

LOAN-WORDS IN CONTEMPORARY INDONESIAN

Russell Jones
School of Oriental and African Studies
University of London

1.0 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

This chapter gathers together something of what is known about the etymology of Indonesian. That is not a great deal. No etymological dictionary exists, and even a brief survey such as this necessitated trawling widely through scattered articles and books.

C.T. Onions defined etymology as the [study of the] 'origin, formation, and development (of a word)'. It is of course a branch of linguistics. English being one of the most widely studied languages in the world is served by good etymological dictionaries. However, we cannot overlook the fact that it took centuries of work to bring this about (the first such dictionary was produced in 1721). It was only the general development and refinement of linguistic method over a very long period which enabled the compilation of satisfactory etymological dictionaries, and its consummation was contingent upon two important steps: the systematisation of the sound laws governing correspondences between - mainly European - languages, and the establishment of approximate dates for the first entries of loan-words into English; the latter step in turn had to wait on the publication and study of hundreds of manuscripts in Middle English (and some in Old English) (Hulbert, 1955, 39). For our study of the etymology of Indonesian - this must mean the etymology of Malay until Bahasa Indonesia came into existence in about the 1920's - we have scarcely begun the first task, the publication of the manuscripts.

1.1 The process of borrowing

Word borrowing can only occur when two cultures come into contact, and then occurs only when certain conditions are fulfilled. These conditions determine the direction of the borrowing that takes place; fulfilment of the conditions does not however enable us to predict what actual borrowing will take place, only that there is a potential for it. When contact occurs "At the abstract level, one culture may be influenced by another culture on such matters as religion, philosophy and political ideology. At the concrete level,

things related to food, clothing and shelter may be learned by one culture from another. At both levels, one culture may learn more from another than vice versa, depending upon the conditions under which the two come into contact" (Higa, 1979, 277). In the following pages we shall see illustrations of groups of loan-words falling in either, or both, of these general categories.

The existence of foreign loan-words in the Indonesian lexicon affords indisputable evidence that borrowing has taken place, but leaves unanswered many questions as to how it took place. For example, who actually did the borrowing? Linguistic studies of word-borrowing proceed on the assumption that words pass from one language to another not, as one might have imagined, by being transferred from (say) a speaker of Tamil to a speaker of Malay, but within one bilingual individual who commands both languages. This fact was pointed out as early as 1886 by Hermann Paul (see Haugen, 1950, 210). If this is so, who were these bilingual speakers as far as Malay and Indonesian are concerned? Jespersen (1959, 208, basing himself on Windisch) gives us a valuable clue: "When we try to learn and talk a foreign tongue we do not introduce into it words taken from our own language; our endeavour will always be to speak the other language as purely as possible, and generally we are painfully conscious of every native word that we intrude into phrases framed in the other tongue. But what we thus avoid in speaking a foreign language we very often do in our own."

In the course of a most illuminating discussion of how word borrowing took place, Gonda (1973, 17ff) brings these two points together: "There must be a considerable element of truth in the verdict given by Hermann Paul, that the existence of a (more or less) bilingual group (the mother-tongue of which is the borrowing language) serving as the vehicle of interlingual influence must be regarded as indispensable to any borrowing on a large scale."

Our inquiries then have given us at least some picture of our suspect: A native speaker of Malay (or later, Indonesian) who has at least a very good command of one of the donor languages, that is Sanskrit, Tamil, Hindi, Chinese or whatever. I can think of no reason to dispute this postulation. After all one of the principal routes for the

entry of loan-words in modern times must be via the pens, or perhaps typewriters, of news translators and journalists whose task it is to translate the volume of incoming world news from say English into Indonesian; they are of course native speakers of Indonesian. Can we apply our hypothesis to earlier writers? The many books written by the seventeenth century Acehese scholar Nuru'd-din ar-Raniri are full of Arabic phrases and loan-words. Unless these were already at home in Malay, which is not likely to be true of all of them, we shall have to assume that Nuru'd-din was a native speaker of Malay who had a good command of Arabic rather than a native speaker of Arabic who had a good command of Malay. This is an interesting possibility; at least perhaps we should re-examine Winstedt's assumption that most of the early Muslim teachers were foreigners as well as his assumption that they "murdered Malay idiom" (1939,93).

Many reasons can be postulated to explain the phenomenon of borrowing. It is easy to understand that when a novelty, be it an object or an idea, is introduced by the speakers of a foreign language then it may come to be known by its existing name in the foreign language; (there are alternative possibilities of course, such as the creation of a new term for it in the indigenous language). There is little doubt that the process is accelerated when the donor language is that of a speech community enjoying cultural - often at the same time economic or military - dominance (see Higa, 1979, 280 &c). This has been the case to a very large extent in the contacts between Indonesia and the countries which have provided loan-words for its lexicon. However the process cannot be explained in simple pragmatic terms, more elusive explanations sometimes have to be sought:

"Linguistic borrowing is far from being always a necessity. Very often words and phrases are, occasionally or by force of habit, adopted, when native expressions for the same ideas are available. The actual or supposed superiority of a foreign people in some sphere of knowledge or province of civilization, the spread of erudition, and the desire to display it, and, last but not least, the desire to imitate more civilized or prominent people are frequently the reasons for using foreign words,—not to mention that mere laziness is not always absent. But a borrowed word, especially when not completely incorporated into common usage, is also and even readily preferred where an indigenous term could be indecent, unfashionable, shocking."

(Gonda, 1973, 611)

The basic unit for consideration in the present article is the (Malay or) Indonesian word. Apart from occasionally alternating it with for example 'term' I have used *word* wherever possible in preference to more technical terms such as

'lexeme' which would be more precise but less immediately comprehensible to the general reader. The discussion rests on loan-words in Indonesian in the spelling which has the authority of usage, and in the root form, or stem, of the word, such as it would be recorded in a dictionary. I have excluded discussion of the derived forms (e.g. with affixation) though in nearly all cases such will exist; they can be sought in a dictionary.

1.2 Semantic classification

I have thought it helpful to cross the boundary between the linguistic and the cultural aspects of this discussion by grouping loan-words as far as possible according to their meaning. At the outset I sought a model classification which would permit standard treatment of the loan-words coming from different foreign languages; I could not find one, and as I proceeded I was forced to recognise that it is probably more satisfactory to permit such a classification to grow, as it were spontaneously, out of the data; where previous workers had evolved their own for loan-words from particular languages I have adopted those with necessary changes; otherwise I have constructed my own. (For a discussion of the pros and cons of systems of semantic classification see for example Hope, 1971, 17 ff).

1.3 Setting the scene

We know fairly well where the speakers of Indonesian are to be found at the present time. Rather less is known about the earlier homeland of Indonesian language communities; the known facts have been summarised by Anceaux (1965).

The history of Indonesian until this century is really the history of Malay; Indonesian (*Bahasa Indonesia*) is the variety of Malay which developed in the Netherlands Indies, (later Indonesia,) from about the 1920's. In the present article, Malay can be construed as the earlier form of Indonesian existing up to that time, so that stating that a loan-word was accepted into Malay is tantamount to saying that it became eventually a part of the Indonesian lexicon. The earlier form of Malay, especially that of the manuscripts, can be identified more precisely with the name 'Traditional Malay'. Indonesian has its modern equivalent in Modern Malay (sometimes called Malaysian Malay, or Peninsular Malay,) now the official language of Malaysia.

This is not to imply that we know much about the history of Malay: its history has been described by Professor Teeuw as "an almost completely unmapped territory" (1959,138). We are fairly safe in postulating perhaps for the first millenium of this era a form of the language which can

be called Old Malay. Evidence for its existence is limited to a few inscriptions, the earliest dated 682 AD (see below).

Figure 1

*svasti s'rī s'akavarṣātita 604 ekādas'ī s'uklapakṣa vulan vais'ākha
dapunta hiyaṃ nāyik di sāmvaṃ maṇalap siddhayātra di saptamī
s'uklapakṣa vulan jyeṣṭha dapunta hiyaṃ marlapas dari mināṇa
tāmvaṃ mamāva yaṃ vala dualakṣa daṇan ko duaratus cāra di
sāmvaṃ daṇan jālan sarivu tlurātus sapulu dua vaṇakṇa dātāṃ di
mata... sukhaṇṇa di pañcamī s'uklapakṣa vula[n āṣāḍha]... laghu
mudita dātāṃ marvat vanua... s'rīvijaya jaya siddhayātra
subhikṣa...*

Prosperity! Good Fortune! In the expired year 604 s'aka,² the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of the month *Vais'ākha* (23 April, A.D. 682), our divine Lord embarked to carry out a successful expedition. On the seventh day of the bright fortnight of the month *Jyeṣṭha* (19 May, A.D. 682), our divine Lord left Mināṇa Tāmvaṃ; he led an army of twenty thousand [men] plus two hundred following by ship, and one thousand three hundred and twelve [men] by land. All arrived at... satisfied at heart. The fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month *Āṣāḍha*³ (16 June, A.D. 682)... light-hearted, joyous, arrived to make the country... Śrī Vijaya, victorious, successful in his expedition, endowed with plenty...

The earliest specimen of Old Malay known:

The inscription from Kedukan Bukit, Sumatra, of 682 A.D., transcription and translation by G. Coedès (from Bastin and Roolvink, 1964, p. 25).

Reproduced from Coedès in Bastin & Roolvink, 1964, p. 25, with kind permission of Oxford University Press.

Studies in comparative Austronesian linguistics afford another means of gaining knowledge of the early forms of Malay. Paradoxically the investigation of foreign loan-words furnishes a further means to the same end: when the foreign loan-words have been identified, the lexicon which remains should represent the indigenous, Nusantara, stock which can then be examined and analysed free from the contamination of 'foreign' forms.

2.0 INFLUENCES FROM INDIA

It is convenient to begin our inquiry with the commencement of the Christian era because this antedates the earliest non-Nusantara influences for which we have evidence in the language. The earliest

influence of any significance was probably the consequence of contacts with the Indian subcontinent, and it is generally believed that these contacts date from the beginning of our era. It may be supposed that the desire for trade was the main motive which brought the early visitors from India.

"The Indians nowhere engaged in military conquest and annexation in the name of a state or mother country" writes Coedès (1968, 34). "And the Indian kingdoms that were set up in Farther India during the first centuries of the Christian Era had only ties of tradition with the dynasties reigning in India proper; there was no political dependence." Nevertheless the Indian penetration left a profound cultural legacy including (Coedès, 1968, 33) "the system of writing, a great part of the vocabulary, the lunar-solar calendar, the virtually unchanged cosmogonic myths, the great epic themes of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Purāṇas*, certain artistic formulas, the administrative and legal framework, and a keen feeling of social rank, last vestige of the caste system." These observations made about mainland South East Asia also hold good for the island world.

As regards "the system of writing", India-based scripts have been used by many languages of the Indonesian sub-group, notably Javanese, but very rarely for Malay. Coedès' reference to "a great part of the vocabulary" however is relevant to Malay, and his adumbration of other areas of influence should alert us to the semantic fields where we could expect to find loan-words of India derivation.

2.1 The influence of Sanskrit

(See p.4 for a table of the Sanskrit alphabet and the transcription used for the letters)

But in our consideration of Indian influences on the Malay language we must approach the subject indirectly. As regards Sanskrit influence, we must take account of the fact that the earliest documents known in any language of the Indonesian region are in Sanskrit itself. These are inscriptions found in the area of Kutei, in Eastern Kalimantan. From a detailed consideration of these inscriptions, De Casparis (1975, 14-18) concludes that they are to be attributed, on palaeographic evidence, to about 400 AD, or possibly to the latter half of the fourth century. In subsequent centuries other Sanskrit inscriptions occur, widely scattered through the region, in West Java, the Malay Peninsula and Central Java.

It is in Sumatra that we encounter our next evidence. This is in the inscriptions, associated with the state of Srivijaya, found near Palembang, on the upper Jambi River and on the island of Bangka. (See Coedès, 1930, and De Casparis, 1975, 24-27). The earliest is dated in 682 AD

Figure 2

THE DICTIONARY ORDER OF THE NĀGARĪ LETTERS
WITH THEIR INDO-ROMANIC EQUIVALENTS

VOWELS.		CONSONANTS.	
Initial.	Medial.		
अ	—	क	k
आ	।	ख	kh
इ	ि	ग	g
ई	ी	घ	gh
उ	ु	ङ	ṅ
ऊ	ू	च	c
ऋ	ॄ	छ	ch
ॠ	ॡ	ज	j
ऌ	ॢ	झ	*jh
ॡ	ॣ	ञ	ñ
ए	ै	ट	ṭ
ऐ	०	ठ	ṭh
ओ	ॠ	ड	ḍ
औ	ॡ	ढ	ḍh
		ण	ṇ
		त	t
		थ	th
		द	d
		ध	dh
		न	n
		प	p
		फ	ph
		ब	b
		भ	bh
		म	m
		य	y
		र	r
		ल	l
		ळ	ḷ
		ल्ह	ḷh
		व	v
		श	ś
		ष	ṣh
		स	s
		ह	h

Editors' note:

Partially quoted from Monier Monier-Williams (1979), *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

(see Coedès, 1964, p. 25 for revised dating) and later ones in 684 and 686 AD. These too are in the Indian Pallava script, but the language is Old Malay; they thus constitute the very first example of writing in any Indonesian language. As will be seen from the transcription of the Kedukan Bukit inscription reproduced on p. 3 these earliest examples of written Malay, besides being written in an Indian script, contain a number of loan-words from Sanskrit.

As regards the actual process by which Sanskrit influence was introduced to the languages of the Indonesian region, an earlier hypothesis that the agents were the ancient Indian merchant class has been abandoned for "they did not possess the erudition which is characteristic of Indian influence in South East Asia." The present view of the matter is summed up by De Casparis (1981) thus:

"It is generally agreed that Indian influence on the older Indonesian civilization arose as the result partly of the activities of small numbers of Indian brahmins and Buddhist monks serving Indonesian courts as advisers, partly, and especially, of those of Indonesian pilgrims and students who visited sacred sites in India and learnt at the feet of Indian *gurus*. The eclectic nature of the Indian elements in Indonesian and other South East Asian culture is quite consistent with this theory."

For a complete understanding of the historical process of the assimilation of loan-words from Sanskrit into Malay, we should probably need to make an excursion outside our proper field, into Old Javanese. This is for two reasons; firstly, the evidence for the development of Old Malay into later Malay lacks continuity, consisting as it does of the sporadic occurrence of brief inscriptions. The Old Javanese inscriptions begin about a century later than those in Old Malay, but thereafter material in Old Javanese is much more abundant (see for example De Casparis, 1975). Old Javanese affords, as Old Malay does not, the means of examining the process of adoption, and eventual assimilation, of Sanskrit loan-words into itself (see Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1944, 82-3). The second reason is that it seems probable that a number of Sanskrit loan-words in Malay have arrived via Javanese (Old, Middle or Modern, see Gonda, 86ff), and therefore their Javanese form would have to be taken into account as an intermediate stage; indeed, if one were being hyper-precise, these words would strictly speaking have to be regarded as Javanese loan-words in Malay.

2.2 Sanskrit loan-words in Malay

We can see that Sanskrit was the first outside language to make an impact on the languages of Indonesia. As H.B. Sarkar dramatically puts it "Sanskrit language and literature gatecrashed into this empire of Indonesian languages, as they had nothing in common" (in *Journal of Indian History*, xlv /3, 1966, p. 652). Whatever the truth in this, it seems to be a fact that of the Sanskrit loan-words found in Old Malay, and later inscriptions, a considerable proportion are not to be found in the language of the present day. This proportion of rejected words appears to be much higher in the case of Sanskrit than in the case of most other languages giving loans to Malay, though whether this impression results from the nature of evidence available or not is not clear.

On the other hand, of the loan-words from Sanskrit still existing in Malay or Indonesian, a very high proportion are so assimilated that the speakers of those languages are quite unconscious that they are loan-words from a foreign tongue.

The recognised work on Sanskrit loan-words in Indonesian languages is J. Gonda's *Sanskrit in Indonesia*. From the point of view of the practical etymologist this massive and comprehensive work does have its drawbacks; as the title implies, it traces the influence of Sanskrit on many languages of Indonesia, more especially Javanese and Balinese, so that the Malaiicus has to sift much material to find what he wants; also the arrangement of material makes it a timeconsuming business to locate all that is said about a particular loan-word. It is nevertheless an invaluable source, and nearly all the examples of Sanskrit loan-words to be discussed can be found in it via the index. Numbers 1 to 9 in the next section (semantic fields) are taken largely from chapter III of *Sanskrit in Indonesia*.

2.3 Some Sanskrit loan-words classified by semantic field

1. Gods

To begin with, one naturally finds in Malay the names from Sanskrit for deities, *Brahma*, [Skt. *Brahmā*]; *Wisnu* [Skt. *Viṣṇu*]; *Indra* [Skt. *Indra*]; *Siwa* [Skt. *Śiva*] and so on, besides titles such as *Batara Guru* [Skt. *Bhaṭāra Guru*], which is associated particularly with the last-named deity, and the more homely rice goddess, *Dewi Sri* [Skt. *devī Śrī*]. The word for 'god' *dewa* comes from Sanskrit *deva*.

2. Death and the life hereafter

While the very basic vocabulary in this area is indigenous (to die: *mati*, or *meninggal* for instance), beyond this level we do find Sanskrit loan-words e.g. 'heaven', *surga* (Skt. *svarga*); 'hell', *neraka*, (Skr. *naraka*); 'worship' *puja* (Skt. *pūjā*); 'suffering' *sengsara* (Skt. *saṃsāra*).

3. Religion and mysticism in general

Here we find loan-words such as 'soul' *atma* (Skt. *ātmā*); 'life spirit' *sukma* (Skt. *sūkṣma*); 'thought concentration & c.', *citta* (Skt. *citta*, from which is also derived Malay *cipta*, 'create'); 'sorrow, 'love' *cinta* (Skt. *cinta*); 'passionate desire' *berahi* (Skt. *virahī*); 'religion' *agama* (Skt. *āgama*-).

4. Ceremonies and law

The Indonesian word for 'ceremony' is *upacara* (Skt. *upacāra*); 'magic formula' is *mantra* (Skr. *mantra* ?); 'incarnation' is *jelma* (Skt. *janma* 'birth'); 'witness' *saksi* (Skt. *sākṣī*); 'evidence' *bukti* (Skt. *vyakti*, but influenced by *bhukti* 'possession' ?); 'profit, gain' *laba* (Skt. *lābha*); 'to speak' *bicara* (Skt. *vicāra*, 'procedure, mode of acting, investigation'); this last word has a wide range of meanings in Traditional Malay and the narrowness of its application in modern Indonesian is surprising; then for 'a fine' we have *denda* (Skr. *daṇḍa* 'staff, the rod as a symbol of power, application of power, punishment of any kind'); 'impaling (as an execution)' is *sula* (Skr. *sula* 'sharp stake, impaling').

5. Anatomy

A surprising number of parts of the body are known by Sanskrit loan-words: 'head' *kepala* (Skt. *kapāla* 'skull'), 'face' *muka* (Skt. *mukha*); 'shoulder' *bahu* (Skt. *bāhu* 'arm'); 'joint' *sendi* (Skt. *saṇḍhi* 'joint or articulation of the body'); 'body hair' *roma* (Skt. *roma*); 'testicle' *biji* (Skt. *bīja* 'seed, grain, semen'); then we have 'pulse, in the arteries' *nadi* (Skr. *nadī*); 'cold in the head' *selesma* (Skt. *śleṣman* 'mucus'), and in the word for 'cubit' we have Sanskrit *hasta* 'forearm'; 'the five organs of sense' are *pancaindra* (Skt. *panca indriya*).

6. Numerals

As Gonda remarks (p. 314) "The 'Original Indonesians' had a remarkably developed system of numerals: 1-10, etc. 100 and 1000". For '10,000' the Indonesian is *laksa* (Skr. *lakṣa*, meaning '100,000'); '100,000' is *keti* (Skt. *koti* 'the highest number ... ten millions'); 'million' is *juta* (Skt. *ayuta* 'ten thousand'); the interchanges of meaning have not been

explained.

Sanskrit numerals for lower denominations have been borrowed for restricted vocabulary usually in compounds, such as 'one' *eka*- (Skt. *eka*); 'dual' *dwi*- (Skt. *dvi*-); 'triple' *tri*- (Skt. *tri*); 'five' *panca*- (Skt. *pañcā*); 'seven' *sapta*- (Skt. *sapta*); 'eight' *asta*- (Skt. *aṣṭa*); 'ten' *dasa*- (Skt. *daśa*). Also for 'first' Indonesian uses [*yang*] *pertama* (Skt. *prathama*).

7. Some abstract terms

It was in the realm of abstract ideas that the civilisation from India was to have its most potent effect on early Indonesian culture. We have 'content' *sentosa* (Skt. *santoṣa*); 'decent' *susila* (Skt. *suśīla*); 'freedom' *merdeka* (Skt. *maharddika* 'powerful'); 'injustice' *aniaya* (Skt. *anyāya*); 'understanding' *arti* (Skt. *artha*); 'loyal' *setia* (Skt. *satya*); 'defect' *cedera* (Skt. *chidra*); 'honoured' *mulia* (Skt. *mulya*); 'delighted' *gembira* (Skt. *gambhīra* 'serious, sagacious').

8. Botanical names

Besides such words as that for 'lotus' *padma* (Skt. *padma*), we find that names for some of the more commonplace plants come from Sanskrit too, such as 'pumpkin, gourd' *labu* (Skt. *alābu*); 'pomegranate' *delima* (Skt. *dālīma*); 'rose-apple tree' *jambu* (Skt. *jambū*); 'safflower' *kesumba* (Skt. *kusumbha*); 'nutmeg' *pala* (Skt. *phala*, which also gives in Indonesian an etymological doublet *pahala*, 'reward'.); 'jasmine' *melati* (Skt. *mālatī*) and finally 'sandalwood tree' *cendana* (Skt. *candana*).

9. Names of persons

Names of Sanskrit origin have been limited in Indonesia mostly to the Javanese community. The kings of old, particularly in East Java, adopted them. In modern times some names of Sanskrit origin have been common amongst the Javanese, e.g. Sukarno - the name of the first President - (Skt. *sukarṇa* 'with beautiful ears'); Sumitro (Skt. *Sumitra* 'with good friends' or 'a good friend'); in the name Purwadarminta (Skt. *pūrva*- 'first' and cf. Skt. *dharmīṣṭha* 'very virtuous') the latter element has been given a Javanized form.

10. Scholarship

For 'scholar' we have *sarjana* (Skt. *sajjana* 'virtuous, respectable; a wise man'), and *pendeta* (Skt. *paṇḍita* 'learned'); 'language' *bahasa* (Skt. *bhāṣā*); 'literature' *sastra* (Skt. *śāstra*); 'university student' *mahasiswa* (Skt. *mahā*- + *śiṣya*); 'teacher' *guru* (Skt. *guru*).

11. State titles

The pattern of loans in this sphere would be consistent with the postulation that under influence from India the chief-tainships then existing in Indonesia were transformed into kingdoms. So for 'ruler' we have *raja* (Skt. *rājan*); 'minister' *menteri* (Skt. *mantrī*); 'prime minister' *perdana menteri* (Skt. *pradhānamantrin*); 'chief minister' *bendahara* (Skt. *bhāṇḍāgāra* 'treasury' a meaning with which it is also associated in Malay). These terms are common in Malay chronicles, and Sanskrit elements abound in the titles of other court officers such as *paduka* (Skt. *pādukā* 'shoe, slipper'), *sri* (Skt. *śrī* 'beauty, bliss, glory'), *maharaja* (Skt. *mahārāja* 'sovereign'), *dewa* (Skt. *deva* 'god') and so on.

2.4 Productive affixation

Some half dozen affixes derived from Sanskrit are productive; most have come into vogue within the last few decades. Examples:

antar- (Skt. *antara* 'being in the interior, interval', also giving the loan-word *antara* 'between'). This corresponds closely in function to the Latin *inter* in English, giving such forms as *antarbangsa* ('international'), *antarbenua* ('intercontinental'), *antardaerah* ('interregional'), *antarnegara* ('interstate, international'), *antarpulau* ('interisland'); it is likely that these forms have been created under the influence of the corresponding English terms, making them in effect loan translations.

maha- (Skt. *mahā* 'great'). Spitzbardt remarks (1973, 104) that this "has become one of the most active word-forming morphemes in Modern Indonesian"; however he includes amongst his examples forms which are to be found in Traditional Malay, in which this prefix was already productive. We find for example in one eighteenth century text these instances: *maha baik* ('very good'), *maha besar* ('very great'), *maha dalam* ('very deep'), *maha elok* ('very fine looking') and many more. Amongst the forms in Indonesian which will be of more recent origin we find 'professor' *mahaguru*; as Gonda (p.449) points out, although Sanskrit does have *mahāguru* ('a very venerable person'), this Indonesian term must be a loan translation, employing Sanskrit components, under the influence of the Dutch *hoogleraar* ('professor'). Also rela-

tively recent are *mahaduta* (ambassador); 'university student' *mahasiswa*; 'woman university student' *mahasiswi*.

mala- (Skt. *mala-* 'impurity, evil') occurs in long-established combinations such as *malapetaka* 'ill-omened, cursed with misfortune' but is productive in modern times in such combinations as *malagizi* 'malnutrition' (*gizi*, Ar. *ghidhā* 'nutrition') and *malabau* 'malodorous' (*bau*, Nus. 'smell').

nir- (Skt. *nis-*, *nir-* 'without, free from') similarly occurs in long-established combinations, such as *nirmala* 'pure, free from uncleanness', but has been utilised more recently to create terms such as *nirair* 'anhydrous, free from water' (*air*, Nus. 'water'); and *nirwarna* 'achromatic, colourless' (*warna*, Skt. *varna-* 'shape, colour etc.').

pra- (Skt. *pra*). It is worth noting that when this prefix occurred in loan-words taken over *in toto* it normally became *per-* in Malay, e.g. *perkara* from Sanskrit *prakāra* 'kind manner.' As a modern productive prefix it more nearly keeps its form, and it corresponds to (and no doubt has been influenced by) the English *pre-*; for example 'prehistory' is *prasejarah*; 'prejudice' is *prasangka*; 'initiative' is *prakarsa*; 'preface' is *prakata*, 'precondition' is *prakondisi*, and so on.

serba- (Skt. *sarva* 'all', which exists also in Indonesian in the form *sarwa* 'all'). Examples are 'multi-purpose' *serbaguna*; 'of various kinds' *serbaaneka*; 'versatile' *serbabis*; 'all in black' *serbahitam*; 'everything going wrong' *serbasalah*; 'a little of everything' *serbasedikit*.

swa- (Skt. *śva-* 'self', see Monier-Williams, p. 1275). Indonesian has about eight words with this prefix; *swadaya* 'self-help'; *swadesi* 'swadeshi, home industries'; *swakarsa* 'spontaneous, of one's own accord'; *swapraja* 'autonomous area'; *swasembada* 'self supporting'; *swasta* 'private i.e. non-governmental'; *swasraya* 'self service'; *swatantra* 'autonomy'. These will not be found in Traditional Malay, but it would be unsafe to assume that the *swa-* prefix has been used productively only in recent years to produce loan-translations of words beginning with 'self-': a glance at the *self-* compounds in the Echols & Shadily English-Indonesian dictionary will show that to be incorrect. *Swadesi* has probably

be taken over *in toto* as a loan (cf. Benggali *svadeśī*). *Swatantra* (Skt. *svatantra*-) may have come through Old Javanese. *Swasta* may be compared with Sanskrit *svastha* (Monier-Williams p. 1277) 'self-abiding, being in one's natural state' etc.

tata (Skt. *tata* 'extended, spread, etc.'). This is used as the first element of compounds to denote 'order, arrangement, system' in the sense illustrated by the following examples: 'good manners' *tata aḷab*; 'grammar' *tata bahasa*; 'bookkeeping' *tata buku*; 'legal system' *tata hukum*; 'syntax' *tata kalimat*; 'system of nomenclature' *tata nama*; 'solar system' *tata surya*; 'ethics' *tata susila*; 'discipline, order' *tata tertib*; 'administration' *tata usaha*.

tuna- (Skt. *tunna-* 'struck, hurt, cut'). Already in Old Javanese this word had developed the meaning of 'lacking, being short of' and in this sense has been productive in modern Indonesian; for example 'illiterate' *tunaaksara* (cf. Skt. *akṣara* 'letter'), beside *buta huruf*; 'unemployed' *tunakarya* (cf. Skt. *kārya-* 'work, business'); 'blind' *tunanetra* (Skt. *netra* 'eye'); 'immoral' *tunasusila* (Skt. *suśīla* 'good-tempered, well-conducted'); 'homeless' *tunawisma* (Skt. *veśma* 'building, house') and so on. It seems to combine only with roots of similarly Sanskrit origin.

-wan (Skt. *-vān*, a possessive suffix). This suffix occurs already on a number of loan-words from Sanskrit such as 'handsome' *rupawan* (Skt. *rūpavān* 'beautiful'); 'wealthy' *hartawan* (Skt. *arthavān*); 'man of letters' *sastrawan* (Skt. *śāstra-vān* 'having or following sacred writings'); 'loyal' *setiawan* (Skt. *satyavān* 'veracious'). This has become a productive suffix in Indonesian to denote the practitioner of a skill or activity, for instance 'journalist' *wartawan*, 'tourist' *wisatawan*, 'intellectual' *cendekiawan*, 'illiterate person' *niraḥsarawan*. For the feminine, this becomes *-wati*, but I am not certain that this may always be substituted for *-wan*; on the other hand *-wati* may exist separately, for example 'model, mannequin' is *peragawati* which seems to have been used before *peragawan* 'male model' came into vogue (in about 1978).

One of the two words given for 'commerce' in Echols & Shadily's English-Indo-

nesian dictionary is *perniagaan*, a word with an interesting history. For a start the root is not *niaga* as this form suggests, but *beniaga* (which frequently is taken to be *niaga* with *ber-* prefix) deriving from Prakrit *vāṇia*, Sanskrit *vāṇija*, 'merchant'. This occurs in Pigafetta's word list of 1521 (Bausani, 1960, item 322, 'to trade, to barter'); but in the Dutch list of 1599 AD (Keuning, 1942, 161) 'to trade' is *berdagang*. It would be enlightening to study the rivalry between this indigenous word and the Sanskrit loan-word, which exists to the present day - the other word given in Echols & Shadily's dictionary for 'commerce' is *perdagangan*. In the 16th century *Burda* (Drewes, 1955, 66-71) both terms occur, *dagang* for 'stranger, exile' and *perbeniagaan* (note the correct form) for 'trade, commerce'.

2.5 Changes in meaning of the loan-words

Gonda (1973) devotes a chapter to this interesting aspect. The main possibilities in such a case are, firstly, that the word in its Malay or Indonesian form narrows its meaning, perhaps to a very specific function; for example, the Sanskrit *āgama-* denotes inter alia 'a traditional precept, doctrine, body of precepts &c', in short 'anything handed down and fixed by tradition'; this in Malay and Indonesian has come to have the specific meaning of 'religion' (e.g. Islamic, Christian). The Sanskrit word *paṇḍita-* signifies 'learned or wise, a philosopher, teacher, etc.'; it has this meaning in Indonesian, but is popularly understood as referring more specifically to a minister in the Protestant churches.

In a number of instances on the other hand the meaning after borrowing is extended. A good example is Sanskrit *sodara-* 'brother, born from the same womb', thus very specific. In Traditional Malay *saudara* was extended to include cousins and others of the same generation. In modern Indonesian its use was greatly extended to embrace indeed all one's compatriots with the meaning 'you', being intended to replace other second person pronouns; this attempt to impose linguistically what had not been attained socially was not entirely effective. In Sanskrit *guṇa-* means 'quality; good quality, virtue, excellence' which meaning scarcely survives in Indonesian; *guṇa* has come to be the ordinary word for 'use', with an extension to mean 'for' as a conjunction; besides this, in the reduplicated form *guṇa-guṇa* (though there is some doubt about the origin of this word) it has the meaning of 'black magic'. Similarly the Sanskrit word *kapāla-*, originally meaning 'cup' or 'jar', came to denote 'skull' and then 'head'. It has 'head' as its primary meaning in Indonesian, but this has been greatly extended into more metaphorical uses (cf. 'head' in English), for e.g. 'chief person'

in a group. It occurs in many compounds, such as 'village headman' *kepala kampung*, 'district officer' *kepala daerah* etc., (beside indigenous words for 'chief person' such as *ketua*, *penghulu*). Other metaphorical uses include 'cream' *kepala susu*, 'letter heading' *kepala surat*.

Another clear example of extended meaning is afforded by Indonesian *sayembara*; Sanskrit *svayamvara*- has a very restricted meaning 'self-choice, i.e. the election of a husband by a princess or daughter of a *ksatriya* at a public assembly of suitors.' The theme of the princess choosing her future husband in this way is common in Traditional Malay romances, and so far as I know the word is not used in a wider sense. But in modern Indonesian it is used of competitions in general, for example for literary awards.

Sanskrit loan-words afford some good examples of a decided semantic shift brought about by changed environment. We have seen that *raja* has been taken over. In Traditional Malay the derivation *kerajaan* is an abstract noun used to denote 'kingdom' in its early English meaning, that is 'sovereignty, kingship' (e.g. *naik kerajaan* 'to ascend the throne'). As Malay states emerged following European models, especially in Malaya, *kerajaan* took the meaning of 'government' and of 'kingdom' in its usual modern sense of a political entity ruled by a monarch.

Negeri (Skt. *nagarī* 'town') is used in Traditional Malay texts to denote the chief settlement of a ruler, often an unpretentious collection of wooden buildings. As Amin Sweeney has observed "The Malay state was a river system rather than a territorial block with defined borders" with the *negeri* as its 'capital'. As European penetration proceeded, the Indonesian state did become 'a territorial block with defined borders', and that is the usual connotation of the modern Indonesian word *negeri*. It will readily be understood that words which have undergone this kind of semantic change are real pitfalls to students who proceed to a study of Traditional Malay texts after having acquired a knowledge of (modern) Indonesian.

Another category of loan-words - though perhaps not quite discrete - is that where the meaning actually changes on passing from Sanskrit into Malay/Indonesian. The original meaning of the Sanskrit *mūrkhā* is 'stupid, silly, inexperienced, idiot, block-head' but, as Gonda observes, in Indonesia it has come to mean 'abnormal, deviating from the usual behaviour or course of action'. In Traditional Malay *murka* acquired a quite specific function which is rigidly observed by the writers; it means 'angry' when applied to a ruler, or God, and is the courtly equivalent of *marah*. The Sanskrit *gambhīra* means 'profound, grave, serious, secret, mysterious, inscrutable.' In Traditional Malay it took on a different meaning of 'passion, excitement, lust for fighting'; in Indonesian its meaning has changed further,

and it is the usual word to denote 'glad, happy &c', far removed from the Sanskrit meaning. The explanation of such a profound change must wait until we have much more detailed information on semantic changes of vocabulary over the centuries in the main Indonesian languages. In the case of the Sanskrit *padāti*- 'pedestrian, foot-soldier' which in Traditional Malay came to mean 'cart', we may find some explanation in shifts of meaning which took place in the Javanese and Balinese versions of the Indian epics.

The Indonesian word *lontar*, denoting a palm leaf used as writing material, or an old manuscript written on it, can only be explained by reference to its having been acquired via Javanese. The leaf concerned comes from the *Borassus flabelliformis*, Skt. *tāla*- . In Javanese it was known as *ron* ('leaf', cf. Indonesian *daun*) *tal*, by metathesis giving the form *lontar*.

As might be expected, where terms of relationship are concerned, the prestige of Sanskrit determines that Sanskrit loan-words are more polite. For example 'husband' *suami* (Skt. *svamin*- 'master, lord, king, husband') and *istri* (Skt. *strī* 'woman, wife') are politer than the indigenous *laki* and *bini*. Similarly *putra* (Skt. *putra*- 'son') and *putri* (Skt. *putrī* 'daughter') occur in Traditional Malay texts to denote 'prince' and 'princess' respectively, the word *anak* being used for the sons and daughters of others. However in Indonesian the terms have been devalued to the extent that they are used of sons and daughters of anyone, though still being regarded as rather polite.

It may be appropriate to include here mention of some interesting etymological doublets from Sanskrit. Perhaps the best known is that from the Sanskrit *phala*- meaning 'fruit' and also in a special sense 'nutmeg', giving in Indonesian [*buah*] *pala* 'nutmeg' and by an extension of meaning *pahala* meaning 'reward [for meritorious act]'. The Sanskrit *kārya*- 'work, business' gave to Traditional Malay the word *kerja* 'to perform, carry out a task', often with a specific function, e.g. preparing for a wedding. This has come in Indonesian (perhaps under the influence of the notion of work introduced from Europe) to be the usual word to denote 'work'. Subsequently Indonesian has adopted the form *karya* to denote performance in specific fields, particularly creative and artistic. From the Sanskrit *vārttā* 'news' we get in Indonesian *berita* and *warta*, both meaning 'news' and perhaps not to be distinguished in meaning.

2.6 Cognates in Indo-European languages

We can conclude by looking at a few examples of interest, if not of great significance, of words in Indonesian linked through Sanskrit with cognates in the Indo-European languages which will be more

familiar to the readers of this.

The usual word for 'honey' in Traditional Malay was *madu*, and this survives in Indonesian and a number of other Indonesian languages. It is from the Sanskrit *madhu*- 'sweet, delicious, pleasant ... mead ... honey,' and is of interest for the cognates which will be recognisable in European languages, e.g. Russian *myedvyedy* 'honey bear' besides the English *mead* (a drink made from honey), in Dutch *mede*, in German *Met* and so on.

The word *pada* exists in Traditional Malay in the term *Seri Pada* being 'the feet of royalty to which alone a subject can presume to speak'; it is from the Sanskrit *pada*-, 'foot'; this is cognate with the Latin *ped*- 'foot' occurring commonly in English in words of Latin origin such as *pedal*, *quadruped*, or from Greek (e.g. *tripod*), and indeed has cognates throughout the Indo-European languages, such as English *foot* Dutch *voet* German *Fuss* besides the more obviously kindred forms of French *pied* and Italian *piede* etc.

We have seen the Indonesian *kepala* 'head', from Sanskrit *kapāla*-; this is cognate with Greek *kephalē* 'head' occurring in such English terms as *acephalous* 'headless' and may also be cognate with the English *gable*.

The prefix *maha*- 'great' (Skt. *mahā*-) is cognate with Greek *megas*, the prefix in English words such as *megalith* and with the Latin *magnus*, as in 'magnitude'.

Indonesian *danta* 'tooth, tusk, ivory white' (Skt. *danta*- 'tusk, ivory') has its cognates in Latin *dentalis*, English *dental* and even English *tooth*. We see an obvious connection between Indonesian *nama* (Skt. *nāma*- 'name') and the English *name*; as we do between Indonesian *sama* (Skt. *sama*- 'same') and the English *same*; similarly the Indonesian *raja* is cognate with Latin *rex*, *regis*, giving English *regal* etc.

2.7 Non-Sanskritic Indian influences

De Casparis (1981) draws attention to a number of loan-words which came into Old Javanese prior to 1000 AD from what he terms 'Middle Indo-Aryan' or Dravidian languages. Many are to do with crafts, and he concludes that their form in Old Javanese may owe something to their being orally transmitted. One example, being common in Indonesian, may be cited. In Indonesian the word *pandai* means 'clever, able to, skilled at &c'; Gonda (170-171) inclines to derive the word from the Hindi and Bengali *pāṇḍe* and *pāmre* 'a learned man, scholar (also teacher)'. De Casparis (1981) records the word in Old Javanese as early as 821 AD, and adds that it occurs "only in the meaning 'smith' and always followed by a further indication such as *paṇḍai wsi*, *paṇḍai tembaga* 'blacksmith and copper smith' respectively." In Traditional Malay it has a similar connotation (Wilkinson) "Artist-craftsman;

expert; specialist ... Properly an industrial artist, in contr. to a mere skilled artizan (*tukang*, *utas*)." In Indonesian (and Modern Malay) its meaning has become extended to mean 'to be able' to do anything, e.g. "*orang-orang tak pandai menangis lagi ...*" ('People could not weep any more ...'), a function that is still common though often overlooked in favour of a further extension of its meaning 'clever at'.

2.8 Tamil

The expansion of Indian cultural influence into 'Greater India' was not a monopoly of the users of Sanskrit. La Vallée-Poussin observes (cited in Coedès, 1968, 29) "All the eastern ports of India up to Tāmraliptī (Tamluk) contributed to this Indian expansion, but the South played the greatest role." Clear evidence of the - mainly commercial - activities of southern Indian in our area emerges from the first half of the ninth century A.D. Old Javanese inscriptions make mention of *Kling*: the earliest seems to be the reference to *juru Kling* in an inscription of 830 A.D. (Damais, 1970, 830). People of Kling are included in mentions of foreigners in inscriptions inter alia of 840 A.D. (Sarkar, 1969, 199), and of 909 A.D. (A.M. Jones, 1976, 55) and a ninth century inscription mentions cloth which was *buat kling putih* i.e. "made by Indians, or in a foreign land, and white" (A.M. Jones, 1976, 81). This interpretation of the word *kling* is even more cautious than that of H.B. Sarkar (1969, 201) who writes that [it] "denoted, in a general way, the Tamils, South Indians and even the Indians in general ..." That Sarkar's preference for Tamil was foremost is evident from his next remark "One should have expected, in this context, the inclusion of many Tamil loan-words in the Old-Javanese vocabulary ... " whereas he found none, with one possible exception.

The somewhat conjectural evidence of the actual identity of the *Kling* in the Old Javanese inscriptions finds some support in the fact that elsewhere in the region, in the Malay Peninsula, also dating from the first half of the ninth century A.D., we find an inscription written in Tamil. This fragmentary inscription comes from Takuapa (in West Thailand, North of Phuket,) and in it Nilakanta Sastri (1949) sees evidence of the existence of a guild of merchants and "We thus see clearly that our inscription attests the presence at Takua-pa of a good number of Tamils including soldiers and merchants and having a permanent stake in the country ..." We find similar evidence of Tamil merchant activity in another inscription in Tamil in the following century, the inscription of 1088 A.D. from Lobok Tua in Sumatra. From this we can conclude "that a colony of Tamils resided more or less permanently

in Sumatra and that it included artisans who could engrave inscriptions on stones" (Nilakantra Sastri, 1932, 326).

By the eleventh century under the Cōla princes in fact "the Tamils became one of the foremost trading peoples of maritime Asia" (Wolters, 1967, 250). In the first quarter of the century they raided the Sumatran state of Srivijaya and even captured its ruler (Wolters, *op. cit.* 205-1, Coedès, 1968, 142-143).

The Malay chronicles show the Tamils in the fifteenth century as playing a significant economic and sometimes political role in the Malay states in which they settled.

Sarkar observes (1969, 202) that Tamil loan-words in Indonesian "increased considerably between the 15th and 19th centuries on account of the commercial activities of the Tamil people. The Hindu and the Muslim Tamils of the port regions of Malacca and the adjacent areas who kept their accounts in Tamil were mainly responsible for this state of affairs. These loan-words in the Malayo-Indonesian vocabulary belong to the domain of trade and commerce."

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in fact probably the Tamil influence was greater than ever before, as a result of the large scale labour immigration from southern India and Ceylon into Malaya; however this was to have an effect on the Malay of the Peninsula, not on Indonesian, which is our primary consideration.

We can proceed by looking with Gonda (162, 164) at a couple of Indonesian loan-words which must properly be regarded as loan-words from Tamil, although ultimately from Sanskrit also. The Sanskrit word *gopāla*- 'cowherd' was known to Old-Javanese authors. The Indonesian word for 'herd' in this sense is *gembala* (e.g. *gembala kambing* 'shepherd'). The Traditional Malay form is the same, or *gumbala* or *kembala*. These forms point to the word having come from Sanskrit not directly, but via the Tamil *kōbālan*.

The Indonesian word for 'box, chest' is *peti*. Gonda would derive this from Tamil *peṭṭi* 'box', Sanskrit *peṭa*- 'basket'. Indonesian for 'metal' is *logam*; Tamil *ulōgam* Sanskrit *loha*- 'red metal, iron'. Another example is furnished by *segala*, the Indonesian for 'all, the whole of', being taken from the Tamil *segala* which in turn derives from Sanskrit *sakala*- 'complete, entire, all.'

Van Ronkel (1902, 1903) lists over a hundred Tamil loan-words in Malay. Compared with Sanskrit loans, they could be said on the whole to be of a more concrete character, having less to do with religion or ideas and lean towards the mercantile sphere. Some examples will give an idea of their field; the Indonesian word is given first:

bedil 'firearm' Tamil *wedil*
belunggu 'fetters' Tamil *wilangu*
benara (or *binara*) 'laundry person' Tamil

waiṇṇāra.

candu 'prepared opium' Tamil *ṇandu*
cukai 'customs duty, tax' Tamil *ṇukkai*
kapal 'ship' (generally of vessels of foreign style) Tamil *kappal*
kedai 'stall, shop' Tamil *kaḍai*
kolam 'pool, reservoir' Tamil *kōlam*
modal 'capital [for investment]' Tamil

mudal

mutu 'pearl' Tamil *muttu*
pinggan 'plate or bowl, usually of porcelain or earthenware', possibly from Tamil *pīnggān*, but not proven; cf. Persian *pingān*; Prof. Drewes has pointed out that it is unlikely that an article imported from China in early times would have a Persian or Tamil name, and suggests derivation from a Chinese word which could be found on household crockery *pīng'ān* 'safe and sound, peace'. The Indonesian word *pinggan* remains an etymologist's delight.
santri 'a religious student' Tamil *ṇatti-ram* 'science'. This too is a doubtful derivation; for discussion, see Gonda, pp. 362-363.
serutu, cerutu 'cigar' Tamil *curuttu* 'roll [of tobacco]' cf. English *cheroot*, also from Tamil.

2.9 Hindi

Very little has been published on this element. What few articles have appeared are mentioned by Teeuw (1961, 39-40); most of the examples given below are taken from a short article by Winstedt (1917); the Indonesian word is given first.

biti-biti 'court waiting maid' Hindi *beṭi* 'girl'
cap 'seal' Hindi *chhāp* 'stamp, seal'
curi 'steal' Hindi *chorī* 'theft'
cuka 'vinegar' Hindi *chūk* 'sour, acid' (Skt. *cukra*- 'vinegar')
dian 'candle' Hindi *diyā* 'lamp'
ganja 'Indian hemp' Hindi *gāñja* 'the hemp plant'
kapas 'cotton, cotton wool' Hindi *kapās* 'cotton' (Skt. *karpāsa*-)
kuli 'labourer' perhaps Hindi *kūlī* 'labourer'
kunci 'lock' Hindi *kunjī* 'key' (or from Skt. *kuñci*?)
logam (obsolescent) 'bit, for bridle' perhaps Hindi *lagam* 'bridle, bit'; or may be from Persian *laghām*, id.
roti 'bread' Hindi *roṭī* 'bread'
unta 'camel' Hindi *unt*

These attributions to a Hindi origin must be regarded as very provisional. I am grateful to Mr. S.C.R. Weightman for verifying the Hindi forms.

3.0 THE INFLUENCES OF ARABIC AND PERSIAN

(See p.13 for a table of the Arabic alphabet and the transcription used for the letters)

In his discussion of the question 'Is classical Malay a "Muslim language"?' Bausani (1975, 120, 114-115) writes "The presence of the old Sanskrit superstratum plus the shortness of the lapse of time between the beginning of Islamization and the advent of colonialism prevented the formation of a completely *Muslim* language ...". Precisely what a *Muslim* language would be need not detain us, but the sentence is illuminating in the way it draws our attention to one of the really striking differences between the influence of Sanskrit and that of Arabic on Malay: One way or another, Sanskrit had the field virtually to itself for over a thousand years - well over; as a consequence of this, Sanskrit was even "felt as a sort of pre-Islamic *sub-stratum*." It is impossible to be precise regarding the period during which Arabic was able to influence Malay (the influence still continues to some extent on Indonesian and modern Malay), but we might argue that the period during which it was unchallenged was not much more than three centuries.

These two facts, that Sanskrit began influencing Malay so very early, and that its influence pervaded the language for so long, support the case for regarding Sanskrit as a 'sub-stratum' rather than as a 'super-stratum'; the reader may have reservations as to whether it was actually Malay that Sanskrit was influencing in the early times, rather than some other Indonesian languages, such as Old Javanese or Old Balinese; these reservations would be justified, but do not weaken the argument, for it is probably characteristic of most Malay loan-words from Sanskrit that they came via other Indonesian languages, not directly from Sanskrit; this intermediate link would provide for their partial assimilation, phonologically and semantically before they entered Malay. The present day relevance of all this should be that the modern speaker of Indonesian is less conscious of Sanskrit vocabularies being 'foreign' than those from Arabic. I do not know of any experimental work to verify this proposition.

In the following discussion a number of publications will be mentioned, but in the Arabic field we have no comprehensive study to match Gonda's *Sanskrit in Indonesia*. There is much material, but it has not been collected. For Persian, the articles by Bausani (1964, and 1974) constitute the best discussion of the subject.

The reader may query my treatment of Arabic and Persian influence on Indonesian as one. To some extent the influences of the two languages can be studied separately, but only to a certain degree; about half the Persian lexicon consists of loan-words from Arabic, and it is seldom

possible for us to decide that a given loan-word in Indonesian, unquestionably of Arabic origin, came into the language directly from Arabic rather than for example via Persian. A further complication rests in the fact that many loan-words from Arabic may have come indirectly via one of the 'Muslim' languages of India; indeed the form of some loan-words suggests that this is the case (see Van Ronkel, 1899, 502, Brakel, 1970, p. 2, and Drewes, 1971, p.62). Theoretically such loan-words should constitute a separate category, but practical considerations justify our maintaining our classification of words of Arabic and Persian origin as an intelligible field for our investigation. We must also bear in mind the possibility, indeed the probability that many words did not come at a single given time by a given route: it is far more likely that they arrived in the Malay/Indonesian speaking world on more than one occasion and by more than one route, coalescing over the centuries into the loan-word as we know it.

For my own investigation in this field up to now I have set as my first aim the listing of the loan-words from Arabic and Persian in a consolidated list; further investigation will be needed into the finer points, such as the variety of Arabic (or Persian) from which they may have come, whether from the Kuran, or classical Arabic or a dialect of Arabic.

3.1 The chronology

If we took 0 A.D. as an arbitrary date for the beginning of Indian influence in the Indonesian area, we can helpfully take another equally arbitrary and approximate date for the beginning of Arabic and Persian influence - 1300 A.D. It cannot be denied that philological crumbs can be detected very much earlier (see for example *teraju* p. 34 right) but the beginning of the fourteenth century is the point of convergence for signs of real cultural influence. Reliable evidence for the existence of the first Islamic state in Indonesia comes from the last two decades of the 13th century. The earliest document written in Malay in the Arabic script, and at the same time the earliest Malay document to mention Islam (the Trengganu Stone, from the Malay Peninsula) can be attributed to the 14th century. The next earliest Malay document referring to Islam, not this time in Arabic script (the Minye Tujuh inscription from northern Sumatra) is dated 1380 A.D.

The main corpus of materials for the study of the development of the Malay language consists of Malay manuscripts written in the Arabic script (*Jawi*); it is possible that the tradition of writing which gave rise to the manuscripts also began in the fourteenth century, though the earliest manuscripts extant date from ca. 1600 A.D. So we have to concede that if there had been Arabic and Persian influence on Malay

prior to the 14th century, we should have little or no evidence for it; we also have to recognise that the earliest extant materials do not begin until about a century after the first European penetration of the area; the Portuguese reached Malacca in 1509 A.D.

Arabic and Persian loan-words accompanied Islam in its penetration of the Indonesian area. It is generally accepted that Malay was the principal vehicle for the propagation of Islam, and Malay formed the main channel through which the loan-words were received and disseminated into other Indonesian languages. This is not the place to consider the dates and directions of the coming of Islam to the area; but we must arm ourselves against the tendency to oversimplify this, we must be prepared to accept that Islam in its various aspects came to different parts of this heterogenous area from all sorts of sources and at many points in time. Any homogeneity in the forms of loan-words must to some extent be the consequence of improved communication and imposed standardisation in comparatively recent years.

The exposure of Indonesians to Arabic influence is a continuing phenomenon. Most Muslim children will be taught to recite the Kuran to some degree, and many will go to classes to learn elementary Arabic. A religious impetus will lead

some adults to continue their studies of the Kuran and of Arabic, an impetus which will be reinforced if they perform the pilgrimage to Mecca or have prospects of doing so some time. The study of Arabic is institutionalised in the State Islamic Colleges (I.A.I.N.). Some scholars will have the opportunity to study at Arabic-medium universities abroad. The Friday sermon will be an occasion for the ordinary Muslim worshipper to be exposed to the Arabic terms and quotations of the preacher. So from his birth, when the *azan* (*Allāhu akbar! Allāhu akbar!*) will be whispered in his ear by his father, the Indonesian Muslim throughout his life will be exposed to the influence of Arabic.

It is quite impossible to quantify the influence of Arabic on Indonesian. A list of the loan-words compiled by the writer (1978) comprised 2750 from Arabic which could be attested with reasonable certainty. However, very many of these will form no part of the vocabulary of the ordinary Indonesian speaker, and many will be known only in narrow specialist circles.

3.2 Some Arabic and Persian loan-words classified by semantic field

In selecting examples preference will be given to the better known words in Indonesian, but less well-known words will be cited too. It will be seen that loan-words from Persian are to be found concentrated in just a few of the semantic groups.

1. Islamic religion

Taking religion in its broad sense, the loan-words from Arabic are very numerous indeed. As examples we can take *Islam* (Ar. *Islām*) 'Islam'; *Muslim* (Ar. *Muslim*) 'Muslim'; *Allah* (Ar. *Allāh*) 'God'; *Alquran* (Ar. *al-Qur'ān*) 'The Koran'; *bismillah* (Ar. *basmaḷa*) '[utterance of] the invocation "In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful".'

Then we get the epithets of God, many of which are known to Indonesians, especially those which occur commonly as combinations with *Abdul* in Muslim names: *Aziz* (Ar. 'Azīz) 'Dear [One]'; *Gafar* (Ar. *Ghaḥfār*) 'Pardoner'; *Jalil* (Ar. *Jalīl*) 'Glorious' and so on.

In this group too come the large number of what could be called religious technical terms, mostly to do with the duty of the believer to God, the *ibadat* (Ar. 'ibāda), such as *amil* (Ar. 'āmil) 'one of the pious poor eligible for charity out of the zakat'; *aurat* (Ar. 'aura) 'those parts of the body which are required to be covered up'; *balig* (Ar. *bāligh*) 'of the age of legal maturity'; *iddah* (Ar. 'idda) 'period of about 100 days during which widow or divorcee may not remarry'; *istinja* (Ar.

Figure 3

THE ARABIC ALPHABET

Letter	Transliteration	Letter	Transliteration
ا	, [or ā]	ق	q
ب	b	ط	ṭ
ت	t	ظ	ẓ
ث	th	ع	'
ج	j	غ	gh
ح	ḥ	ف	f
خ	kh	ق	q
د	d	ك	k
ذ	dh	ل	l
ر	r	م	m
ز	z	ن	n
س	s	ه	h
ش	sh	و	w [or ū]
ص	ṣ	ي	y [or ī]

istinjā) 'cleansing the body after excretion', a process prescribed minutely in the Traditions; *lahad* (Ar. *lahd*) 'the hollow made in a grave on the Qiblah side, in which the corpse is placed...'; [*air*] *mustakmal* (Ar. *musta'mal*) 'water which has been used for ritual ablution'; *tayamun* (Ar. *tayammum*) 'ritual ablution performed with sand when water is not available'.

Now it is evident that these terms have been brought into the language to denote innovations in religious practice for which there had previously been no word. Some, such as *tayamun* must be very rarely necessary in the Indonesian region, but will be found in the Muslim books on Tradition and therefore are simply taken over. Where a religious practice had been known previously, of course there was no necessity to take a new Arabic term. There is a word for 'fasting', *saum* (Ar. *ṣaum*), but far more usual for 'fasting', even in an Islamic context, is *puasa*, already long taken over from Sanskrit (*upa-vāsa*).

It may be observed that we find almost no words of Persian origin in this group of 'religious' terms, since Persian itself needed to take them from Arabic with its adoption of Islam.

2. Abstract and philosophical terms

A large proportion of the loan-words with abstract meanings are concerned more or less directly with the moral values introduced with Islam. We get *adab* (Ar. *adab* 'culture, refinement' &c.) 'civilised, refined'; *adil* (Ar. *ʿādil*) 'just'; *aib* (Ar. *ʿaib*) 'shame'; *baka* (Ar. *bāqā*) 'everlasting'; *barakat* (Ar. *baraka*) 'blessing'; *fadihat* (Ar. *faḍīḥa*) 'disgrace'; *fadilat* (Ar. *faḍīla*) 'excellence'; *filsafat* (Ar. *falsafa*) 'philosophy' (as an academic discipline); *ilmu* (Ar. *ʿilm*) 'science'; *ikhlas* (Ar. *ikhhlās*) 'sincerity'; *kamil* (Ar. *kāmil*) 'perfect'; *mantik* (Ar. *manṭiq*) 'logic'; *nafsu* (Ar. *nafs*) 'lust'; *nahas* (Ar. *naḥs*) 'ill luck'.

Sufi mysticism brought in a large number of technical terms: *tasawuf* (Ar. *taṣawwuf*) 'Sufism'; *hakikat* (Ar. *ḥaqīqa*) 'essential truth'; *makrifat* (Ar. *maʿrifa*) 'knowledge'; *fana* (Ar. *fanā*) 'transient'; besides this we get terms for Sufis such as *fakir* (Ar. *faqīr*) 'mendicant', and from Persian *darwis* (Pr. *darwīsh*).

3. Euphemisms

As is usual when a linguistic community is brought into contact with the speakers of another language which enjoys prestige, the speakers of Malay took over Arabic words as polite or euphemistic semantic doublets with existing words. There is in the Austronesian languages a word which in Indonesian takes the form *bunting* to mean 'pregnant'; this is superseded in the modern language by a politer form *mengandung*; but beside that,

and probably more polite still, is the word *hamil* (Ar. *ḥāmil*, 'porter' etc.). For 'death' Indonesian also uses a word of Austronesian origin *kematian* (*mati* 'to die'); but beside this is the polite form *maut* (Ar. *maut*), which in spite of a superficial similarity is not a cognate. Beside this we have the word *wafat* (Ar. *wafāh*) 'to pass away' with respectful connotations. As with death, so for 'corpse' there are synonyms: there is *bangkai*, now used of animals but formerly of humans. The usual, quite respectful term is *mayat* (Ar. *mayyit*); rather more respectful is *jenazah* (Ar. *janāza*).

4. Political and military

Terms in connection with the organisation of the state had been largely supplied by Sanskrit, and these persisted. Beside *raja*, we find the word *Sultan* (Ar. *Sulṭān*), but this is usually a title prefixed to a personal name, not used to denote 'a ruler'; *wazir* (Ar. *wazīr*) 'vizier' is found, but mostly in exotic stories, the word *bendahara* being preferred in the Malay context; similarly *abdi* (Ar. *ʿabd*) denotes 'slave', but the indigenous word *hamba* is far more common; the term *daerah* (Ar. *dāʿira*) for 'district' on the other hand is in common use; the word *daulat* (Ar. *daula*) 'aura of majesty' was fully adopted in Traditional Malay texts, and the derivative *kedaulatan* 'sovereignty' is a current term in Indonesian. The word *syah* (Pr. *shāh* 'king'), like *Sultan*, is not used as a common noun, but appears as an epithet after the personal name of a ruler (e.g. *Sultan Muhammad Syah*); *takhta* (Pr. *takht*) is used for 'throne'.

Arabic has supplied a few military terms: *saadijah* (Ar. *saʿdiya*, named after the town of al-Saʿdu in Arabia) 'coat of mail'; and *saif* (Ar. *saif*) 'sword' for example.

More military terms come from Persian: those referring to weapons are common in the Traditional Malay texts, (but of course are superseded in modern Indonesian by new terms referring to modern weapons.) We have *cokmar* (Pr. *chōb-mār*) 'club'; *kulah* (Pr. *kulāh*) 'helmet'; *tarkas* (Pr. *tarkash*) 'quiver [for arrows]'; *tufang* (Pr. *tufang*, cf. Hindi *tufang*, Ar. *tufka*) 'musket'; *sardar* (Pr. *sar-dār*) 'general'; the word *pahlawan* (Pr. *pahlawān*) 'champion, hero' is fully assimilated in modern Indonesian.

Consistently with this, most of the terms used in the game of chess come from Persian.

5. Nautical and trade

Most are from Persian: *bandar* (Pr. *bandar*) 'port' (- and *syahbandar* for 'harbourmaster'); *kelasi* (Pr. *khalās*, prob. from an Arabic root) 'seaman'; *khoja* (Pr. *khwāja*) '[well-to-do] merchant'; *nakhoda* (Pr. *nā-khudā*) 'master of a vessel'; *segani* (Pr. *sukkānī*) 'helmsman'; *serang*

(Pr. *sar-hang*) 'boatswain'; *balabad* (Pr. *bālā-yibād*) 'west' and *zirbad* (Pr. *zir-bad*) 'east'.

Amongst textiles we have *cadar* (Pr. *chādar*) 'cotton shawl'; *dibaj* (Pr. *dībāj*) 'silk fabric'; *zarbaf* (Pr. *zar-bāf*) 'brocade'; *seluar* (Pr. *shalwār*) 'trousers' is common in modern Malay, though Indonesian uses *celana*; connected with this *derji* (Pr. *darzi*) is used for 'tailor', though the common term is *tukang menjahit* or *taylor*.

As for musical instruments, we have *tabal* (Ar. *ṭabl*) 'installation drum', but most others are from Persian: *nafirī* (Pr. *nafīrī*) 'trumpet'; *nobat* (Pr. *nobat*) '[installation] drum'; *serunai* (Pr. *sūr-nāy*) 'clarinet'.

Finally we have the word *saudagar* (Pr. *saudāgar*) 'merchant' and *pasar* (Pr. *bāzār*, but derivation remains in doubt) 'market'.

6. Botanical and zoological

Quite a lot of terms in these fields were taken over from Arabic into Malay, and a substantial number from Persian too. The majority of these remain rare, evidently reflecting the fact that notions of plants and animals were introduced for example via the literature, but there have been few examples of the plants and animals themselves being brought in by speakers of Arabic or Persian.

From Arabic we get *nabatāt* (Ar. *nabātāt*) 'the vegetable world'; *jamiz* (Ar. *jummaiz*) 'sycamore'; *jauza* (Ar. *jauza*) 'walnut'; *mawar* (Ar. *mā'al-ward* should mean 'water of roses'?) for 'rose' (beside the loan from Dutch, [*bunga*] *ros*); the Indonesian *air mawar* 'rose-water' may therefore be tautological; *tamar* (Ar. *tamr*) 'date'; *tin* (Ar. *tīn*) 'fig'; *tufah* (Ar. *tuffāh*) 'apple' - but the usual word is *apel*, from Dutch; *zabib* (Ar. *zabīb*) 'raisins' (but attested in Traditional Malay as denoting growing grapes); *zaitun* (Ar. *zaitūn*) 'olives'.

Botanical terms from Persian include *anggur* (Pr. *angūr*) 'grape'; *gandum* (Pr. *gandum*) 'wheat'; *gul* (Pr. *gul*) 'rose'; *kurma* (Pr. *khurmā*) 'date palm'. The word *bustan* (Pr. *bustān*) is used of 'garden' in literature only, the usual Indonesian word being *kebun*, a word of Austronesian origin; also Austronesian is the other word for 'garden' *taman*, despite attempts to give it a Persian provenance (see JSBRAS no. 80, 1919, p. 38).

As regards animals, from Arabic we get *hewan* (Ar. *ḥayawān*?) 'animals'; *asad* (Ar. *asad*) 'lion'; *gamal* (Ar. *jamāl*) 'camel'; *hemar* (Ar. *ḥimār*) 'zebra'; *unjul* (Ar. *unjal*) 'badger'; *ikban* (Ar. *iqbān*) 'eagle'; *nasar* (Ar. *nasr*) 'vulture'.

From Persian we have *rubah* (Pr. *rū-bāh*) 'jackal'; *sag* (Pr. *sag*) 'dog'; *tezrau* (Pr. *tazarv*) 'pheasant'.

7. Anatomy, medicine

The Arabs were of course pioneers in early medicine, and it is therefore not surprising that many anatomical and medical terms came from Arabic (and few from Persian): *ain* (Ar. *ʿain*) 'eye' (but the Austronesian word *mata* is used of the physical eye); *badan* (Ar. *badan*) 'body'; *dubur* (Ar. *dubur*) 'anus'; *khalkum* or *lekum* (Ar. *ḥulqūm*) 'wind-pipe'; *kubul* (Ar. *qubul*) also *parji* (Ar. *farj*) besides *kus* (Pr. *kus*) 'vulva' being more polite than the indigenous *puki*; *kulup* (Ar. *ghulfa*) 'foreskin'; *lisan* (Ar. *lisān*) 'tongue' (usually in metaphorical senses); *mani* (Ar. *manī*) 'seminal fluid'; *wajah* (Ar. *wajh*) 'face, countenance' - but *muka*, from Sanskrit, is the usual word; *yad* (Ar. *yad*) 'hand' - but the usual word is *tangan*; *zakar* (Ar. *dha-kar*) 'penis'.

The words *sehat* (Ar. *ṣiḥḥa*) and *afiat* (Ar. *ʿāfiya*) both mean 'good health'; then we have *bawasir* or *wasir* (Ar. *bawāsīr*) 'haemorrhoids'; *ta'un* (Ar. *tā'ūn*) and *wabah* (Ar. *wabā'*) both mean 'epidemic'; *haid* (Ar. *ḥaid*) 'menses'; *liwat* (Ar. *liwāt*) 'sodomy'; *sihak* (Ar. *siḥāq*) 'lesbianism'.

8. Time, dates and numerals

For time we have common words such as *kala*, *masa* and *ketika* from Sanskrit; Arabic has added *waktu* (Ar. *waqt*) 'period of time', *zaman* or *jaman* (Ar. *zamān*) '[usually long] period of time'; *saat* (Ar. *sā'a*) 'moment'; *musim* (Ar. *mausim*) 'season'. For more specific periods of time we have *abad* (Ar. *abad*) 'century'; *sanat* (Ar. *sana*) 'year' is occasionally used in dates, but the indigenous word *tahun* is almost universally employed; so are the indigenous words *bulan* 'month' and *hari* 'day' (the word *minggu* for 'week' being of Portuguese derivation), but Arabic gave names for the months, and names for the days of the week; thus *Muharram* (Ar. *Muḥarram*) for the first [lunar] month, *Ṣafar* (Ar. *Ṣafar*) for the second, and so on. For the week days Indonesian generally uses [*hari*] *Ahad* (Ar. [*yaum al-*] *aḥad* 'day one') 'Sunday'; [*hari*] *Senin* (Ar. [*yaum al-*] *ithnain* 'day two') 'Monday'; [*hari*] *Selasa* (Ar. [*yaum al-*] *thalāthā* 'day three') 'Tuesday', and so on.

As we should expect, the times of the day when it is legitimate to perform the ritual prayers all have names of Arabic origin, e.g. *subuh* (Ar. *ṣubḥ*) 'dawn'.

Aside from this, Arabic has given almost no numerals to Indonesian; a word like *alf* (Ar. *alf*) 'thousand' might be understood but the indigenous *seribu* is always used.

9. Education, books and writing

A number of terms commonly used in education come from Arabic: *kuliah* (Ar. *kullīya* 'totality, college') 'lecture'; *munsyi* (Ar. *munshi*) 'language teacher';

murid (Ar. *murīd*) 'pupil'; *nahu* (Ar. *naḥw*) 'grammar'; *talib* (Ar. *ṭālib*) 'student'; *tarbiah* (Ar. *tarbiya*) 'education'; *ustad* (Ar. *ustādh*) 'teacher [in Islamic institution]'.

It can be assumed that the Malay words for 'to write' *menyurat* and *menulis* (originally 'to draw'?) are indigenous, and that consequently these peoples may have known how to write before the spread of Indian civilisation. It is remarkable on the one hand that so little in the sphere of writing was added to the lexicon from Sanskrit, and on the other that so much was added by Arabic; so many of the scribe's implements bear Arabic names that we are led inescapably to the conclusion that the Arabs brought the practical techniques of writing, and probably the materials as well. So we find *kalam* (Ar. *qalam*) 'pen'; *kertas* (Ar. *qartās*) 'paper'; *dawat* (Ar. *dawāh* and Pr. *dawāt* 'inkwell' etc, but cf. Hindi *dawāt* 'an inkstand, ink') 'ink'; *jidar* (Ar. & Pr. *jidār* 'wall') 'the frame drawn round a page of writing'; *katib* (Ar. *kātib*) 'writer'; *mistar* (Ar. *mīṣṭara*, cf. Pr. *mīṣṭar*) 'a board for impressing lines on the page to guide the writing'; *rehal* (Ar. *riḥāl*) 'book rest, esp. for Kuran'; *jilid* (Ar. *jild* 'leather, binding of a book, volume') 'volume, binding'; *kuras* (Ar. *kurrās* [sing. *kurrāsa*] 'quiere') 'quiere or gathering [in bookbinding]'.

Many other literary terms come from Arabic. As examples we may cite *abjad* (Ar. *abjad*) 'alphabet'; *bab* (Ar. *bāb* 'door, chapter') 'chapter'; *eja* (Ar. *hiājā*) 'spell'; *huruf* (Ar. *ḥurūf*) 'letter [of the alphabet]'; *majalah* (Ar. *majalla*) 'journal' and so on.

A couple of terms to do with writing come from Persian: *kalamdan* (Pr. *qalamdān*) 'a case for holding pens'; *karkun* (Pr. *kār-kun*) 'secretary'.

10. Cultural innovation

It is natural to find that when the Arabic speaking peoples introduced a new object that object is found to have an Arabic name in Indonesian, and conversely when we find for example that 'chair' in Indonesian is *kursi* (Ar. *kursī*) we can conclude that it was first introduced by people speaking Arabic, or at least one of the languages influenced by Arabic. But even where concrete objects were not involved we can see in the loan vocabulary of Indonesian how the experience of the earlier speakers [of Malay] was extended under Arab influence. We can be sure for example that the Arabs did not bring snow to Indonesia, but the word for snow *salju* comes from Arabic *thalj*. The weather provides other interesting examples. Of course such concepts as 'rain' (*hujan*) and 'wind' (*angin*) were commonly experienced, and therefore have indigenous names. But when we come to the words to denote 'frost' and 'extreme cold' we again find terms from Arabic, respectively *jalad* (Ar.

jalad) and *zamharir* (Ar. *zamharīr*), and the word for 'hail storm' is *tagerak* (Pr. *tagarg*).

We must be cautious. The well known *adat* (Ar. *āda*) 'custom' denotes particularly those practices which existed long before the arrival of Islam and Arabic influences. Perhaps its adoption is to be explained by the fact that it was the arrival of a rival Islamic system of laws which gave rise to the need for a term to define the existing customary law.

11. Arabic phrases and bound morphemes; Arabic grammar

Of the donor languages which have contributed to the Indonesian lexicon Arabic is the only one which has given substantial numbers of what might be called 'loan-phrases' which are in everyday use. Thus we get *assalam alaikum* (Ar. *as-salām ālaikum*) 'Peace be upon you'; *astagfirullah* (Ar. *astaghfiru'llāh*) 'God forbid'; *alhamdulillah* (Ar. *al-ḥamdu li'llāh*) 'Praise be to God'. As cumbersome as they are, these have to be treated in the dictionaries as lexemes.

Educated Indonesians will often recognise the constituents of these phrases, such as *al* (Ar. *al-*) 'the' or *la* (Ar. *lā*) 'there is not', and these may be found in the dictionaries as separate entries, but although they are lexemes in Arabic perhaps they ought to be regarded as bound morphemes in Indonesian. It is nevertheless very helpful practically for a user of an Indonesian dictionary to have access to the meanings of these constituents, such as *min* (Ar. *min*) 'from, of'; *wa* (Ar. *wa*) 'and, by'; *in* (Ar. *in*) 'if'; *bi* (Ar. *bi*) 'with' (- but Indonesian *bi* can also derive from Persian *bī* 'without'!) It would also be helpful if lexicographers gave help with the suffixes in Arabic such as *-hu* (Ar. *-hu*) 'him, his'; *-ha* (Ar. *-hā*) 'her, her'; *-hum* (Ar. *-hum*) 'them, their'.

It is most usually the noun in its singular form which is taken as a loan-word into Indonesian. But there are exceptions, such as *kun!* (Ar. *kun*) be! (the command of God), or *yakni* (Ar. *ya'nī*) 'that is'. Occasionally we find both singular and plural, for example *hadir* (Ar. *ḥādir*) 'present [singular]' and *hadirin* (Ar. *ḥādirīn*) 'those present'. We may find singular and plural combined (impossible in Arabic) as in *hal-ihwal* (Ar. *ḥāl*, plur. *aḥwāl*) 'circumstances'. Arabic nouns have gender, whereas Indonesian nouns do not normally show gender. In certain loan-words, perhaps where it is conceived that sexual distinction is important, Indonesian takes over both masculine and feminine form: *syarif* (Ar. *sharīf*) 'title of a descendant of the Prophet' beside the feminine form *syarifah*; similarly *dalal* (Ar. *dallāl*) 'a go-between' and the feminine *dalalah*. It is worth noticing that the word *hamil* (pregnant) always occurs in its masculine form.

The complexities of Arabic grammar

make it possible for very many words to be derived from a simple root of three consonants. Often a single root will donate a number of different loan-words to Indonesian, although the affinity is not always obvious in the Indonesian form. From the root s-l-m we get a score of loan-words in Indonesian, for example: *salam* (Ar. *salām*) 'peace'; *selamat* (Ar. *salāma*) 'safe [common in greetings]'; *Islam* (Ar. *Islām*); *Muslim* (Ar. *Muslim*); *darussalam* (Ar. *Dār al-salām*) 'abode of peace' and so on.

12. Homographs and etymological doublets

The Arabic *fa'l* 'action' and *fa'l* 'sign' both come into Indonesian as *faal*, preserving their separate meanings. Beside *kalam* (Ar. *kalām*) 'word [esp. of God]' we have *kalam* (Ar. *qalam*) 'pen'; further examples are supplied by the Indonesian words *hakim*, *hawa*, *nas*, *ummah* and *warid*. Homographs can also be produced by taking over words from Arabic and Persian which happen to have identical forms, for example *kamar* (Ar. *qamar*) 'moon' and *kamar* (Pr. *kamar*) 'belt'; *ramal* (Ar. *raml*) 'prophecy' and *ramal* (Pr. *rumāl*) 'face-towel'. The word *anggur* (Pr. *angūr*) 'grape, wine' competes with two words already in the language: *anggur* 'a plant cutting' and *anggur* 'unemployment'.

The Arabic *farḍ* 'religious duty' appears in two words in Indonesian: *fardu* 'obligatory under Islam' and *perlu* 'necessary [without particular religious connotation]'; this couplet illustrates the generalisation that words associated with religion change in form more slowly than others. The Arabic *shajara* 'tree' has given Indonesian the form *syajarah* 'tree', a rare word, but also *sejarah* 'history' (from the Arab practice of writing genealogies in the form of branching trees), a common word.

3.3 Changes in meaning

With the word *akal* (Ar. 'aql) Indonesian has taken over its principal Arabic meaning of 'intelligent', but in addition has given it a definite meaning 'a sly trick'. *Amal* comes from Arabic 'amal 'action' [in a neutral sense], but in Indonesian takes on the meaning especially of a charitable act. Arabic *kitāb* denotes 'a book' but the Indonesian *kitab* is used especially to refer to an Islamic (or indeed Christian) religious book (*buku* being usually used of other books). Similarly Arabic *ṭabīb* means 'physician, doctor' while the Indonesian form *tabib* is used of a local physician without formal training in medicine. The word *ralat* is interesting; Arabic *ghalat* means 'error, mistake, incorrect', a meaning which it also has in Indonesian, but in addition it gives a verb with the meaning 'to correct'. In Arabic *kalima* means 'word' &c. while the loan-

word *kalimat* in Indonesian means 'sentence' (the Nusantara words *kata* or *perkataan* being used for 'word'). The Arabic *kullīya* means 'faculty, college institute' while the Indonesian *kuliah* means 'lecture'.

3.4 Cognates in Indo-European languages

The contributions which the Arabs made to the early development of science provide a link which accounts for some loan-words which are common to Indonesian and European languages: *aljabar*, *alkali*, *alkohol* need no explanation. Other words from Arabic have been adopted into English (and other European languages) and we have no difficulty in recognising such Indonesian words as *baksis*, *darwis*, *kadi*, *jin*, *salam*, *sultan*.

The similarity between *zirnikh* (Ar. *zirnīkh*) and 'arsenic' will be clear when we allow for the insertion of the Arabic definite article (*al-zirnikh*). The word *menara* (Ar. *manāra*) we shall recognise as 'minaret'. *Sabun* 'soap' is a *Wanderwort* with cognates in so many languages that we cannot be sure that it came into Indonesian from Arabic (*ṣābūn*). *Serbat* 'a drink' (Ar. *sharba(t)*) is cognate with the English 'sherbet'. Another *Wanderwort* is *gazi* (Ar. *ghāzī*) 'raider'. A word from the same root went from Arabic into European languages (from Algeria into French at the beginning of the 19th century, according to Dauzat) and appears in Dutch as *razzia* 'raid'. Thus in Indonesian beside the old-fashioned *gazi* we find the word *razia*, frequently used to refer to police raids.

Of the Persian loan-words we shall recognise *sipahi* as 'sepoy', *syah* as 'ruler', *karwan* as 'caravan', *pardah* as 'pardah' and *firman* as 'firman'. *Syal* we shall recognise when we remember that English 'shawl' (Dutch *schal*) are loans from Persian too. The word *dewan* in Indonesian means 'assembly' and the Persian *dīwān* has a similar meaning 'council of state' etc; also from *dīwān* we get the Indonesian *dipan* 'divan', no doubt via Dutch *divan*; a third derivative from the same source is Indonesian *duane* 'customs', also doubtless via Dutch (*douane* < French *douane*).

4.0 THE INFLUENCE OF CHINESE

(The Chinese characters for the words mentioned are given on p.18)

As with Arabic influence, so with Chinese influence we may begin by comparing it with that of India. "It is astonishing" writes Coedès (1968, p. 34) "that in countries so close to China ... the cultural influence of the Middle Kingdom has been insignificant ... We are struck by the

Figure 4

CHINESE CHARACTERS

bah-mī ⁿ	肉 麵	sng-pôa ⁿ	算 盤
bé-chhia	馬 車	tāi-kong	舵 公
chhâ-ó ⁿ	茶 碗	tāu-chiū ⁿ	豆 醬
chhat	漆	tāu-gê	豆 芽
fu-iung-hai	芙 蓉 蟹	tāu-hū	豆 腐
góa	我	tê	茶
hang-lô [·]	烘 爐	tê-kó [·]	茶 壺
kong-si	公 司	tê-kòan	茶 罐
lai-chi (lāi-chi)	荔 枝	teng	燈
lâu-téng	樓 頂	tháng	桶
lī-hāi	利 害	thái-ko	癩 哥
lôa	籬	thâu-ke	頭 家
lú	你	to	多
mī ⁿ	麵	tōe-chhìn	地 稱
mo-pan, mo-pien	磨 (麻) 斑	toh	桌
phah-sng	撲 算	t'ong-saan	唐 山
sam-pán	三 板	tsa-bó [·]	查 婦
sien-si ⁿ	先 生	tsú-kong	主 公
sin-kheh	新 客	tsûn-tsu [·]	船 主

fundamental difference of the results obtained in the countries of the Far East by the civilizing activity of China and India." Coedès was focussing his attention on the countries of mainland South East Asia, and his explanation - that the Chinese proceeded by conquest - does not hold good for island South East Asia. But his observation regarding the astonishingly slight influence of China applies equally to our area, and at the same time he provides us with a clue as to the explanation for it: That it is Chinese culture which lacks some ingredient which would make it exportable in the region, rather than any lack of receptivity on the part of the Indonesian world.

At all events when we look at linguistic borrowing we are struck by the paucity of loan-words when we remember the potential for culture influence from a neighbouring country which enjoyed so much prestige over such a long period. The circumstances of Chinese influence over thirteen centuries have been ably surveyed by L. Santa Maria (1974b), and it will be sufficient for our purposes if we take up the main points from that. The earliest contacts with China may have been an incidental consequence of Indian maritime trade with that country which inevitably passed through the Archipelago. Then there were the Buddhist monks travelling between those two major areas of civilisation; the monk I-tsing spent ten years in Sumatra in the seventh century A.D. Then, as both Chinese and Malay chronicles record, the states of South East Asia sent missions to the Chinese emperors. Besides these a direct trade gradually grew up between China and the Indonesian area, and when the Portuguese arrived in 1509 the Chinese junks could be found and "Chinese merchants were at home throughout the whole immense Indonesian archipelago."

Santa Maria considers the Chinese influence in the earliest world-lists of Malay. Possibly the earliest, dating it is believed from the fifteenth century, is in fact a Chinese compilation of Malay words (Edwards & Blagden, 1932). Gonda (1973 p.91) identifies about 16 Sanskrit loans amongst the 482 items in the list. There are also loans from Arabic and Persian, though not many. Santa Maria notes how few loans there are in the list from Chinese: *dacing* 'large scales' (see note below, p.21) and *cawan* 'teacup' (Hokkien *chhâ*, literary form of *tê* 'tea' + *ôa*ⁿ 'bowl' - but also see below p. 21). The word for 'table' is interesting. It is given as *to* which is probably a Malay loan from Hokkien (*toh* 'table'); the word *toh* is still used in Baba Malay in Malaysia, but has been displaced in normal Indonesian and Malay by *meja* (from Portuguese, possibly influenced by Arabic.)

With the commercial and economic development of the region under the Dutch, and to a smaller extent the British, Chinese influence was intensified with the immigration of large numbers of Chinese who eventually became permanent settlers.

They came mostly from the southern provinces of China (especially Hokkien and Kwangtung) and it is the languages of these areas that gave to Indonesian most of the loan-words from Chinese. The pattern of immigration, whereby immigrants established in the 'South Seas' would invite relatives and acquaintances from their own district in China to join them, led to the formation of pockets, of varying size, of speakers of one Chinese dialect, so that in most centres of Chinese settlement there will be one predominant dialect which is known to all the Chinese living there.

The form of Chinese loan-words in Indonesian indicates their derivation from Hokkien (Fújiàn) forms in the majority of cases; as Santa Maria points out (1974, 372), the Hokkiens have been longer established in the area than for example the Cantonese. It seems likely too that their propensity for engaging in trading activities has also contributed to their greater influence on Indonesian.

The settled Chinese communities developed their own patois of Malay, in Malaysia called 'Baba Malay' and in Indonesia known as Sino-Malay. The latter especially produced an abundant literature in a Malay (precursor of Indonesian) rich with Chinese terms. (See Claudine Salmon, 1981, for an indication of the vast extent of this literature. Pierre Labrousse (1975, 176-178,) gives examples of loan-words occurring in modern Sino-Malay *silat* literature.) It is likely that these spoken and written forms of a Sinacised variety of Malay and Indonesian mediated the entry of loan-words into the standard languages.

The most convenient recent source on Chinese loan-words in Indonesian is that of Philip Leo (1973), which lists 169 loans. He is the main source for the following paragraphs. His published paper (Philip Leo, 1975) covers most of the same ground.

4.1 Some Chinese loan-words classified by semantic field

1. Nautical and trade

Santa Maria rejects a Chinese derivation for *jung* ('junk'); Philip Leo (1973, p.44) derives *tongkang* 'a cargo vessel, with sails' from Hokkien, but, although that is intrinsically likely enough, the precise derivation still has to be established. Santa Maria derives *sampan* 'boat' from [Hokkien] *san* or *sam* 'three' and *pán* 'a board'; this is widely accepted, but one has doubts still; the word may have after all a proto-Austronesian base, cf. Wurm and Wilson p. 21. With *tekong* 'skipper of a junk' we are on firmer ground, Hokkien *tái* 'helm' and *kong* 'work, person in charge' (see Macgowan p. 199). *Cinciu* 'supercargo, agent of the owner of a vessel' is from a Hokkien compound with the same meaning, consisting of *tsûn* 'vessel' and *tsú* 'master'.

In trade perhaps the commonest Chinese loan-word is *kongsi*, used generally of a merchantile company, but also of almost any Chinese association. It is the Hokkien *kong* 'public' plus *si* 'to manage' and exists already as a compound in Hokkien with the expected meaning 'a trading company'. *Tauke* 'employer, boss' is a well established loan in Indonesian, used of Chinese; it exists as *thâu-ke* in Hokkien with the meaning 'the master of a house or shop'. *Semipoa* or *swipoa* is a Chinese abacus commonly used for calculating in shops. It will be from Hokkien *sng* 'to calculate' with *poâⁿ* 'to calculate, a tray' i.e. 'abacus'; the alternative spelling *swipoa* reminds us that Hokkien loan-words did not necessarily come from the 'standard' Amoy dialect, and for this form a more likely original would be the Chang-chew *suiⁿ*. *Paksui* 'to think' is another example of a word deriving from the Changchew dialect, in which the second syllable would be *suiⁿ* (whereas in Amoy Hokkien it would be *sng*).

2. Food and drink

Philip Leo (1973, p.13, 42) gives a semantic category of "Food, drink and cookery" (attributing to it 33% of the Chinese loan-words), and Santa Maria (1974, p.374) writes that the "highest proportion of these loan-words - about 20% - relate, in fact, to food and the cuisine". Santa Maria goes on to remark that Chinese dishes, with the exception of those with pork which is repugnant to Muslims, have gained a firm hold on the daily life of Malays and Indonesians.

Burkill (1935, 1080 - 86) devotes several pages to describing the versatile uses of *Glycine max*, to us the soya bean. 'Bean sprouts' are known in Indonesian as *taoge* from Hokkien *tāu* 'beans' and *gê* 'sprout'. For 'soya bean sauce' Indonesian uses *taocio* from Hokkien *tāu-chiūⁿ* 'a thick salt sauce made from pulse'. An interesting example is the word for 'bean curd' *tahu*; this is from Hokkien *tāu-hū* 'bean-curd shaped, but not yet pressed,' and we should expect the word to appear in Indonesian (as it does in Malay) as *tauhu*; now the word happens to be one of the earliest of the foreign loans recorded in an Indonesian language, occurring in a list of foods served at a banquet mentioned in an Old Javanese inscription of the 10th century (The Watu Kura inscription, plate 5A, lines 4-5, see A.M. Jones, 1976, 90-91) indicating the antiquity of its adoption and suggesting that the Indonesian form comes via the Old Javanese, which was also *tahu*. We have *mi* 'vermicelli' from Hokkien *mīⁿ*, and *bakmi*, from Hokkien *bah-mīⁿ* 'vermicelli cooked with shrimps and some fat', although *bakmi* may vary from this in its ingredients.

The only two Cantonese words listed by Philip Leo (1973, p.38) both concern food; one is *laici* 'litchiee or lychee' from Cantonese *lai-chi*, the name obviously having accompanied the plant, or the

fruit, from southern China where it originates (see Burkill, 1546-1547); it may be noted that its Cantonese provenance is not beyond doubt, as the word *lāi-chi* exists in Amoy Hokkien (Carstairs Douglas, p.298). The other word from Cantonese is *puyunghai*, a kind of omelette containing crab, from the Cantonese *fu-iung-hai*.

As for drinks, the conspicuous loan is Indonesian *teh* for 'tea', no doubt from Hokkien *tê*; the process of assimilation into Indonesian often involves adding a final 'h' to words in Chinese ending in 'e' (see p.28).

3. Household objects

For 'teapot' Indonesian has *teko* from Hokkien *tê-kó* 'an earthen tea-kettle, sometimes used as a coarse tea-pot', besides *tekoan*, Hokkien *tê-kòan* 'a tea-pot, esp. with a roundish body'. *Anglo* 'charcoal brazier' is from Hokkien *hang-lô* 'a small portable earthen stove, as for boiling water for tea'. *Cat* 'paint' is from Hokkien *chhat* 'varnish, lacquer'. *Loteng* 'upstairs' comes from Hokkien *lâu-téng* 'upstairs'. *Ting* 'lantern' is from Hokkien *teng* 'lamp, lantern'. *Tong* 'barrel' may come from Hokkien *tháng* 'cask, barrel', but it is more probably from another Chinese dialect, e.g. Cantonese or Hakka, which have *t'ung*.

4. Miscellaneous

Gua and *lu* colloquial words for 'I' and 'you' respectively derive from Hokkien *góa* and *lú*. *Singkek* 'person newly arrived from China' (Hokkien *sin-kheh* 'newcomer') obviously has undergone a restriction of meaning confining it to the Chinese community. Similarly *sinse*, from Hokkien *sien-sin* 'doctor' means in Indonesian 'Chinese doctor' (as opposed to a western-trained doctor, which is *dokter*). *Cukong* is a relatively recent vogue term used to refer to the (usually Chinese) capitalists working behind the scenes; Philip Leo derives it from Hokkien *tsú-kong* 'a patron whom his dependants obey'.

4.2 Chinese dialects other than Hokkien

Philip Leo (1973, 32-38) lists 149 words as deriving from Hokkien, 13 from Hakka (Kheh), 5 from Mandarin and 2, as we have seen already, from Cantonese.

Some of his attributions to Hakka (Kheh) could be questioned. For example *Tongsan* 'China' could be from Cantonese (*T'ong-saan*). *Bopeng* 'pock-marked' is a puzzle; Leo (1973, 37) derives it from Hakka *mo-pien* (Santa Maria prefers the spelling *mo-pan*) but this does not sound

entirely convincing to me even though it finds some support in the existence of an alternative Malay form *mopeng* (see Wilkin-son). Another word attributed to Hakka *taiko*, 'leper' could as easily be from Hokkien (thái-ko); so could *lihài* (Hokkien *lī-hāi*, clever) which he attributes to Mandarin. It is not easy to decide from which dialect of Chinese some of the loan-words derive, and this may explain why Philip Leo does not list any as coming from Hainanese nor Tiociu. The loan *dacing* 'large weighing scales' mentioned above (p. 19) is a puzzle; I question whether the characters given for it by Santa Maria (*op. cit.* p. 380, item 3) or Philip Leo (*op. cit.* p. 39 item 49) are correct; more probable would be the characters which in Hokkien give *tōe-chhīn* (see p. 18) (Carstairs Douglas, pp. 525, 81) 'sort of strong lever for raising great weights', but it seems likely that it has been taken from some other dialect than Hokkien. So with *cawan* (p. 19 above); the word for 'tea' is *ch'a* or something similar in several Chinese dialects, and it is rather more likely that *cawan* derives from one of these than the suggested derivation from the Hokkien literary form *chhâ*; it is nearly always a colloquial form of Chinese words which passes into Indonesian, and the colloquial Hokkien form of this word, as we have seen, is *tê*.

4.3 Semantic change

Philip Leo cites a few interesting examples. One is *becak* the ubiquitous trishaw which can be seen in all Indonesian towns; this, curiously is derived from Hokkien *bé* 'horse' and *chhia* 'carriage' the name evidently having been transferred from the pony cart which plied for hire to the pedalled vehicle which replaced it. (Cf. *dokar* a horse drawn vehicle whose name is evidently derived from *dog-cart*). Then there is *cabo* 'harlot', marked by Poerwadarminta as 'Javanese' but more probably derived, as Leo suggests, from Hokkien *tsa-bó* 'woman (somewhat vulgar or at least not polite phrase)'. Then there is Indonesian *loak* 'basket, esp. for rubbish' from Hokkien *lôa* 'a flat round bamboo wicker tray'; the Indonesian derivative *loakan* means 'second hand articles'.

4.4 Loan-words from Japanese

With the exception of the wartime loan-words, very few Japanese words are

found in Indonesian. *Sake* (Jap. *sake*) 'fermented liquor made from rice' is of course known in many languages. Then Indonesian also has for example *sakura* (Jap. *sakura*) 'cherry'. A more recent loan is *dakocan* (Jap. *dakko-chan*) 'inflatable doll [used by children]'.

From 1942-45 the Japanese army and navy occupied Indonesia. They forbade the use of Dutch, and attempted to substitute Japanese for it. This proved to be impractical, and they had to concede the unavoidable use of Indonesian as language of administration, but nevertheless Japanese was taught in schools throughout the occupation, and many young Indonesians gained a basic knowledge of it. The loan-words which came in during the occupation were predictably those concerned with military activity and administration. It is a feature of these that most have since dropped out of use again. Thus we have military commands such as *banggo!* (Jap. *bangō*) 'Number!' and *kiotsuke!* (Jap. *ki o tsuke*) 'Attention!'. Administrative terms include *kempetai* (Jap. *kempeitai*) 'military police'; *keibodan* (Jap. *keibōdan*) 'civil defence organisation'; *kumico* (Jap. *kumichō*) 'head of a neighbourhood association' (which subsequently developed into the *rukun tetangga*). An interesting case is *doraiba* 'driver' from Japanese *doraibā* which in turn is from English *driver*.

Other languages

Thai has supplied practically no words to Indonesian. There is *Muang Thai* 'Thailand', from Thai *myang thai*; and a recent loan-word is [*sepak*] *takraw* '[play] Indonesian basketball' from Thai *takraw*.

I know of no loan-words from Burmese, Cambodian or Vietnamese.

5.0 THE INFLUENCE OF EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

5.1 Portuguese

It is generally held that the Portuguese were the first European race to influence Indonesian languages, and that the event which marked the beginning of effective European influence was the arrival of a Portuguese fleet under Diogo Lopes de Sequeira at Melaka in 1509. They were not of course the first Europeans to visit the area: Marco Polo and his companions passed through it, and tarried for five months in Sumatra waiting for the monsoon

to change, in about 1291 AD., that is at the time when Islam was only finding its first real foothold in Indonesia. Subsequently other Europeans, especially Christian missionaries, passed through the region en route for China.

In 1511 a Portuguese fleet from Goa under Alfonso d'Albuquerque drove the Malay Sultan Ahmad out of Melaka and turned that entrepot into a Portuguese trading and naval base, from which they eventually built up a string of bases from which they were able to control the trade of the Spice Islands. What the Portuguese introduced to Asia was (in K.M. Panikkar's words) "an age of maritime power, of authority based on the control of the seas". For a century the Portuguese were the main channel of European influence on the Indonesian region. The earlier influences had been the result of peaceful penetration by foreigners. The Portuguese set a new pattern by occupying, usually by force, enclaves within which they exercised jurisdiction. The pattern was followed later by the Dutch and the English, who in due course were to spread out from their enclaves and impose their jurisdiction on the whole area.

Considering the brevity of their domination over the trade routes, the Portuguese bequeathed a surprising degree of influence. An account of their traces in the Archipelago, region by region, can be found in Da França, 1970. The extraordinary extent of their influence may be due partly to their custom of intermarrying with the local people, so that one still finds people bearing such Portuguese names as da Silva, or Rodrigues, and in places as far apart as Melaka and Maluku one finds a surprising number of Portuguese loan-words in existence; Paramita Abdurachman (1972) lists about 200 words in *Melayu-Ambon* and Da França (1970, 65ff) gives lists of Portuguese loans for a number of regions in Indonesia.

Paramita Abdurachman (1974) discusses the phenomenon of the "Portugis" community in Jakarta who, although being of non-Portuguese origin themselves, used the Portuguese language well into the eighteenth century; although the Portuguese never occupied Batavia, it is recorded that when the Dutch took Melaka (1641) some Portuguese families moved to Batavia (Vlekke, 1959, 158); in Batavia in the early part of the century indeed "Portuguese and Malay were the languages most used in daily life, and the Directors [of the V.O.C.] sent definite orders to counteract the spreading of the Portuguese language and to foster that of Dutch ..." (Vlekke, 1959, p. 192). As Dalgado points out (1936, xxxiff), this tenacity of Portuguese seems to have been a feature of the language also in other parts of Asia. He remarks on the failure of Dutch to displace it in Ceylon, and something similar seems to have occurred in the Netherlands Indies, where discouragement of the use of Portuguese, seen as the language of Catholicism, resulted in the adoption of Malay rather

than Dutch as the language of Protestantism.

The nature of Portuguese linguistic influence is succinctly described by Dalgado (1936, xxx) in these two paragraphs:

"The Portuguese also promoted the civilisation of the East by her immense trade, bringing over from Europe objects unknown in these parts, introducing these into the domestic life of the people, and by carrying very many objects from parts of Asia to others more remote in the continent; this last fact is testified to by the names of the articles with which are associated their place of origin.

The flora of Asia and, in a especial degree, that of India owes to Portugal the introduction of very many plants, most of them of American origin, many of which now grow wild, cover extensive areas and are of conspicuous utility."

The fullest general discussion of the Portuguese loan-words in Malay/Indonesian is to be found in the article by L. Santa Maria (1967). Among several Portuguese word-lists, the most satisfactory is his unpublished "A preliminary list of the Portuguese loan-words in Malay-Indonesian" (1978, compiled under the auspices of the Indonesian Etymological Project, and incorporated in Grijns *et al*, 1983.).

5.2 Some Portuguese loan-words classified by semantic field

Dalgado (1936, xliiiff) discusses some general aspects of the way that Portuguese influenced Asian languages, and he begins with a category comparable with that which we adopted for Sanskrit and Arabic, namely religion.

1. Religion, specifically Christian Catholicism

The Portuguese mission to spread their faith is well known. Perhaps the best known loan-word in this sphere in Indonesian is *gereja* (Port. *igreja*) 'church'. The modern Catholic Church in Indonesia retains some terms from Portuguese, such as *paderi* (Port. *padre*) 'priest'; *Natal* 'Christmas' and *Paskah* 'Easter' are the common Indonesian terms for these festivals, and derive from Port. *Natal* and

Pascoa respectively. *Altar* '[Christian] altar' is probably from Portuguese, but Dutch uses a similar word (*altaar*); *misa* 'Mass' will be from the Port. *Missa*.

2. Objects in everyday use

The following examples are drawn mainly from the list compiled by Professor Santa Maria: *bangku* 'bench' (Port. *banco*); *meja* 'table' (Port. *mesa*, cf. Latin *mensa*, but as Santa Maria has observed this could be influenced by a cognate in some Indian language, or indeed have reached Malay via such a language - similar forms can be found in a number of languages, e.g. Arabic *mā'ida*, Persian *mā'idat*, *mez*, Hindi *mez*, Benggali *mej* and Telugu *meja*); *beranda* 'verandah' (Port. *varanda*); *jendela* 'window' (Port. *janela*); Santa Maria (1967, p. 107) has the support of most writers on this subject in rejecting the derivation of *lampu* 'lamp' from Port. *lampeão*, preferring to derive it from Dutch *lamp*; *boneka* 'doll, puppet' (Port. *boneca*).

3. Foods and plants

A number of food preparations must have been introduced by the Portuguese, such as *keju* 'cheese' (Port. *queijo*) and *mentega* 'butter' (Port. *manteiga*). Amongst plants which the Portuguese brought from South America are *nanas* 'pineapple' (Port. *ananas*); *papaya* 'papaw, *Carica papaya*' (Port. *papaia*); and of course *tembakau* 'tobacco' (Port. *tabaco*).

4. Clothes and textiles

One of the things that caught the attention of the Malay chroniclers when the first Portuguese arrived in the Archipelago was their headgear, and the word *cepiau* (Port. *chapeo*, cf. Fr. *chapeau*) has entered the language meaning 'hat'; apart from that we have *butang* 'button' (Port. *botão*); *kemeja* 'shirt' (Port. *camisa*, a word with many cognates); *sepatu* 'shoe' (Port. *sapato*); *tuala* 'towel' (Port. *toalha*); *pita* 'ribbon' (Port. *fita*); *beledu* 'velvet' (Port. *veludo*).

5. Writing

Only a few terms occur, but two of these are significant: *pena* 'pen' comes from Port. *pena*, (cf. Latin *penna* 'feather') and *tinta* 'ink' (Port. *tinta*); the point is that, although alternatives occur from

Arabic, and something similar from Chinese, it is these two words from Portuguese which are now common Indonesian for the two objects denoted. *Lakeri* or *alkari* 'sealing wax' derive from Port. *lacre*.

6. War and administration

The sophistication of Portuguese military and naval technology lay at the heart of their success in the East. In Indonesian *armada* (Port. *armada*) is the usual word for 'fleet'; similarly 'bullet' is *peluru* (Port. *pellouro*); many other terms survive in Indonesian, but are now archaic, such as *wizurai* 'viceroy' (Port. *vice-rei*); *gubernadur* 'governor' (Port. *governador*), now displaced in common use by *gubernur* (< Du. *gouverneur*); *istinggar* 'musket' (Port. *espingarda*); *kapitan mor* 'Captain-Major' (Port. *capitão mor*); *petor* 'factor, agent' (Port. *feitor*).

7. Miscellaneous

The word *kereta* (Port. *carreta* 'cart') is common in Indonesian, referring to various vehicles, e.g. *kereta api* 'railway train' (and in Malay *kereta* is used for 'car'); *bola* 'ball' (Port. *bola*) is very common, as is *roda* 'wheel' (Port. *roda*); *bendera* 'flag' is from Port. *bandeira*. The Indonesian for 'Sunday' is *hari minggu* (*hari* 'day' + Port. *domingo*); Murphy (p. 307) derives *Sabtu* 'Saturday' from Port. *Sabbado* but since the other weekdays are called by names deriving from Arabic, it seems more likely that *Sabtu* is from Arabic *sabt*.

Tempo 'time' is Port. *tempo*; *meski* [pun] 'although' is thought to be derived from Port. *mas que*.

5.3 Dutch

If the Portuguese arrived in the Indonesian region just after the sixteenth century had begun, the Dutch arrived there just before it ended. In 1596 four Dutch merchant vessels under the command of Cornelis de Houtman arrived at Bantam in West Java and they were received in friendly fashion by the local authorities and by the resident Portuguese merchants (Vlekke, 1959, Chap. V). This *Eerste Schipvaart* ('First Voyage') opened up three and a half centuries of Dutch contact with the Indies, first as traders, subsequently as settlers and eventually as colonisers.

De Vries (1980) outlines the influence of Dutch on Malay (later Indonesian); in

spite of the efforts of the Dutch East India Company, Dutch did not catch on in the Indies during its time (1602-1799 AD); Dutch made some progress in the nineteenth century but "The rise of the Dutch language started in the twentieth century". By 1942 about 230,000 Indonesians had mastery of Dutch; that year saw the occupation of the area by the Japanese, and an immediate clamp down on the use of Dutch. It has survived since in restricted circles, notably those of the older generation who learned it before the Japanese came.

5.4 Some Dutch loan-words classified by semantic field

I know of only two at all comprehensive lists of Dutch loan-words in Indonesian. The first is a typed list compiled by Drs Sudarno and kindly made available to the Indonesian Etymological Project in 1974. This has been superseded by a list compiled under the aegis of the same project, initiated by the writer and compiled by Dr C.D. Grijns and Dr J.W. de Vries in Leiden; many of the following examples are taken from a pre-publication computer print-out of this list, which has since been published under the title *European loan-words in Indonesian* (see Grijns et al., 1983). The writer is indebted to Dr Grijns and Dr De Vries for helpful comments on the material in the following pages concerning Dutch loan-words. Labrousse (1975, pp. 179-190) lists 690 relatively recent Dutch loan-words in Indonesian, and discusses fully the spheres of activity in which they occur.

One of the fullest discussions of the loan-words in Indonesian from European languages is contained in Murphy (1968). The semantic classification for this section is based to some extent on his work, which is also the source for some of the examples given. In every class Dutch loan-words will be found intermingled with English, and it is not always simple to distinguish one from the other. The distinction is broadly chronological, and one can generalise to the point of stating that loan-words from Dutch came into Indonesian during the colonial period up to 1942, and that from about 1945, but particularly after 1965, the majority of foreign loan-words were from English (including American). This is subject to some modification: De Vries (1980) has pointed out the Dutch forms of loan-words (e.g. *televisi* 'television' Du. *televisie*) which came in after 1957; he rightly draws attention to the continued function of Dutch as a prestige language in restricted circles, with a continuing potential as a donor language for loan-words.

1. Technology

It is natural that developments in this field led to the adoption of many

Dutch terms, such as *bengkel* 'workshop' (Du. *winkel*); *bensin* 'benzine' (Du. *benzine*); *aki* 'accumulator' (Du. *accu*, for *accumulator*); *ampere* 'ampere' (Du. *ampère*); *tuter* 'horn' (Du. *toeter*); *sekring* '[electrical] fuse' (Du. *zekering*); *sakelar* '[electric] switch' (Du. *schakelaar*).

2. Transport

The names of several vehicles come from Dutch, such as *sepeda* 'bicycle' (Du. *velocipede*); *brompit* 'moped' (Du. *bromfiets*); *mobil* 'car' (Du. *automobiel*); *bis* (short for *autobis*) 'bus' (Du. *autobus*); *trotoar* 'pavement' is from Du. *trottoir*; also *trayek* 'section [on a bus route]' (Du. *traject*); *bagasi* 'luggage' (Du. *bagage*); *tuslah* 'excess fare' (Du. *toeslag*).

3. Commerce

Here we find many words, such as *andil* 'share [in company]' (Du. *aandeel*) now almost replaced by *saham*; *anemer* 'contractor' (Du. *aannemer*) though now replaced by *pemborong*; *akta* 'document' (Du. *akte*); *aktentas* 'brief case' (Du. *aktentas*); *asep* 'bill of payment' (Du. *accept*); *brosur* 'brochure' (Du. *brochure*); *adptensi* 'advertisement' (Du. *advertentie*), beside the more usual *iklan* (< Ar. *i'lān*); *aksep* 'promissory note' (Du. *accept*); *tik* 'to type' (Du. *tik*, *tikken*); *mesin tik* (cf. Du. *machine* 'machine') is 'typewriter'; *oktroi* 'patent, charter' (Du. *octrooi*); *kapling* 'parcel of land' (Du. *kaveling*).

4. Military

While basic words such as 'soldier' or 'war' existed before the Dutch arrival, the more complex military organisation was introduced over the centuries on the Dutch model, and we naturally find that most of the military vocabulary is from Dutch: *artileri* 'artillery' (Du. *artillerie*); *mitraliur* 'machine gun' (Du. *mitrailleuse*) though *senapan mesin* is now usual; *watermantel* 'water-cooled machine gun' (Du. *watermantel*); *trekker* 'trigger' (Du. *trekker*, from which Eng. *trigger* is also derived); *zeni* 'army engineers' (Du. *genie*). Most military ranks are from Dutch, such as *kopral* 'corporal' (Du. *korporaal*); *sersan* 'sergeant' (Du. *sergeant*); *sersan mayor* 'sergeant major' (Du. *sergeant majoor*); *letnan* 'lieutenant' (Du. *lieutenant*); *kapten* 'captain' (Du. *kapitein*); *mayor* 'major' (Du. *majoor*); *kolonel* 'colonel' (Du. *kolonel*); *brigadir-jenderal* 'brigadir' (Du. *brigadier* - but was there formerly a rank *brigadir-generaal* in the Dutch forces? J.W. de Vries states that there was not; this must therefore be an example of a loan-blend, possibly under American influence.)

5. Religion

In spite of the religious vocabulary donated to Malay/Indonesian by previous language influences, certain innovations, mostly of a practical kind brought with them loan-words from Dutch: *ateis* 'atheist' (Du. *atheist*); *baptis* 'baptism' (Du. *baptist* 'baptist'); *zending* 'Protestant missionary work' (Du. *zending*); *sufragan* 'suffragan [bishop]' (Du. *suffragaan*); *biskop* 'bishop' (Du. *bisschop*, now largely replaced by *uskup*); *Vatikan* 'The Vatican' (Du. *Vatikaan*); *liturgi* 'liturgy' (Du. *liturgie*).

6. Entertainment, art and sport

We find such words as *aktor* 'actor' (Du. *acteur*) and the female equivalent *aktris* 'actress' (Du. *actrice*); *balet* 'ballet' (Du. *ballet*); *aula* 'hall' (Du. *aula*); *tonil* 'play, the theatre' (Du. *toneel*). Art forms introduced prior to the middle of the twentieth century will also have brought with them Dutch loan-words, such as *surrealis* 'surrealist' (Du. *surrealist*). For sporting terms of English origin which have probably come via Dutch, see p.25; De Vries derives *senterpoor* 'centre forward [in football]' from Du. *centervoor*.

7. Government and administration

Parallel with the military organisation, civil administration was also of course a Dutch innovation, and we find the expected crop of loan-words: *amtenar* 'civil servant' (Du. *ambtenaar*), beside the more usual *pegawai*, of Nusantara origin; *apdeling* 'section' (Du. *afdeling*); *benum* 'appoint' (Du. *benoemen*); *bestir* 'management' (Du. *bestuur*); *haminte* or *geminte* 'municipality' (Du. *gemeente*).

8. Education, writing

We have *alfabet* 'alphabet' (Du. *alfabet*); *arsip* 'archives' (Du. *archieff*); *stambuk* 'register' (Du. *stamboek*); at a more practical level we have for example *pulpen* 'fountain pen' (Du. *vulpen*); *fotokopi* 'photocopy' (Du. *fotocopie*, although the derivation may be English *photocopy*).

The names of sciences generally come from Dutch, for example *sosiologi* 'sociology' (Du. *sociologie*), *antropologi* 'anthropology' (Du. *antropologie*), *arkeologi* 'archaeology' (Du. *archeologie*).

9. Law

The Dutch introduced their judicial system, based on the Code Napoléon; so we find such terms as *wet* 'law' (Du. *wet*); *vonis* 'sentence' (Du. *vonnis*); *subsider* 'in default' (Du. *subsidiar*); *justisi* 'justice' (Du. *justitie*); *juridis* 'judicial' (Du. *juridisch*).

10. Everyday articles

We find foods such as *sosis* 'sausage' (Du. *saucijs*); *apermut* 'porridge' (Du. *havermout*); *sus* 'cream puff' (Du. *soes*); *bortel* 'carrot' (Du. *wortel*); *ase* 'hashed meat' (Du. *hachée*).

Other articles include *blek* 'tin' (Du. *blik*); *asbak* 'ashtray' (Du. *asbak*); *anduk* 'towel' (Du. *handdoek*); *spons* 'sponge' (Du. *spons*); *tapelak* 'table cloth' (Du. *tafellaken*); *stoples* 'jar' (Du. *stopfles* 'stoppered bottle'); *pispot* 'chamber pot' (Du. *pispot*); *pantofel* 'slipper' (Du. *pantoffel*); *ritsleting* 'zip fastener' (Du. *ritssluiting*). It is evident that a huge number of articles in everyday use were introduced by the Dutch.

11. Miscellaneous

Very common in colloquial Indonesian is *toh* 'surely, though' (Du. *toch*); perhaps used more in irony are such phrases as *yahut!* 'Great!' (Du. *Ja goed!*); *telat* 'late' is another example of two words in Dutch (*te laat*) being combined to form one in Indonesian; another example of such combination is *indekos* 'to have lodgings with board' (Du. *in de kost*). Other words in colloquial use are *oom* 'uncle' [used as a form of address to elders] (Du. *oom*); *tante* 'aunt' [also used as form of address to elders, female]; *menir* 'sir, gentleman' (Du. *mijnheer*); *perdom!* 'I'll be damned!' (Du. *verdomd!*).

5.5 Hybrids

Nouns from Dutch may be combined with affixes from other sources, for example *tatabuku* 'bookkeeping' (*tata-* from Sanskrit, *buku* presumably from Dutch); *banlengan* 'armband' (Du. *band* + Nus. *lengan* 'arm'); *lampukilat* '[photographic] flash' from Dutch *lamp* + Nusantara *kilat*.

Then we find the use of productive affixes, such as *anti-*, which can be prefixed to a variety of words, e.g. *anti-perang* 'anti-war' (*anti-* + *perang*, Nus., = 'war' - cf. Murphy, 1968, p. 143). There are productive suffixes such as *-itas* (from Latin), giving for example *absurditas* 'absurdity' (Du. *absurditeit* with a substituted ending); *stabilitas* 'stability' (from Du. *stabiliteit*); *universitas* 'university' (from Dutch *universiteit*); *spontanitas* 'spontaneity' (from Dutch *spontaniteit*).

The Dutch ending *-atie* is represented in many loan-words taken into Indonesian, for example *sublimasi* 'sublimation' (Du. *sublimatie*). The ending *-asi* has itself become productive, so that we find the word *translasi* 'translation' formed by adding *-asi* to the root of the English word *translation*. Cf. Murphy, 1968, 256ff.

5.6 Words formed from initials

We find *asese*, being the Dutch pronunciation of the abbreviation *acc* of *acccoord* 'agreed'; *beha* 'brassiere' from the Dutch initials *b.h.*, *bustehouder*; *tebe* '[officials] available for attachment' from Dutch *t.b.*, *ter beschikking*; *tebese* 'tuberculosis' from Dutch *T.B.C.*, *tuberculose*; *wede* 'acting, temporary' from Dutch *w.d.*, *waarnemend*. [For a comprehensive list of combinations of initials used in Indonesian, see Mörzer Bruyns (1970) and for a discussion of their function see De Vries (also 1970).]

5.7 English

English contacts with the region occurred at about the same time as the Dutch. Sir Francis Drake, the first Englishman to circumnavigate the globe (1577 - 1580) crossed the Pacific and reached Ternate from the East in 1579, receiving a friendly reception there and later in Java. Ralph Fitch spent eight years travelling through the Middle East and thence to South East Asia, and in 1588 spent seven weeks in the Portuguese settlement of Malacca. More significant was the voyage (1591 - 1594) of Sir James Lancaster, in command of three vessels, who called at Sumatra and spent some time in 1592 refitting off the then unsettled island of Penang. The experience of this voyage and the success of the Dutch 'Second Voyage', led merchants in London to band together to form the [English] East India company, in 1600. In 1601 Lancaster sailed again in command of four Company vessels to return laden with spices. During this voyage, in 1602, he obtained permission to establish the first English 'factory' in the Indies, in Bantam. Subsequently British trading settlements were set up elsewhere.

One of these was at Benkulen, West Sumatra (in 1685), where William Marsden was to serve in the following century, from 1771 to 1779. Discussing the adoption of foreign loan-words into Malay in his Grammar (1812, p. xvii), Marsden observes "Several Dutch terms have been in like manner adopted; but, from the more confined limits of our establishments, the English innovations have hitherto been very inconsiderable". This was to be the pattern throughout the colonial era of the Dutch East Indies: British linguistic influence remained slight, while the influence of Dutch was considerable, reflecting the steadily increasing extension of Dutch commercial and political influence in the region.

However from 1945, when English-speaking forces occupied Indonesia for a short period, and more especially from about 1966, when Indonesia was opened up to western economic and cultural influence,

English came to be by far the major contributor of foreign loan-words to Indonesian, accompanying all sorts of technical and fashionable innovations which poured into the country.

Pierre Labrousse (1975, 179) in his lexicographical research in West Java discovered that English loan-words became dominant in about 1974; he draws attention to some of the sources of English influence, such as English programmes on Indonesian television and the widely disseminated English language courses. He lists (pp. 194 - 195) 149 loan-words from English, (or American, it is often impossible to determine which,) which were first registered between 1960 and 1970. Most of the following examples are taken from Labrousse or from the list compiled by Grijns (see p. 24). In the following paragraphs, where the Indonesian loan-word and the equivalent 'meaning' in English are spelt the same, the latter is generally omitted.

5.8 Some English loan-words classified by semantic field

[An asterisk * marks words which may easily have come first via Dutch into Indonesian]

1. Sport

Badminton; *can* 'chance' (though *kans*, from Du. *kans*, is now more usual); *golf*; *lifter* 'weight lifter'; *tem* 'time'; *wing*; *refri* 'referee'.

The following sporting terms, also of English origin, have to be seen in a different light: *penalti** 'penalty [in football etc.]'; *prikik** 'free kick'; *start** 'start'; *team** 'team'; *bantam** 'bantam weight'; as De Vries has pointed out, they occur in pre-war Indonesian, and therefore will almost certainly have come via Dutch, and therefore strictly are loan-words from Dutch rather than English.

2. Entertainment and art

Dub 'to dub [film]'; *oscar* 'Oscar [prize]'; *longshot*; *produser* 'producer'; *star*; *striptis* 'strip tease'; *subtitel* 'subtitle'; *superman*. In popular music: *dram* 'drum'; *jesben* 'jazzband'; *pop*; *lospeker* 'loud speaker'; *swing* 'swing'.

3. Social life

*Poi** 'servant' (Eng. *boy*, with extended meaning); *bodigar* 'body guard'; *hot*; *kelab* 'club'; *snob*; *sorry**; *vip* 'very important person' [initials].

4. Military

Bomber; *target*; *manuver* 'manoeuvre';

jeriken 'jerrycan'. Several weapons are known by their English names: *owengan* 'Owen gun, [a submachine gun]'; *bren** 'Bren [a light machine gun]'; *sten* 'Sten [a light automatic weapon]'; *pompon* 'pompon [quick-firing gun]'.

5. Commerce

Joint 'Joint [especially of a project]'; *komoditi* 'commodity'; *royalti* 'royalty'; *tep** 'to type'; *bisnismen* 'businessman'; *tanker* 'tanker [ship]'.

6. Transport

Besikal 'bicycle' (but *sepeda* is more usual); *terminal*; *suburban* 'type of hire car' (Eng. *suburban*?); *pikup* 'light truck' (Eng. *pick-up*); *dokar* 'two wheeled carriage' (Eng. *dogcart*); *turis** 'tourist'; *steward*, *stewardess* 'steward, air hostess [on plane]'. (the usual words in modern Indonesian being however *pramugara*, *pramugari*).

7. Technology

Asembling 'assembly'; *cas* 'charge'; *jet*; *komputer* 'computer'; *pik-up* 'pick-up'.

8. Everyday articles

*Bar** 'bar [for serving food or drinks, not necessarily alcoholic]'; *barel* 'barrel'; *cokelat* 'chocolate'; *postkard* 'postcard'; *wesket* 'waistcoat'; *tuit* 'tweed'.

9. Miscellaneous

The pronouns *ay* 'I' and *yu* 'you' are occasionally used. *Okey* 'O.K.' is used colloquially.

Amongst proper nouns it is possible that *Indonesia* is an English loan-word (as it started life in English), but it may have come to Indonesian via the Dutch.

T.V. 'television' comes from English, as the two letters have their English pronunciation.

5.9 Latin - a brief note

The significant number of Latin words in Indonesian will no doubt have come mostly via Dutch, but it is nevertheless convenient to deal with them as an entity, as do Murphy (1968, pp. 141-142) and Labrousse (1975, pp. 190-191).

Examples are: *ad hoc*; *alias*; *alma mater*; *alumnus*; *bona fide*; *ditto*; *forum*; *gratis*; *honorarium*; *idem*; *kampus* (Lat. *campus*, probably from American rather than Dutch); *kontra* (Lat. *contra*); *libido*; *minus*; *nota bene*; *per*; *per capita*; *persona*; *non grata*; *plus*; *podium*; *pro forma*; *sub*;

status quo, *super*, *versus*, *via*.

Like Latin loan-words and phrases in European languages, these have undergone varying degrees of assimilation.

Murphy (1968, p. 144) discusses prefixes of Latin origin which are used productively in Indonesian: *anti* (see above, p. 25); *ex* (*eks*); *pro*; *kontra*; *sub*; *non*. We may also mention the suffix *-itas* (also p.25).

5.10 Changes in meaning of European loan-words

Indonesian *gardu* means 'guardhouse', and can mean 'bus shelter'; it is from Port. *guarda* which means 'guard, watchman'. In Jakarta dialect *moler* means 'prostitute'; the Port. *mulher* from which it derives means only 'woman'.

Words of Dutch derivation which have undergone changes of meaning include Indon. *antusias* which can mean 'passionate' while the Dutch *enthousiast* from which it is derived means rather 'enthusiastic'. The Dutch *houder* has a wide meaning corresponding to the English 'holder', but the loan-word *houwer* in Indonesian refers specifically to the magazine of firearm. Then there is the much quoted Indonesian term *indehoy* 'to make love', which derives from Dutch *in de hooi* (it should be *in het hooi*) meaning 'in the hay'.

English gives a number of loan-words which have undergone semantic change. A common term in recent decades is *droping* (sometimes *drop*) meaning 'delivery of supplies' for example by truck, although the term must originate from Eng. *air drop*. The Indonesian term for 'juvenile delinquent', *krosboi*, is enigmatic; it must surely be from English *cross-boy* but the reason for the transfer of meaning is not clear. The English 'pony-tail', referring to a hairstyle, has been taken into Indonesian simply as *poni* but denoting a fringe, as in Dutch. English *acceptor* has been taken into Indonesian as *akseptor* to mean 'one who participates in family planning'.

5.11 European words of non-specific origin

In our study of loan-words strictly speaking we are governed by the rule that the 'donor' language is the *immediate* donor to the receiving language. Thus the word *daster* 'housecoat [in which one dusts]' no doubt derives from the Eng. *duster*, but probably entered Indonesian via Dutch, which has adopted it in that sense. Similarly *smoking* 'dinner jacket' will have come directly from Dutch. *Kudeta* is without doubt from the French *coup d'état* but like the many other French words in Indonesian it most probably came via Dutch, into which it has been assimilated. Although Murphy

(1968, pp. 145-152) throws interesting light on the loan-words (and the suffix *-isme*) of French origin, it is difficult in our present stage of knowledge to establish a clear category of direct loans from French into Indonesian.

Labrousse (1975, p. 192) discusses the increasing number of borrowings from European languages where the donor language is not at all obvious; in this category we may include also the growing 'international' vocabulary which disseminates very quickly round the world and reaches Indonesian more or less simultaneously with other international languages: *astronaut*; *ekologi* 'ecology'; *heli* 'helicopter'; *insektisida* 'insecticide'; *interpol*; *junta* 'junta'; *kaset* 'cassette'; *kontraseptif* 'contraceptive'; *kosmonot* 'cosmonaut'; *megaton*; *mikrofilm* 'microfilm'; *nuklir* 'nuclear'; *polusi* 'pollution'; *sekuter* 'scooter'; *subversi* 'subversion'; *teknokrat* 'technocrat'; *teleks* 'telex'; *transistor*; *sauna*.

This completes our survey of loan-words by language of origin. It remains to look at some other phenomena.

6.0 SOUND CHANGES

Sound changes inevitably accompany the passage of loan-words into a new language and are an inherent part of assimilation. The process of phonetic assimilation will be more or less complete depending on how long the word has been working its way into the language, but also depending on the number of loan-words coming in at any one time (see Murphy, 1968, 34ff).

Here only the salient features of the process as regards assimilation into Indonesian will be mentioned. A full discussion of the influence of Dutch loan-words on Indonesian phonology will be found in De Vries (1980).

On the whole, though to a diminishing extent, Indonesian dislikes consonant clusters. Thus Dutch *slot* 'lock' becomes *selot* in Indonesian, and *schroef* 'screw' becomes *sekerup*; on the other hand *schorsing* 'suspension' is *skorsing* (not **sekorsing*) in Indonesian; frequently there are alternative spellings for any given word.

Final consonant clusters can be dealt with in different ways. To take some examples from Arabic, which has given many loan-words ending in two consonants, the possibilities are to add a vowel as in *kalbu* 'heart' from Arabic *qalb*; or to insert a vowel between the two consonants, e.g. *hukum* 'law' from Arabic *ḥukm*, *fasal* 'section' from Arabic *faṣl*, or *kibir* 'arrogance' from Arabic *kibr*; it will be noted that as a rule whatever vowel occurs in the first syllable is inserted to make the second syllable. The same phenomenon may occur in loan-words from other lan-

guages, e.g. *borog* 'warranty' from Dutch *borg*.

For more recent loan-words from European languages the possibilities include tolerating these final clusters, inserting a vowel (usually *e*) or dropping one or more consonants in them. Thus we have *refleks* 'reflex' from Dutch *reflex* (the *x* being two consonants), and *pilem* 'film' from Dutch *film*. Examples of loss of consonants include: *respek* 'respect' (Du. *respect*); *ambulan* 'ambulance' (Du. *ambulance*); *baksi* 'mizzen sail' (Du. *bakzeil*).

With a final three-consonant cluster we may find both the intrusion of a vowel and the loss of a consonant: Dutch *dienst* 'service' gives Indonesian *dinas*.

Medial consonants may be dropped too: in *stanplat* '[taxi] stand' (Du. *standplaats*) we have an example of the dropping of medial and final consonants.

A doubled consonant, whatever its position in the word, usually becomes a single consonant in Indonesian, e.g. *khas* 'special' (<Ar. *khāss*).

With Chinese loan-words, the tones appear to have no effect on their assimilation into Indonesian, which is not a tonal language. There is a tendency for *-h* to be added to Chinese words ending in *-e*: The word for 'cakes' in Chinese (Chang-chew dialect) *kóe* became *kueh* in Malay and can be *kuih* (beside *kue*) in Indonesian.

When abbreviating words Indonesian (certainly Malay at an earlier stage) tends to drop the first syllable(s) of a multisyllabic word (e.g. Muhammad becomes 'Mat'). This accounts for the Indonesian forms of some loan-words from Portuguese, such as *minggu* 'Sunday' (<Port. *Domingo*); *sekolah* 'school' (<Port. *escola*); *gereja* 'church' (<Port. *igreja*). Examples from Dutch would include *sepeda* 'bicycle' (<Du. *velocipede*); *mobil* 'car' (<Du. *automobiel* -indicating that this full form came into Indonesian as a loan-word, the Dutch abbreviated form being *auto*); *listrik* 'electricity' (<Du. *electriciteit*).

As regards vowels, it may be noted that as Indonesian has no long and short vowel differentiation, long vowels in loan-words become short in Indonesian; for example Arabic *ṣūfī* 'Sufi mystic' becomes *Sufi* in Indonesian, and Arabic *kitāb* 'book' becomes *kitab*.

As a general rule, in an Indonesian word of more than two syllables, the first syllable will take short *e* (è) in preference to *a*.

Lacking the means to list all the elements in the phonological systems of all the donor languages, and to follow these through into Indonesian, we may settle for a summary of the sound changes as these are reflected in the spelling, listing them simply as in the English alphabet. The Arabic letters corresponding to the letters used here are listed on p.13. Where the change applies to the sound from a particular donor language that is indicated by the appropriate abbreviation in brackets [...].

Original language	In Indonesian	Examples	Original language	In Indonesian	Examples
a	a	<i>pas</i> 'pass' (< Du. <i>pas</i>)	gn	ny	<i>lorneyet</i> 'eyeglass' (< Du. <i>lorgnet</i>)
	e [é]	<i>ben</i> 'band [music]' (< Du. <i>band</i>)	h	h	<i>-hum</i> 'them' (< Ar. <i>-hum</i>)
	e [ě]	<i>beranda</i> 'verandah' (< Port. <i>varanda</i>)		∅	<i>arnal</i> 'hairpin' (< Du. <i>haarnaald</i>)
b	b	<i>bis</i> 'bus' (< Du. <i>bus</i>)			<i>tauke</i> 'boss' (< Ch. <i>thâu-ke</i>)
ch	c	<i>cogan</i> 'standard' (< Per. <i>chaugān</i>)	i	i	<i>pit</i> 'pen' (< Ch. <i>pit</i>)
ch [Du.]	k	<i>sekerup</i> 'screw' (< Du. <i>schroef</i>)	ie [Du.]	i	<i>astrologi</i> 'astrology' (< Du. <i>astrologie</i>)
	h	<i>tehnik</i> 'technique' (< Du. <i>techniek</i>) (beside the spelling <i>teknik</i>)	ij [Du.]	e	<i>es</i> 'ice' (< Du. <i>ijs</i>)
ch [Fr.]	s	<i>supir</i> 'driver' (< Du. < Fr. <i>chauffeur</i>)	j	j	<i>jak</i> 'jug' (< Eng. <i>jug</i>)
d	d	<i>dalil</i> 'evidence' (< Ar. <i>dalīl</i>)		z	<i>jas</i> 'jacket' (< Du. <i>jas</i>)
ḍ [Ar.]	d	<i>darab</i> 'blow' (< Ar. <i>ḍarb</i>)	j [Du.]	y	<i>zem</i> 'jam' (< Du. <i>jam</i>)
dh [Ar.]	z	<i>ḡulḡijjah</i> '12th month' (< Ar. <i>dhū'l-ḡijja</i>)	k	k	<i>ya</i> 'yes' (< Du. <i>ja</i>)
	d	<i>dat</i> 'essence' (< Ar. <i>dhāt</i>)	kh [Ar.]	k	<i>yurk</i> 'dress' (< Du. <i>jurk</i>)
e	e	<i>atasé</i> 'attaché' (< Du. <i>attaché</i>)		kh	<i>kabar</i> 'news' (< Ar. <i>khabar</i>)
	∅	<i>amnesti</i> 'amnesty' (< Du. <i>amnestie</i>)		h	<i>khair</i> 'good' (< Ar. <i>khair</i>)
	a	<i>angket</i> 'inquiry' (< Du. <i>enquete</i>)			<i>halayak</i> 'creatures' (< Ar. <i>khalā'iq</i>) (although the spelling <i>khalayak</i> is more usual)
ee [Du.]	i	<i>insidentil</i> 'incidental' (< Du. <i>incidenteel</i>)	l	l	<i>bola</i> 'ball' (< Port. <i>bola</i>)
ei [Du.]	e	<i>heterogenitet</i> 'heterogeneity' (< Du. <i>heterogeniteit</i>)	m	m	<i>mi</i> 'vermicelli' (< Ch. <i>mīⁿ</i>)
-etje (Du. suffix)	-ci	<i>panci</i> 'pan' (< Du. <i>pannetje</i>)		ng	<i>mudahan</i> 'possible' (< Ar. <i>mumkin</i>)
eu [Du.]	u	<i>inspektur</i> 'inspector' (< Du. <i>inspecteur</i>)	n	n	<i>ban</i> 'tyre' (< Du. <i>band</i>)
f	p	<i>paham</i> 'understand' (< Ar. <i>fahm</i>)		nd	<i>jendela</i> 'window' (< Port. <i>janela</i>)
	f	<i>pita</i> 'ribbon' (< Port. <i>fita</i>)			<i>jenderal</i> 'general' (mil.) (< Du. <i>generaal</i>)
		<i>firma</i> 'company' (< Du. <i>firma</i>)	nh (Port.)	ny	<i>sinder</i> 'inspector' (< Du. <i>opziener</i>)
		<i>firdaus</i> 'paradise' (< Ar. <i>firdaus</i>)			<i>sinyo</i> 'young gentleman' (< Port. <i>senhor</i>)
g	g	<i>tegél</i> 'tile' (< Du. <i>tegél</i>)	o	o	<i>hospital</i> 'hospital' (< Du. <i>hospitaal</i>)
	z	<i>zeni</i> 'army engineers' (< Du. <i>genie</i>)	oo [Du.]	o	<i>idiom</i> 'idiom' (< Du. <i>idoom</i>)
	s	<i>busi</i> 'sparkling plug' (< Du. <i>bougie</i>)	oo [Du.]	oo	<i>koordinasi</i> 'coordination' (< Du. <i>coördinatie</i>)
g [Du.]	h	<i>anprah</i> 'request' (< Du. <i>aanvraag</i>)	p	p	<i>sipahi</i> 'sepoy' (< Per. <i>sipahe</i>)
gh [Ar.]	g	<i>magrib</i> 'sunset' (< Ar. <i>maghrib</i>)	ph [Du.]	p	<i>aspal</i> 'asphalt' (< Du. <i>asphalt</i>)
	r	<i>raib</i> 'disappear' (< Ar. <i>ghaib</i>)	q	kw	<i>kworum</i> 'quorum' (< Du. <i>quorum</i>)
	gh	<i>ghain</i> a letter (< Ar. <i>ghain</i>)	q [Ar.]	k	<i>kadar</i> 'power' (< Ar. <i>qadr</i>)
			r	r	<i>roda</i> 'wheel' (< Port. <i>roda</i>)
			r [Du.]	∅	<i>kopral</i> 'corporal' (< Du. <i>korporaal</i>)

Original language	In Indonesian	Examples
	l	<i>lapor</i> 'to report' (<i>< Du. rapport</i>)
sch [Du.]	k	<i>korsetin</i> 'chimney' (<i>< Du. schoorsteen</i>)
s	s	<i>sengsara</i> 'suffering' (<i>< Skt. saṃsāra</i>)
	j	<i>meja</i> 'table' (<i>< Port. mesa</i>)
sh	sy	<i>syarab</i> 'strong drink' (<i>< Ar. sharāb</i>)
	s	<i>setan</i> 'devil' (<i>< Ar. shaitān</i>)
t	t	<i>tekong</i> 'helmsman' (<i>< Ch. tǎi-kong</i>)
t [Du.]	s	<i>polisi</i> 'police' (<i>< Du. politie</i>)
	ø	<i>kosbas</i> 'landlord' (<i>< Du. kostbaas</i>)
		<i>maskapai</i> 'company' (<i>< Du. maatschappij</i>)
th [Ar., Engl.]	th	<i>thermometer</i> 'thermometer' (<i>< Eng. thermometer</i>)
th [Ar.]	s	<i>salju</i> 'snow' (<i>< Ar. thalj</i>)
tj [Du.]	c	<i>karcis</i> 'ticket' (<i>< Du. kaartjes</i>)
u	u	<i>kubur</i> 'grave' (<i>< Ar. qubūr</i>)
u [Du.]	i	<i>biro</i> 'office' (<i>< Du. bureau</i>)
	o	<i>koterek</i> 'corkscrew' (<i>< Du. kurketrekker</i>)
ui Du.	i	<i>beslit</i> 'resolution' (<i>< Du. besluit</i>)
	e	<i>korsleting</i> 'short circuit' (<i>< Du. kortsluiting</i>)
uu [Du.]	u	<i>institut</i> 'institute' (<i>< Du. instituut</i>)
v	b	<i>beniage</i> 'trade' (<i>< Skt. vāṇija</i>)
		<i>begarding</i> 'meeting' (<i>< Du. vergadering</i>)
	w	<i>dewa</i> 'god' (<i>< Skt. deva</i>)
	p	<i>prei</i> 'free time' (<i>< Du. vrij</i>)
	v	<i>vas</i> 'vase' (<i>< Du. vaas</i>)
v [Du.]	p	<i>Nopember</i> 'November' (<i>< Du. November</i>)
w	w	<i>walau</i> 'however' (<i>< Ar. wa-lau</i>)
	b	<i>baskom</i> 'washbasin' (<i>< Du. waskom</i>)
x	ks	<i>boks</i> 'playpen' (<i>< Du. box</i>)
y	y	<i>yaum</i> 'day' (<i>< Ar. yaum</i>)
z	j	<i>jimat</i> 'amulet' (<i>< Ar. 'azīma</i>)
	s	<i>besuk</i> 'visit' (<i>< Du. bezoek</i>)
	z	<i>zakat</i> 'tithe' (<i>< Ar. zakāh</i>)
		<i>zirbad</i> 'below the wind' (<i>< Per. zīr bād</i>)

Original language	In Indonesian	Examples
z [Ar.]	z	<i>zalim</i> 'unjust' (<i>< Ar. zālim</i>)
	l	<i>lahir</i> 'external' (<i>< Ar. zāhir</i>)

The letter 'ain in Arabic may be omitted in loan-words, e.g. *amal* 'charitable act' (Ar. 'amal); alternatively it may be represented by k: *rakyat* 'subjects' (Ar. ra'īya).

The two Arabic letters represented by k and q normally become k in Indonesian, and their coalescence could lead to ambiguity. For example, there are two Arabic words *kalb* 'dog' and *qalb* 'heart', which would lead to a homonym *kalbu* (or possibly *kalab*) in Indonesian, and this is avoided only because *qalb* has been borrowed, meaning 'heart' but *kalb* has not.

The letters f and v which are now used in Indonesian, represent sounds imported with foreign loan-words. F seems to carry particularly potent undertones of 'foreignness', and gives rise to peculiar hypercorrect forms. A large arrow seen on a wall in a Jakarta street in 1971 pointed the way to FOTOCOFIE ('photocopy'); Sisdjabari, writing in *Kompas* in 1972, cites the case of a fountainpen repairer who put up the sign REFARASI FULFEN (in normal Indonesian *reparasi pulpen*, and on the sign made more 'Dutch' than the Dutch originals, *reparatie*, and *vulpen*). F also occurs in loan-words from Arabic. A candidate in an examination in 1973 succumbed to the temptation to 'restore' to its 'Arabic' form the good Nusantara word *sopan* 'polite' by translating 'an impudent Arab' by *seorang Arab yang tidak sofan*. The Sanskrit word *utpatti* - 'production, profit' came into Malay with the meaning 'tribute [paid to a superior]'. The usual form in Indonesian, *upeti*, has an alternative form *ufti*; this is all the more curious, as f is not known in Sanskrit. The confusion in such cases as this may be partly explained by the fact that in Malay Jawi script the f and the p are not always distinguished. In Indonesian there is a well attested word *pihak* 'side'; it is an indigenous word, but it looks remarkably as though it could be from Arabic; thus an Indonesian speaker wishing to make a particularly good impression will sometimes say *Pada fihak saya ...* 'For my part ...', in the belief that he is giving the more 'correct' Arabic form.

The list above gives the impression that sound changes in words taken into Indonesian are somewhat capricious. Even with words borrowed from a single foreign language this holds good; to take a rather extreme example, the Dutch word *gordijn* (curtain) may be found in Indonesian spelt as *gorden*, *garden*, *gardeng*, *gardin*, *hordeng* or *korden*. It is understandable that the formulation of systematic laws explaining the sound changes has not yet

been accomplished.

7.0 FURTHER REMARKS

7.1 Loan translations

At the same time as Arabic loan-words were being adopted, there were examples of what appear to be loan translations from the Arabic. For example the injunction in the Quran (xxx, 17) *aqimi 'l-ṣalāt* ... 'be constant at prayer ...' is rendered in Indonesian *dirikan olehmu sembahyang* ..., *dirikan* being a literal translation of Ar. *aqimi* 'make to stand'. The term *warna muka* 'expression' (lit. 'facial colour') may be influenced by the Arabic *laun* which means both 'colour' and 'expression'. Many more examples can be found in Van Ronkel's discussion of the influence of Arabic syntax on Malay syntax (1899).

For Persian, two wellknown examples of loan translation are *di atas angin* 'the west (lit. 'above the wind') and *di bawah angin* 'the east' (lit. 'below the wind') which literally translate the Persian terms *bālā-yi bād* and *zīr bād* respectively.

Loan translations under the influence of European languages are very numerous, and only a few examples need be cited. (For further examples, see e.g. Murphy, 1968, 158-161).

Mengambil alih 'to take over' no doubt derives from Dutch *overnemen*; *ilmu pisah* 'chemistry' translates Dutch *scheikunde*; *kata kerja* 'verb' translates Dutch *werkwoord*; *menarik kesimpulan* 'to draw conclusions' will be from Dutch *conclusies trekken*; the Indonesian *kuda hitam* (lit. 'black horse', used especially of a competitor whose chances are unknown) will be a translation of the English *dark horse*.

In short, where new ideas or new objects were introduced during the Dutch era, the creation of a loan translation was an alternative to taking a loan-word. This occurred not only in such fields as science, where one would expect it, but often in quite intimate spheres of life. It is difficult to deny that such terms as *selamat pagi* 'good morning', *selamat siang* 'good day' are simply translations of the Dutch *goede morgen*, *goede middag* and so on; the same goes for the system of telling the time, e.g. [*jam*] *setengah tujuh* (Du. *half zeven*) for 'half past six'; contrast Peninsular Malay usage, [*pukul*] *enam setengah*, under the influence of English.

For technical terms a straight loan-translation may not be the most satisfactory solution. A term which caught my attention was *cap air*, which occurred in a newspaper as a literal translation of

the English 'watermark [in paper]'. Technically 'watermark' is not an appropriate term in English and elsewhere 'watermark' has been translated into Indonesian by the word *filigran*, being a loan-word taken from the French, *filigrane*, which is much more satisfactory, as it refers to the wire from which a watermark is made. Subsequently a group of specialists after considering the way that paper was made expressed a preference for another term, *cap kertas*, which better conveys the fact that paper was made in a mould and the impression of this produced the watermark. Hopefully this term will become the accepted usage.

An interesting example is provided by the German word *Kindergarten* ('children's garden'). English took this over as a loan-word, and Indonesian could have done the same, but instead chose to make a loan-translation *taman kanak-kanak*. In Dutch the institution is known as a *Fröbelschool* commemorating the founder of the system; the alternative term in Indonesian for these schools is a loan translation of this, namely *sekolah prebel*.

The word *harafiah* 'literal' is of Arabic origin, but so far as I can discover does not exist in Arabic in that form, nor does it occur in traditional Malay. It seems to be a formation under the influence of the Dutch *letterlijk* 'literal'. On the other hand the word *penuntut* [*ilmu*] 'student' (lit. 'seeker') may be formed under the influence of the Arabic *ṭālib* 'seeker, student' (p. 16).

7.2 Homonyms (homographs)

Homonyms are numerous in Indonesian, their number being substantially increased by the incidence of foreign loan-words. Thus we get for example *net* 'net [in sport]' from English *net*, beside *net* 'neat' (for example of a corrected copy of a letter) from Dutch *net*. Similarly *rayon* '[military] district' from Dutch *rayon*, beside *rayon* 'artificial silk' from Dutch or English *rayon*. The incidence of homonyms is increased as a result of the process of assimilation of loan-words to the Indonesian phonological system. Murphy (1968, 156-7) identifies three borrowing processes which can result in homonymy (it might be more correct to regard some of them as examples of homography rather than homonymy, but the principle is the same):

(a) The foreign word may be homonymous with a Nusantara word, e.g. *pak* 'parcel' (Du. *pak*) is a homonym of *pak* 'father', a Nusantara word. Similarly *karat* 'carat [weight for gold]' (Du. *karaat*) and *karat* (Nus.) 'rust'.

(b) Although originally dissimilar, some foreign loan-words in the course of being assimilated to Indonesian phonology may become homonyms of each other. A striking example is Indonesian *beker* (1) 'alarm clock' (< Du. *wekker*) and *beker* (2)

'cup' (< Du. *beker*). Also e.g. Indonesian *ban* (1) 'tyre' (< Du. *band*) and *ban* (2) 'track, runway' (< Du. *baan*). Indonesian *bis* can be (1) 'tube' (< Du. *buis*); (2) 'bus' (< Du. *bus*); (3) 'box' (< Du. *bus*); (4) 'encore' (< Du. *bis*).

(c) The foreign loan-word having become assimilated to Indonesian phonology may be a homonym of an existing (Nusantara) word, e.g. *anggar* '[aircraft] hangar' (Du. *hangar*) finds itself to be a homonym of Indonesian *anggar* 'fencing' (Nusantara) and also of *anggar* 'estimating' (? < Persian).

Homonymy is not generally a problem in Indonesian. If context does not provide the means of distinguishing different meanings, some aid may be introduced. For example the Indonesian *koran* 'newspaper' comes from Dutch *courant*; the Arabic *qur'ān* 'Koran' as a loan-word in Indonesian can in fact take the form *koran*, but would be distinguished with a capital letter, or given the spelling *Quran*, and may also be marked by prefixing the Arabic definite article thus: *Alquran*, so that we avoid a possibly confusing pair of homonyms *koran*.

The Dutch word *massa*, 'mass' [as in 'the masses'] has been taken into Indonesian as *massa*. As a general rule a doubled consonant in a loan-word becomes a single consonant in Indonesian in conformity with Indonesian phonology, and we should expect this to have become *masa*. The fact that it has not may be due to a desire to avoid confusion with an existing Indonesian word *masa*, 'time' (< Skt. *māsa* - 'month').

Problems can indeed arise when we do not recognise that we are dealing with homonyms. There is an Indonesian word *taksir* which can denote 'negligent' and 'appraise'. The word derives from Arabic *taqṣīr* 'curtailment, incapacity, neglect &c' and this gives it its first meaning. There is a homonym *taksir* which derives from Dutch *taxeren* 'to appraise, value' (a meaning the word *tax* used to have in English) and this gives the second meaning 'appraise'. Failure to make this distinction led the present writer (Russell Jones, 1978, col. 89) to offer the meaning 'estimate' for the loan-word *taksir* from Arabic.

7.3 Etymological doublets

Indonesian has many examples of these. We have seen (p. 9) how the same Sanskrit word gives *pala* 'nutmeg' and *pahala* 'reward'. Indonesian has two words for 'apricot', *aberikos* and *aprikot*. The first derives from Dutch *abrikoos* and the second from English *apricot* which is influenced by French *abricot*; both forms derive ultimately from a Latin word *praecoquus* which via the Greek passed into Arabic as *al-barqūq* thence entering European language via Portuguese or Spanish.

Murphy (1968, 157) gives as examples

the Indonesian *saku* 'pocket' from Portuguese *saco*, and *sak* 'sack, pocket' from Dutch *zak*; also *ronda* (Port. *ronda*) '[military] rounds, patrol' and *raun* 'patrol, wander around' from English *round(s)*.

7.4 Brand names

It is common in living languages to find common nouns which derive from brand names ("I am going to Hoover the carpet"). In Indonesian we find such words as the following, which will have come into the language from Dutch, or for later examples, from English: *Aspro* (a preparation of aspirin) (Du. *Aspro*); *bol* (a brand of gin) (Du. *Bols*); *austin* (city bus) (?Eng. *Austin*); *stormking* (a paraffin lamp) (?Eng. *Stormking*); *vaselin*, 'ointment' (Eng. *Vaseline*, a proprietary name introduced in 1872); *salvarsan*, 'compound used in the treatment of syphilis' (Ger. *Salvarsan*); *kutek* 'nail varnish' (the brand name Cutex).

7.5 Numbers of loan-words

A natural question to ask would be 'How many foreign loan-words are there in Indonesian?' and 'How many loan-words are there from Sanskrit? From Tamil?' and so on. We are nowhere near providing an answer even to such simple questions. The first problem is to determine what is meant by 'Indonesian'. No dictionary provides an exhaustive list of the words in the language; on the one hand, many recent acquisitions will not yet have been taken up by the lexicographers. For that matter, when exactly does a foreign word become a part of the lexicon? When it has been encountered in print say three times? On the other hand the dictionaries (as graveyards of the language) carry many entries which are obsolete and therefore not strictly part of the modern language. And where do we draw the line with rare technical or theological terms? It soon becomes evident that we shall never be able to give simple answers to these simple questions; and only after research has proceeded much further, to the point perhaps where most of the lexicon of Indonesian has been registered, the origins of each item identified, and every entry, whether loan-word or indigenous, has been given a status of for example 'wellknown', 'rare', 'technical', 'slang' and so forth, only then shall we be able to give even a conditional answer, which will have to vary with the inclusion or exclusion of such categories of word status as those mentioned.

With these provisos, mention may be made briefly of figures which have been given for particular elements. The most systematic general survey of accretions from foreign languages that I have come

across is by Pierre Labrousse (1975, 173), which for our purposes has the great drawback that it deals exclusively with neologisms recorded between 1960 and 1970. This survey shows that during that period Indonesian acquired 1883 new loans; 46% of these were from Indonesian regional languages (Javanese, Sudanese etc.) and 54% were from non-Nusantara languages, made up as follows:

Arabic	2.07%
Chinese	2.44%
Dutch	36.63%
English	7.91%
: : Anglo-Dutch	3.77%
Japanese	0.37%
Javano-Sanskrit	0.69%
Latin	0.79%
Total	54.67%

These figures are not of course representative of any other period of the history of the language.

For Sanskrit, Spitzbardt (1973, 102) reported that he had collected 760 items. Incidentally he found that in two Indonesian dictionaries which he examined (one by Otto Karow and Irene Hilgers-Hesse, and one by Sutan Mohammad Zain) the percentage of Sanskrit loan-words in the total lexicon recorded was 2.9% and 4.3% respectively; (the comparable figures for Arabic were 8.7% and 8.4%) Pierre Labrousse reports that in his recent *Dictionnaire général, indonésien-français* (Paris 1984) there are about 800 loan-words from Sanskrit, including neologisms.

The number of loan-words from Tamil is probably somewhat more than one hundred. Gonda (1973, 161) gives 105; a very provisional list that I have compiled has about 139 entries.

A count by the present writer gives for Traditional Malay and Indonesian the following figures for Arabic: 2750, and for Persian: 320 loan-words. (Russell Jones, 1978, vii); such figures, for the reasons given above, are not very significant.

As regards Chinese loan-words, Santa Maria (1974, 374) calculates that there are more than 400 of these in Malay and Indonesian; Pierre Labrousse reports that there are about 210 Chinese loan-words in his *Dictionnaire général*.

Santa Maria (1967) lists some 300 loan-words in Malay and Indonesian from Portuguese. The number of loan-words in Indonesian from Dutch and English is relatively large. The checklist produced for the Indonesian Etymological Project (Grijns *et al.*) carries some 4000 entries, not including alternative spellings.

7.6 Grammatical class

In which grammatical class do most of the loan-words fall?

In his discussion of the general theory of loan-words Jespersen (1959, 211) writes: "It is quite natural that there should be a much greater inclination everywhere to borrow 'full' words (substantives, adjectives, notional verbs) than 'empty' words (pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, auxiliary verbs), to which class most of the 'grammatical' words belong." It is possible to narrow this down further. As long ago as 1881 William Dwight Whitney pointed out that it is nouns which are most easily borrowed (Haugen, 1950, 224). Haugen gives figures in respect of three studies on English loan-words in American Norwegian and American Swedish which show average percentages as follows: Nouns: 73.13%; Verbs: 21.53%, thus leaving only 5.3% for adjectives and all other parts of speech. A study dating from 1931 cited by Higa (1979, 288) makes the case for nouns even more emphatically: of 5,018 English loan-words in Japanese, 4,606 were nouns, that is, not less than 91.78%. In a discussion of Sanskrit loan-words in Javanese Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw states (1944, 83, in Dutch) "The overwhelming majority of Sanskrit loan-words are nouns or particles, while practically no verbal forms have been taken over." In connection with the influence of Dutch on Indonesian De Vries (1980) observes simply "Most loan-words are nouns ...".

It certainly seems to be true of Malay and Indonesian, in respect of borrowing from all sources, that most loan-words are taken over as substantives, and that subsequently they are quite freely modified for use as verbs or other parts of speech.

More precise statements on this matter must await further research. The same applies to so much in the field of Indonesian etymology. For example we still do not know for sure the origins of many words, such as *permadani* 'carpet', and many others.

7.7 Etymological research

The study of etymology, as a branch of linguistics, provides its own academic justification; the study of Indonesian etymology can also be justified for the light it throws on the cultural history of the region. Apart from these two reasons, other more pragmatic grounds can be adduced to justify the study of Indonesian etymology: where a country is developing rapidly, as Indonesia is, its language has to keep pace with this development; the resultant 'language engineering' (as Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana called it) includes for example the creation of new words to meet new needs, a process which will clearly be aided if the history and origins of the existant lexicon have been established. At a more humble level, the foreign student learning Indonesian should find his task made somewhat easier (and hopefully much more enjoyable) if he finds out for example that the Geman word *schnell* ('swift')

has its cognate in Indonesian *persneling* (Du. *versnelling* 'gear of a car'); that *syarab* ('strong drink', < Ar. *sharāb*) is cognate with Eng. *sherbet*; that *musafir* ('traveller', < Ar. *musāfir*) is cognate with English *safari*; that the English word *collar* has its cognate in the Indonesian *koli* ('piece of baggage', < Du. *colli*), both words going back to Latin *collum* 'neck', (being the place where the collar is worn and the piece of baggage was originally carried.)

An understanding of the process of the adoption of loan-words involves a study of the culture contacts which could have given rise to it; we shall seldom discover precisely when a loan *did* take place, but it is important at least for us to know when and how it *could have* occurred. It will also be helpful to know something about the milieu in which it occurred. Sometimes the nature of the loan-word itself will suggest that it would have been taken over in intellectual circles, or amongst craftsmen. Would it be true of these terms in Indonesian, as Higa found of terms taken into Japanese (1979, 284) that words taken over by skilled craftsmen remain closer to their original pronunciation than those taken over by intellectuals? That "intellectuals tend to borrow foreign words through the eye, while others borrow through the ear"?

Haugen (1950, 213, 227-229) defines the phenomenon of borrowing as strictly a process, not a state, indeed he sees it as a "historical process". As a concomitant to this he denies the possibility of identifying loan-words by means of a synchronic study without a knowledge of the previous stages of the language. At all events, research into the etymology of Malay and Indonesian hitherto has been essentially of a historical nature.

Undoubtedly the most vital piece of information for each word is the date of its first occurrence in the recipient language. This will nearly always be from a written record, and we always must bear in mind the fact that it may have been used, particularly in speech, for long before that, but there is not a great deal to be done about this. In the case of loan-words which occur in similar form in Dutch and English we can only form an opinion as to which of these two languages gave the word to Indonesian by ascertaining *when* it was given: if before say 1942, almost certainly it would have come via Dutch; if after 1965, probably from English (including American); but we can never be sure.

It is unfortunate that most of the manuscripts written in Malay are relatively recent; none is earlier than about 1600 AD, and most are nineteenth century. We shall therefore have lacunae in the history of many words prior to this period. A few isolated examples of loan-words (other than Sanskrit of course) in Old Javanese inscriptions attest to the existence of very early cultural contacts. We have seen already (p.20) that *tahu* 'bean-curd' occurs in a tenth century

inscription. Another inscription from the same century (the Kubukubu inscription, side Va, lines 2-3) (see A.M. Jones, 1976, 372, 384, 385) contains the words *hinganya patang taraju* 'these were limited to four measures'; Juynboll in his Old Javanese dictionary gives "*Taraju*: weeg-schaal" [=weighing scales]. Now there is in Persian (see Bausani 1964, p.22) a word *tarāzū* 'pair of scales' which following regular sound laws appears in Indonesian as *teraju*. One would immediately suspect that this was a word common to Persian and Sanskrit, but in fact it appears to be unknown in the latter language (as Professor J.C. Wright informs me). We can therefore conclude that this Persian loan-word was established in the Indonesian area by the tenth century; perhaps even earlier, as Dr. S.O. Robson informs me that it occurs in an Old Javanese version of the Ramayana from the mid-ninth century.

Over the years many scholars have drawn attention to the lack of an etymological dictionary of Malay and Indonesian. Perhaps the latest was the late Professor John Echols who, as President of the Association of Asian Studies of the U.S.A. called for "the compilation of an exhaustive dictionary on historical principles" and for "the preparation of an etymological dictionary of Malay" (*The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 38, no. 1, 1978, pp. 23-24). In a footnote he mentions that he has received information about "an Etymological Project which was established in Paris in July 1973 'for cooperative work in the investigation of the etymology of Malay and Bahasa Indonesia'. The participants are based in Paris, London and Naples." This was a reference in fact to the Indonesian Etymological Project, under the direction of a Committee consisting of Dr. Denys Lombard in Paris, Professor Luigi Santa Maria in Naples and the present writer in London; we have since been joined by Dr. C.D. Grijns in Leiden. A few words about this committee may not be out of place in a discussion of loan-words.

The Committee has no funds of its own and functions as an agency for the coordination of work in the four centres. Its tasks are (a) to coordinate current research so that it will be complementary and not overlap; (b) to assemble existing scattered material on Indonesian etymology and to assemble a corpus of materials to be researched; (c) to initiate research to fill the gaps and to provide a framework in which the results can be embodied.

At the outset the loan-words coming from languages outside the Indonesian region were categorised under five heads, and the main responsibility for coordinating research was decided as follows:

<i>Sanskrit</i> (including other Indian languages)	Professor J.G. de Casparis (Leiden)
<i>Arabic and Persian</i>	Dr. Russell Jones (London)
<i>Chinese</i>	Professor L. Santa Maria (Naples)

Portuguese Professor L. Santa
Maria (Naples)
Dutch, English etc. Dr. C.D. Grijns
(Leiden)

The Project works in very close cooperation with Dr. P. Labrousse in Paris, who has been engaged on lexicographical research (see Labrousse 1984). Investigation of the remaining Indonesian word stock - the 'Nusantara' element - will be undertaken in Paris, and also by Professor J.C. Anceaux of Leiden.

The first task of the coordinators is to identify the Indonesian words deriving from the language they are investigating and to compile for research purposes a checklist of these words in alphabetical order. The list will contain (i) the Indonesian word (ii) brief meaning in English (iii) the word from which it derives in the donor language (iv) sometimes additional aids, such as page number in a standard dictionary. The Arabic and Persian check list was published in 1978. The Chinese list is well advanced. The list of European loan-words was published in 1983. The compilation and printing are done largely with the aid of computers. (When all the checklists are out a consolidated list of non-Nusantara loan-words in the Indonesian lexicon will be produced by mixing all the lists by computer.)

When the checklists are ready the research proper can begin: with their aid, documentary sources from various periods will be investigated with a view to establishing for each word the earliest occurrences on record and the context, form and meaning for each occurrence. Then we shall be in a position to undertake the task of compiling an etymological dictionary of Indonesian and Malay.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Apart from those scholars whose help I have acknowledged in the different sections of this article I wish here to acknowledge the assistance of a number of colleagues for general comments on what I have written: Dr. Bambang Kaswanti Purwo; Dr. C.D. Grijns; Dr. Pierre Labrousse; Prof. L. Santa Maria; Prof. John Verhaar.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BKI *Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land- en Volkenkunde*
- JMBRAS *Journal of the Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*
- JSBRAS *Journal of the Straits Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*

- TBG *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal, Land- en Volkenkunde, uitgegeven door het (Koninklijk) Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*
- Anceaux, J.C.
1965 "Linguistic Theories about the Austronesian Homeland" BKI, Deel 121, p. 417-432.
- Bastin, John & R. Roolvink
1964 *Malayan and Indonesian Studies, Essays presented to Sir Richard Winstedt on his eighty-fifth Birthday.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Bausani, A
1960 "The First Italian Malay Vocabulary by Antonio Pigafetta," *East and West*, Vol. 11, p. 229-248.
- 1964 "Note sui vocaboli persiani in males-indonesiano," *Annali, Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, Nuova serie*, Vol. 14, p. 1-32.
- 1974 "Notes sur les mots persans en malayo-indonésien," *Acta Iranica, Première série*, vol. 2, 1974, p. 347-379.
- 1975 "Is Classical Malay a 'Muslim' Language?" *Boletín de la Asociación Española de Orientalistas*, Año xi, p. 111-121.
- Brakel, L.F.
1970 "Persian Influence on Malay Literature". *Abr-Nahrain*, Vol. 9, p. 1-16.
- Burkill, I.H.
1935 *A Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula.* 2 vols. London: Crown Agents.
- Casparis, J.G. de
1975 *Indonesian Palaeography. Handbuch der Orientalistik, Vierter Band, Erste Lieferung.* Leiden/Köln: E.J. Brill.
- 1981 Some Notes on Words of 'Middle-Indian' Origin in Indonesian Languages (especially Old Javanese) (forthcoming).
- Coedès, G.
1930 "Les inscriptions malaises de Çrivijaya". *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* t. xxx. nos. 1-2, p. 29-80.

- Coedès, G.
1964 "A Possible Interpretation of the Inscription at Kědukan Bukit (Palembang)". In: Bastin, J.S. and Roolvink, R., 1964, p. 24-32.
- Coedès, G.
1968 *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia*. Honolulu: East-West Center Press.
- Dalgado, S.R.
1936 *Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages*. Translated by A.X. Soares. Baroda: Oriental Institute.
- Damais, Louis-Charles
1970 *Répertoire onomastique de l'épigraphie javanaise*. Paris: Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient.
- Dauzat, Albert, Dubois, Jean and Mitterand, Henri
ca.1970 *Nouveau dictionnaire etymologique et historique*. Paris: Librairie Larousse.
- Douglas, Carstairs
1899 *Chinese-English Dictionary of the Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy*. London: Publishing Office of the Presbyterian Church of England.
- Drewes, G.W.J.
1955 *Een 16de eeuwse Maleise vertaling van de Burda van al-Būṣṭirī*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
-
- 1971 "The Study of Arabic Grammar in Indonesia". In: P.W. Pestman (ed.) *Acta Orientalia Neerlandica*, Proceedings of the Congress of the Dutch Oriental Society held in Leiden on the occasion of its 50th anniversary, 8th - 9th May 1970. Leiden: E.J. Brill, p. 61-70.
- Echols, John M. & Hassan Shadily
1975 *An English-Indonesian Dictionary*. Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press.
- Edwards, E.D. & C.O. Blagden.
1932 "A Chinese Vocabulary of Malacca Malay Words and Phrases Collected between A.D. 1403 and 1511 (?)". *Bull. of the School of oriental Studies*, Vol. vi, p. 715-749.
- França, Antonio Pinto da
1973 *Portuguese Influence in Indonesia*. Jakarta: Gunung Agung.
- Gonda, J.
1973 *Sanskrit in Indonesia*. 2nd edn. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture.
- Grijns, C.D., J.W. de Vries and L. Santa Maria
1983 *European Loan-words in Indonesian. A Checklist of Words of European Origin in Bahasa Indonesia and Traditional Malay*. Leiden: Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde/Indonesian Etymological Project.
- Haugen, Einar
1950 "The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing". *Language* [U.S.A.], Vol. 26, p. 210-231.
- Higa, Masanori
1979 "Sociolinguistic Aspects of Word-borrowing". In: Mackey, W.F. and Ornstein, J. (eds.) *Sociolinguistic Studies in Language Contact, Methods and Cases*. The Hague/Paris/New York: Mouton Publishers.
- Hope, T.E.
1971 *Lexical Borrowing in the Romance Languages*, vol. i. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Hulbert, J.R.
1955 *Dictionaries, British and American*. London: Andre Deutsch.
- Jespersen, O.
1959 *Language, its Nature, Development and Origin*. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Jones, Antoinette M.
1976 *Aspects of Economic, Social and Administrative Conditions in Central and East Java in the First Quarter of the Tenth Century A.D.* (Ph. D., University of London).
- Jones, Russell
1978 *Arabic Loan-words in Indonesian. A Checklist of Words of Arabic and Persian Origin in Bahasa Indonesia and Traditional Malay, in the Reformed Spelling*. London: Indonesian Etymological Project.
- Kamus Umum Bahasa Indonesia*
- see Poerwadarminta
- Labrousse, Pierre
1975 *Problèmes lexicographiques de l'indonésien*. Paris: Thèse du doctorat de 3e cycle.
-
- 1984 *Dictionnaire general, indonésien-français*. Paris: Association Archipel.

- Leo, Philip
Ca. 1973 "Chinese Loan-words in Modern Indonesian." Jakarta: Typescript, unpublished.
-
- 1975 *Chinese Loan-words Spoken by the Inhabitants of the City of Jakarta.* Jakarta: L.I.P.I., seri data dasar no. 7.
- Lohuizen-de Leeuw, J.E. van
1944 "De betekenis van het Sanskrit voor de Indische Archipel." *Cultureel Indië*, vi. Leiden: E.J. Brill, p. 66-84.
- Macgowan, J.
1905 *English and Chinese Dictionary of the Amoy Dialect.* Amoy, Chui Keng Tong & London: Kegan Paul, Trubner & Co.
- Monier-Williams, Monier
1963 *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (revised edn.) Oxford: The Clarendon Press. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Mörzer Bruyns, A.
1970 *Glossary of Abbreviations and Acronyms used in Indonesia.* Jakarta: Ichtar.
- Murphy, M.J.
1968 *The Influence of Some Western Languages on Modern Bahasa Indonesia* (Ph. D., University of London).
- Nilakanta Sastri, K.A.
1932 "A Tamil Merchant-guild in Sumatra." TBG, Deel 72, p. 314-327.
-
- 1949 "Takuapa and its Tamil Inscription." JMBRAS, vol. 22 pt 1, p. 25-30.
- Paramita R. Abdurachman
1972 *Some Portuguese Loan-words in the Vocabulary of Speakers of Ambonese Malay in Christian Villages of Central Moluccas.* Jakarta: L.I.P.I.
-
- 1974 *Portuguese Presence in Jakarta.* (Paper given at 6th International Conference on Asian History, Yogyakarta).
- Poerwadarminta, W.J.S.
1976 *Kamus Umum Bahasa Indonesia* (Revised). Jakarta: Balai Pustaka.
- Prentice, D.J.
1978 "The Best Chosen Language." *Hemisphere*, vol. 22 no. 3, p. 18-23 and vol. 22 no.4, p. 28-33.
- Rohani Rustam
1984 *Sejarah Bahasa Malayu, Satu Bibliografi Awal.* Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- Ronkel, Ph. S. van
1899 "Over invloed der Arabische syntaxis op de Maleische." TBG Deel 41, p. 498-528.
-
- 1900 "Over eene oude lijst van Maleische handschriften." TBG Deel 42, p. 309-322.
-
- 1902 "Het Tamil-element in het Maleis." TBG Deel 45, p. 97-119.
-
- 1903 "Tamilwoorden in Maleisch gewaad." TBG Deel 46, p. 532-557.
- Ross, A.S.C.
1958 *Etymology.* London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.
- Salmon, Claudine
1981 *Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia, a Provisional Annotated Bibliography.* Paris: Etudes insulindennes - Archipel: 3.
- Santa Maria, Luigi
1967 *I prestiti portoghesi nel malese-Indonesiano.* Naples: Istituto Orientale di Napoli.
-
- 1974a "Ancora sui prestiti portoghesi in malese-indonesiano." *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli* Vol. 34 (N.S. 24), p. 57-72.
-
- 1974b "Linguistic Relations between China and the Malay-Indonesian World." *East and West*, New Series Vol. 24, nos. 3-4, p. 365-380.
-
- 1978 "A Preliminary List of the Portuguese Loan-words in Malay-Indonesian." Stencilled, Naples: Indonesian Etymological Project.
- Sarkar, H.B.
1969 "South-India in Old-Javanese and Sanskrit Inscriptions." BKI Deel 125, p. 193-206.
- Siti Baroroh Baried
1970 *Bahasa Arab dan Perkembangan Bahasa Indonesia.* Jogjakarta: Universitas Gadjah Mada.

- Spitzbardt, Harry
1970 "Sanskrit Loan-words in the Bahasa Indonesia." *Linguistik und Informationsverarbeitung*, Heft 19, p. 62-79.
-
- 1973 "The Lexical and Morphological Impact of Sanskrit on Modern Indonesia." *Asian and African Studies*, ix, p. 97-113.
- Suwardi Notosudirjo
1977 *Pengetahuan Bahasa Indonesia: Etimologi*. Jakarta: Mutiara.
- Teeuw, A.
1959 "The History of the Malay Language. A Preliminary Survey." *BKI Deel* 115, p. 138-156.
-
- (with the assistance of H.W. Emanuels)
1961 *A Critical Survey of Studies on Malay and Bahasa Indonesia*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Vlekke, B.H.M.
1959 *Nusantara, a History of Indonesia*. The Hague & Bandung: W. van Hoeve.
- Vries, J.W. de
1970 "Indonesian Abbreviations and Acronyms." *BKI, Deel* 126, p. 338-346.
-
- [1980] "Mutual Influences between Dutch and Indonesian." [To be published in *Diogenes*]
- Wehr, Hans
1961 *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* (edited by J. Milton Cowan). Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Weinreich, U.
1968 *Languages in Contact, Findings and Problems*. The Hague/Paris: Mouton.
- Wilkinson, R.J.
1955 *A Malay-English Dictionary* (Romanised). 2 vols. London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd.
- Winstedt, R.O.
1917 "Hindustani Loan-words in Malay." *JSBRAS*, No. 76, p. 67-68.
- Winstedt, R.O.
1939 *A History of Malay Literature* *JMBRAS* Vol 17, pt. 2, p. i-vi; 1-141, 163-243.
- Wolters, O.W.
1967 *Early Indonesian Commerce, a Study of the Origins of Srīvijaya*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Wurm, S.A. & B. Wilson
1975 *English Finderlist of Reconstructions in Austronesian Languages (post-Brandstetter)*. Canberra: The Australian National University, Department of Linguistics.
- Zgusta, Ladislav
1971 *Manual of Lexicography*. The Hague/Paris: Mouton.

ABBREVIATIONS

Du.	Dutch
Eng.	English
Ger.	German
Jap.	Japanese
Lat.	Latin
lit.	literally
Nus.	Nusantara (in a linguistic sense, meaning indigenous to the Indonesian region)
Port.	Portuguese
Pr.	Persian
prob.	probably
Skt.	Sanskrit
<	derived from
[.....]	Indicate material introduced to make the meaning clear.
Ø	zero, lacking altogether