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Some proto-Malayic affixes

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FOREWORD

This issue of *BKI*, by way of exception, is a special thematic one containing exclusively articles and book reviews of linguistic interest. The idea of such a special issue came up during the deliberations of the Organizing Committee of the Fourth European Colloquium on Malay and Indonesian Studies, which was held in Leiden from 30 May to 2 June 1983, on how best to make the rather voluminous crop of colloquium papers accessible to an interested readership. The Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde had already offered to publish the colloquium papers in a separate volume of its *Verhandelingen* series, which offer was gratefully accepted. For the sake of coherence and to prevent the volume becoming too bulky, however, it was decided that its contents should be limited to a selection of papers dealing directly with either of the colloquium's two main themes, viz. 'The role of contact in the development of Malay and Indonesian culture' and 'Methodology for the analysis and interpretation of texts'. This implied that the Committee had to look for another medium for the publication of a selection of the more typically linguistic papers.

Fortunately the Editor of *BKI* expressed his preparedness to reserve a special issue of the journal for these linguistic contributions, so that these, too, could be published together. As one of the editors of the colloquium *Verhandelingen* volume, the undersigned assumed responsibility for the necessary preparations for the special *BKI* issue.

We were fortunate to be able to include in addition the article 'On the History of the Rejang Vowels and Diphthongs' by R. Blust, who also participated in the colloquium, and that on 'The Indonesian Vowels as Pronounced and Perceived by Toba Batak, Sundanese and Javanese Speakers' by E. van Zanten and V. van Heuven, whose subjects combined so naturally with those of the colloquium papers presented here.

The book reviews as well were elicited or selected in accordance with the general character of this issue. It is hoped that the *Verhandelingen* colloquium volume will also be out soon.

The help of the Institute staff, particularly Ms. M. van Yperen, in preparing the texts for publication is gratefully acknowledged.

C. D. Grijns

K. A. ADELAAR

SOME PROTO-MALAYIC AFFIXES

The reconstruction of Proto-Malayic phonology and grammar has not so far attracted the attention of comparative linguists. This is not a statement of the obvious, considering the fact that Malay is the most important language of Southeast Asia and that it has been used extensively for the reconstruction of higher-order proto-languages such as Proto-Austronesian, Proto-Malayo-Polynesian, and Proto-Malayo-Javanic. Higher-order reconstructions should be constantly checked against (new) evidence from bottom-up reconstructions, however. For this reason it is very important that a bottom-up reconstruction be made on the basis of Malay and the dialects and languages directly related to it. Such a reconstruction is also a *sine qua non* for a better understanding of the enormous influence Malay has had on other Indonesian and Philippine languages.

In view of these considerations, I have undertaken a reconstruction of Proto-Malayic (henceforth referred to simply as PM),¹ and at the present stage of my research I am engaged in the reconstruction of PM affixes. In this paper, accordingly, I would like to discuss some corresponding affixes in the Malayic dialects/languages, and to make a PM reconstruction on the basis of their evidence. I will restrict myself to only a few, viz. the Standard Malay² affixes *-i*, *-kan*, *ber-*, and *(mem)per-* and the affixes corresponding to them. I have chosen these affixes as a starting-point because they are the only ones that have already been discussed to some extent by previous authors. Their treatment, however, does not include a comprehensive comparison of the relevant available material from all the Malayic dialects and languages, nor (except for Collins 1981) a reconstruction of the PM ancestral forms. Ras (1970), who argues that the suffixation of Standard Malay *-kan* is of more recent origin than that of the other affixes (viz. *-i*, and the nominal affix *-an*), is primarily concerned with the phenomenon of geminated consonants in

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some Indonesian languages. Collins (1981) has reconstructed PM **akan* (a preposition) on the basis only of Standard Malay, Banjarese, and Bacan. Roolvink, finally, has studied the use of *ber-* and (*mem*)*per-* in classical Standard Malay texts and traced their development in modern Standard Malay.

I will deal first with *-i* and *-kan*, and later with *ber-* and (*mem*)*per-*. I shall use the term 'Malayic' rather than 'Malay' because the subgroup discussed here includes some forms of speech which are not commonly considered as representing dialects³ of Malay. The dialects on which I shall base my comparison are Standard Malay (henceforth SM), Minangkabau (MIN), Banjarese (more specifically the Hulu variant of this, hence BH), Middle-Malay (the Seraway variant, hence SWY), Iban (IBN) and Jakartan (JKT). These dialects were chosen on two grounds: 1. they contain relevant archaic features, and 2. they are relatively well described.

For each set of affixes (*-i/-kan* and *ber-/(mem)per-*) I shall start with a short résumé of scholarly views on their history, and then will give descriptions of them together with their correspondences (in MIN, BH, SWY, IBN and JKT), finally to compare my findings with those of other scholars and propose a protoform. The description of the affixes and their correspondences is based on the following reference works:

for SM – Gerth van Wijk (1909) and Prentice (unpublished)

for MIN – van der Toorn (1899)

for BH – Asfandi Adul (1976)

for SWY – Helfrich (1904) and Aliana *et al.* (1979)

for IBN – Asmah Haji Omar (1977)

for JKT – Muhadjir (1981).

-i* and *-kan

As indicated above, Ras (1970:439-43) has argued, on morphophonemic grounds, that the suffixation of SM *-kan*⁴ is of more recent origin than that of the other affixes, viz. *-i* and (the nominal and non-transitive verbal suffix) *-an*. In many Peninsular Malay dialects (particularly the northern ones) phonological changes have affected the endings of lexemes. With the suffixation of *-an* (/Kelantan *-ε*) or *-i* the older endings reappear, but if *-kan* (/Kelantan *-kε*) is suffixed the changed ending is retained. Ras further claims that the suffixes *-i* and *-an/-ε* are no longer productive, and have even disappeared (except as fossils) in the northern Peninsular dialects, whereas *-kan/-kε* is productive.⁵ So presumably these suffixes became unproductive or disappeared at a stage where phonological changes in lexical endings had not yet taken place, whereas a suffix *-kan/-kε* was introduced after these changes.

To cite some of Ras' examples from Kelantan Malay:

<i>putuh</i>	<i>keputuse</i>	<i>putuhke</i>
<i>laé</i>	<i>belaine</i>	<i>meleke</i>
<i>bená</i>	<i>kebenare</i>	<i>benake</i>
<i>hubo</i>	<i>hubonε</i>	<i>huboke</i> .

Collins (1981:22) compares SM *akan* to *-kan* and *-i*, and comes to the conclusion that this preposition sometimes has the same functions as the two transitivity markers. Referring to Ras' dissertation (1968), he further states that Banjarese still has an unabridged form *-akan* corresponding to *-kan*, and points out that in Bacan (a Malayic dialect spoken on Bacan Island, in the Moluccas) the change from preposition into suffix is still in process: Bacan has *akan* (*-n > Bacan -n) juxtaposed between verbs and their object; but if the verb ends in *-a* this *-a* merges with the initial *a-* of *akan* (which is consequently cliticized), e.g.:

Bacan *camuni akan* 'to hide O' (O = object)

lapas akan 'to let free, let loose O'

but: *lupa + akan* → *lupakan* 'to forget O'.

According to Collins, Banjarese and Bacan are the most conservative dialects on the point of their reflection of *akan/-kan*. He next points out the changes which *akan* later underwent in some dialects, and concludes with the reconstruction of **akan*, not as a suffix but as a preposition with the meaning 'concerning, vis-à-vis, towards (terhadap)'.

Description of -i and -kan and their correspondences

SM

In SM, *-i*, when suffixed to adjectives, intransitive verbs and nouns,⁶ forms location-oriented verbs. It is also suffixed to transitive verbs, which then either become location-oriented or acquire the added meaning of plurality, intensity, duration or iteration. This may apply to the action (intensity, duration, iteration) as well as to the subject or object (plurality). The affix *-i* is never suffixed to verbs ending in *i* or *ay*.

Examples:

<i>panas</i> 'hot'	<i>panasi</i> 'heat O' (O = object)
<i>kotor</i> 'dirty'	<i>kotori</i> 'besmirch, defile O'
<i>duduk</i> 'to sit'	<i>duduki</i> 'sit on O, occupy O'
<i>naik</i> 'to go up'	<i>naiki</i> 'board O, climb O'
<i>teman</i> 'friend'	<i>temani</i> 'accompany O'
<i>air</i> 'water'	<i>airi</i> 'irrigate O'
<i>pukul</i> 'to hit, strike'	<i>pukuli</i> 'beat O up; beat or hit O (O = plural); beat, hit (of many people, etc.)'.
<i>makan</i> 'eat'	<i>makani</i> 'devour O; eat O (O = many things); eat (of many people)'.

The suffix *-kan* is the most productive transitive verb marker. When suffixed to adjectives and intransitive verbs it produces causatives, e.g.:

<i>mérah</i> 'red'	<i>mérahkan</i> 'reddden O'
<i>cepat</i> 'quick'	<i>cepatkan</i> (= <i>percepat</i>) 'accelerate O'
<i>masuk</i> 'go in'	<i>masukkan</i> 'put O in; import O'
<i>mendarat</i> 'go ashore'	<i>daratkan</i> 'put O ashore'.

Many of these causatives with *-kan* have an equivalent form with *per-*, while they are often also combined with the latter.

From intransitive verbs, two other categories of transitive verb are formed, the one meaning 'to produce (O) by way of doing (base)', and the other being equivalent to (base) + object preposition where the base refers to an emotion, perception or act of speaking, e.g.:

<i>muntah</i> 'vomit'	<i>muntahkan</i> (<i>darah</i>) 'vomit (blood)'
<i>berkata</i> 'say'	<i>katakan</i> 'say O'
<i>menari</i> 'dance' (<i>tari</i>)	<i>tarikan</i> 'dance, perform O'
<i>lupa</i> (<i>akan</i>) 'forget (about)'	<i>lupakan</i> 'forget O'
<i>berjuang</i> (<i>untuk</i>) 'strive, fight (for)'	<i>perjuangkan</i> 'strive, fight for O'.

If *-kan* is suffixed to a transitive verb, there are two possibilities, viz.:

1. the resultant verb may take the same object, yielding:
 - a. a form with little or no difference in meaning from its base, e.g.:

<i>tulis</i> 'write O'	<i>tuliskan</i> 'write O down'
<i>irim</i> 'send O'	<i>irimkan</i> 'send O off'
 - b. a causative, sometimes in combination with *per-*, e.g.:

<i>pinjam</i> 'borrow O'	<i>pinjamkan</i> 'lend O'
<i>periksa</i> 'examine O'	<i>periksakan</i> 'have O examined'
<i>kenal</i> 'know, recognize O'	<i>kenalkan</i> (<i>perkenalkan</i>) 'introduce O, cause O to be known'.

2. the resultant verb may take another object, which may be:

- a. the beneficiary of the action, e.g.:

<i>beli</i> 'buy O'	<i>belikan</i> 'buy for O'
<i>baca</i> 'read O'	<i>bacakan</i> 'read (out) O'
- b. the instrument used to perform the action, e.g.:

<i>tikam</i> 'to stab O'	<i>tikamkan</i> (<i>keris</i>) 'stab with (a dagger)'
<i>tulis</i> 'write O'	<i>tuliskan</i> (<i>kalam</i>) 'write with (a pen)'.

If *-kan* is suffixed to a noun denoting an animate being, the resultant verb will mean 'cause O to become (noun)', or 'regard O as (noun)'.

Here *-kan* often co-occurs or alternates with *per-*, e.g.:

<i>raja</i> 'king'	<i>rajukan</i> 'crown O'
<i>budak</i> 'slave'	<i>budakkan</i> (<i>perbudak</i>) 'enslave O, treat O as a slave'.

If *-kan* is suffixed to other nouns, there seems to be no particular semantic pattern involved, e.g.:

<i>penjara</i> 'prison'	<i>penjarakan</i> 'imprison O'
<i>ijin</i> 'permission'	<i>ijinkan</i> 'permit, allow O'
<i>kendali</i> 'reins, bridle'	<i>kendalikan</i> 'govern O, control O'
<i>belanja</i> 'expenses'	<i>belanjakan</i> 'spend O'.

MIN

MIN also has two transitivity markers *-i* and *-kan*.

The functions of MIN *-kan* are equivalent to those of SM *-kan*; it is, however, used in only a few parts of the Minangkabau area. Van der Toorn's linguistic material is based on the subdialect of one of these regions, Old Agam (van der Toorn 1899:x). The majority of the MIN subdialects do not have *-kan*, but feature a corresponding suffix *-an* (of which the vowel is often further modified according to the ending of the lexeme it is added to, ⁷ Thamsin 1980:94-99).

MIN *-i* is comparable to SM *-i*, but differs from it in some respects. Firstly, it is suffixed also to bases ending in *i* or *ay*, e.g.:

<i>gulay</i> 'k.o. spicy sauce'	<i>gulayi</i> (<i>pariu^{ek}</i>) 'make <i>gulay</i> (in a pot)'
<i>tari</i> 'to dance'	<i>tarii</i> (<i>anak</i>) 'dance (for/before a child)'.

Secondly, it forms locative-oriented causative verbs, i.e. causative verbs which take the place or direction of the action as their object (preceding the logical object), e.g.:

malumpék-i uraŋ pisaŋ

make jump at person banana

'to pelt a person (= O) with bananas'

mamasu^{ek}-i kandaŋ ayam uraŋ kambieŋ

let enter in cage hen person goat

'to bring a goat into someone's hen-house' (= O).

Finally, some forms with *-i* are inchoative verbs possessing the idea of 'becoming more (base)', e.g.:

<i>susuyk</i> 'shrink, decrease'	<i>susuyki</i> 'keep on decreasing or shrinking'
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<i>kuñi^{eŋ}</i> 'yellow'	<i>kuñi^{eŋi}</i> 'become more yellow'
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<i>kuraŋ</i> 'less, insufficient'	<i>kuraŋi</i> 'become less' (but this form also occurs transitively, with the meaning 'lessen O').
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BH

BH *-i* and *-akan* are equivalent to SM *-i* and *-kan* respectively, except that transitive verbal bases with *-akan* are always beneficiary-oriented, and *-akan* may also be suffixed to verbs which already have a suffix *-i*. In the latter case the resultant form is also beneficiary-oriented, e.g.:

<i>pagar</i> 'fence'	<i>pagari</i> 'fence (a place, garden etc.)'
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	<i>pagariakan</i> 'erect a fence for (O)'
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<i>hatap</i> 'roof'	<i>hatapi</i> 'put a roof on (O)'
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	<i>hatapiakan</i> 'put on a roof for (O)'.
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Moreover, BH *-i* may be suffixed to bases ending in *i* or *ay*, e.g.:

<i>mati</i> 'dead'	<i>matii</i> 'kill (O)'
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<i>mamay</i> 'angry'	<i>mamayi</i> 'be angry at (O)'.
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SWY

SWY has *-i* and *-ka* or *-kan* (whereby *-ka* becomes *-ke* when followed by

-lah, a focus-denoting clitic); they are equivalent in function to SM *-i* and *-kan* respectively.

IBN

IBN has one transitivity suffix, *-ka*, which is furthermore the only suffix in this dialect. A corresponding form of SM *-i* occurs as fossilized *-i?*.

Some examples of fossilized *-i?* are:

<i>perut</i> 'belly, intestines'	<i>peruti?</i> 'gut (fish), draw (chicken)'
<i>kulit</i> 'skin, bark, hide'	<i>keliti?</i> 'skin, tear or rip off O'*
<i>kurun?</i> 'coop'	<i>kerun?</i> 'tempt (chicken) into coop'*
<i>lās</i> 'fire-break, space cleared to prevent flames from spreading'	<i>lasi?</i> 'clean out, clear'**

* *e* is the only prepenultimate vowel in IBN lexemes.

** IBN long vowels (as in *lās*) usually do not occur in disyllabic lexemes.

The suffix *-ka* is still written as an independent preposition in Scott (1956), but is described as a suffix by Asmah (1977:88-89) and Richards (1981).

When suffixed to a transitive verb, it does not alter the meaning of the base, e.g.:

<i>dīṅa</i> 'listen (to O)'	<i>dīṅaka</i> 'listen to O'
<i>mansa?</i> 'pass (O)'	<i>mansa?ka</i> 'pass O'.

When suffixed to an adjective or an intransitive verb and combined with the prefix *ke-*, it forms a causative; the resultant form is often nasalized, in such a way that the initial stops of the prefix as well as the base are replaced by homorganic nasals, e.g.:

<i>besay</i> 'big'	<i>kebesayka, ṇemesayka</i> 'enlarge O'
<i>mabuk</i> 'drunk'	<i>kemabukka, ṇemabukka</i> 'make O drunk'
<i>datay</i> 'come, arrive'	<i>kedatayka, ṇenatayka</i> 'bring O'
<i>deka?</i> 'be willing, want, like'	<i>kedeka?ka</i> 'like, want O'.

When suffixed to a noun, it carries the meaning 'to regard/address O as (noun)', e.g.:

<i>inday</i> 'mother'	<i>indayka</i> 'regard/address O as mother'
<i>angat</i> '(term of address for young men)'	<i>aṅgatka</i> 'address O as <i>aṅgat</i> '.

JKT

In JKT also there is only one transitive verb marker, *-in*. It is of Balinese origin (Kähler 1966:i; Ikranagara 1980:137) and assumes the functions of both SM *-i* and *-kan*. Suffixed to transitive verbs, its meaning is 1. lexical, i.e. it adds a notion of iteration, intensity or duration of the action, or plurality of the object of the verb;⁸ or 2. grammatical, i.e. it takes the beneficiary or the location of the action as its object. In passive constructions it may also take the instrument as its object, which is then

subjectivized. In some cases *-in* seems not to change the meaning or valency of the verb.

Examples are:

1.

<i>gebug</i> 'hit'	<i>gebugin</i> 'hit repeatedly, spank O'
<i>liat</i> 'see'	<i>liatin</i> 'stare at; look (at many things)'
<i>pangil</i> 'call (someone)'	<i>pangilin</i> 'keep calling O; call (many people)'

2. (grammatical meaning of *-in*):

Amat mau beli baju baru

Amat want buy cloth new

'Amat wants to buy new clothes'

Amat mau mbeli-in babè baju baru

Amat want buy for father cloth new

'Amat wants to buy his father new clothes'

gaji Amat dibeli-in baju baru

salary A. be bought with cloth new

'Amat's pay was used to buy new clothes'

diè nanem kembang di pot

3d p. plant flower in pot

'she plants flowers in pots'

diè nanem-in pot-nè amè kembang

3d p. plant in pot 3d p. poss. with flower

'she plants her pots with flowers'.

No lexical or grammatical change seems to be involved in cases like the following:

cobè = cobèin 'try O'

ajak = ajakin 'invite O'.

From intransitive verbs, *-in* forms:

1. transitive verbs that are causative, e.g.:

duduk 'sit' *dudukin* 'seat O'

akur 'agree' *akurin* 'get O to agree'

2. other (location-oriented) transitive verbs, e.g.:

aji 'pray, recite the Koran' *ajiin* 'pray over, recite the Koran for O'

cemburu 'be jealous' *cemburuin* 'be jealous of O'

duduk 'sit' *dudukin* 'sit on O'.

From adjectives, *-in* forms:

1. transitive verbs that are causative, e.g.:

besar 'big' *besarin (ana?)* 'raise (a child)'

brabè 'busy, troublesome' *brabèin* 'to trouble O'

2. other (beneficiary- or location-oriented) transitive verbs, e.g.:

deket 'close-by' *deketin* 'be close to O'

dulu 'first, before' *duluin* 'precede O'

jelèk 'ugly' *jelèkin* 'look down on O'

3. inchoative (intransitive) verbs, e.g.:

gedé 'big'*gedéin* 'grow'*bandel* 'naughty'*bandelin* 'become naughty'.

N.B. In some cases the exact meaning of a verb is determined by the context, cf. *dudukin* 'sit on; seat', and *gedéin* 'grow' but also 'enlarge', etc.

From nouns, *-in* forms transitive verbs with the meaning:

1. 'to take O to (noun), let O be treated by (noun)', if the noun refers to a profession, e.g.:

doktor 'doctor'*doktorin* 'take O to a doctor, have O treated by a doctor'*dukun* 'traditional healer'*dukunin (ana?)* 'take (a child) to the *dukun*'

2. 'to give (noun) to O', e.g.:

empan 'food'*empanin* 'feed O'*sepatu* 'shoe'*sepatuin* 'put shoes on O'.

N.B. *-in* is also suffixed to secondary verbal bases consisting of (nasalization +) a noun, which form intransitive or transitive verbs. When attached to transitive secondary bases, *-in* adds the notion of repetition or makes these verbs beneficiary-oriented, e.g.:

kapur 'chalk, whitewash' *kapur* '(to) whitewash' *kapurin* 'cover with whitewash, keep whitewashing'*cèt* 'paint'*(n)cèt* '(to) paint'*cètin* 'paint for O'.

When attached to intransitive secondary bases, it produces transitive verbs which may be causative or beneficiary-oriented, e.g.:

gong 'gong'*negon* 'play the gong'*gonjin* 'play the gong for'*pingir* 'side'*mingir* 'go aside'*pingirin* 'cause O to move aside'.

Discussion of the correspondences of -i and -kan

Ras' and Collins' assumption that *-kan* is innovative seems to be confirmed by several facts, viz.:

1. There is not much uniformity in the reflection of *-kan* among the dialects. The relevant suffixes show great formal variation, and only SM and MIN have *-kan*.

SWY has *-ka/(-ke-)* or *-kan*. I do not have any explanation for these variants in SWY; it is possible that *-kan* is a variant borrowed from SM, and that *-ka/(-ke-)* developed from the preposition *ke* 'to, towards' (~ SM *ke* 'id.', ~ MIN *ka* 'to, towards; in order to (future-denoting particle)').

IBN *-ka* is a very recent suffix, while IBN has lost all other suffixes. IBN *-ka* is probably a cliticized form of the preposition *ka* 'to(wards), in the direction of; for (to serve as); for (the benefit of)'.

JKT *-in* is a borrowing from Balinese.

2. In the case of some of the dialects discussed here, there are very closely related dialects that have different transitivizing suffixes. It appears that most regional forms of MIN differ from the Old Agam

subdialect (described in Van der Toorn) in having *-an* instead of *-kan*. Furthermore, there is a Malayo-Dayak⁹ dialect, Kendayan-Dayak, which is very close to IBN, and which has *-atn* (< **an*) corresponding to IBN *-ka* (Dunselman 1949:70-71, and *passim*). Such differences between very closely related members of the same dialect group are even more clearly indicative of the innovative character of *-kan*.

3. BH *-akan* is suffixed to verbs that already have *-i*. This suggests a relatively older age of *-i*.

There seems to be no reason for reconstructing a PM suffix on the basis of *-kan* and its correspondences. I agree with Collins that the ancestral form must have been a preposition. I will reconstruct it as **akAn*, with an ultimate-syllable **A* rather than **a*, as proposed by Collins, because ultimate-syllable *a* in its reflexes is ambivalent with respect to the reconstruction of PM **a* or **e* (Adelaar forthcoming).¹⁰

*Reconstruction of *-i*

There is much more uniformity in the correspondences of *-i*. Four dialects have *-i* (with the same role), while a fifth, IBN, which has lost all former suffixes, still has a fossilized *-i*?

The fact that five dialects have some sort of *-i*(/ *-i*?) suffix provides a strong case for reconstructing a PM reflex. Moreover, *-i* is also well established outside the group of Malayic isolects (Javanese, Madurese, the Batak dialects, etc.). Hence I propose to reconstruct PM **-i*,¹¹ to which I attribute the value of a location-oriented transitivizing suffix; when attached to transitive verbal bases, it may also have added the notion of multiplicity of the action, or plurality of the object or subject.

ber- and (mem)per-

SM *ber-* is a prefix whereby intransitive verbs and *(mem)per-* one whereby transitive verbs are formed.

Roolvink (1965) has made a survey of these prefixes in Classical Malay texts, and has come to the following conclusions (pp. 333-4): as active verbs, *ber-* derivatives were originally transitive as well as intransitive, while *ber-* alternated with *per-* in passive constructions. Many of the transitive *ber-* forms also had *-kan* suffixed, but this was by no means always the case. At least as early as the beginning of the 19th century *ber-* became an intransitivity marker, while *per-* acquired the active counterpart *memp-* (= *meN-* + *per-*, a combination on the origin of which MIN *mampa-* forms may have exercised a certain influence (Roolvink 1965:334)).

It is relevant to point out here that what Roolvink implies with the term 'transitive' is the ability to take a complement. Another way of defining transitivity is that the verb in question may also occur in passive

constructions. I find this latter interpretation more useful for the description of *ber-* forms, and will use it in what follows here.¹²

Description of ber- and (mem)per- and their correspondences
SM

The SM prefix *ber-* forms intransitive verbs; it may be placed before adjectives, intransitive and transitive verbs, and nouns.⁶ In some cases it is also added to elements comprising more than one lexeme.

Ber-, when prefixed to adjectives, produces verbs meaning 'to be engaged in the activity, to be or become (adjective), to act in such a way as to get the feeling or become (adjective)', e.g.:

<i>siap</i> 'ready'	<i>bersiap</i> 'make preparations'
<i>senang</i> 'nice, agreeable'	<i>bersenang</i> 'enjoy oneself'
<i>telanjang</i> 'naked'	<i>bertelanjang</i> 'do while naked, run around while naked'.

As a marker of intransitive verbs, *ber-* is sometimes compulsory, e.g.:
berenang 'swim' (unaffixed **renang*, **diri* or **angkat* do not occur as intransitive verbs)
berdiri 'stand'

berangkat 'depart, leave'

Other intransitive verbs take *ber-* in free variation with Ø, e.g.:

<i>lari</i> / <i>berlari</i> 'run'	<i>bangkit</i> / <i>berbangkit</i> 'get up'
<i>main</i> / <i>bermain</i> 'play'	<i>pindah</i> / <i>berpindah</i> 'move (house)'.

But there are also many intransitive verbs that never take *ber-*, e.g. *tahu* 'know', *suka* 'like', *masuk* 'go in', etc.

From transitive verbs, *ber-* forms intransitive verbs with the possible added meaning of reciprocity or diffusion of the action, in which latter case the base is often reduplicated and/or *-an* is suffixed, e.g.:

<i>buru</i> 'hunt, pursue O'	<i>berburu</i> 'be hunting'
<i>tolak</i> 'push O away, push O off'	<i>bertolak</i> 'push off, shove off'
<i>bantah</i> 'contradict, contest O'	<i>berbantah</i> 'quarrel (with each other)'
<i>kirim</i> 'send O'	<i>berkirim(an) surat</i> 'send letters to each other, correspond with each other'
<i>témbak</i> 'shoot O'	<i>bertémbak(an)</i> 'shoot at each other'.

When prefixed to nouns, *ber-* forms:

1. intransitive verbs meaning, in very general terms, 'have (noun)'. More specifically, the resultant forms acquire a meaning ranging within the following broad outlines: 'to possess, have, contain, wear, use, produce, get (noun)', depending on the meaning of the noun, e.g.:

<i>harta</i> 'riches, goods'	<i>berharta</i> 'be rich'
<i>suami</i> 'husband'	<i>bersuami</i> 'have a husband, be married'
<i>bunga</i> 'flower'	<i>berbunga</i> 'contain/produce flowers'
<i>sepatu</i> 'shoe'	<i>bersepatu</i> 'have/wear shoes'

<i>kuda</i> 'horse'	<i>berkuda</i> 'have/use a horse; ride on horseback'
<i>lutut</i> 'knee'	<i>berlutut</i> '(use one's knees =) kneel'
<i>telor</i> 'egg'	<i>bertelor</i> 'lay an egg'
<i>perang</i> 'war'	<i>berperang</i> 'make war, be at war'

2. intransitive verbs with the meaning 'assume the quality of (noun)'; the bases of these verbs refer to some profession or mutual relationship; if the basic noun refers to a mutual relationship, the resultant verb has the notion of reciprocity, e.g.:

<i>kuli</i> '(unskilled) laborer'	<i>berkuli</i> 'work as a <i>kuli</i> '
<i>teman</i> 'friend'	<i>berteman</i> 'be friends'
<i>saudara</i> 'brother'	<i>bersaudara</i> 'be brothers'.

The prefix *ber-* may be used with elements larger than one word, which then is done in the following ways:

a. it may be prefixed to a verb-phrase consisting of a transitive verb + complement; the resultant form means 'to (verb + complement) for a living, be (complement + verb)-er', e.g.:

<i>tanam padi</i> 'plant rice'	<i>bertanampadi</i> 'plant rice for a living, be a rice-farmer'
<i>jual kuda</i> 'sell horses'	<i>berjualkuda</i> 'trade in horses, be a horse-dealer'.

Likewise, it may be prefixed to a compound consisting of two verbs, with the resultant meaning being 'do (verb + verb) for a living', e.g.:

<i>jual</i> 'sell', <i>beli</i> 'buy'	<i>berjualbeli</i> 'trade'.
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ber- may also be prefixed to verb-phrases consisting of a *-kan* form followed by a noun; the resultant forms have meanings similar to those of the corresponding *meN-* *-kan* forms, e.g.:

<i>tikam</i> 'stab', <i>lembing</i> 'spear'	<i>bertikamkan lembing</i> (~ <i>tikamkan lembing</i>) 'stab with a spear'
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<i>lanjut</i> 'protracted, long', <i>perkataan</i> 'words'	<i>berlanjutkan perkataan</i> (~ <i>lanjutkan perkataan</i>) 'stretch a story'.
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b. *ber-* may be prefixed to nominal bases (with or without *-kan*) that have a following noun as complement. The resultant forms mean 'use or have (following noun) as base', e.g.:

<i>cawat</i> 'loin-cloth', <i>ekor</i> 'tail'	<i>bercawat ekor</i> 'use one's tail (/a tail) as a loin-cloth'
<i>senjata</i> 'weapon', <i>senapan</i> 'gun'	<i>bersenjatakan senapan</i> 'be armed with a gun'.

c. *ber-* may also be prefixed to noun-phrases consisting of a noun + adjective, or to compounds consisting of two nouns. The resultant forms mean 'have (use, wear, etc.) (noun + adjective/noun)' (or, as in the case of *berlakibini*, denote a mutual relationship), e.g.:

<i>rasa sedap</i> 'a nice feeling'	<i>berasasedap</i> 'feel comfortable'
<i>buah kecil</i> 'a small fruit'	<i>berbuahkecil</i> 'have, produce small fruits'

ibubapa 'parents'
(*ibu* 'mother', *bapa*
'father')

lakibini 'married couple,
wife and husband' (*laki*
'husband', *bini* 'wife')

beribubapa 'have parents'

berlakibini 'be married to each other, be
husband and wife'.

N.B. Forms with *ber-* may have a passive meaning, or may be ambivalent as to passiveness or activeness, e.g.:

pasir 'sand', *kapur* 'chalk', *pasir bercampur kapur* 'chalk mixed with
campur 'mix' sand'

suamiku 'my husband',
sudah 'already', *ganti*
'substitute', *lain* 'other'

suamiku sudah berganti lain 'I've got an-
other husband already'

saya 'I', *belum* 'not yet',
(**cukur*) 'shave'

saya belum bercukur 'I haven't shaved
yet/I'm not shaved yet'.

(*mem*)*per-* is a transitive-verb marker.

It often co-occurs with *-kan* or *-i*, in which case it does not have a clear meaning of its own, since its function is already implied in these suffixes. When it occurs with adjectives and intransitive verbs it forms causatives, e.g.:

baik 'good'

perbaik(i) 'make good, ameliorate, repair
O'

bañak 'much'

perbañak, *perbañaki*, *perbañakkan* 'aug-
ment, increase, add to O'

siap 'be ready'

persiapkan 'prepare O'

merecék 'splash'

perecék 'sprinkle O'.

Prefixed to transitive verbs, it may yield forms that are identical in meaning and syntactical distribution to their bases (although they are sometimes described as being more elegant and/or more emphatic, cf. Gerth van Wijk 1909:63), e.g.:

ikut, *perikut* 'follow O'

añkat, *perañkat* 'heave, lift up O'

dandan, *perdandan* 'decorate O'.

With nouns, *per-* carries the meaning 'treat or use as (noun), turn into (noun)', e.g.:

suami 'husband'

persuami 'take O as a husband, marry O'

kuda 'horse'

perkuda 'treat O like a horse (i.e. be
severe with O)'

huma 'field'

perhuma 'reclaim, exploit (a field)'.

MIN

In MIN one finds *ba-* and (*mam*)*pa-*, of which the latter has a function that is equivalent to SM (*mem*)*per-*. The role of *ba-* is similar to that of SM *ber-*, but differs from it in some minor respects:

when *ba-* co-occurs with *-kan* or *-i* the resultant form is passive in meaning, e.g.:

alék nan cako alun badudu^ekan

guest relat. pron. while ago not yet be seated

'the guests from a while ago are not yet seated'

salan alun bakumbalikan

something borrowed not yet be restituted

'what was borrowed has not yet been restituted'

di pariu^ek tanah nan alun batanaki

in pot earthen relat. pron. not yet be cooked in

'in an earthenware pot that has not yet been used for cooking'.

N.B. In MIN, too, there are *ba-* forms of which the subject is the patient of the action (i.e., *ba-* forms with a passive meaning); they occur on the basis of both transitive and intransitive verbs, e.g.:

pitih babilan

money be counted

'the money was counted'

pamintoan si Ali alun batarimo

request pers. art. Ali not yet be received

'Ali's request hasn't been received yet'.

BH

BH has a prefix *ba-* which also differs from SM *ber-* in detail only, in that when *ba-* is prefixed to adjectives, it produces inchoative verbs, e.g.:

halus 'small' *bahalus* 'become small'

harat 'violent' *baharat* 'become (more) violent'.

Furthermore, according to Asfandi's description, *ba-* does not occur with transitive verbs (no mention being made of transitive verbs with *ba-* and *-an*).

No prefix corresponding to SM (*mem*)*per-* is found here. Nevertheless, one other prefix should be mentioned in this connection, namely *tapa-*, which, used with an intransitive verb or noun, denotes an unexpected or involuntary event. *Tapa-* is not productive any more, *ta-* being the usual productive prefix designating an unexpected or involuntary action (as appears from Abdul). It is probable that *tapa-* originally consisted of *ta-* + *pa-*, and that it was used as a variant of *ba-* with the meaning of unexpectedness or involuntariness. This would mean that (at least in this particular environment) *pa-* originally alternated with *ba-*. As it happens, most *tapa-* forms match the (usually also occurring) *ba-* forms very well in meaning, e.g.:

bahurup 'exchange' *tapahurup* '(be) exchanged (by accident, erroneously)'

bahual 'be quarreling' *tapahual* 'get into a fight (unasked for)'

balaki 'get/be married, have a husband' *tapalaki* 'get a husband without any plan or premeditation'.

SWY

SWY has *be-* (with the variants *b-*, *bex-*, *bel-*, *bu-*) with a function equivalent to that of SM *ber-* (both Helfrich and Aliana *et al.* give only examples based on intransitive verbs).

No prefix corresponding to SM (*mem*)*per-* is given in Helfrich or Aliana *et al.*

IBN

IBN has *be-* (with the variants *ber-*, *bel-*, *ba-*, *b-*) and *pe-*, which are in paradigmatic relation with each other. The prefix *be-* usually has a function equivalent to that of SM *ber-*, though it may also be combined with *-ka*, in which case it produces a transitive verb; where this transitive verb occurs in the passive voice or in the imperative mood, *be-* alternates with *pe-*, e.g.:

jalay 'road' *bejalay* 'walk' *bejalayka* 'move O' *dipejalayka* 'be moved' *pejalayka!* 'move it!'

laban 'opposed to, against' *belaban* 'opposed, be fighting' *belabanka* 'attack' *dipelabanka* 'be attacked' *pelabanka!* 'attack!'.

N.B. There are some IBN verbs that have a transitivity prefix *pe-* (*p-*). In the dictionaries these verbs are treated as monomorphemic bases, and the prefix seems to be fossilized,¹³ e.g.:

<i>līs</i> 'smooth'	<i>pelīs</i> 'clean, clear O'
<i>luluh</i> 'rotten'	<i>peluluh</i> 'allow O to rot'
<i>rinsa?</i> 'discomfort, suffering'	<i>perinsa?</i> 'torture O'
<i>remi?</i> 'press down'	<i>peram</i> 'sit (of hens); keep (fruit till ripe)'
(<i>< *rem-i?</i>)	(<i>< *pe-rem</i>)

JKT

In JKT, *be-* (with the variants *b-*, *be-*, *br-*, *ber-*, *bl-*) is equivalent to SM *ber-*, except that it does not occur with transitive verbal bases. No corresponding forms of SM (*mem*)*per-* occur.

Discussion of the correspondences of ber- and (mem)per-

All the isolects treated agree with one another in showing a reflex of an intransitive verbal prefix *ber-*, whereas a corresponding form of SM (*mem*)*per-* with a comparable meaning and function is found only in MIN.

The principal difference between the various reflexes of *ber-* seems to be one of valence: BH, SWY and JKT do not combine the reflex in question with transitive verbal bases. Another difference seems to be one of meaning: SM *ber-* and MIN *ba-* may assume a passive meaning in certain contexts. Whether the other dialects also have *ber-* forms with a passive meaning is not to be discovered from their descriptions (which, in the case of BH, SWY and IBN, are not sufficiently comprehensive for us to draw any conclusions on this point). There is at least one other

dialect that has a reflex of *ber-* with a passive meaning in some contexts, namely Kerinci (Hakim and Steinhauer 1978:496).

The *ber-* forms and their corresponding forms are intransitive, although they may have a complement. It is difficult to tell whether this ability to take a complement reflects a Proto-Malayic characteristic. Many *ber-/ba-/be-* forms with a complement also have *-kan/(IBN -ka)* added, and these forms do not have to be accounted for, since we know that *-kan* and *-ka* are innovations. But there are yet other *ber-* forms with a complement which do not have a suffix (MIN also has a few *ba-* forms with *-i*).

The question as to whether *ber-* forms with a complement are innovative must remain unanswered here. It is, however, possible to reconstruct a PM ancestral form which had the potential for forming intransitive verbs.

A regular corresponding form of SM (*mem*)*per-* occurs only in MIN. However, as was noted above, BH and IBN still have reflexes of (*mem*)*per-* with a different function.

Although the functions of BH *tapa-* and IBN *pe-* differ from that of SM (*mem*)*per-/MIN (mam)pa-*, they are quite in harmony with Roolvink's conclusion that originally there was a paradigmatic relation between SM *ber-* and *per-*. Another point supporting Roolvink's conclusion is the way deverbal nouns are formed. In SM, this is done through the affixation of *peN-* (+ *an*) to verbs taking the prefix *meN-*, and of *per-* (+ *an*) to verbs formed with *ber-* or (*mem*)*per-*. In MIN *paN-* (+ *an*) is affixed to verbs with *maN-*, and *pa-* (+ *an*) to verbs with *ba-* or (*mam*)*pa-*. (In SM the suffixes *-i* and *-kan* disappear in the formation of deverbal nouns), e.g.:

SM

<i>pandang</i> 'see, look'	<i>pemandangan</i> 'seeing, observation; view'
<i>pulangkan</i> 'give back, bring/ send home'	<i>pemulangan</i> 'restitution, repatriation'
<i>bertaña</i> 'ask'	<i>pertañaan</i> 'question'
<i>berjanji</i> 'promise, make an agreement'	<i>perjanjian</i> 'promise, agreement, testament'
<i>perkecil</i> 'make smaller'	<i>perkecilan</i> 'minimizing, reduction in size'
<i>perbaik(i)</i> 'repair, ameliorate'	<i>perbaikan</i> 'amelioration'

MIN

<i>dudu^ek</i> 'sit down'	<i>pandudu^ek</i> 'the habit of sitting down'
<i>bali</i> 'buy'	<i>pambali</i> 'buyer'
<i>bajalan</i> 'walk, go'	<i>pajalanan</i> 'trip, journey; distance covered (during a journey)'
<i>padamaykan</i> 'reconcile, pacify'	<i>padamayan</i> 'reconciliation; place of reconciliation'
<i>batamu</i> 'meet, come across'	<i>patamuan</i> 'meeting; meeting-place'.

Finally, beyond the dialects treated here, *per-* (without *meN-*) is still found in Peninsular Malay dialects, as witness the following examples from Kedah Malay (T. Ibrahim 1974:154-60), Jakun Malay (Collins, personal communication) and Pattani Malay (in which latter *pe-* is not productive):

Kedah

<i>besa?</i> 'big'	<i>pebesa?</i> 'enlarge O'
<i>buda?</i> 'child'	<i>pebuda?</i> 'treat O like a child'
<i>itam</i> 'black'	<i>peritam</i> 'blacken O'

Jakun

<i>suap</i> 'mouthful, bite'	<i>pesuap</i> 'feed (an infant)'
<i>pecah</i> 'shattered'	<i>pepecah</i> 'shatter O'
<i>putus</i> 'broken off, ended'	<i>peputus (tali)</i> 'snap (a rope)'

Pattani

<i>jatoh</i> 'to fall'	<i>pejatoh anak</i> 'provoke an abortion'
<i>runḡkup</i> '(obliquely against one another?)'	<i>perunḡkup (perau)</i> 'turn over (a boat)'.

There is enough evidence, therefore, for the reconstruction of a PM ancestor of SM (*mem*)*per-*. This proto-form did not have the additional prefix which it has in contemporary SM and in MIN, while it was an alternant of the PM ancestor of *ber-*.

Thus far I agree with Roolvink. But I take a different view of the nature of the relation between the ancestral forms of *ber-* and (*mem*)*per-*. According to Roolvink, *per-* was originally the passive alternant of (a transitive and intransitive) *ber-*.

I believe that *per-* was a formant for transitive verbs, and that it had an intransitive alternant *ber-*. So (the ancestor of) *per-* had a much wider application than that of passive alternant of (the ancestor of) *ber-*, as is testified by IBN *pe-* as both an alternant of *be-* in the imperative mood and a (fossilized) transitivizing prefix. This also accords well with Wolff's claim that PAN **maR-* (an ancestral form of *ber-*) is to be viewed as a combination of a derivational **paR-* with an inflectional *-um- (with regular loss of the first syllable where the initial consonant was **b* or **p*). His claim is based on evidence from Philippine and Formosan languages, where reflexes of PAN **maR-* are still analysable as deep-structure combinations of reflexes of **paR-* with reflexes of *-um- (Wolff 1973: 72). Moreover BH *tapa-* does not reflect a passive use of *per-*, either (SM *ter-*, BH *ta-/tapa-* being not passive prefixes but prefixes denoting involuntariness (Eisengarten 1982) or nonintentionality (Wouk 1980)).

*Reconstruction of *pAr- and *(mb)Ar-*

I will reconstruct PM **pAr-* and *(*mb*)*Ar-*. **pAr-* went into the forma-

tion of transitive verbs. From adjectives (though not exclusively) it formed causatives; used with nouns, it carried the meaning 'treat or use O as (noun), turn O into (noun)'. It was in paradigmatic relation with *(mb)Ar-, which was used to form intransitive verbs, and which occurred at least with intransitive verbs and nouns. Used with nouns, it must have meant 'possess, contain, wear, use, produce, get (noun)', or, if the noun referred to a profession or a mutual relationship, 'assume the quality of (noun)'.

I have decided to reconstruct *A because it is not clear what quality the vowel in these prefixes had: in MIN and BH *i and *u were retained in prepenultimate position, and *a and *e merged everywhere; in the other dialects prepenultimate vowels were as a rule neutralized into *e* (PM had four vowels, Adelaar forthcoming). So the vowels of these prefixes must have been either *a or *e. Since languages outside the Malayic group reflect *a for them, while no conclusive evidence is available from within this group, I therefore reconstruct *A. As for *(mb), all Malayic dialects reflect *b* for it, whereas in the Old Malay inscriptions of South Sumatra *m* is written. Languages outside the Malayic group furthermore also have a corresponding *m* (cf. Toba-Batak *mar-*, Tagalog *mag-* < PAN *maR-). But a reconstruction *m- on the basis of a few inscriptions in a poorly known language is premature, especially given the evidence of all the contemporary Malayic dialects. Hence my construction *(mb)-.

NOTES

- 1 This is, in fact, the topic of my dissertation, consisting of a reconstruction of the phonology and part of the lexicon and morphology of the language that is ancestral to Malay and to those dialects/languages that display sufficient similarity to Malay to form an exclusive subgroup with it.

The present paper deals with some of the problems involved in the reconstruction of PM morphology. I would like to thank Jack Prentice for his help and suggestions in the course of its preparation.

- 2 By 'Standard Malay' is meant "the literary Malay which represents the direct descendant of the language used in the court of the Malacca sultanate . . . and which continued to be used in the court of the sultans of Riau and Johore" (Prentice 1978:23).
- 3 Particularly Minangkabau and Iban are generally considered as being separate languages vis-à-vis Standard Malay. For convenience sake I will use the term 'dialect' in this paper to refer to any speech form that is included in the Malayic group. The term 'Malayic' has been borrowed from Hudson (1970).
- 4 Apart from SM, different morphophonemic phenomena are found also in Javanese (with suffixation of *-aké/-akən* and *-ipun*) and Madurese (with suffixation of *-aghi* and *-épon*) (Ras 1970:439-43).
- 5 Kedah does not have any suffixes (Ras 1970). Ras observed the same developments in Pahang Malay as in Kelantan Malay. Collins (1983:13-14 and note 8) criticizes Ras for his inadequate representation of the Pahang data (confusing phonetic with phonemic symbols), his choice of informants, and his analysis of his data. Collins presents phonetic and syntactic evidence against Ras' assumption that Pahang Malay includes

- kan* forms. According to Collins, SM -*kan* constructions are rendered in Pahang Malay by a paraphrase with *kə* (a preposition), e.g.
 [padā kə apiy] 'put the fire out!' (cf. SM *padamkan api*)
 [bəliy kə diə] 'buy (it) for her/him!' (cf. SM *belikan dia*)
 (for sound changes in Pahang Malay see Collins 1983).
- 6 For practical reasons I have restricted myself to verbal, adjectival and nominal bases.
 - 7 Out of 25 speech communities studied by Thamsin, two have -*kan* (namely Kōto Tuo (Old Agam) and Koto Mudik, Coastal South), one has -*ke* (Rao, far North), one -*ê* (Tapan, far South), and all the others have -(*V*)*n* (Thamsin 1980:99).
 - 8 Although this is not mentioned by Muhadjir, it seems that transitive verbs can also become causative through suffixation of -*in*, e.g. *minum* 'drink O' / *minumin* 'give to drink' (analysed as a beneficiary-oriented verb by Muhadjir, p. 52). Cases like *pinjem* 'borrow O' / *pinjemin* 'lend O' and *séwè* 'rent O' / *séwèin* 'let O' should also be mentioned, although they are not causatives in the proper sense of the word.
 - 9 Malayic-Dayak is the name given by Hudson (1970) to a group of mutually related dialects in Borneo, to which belong Iban, Sebuyau, Seberuang, Mualang, Kantu', Air Tabun (= the Ibanic subgroup), and furthermore Selako, Banana', Kayung, Semitau, Ambawang, Kendayan, Suhait, Keninjal and Delang.
 - 10 On the basis of the Malayic evidence it is unclear whether PM **akan* or **aken* should be reconstructed. Of the dialects treated here, JKT is the only one that does not merge PAN/PM **a* and **e* in ultimate syllables, while JKT does not have a cognate of *akan/-kan/-akan*.

Pawley and Reid have reconstructed PAN **aken*, which, they presume, was still a preposition to mark the 'accessory case' (Pawley and Reid 1980:112). The accessory case comprises a cluster of roles including that of instrument, concomitant, cause and beneficiary (p. 106). If *akan/-kan/-akan* are reflexes of PAN **aken*, then PM **aken* should be reconstructed. But PAN **aken* is problematic; more particularly, its Proto-Oceanic reflex **aki*(*ni*) is unconvincing, the expected vowel reflecting PAN **e* in Proto-Oceanic being **o* instead of **i*.

- 11 Zorc (1982) asserts that IBN -*i*? reflects the PAN so-called 'laryngeals' *?, **H*, and **S*, on account of its correspondences in Formosan and Philippine languages: Formosan, Philippine and IBN -? reflect PAN *?, Formosan and Philippine -*h* and IBN -? reflect PAN **H*, and Formosan -*s*, Philippine -*h*, and IBN -? reflect PAN **S*. Reflexes of PAN 'laryngeals' have become lost in most other Malayic dialects (including SM, MIN, BH, SWY, and JKT), though it seems that the final glottal stop found in Tioman Malay in a number of cases corresponds to IBN -? (Collins forthcoming).

In agreement with Zorc (1982), PM *-*i*? should be reconstructed, instead of *-*i*. Zorc's evidence from IBN, however, is rather weak on some points (as, e.g., there are more cases of IBN -Ø than of IBN -? corresponding to PAN **S*). Moreover, the idea of the glottal stop in IBN (fossilized) -*i*? bearing witness to a PAN laryngeal is not supported by Formosan or Philippine languages, which do not reflect a final 'laryngeal' in their correspondence to this suffix.

- 12 This interpretation also accounts for SM *beroléh*, *belajar* and *berbuat*, which take a complement, and which Roolvink considers as *ber-* forms that have maintained their transitive character (Roolvink 1965:333).
- 13 In the published sources no mention is made of *pe-* as a verb-forming prefix. Asmah lists it in a xeroxed research report (Asmah 1964:32).

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