofficial of standing :

Yang ada dengan sehat dan khairu'l-'afiat ;

Yang ada dengan kemuliaan ;

Yang ada dengan kesējahteraan ;

Yang ada dengan kesempornaan ;

Yang ada dengan selamat ;

Yang ada di-dalam pëliharaan Allah taala.

(h) of a person of no importance :

Yang ada.

It must, of course, be always borne in mind that a man, speaking of himself, would describe his office by a simpler expression than he would use to describe the same office when held by the person he is writing to. Furthermore, in writing to superiors, certain complimentary attributes may be put into the compliments—e. g. *yang mulia*, *yang arif bijaksana*, &c.

8. AT X.—The name of the place at which the addressee lives is often the subject of honorifics. Perak is *daru'r-ridzwan*, Kedah is *daru'l-aman*, Selangor is *daru'l-ihsan*, Acheen is *daru's-salam* ; these titles are conventional, but, where no conventional name exists, an honorific can be invented such as *nġġeri yang mulia* or *baldu'l-aadzam*, 'the august city'. *Daru'sh-shahadah* is another such expression. It is common also for Sultans to give special high-sounding names to the little hamlets in which they take up their abode : thus, Bukit Chandan is called *Sġri Andalan*. These honorifics are, of course, only used where the writer or the person addressed is a man of very high rank.

9. AMEN.—It is usual in letters between Moslems of high position to end up the *puji-pujian* with some pious expression, sometimes the actual word *amin* and sometimes a longer expression like *salam Allah taala* or *hafudz Allah taala*. When writing to Europeans this expression is altered to *dġngan sġjahtġra-nya* or *dġngan sġlamat-nya* or some similar expression of which examples will be given in the 'specimen letters'.

III.—THE CLOSING WORDS OF A LETTER.

At the close of a letter it is usual to put a few words to the effect that 'there is no more to say except to send greetings to our friend'. This formula should be expanded somewhat when addressing a superior—

The following are examples :

(a) to a Sultan :

Tiada apa-apa yang lain hanya-lah di-harapkan sĕri paduka sahabat beta dalam sihat dan 'afiat, mudah-mudahan kĕkal di-atas takhta kĕrajaan sa-lama-lama-nya.

(b) to a Chief :

Tiada apa-apa yang lain mĕlainkan di-harap umur panjang. Tamat.

(c) to an equal :

Dĕmikian-lah di-maalumkan hanya wa's-salam.

IV.—THE ADDRESS.

The address on a letter only differs from the *puji-pujian* in the first item of the nine that have been discussed. This item should be *alamat surat* instead of *warkatu'l-ikhlas*, &c. The following is an example :

Alamat surat barang di-sampaikan Allah subhana wa taala ka-hadapan majlis sahabat beta, tuan X., di-dalam nĕgĕri Y., daru'l-iman, ada-nya.

V.—THE SIGNATURE, SEAL, &c.

The seal or 'chop' on a letter is usually imprinted on the margin of the letter to the right-hand side of the writer and more or less parallel with the opening sentences of the compliments. The signature is written under the seal. The date, the place of writing, and sometimes the writer's name (for Malays usually employed professional letter-writers) would be written in a short sentence below the letter—e. g.

těrsurat (or *těrtulis* or *těrmaklub* or *těrmadzkur*) *di-Taipeng, pada 22 hari-bulan dzu'l-kaedah, sannah 1305.*

In the lower corner of a letter addressed to a man of rank, groups of letters of the alphabet are occasionally written, to wit :

ق ط م ي ر
م ع ر و ف ا ل ي ر خ ي

These two groups are conventional and complimentary. In formal correspondence between equals the expressions *انتهى الكلام* or *الكلام* are written in place of these letter-groups.

VI.—PETITIONS.

The rules hitherto given do not apply altogether to petitions. A Malay peasant addressing his prince would write :

Ampun tuan-ku, bėribu-ribu ampun, těrsembah ka-bawah duli lėbu tėlupakan Sėri Paduka yang maha-mulia yang-di-pėrtuan yang bėrsėmayam di-atas takhta singgasana kėrajaan di-dalam nėgėri K., daru'l-iman, ada-nya.

A petitioner of higher rank would not alter the tone but would indicate his position by using Arabic words to show that he was a man of some literary taste and refinement, and consequently of some standing in the world :

Ampun tuan-ku bėribu-ribu ampun, yarfa'al-kitab ala hadzrat al-masraf duli tuan-ku saidu'l-karim paduka sėri Sultan A. ash-sharif as-saiyid maulana yang bėrsėmayam di-atas singgasana takhta kėrajaan di-dalam baldu'l-aadzam nėgėri K., daru'l-ihsan.

The address on a petition simply prefixes *alamat surat* to the *puji-pujian* ; thus, *alamat surat ampun tuan-ku, bėribu-ribu ampun, &c.*

VII.—LOVE-LETTERS.

The *puji-pujian* or 'compliments', with their conventional terms of respect, sincerity and affection, are only preliminary to the important matter contained in an ordinary business

letter. In a love-letter, however, they are the very gist of the communication, and may constitute the whole of the epistle from the beginning to the end. The ordinary rules of Malay correspondence have, therefore, to be modified in such cases, and these modifications have been the subject of a good deal of study on the part of native writers or theorists on the subject.

Conventionally, a Malay love-letter is not a prosaic matter of paper and ink, but a message or token borne on the wings of a bird from lover to lover. This theory will be understood, when it is remembered that native girls are secluded and are not allowed to communicate directly with the outer world, so that in Malay romance a lover usually entrusts his message to a bird gifted with the power of speech or else sends it by means of a suggestive token such as a flower or a leaf. Convention maintains that this should still nominally be done even in these days of a three-cent post. A love-letter is not posted—it is entrusted to ‘some bird of wise utterance’; it is not a poor sheet of paper—it is ‘a jasmine bud of exquisite fragrance’. Words like *surat* or even the royal *warkat* are avoided because of their suggestion of the inkstand; the proper word is ‘a greeting with love and tenderness following in its train’ (*salam yang di-iringi dengan rindu sayang*). Again, the lover does not address it to the ‘presence’ of his beloved or to her ‘face’ or to the ‘dust beneath her feet’; he lays his floral offering metaphorically upon her lap (*ka-atas ribaan adinda*). And, of course, a letter of this type does not concern itself with the question of a girl’s official position, but simply dwells upon the charms and virtues that she possesses.

The following example of the *puji-pujian* appropriate to love-letters only refers to cases in which the gist of the letter is on some matter of business and the ‘compliments’ are those formally prescribed for use at the beginning of the epistle :

Bahwa ini-lah salam yang di-iringi dengan rindu sayang di-champur dengan dendam taadzim, yang di-sertakan dengan kaseh takrim, yang di-hiasi dengan sayang yang tiada berképutusan pada siang dan malam, ya-itu datang daripada kakanda X., yang sangat mēnanggong duka-chita sa-hari-hari, ada-nya; mudah-mudahan barang di-layangkan apalah kira-nya datang ka-atas ribaan adinda, Y., yang mulia lagi arif bijaksana serta amat mēngasehani sēgala handai taulan-nya di-dalam nēgēri Z., daru'l-iman, ada-nya.

The following example, on the other hand, gives a love-letter that is nothing more than a message of affection and consists of *puji-pujian* from the beginning to the end:

Salam doa yang di-iringi dengan bēbērapa hormat yang maha-mulia, maka di-champuri pula dengan bēbērapa rindu dendam yang tiada berképutusan sēntiasa pada tiap-tiap siang dan malam pagi dan pētang dan sa-bilang waktu tiada-lah sa-kali-kali lupa dan lalai barang sa-kētika juga sa-lagi ada pēridaran chakērawala bulan dan matahari. Maka ada-lah laksana punggok mērindukan bulan dan sēpērti chēntayu mēnantikan hujan dan laksana Zulaikha bērahikan Yusuf dan sēpērti Laili bērahikan Mejuun, maka demikian-lah kakanda tēringatkan tuan. Jika tidur tērigau-igau dan jika dudok tērbayang-bayang mēlainkan tērasoh-asoh sifat wajahu'l-karim itu tērdiri pada orang-orangan mata kakanda yang amat dzaif lagi hina papah serta pula dengan miskin daripada sēgala hamba Allah di-dalam dunia ini lagi bēbal serta dengan bodoh yatim piatu yang tiada mēnaroh sanak dan saudara lagi tiada mēnaroh daya dan upaya mēlainkan di-harapkan jua bēlas kasehan tuan serta tulus ikhlas adinda nūrn'l-āshikīn di-atas batu kēpala kakanda. Ada-lah di-umpamakan sēpērti ayer di-dalam tēlaga kalkauthar serta dengan hēning jērneh, lagi-pun dengan sējok-nya, dan bērbagai-bagai chinta neemat rasa-nya yang tiada tēpēmēnai lagi di-dalam itu. Di-sērtakan pula dengan suatu isharat dan ibarat orang tua-tua: ada-lah laksana sa-pohon kayu yang tumbuh di-tēngah padang serta dengan rendang-nya dan harum bau bunganya dan lēmah manis rupa buah-nya; maka banyak-lah hamba Allah yang bērnaung bērhēnti di-bawah pohon kayu; maka bērtiup-lah angin yang lēmah lēmbut dari udara yang kēluar dari-dalam shurga jannatu'n-naīm maka tērkibar-lah bau-nya bunga kayu yang amat harum; sa-kētika jua lalu tērlalai-lah hamba Allah yang di-bawah pohon itu sēpērti laku orang pengsan juga sēbab mēchium bau-nya itu. Maka sēkarang ini ada-lah kakanda yang bērnama X. sudah tērkēna mabok-nya itu dengan tiada tērkira-kira lagi, mēlainkan harap-lah juga kakanda kapada adinda dengan sabanyak-banyak harap sēpērti anak ayam harapkan ibu-nya. Bahwa

ada-lah kakanda ini sa-umpama anak burong ; jikalau tiada kasehan ibu-nya, maka di-mana-lah anak burong itu mahu pergi. Allah ! Allah ! Ya adinda, sa-kali-kali kakanda tiada mēmbuat dusta mēlainkan dahulu Allah, baada-hu rasul, dan pada kēmudian tuan-lah yang kakanda harap. Dan jikalau kira-nya kakanda ada mēnaroh sayap sēperti burong nēschaya sēkarang ini juga kakanda tērbang hinggap ka-bawah hadzrat majlis paduka adinda chahaya nur ini. Dan sēkarang apa-lah boleh buat, dan apa-lah daya kakanda ? Badan sēperti anak mērpati tērkēpak-kēpak ka-sana sini lalu jatoh dari atas rumah sampai ka-tanah, ēntahkan apa jadi. Ya Allah, ya rasul Allah, kētiga-lah dēngan adinda, ya adinda, tuan, apa-lah jadi kakanda ini ? Ada-lah laksana pantun orang tua :

Enchek Amat mēmbawa suloh,
Hēndak mēnyuloh sarang tēbuan ;
Sēmbah di-angkat jari sa-puloh,
Minta mati di-kaki tuan.

And so on. A Malay love-letter usually ends with a string of three or four *pantuns*.

The following is a rough translation of the letter just quoted :

In the train of this letter of greeting I send a multitude of respectful wishes and of loving thoughts that have never yet ceased to attend me either by night or day, evening or morn—no, not for one instant can I forget you so long as the sun and the moon pursue their courses. My love is as that of the night-bird when it sighs for the moon or as that of the rain-bird when it thirsts for the dew of heaven ; my love is as the passion of Zulaikha for Yusuf or as the wistful longing of Leila for Mejnun ; it breaks on my slumbers with anxious fears, it distracts my waking hours with wandering thoughts, for at no time can my eyes image anything except the glorious beauty of your form. I may be humble and weak and poor, the very meanest of God's servants on earth ; I may lack every gift ; I may have no friend or relative to look to in the world, but what of that ? I put my trust and confidence in your tenderness and in the sincerity of your heart, oh, most desired of lovers ! For you are as the waters of the River of Life, pure and calm and lustrous, whose sweetness no man can measure—or, if I may quote a metaphor used by men of old, you are like some tree of over-arching verdure that yields shade and fragrance and fruit in the midst of a desolate plain—can you, then, marvel that men should be attracted by your beauty and that the zephyrs from some heaven of bliss should play about you till the fragrance of your beauty should lull the thoughts of your lovers and lead them to be dead to everything except the

delight of breathing the air of your presence? I, too, am under the charm of that influence but my trust is in you, even as the trust of a nestling in its mother, for should the mother-bird desert it, where else could that poor fledgeling turn? O God Most High—for I swear to you I mean no untruth—I have faith in God and the Prophet, and, next to them, in you. Yes, had I the wings of a bird, this very moment would I fly to your presence, O Light of Glory! But of what avail are these thoughts? What power is left me? I am like a dove—but a dove of fettered wings, whose struggles can only cause it to fall more helpless than ever on the ground should it attempt to fly. O God! O Prophet of God! O Love of Mine! What is to be my fate? As in the words of the old, old song:

To her I lift my suppliant hands,
 A simple boon I crave—
 Oh that the earth on which she stands
 May serve me for a grave!

&c.

VIII.—TYPICAL LETTERS.

The following examples are taken from letters actually written:

1. From a Datok of Johol to a District Officer. The 'compliments' only are given:

Bahwa ini surat daripada beta Datok Johol, Johan Pahlawan Lela Pĕrkasa Sĕtiawan, yang mĕmĕrentah di-dalam jajahan Nĕgĕri Johol dĕngan sĕjahtĕraan-nya ya-itu akan datang ka-hadapan majlis sahabat beta tuan X., Magistrate di-tanah Mĕlayu, dĕngan sĕlamat lagi sĕjahtĕra-nya.

This form, though probably not intended to be offensive, is a typical form to be used in addressing a man very much one's inferior in position, for the only portion given at any length is that portion in which the writer's own titles are enumerated. The offensiveness lies in the brevity of the description of the person addressed.

2. From a Negri Sembilan *lĕmbaga* to his District Officer. Compliments only. This letter is interesting as the work of an educated man specially interested in custom:

Warkatu'l-ikhlas wa-tuhfatu'l-ajnas yang tĕrbit daripada suadu'z-zakiah ya-itu hati yang puteh lagi hĕning dan jĕrneh yang tiada

mēnaroh shak dan waham di-dalam-nya sa-lagi ada pēridaran chakērawala matahari dan bulan ya-itu datang daripada beta Datok P. yang ada pada masa ini di-dalam daerah Nēgēri Rēmbau, mudah-mudahan barang di-sampaikan oleh Tuhan sēru sakalian alam apa-lah jua kira-nya akan datang mēngadap ka-hadapan majlis sēri paduka sahabat beta tuan X., Magistrate, yang maha-mulia pada mēlakukan jalan bērkaseh-kasehan dan mēngambil hati sakalian sahabat handai taulan-nya karib dan baīd, yang ada bērsēmayam pada masa ini di-dalam nēgēri Tampin dēngan bēbērapa sēlamat sējah-tēra, ada-nya.

3. From a Malay Raja (not a ruling chief) to a Magistrate.
Compliments only :

Surat dēngan bēbērapa tulus dan ikhlas sērtā suchi hati yang puteh lagi hēning dan jērneh yang tiada mēnaroh shak dan waham sa-lagi ada pēridaran chakērawala ya-itu matahari dan bulan daripada beta Raja X. yang ada tērhēnti pada masa ini di-dalam nēgēri M. dengan minta mudah-mudahan barang di-sampaikan oleh Tuhan Sēru Sakalian Alam apa-lah jua kira-nya datang ka-hadapan majlis sēri paduka sahabat beta tuan R. yang mēnjadi Magistrate di-dalam B. dēngan kēmuliaan sērtā pula mēndapat sēlamat dēngan sējah-tēra-nya.

4. From a Regent of Perak to a District Officer announcing the death of the Sultan. Compliments only :

Bahwa surat tulus dan ikhlas kaseh sayang daripada beta Raja Muda X., wakilu's-Sultan Nēgēri Perak, Daru'r-ridzwan, bērsēmayam di-Bukit Chandan Sēri Andalan, mudah-mudahan barang di-wasikan oleh Tuhan Sēru Sakalian Alam datang ka-hadapan majlis paduka sahabat beta tuan Y., Magistrate Kinta daerah Batu Gajah dēngan sējah-tēra-nya.

IX.—APPLICATION OF THESE RULES.

It will be seen from the above specimen letters that Malay clerks are not usually quite consistent in the compliments that they employ, but that they do what they can to approximate to certain forms. Conversely, although no rules have been definitely established by actual practice to show how a Malay pēnghulu, chief, or prince should properly be addressed by a European official, it is not difficult to lay down such rules if we study the practice of Malays when

corresponding with one another. We may take as a basis for comparison the extent of territory governed. A certain allowance has to be made for the difference between hereditary and mere official position, but this difference is largely titular. A Resident cannot appropriate in correspondence the royal expressions such as *měmpunyaġ takhta ķeraġaan*, but he certainly could claim the administrative descriptions of a Sultan such as *měnjalkan tadbiru'l-ihsan*. In the same way a District Officer corresponds in territorial extent of authority, more or less, with a Malay chief such as a *Sěri Adika Raja*. Omitting the descriptions based on hereditary right and the religious expressions, it would be fairly easy to find formulae that are apposite and do not jar on the ear like the present confused system by which District Officers claim royal thrones and otherwise make themselves ridiculous in official letters.

The only headings that are at all suitable to a letter from an English official to a Malay chief of any sort are *kaulu'l-hakk* and *kalamu's-siddik*. It is true that they presuppose a certain equality of rank and are not really correct where a comparatively minor official addresses a Sultan, but they have long been customary and are only unsuitable in very exceptional cases, for a correspondence with a ruling chief is not usually carried on by minor officials.

The expression *sěri paduka saġabat beta* should be confined as far as possible to Ruling Chiefs, Governors and Residents. The expression *paduka saġabat beta* ought to be quite sufficient for native heads of districts and for English officials of the rank of a District Officer or Magistrate, while *saġabat beta* would be enough in other cases. In the same way, an official, however high in rank, should avoid applying to himself the special Malay terms limited in use to native royal personages—words such as *wajaġ*, *waslkan*, *běrsěmayam*, *singġasana*, *daulat* and *takhta ķeraġaan*—and he should employ polite expressions descriptive of his duties only. Such expressions are not uncommon.

The following forms may be suggested as suitable to correspondence with Malays:

I.—*From a Junior European Official.*

(a) *to a peasant:*

Daripada kita tuan X., *képala mata-mata* di-dalam daerah Y., di-sampaikan kepada M. bin N. yang ada sêkarang ini di-dalam daerah Z.

Ahual di-taarifkan . . .

(b) *to a pënghulu:*

Surat tulus ikhlas daripada beta tuan X., *képala mata-mata* di-dalam daerah Y., barang di-sampaikan kepada sahabat beta Datok Pënghulu M. di-dalam daerah Z., dëngan sëlambat-nya.

Ahual beta taarifkan . . .

(c) *to a chief:*

Surat tulus ikhlas sërta dëngan hati yang puteh daripada beta tuan X., *képala mata-mata* yang ada tër'hënti sêkarang ini di-dalam daerah Y., maka barang di-sampaikan oleh Tuhan Sëru Sakalian Alam datang ka-hadapan majlis sahabat beta yang mulia Datok M. yang ada pada masa ini di-dalam nëgëri Z., dëngan sehat dan khairu'l-'afiat.

Ahual beta maalumkan . . .

(d) *to a non-reigning raja:*

Surat tulus ikhlas sërta dëngan hati yang puteh lagi hëning dan jërneh sa-lama-lama-nya daripada beta tuan X., *képala mata-mata* yang ada tër'hënti sêkarang ini di-dalam daerah Y., mudah-mudahan barang di-waslikan oleh Tuhan Sëru Sakalian Alam datang tër-hampar ka-hadapan majlis paduka sahabat beta yang mulia Raja M. yang ada bër'sëmayam pada masa ini di-dalam nëgëri Z., dëngan sëlambat dan kësëjahtëraan-nya.

Wa-baada-hu ahual beta maalumkan . . .

(e) *to a reigning Sultan:*

Surat tulus ikhlas sërta di-iringi dëngan hormat ya-itu daripada beta tuan X., *képala mata-mata* yang ada tër'hënti kapada masa ini di-dalam daerah Y. mudah-mudahan barang di-waslikan oleh Tuhan Sëru Sakalian Alam datang mëngadap yang maha-mulia paduka Sëri Sultan M. ibni al-marhum *Raja N.* yang-di-përtuan nëgëri Z. *daru'sh-shahadah*, yang bër'sëmayam di-atas takhta kërajaan dëngan bëbërapa sëlambat sëjahtera-nya.

Wa-baada-hu ahual di-maalumkan . . .

II.—*From a Senior Official.**(a) to a peasant:*

Daripada kita tuan *X.* pëgawai kërajaan di-dalam daerah *Y.*, nëgëri Perak, di-sampaikan kapada *M. bin N.* yang ada pada masa ini di-dalam Kampong *Z.*

Ahual di-nyatakan . . .

(b) to a minor pënghulu:

Surat ini daripada kita tuan *X.* pëgawai kërajaan di-dalam daerah *Y.* barang di-sampaikan kapada Pënghulu *M. bin N.* di-dalam daerah *Z.*, dëngan sëlambat-nya.

Ahual kita taarifkan . . .

(c) to a major pënghulu or minor chief:

Surat tulus ikhlas daripada beta tuan *X.* pëgawai kërajaan di-dalam daerah *Y.* maka barang di-sampaikan oleh Tuhan Sëru Sakalian Alam datang ka-hadapan majlis sahabat beta yang mulia *Datok M.* yang ada bëristirahat-ul-khair kapada masa ini di-dalam nëgëri *Z.*, dëngan sëlambat-nya.

Ahual beta maalumkan . . .

(d) to a chief of importance:

Surat tulus ikhlas sërta kaseh sayang yang tërbit daripada hati yang puteh lagi hëning dan jërneh sërta tiada mënaroh lupa dan lalai barang sa-këtika jua pun sa-lagi ada përidaran chakërawa matahari dan bulan ya-itu datang daripada beta tuan *X.* pëgawai kërajaan di-dalam daerah *Y.* barang di-sampaikan Allah azza wa jalla ka-hadapan majlis paduka sahabat beta yang mulia *Datok M. bin N.* yang ada bëristirahatu'l-khair pada masa ini di-dalam nëgëri *Z.*, dëngan sehat dan afiat.

Wa-baada-hu këmudian daripada itu ahual beta maalumkan . . .

(e) to a raja (other than a ruling prince):

Surat tulus ikhlas sërta kaseh sayang yang tërbit daripada hati yang puteh lagi hëning dan jërneh sërta tiada mënaroh lupa dan lalai barang sa-këtika jua pun sa-lagi ada përidaran chakërawa matahari dan bulan ya-itu datang daripada beta tuan *X.* pëgawai kërajaan di-dalam daerah *Y.* barang di-waslikan Allah subhana wa taala ka-hadapan wajah paduka sahabat beta Raja *M. ibni al-marhum Raja N.* yang bërsemayam pada masa ini di-dalam nëgëri *Z.*, baldu'l-aadzam sërta mëmponyai daulat dan këbësaran, ada-nya.

(f) to a reigning Sultan:

Warkatu'l-ikhlas wa tubfatu'l-ajnas yang tērbīt daripada fuadu'z-zakiah ya-itu hati yang puteh lagi hēning dan jērneh sa-lagi ada pēridaran chakērawala matahari dan bulan ya-itu daripada beta tuan X. pēgawai kērajaan di-dalam daerah Y. mudah-mudahan barang di-wasłkan Allah subhana wa taala apa-lah kira-nya mēngadap yang maha-mulia paduka Sēri Sultan M. ibni al-marhum Sultan Y. yang-di-pērtuan nēgēri Z. *daru'sh-shahadah* yang bērsēmayam di-atas singgasana takhta kērajaan di-dalam istana *Kuala L.* dēngan bēbērapa sēlamat dan khairu'l-'afiāt, ada-nya.

Wa-baada-hu kēmudian daripada itu ahual beta maalumkan . . .

III.—*From a Resident or Resident-General.**(a) to a peasant:*

Daripada kita tuan X. Resident di-nēgēri Y. di-sampaikan kepada M. bin N. di-dalam kampung Z.

Ahual di-nyatakan . . .

(b) to a minor pēnghulu:

Surat daripada kita tuan X. Resident di-dalam nēgēri Y. di-sampaikan ka-hadapan Pēnghulu M. bin N. di-dalam daerah mukim Z. dēngan sēlamat-nya.

Ahual kita nyatakan . . .

(c) to a special class pēnghulu or minor chief:

Surat tulus ikhlas daripada beta tuan X. Resident di-dalam nēgēri Y. barang di-sampaikan oleh Tuhan Sēru Sakalian Alam ka-hadapan majlis sahabat beta Datok M. yang mulia pada masa ini di-dalam daerah Z. dēngan sēlamat sējahtēra-nya.

(d) to an important chief:

Surat tulus ikhlas yang tiada mēnaroh shak dan waham daripada beta tuan X. Resident di-dalam nēgēri Y. barang di-sampaikan oleh Tuhan Sēru Sakalian Alam ka-hadapan majlis paduka sahabat beta Datok M. yang mulia yang ada pada masa ini di-dalam nēgēri Z. dēngan sehat dan khairu'l-'afiāt, ada-nya.

Ahual beta maalumkan . . .

(e) to a non-reigning raja:

Surat tulus ikhlas yang tiada mēnaroh shak dan waham sa-lama-lama-nya ya-itu daripada beta tuan X. Resident di-dalam nēgēri Y. barang di-wasłkan oleh Tuhan azza wa jalla ka-hadapan wajah

paduka sahabat beta *Raja M.* ibni al-marhum *Raja N.* yang ada pada masa ini bĕrsĕmayam di-bandar *Z.* dĕngan bĕbĕrapa sĕlamat dan sĕjahtĕra-nya.

Ahual beta maalumkan . . .

(f) *to a reigning Sultan :*

Warkatu'l-ikhlas wa tuhfatu'l-ajnas yang tĕrbit daripada fuadu'z-zakiah ya-itu hati yang puteh lagi hĕning sa-lagi ada pĕridaran chakĕrawala matahari dan bulan ya-itu daripada beta tuan *X.* Resident nĕgĕri *Y.* mudah-mudahan barang di-waslkan Allah subhana wa taala ka-hadzrat al-mukarram sĕri paduka sahabat beta yang maha-mulia paduka sĕri Sultan *M.* ibni al-marhum *Raja N.* yang-di-pĕrtuan nĕgĕri *Z.* daru'*sh-shahadah* yang bĕrsĕmayam di-atas singgasana takhta kĕrajaan di-dalam bandar *Kuala L.* baldu'l-aadzam, dĕngan bĕbĕrapa sĕlamat dan kĕsĕmpornaan, ada-nya.

Wa-baada-hu kĕmudian daripada itu beta maalumkan . . .

IV.—*From the High Commissioner to a reigning Sultan.*

Warkatu'l-ikhlas wa tuhfatu'l-ajnas yang tĕrbit daripada fuadu'z-zakiah ya-itu hati yang puteh lagi hĕning dan jĕrneh yang tiada mĕnaroh shak dan waham sa-lagi ada pĕridaran chakĕrawala matahari dan bulan ya-itu daripada beta Sir *M. N.* Governor tiga buah nĕgĕri Singapura, Pulau Pinang dan Mĕlaka barang di-waslkan oleh Tuhan maliku'l-hinnĕn wa'l-mannĕn apa-lah jua kira-nya ala wajahu'l-karimu'*sh-sharif* sĕri paduka sahabat beta as-Sultan *M.* ibni al-marhum *Raja N.* yang-di-pĕrtuan nĕgĕri *Z.* daru'*sh-shahadah* yang bĕrsĕmayam pada masa ini di-atas singgasana takhta kĕrajaan dan kĕbĕsaran di-dalam istana bandar *Kuala L.* baldu'l-aadzam, dĕngan istirahat dan sehat sĕrta khairu'l-'afiat sĕlamat sĕjahtera-nya.

Wa-baada-hu kĕmudian daripada itu maka ada-lah beta maalumkan . . .

OXFORD: HORACE HART M.A.
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

GENERAL LIBRARY - U.C. BERKELEY



8000888260

300852

Winter

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY

