

A GRAMMAR OF TOBA BATAK

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VOOR TAAL-, LAND- EN VOLKENKUNDE

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TOBA BATAK



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CONTENTS

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

PART I THE SOUND SYSTEM

I. SCRIPT AND PRONUNCIATION

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

THE MANDAILING SOUND SYSTEM

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

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

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

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

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

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

IV. THE NUMERALS

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

V. THE PRONOUNS

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

VI. THE ADVERB

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

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

	page
158*. The expression of tense	294

VII. PREPOSITIONS

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

VIII. CONJUNCTIONS

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

IX. INTERJECTIONS

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

X. EMPHASIZERS

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

XI. COMPOUND WORDS

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

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

XIII. REDUPLICATION

181. Reduplication	395
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XIV. REPETITION WITH CHANGE OF VOWELS

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

APPENDIX

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

FOREWORD

The book which is published here in English translation appeared for the first time in Dutch over a hundred years ago. Part I, *The Sound System of Toba Batak*, was published in 1864, whereas the much larger Part II, *The Words as Parts of Speech*, appeared in 1867.¹ In a period in which, seen internationally, linguistics was predominantly comparative and historical in its orientation, this book formed another important contribution on the part of Dutch scholarship to the description of the Malayo-Polynesian languages. During the period after 1850 there appeared a number of excellent descriptions of languages which until then were hardly known. Chronologically the first of these major grammars was Taco Roorda's description of Javanese, which came out in 1855.² In 1858 two grammars came from the press: one of the Ngaju Dayak language, by August Hardeland,³ a German missionary who worked in the service of the Dutch Bible Society, and one of the Macassarese language, compiled by Benjamin Frederik Matthes.⁴ Nor did this activity stop with Van der Tuuk's grammar of Toba Batak; several important descriptions of other languages followed; we mention only Matthes' description of Buginese,⁵ Kiliaan's Madurese grammar⁶ and Van der Toorn's work on the Minangkabau language⁷ — leaving out all the work that has been done in the field of language description in the twentieth century.

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

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

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

² Taco Roorda, *Javaansche Grammatica*. Amsterdam 1855.

³ A. Hardeland, *Versuch einer Grammatik der Dajackschen Sprache*. Amsterdam 1858.

⁴ B. F. Matthes, *Makassaarsche Spraakkunst*. Amsterdam 1858.

⁵ B. F. Matthes, *Boeginesche Spraakkunst*. Amsterdam 1875.

⁶ H. N. Kiliaan, *Madoereesche Spraakkunst*. 2 Vols. Batavia 1897.

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁰ Gronemeijer, *op. cit.*, pp. 84 ff.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹³ Translated from Van den Brink, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

¹⁴ Below, p. XLII sqq.

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁷ Bataksch-Nederduitsch Woordenboek. Amsterdam 1861.

¹⁸ See Note 1 above.

in this period, in some polemic pamphlets against Taco Roorda and his adherents,¹⁹ he laid the foundations for a truly scholarly comparative study of the Indonesian languages. Other proofs of his broad interest in this period are his outline of the Malagasy language²⁰ as well as his edition of Homan's materials on Batavian Malay.²¹

After his main task had been accomplished in 1868 Van der Tuuk again departed for the Dutch East Indies, this time as the representative of the Bible Society for the island of Bali. After his arrival in Batavia political conditions on that island forced him to postpone his departure; there followed an intermezzo of fieldwork in the Lampong area (South Sumatra). For this research Van der Tuuk was well qualified by his description of a private collection of Lampong manuscripts which saw the light in 1868.²² During this same period Van der Tuuk also occupied himself intensively with the Sundanese language.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

²⁵ Nieuwenhuys, *op. cit.* 1962, p. 168.

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

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

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

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

²⁶ Nieuwenhuys, op. cit. 1962, p. 109.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

²⁹ Van der Tuuk, De Heeren R. . . . , p. 7.

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

Taco Roorda's name has already been mentioned above.³⁰ Twenty-three years Van der Tuuk's senior, he had become a professor of oriental languages (mainly Hebrew and related subjects) as early as 1828 at the Athenaeum Illustre, the predecessor of Amsterdam Municipal University. In 1834 philosophy was added to his teaching task. In the case of Roorda too, it was the Netherlands Bible Society which, albeit indirectly, put him on to the study of Indonesian languages. As a member of the Committee for indigenous affairs of the Society, Roorda was concerned with the Javanese language, in connection with the translation of the Bible which in the first instance was entrusted to Gericke. A number of circumstances induced Roorda to apply himself vigorously to the study of Javanese, with the assistance of a Javanese informant and the Dutchman C. F. Winter who had a great practical knowledge of Javanese. Roorda soon became deeply convinced of the necessity of including language study in the curriculum of prospective civil servants; it was also due to him that in 1841 was founded in Delft a College for the Training of Dutch Colonial Civil Servants. In the following year Roorda was appointed professor at the College, among other subjects in Javanese. In subsequent years he published a great number of books, primarily as practical language aids and text-books. These publications found their culmination in his Javanese Grammar of 1855.³¹ In 1864 the Delft Institution for the Teaching of Linguistics, Geography and Ethnography was transferred to Leiden, where Roorda became the first professor of Javanese.

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

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

³¹ See Note 2.

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

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

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

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

³² Van der Tuuk, *Taco Roorda's beoefening . . .*, p. 1.

³³ Uhlenbeck, *Critical Survey*, 1964, pp. 51-53.

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

³⁵ Van der Tuuk, *De Heeren R. . . .*, pp. 13-20.

³⁶ Van der Tuuk, *De Heeren R. . . .*, p. 14.

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

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

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

³⁷ Roorda, *Jav. Gramm.*, 1855, p. 86.

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

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

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

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

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

⁴⁰ See above, footnote 20.

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

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 50.

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁴⁵ T. Roorda, *Jav. Spraakkunst*, pp. V-VI.

⁴⁶ Van der Tuuk, Preface to part II of the *Toba Grammar*, below, p. XLII.

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

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

⁴⁷ Van der Tuuk, *Taco Roorda's Beoefening* . . . , p. 36.

⁴⁸ T. Roorda, *Over de Deelen der Rede*, . . . 1864, p. 7.

⁴⁹ De Heeren R. . . . , p. 7.

⁵⁰ Preface to part II of the *Toba Grammar*, below, p. XLIII.

⁵¹ De Heeren R. . . . , p. 7.

⁵² *Jav. Gramm.*, pp. 109 ff.

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

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

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

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

Therefore he also, in the same paragraph, jeeringly rejected the opinion (of Pijnappel, expressed in his Malay dictionary⁵⁷) that a Malay form such as *tanam* could be rendered most adequately by an infinitive — not to mention "the most recent Malay grammar" (again

⁵³ Toba Grammar, sect. 35.

⁵⁴ Ibid., sect. 147 NOTE.

⁵⁵ Jav. Gramm., pp. 211 f.

⁵⁶ Toba Grammar, Preface to part II, below, p. XLII.

⁵⁷ J. Pijnappel, Maleisch-Nederduitsch Woordenboek. Haarlem and Amsterdam 1863.

by Pijnappel⁵⁸), which argued that all words in Malay originally meant "to be something", so that *buwang* would mean "to be throwing". Van der Tuuk keeps his feet on the ground; just as the corresponding Batak form *tanom*, the Malay form in actual use only occurs as a passive imperative, and has to be translated as such⁵⁹; all speculations on the "actual" meaning of such a stem he considers irrelevant.

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

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

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

⁵⁸ J. Pijnappel, *Maleische Spraakkunst*. 's-Gravenhage 1866, p. 34.

⁵⁹ *Toba Grammar*, Preface to part II, below, p. XLIII.

⁶⁰ *Toba Grammar*, 147 NOTE.

⁶¹ See above, fn. 49.

⁶² *Toba Grammar*, 63 NOTE.

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

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

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

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

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.; 147 NOTE; 159, 4 NOTE.

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

⁶⁶ See above, fn. 51.

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

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

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

⁶⁸ Heyse, p. 97.

⁶⁹ Heyse, p. 103.

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

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

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

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

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

⁷² Heyse, *op. cit.*, section 95.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 287-326.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁷⁶ Toba Grammar, section 150.5.

⁷⁷ Grammar, section 126.2 (English text below, p. 188).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A. TEEUW

PREFACE TO PART ONE

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

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

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

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

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

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

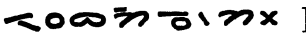
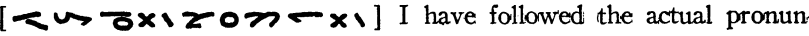
The student who understands that initially he has only to concern himself with what is in the paragraphs, and that he can skip the observations and the notes and the details about the dialects and only consult them when difficulties occur, can have no complaint to make about the circumstantiality of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

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

Amsterdam, 18th May, 1864.

H. N. VAN DER TUUK

PREFACE TO PART TWO

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

² Thus, e.g., one can learn from Batak and Tagalog that *pār* in Mal. is the form that the prefix *bār* must assume in the passive or with substantives; for example, *pār buwatan* is not *par + buwat + an*, but the passive form of *bār buwat* with the suffix *an*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁵ This appears from the multitude of unqualified dabblers.

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

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

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

Amsterdam, 1st May, 1867.

H. N. VAN DER TUUK

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

INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

¹ See 7 NOTE.

² See 30 XIV NOTE 3.

³ See 30 XII NOTE, XIV NOTES 1, 2 and 3.

⁴ See 30 XI NOTES 1 and 2, XIII NOTE 1.

⁵ See 24 NOTE 3.

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

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

With regard to the west coast of Sumatra, it can safely be said that Mandailing extends from the Ophir, or *Pasāman* mountains southward to the northerly boundaries of *Sipirok* and *Batang Toru*. Dairi is spoken in the north and north-west of Barus, and also in Singkel⁸ and its hinterland. Toba predominates to the east and north-east of Siboga (*Si-bolga*), Barus, Sorkam (*Surham*), in Silindung and in the territories situated near the Lake (*táo*).

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

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

⁷ See 30 VIII Obs.; and also Dict. under *pinggan* and *passim*.

⁸ Here, however, it has become much mixed with Malay and Achinese.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁹ See Dict. under *agomi*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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