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Malay and Javanese Loanwords in Malagasy, Tagalog and Siraya (Formosa).

Throughout the political and cultural history of insular Southeast Asia the Malays and Javanese have been the most important ethnic groups, and it will come as no surprise that this is reflected in linguistic borrowing in just about every language in Indonesia and Malaysia, as well as in a number of Philippine languages. This borrowing gives us some specific information about the nature of Malay or Javanese influence on the speakers of a given language. For instance, the Tausug terminology with respect to the use of the Arabic script is for a large part borrowed from Malay, and leaves little doubt as to who introduced the Arabic script in the Sulu archipelago. In other languages, many vocabulary items referring to statecraft, court life and court administration were borrowed from Javanese. In some languages, Javanese influence even led to a stratification of parts of the lexicon, whether in the form of a special register for addressing people to whom one should show respect (as in Balinese, Sundanese and Madurese) or in the form of a special jargon used in a court setting and in reference to the Sultan (as in the case of the Palembang Malay court language).

Malay and Javanese loanwords in Malagasy

Loanwords can do more than confirm what was already obvious from non-linguistic research, however. In some cases they may testify to historical events which would otherwise have been difficult to demonstrate, or which

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otherwise might not have been recalled at all. In Malagasy, loanwords from Malay and (to a lesser extent) Javanese sometimes point to historical facts that historians, archaeologists and anthropologists had previously not been able to establish. Loanwords show that the early Malagasy migrants to East Africa were already in contact with Malays, and that the period of Malay - Malagasy contacts was a long one. This period started before the migration to East Africa, and lasted until after contacts between Austronesians and Africans (mostly Bantus) resulted in an ethnically mixed society in Madagascar. Two circumstances enable us to phase Malay - Malagasy contacts into several periods: the occurrence of Banjarese Malay loanwords, and the occurrence of Malay loanwords which have not undergone any important phonological changes due to influence from Comoran languages, which are reflected almost everywhere else in the Malagasy lexicon (Adelaar 1989).

The occurrence of Banjarese Malay loanwords along with other Malay loanwords indicates that proto-Malagasy had already undergone influence from a local variety of Malay before its speakers left their original homeland in South Kalimantan and went to East Africa. A basic distinction between Banjarese phonology and other Malay phonology is that Banjarese exhibits *a* where other Malay dialects have a schwa. In the process of borrowing into Malagasy, this Banjarese *a* became Malagasy *a*, whereas schwa in other Malay dialects became the MLG mid-front vowel *e*. (Note, however, that in antepenultimate syllables both Banjarese *a* and (other) Malay schwa in Malagasy are rendered as *a*.)

Examples of Banjarese loanwords (from Adelaar 1989:20) are¹:

ampali 'shrub, the leaves of which are used for polishing' (ML *əmpəlas*, JV *rəmpəlas*, but Banjarese *hampalas* id.)

tsatsaka 'k.o. lizard' (ML, JV *cəcak*, but Banjarese *cacak* id.)

samba/samba 'expression of gratitude to God, benediction' (ML, JV *səmbah* 'gesture of worship or homage', but Banjarese *sambah*)

fanu 'turtle' (ML, JV *pənu* id.)

¹ In this paper I use the following abbreviations for names of languages: MLG - Malagasy, ML - Malay, JV - Javanese, TGL - Tagalog, PAN - Proto Austronesian, PMP - Proto Malayo Polynesian, and SKT - Sanskrit. I have made the following alterations to the respective standard spellings of the lexical examples quoted in this paper:

Malay (and Javanese) e (if indicating a schwa) - ə; ng - ŋ; ny - ɲ; -au - -aw; -ai - -ay;

Malagasy ng - ŋg; nk - ŋk; o - u; -y - -i;

Tagalog (and Cebuano) ng - ŋ; (glottal stop) - ʔ.

In the Siraya examples I have maintained the orthography of the 17th-century Gospel translation (cf. Campbell 1888).

TABLE

Sound correspondences between Proto Austronesian, Malagasy (inherited and borrowed), and Malay

N.B.: In the following list, a dash indicates that no Malagasy inherited words were found having a reflex of the Proto Austronesian phoneme in question. The symbol \emptyset indicates that the Proto Austronesian phoneme in question is lost.

Proto Austronesian	Malagasy (inherited)	Malagasy borrowed pre-Comoran	Malagasy borrowed post-Comoran	Malay
penultimate *ə	e	a, e ^a	e	ə
*b	v	v	v, b	b
*p	f, -ka/-tra	f, -ka/-tra	f, p	p
*g	h	h	g	g
*k	h, -ka	h, -ka	k, -ka	k, -k
*ŋg	k	k	ŋg	ŋg
*ŋk	k	k	ŋk	ŋk
*d, *j	r, -tra	tr, -tra	d	d, -t
*Z	r	z, j	z, j ^b	j
*nd, *nj	ndr	ndr	nd	nd
*l	l	l	l	l
*li	di	di	di	li
*-l	-na	-na?, - \emptyset ?	- \emptyset ? (-l) ^c	-l
*t	t, -tra	t, -tra	t, -tra	t, -t
*ti	tsi	tsi	tsi	ti
*s	\emptyset ^d	s, \emptyset	s	s
*R	\emptyset , z	r	r	r
(*r	-- (?)	r, -tra	r, -tra	r, -r) ^e
(*-r	--	-na, -tra	-tra	r)
--	ts	ts	ts	c
-n, -m, -ŋ	-na	-na	-na	-n, -m, -ŋ

^a A appears in Banjarese loanwords, and e in Sumatran Malay loanwords.

^b In consonant clusters.

^c On morpheme boundaries.

^d *s is sporadically retained, especially in words of an sV_sVC structure.

^e The reconstruction of PAN *r is disputed; elsewhere I show that there is also very little Malagasy support for this protophoneme (only four out of 89 alleged Malagasy reflexes of Proto Malayo Polynesian etyma containing *r are irrefutable, Adelaar 1989:25-31).

The occurrence of a few Malay loanwords which never underwent the phonological changes induced by contact with Comoran languages indicates that Malays must have continued to have contacts with Malagasy until after these changes had ceased to operate. The changes in question had a considerable impact on the Malagasy sound system. These phonological changes include:

*ŋg, *ŋk > k

*g, *k > h (with the proviso that word-final *k remained k)

*b, *w > v

*p > f (word-final *p became -ka or -tra)

*nd > ndr

*d > tr

(For a fuller list of these changes, see also the Table of sound correspondences on the previous page.)

Examples of Malay loanwords which underwent sound changes induced by contact with Comoran languages are (Adelaar 1989):

sakana 'anything put across, any obstacle or impediment' (ML *saŋkar* 'diagonal, line across or athwart')²

hunisana 'rinsing (of bottles)' (ML *goŋcaŋ* 'shake')

harana 'coral-reef, coral-rock' (ML, JV *karang* id.)

vuruna 'bird' (ML *buruŋ* id.)

faralfara 'bed-frame' (ML *para-para* '(under-)frame')

sandratra 'elevated' (ML *sandar* 'reclining, resting on a support')

tranu 'house' (ML *daŋaw* id.)

trusa 'debt' (ML *dosa*, JV *ḍosa* 'sin' < SKT *ḍosa* id.)

Examples of Malay loanwords that never underwent any of these sound changes are (Adelaar 1989 and in press):

fīŋga 'plate' (ML *piŋgan* id., possibly borrowed direct from Persian (cf. Persian *piŋān* 'cup'))

harangka (dialectal) 'chest' (ML *kəraŋka* 'skeleton') (Adelaar in press)

sagari 'a northeast wind' (ML, JV *səgara* 'sea' < SKT *sāgara* 'the ocean') (Adelaar in press)

kurintsana 'loud noise, as the sound of pieces of glass, gold or silver; small silver pieces used as ornament on hands and legs; jingle' (ML *kəraŋcaŋ*

² MLG often has final *-na* for *-r* in the original Malay form, cf. MLG *fantsuna* 'waste-pipe' < ML *paŋcur* 'flowing along a conduit or pipe'; MLG *kambana* 'twins' < ML *kəmbār* id.; MLG *lambana* 'large leaf or mat; breadth, width' < ML *ləmbār* 'thread, strand, sheet' (Adelaar 1989:22).

'to champ, to clang; the clash of cymbals') (Adelaar in press)
budu 'infantile' (ML *bodo(h)*, JV *bođo* 'uneducated, stupid')
puki (Comoran dialects) '(a curse)', *mi-puki* 'swear, curse' (ML *puki*
 'vagina', *puki mai* '(a grossly insulting expression)' (Adelaar in press)
landaizana 'anvil' (ML *landasan*, Minangkabau *landehan* id.)

As shown above, Malagasy borrowed some vocabulary from Banjarese Malay. However, most Malay loanwords in Malagasy are from a source dialect outside Borneo. This dialect had a strong impact on Malagasy nautical terms and maritime vocabulary, and must have been a Sumatran form of Malay. This is clearly evidenced by the form and meaning of some of the loanwords (especially those deriving from Malay directional terms; cf. Adelaar 1989 and in press). Examples are:

- MLG *a/varatra*³ 'North', and *varatra* 'thunder, lightning' (ML *barat* 'West', etymologically 'strong westerly winds')
- MLG (Betsimisaraka dialect) *varatraza* 'south wind' (ML *barat daya* 'Southwest')
- MLG (Betsimisaraka dialect) *tsimilotru* 'north wind' (ML *timur laut* 'Northeast')
- MLG *an-drefana* 'West' (ML *dəpan* 'front' < +*hadəp-an*, cf. Adelaar 1992)
- MLG (Sakalava dialect) *valaha* 'East' (ML *belakang* 'back, rear; space behind')
- MLG *sagari* 'a northeast wind' (ML, Javanese *səgara* 'sea' < SKT *sāgara* 'the ocean')
- MLG *sambu* 'boat, vessel' (Old Malay (South Sumatran inscription) *sāmvaw* 'vessel'; this word originally derives from Khmer (Porée-Maspéro 1986:76))
- MLG *rivutra* 'storm, wind' < ML (*aŋin*) *ribut* 'gale'
- MLG *rantu* '1. go trading to far-away places or countries; 2. product of such trade' (ML *rantaw* '1. reach of a river; 2. go abroad to trade')
- MLG *tanjuna* 'cape, promontory' (ML *tanjung* id.)
- MLG (Northern dialect) *huala* 'bay, inlet', also *Aŋkuala*, a region in the north of Madagascar (ML *kuala* 'river mouth')
- MLG *fasika, fasina* 'sand' (ML *pasir* 'sand; beach')
- MLG *hara* 'mother-of-pearl' < ML *karah* 'deposit of foreign matter (e.g., coating on teeth, spots on dry leaves)'
- MLG *harana* 'coral reef, coral rock' < ML, JV *karaj* id.
- MLG *vatuharanana, vatukaranana* 'quartz' (ML *batu karaj*, JV *watu karaj* 'coral rock')

³ The initial *a/-* in *a/varatra* and other directional terms is the MLG locative/directional prefix *a(N)-*, which occurs with many nouns and deictics referring to a place or direction (Malzac 1960:84).

MLG *hurita* 'octopus' (ML *gurita* id.)

MLG (North) *vuntana* 'k.o. fish' (ML (*ikan*) *buntal* 'box-fish, globe-fish or sea urchin')

MLG *tuna* 'k.o. large nocturnal snake; enormous eel' (ML *tuna* name of a mud-snake or eel with yellowish body)

MLG (Sakalava) *fanuhara* 'turtle with a particular k.o. shell' (ML *peju karah* 'tortoise-shell turtle, *Chelonia imbricata*)

MLG *truzuna* 'whale' (ML *duyug* 'sea cow')

MLG *lambuara* 'a species of fish' (ML *lambuara* 'a giant fish (possibly a whale)')⁴

Note that *sagari* 'a Northeast wind' must be a relatively recent (i.e. post-Comoran) loanword, as it never underwent the change *g > h.

There are some 35 Sanskrit loanwords in Malagasy. They must have been borrowed indirectly via Malay or Javanese, for the following two reasons. First, virtually all of these loanwords also occurred in Malay or Javanese at some stage.⁵ Second, Malagasy reflects the phonological (and sometimes semantic) changes that Sanskrit words underwent in the process of being borrowed into Malay or Javanese. Compare the following pairs, where the Malagasy equivalents display the same phonological changes vis-à-vis the original Sanskrit ones as the Malay or Javanese equivalents:

(loss of r)

SKT *cukra* 'vinegar' > ML, JV *cuka* id. > Sakalava MLG *tsuha* 'lemon'

(change of vowel)

SKT *koṭi* 'ten million' > ML *kəti*, JV *kəṭi* '100,000' > MLG *hetsi* '100,000'

SKT *çeṣa* 'remainder' > ML *sisā* id. > MLG *sisā* id.

(loss of a syllable)

SKT *jāgara* 'awake; to guard' > ML, JV *jaga* id. > MLG *zaha* 'investigate'

SKT *dyāsa* 'work' > JV *yasa > JV *jasā* 'work, do'⁶ > MLG *mi-yasa > *mi-asa* 'to work'

⁴ However, a corresponding form also occurs in Old JV (cf. Old JV *lambwara*, *lambora* 'a very large fish (whale? porpoise?)'). The lending language may therefore have been Old Javanese instead of (Sumatran) Malay.

⁵ The only exception is Malagasy *sakarivu* 'ginger' (with a Sakalava Malagasy variant form *sakaviru*). It derives from Sanskrit *ṣṛggavera* id., probably via Prakrit (Gonda 1973:648). A now lost corresponding form must have existed in Old Javanese or Old Malay, which was then borrowed into early Malagasy.

⁶ Javanese retained *y in the high (Krama Inggil) form *yasa* 'to make'.

(loss of a syllable + vowel colouring)

SKT *açvayuja* '(name of a Hindu month)' > **asudyi* > Old JV *Asuji*
'(September-October)' > Sakalava MLG *asotri* 'winter'

In the case of *hetsi*, Malagasy also displays the same semantic change vis-à-vis Sanskrit as Malay. Aside from this Indian influence which Malagasy received via the Malays and Javanese, there is hardly any evidence of ancient Indian influence (whether linguistic or cultural) in Madagascar.

One loanword in Taimoro Malagasy (spoken on the southeast coast of Madagascar) suggests that Malay/Javanese - Malagasy contacts continued until after the introduction of Islam in Indonesia and Malaysia. This is:

sumbili 'slaughter in accordance with Muslim law' (ML *səmbəlih* 'to slaughter', which was also used in the sense of 'to slaughter in accordance with Muslim law'. It was borrowed into Javanese as *səmbəleh* (which retained the religious connotation). Malay *səmbəlih* ultimately derives from Arabic *b'ismi' lla:hi* 'in the Name of God', a formula which (among others) should be uttered when slaughtering an animal according to Muslim law (Adelaar 1989:4-6)).

The phonological and semantic developments that have resulted in Malay *səmbəlih* are too specific to have occurred independently in the Taimoro dialect. *Sumbili* must therefore be a Malay loanword. Corroborating evidence of contact between Malay/Javanese Muslims and Malagasy is provided by Sorabe, a Malagasy adaptation of the Arabic script which was developed in the Taimoro area (southeast coast of Madagascar). Some unusual conventions of the Sorabe script are strongly reminiscent of Pegon, a Javanese adaptation of the Arabic script (Adelaar in press).

The nature of Malay and Javanese loanwords in Malagasy leaves ample scope for other culture-historical inferences. Their validity, however, will ultimately depend on corroborating evidence from other disciplines.

Malay and Javanese loanwords in Siraya (Taiwan)

Let us now turn to another Austronesian area outside Indonesia, Taiwan. Taiwan nowadays is almost completely Chinese, and the original Austronesian population is reduced to an ethnic minority constituting perhaps no more than 5 percent of the total population. But it was still very much part of the Austronesian world in the 17th century, when the Dutch founded their short-lived colony on the west coast of the island. During their stay in Taiwan, Dutch Calvinist clergymen showed remarkable zeal in the collection of linguistic data on Siraya and Favorlang, two now extinct languages for which they planned to make Bible translations.

Other scholars (e.g., Tsuchida) have already shown that present-day Formosan languages have borrowed some vocabulary from Philippine languages. From my own study of the Gospel of St. Matthew in Siraya it appears that this language contains about nine loanwords from either Malay or Javanese. My arguments for identifying these vocabulary items as loanwords are the following:

(1) Some of them were ultimately borrowed from Sanskrit or Persian (languages which had a strong influence on Javanese and Malay, but none at all on Formosan languages). They include:

tabe '(a greeting)' (ML *tabik* 'with your permission', Javanese *tabik* 'hello', *tabe* 'with your permission', ultimately < SKT *kṣantavya*, see below)
pingang 'plate, saucer' (ML *pingan* id. (< Persian *piḡḡan* 'cup')).

(2) Some reflect sound correspondences that are regular in the donor languages, but not in Siraya. Consider the following regular sound correspondences, which for Siraya I established on the basis of vocabulary of Austronesian provenance in the Gospel of St. Matthew (1661) and in the Sirayan Catechism (1662):

Proto Austronesian and Proto Malayo Polynesian ⁷	> Javanese	Malay	Siraya
1) initial *D and *d	> d or r	d	d
2) intervocalic *D and *d	> d or r	d	r
3) final *d	> r	t	r
4) *l	> l	l	r
5) *s	> s	s	h, ø

In the light of these regular sound correspondences compare the following sets of corresponding words:

PAN *likud 'back'; *likough*⁸ '(do) back, (do) again' (Old JV *likur* 'behind')
 PAN *Dilaq 'tongue'; *dadila* id. (ML *lidah* 'tongue', Old and modern JV *dilah* 'flame')
 PAN *tuli 'ear wax; deaf'; *mattoule* 'deaf' (ML, Old and modern JV *tuli* 'deaf')⁹

⁷ The Austronesian language family basically divides into the Formosan and non-Formosan (= the Malayo Polynesian) languages. All Malayo Polynesian languages belong to one primary branch. It is not yet clear whether the Formosan languages belong to one or several primary branches.

⁸ In archaic Dutch spelling, *ou* stands for a high-back vowel, and *gh* for a velar or uvular fricative.

⁹ Dahl 1977:63.

PMP *busuk 'to rot, decay'; *voussouk* 'dirty, filthy' (ML *busuk* 'stinking, putrid').

The sound correspondences reflected in Siraya *likough*, *dadila*, *mattoule* and *busuk* deviate from the expected pattern of sound changes in inherited vocabulary, but are rather in conformity with that of the (regular) changes that took place in Javanese and Malay. This is indicative of borrowing.

Note that in the case of PAN *likud/*likough* and *Dilaq/*dadila*, Siraya has doublets which do reflect the expected regular Siraya sound correspondences, viz. *rikour* 'back' and *dmira* 'to lick' (with verbal infix *-m-*) respectively. These doublets must be inherited, and strengthen the argument that *likough* and *dadila* were borrowed. However, for *dadila* a Philippine origin, instead of a Javanese or Malay one, is also possible, and even more likely. Many Philippine languages have a regularly inherited corresponding form *dila?* or *dila* 'tongue'. This is phonologically as similar to *dadila* as is Javanese *dilah*, and agrees better in meaning. It is unlikely that Malay was the lending language for Siraya *dadila* in view of the metathesis that Malay *lidah* has undergone.

Apart from Siraya *voussouk*, no other Formosan reflexes have been recorded for PMP *busuk. If *voussouk* was in fact inherited, *busuk should also be reconstructed for Proto Austronesian. But in view of the fact that there are no other Formosan cognates of PMP *busuk and that PAN *s in most cases became Siraya *h* or \emptyset (whereas the few remaining occurrences of Siraya *s* are often found in loanwords), borrowing is a more likely explanation.

(3) Some show irregular formal changes which, however, are regular in one of the donor languages; for instance:

rena 'mother' (Old JV *rena* id.)

rama 'father' (Old JV *rāma* id., modern JV *rama* (pronounced [rəmə]) id. (often used for Roman Catholic priest))

Malay *-da* and Javanese *ra-* reflect an honorific marker *Da. Reflexes of this marker also seem to occur in some other Austronesian languages, but it is not entirely clear what the exact diffusion of these reflexes is, nor what apparent reflexes should be considered as cognates. To what proto-stage *Da can be attributed remains uncertain. In any case, if Proto Austronesian had this marker, and if it had become a proclitic in Siraya, it ought to have become *d/-*, not *r/-*, as is apparent from the table of phoneme correspondences under (2) above. Furthermore, *r-* (or *ra-*) seems to have been a fairly productive prefix in Old Javanese, and it is found with many Old Javanese kinship terms. Compare also *rānak* 'offspring' (< PAN *alak id.), *rabi* 'wife' (< PAN *beHi 'woman'), *rāka* 'elder sibling' (< PAN *aka id.), *rari* 'younger sibling' (< PAN *[Su]a(n)ji id.). In Siraya, however, it is only

found in *rena* and *rama*, which moreover have exactly the same form as Old Javanese *rena* and *rāma*, and which co-occur with *ina*¹⁰ and *ama* (same meanings) respectively.

(4) As a consequence of the sound law outlined under (3), the occurrence in a Siraya word of *s* corresponding to Javanese *s*, or *l* corresponding to Javanese *l*, points to borrowing. In view of, among other things, the prominent historical role of the Javanese in Southeast Asia, the direction of such borrowing must have been from Javanese into Siraya (and not from Siraya into Javanese).

Siraya *ma-voulas* 'sad' corresponds in form and meaning to Javanese *wəlas* 'compassion'. In this case Siraya is seen to show both irregular *s* and irregular *l*. Hence I conclude that *ma-voulas* is a Javanese loan.¹¹

(5) Finally, there is a Siraya word which cannot be classed according to any diagnostic borrowing criterion, but is very similar to a Malay form with which it is not related through common inheritance.

Siraya *kamau-en* 'will, desire' seems to be derived from a root *kamau* 'satisfaction; desire, will'.¹² It looks suspiciously similar to Malay *kə-mau-an* 'will, desire', which is derived from a root *mau*, which is an auxiliary verb expressing intention or immediate future. Siraya *kamau-en* (with *kamau* as a back-formation) could have been borrowed from Malay, although a correspondence through chance resemblance cannot of course be ruled out.

Generally speaking, borrowing from Javanese or Malay does not necessarily point to direct contacts between Javanese and Malays with Formosans.

(1) It is not to be excluded that some loanwords were introduced through colonists serving with the Dutch East India Company. During the Dutch occupation, West Formosa came under the administration of the Company agency in Batavia, and Dutch colonists here had often lived in Indonesia before coming to Taiwan. Although it is not the most likely scenario, there is the theoretical possibility that Malay loanwords like *tabe*, *pingang*, *kamau-en*, *matoule* and *voussouk* entered Siraya through contacts between Company employees and Siraya speakers. However, such an explanation would hardly apply to Javanese loanwords. At the time of the Dutch occupation of West Formosa, the Dutch had little influence in the Javanese-speaking parts of Java, which were united in the kingdom of Mataram. A

¹⁰ Other Siraya variants are *reina* and *rarenan* for 'mother' and *raraman* for 'father'.

¹¹ Cf. Dempwolff's PMP **balas*. However, as it is reconstructed on the basis only of Javanese *wəlas* and Malay *bəlas*, there is little reason to accept this etymon for PMP.

¹² In theory it could also be derived from **mau*, but such a root does not occur in the Siraya sources.

knowledge of the Javanese language among the Dutch was rare. Malay, on the other hand, was the language of communication *par excellence* between Indonesians and foreigners, and also among Indonesians of different linguistic backgrounds. Seen from this perspective, it is unlikely that Dutch colonists would have introduced the Javanese words *rama*, *rena*, *ma-voulas*, or *likough*. *Rama* and *rena* are moreover originally Old Javanese forms, *rena* no longer occurring in 17th-century Javanese, except in poetical language. *Likough* seems to testify to a similar antiquity. The meaning of this word is too different from that of the corresponding form in modern Javanese to make recent borrowing likely. In modern Javanese, *likur* always occurs together with a preceding digit to form a numeral compound denoting a number between twenty and thirty, e.g. *ro-likur* 'twenty-two' (literally 'two behind [twenty]'), *wolu-likur* 'twenty-eight' (literally 'eight behind [twenty]'), and so on. But *likur* still occurs with its original meaning of 'behind' in Old Javanese stone inscriptions. See the following line, for example, which consists of two phrases with the same meaning 'without looking behind', and in which the pronominal phrases *i wuntat* and *i likuran* are semantically equivalent (Van der Tuuk 1901):

<i>tanpanoliha i wuntat</i>	/	<i>tattinghala i likuran</i>
without-looking loc. behind		without-looking loc. behind

Finally, as Malay includes many Javanese loanwords, one could argue that Javanese loanwords entered Siraya via Malay. This might theoretically be true of *voulas* (although the corresponding Malay form *bəlas* 'pity' usually occurs with *kasihan*, forming a compound with the same meaning). But the argument would not hold for *rama*, *rena* and *likough*. *Rama* and *rena* do not have a corresponding form in Malay. *Likough* does, but this word cannot be a source of borrowing, because it differs too much in meaning (cf. Malay *likur*, a Javanese borrowing which is identical in meaning with modern Javanese *likur*).

(2) It is also possible that some of the Javanese and Malay loanwords were introduced into Siraya via a Philippine language. This must be the case with Siraya *soulat* 'writing; book', which has a corresponding *sulat* (same meaning) in Tagalog and other Philippine languages. The form ultimately derives from Malay or Javanese *surat*, but must have been introduced into Siraya via a Philippine language.

In the case of *soulat* the idea of a Philippine language as vehicle imposes itself on us as an explanation, but in other cases it is not the only explanation, or is no explanation at all.

Although many Philippine languages have a reflex of PAN *likud 'back', a Philippine origin for Siraya *likough* can be dismissed on account of the fact that almost all of these languages exhibit a final *d* in their reflex. This includes major trade languages, which may be expected to have been a

source of borrowing for other languages, as well as all northern Philippine languages, which could have been a source of borrowing on account of their geographic proximity (McFarland 1977, Reid 1971, Zorc 1977, and Tsuchida, Yamada and Moriguchi 1987).

In summary, it appears that Siraya borrowed some words from Malay and Javanese. It cannot be excluded that some – or all – of the Malay loanwords in Siraya were borrowed during the colonization of West Formosa by the Dutch East India Company (1624-1662). It is furthermore possible (and seems reasonably certain in the case of *sulat*) that occasionally a Malay or Javanese loanword was borrowed by Siraya via some Philippine language instead of direct from its source language. However, it also appears that most Javanese loanwords must have been borrowed direct from the source language at a date prior to the colonization of West Formosa by the Dutch East India Company. This suggests that Javanese – and possibly also Malays – had established contact with Taiwanese in precolonial times.¹³

Malay loanwords in Tagalog

There are at least two Philippine areas which were subject to substantial and direct influence from Malay, namely the Tagalog-speaking area in Luzon and the Sulu-Mindanao region in the South. In Tagalog, Wolff found some 300 Malay loanwords spread over almost every semantic domain. These loanwords as a rule also include Tagalog vocabulary items originally deriving from Sanskrit and Arabic. They exhibit an *a* corresponding to *ə* in literary Malay. Bornean varieties of Malay also exhibit this *a* corresponding to literary Malay *ə*, and this phonological feature, in combination with the fact that the geographically nearby sultanate of Brunei played an important role in Philippine history, points to Brunei Malay as the donor dialect for Malay loanwords. Wolff's claim that Javanese did not play a role as a donor language remains to be investigated.

Below follow some of Wolff's examples.

kabal 'something used to render oneself invulnerable' (cf. ML *kəbal* 'invulnerable')

kális 'kris' (ML *kəris* id.)

kanan 'right side' (ML *kanan* id. < *ka-wanan)

sabaṅ 'intersection, crossing' (ML *cabaṅ* 'branch; prong; bifurcation')

suwáto 'in harmony' (ML *suatu* 'one' < *sə watu < *sawatu < *sabatu < *sa-batu 'one stone', cf. Adelaar 1992)

balaklaṛot 'northwest wind' (ML *barat laut* 'Northwest')

salátan 'southwest wind' (ML *səlat/an* '(straits direction =) South')

¹³ Note that in the diary of a 17th-century Dutch traveller in the Singkang area (West Taiwan) mention is made of indigenous reports alleging that Malays from Johore had been visiting the area (Blussé and Roessingh 1984).

lapastárgan 'free-handed, daring to do things one has no right by his station to do' (ML *ləpas* 'free, loose' and *tagan* 'hand')

dalamháti? 'extreme sorrow' (ML *dalam* 'deep, inside' and *hati* 'liver; centre of the senses'; Tagalog inherited correspondences: *lalim* 'deep' and *atay* 'liver')

pintakási 'intercessor, patron' (ML *pinta* 'request, beg' and *kasih* 'love')

A phonological justification for qualifying these items as loanwords is given in Wolff (1976:350-51). Suffice it to say here that in directly inherited vocabulary, (1) Tagalog reflects *i* (not *a*) where Malay has *ə*, and (2) Tagalog reflects *g* (not *l*) where Malay has *r*, e.g. **bə*Ras 'uncooked rice' > TGL *bigas*, Malay *bəras*. Furthermore, PAN **w-* was lost in Malay, but not in Tagalog, hence *kanan* must have been borrowed. *Suatu*, *səlatlan* and *barat-laut* are the result of specific semantic and phonological developments in Malay (Adelaar 1992), and the corresponding forms in Tagalog are evidently borrowed. The constituent parts of the original compound forms *lapastárgan*, *dalamháti?* and *pintakási* do not occur in Tagalog, except for *dalam* 'house with many people, servants, slaves'.¹⁴ The latter has evidently also been borrowed from Malay (cf. Malay *dalam* '1. inside; deep; 2. court, inner part of a royal palace'), considering the facts that the sound correspondences are irregular and that *lalim* 'depth' occurs alongside it).

Wolff points out that, in order for it to have had such a heavy impact on almost every part of Tagalog vocabulary, Malay must have been more than an important trade language. It must have been a prestige language which was known by a considerable portion of the Tagalog speech community. This is demonstrated by, among other things, compounds like *dalamháti?*, *lapastárgan* and *pintakási*. They consist entirely of Malay elements, but do not occur in Malay as compounds.¹⁵ Wolff concludes that Tagalog speakers at some point had apparently become familiar enough with Malay to be able to use the language in a creative way in order to express certain complex or unusual concepts. Wolff points to comparable tendencies, later on, to build neologisms on the basis of Spanish and English loanwords.

Concluding remarks

In conclusion, there is an important sociolinguistic point to be made about the nature of the contact between Malay and Javanese on the one hand and the receiving languages on the other. As mentioned above, Wolff claims that Malay loanwords in Tagalog also include vocabulary items ultimately deriving from Sanskrit and Arabic. Almost all Sanskrit and Arabic loan-

¹⁴ 'Casa de mucha gente, criados, esclavos', de Noceda and Sanlucar 1860.

¹⁵ One unknown factor here remains whether (some of) these compounds occur in Brunei Malay, the main source dialect for Malay loanwords in Tagalog. The rather summary Brunei Malay dictionary (Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Brunei 1991) does not list them.

words in Tagalog also occur in Malay, and they often (but not always) show the same phonological and semantic adaptations as the corresponding forms in Malay. Compare the following sets, for instance:

- SKT *argha* 'price' > TGL *halaga* id. (ML *harga* id.)
 SKT *upavāsa* 'fast' > Cebuano *puḷāsa* id. (ML *puasa* id.)
 SKT *vac-* 'speak' > TGL *bāsa* 'read' (ML *baca* id.)
 SKT *vṛtta* 'event' > TGL *balita?* 'news' (ML *bərita* id.)
 SKT *sūtra* 'thread' > TGL *sutila?* 'silk' (ML *sutra* id.)
 SKT *pāṇḍya* 'wise, learned' > TGL *panday* 'smith' (ML *panday* id.)
 SKT *carita* 'deeds, adventures' > TGL *salita?* 'tell' (ML *cərita* 'story')
 SKT *lakṣa* '100,000' > TGL *laksa?* '10,000' (ML *laksa* id.)

Nevertheless, the Sanskrit loanwords in Tagalog are in certain ways phonologically much closer to the original Sanskrit form than the corresponding forms in Malay. A notable retention is, for instance, the aspirated stops: these are represented in Tagalog as a cluster of (non-aspirated) stop + *h*, whereas in modern Malay (and Javanese) they have lost their aspirated quality and merged with the non-aspirated series. Compare the following pairs of corresponding words:

- SKT *paribhoga* 'enjoyment' > TGL *alibhugha?* 'irresponsible, squanderer'
 SKT *katha* 'speech, conversation' > TGL *katha?* 'literary composition'
 SKT *buddhi* 'intelligence, reason' > TGL *budhi?* 'will, intention, conscience'
 SKT *megha* 'cloud' > TGL *magha?* id.
 SKT *mukha* 'face' > TGL *mukha?*
 SKT *duḥkha* 'uneasiness, pain, sorrow' > TGL *dukha?* 'poor, unfortunate'

There are also other instances of borrowing in which Tagalog kept closer to the original Sanskrit form than Malay. Note the first syllables of the following three loanwords, which in Malay were reduced or lost:

- SKT *kṣantavya* 'expression asking pardon' > TGL *pa-sintábi?* 'ask to be excused' (cf. ML *tabik* 'with your permission', Javanese *tabik* 'hello', *tabe* 'with your permission')
 SKT *maharddhika* 'very prosperous, powerful' > TGL *maharlika* 'noble' (ML *mərdəheka*, *mərdəka* 'freedom')
 SKT *sampratyaya* 'faith, belief' > *sampalatáya* 'believe' (ML *pərcaya* id.)

The fact that Tagalog has often retained a more archaic pronunciation than Malay is not in contradiction with the view that Malay was the vehicular language for the entry of Sanskrit loanwords in Tagalog. It shows that, at the time Malay had a lexical influence on Tagalog, Malay was much more faithful to the original Sanskrit pronunciation than it is now.

We have seen that Malagasy also obtained its Sanskrit loanwords via Malay (and Javanese). But the number of these loanwords (35) is much more restricted here than in Tagalog. Consequently it is more difficult to make inferences on the basis of them. Nevertheless, they do show a distinction between aspirated and non-aspirated stops, albeit that the examples are restricted to velar stops, and given the fact that Malagasy merged original voiced and voiceless velars. The merger took the following course: (early MLG) *g and *k > h, and (early MLG) *gh and *kh > k. Compare the following examples:

- SKT *kaca* 'glass' > MLG (Old Tanosy dialect) *hatsa* id. (ML *kaca* id.)
 SKT *koṭi* > MLG *hetsi* (ML *kəti*)
 SKT *cukra* > MLG (Sakalava dialect) *tsuha* (ML *cuka*)
 SKT *kārtika* 'October-November' > MLG *hatsiha* 'December'
 SKT *jāgara* > MLG *zaha* (ML *jaga*)
 SKT *taḍaga* 'lake, pond' > MLG (Betsimisaraka dialect) *talaha* (ML *təlaga*)
 SKT *vaiçakha* 'April-May' > *sakalmasay* 'April', *saka/ve* 'May' (cf. also Taifasy MLG *fisaka/ve* (Dahl 1951), and Old Betsimisaraka MLG *vysackamassey*, *vysackavey* (De Houtman 1603))
 SKT *sakhāyam* 'friend; servant' > MLG *sakaiza* 'friend; concubine' (ML *sakay* '(exonym for an Orang Asli ethnic group)')
 SKT *māgha* 'January-February' > MLG *maka* 'February'
 SKT *megha* 'cloud' > MLG *mika* id. (ML *mega*)

The archaic form of Sanskrit loanwords in Tagalog and Malagasy shows that at some point in the history of Malay, its speakers – or at least a proportion of them – pronounced Sanskrit loanwords much more accurately than they do nowadays, and even maintained the distinction between aspirated and non-aspirated stops. Old Malay inscriptions also indicate aspiration in Sanskrit loanwords.

Taken in isolation, the fact that the aspiration is indicated in these inscriptions does not prove much, as it might reflect a mere writing convention. However, the Sanskrit loanwords in Tagalog and in Malagasy provide strong additional evidence that this aspiration was actually pronounced.

These loanwords also show that in precolonial times Malay was a prestige language. It had a tremendous cultural impact on speakers of Malagasy and Tagalog, and was not just a simplified lingua franca used for basic communication in trade and the like. In this context the discovery a few years ago of an Old Malay copper inscription from the 10th century AD in the vicinity of Manila is worth mentioning. Its language is very close to that of the Old Malay inscriptions of South Sumatra (Postma 1992). This inscription is another very important piece of evidence in the study of the earliest history of Malay.

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