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Malay Borrowings in Tagalog[1]

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Linguistic forms borrowed from one language by another are a source of information about the nature of the contacts between the peoples speaking the two languages: the origin of the speakers of the donor language, the amount and degree of bilingualism that existed, the purposes for which the donor language was used, and the status of the two languages vis-à-vis one another. Just as, for example, the English borrowings from medieval French alone are enough to tell us the character and nature of the contact and the purposes for which French was used in English society, so can borrowings among Southeast Asian languages provide clues as to the nature of the contact between different speech communities. For the English and French contact we have a large body of documents which independently bear out what we may deduce from the linguistic evidence alone. In Southeast Asia, however, where documentation is sparse, linguistic evidence may often be the best source of information. Here we shall look at Malay and Tagalog and see what we may deduce about the nature of Malay-Tagalog contacts. Tagalog is the only Philippine language outside of the Mindanao-Sulu area which shows appreciable Malay influence,[2] and a study of the Malay borrowings, as we shall see, is highly revealing.

The documentary evidence for Malay in the Philippines is slender. Antonio Pigafetta, the chronicler of Magellan's voyage around the world, which was the first European expedition to visit the Philippines, reports that the members of the expedition communicated with the Filipinos

1. My thanks are due to the following people whom I consulted about forms in languages I am not familiar with: Mathew Charles for Old Javanese, Nicholas Bodman for Chinese, James Gair and Fr. Michael Manickham for Tamil, and Alfred Ivry for Arabic. The decisions were my own, and I am solely responsible for any errors.

2. An exception is the language of Capul (Abak) Island in the San Bernardino Straits which shows heavy Malay and Arabic borrowing. However, it is closely related to the Samal languages of the Sulu Archipelago (languages found also in widely scattered coastal areas and islands of Borneo, Celebes, Mindanao, and in the Moluccas). Local tradition in Capul has it that Capul was settled from somewhere in the south, and the Samal-like character of the language bears this tradition out. (No doubt there is documentation on the settlement of Capul Island in existence.)

through an interpreter (until he escaped), a Sumatran-born slave brought from Spain. There is no question that Malay was the language used. In describing the negotiations with the king of Cebu, Pigafetta even quotes a sentence in Malay that he alleges was uttered.[3] Further, the Cebuano-language word list, which Pigafetta took down on Limasawa Island, in a few cases gives Malay words or Malay synonyms for a Cebuano word.[4] It may be possible to find evidence for Malay in the Philippines from other sources, but it is clear that our best evidence is going to be the forms themselves.

Our first task is to isolate borrowings: Malay and Tagalog are both Austronesian languages—that is, they are related, deriving from the same protolanguage. Therefore, it is necessary to distinguish forms which are cognate by virtue of inheritance from those which are cognate by virtue of having entered one (or both) of the languages after they became different languages. Also, if we are to study these forms for clues to the nature of the contact between Malay and Tagalog, we must show that the borrowings are indeed from Malay and not from a third donor language.

We may quickly dispose of the possibility that the Malay forms in Tagalog came in through a third language. Most of the Tagalog forms of Malay provenience are not found in other Philippine languages north of Mindanao, and Tagalog was not in contact with Mindanao languages until this generation, so the possibility that the Malay forms came into Tagalog through another Philippine language may be ruled out. Also we may rule out the possibility that the borrowings came into Tagalog from Javanese, even though a good portion of the borrowings from Malay into Tagalog also have Javanese cognates; for the Tagalog form always follows the Malay shape when the Malay and Javanese forms have different shapes: for example, we say that Tagalog *batas* 'law' is borrowed from Malay *batas* 'boundary' and not Javanese *watěs* 'boundary', because of its shape.[5]

3 "Thereupon the Moro merchant said to the king [of Cebu] *Cata raia chila.*" (Pigafetta 1903:I, 135). This is still normal Malay and means, "Our king has spoken."

4 They are: 'rice' *bughax beras* (Cebuano *bugas*, Malay *bĕras*); 'large' *bassal* (not a Cebuano word, Malay *bĕsar*) 'drink' *minuncahil* (Malay *minum*; *cahil* unidentified); 'eat' *maean* (Malay *makan*); 'fish' *jcam yssida* (Malay *ikan*, Cebuano *ʾisda*ʾ); 'all the same' *siamasiama* (Malay *samasama*). There are some other Malay forms in the list which probably were loan words in Cebuano. One can account for the existence of these Malay forms: natives often use a third language of wider communication when they attempt to speak to outsiders who do not know their language, whether or not the outsider speaks it. When I was eliciting forms in the Mountain Province of Luzon, natives often gave Ilocano forms instead of their own or in addition to their own. This appearance of Malay words in Pigafetta's list is clear evidence that Malay was a language of wider communication in this part of the Philippines at that time.

5 There are four Tagalog forms of Sanskrit provenance for which I have found no cognates in Javanese or Malay, but since only a portion of the Javanese and Malay forms which existed are attested in our dictionaries, there is no reason to suppose that these forms did not also occur in Javanese and Malay. Also, the presence of a form in our Javanese sources but not in Malay is without significance. The documentation of Malay dialects is very poor. We may presume that these Javanese forms were in use in whatever dialect of Malay influenced Tagalog. There is no evidence for direct influence of Javanese on Tagalog. All the evidence indicates that the Javanese influence on Tagalog came via Malay.

In the case of Tagalog-Malay cognates which originated in a third language, it is necessary to separate those which came into Tagalog via Malay and those which were borrowed independently in both Malay and Tagalog. For forms originating in the modern European languages it is usually clear enough that they were borrowed independently. The things that the forms refer to, their sound patterns, and the history of the forms in the European languages from which they come, all preclude the possibility that they could have come into Tagalog from Malay or vice versa. Thus, we need not consider pairs like Malay *kěreta* Tagalog *katíta* 'cart'; Malay *kěmeja* Tagalog *kamísa* 'shirt', and the like: the Malay forms were borrowed from Portuguese and the Tagalog from Spanish, quite independently of one another. For forms of Chinese provenience we assume that they were borrowed independently unless there is evidence of parallel development in shape or meaning, developments of a sort which could not easily have taken place independently. Thus, the pair Tagalog *kawà* and Malay *kawah* 'cauldron' seem to be borrowings from Mandarin *kuō* [kwɔ] 'large pot'. It is not likely that Tagalog developed an *a* in the first syllable independently from Malay, and so we consider the Tagalog form to be a Malay borrowing. Forms of Indic and Arabic origin that are cognate in Malay and Tagalog were clearly introduced into Tagalog via Malay. In the case of Arabic forms, there is no evidence for direct contact or contact via any other language except Malay. There are no forms of Arabic origin in Tagalog which are not also attested in Malay. Further, the forms in Tagalog invariably follow any peculiar Malay treatment of the shape and meaning of Arabic loans: e.g., Tagalog *salabat* Malay *sĕrbat* 'ginger tea' show a common semantic development from the Arabic original *sharbat* 'drink'. The forms of Indic origin have also clearly been channeled through Malay. There are very few Philippine forms of Indic provenience which do not have a Malay or at least a Javanese cognate. Some of these Indic borrowings also undergo developments of meaning and shape in Malay that are invariably followed by the Tagalog forms. For example, Malay *puasa* and Cebuano *puʔásа* 'fast' show a similar deviation in shape from the Sanskrit *upavása* 'fast'. Similarly, Tagalog *bása* 'read' and Malay *baca* 'read' show a parallel semantic development from Sanskrit *vac* 'speak'. There can be no doubt that Cebuano *puʔásа* and Tagalog *bása* both come from Malay *puasa* and *baca*, respectively, and not independently from Sanskrit. Similar arguments can be made for

many of the other forms of Indic provenience. That the donating language is indeed Malay rather than Javanese or some other language in Indonesia can be shown in those cases where Tagalog forms of Indic origin show the Malay rather than the Javanese or some other shape. For example, we say that Tagalog *halaga* 'price, value' is from Malay *harga* 'price' which itself comes from Sanskrit *argha* 'price' because it shows the development of initial *h* just as the Malay form does. The Javanese cognate *rĕga* 'price' does not show this development of initial *h* and therefore cannot be the source of the Tagalog form.

We now turn to the problem of distinguishing borrowings from inherited forms. If we know the etymology of a form, we can, of course, eliminate it from our list of possible inherited forms.[6] Also forms of anomalous shape (of a phonological structure not normal for the protolanguage) can be strongly suspected of being cognate by virtue of borrowing.[7] Further, even if the Tagalog and Malay forms both derive from a form which can be reconstructed in the proto-language and there are cognates in other Austronesian languages, the Tagalog may be considered a borrowing from Malay if the Tagalog and its Malay cognate show a sharp and parallel semantic shift as opposed to the cognates in the other Austronesian languages. Thus Tagalog *salátan* 'southwest wind' is a borrowing from Malay *sĕlatan* 'south' because the Tagalog and the Malay show a common semantic development as opposed to cognates in other languages which have meanings comparable to Malay *sĕlat* 'strait'. However, if we do not know the etymology, and if none of the other factors that indicate a borrowing is present, we identify borrowings on the basis of sound correspondences. Forms which are cognate by virtue of inheritance exhibit regular correspondences, as shown in Chart 1. Forms which appear to be cognate but fail to exhibit these regular correspondences must have come into one (or both) of the languages by borrowing, if the forms are cognate at all (with the exception of a few cases of analogical reshaping—see footnote 8); and we have already concluded that such forms must have been Malay forms that came into Tagalog if they are not known to be from

6. For example, there would be no way of recognizing that Malay *sabun* and Tagalog *sabon* are not related by inheritance if we had no knowledge of the Arabic etymon. Of course, once we know the etymology of a word and the approximate time of borrowing there is no reason to treat the word as an inherited form.

7. For example, we have considered Tagalog *palayok* 'earthen cooking pot' to be a borrowing from Malay *pĕriuk* 'cooking pot' because the form in the protolanguage which could give rise to this correspondence would be anomalous in shape, **p(e, a)reyuk*. Also, the correspondence Tagalog *l* Malay *r* is probably an indication of borrowing (see n. 8). Third, the cognates of *pĕriuk* and *palayok* in other languages show irregular correspondences: e.g., Iloko *pariok* 'iron pan'. And finally, the forms Tagalog *hiya'* 'shame' Kinaray-a *heya'* 'shame' show that it is unlikely that Proto-Austronesian **ey* could have become Tagalog *ay*.

Chinese or from one of the modern European languages. The task is complicated by the fact that both Malay and Tagalog exhibit the same reflex for a number of protophonemes—that is, in the case of a number of sets of sound correspondences Malay and Tagalog have exactly the same reflex. Thus, if the form under consideration does not contain phonemes that enter into a correspondence which has different reflexes in Malay and Tagalog, there is no way of determining on the basis of its shape whether it is inherited or cognate by virtue of borrowing, and we must treat it as an inheritance.

Chart 1 shows the sound correspondences for Malay, Tagalog, and Javanese. Cognate forms which show correspondences other than these are considered borrowings.[8]

8. This table follows Dempwolff (1934, 1937, and 1938) as revised by Dyen (1947b, 1951, and 1953). The symbolization is that proposed by Dyen 1947a. We are dealing with probabilities, of course. To determine which set of sound correspondences reflects a sound of the protolanguage and which set is due to secondary developments requires weighing all the available data from related languages. This analysis differs from Dempwolff's and Dyen's on two points. The correspondence Malay *j* Tagalog *r* which Dyen takes to reflect the reconstructed phoneme **ẓ* we take here to indicate borrowing. **ẓ* is reflected as Tagalog *l*, as in Malay *tajam* 'sharp' Tagalog *talim* 'sharp' (from **taẓem*). There is only a handful of forms which show Tagalog *r* where Malay has *j*, and their meaning is very much of the same character as that of other forms described here as borrowings; and often they have other hallmarks of being borrowed. E.g., Tagalog *tári'* 'gaff' is known to be a borrowing from Malay *taji* because of the final glottal. This confirms our conclusion previously that the *r-j* correspondence is indicative of borrowing. *Tári'* is one of seven examples of terms related to cocks which are borrowings.

Similarly, we consider the handful of forms which show the correspondence Malay *c* Tagalog *s* as borrowings. Dempwolff considered these to reflect a protophoneme **c*. Again, the forms which show this correspondence are invariably of the semantic categories of our borrowed words. Further, they appear only in Indonesia and the Philippines, not in Oceania and Formosa, and the vast majority have known etymologies or other phonological signs of being borrowings.

I am now convinced that the correspondence Malay *r* Tagalog *l*, which Dempwolff believed to reflect a protophoneme **r*, is actually due to borrowing. Again, there are no good examples of forms showing this correspondence outside of the Philippines and Indonesia, and almost all of them are of a sort likely to be borrowings (Wolff 1974). If the correspondence Malay *r* Tagalog *l* can be shown to reflect borrowings, as I believe it does, we may enlarge our list of Tagalog borrowings from Malay by some 10 per cent with forms which have no known etymology outside of Austronesian and which show no correspondences other than *l-r* which mark a borrowing. These forms fit readily into the categories we have established for our borrowings and provide no new substantial information as to the nature of Tagalog-Malay contacts.

Further, borrowing is not the only explanation for irregular correspondences: the probability for an analogical change must also be weighed. Thus, Dyen ascribes the correspondence Malay final vowel–Tagalog vowel followed by a final glottal stop to an analogical development (Dyen 1953: Para. 91), whereas I take this correspondence as an indication of borrowing. There is a large number of such examples. A few of them may indeed be inherited, and the Tagalog glottal stop may in those cases be explainable by an analogical development; but the majority of the cases must be borrowings (and they usually have other signs of being borrowings as well).

Chart 1. Malay, Tagalog, and Javanese reflexes of Proto-Austronesian phonemes

Malay			*Tagalog*	*Javanese*	*Protolanguage*
Penult	*Final open*	*Final closed*			
a	a	a*	a	a	a
i, e	i	e*	i, e	i, e	i
u, o	u	o*	u, o	u, o	u
ĕ	–	a	i*	ĕ	e
	b- -b- -p -w-		b	b or w	b
	d- -d- -t		d- -r- -d	d	d†
	d- -d- -r		d- -l- -d	d or r	D
	g- -g-		g	g	g†
	-d- -t		-l- -d	r	j
	;		g	o	R
	h- -o- or -h- -h		ʔ	h- -o- or -h- -h	ʔ
	h- -o- or -h- -o		h- -h- -o	o (but h in OJav)	h
	i		ay	i	ey
	ay		ay	e	ay
	i		uy	i	uy
	k- -k- -ʔ (orth. -k)		k	k- -k- -ʔ (orth. -k)	k
	l		l	l	l
	r		l	r	r†
	m		m	m	m
	n		n	n	n
	ng (ŋ)		ng (ŋ)	ng (ŋ)	ng (ŋ)
	ny		n	n‡	ny
	p		p	p	p
	t		t	t	t
	s		s	s	s
	j		d- -l-	j	z†
	j		d- -l-	d	Z
	o or w		w	w	w
	aw		aw	o	aw

* The vowels of the antepenult all fall together in *i* in Malay and are often reflected as *a* in Tagalog. Proto-Austronesian *ĕ in Tagalog becomes *i* except in syllables preceding *u*, in which environment it becomes *u*. The *i, e* and *u, o* contrasts are recent developments in Malay, Tagalog, and Javanese; and in any given form it is of no moment for our purpose whether *i* or *e* occurs, or whether *u* or *o* occurs.

† I question Dempwolff's reconstructions of the phonemes *d, *c, *g, *r, and *z in the Protolanguage (see footnote 8).

‡ The Javanese reflex of the Proto-Austronesian *ny* is /n/, not /ny/ as Dempwolff thought.

Chart 2 summarizes correspondences which we take to be prima facie evidence for borrowing. There is not necessarily any regularity of sound correspondences in borrowed forms; the same Malay sound may at one time be borrowed in one way and at another time in another way.[9]

9. In fact, we have doublets, Malay borrowings appearing in two shapes, which have persisted to the current time: *hari?, hadyi* 'king' from Old Javanese (presumably via Malay) *hadyi* 'king'. That this should be the case is not surprising; languages frequently show variant pronunciations of borrowed forms—closer or further from the pronunciation in the original language. For example, in English the word 'garage' (from French) is pronounced /gəraž/, /gərádž/, /gărədž/, and perhaps other ways as well.

Chart 2. Correspondences indicating borrowing

Javanese	Malay	Tagalog
ĕ	a	a
ĕ	ĕ	a
-d or -r	-t	-t
d	-d-	-r-
d	j	r
d or j	j	dy
-h	-h	-ø
-o	-o	-ʔ
-k or -ʔ	-ʔ	-ʔ
c	c	s

It is possible to make some educated guesses as to the period in which these borrowings came into Tagalog. There are two clues: one is the etymology of some of the borrowed forms; and the other is the shape of some of them. As for the etymology, there are at least two forms of demonstrably Portuguese origin: Tagalog *banyága?* 'foreigner' from Malay *běniaga* 'trade' (from Indo-Portuguese *veniaga* 'merchant, merchandise') and Tagalog *linggo* 'Sunday, week' Malay *minggu* 'Sunday, week' (Portuguese *Domingo* 'Sunday')[10] These forms must have been borrowed in the decades prior to the Spanish conquest of Manila in 1570 (or shortly thereafter). The terms of Arabic origin also make it possible to date these Malay borrowings. Their character makes it almost certain that they were introduced into Tagalog together with Islam, and thus we may be certain that they do not antedate the fourteenth century.

A second piece of weak evidence points to a particular period of borrowing. The Tagalog forms which are borrowed from Malay and are of Sanskrit provenience reflect archaisms of pronunciation in certain cases that are not attested even in the oldest Malay documents. Thus, an argument can be made that these Tagalog forms which preserved archaisms must have been borrowed before the sixteenth century, the period of the earliest extensive Malay documents extant.[11] Accordingly, we may assert

10. Portuguese *veniaga* is itself of Indic provenience, being a borrowing of an Indic form which derives eventually from Sanskrit *vanija* 'trade'. Malay *minggu* 'week, Sunday' is from Portuguese *Domingo* 'Sunday'. Tagalog *linggo* 'week, Sunday' shows the same semantic development as the Malay. Further, the change of an initial nasal to *l* in a syllable preceding another nasal is attested for other borrowed forms in Tagalog (e.g., *langka* 'Malay *nangka* 'jackfruit'). Thus, the best explanation is that *linggo* is a borrowing from Malay.

11. Sanskrit forms in Tagalog often show an archaic pronunciation in retaining post-consonantal *h* where no attested Malay has it: Tagalog *mukha?* 'face' Malay *muka* 'face' Sanskrit *mukha* 'face'; Tagalog *katha?* 'story' Malay *kata* 'story' Sanskrit *katha* 'speech'; Tagalog *sitha?* 'cuttings of variegated pieces of cloth' Malay *cita* 'cotton print' (said to be from modern Indic [Gouda 1973:113]).

that the period of strong Malay influence on Tagalog began at least a century prior to the Spanish conquest. (It could, of course, have begun much earlier.)[12]

As regards the part of the Philippines which was under Malay influence, only the language of the Manila area was strongly influenced by Malay. Of the Malay borrowings in Tagalog, only a small portion are found in other languages (outside of Mindanao-Sulu), and these are invariably terms of trade or specific cultural phenomena (words like *bása* 'read' from Malay *baca* 'read'). To be sure, we have evidence from Pigafetta that Malay was a language of wider communication in the Visayas, but the Malay influence on the languages of this area is not of the same character or depth as that in Tagalog.

As to the exact locality from which the Malay borrowings into Tagalog come, there are a few clues which point to Borneo. The substitution of *a* for what is a mid-central vowel *ĕ* in most Malay dialects suggests that the Malay dialect was one which shows *a* for earlier *ĕ*.[13] This feature characterizes the Malay dialects of Borneo today and probably was already present in the early sixteenth century.[14] Moreover, many, but not all, Malay dialects underwent a loss of *h* initially and between unlike vowels, and that change most likely antedates the period of Arabic borrowings (for Arabic borrowings invariably retain *h* in these positions). Since Tagalog forms borrowed from Malay show retention of *h* with a handful of exceptions (e.g., Tagalog *ʔasta* Malay *hasta* or *asta* 'cubit'), the donor dialect must have been an *h*-preserving dialect. Other clues are dialectal forms, forms not general in Malay, but confined to certain regions. One

12. Pigafetta (1906:II, 37), writing fifty years before the conquest of Manila, reports that a son of the king of Luzon was the captain-general of the king of Brunei. Thus, we have documentation that Brunei-Manila relations go back this far. Spanish sources describing Legazpi's conquest of Manila emphasize the shallow penetration of Islam, but they need not be considered reliable on this point. Malay influence on Tagalog is deep and lasted over a period of time, and no doubt Islam had been present in the Manila area for a longer period of time than the Spaniards wanted to believe.

13. Tagalog had (and still has) no mid-central vowel, *ĕ*. An earlier mid-central vowel merged with *i*, a change which was probably already complete by the sixteenth century (as shown by the earliest Tagalog citations). Modern Tagalog substitutes *i* for a mid-central vowel (e.g., *tibl* 'table' from English [teybĕl]), and certainly mid-central vowels would have been handled the same way at a period much closer in time to the merger of older *ĕ* and *i*.

14. Pigafetta's word list of Malay shows the same substitution of *a* for *ĕ*. His Cebuano word list indicates a mid-central vowel, which Pigafetta transcribes sometimes *e* and sometimes *u*. Presumably he would have transcribed a Malay mid-central vowel *ĕ* in the same way if he had heard one. Because he transcribes Malay forms with *a* where standard Malay has *ĕ*, we may deduce that he got his list in a dialect which shows this substitution of *a* for *ĕ*. Pigafetta's Malay word list is clearly in a type of Brunei Malay. It has at least six forms which nowadays are confined to the Brunei dialect, and the circumstances of the voyage make it likely that he took down his list at around the time the expedition reached Brunei. Therefore, it is most likely that this substitution of *a* for *ĕ* was a feature of the Brunei Malay of the time.

form, Tagalog *binibini* 'lady', is from a Malay form attested only for Brunei: *binibini* 'woman'. There are also many forms of Javanese provenience that even today are used mainly in dialects of Malay influenced by Javanese, e.g., Tagalog *bísa* ʔ Malay *bisa* 'able'. The combination—*h*-preserving, *a* for *ĕ*, and Javanese-influenced vocabulary—indicates Borneo; but the exact location and final proof can only come when we have better information on Malay dialect geography than at present.[15]

Much can be said about the nature of the Malay-Tagalog contact. There are more than 300 Tagalog forms which can be shown conclusively to be of Malay origin (and probably an equal number I have failed to spot), plus a large number which surely are borrowings but do not exhibit any phonological or semantic features that would make them identifiable as borrowings. And probably an even greater number of Malay borrowings has gone out of use in the past four hundred years. Their very number as well as their character indicates that there must have been a considerable population in the Tagalog speech community which could speak Malay. Some of these Malay borrowings are words of an ordinary, everyday character: forms referring to personal characteristics, names and titles of relations, words for parts of the body, and others of the type that refer to things for which there must have been good native terms. Such basic vocabulary can only have come in if members of the Tagalog speech community could speak Malay. For a good portion of these forms we can well imagine the situation that could have led to their adoption into Tagalog. Some of them are clearly forms which ascribed status and came into Tagalog for that reason. Examples of this type are *binibini* 'lady behaving in a manner proper to females' (Noceda's [1860] definition) from Brunei Malay *binibini* 'woman' as opposed to the native *babáʔe* 'woman'. (Cf. German *Dame* 'lady' from French as opposed to the native *Weib* 'woman'.) Tagalog *astaʔ* 'action' is a borrowing (presumably via Malay) of Javanese *asta* 'do (said of persons of high rank)'. We may presume that *asta* was used as a status form in the Malay that influenced Tagalog and most likely was originally a status form in Tagalog. Many of the polite forms still used in Tagalog are of this sort: Tagalog *poʔ* 'sir' Malay *empu* 'master'; Tagalog *tábiʔ* 'excuse me' Malay *tabik* 'with your permission'. The presence of these forms in Tagalog indicates clearly that Malay was not learned only as a language of commerce but that it had a certain amount of prestige, probably very much like the function of English

15. It may be impossible to pinpoint the location exactly. One would suspect Brunei Malay as the type which influenced Tagalog, but current Brunei Malay does not preserve the *h* in all cases (as contrasted with the Malay of Banjarmasin, for example, which preserves *h* almost invariably). On the other hand, the forms which now show no *h* in the Brunei dialect may have come in within the last few centuries.

in the Philippines today or French in old Russia. Forms of much the same character are being borrowed from English into the Philippine languages at the present time.

The borrowing of Malay forms which refer to personal characteristics bears out the view that Malay was used in the Manila region as a prestige language. The use of Malay forms to refer to personal characteristics (good or bad) is analogous to the behavior of present-day Filipinos, who often use forms from English or other Philippine languages as a sort of euphemism: making a negative judgment in terms of an allusion to another language in order to blunt the impact, make the statement witty, and keep the speaker in a good light. An example of such a Malay borrowing into Tagalog is *lapastángan* 'free-handed, daring to do things one has no right by his station to do' (Malay *lĕpas* 'free' and *tangan* 'hand'). Or something unpleasant is referred to with a borrowed form to take away the sting, e.g., Tagalog *sála* 'error' Malay *salah* 'error'. A good characteristic is referred to by a Malay form to enhance it or give it some special nuance: Tagalog *masúsi?* 'meticulously clean'; Malay *suci* 'pure' (from Sanskrit *suci* 'pure'). The parallel between these types of borrowings and current borrowings into Philippine languages from English or other prestige languages is instructive. Cebuano, for example, has borrowed a huge vocabulary of deprecatory words from English and Tagalog. These forms give a nuance of wit or allusion, and with them one makes a joke at the same time that he says something nasty. As a consequence, one can make his point without putting himself in a bad light. For example, one may describe a person who is snobbish or puts on airs as *bústing* 'boasting' or *biri ?anádir* 'haughty' (from English 'very another') or *?ó?i* 'putting on' (from the abbreviation o.a. for 'overacting'). Using these English-derived forms one makes a joke while criticizing and thereby avoids public condemnation as a gossip. Or in current Cebuano one can avoid the harsh realities connoted by a native form through the substitution of the English-borrowed form: for example, a person who has been fired is said to be *gigitawut* (from English 'get out') or *nagrisayin* (from English 'resign'), terms which describe situations that do not seem quite so bad as to suffer the same action denoted by the native form *gipapaháwa?*. Or positive characteristics have a special nuance when they are described as 'having (such-and-such) a characteristic like the Tagalogs', if the borrowing is from Tagalog (or Spaniards, if the borrowing is from Spanish; or Americans, if the borrowing is from English): Cebuano *bunítu* 'good-looking like a Spaniard', Cebuano *marúnung* 'smart and clever like the Manila people', and so on. From the modern Cebuano examples we can see how these kinds of Malay forms could have found their way into Tagalog, and further we

see that Malay had very much the same sort of social status as English currently has in the Philippines.

There is a handful of forms of high frequency and of the most intimate part of the vocabulary whose existence is difficult to explain: these forms are *bísa?* 'can', *káya* 'can', *lálo?* 'more', *mula?* 'beginning', *maskin* 'even', *harap* 'facing', *samantála?* 'meanwhile', *sakásakáli?* 'occasionally'. At least one example of a loan translation occurs in the intimate vocabulary (and perhaps a number of others I have failed to spot). The Malay word meaning 'new', *baru*, has been extended to be used as a conjunction meaning 'before (doing)': *aku makan baru pergi* 'I ate before I left.' This sentence can be translated word for word into Tagalog *kumáin ?ako bágo lumakad* 'I ate before I left', where *bágo*, the Tagalog word for 'new', has been extended to mean 'before' just like the Malay *baru*. I do not know of this extension of the meaning of the word for 'new' anywhere else in the Philippines; it is clearly a loan translation of the Malay *baru*.[16]

For this type of borrowing of basic vocabulary, there are no parallels in borrowings from current English. Tagalog does have similar types of borrowings from Spanish, however, and these borrowings may perhaps shed some light on how Malay forms of this kind could find their way into Tagalog. The Spanish forms of a similar nature are forms like *puede* 'can', *pero* 'but', adjective- and noun-forming affixes, and so on. The Spanish borrowings can be explained by the existence in the Philippines of a group that spoke Spanish (or creolized Spanish) better than Tagalog and thus spoke a Hispanized Tagalog. Although this segment of the community was always small, it was highly admired, and speech forms associated with it were widely imitated. Nineteenth-century novels provide illustrations of this behavior and serve as documentation for our deductions based on the linguistic evidence. (See also Schuchardt 1883.) The existence in Tagalog of these intimate forms of Malay origin seems to be analogous to the intimate borrowings from Spanish and points (but not conclusively, to be sure) to the existence of a segment of the community which was basically Malay-speaking and whose Tagalog was imitated. There are, however, no borrowings from Malay comparable to the many forms from

16. There is even a minor example of the borrowing of a syntactic construction. The king of Manila is referred to as the *raja muda/ladyá múro/* (Malay *raja muda* 'young king'), and the king of Tondo is referred to as *raja matanda/ladyá matanda?/* 'old king', where *matanda?* 'old' is a form of purely Tagalog origin. (The citation comes from Morga's *Sucesos* as reproduced in Blair and Robertson 1906:XV, 48.) Normally, a phrase consisting of a title followed by another word does not occur in Tagalog, though it is normal Malay. In Tagalog there is a marker *ng* which must be inserted between the title and the word which follows it. The words which make up the phrase *ladyá matanda?* are Tagalog, but the way they are put together is Malay.

Spanish which indicate a master-servant relationship, so one cannot go too far in drawing parallels with the mestizo elite of the Philippines.[17]

The Malay spoken in the Manila area developed its own character just as Spanish and English in the Philippines have done.[18] Numerous forms, clearly of Malay origin, are used in combinations and meanings not attested for modern Malay such as *dalamhátiʔ* 'extreme sorrow' (from Malay *dalam* 'within' and *hati* 'liver [as the seat of the emotions]'), other forms containing *hátiʔ*, *lapastángan* 'daring, too free-handed' (from Malay *lĕpas* 'free' and *tangan* 'hand'), and the like. Also there are Malay-Tagalog combinations, like *bahagháriʔ* 'rainbow' (Tagalog *bahag* 'G-string' and Malay *hari* 'day'). Many of the Malay borrowings have drifted considerably from the original Malay meaning, and these semantic shifts in many cases may well have characterized the Malay spoken in Manila.

Many of the borrowed forms suggest the spheres in which Malay was used. Some refer to intellectual activities (*siyásat* 'investigate', *hukum* 'judge'), some to geographical and nautical items (*láʔot* 'sea', *dalátan* 'land as opposed to sea', *salátan* 'southwest'), some to measurements, commercial activities, amusements. A good portion of the Malay borrowings into Tagalog refer to elements of civilization which were introduced to the Tagalog speakers: articles and devices (utensils, items of dress and ornament, foods and drinks, items of house construction, weapons, and so on), social institutions, medicine, religion. For a handful of terms there is no explanation. We have omitted from this study terms referring to flora and fauna which are not domesticated or which are not of some religious or commercial significance because the terms for flora and fauna common to Malay and Tagalog are widespread throughout the Philippines and Indonesia, and their spread into Tagalog has been under a different sort of impetus than the other terms described here; they offer no evidence as to the nature of the contact between the Malay and the Tagalog speech communities.[19]

17. Most of the Philippine languages influenced by Spanish are full of Spanish-derived commands, terms of reference and address to a master or mistress, and the like: e.g., Cebuano *anda* 'get going', *alibanta* 'heave', *nyur* 'term of address to a master' *amu* 'boss', *mutsátsu* 'servant', and the like. These Spanish-derived forms all give an impression of a world in which the supervisors were Spanish-speaking and the servants speakers of a Philippine language (and, of course, we have plentiful documentation that this situation did indeed obtain). We have nothing from Malay into Tagalog of a similar character.

18. The Cebuano borrowings from English *biriʔanádir* 'haughty' (from 'very' and 'another') or *girawut* 'fire from a job (from 'get out') show how sharp the semantic shift may be in borrowed forms.

19. An example is the name of the fish called in Malay *haruan tasik* 'the snakehead of the sea'. This name recurs in scores of languages throughout Indonesia and the Philippines. It also occurs in Cebuano as *haluʔan tásik*, and the fishes thus referred to are approximately the same ones covered by the name *haruan tasik* in Malay. We know that the Cebuano form must be a borrowing because there is a form *tásik* in Cebuano, but its meaning has drifted considerably from the original meaning of 'sea'. Moreover, the structure of the phrase is not normal for Cebuano; there should be a marker between the two nouns. Thus the form *haluʔan tásik* must have come into Cebuano by borrowing. For the same species of fishes there are at least five other names in Cebuano. This example shows how readily susceptible terms for flora and fauna are to replacement by newly borrowed forms. Terms of this sort travel faster and farther than other items in a language and do not provide information on the nature of contacts between speech communities.

We now give a list of the forms on which our conclusions are based. An asterisk before the abbreviation Tag indicates that a cognate of the form occurs also in Cebuano. Since Cebuano is located farther away from Tagalog than most of the other languages outside of the Mindanao-Sulu area, we can get some idea of the extent to which Malay borrowings have spread beyond Manila and the character of the forms which did spread. In a few cases we quote forms from other Philippine languages when no Tagalog cognate is attested. The presumption is that these forms came from Tagalog into the other languages and subsequently disappeared in Tagalog.[20]

1. Forms referring to character traits and personal feelings: Tag *ʔalibughaʔ* 'irresponsible, squanderer' OJav *paribhoga* 'enjoyment' Skt *paribhoga* 'enjoyment'; *Tag *ʔasa* 'hope' Ml *asa* 'hope' Skt *āśā* 'hope'; *Tag *balísa* 'restless, fidgety' Ml *bĕlisah* 'restless, fidgety'; *Tag *bangis* 'cruel, fierce' Ml *bĕngis* 'cruel, indifferent to the suffering of others'; Tag *bani* (accentuation unknown) 'persuade with deceptive arguments' OJav *bani* (meaning unknown) Skt *vāṇī* 'eloquent speech'; *Tag *budiʔ* 'will, intention, conscience' Ml *budi* 'quality of mind and heart' Skt *buddhi* 'intelligence, reason'; Tag *bunyiʔ* 'distinction, fame, glory' Ml *bunyi* 'sound'; Tag *dáyaʔ* 'deceit' Ml *daya* 'artifice, dodge'; Tag *dukhaʔ* 'poor, unfortunate' Ml *duka* 'grief' Skt *duḥkha* 'uneasiness, pain, sorrow'; Tag *duluhaka* (accentuation unknown) 'twist someone's words' Ml *durhaka* 'treason, insubordination' Skt *dorhaka* (Gonda 1973:115) 'injury, laying violent hands upon'; Tag *dungúʔ* 'stupid' Ml *dungu* 'obstinately stupid, dull-witted'; Tag *dustaʔ* 'treated with outrage, ignominiously' Ml *dusta* 'lying, falsehood' Skt *duṣṭa* 'false, inimical, offensive'; Tag *dalas* 'speed, frequency' Ml *dĕras* 'rapidity'; Tag *dálitaʔ* 'misery, suffering, poverty' Ml *dĕrita* 'endure' Skt *dhṛta* 'borne'; Tag *dúsa* 'suffering, punishment' Ml *dosa* 'sin' Skt *dosha* 'fault, transgression';

20. We use the following abbreviations: Ar, Arabic; Jav, Javanese; OJav, Old Javanese; Ml, Malay; PAN, Proto-Austronesian; Skt, Sanskrit; Tag, Tagalog. For Tagalog we give Panganiban's (1973) gloss if the form is found there; if not, we give Serrano Laktaw's (1914), and if the form is only in Noceda (1860), we follow Noceda's gloss. Also in cases where the definition given by Serrano Laktaw or Noceda is more directly comparable to the meaning of the Malay form than Panganiban's, we follow Serrano Laktaw or Noceda. For Malay we quote Wilkinson's gloss (1932), and in the few cases where a form is not found in Wilkinson, we follow Iskandar (1970). Since the Malay glosses are in many cases based on the current meaning, we should not be surprised to find forms where the Tagalog borrowing is considerably more conservative in retaining earlier meanings than the Malay form we quote.

Tag *gahása?* 'rash, precipitate' Jav *sahasa* 'violent' Skt *sāhasa* 'rash, precipitate'; Tag *hámak* 'vile, low' Ml *hamak* 'surly, disobliging' Ar *ḥamāqa* 'foolishness'. Tagalog forms ending in *-háti?* referring to a state of mind or character from Ml *hati* 'liver' (a word added to adjectives to refer to a person's state of mind): Tag *dalamháti?* 'extreme sorrow' Ml *dalam* 'within'; Tag *luwalháti?* 'generosity' Ml *luar* 'outside of'; Tag *pighati?* 'anguish', Tag *salaghati?* 'resentment', Tag *salakháti?* 'suspicious'; Tag *hímat* 'overcarefulness' Ml *hemat* 'solicitude, care' Ar *himmat* 'be worried'; Tag *hína?* 'weakness' Ml *hina* 'mean, humble' Skt *hīna* 'inferior, vile'; Tag *kási* 'dear person' Ml *kasih* 'love'; Tag *labhasa?* 'destructive, vile' Jav *rĕbasa* 'using force, overpowering' Skt *rabhasa* 'impetuous'; Tag *lapastángan* 'doing what is improper' Ml *lĕpas* 'gone beyond' *tangan* 'hand'; Tag *luksa?* 'in mourning' OJav *rūksa* 'unkempt, as when going into mourning' Skt *rūksah* 'dry, rough, hard, harsh'; Tag *lubha?* 'excessive, very much' Ml *loba* 'greed' Skt *lobha* 'greed'; Tag *palamára* 'careless, doing little with what one has' (no Jav or Ml) Skt *pramāda* 'negligence, carelessness'; Tag *sadya?* 'intentional' Ml *saja* 'intentional'; Tag *sála* 'error' Ml *salah* 'error'; Tag *sapala?* 'modest, humble' OJav *sapari-cāra* 'attendants, servants' Skt *saparyā* 'homage'; Tag *sigla?* 'lively, animated' Ml *sĕgĕra* 'speedily, forthwith' Skt *śighra* 'quick'; Tag *sinta* 'love' Ml *cinta* 'love' Skt *chintā* 'care, devotion'; Tag *súsi?* 'cleanliness, orderliness' Ml *suci* 'pure, clean' Skt *śuci* 'unsullied'; Tag *taksil* 'disloyal, traitorous' Ml *taksir* 'neglect' Ar *taqṣīr* 'neglect'.

2. Forms of high frequency in speech.

2a. Those which have no apparent explanation: conjunctions, prepositions, pronouns, and the like: *Tag *maskin* 'even though' Ml *měski* 'even though'; Tag *mula?* 'beginning' Ml *mula* 'begin' Skt *mūla* 'origin'; *Tag *samantála* 'while' Ml *sĕmĕntara* 'while' Skt *samanantara* 'immediately following'; Tag *sakásakáli?* 'occasionally' Ml *sĕkalisĕkali* 'sometimes'; Tag *harap* 'facing' Ml *hadap* 'face something'; Tag *saríli* 'self'[21] Ml *sĕndiri* 'self'; *Tag *táma?* 'enough, fitting in amount' Ml *tamat* 'done' Ar *tamma* 'be complete'.

2b. Forms meaning 'be alike, similar, complete', or their opposite: Tag *garíl* 'defective in pronunciation' Ml *ganjil* 'odd, uneven in number'; Tag *ganap* 'complete' Ml *gĕnap* 'complete'; Tag *kambal* 'twins' Ml *kĕmbar* a pair of things that are alike' (as, for example, twins); *Tag *langkap* 'incorporated, joined with' Ml *lĕngkap* 'complete'; Tag *lálo?* 'more' Ml *lalu* 'put through, done, past'; Tag *pára* 'like' Ml *pada* 'sufficiency' Jav *paḍa* 'like'; Tag *magka-písan* 'staying together' Jav *pisan* 'once'; Tag *salisi* 'askew, in

21. Tag *saríli* must be a borrowing because Ml *sendiri* is cognate with Ml *diri* 'stand' from PAN **Diri*. **DiRi* would be reflected in Tag as *dilig*. The form Tag *halígi* 'post' is cognate with Ml *diri* and *sendiri*

opposite directions' Ml *sĕlisih* 'varying, not coinciding'; Tag *sáma* 'go together with' Ml *sama* 'together' Skt *sama* 'same, like'; Tag *sirha?* 'correct a fault' Jav *sida* 'really happen, go through' Skt *siddha* 'accomplished, perfect', Tag *suwáto* 'in harmony' Ml *suatu* 'one'; Tag *tapat* 'directly in front' Ml *tĕpat* 'exactly, precisely'; Tag *túlad* 'like, similar' Ml *tĕladan*, *tauladan* 'model'.

3. Forms referring to a group or crowd; Tag *pangkat* 'section, group, portion' Ml *pangkat* 'tier, shape, rank' (a re-formation of the root *angkat* 'lift'); Tag *salamúha?* 'hobnob, mingle with' Ml *sĕmua* 'all together' Skt *samūha* 'assemblage'; Tag *samaya?* 'accomplice' (no Jav or Ml) Skt *samaya* 'compact, agreement'.

4. Terms referring to sensations: Tag *díri* 'feeling of loathing for what is foul or filthy' Ml *jĭji* or *jĭjek* 'feeling of disgust'; *Tag *lása* Ml *rasa* Skt *rasa* 'taste, sensation'; *Tag *pála?* 'grace, blessing' Ml *pahala* 'reward, grant' Skt *phala* 'fruit, benefit'; Tag *púri* 'honor' Ml *puji* 'praise' Skt *pūjya* 'honor, worship'; Tag *sarap* Ml *sĕdap* 'delicious'; Tag *pagta-tamása* 'enjoyment of abundance' Ml *tĕrmasha* 'spectacle, show' (said to be from Persian).

5. Forms referring to ability: Tag *bahagya?* 'it is just barely good, powerful, etc., enough to . . . ' Ml *bahagia* 'good fortune' Skt *bhāgya* 'luck, good fortune'; Tag *bihása* 'skilled, experienced accustomed' Ml *biasa* 'habitual' Skt *abhyāsa* 'habit, custom'; Tag *maka-bísa?* 'can' *bísa?* 'effect' Ml *bisa* 'can' Skt *visha* 'poison, active ingredient'; Tag *gunagunahin* 'enjoy something while one has the chance' Ml *guna* 'magical potency, use' Skt *guna* 'quality'; Tag *kawásа?* 'endurance, tolerance' Ml *kuasa* 'power over'; *Tag *káya* 'ability, can do, wealthy' Ml *kaya* 'having power, wealth'; Tag *paham* 'sage, erudite' Ml *paham* 'understand' Ar *faham* 'understand'; Tag *lakas* 'strength' Ml *lĕkas* 'fast'; Tag *pantas* 'nimble, acquitting oneself well' Ml *pantas* 'neat, nimble, graceful'.

6. Forms of politeness or which give status; euphemisms: Tag *?asta?* 'posture, attitude of the body, action' Jav *asta* 'have, hold, do' (honorific form) Skt *hasta* 'hand, holding in hand'; Hiligaynon *buli?* 'buttocks' Ml *buri* 'buttocks'; Tag *binibíni* 'lady behaving properly and modestly' Malay *binibini* 'woman'; Tag *daliri?* 'finger, toe' Ml *jeriji* 'finger'; Tag *gara?* 'stateliness, pomposity' Ml *gahara* 'of royal birth on both sides'; Tag *gawa* 'do' Ml *pĕnggawa* 'functionary'; Tag *kálunya?* 'concubine' Ml *kurnia*, *karunia* 'bounty, favor' Skt *kārunya* 'pity'; Tag *mukha?* 'face' Skt *mukha* 'face'; Tag *param* 'disappear' Ml *padam* 'extinguish' Jav *paḍĕm* 'honorific form referring to someone dead'; Tag *sira?* 'defective' Ml *cĕdĕra* 'defect, flaw' Skt *chidra* 'fault, defect'; Tag *síla* (accentuation unknown) 'leave something up to someone' Ml *sila* 'please, you are invited to . . . ' Skt *śīla* 'custom, practice, good disposition'; Tag *síla?* 'sit on floor with legs

crossed in front of one' Ml *bĕr-sila* 'sit squattering on floor'; *Tag *tábi?* 'respectful request to be excused or pass in front of someone' Tag *pa-sintábi?* 'ask to be excused' Ml *tabek* 'with your permission' Skt *kshantavya* 'expression asking pardon'; *Tag *salámat* 'thank you' Ml *sĕlamat* 'word of greeting' Ar *salāmat* 'safe and sound'; Tag *?upasála?* 'flatterer, perfidious' Ml *upacara* 'ceremony, honor' Skt *upācāra* 'polite or obliging behavior'; Tag *?úsap* 'converse' Ml *ucap* 'speaking'.

6a. Titles, term of address and relationship, names: Tag *bunso?* youngest son or brother' Ml *bungsu* 'youngest born'; *Tag *bansa, bansa?* 'nation' Ml *bangsa* 'race' Skt *vaṃśa* 'lineage, race'; Tag *kaka?* 'title for elder sibling or first cousin' Tag *káka* 'title for aunt or uncle' Ml *kakak* 'title for elder brother or sister'; *Tag *dáto?* 'chieftain' Ml *datu, datuk* 'chief'; *Tag *hari?, hadyi* 'king' OJav *haji* 'prince'; Tag *ladya?* 'title of nobility' Ml *raja* 'king' Skt *rāja* 'king'; Tag *Laksamana* 'person's name' Ml *Laksamana* 'name of Rama's half-brother' (from Skt); *Tag *maharlika?* 'noble' Ml *mĕrdĕheka* 'freedom' Skt *maharddhika* 'very prosperous, powerful' Tag *po?* 'respectful term of address' Ml *empu* 'master'.

7. Forms referring to intellectual activities: Tag *?alipusta?* 'determine something for oneself' OJav *paripṛsta* 'examined' Skt *pariprishtum* 'examined'; Tag *?alusitha?* 'verification, proof' OJav *ālocita* 'proven' Skt *ālocita* 'considered'; *Tag *?álam* 'known'[22] Ml *pĕng-alam-an* 'experience' Ar *'allām* 'known'; Tag *?alamat* 'legend, tradition' Ml *alamat* 'sign, portent of the future' Ar *'alāmāt* 'marks, signs'; Tag *?áral* 'instruction, advice' Tag *pag?áral* 'study' Ml *ajar* 'instructed' *bĕlajar* 'study'; Tag *?ásal* 'custom, habit' Ml *asal* 'source' Ar *aṣl* 'basis'; Tag *?akála?* 'idea' Ml *akal* 'idea' Ar *'aqala* 'have intelligence'; *Tag *básа* Ml *baca* 'read' Skt *vac* 'speak, recite'; Aklanon *bisála* 'word' Ml *bicara* 'speak' Skt *vicāra* 'discussion'; Tag *dalubhása?* 'expert' Ml *jurubahasa* 'translator'; *Tag *díwa?* 'sense, consciousness, spirit' Ml *jiwa* 'life, soul' Skt *jīva* 'principle of life'; Tag *guro?* Ml *guru* 'teacher' Skt *guru* 'preceptor'; Tag *haráya?* 'imagination' OJav *hṛḍaya* Skt *hṛḍaya* 'mind'; Tag *hikáyat* 'sweet talk' Ml *hikayat* 'narrative, story' Ar *hikāyāt* 'stories'; Tag *?ingat* 'care, devotion' Ml *ingat* 'give attention' Jav *ingĕt* 'remember'; Tag *kalatas* 'letter' Ml *kĕrtas* 'paper' Ar *qirṭā* 'paper'; Tag *katha?* 'literary composition' Ml *kata* 'speech' Skt *kathā* 'conversation, speech'; *Tag *kawáni* 'clerk' Ml *kĕrani* 'clerk'; Tag *kawi?* (accentuation unknown) 'gibberish' Ml *kawi* 'poetic speech' Skt *kavi* 'sage, poet'; Tag *mantála?* 'sacred text, charm' Ml *mantĕra* 'magical formula, incantation' Skt *mantra* 'sacred text'; Tag *palibhása?* 'sarcastic, ironical' Ml *pĕribahasa* 'proverb'; Tag *paliksa* 'proof, essay' Ml *pĕriksa* 'examined' Skt *parīkṣa*

22. The Samar-Leyte cognate of this word is *ma?áram*. Since SL has an *l* as well as an *r* phoneme, one would not expect an *r* in this form if it is cognate with the Malay and Arabic forms. Perhaps there is no connection between Tag *?alam* and Ml *pĕngalaman*.

'inspect'; *Tag *panday* Ml *pandai* 'smith' Skt *pāndya* 'wise, learned'; Tag *salita?* 'tell' Ml *cĕrita* 'story, tell' Skt *carita* 'deeds, adventures'; Tag *sampalatáya* 'believe' Ml *perchaya* 'believe' Skt *sampratyaya* 'faith, belief'; Tag *sapakat* 'plot, intrigue' Ml *sĕpakat* 'agreement' Ar *muwāfaqat* 'agreement'; *Tag *saksi* Ml *saksi* Skt *sākshi* 'witness'; Tag *siyásat* Ml *siyasat* 'investigate' Ar *siyāsāt* 'management'; Tag *surhi* 'ascertain' Tag-*súri?* 'analyze' Ml *sudi* 'purity, correctness' Skt *śuddhi* 'purity, justification, verification'; Cebuano *sudiya?* 'criticize, point out a person's mistakes to him' OJav *codya* 'provoking criticism' Skt *codya* (Gonda 1973:143) "be incited, criticized"; *Tag *pagka-taho?* 'realization, comprehension' Ml *tahu* 'know'; Tag *tanto?* 'realized' Ml *tĕntu* 'sure'.

8. Forms referring to supernatural beings or to religious, magical, or medical matters: Tag *?agímat* 'amulet' Ml *azimat, ajimat* 'amulet' Ar *'azīma* 'incantation, spell'; Tag *bakam* 'cupping glass' Ml *bĕr-bĕkam* 'cup'; Tag *baláta* 'vow' Ml *bĕrata* 'idol' Skt *vrata* 'solemn vow, holy practice'; Cebuano *bárang* 'kind of special insects used in witchcraft or the witchcraft using these insects'; Ml *bajang* 'kind of supernatural animal at the service of its owner'; *Tag *bathála?* 'god' Ml *bĕtara* 'title of divinity' Skt *bhaṭṭara* 'noble lord'; *Tag *diwáta?* 'nymph goddess' Ml *diwata* 'god' Skt *devatā* 'godhead, divinity'; *Tag *kapri* 'kind of supernatural being in the form of a large black man'[23] Ml *kapri* 'negro' Ar *kāfir* 'unbeliever'; Tag *kabal* 'something used to render oneself invulnerable' Ml *kĕbal* 'invulnerable'; *Tag *ngadyi?* 'pray' Ml *mengaji* 'study, recite the Koran'; Tag *linga (?lingga?)* 'kind of idol' OJav *lingga* 'image' Skt *liṅga* 'Shiva's emblem'; Tag *likha?* 'statue' OJav *reka* 'image of a god' Skt *rekhā, lekhā* 'streak, line, drawing'; Tag *mantála?* 'sacred text, charm' Ml *mantĕra* 'magical formula, incantation' Skt *mantra* 'sacred text'; Tag *nága* 'figure put on the prow of a boat' Ml *naga* 'kind of snake' Ml *naganaga* 'image carved on the prow of a boat' Skt *nāga* 'serpent demon'; Cebuano *pu?ása* 'fast' Ml *puasa* 'fast' Skt *upavāsa* 'fast'; *Tag *pati?ának* 'supernatural being that kills newborn babies' Ml *pontianak* (from **patianak*) 'supernatural being that kills children'; *Tag *pintakási* 'intercessor, patron' Ml *pinta* 'ask for' *kasih* 'love'; Tag *pag-samba* 'worship, adoration' Ml *sĕmbah* 'obeisance'; *Tag *tanda?* 'sign, mark' Ml *tanda* 'sign, token'; *Tag *batas* 'law, decree' Ml *batas* 'boundary' Jav *watĕs* 'boundary'; *Tag *hukom* 'pass judgement' Ml *hukum* 'decree, law' Ar *ḥukum* 'pass judgment'.

9. Forms referring to business, finance, and measurements: Tag *?asta* 'cubit' Ml *hasta, asta* 'cubit' Skt *hasta* 'measure, the length of the forearm'; Tag *?emas* 'grain of gold' (Noceda 1860:one-sixteenth of a gold *tahil*);

23. There is a form *cafre* 'kaffir, savage' in Spanish which originates from the same Arabic word. However, the Tagalog, because of its meaning, must be borrowed from Malay, not from Spanish.

Ml *ĕmas* 'gold'; *Tag *banyága?* 'foreigner' Ml *bĕniaga* 'trade' Portuguese *veniaga* 'trade, peddler'; Tag *hiyáya?* 'favor, gift' Ml *biaya* 'disbursement, working expense' Skt *vyaya* 'disbursement, outlay'; Tag *dáli?* 'inch' Ml *jari* 'finger'; Tag *dangkal* 'unit of measure from tip of thumb to tip of middle finger outstretched' Ml *jĕngkal* 'span of hand'; Tag *halaga* Ml *harga* Skt *argha* 'price'; *Tag *kaban* 'trunk, measure of 75 liters' Ml *kĕban* 'four-cornered matwork bag'; Tag *kati?* 'ten million' Ml *kĕti* 'one-hundred thousand' Skt *koṭi* 'ten million'; Tag *laba?* 'growth, increase' Ml *laba* 'gain, good return' Skt *lābha* 'gain'; *Tag *labi-* as in *labing isa sa ra?an* '101' (literally, one more than a hundred) Ml *lĕbih* 'more'; *Tag *laksa?* Ml *laksa* 'ten thousand' Skt *laksha* 'one hundred thousand'; Tag *láko?* 'peddle' Ml *laku* 'go'; *Tag *lapas* 'be free of debt, square' Ml *lĕpas* 'freed, unbounded'; Tag *múra* 'cheap' Ml *murah* 'cheap'; Tag *nílay* 'reflection, meditation' Ml *nilay* 'appraisal' Tamil *nilai* 'state, condition'; Cebuano *ka-saráng-an* 'average' Ml *sĕdang* 'average'; *Tag *tákal* 'measurement by volume' Ml *takar* 'measurement' Jav *takĕr* 'measurement'; Tag *tsúpa* 'a dry measure' Ml *cupak* 'a measure of weight'; Tag *talaro?* Ml *tĕraju* 'balancing scales' (from Persian); *Tag *túnay* 'true, real' Ml *tunai* 'cash' (from Tamil); Tag *?úpa* 'rent, payment for work done' Ml *upah* 'payment for services rendered'; Tag *?úri?* 'quality of something' (e.g., of jewelry, number of carats; purity) Ml *uji* 'measure, test something to see what sort of quality it is'; Tag *yúta?* 'one-hundred thousand' Ml *juta* 'a million' Skt *ayuta* 'a myriad' Skt *niyuta* 'a million'.

10. Forms referring to weather, geography, seafaring, seasons: Tag *bahaghári?* 'rainbow' Ml *hari* 'day'; Tag *balakla?ot* Ml *bárat laut* 'northwest wind'; Tag *dalampasígan* 'seashore near the mouth of a river or inlet' Ml *dalam* 'at, in'; Tag *dalát-an* 'highland for cultivation' Ml *darat* 'land as opposed to sea' (cf. Jav *rat* 'world'); Tag *hulo?* 'origin, head of stream' *hulu* 'upper part of stream'; Tag *kanan* 'right side' Ml *kanan* 'right side' (cf. Malagasy *havanana*, PAN **kawanan*); Tag *láho?* 'eclipse' Ml *rahu* 'snake that causes eclipses' Skt *rāhu* 'demon that causes eclipses'; Tag *lá?ot* 'high seas' Ml *laut* 'sea'; (cf. Wolff 1974); Tag *linggo* Ml *minggu* 'Sunday, week' Portuguese *Domingo* 'Sunday'; Tag *magha?* 'cloud' Ml *mega* 'cloud formation' Skt *megha* 'cloud'; Tag *masa* (accentuation unknown) 'season' Ml *masa* 'season, epoch' Skt *māsa* 'month'; Tag *páraluman* Ml *pĕdoman* 'compass'; *Tag *paraw* 'large sailboat' Ml *pĕrahu* (pronounced *pĕrau* 'undecked ship of Malabar coast' Tamil *paṭavu* 'kind of boat'; Cebuano *pásil* 'rocky area along coast' Ml *pasir* 'sandy beach' (cf. Tag *pásig* 'sandy bank'); *Tag *sabang* 'intersection, crossing' Ml *cabang* 'branching, bifurcation'; *Tag *salátan* 'southwest wind' Ml *sĕlatan* 'south', Tag *talágа?* 'small pond' Ml *tĕlaga* 'pond' Skt *tadaga* 'pond'; Tag *tálang* 'dawn, red sky' Ml *tĕrang* 'clear, bright'; *tanghálí?* 'noon' Ml *tengah hari* 'noon'.

why 'tanghálí' but 'bahaghári'?

11. Forms referring to foods, drink: *Tag *?álak* 'liquor' Ml *arak* Ar *áraq* 'kind of liquor'; *Tag *?atsára* 'pickles' Ml *acar* 'pickles' from Indic, e.g. Hindi *achār*; *Tag *kari* 'precooked viands in native cafeterias' Ml *kari* 'food cooked with sauce'; Tag *múra?* 'unripe, young' Ml *muda* 'young'; *Tag *patis* 'sauce made by boiling down fish, shrimp, meat' Ml *pĕkis* 'fish sauce'; *Tag *púto* 'steamed rice (cassava, etc.) cake' Ml *putu* 'steamed rice cake' Tamil *puṭṭu* 'steamed rice cake'; Tag *sapa* 'quid of chewed betel' Ml *sĕpah* 'quid of betel'; Tag *santan* Ml *santan* (cf. Jav *santĕn* 'juice extracted from coconut meat'); *Tag *salabat* Ml *sĕrbat* 'ginger tea' Ar *sharbat* 'drink'; *Tag *súka?* Ml *cuka* 'vinegar' Prakrit *cukkā* 'sorrel'.

12. Forms referring to goods and devices.

12a. Terms for wearing apparel and jewelry: Tag *báro?* 'shirt, dress' Ml *baju* 'clothes'; *Tag *galang* 'golden bracelet or other ornament Ml *gĕlang* 'bracelet'; Tag *gáring* Ml *gading* Jav *gaḍing* 'ivory'; Tag *kása?* 'bracelet of colored stones' Ml *kaca* 'glass' Skt *kāca* 'glass'; Tag *mánik* 'beads of mother of pearl' Ml *manik* 'beads' (of Indian origin); *Tag *mutya?* 'pearl' Ml *mutia* 'pearl' Skt *mutya* 'pearl'; Tag *pákay* 'wearing apparel' Ml *pakai* 'wear'; Tag *palamata* 'bracelet made of glass, fancy jewelry' Ml *pĕrmata* 'gem, jewel'; Tag *palara?* 'tinsel, tinfoil' Ml *pĕrada* 'tinsel, gold foil' Skt *pārada* 'quicksilver'; Tag *paruka?* 'footgear' Ml *paduka* 'term of address to noble' Skt *pādukā* 'footgear'; Tag *sitha?* 'cuttings of variegated pieces of cloth' Ml *cita* 'cotton print' (from modern Indic: e.g., Hindi *chint* 'chintz', Gonda 1973:113); Tag *salawal* Ml *sĕluar* or *sarawal* Ar *sarwal* Persian *shalwar* 'trousers'; Tag *sutla?* Ml *sutra* 'silk' Skt *sūtra* 'thread'; *Tag *singsing* Ml *cincin* 'ring'; Tag *tadyuk* 'tuft of feathers, plume' Ml *tajak* 'short, upward projection'; Tag *túrong* 'nipa hat' Ml *tudung* 'sun hat' Jav *tuḍung* 'kind of woven hat'.

12b. Terms for weapons, hunting and fishing devices: *Tag *balaraw* Ml *bĕladaw* 'curved dagger';[24] Tag *baril* Ml *bĕdil* 'gun'; Tag *dálat* 'snare' Ml *jĕrat* 'noose, lasso for small animals'; Tag *dála* Ml *jala* 'casting net' Skt *jāla* 'net'; *Tag *bilanggo?* 'prisoner, captive' Ml *bĕlĕnggu* 'handcuffs, shackles; Tamil *vilanku* 'fetters'; *Tag *lantáka?* 'culverin' Ml *rĕntaka* 'type of swivel gun'; *Tag *kális* Ml *kĕris* 'kris'; *Tag *paltik* 'homemade gun' Ml *pĕlantik* 'spring spear, spring gun'; Tag *sulígi?* 'dart' Ml *sĕligi* or *suligi* 'javelin, dart'; Tag *sandáta* Ml *sĕnjata* 'weapon' probably from Skt *sajjatā* 'being equipped'; Tag *sula?* 'impale' Ml *sula* 'sharp stake for impaling' Skt *śūla* 'stake for impaling criminals'; *Tag *sundang* Ml *sundang* 'kind of

Persian bazu

24. Tag *balaraw* is recognizable as a borrowing on the basis of the *r*; see n. 8.) However, I do not know an etymology. In other languages in which cognates occur the shape indicates borrowing, e.g., Mongondow *baladow* Gorontalo *baḷadu*. Further, it is a trisyllabic root; therefore the chances are infinitesimally small that these forms are not related by borrowing from Ml, even though a Ml cognate is not attested.

sword' Jav *sudang* 'gore' *sundang* 'horn'; *Tag *tanikala?* 'chain' Ml *talikala* 'binding for the stomach of a woman in labor' Skt *śṛṅkhalā, śṛṅkhala* 'chain, fetter'; Tag *tárak* 'knife, dagger' Ml *tajak* 'grass cutter'.

12c. Other terms referring to warfare: Tag *?alága?* 'care, vigilance' Tag *daga?* (accentuation unknown) 'be awake' Ml *jaga* 'be vigilant' Prakrit *jaggai* 'be vigilant'; *Tag *bangga?* 'collision, battle' Jav *bangga* 'recalcitrant, opposed' Skt *bhanga* 'breaking, overthrow, refutation'; Tag *halubílo* 'noisy crowd of confused mixture' Ml *haru biru* 'commotion, uproar';[25] Tag *káwal* 'soldier' Ml *kawal* 'watchman' Tamil *kāval* 'guard'; *Tag *kúta?* 'fortress' Skt *kuṭa* 'house'; Tag *puksa?* 'exterminated' Jav *muksa* 'disappear, sink away' Skt *mokṣa* 'emancipation'.

12d. Terms for devices for storing, serving, or preparing foods: Tag *balanga?* Ml *bĭlanga* 'wide-mouthed earthen cooking jar' Tag *gúsi?* 'large china vase' Ml *guci* 'water vessel'; Tag *kalan* 'stove for cooking' Ml *kĕran* 'chafing dish'; Tag *kawa* 'large cauldron' Ml *kawah* 'vat, cauldron' Mandarin *kuō* *Tag *kawáli?* 'rounded frying pan' Ml *kuali* 'wide-mouthed cooking pot'; Tag *kumbo?* 'decanter, cruet' Ml *kumbu* 'fish basket of wicker work shaped like a water vessel'; Tag *paso?* 'earthen vessel, flower pot' Ml *pasu* 'deep bowl, flower pot'; *Tag *pinggan* 'plate' Ml *pinggan* 'plate' Tamil *pīngkan* 'chinaware'; Cebuano *panay* 'shallow earthenware basin' Jav *pane* 'basin, bowl' Tamil *pāṇai* 'big jar'; *Tag *sandok* 'ladle, scoop' Ml *sĕndok* 'spoon, ladle'; Tag *súro?* Ml *sudu* Jav *suru* 'spoon'; Cebuano *tagyaw* or *tadiyaw* Ml *tajaw* 'large, narrow-mouthed earthenware pot'; *Tag *tungko?* 'cooking place of three stones or edges to hold a pot' Ml *tungku* 'hearthstones for supporting pot over a fire'.

12e. Terms for musical devices: *Tag *bangsi?* 'bamboo flute' Ml *bangsi* 'kind of flageolet' Skt *vaṃśi* 'kind of flute'; Tag *bidya* 'chord stop, fret' (no Jav or Ml cognate found) Skt *vedhya* 'kind of musical instrument'; *Tag *kudyapi?* 'lyre, harp' Ml *kĕcapi* 'kind of four-stringed lute' Skt *kaccapī* (Gonda 1973: 125) 'kind of lute'.

12f. Forms referring to constructions or devices for construction: Tag *gusáli?* 'large building' OJav *gosali* 'smithy' Skt *gośāla* 'cow stall'; Tag *lagári?* 'saw' Ml *gĕrgaji* 'saw' Skt *krakaca* 'saw'; Cebuano *katsaw* 'rafter' Ml *kasaw* 'rafter'; Tag *katam* 'plane' Ml *kĕtam* 'grip firmly'; Tag *káwad* Cebuano *káwat* 'wire' Ml *kawat* 'wire'; Tag *kunsi* 'lock' Ml *kunci* 'key'; Cebuano *lansang* 'nail' Ml *rancang* 'stake'; Tag *pako?* 'nail' Ml *paku* 'nail'; Tag *pasak* 'dowel' Ml *pasak* 'fastening or tightening with a twist, peg, or wedge' Jav *pasĕk* 'pressed tight'; Tag *pinto?* 'door' Ml *pintu* 'door'; *Tag *sulambi*, *sulambi?* 'caves, overhang' Ml *sĕrambi* 'veranda'; Cebuano *táruk* 'implant a post' Ml *tajok* 'shoot upward, projection'. (cf. Tg tadyok p.363)

12g. Forms referring to other devices: *Tag *batubaláni?* 'magnet' Ml *batu bĕrani* 'magnet'; Tag *bisa* (accentuation unknown) 'poison' Ml *bisa* 'poison' Skt *visha* 'poison'; Tag *lason* 'poison' Ml *racun* 'poison'; Tag *dupa?* 'incense' Ml *dupa* 'incense' Skt *dhūpa* 'incense'; Tag *galagala* 'caulking material' Ml *galagala* 'mixture of dammar and pitch for caulking boats' Skt *gala* 'resin (esp. from Shorea spp.); Tag *gantala* 'spinning wheel' Ml *jĕntĕra* 'spinning wheel' (Gonda 1973:146) probably also Ml *gĕntala* 'wheeled vehicle that moves by magic' Skt *yantra* 'engine, machine'; Tag *kulambo?* Ml *kelambu* 'mosquito net'; Tag *malílang* 'sulphur, gunpowder' Ngadju Dyak *marirang* 'sulphur';[26] *Tag *sabon* 'soap' Ml *sabun* 'soap' Ar *sābūn* 'soap'; *Tag *salamin* 'mirror' Ml *cĕrmin* 'mirror'; Tag *sakla?* 'metal ring around the handle of a knife' Ml *cakĕra* 'wheel, circle, discus' Skt *cakra* 'wheel'; *Tag *timba?* 'bucket' Ml *timba* 'bucket'; *Tag *tumbága* 'copper' Ml *tĕmbaga* 'copper'; Cebuano *pitáka* 'bag' (no Ml or Jav cognate found) Skt *piṭaka* 'basket, box, bag'.

12h. Terms referring to games or cocks: Tag *híraw* 'white cock with green admixture' Ml *hijau* 'green'; Cebuano *lumba?* 'race' Ml *lomba* 'race, competition'; *Tag *sípa?* 'game of kicking rattan ball' Ml *sepak* 'kick'; *Tag *tári?* 'gaff' Ml *taji* 'gaff'.

13. Terms referring to domestic or supernatural plants and animals or those which produce products of commercial importance: *Tag *bíbi* 'domesticated duck' Ml *bebek* 'duck'; Tag *dambuhála?* 'whale, sea or air monster' Ml *jambuara* 'a monster fish'; Tag *gadya* Ml *gajah* 'elephant' Skt *gaja* 'elephant'; *Tag *kalabaw* Ml *kĕrbau* 'water buffalo'; Cebuano *katyubung* Ml *kĕcubung* (*Datura metel*) 'a poison-yielding plant'; Tag *kasubha?* safflower' Ml *kĕsumba* 'trees yielding yellow to red dyes'; Tag *lakha?* substance used as base for preparation of tints and stains' Ml *kayu laka* 'henna' Prakrit *lakkhā*; Tag *nĭla?* 'indigo plant'[27] Ml *nila* 'indigo' Skt *nīla* 'dyed with indigo'; Cebuano *sangki* 'cloves' Ml *cĕngkih* 'cloves' Chinese *ting gê* 'cloves'.

14. Unclassified terms: Tag *?antála* 'get in one's way' Ml *antara* 'between' Skt *antara* 'being in the interval'; Tag *pang-anyáya?* 'damage, hurt' Ml *aniyaya* 'injustice' Skt *anyāya* 'injustice, impropriety'; Tag *bahagi* 'part' Ml *bahagi* 'mete out' Skt *bhāgin* 'partaking of'; *Tag *bágay* 'thing' Ml *bagay* 'kind, variety' Tamil *vakay* 'kind, sort'; Tag *?ambon* 'drizzle' Ml *ĕmbun*

25. Tag *halubílo* is considered to be a borrowing of Ml *harubiru* because the formation *harubiru* is of a type not present in Tag and further Tag *hálo?* 'mixed' is itself a borrowing of *haru* 'confused, disorderly'.

26. The Ml word for 'sulphur' listed in our dictionaries is *bĭlerang*. However, there is a Ngaju Dyak form *marirang*, which by its shape we know must be a borrowing (most likely from Malay), so we may deduce that there is or was a form *marirang* 'sulphur' in Borneo Malay, presumably the source of the Tagalog form *malílang*.

27. The name Manila (Tag *Maynila?*) comes from this form: *may* 'there are' and *nĭla?* 'indigo'—i.e., 'place where there are indigo plants'.

'dew'; *Tag *bakas* 'vestige' Ml *bĕkas* 'traces'; Tag *bálam* 'late, retarded' Ml *bĕlam* 'dusk, late in day'; *Tag *balita?* Ml *bĕrita* 'news' Skt *vṛtta* 'event'; Tag *tayibasi* 'filings' Ml *tahibĕsi* 'rust' Tag *bátak* 'pull toward oneself' Ml *batak* 'plundered' (cf. Jav *batĕk* 'dragged'); Tag *dáti* 'custom' *ka-rati-han* (accent unknown) 'natural, way something is' Ml *jati* 'genuine, really' Skt *jāti* 'character, genuine state'; Tag *damá* 'touch, have in hand' Ml *jamah* 'physical possession'; Tag *darak* 'bran' Ml *dĕrak* 'rice dust'; Tag *dulo* 'end, extremity' Ml *dulu, dahulu* 'beginning'; Tag *ganti* 'reciprocal act' Ml *ganti* 'replace' Jav *gĕnti* 'replace'; *Tag *hálo?* 'mixture' Ml *haru* 'confusing, disorderly'; Tag *lambot* 'softness' Ml *lĕmbut* 'soft, pliable'; *Tag *landas* 'beaten path' Ml *landasan terbang* 'landing strip for airplanes, (cf. Jav *landĕsan* 'chopping block'); *Tag *latak* 'residue' Ml *latak* 'lees, dregs' (cf. Jav *laṭĕk, laṭĕk* 'lees, dregs'); Tag *lungga?* 'burrow, hole' Ml *rongga* 'cavity, hollow'; Tag *mánusya* 'human spoor' Ml *manusia* 'mankind' Skt *manushya* 'human'; Tag *mandala?* 'stack of rice on stalks prior to threshing' Tag *madla?* 'all, everyone' (no Ml or Jav cognates found) Skt *maṇḍala* 'collection, circle'; Tag *paksa?* 'purposely' Ml *paksa* 'force to do something'; Tag *pandi?* Ml *panji* 'banner'; Tag *pansol* 'spring of water from high source' Ml *pancur* 'spray, gush'; Cebuano *sambiri* 'embroidered edge' Ml *sĕmbir* 'fringe, edge of plate'; Tag *sadya* 'prepare' Ml *sĕdia* 'prepared' Skt *sajja* 'ready'; Tag *simpan* 'something kept' Ml *simpan* (cf. Jav *simpĕn*) 'keep'; Tag *suri?* 'fold, plait' Ml *suji* 'embroidery' OJav *suji* 'quill for sewing'; Cebuano *tanáman* 'flower garden' Ml *tanaman* 'plants' Jav *tanĕm* 'plant'; Tag *túlong* 'help'; Ml *tolong* Chinese *tō lông* 'patronize, help a man on'; Tag *tulut* 'permission' Ml *turut* 'going along with, following line previously indicated' (cf. Cebuano *túgut* 'give permission, pay out a line').

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