

# **Etymologies and where to find them**

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## LANGUAGES

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## ABSTRACT

This paper is an annotated bibliography of more than forty resources where etymologies of Indonesian words can be found, arranged according to source (e.g. Arabic loanwords, Chinese loanwords, Indic loanwords, words of Austronesian provenance, etc.).

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

General; Arabic loanwords; Chinese loanwords; Indic loanwords; European loanwords; Other loanwords; Words of Austronesian provenance; Other resources; References.

## VERSION HISTORY

Version 1 [28 December 2010] Completed 2005; amended for publication, 2010.

Version 2 [28 September 2020] Numerous edits including adding reviews of Beg (1983), Jones (2007, 2009), and certain of de Clercq's contributions.

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There's no doubt about it, tracking down etymologies is a scholarly endeavor, and we can be grateful for the bookworm-scholars who have preceded us. For English, the Oxford English Dictionary is the classic source, but Webster's Unabridged and many other dictionaries include etymological information. Even the modest Random House dictionary that our family uses at home includes etymologies.

In the Indonesian context, however, resources are considerably thinner. When I first starting compiling dictionaries for two indigenous languages of Indonesia, there was no single resource where one could turn to find etymologies for Malay and Indonesian words, let alone for the myriads of words in the various vernacular languages of Indonesia. Because of not knowing where to turn, combined with lack of interest and lack of time, most of us simply lay aside etymological concerns—except for perhaps noting the most bald-faced loans—when compiling indigenous language dictionaries.

Fortunately others had also perceived this lack of etymological resources, and with the goal of improving the situation in 1973 founded the Indonesian Etymological Project. Over the years this committee produced several interim resources (see below no.s 6, 13, 16 and 20). These along with other unpublished collections were ultimately compiled into a single reference work published in 2007 (see below no. 1).

Besides this reference work, which rightly occupies first place, I lay out some other resources concerning the etymology of Indonesian words. This article makes no claim to completeness, though I hope I have hit on all the principal works. Most of the cited works have lists of references of their own to guide the scholar who wants to drink deeply from the well of knowledge. This article is essentially an annotated bibliography. Full bibliographic citations appear at the end.

## General

**1.** Daniel Jones's *Loan-words in Indonesian and Malay*, published in 2007, represents the culmination of the work of the Indonesian Etymological Project, which had been founded more than thirty years prior. This book is almost always my first stop when trying to track down the source of a borrowed Indonesian word. As its scope was limited to loan words from languages outside of Indonesia, it does not trace the etymologies of inherited (or borrowed) Austronesian vocabulary.

Across 350 pages, more than twenty-three thousand Indonesian and Malay words (both head words and variant spellings) are listed alphabetically. Head words are followed by a brief English gloss in brackets, followed by the immediate donor language and the form of the source word which gave rise to the loan. The following is a typical entry:

**déwasa** [mature, adult; time] < Skt *divasa* <sup>478.3</sup>

The meaning of the source word is not given, but the superscripted numbers seen here indicate that the meaning of Sanskrit *divasa* can be found in column 3 on page 478 of a particular Sanskrit dictionary, namely the 1963 reprint of Monier-Williams's *A Sanskrit English Dictionary*. Likewise, as explained in the introduction, source words from Tamil, Hindi, Arabic, Persian, Chinese, etc. are referenced to their own particular dictionaries (but this is not done for European languages or Japanese). If the source word itself was borrowed, a secondary source may be indicated in parentheses:

**dévosi** [devotion] < Du *devotie* (< Fr)

For those who aren't yet ready to purchase the book, the database can be searched online at <http://sealang.net/lwim/>. However the online version does not include the introduction or a list of abbreviations, a deficit that you may sometimes feel when the book is not at hand. Also be aware that when entering Indonesian or Malay search strings you must include acute accent when needed, e.g. searching on 'déwasa' returns one hit, but 'dewasa' (without acute accent) returns no hits.

In the introduction Jones describes the process of identifying source words as "the science of conjecture," which requires competence in the donor language as well as knowledge of sound change, history, and other non-linguistic factors. Even then it rarely leads to certainty but rather only to the identification of the likely or probable source of a loan. In this work these processes are mostly hidden from the reader, who is presented only with the conclusion.

**2.** Wilkinson's classic 1959 *A Malay-English Dictionary* (first published 1901–1903) is unparalleled by any dictionary on the market today in the amount of etymological information it contains. As an informal test, I randomly opened his dictionary and counted off the first 100 entries I came to. Of these, a full twenty contained etymological information. (We would be doing well if our own dictionaries were so richly supplied!)

In many cases Wilkinson indicates simply the source language, as in:

**běndera** Port. Flag (of European design).

Sometimes, however, he gives a fuller amount of information, in which case he sets the etymological information off in square brackets:

**běndi** [Hind. and Telegu bandi] Gig, two-wheeled cart or carriage.

When a word is not general Malay, Wilkinson gives information about where the word is spoken. This regional information, which he encloses in parentheses, is not to be confused with his etymological information, though it may sometimes give clues (or even explicit information) as to source language, compare:

**begok** (Min.) Coarse; rough; dull.

**bonteng** (Batav. from Sund.) Cucumber.

Whilst the language and regional abbreviations which Wilkinson uses were for the most part readily interpretable, some (like Pk., N.I., Lask.) were unclear to me, but the 1959 edition didn't have a list in which to look up what these abbreviations stood for.

Wilkinson's dictionary contains etymological information only for borrowed words, and does not indicate which words might represent inherited Austronesian vocabulary.

**3.** Collin's 2001 *Mukadimah Ilmu Etimologi* is a scholarly introduction to issues involved in doing etymological research, with special reference to the Malay context. This book would be a very useful resource for anyone who wants to teach in Indonesian about sound change, borrowing, phonological adaptation of loanwords, and other aspects about how the word stock of a language can change and develop. Along the way Collins gives the fascinating history of a number of Malay words (the *urat* ~ *otot* example given below, for example, comes from here). Speakers of Indonesian who 'just want to know about words' will find many gems within this book's pages. Unfortunately it does not have a word index, so it less useful in cases where you already have a particular word in mind, for which you are trying to track down an etymology.

**4.** Ngajenan's 1987 *Kamus Etimologi Bahasa Indonesia* is rather small, containing only around 1900 entries of Indonesian words and their etymologies (definitions for the Indonesian words are not given). This book has a number of deficiencies, not the least of which is the lack of attention to detail. For example Sanskrit transliterations, which in this work never have macrons over vowels, are sometimes also misspelled or incorrectly cited, compare **duka** < Skt dukha (correct: Skt duhkha) and **bagi** < Skt bhaga (correct: Skt bhāgī). Another lack is that even when a word is correctly identified as Austronesian, the 'Austronesia Kuno' (Proto Austronesian) form which Ngajenan cites looks decidedly like 'Malay.' One also suspects that Ngajenan must be a Javanese speaker, because a number of words are incorrectly given as coming from or through Javanese or Old Javanese, for example **hujan** < Jw udan < AK hujan (correct: hujan < AK \*quzaN). Because of the many errors, the best possible use of this book is as a first stop only, in order to guide you to one of the more scholarly works reviewed here.

**5.** Jones's 1984 article "Loan-words in Contemporary Indonesian" is devoted to 'understanding the phenomenon of borrowing in the Indonesian context,' and is probably the best article available if one simply wants an overview of the subject, including an historical perspective. Separate sections are devoted to Indic languages (Sanskrit, Middle Indo-Aryan, Hindi, Tamil), Arabic (along with Persian), Chinese, Japanese, and, finally, European languages (Portuguese, Dutch, English). In an article only twenty-eight pages long, Jones aims for breadth rather than depth, but he also manages to discuss (in brief) sound changes which occurred in the process of borrowing, loan translations, and the semantic and grammatical classes of words (sometimes even affixes) which were borrowed.

## Arabic loanwords

**6.** Jones's 1978 *Arabic Loan-words in Indonesian* was the first publication to result from the Indonesian Etymological Project. As the subtitle indicates, it is a checklist. Each entry

gives the Indonesian word, a one- or two-word English gloss of the Indonesian word, and the Arabic or Persian source word. No gloss is given for the Arabic; rather, the reader is referred to a page in a particular Arabic-English dictionary for further information. Jones's checklist is thorough, containing over 4,700 entries. Three appendices list Indonesian loan words according to the Arabic root; Indonesian words of Persian origin; and Indonesian words ultimately of Arabic origin, but which entered the language through Dutch or English.

**7.** The 1983 third edition of M. A. J. Beg's *Arabic Loan-words in Malay* (first edition: 1977; second edition 1979) is a collection of diverse essays. An alphabetical checklist (chapter 5) occupies only thirty-three pages out of some two hundred fifty pages. It is preceded and followed by chapters—among others—on Arabic loan words in various languages (from Hausa to Latin and Tibetan); corrections to some mistaken Malay etymologies; two chapters devoted to Arabic loan words in Malay arranged by subject matter; Arabic loan words in the Philippines and Thailand; Arabic loan words in Burmese; Arabic loan words in Malay at the beginning of the twentieth century; and supplementary notes on Arabic and Persian loan words in Gujarati and Bengali. On the one hand there is value in having such a treasure trove of information all in one place. On the other hand one could wish that the contents had been better integrated. In particular by comparing between chapters it is clear that the alphabetical checklist is incomplete.

**8.** In the present-day lexicon of Indonesian, most words of Arabic provenance have forms which suggest they came from Classical Arabic. The purpose of Van Dam's 2010 article "Arabic loanwords in Indonesian revisited" is to ask: can we discern in the form of some Arabic loanwords, perhaps representing an older stratum, the influence of a colloquial Arabic (particularly South Arabia or Hadramaut),<sup>1</sup> or—as some have suggested—that some loanwords of Arabic origin actually reached Indonesia via Persian? These same questions intrigued other scholars long before Van Dam's work, and his article is a useful entry point to the extended literature on this topic.

## Chinese loanwords

**9.** Leo's 1975 *Chinese Loanwords Spoken by the Inhabitants of the City of Jakarta* contains some interesting material such as Indonesian *becak* < Ch. *bé-ts'ia* 'horse cart.' The booklet is short—it contains only about 300 entries altogether—leaving one with the impression that Leo is just scratching the surface. Nonetheless, it is more complete than older alternatives,<sup>2</sup> and its 'checklist' format makes it usable for the casual lexicographer. Unlike Kong's (1993) longer list (reviewed below no. 11), Leo includes both tone marks as well as glosses for the Chinese. In my brief perusal, I noted one glaring error, Malay *duit* which was incorrectly ascribed to Chinese *lui*. As Schlegel had noted eighty years earlier (1891:392), Chinese *lui* as well as Malay *duit* both originate from Dutch *duit*.

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<sup>1</sup> That is, today's Yemen.

<sup>2</sup> By comparison, Schlegel (1891) treated only ninety-seven Malay words of Chinese (or probable Chinese) origin, while Hamilton (1924) included 147 words of definite Chinese origin, twenty-two of probable Chinese origin, and eighteen of possible Chinese origin.

**10.** In his 1987 article “A Study of Chinese Loanwords (from South Fujian Dialects) in the Malay and Indonesian languages,” Kong concludes that nearly 90% of all Chinese loanwords originate from southern Fujian dialects (e.g. Hokkien), and goes into history to explain why this is so. He also covers domains to which the borrowings relate (e.g. names of vegetables, numerals and measures, etc.) along with some semantic shifts which occurred in the borrowing process (e.g. *tsabɔ* ‘woman’ > *cabo* ‘courtesan, prostitute’). Whilst Kong worked with a database of 507 Chinese loanwords, only a smattering of them make it into his article by way of example.

**11.** After a brief, three-page introduction, the remainder of Kong’s 1993 article “Kata Pinjaman Bahasa Cina dalam Bahasa Melayu” lists 1054 loan words from Chinese, ordered alphabetically according to the Malay. Other columns are devoted to (a) a Romanization of the Chinese source word, *without* indication of tone; (b) the Chinese character (both in the local Chinese dialect and standard Chinese), (c) a brief gloss of the Malay term, and (d) indication of the source language (F for Fujian = Hokkien; G for Guangdong = Cantonese; K for Kejia = Hakka; C for Chaozhou = Teochew = Swatow). The meaning of the Chinese source word is not given.

**12.** Santa Maria’s 1996 article “I Prestiti Lessicali Cinesi in Malese-Indonesiano nel Loro Contesto Storico e Sociale” follows a familiar outline: after a review of the available literature, Santa Maria discusses the history of Chinese immigration (including Chinese ‘dialects’), semantic domains of borrowing, and phonological adaptation of loan words. As the title indicates, however, the article is in Italian, and the lack of any checklist makes it less useful for the casual lexicographer (in the article itself only a sprinkling of Chinese loan words are brought up by way of example).

**13.** Russell Jones submitted the script for his *Chinese Loan-words in Malay and Indonesian: A Background Study* in 1999, but it was a decade before it made it into print. This book comprises four sections: an introduction,<sup>3</sup> a finder list of Chinese loan words alphabetized according to the Indonesian, notes on particular entries, and illustrations. The following is a typical entry from the finder list:

taoge	tāu gê	480	<u>104b</u>	豆芽	bean sprouts (of the	i	Cc
					<i>Phaseolus radiatus</i> ) (bot.)*		

From left to right, these are (a) the head word in Indonesian; (b) a Romanized form of the Chinese source word; (c) page number(s) in a Chinese dictionary where the source word is defined (in this case, Douglas’s 1899 Amoy dictionary, but as necessary other dictionaries are also cited), (d) the source word written in Chinese characters, (e) a brief definition of the Indonesian head word; (f) a dictionary or other source where the Indonesian head word can be found (i = *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*); and lastly (g) the source language or dialect (Cc = Chiangchui). A raised star in the fifth column means that a further note concerning that entry can be found in the notes section. In this case the corresponding note reads:

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<sup>3</sup> Jones made a prepublication version of the introduction available through SOAS in 1996.

### **taoge**

See Vorderman (1884:130); the botanical name he gives, *Phaseolus radiatus*, refers to the Malay ‘kacang hijau’. Ochse (1977:414–7) maintains this scientific name, giving the English as “mung bean”; he illustrates the plant, and notes that its principal use is for making ‘taoge’, for which he gives instructions; he records, however (967) that ‘taoge’ can be made from other species. Burkill (1935:1706) believes that the name *Phaseolus radiatus* should be replaced by *P. aureus*.

With its detailed references to outside works, maps, notes, and even black and white or grayscale illustrations of certain picturable items, this work proves itself to be of the highest caliber. In the introduction Jones even goes into evidence from tombstones as to what Chinese dialects were spoken in pre-European Indonesia, yet he has made his writings accessible to people who, like me, have little knowledge of the Chinese language situation. I especially enjoyed Jones’s description of Chinese languages and dialects. Is Foochow the same thing as Fuzhou? Is Guangzhou the same thing as Guangfu? Other articles had left me wondering, but Jones lays everything out very clearly!

**14.** I myself have not had access to Mashudi and Yeong’s 1989 article “Pengaruh Bahasa Cina dalam Perbendaharaan Kata Bahasa Malaysia,” but we learn in Jones (1996) that these authors worked with a database of 341 Chinese loanwords. Jones further writes that Mashudi and Yeong “provide probably one of the best published linguistic analyses of phonological changes in Chinese loan-words as they enter Malay... They also deal with semantic changes; finally their survey discusses the relatively few loan-words which are subjected to morphological change after they have been accepted by Indonesian” (Jones 1996:10).

### **Indic loanwords**

**15.** The classic work on Indic loanwords is Gonda’s 1952 *Sanskrit in Indonesia* (2nd edition, 1973). This is a scholarly work of high quality, detailing the background of how Sanskrit (and other Indic languages) came to Indonesia, and devoting sometimes long discussions to particular words, the paths they traveled to reach Indonesia, and the phonological and semantic changes they underwent. Specific chapters discuss words in various semantic domains, such as ‘Death and the life hereafter,’ ‘Medicine,’ and ‘Botanical names.’ Sanskrit words are helpfully cited in both Devanagari script and in Romanized transliteration. An appendix includes an index of source words, arranged according to whether they are Sanskrit words or Middle or new Indo-Aryan words,<sup>4</sup> and a second index of words in Indonesian languages (primarily Malay and Javanese) which are of Indic origin.

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<sup>4</sup> Middle Indo-Aryan is sometimes referred to as Prakrit. The relationship of Prakrit to Sanskrit is similar to that of vulgar Latin to classical Latin, indeed the word Prakrit originates from Sanskrit *prākṛta* ‘ordinary, usual, common’.



**16.** De Casparis's 1997 *Sanskrit Loan-words in Indonesian* (along with some amendments later proposed by Mahdi 2000) is a much simpler guide to Indonesian words originating from Sanskrit. Alphabetized according to Indonesian, it is essentially a checklist: Indonesian word, gloss, Sanskrit source word, gloss, with comments here and there provided as endnotes.

**17.** In their section on 'Indonesia' in *Sanskrit Words in Southeast Asian Languages*, Sedyawati and Somvir (2005) have compiled a list of over 1900 Sanskrit borrowings which are found in Old Javanese, Balinese, and/or Indonesian. Arrangement is alphabetical according to the Old Javanese. The following entries are typical:

**Gopāla** (Oj) – Gembala Shepherd  
 Gembāla (BI)  
 Skt. गोपाल Gopāla – Cowherd

**Maṇik** (Oj) – Permata Precious stone  
 Mānik (BI)  
 Manik (BL)  
 Skt. मणिक Maṇika – Jewel, precious stone, gem

The retention of macron and of dot underneath in the spelling of Old Javanese, Balinese and Indonesian words apparently follows the authors' source texts (such as the Rāmāyaṇa, written in the Pallava script).

**18.** Tamil loanwords in Indonesian were explored in a series of articles by Van Ronkel (1902, 1903a, 1903b). Unlike Sanskrit and Hindi, which are of Indo-Aryan (Indo-European) stock, Tamil is one of the major Dravidian languages of southern India,<sup>5</sup> and the Dravidian language which was in closest contact with the Malays, who had established themselves on the island of Ceylon by the sixth century AD. Tamil mediation of Sanskrit loanwords is also explored by Gonda (1952, 1973).

**19.** I have not had the opportunity to review Francisco (1964), which is primarily concerned with Indic loan words in Philippine languages.

## European loanwords

**20.** Grijns, de Vries and Santa Maria's 1983 *European Loan-words in Indonesian* is a scholarly compilation of approximately 7,500 Indonesian words which entered the language from European sources. It is a checklist in three-column format, the first column giving the Indonesian, the second column a single-word English gloss (sometimes further explained in an endnote), and the third column giving the source form, in most cases a Portuguese, Dutch or English word. Source words are further divided out according to language and listed alphabetically in various appendices.

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<sup>5</sup> Other major Dravidian languages of India are Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam.

**21.** In his 1988 “Dutch Loanwords in Indonesian,” de Vries first of all tackles the history of Dutch in Indonesia, the reasons for borrowing, and kinds of borrowings (loan shifts, loan translations, and loan blends among others). He also discusses the early preference of Indonesian language planners for Dutch loans—which later gave way to preferences for English, Sanskrit and even Javanese—as they sought to expand the word stock of the national language. Also included is a section on how Dutch loanwords were both phonemicized to and affected the sound system of Indonesian. De Vries estimates that of some 5,400 borrowings from Dutch, nouns constitute approximately 85% of the total, verbs only 2%. Whilst the article is sprinkled with many examples which will engage and fascinate the reader, in the span of sixteen pages the author can, of course, give only the most general outline. The scholar who consults the references section will discover leads to yet other articles which have not been reviewed here.

**22.** In Van Minde’s article “European Loanwords in Ambonese Malay” the author has gathered “all Portuguese, Dutch and English loan words occurring in my fieldnotes” (Van Minde 2002:197), which amounts to around 120, 350 and 30 words respectively. Despite the small size and considerable overlap with Grijns, et al. (1983), nonetheless Van Minde hits upon some loan words not included in the larger work, for example *baileu* ‘village ceremonial hall’ (< Portuguese *baileu*), *hodeng* ‘sturdy, burly, macho’ (< Dutch *houding*) and *hibop* ‘pull up!’ (< English *heave up*).

**23.** Robson’s 2002 article “Dutch Loan-translations in Indonesian” tackles the little-covered topic of loan translations: complex words or phrases which are translated literally from one language to another. Robson, for example, makes the case that Indonesian *terdiri dari* is based rather literally on Dutch *bestaand uit*, and so with thirty-eight other Indonesian words and phrases which he covers. Some of Robson’s connections seem conjectural, but reading his article could open your mind to thinking about loan translations in the vernacular language you are researching.

**24.** While positioned as *controleur* in Manado in North Sulawesi, F. S. A. de Clercq wrote three articles concerning words used in Manado Malay that were not found in standard Malay. The first concerned loan words of Spanish provenance (de Clercq 1869), and the second loan words of Dutch provenance (de Clercq 1870). The third (de Clercq 1870–1871) was a list of other words unique to Manado Malay, with an indication if a word was also used in North Moluccan Malay (Ternate, Tidore). In this third source, etymological information is generally lacking, although a few pointers can be found here and there, e.g. *goda* ‘ghost, apparition’ (Javanese *godha* ‘temptation, disturbance’); *rumah kalakerang* ‘common or village house’ (Minahasan *kalakeran*, from the stem *laker* ‘many’). These three works were prelude to his *Het Maleisch der Molukken* (de Clercq 1876) which contains a 54-page alphabetized list of the most commonly encountered words unique to East Indonesian Malays (Manado, Ternate, Ambon, Banda, and Kupang). This list repeats the etymological information of his first three articles, but adds little to them.

## Other loanwords

Apart from two paragraphs in Jones (1984:21), I do not know of a published resource which specifically treats loanwords from Japanese. According to this same author, there are no known Indonesian words of modern Cambodian, Burmese or Vietnamese provenance, and almost none from Thai. However, words from an older strata of Austroasiatic languages (e.g. Old Mon, Old Khmer) have made their way into Malay and other languages of Indonesia.

**25.** In 1994 Waruno Mahdi published a pair of articles on words of probable Austroasiatic provenance, including *perak* ‘silver’, *emas* ‘gold’, *merak* ‘peacock’, *kerbau*, *karabau* ‘water buffalo’ and *kembar* ‘twin’ (Mahdi 1994a,b). He addressed the topic again in a 2009 conference paper titled “Some obscure Austroasiatic borrowings in Indonesian and Old Malay.” Mahdi dates the earliest Austroasiatic loanwords to 2500 BC, and continuing for at least 4000 years.

**26.** Uri Tadmor also produced a conference paper on Mom-Khmer loan words in Malay (Tadmor 2009), but I have not been able to obtain a copy of his paper for review.

## Words of Austronesian provenance

When investigating what appear to be native ‘Austronesian’<sup>6</sup> words in an indigenous language of Indonesia, one of the most important things is to be able to distinguish bona fide inherited forms (that is, words which can be traced directly back to Proto Austronesian or Proto Malayo-Polynesian)<sup>7</sup> from forms which were borrowed at a later stage from a neighboring Austronesian language.<sup>8</sup> To do this, you must know what sound changes were ‘regular’ for the language under investigation.

For example, Indonesian has two terms, *urat* ‘vein, tendon, sinew’ and *otot* ‘muscle’, both of which can ultimately be traced back to a Proto Austronesian form which scholars reconstruct as \*uRat. However, only the first of these, *urat*, reflects regular sound development in Malay (in the ancestor to all Malayic languages, PAN \*R, perhaps a uvular trill, merged with \*r). The form *otot*, on the other hand, which is actually from reduplicated \*uRat-uRat, exhibits PAN \*R > zero and subsequent merger of \*ua as \*o. Since both of these changes would be irregular for Malayic languages, but happen to be

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<sup>6</sup> Whilst this section revolves around Austronesian, nonetheless many of the general principles apply to Papuan languages as well. Unfortunately, I am unqualified to speak specifically to the Papuan situation.

<sup>7</sup> Proto Austronesian (PAN) is the supposed ancestor language of all Austronesian languages, from Madagascar to Hawaii, and is thought to have been spoken in Formosa (Taiwan) about 6000 years ago. Proto Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) is a daughter language that developed on Formosa out of Proto Austronesian about a thousand years later, and is the supposed ancestor of all Austronesian languages *outside of Formosa*. Of the two, Proto Malayo-Polynesian is thus the more immediate ancestor to the Austronesian languages of Indonesia.

<sup>8</sup> In general, the older the borrowing, or the more closely related the neighboring language, the harder it is to distinguish borrowings from inherited vocabulary.

regular in Javanese, the conclusion is that *otot*—even though it ‘looks’ like it could have been inherited—must be considered a borrowing (from Javanese). By coincidence, Javanese also has both *urat* and *otot*, but here the situation is exactly reversed: in Javanese, *otot* is the inherited form, while *urat* is a borrowed word (from Malay, of course)!

One of the most exciting things to me, when twenty-five years ago I began studying historical sound change in the Bungku-Tolaki languages of Sulawesi, was to see the patterns of regular sound change emerge, as it were, out of an initial confusion of often contradictory data. With growing confidence, I began to be able to recognize borrowed terms: Aha, this form exhibits all the regular sound changes, therefore it must be inherited; but that form is irregular in its development—it must be borrowed.

While you yourself might not be motivated by the excitement of uncovering such heady insights, it is possible that some other linguist has. If there is already a study reconstructing historical sound changes in the language area where you work, then this is where you will want to begin. You may find it even has a list of low level reconstructions—an invaluable source for etymologies. In point of fact, nine out of the ten language groups of Sulawesi have now been covered by one or more studies in historical reconstruction, and progress is being made in other regions of Indonesia as well.

**27.** When searching for reconstructions, my first stop these days is the Austronesian Comparative Dictionary (or abbreviated: ACD) (Blust and Trussel 2010 et seq.). This online resource first appeared in 2010, and has been continually updated since then. If printed the database would run to several hundreds of pages. The online format allows one to browse reconstructions alphabetically or to search for reconstructions using an English finderlist. Provided a vernacular word is in the database, you can even look up reconstructions by words in present-day languages, e.g. what is the reconstructed form from which Pamona *bubu* ‘pour out’ is derived? (Answer: PMP \*buqbuq ‘pour, pour out, as water or grain from a container’.)

Besides inherited vocabulary, the ACD also has a section devoted to loan words, particularly cases where borrowed forms are likely to (or already have) given rise to erroneous reconstructions. Importantly this section includes *internal* loans, that is, where a word was borrowed from one Austronesian language into another (with Malay being the most common donor language). This is something you won’t find in most of the other resources reviewed above, which are primarily or exclusively concerned with *external* loans (words borrowed from non-Austronesian languages).

The ACD replaces Blust’s previously published lists of Austronesian reconstructions (Blust 1972a, 1972b, 1973, 1980, 1983/1984, 1986, 1989),<sup>9</sup> and has grown in value as it has also sought to incorporate the work of others—but only after critical review. For

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<sup>9</sup> For the most part it has also superseded three compiled lists of reconstructed forms that I used to rely on: Dyen and McFarland’s 1970 “Proto Austronesian Etyma,” Zorc and Charles’s 1971 “Proto-Philippine Finder List,” and Wurm and Wilson’s 1975 *English Finderlist of Reconstructions in Austronesian Languages*. None of these resources give supporting evidence. They also have to be used with caution because of changes to the way Proto Austronesian phonemes have been symbolized over the years.

example of Dempwolff's more than two thousand reconstructions (see below no. 35), only around two-thirds were brought forward into the ACD as canonical comparisons. The remaining third were either discarded, assigned to a low-level proto-language, considered to be loans, or treated as 'noise' (chance look-alikes).

For those who are interested, Blust and Trussel (2013) is an overview of the history, aims, and scope of the Austronesian Comparative Dictionary project.

**28.** Tryon (1995) is a very accessible overview of the classification of Austronesian languages as is presently known, and his discussions include a number of reconstructed forms. What is meant by 'Western Malayo-Polynesian'? Which language groups of Indonesia are included under 'Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian'? You'll find the answers here.

**29.** The appendix to Blust (1999) contains a helpful list of 200 Proto Austronesian and Proto Malayo-Polynesian basic vocabulary items.

**30.** Blust (2002) is a compilation of reconstructed faunal terms with commentary.

**31.** Blust's 2003 article "Three Notes on Early Austronesian Morphology" is devoted to aspects of the prefix \*ka-. However an appendix (pp. 471–475) contains a comprehensive list of reconstructed Proto Austronesian affixes and clitics.

**32.** Dahl (1981) is a specific treatment of numerals. He discusses inherited terms and also some irregular replacements (such as Malay *delapan* from *dua-alap-an*).

**33.** Zorc (1995) is a long list of reconstructions amounting to several pages, along with an English finder list. Zorc uses a slightly different notation system than Blust, and he also uses the throwback terms PHF (Proto Hesperonesian-Formosan, viz. reflexes are found in Formosa and Western Malayo-Polynesian languages), and PHN (Proto Hesperonesian, viz. reflexes are found only in Western Malayo-Polynesian languages). Supporting evidence is not given, and reconstructions have not been as carefully vetted as those found in the Austronesian Comparative Dictionary (see above no. 27).

**34.** John Wolff's 2010 work, *Proto-Austronesian Phonology with Glossary*, is published in two volumes comprising over a thousand pages, and it is impressive in its scope, including (from the publisher's description) "to examine exhaustively the forms that can be reconstructed for Proto-Austronesian and also for the earliest stages after the Austronesian languages began to spread southward from Taiwan." However, because of his unique interpretation of the Proto Austronesian sound system, Wolff employs a system for representing proto-phonemes which is different from that endorsed by most Austronesianists. Unless proper care is taken, the casual lexicographer who 'mixes and matches' protoforms from Wolff with those from other authors is likely to introduce inconsistencies into his or her own work.

**35.** At the time of its publication in 1938, the third volume of Dempwolff's *Vergleichende Lautlehre des austronesischen Wortschatzes* was a formidable compilation

of over twenty-two hundred Proto Malayo-Polynesian reconstructions, the majority of which are still accepted today. However, because of subsequent changes in spelling conventions for reconstructions which have overtaken the field, there is a daunting learning curve to climb before his work becomes accessible. If you have only a casual interest in Proto Austronesian reconstructions, you should use others of the above-mentioned works rather than this one. I mention it here mainly by way of completeness.

Those who work in languages of the northern peninsula of Sulawesi should be aware of the following resources:

**36.** Zorc (1986) proposed ninety-eight lexical innovations in support of a Philippines group which includes the Sangir, Minahasan and Gorontalo-Mongondow languages. According to Blust (2005:56), external evidence has been found for twelve of these, which can no longer be considered Proto Philippine innovations.

**37.** In an appendix to his “The Linguistic Macrohistory of the Philippines,” Blust (2005) presented a provisional list of 241 additional Proto Philippine reconstructions. He notes (page 35) that the coverage was uneven, and that a final list of ‘Philippines only’ innovations might well exceed one thousand in number. Indeed when the full list was later published (Blust 2019:222 ff.) it comprised 1,222 etyma. Only reconstructed forms are listed, but supporting evidence can be found in the Austronesian Comparative Dictionary (see above, no. 27).

**38.** Blust (1991) includes a list of ninety-four Proto Greater Central Philippines innovations. The Greater Central Philippines group includes the Gorontalo-Mongondow languages, but excludes the Sangiric and Minahasan languages.

Those who work in Austronesian languages of the Moluccas or further east may appreciate the following resources.

**39.** Blust (1978) discusses sound change in the Austronesian languages of southwestern Halmahera and western New Guinea, and their classification. An appendix lists fifty-six lexical and semantic innovations which help define Proto Eastern Malayo-Polynesian as a valid subgroup.

**40.** Blust (1993) discusses phonological, lexical and semantic innovations in the Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian and Central Malayo-Polynesian branches of the Austronesian family tree. An appendix traces the development of 200 basic vocabulary items from PMP into PCEMP, PCMP, and finally Proto Oceanic.

**41.** Chuck Grimes (1990) is a 389-item wordlist arranged for comparative (not survey) purposes. Each entry gives a reconstructed etymon followed by representative reflexes, along with a suggested meaning or range of meanings. For example:

**\*ma-dingding, dingin, diding, ringring, riri, lingi, lilingi, eb-ridi-n, ringi;** ‘be cold, cool, fresh, refreshing, chills (from fever)’: \_\_\_\_\_

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Etyma are not identified as to level (Proto Malayo-Polynesian, Proto Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian, etc.) so this information would have to be retrieved from elsewhere, e.g. in the above example one would normally cite PMP \*ma-diŋdiŋ.

## Other resources

Finally, don't forget to check if there is an indigenous language dictionary for your area which gives etymologies. I'm fortunate, for example, to have at hand René van den Berg's (1996) *Muna-English Dictionary*, among other reasons because he has brief etymologies for a number of his entries. There will always be gaps in our work—for example, Blust (1997:196) rattled off some forty additional etymologies which Van den Berg had missed—but we shouldn't allow the thought of criticism to deter us from doing our best.

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