

The Treasures of Traditional Medicine of *Pagar Doa* in the Script of *Poda ni Alimunan*: An Ecolinguistic Study

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Abstract

This study aims to describe the lexicon of traditional medicine contained in the *Poda ni Alimunan* script. The study used a qualitative approach with a descriptive method. The source of research data is the *Poda ni Alimunan* script. Collecting data by observing method. Data analysis used referential equivalent method and presented using informal method. The results of this study are the traditional treatment of *Pagar Doa* 'Doa penjaga' using the noun lexicon *pira manuk na matan gorsing na* 'chicken egg with the yolk', *porlada* 'pepper', *lasuna* 'garlic', *pege tuwak 'ragi'*, *itak poltuk 'gambir'*, *ihan na rata na itutung* 'haporas fish that has grilled', *tinombu burangir horpit/sorpit lanjang* 'betel leaf that meets the segment', *sunggu sago mariot* 'sunggu bamban', *pege tanggul miak baja* 'temulawak', *Asal Indahan sagata* 'one spoon of upa-upa rice', and *hayu andulpak* 'andulpak wood'. Verb lexicon in *Pagar doa*, namely the verb *dabuwat* 'taken'. *Patopma* 'together', *diporso* 'served', *damintoraima* 'mantrailah', *morsom* 'worship', and *paturun Barang balik bali angin hapili* 'turns disease back on the owner like a blowing wind'.

Keywords

Treasures; traditional medicine; prayer fence; *Poda ni Alimunan* script; ecolinguistics



I. Introduction

Manuscripts are one of the most authentic primary sources that can close the distance between the past and the present (Fathurahman, 2015:27). Manuscripts are written to be a way of life for the next generation because in the manuscripts are described history, culture, literature, religion, knowledge systems, medicine, and various other aspects of life. One of the manuscripts that serves as a guide for the next generation is the *Poda ni Alimunan* script.

The *Poda ni Alimunan* script belongs to the descendants of *Huria* which is written using Mandailing/*tulaktulak* script on *lakkak* (*Kulit Kayu*), has 120 pages and each page contains 8-12 lines, but some lines in the manuscript are damaged and unreadable, and on some pages, there are pictures. However, the manuscript used in this study is a text that has been transliterated into Latin by Harahap, et al (2020). The *Poda ni Alimunan* manuscript represents local traditions in the Mandailing area because it contains a life guide containing treatment procedures.

The diversity of medicinal plants in the manuscripts of the Mandailing people reflects the abundant natural resources of Mandailing. This natural wealth is used by the community to meet the needs of daily life and also as traditional medicine in the Mandailing area. This illustrates the relationship between language, the medical tradition of the Mandailing community, and the environment in the *Poda ni Alimunan* manuscript.

The relationship or interaction between language and the cultural environment becomes very important in terms of the value of language diversity, individual and group linguistic rights, awareness, and attitudes about a culture of peaceful communication

according to Crystal (2008:161-162) known as ecolinguistic studies. There are three dimensions or three ecolinguistic parameters, which start from ecological parameters and linguistic parameters, namely the units of form and lingual meaning. These three ecological parameters are environment, diversity, and interrelation, interaction, and interdependence. Ecology as an approach, considers the existence of a complex network of relationships between the environment, the languages that live in an area or environment, and their speakers.

Manuscripts which are ancestral heritage containing past knowledge about medicine are an important resource that cannot be ignored in life. However, the attention and use of old manuscripts, especially by local people, is still very minimal (Almos & Pramono, 2015:45), so that the knowledge that the ancestors wanted to pass down to the next generation is gradually no longer recognized. This is in line with the opinion Rasna & Binawati (2010:175) which states that if the language is not widely used by speakers and the scope is narrow, then the language will be pushed by the more dominant language. The continuity of this situation will continuously lead to lexical extinction, especially with the birth of new words/terms that replace and even shift the position of old words/terms. This occurs as a result of the weakening of the ability to survive the old lexical form. There is concern if the regional words related to traditional medicine in the old Mandailing manuscripts are no longer recognized by the Mandailing people. For this reason, it is necessary to preserve, document, analyze, and develop scientifically from an ecolinguistic perspective so that the knowledge of the Mandailing community in relation to environmental languages does not become extinct.

II. Research Method

The form of this research is qualitative using a descriptive strategy with an ecolinguistic approach. Qualitative research is a multi-method that focuses, involves interpretation, a natural approach to the subject matter. This means that qualitative research is the study of things in their natural setting, seeking to understand and interpret phenomena in terms of their meaning in society. (Pradoko, 2017:1).

The source of data in this study was the Mandailing community manuscript entitled *Poda ni Alimunan* and also the results of interviews with three *datu*. The data is in the form of a *pagar doa* medicine lexicon contained in the *Poda ni Alimunan* manuscript. The lexicon of medicine consists of a lexicon of nouns and verbs. Noun lexicon, namely medicinal plant lexicon, animal lexicon, and object lexicon.

Collecting data in this study using the see method (Sudaryanto, 2018:203; Zaim, 2014:89). In collecting transliteration data, the manuscript is understood and the lexicon sorted. After that, interviews were conducted with three *datu* in Maga Lombang village, Lembah Sorik Marapi sub-district, Mandailing Natal district. The data collected in the form of the traditional medicine lexicon of the Mandailing community contained in the *Poda ni Alimunan* manuscript was analyzed using the referential equivalent method whose determining tool was the fact indicated by the language or language referent. The matching method is used in determining the treasures of traditional traditional medicine for the Mandailing community based on the theory of social factions.

In presenting the results of data analysis, informal methods are used. Informal presentation of the results of data analysis is the presentation of the results of the analysis using ordinary words so that it is easy to understand and be understood by the reader.

III. Result and Discussion

Manuscripts are one of the useful media to preserve regional lexicon. The *Poda ni Alimunan* script, a text containing ingredients and procedures for traditional medicine, contains a lexicon related to treatment, both nouns, namely medicinal plants and abiotic materials that function for treatment, as well as verbs related to treatment procedures. The following is the procedure for traditional medicine. The *pagar doa* contained in the *Poda ni Alimunan* manuscript.

1. **inon dongan pira ni manuk na matan gorsing na**
'..... Ini kawan telur nya ayam yang ada kuning nya'
'..... Ini kawan telur ayam yang ada kuningnya'
2. **so da buwat patop ma dohot hasaya inon ana**
'supaya di ambil satukan lah dengan ramuan ini yang ada'
'supaya diambil satukanlah dengan ramuan ini yang ada'
3. **diba datu di porso ma on si jala bonang hos mataniari**
'untuk dukun di hidang lah ini di hadapan benang waktu matahari'
'untuk dukun dihidangkan ini dihadapan di waktu sebelum zuhur jam 11 siang matahari'
4. **asa da mintora i ma pitu hali**
'supaya di mantra i lah tujuh kali'
'supaya dimantrailah tujuh kali'
5. **na bontar hita morsom ma hon bohon bohon ta inon**
'yang putih kita persembah lah kan mudah-mudahan kita ini'
'yang putih kita persembahkan mudah-mudahan kita ini'
6. **morsoman na hombang di tahi ni**
'persembahan yang kembang di sepakati nya'
'persembahan yang digelar seperti yang disepakati'
7. **tangan ni borna tiha na dongan**
'tangan nya warna sangsi nya kawan'
'tangan dari yang terkena guna-gunanya kawan'
8. **porlada lasuna pege tuwak di sahan ga aek dasaro**
'lada bawang putih ragi di tambah dengan air daraso'
'lada bawang putih ragi ditambah air daraso'
9. **itak poltuk ihan tinutung ihan na rata**
'gambir ikan bakar ikan yang hijau'
'gambir ikan bakar ikan yang berwarna hijau'
10. **tinombu borangir horpit/sorpit lanjang**
'ruas sirih bertemu'
'sirih bertemu ruas'
11. **sunggu sagu mariot sagu sagu tiga rupa sube sube**
'sagu bamban mariot sagu bamban tiga rupa sube-sube'
'sagu bamban mariot sagu bamban tiga rupa sube-sube'
12. **bonang tiga rupa pege tanggul miak baja asal indahan sa gata**
'benang tiga rupa temulawak asal nasi upa-upa satu sendok'
'benang tiga rupa temulawak asal nasi upa-upa satu sendok'
13. **as ditibu tibu naga naga hayu ni andulpak**
'as ditubu tibu naga naga kayu nya andulpak'
'as ditubu-tibu naga naga kayu andulpak'

14. *pa turun barang balik bali angin hapili*

me nurun barang balik balik angin kiriman'

membalikkan penyakit kiriman kepada pemilik seperti angin yang berhembus'
(Harahap dkk, 2020: 38-40).

In the *Poda ni Alimunan* script, the ingredients for making a *pagar doa* are the lexicon *pira manuk na matan gorsing na, porlada, lasuna, pege tuwak, itak poltuk, ihan na rata na itutung, tinombu burangir horpit/sorpit lanjang, sanggu sago mariot, pege dike miak steel, asal indahan sagata, and hayu andulpak*. The following is a description of each treatment lexicon for prayer fences.

a. *Pira ni Manuk na Matan Gorsing na 'Telur Ayam dengan Kuningnya'*

The lexicon *pira ni manuk yang matan gorsing na* is a noun phrase consisting of *pira 'telur' ni 'nya' manuk 'ayam' na 'yang' matan 'memiliki' gorsing 'kuning' na 'nya'*. *Pira ni manuk na matan gorsing na* 'chicken egg with yolk' biologically contains animal protein. The protein in eggs is useful for protecting the body. In traditional medicine *pira ni manuk yang matan gorsing na* is also used as a container to see the disease that is in a person's body. The procedure is that the chicken egg is read a prayer, placed on the stomach in question, the egg is broken and the yolk seen will detect the disease from that person. Sociologically, the Mandailing people process chicken eggs for daily food because the prices are affordable. ideologically, Mandailing people are familiar with chicken eggs because in the *mangupa-upa* tradition, boiled chicken eggs are used as a mandatory side dish which is salted on top and placed in the middle of *upa-upa* rice. This is believed to be useful for uniting the soul and body to stay safe and healthy, just like the integrity of the egg white and egg yolk. In addition, some Mandailing people raise chickens as their job. In the *Poda ni Alimunan* script, *pira ni manuk na matan gorsing na* is one of the ingredients for the prayer fence. some Mandailing people raise chickens as their job. In the *Poda ni Alimunan* script, *pira ni manuk na matan gorsing na* is one of the ingredients for the prayer fence. some Mandailing people raise chickens as their job. In the *Poda ni Alimunan* script, *pira ni manuk na matan gorsing na* is one of the ingredients for the *pagar doa*.

b. *Porlada' Pepper' (Piper nigrum)*

Porlada lexicon is a spice that is used as a flavor enhancer, aroma, and spicy flavor enhancer in food. *Porlada* is a class of nouns that are biologically included in the class of climbing herbaceous plants (Hidayat & Rodame, 2015:247). The parts of polada used are fruit and leaves. In traditional medicine, *Porlada* has long been used by the Mandailing community as an ingredient for making medicine. Sociologically, *porlada* is used to treat asthma, diarrhea, and colds. *Porlada* contains essential oils, pinene, kariofilena, limonene, filandrena, piperine alkaloids, kavisina, piperitina, piperidine, bitter substances, and fatty oils. Ideologically, the Mandailing community is very familiar with the *porlada* lexicon because it is used as a spice in cooking soup. Based on this, it is clear that the regional police are used in the social life of the Mandailing community. In the *Poda ni Alimunan* script, *polada* as one of the ingredients makes a *pagar doa*.

c. *Lasuna'Garlic' (Allium sativum)*

The lexicon *lasuna* in the *Poda ni Alimunan* script is not only useful as a potion for *poda ni pagar*, 'advice for guarding yourself', it is also used as a *pagar doa* herb. Based on an interview with a datu in Lembah Sorik Marapi District, Maga Lombang Village, *lasuna*

together with *gulo bargot* 'brown sugar' are used to treat wounds. The method of treatment is:

a) *Buat ma lasuna dohot gulo bargot*

'Ambil lah bawang putih dan gula merah'

'Ambillah bawang putih dan gula merah'

b) *Di giling ma pa dua na*

'di giling lah ke dua nya'

'digilinglah keduanya'

c) *Dampol hon di na hona paku i*

'tempel kan di yang kena paku itu'.

'tempelkan di yang terkena paku itu'.

The use of *lasuna* as a traditional medicine because the properties of *lasuna* have been proven since ancient times, so that the Mandailing people still know and use it.

d. *Pege Tuwak 'Yeast' (Sachharomyses cereviciae)*

The *pege tuwak* lexicon belongs to the category of noun phrases which in Indonesian means yeast. Based on the biological dimension, yeast is a single-celled plant belonging to the fungus family. Yeast reproduces by budding, which causes yeast to occur. Fermentation is a general term that includes changes in air bubbles and non-air bubbles (aerobic and anaerobic) caused by microorganisms.(Mudjajanto & Yulianti, 2004:24). Ideologically, in medicine, yeast is useful for 'softening' mangalambokkon. According to a datu interviewed, the addition of yeast in medicinal herbs is useful for softening the mixture of herbs and is mystically believed to soften the heart of someone who uses the drug. Sociologically, the Mandailing people use yeast to make tape and bread. Yeast is known by the Mandailing community and is easily found in traditional markets.

e. *Itak Poltuk 'Gambier' (Uncaria gambir)*

The *itak poltuk* lexicon is a category of noun phrases which in Indonesian are called gambir or plants which have Latin *uncaria gambir Roxb*. Biologically, *itak poltuk* has erect, round, brown stems that can reach 3 m(Hidayat & Rodame, 2015:124). The parts of *itak poltuk* that can be used as medicine are sap, leaves, and twigs due to catechins, quercetin, mucus, fat, and wax. Sociologically, in traditional medicine this lexicon is used to treat dysentery, diarrhea, burns, canker sores, itchy sores on the skin, and hoarseness. Another use of *itak poltuk* is as a dye and processed gambier is widely used as a component of natural beauty products because it contains skin smoothing properties. In addition to being useful in medicine, in Indonesia in general, *itak poltuk* is used for betel nut along with *burangir*, *pining*, and *hapur*. Ideologically, the *itak poltuk* lexicon is familiar to the Mandailing people because the Mandailing people have a tradition of *mamangan burangir* 'eating betel' which is useful for strengthening teeth. This tradition is still there and is known by the public. However, for the younger generation this tradition has begun to no longer be applied.

f. *Ihan na Rata 'Green Fish/ Haporas Fish' (Mystacoleucus padangensis)*

The lexicon of *ihan na rata* in this case is haporas fish. It is called *na rata* because when it is freshly caught, the scales of the fish look green. Biologically, haporas fish contain animal protein. haporas fish contains vitamin A which is useful for maintaining eye health, vitamin D to maintain bone health, and phosphorus to help the growth and maintenance of human bones. Ideologically, this fish is very closely related to the Mandailing community because it is easily found in rivers in the Mandailing area. In the

social life of the community, haporas fish is processed by means of *itutung* 'burnt', 'smoked' *isale*, or it can be *igoreng* 'fried' method. How to cook haporas fish for treatment is *byihan tinutung*. The first step is *ihan itungkus di bulung* 'fish wrapped in a leaf', *disirahan* 'topped with salt', and *dipabaen tubanggar* 'made into a fire'. Apart from being a daily side dish and for medicinal purposes, haporas fish is also used as a mandatory menu in the tradition of forgiving children instead of prawns or chicken.

g. *Tinombu Form Horpit/Sorpit Lanjang*'Betel Meets Segment' (Piper betle)

Lexicon *tinombu borangir horpit/sorpit lanjang* noun phrase which means betel meets segment. The meaning of betel meets segment is a betel leaf whose *tulung* leaves are united and straight lined. *Burangir* from a biological point of view, this vine can reach a height of 15 meters. The stem is greenish brown, round, segmented, and is where the roots come out. The single leaf is heart-shaped, has a pointed tip, grows alternately, stems, and emits a pleasant odor when crushed. The parts used for this are leaves which contain fly oil (betlephenol), sesquiterpenes, starch, attaches, sugar, tanning substances, and *kavikol*. (Hidayat & Rodame, 2015:365).

From a sociological perspective, *burangir* has many benefits in traditional medicine, namely treating eye pain, asthma, rheumatic arthritis, *rhumatalgia*, wounds, bleeding gums, vaginal discharge, eliminating body odor, nosebleeds, digestive tract disorders, excreting phlegm, shedding saliva, and hemostatic.

From ancient times, *burangir* has been used by the Mandailing people. In everyday life, if someone coughs, the medicine is boiled water of *burangir* and *gulo bargot*. The decoction of the *burangir* water has proven to be effective in treating coughs and this plant is easily available at the Mandailing traditional market. In the *pagar doa*, the *burangir* used is *tinombu borangir horpit/sorpit lanjang* or often referred to by the *datu* by the name of *raja ni burangir sitomu ribs*.

h. *Sunggu Mariot*'Sago Bamban/Arairut' (*Maranta arundinacea*)

Based on the biological dimension, the lexicon of *sunggu sago mariot* is an herbaceous plant with an erect soft trunk with a height of 40-100 cm. Class of noun phrases *sunggu sago mariot* thin trunk, usually branching a lot towards the end. The leaves are hard and branched, alternating, petiole midrib at the base with leaf blades ovate to oblong, green or sometimes streaked with white or reddish purple. The panicle-shaped flowers that grow at the end of the stem are white. Fruit oval, dark red, bald to hairy. The rhizome is fleshy, cylindrical, white or reddish in color. The plant looks a bit similar to the turmeric plant, but the texture of the leaves is thicker and the bulbs are different from turmeric.

Based on the sociological dimension, the part of *sunggu sago mariot* used as medicine is the rhizome because it contains starch, starch, protein, fat, and fiber. Its properties are to treat diarrhea, intestinal inflammation and as an antidote. Besides being efficacious in medicine, the Mandailing people process sago mariot sago into flour which is good for consumption by people who are recovering from illness because it is easy to digest. In Mandailing, this plant is often found in the fields and is often also called sago bamban. Ideologically, this plant is still known and used by the Mandailing community. In the script, *sagounggu mariot* is used as an ingredient to make *pagar doa*.

i. *Miak Steel Embankment Pege*'Temulawak' (*Curcuma zanthorrhiza*)

Pege Tanggul Miak Baja lexicon is a noun phrase word class. This lexicon is part of the word archaic because the Mandailing people know it as the *temulawak* lexicon just like

Indonesian. Biologically, this plant is a pseudo-trunked herb with a height of more than 1 m and is green or dark brown. Leaf shape elongated round to lanceolate, green or light purplish brown to dark. Lateral flowers, slender stalks, and striped scales. The petals are white hairy, 8-13 mm long. The rhizome contains starch, curcumin, and essential oils. This plant is efficacious for treating acne, increasing appetite, antioxidant, anti-cholesterol, anti-inflammatory, anemia, cancer prevention, and anti-microbial. In addition, it is used as herbal medicine and medicine. (Hidayat & Rodame, 2015:395).

Temulawak also has similarities with *hunik* because the rhizome is also yellow. It's just that based on the results of interviews with *datu*, *temulawak* leaves are thicker than *hunik* leaves. The leaves of both can be used to scent dishes in the form of curry. In Mandailing, steel *miak* embankments are also used to treat dysentery. Based on this, it is illustrated that *temulawak* has closeness and attachment both from a sociological dimension and an ideological dimension to the Mandailing community, especially in Lembah Sorik Marapi District, Maga Lombang Village.

j. *The Origin of Sagata's Beauty 'One Spoon of Rice Upa-upu Rice'*

Biologically, rice is a staple food for the Mandailing people. Rice contains carbohydrates to provide nutrients and produce the main energy. The Mandailing people, like Indonesians in general, know the term not to eat if they have not eaten rice. Sociologically, rice is very closely related to the Mandailing community because in the Mandailing area, *marsaba* is one of the most popular occupations. Lexicons related to rice are also well known by the Mandailing community, such as the *tampang* of 'seed', *same* 'seedling', *eme* 'padi', *bota* 'paddy in rice', *buapak* 'rice husk', *dodak* 'bran', *danon* 'fruit', *dahanon* 'paddy', *monis* 'groats', and *indahan* 'rice'.

The lexicon from *Indahan sagata* is a noun phrase and part of the Mandailing people's tradition, namely the *mangupa-upu* tradition. In this tradition, one spoon of rice is taken to be placed on a plate, then surrounded by side dishes in the form of fish, chicken, or shrimp, and in the middle of the rice is placed a whole boiled egg with salt on it. Ideologically, *upa-upu* can also be considered as a prayer fence so that someone who is being prayed for is protected from the dangers around him. In addition, *upa-upu* is a form of gratitude for getting sustenance from God, such as graduating from school, getting married, and giving birth.

k. *Come on, Andulpak 'Andulpak wood' (Homalanthus populneus)*

Based on the biological dimensions, *hayu ni andulpak* is a tree with a height of up to 10 m and a diameter of chest height, the largest recorded is 18 cm. The bark of the surface is smooth and brown, sometimes grayish. The live bark is pale white to purple and the cambium is yellow. This species is widespread in the Malesia region except New Guinea, covering the Malay Peninsula (including the Isthmus of Kra), Sumatra, Java, Borneo, the Philippines (not yet in Luzon), the western part of Nusa Tenggara, Sulawesi and the Maluku Islands. (Silalahi, et al, 2019:94). From a biological perspective, *hayu ni andulpak* has long been used for treatment, for example for wounds, postpartum therapy and fever. In addition to treatment, this plant can also be used for firewood. In addition, the bark and leaves are used to dye clothes black.

From an ideological point of view, the traditional medicine community using *andulpak* is recorded in people's memories. *Andulpak* leaves are used to treat fever and edema. While the wood mucus is used for wound medicine. will stillBased on interviews with *Datu*, wound medicine from *andulpak* wood mucus is rarely used. To treat wounds in

Mandailing, *lasuna* 'garlic' and *gulo bargot* 'brown sugar' are used. The method of treatment is:

a) ***Da buwat ma lasuna dohot gulo bargot.***

'*Di ambil lah bawang putih dengan gula aren*'

'*diambilah bawang putih dan gula merah*'

b) ***Da giling ma tor limut.***

'*Di giling lah menjadi halus*'

'*digilinglah menjadi halus*'

c) ***Dampol hon ma di na hona sayat i.***

'*Tempel kan lah di yang terkena luka itu*'

'*Tempelkanlah di yang luka itu*'

d) ***Insy Allah sa minggu on malum ma i.***

'*Insy Allah se minggu ini sembuh lah itu*'.

'*Insy Allah seminggu ini sembuhlah itu*'.

In addition to the noun lexicon, a number of lexicon verbs in the *pagar doa* are also derived, such as the verb *dabuwat* which is derived from the noun phrase *pira ni manuk na matan gorsing na*. The verb pathopma to explain so that the lexicon *pira ni manuk na matan gorsing na* is combined with the ingredients described in the next procedure, namely the noun lexicon *porlada*, *lasuna*, *pege tuwak*, *itak poltuk*, *ihan tinutung ihan narata*, *tinombu borangir horpit/sorpit lanjang sanggu Sago Mariot*, *Pege Miak pege tanggul miak baja asal indahan sagata*, and *Hayu Ni Andulpak*. The verb is *diporso* to explain that all the ingredients that have been put together are served in front of the *datu* with the condition that it is served at the time of the *mataniari* 'at the time before noon at 11 a.m.', then lowers the verb *damintoraima* to explain that the ingredients are mediated seven times by the *datu*. Then the white part of the egg lowers the verb *morsom*, which is offered to get a blessing. Then, *porlada*, *lasuna*, *pege tuwak* lowered the verb *disahan* to explain the procedure for adding water first, then adding *itak poltuk*, *ihan tinutung ihan narata*, *tinombu borangir horpit/sorpit lanjang*, *sunggu sago mariot*, and *hayu ni andulpak*. This is useful for deriving the verb *paturun barang balik bali angin hapili* 'to turn the disease back to the owner like the wind that blows'. Thus, the *pagar doa* serves to return the disease or witchcraft that is sent to the person suffering from the disease.

IV. Conclusion

The treasures of traditional medicine lexicon the *pagar doa* in the *Poda ni Alimunan* manuscript consists of a noun lexicon and a verb lexicon. the noun lexicon *pira manuk na matan gorsing na* 'chicken egg with the yolk', *porlada* 'pepper', *lasuna* 'garlic', *pege tuwak* 'yeast', *itak poltuk* 'gambir', *ihan na rata na itutung* 'grilled haporas fish', *tinombu burangir horpit/sorpit lanjang* 'betel leaf that meets the segment', *sunggu mariot* '*sunggu bamban*', *pege tanggul miak baja* '*temulawak*', origins of *indahan sagata* 'one spoon of *upa-upa* rice', and *hayu andulpak* 'wood andulpak'. Verb lexicon in the *pagar doa*, namely the verb *dabuwat* 'taken'. *Patopma* 'to unite', *diporso* 'served', *damintoraima* 'mantrailah', *morsom* 'worship', and *paturun barang balik bali angin hapili* 'turns disease back on the owner like a blowing wind'. This finding indicates that the environmental lexicon around the Mandailing community is used by *datu* as ingredients for making medicinal herbs.

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