PREFACE

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 Crawfurde’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 mé forms of the verb, though based on a very different premise, viz.: that mé (and bē) 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.
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VI. MISCELLANEOUS


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.

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) Infixed 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 mēngidar and mēngaleh. 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 mèntua, mèrlimau are abbreviations of orang mèntua, buah mèrlimau: in the Bodleian Sri Rama (early seventeenth century) rumah mèrdèrma 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 ēli, bělah to split from ēlah. 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, kalah 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 semua-nya keanugerah ayapan raja beggars and the religious poor were all in receipt of food from the prince.

A prefix corresponding to the modern Malay te(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 rebah 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 intensive 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 pēlangi rainbow from pēlang 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 sēnantan milk white (of game cocks) from *santan* coco-nut milk; *chēnonut* pope's nose in fowl from *chonet* projecting.

-**m**- occurs in several Indonesian languages in *kuman* from the root *kan* eat. Professor Kern derives even the Malay word *tēmpat* place from the old Javanese *tēpēt* 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), *kēmunchup* sensitive plant; kuning yellow, *kēmunung* a yellow-wood tree; *santan* coco-nut milk; *nyiur* sēmantan a coco-nut producing milk. It is commonest with reduplicated forms:—*chērlang-chēmērlang* radiant; *gilang-gēmilang* repeated glittering; *guroh-gēmurolh* prolonged roll of thunder; *turun-tēmurun* continuous descent; *tabur-tēmabur* all sprinkled; *silir-sēmilir* waving to and fro; *tali* cord, *tali-tēmali* 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 sīgi 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, gërondong 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, kërlip twinkle; kuit, këruit wag; titek drop, tëritek drop continually; sadong, sëradong trip up; këmut (normal) throb of the pulse, gërëmut (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, tëlîngkah line of conduct; sirat, sëlîrat 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, sëlîdek keep searching, search thoroughly; siseh, sëlîseh 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, thwart; ëlok curve, pélok 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.
kelok curve, arc, telok bay, jelok deep-curved (of a bowl), kелun (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 prefix 2 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 mērawan and mērapi where bērawan and bērapi are the ordinary modern forms.
   b + r, 3 § 49, which is said by Kern to be a fusion of adjectival mēr 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 jēbul (Malay chabul) rape from bul a hole and jēbur (Malay chēbur) 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. dēbu, lēbu) dust; lotong, jelotong monkey; alit, palit, chalit smear; bēlah split, chēlah crevice; tēgang, chēkang taut; kebek, sebek, chebek awry. s which in a few Bugis words betokens reciprocity and reflexive action may be seen in the Malay kēpit, sēpit 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 bēlajar, pēlajaran; I 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 tēbakar; labur, pēlabur; layar forms bēlayar, pēlayaran; chichir, bēchichir-chichiran; tēngkar, bētēngkar. Similarly, 'Malay stems with medial r and having another initial than a.' From kirim we get bēkirim; from sērta, bēsērta, pēsērtakan; from siram, bēsiram; from dorong, tēdorong; from pēranjat, tēpēranjat; from kērja, bēkērja, pēkērjaan; from pērmēna, tēpērmēnai. 'Before a stem with initial s the prefix without r is preferable; thus bēsisek is better than bērisisek.' From ribu we get mēribu, bēribu not mērribu, bērribu; from rangga, mērangga; from rāgi, mēragi; from ragong, tēragong-ragong; from rājok, pērajok 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 kēndudok, sēndudok, sēkēdudok a plant; diri, sēndiri, kēndiri self; sēngkarut interlaced; sēmbēlit costiveness; sēnjolong long-snouted gavial; sēmbuāng offering; sēmbulu rough-

prefixes as mēng- and bēr-, &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 mangujari 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, tembuku knot; gulung roll up, tēng-gulung 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, mēndalu and bēndalu, kēmēndalu mistletoe; from root lap flash, rēlap a flashing rope (used in fishing), gērlap to flash, gēmērlapan 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, gērigi, gērigis serrated, gigil, gigir chatter (of teeth), ēnggil-bērēnggil serrated (of hills), ringgit tooth-edged, milled. (2) iku zigzag, siku elbow, sigong rest on elbows, biku zigzag pattern, bengkok, chengkok, chē-lengkok zigzag, twisted. (3) kuku claw, kokol curved, kokot claw-shaped, kokong, kērulkut very claw-shaped, kukur rasp, rasper. (4) gētu, gētil pinch, kētit a pinch, pinched off, kētip 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, ēnggil, 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 Austronesian 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 kēlētek, kēlētak, kēlētok (and one may add bēlatek, jēlatek sparrow and bēlatok, jēlatok woodpecker) through kētek, kētak, kētok, 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 kaŋ cat, tut wind (Malay kēntut break wind), num drink, pas loose (Malay lēpas), 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, ēn, or ōn) 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 kēnōh club, striker; chok prod, stab, chēnok prodder, spike. A prefix pēr turns the root into a verb or a passive root into an active root dat die, pērdat kill; nong journey, pērnong to go; lōt extinguished, pērlōt to put out (a fire); bet sleep, pērbet close the eye. These two forms can be combined to form a verbal noun; dat die, pērēndat murder; pērēnglōt extinguisher; goi be married, pērgōi wed, pērēnggōi 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, chinmālāk hawk; klāk hawk, klāng-blok roc; chērōk long, chērōng-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 gōi to be married, 'nggōi (I) am married, ēn 'nggōi I am married; bērsōp to feed, 'mbērsōp (I) am feeding.' This system has notable points of resemblance with the Indonesian. The euphonic nasal reminds one of such Malay forms as sēlang-sēli, bengkang-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,¹ 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 ē, or it may be a, i, or u).’ Mr. Blagden quotes from the Javanese kira, kintēn accounts; sēgara (Skt.), sēgantēn ocean; sore, sontēn evening; kalapa, karambil (cp. Malay gelāmbir) coco-nut. And he points out how it occurs in other Malay languages without ceremonial or specialized meaning: dara virgin (Malay), dāntēn virgin, of buffalo or hen (Sundanese); jalu male (Sundanese), jantan (Malay); alu and antan, Malay variants for pestle; pēnāli and pāntang, Malay variants for taboo. Cp. piama, piantan due season, esp. for rice-planting. And again, how it occurs in the aboriginal dialects of the Peninsula: āsū', anjing, nyang dog; puteh, pēntol white; sērigala, sēgala', sērangugil 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; anugrah gift; atau or; bahagia blessing; bahaya danger; bahasa language; bakti meritorious service; bangsa race; benda thing; bennentara 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; cherana bowl; chetaria a kshatriya, warrior; chinta love, regret; chintamani a certain kind of snake; chuka vinegar; daksina south; delima pomegranate; denda a fine; dèrma alms; dina poor; dosa sin; duka grief; gaya conduct, walk; gempita uproar; genta bell; gèta divan; harga price; harta property; hasta cubit; jaga to watch; jampi magic; jélma incarnation; jentéra wheel; jiwa life; juta million; karna because; kéranda three-plank coffin; kerrja work; késumba red; kétika time; kosa goad; kuasa might; kurnia gift; maha great; makota crown; manek bead; mangga mango; mangsa carrion; mantéri vizier; manusia man; mara danger; masa time; mèlati jasmine; mèrpati pigeon; mulia illustrious; mutiara pearl; nadi the pulse; nama name; naraka hell; pala nutmeg; papa poor; pënjarra prison; pèrkara affair; pèrkasa brave; pèrtama first; pèrwira warrior; puja prayer; putéra princeling; putéri princess; raja prince; rajawali eagle, hawk; rupa appearance; saksa witness; sakti supernatural power; sègèra quickly; seksa punishment; sempurna perfect; semua all; sendi muscle; sên-
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jata weapon; singa lion; surga heaven; tēnggala 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; sēbab 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; bēdevah unlucky;
biadab discourtesy; biapēri merchant; darya sea; diwan court of justice; gandum corn; jadah bastard; jam clock;
juadah cakes; kawin marry; kēnduri feast; lashkar soldiery; mohor die-mark; nafirī trumpet; nakhoda master of a ship; nesan grave-stone; pahlawan champion; pēri fairy; sakar sugar; sakhlat broadcloth; sērban turban; tērmasa show.

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; kētumbar coriander; kolam pond; maligai tower; mēmpēlai 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; bēlēdu velvet; bola ball; bomba pump;
garfu fork; kēbaya gown; lelong auction; meja table;
mērinyu superintendant; padēri priest; pēluru bullet; pēniti pin; pērada gold-leaf; pīta ribbon; renda lace; rial dollar; sēpatu shoe; tēratu torture; tērungko prison; tualu towel.

The commonest Dutch loan-words are:

engsel hinge; duit cent; pēlēkat placard; sēkopong spade suit in cards; sēturup syrup; ransum rations; tong tub; sēnapang rifle; bom carriage shaft and landing-place; sopi gin; gēlas 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.


(a) Guttural class.

A glottal check or abrupt closing of a final vowel made by stopping the breath. It is represented by ʔ or ق, romanized ’ or k, as in فوكو pokoe or فوكوك pokok (and in a few cases rendered confusingly by ٨ e.g. بایک baik, تیلک 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 اء 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—イスフ isap, نولو or هولو uulu: and to indicate the presence of the indeterminate vowel  erectile dysfunction, premature ejaculation, and other conditions. It is essential to research and consult with a healthcare professional to determine the appropriate treatment plan. Taking any medication without a prescription or under the guidance of a professional is not recommended. Always ensure that the information you receive is from a trusted source. If you suspect that you have a medical condition, you should consult a healthcare provider. Remember that self-diagnosis and treatment are not advisable.
for which there is no Arabic symbol, an initial \textit{alif} or \textit{ālīf} are both used, sometimes indifferently: \textit{ēmās}, \textit{ḥālāi}, \textit{ḥamūs} or \textit{ḥamūs} \textit{ēmbus}. Its function as a semivowel may be seen in the spellings \textit{tuhan} a variant of \textit{tuhan}, \textit{tuha} a variant of \textit{pahit}, where there is no aspirate sound at all.\] \g\text{ as } g\text{ecce}, gaunt, good, e.g. \textit{gigi}, \textit{gagah}, \textit{gusi}; never as in \textit{germ}. \k\text{, usually represented by } y\text{ and occasionally by } j, \text{ is identical with } \k\text{ in } \textit{kiss}, \textit{Kaffir}, \textit{Koran}. \ng\text{ as in } \textit{fling}, long, never as in \textit{tingle}, \textit{sponging}. \r\text{ not the English cerebral (or lingual) but the Scotch guttural } r, \text{ 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.} \] \(b\) \text{(Palatal class.}\] \y\text{ as in } \textit{mayor}, \textit{ratepayer}; \text{ it exists unexpressed between words like } \textit{he ambles}, \textit{she-ass}. \ny\text{ is the equivalent of the Spanish } \tilde{n}\text{ or the individual consonant sound represented by } \mathbf{n}\text{ in } \textit{new}, \textit{nude}, \text{ by } \mathbf{n}\mathbf{i}\text{ in } \textit{pinion}, \textit{onion}, \text{ by } gn\text{ in vignette.} \] \(c\) \text{(Dental class.}\] \textit{ch}\text{ nearly as in } \textit{chat}, \textit{chisel}, \textit{channel}, \text{ but really an affricate, where the tongue stops and then glides, while in } \textit{English} \text{ it is fricative, produced by a mere glide of the tongue.} \j\text{ nearly as in } \textit{Jenny}, \textit{jump}, \text{ but like Malay } \textit{ch} \text{ a dental, and not a palatal as in } \textit{English}.^{1} \s\text{ a superdental as in } \textit{sister} \text{ or as in } \textit{hiss} \text{ rather than } \textit{his}. \d\text{ a superdental as in } \textit{plunder}, \textit{binding}, \textit{landing}. \t\text{ a hard superdental identical with the initial } t \text{ in } \textit{topple}, \textit{tort}, \textit{Tom}. \] \[^{1}\text{ See Dr. Fokker's edition of Beech's } \textit{Tidong Dialects} \text{ 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'.

I 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 i is produced at the lower part of the palate like what the Dutch write i, when pronounced by well-bred people.' Elsewhere, Dr. Fokker compares it with i 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.

ē as in ēnam.

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, kērap. e as in padre or nearly like i in kitchen; oleh, ekur, pērentah. 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: lēnyap, kurap, lapis, banding, ganti. e as in German Brett or shorter than ai in said: oleng, chēbek, ejek. i as in kitten, sing: sēring, bētis. 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 géranium, album: tērus, 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 kouři δωλεκτός 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  as in thin, but commonly corrupted by Malays into an s sound: thalatha pronounced as sëlasa, ithnain as isnain.

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

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

Dzal  pronounced by Malays as dz, z, or j.
Za $j = \text{English } z$, e.g. zaman. But it is often corrupted by Malays to $j$, e.g. pauh janggi for pauh zanggi.

Shin $\text{ش} = \text{sh}$, but often corrupted to $s$.

Ṣād Ṣ 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 Ḳḫ 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 $d$: fēduli. Its common romanized form $dl$ as in redla, hadlir combines the Arabic $d$ and the Malay $l$.

Ṭā Ṭ a strongly articulated palatal $t$, but Malays pronounce it as ordinary $t$.

Ṭṭā Ṭṭ a strongly articulated palatal $z$, but like $dlād$ pronounced by Malays as $l$ or $dh$: lohor, dhohor.

‘ain Ḍ 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 Ḍ pronounced by Malays like $r$ with a burr: e.g. ghāib as raib, mashghul as mashrul.

Fa alus, $f$, often pronounced by Malays as $p$, e.g. paham, arip.

Kāf 觌 a deep faucal $k$, but commonly pronounced by Malays as ordinary $k$. The letter $q$ is wrongly used (but not sounded as a $q$) in Sanskrit words, e.g. لفس laksa.


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 perkataan, perbuatan, aluran, kedengaran, 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 ē in an open syllable and rarely in a closed, then the accent falls on the last syllable, ēnām, tēngāh;

(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 ٤ and ی 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 ٤فركتان perkataan from ٤كات kāta, چمبوران chemburūan from چمرون khetū, تاه tahu, and even چديکن jadikān from چادي jādi, ٤نقا katā-nya from ٤كات kāta, چدنا kudā-nya from چودa kūda, and so on—except in the case of the particles ٤لاlah, ٤تah, ٤کاه 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 pěrkatáan, ingátan, kudá-nya, namá-nya, and jadíkan—though the suffix kan has not this shifting influence when the stem ends in a consonant, and tímbang-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.

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<th>Form in connection.</th>
<th>Examples.</th>
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<td>Ya</td>
<td>ي</td>
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<td>نی</td>
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Of these letters, Ɪ ch is borrowed not from the Arabic but from the Persian, as also is the form Ɪ g for which Ꞹ simply is often written: Ʞ p is not Arabic. Ʝ ꞽ or Ꞻ Ꞽ (or ن) Ꞩ or ꞩ ny appear to have been constructed from Ʝ Ꞽ 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 ꞯ Ʞ is employed as a symbol in Malay words. Ʇ (ta bersimpul, as Malays term it) is used often by Malays for final Ʝ, e.g. ایتا. Ʝ 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 Ʇ and called ha-ta, being pronounced like ta only when followed by a vowel. Ʝ Ꭓ Ꞵ is commonly used by Malays for Ʝ and pronounced Ʝ. 35
as p. In Malayo-Javanese works ʒ represents a palatal d found in Sanskrit and in Javanese, though not elsewhere in Malayo-Polynesian languages; it is exotic and not employed now. ʃ lam alif, a combination of two letters, is sometimes regarded as a separate letter of the alphabet. So too is hamzah ʃ.

§ 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 sênjata, which represent short vowels and when followed by l, ʃ, and j become long vowels.

Fathah or baris di-atas ʃ = short a or if followed by alif long a.

Kasrah or baris di-bawah ʃ = short e or i or if followed by ya, long e or i.

Dlamah or baris di-hadapan ʃ = 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 ʃ 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 ʃ 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 bakh[h]eshish.

(4) The tashdid ʃ : 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 aceh Chinese 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 system 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 بَدَنِل Badanul, a proper name, is fully vowelled on its first mention in the Bodleian *Sri Rama* but not subsequently.

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.

buwat, duwa, diyam, iya, siyang, suddah, bessar, tengngah.

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 pertunjukkan, 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 never represented anything but the mere glottal check (§ 9).)

The omission of final ɬ and ٔ:

kayu, ak aku, tertal pintu, meribu, berte mu mat api, jadi, mati, laak laki, perti, bumi, hati, skol sa-kali, soka, dua, tuo 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 but oftener and perkasa is written perkasa.

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

kera, bela, depa, kilau, risau, tupai, helaier.

The omission of any symbol to represent the indeterminate short vowel ɛ unless the tashdid as used above (b) can be taken as an illegitimate symbol.
The omission of \(i\), \(o\), and \(y\) as medial vowels in closed syllables.


Exceptions:

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

2. The monosyllables **dan** and **pun**.

\(i\), **and** \(o\), \(i\), and \(y\) are inserted in an open syllable upon which the accent falls—in Malay usually the penultimate.

- **túan**, **ruás**, **képiting**, **télinga**, **sékédúdok**, **larángan**, **tambángan**
- **raja-rája**, **apa-bíla**, **hulubáláng**.

Exceptions:

A few words like **máka**, **páda**, **díri**, **súdah**, **ségala**, 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, \(i\), \(o\), and \(y\) are shifted to the penultimate of the derived word: **ingat**, **ingatan**, **chёмburu**, **chёмburuan**, **tahu**, **kétahui**, **jadí**, **keta**,** kuda**, **kaya**, **kata**, **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 2 angka dua after a word, a symbol not so used in its native tongue: راج raja-raja, بركات berkata-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 َ، and ِ as finals, even when these final vowels are neither long vowels nor diphthongs. كاليو kayu, اكو aku, ترلاو tērlalu, فننتو pintu, مريبو mēribu, ايي api, ماتي mati, دوا dua, توا tua.

Exceptions:

(1) A few stereotyped common words preserve the old style: ايت itu, اين ini, سوات suatu, تشترت sēpērti, اد ada, apa, دي ia, كيت kita, تول тоже juga, يو pulu, كد pada, سرت sērt, مان mana, منشي 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.
and $i$, $ej$ and $i$ are used more and more as medial vowels in closed syllables—except again in the case of some common stereotyped words like *minta*, *mulia*, *esok*, *ratus*. 'The use of these letters $i$, $o$, and $e$, the huruf saksi, 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 saksi 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 saksi 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. $i$ and $e$ should be inserted in closed syllables, except that when the vowel sounds of the two syllables are alike, the $o$ or the $e$ should be inserted only in one of the two syllables: *bingong*, *butir*, *kutip*, *kampong*, *tanjong*, *bimbang*; but *tinggi*, *dinding*, *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., تولع and تولع 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.

(4) Modern spelling has adopted *hamzah* *, 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 كأيل = kaiyil, كايل = kail a diphthong; كأيل with *hamzah* = ka’il; and so too with lain لاين and laut لاوت, though such words are commonly written without *hamzah*. سيرك sa-ekur, سيرك sa-orang, سيرك sa-ikat, كأطلان, كأطلان kēalatan, كأطلان kēkayaan, كأطلان kēēnam, ينِيَت ia itu, ينِيَت 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, تيروُ, داتَرِ datok, داتَرِ inchek.
§ 19. The following combinations of words are found:

(a) sa is joined to the following word سریبو sa-ribu, سسیکت sa-sikat.

(b) The prepositions di and ka are similarly joined کرومّ دتغّ di-tengah.

(c) And so too, the unemphatic short forms of the personal pronouns ل ku and کو kau, کلیهت ku-lihat, کویاوا kau-bawa.

(d) م mu, ن nga (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 dēngan, اولهم بawah-nya, دیریکو diri-ku, أکندی akan oleh-mu, بوره-nya, دیریکو diri-ku, أکندی akan dia, دیریکو dēngan dikau.

(e) The particles lah, kah, tah, pun are joined to the preceding word, اللّ ّ alang-kah, اقتّ اپا-tah.

(f) يغ yang may be joined with the preceding or following word, or with both. اورّ اورّ orang yang, يغ-يغ orang yang tērđapat, اورّ اورّ orang yang di-dapati.

(g) The component parts of compound words are joined افیل apabila, هبّالّ 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 represented generally by e (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 \( \kappa \omega \nu \chi \nu \gamma \delta \iota \alpha \lambda \varepsilon \kappa \tau \sigma \) 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; Crawfurd affected å—bârchârâi 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 é—bèsar. 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 éngkau becomes ’ngkau and kēēnam becomes k’ñam! Obviously é 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 ng as in dêngan, orang, and ny as in nyamok, 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, ń or ŋ for ē and ŋ for ń. 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 States\(^1\) 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. \(\text{ng}\) and \(\text{ny}\) never represent divided sounds in Romanized Malay but always the letters ē and ŋ, 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 Dutch 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. ۳ and ح are both represented by ة, not by ھ and ھ; ث and ط by ت, not by ٹ and ٹ; س and ص by s, not by s and ى; ض and ط not by دز, دن and تل but all by دز; ئ by ئ; خ and the hamzah both by an apostrophe; غ by غ; ث by ث. 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 ئ representing a glottal check is a more difficult matter. The ئ of scientific scholarship represents the Arabic ئ in qudrat, and distinguishes it from ك, but it does not represent the Malay final ئ as in بورق burok. Spat uses the other Malay convention (§ 18 (e)) the hamzah and prints buro’ which has a strange hybrid appearance. The Dutch and English Government spelling uses ك 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 ئ now by ك and now by hamzah—فاطِئِی، فاطِئِی، or فاطِئِی، فاطِئِی. ك used for final ق need cause no difficulty, if it is remembered that ك at the end of a Malay word always stands for the glottal check: ق elsewhere in

1 Dr. Tendeloo accepts نگ for غ but uses ن for ن.
a word occurs only in a few Sanskrit and Arabic words which will be easily recognized.

\((d)\) The representing of \(\varsigma\) and \(\zeta\) by \(i\) or \(iy\) and \(u\) or \(uw\) is debatable. Mr. Wilkinson\(^1\) has put the scholar’s point of view succinctly: ‘The popular spelling of \textit{tuwan} as \textit{tuan} and of \textit{iya} as \textit{ia} . . . suggests that the second syllable . . . commences with the \textit{spiritus lenis} when really it begins with a \(w\) or a \(y\). It gives an incorrect idea of the value of \textit{alif} by confusing the hamzated \textit{alif} with the \textit{alif} of prolongation. It is also faulty for etymological study; for instance, \textit{watu} is the Javanese form of \textit{batu}, and the bearing of this fact on the derivation of \textit{suwatu} is not suggested by the spelling \textit{suatu} which implies that \textit{atu} and not \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{tuan}, unless one deliberately makes the effort to say \textit{tu’an}; and the spelling \textit{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

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, سهی، سها، بار، و، 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 měnyabélah from sa-bélah, 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. měnyabélah and not měnyěbélah). ‘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.


II. Derivative, i.e. built up by

(a) affixation (chapter vi):


(b) reduplication (§ 63):


III. Compounded (§ 65): where compounded the words acquire a conventional meaning that would not belong to them taken separately. *kayu-api* firewood, *orang bēsar* chief, *chēkek kēdādak* 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
THE MALAY WORD

used as adjective,\(^1\) for example: *rumah bēsar* a large house; *bēsar rumah* the size of a house; *orang banyak* many folk, *banyak orang* the number of folk; *orang pandai* a clever person, *pandai bēsi* a blacksmith. *sēdikit few, bēbērapa several, sakalian, sēmua, sēgala* 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 *pērgi main ka-panas* go playing in the heat; *mēnurut 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 sēmua-nya* di-pērsēm-bahkan ka-pada Pērmaisuri: *maka kata Pērmaisuri "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.

pénghulu-nya his chief; pénghulu 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 térok that sickness is severe
- orang sakt a sick man
- ia sakit he is sick.

- rumah dékat a neighbouring house
- dékat rumah near to a house
- dékat habis nearly done
- ia dékat he is near.

- ténéngah hari mid-day
- orang ténéngah umpire
- potong ténéngah cut in halves
- ténéngah tidur whilst sleeping.

- dalam rumah interior of a house
- télaga dalam deep well
- dalam pêkan 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 animal\(^1\) needs to be defined, then the substantive is qualified by the words laki-laki male and pérèmpuan female in the case of persons, and jantan male and bêtina female in the case of animals (or coarsely of persons):

anak laki-laki a boy; budak pérèmpuan girl; ayam jantan cock; ayam bêtina hen; patek mënampun\(^2\)-lah béristerikan orang bêtina; patek hêndak mënchari orang pérèmpuan 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 bêtina the female flood; busut jantan ant-hill; kokot jantan, kokot bêtina the parts of a pintle-rudder.

\(^2\) mënampun = 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*, *sedikit few*, *semua, segala 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; béri (ka-pada) budak give (to) a child; pulang (ka-) negéri return (to) one's country; chawan (dari-pada) čemas 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 Kelantan 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 ḅesar a house of some size, orang ḅerbangsa itu that well-born person, hulu-balang ṭernama itu that distinguished captain.

II. (1) As predicate, it may come after the subject. Then, if the combination is merely substantive + adjective, rumah ḅesar 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 ḅesar his house is large; rumah itu ḅesar that house is large; rumah-nya itu ḅesar 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:

ḅesar-lah rumah itu large is the house; ṭermanis muka hamba more gracious is my face; ḅerbangsa-lah raja Mêlayu 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 bentok taji the sandy shore was curved like a cock’s spur.

(b) sama or sa-, with or without words like sëpërti like or dëngan 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 dëngan (or sëpërti) 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 sëpërti nyiur tinggi-nya.

The second half of the comparison, viz. the object with which the subject is compared, must be expressed: bëlum përnah 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 mantëri yang tua dari-pada mantëri sakalian the oldest of all the viziers; jika dari-pada pihak Mëlayu 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, lēbeh, lagi more,
tērlalu, tērlampau, amat, sangat, sa-kali very.

pinang nyiur (yang) lēbeh tinggi pinang; pinang
nyiur pandan, yang tērlalu tinggi pinang. kēba-
yakan kaya dari-pada yang miskin there are more rich
than poor; jikalau tērlampau dari-pada adat bēsar-
nya itu if it is bigger than ordinary; kēbanyak tanah
yang tinggi dari-pada tanah rēndah 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 lēmbari very tall is the lembari tree;
jimat-jimat di-nēgēri orang be very careful in a strange
land; kēchil-kēchil anak rimau although it is very tiny it
is a tiger cub.

(b) sa + reduplication:

dēngan sa-bēsar-bēsar harap with the highest hopes;
dēngan sa-boleh-boleh-nya with the best endeavours.

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

sa-orang putēri tēramat sangat elok sa-kali a princess
of most exceedingly beautiful countenance.

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

medan-nya elok bukan kēpalang the field was very
fine; nyamok bukan main banyak-nya mosquitoes very
numerous.
§ 33. Even the voice of the Malay verb, simple as well as derivative, has been a subject of controversy.

The earlier grammarians, Werndly, Marsden, Crawfurd, held that the verb in simple radical form was active. Then de Hollander borrowed the 'subjective-passive' theory, 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 engkau to the simple verb: aku tutup I shut, engkau 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, engkau tutup pintu by you was shut the door. Derivatives in mé (§ 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 mé 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 unskilful 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, kēreta sorong a push-cart (which is shoved); bēlah to split, batu bēlah a split rock, tiba-tiba bēlah papan pada tiang kēmunchak 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 bēlat discarded am I, it seems, like a fish rejected by the trap; pukul to beat, kēna 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 pērgi go, datang come, dudok sit, jatoh fall, tidur sleep, which we should call intransitive verbs, never appear in the conjugation ku-pērgi, kau-pērgi, di-pērgi, 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 ēngkau (which alone can be used with words like pērgi) 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 pērgi, &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 děngar I hear; supaya 'ku děngar that I may hear; mudah-mudahan 'ku děngar may I hear; děngar listen; děngar itu sédap to hear it is pleasant; orang děngar 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; té(r) derivative to a perfect; and the simple un-inflected 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 běrtěmpek sěrta mělompat 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 tē(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, a word like sékarang now will be used; to emphasize Future, words like esok to-morrow. kēmudian afterwards or mau, hēndak, akan, kēlak (and in the colloquial nanti); for Past time, tēlah, sudah, habis; for the Imperfect lagi, tēngah, sēdang. 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, kēlak, 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, hēndak the wish is, harus it is proper: baik it were well, choba try, biar let, silakan please, will be employed. hēndak-lah Bēndahara karang surat ka-bēnua Siam you, Bēndahara, 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 bēsar the house is big, bēlum 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 sékarang kota-nya di-tanah Dinding there exists even now his fort at the Dindings: ada sa-buah pērahu datang dari nēgēri 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 sēpērti warta itu clearly it actually was as report said; ada-lah the fact is; jangan ēngkau bērchinta; ada-lah bunga yang di-kēhēndaki istēri-mu itu bukan-nya bunga mēlur yang sa-rupa ada dalam dunia; ada-lah bunga mēlur bērkēmbang sa-kali itu bērtumboh 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.
§ 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 bēlum sakti I am not yet sick,* but never *ku* (or *aku*) *bēlum bērikan, sahaya bēlum bērikan,* *aku nanti bērikan,* always *bēlum 'ku* (or *aku* or *sahaya* or any other proper or improper personal pronoun) *bērikan not yet have I given; nanti aku bērikan 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 *patient,* 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kaseh, sayang, rindu love; suka feel pleasure; harap hope; jêmu feel satiety; tidur sleep; tahu know; diam keep silent; jatoh fall; lari run; bangun rise; turun descend; têrjun leap down; naik ascend; masok enter; datang come; ada be; mau, hêndak wish; pêrgi go; têrêbang fly; sampai arrive; sujúd kneel; tunduk stoop}
\end{align*}
\]

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 mó 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 jēmu mata baginda there was no satiety in the prince's eyes; anjing kēdua itu pun lari lalul tērjun 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 mēlihat 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 mērindukan bulan 'tis the owl loves the moon; tundok-lah tuan putēri downcast eyes—that was the princess's (perhaps unconscious) attitude; orang mēnundokkan kēpala folk bow their heads in conscious homage; aku pun jadi-lah my birth—took place; Bukit Sēguntang mēnjadi bandar bēsar-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 hēndak bērgagah juga mēndēkati 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 ēmpat, ada-kah nakhoda kēnal if the four children are present, will there be recognition—on the captain's part?; chuchur-lah ayer mata-nya tiada bērasa there was no conscious process, just the falling of tears; jikalau ringgit ini, sēpērti ayer basoh tangan the dollars I mention were wasted like washing-water (mēmbasoh would throw emphasis on ayer whereas the point is washing-water not water—which, one may add, is used for washing); baik-lah tuan pēreksa 't were well there should be examination—by you; pērgi-lah mēmēreksa
go you—and conduct an examination; sahaya lihat sa-puloh dua-belas pondok orang laut mēmbuat bēlat diam di-situ there were visible (to me) ten or twelve huts occupied by sea-folk engaged in fishing; ia-lah mēlihat burong mēmbawa utusan it was he who was the conscious spectator of the bird that brought the message; pada kētiaka itu boleh Batin tunjokkan 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 mēnjunjong titah all the world are your servants); apa kēhēndak-nya tiada pēreksa hamba datok his purpose has not been the subject of my inquiry; mana bichara mamak Bēndahara, itu-lah kita turut your counsel, Bēndahara, commands observance; ada sa-buah lading maka kita turun dēngan bēras bēkal 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; dēmi tuhan yang aku sēmbah 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 Mélaka itu, tētēkala itu-lah kita suroh Laksamana bēriwayat 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).

sēgēra ŭngkau datang bawa anak-ku go fetch my child quickly; lihat oleh-mu hal-ku ini behold my state; bawalah oleh-mu bēliong ini ka-Manjapahit let this axe be brought—by you—to Manjapahit; hēndak-lah ŭngkau turut wasiat-ku let obedience be your attitude to my will; jangan kamu tukarkan agama dēngan 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 sērang nēgeri-nya it were well our order issue for an attack on his land; di-suroh-nya bunoh the mandate was death.

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:

(i) 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: bērtītah baginda ‘patek mēnari-lah pula, kita hēndak mēlihat’ the king ordered ‘Do you dance, for I would see you’; kata-nya ‘sēgēra-lah kita bēlayar’ 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:

memohonkan anakanda baginda supaya kita rajakan we beg your princely son for our ruler; baik-lah baginda kita suroh panggil, kita dengar titah baginda the king should be called so that his commands may be heard; jikalau anak-ku hendak pergi bërmain-main bër tahu ayahanda supaya boleh ayahanda kerahkan segala rayat měngiringkan 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 hendak sērahkan dia měngaji, maalim pun tiada suppose his dispatch to school was my desire, there was no teacher; jikalau 'kau bunoh dia, bahwa něgěri-mu binasa suppose his death result from your orders, assuredly it means destruction to your country; lihat-lah kělak jikalau tiada aku langgarkan gajah-ku ini di-balairong raja Mělaka see if in the future there be not a shattering of the palace of the prince of Malacca by this elephant of mine (but pěri raja Pahang hěndak mělanggar balairong Mělaka itu pun di-pérsémbabkan information was laid that the sail’; kētahuį oleh-mu be it known by you; jangan těrtawa-lah don't laugh.

(2) Where the verb of command denotes the activity of an agent and takes the prefix mě, then by analogy the verb it governs also takes that prefix: baginda měnyuroh měmanggil anakda Raja Muda the prince ordered that the crown prince be called; akan yang měnyurohkan kami sakalian Batara Manjapahit měnyurohkan měrompak ka-tanah Palembang lalu naik ka-Bukit Sěguntang; 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 sēgala raja dalam hukum-nya all rajas are under his rule with sēgala 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-dēngar-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.

bē(r) or middle derivatives never take di. mē 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 tē(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 pērgi.

§ 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-běnchi 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-përbuat oleh sĕgala utus itu sa-buah pĕti kacha* there was made by the envoys a glass case; *oleh orang dalam nĕgĕri 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 *I ask that my daughter may be married*; titah baginda hĕndak-lah *tithe baginda bade the prince* 'There must be made a palace for our relative'; *biar di-lihat-nya nĕgĕri 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-kĕnang yang hilang itu *let not loss abide in memory*; apabila ada chap sa-rupa ini, maka tĕrima-lah, jikalau tiada jangan di-tĕrima *where there is a seal like this, accept it*; otherwise let it be refused; *jangan di-bĕri bĕrmian jauh-jauh don't let permission be given to play far away*. 
(6) 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 Melaka pun bërdiri di-tēpi balairong itu mē-nyambut adinda baginda di-bawa dudok bêrsama-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 bêrtêmpek sêrta mêlompat di-palu dêngan 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 putêri 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

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Suffixes

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II. Compound prefixes

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<td>di-pē(r)</td>
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III. Prefixes and Suffixes

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(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 pē(r).
    (d) Secondary stems lengthened e.g. pēristērīkan.

II. mē is prefixed to a, b, c, d of I.

III. bē(r) to a, b of I.

IV. tē(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

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

mē + 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 mē simply is prefixed:

1 i.e. in this derivative as well as in its simple radical form.
ngada, ménngada boast; nyanyi, ménnyanyi sing; naungi, ménnaungi shelter; makan, mémakan cat; wakil, mémwakilkkan give power of attorney to; yakin, mémeyakinkkan assert; rampas, mémrampas seize; lambong, mélambong to surge.

(b) When the ground word begins with h, alif, k, g, then mé + ng is prefixed and alif and k are dropped:
   hela, ménghela drag; ambil, ménambil take; iring, méngingiring follow; képit, méngépit carry under the arm; gigit, ménnggigit bite.

(c) When the ground word begins with b and p, then mé + m is prefixed and p is dropped:
   balut, mémbalut wrap; palu, mémalu strike.

(d) When the ground word begins with ch, j, d, or t, then mé + n is prefixed and t is dropped:
   chari, ménchari search; jadi, ménjadi become; déngegar, ménédénggar hear; tarek, ménarek drag.

(e) When the ground word begins with s, then mé + ny is prefixed and the s dropped:
   suroh, ménnyuroh 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 déngegar, ménédénggar also is formed; from chukur and chinta, ménényukur and ménéntyinta; from pinta, pohon, pimpin we get minta, mohon, mimpin as well as méminta, mémohon, mémimpin.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 pê(r), or

1 But this does not apply to secondary stems commencing with the prefix pê(r), e.g. mémépëristërikkan never mémëristërikkan.
lengthened secondary stems with prefix pē(r) and suffix i or kan:

pukul, mēmukul beat; tangis, mēnangis weep; nanti, mēnanti wait; lihat, mēlihat, mēlihati, mēlihatkan see; mēmpēristērikan take to wife.

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

ikan a fish, mēngikan fishing; burong bird, mēmburong catching birds; gētah rubber, lime, mēnggētah liming (birds); awan cloud, mēngawan ascending into clouds; tēpi edge, mēnēpi going along the edge; laut sea, mēlaut traversing sea; titi bridge, mēniti employing as a bridge; rantau river reach, mērantau traversing river reaches; kail a hook, mēngail fishing with a hook; jala cast-net, mēnjala throwing a cast-net; panah arrow, mēmanah shooting arrows; batu stone, mēmbatu becoming stone, petrifying; jarum needle, mēnjarum shoot up to needle-like point; puteh white, mēmuteh becoming white; sa-bērang over-stream, mēnyabērang crossing a stream; aku I, me, mēngaku taking on oneself, acknowledging.

§ 46. Laying stress on activity, mē 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 mēmbawa tēman the king was bringing a follower; Pateh Kērma Wijaya pun sudah bērlēngkap akan pērsēmbahan tujoh-puloh orang mēmbawa-nya Pateh Kerma Wijaya had prepared a present of seventy slaves who were being brought by him; sēgala chētēria pun datang mēngalu-ngalukan baginda all the warriors came welcoming the prince; Raja Pahang pun hilir mēngalu-ngalukan oleh Raja Ahmad the Raja of Pahang came down stream being welcomed by Raja Ahmad; baik kita mēmbacha hikayat pērang it were well we read a tale of war; sa-tēlah 'ku
jawab maka oleh imam atau khatib pun membachakan doa sélamat 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 mē 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 mē is essentially adjectival (cp. § 2), joining a word denoting activity or movement to an agent or patient expressed or implied; or rather perhaps participial, its derivatives in modern Malay being mostly verbal; 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: tēlah Sri Bija 'di Raja mēmandang surat itu as soon as Sri Bija 'di Raja saw the letter; baginda pun mēnugērahi pērsalin 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 kērja-nya getting firewood was his work.

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

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

1 Similarly bē(ə) 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 mënangis sit weeping; hairan mëlihat astonished at seeing; térnlalu-lah suka hati baginda mëndëngar-nya very delighted was the heart of the prince at hearing it; boleh-lah sudah mënulis Koran had the skill for writing the Koran; tiada boleh hëndak mëlaluï dari-pada hukum you must not be desirous of transgressing the law; tiada boleh mëmbunoh dëngan tiada bërtanya lacks power of executing without requesting permission.

And so on, even in the imperative mood. përgi-lah mëmbawa ayer utama jiwa mënghidupkan Sang Sambah go and get the water of life for restoring Sang Sambah; përgi-lah mëmbuangkan Si Tuah go about the business of banishing Si Tuah; mari-lah kita mëlihat yang bërnyala-nyala sa-malam come and see what was blazing last night; kata Tëmënggong, ‘ada pun di-tëmpat kayu Mëlaka ini-lah mëmbangunkan 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 më 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 mëngangkat tangan lalu mënyëmbah the merchant lifted his hands and did obeisance (with them); Hang Tuah pun sægëra mëngambil kapak mëmbëlah 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:
télah baginda santap, lalu mëmakai 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 mënghantarkan anakanda let us be your son's convoy; hëndak-lah kamu këdua jangan mëngubahkan sëtia dan jangan kamu mënyëmbah raja yang lain you two, don't you be men to break faith and follow another prince; di-tangkapkan-nya baginda di-suroh-nya mëmbawa imam he was captured by the prince and ordered (personally) to embrace the faith; Sëri Pakrama Raja di-titahkan baginda mënjëmput 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 më derivative employed—Contrast § 39 (a).

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

bë(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. bë(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, bërsiap preparing, bërkëmas packing, bërgantong hanging, may be active or passive according to the context. Sentences show such dual uses clearly. baharu-lah Si Jëbat bëroleh lawan now only has Jëbat got his peer; këris itu bëroleh ka-tangan 'ku the dagger has got into my hands; bërtumbok bëras pounding rice; bëras yang bërtumbok pounded rice; bërgosok bau-
bauan rub scent on oneself; kuda itu tiada bĕrgosok the horse has not been rubbed; bĕrtĕmu dĕengan orang meet with folk; sĕgala harta itu tĕlah bĕrtĕmu balik all the property was met again; apabila ia lari bunoh oleh ’mu, apabila ia bĕrtahan, jangan sunggoh-sunggohi when he runs, slay; when he halts, don't persist; bĕrāpa di-tahani oleh Bĕndahara, tiada mau makhdum bĕrtahan 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 bĕ(r) derivatives in all moods and in all tenses, past, present, and future.

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

§ 50. bĕ(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': bĕrchukur shave oneself; 'for himself': bĕrsimpan pack up for oneself; mari-lah kita bĕrsimpan sĕgala pĕrkakas kita come let us pack up our belongings; 'or with reference to himself': bĕrpukul, bĕrtumbok fight and take blows; 'or for an object which belongs to himself': bĕrbuat 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 bērkata, for example, may mean have one's say, speak man to man, speak all together according to context; tiada bērlawan not fighting one another or not having a peer, peerless; bērnyanyi 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 bē system is parallel to the mē system; and mē, 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.

bērubah (muka) change one's (countenance); bērdiri raise oneself, rise; bērbaring lay oneself down, lie down; bērgopoh hurry oneself; bērlutut drop on one's knees; bēradu compose oneself to sleep; bērpaling turn one's head aside; bērḥentī stop oneself; bērbangkit raise oneself, rise; bērsantap feed oneself; bērsiram bathe oneself; bērpindah remove oneself; bērsēmbunyi conceal oneself; bērjalan go on one's way, travel; bērbalik retrace one's course; bērpal tāck (over one's course). sunggoh pun tidur tētapi ia bēringat he slept but he remembered himself; patek sudah bērlēngkap I have prepared my equipment; pēnjurit yang dua ratus itu bērbahagi tīga the two hundred robbers divided themselves into three parties; yang laki-laki bērkabong lagi bēr-chukur dan sēgala pērēmpuan bērtokong rambut di-kērat the men dressed themselves in mourning and shaved their heads and all the women had their hair cut; bērjalan sēpērti tiada bērjijak di-bumi travelling on his way as if he never let himself touch the ground; ēmpat lima orang China
tinggal ka-pada sahaya bértanam padi there are four or five Chinamen live with me and occupy themselves in rice planting; ia bërñikir sa-bëntar 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: bërsiap or bërsiapkan diri prepare oneself; bërdiam or bërdiamkan 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 më may be employed: mëlindongkan diri shelter one's person; mëmaling muka turn aside the face.

Comparison between më and bë where they are prefixed to the same root is fruitful. mërasa feel (a thing), bërasa feel (oneself)—bërasa mabok feel drunk; mënaung shelter another person or a thing, bërnaung shelter oneself; mëndiri erect a thing, bërdiri hold oneself erect; mëmakai don (a coat), bërpakai dress oneself; mëmalit smear (anything), bërpalit smear oneself; mëngangkat lift (an object), bërangkat travel (lit. remove oneself); mënjemur dry (an object) in the sun; bërjêmur 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 mëmbëri titah pada Bëndahara mënnyuroh bërbuat astana ... maka orang Ungaran bërbuat astana bësar dan orang Tunggal mënbuat astana këchil, and so on, mënbuat and bërbuat being used indifferently throughout a long paragraph; but even here probably, a distinction should be marked in translation Sultan Mansur Shah commanded the Bejidahara 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 bërbuat nêgéri means make oneself a settlement; and bërbuat jahat behave wickedly (lit. make oneself wicked)
can never be changed into membuat jahat: yang bērbuat kēbaktian ka-pada tuan-nya who did his service to his lord.

(2) Reciprocal:

bērgomol wrestle one with another; bērkait interlock; bērtukar exchange; bērsalin change (one garment) for another; bērgēlut rival one another in wrestling; bērlaga fight one another; bērantok knock (one) against (another); bērgurau sport one with another; bērjanji contract; bērpinang plight oneself to another; bērkēlahi fighting together; bērsual, bērtanya put one’s questions to another; bērgadai pawn (a thing for a consideration); bērēngkau using ‘thou’ in conversation with another; bērchinta love one another; bērbaik on good terms with one another; bērtidak making one’s denial to a person; bērtitah issue one’s commands to another; bērmohon take one’s leave of another; bērtulis correspond. Hang Tuah bērhikayat pēlbagai chērita Hang Tuah gave them his repertory of tales; raja China tiada makan bēras yang bērtumbok the prince of China did not eat rice which had been pounded (between pestle and mortar); ada yang mēnjadi pēnchuri, ada yang bērtikam 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 bērpalu sēndiri-nya waves beat one against another; bērbisek sama sēndiri whispering to one another; bērbuat aniaya sama sēndiri-nya oppress one another.

Again, one may contrast derivatives in mē and bē(r). mēnaroh set (a thing) down, bētaroh stake, set one thing against another; mēnjual sell (a thing), bērjual sell, barter (of one person to another); mēmēgang hold, bērpēgang hold (a person or thing) to oneself, hold one another; mēnggosok rub (a thing), bērgosok rub one thing with another; mēnēn-
tang front, bérténtang confront; měnungkap seize, bértangkap 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 kēdua pun datang běrpēlok běrchiium saudara-běrsaudara běrtangis-tangisan the two relatives came and embraced each the other with mutual tears with the sentence bonda-nya pun měmēlok měnchiium 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
bértindeh 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 sērta-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 kēkaseh 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.
bērbangsa of good birth; bērpērahah (a) possessing a boat, (b) using a boat, in a boat; bērkēreta (a) possessed of a carriage, (b) riding in a carriage; bērsarong wearing a cloth. Bērahma Guru bērguru ilmu kēsaktian Brahma Guru was learning (lit. was possessed of a teacher of) magic.

Here again derivatives in mē and bē(r) may be contrasted:

mēnyarong placing in a sheath; bērsarong ensheathed;
mēnandok butting with the horns; bērtandok horned;
mēnganak sungai making a streamlet; bēranak bear (possess) a child of one's own.

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

bērlarian running together; bērtērbangan flying together;
bērlurohan falling (in numbers); bērpandangan facing one another; bērputusan capable of being sundered (one from another); bērflkiran possessed of the thinking faculty; bēpē-
kērjaan possessed of work; bērkēnal-kēnalalan making one another's acquaintance; bērsahut-sahutan speaking in turn;
bērkēliling encircling; bērkēhēndak possessed of a desire;
bērkēsudahan having an end, barang siapa yang mē-
mandang dia tiada bērkēsudahan puji-nya whoever saw him praised him without end; bērkēputusan endowed with ability to be broken.

tē(r)

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

tērchabut extracted, able to be extracted or able to extract;
bahu-nya tērchabut his shoulder was pulled out; pērgi-lah mēreka itu mēchabut anak panah itu, sa-orang pun tiada tērchabut they went to extract the arrow but not one could extract it; tērangkat lifted, able to be lifted, able to lift;
sembah tērangkat jari sa-puloh obeisance with ten fingers lifted; mari-lah kita bērkuat-kuatan mēngangkat batu ini, barang siapa tiada tērangkat alah-lah ia
come let us use all our strength to lift this rock, the man who cannot lift it is worsted; tērjalan able to travel; Sultan Mahmud Shah pun tiada-lah tērjalan lagi Sultan Mahmud Shah was unable to travel further: these examples out of the classic Sejarah Melayu show that tē(r) cannot be described with absolute correctness as a passive formative.

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

kamus yang tērpakai di-dalam sēgala nēgēri Mēlayu a vocabulary of established use in all Malay countries; orang mēngamok itu datang dēngan kēris sudah tērhunus the frenzied man came with naked drawn dagger; kēris itu tiada tērbawa oleh kita tinggal di-astana the dagger was not brought right away by us but is left in the palace; di-dēngar-nya oleh Hang Jēbat suara Laksamana sayup-sayup, maka Laksamana bērsēru-sēru pula, maka suara itu tērdēngar-lah ka-pada Hang Jēbat the Laksamana’s voice was heard faintly by Hang Jēbat; the Laksamana kept calling and his voice then was heard distinctly by Hang Jēbat; tērlupa-lah ia akan hal dunia bērubah he clean forgot the changing fortunes of this world; dēmi aku tērpandang 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 tērdudok tiada dapat bangkit lagi were stabbed and forced to collapse unable to rise; pēnhuri itu pun tērsepak-lah pada tuboh Laksamana, kata-nya ‘Sudah tērjijak bangkai pula kaki chēlaka ini’ the thief stumbled against the Laksamana’s person, ejaculating ‘These cursed feet of mine have trodden (accidentally) on a corpse’;

¹ The phrase tērsēbut-lah pērkataan, common in the exordium of tales, comes under this heading and means now the story is.
Hang Jebat têrgêlinchir kaki-nya dari atas talam itu; maka Hang Jebat pun têrtêltut hêndak bangkit tiada sémpat Hang Jebat’s feet slipped (accidentally) on the tray; he flopped down on his knees and had no time to rise.

Accordingly words like têrlupa forget; têringat remember; têrtawa laugh; têrlihat see; têrsêdeh-sêdeh 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 têrdêngar ka-pada Siti Dewa his voice reached Siti Dewa distinctly; sêbab aku têringat pêsanan itu because the commission came into my head; ada pun orang yang bijaksana itu apabila ia masok ka-dalam taman itu, maka têrlihat-lah ia ka-pada ségala pohon buah-buahan itu, maka têringin-lah ia all the fruit-trees of the garden arrest the attention of intelligent visitors and a longing overtakes them; ikan udang bêrnang-nang dan lompat-lompat sêraya têrtawa dan bêrpantun 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 tê(r) connotes ability to bring it about, tê(r) has come to be used to denote the possible (or more commonly with the help of a negative, the impossible).

tiga kali ia hêndak mêlangkah pintu itu tiada têrlangkah juga thrice she wished to cross the threshold but was unable; sêdang sa-buah pêrahu tiada têrlawan oleh kita since we were unable to fight even one boat to the finish; aku tiada têrlihat akan pêruatan-mu, gêram rasa hati-ku I cannot bear the sight of your behaviour; it angers me; usahkan ia têrbêlah, makin bêrtambah-tambah kêras 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 tèrhisanb* banyak-nya innumerable; raja pun *tiada tèrjawab* kata Rangga itu the prince could not answer Rangga’s argument; *tiada tèrhikayatkan* lagi impossible to relate to the end.

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

*dari-pada* sègala kèrja itu apa kèrja yang tèrbaik of all those works which is pre-eminently good?; baik juga Hassan itu karna ia orang muda tètapi tèrmanis hamba sèdikit Hassan is handsome on account of his youth, but I exceed a little in charm; hulubalang bèsar lagi tèrnama a great captain and of high fame. Common examples of this use of the prefix are the crystallized forms *tèrkèmbang* fully blown; *tèrmashur* greatly distinguished; *tèrchèngang* utterly astonished; *tèrkadang* very rarely; *tèrlalu, tèrlampau, tèrlangsong* surpassingly; *tèrsangat* very.

In the Federated Malay States Government Gazette, His Excellency the High Commissioner is styled *tèrutama* pre-eminent, a Sultan *maha mulia*, a Raja Muda or Bendahara *tèramat mulia*, and rajas without office *amat mulia*.

Derivatives in *tè(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 tèrbilang* who can completely count; *tiada dapat tèrkatakan* impossible to relate to the end.

*pè*

§ 54. This prefix occurs as *pè, pèng, pèny, pèm, pèn,* and *pèr* on the same principles under which *mè* undergoes similar changes except that before 1 either *pè* or *pèng* may be used.

The present absence of grammatical distinction between
these two euphonic links, nasal or r, is borne out by such synonyms as pêrkhabaran, pêmbêritaan news; pêbuatan, pêrbaruuan, pêmburuuan game; pêmburu, pêrbaruuru hunter; and by words analogous in grammatical import like pêlayaran voyaing; pêlihatan or pênglihatan sight, seeing; pêrtapaan asceticism; pêrêkat gun (lit. the sticker); pêngayoh a paddle (lit. the paddler); pêngaseh love-charm; pêrindu promoter of tender feelings.

The connection, therefore, which some grammarians have traced between pêr and bêr will be illusory; the only link between them being, that the same stems which take the prefix bêr in one context, will in another naturally take pêr for euphony’s sake rather than pêng. It is to be noted that there are many pê(r) derivatives of which the original simple stems never take the prefix bê(r): pêlontar missile; pêrsunting wearing in the hair; pêlalau hindering; pê(r)- langkahan journey; pêlampong flotsam; pêrlênteh disso-lute; pêrlihatkan see; pêrsêmbahkan 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 pê 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:

mêmpêrbaiki cause to be repaired; mênyuroh mêng-

¹ Note pê + nasal occurs probably only once as a verbal formative i.e. in di-pêngapakan from mêngapa.
² i.e. power to make verbs from noun and adjective stems.
himpunan segala rayat dan p'erbaiki kota bade assemble all the people and have the fort put in repair; jikalau dapat baginda m'em bunuh ular, baginda-lah kita p'er tuan if your highness can kill the serpent, then we will make your highness ruler; baik-lah kepala-ku p'erchē-raikan dēngan badanku dari-pada hamba bērchērai dēngan 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-pērmulia-nya he prince did not imprison him, but had him held in high honour; mari kita suroh pēr buat lang come let us get a kite made; pērhamba to ask to be made a slave, to offer oneself in marriage; minta pērgunakan to make use of; pēristērikan to take to wife; pērhambakan to enslave; pērhatikan to get by heart; pērtētapkan to give fixity, security, &c.

(II) It is also fairly common as a formative of the imperative.1 pēr buat-lah oleh ēngkau get it done; jangan ēngkau pēringangkan ibadat-mu let not your service to God be counted a light matter; pēnaik pēlīta turn up the lampwick (a Perak phrase); and the Bodleian Sri Rama has mari-lah pēr jamu kamu dahulu dēngan barang ada nemat dalam nēgēri Birusaprua pērjamu-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 pē is the essential part of apa something, and this derivation is especially apparent in its noun derivatives, e.g. pēmanis a thing-giving-charm; pēnabur something scattered, bullets; pēmburu something—that hunts, hunter; pērtēlan something swallowed; pērsalin 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 pēr buat.
Anyhow it forms nouns\(^1\) (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 pēngail a fisherman; pērahu pēngail a fishing-boat.

Of a few the root is obsolete; pēngantin bridegroom; pēmuras blunderbuss; of others it bears an obsolete meaning, e.g. lima now five formerly hand in pēnglima chieftain.

I. Denoting person or thing:

pēmadat opium-smoker from madat opium; pēmalas idler from malas idle; pētēngkar grumbler from tēngkar grumble; pēnyēngat wasp from sēngat sting; pēnyamun robber from samun rob; pēmburu hunter from buru hunt; pēndiam a silent person from diam be silent; pēnyuroh, pēsuroh (lit. one ordered) a messenger from suroh to order; pēngaseh a love-charm (causing love) from kaseh love; pēnggali spade from gali dig; pēngayoh a paddle from kayoh to paddle; pēnyēpit forceps from sēpit pinch; pēmukul hammer from pukul hit; pēmimpin a guide from pimpin to guide; pēnabur bullets (lit. that which is scattered, a passive use) from tabur sow, scatter; pēnyakit sickness from sakit sick.

Derivatives from a transitive verb sometimes retain the powers of a transitive verb: pēnēbas lalang a knife for cutting grass; pēnghalau itek a driver away of ducks; pēnglipur lara a soother of cares; batu pēlotar ayam

\(^{1}\) Note. There are a few words where pēr is a corruption of the Sanskrit pra: pērmata earrings; pērkaśa valour; pērkara affair; pērwira warrior; pērnama full (of the moon).
SYstem of affixation

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

A few are adjectival, always being preceded by a substantive: gong pêlaung the gong of call; chanang pêmanggil the drum of summons; pêluru pêtunang a bullet pledged to take effect from tunang betroth; kayu pênuju a guiding-post.

2. Denoting measures of time and space:

pêmêlok the space a man can encircle in his embrace; kayu besar-nya tiga pêmêlok a tree of girth three times the space of a man’s embrace; pêlangkah the length of a person’s stride; pêrunjong the length of a man with arms full stretch above his head.

These derivatives are frequently prefixed by sa. sa-pêr-tanak nasi the time a man takes to boil rice; sa-pênjulat pêluru mériam the distance a cannon-ball carries; rambut sa-pêlêmpap panjang-nya her hair was only as long as a man’s hand is broad; sa-pêludah the time it takes man to spit; sa-pêninggal the time one leaves a person; sa-pêrpisang the time it takes to eat a plantain.

ké¹

§ 57. This prefix is of rare occurrence now in Malay, and except before numerals and sêmua-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.

(‘tok) kêtampi (gaffer)-winnow-the-rice (active); kêkaseh a mistress, one who is loved (passive); kêchundang a ‘con-

¹ I agree with Dr. Fokker that phonetically this should be written ka when the following syllable contains ē: kêtampi but kahêndak, ka-têrangan, &c.
quest'; kētua an elder; kēmudi a rudder; kētageh the condition of one who craves, a craving; kēhēndak desire. kētiga in the condition of being three; kētiga orang itu all three men; yang kētiga the third; kēsēmua-nya a complete set, all. (kētahuī from tahu in the condition of knowing or of being known; kēhēndaki from hēndak desiring; di-kēsopani being respected.)

§ 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; sawahan 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. rambut an a hairy fruit from rambut hair; durian a 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 cöco-nut—scraper from kukur scrape.

(c) Passive. hamparan carpet from hampar to spread out; kőlian, galian a mine from gali dig; jawatan undertaking, profession from jawat (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, kĕris 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; kĕnangan a keepsake from kĕnang to remember affectionately; sĕsalan a cause of repentance from sĕsal repent.

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

pĕ . . . . 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) pĕlihatah, pĕnglihatah faculty of seeing, range of vision; pĕrasaan feeling; pĕrtapaan asceticism; pĕmandangan view; pĕngĕtahuan knowledge; pĕnĕngaran sense, power of hearing; pĕringatana remembrance; pĕrjanjian agreement; pĕlayaran voyaging; pĕpĕrang an warfare; pĕrjalan an journeying; pĕrgadohan quarrelling; pĕrhipun an an assembling, a meeting; pĕrmulaan beginning, commencement; pĕmbunohan slaughter; pĕngajaran teaching, instruction; pĕlajaran teaching, learning; pĕncharian source of livelihood; itu-lah asal pĕrawangan dan pĕrdar a ah that was the origin of the common names Awang and Dara.
(2) pĕraduan sleeping-chamber; pĕbean customs' house; pĕlabuhan anchorage; (balai) pĕnghadapan a presence-hall.

(3) pĕrempuan woman; pĕranakan native; pĕrtĕmuan affinity; pĕrburuan game (hunted).

§ 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, predicking 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:

kĕsĕnangan ease; kĕkayaan wealth; kĕpandaian cleverness; kĕbodohan folly; kĕelokan beauty; kĕdatangan arrival; kĕsĕdapan deliciousness; kĕlĕngkapan equipment; kĕtĕrangan evidence; kĕbanyakan, kĕsangatan number; kĕjadian creation; kĕtĕntuan certainty; kĕsudahan end; kĕnaikan that which is mounted, a mount, carriage, vessel; kĕdiaman a dwelling-place; kĕindĕraan a place where Indra is, heaven; kĕyangan heaven; kĕputusan limit, a breaking off—sampai mana kĕputusan sungai ini how far is the place where this river breaks off?—these derivatives denoting place often follow a word like tĕmpat, when they assume an adjectival character—tĕmpat kĕdiaman, kuda kĕnaikan, pĕrahu kĕnaikan: and so tĕmpat kĕdilalan or simply kĕdilalan the seat of justice, Justice (the ruler of a Menangkabau country) and orang kĕturunan or simply kĕturunan descendants.

2. The derivatives may be verbal:

ia pun kĕturunan dari-pada raja-raja he too is descended from rajas; bulan pun kĕsiangan the moon was eclipsed by
day; kematian-lah angin the wind died down; segala gajah itu kétakutan all the elephants were afraid; kénéikan itu këayeran the boat was filled with water; bébérapa lama Sri Tribuana kërajaan di-Singapura all the years Sri Tribuana ruled at Singapore; orang Mélaka kékéringan sëpérti ikan jémur 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 képutusan wang he has incurred loss of money; sahaya kematian anak I have lost a child; sahaya kékurangan ayer I am short of water; sëpérti orang buta yang këhilangan 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:
   këmaluan the pudenda and that which causes shame; kéhidupan livelihood; këbinasaan that which causes destruction; kérugian occasion of loss; chandu mëndatangkan bébérapa chélaka dan këbinasaan dan kérugian what fatalities and occasions of destruction and loss come from opium; këpapaan cause of poverty; aniaya chélaka dan këpapaan oppression, ill-doing, and beggaring.

4. Some denote possibility:
   (orang) képérchayaan, (orang) këharapan reliable (men); këdëngaran audible; këlihatan visible; sëbab lidah itu këkénalan bukan-nya Inggëris one could tell from their accent they were not English.

5. Some of these derivatives have more than one significance:
   kérugian (1) occasion of loss, (2) actual loss; këmaluan (1) pudenda, (2) shame; këbinasaan (1) cause of destruction
(2) destruction; kēpapaan (1) cause of poverty, (2) poverty; kēbēsaran (1) greatness, (2) mark of greatness, regalia; kēmuliaan (1) house, (2) mark of honour, ada suatu kēmuliaan ka-pada raja it is a mark of honour for a prince; kēhinaan (1) lowliness, (2) an occasion of disgrace; kēlihatan (1) is seen, kampong itu kēlihatan pēnoh dēngan pohon kēlapa the compounds were seen to be full of coco-nut palms; (2) can see, mata-nya tiada kēlihatan lagi her eyes could no longer see; (3) visible, can be seen, pasir yang kēlihatan 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-pēlok oleh baginda akan mēnantu-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:

mēnanti 'kan musoh datang wait for the coming of the enemy.

(c) Concerning:

akan pēndua-nya di-sungkap-nya as for his dagger it was loosened by him; tēmēnggong tiada sēdar akan hal itu the chief was unaware concerning the matter.
II. The next stage is where there occur such dual forms as sédar akan, sédarkan; harap akan, harapkan; rindu akan, rindukan; khabar 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 hén dokład sédakan 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; sélimutkan cover, make a cover for; pinangkan propose marriage to; sarongkan (kérís) give a sheath to, sheathe (a dagger); kandangkan make a pen for, pen; haramkan make a sin of, account a sin; bésarkan enlarge; pénokhán 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; kirim 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.

jangankan ayer hujan, ayer périgí pun kéríng 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?]
§ 62. Stems ending in *i* or *ai* never take this suffix. With other words *i* and *kan* are sometimes used interchangeably. The form *ké* + stem + *kan* is never found, but *ké* + stem + *i* is not uncommon: *ké* + *tahu* + *i*, *ké* + *hendak* + *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 *nègèri* inhabit a country; supaya *aku* naiki astana so that I may ascend into the palace; ulang-ulangi *kubur* make repeated visits to a tomb; mèngèlilingi *kota* travel round a fort; mènghampiri *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, *susui* suckle, *hujan* rain, *hujani* rain on; *lèmbut* soft, *lèmbuti* give softness to; *tèman* follower, *tèmani* to follow a person; *kuat* force, *kuati* to apply force to; *nama* name, *namai* to give a name to; *kurnia, anugerah* (Skt.) gift, *kurniai, anugerahi* to bestow upon; *kipasi* a fan, *kipasi* to fan (a person); *sama* sameness, *mènyamaï* compare with; *baik* good, *mèmbaiki* 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 intensiative.
(4) It forms mostly transitive verbs, but a few examples of the intransitive occur, sunggoh-sunggohi be determined, persist; mēlauti traverse the sea, voyage; mulaī 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); mērajai orang be prince over people, mērajakan orang make a person prince.

**REDOUBLEMENT**

§ 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 ē for its vowel: kēkabu, gēgasing, gēgawar, bēbērapa (and in the Kedah dialect lēlaki, bēbiri, pēpuyu, &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; kēdua pipi two checks never kēdua 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: lēmbu-lēmbu oxen of all kinds, orang-orang all sorts of men, rumah-rumah all kinds of houses.

(Sometimes the indefinite sēgala all qualifies these forms: mahkota sēgala 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: mēlompat-lompat keep leaping; bērnyala-nyala keep blazing; bērchuchur-chunchuran keep dropping; sēpuï-sēpuï 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; kēchil-kēchil 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; lēkas-lēkas very quickly; lari-lari run fast; tērchēngang-chēngang very astonished; mēmpēramat-amati look very closely at; lamakēlamaan 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 bésar-bésar and orang kaya-kaya apply to the eight chiefs who are inferior to the four premier chiefs, the orang bésar 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; negeri-lain-lain countries altogether different, negeri-negeri 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, kertas paper, for example, of which many different kinds exist, are.
§ 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 lēbah honey; kēpala 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 bēsi 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; nēgēri Perak a country—Perak; burong ēnggang the hornbill bird; gēmala 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.

kēreta sombong mail train; orang bēsar a chief; raja muda crown prince; pinang muda a procurer; sireh kuning a dainty morsel, viz. a girl, a mistress; bēsi bērani magnet; orang puteh European; kuching pēkak a kind of trap.

(3) Substantive + verb.

guru tēnun 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; kěras hati obstinate; běbal 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-pěrtuan 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 měnyusu a kitchen adjunct; měmbabi buta have an epileptic fit; měmbusut jantan form a high ant-hill; měnganak sungai make a streamlet; měrěmbang pětang decline to evening; měnganyam gila weave the mad stitch; měndairah nōgěri traverse a country’s districts; běrjual-běli barter; běrmaharaja Lela play the Maharaja Lela; běrsual jawab question and reply; běrlaki-bini in married estate; běrmiat jahat have evil intentions; běrkain basah wear wet clothes; běrtandok 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 kēhēndak hati-mu itu, 'ku dēngar 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 dēngan 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 kétiga we three**; **aku sakalian all of us**. It corresponds to **ěngkau: yang běrkhabar 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: **sěmbah 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—**pěrgi-lah ěngkau kětujoh běrsaudara 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person speaking</th>
<th>I, we</th>
<th>Thou, you</th>
<th>He, she, they</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peasants to one another</td>
<td>aku</td>
<td>ēngkau</td>
<td>dia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superior pointedly to inferior</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superior ordinarily to inferior</td>
<td>sahaya</td>
<td>kamu or name of person addressed</td>
<td>dia or name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superior with affected modesty to equals</td>
<td>hamba (tuan)</td>
<td>tuan (hamba)</td>
<td>tuan (hamba)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All classes to Europeans</td>
<td>sahaya kami</td>
<td>tuan</td>
<td>tuan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malay gentry to one another</td>
<td>hamba (datok)</td>
<td>datok</td>
<td>tēngku, čengku, raja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commoner to chief</td>
<td>sahaya (datok)</td>
<td>tēngku</td>
<td>tēngku, čengku, raja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commoner to raja</td>
<td>patek</td>
<td>tēngku, čengku, raja</td>
<td>tēngku, čengku, raja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject to a sultan</td>
<td>patek</td>
<td>tuan-ku</td>
<td>tuan-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literary</td>
<td>beta</td>
<td>sahabat beta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
am alam yang di-pěrhamba-lah měmbieharakan’ the
Chinese Minister did obeisance, ‘O sovereign of the world,
I your slave will inquire.’
patek the usual address of commoners speaking of them-
selves 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 corre-
sponding 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 sēri 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 tengku manteri, tengku temenggong and to the permaisuri 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 engku occurs in the Sejarah Melayu. It is applied to Sayid, Sharif and Sharifah.

Engku 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.

enchek 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 teman (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 bentara dua, kita menanti 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.
mēreka 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.

(i) datok, 'tok grandfather, ninek grandmother, ayah (polite), bapa (vulgar) father, ēmak 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. ēmak 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 pärgi 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 pèrgi 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 (engkau 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 'Ngah mother of 'Ngah or whatever be the name of their child; 'pa Awang indeed has become a conventional mode of address like Awang.

(3) Besides tuanku, têngku, êngku, 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, '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, pênghulu or 'tok pênghulu 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-pêrtuan 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. sêmah 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 chêrpu beneath the feet, phrases employed towards chiefs and Europeans and superiors). Other honorifics meaning your highness formed on analogy are duli yang di-pêrtuan, 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; istēri 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-kēnal-nya kēris 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 mēndēngar khabar, itu-lah patek sakalian datang because (of) hearing the news, therefore we have all come. And under this head falls the use di-dēngar-nya baginda in the hearing of him, the prince, expanded from the equally correct di-dēngar baginda in the hearing of the prince and sometimes into di-dēngar-nya oleh baginda it was heard by him, the prince, where the emphasis falls on baginda.
Moreover if it be true that the prefix me 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 mēnqaseh-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 peti 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-déngar-nya by the king—it was heard by him.

Possession may be indicated in several ways, notably by the word empunya, punya. yang empunya hikayat he whose story it is; Demang Lebar Daun-lah yang pēr- tama punya bahasa ‘yang di-pērtuan’ dan ‘patek’ it was Demang Lebar Daun who first talked of ‘yang di-pērtuan’ and ‘patek’; lēmbu 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.): kam pong 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 be(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 membuang diri-ku it were well I destroy myself; diri-mu you yourselves; ia pun përgi membuang diri-nya he went and destroyed himself.

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

Derivatives in së (and kë) + the nasal infix are more usual. aku sëndiri, kami sëndiri, sahaya sëndiri = (1) I myself, (2) I of my own accord, or (3) I alone. sëpërti harta-nya sëndiri as if it were his (her, their, your, my or our according to context) own property; tanah sëndiri my (our, your, his, her or their) own land—the personal pronoun always being placed before the word sëndiri if the context in itself is not clear. sëndiri-nya of its own accord; sama sëndiri-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 bësar itu that great man; orang bësar yang mëmërentah itu that great ruler, but orang itu bësar that man is of great size and itu orang bësar that man is great.
(2) They can qualify a preceding verb or clause as well as a noun. 

\textit{patek datang ini} I come now; \textit{sa-telah itu} after that (was done); \textit{pērahu itu mēlanchar-lah bērapa lama-nya bēlayar itu} the ship darted forward and after some time on that voyage of hers.

(3) They can stand alone or with \textit{lah}, as predicate; generally but not necessarily in the emphatic forefront of a clause. \textit{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 I 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); nēgēri Perak ini this land of Perak here; ēmpat lima bulan ini patek tiada mēmēngang kēris 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; tētēkala itu at that (more or less) remote time.

§ 70. Interrogative Pronouns.

The following words serve for interrogative pronouns:

\textit{apa} what?

\textit{si-apa} who? whose?

\textit{mana} which? where?

\textit{apa} is not purely an interrogative pronoun—cf. § 86.

As an interrogative \textit{apa} is applied to things and the names of things. \textit{pokok apa itu} what is that tree? \textit{apa nāmānuya pokok itu} what is the name of that tree? \textit{siapa} (the article \textit{si} and \textit{apa}) who? whose? is applied to persons and the names of persons. \textit{siapa itu who is that? anak siapa tērtawa itu} whose child laughed then? \textit{siapa nama orang itu} what is the name of that person?

\textit{mana} bears often a certain locative character as an interrogative pronoun. \textit{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) pérkakas 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 *bërapa how much? how many? mënğapa why? definite reason why? kënapa why? bêtapa how? why? bagai-maná how?*

Examples of their use are *bërapa harga-nya how much is its price? bërapa umur-nya how old is he?* (also *bëbërapa pun di-suroh panggil, tiada juga mau datang however much he was bidden and summoned, he would not come); hai Ruwana ngapa ēngkau mèlakukan diri-mu dëmi-kian dan bërapa lama-mu sèkarang why, Ravana, do you conduct yourself thus and how long now have you done so? supaya aku kêtahui bêtapa hal-nya that I may know (more or less) what is his condition; also chukup lëngkap bêtapa adat raja-raja yang bèsar sufficient preparation (more or less) like the custom of great princes; bagai-maná mënangkap 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 mēmē-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 sēmua-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 Bētara Guru now I have come here at the bidding of Siva; ada pun yang kita datang ini bukan kita hēndak bērsuamikan Raja Mēlaka itu now I have come here not with the desire of marrying the Raja of Malacca; bahwa yang dunia ini tiada akan kēkal now of a truth this world is transitory; arti-nya yang arak itu ibu sēgala 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 lēbah yang tēlah ’ku mēnunggu akan dia a bee’s nest, one I had watched over; pēsaka pada sēgala waris-mu yang tiada ēngkau 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; tērsēbut-lah pērkataan sa-orang raja yang tērlalu amat bēsar kērajaan-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 bērtēmu dēngan orang mēnchari itu meet with the people (who) were searching; sēgala orang mēnghantarkan surat itu pulang-lah all the people (who) were conveying the letter went to their homes; mēmēgang kēris-nya sudah
tērhunus holding his dagger (which) was drawn, i.e. holding his dagger—it was drawn.

yang is omitted frequently after words denoting place and time: tēmpat place, nēgēri land, bēkas trace of, ruin of, waktu, masa time. sahaya bērtanya dari hal tēmpat kēluar ēmas 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 ēmpunya is used for the owner. tiada di-kē-tahuī yang ēmpunya suara it was not known who was the owner of the voice; oleh yang ēmpunya kēdai by the shop-keeper; kata yang ēmpunya hikayat says the author of the tale. Similarly apa guna-nya yang chēlaka di-hidupi what is the use of the knave being kept alive? boleh-lah kita bērtēmu dēngan (scilicet tunggul) yang kita chari itu we can meet with the object of our quest (sc. the tree-stump); mari-lah kita mēlihat yang bērnyala-nyala sa-malam come let us see what was afire last night; yang buta datang bērpimpin 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 bēroleh anak; maka anak baginda itu-lah mēnjadi raja di-Bukit Sēguntang; dari-pada anak chuchu baginda itu-lah kēlak mēnjadi raja bēsar-bēsar 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 bërkhbar people say; sa-orang kата bagini sa-orang kata bagitu one man says this, another that; tiada sa-orang tërlindong lagi there was no one in hiding any more; sa-orang sa-orang bêrganti-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 sëdikit 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 êmpat lima hari prescribed massage for some four or five days; barang yang tërlintang di-tikam-nya whoever was in his path was stabbed; barang apa këtiadaan bêlanja ambil-lah pada hamba whatever money is lacking take from me; bukan-nya bësi sa-barang bësi it was not steel of any common sort; pëdeh-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 dëngan 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, sēmua 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 kēna pēlantek; 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 ēsa)
   2 dua 6 ēnam
   3 tiga 7 tujoh
   4 ēmpat 8 dēlapan
   5 lima 9 sēmbilan

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

11 sa-bēlas 16 ēnam-bēlas
12 dua-bēlas 17 tujoh-bēlas
13 tiga-bēlas 18 dēlapan-bēlas
14 ēmpat-bēlas 19 sēmbilan-bēlas
15 lima-bēlas

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

10 sa-puloh 60 ēnam-puloh
20 dua-puloh 70 tujoh-puloh
30 tiga-puloh 90 sēmbilan-puloh

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

21 dua-puloh satu 66 ēnam-puloh ēnam
27 dua-puloh tujoh 77 tujoh-puloh tujoh
33 tiga-puloh tiga 84 dēlapan-puloh ēmpat
45 ēmpat-puloh lima 93 sēmbilan-puloh tiga
The hundreds are formed by adding ratus to the first nine units:

100 sa-ratus  
300 tiga-ratus  
900 sèmbilan-ratus

101 sa-ratus satu  
322 tiga-ratus dua-puloh dua  
850 dèlapan-ratus lima-puloh

The thousands by adding ribu:

1000 sa-ribu  
3000 tiga-ribu

4501 ēmpat-ribu lima-ratus satu

The tens of thousands by adding laksa or puloh ribu:

70,000 tujoj laksa or tujoj-puloh ribu

The hundreds of thousands by kèti:

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

Millions by juta:

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

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

9 kurang satu sa-puloh  
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 sèmbilan likur

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

(4) An old literary form of dèlapan is dua-lapan. di-bunoh-nya dèngan tangan-nya sèndiri sa-ribu ēmpat-ratus dua-lapan-puloh orang jin ifrit there were slain by his own hand 1480 evil spirits.

(5) For the use of tèngah to express multiples of five see below § 76.
§ 74. The Arabic ciphers employed by Malays are:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccc}
0 & 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 \\
\end{array}
\]

Thus 1912 will be 1311, 18000 18...

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

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 \\
\end{array}
\]

§ 75. Syntax of the Cardinal Numbers.

(i) 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. pērbaudakan aku jambatan ēmas satu, jambatan perak satu make me one bridge of gold and one of silver.

(ii) No conjunctions are employed to join or divide them:

1911 sa-ribu sēmbilan-ratus sa-bēlas; 5 or 6 lima ēnam; 15 or 16 lima ēnam bēlas; 40 or 50 ēmpat lima puloh; a day or two sa-hari dua.

(iii) They express dates:

pada dua-puloh hari bulan Jumad al-akhir ia-itu pada dua-bēlas hari bulan October on the twelfth day of Jumad-al-akhir, that is on the twelfth day of October; sa-tēlah datang ka-pada tujoh hari, maka baginda pun
berangkat-lah as soon as it came to the seventh day, the prince set out. (But for first pertama is sometimes found; pada pertama 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)—empat-empat penchuri lari all four thieves ran.

(5) The following idioms are notable: bahagi dua divide in two; lat tiga missing three, i.e. every fourth; selang suatu every second; bongkok berlipat tiga belakang-nya her back bent in three curves; Laksamana berjalan dua berbudak the Laksamana set out with his page; sahaya tiga beranak I and my two children; dua laki isteri the couple, husband and wife (where one would expect kedua); saudara dua kali pupu a cousin twice removed; denggan sa-ribu kemiaan with countless marks of honour; pe-kérjaan-nya hendak ményambut duli yang di-pértuan, suatu lagi hendak ményambut paduka adinda itu gérangan 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.

tengah, sa-tengah a half, one-half; sa-tengah hasta half a cubit; sa-tengah jam half an hour; tengah hari midday. The word tengah is employed also to subtract from the digit it precedes a \( \frac{1}{2} \) of 1, e.g. tengah tiga \( 2 \frac{1}{2} \); tengah tiga puloh \( 2 \frac{1}{2} \times 10 = 25 \); tengah lima ratus \( 4 \frac{1}{2} \times 100 = 450 \); tengah tujoh ribu \( 6 \frac{1}{2} \times 1000 = 6500 \). It is used, too, to express an indefinite number some. mereka itu sa-tengah kafir, sa-tengah Islam half the people were infidels, and half of the Mohammedan faith; sa-tengah di-
bunoh dan sa-tēngah lari dan sa-tēngah 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-bēlah 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 pēr. sa-pērtiga one-third; tiga pēr-
lima three-fifths; tujoh pērpuloh seven-tenths. The suffix
an is found occasionally with these derivatives: sa-pērtigaan
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 Laksama-
na, sa-bahagi akan orang yang īmpunya harta
a division of the property was made, two-thirds of it allotted
to the Laksamana, one-third to the owner; Temenggong mé-
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; sēmbilan bahagian nine-tenths,
and so on: tiga bahagian jiwa-nya sudah hilang he was
three-quarters dead.

§ 77. kē derivatives.

Ordinals are formed from the cardinals by prefixing kē
(§§ 2 and 57) and by putting yang before the derivative so
formed. yang kēdua the second; yang kēēnam-puloh
satu the sixty-first; yang kētiga-ratus sēmbilan-bēlas
the three hundred and ninetenth. Very rarely and mainly in
literature kēsa is found for first, but almost always the word
pērtama from the Sanskrit is employed.

The syntax of these derivative numerals is simple.

(1) The phrase yang kē . . ., used adjectivally, always
follows the word it qualifies. bab yang kētiga the third
chapter; fasal yang kēlima the fifth paragraph; never yang kētiga bab, &c.

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

kēdua pipi both cheeks; kēdua mata both eyes; kēdua laki istēri the couple, husband and wife; kētiga 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 kētiga I and two companions.

The stem may be reduplicated: kēlima-lima all five.

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

Hang Tuah kēlima bersaudara Hang Tuah and his four brothers; baginda kēempat istēri-nya the prince and his three wives.

(4) If the kē 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 pēnjurit ēmpat-puloh itu jika kita bunoh kēempat-puloh-nya mati as for the forty bravadoes, if we slay them, the whole forty of them will be dead and done with; sa-tēlah sampai tujoh hari kēdēlapan-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 ēnam orang, pērtama Bēndahara, kēdua Kadli, kētiga Paduka Tuan, kēempat Pēnghulu Bēndahari, kēlima Tē-mēnggong, kēēnam 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. bēr derivatives.

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

§ 79. Miscellaneous.

suatu one, as in pada suatu masa once upon a time; suatu alamat a certain sign; banyak many, sēdikit few, lēbeh more, kurang less, masing-masing each, tiap-tiap every, sēgala, sēmua 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 tujoh lagi dua jadi sēmbilan seven with two added makes nine; lēbeh, e.g. dua lēbeh dua-pērtiga 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,
béntok 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,

hēlai, '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 (tērubok) roe,

kayu of cloth,

kēping 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,

pēranggu of sets of betel-boxes, buttons,

pērdu 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
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 bęrpęgęng pada sa-kęping 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 cumbersomely by gesture accent and circumlocution. tuan ada is the master here? pada pagi ini tuan sudah jalan ka (-kębun-nya itu) this morning he has gone to (his estate). boleh hantarkan dia surat dęngan sęgera can you convey him a letter with dis-patch? 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.*

*dékat* near, adj. prep. adv.; *bénar* true, truly; *jarang* wide apart; *seldom*—a list is otiose, since most adjectives can be used adverbially; *tarek* kuat pull hard, *pasang* tégoh fix firmly, *pandang* têpat look closely, *jalan* chêpat walk quickly.

(c) *Also verbs.*

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

(d) *Also conjunctions.*

Especially close is the connection between adverbs and conjunctions, so that it has been debated whether words like *hanya*, mélainkan, sédang, makin, tégah, 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: *ségéra* quickly; *sahaja* only; *nëschaya* certainly; *istimewa* especially are Sanskrit; *saat* in a moment is Arabic.
§83. Formation of Adverbs.

(I) In addition to root forms like amat very, bēlum not yet, esok to-morrow, lama long (of time), we get fixed derivatives like tērlalu very, sambil (= sa-ambil) at the same time, kē-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-bēlah on one side; sa-kali at once; sa-bēnar 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-bēnar-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-(bēr)kēlamaan at last; pērlahan-lahan slowly; pērtama-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*; sēbab itu *therefore*; karna apa, apa falsal *why*; ta’usah *don’t, it is of no use*; mana kala *when*.

(IV) Adverbial phrases are formed by the help of the preposition dēngan *with*; dēngan murahan *cheaply*; dēngan adil-nya *justly*; dēngan 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*; lēbeh *more*; amat, sangat, tērlalu, tēr-lampau, sa-kali *very*; bagini *so, in this wise*; bagitu *so, in that wise*; sēdang *just*; dēkat, hampir *nearly*; barang *about, more or less*; bēlaka *entirely*; sa-kian *so far*; bukan *not*; makin *the more*.

Of these kurang, lēbeh, tērlalu, sēdang, bēlum, dēkat, 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*; lēbeh chantek *more pretty*; kambing tērlalu amat sangat chantek rupa-nya *a goat surpassingly, exceedingly beautiful*; bagitu chērdek *so clever*; sēdang masak *just ripe*; sēdang bagitu gila juga *even so, one is distraught*; hampir mati *nearly dead*; kami ini lagi muda-muda bēlaka *we are still young, all of us*; sa-tēlah dēmikian *after that*; barang ka-mana *any whither*; sa-bēlaha sini *in this direction*; sa-kian lama *all this while*.

Many of these (sēdang, bagini, bagitu, bukan, makin, bēlum) 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.

sékarang sudah sampai has now arrived; Raja Suran ségéra mélompat Raja Suran leapt quickly; tiada mau undur lagi did not wish to retreat further; Raja dan Ratu Mëlayu lagi di-hadap oleh sëgala pëgawai all the officers were still in the presence of the Raja and the Javanese chief; baginda bèlum lagi këluar tëngah dudok di-balai the prince had not yet gone forth and still sat in the hall; tëngah baginda bërfikir itu while still the prince thought over it to himself; gigi kami sëmua-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-bëlah on this side, sa-bërang 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. sékarang ini now; sa-kali ini this time; sa-lama ini all this while; dëmikian itu thus, in that way; télah 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 who is wicked; dia jahat bukan he is wicked? Surely the reverse is not true. tidak-kah benar is it not true? (I don't know); bukan-kah benar is it not true? (I have heard it is true). The following transpositions show the force of bukan:

bukan sengaja beta ka-mari it is not of free-will but by compulsion I have come; sengaja bukan beta ka-mari of free-will not I but others would have come; sengaja 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. negeri ini bukan-nya negeri besar 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 pērahu 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 dēngar do you hear? may be answered (1) tuan sir (or enchek, &c.), (2) ada I am (hearing), (3) dēngar or dēngar-lah hearing, (4) sahaya I (do), and (5) least politely by ia yes. Similarly no will be conveyed by bēlum not yet; mana boleh how is it possible?; ōntah 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 bēri 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 pērgi bērguru ka-pada-nya go my grandchild without fail to his lessons.

pērnah ever is employed with negatives or in interrogative sentences where a negative reply is possible. tidak pērnah never; bēlum pērnah never yet. bēbērapa sudah laman-yा ia mēnjadi tua tiada pērhah ia mēnyuroh bēkērja all the time he has been old he has never hidden us work; ada-kah pērnah pērgi 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 sakti 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 pērgi boleh juga if you want to go, you can go; dēngan mudah juga ia mēngangkut 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 tērlalu
tinggi dan dari belakang rendah 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 bertanya 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 gérangan, kira-nya, apa-lah, barang, masa(-kan), rēmak. fikir di-dalam hati-nya tēmpat raja-raja gérangan 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 Jēbat boleh pērbuat dērhaka dēmikian if the Laksamana were here, is it likely Si Jēbat would play the traitor in this fashion; rēmak 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 istēri datok Bēndahara 'Datang ibu Hang Tuah; mari apa-lah bērmain-main pada kita' said the wife of the Bēndahara 'Here comes the mother of Hang Tuah; please come and play with us'; jangan apa-lah anak-ku tēkēbur dan ria pray don't be arrogant and proud; jangan apa di-pērbinasa hati kami sakalian dēngan titah yang dēmikian 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 sēgala manusia it is I who am prince of all mortals; chunda baginda Raja Suran-lah kērajaan the King's grandson Raja Suran it was who became ruler; rata-lah sēgala rumah kēchurian everywhere houses were burgled; sēgala hutan bēlantara habis-lah mēnjadi padang the whole forest absolutely all of it became open plain; baginda pun tērlalu-lah kaseh akan Hang Tuah the prince felt the very greatest affection for Hang Tuah; 'tok bidan tujoh-lah pergi sēmbahkan it was the seven midwives who went and informed the prince; sang api pun bēr-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, gērangan, 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 gērangan*; and *hidup-kah ia or ia hidup-kah.*

anak jin atau pēri-kah tuan hamba ini is it child of spirit or of fairy that you are? *ēngkau-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 ka-mari 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, adversative, 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, bĕlâ-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-négréi ini in this land, ka-négréi ini to this land, dari négréi ini from this land are correct, but never di-suatu, ka-suatu, dari suatu nègréi, 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, kémudian dari itu after that; patek dari kèchil pèrgi 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 sèbab 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 bérjalan ka-darat lalu bérmain 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; pèrgi-lah aku tinggal ka-dalam kota I went and lived at the fort; jika hëndak mënhuri ka-dalam astana raja if you will make burglarious entry into the palace; ka-pada malam sèkarang patek sëndiri bérkawal 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.

bēri 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 nēgēri sending letters to all lands; mēngutus ka-bēnsa Kēling 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 gēring recovered from sickness.

(2) Temporal. dari-pada zaman dahulu from yore; kēmudian dari-pada puji-pujian after compliments.

(3) Denoting origin, material. pakaian dari-pada īmas cloth of gold; gambar di-buat dari-pada kapur masak a picture made of chalk; bēribu-ribu mati dari-pada laki-laki dan pērēmpuan 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 bangat mati dari-pada hidup sa-laku ini so that I may quickly die rather than live in this fashion; mēnang dari-pada aku conquer (over) me; mē-merentahkan dari-pada sēgala makhlok rule over all creatures.

When the context precludes confusion pada may stand alone for ka-pada and dari-pada as the case may be. tērdēngar pada raja it came to the prince's ears; tērlalu kaseh sayang pada raja muda very affectionate towards the heir apparent; kēmudian pada itu after that; pada sēgala raja indēra sa-orang pun tiada mēnyamaі 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 mēnyatakan a chapter for explaining; anjing baik pada mēnghabat a hound good at the chase; tērlalu bijaksana pada hal mēmanah 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 chērpu) tuan beneath your honour's shoes. When ka-bawah duli is mistaken for a title (§ 66 II), we find pērsēmbahkan 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, singgah di-rumah or pada rumah pay visits to or at a house; dudok di- (or pada) tēpi 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 bēnua Kēling he is renowned in Southern India; di-lihat-nya bangkai pēnggawa pada suatu pintu bērpuloh-puloh
orang mati he saw at one gate the bodies of scores of officers dead; di-kêpala gajah Laksamana dan pada buntut-nya Hang Jébat on the elephant's head the Laksamana and at its tail Hang Jébat; masing-masing pada taraf-nya each in rank; pada suatu riwayat in one version of the story; pada bichara patek in my opinion; bêrûlîkîr 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 têtêkala mënjadi 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 mengadap akan sêtêru facing towards the foe; di-ikutkan-nya akan kijang itu he followed after the deer; menguchap shukur akan Allah utter thanks to God; têrkênang akan adinda yearning towards her; murka akan patek angry with me; akan kain dan ûmas ini akan pênorong hamba-lah akan Laksamana as for this cloth and gold which are my contribution giving help to the Laksamana; akan bichara patek as for my opinion; akan tuan sudah bêrchampur dunia akan sêkarang ini siapa dapat mênêntang mata tuan as for your converse with earth who is there at the present time who can face you?

akan denotes the patients 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; bêtapa 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 béroleh getting. Other uses are: ibu bapa oleh hamba my parents—a rare use taking the place of the more common pada; oleh sēbab itu on account of that reason; oleh yang dēmikian itu on account of those circumstances; oleh apa maka bagitu why so? oleh itu-lah kita hēndak jaga baik-baik for that reason we must be careful. For oleh as a conjunction, see § 98 (e).

§ 92. dēngan 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 pēnglima itu dēngan ségala sakai-nya the chief came along with all his followers; bagai kuku dēngan isi-nya as close as nail and quick; sērta dēngan, bērsama dēngan along with; dēngan sa-orang diri by oneself: bēpērang fight with; bērgadōh quarrel with; bērkaseh be in love with; bērnikah, bērkahwin marry, and other verbal derivatives in bē(r) denoting reciprocal relation are followed by this preposition: bulu mata dēngan bulu kēning sudah bērtēmu eyelashes had met with eyebrows; bērsahabat dēngan raja friendly with a prince; bērbichara-lah dēngan kapitan kapal discussing with all the ships' captains.

(b) Temporal. dēngan sa-saat itu juga di-talak ba-ginda at that very moment the king divorced her; dēngan tiada bērapa lama-nya in a short while; dēngan tiga hari habis-lah pēkērjaan itu in three days the work was finished.

(c) Proximity of place. dēkat dēngan rumah near to the house; bērtēntang dēngan kota facing the fort.

(d) Instrument and means. potong dēngan pisau cut with a knife; bērdiri dēngan suatu kaki standing on (literally by means of) one leg; bēlajār dēngan bahasa
Keling learn through the medium of the Tamil language; nilai mata dengan intan assess the value of bright eyes in diamonds; beli dengan harga yang mahal buy at a high price; béranak dengan istéri-nya got a child by his wife; dengan titah tuanku by royal command; dengan bérkat tinggi tuan by the blessing of your luck; dengan takdir Allah by the will of God.

(e) Manner. masing-masing dengan ragam-nya each with different temperament; datang serta dengan lélah-nya came in a tired state; dengan ségéra quickly; sempah dengan tangis-nya did obeisance in tears; mati dengan nama yang baik dead with fair fame; jikalau patek mati ridla-lah dengan pékérjaan shah alam I am content to die even, in your highness's service; dengan mudah-nya juga Pahang itu alah it was with ease Pahang was conquered.

dengan in conjunction with a negative means without. tiada dengan sèperti-nya improperly; lihat-lah Béndahara tiada dengan péréksa-nya mém bunóh Laksamana tiada dengan dosa-nya see how the Béndahara without inquiry executes the Laksamana who is without fault; dengan tiada boleh tidak without fail; tiada boleh mém bunóh dengan tiada bértanya may not slay without asking leave.

(f) In oaths: by. dengan karna Allah by God; dengan nama nabi Muhammad in the name of the Prophet. For dengan 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.

démi. démi Allah by God; sa-orang démi sa-orang one after another; di-lihat sa-bilah démi sa-bilah he inspected the blades one by one. And see § 98 (f).

dékat, hampir near. baginda pun tidur hampir pèti itu the king slept near the chest. Both dékat and
hampir are also adverbs, so that we find dēkat dēngan, hampir dēngan, 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 bērputusan hingga hari kiamat let there be no further severance till the day of judgement; dari dahulu sampai sēkarang from before till now; hingga sampai kēsudahan up till the end; hingga pada masa sēkarang until the present time; umur sampai ka-pada dua-bēlas tahun having reached twelve years of age. datang is used for until in the phrase datang sēkarang till now: di-sēbut orang datang sēkarang 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-hēlai there belongs to me only one suit; nasihat bagi kanak-kanak advice to children; sēgala 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 sēbab cause, an Arabic word, is used for because of. karna Allah in God's name; sēbab mulut badan binasa it is because of the mouth the body is destroyed. Perhaps karna and sēbab 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 mēngadap confront; mēnuju 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 gunong ascend a mountain; turun gunong descend from a mountain; kēluar padang issue from a plain; dudok tanah sit on the ground; tinggal rumah stay at home; menyembah kaki do obeisance at the feet; pēnoh sampah filled with rubbish; bijak bērchakap clever at conversation; pandai mēnari 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; tēpok tari clap and dance; pērgi balek go and return; tua muda old and young; ka-sini ka-sana hither and thither; bēristēri bēranak, bēranak bērchuchu wedding and getting children, by children getting grandchildren; makin sangat ia lari jatoh 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: lēmbu kambing dan biri-biri itek ayam pun murah bēlaka 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 amased; gagah pērkasa (Skt.) valiant and strong; sēlamat (Ar.) sēmpurna (Skt.) safety and security; kaum (Ar.) kēluarga (Skt.) friends and family; kēlam kabut dark and dim; budi (Skt.) bahasa (Skt.) manners. turun-lah angin ribut tofan dan hujan pētir kilat halilintar sabong-mēnyabong 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 sēmbilan ratus sa-bēlas the year 1911 or in phrases like di-pēlok di-chium-nya hugged and kissed.)

(b) Adversative.

di-tikam-nya tiada kēna he was stabbed at (but) not hit; bērchērai kaseh bērtalak tidak parted (but) not divorced; hēndak hinggap tidak bērkaki wanting to alight (but) lacking claws; raja Siak mēmbunoh orang tiada mēmbēri tahu the raja of Siak was executing people (but) not informing (Malacca).

(c) Alternative.

dua tiga hari kvo (or) three days; mau ta’ mau willing (or) unwilling; pēlenteh itu mati, patek tiada tahu whether the blackguard is alive or dead, I do not know; tiada tēntu 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 pēnjurit itu, ’ku lihat bring hither the robber (that) I may see him.

(e) ‘That’ of indirect narration.

kēdēngaran ka-Malaka raja Siak mēmbunoh orang
news came to Malacca (that) the raja of Siaik was executing people.

(f) Conditional.

datang orang budak hēndak mēmbēli layang-
layang, 'ku tanya came a boy to buy my kites, I asked him.

(g) Causal.

datang 'ku ini hēndak mēmbunoh ēngkau the reason I came now is because I would slay you.

(h) Temporal.

ka-pada masa itu Laksamana Hang Nadim di-
Johor; mēnēngar 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, ēntah . . . ēntah, 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.

tēlah did, was; after: jadi it happens; therefore: lalu pass; then: sampai arrive; up to, until.

(c) Also adjectives and adverbs.

lagi more; and: sēdang medium; just, midway, whilst, even though: baharu new, newly; not till then.
(d) Also prepositions.

*dalam* inside, in; *while*: *oleh* by; *because*: *dèmi* (one) after (another); as soon as.

III. A great number of words used as conjunctions are borrowed from foreign sources.

Sanskrit are *sépèrti* proper appearance, like, as if; *tètapi* but; *atau* or; *tètèkala* time, when; *karna* for, because; *sèmèntara* while, before; *supaya* in order that; *umpama* example, like. Arabic are *(wà-)*lakin and yet, but; *sèbab* because; *asal* provided that; *walau* even if; *misal* for example. *mèski* 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: *sèrta* dèngan; akan *tètapi*; *oleh* karna; *oleh* sèbab; *karna* sèbab; 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 *sèrta*. *ada* *banyak* *sèrta* *'ku* I have many companions; *pèrgi-lah* dèngan or *puloh* orang hulubalang *sèrta-nya* went with ten captains accompanying him; *burong* nuri dan *tiong* *sèrta* bayan parrots and mynahs accompanied by parakeets; *bunga* mèlur tèr-lalu banyak *sèrta* bèrbagai rupa-nya jasmine flowers very many in number and of various sorts; *ia* *pun* lalu bangun *sèrta* bèrdèbar hati-nya he then rose with beating heart; *sèrta* todak mèlompat lèkat jungur-nya pada batang pisang itu as soon as the fish leapt, their snouts stuck in the banana stems. *karna* and *sèbab* are nouns, prepositions, and conjunctions.

§ 97. Like adverbs, some conjunctions are formed by the prefix *sa*. *sa-bèlum* before; *sa-lagi* as long as; *sa-tèlah* 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; lēbai dan haji, imam dan khatib elders and pilgrims, priests and readers; ka-nēgēri Pahang dan Tērēngganu dan Kēlantan 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 Jēbat dan Tun Kasturi, Tun Lēkir dan Tun Lēkiu; Tun Jēbat Tun Kasturi Tun Lēkir Tun Lēkiu; Tun Jēbat dan Tun Kasturi dan Tun Lēkir dan Tun Lēkiu; Tun Jēbat Tun Kasturi Tun Lēkir dan Tun Lēkiu. 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.

dēngan. suatu batu tērlalu bēsar dēngan tinggi-nya a rock very large and high; turun-lah ribut tofan kilat halilintar dēngan hujan-nya came tempest, lightning, thunder and rain; sampai-lah ka-tēngah arongan dēngan-bēbērapa mēlaluī kuala nēgēri arrived at mid-channel and passed many estuaries.

sērta implies close or simultaneous connection.

lagi is employed especially between adjectives—as also are sērta and dēngan. tuan hamba pahlawan lagi budiman dan lagi pun anak raja bēsar sērta bang-
sawan my lord is a warrior, moreover benevolent, moreover the scion of great and noble ancestry; ia orang gagah dan perkasa dan penjurit agong lagi sakti he is a mighty man and valiant and a warrior not only great but possessed of magic powers; ia pun tērlalu adil lagi mēngaseh sēgala hamba Allah he is exceeding just, moreover pitiful towards the servants of God; tērlalu jērneh lagi dēngan sējok-nya very clear, moreover cold besides; tērlalu baik paras-nya sērta dēngan adil-nya lagi murah very handsome and therewith just, moreover gracious.

lēbeh=plus and is used with numerals: tiga lēbeh dua-pērtiga $\frac{3}{2}$.

sambil denotes simultaneity of action: bērbangkit sambil bērdiri sērta mēnyēbut nama Allah dan mēng-uchap sēlamat got up and stood therewith invoking the name of Allah and calling down a blessing; sambil mē-nyēlam sambil minum diving and drinking simultaneously.

lalu denotes transitional action: mēnyēmbah lalu kēluar 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: bērkēlahi pun tiada, bērdamai pun tiada we are not friends and we are not foes. Also: ada yang mēlihat dari balek pintu, ada yang mēnengok dari kisi-kisi, ada yang mēnengok dari tingkap, ada yang mēnyingkap atap, ada yang mēmasokkan dinding, ada yang mēmanjat 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.

tētapi but. banyak lagi anak Laksamana tētapi lain bonda-nya there were many other children of the
Laksamana but by another mother. mélainkan and hanya differ from tétapi, being used where a negative precedes or is implied however remotely before them. pénjurit Mélayu tiada bérilmu mélainkan bérani sahaja the Malay warriors possessed no art but only bravery; tiada ia měngēr-jakan suatu pěkěrjaan mélainkan děngan mashuaraat děngan chuchu-nya he undertook nothing without consultation with his grandchildren; bèrapa batang kisi-kisi yang di-kěhěndaki mélainkan putus it did not matter how many strips of trellis were desired, they were broken; jikalau ada pělandok puteh mélainkan těmpat itu baik if there is a white mouse-deer, the spot cannot be but good. sēmua-nya ada hanya datok Bendahara dan Těměnggong juga yang tiada all were present except the Dato Bendahara and Temenggong; ada pun yang kita harap hanya-lah Laksamana akan měmbawa anak kita kědua itu there is no one whom we trust to bring our two children except the Laksamana; sēgala orang habis lari hanya yang těrdiri Těměnggong juga no one stood their ground except the Temenggong.

The following idioms are notable:

di-chari oleh baginda, itu pun tiada běrtěmu or tiada juga běrtěmu search was made by the king, but they were not met with; jikalau běsar dosa-nya di-bunoh, itu pun jikalau běrlaku 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 běrtapa dan kěsaktian juga yang tinggal ka-pada aku lagi, di-dalam pada itu pun lamun anak-ku běrkěhěndak akan dia 'ku běri 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 beroleh anak atau tidak do you possess children or not? tiada kethuan 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-lepas atau tiada, kita balek juga whether released or not, we will return nevertheless; empat 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 bendo? engkau-kah 'pa si bendo am I old father-sit-at-the-door, or is it you? pereksa sudah-ka ia sampai inquire whether he has arrived; entah 'kan ia entah 'kan tidak I do not know whether it be true or false; alah, tiada alah pun, kita kembali 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. terlalu amat bijak memanah, umpama-nya membelah kayu dapat ia dengan panah an expert archer, for instance he could split a stick with an arrow; jikalau datang dua perekjaan, ya'ni perekjaan Allah dengan perekjaan 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 keraiani dinegerei Turkestan one more prince and that was the one who reigned in Turkestan.

(e) Causal.

oleh, sebab, karna, oleh sebab, oleh karna are most commonly used. tiga hari tiada di-tegur oleh tiada mau kembali ka-Pasai three days he was not greeted because he would not return to Pasai; sukachita sebab pereleh
kēris itu happy because he possessed the dagger; karna ēngkau sudah di-bunoh oleh Bēndahara, sēbab itu-lah maka aku hairan because you have been slain by the Bendahara, that is the reason of my astonishment; dēngan karna Manjapahit itu nēgēri bēsar because Manjapahit is a great kingdom.

Other idioms occur:

Laksamana itu tiada, itu-lah bērani Hang Jēbat 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 bērani the knowledge of his step-father's absence is the cause of his daring; dari-pada ia hamba Mēlayu tiada mau dērhaka, dēmikian-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 mēmbēri surat pada raja-raja, chap ini-lah di-chapkan whenever you dispatch a letter to a prince, this is the stamp to be impressed. tētēkala when. (Cp. the use of tempat where) tērkēnangkan tētēkala dudok dalam astana remembering the time when he sat in the palace; kita suroh adang tētēkala ia ka-sungai we bade intercept him when he went down to the river.

Whilst is variously expressed:

dalam bērkata-kata itu while the conversation was going on; pērmaisuri pun bērpaling sēraya bērsēlubang the princess turned aside, whilst drawing her veil. tēngah baginda bērīkir itu while the king debated in his mind. sēdang baginda bērnēgeri 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 bērangkat samēntara 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-peninggal in the interim, since, after. sa-peninggal ayah kita ménjabéang, maka datang dua orang after our father crossed the river, two men came, démì as soon as (cp. sërta, § 96 III). démì di-lihat oleh baginda as soon as the prince saw. baharú not till then, sudah itu, baharú di-lékat dian dèngan api not till after that was the candle lit. sa-télah, sudah after. télah bébérara lama-nya di-laut sampai-lisha ka-Malaka after they had been some while at sea, they reached Malacca. sa-bélum, or bélum before. bélum 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 mëlaikat a dream as if an angel appeared to him; bunyi péluru sëpërti kumbang këna jolok the bullets buzzed like beetles buzz when prodded with a stick.

(h) Proportional.

makin ... makin, bértambah ... bértambah, kian ... kian the more ... the more. makin bérkawal makin këchurian the more guard is kept, the more thefts there are; bérara 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 jérat, ini konon gajah jinak even a wild elephant we can snare, how much more this tame beast; sëdang orang jahat lagi démikian, istimewa pula orang baik-nya bérara lagi seeing that a knave acts so, how much more a good man; usahkan gëmala 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 bértambah suka ria-nya so far from descending he waxed in mirth;
usahankan baik, sa-orang pun jadi-lah so long as he is good, one man will do; jangankan sa-bahara emas, 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 émpat-puloh orang sa-kali pun mëngamok 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 éngkau 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 éngkau buboh rachun minum-lah éngkau 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 emas pun kita béri, lamun sêgêra sudah-nya three lumps of gold will I give, provided the work be soon finished. mêski pun sampai ka-Pahang, sahaya ikut juga even if it be as far as Pahang, still I will follow.

There are idiomatic usages. sêbab kakanda tiada mêmêri tahu, takut kêlak adinda ta’ bêri pêrgi the reason I did not tell you was for fear you should not let me go. hêndak pun kakanda lawan, nêschaya banyak mati suppose I wanted to fight, assuredly many would lose their lives. baginda pun mênitahkan biduanda pêrgi mêlihat sunggoh-kah sêpêrti khabar itu the prince bade an official go and see if it was correct as reported. budak êmpat itu sunggoh pun manusia sêpêrti 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. chêritraiî oleh ayahanda supaya sêdap rasa hati hamba continue the story, father, so that my heart may be glad; baik-lah aku chari têmpat yang jauh dari kêyangan ini, aku buangkan anakanda itu supaya ia jangan boleh kêmbali 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 pêkêrjaan-nya hêndak mênymambut duli yang di-pêrtuan he came to greet his lord.

(k) 'That.'

Many idiomatic usages are current. yang; akan; pêri; hal; mêngatakan; even hikayat the story are employed: also bahwa and ada pun. tiada sah-kah yang maha mulia hêndak kurnia nama akan patek is there not proof that your highness will ennoble me?; yang hamba mêmbuangkan orang kaya itu bahwa sa-kali-kali
tiada hamba mau I had not the slightest wish that I should banish the chief. bërikhayatkan akan përbuatan Sëri Bëtara dan Pati Gajah Mada hëndak mëmbunoh Laksamana itu relating of Sri Betara and moreover of how Pati Gajah Mada would slay the Laksamana; di-chëritrakan akan hal ahual ia hëndak di-bunoh oleh Laksamana the story was told of the matter of his murder intended by the Laksamana; këdëngaran pada Batara Majapahit mëngatakan Raja Champa datang news came to the Batara of Majapahit announcing that the Raja of Champa was coming; kamu suratkan sëgala 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-bërmula. bërmula the story begins; sa-kali përsëtua (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 dëngan adil-nya sahadan dëngan murahan Maharaja Ravana was established with justice and with graciousness; tërlalu luas huma-nya sahadan tërlalu 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 bërchërita jikalau adinda tiada tahu, ‘Ada pun namaNEGÉRí kita Astana Pura Negara’ hear me tell the story, my sister, if you do not know. ‘Now the name of my country is Astana Pura Negara’; baginda bërjalan-lah masok hutan, maka sampai-lah ka-tëpi sungai. ada pun luas sungai itu tiga ribu dêpa. maka baginda bërhënti 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 Mëlaka sëkarang sudah bëristerëri we hear positive news that the raja of Malacca has now wedded; maka Laksamana pun tahu-lah bahwa pënjurit itu datang the Laksamana had sure knowledge of the swash-buckler’s coming; ya tuanku bahwa raja Mëlaka têlah datang ka-Tuban your highness, yes, assuredly the raja of Malacca has arrived at Tuban; dêmi Allah dan rasul Allah bahwa aku tiada mau bërtikam dêngan èngkau by God and the Apostle of God, of a truth I do not wish to fight with thee; hai Tun Kasturi bahwa sa-nya èngkau-lah hamba-ku yang bërsëtiawan 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.

bëlum habis ia bërkata-kata itu, maka di-lompat
oleh Sang Hanuman before the conversation was finished, Sang Hanuman leapt away; sa-lama anak-ku tiada itu, maka négéri Mélaka 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 ménagadap when the day broke, the merchant entered into the presence. cheh 'ku sangka bérani Sëri Bija 'di raja itu, maka aku naik pérahu-nya Bah! it was because I thought Sri Bija ‘di Raja was brave, that I came aboard this ship; manat-tah diri bërkawal, maka saudagar ini këna këchurian where in the world did you keep your watch, that this merchant had his goods stolen?; apa sëbab-nya maka tuan hamba ka-mari what is the reason that you have come?; ménagapa maka Laksamana turun dari-atas kuda itu what is the reason that the Laksamana dismounts?; barang kala ular itu ménghëmbuskan nafas, maka sëgala pohon kayu yang èmpat lima pëmëlok itu pun habis tèrbunoh whenever the serpent snorted forth his breath, then all the trees four or five armfuls in girth are utterly dead. kalau-kalau mata-ku bëkas tidur gërangan, maka salah pëman-dangan-ku perhaps my eyes are sleepy that I cannot see properly; sa-tëlah hari hëndak malam, maka raja Mélaka pun bërmohon këmbali ka-astana, maka Patih pun bërmohon këmbali 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 dëngan sa-saat itu juga, maka Bëtara Kala mënjadi-lah katak; maka ia pun hëndak lari; maka di-lihat diri-nya tëlah mënjadi katak; maka lalu tèrlompat-lompat, maka sërta bërbunyi gëruk-gëruk 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 istëri-nya hamil-lah; maka
genap-lah bulan; maka permaisuri pun berauak-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 běrkuda maka baginda měmakai, maka běrgosok bau-bauan, maka pěrgi-lah baginda běrkuda when raja Zainal would ride, he dressed and scented himself and went off riding:—this is the construction in III above. maka tětěkala hampir-lah fajar maka sěgala binatang bělum kěluar měnchari makanan-nya, maka baginda itu pun kěluar 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 hěndak běrlayar, hěndak-lah těgahkan if he has not paid his debt and he wants to sail, he must be restrained. mari kita suroh chari sa-orang pěnjurit kita suroh churi kain baju Laksamana itu; maka kita tarohkan kain baju-nya itu di-dalam astana, maka kita kata Laksamana itu běrmukah 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 běrbichara, 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 Mělayu tiada dapat běrguraukan kěris-nya itu di-hadapan majlis jikalau sudah těrhunus kěris-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-
tēlah Maharaja Baladewa dan Maharaja Sali mēlihat Bētara Indēra datang, sa-tēlah bērtemu, maka ia pun mēnyēmbah 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 ēmak hullo! well, I never!

adoh or more emphatically adohai oh! alas! adoh sakin 'mak Awang alas! how it hurts mother (=wife).

cheh (Jav. chis) bah, fie. cheh 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).
chēkek kēdadak, muntah kēdaraḥ or muntahkan daraḥ an imprecation implying may you die a violent death.

III. Common invocations to Allah are:
dēmi 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 pênghulu Ali (is) chief; aku pênghulu I (am) chief; aku dia I (am) he; Ali sikit Ali (is) sick; aku sikit I (am) sick; Ali jatoh Ali falls; bêlum kêtika not yet (is) it time.

II. The normal order is: subject + verb + object; the direct object simply stringing itself on to the verb. Ali mêmukul 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 bēsar a large house, bēsar 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 uvula, 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 Mēlayu these in former days were the privileges of Malay princes; bagindalah yang pērtama mēlētakkan kēkuningan 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; mēngapa aku ēngkau ikat why is it me you bind; pada siapa baik aku mina tolong from whom were it well I ask help.

(c) Predicate.
tērlalu chērdek sēgala orang Mēlaka ini very shrewd are all these Malacca men; patah-lah pērang orang Singapura broken in battle were the men of Singapore; Mēlaka-lah nama nēgēri ini Malacca shall be the name of this country. mēnchari 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? sēkarang ada-lah tētap hati kita now is our mind made up; tērlalu
banyak ia béroleh rampasan very great was the spoil he got; budak itu térlalu bésar akal-nya that child’s cunning is very great; Sang Ranjuna térlalu 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; sêgala sënjata kita suatu pun tiada boleh bunoh akan dia of all our weapons not one can slay him; tiada dapat ia bértahan unable was he to endure; pada siang hari-nya di-dirikan orang kota itu, sêrta 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-pényadap itu di-titekkan-nya 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 fore-part of a sentence.

mana bichara tuan hamba, itu-lah hamba ikut whatever you advise—that will I follow; ada pun yang mëmbinasakan Langkapuri ini kéra dan manusia the destroyers of Langkapuri were apes and men; mana yang tiada dapat di-kërjakan oleh sêgala raja-raja ia-lah konon hëndak mëngadakan 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 (grow) dark. It lies at the bottom of the favourite double phrase; champur baur mix (and) mingle; kaum kēluarga kith (and) kin; tēmpek sorak cheer (and) shout; kēchil bēsar great (and) small; tua muda young (and) old; tuak dan arak wine and spirits; mērampas dan mērēbut 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 | kēna pēluru | batang leher-nya a man dead | from a bullet | in the neck; baginda bērputēra | sa-orang laki-laki | tērlalu elok paras-nya the prince had a son | one child a boy | very handsome in feature; mari-lah | anak-ku dudok dēkat ayahanda | di-sini hitler, 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 tērsēnyum titah baginda the prince smiled, said the prince; tuan putēri itu pun makin sangat ia mēnangis that princess, the more bitterly she wept; ada pun bapa-ku itu bēsar-lah ia di-dalam Mēlaka 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; tērsēbut-lah pēraka-taan pulau Langkapuri itu sa-lama pēninggal pērang Sēri 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'.

ségala raja-raja sakalian every prince, all of them; ségala yang memandang dia itu pun sakalian-nya bélas dan hanchur luloh rasa hati-nya all beholders, every one of them, felt pity; and broken and crushed were their hearts; kata Maharisi akan ségala péri 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 Chéndéra émpat orang itu, titah-nya now the king ordered the king's son raja Chendera and his three brothers, he ordered; anak raja këémpat itu pun ménỳémbah, sémbah-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 Béndahara pun ménỳémbah lalu këluar bërlëngkap dan mëngërahkan ségala pëgawai dan përtuanan akan mënyambut surat itu: maka pëgawai dan përtuanan itu pun bërjalan-lah mënyambut surat dan bëngkisan itu thé 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 bërmohon-lah këlima-nya ka-pada Sang Përtala Nala the Laksamana and his four brothers took leave of Sang Pertala Nala; supaya aku bëri gan-
jaran banyak akan ēngkau that I may give a large reward to you; sa-tēlah Rangga dan Barat Kētika mēnēngar kata Laksamana démikian itu, maka Rangga dan Barat Kētika mēmandang pada Laksamana as soon as Rangga and Barat Kētika heard that speech of the Laksamana, then Rangga and Barat Kētika stared at the Laksamana.

(ʃ) 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.

| ada pun pada bichara patek,       | yang hina ini,                      |
| jikalau ada sa-ribu tiada patek indahkan; | atau dua ribu pun,                |
| jikalau orang bērani akan orang pēnakut | mudah juga pada patek mēngēmbari dia, |
| itu-lah sukar patek akan mēngēmbari dia, | bērhadapan;                      |
| In the opinion of your slave, if there are a thousand, your slave heeds not; | mēmbuat di-dalam diam-nya,         |
| provided they are brave men, as for cowards, hard it is for your slave to match them, | banyak budi bichara hend-dak mēngēnaï dia. |
| who is lowly, aye, or two thousand men, easily your slave can match them | who fight face to face; workers in secret, and much plotting is needed to encompass them. |

In that example, the first column taken alone makes sense: in the following, both columns are practically coherent and sufficient in themselves.

| apa-bila datang sa-orang mēlayu bēlari démikian sifat-nya | hēndak mēngēmbari ēng-kau |
| Mēlayu itu                                              |                              |
maka oleh kamu kěpóng-kan kětujo-ňu puloh ini turut

barang di-mana pěr-gi-nya
bunoh běri mati
běsar-ňu ganjaran-ųn,

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 běradukan apa-kah ini?
anakanda sudah měngi-
dari hutan
jiwa-ku bělum juga sědar

bangun-ňu 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 běri ďěngkau lěpas-kan
bunoh juga akan Mělayu itu
ikut juga oleh-mu
jikalau Mělayu itu mati
di-anugěrahi oleh Sěri Bětara.

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 měrapatkan apa-kah ini?
putéra nin sudah mě-langsi padang
nyawa-ku bělum juga bangun
sědar-ňu nyawa
putéra 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.

(e) 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 Përtala Dewa as for the prince's name, (it) was Sang Pertala Dewa; akan pesan paduka ayahanda, suroh patek sëgéra këmbali 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 gëmëntar sëgala sëndi Bëtara Brahma mata-nya këlam-lah lalu pëngsan all the limbs of Bëtara Brahma trembled, his eyes grew dim and (he) fell faint; di-palu oleh Sang Sambah këna rusok-nya lalu mati
struck by Sang Sambah in his side (he) fell dead; kēlima-nya pun bōrmohon-lah lalu bōrjalan; dua hari bōrjalan, maka sampai-lah the whole five took leave and started on the journey; after (they) had journeyed two days, (they) arrived; di-bēlah-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-pērtimba orang, tiada tērtimba 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.

tēlah baginda masok ka-dalam astana, lalu bērtitah ka-pada pērmaisuri as soon as the prince entered the palace, (he) straightway ordered the princess; jangankan ia hampir ka-pada patek, mēmandang lēkat pun tiada so far was he from approaching me, (he) did not even fix his gaze upon me; jikalau lain dari-pada baginda, nēschaya tiada mau kēmbali 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 bēroleh martēbat dari-pada paduka bētara eat 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 bērsurat, tiada dapat tiada di-aleh-nya as for the men of Pasai, if (one) takes (them) a letter, the letter will certainly be misread; sēgala orang yang bērēmas, jikalau tiada di-anugērahi 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 pērgi, tēntu kēna 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, pěrģi 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 měnjunjong duli, dahulu kěpala běntara if (folk) pay homage, the first in precedence is the court herald; raja Kědah makan ... tělah 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 sèbab-nya maka Běndahara mati? Maka sěmbah Tun Inděra Sēgěra ‘Sèbab makan rachun tuanku’ the prince asked ‘Why did the Bendahara die? Tun Indra Segera replied ‘Because (he) ate poison, your highness; sa-lama běrchěrai muda bangsawan bagi 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-něgěri orang (one) must be wary in a strange land; biar lambat asal sělamat let (one) be slow, provided (one) is safe.

II. The object may be omitted.

jangan bunoḥ don’t slay (him, her, or it, as circumstances make clear); sahut orang ‘Ěmas-nya hilang.’ maka kata Běndahara ‘Biar aku ganti’ folk cried, ‘Their gold is lost.’ Said the Bendahara, ‘Let me replace (it)’; sěka-rang lěboh kita tiada bětul, baik juga tuanku měm-
NOTES ON SYNTAX

bētuli *now our road is not straight, it were well your highness straighten (it); apa nama sēnjata 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.

hēndak ka-mana *whither away? hai budak-budak mau-kah mēmandang ēmas? maka sahut anak buah-nya ‘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; bērapa 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 kērja kēchil, tiada buat; jikalau kērja bēsar, bērapa 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-bōntok *one bait and a hook (and the day’s labour may be wasted owing to its loss); hujan ēmas di-nēgēri orang, hujan lēmbing di-nēgēri 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 dèkat 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; dèkat 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, tuaia (Portuguese) towel, sétori (English) tale, lie, konsé-têbel 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 pêchah broken plates in place of têmbikar shard; sêmua for all in place of sakalian, sêgala and so on.

(g) It employs many slang expressions: gasak, rodok, radak, chêkek, lantak, parap for eat; gasak, bongkar, kibar, kabong, chabut, tuas, chachak, têlungkup run; pusing cheat; lichin stony broke; bêrkêrêdk in a pickle; kapal sapu roué; kênchang swell, dapper; galak lascivious; bagi 'give' it any one, beat; kêlám kabut surprised, confused.

(h) It uses coarse words: bêtina female, jantan male, mampus die, 'croak' of persons as well as of animals; mêmputa 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 pérgi go; hang for ēngkau you; 'nak for hēndak wish, will; ta' for tidak no; 'ku for ēngku 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 sēmpat 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; tēndang kick with the toes; tērajang kick with the heel. balut tie in a wrapper; bungkus tie in a bundle; bērkas tie, of recalcitrant articles like antlers or spears. potong cut; bēlah cut in two, split lengthwise; chinchang cut in small pieces, mince; kērat cut in two crosswise; panggal sever, decapitate; ranchong cut to a fine point (e.g. a pencil); panchong prune, lop; pēdang mow; tētak notch; tuai reap, cut rice-grain; raut cut, trim; chukur cut hair or beard; parang to sabre, cleave; tēbang fell big jungle; tēbas clear scrub; rēntas 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; bēbat 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; kēpit 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: bersalin change oneself instead of the blunt bēranak bear children; istēri (Skt.) instead of bini or pērēmpuan for wife; suami (Skt.) instead of laki for husband; mati or pulang ka-rahmatu 'Ilah (Ar.) for die.

(c) To a greater degree perhaps than peasant talk, it employs affixes with the verbs, especially mē, bē(r), and tē(r) (and in a few words pē(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, ēngku, tēngku your highness; putēra (Skt.) scion for child; sēmayam reside (literally sit enthroned); bērangkat (instead of bērjalan) travel; siram bathe; santap eat; gēring sick; mangkat be borne aloft; die; titah command, order; sēmbah 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 words and of flowery metaphors, which are found only in literature.

sēgara ocean; bahagia good fortune; kēndaraan steed, vehicle; rupawan beautiful; sēntosa tranquillity; mega clouds; mērdu soft, sweet; pēkōrti character; pērvara warrior; angkasa heavens; aneka kinds; asa hope; asmara love; bahtēra vessel; biti female slave; chakērawala firmament; dērma alms; sēntiasa always; sokma soul; sarwa (now corrupted sēru) all; pērkasa valiant; saksama inquiry; papa poverty; anugērah, kurnia gift (from superior to inferior); putēri princess; pakxi bird; pahala gain; suaka refuge are a few examples from Sanskrit. From the Arabic are borrowed such words as azim august; aflat health; arwah soul; bahar sea; baka eternal; batal futile; fana perishable; feel conduct; fuad heart; haiwan creatures; hebat terrible; ibarad parallel, analogous case; ihtiar choice; ijtihad zeal; isharat sign; istiadat custom; (tēr) jali bright; kadam foot; kadar ability; khalayak mankind; khayal trance; khuatir consciousness; layak proper; lazat pleasant; lazim necessary; makhluk humanity; martēbat rank; masaalah thesis; muslihat stratagem; mustaed ready; pērlu 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; biaperi 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 kēsoma flower for girl or boy; bunga di-pēraduan sudah layu the flower of the bed-chamber has faded; meaning your bride is dead; and bunga di-sēring 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 (Kěpala 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 pěnghulu.

The principal headings are:

يا امير المومنين

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.
The Saying is the Truth;
Appropriate when two rulers correspond: common on letters from native rulers to the Governor and vice versa.

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.'

*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.

*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.

*O Merciful Pardoner.*
This formula is very common on letters or petitions addressed to District Officers by *penghulus*, 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.

*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'.
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يا قاضي اللاحات
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 محبت 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 للسنة
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 لليميد
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.
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 nāru'l-āshikīn* may also be used over a love-letter. *Ya nāru'l-'āin* (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.

**بُحُر الله العالم**

God's Ocean of Knowledge.

This heading is placed above letters to very learned men.

**للكم واحد القهار**

The Decree is from the All-Powerful.

A heading to a letter announcing a death.

**إن 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.**

1. **This Letter.**—This expression is usually much expanded. The following is an extreme case of expansion:

\[
\text{IVarkatu 'l-ikhlas wa tuhfatu 'l-ajnas yang törbit daripada fuadu'z-sakiah ya-itu hati yang puteh lagi hening dan jérneh yang tiada ménaroh shak dan wahanm di-dalam-nya sérta tiada ménaroh lupa dan laiai sa-kêrika jua pun sa-lagi ada périderan chakêrawala matalahari dan bulan;}
\]

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 sêrta 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 dari pada beta, Raja Muda X., wakil's-Sultan, Negeri Perak, daru'r-ridzwan, bersenayam di-Bukit Chandan, Seri Andalan.

The following is a humble variant:

Ya-itu datang dari pada beta, Datok P., yang ada pada masa ini di-dalam daerah Negeri R'mban.

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 ditaslimkan 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-himmân 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-himmân wa'l-mannân;
(b) Barang di-sampaikan Allah ar-rahman ar-rahim;
(c) Barang di-sampaikan Tuhan rabbu'l-alam;
(d) Barang di-sampaikan Tuhan sêrn 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 ênchek-ênchek dan tuan-tuan yang bêrjumpa 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’ (wâjah) 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 wâjah 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 seri wajah;¹
   'Before the princely face of ——.' This expression might be used by a Sultan to a non-reigning prince.

(d) Ka-bawah hadzratul-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: seri paduka sahabat beta, paduka sahabat beta, and sahabat beta. Strictly, the first

¹ The word terhampar ('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 tērutama: to the Governor;
Yang muha-mulia: to a Sultan;
Yang tēramat mulia: to a Regent, Raja Muda, or semi-independent chief like the Datok of Jelebu;
Yang bērhortat: 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' (bĕrsēmayam di-atas singgasana takhtsa kērajaan). 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 bĕrsēmayam di-atas singgasana takhtsa kērajaan. A better expression—for an administrator, at all events—is mēlakūkan tadbiṟl-ihsan, 'munificently carrying on the Government.' A non-reigning prince may be said to 'sit in state' (bĕrsēmayam), but he cannot be said to do it 'on a throne of royalty', nor can he be said to 'possess a throne of sovereignty' (mēmpunyai takhtsa kērajaan) or 'munificently to administer the Government'. He may, however, be said to 'possess regal dignity
APPENDIX

and importance’ (mempunyaiaulat kērajaan dan kēbēsaran). A District Officer may hyperbolically be described as ‘muni-
ificently carrying on the administration’, but not as ‘sitting
in state’, nor as ‘possessing a throne of sovereignty’. The
correct expression is bērmakam or bērmastautin, ‘officially
presiding’ or ‘officially residing’. An honoured unofficial
‘exists in peace and health and prosperity’ (ada dēngan
istirahat dan khairul-afiāt, or ada dēngan kēsejahāraan-nya).
A less dignified expression is the simple ada di-dalam pēlihara
Allah taāla. A person of no importance simply ‘exists’
(ada).

To summarize:

(a) The proper descriptions for a reigning Prince are:

Yang bērsēmayam di-atas singgasana takhta kērajaan;
Yang mēlakukan tadbirul-ihsan;
and (less dignified) yang mempunyai takhta kērajaan dan
kēbēsaran.

(b) The best descriptions of a non-reigning Raja are:

Yang mempunyai daulat kērajaan dan kēbēsaran;
Yang bērsēmayam.

(c) of a Governor:

Yang mēlakukan tadbirul-ihsan;
Yang mēmērentah.

(d) of a Resident:

Yang mēlakukan tadbirul-ihsan;
Yang mempunyai pangkat Resident.

(e) of a District Officer:

Yang bērmakam;
Yang bērmastautin;
Yang mēlakukan jalan bērkaseh-kasehan;
Yang mempunyai jawatan pēgawai jajahan.

(f) of an official, generally:

Yang bērpangkat (name of office);
Yang bērjawatan (name of office).
(g) of an unofficial of standing:

Yang ada dengan sehat dan khairul-'oifiat;
Yang ada dengan kemuliaan;
Yang ada dengan kesejahteraan;
Yang ada dengan kesempornaan;
Yang ada dengan selamat;
Yang ada di-dalam pelihara 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-amam, 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 negeri 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 Seri 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 dengan sêjahêra-nya or dengan sêlamat-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 seri paduka sahabat beta dalam sihat dan 'afiat, mudah-mudahan kikal di-atas takhta keraian sa-lama-lama-nya.

(b) to a Chief:

Tiada apa-apa yang lain melainkan di-harap umur panjang. Tamat.

(c) to an equal:

Démikian-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:


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.
NOTES ON MALAY LETTER-WRITING

tersurat (or tertulis or fermaktub or fermadzkur) di-Taipeng, pada 22 hari-bulan dzul-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 ل ي ر خ ي

These two groups are conventional and complimentary. In formal correspondence between equals the expressions انتهى 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, bëribu-ribu ampun, tærsembah ka-bawah duli lebu têlapakan Sêri Paduka yang maha-mulia yang-di-pertuan yang bërsemayam di-atas takhta singgasana kërajaan di-dalam negeri 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:


The address on a petition simply prefixes alamat surat to the puji-pujian; thus, alamat surat ampun tuan-ku, bëribu-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 dengah 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-alas 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:

The following example, on the other hand, gives a love-letter that is nothing more than a message of affection and consists of pujî-pujîan from the beginning to the end:

   Enchek Amat mémbara suloh,
   Hêndak ményuloh sarang têbuan;
   Sêmbah 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
Perkasa Sitiawan, yang memerentah di-dalam jajahan Nögéri Johol
dengan sejahtera-nya ya-itu akan datang ka-hadapan majlis
sahabat beta tuan X., Magistrate di-tanah Melayu, dengan selamat
lagi sejahtera-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 lembaga 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-tuhfatul-ajnas yang tèrbit daripada fuadu’z-
zakiah ya-itu hati yang puteh lagi hèning dan jérneh yang tiada

3. From a Malay Raja (not a ruling chief) to a Magistrate. Compliments only:


4. From a Regent of Perak to a District Officer announcing the death of the Sultan. Compliments only:


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 penghulu, 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 *mempunyai takhta kérajaan*, but he certainly could claim the administrative descriptions of a Sultan such as *ménjalankan tadbir'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 *Séri 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 *kaulü'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 *séri paduka sahabat beta* should be confined as far as possible to Ruling Chiefs, Governors and Residents. The expression *paduka sahabat 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 *sahabat 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 *wajah, waslkan, bersëmayam, singgasana, daulat* and *takhta kérajaan*—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., kepala mata-mata di-dalam daerah Y., di-sampaikan kapada M. bin N., yang ada sekarang ini di-dalam daerah Z.
Ahual di-taarifkan ...

(b) to a penghulu:
Ahual beta taarifkan ...

(c) to a chief:
Surat tulus ikhlas serta dengan hati yang puteh daripada beta tuan X., kepala mata-mata yang ada terhenti sekarang ini di-dalam daerah Y., maka barang di-sampaikan oleh Tuhan Séru Sakalian Alam datang ka-hadapan majlis sahabat beta yang mulia Datok M. yang ada pada masa ini di-dalam negeri Z., dengan sehat dan khairul-l'afiat.
Ahual beta maalumkan ...

(d) to a non-reigning raja:
Wa-baada-hu ahual beta maalumkan ...

(e) to a reigning Sultan:
Wa-baada-hu ahual di-maalumkan ...
II.—From a Senior Official.

(a) to a peasant:
Daripada kita tuan X. pegawai kerajaan di-dalam daerah Y., negeri Perak, di-sampaikan kapada M. bin N. yang ada pada masa ini di-dalam Kampong Z.
Ahual di-nyatakan . . .

(b) to a minor penghulu:
Surat ini daripada kita tuan X. pegawai kerajaan di-dalam daerah Y. barang di-sampaikan kapada Penghulu M. bin N. di-dalam daerah Z., dengan selamat-nya.
Ahual kita taarifkan . . .

(c) to a major penghulu or minor chief:
Ahual beta maalumkan . . .

(d) to a chief of importance:
Surat tulus ikhlas serta kaseh sayang yang terbit daripada hati yang puteh lagi hening dan jërneh serta tiada mënaroh lupa dan lalai barang sa-këtika jua pun sa-lagi ada ëperidaran chakëravala matahari dan bulan ya-itu datang daripada beta tuan X. pegawai kerajaan 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'ul-khair pada masa ini di-dalam negeri Z., dengan sehat dan aïfat.
Wa-baada-hu këmuëduan daripada itu ahual beta maalumkan . . .

(e) to a raja (other than a ruling prince):
Surat tulus ikhlas serta kaseh sayang yang terbit daripada hati yang puteh lagi hening dan jërneh serta tiada mënaroh lupa dan lalai barang sa-këtika jua pun sa-lagi ada ëperidaran chakëravala matahari dan bulan ya-itu datang daripada beta tuan X. pegawai kerajaan di-dalam daerah Y. barang di-waslkan Allah subhana wa taala ka-hadapan wajah paduka sahabat beta Raja M. ibni almarhum Raja N. yang bërsëmayam pada masa ini di-dalam negeri Z., baldu'l-aadzam serta mempunyaï daulat dan këbësaran, ada-nya.
(f) to a reigning Sultan:


Wa-baada-hu kēmudian daripada itu ahual beta maalumkan . . .

III.—From a Resident or Resident-General.

(a) to a peasant:


(b) to a minor pēnghulu:


(c) to a special class pēnghulu or minor chief:


(d) to an important chief:


(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-waslkan oleh Tuhan azza wa jalla ka-hadapan wajah
paduka sahabat beta Raja M. ibni al-marhum Raja N. yang ada pada masa ini bersèmuyam di-bandar Z. dengan bèbèrapa selamat dan sèjahtéra-nya.

Ahual beta maalumkan ... (f) to a reigning Sultan:


Wa-baada-hu kèmudian daripada itu beta maalumkan ... IV.—From the High Commissioner to a reigning Sultan.


Wa-baada-hu kèmudian daripada itu maka ada-lah beta maalum-kan ...
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