

LOANWORDS IN MALAY

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Bolinger (1968: 90) said that languages are contagious and influence one another when in contact. The common form this influence takes is that of word borrowing. Linguists use the term 'borrow' with caution; as Jespersen (1922: 208) pointed out, this term is incorrect since the borrowing language does not deprive the source language of the word, and the borrower is not obliged to return it.

1.1 LANGUAGES ARE CONTAGIOUS

Languages influence one another when brought into contact by cultural or political influence. Political influence over colonies spreads cultural influence as well. In this case time does play a certain role, for the longer the time of contact the greater is the influence. Malaya was occupied by the Japanese in 1942-45, and the Japanese language was taught throughout the country. However the influence of Japanese in the Malay language is nil because the period of contact was too short. Except for some citizens who still remember the Japanese they learned thirty years ago, there is no trace of the language in Malaysia at all.

1.2 LEVELS OF INFLUENCE

In Chapter 11 of his book, Weinreich (1964) discussed three linguistic interferences: phonic, grammatical, and lexical. Here we are mainly concerned with lexical change, i.e. loanwords and their effects on Malay. Other changes will be dealt with only briefly. I propose to look into the matter of loanwords in Malay in four steps. First, I will discuss the various influences interacting with Malay in the history of the Malay language. Second, I will look into the reasons that necessitated borrowing in Malay. Third, I will discuss the various types of loanwords that can be found in Malay. Lastly, there will be a discussion on the impact of loanwords in Malay.

2.0 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF MALAY LOANWORDS

One can notice that cultural diffusion came in three main waves into Malay culture, i.e. Hinduism, Islam, and Western influence. The first two came in the form of new religions and the last one in political take-over. The last was more pervasive and widespread, bringing new ideas, concepts, education, technology, etc.

Many linguists like Bolinger, Bloomfield, Hockett, Sturtevant, and Sapir seem to agree on one point, i.e. that influence brings about a one-sided borrowing. This is the case in Malay, as indeed in many other languages. Malay has a considerable number of loanwords from Sanskrit, Portuguese, Persian, Arabic, Tamil, Chinese, Dutch, and English. The borrowing still continues to the present day.

2.1 HINDU INFLUENCE

About 2000 B.C. petty kings from India invaded Malay territories and brought along their beliefs, Hinduism and their new way of living, and political administration. With them they brought new things and concepts that were encountered by the Malays for the first time. There was a need for words that could describe all these items whether tangible or not. Thus the Malays borrowed words to name these innovations, e.g. *raja* 'king', *dewa* 'god', *panca indera* 'five senses', *mahasiswa* 'big (university) student', etc.

2.2 ISLAMIC INFLUENCE

Around the 12th century A.D. Islam came. The new faith spread throughout the Malay Archipelago. Similarly, the second religion or the new wave of cultural diffusion brought in a new stock of loanwords for the new ideas and concepts introduced. Most of these words are very much used to this day, e.g. *kadi* 'minister (Islam)', *naib* 'deputy', *mukim* 'county', *rezeki* 'income', etc.

2.3 WESTERN INFLUENCE

The last major influence came in during the last century or so. In the last century, Malaya saw another cultural wave, mainly in the form of British political influence and subsequently British colonization. This brought in a fresh stock of new ideas in administration, education, commerce, and industry that needed to be named. From the English language, the Malays borrowed *gomen* 'government', *pencen* 'pension', *stesen* 'station', etc.

2.4 OTHER INFLUENCES

Although I have mentioned only three waves of cultural influences, one cannot overlook the fact that there were other languages which influenced Malay as well, namely Persian, Portuguese, Dutch, Chinese, and Tamil. The Persian influence came alongside Islam. The Portuguese had a spell of supremacy in the Malay Archipelago during the 15th century. The loanwords from Dutch came mainly through a secondary source, Bahasa Indonesia. The Chinese and Tamils came to Malaya mainly after 1850, i.e. after the colonization by the British to fill the need for cheap labor. Their influence on Malay was not as great as that of the other three previously mentioned languages, but nevertheless significant. One reason why borrowing from Chinese and Tamil is not extensive is the fact that these language groups employed Pidgin Malay, a kind of bazaar language when communicating with the Malays (and each other) in their daily business of buying and selling. Thus the borrowing was restricted to, and deposited in, the pidgin language. Pidgin Malay is limited in usage, as the three last races do not mix freely in other social activities. However, these languages are responsible for loanwords like Chinese *taukeh* 'businessman, shopkeeper', *kongsi* 'association, to share', *cat* 'paint', etc. or Tamil *kota* 'city, fort', *pasbor* 'kind of vegetable dish', *kari* 'curry', and so on. Apart from these there was also the influence of the Portuguese, who settled in Malacca in the 15th century. They were responsible for loanwords such as *armada* 'fleet of ships', *almari* 'wardrobe', *biola* 'violin', *jendela* 'window', etc. There was, moreover, the considerable influence of Persian that came alongside Islam. The Persian language was responsible for

some loanwords such as *istana* 'palace', *nakhoda* 'captain of ship', *lazim* 'normal', etc. Thus, the state of affairs in Malay today can be rightly summarized as the result of that process which 'has continued uninterruptedly to the present day, each cultural wave bringing to the language a new deposit of loanwords' (Sapir 1921: 193).

Apart from the influences of other languages described above, Standard Malay was also from time to time influenced by various Malay dialects from the Malay Peninsula as well as other islands in the Malay Archipelago. From local dialects Standard Malay borrowed words such as *kelmarin* 'yesterday (Kedah)', *labur* 'to invest (Negeri Sembilan)', etc. The biggest source of dialectal borrowing is from Bahasa Indonesia, whose speakers enjoy considerable prestige. Some of the words borrowed from Bahasa Indonesia are *sumber* 'source', *aneh* 'peculiar', *bisa* 'possible', etc. There are also a number of Dutch words borrowed by Malay through Bahasa Indonesia e.g. *revolusi* 'revolution', *organisasi* 'organization', *reduksi* 'editorial', etc.

3.0 CONDITIONS FOR BORROWING

The coming of various cultures (religions), new ideas, and modern technology confronted the Malays with a problem of shortage of native vocabulary to express or refer to these things and innovations. The absence of Malay words led to the borrowing of foreign vocabulary items in order to make up for the shortage. This condition was one of the reasons that created a flow of loanwords heavily in one direction. Linguists like Hockett, Lehmann, Bolinger, Sapir, and Sturtevant claim that borrowing is the result of the prestige of the superior language. In other words, prestige controls the direction of the flow of loanwords. Hockett, however, has pointed out one other condition for borrowing, namely, the need-filling motive. This is probably one of the reasons responsible for some of the most extensive borrowing done by some languages in Southeast Asia, particularly Malay.

3.1 PRESTIGE MOTIVE

Of course prestige may be considered as a strong motive for borrowing. The prestige motivation was certainly true of the non-English speaking American immigrants who thought it was socially advantageous to know a word or two of English in order to impress their fellow immigrants or earlier English settlers. Similarly, speakers of English insert a word or two of Latin origin such as *prima facie*, *fait accompli*, *persona non grata*, etc., to indicate scholarship, though admittedly these words have grown to occupy a very significant and essential place in the English language.

3.2 NEED-FILLING MOTIVE

However, the acquisition of words from other languages may not be due to the above motivation alone. Take Thai as an example. The Thais are proud of their language, and Thailand is the only country in Southeast Asia that has never been colonized by any of the Western powers. Yet today modernization has led the Thais to borrow numerous words and technical terms, mostly from English. They certainly do not co-opt English terminology in order to obtain prestige. Their motivation is that of sheer need-filling. Similarly, Japanese had to borrow a lot of words and terminology

from Western languages. Again they were not motivated by prestige in borrowing these words, but rather the genuine need for these technical and scientific terms. Similar developments can be pointed out in several other Asian countries such as Korea, Taiwan, Indonesia, etc. and they are all motivated by the need for these words and terminology.

3.3 BORROWING FOR CONVENIENCE

Much has been said about the flow of linguistic borrowing in a certain direction, i.e. from the upper or dominant language to the lower language (Bloomfield 1933: 464). However, one should also discuss whether any borrowing takes place in the opposite direction. The direction of the traffic is by and large controlled by the prestige factor, and therefore the speaker of a socially 'higher' language 'does not feel any compulsion to learn a contact language regarded as inferior though he may condescend to pick up an occasional word that saves him the trouble of inventing one himself' (Bolinger 1968: 90). In other words, for the sake of convenience, speakers of English in Malaya may borrow a word or two from Malay. This is the reason why there has been only a negligible number of Malay words in either English or Dutch, because the greater amount of borrowing will only 'ride in on a wave of cultural diffusion' (Bolinger: 90). Thus there is hardly any number of Malay words borrowed by English that would matter or be of any significance. In *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* (1969), for example, these loanwords from Malay were found: *amuck, rattan, parang, kampung, creese, orang utan, bamboo*, etc. They are not very many. These are the only words borrowed by English after one century of contact with Malay.

3.4 THE CASE OF BORROWING IN MALAY

The prestige motive would also be quite true in the case of borrowing in Malay. However, the situation has been quite abruptly reversed since the government became independent in 1957. One example of this is the fact that whoever spoke his language with an English or Arabic accent was thought highly of simply because these two languages have always been associated with higher status in Malay society. This was common among students returning from Britain or Egypt, who would deliberately use the first and second person personal pronouns 'I', 'you' or 'anna', 'anta', respectively, in their conversations to show off their knowledge of those languages. This type of borrowing (at the phonic level) was clearly motivated by the prestige it brought. On the other hand students returning from India never displayed their Pakistani or Indian accent or knowledge of Hindi or any other Indian language simply because Indian languages were considered lowly since they were often associated with the Indians in Malaya who (mostly) originally belonged to the lower castes.

However, after the independence of Malaya, there was an upsurge of national feeling and also a rapid all-around development. This required an efficient language machinery. The Malay language was unable to cope with the new role. There was an urgent need for new words, technical and scientific terms. The prestige factor disappeared. The motivation to borrow words changed to that of need-filling. The situation was partially the result of '... an importing of commercial goods with their inventories, assembling instructions, and service manuals packed with terms that have no

equivalents in the native language, but must be adopted if the goods are to be put to use' (Bolinger 1968: 91). This was partly the driving force that propelled the Malay language to expand its vocabulary. The inflow of new goods, concepts, ideas, and so on was so great there hardly passed a day without one meeting a new item from the West – maybe in the form of torchlight batteries, or the latest pharmaceutical item in a lady's make-up box.

Thus there was an acute need for technical and scientific terms as well as words for items in one's everyday life. The government then set up a Literary and Language Agency (Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka) to look into this matter. Mainly, the Dewan Bahasa has resorted to coinage of technical and scientific terms (*istilah*). It set up more than twenty separate committees to invent the terms needed. They worked and enriched the Malay vocabulary a hundredfold. The success of their effort is yet to be realized. The biggest obstacle is that a large number of terms which had been simply coined, borrowed, translated are still not being actually used.

4.0 TYPES OF LOANWORDS

All languages fill their need for words mainly by coining them or simply by borrowing them from neighboring languages, or those with which they are in contact. English borrowed a lot of words from French; Persian from Arabic; Japanese from Chinese; and so on. The nature of language makes borrowing possible, sometimes necessary. This is often exploited by bilingual speakers – though borrowing may still take place without bilingualism.

Thus when the Malay language was facing the problem of naming new concepts, new ideas, and new items, its speakers resorted to all sorts of ways to produce new words. Sometimes the item was just given a description, or the foreign word was compounded with a similar word they knew and had roughly the same meaning. Sometimes the speakers translated the foreign word – if they knew its etymology, or borrowed the foreign word that came along with the idea or object. It is customary for linguists to distinguish various kinds of loanwords. Hockett classified them into loanwords, loan-shifts, loan-blends; Lehmann identified another type, loan-translation. In this paper, I would like to discuss loanwords on the basis of another classification – more characteristic of the nature of borrowing in Malay with new terms whenever appropriate.

4.1 SIMPLE LOANWORDS

This type of borrowing is taken wholesale from the source language. Of course, the form of the word may be adapted to Malay phonology which will be touched upon below. These loanwords may have been seen or heard only for the first time, or the Malays may have found them difficult to describe due to their abstract or intangible nature. The only logical thing to do in solving this problem is to borrow the new vocabulary item into the Malay language. Thus from the English language we have: *gomen* 'government', *ide* 'idea', *bas* 'bus', *bateri* 'battery', *polis* 'police', etc; Arabic: *zalim* 'cruel', *sabar* 'patience', *mukim* 'county', *zakat* 'a kind of compulsory alms', etc. There are numerous other loanwords, taken or borrowed wholesale from Arabic and English into Malay. There are of course just as many words borrowed wholesale in this manner from other languages that have been brought into contact with Malay.

4.2 LOAN-TRANSLATIONS (CALQUING)

There are a large number of loan-translations in Malay too. This happened because the native speakers of Malay could produce a Malay equivalent of the components of the new word. As a result a literal translation of the foreign words was obtained. Through popular and frequent usage the translation became accepted. Some of such loanwords are *batu locatan* 'stepping stone', *bulan madu* 'honeymoon', *tirai besi* 'iron curtain', *pentadbiran* 'administration', etc.

4.3 MESTIZO LOAN-WORDS (COMPOUNDING WITH SIMILAR NATIVE WORDS)

This is one of the most interesting types of loanwords employed by Malay speakers. An item that has been introduced has an equivalent term in Malay. Nevertheless the native word does not correspond exactly to the new item. Therefore to use the native word alone in the manner of loan-translation would give rise to ambiguity, as it does not convey the meaning in full. In this case the native and the foreign words are compounded into a single word. By doing this all possible misunderstanding will be cancelled or at least minimized. Thus from *kasut* 'shoe' one gets *kasut bot* 'boot'; *pintu* 'door', *pintu get* 'gate'; *baju* 'shirt', *baju kot* 'coat'; *rokok* 'cigarette'; *rokok sigaret* 'cigarette', etc.

4.4 LOAN-SHIFTS

This type of loanword has undergone a semantic change, or its meaning has been changed. Perhaps this type of loanword may also be termed as loan-blend. What has actually happened is that a certain word is borrowed into Malay, but instead of assigning its equivalent meaning in Malay, it has acquired another meaning. For example the word *vokal* 'vowel' came from the English word 'vocal' but has acquired another meaning in Malay different from its original one. Similarly, the word *kitab* 'religious book' originally meant 'book' only. Since the Malays became Muslims, they began associating Arabic loanwords mainly with religion.

4.5 DESCRIPTIVE WORDS

This is another form of compound word resulting from borrowing. If the foreign article is difficult to name, then Malay resorts to describing it. The result is necessarily a compound word, e.g. *kereta api* 'train' (literally car with fire), *susu getah* 'latex' (literally milk of rubber), *roti Benggali* 'bread' (literally bread baked by Bengalis – Bengalis in Malaysia were mostly bakers), *baja merah* 'a kind of fertilizer' (literally a kind of red colored fertilizer), etc. Although there may be reasons for not accepting these as loanwords, still, since they have been coined as a result of cultural interaction and influence from another language they may also be classified as loan terms.

4.6 DIALECTAL BORROWING

The various dialects of a language also mutually influence one another. Bahasa Malaysia, for example, is often influenced by another close dialect, Bahasa Indonesia.

Since Bahasa Indonesia has developed more efficiently in certain aspects, it is not uncommon that it exerts quite a lot of influence on Malay. It has developed in a lot of areas where Bahasa Malaysia remained inadequate. As such borrowing from Bahasa Indonesia is inevitable. Thus, in Malay today one finds words such as *sumbar* 'source', *namun* 'although', *bisa* 'possible', *anih* 'peculiar', etc. which are all borrowed from Indonesian.

Broadly speaking, apart from Bahasa Indonesia, there are also at least five other dialects of Malay, namely: Standard Malay, Northern Malay, Southern Malay, Eastern Malay, and Negeri Malay. Borrowing from these local dialects is also possible. One example of this is the word *kelmarin* which means 'yesterday' in Standard Malay. It is borrowed from the Northern Malay dialect to avoid ambiguity. The southern word *semalam* is now taken to bear the meaning of 'last night' only. There are also other examples. For instance, *labur* 'to invest' was borrowed from the Negeri dialect where the word *labur* means to cast seeds in planting.

4.7 ARCHAISM

Another type of borrowing is what Hall (1964: 320) has called archaism or borrowing from an older dialect. Such a method was also employed by the purists when coining technical terms in Bahasa Malaysia. In an effort to retain the phonological structure and identity of the language, they turned to the older word forms. Some of such examples are: *dermaga* 'wharf', *limbungan* 'dock', *dandang* 'boiler', etc. Some poets are also fond of reviving archaic word-forms in order to symbolize or describe something for special effect (320). Thus the word *purnama* was revived to mean 'a month (a fortnight)', *lembayung* 'twilight', *gelora* 'turmoil', etc. These words went out of currency at the turn of the century, but gained popular usage again after the Second World War when modern poetry developed rapidly. Also, after Malaya became independent, colonial titles such as 'Sir', 'Lord', etc. were obviously not in line with the new national aspiration and identity. These titles were replaced by old honorific titles like *Tun*, *Tan Sri*, *Datuk*, *Datin*, etc., a manifestation of borrowing from an archaic dialect of Malay.

4.8 OTHER BORROWED FORMS

Apart from the lexical items or expressions mentioned above we should also be aware that each time a word is borrowed, it sometimes includes formative elements from the foreign language. The formative elements are sometimes borrowed as well, and employed to derive other word forms. For instance the English '-ist' as in 'opportunist' has been borrowed, and through a later process it has been suffixed to some Malay roots, such that *cerpen* 'short story' became *cerpenis* 'short story writer'; and *beliawan* 'youth' became *beliawanis* 'someone active in youth movement'. These types of formative elements which have been borrowed will be discussed again later to examine their impact on Malay.

5.0 IMPACT OF LOANWORDS IN MALAY

'In theory, one language might influence another so drastically that subsequent scholarship would be unable to determine which of the two played the role of the borrower and which the source' (Hockett 1958: 419). However, word-borrowing in Malay has not reached that stage yet. Most of the loanwords in Malay have undergone both phonological and morphological assimilations. What we are concerned with in this paper are the linguistic changes described by Weinreich mentioned in 1.2 above, that a language coming in contact with another language would result in one being phonologically and morphologically affected.

5.1 PHONOLOGICAL CHANGES

The introduction of loanwords into Malay brought about some changes in Malay phonology and grammar. Of the many languages in contact with Malay, however, we can say that only Arabic and English have influenced Malay phonology. Every Malay by virtue of being a Muslim is able to read classical Arabic even though he is unable to understand the language. On the other hand only a small group of Malays have gone to English schools and learned to speak the language. Therefore it is not strange that Arabic has more influence on Malay phonology than English. The bigger influence of Arabic is also partly due to the fact that Arabic has had a longer influence on Malay, i.e. since the 12th century.

There are 19 native or primary consonants in Malay. Arabic introduced 12 more loan-consonants into the Malay consonant inventory. These consonants occur exclusively in Arabic loanwords. One loan-consonant came from English, i.e. /v/. Eleven of the loan-consonants are fricatives and one plosive. They however occur only in the loan word-forms. The consonants borrowed are shown in the chart below.

Table 1: Loan Consonants in Malay

Place of Articulation	Voiceless Fricatives	Voiced Fricatives	Voiceless Plosive
Bilabial	f	v	
Dental	θ	ð	
Apico-Dental		z	
Palato-Alveolar	ʃ	ʒ	
Velar	x	ɣ	
Uvular			q
Pharyngeal	ħ	ʕ	

Examples of the occurrence of the consonants are tabulated below:

Table 2: Occurrences of Borrowed Consonants

No.	Consonants		Examples
1.	f	fikir	'to think'
2.	v	vito	'to veto'
3.	θ	θalaθa	'Tuesday'
4.	ɒ	ɒalim	'to be cruel'
5.	z	zakat	'tithes'
6.	^v s	^v saitan	'satan'
7.	^v z	ha ^v zir	'to be present'
8.	x	xabar	'news'
9.	ɣ	ɣaib	'to disappear'
10.	q	qalam	'pen'
11.	h	ḥakim	'judge'
12.	ʕ	ʕelmu	'knowledge'

However, not all of these borrowed consonants are phonologically significant. Only one of them bears phonological contrast with another native phoneme, i.e. /z/ as in:

sakat	'to bully'
zakat	'alms'

Apart from this pair the loan-consonants occur merely as allophonic variations of the native ones. This is shown in the chart below.

Table 3: Replacement of Loan with Native Consonants

No.	Borrowed Consonants	Variation in Native Consonant		Examples
1.	f	p	pikir	'to think'
2.	v	—	vito	'to veto'
3.	θ	s	Salasa	'Tuesday'
4.	ɒ	—	—	—
5.	z	j	jakat	'tithes'
6.	^v s	s	saitan	'satan'
7.	^v z	d	hadir	'to be present'

No.	Borrowed Consonants	Variation in Native Consonant	Examples	
8.	x	k	kabar	'news'
9.	ʁ	g	gaib	'to disappear'
10.	q	k	kalam	'pen'
11	ḥ	h	hakim	'judge'
12.	ç	—	—	—

Only /v/ does not have variants in the native consonant inventory. Although from the above examples /z/ often occurs as a variant of /j/, it may need to be set up as a separate phoneme. This is because the usage of /z/ is frequent and widespread. The English language also brought /^vs/ as in 'station' and 'pension', but it is regularly replaced by /s/. However, English brought no further change to Malay phonology.

The assimilation of foreign sounds into the Malay phonological system occurs with considerable speed. This claim is borne out by the examples stated above. There are other numerous examples that could be cited from the Malay language. However, admittedly not all of these consonants remain in Malay. Probably, it is quite sufficient for one to indicate the extent of the effect of the foreign phonological system in Malay by showing its influence on the orthographic system of the language. In the official spelling system of Malay introduced on 16th August 1972, we can find the alphabetical symbols for the following loan-phonemes. This means that these phonemes have been accepted as part of the Malay phonological system.

Table 4: Loan Consonants Adopted in Spelling System

Phonemes	Symbols	Examples	
x	kh	khabar	'news'
ʁ	gh	ghaib	'to disappear'
^v s	sy	syaitan	'satan'
v	v	novel	'novel'

Apart from the acceptance of these consonants into the Malay sound system, the introduction of Arabic and English has also affected the Malay sound system in another way. Voiced stops do not occur in word-final position in Malay. But Arabic loanwords bring in words like *kitab* 'book', *jawab* 'answer', *had* 'limit', etc. English also brings in

words like *beg* 'beg', *dialog* 'dialogue', etc. This violates some of the Malay phonological rules. It is difficult to predict what the outcome of these interferences would be. It is quite in order to assume that these would soon be assimilated into the Malay sound system and become *kitab*, *jawap*, *hat*, *bek*, and *dialok*. However, being bilingual, the speakers may not find it necessary to make phonological adjustments and may retain the original pronunciation.

Another phonological change that is clearly discernible is the influence of consonant clusters from English. Malay has no word that contains a consonant cluster. Although sequences of phonemes could be noticed in some words, they are actually occurrences of two consonants belonging to two different syllables. For instance *nt* in *tentu* 'certain' could be separated into two different syllables as *ten-tu*. They are actually not clusters. The clusters in question occur in words like *proses* 'process', *ekspot* 'export', etc. At first, this characteristic of Malay was defended by purists and thus the loanwords became *peroses*, and *eksepot*. This is simply done by inserting a weak schwa /ə/ to break the clusters. However, this has gone out of popularity because bilinguals feel that it is quite absurd to tamper with the original phonological structure of the loanwords, especially when they find no difficulty in pronouncing them. Moreover, there is also a justification for retaining the clusters. The language planners feel that it will be more beneficial to retain the visual representation of the loanword as close to its original form as possible so that later generations will find it easier to recognize the words or terms in the original (English) language.

5.2 Morphological Changes

Once borrowed these words are subjected to the various derivational processes in Malay. Most of these loanwords become assimilated in Malay and take verbal and nominal affixation. The processes of morphology of the source language are seldom accepted together with the lexical items borrowed. As a result of this, the borrowed words are treated like any other bases for further derivations. Thus one can have *proses*, 'to process', *memproses* 'to process (active)', *diproses* 'to process (passive)'; or *industri* 'industry', *perindustrian* 'industrialisation', etc. Sometimes the borrowed words already contain some formative morphemes. In this case, the whole word is regarded as a single unit. It will become a base for further derivational processes, for instance *organisasi* 'organisation' becomes *mengorganisasikan* 'to organise (active)' and *diorganisasikan* 'to organise (passive)'.

The reverse of this process is the borrowing of foreign morphological formative elements, which are in turn used with native words to derive other words. From Sanskrit, Malay borrowed the suffixes *-wan*, *-wati*, *-man*, and *-an*, *wartawan* 'journalist', *seniwati* 'actress', *seniman* 'actor', and *biduan* 'singer', respectively. From Arabic, Malay borrowed the suffix for signalling gender *-min* 'male', *-mat* 'female', e.g. *muslimin* 'man believer', and *muslimat* 'woman believer', respectively. The suffix *-iah* is also borrowed from Arabic, e.g. *ilmiah* 'academic'. However most of these formative morphemes occur only with those loanwords with which they were borrowed. From Persian, Malay borrowed the prefix *bi-* as in *biadab* 'rude' and *bilazim* 'abnormal'. From English it borrowed the nominalizers *-is* as in *artis* 'artist', and *-isma* as in *egoisma* 'egoism'. Of the many formative morphemes borrowed by Malay, *-is* shows an ability to occur with

native base words, while others are restricted to foreign base words borrowed. The suffix *-is* occurs with *cerpen* 'short story' and *beliawan* 'youth' to derive *cerpenis* 'short story writer' and *beliawanis* 'one who is active in youth movement', respectively.

The affixes borrowed are tabulated in a chart below.

Table 5: Loan Affixes in Malay

Source Language	Affixes Borrowed and Examples
Sanskrit	<p>–<i>wan</i>, <i>hartawan</i> 'wealthy man'</p> <p>–<i>wati</i>, <i>seniwati</i> 'actress'</p> <p>–<i>man</i>, <i>seniman</i> 'actor'</p> <p>–<i>an</i>, <i>biduan</i> 'singer'</p>
Arabic	<p>–<i>min</i>, <i>muslimin</i> 'man believer'</p> <p>–<i>mat</i>, <i>muslimat</i> 'woman believer'</p> <p>–<i>iah</i>, <i>ilmiah</i> 'academic'</p>
Persian	<p><i>bi</i>, <i>bilazim</i> 'abnormal'</p>
English	<p>–<i>is</i>, <i>cerpenis</i> 'short story writer'</p> <p>–<i>isma</i>, <i>egoisma</i> 'egoism'</p>

5.3 SYNTACTIC CHANGES

Malay syntax has probably not been affected very much. However, the changes that have resulted from its contact with English can be said to be quite evident.

One of the changes noticed is the introduction of *adalah* as a copula in equational sentences. For instance, what was formerly constructed simply as *Rumah itu besar* 'The house (is) big' is now constructed thus: *Rumah itu adalah besar* 'The house is big'. This is always claimed to be an English influence, anyway it seems to be quite in order to assume so. The people who are responsible for its introduction appear to be the bilingual speakers. In fact, it is indeed possible, since at present a lot of English textbooks are being translated into Malay.

The other syntactic innovation that has resulted from the contact with English is the passive construction for first and second person in Malay. Although such a construction was not permitted in Malay not long ago, it is becoming more acceptable now. Thus one may construct passive sentences such as *Aku/awak dimarahi oleh cikgu* 'I/you was/were scolded by (the) teacher'. The similarity with English is much too obvious for one to dismiss it as a mere coincidence.

5.4 SOME STATISTICS

After the discussion of the impact of language-contact on Malay, it might also be fruitful to look at some figures. These figures are obtained by counting the lexical entries made in the most recent monolingual dictionary, i.e. *Kamus Dewan* (1970) published by Dewan Bahasa supplemented by that of Winstedt (1969) and Wilkinson (1932). Of about 30,000 lexical entries, there are 4,621 loanwords. The breakdown of the figures according to source languages is shown below. There are of course a great number of borrowed scientific terms in Malay. Most of them are borrowed from English. It is difficult to determine the exact number of borrowed scientific terms. However, a modest estimate is 300,000 terms. The figures obtained from *Kamus Dewan* alone are not totally reliable. For instance the count revealed only 18 words borrowed from Sanskrit. It is certainly an error to think that there are only 18 Sanskrit loanwords in Malay. In the absence of such vital information, other sources such as Winstedt's and Wilkinson's were made use of. There is also a similar error on the other extreme. There are supposed to be 1,140 loanwords of Dutch origin borrowed by Indonesian listed in the *Kamus Dewan*. Most of these words are actually not present in the Peninsula Malays' vocabulary. Conclusions based on such information would certainly be erroneous.

Table 6: Source and Number of Loanwords

Source Language	Number of Loanwords
Dutch (through Indonesian)	1,140
Arabic	1,115
European	711
Sanskrit	677
English	488
Chinese	279
Portuguese	126
Tamil	64
Persian	9
Japanese	6
Hindustani	4
Turkish	1
Russian	1
Total	4,621

The figures in Table 6 above can again be analyzed to ascertain the areas of cultural contacts between the Malays and the outside influences. We will try to look at the influences of the Indians (Sanskrit), Arabs, and the English. In this analysis the number of loanwords from a language is divided into the areas of cultural activities. The areas of cultural activities used are adopted from the review of Panganiban's *Talahuluganang Pilipino-Ingles* by Teodoro A. Llamzon and John P. Thorpe (1972).

However, the classification of cultural activities is simplified to suit this study. The results are shown below:

Table 7: Areas of Contact and Borrowing

Areas of Contact	Sanskrit	Arabic	English
Mankind, body parts	316	92	59
Animals	77	7	9
Plants	44	—	6
Food	58	—	19
Kinship	—	10	—
Titles, Government & Administration	14	3	10
Power & Military	—	—	17
Skill & Occupation	121	5	242
Trade & Commerce	19	—	11
Arts & Music	—	3	14
Games & Gambling	—	—	4
Religion	3	977	—
Natural Phenomena	22	18	55
Numerals	3	—	—
Measurements	—	—	41
Sounds	—	—	1

6.0 CONCLUSION

From tables given above, it becomes clear now that the three cultural waves (Hindu, Islamic, and Western) that affected the Malay Peninsula during the last two millennia have brought a lot of influences into Malay. The number of words from the Indo-European languages as well as from Arabic indicates the comparative intensity of the cultural contact between the Malays and the speakers of those languages.

From the study of the loanwords that have been deposited in Malay too we are able to determine the areas of cultural activities involved. Sanskrit left a lot of

loanwords for mankind and body parts. This is probably due to the fact that Sanskrit was the earliest language that came into contact with Malay and had the first opportunity to fill the vacuums in the Malay language. It also brought a lot of words for names of animals. The political influence of the Hindu kings also left a lot of words for government, administration, and social titles.

The Arabs deposited a great deal of words for religion. This is obvious. The Malays are Muslims. In embracing Islam, they also had to adopt a lot of new words for those new concepts and ideas brought in. This also naturally affected the kinship terms, as religion also involved a lot of things about the family as in marriage and property ownership. As a result words for kinship too were borrowed.

The English language brought a lot of influences in the area of skills and occupations, which includes education, etc. This is understandable enough since the coming of the Western powers also meant education for a great majority of the population, and education enhanced skills and improved occupational and social status. A considerable number of words were also borrowed for government, administration, and the military. This is again quite obvious as the coming of the Western powers (English) also brought about political interference. The presence of some words from earlier influences prevented new borrowings from English. However, sometimes the presence of an earlier word did not prevent subsequent borrowing. This indeed happened as in *warganegara* (Sanskrit) and *kerakyatan* (Arabic) which mean 'citizenship', *kerajaan* (Sanskrit) and *gomen* (English) which mean 'government', etc. The presence of more than one loanword for the same concept or idea clearly indicates the series of influences experienced by the Malay language.

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