

THE SANSKRIT LOAN-WORDS IN THE CEBUANO-BISAYAN LANGUAGE

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In the definition of the cultures of Philippine ethnic groups and in the reconstruction of their history the ethnologist invariably encounters the problem of establishing pre-Hispanic cultural relationships between India and the Philippines, and the identification of Indian elements in Philippine cultures. The solution of the problem, although partly achieved, is still mainly hypothetical because of the existence of two impediments, namely; (a) the paucity of speaking sources such as archaeological findings and written records, and (b) the complex cultural overlays brought about by centuries of colonization.

On account of the scarcity of speaking sources ethnologists have attempted to solve the aforementioned problem by investigating the presence of Indian, or more specifically, Sanskrit loan-words in Philippine languages with the guidance of linguists, if the ethnologists are not professionally trained linguists themselves. The studies undertaken by such scholars seem to be founded on the axioms that language is an index of culture and that cultural borrowing is generally conterminous with linguistic borrowing.

Among the scholarly works undertaken along this line are Joaquin Pardo de Tavera's *Sanscrito de la Lengua Tagala* (Paris, 1887), H. Kern's *Verspreide Geschriften* (S' Gravenhage,

1923), Jan Gonda's *Sanskrit in Indonesia* (Nagpur, 1952), F. R. Blake's *Sanskrit Loan-Words in Tagalog* (s.a.), J. Francisco's "Sanskrit Loan-words in Philippine Languages," *Adyar Library Bulletin* (1958), and P. V. Bapat's "Words of Sanskritic Origin in the Languages of South-east Asia," *Indo-Asian Culture*, (1960). Although the studies just enumerated treat on linguistic borrowing of Sanskrit terms among Philippine ethnic groups, only the tenth volume of Kern's work gives an exclusive treatment of Sanskrit words in Bisayan, but even this does not provide a very exclusive description of such words in Cebuano-Bisayan, the most widely spoken language in central and southern Philippines.

This study is therefore an essay towards a detailed description of the Sanskrit loan-words assumed to have been assimilated into Cebuano-Bisayan with the following aims in mind:

(a) to discover words in Cebuano-Bisayan which may have been borrowed from Sanskrit

(b) to describe the phonetic, phonemic, morphological, and semantic changes undergone by the loan-words in the process of assimilation

(c) to trace as precisely as possible the paths in which these words have been diffused from India to the eastern Bisayan Islands

(d) to find out the spheres of Cebuano-Bisayan culture into which most of the borrowed words or the elements they indicate have been assimilated.

In undertaking this study the writer employs an empirical method in which the following steps have been followed:

(a) the listing, description, and comparison of the phonemes of Sanskrit, Javanese, Malayan, and Cebuano-Bisayan languages. The articulatory analysis of each phoneme has been based on brief descriptions of the processes of pronunciation given in dictionaries, grammars, and other linguistic references of the languages under study. The writer also presents symbols of transcription adapted after those of the International Phonetic Alphabet, as well as their corresponding alphabetic forms in the languages.

(b) the listing of Sanskrit, Javanese, Malayan, and Cebuano-Bisayan terms of identical or similar forms and meaning taken from standard dictionaries.

(c) the comparison of linguistic changes undergone by the

loan-words in their assimilation into the Javanese, Malayan, and Cebuano-Bisayan languages.

(d) description and analyses of the more common trends of linguistic changes and the formulation of hypothetical laws governing such modifications.

(e) a speculative reconstruction of the paths of diffusion taken by the loan-words with the use of the culture historical method.

II. The Phonological Systems of Sanskrit, Javanese, Malayan, and Cebuano-Bisayan

A. Sanskrit:¹

Vowels:

i (i)	— unrounded high front vowel
ī (ī)	— long unrounded high front vowel
a (a)	— low central vowel
ā (ā)	— long low central vowel
u (u)	— rounded high back vowel
ṛ (ṛ)	— retroflex r
ṝ (ṝ)	— long retroflex r
ḷ (ḷ)	— retroflex lateral
ḹ (ḹ)	— long retroflex lateral

Diphthongs:

ē (ē)	— long unrounded mid-high front vowel
āi (āi)	— long central vowel and unrounded high front vowel combination
ō (ō)	— long rounded mid-back vowel
āu (āu)	— long central vowel and rounded high back vowel combination

Consonants:

p (p)	— voiceless bilabial stop
ph (ph)	— aspirated voiceless bilabial stop
b (b)	— voiced bilabial stop

1) Walter Allison, Philips et al., ed. *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Vol. 24. (New York: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc., 1910), p. 156.

t (t)	—	voiceless dental stop
d (d)	—	voiced alveolar stop
dh (dh)	—	aspirated voiced alveolar stop
ɖ (ɖ)	—	voiced retroflex stop
th (th)	—	aspirated voiceless retroflex stop
d̪ (d̪)	—	voiced retroflex stop
ɖh (ɖh)	—	aspirated voiced retroflex stop
k (k)	—	voiceless velar stop
kh (kh)	—	aspirated voiceless velar stop
g (g)	—	voiced velar stop
gh (gh)	—	aspirated voiced velar stop
ts (c)	—	voiceless alveo-palatal affricate
tsh (ch)	—	aspirated voiceless palatal affricate
dz (j)	—	voiced alveo-palatal affricate
dzh (jh)	—	aspirated voiced alveo-palatal affricate
θ (θ)	—	voiceless dental slit fricative
h (h)	—	voiced glottal fricative
h (h)	—	/h/ articulated farther back
s (s)	—	voiceless alveolar groove fricative
ʃ (ʃ)	—	voiceless retroflex groove fricative
s' (s')	—	voiceless alveo-palatal groove fricative
l (l)	—	voiced alveolar lateral
m (m)	—	voiced bilabial nasal
ɱ (ɱ)	—	/m/ articulated farther back
n (n)	—	voiced alveolar nasal
ŋ (ŋ)	—	voiced velar nasal
ɲ (ɲ)	—	voiced palatal nasal
w (v)	—	voiced bilabial semi-vowel
r (r)	—	voiced alveolar semi-vowel
y (y)	—	voiced alveo-palatal semi-vowel

B. Javanese:²

Vowels:

i (i)	—	unrounded high front vowel
e (e)	—	unrounded mid-front vowel
ə (ě)	—	sewa or pepet

2) Eugene Verstraelen. *Old Javanese-English Vocabulary*. (Cebu City: University of San Carlos, 1960) p. 1 (typewritten).

- a (a) — low central vowel
 o (o) — round mid back vowel
 u (u) — round high back vowel

Consonants:

- p (p) — voiceless bilabial stop
 b (b) — voiced bilabial stop
 t (t) — voiceless dental stop
 d (d) — voiceless alveolar stop
 ḍ (ḍ) — voiceless retroflex stop
 k (k) — voiceless velar stop
 g (g) — voiced velar stop
 ʔ (k) — glottal stop
 ts (c) — voiceless alveo-palatal affricate
 dz (j) — voiced alveo-palatal affricate
 h (h) — voiced glottal fricative
 s (s) — voiceless alveolar groove fricative
 l (l) — voiced alveolar lateral
 m (m) — voiced bilabial nasal
 n (n) — voiced alveolar nasal
 ṅ (ṅ) — voiced velar nasal
 ñ (ñ) — voiced palatal nasal
 w (w) — voiced bilabial semi-vowel
 r (r) — voiced alveolar semi-vowel
 y (y) — voiced alveo-palatal semi-vowel

C. Malayan:³

Vowels:

- i (i) — unrounded high front vowel
 e (e) — unrounded mid-front vowel
 ə (ě) — pepet or sewa
 a (a) — low central vowel
 o (o) — rounded mid-high back vowel
 u (u) — rounded high back vowel
 au (aw) — central vowel and rounded high back vowel
 combination (possibly a diphthong)

3) Walter Yust (ed.), *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. 17-18. Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc., 1950, p. 477.

Consonants:

p (p)	—	voiceless bilabial stop
b (b)	—	voiced bilabial stop
t (t)	—	voiceless alveolar stop
d (d)	—	voiced alveolar stop
k (k)	—	voiceless velar stop
g (g)	—	voiced velar stop
ʔ (k)	—	glottal stop
ts (ts,		
c)	—	voiceless alveo-palatal affricate
dz (j)	—	voiced alveo-palatal affricate
h (h)	—	voiced glottal fricative
s (s)	—	voiceless alveolar groove fricative
l (l)	—	voiced alveolar lateral
m (m)	—	voiced bilabial nasal
n (n)	—	voiced alveolar nasal
ɲ (ɲ)	—	voiced velar nasal
ɲ̃ (ny)	—	voiced palatal nasal
w (w)	—	voiced bilabial semi-vowel
r (r)	—	voiced alveolar semi-vowel
y (y)	—	voiced alveo-palatal semi-vowel

D. Cebuano-Bisayan:⁴

Vowels:

i (i,e)	—	unrounded mid-high front vowel
a (a)	—	low central vowel
u (u,o)	—	rounded mid-high back vowel
p (p)	—	voiceless bilabial stop
b (b)	—	voiced bilabial stop
t (t)	—	voiceless alveolar stop
d (d)	—	voiced alveolar stop
k (k)	—	voiceless velar stop
ʔ (ʔ)	—	glottal stop
h (h)	—	voiced glottal slit fricative

4) J.D. Bergh. *Analysis of the Syntax and the System of Affixes in the Bisaya Language from Cebu*. Arnhem: Missiehuis Velperweg, 1958, p. 7.

s (s)	—	voiceless alveolar groove fricative
l (l)	—	voiced alveolar lateral
m (m)	—	voiced bilabial nasal
n (n)	—	voiced alveolar nasal
ṅ (ng)	—	voiced velar nasal
w (w)	—	voiced bilabial semi-vowel
r (r)	—	voiced alveolar semi-vowel
y (y)	—	voiced alveo-palatal semi-vowel

The preceding lists of phonemes in the Sanskrit, Javanese, Malayan, and Cebuano-Bisayan show that the Indian language has a much more complex system than the others. The Javanese and Malayan seem to be much simpler than the Sanskrit and more complex than that of the Bisayan. The Sanskrit phonological system has 46 units, the Javanese, 26, the Malayan, 25, and the Cebuano-Bisayan, only 18.

III. The Sanskrit Loan-words in the Cebuano-Bisayan Language

A. Terms in Commerce:

1. a. Skt. : bhāgin, "sharing in"
- b. Jav. : bagi, "to share"
- c. Malay. : bēhagi, "to share"
- d. C. Bis. : bahin, "share;" also root of *pagbahin* "to share"

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis	
<i>bhā</i>	<i>ba-</i>	<i>bēha-</i>	<i>ba-</i>	(<i>bh</i> > <i>b</i> , <i>bēh</i> , <i>ba</i>)
<i>ā-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>a-</i>	(<i>ā</i> > <i>a</i>)
<i>-gin</i>	<i>-giO</i>	<i>-giO</i>	<i>-hin</i>	(<i>gin</i> > <i>giO</i>)
<i>gin</i>	<i>-giO</i>	<i>giO</i>	<i>-hin</i>	(<i>g</i> > <i>h</i>)

Semantic change: None

It is probable that the Javanese and Malayan forms are of Sanskrit origin. The Bisayan form, however, may be considered either as a corrupted form of the Indian term or simply an indigenous term of the Bisayans. The irregular sound shift (*g* > *h*) renders its Sanskrit origin doubtful.

2. a. Skt. : bhānda, "goods"
 b. Jav. : banda, "riches"
 c. Malay. : bēnda, "a valuable thing"
 d. C. Bis. : bahandi', "property, wealth"

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
bhān-	ban-	bēn-	bah-	(bh > b, bah)
bhān-	ban-	bēn-	bahan-	(ā > a, ě)
-da			-di'-	(a > i?)
-da-			-di-	(a > i?)

Semantic change:

The Sanskrit term in this case has undergone a slight modification of meaning in linguistic borrowing.

It is safe to assume that the Javanese and Malayan forms in this case are of Sanskrit origin, but the Bisayan term may be regarded as either a corrupted form of the Indian or an indigenous word.

3. a. Skt. : bhāra, "load"
 b. Jav. : bhāra, "load" (old form); bahara, "load" (new form)
 c. Malay. : bahara, "load"
 d. C. Bis. : bala, "to carry a person pick-aback"

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
bhā-	bha-	baha-	bOa-	(bh > bah, b)
bhā-	bhā-	baha-	bOa-	(ā > a)
-ra	-ra	-ra	-la	(r > l)

Semantic change:

In this case the Sanskrit term in Cebuano-Bisayan has assumed a specialized meaning.

Since the phonetic changes in this case seem to be regular, the Javanese, Malayan, and Bisayan terms may be regarded as of Sanskrit origin.

4. a. Skt. : tivra, "tin, zinc, spelter"
 b. Jav. : timbrah "tin, zinc, spelter"
 c. Malay. : timah, "tin, zinc, spelter"
 d. C. Bis. : ting-ga' "lead"

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
tiw-	tim-	tim-	tiŋ-	(w) m, ŋ)
-ra	-brah	mOah	-gOa	(r) O)
-ra-	-brah	mOah	-gOa-	(O) h,)
-ra	-brah	mOah	-gOa	(r) g)?

Semantic changes:

In Cebuano-Bisayan the meaning of the loan-word has undergone a slight shift in meaning. The change may have been effected by the introduction of the Spanish *zin*, "zinc" into the Bisayan language. As a consequence, the meaning of the Sanskrit loan-word has undergone specialization.

It is probable that the Javanese, Malayan, and Bisayan terms are of Sanskrit origin. What seem to be irregular phonetic changes in the Bisayan forms, such as the glottalization of the final sound, may have been caused by sounds added either to compensate for the loss of aspiration incurred in borrowing the term from the Javanese or Malay, or to distinguish *ting-ga'* from similar forms in Bisayan such as *ting-ga* "goal," "*tinga'*," a piece of food lodged in a dental cavity," etc.

5. a. Skt. : tamra, "copper"
 b. Jav. : tēmbaga "copper"
 c. Malay. : tambaga "copper"
 d. C. Bis. : tumbaga' "copper"

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
tam-	tēm-	tum-	tum-	(a) u, e)
-ra	-baga	-baga	-baga?	(r) b, g)?
-	-ga	-ga	-ga'	Aphaeresis of -ga?

Semantic changes:

It is doubtful whether or not the Javanese, Malayan, and Bisayan terms are of Sanskrit derivation because of what seem to be irregular changes in the terms, especially in form. However, if the Javanese, Malayan, and Bisayan terms are of Indian origin, it may be inferred that the Sanskrit word has undergone folk etymology in diffusion.

6. a. Skt. : dhāra, "bearing"
 b. Jav. : dhāra, "bearing" (old form)
 c. Malay. :
 d. C. Bis. : dalà, "to bear, to carry" (root)

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
dhā-	dhā-		dOa-	(dh > dO)
dhā-	dhā-		dOa-	(ā > a)
-ra	-ra		-la	(r > l)

Semantic changes:

No semantic change is noticeable in this case.

It is highly probable that the Javanese and Bisayan terms are of Sanskrit origin, because the phonetic changes they show are quite regular. However, apparently the Indian term never attained popularity in the Javanese and Malayan languages because they have ceased to exist in the vocabularies of Indonesia and Malaya. It is therefore possible that the Bisayan term has been borrowed directly from Indian traders.

7. a. Skt. : çukra, "vinegar"
 b. Jav. : çuka, "vinegar"
 c. Malay. : çuka, "vinegar"
 d. C. Bis. : suka', "vinegar"

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
tsuk-	tsu-	tsu-	su-	(ts > s)
kra	-kOa	-kOa	-kOa	(r > O)
-a-	-a-	-a-	-a-?	(O > ?)

Semantic change: None

Since the Sanskrit origin of the loan-words in this case is doubtful according to J. Gonda⁵ who ascribes them to a Prakrit proto-type, the Javanese, Malayan, and Bisayan forms may be said to be only of Indian and not Sanskrit origin.

5) J. Gonda, *Sanskrit in Indonesia*. Nagpur: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1927, p. 53.

8. a. Skt. : lābha, "profit"
 b. Jav. : laba, "profit"
 c. Malay. : laba, "profit"
 d. C. Bis. : labàw, "increase, difference, more
 (adjective)"
 Also : labi, "more"
 labàs, "to buy and sell" (root)
 pangilaba, "to ask a favor"

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
lā-	la-	la-	la-	(ā > a)
-bha	-bOa	-bOa	-bOaw	(bh > b), (h > O)
-bha-	-bOa-	-bOa-	-bOaw	(-O > w, s,)
			-bOas	

Semantic change:

If the Javanese, Malayan, and Bisayan terms are of Sanskrit origin, it may be inferred that they have assumed meanings similar to that of the original, although the Bisayan forms have become varied on account of variations in meaning. Again the Bisayan forms may be cases of folk etymology.

9. a. Skt. : mutya, "pearl"
 b. Jav. : mutya, "pearl"; also *mote*, "bead"
 c. Malay. : mutya, "pearl"
 d. C. Bis. : mutya', "a gem, a pearl"

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
-ya-	-ya-	-ia-	-ya-	(-O > -?)

Semantic changes:

The Javanese and the Malayan terms in this case have retained the meaning of the Sanskrit prototype, but the Cebuano-Bisayan has undergone a slight broadening of meaning, a phenomenon which may have been brought about by the introduction of the Spanish *perla*, "pearl" into Cebuano-Bisayan vocabulary.

10. a. Skt. : vāṇija, "merchant"
 b. Jav. : baniija, "merchant" (old form)
 c. Malay. : bēniaga, "merchant"

- d. C. Bis. : baligya', "goods, ware"; *baligja* (Bohol-Leyte variant)
 Also : banyaga', "scoundrel", which seem to suggest an antipathy towards traders and foreigners in general.

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
wā-	ba-	bě-	ba-	(w > b)
wa-	ba-	bě-	ba-	(ā > a, e)
-ŋi-	-ni-	-ña-	lig-	(ŋ > ny, l,)
			-ny	
-dza	-dza	-ga	-ya, dza	(-dza ga, ya)

Semantic change:

Not even a slight semantic variation may be noticed in the Javanese and Malayan terms, but the meaning has changed considerably in Cebuano-Bisayan. Perhaps the change has been effected by the introduction of Spanish and English loan-words such as *comerciante*, "merchant," *negociante* "businessman," or the term *business man* itself which are now in common usage, especially among sophisticated Cebuanos.

This writer suspects that the last two phonetic changes in Bisaya are only metathetic adaptations of the Malayan form and the modifications seem to compensate for the failure of the Bisayans to use the affricate /dza/. In Bohol and western Leyte, however, the form /baligdza?/ is still in popular usage.

B. Names of Plants and Animals and Related Terms:

1. a. Skt. : alābu, "gourd"
 - b. Jav. : alabu, "snake gourd,
 - c. Malay. : labu,
 - d. C. Bis. : labu, "mealy, referring to squash and root crops"
- Also : labu-labu, "mealy-complexioned"

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
alā-	ala-	Ola-	Ola-	(a- > O-)
-lā-	la-	-la-	Ola-	(-a- > -a-)
-bu-	-bu-	-bu-	-bu?, -bu?	(u- > u?)

Semantic changes:

Only a very slight semantic variation has been undergone by the Sanskrit word in this case in its assimilation into the Javanese, Malayan, and Bisayan vocabularies.

It is possible that the Javanese, Malayan, and Cebuano-Bisayan terms in this case are of Sanskrit origin. As may be noticed, the phonetic changes seem to be regular. The semantic shift of the Bisayan form may have been caused by the borrowing of the Spanish term *calabasa* "squash" which has corrupted to *kalabasa* in Bisayan. Thus *labu* has ceased to denote the vegetable itself but rather a quality of squash and root crops in general.

2. a. Skt. : paṭola, "a gourd," *Tricosanthes dioeca*
 b. Jav. : patola, "a gourd," *Tricosanthes dioeca* (old meaning)
 c. Malay. : pětola, "a gourd," *Tricosanthes dioeca* (old meaning)
 d. C. Bis. : patola, *Luffa cylindrica* Linn.

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
pa-	pa-	pě-	pa-	(-a-) -ə-)
-ṭo-	-to-	-to-	-to-	(-ṭ-) -t-)

Semantic change:

Although in later times the Sanskrit term had assumed new meaning (i.e., "silk" in modern Javanese, Malayan, and even among the Taosugs of Sulu), it is still possible that the Bisayan term is of Sanskrit origin. It is possible that the term has been introduced in much later times directly from India together with the vegetable it indicates.

3. a. Skt. : pasū, "cattle"
 b. Jav. : palung, "manger" (new form)
 c. Malay. :
 d. C. Bis. : pasung, "manger, stable"; also *pasungan*, "stable"

5. a. Skt. : bīja, "seed, origin"
 b. Jav. : wija, "child"; also wiji,
 c. Malay. : bija, "seed"; also *bihi*
 d. C. Bis. : binhi', "seed"

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
bī-	wi-	bi-	bi-	(b > w)
bī-	wi-	bi-	bi-	(ī > i)
biO	wi-	bi-	bin	(O > n)
=dza	-dza	-dza	-hi	(dz- > h-)
-dza-	-dza	-dza	-hi	(-a > -i)
-dza-	-dza-	-dza-	-hi?	(-O > -?)

Semantic change:

Very slight, except in the case of the Javanese term.

The Sanskrit origin of the Bisayan form in this case is quite dubious on account of the irregularities of phonetic shifts illustrated here. However, the Bisayans may have created such a form, i.e. *binhi'*, to distinguish it from another Bisayan term which may have been already similar to the Sanskrit i.e. *bija'* "abandoned" a Boholano-Western Leyte variant of *biya'*, C. Bis. for "abandoned."

The aphaeretic nasal /-n-/ of the Bisayan form may be also a form of compensation for the shortening of the preceding vowel of the original form in Sanskrit.

6. a. Skt. : karpasa, "cotton," *Gossypium herbaceum*
 b. Jav. : kapas, "cotton," *Gossypium herbaceum*
 c. Malay. : kapas, "cotton," *Gossypium herbaceum*
 d. C. Bis. : gapas, "cotton," *Gossypium herbaceum*

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
kar-	ka-	ka-	ga-	(k- > g-)
kar-	kaO	kaO	gaO	(-r- > -O-)
-pasa	-pasO	pasO	pasO	(-a > -o)

Semantic change: None

Although the Javanese, Malayan, and Bisayan forms may have been assumed by many writers as Sanskrit cognates, it can never be ascertained whether or not they are really such because similar forms also exist as older forms in some languages in the Indonesian Archipelago. The existence of such forms as *abas* in the Roti language, *kopi* among the Sadangs, and *kopaih* among the Bahars leads us to doubt the Sanskrit origin of the Javanese and Malayan as well as the Bisayan forms. Furthermore, the findings of ethnobotanists reveal that cotton is indigenous to certain regions in the Pacific area. Prof. Heine-Geldern⁶ even points to the western coast of South America as the home of the cotton plant.

7. a. Skt. : champaka, "*Michelia champaka*"
 b. Jav. : champaka, "*Michelia champaka*"
 c. Malay. : champaka, "*Michelia champaka*"
 d. C. Bis. : sampaka, "*Michelia champaka*"
 Also : champaka among sophisticated
 Cebuanos whose speech has been
 influenced by Spanish.

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
tsam-	tsam-	tsam-	sam-	(ts-) s-)

Semantic change: None

It is very probable that the Javanese, Malayan, and Bisayan forms in this case are of Sanskrit origin, although the Philippine term may have been introduced quite late by either the Spaniards or the Portuguese.

8. a. Skt. : jambū, "*Eugenia jambu*"
 b. Jav. : jambu, "*Eugenia jambu*"
 c. Malay. : jambu, "*Eugenia jambu*"
 d. C. Bis. : tampoy, *Eugenia jambos*
 tambis, *Eugenia malaccensis* Linn.
 lumboy, *Eugenia jambolana*, Lam.

6) Robert Heine-Geldern, "Some Problems of Migration in the Pacific," *Kultur und Sprache*. Ed. W. Koppers. *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*. IX, 1952. pp. 313-62.

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
dzam-	dzam-	dzam-	tam-	(dz-) t-)
-bū	-bu	-bu	-bu	(-b-) -p-)
-bū-	-bu	-bu	-poy	(-O) -y)
-bū	-bu	-bu	-bis	(-ū-) -i-)

Semantic change:

As may be noticed the Sanskrit term has undergone a slight semantic variation in Cebuano Bisayan, and with the introduction of ethnobotanical specimens belonging to the same family as the *jambu*, the Bisayans have employed similar forms for the new specimens.

9. a. Skt. : hamsa, "goose"
 b. Jav. : ongsa, "goose"
 c. Malay. : angsa, "goose"
 d. C. Bis. : gansa', "goose"

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
ham-	Oon-	Oan-	gan-	(h-) O, g)
ham-	Oon-	Oan-	gan-	(a-) o-)
ham-	Ooŋ-	Oaŋ-	gan-	(-m-) -n, n)
-sa-	-sa-	-sa-	-sa?	(-O) ?)

Semantic change: None

The Sanskrit origin of the Javanese, Malayan, and Bisayan terms in this case is quite doubtful. As may be observed, the shifts of sounds are not, in many cases, regular, e.g. (h) O,g).

10. a. Skt. : śankha, "conch shell used as a trumpet"
 b. Jav. :
 c. Malay. : sankakala (compound), "a trumpet blown by angels at the last day"
 d. C. Bis. : sungka', "a mancala game of the Bisayans and other Philippine ethnic groups in which cowrie shells are usually used"

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
ṣan-		san-	sun-	(ṣ- > s-)
ṣan		san-	sun-	(-a- > -u-)
-kha		-kOa	-kOa	(-h- > -O-)
-kha-		-kOa-	kOa?	(-O > -?)

Semantic changes:

It may be assumed that the Malayan term in this case is of Sanskrit origin, because its gloss is similar if not identical with that of the Indian term. The case of the Bisayan term seems to be different, however, because its form and meaning is quite at variance from those of the Sanskrit features which render its Indian origin doubtful.

11. a. Skt. : ṣlesman, "mucus, rheum"
- b. Jav. : salesman, "mucus, rheum" (Sundanese)
- c. Malay. : sëlësëma, sëmasëma, "a cold in the head"
- d. C. Bis. : sekma, root of *pagsekma*, "to blow one's nose"

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
ṣles-	sales-	seles-	sek-	(ṣOl > sal, sel)
ṣles-	salës-	sëlës-	sek-	(ṣ > s)
ṣles-	sales-	sëlës-	sek-	(l > k)
-man	-maO	-maO	-maO	(n > O)

Semantic change:

Only a very slight semantic variation is noticeable in this case.

It is quite possible that the Javanese and Malayan terms have been derived from the Sanskrit term and that the Bisayan word is a corrupted cognate of either the Javanese or Malayan forms which has undergone much disyllabication.

12. a. Skt. : ṣṛṅga, "horn"
- b. Jav. : srënga, "horn"
- c. Malay. : sungut, "feeler"; also sunggu, "horn"

- d. C. Bis. : sungay, "horn"
 Also : sungag, "to gore" (root)
 sungu, "beak"
 sunganga, "to direct something
 against" (root)

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
ṣṛṇ-	sren-	sun-	suṅ-	(ṣ- > s-)
ṣṛṇ-	sren-	sun-	sun-	(ṣ- > r-, u-)
ṣṛṇ-	srēn-			(O > ə)
-ga	-Oa	-Out	-Oay, ag	(-g- > -O-)
		-gut		
-ga		-Out		(-a > -u-)
-ga		-Out	-Oay, ag	(-O > -t, y, g)
		-gut		

Semantic change:

Apparently the Sanskrit term has undergone considerable specialization of meaning in its diffusion to the Malayan Peninsula and the Philippines. It may have also undergone certain forms of folk etymology, as shown in the varied endings of its Malayan and Bisayan cognates.

What seems to be an irregular phonetic change (*r- > u-*) may have been brought about by the absence of the retroflex /ṣ/ in the Malayan and Bisayan phonological systems, a phoneme which has been substituted by the borrowers with a back vowel.

13. a. Skt. : laçuna, "garlic"
 b. Jav. :
 c. Malay. :
 d. C. Bis. : laxuna, "garlic" (sic Pigafetta who had used Italian orthography in listing Cebuano-Bisayan words in his glossary in 1521)⁷

Note : This term is no longer used by Cebuanos. It has apparently been superseded in usage by the Spanish

7) Emma Blair and James Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Cleveland: Arthur Clark Co., 1906, Vol. XXXIII, p. 193.

loan-word *ajos*, "garlic." In Samar, Leyte, Bisayan and Ilocano, however, the form *lasuna* is still used, although in the latter language it means "onion".

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
-ts-			-s-	(-ts-) -s-)
14. a.	Skt.	:	lālā,	"saliva"
	b. Jav.	:		
	c. Malay.	:		
	d. C. Bis.	:	lala,	"venom from the sting of an animal or serpent," also <i>lawa-lawa</i> , "spider," <i>laway</i> "saliva"
	Note	:	More often Bisayans pronounce the word as <i>laa</i> .	

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
lālā			lala	(-ā) -a)

Semantic changes:

Very slight.

In spite of the striking similarity between the Sanskrit and Bisayan forms, the author still considers the Sanskrit origin as very doubtful and the resemblances merely coincidental. Since similar forms exist as very old words among several ethnic groups in the Indonesian Archipelago, e.g. Javanese *lawa*, and in Malaya such as the Kedang *lēlaba* and the Malayan *laba*, one can only suspect that the Bisayan forms have been derived from the non-Indian terms which are often in reduplicated form, meaning "spider." Although such writers as H. Kern have classified the Bisayan term as a Sanskrit loan-word, J. Gonda⁸ has refused to consider it as such.

8) Gonda, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

15. a. Skt. : lidha, "tongue"
 b. Jav. : lidah, "tongue"
 c. Malay. : lidah, "tongue"
 d. C. Bis. : dila', "tongue"
 Also : tila', "to lick"

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
<i>li-dha</i>	<i>li-dah</i>	<i>li-dha</i>	<i>di-la</i>	(Metathesis of consonants)
-a-	-ah	-ah	-a?	(-O) -h, ?)
di-			ti-	(d-) t-)

Semantic change:

Very slight, if any at all.

There is sufficient reason to believe that the Bisayan word in this case is of Sanskrit origin but it seems to have undergone metathetic changes due to the presence of *tila'* "to lick," a term which may have affected or "contaminated" it.

16. a. Skt. : likṣā, "young louse or egg of a louse"
 b. Jav. : liṅsa, "egg of a louse"
 c. Malay. :
 d. C. Bis. : losa', "egg of a louse"
 Note : Tagalog *lisa'*, "egg of a louse"

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
<i>lik-</i>	<i>liṅ-</i>			(-k-) -n-)
-ṣā	-sa		-sa	(-ṣ-) -s-)
-sā	-sa		-sa	(-ā) -a-)
<i>lik-</i>	<i>liṅ-</i>		lo-	(-i-) -o-)
<i>lik-</i>			loO-	(-k-) -O-)
-sa-	-sa-		-sa?	(-O) -?)

Semantic changes:

The Sanskrit loan-word seems to have undergone a slight specialization of meaning in diffusion perhaps on account of the existence of *kuto*, "louse" in Cebuano-Bisayan.

17. a. Skt. : madhura, "Jasmimum sambac", Arabian jasmine
 b. Jav. : mēnor, "Jasmimum sambac", Arabian jasmine
 c. Malay. : mēlor, "Jasmimum sambac", Arabian jasmine
 d. C. Bis. : manol, "Jasmimum sambac", Arabian jasmine

Note : In Samar-Leyte Bisayan the corresponding form is *marol*.

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
-dhu-	-n-	-l-	-ni-	(-dh-) -n-, -l-, -r-)
ma-	mě	mě-	ma-	(-a) -ə-)
-ra	-rO	rO	-lO	(-r-) -i)
-ra	-rO	-rO	-lO	(-a) -O)

Semantic changes:

It is apparent that the meaning of the Sanskrit term has not undergone any change in the process of assimilation into other languages.

It is quite possible that the Javanese, Malayan, and Bisayan terms in this case are of Indian origin. The phonetic changes which have been effected to simplify the Sanskrit original seem to be regular.

It is interesting to note that ethnobotanists point to India as the home of the Arabian jasmine.⁹

18. a. Skt. : malati, "*Jasmimum grandiflorum*"
 b. Jav. : malati, " "
 c. Malay. : malati, " "
 d. C. Bis. : malakoko, " "

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
-ti	-ti	-ti	-koko	(-t-) -k-)
-ti	-ti	-ti	-ko	(-i) -O)

9) E.D. Merrill, *Flora de Manila*. Manila: n.p., 1912, p. 365 (mimeographed).

Semantic change:

None at all.

The writer believes that the Javanese and Malayan forms in this case are of Sanskrit origin, but he doubts whether or not such is the case of the Bisayan term. He suspects that the Bisayan term has been borrowed through the medium of either Spanish or Portuguese.

19. a. Skt. : mām̐sa, "flesh, meat"
 b. Jav. : maṅsa, "flesh, fish; also "to devour"
 c. Malay. : mansa, "flesh, fish"
 d. C. Bis. : mamsa', "a kind of large fish"

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
mām̐-	maṅ-	man-	mam-	(-ā-) -a-)
mām̐-	man-	man-	mam-	(-ṃ-) -n, -m)
-sa	-sa	-sa	-sa?	(-O) -?)

Semantic changes:

The meaning of the Sanskrit term has obviously undergone a slight specialization in Javanese, Malayan, and Bisayan.

It is quite possible that the Javanese, Malayan, and Bisayan terms are of Sanskrit origin .

20. a. Skt. : yava, "barley"
 b. Jav. : jawa, "barley" (old form)
 c. Malay. : jawayut, "barley" (compound)
 d. C. Bis. : dawa, "millet"

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
ya-	dza-	dza-	da-	(y-) dz-, d-)

Semantic changes:

The Sanskrit word has obviously undergone a slight shift.

The etymology of the Javanese, Malayan, and Bisayan terms in this case has been an object of controversy among historians, ethnobotanists, and linguists for a time. Much of the controversy centers around the genuine meaning of the forms, and on the question whether or not barley is an indigenous plant in the

Indonesian Archipelago. J. Gonda¹⁰ explains his views on the problem in his work.

C. Terms Related to Natural Phenomena:

1. a. Skt. : chāya, "shade, luster, reflected image"
- b. Jav. : tjahaja, "luster" (new form)
- c. Malay. : cahaya, "glow, splendor"; also *caya*
- d. C. Bis. : hayag, "bright"; usually *kahayag*, "brightness"

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
tshā-	tdza-	tsa-	ka-	(tsh- > tdz-, ts- > k-)
tshā-	tdza-h	tsa-h		(-O- > -a-)
tshā-	tdza-ha	tsa-ha	-ha	(-ā- > -a-)
-ya-	-dza	-ya-	-yag	(-O > -g)

Semantic change:

The original meaning of the Indian term seems to have undergone "narrowing" in the process of diffusion.

It is probable that the Javanese, Malayan, and Bisayan terms in this case are of Sanskrit origin but have undergone so much disyllabication and simplification, which is a tendency of such languages.

2. a. Skt. : vahā, "stream, river"
- b. Jav. : wah, "flood" (old form)
- c. Malay. :
- d. C. Bis. : baha', "flood, overflowing of a river"

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
wa-			ba-	(w- > b-)
-ha-			-ha?	O- > -?)

Semantic change:

Very slight.

The regularity of phonetic changes and the similarity of

10) J. Gonda, *op. cit.*, p. 225 f.

meaning of the terms in this case seem to warrant the possibility that the Javanese and Bisayan terms are of Sanskrit origin.

3. a. Skt. : vāyu, "wind"
- b. Jav. : bayu, "wind"
- c. Malay. : bayu, "wind"
- d. C. Bis. : bag'yo, "a tempest, storm"

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
wā-	ba-	ba-	bag-	(w-) b-)
wā-	ba-	ba-	bag-	(-ā-) -a-)
wa-	ba-	ba-	bag-	(-O) -g)
wa-	ba-	ba-	bag-?	(-O) -?)

Semantic change:

Very slight.

There is hardly any cause to doubt the Sanskrit origin of the Javanese, Malayan, and Bisayan terms in this case, even if the last term mentioned seemed to have undergone what may be considered as an irregular change (c).

IV. Terms Referring to Social Institutions, Relations, and Activities:

A. Terms in Religion:

1. a. Skt. : upavasa, "a day of fasting," also "fasting"
- b. Jav. : puwasa, "a day of fasting," also "fasting"
- c. Malay. : puasa, "a day of fasting," also "fasting"
- d. C. Bis. : pu'asa, "fast"

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
u-	O-	O-	O-	(u-) O-)
-pa-	-pu-	-pu-	-pu-	(-a-) -u-)
-wa-	-wa-	-Oa-	-Oa-	(-w-) - -)
-pa-	-pu-	-pu-	-pu?	(-a-) -u?)

Semantic change:

Very slight.

There is hardly any doubt regarding the Sanskrit origin of the Javanese, Malayan, and Bisayan terms in this case.

2. a. Skt. : bhaṭṭara, "noble lord"
- b. Jav. : bhatara, "king of the gods"; also
 barahala (old form)
- c. Malay. : bĕtara, "a high divinity"
- d. C. Bis. : bathala', "God Almighty"; also
 Balahala, "deity" (old
 form)

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
bhaṭ-	bhat-	bĕ-	ba-	(bh- > b-)
bhaṭ-	bhat-	bĕ-	bat-	(-a-) -ĕ-,)
bhaṭ-ṭa-	bhat-	-ta-	bat-	(-ṭ-) -t-)
ṭa-	-a	-ta-	-ha-	(-ṭ-) -h-)
-ra	-ra	-ra	-la?	(-r-) -l-)
-ra	-ra	-ra	-la?	(-O) -?)

Semantic changes:

Very slight variation.

It is interesting to note that a form existing in Java in olden times has also existed, in spite of a slight difference in form, in the Bisayas. Although both forms are obsolete one cannot simply ignore the striking similarity between them (i.e. Jav. *Barahala*, C. Bis. *Balahala*.) It seems to indicate a cultural influence exerted by the old Javanese on the religion of our forefathers.

Although there are no written historical documents supporting such an assumption, tradition reveals to us that our ancestors had worshipped a deity called *Balahala* in prehistoric or proto-historic times. In fact, upon the arrival of Legaspi in Cebu in 1565, he discovered that the natives of the island had relapsed to "paganism" and had considered the image of the Santo Niño which Magellan had given to the queen of Cebu in 1521 as one of their idols called "Alampoong Balahala" (the Deity to be Invoked) who brought rain to the region during drought. Until now conservative Cebuanos still cling to the belief that the Santo Niño brings rain if His image would be dipped in the sea in time

of drought. Such a belief is still reflected in the song of praise sung by our folks during the novena,

Icao lamang ang ampoon
sa mga daang Sugbu-anon
nga canimo nanagbaton
con naay kinahanglan
busa guinganlan ka nila
alampoon balahala.

(Thou alone was invoked
By the ancient Cebuanos
Who, to thee had recourse
In time of dire need
Therefore Thee they had called
The god to be implored.)¹¹

3. a. Skt. : devā, devatā, "deity, deities"
- b. Jav. : dewa, dewata, "deity, deities"
- c. Malay. : dewa, dewata, "deity, deities"
- d. C. Bis. : diwa', diwata, "spirit, worship of spirits"

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.
-tā			-ta (-ā-) -a)

Semantic change:

The Sanskrit term in this case has not undergone much change in meaning in linguistic borrowing. The Cebuano-Bisayans, however, seem to have ascribed a secular meaning to the Sanskrit loan-word so that in modern usage they would only employ the term "diwa'" in reference to an enthusiastic loyalty as in "diwa' sa kagawasan" (spirit of freedom). Furthermore, the Cebuano-Bisayans use the term "diwata" in reference to a practice or procedure, and not to deities.

4. a. Skt. : mantra, "sacred text, formula, charm"
- b. Jav. : mintora, "magical formula"

11) Padres Agustinos, *Novena ug Pagdayeg sa Ssmo. Nino and Guisimba sa Sugbu* (Malabon: Tipo-Litog. del Asilo de Huerfanos de Ntra. Sra. de Consolacion, 1897), p. 31.

- c. Malay. : mantĕra, "invocation, prayer"
 d. C. Bis. : mantala', "root of *pagmantala*," "to announce"; also *mantalaan*, "news-paper"

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
man-	min-	man-	man-	(-a- > -i-)
-tra	-tora	-tĕra	-tala	(-tr- > -tor, tĕr, tal)
-tra	-ra	-ra	-la	(-r > -l)
-tra	-ra	-ra	-la?	(-O > -?)

Semantic change:

As may be noted, the Sanskrit loan-word has assumed a slight change in meaning. In Bisayan the meaning has been specialized.

It is very possible that the Javanese, Malayan, and Bisayan terms in this case are of Sanskrit origin.

B. Terms Referring to Other Social Relationships, Institutions, and Activities

1. a. Skt. : putrī, "daughter"
 b. Jav. : putri, "princess"
 c. Malay. : putri, "princess"
 d. C. Bis. : pùtli', "virgin, pure"

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
-trī	-tri		-li	(-r- > -l-)
-trī	-tri	-tri	-li	(-ī- > -i-, -i-)
-trī	-tri	-tri	-li?	(-O > -?)

Semantic change:

Because of difference in cultures the meaning of the Sanskrit word has undergone a slight change in each process of borrowing, depending upon concepts existing in each culture.

The author believes that the Javanese, Malayan, and Bisayan terms in this case are genuine Sanskrit loan-words because of the regularity of phonetic changes shown herein, and the slight shift of meanings.

The author also believes that among the ancient Cebuanos the word *putli* used to mean "princess", but the term has been superseded by the more exotic *princesa* (Sp.).

2. a. Skt. : buddhi, "intellectual faculty, design"
- b. Jav. : budi, "contriving"
- c. Malay. : budi, "design"
- d. C. Bis. : budi, "to betray" (root of *pagbudhi*)

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
-dhi	-dOi	-dOi	-hi	(dh-) -d-)
bud-	buO-	buO	bud-	(-d-) -O-)
-dhi	-dOi	-dOi	bud [?] -hi [?]	(-d-) -d [?] -)
-dhi	-dOi	-dOi	-hi [?]	(-i-) -i [?] -)

Semantic changes:

The Bisayan word in this case has apparently assumed a specialized but sinister meaning which is quite identical with that of the Javanese. It may be inferred therefore that the term has been borrowed through the Javanese.

3. a. Skt. : bhaya, "danger of all kinds"
- b. Jav. : baya, "fear, dread, peril" (Sunda.),
Jav. *bahaja*
- c. Malay. : bahaya, "peril"; also *bēhaya*
- d. C. Bis. : baya', "an expression warning somebody of danger, also as a word of emphasis"

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
bha-	bOa-	baha-	bOa-	(bh-) b-)
bha-		baha-		(bh-) bah-)
-ya	-ya	-ya	-ya [?]	(-ya) ya [?])

Semantic change:

Very slight variation, especially in grammatical function.

Although the Javanese and the Malayan forms may be considered as Sanskrit loan-words, the Bisayan may not be con-

sidered as such because of the irregularity of the phonetic change illustrated (c).

4. a. Skt. : tata, "Father" (informal address)
 b. Jav. :
 c. Malay. :
 d. C. Bis. : Tatay, "Father"; also Tatang (informal address)

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
-ta			-tay	(irregular and unpredictable)

Semantic change: None

Although the forms in this case are very similar, the resemblance may be only coincidental resulting from the same development of speech among children.

5. a. Skt. : kuṭa, "stronghold"
 b. Jav. : kuta, "an enclosure surrounding a town" (old form)
 Also : kuat, "an enclosure surrounding a town" (new form)
 c. Malay. : kota, "a fortification"
 d. C. Bis. : kota', "a fortress"

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
-ṭa	-ta	-ta	-ta	(-ṭ-) -t-)
-ṭa	-ta	-ta	-ta?	(-a) -a?)

Semantic change:

Very slight if any at all.

There can be no doubt regarding the Sanskrit origin of the Javanese, Malayan, and Bisayan terms in this case, although the Sanskrit word itself is apparently of Dravidian origin according to J. Gonda.¹² Phonetic changes here are very regular and the meaning of the Indian term has been retained in linguistic borrowing.

12) J. Gonda, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

6. a. Skt. : kṣantavya, "to be forgiven or pardoned" (gerundive) form of *ksam*, "to be forgiven"
 b. Jav. : ksantawya, santawya, santabya, "pardon" (old Jav.)
 Also : santabe, "pardon"
 c. Malay. : tabe, "good-bye, so long!"
 d. C. Bis. : tabi, "Excuse me!"

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
kṣan-	ksan-			(-ṣ- > -s-)
-taw-	-taw (tab)	-be	-bi?	(-w- > -b-)
-ya	-ya	-e	-i?	
-ya	-ya	-e	-i?	
kṣan-	kṣan-	O-	O	(Haplology)
	san-			

Semantic change:

The Javanese, Malayan, and Bisayan forms may have originated from the Sanskrit word and in the process of borrowing had undergone simplification in form and a very slight specialization of meaning.

7. a. Skt. : ṣākṣi, "witness"
 b. Jav. : sēksi, "witness"
 c. Malay. : saksi, "witness"
 d. C. Bis. : saksi, "witness"

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
ṣāk-	-	sak-	sak-	(-ā- > -a-)
ṣāk-	sēk-	sak-	sak-	(-a- > -ə-)
-sī	-si	-si	-si	(-ṣ- > -s-)
-sī	-si	-si	-si	(-ī- > -i-)

Semantic change:

There seems to be no doubt that the Javanese, Malayan, and Bisayan forms in these case are Sanskrit cognates. The phonetic changes manifested and the meanings assumed are identical, with very little differences.

8. a. Skt. : sajja, "ready"
 b. Jav. : sēdiya, "prepared"
 c. Malay. : sēdia, "prepared"
 d. C. Bis. : sadya', "cheerful, merry"

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
sadz-	sē-	sē-	sad-	(-a-) -ə-)
sadzda	-di-	-dia	sad-	(-dz-) -d-)
-dza	-ya	-dia	-ya	(-dz-) -y-)
-dza	-ya	-dia	-ya?	(-a-) -a?-)

Semantic change:

The meaning of the Bisayan term in this case seems to have undergone considerable deviation from that of the Sanskrit thus making it difficult to establish that it is a Sanskrit loan-word.

J. Gonda identifies the Javanese, Malayan, and Bisayan terms in this case as Sanskrit cognates in agreement with the statement of H. Kern, although the latter spells the Bisayan form as "sadya."¹³

9. a. Skt. : sama, "the same, equal, like"
 b. Jav. : sama, "the same, equal, like"
 c. Malay. : sama, "the same, equal, like"
 d. C. Bis. : sama, "the same, equal, like"

Phonetic changes: none

Semantic change: none

10. a. Skt. : saṃga, "throng, multitude, corporation"
 b. Jav. : sanga, "union" (old literary form)
 c. Malay. :
 d. C. Bis. : sangga, "an associate in gambling"

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
saṃ-	san-		san-	(-ṃ-) -ŋ-)

13) *Ibid.*, p. 85.

Semantic change:

In linguistic borrowing the Sanskrit *saṃga* has undergone a slight variation in meaning. In the Bisayan vocabulary it has taken a more specialized meaning than in Javanese, and apparently the Bisayan term is only familiar to gamblers.

The author believes that the Javanese and Bisayan are of Sanskrit origin considering the regularity of phonetic changes and the similarity in meaning of the cognates.

11. a. Skt. : sankā, "fight, battle"
 b. Jav. :
 c. Malay. :
 d. C. Bis. : sangka', "fight, battle, contest"

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.
san-			saŋ- (-n- >)
-ka			-ka? (-a- > -a?-)

Semantic change:

The Sanskrit term in this case has not suffered any semantic change in linguistic borrowing. It is quite possible that the Bisayan term is of Sanskrit origin which has not been borrowed through the medium of either Javanese or Malayan. After all such writers as J. Gonda¹⁴ admit that some terms in Philippine languages may have been borrowed directly from the Indians.

12. a. Skt. : lagna, "horoscope"
 b. Jav. :
 c. Malay. :
 d. C. Bis. : tagna' root of pagtagna', "to guess, to foretell"
 Also : manalagna', "fortune teller"

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.
lag-			tag- (l- > t-)
-na			-na? (-a > -a?)

14) *Ibid.*

Semantic change:

Very slight.

It is possible that the Bisayan term is of Sanskrit origin introduced into the Philippine language directly by Indian traders and travellers.

13. a. Skt. : mahā, "great"
 b. Jav. : maha, "great" (Used in compounds as in *maharaja*, "great king")
 c. Malay. : maha, "great" (Used in compounds as in *maharaja*, "great king")
 Also : mahal, "expensive"
 d. C. Bis. : mahal, "expensive, beloved, exalted, noble"

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
<i>hā</i>	- <i>ha</i>	- <i>hal</i>	- <i>hal</i>	(-ā- > -a-)
		- <i>ha</i>		
<i>hā</i>	- <i>ha</i>	- <i>hal</i>	- <i>hal</i>	(-O > -l)

Semantic change:

Very slight variation in meaning is noticeable in this case.

Although the forms in this case are strikingly similar the writer doubts the Sanskrit origin of the Malayan and Bisayan forms. The appearance of the lateral in such words is inexplicable, besides being quite irregular. He suspects that the Malayan and Bisayan terms are of Arabian origin and has been brought to Malaya and the Philippines quite late because apparently the terms are widespread in regions invaded by Moslems.

14. a. Skt. : naña, "Mother"
 b. Jav. :
 c. Malay. :
 d. C. Bis. : nanay, "Mother"

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
- <i>nya</i>			- <i>nay</i>	(metathesis)

Semantic change: None

The author suspects that the similarity between the two forms is only coincidental resulting from similar development of speech among Indian and Bisayan children. This case is identical to that of the Sanskrit *tata*.

15. a. Skt. : vāçā, "sacred text, holy words"
 b. Jav. : waça, "to read aloud" (Sundanese)
 c. Malay. : baça, "to read"
 d. C. Bis. : basa, "to read" (root of *pagbasa*)

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
wā-	wa-	ba-	ba-	(w-) b-)
-tsa	-tsa	-tsa	-sa	(-ts-) -s-)
wātsā	watsa	batsa	basa	(-ā-) -a-)

Semantic change:

Apparently the Sanskrit loan-words in this case have assumed slightly different meanings in the process of diffusion.

It is very possible that the Javanese, Malayan, and Bisayan terms are of Sanskrit origin.

16. a. Skt. : vaṃsa, "lineage, race"
 b. Jav. : baṃsa, "race, descent"
 c. Malay. : baṃsa, "race, descent"
 d. C. Bis. : bansa, "state"
 Also : bansagon, "family name"

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
wam-	ban-	baṅ-	baṅ-	(w-) b-)
wam-	ban-	ban-	ban-	(-m-) -ŋ, -n-)
-sa	-sa	-sa	-sa	(-s-) -s-)

Semantic changes:

Although the original meaning of the Sanskrit word has not been retained in its assimilation into other languages, it has undergone only a slight variation suggesting the same concept as the original in other vocabularies.

It may be assumed that the Javanese, Malayan, and Bisayan terms in this case are of Sanskrit origin.

17. a. Skt. : vṛṭṭa, "an incident"
 b. Jav. : vṛṭṭa, "tidings" (old form)
 warita, "tidings" (new form)
 c. Malay. : bĕrita, "news, report"
 Also : warita, "news, report"
 d. C. Bis. : balita', "news, report"

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
wṛṭ-	wṛt-	bĕrita-	balit-	
	warit-	warita-		(w-) b-)
wOṛOṭ-	warit-	warita-	balit-	(-O-) a, i)
wṛṭ-			balit-	(-r-) -l-)
-ṭa	-ta	-ta	-ta?	(-a-) -a?-)

Semantic change:

The Sanskrit original in this case has apparently undergone a slight change in meaning in linguistic borrowing.

E. Terms Used in General Technology:

1. a. Skt. : paṇḍya, "learned, wise"
 b. Jav. : pandĕ, "a smith"
 c. Malay. : pandai, "an artist, craftsman"
 d. C. Bis. : panday, "a carpenter, blacksmith"

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
paṇ-	pan-	pan-	pan-	(-ṇ-) -n-)
-ḍya	-dĕ	-dai	-day	(-ḍ-) -d-)
-ya		-ai	-ay	(-ya) -ay)
				Metathesis

Semantic changes:

The etymology of the Javanese, Malayan, and Bisayan terms in this case has been an object of controversy among scholars in historical linguistics. While some believe that these terms are of Sanskrit origin, others like J. Gonda and Van der Tuuk¹⁵

15) J. Gonda, *op. cit.*, p. 964.

express their skepticism about such source, which has been brought about by the existence of similar forms as old words among conservative ethnic groups. Among these old forms which seem to be indigenous are the Lampong (South Sumatra) "panday," the Ibang "padday," the Barea (Celebes) "pande," etc. The writer refuses to make any further comment on the matter considering the arguments forwarded by scholars.

2. a. Skt. : parasū, "an axe"
 b. Jav. :
 c. Malay. :
 d. C. Bis. : parakul, "an axe"

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.
-sū			-kul (-s-) -k-)
-sū			-kul (-ū-) -u-)
-su			-kul (-O) -l)

Semantic changes:

None at all.

It is possible that the Bisayan term here is of Sanskrit origin but apparently it has not been borrowed through the medium of Javanese or Malay.

The lateral at the end of the Bisayan form may have been a kind of compensation for the shortening of the long back vowel of the Sanskrit form.

3. a. Skt. : tapa, "to scorch, burn"
 b. Jav. :
 c. Malay. :
 d. C. Bis. : tapa, "to cook by smoking or roasting" (root)

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.
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Apparently the Sanskrit loan-word has not suffered phonetic change in diffusion, if the term is Sanskrit at all.

Semantic change: None

4. a. Skt. : sṛṅkhala, "a chain"
 b. Jav. :
 c. Malay. : sankala, "shackles"
 d. C. Bis. : talikala', "shackles"

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
sṛṅ-	san-			
-kha		-ka	-ka	(kḥ > kO)
-la		-la	-la	(-a > -a?)

Semantic changes:

The Sanskrit term in this case has not undergone any semantic change in borrowing.

It is possible that the Malayan form has originated from Sanskrit, but it seems that only the second segment of the Bisayan form / kala / has been borrowed from Sanskrit. The Cebuano-Bisayan term is apparently a compound consisting of the Javanese term *tali* "cord" and the abbreviated Sanskrit form, *kala*, "a contrivance."

This may be considered as a case of folk etymology.

5. a. Skt. : lambita, "hanging down"
 b. Jav. :
 c. Malay. :
 d. C. Bis. : bitay, "to hang" (root)
 Also : kumbitay, "to cling" (root)

Phonetic changes:

Skt.	Jav.	Malay.	C. Bis.	
lam-			O-	(Haplology)
-	-taO		-	-tay (-O > -y)

Semantic change:

A very slight semantic variation is noticeable in this case.

The Bisayan form may be of Sanskrit origin but it is a result of disyllabication. It is interesting to note that a similar form also exists in Tagalog, i.e. *lambitin*, "to hang."

III. A Summary of Phonetic Changes Undergone by Sanskrit Loan-Words in Their Assimilation into the Javanese, Malayan, and Cebuano-Bisayan Languages

VOWEL CHANGES

A. *Vowel Shortening:*

1. Front Vowels:

- a. Long front vowels in Sanskrit forms are often substituted for by short front vowels in Javanese, Malayan, and Cebuano-Bisayan forms (\bar{i} > i), as shown in the cases of *pārāpātī*, *bīja*, *putrī*, and *sāksī*, in which / \bar{i} / is more often a final vowel.

2. Central Vowels:

- a. Long central vowels in Sanskrit forms are also shortened in borrowing by the Cebuano-Bisayans ($\bar{ā}$ > a). Such modifications are noticeable in such cases as those of *bhāgin*, *bhānda*, *bhāra*, *dhārā*, *lābha*, *vāṇija*, *alābu*, *pārāpātī lālā*, *māṃsa*, *chāya*, *vāha*, *sāksī*, and *vāca*, in which the long vowels are in a medial position, and *mahā*, *lālā*, and *srṅkhala* in which they are in final position.

3. Back Vowels:

- a. Long back vowels in Sanskrit forms are often shortened in Javanese, Malayan, and Bisayan forms ($\bar{ū}$ > u) as illustrated in the cases of *pasū* and *parasū*, in which they are situated in a final position.

B. *Glottalizations:*

1. Glottal stops appear after some final front, central, and back vowels ($-i$ > $-iʔ$), ($-a$ > $-aʔ$), and ($-u$ > $-u$) as in cases of *bīja*, Skt. to *binhiʔ*, Bis.; *putrī*, Skt. to *putliʔ*, Bis.; *buddhi*, Skt. to *budhiʔ*, Bis.; *tivra*, Skt. to *tinggaʔ*, Bis.; *çukra*, Skt. to *sukaʔ*, Bis.; *mutya*, Skt.

to *mutya'*, Bis.; *vanija*, Skt. to *baligya'*, Bis., *haṃsa*, Skt. to *gansa'*, Bis.; *sanka*, Skt. to *sangka'*, Bis.; *liksa*, Skt. to *losa'*, Bis.; *mamsa*, Skt. to *mamsa'*, Bis.; *sajja*, Skt. to *sadya'*, Bis.; *vāha*, Skt. to *baha'*, Bis.; *bhaṭṭara*, Skt. to *bathala'*, Bis.; *mantra*, Skt. to *mantala'*, Bis.; *bhaya*, Skt. to *baya'*, Bis.; *kuta*, Skt. to *kuta'*, Bis.; *sanka*, Skt. to *sangka'*, Bis.; *lagna*, Skt. to *tagna'*, Bis.; *vṛṭṭa*, Skt. to *balita'*, Bis.; *alabu*, Skt. to *labu'-labu'*, Bis.. The appearance of glottal stops after final vowels of the Sanskrit loan-words in Bisayan is inexplicable, however, and no laws can be formulated based on this linguistic phenomenon.

- C. Replacement of Central Vowels with Pepets or Sewas:
1. Some central vowels in Sanskrit loan words in the Javanese and Malayan languages have been substituted for with pepets, especially those in medial position, as illustrated in the cases of *bhanda*, *tamra*, *vanija*, *paṭola*, *madhura*, *sajja*, *bhaṭṭara*, and *sāksī*.
 2. The pepets or sewas are, in turn, substituted for with back vowels in Cebuano-Bisayan as shown in the cases of *tamra*, *jambu*, *sanka*, *sṛṅga*, and *upavasa*.
- D. Elimination of Initial or Final Vowels of Sanskrit Terms in Javanese, Malayan, and Cebuano-Bisayan
1. In some cases initial or final vowels in Sanskrit forms are dropped by Javanese, Malayan, and Bisayan borrowers. Such aphaeretic eliminations are conspicuous in the cases of *alābu*, *upavasa*, and *vahā*, phonetic changes which are manifestations of the tendency of Javanese, Malayan, and Bisayan borrowers to disyllabicate Sanskrit loan-words of considerable length.
- E. Substitution of Retroflex R's of Sanskrit Forms with Alveolar Semi-vowels in Javanese, Malayan, and Bisayan Forms
1. The retroflex r (ṛ) in Sanskrit forms is always substituted with alveolar—semi vowels in Javanese,

Malayan, and Bisayan forms of Sanskrit origin. Such a phenomenon is noticeable in such cases as those of *sr̥ṅga*, *vr̥ṭṭa*, and *sr̥ṅkhala*, among others. The phonetic substitution has been made on account of the absence of the retroflex r (ṛ) in the Javanese (New), Malayan, and Bisayan phonological systems. This being the case the borrowers have replaced unfamiliar sounds with familiar ones. Sometimes, as illustrated in the case of *sr̥ṅga*, the retroflex r (ṛ) is even substituted with a back vowel, a phenomenon which is not at all surprising because to the Javanese, Malayan, or even Bisayan borrower the retroflex sound may have sounded like a back vowel.

CONSONANT CHANGES

- A. Elimination of the Aspirated Quality of Consonants in Sanskrit Forms
1. Aspirated sounds in Sanskrit forms are always substituted for by similar but unaspirated ones in Javanese, Malayan, and Bisayan forms of Sanskrit origin.
 - a. Aspirated bilabial stops of Sanskrit forms lose their aspirated feature in the assimilation of such forms into the Javanese, Malayan, and Bisayan languages. Such changes are illustrated in the cases of *bhāgin*, *bhānda*, *bhāra*, *lābha*, *bhaṭṭara*, and *bhaya*.
 - b. Aspirated bilabial stops in Sanskrit words, besides losing their aspirated quality upon their assimilation into the Javanese, Malayan, and Bisayan languages may be also separated from their aspirations which become glottal fricatives with the appearance of pepets and other vowels between the bilabial stops and the fricatives. Thus the Sanskrit *bhāgin*, *bhānda*, and *bhāra* have become *bēhagi* in Malayan, *bahandi* in Bisayan, and *bahara* in Malayan, respectively.
 - c. Aspirated voiced alveolar stops in Sanskrit forms are replaced with unaspirated ones in Javanese,

Malayan, and Bisayan forms of Sanskrit origin. Thus the Sanskrit *dhara* has become the Bisayan *dala*, the Sanskrit *lidha* the Malayan *lidah*, and the Sanskrit *buddhi* the Javanese *budi*.

- d. Aspirated velar stops in Sanskrit terms are likewise replaced with unaspirated ones in their corresponding Javanese, Malayan, and Bisayan forms. The phenomenon is shown in the cases of *sankha* and *sr̥ṅkhala*.
- B. Substitution of Retroflex Stops in Sanskrit Forms with Alveolar Stops in Javanese, Malayan, and Bisayan Forms
1. Retroflex voiceless stops in Sanskrit forms are substituted for by alveolar stops in corresponding Javanese, Malayan, and Bisayan forms, as shown in the cases of *paṭola*, *bhaṭṭara*, and *kuta*. Apparently, the borrowers have made the substitution on account of the absence of retroflex sounds in their phonological systems.
 2. Retroflex voiced stops in Sanskrit forms are likewise substituted for by alveolar stops in corresponding terms in Javanese, Malayan, and Bisayan. This phenomenon is noticeable in the case of *pandye*.
- C. Substitution of Unfamiliar Affricates and Fricatives in Sanskrit Forms with Similar Sounds in Bisayan
1. Voiceless alveo-palatal affricates in Sanskrit forms which do not exist in the Cebuano-Bisayan phonological system are replaced with similar sounds in corresponding Bisayan forms as may be noted in the cases of *çukra*, *champaka*, *laçuna*, and *vāçā* in which the affricates are replaced with alveolar fricatives (ts › s).
 2. Voiced alveo-palatal affricates in Sanskrit forms are also substituted with similar sounds in Javanese, Malayan, and Bisayan forms of Sanskrit origin. In the cases of *vanija* and *sajja*, the affricates are replaced with alveo-palatal semi-vowels (dz › y),

while in the case of *bija* the affricate is substituted for by a glottal fricative (dz) h), and in that of *jambu*, with an alveolar stop (dz) t). Occasionally, however, Cebuano-Bisayans especially from Bohol and Leyte use the affricate.

D. Substitution of Retroflex Sibilants with Alveo-Palatal Fricatives

1. Voiceless groove alveo-palatal fricatives and retroflex sibilants in Sanskrit forms are substituted with alveolar sibilants in Javanese, Malayan, and Bisayan words of Sanskrit origin (s' or ś) s) as illustrated in the cases of *sanka*, *slesman*, *liksa*, *saksi*, and *vamsa*.

E. Substitution of Retroflex Nasals with Bilabial Nasals or Other Nasal Sounds

1. Nasals articulated farther back (e.g. ṁ) in Sanskrit forms are substituted with other nasals in Javanese, Malayan, and Bisayan as shown in the cases of *tivra*, *vaṇija*, and *sanka*. The phenomenon has arisen from the absence of retroflex nasals in the phonological systems of the borrowers.

IV. Semantic Changes:

A. Extension and Generalization of Meanings:

The meanings of some Sanskrit loan-words in Cebuano-Bisayan have been extended and generalized by the borrowers. Such changes may be observed in the cases of *labhā*, *mutya*, *vaṇija*, *sankha*, *ṣṅga*, *alābu*, *pasū*, *diwa*, *diwata*, *mantra*, *vācā*, *putrī*, *sanka*, *lagna*, and *vamsa*.

The extensions of meaning may have been caused by certain linguistic-cultural, as well as psychological, as well as psychological factors such as the following:

1. Adaptation of the foreign words into the morphological patterns of the Cebuano-Bisayan language, a

process on which Leonard Bloomfield comments,

Grammatically, the borrowed form is subjected to the system of the borrowing language, both as to syntax, and as to the indispensable inflections and the fully current "living" constructions of composition and word formation.¹⁶

a. Thus the Sanskrit *vanija* "merchant" has become *magbabaligya'* "merchant," *pagbaligya'* "to sell," and *baligya'*, "wares," as well as such derivatives as *baligya-anan*, "a place for selling." It is interesting to note, however, that modern Cebuanos seldom use *magbabaligya'*. They prefer to use the Spanish loan-words *comerciante* and *negociante* "merchant or businessman" instead. In referring to goods, however, they seem to prefer *baligya'* except in very sophisticated urban society.

2. The borrowing of words from other languages. Such a factor has effected the semantic change undergone by such Sanskrit cognates as *mutya'*, *labu*, *pasung*. and *putli'*.

On account of the borrowing of Spanish loan-words for example, *mutya'* has been superseded in common usage by the Spanish loan-word *perlas* "pearls," *putli'* by *birhen* "virgin," i.e. Sp. *virgen*, etc. .

The Sanskrit cognate *labu*, "mealy-complexioned, pale" has also undergone a semantic deviation on account of the introduction of the Spanish term *calabasa* "squash," which has been corrupted to *kalabasa'* "squash" in Bisayan. While formerly the Sanskrit loan-word may have meant "gourd or squash" at present it simple refers to a quality of gourds squash, and root crops. In fact, *labu* a variant, designates also the pale complexion of people.

The Sanskrit loan-word *putli'*, "pure, virgen" has at present an extended meaning on account of the introduction of the more exotic Spanish loan-word *prinsesa*,

16) Leonard Bloomfield, *Language*. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1933, p. 453.

i.e. the Spanish *princesa* "princess." The Bisayan *putli* may have been used to designate "princess" in pre-Spanish times in Cebu as it still is (i.e. *putri* and *putēri*) in Indonesia, Malaya and Sulu.

B. Specialization or "Narrowing" of Meaning:

On the other hand the meanings of certain Sanskrit loan-words have become specialized or "narrowed." The change may have been caused by the following factors:

1. The adherence of the Cebuano-Bisayans to the usage of old Bisayan forms whose meanings are related to those of the new, i.e. Indian terms.

Thus *bala*, which is a derivative of the Sanskrit term *bhara* "burden" has assumed the meaning of "carrying a person picka-back", because before its introduction there may have been already expressions in the Bisayan language which conveyed the meaning of "carrying," such as *pagpas-an* "to carry a load or person on the shoulders," *pagsung-ay* "to carry a person on the shoulders," *paglukdo* "to carry a load on the head," etc.. Likewise, the Bisayan term *losa*, "egg of a louse," which may be a form of the Sanskrit *likṣa* "egg of a louse, a louse" has assumed a narrower meaning because of the existence of older forms referring to the louse, e.g. *kuto* "a louse," and *kuyamad* "a young louse."

2. Semantic borrowing from Javanese and Malayan terms, as shown in the cases of *pasū*, *mamsa*, *chaya*, and *vahā*, which may be of Sanskrit origin.

3. Folk etymology according to the concept of the things indicated among the borrowers, which may even lead to drastic changes in form, e.g. Skt. *srṅkhala* "a chain" to *talikala* "a chain" in Bisayan.

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