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John M. Echols

A. A. FOKKER.



# MALAY PHONETICS.



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A language is made of sounds,  
not of letters.

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# MALAY PHONETICS.

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## PROEFSCHRIFT

TER VERKRIJGING VAN DEN GRAAD VAN

DOCTOR IN DE TAAL- EN LETTERKUNDE  
VAN DEN OOST-INDISCHEN ARCHPEL

AAN DE RIJKS-UNIVERSITEIT TE LEIDEN,

OP GEZAG VAN DEN RECTOR-MAGNIFICUS

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TO THE HOLY MEMORY  
OF MY PARENTS.



# CONTENTS.

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	page.
Preface . . . . .	1
Phonetic System.	
I. Genuine Malay element . . . . .	5
Consonants . . . . .	9
<i>Guttural class</i> . . . . .	»
1. — <sup>h</sup> . . . . .	»
2. — <i>h</i> . . . . .	16
3. — <i>g</i> . . . . .	23
4. — <i>k</i> . . . . .	24
5. — <i>ñ</i> . . . . .	25
6. — <i>ρ</i> . . . . .	27
<i>Palatal class</i> . . . . .	34
7. — <i>y</i> . . . . .	»
8. — <i>j</i> . . . . .	36
9. — <i>c</i> . . . . .	38
10. — <i>ñ</i> . . . . .	40
11. — <i>l</i> (see <i>l</i> ) . . . . .	44
12. — <i>ç</i> (see <i>s</i> ) . . . . .	»
13. — <i>z</i> ( » ) . . . . .	»
<i>Superdental class</i> . . . . .	»
14. — <i>s</i> . . . . .	»
15. — <i>d</i> . . . . .	47
16. — <i>t</i> . . . . .	48
17. — <i>n</i> . . . . .	52
18. — <i>l</i> and <i>l</i> . . . . .	55
19. — <i>z</i> (see <i>s</i> ) . . . . .	44
<i>Labial class</i> . . . . .	57
20. — <i>w</i> . . . . .	»
21. — <i>b</i> . . . . .	61
22. — <i>p</i> . . . . .	62
23. — <i>m</i> . . . . .	64

	page.
Vowels . . . . .	67
<i>Guttural class</i> . . . . .	»
1) <i>a — á</i> (clear) . . . . .	»
2) <i>a</i> (surd) . . . . .	75
3) <i>ă — â</i> . . . . .	77
<i>Palatal class</i> . . . . .	82
4) <i>i — î</i> (clear) . . . . .	»
5) <i>i</i> (surd) . . . . .	83
6) <i>e — ê</i> (clear) . . . . .	85
7) <i>e</i> (surd) . . . . .	87
<i>Labial class</i> . . . . .	89
8) <i>u — û</i> (clear) . . . . .	»
9) <i>u</i> (surd) . . . . .	90
10) <i>o — ô</i> (clear) . . . . .	92
11) <i>o</i> (surd) . . . . .	94
Accent . . . . .	97

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## ERRATA.

- p. 3 l. 19 for *minutious* read *minute*.  
 » 8 » 11 » *fool* » *poor*.  
 » 11 » 4 fr. the botom for *pălălăwan* read *pălălăwan*.  
 » 18 in the middle for *maka-hilān lah* and *măk'ilañ lah* read  
*măka-hilān lah* and *măk'ilañ lah*.
-

## PREFACE.

---

Hitherto all handbooks or grammars of the Malay language have either neglected or very superficially treated the phonetic system of that most remarkable tongue. Even the best among them make no exception on the rule. Their common fault is confounding letters (written signs) and sounds, and a general lack of system in the exposition of the phonetic rules. Let us take Werndley, Marsden, Crawford, Pijnappel, de Hollander, Klinkert, Gerth van Wijk, Favre, Tugault, Maxwell: on all of them we might apply the words of Dr. Snouck Hurgronje, the eminent orientalist, in his „*Studiën over Atjehsche Klank- en Schrifteleer*” (Tijdschrift v. Ind. taal- land- en volkenkunde, Deel XXXV, pag. 4): „The treating of spelling and phonetic system together, instead of being profitable to both, usually leads to an insufficient and incorrect exposition of the latter”. That fact, lamentable as it is, is not so strange as it might seem. The same confusion of letters and sounds prevails in nearly all elementary school-books on language, and the teaching of our own tongue, the Dutch, in inferior and middle-schools as well as in the „gymnasia”, is a constant contradiction of our motto: *a language is made of sounds, not of letters.*

In the scientific world phonetics occupy a rather modest place. As a rule grammarians and philologists in general do

not think it worth while giving much time to the study of the phonetic system of a language: etymology and syntax are considered by far more important; for their knowledge is necessary to the understanding and interpreting of *texts*. The *written* language is their aim, not the *spoken*. What would they care then for an exact pronunciation or phonetic rules? We may assume it is for that reason why *dead* languages are the favourites of philology, while their living sisters are so very often treated as step-children: the former exist in *texts* only.

Nevertheless phonetics form the base of linguistic science: what the Hindus had professed some thousand years ago, the modern philologists begin to believe it now. Already some most brilliant geniuses have made phonetics the object of a careful perusal. But much remains to be done still. As to the Malay-Polynesian languages the names of Neubronner van der Tuuk and Kern undoubtedly stand foremost. Regarding Malay in particular: among the important living tongues it is perhaps the most neglected one by true scholars. This means the language as a whole. Hitherto there have been but few scientific men, who made it the chief object of earnest and long study, and if they did (Crawfurd f. i.) they fell short in their task by lack of method. As to the dictionaries, there is no reliable one among them. Mr. L. W. C. van den Berg, Professor at the Institute for the Languages, Geography and Ethnography of the Dutch Indies at Delft, could not find one Malay dictionary, where the several terms and expressions used in Malay jurisprudence were clearly explained or even mentioned. Let us compare this lamentable state of things with the conditions of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac and Sanskrit in that respect: the contrast is striking.

Three centuries of colonial occupation and power have not

yet induced the Dutch to a thorough search of that language, which is the principal, the sweetest, one of the richest and most developed, spoken in their dominions.

Her sister-tongues, Javanese and other Malay-Polynesian languages, have been fortunate enough to find scholars as Tako Roorda, Neubronner van der Tuuk, H. Kern, A. C. Vreede, B. F. Matthes, G. J. Grashuis, G. K. Niemann deeply interested in the study of their laws. It is beyond any doubt that the works of those eminent men have largely contributed to the better understanding of Malay itself; but how different would have been the result, how brilliantly would their light have shone on the so long neglected language, had they exerted a greater part of their powers on Malay!

Not only second rate men would have studied it and it would rank among the deities worth to be loved and worshipped a lifetime by a true priest of science.

Our inestimable Prof. Kern induced me to choose Malay phonetics as a subject for an earnest and minutious treatment, or rather he decided me to follow my inclination in that respect. In one of his lectures on comparative linguistics of the Malay-Polynesian tongues — never to be forgotten by whomsoever heard them once — he mentioned the fact that it would be worth while establishing once for all the principles of Malay pronunciation, i.e. the phonetic system of that language.

With the help of Heaven I hope to continue my work and be able to give a complete grammar of Malay afterwards.

The little work I now offer to the scientific world, modest as it is, is the result of a long, careful and conscientious search begun in West-Borneo about seven years ago and ended under the auspices of my teachers Dr. H. Kern and

Dr. A. C. Vreede. It tries to establish the phonetic rules of a language, the sounds of which have been familiar to me from the very first day of my life, dear to me as envolving and keeping fresh memories of my earliest childhood and the sunny land of my birth, dear too by the constant labour I vowed it during nearly fourteen years of my manhood.

May it prove to be of some value. I cannot finish this preface without offering my best thanks for the inappreciable teaching and directions of my most honoured tutors the Profs. Kern, Vreede, de Goeje, de Groot and Schlegel, and the „lector” Grashuis.

A word of sincere gratefulness will be here at its fit place for the amiability of Dr. du Rieu, librarian of the University library at Leiden, and his indefatigable assistants Mr. Spille, Sauvage and Cornets.

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## PHONETIC SYSTEM.

### I. GENUINE MALAY ELEMENT.

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I shall first try to set forth the phonetic laws of genuine Malay words, separately and combined with other words in a sentence, and afterwards treat the peculiar changes foreign words undergo by the process of adaptation to the Malay pronunciation. As a matter of course I only take the spoken Malay as it is pronounced by *Malays* in the strictest sense of the word as a basis of observation <sup>1)</sup>.

First of all it is necessary to establish a consequent mode of transliteration, i. e. of conveying as nearly as possible the true pronunciation of Malay sounds, in Latin characters. In that transliteration I shall *not* follow the original spelling, the common fault of Malay dictionaries and some grammars <sup>2)</sup>. I myself made that mistake in the first edition of my „*Leercursus*“. I shall try to render the true sounds, chiefly guided by my personal experience, for Malay „orthography“ is *very* far from being „orthē“. F. i. Malays have not the slightest idea of long and short vowels: mostly they write a long syllable where they mean an *accented* one. But as long as many civilised Europeans do not distinguish the sound of

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1) Compare p. 12 of Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje's „*Studiën over Atjehsche klanken schriftleer*“.

2) Marsden, in his otherwise valuable dictionary, writes *māti*, *pāsūng*, *pākū* etc. with long vowels. So do Farre and v. d. Wall likewise, though not in closed syllables etc.

Latin *os* and *os*, *jus* and *jus* etc. or regularly confound accented and long syllables in poetry, we need not think the Malays are much behind in that respect.

The following table may give an easy survey of all the sounds occurring in Malay words.

*Guttural class.*

- | <i>signs</i> | <i>power</i>                                                                                                                               |
|--------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. ʾ         | the Arabic <i>âlif hamzata</i> , but at the beginning of a sentence or part of it;                                                         |
| 2. <i>h</i>  | the Engl. <i>h</i> in <i>Sahara</i> , i. e. <i>softer</i> than an initial <i>h</i> , being only the uniting link between the two a-sounds; |
| 3. <i>g</i>  | the Engl. <i>g</i> in <i>game</i> ;                                                                                                        |
| 4. <i>k</i>  | the common Dutch <i>k</i> , without the least aspiration as it actually often has in Engl. or German pronunciation;                        |
| 5. <i>n̄</i> | a letter for <i>ng</i> at the end of Engl. words, e. g. <i>long</i> etc.                                                                   |
| 6. <i>ρ</i>  | a new sign for what might be called a „guttural r”.                                                                                        |

*Palatal class.*

7. *y* the Engl. *y* in *mayor*, i. e. between two vowels, softer than an initial *y*;
8. *j* the Engl. *j* in *join*, though more with the *top* of the tongue.
9. *c* the Engl. *ch* in *church*, likewise pronounced with the *top* of the tongue.
10. *ñ* the Spanish *ñ* in *peña*, being the French and Italian *gn* in *Cologne*, *Spagna*.
11. *l* the Engl. *l* in *indulge*.
12. *ç* the Engl. *sh* in *shape*.
13. *z* the Engl. *s* in *pleasure* or the French *g* in *germe*.

*Superdental class.*

14. *s* the Engl. *s* in *pastime*; the Dutch in *kast*;
15. *d* the Engl. *d* in *landing*, the Dutch in the same word;
16. *t* the Engl. *t* in *tea*, or the Dutch in *teer*;

*signs**power*

17. n the Engl. *n* in *sentry*; the Dutch in *lente*;  
 18. l the Engl. *l* in *hill-top*, not that in *hill*, for this is  
       cerebral („lingual”); the Dutch *l* as an initial (*lustig* etc.).  
 19. z the Engl. *z* in *lazy* or the Dutch in *zeven*;

*Labial class.*

20. w the Engl. *w* in *lower* or *coward*, being *softer* than  
       the initial *w* in Dutch;  
 21. b the Engl. *b* in *bean*, *shrub* etc.;  
 22. p the Engl. *p* in *puppy*;  
 23. m the Engl. *m* in *mouth* or *gum*.

The above consonants can take the following vowels:

*Guttural class.*

- 1) *a* — *â* (clear), short and long,  
       long: Engl. *a* in *bar*,  
       short: „ *u* in *cup*.  
 2) *a* (surd), always short,  
       nearly Engl. *o* in *some*, Dutch *a* in *man*,  
       Spanish *a* in *tan*;  
 3) *ä* — *â*, long and short,  
       long: Engl. *e* in *the*.... (hesitatingly, like  
       some one not knowing what to say);  
       short: Engl. *e* in *the*, pronounced in the  
       ordinary way;

*Palatal class.*

- 4) *i* — *î* (clear) short and long,  
       long: Engl. *ea* in *dear*, or *ee* in *deer*,  
       short: Engl. *ee* in *been*, or better: German  
       *i* in *sinn*;  
 5) *i* (surd), only short,  
       Engl. *i* in *kitten*, *ring* or *ink*;

*signs**value*

- 6) *e* — *ê* (clear), long and short,  
     long: Engl. *ea* in *bear*,  
     short: Span. or Port. It. *e* as a final e. g. *sastre*  
     (Sp.) or *triste* (Sp.) or *arte* (Sp. Port. and It.).
- 7)     *e* (surd) only short,  
     not quite Engl. *a* in *sham*, better Germ.-*e*  
     in *brett*, or Dutch *e* in *met*.  
     *Labial class.*
- 8) *u* — *û* (clear), long and short,  
     long: Engl. *oo* in *fool*,  
     short: Engl. *u* in *put*;
- 9)     *u* (surd), only short,  
     a sound between the surd *o* and the short  
     clear *u*, is related to the letter as surd  
     *a* to short clear *a*;
- 10) *o* — *ô* (clear), long and short,  
     long: Engl. *o* in *more*,  
     short: Engl. *o* in *billow*.
- 11)     *o* (surd), only short,  
     Dutch *o* in *donker*, *dom*, Germ. *o* in *sondern*,  
     not quite Engl. *o* in *lot*.

Of the above mentioned *twenty three consonants* four (*z*, *ç*, *z* and *l*) only occur by the coalescing of words, the others are heard in the body of them. The *eleven vowels* all occur in separate words, the long as well as the short ones.

Having given a particular sign for each consonant or vowel, I can henceforth speak of the one and the other indiscriminately, saying sign or letter and meaning consonant or vowel. Every time it might be desirable to make a distinction it will be expressly stated.

Unless expressly saying the contrary, I mean a word taken separately, independent from the contact of other words.

## CONSONANTS.

*Guttural class.*

1. — ʾ. — The eloquent plea Dr. Snouck Hurgronje gives in his above cited „Studien” on behalf of the consonant represented by this sign will excuse me of explaining, why I introduced it.

At the beginning of a word after a pause it has nothing particular, but at the end of word before a pause most Europeans realise an extreme difficulty in pronouncing it. So instead of pronouncing *budaʾ* (child, boy, girl) they very often say *buda* or *budaḥ*. But *ʾundur* (retreat etc.) or *ʾikan* (fish, meat) do not offer the least obstacle to the European organs of speech; the words would be written in the usual spelling-system (so Marsden and Crawford)

*undur and ikan,*

i. e. without any sign for *hamzah*.

The correct pronunciation of a final *hamzah* is only obtained by *abruptly* stopping the breath after producing a sound. The above mentioned *budaʾ* is therefore often mispronounced, because the breaking off of the breath is made too slow: then an aspiration is allowed to come after, i. e. a very slight *h*, the same we hear at the end of a sentence or part of it in English, when an *a* is written last. Thus at the end of the word *India*.

Really every separate sound („akṣara”) ends either in such a slight *h*, *y* or *w* or in a very slight ʾ which is never written. We ought not write it neither, for it is scarcely observable at all. The difference between the two cases (*h*, *y* or *w* and ʾ) is made by cutting off the breath in the latter and letting it freely pass in the former; only, the cutting off is not so absolute as when we pronounce a full ʾ before a pause.

In Malay the *hamzah* only occurs either at the beginning or end of a sentence or part of it, or as a final or initial of a single word, never as a medial, i. e. always after or before a pause. When immediately preceded by an *a* or *α*-sound it is always replaced by *h*, when by an *u* or *u*-sound by *w*, when by an *i*-sound by *y*.

The same changes take place when these sounds are closed by *h* followed by a pause.

When immediately followed by a word or suffix, which would require a *hamzah* after a pause, the consonants thus coalescing originate one *k*, this taking the vowel of the last coming *hamzah*.

Thus *ʔā'dă* (be, exist) becomes *hā'dă* in:

*sū'da hā'dă* (he is already present etc.),

combined of *sū'da h* (already) and *ʔā'dă*.

The same *ʔā'dă* coalescing with the rare prefix *tī* (a collateral from of *ta* and *tā*) becomes:

*tīyā'dă* (it does not exist etc.)

So *tābū* (sugarcane) and *ʔāmpāt* (four), coalescing are pronounced as in the following expression:

*tābu-wāmpāt būku* (litt. sugar-cane four joints),

where the initial *ʔ* of *ʔāmpāt* (heard as such when the word stands apart or at the beginning of a sentence) is replaced by *w*.

In rapid speech however *ʔ* is dropped with its vowel <sup>1)</sup>:

*tābū 'mpāt būku*.

Likewise *sudāhāda* in rapid speech would be heard as:

*sud'ā'dă*.

---

1) When *ʔ* has another vowel than *ā*, the vowel remains even in rapid speech, but than the preceding *u* originates a *w*, taking the place of both *u* and *ʔ*. The same, analogously, has to be observed with *ʔ* preceded by an *i*-sound;

*māfīusuwī* (māfīusu + *ʔi*) + *ʔāna* become *māfīuswīdāna*.

For the coalescing of *ʾ* and *ʿ* we may take this example:

*kā'taʾ* (frog) + *ʿijaʷ* (green),

which is heard *kā'ta kiʿjaʷ*, when the words are pronounced connectedly.

The same change has to be noticed in the adding of suffixes (*ʾan* or *ʿi*). So from *ʾānaʾ* (child) is formed:

*ʾānak-ānākan* (a doll, a puppet),

from *kaḥāndāʾ* (will wish) is derived:

*di kaḥāndāki* (wished etc.).

When an initial *ʾ* is immediately preceded by a consonant other than *ʾ* it is always dropped, that consonant replacing it and taking its vowel.

So *ʾitu* (that, those) immediately preceded by one of the words *jūwal* (sell), *ʾānkat* (lift, take away), *tūtup* (shut, close) or *sāmpay*, (arrive, be enough etc.) would be sounded as in the following instances:

*jūwalitu* — sell that!

*ʾānkatitu* — take it away!

*sāmpayitu* — that will do or: that is enough.

Consequently in the suffixes *ʾan* and *ʿi*, being *always* suffixes in Malay, i. e. always immediately preceded by a stem, in ordinary speech the initial *ʾ* is only audible when they are cited as separate monosyllables as they are here.

So *pākay* (wear, use) + *ʾan* originate the word:

*pakāʿyan* („wearing”, i. e. clothes etc.),

*lāʿlaw* (hinder) with prefixed *pā* and the suffix *ʾan* gives birth to the derivation

*pālālāʿwan* („hindrance”, name of the capital of *Kampar*, Sumatra).

As yet I did not consider the case of *hamzah* followed by a consonant other than *ʾ*:

Immediately followed by a hard consonant other than *ʔ* and *k* or by *s*, *ʔ* becomes *k*.

Thus *duduʔ* (sit, dwell etc.) coalescing with *s'ôpañ dīpi* (alone) gives:

*dúduksôpañdī'pi*, and when immediately followed by a soft consonant, a nasal, *y*, *l* or *ʔ* *ʔ* remains.

So *tālúʔ* (a bight, small bay), + *bätúñ* (species of very big bamboo) make together

*tālúʔ-bätu"ñ* (name of the capital of the „Lampung-districts”, Sumatra)

*ʔánaʔ* (child) + *dă* or *ndă* (suffixes) give *ʔanáʔdă* or *ʔanáʔndă*<sup>1)</sup>.

Immediately followed by a word or suffix commencing with *k*, *ʔ* is dropped.

So *gă'puʔ* (scrape, scratch) and *káki* (leg, foot), when coalescing, are sounded:

*gă'puka''ki* (scratching of the foot),

*sé'paʔ* (kick) and *kámbiñ* (goat) pronounced consecutively become:

*sé'paka''mbiñ* (a goat's kicking)

*ʔăndăʔ* (will) + *kan* (a suffix) make together

*ʔăndăkan* (show one's will towards something i.e. desire).

As to the vowels which can be closed by *ʔ*, the short ones are compatible with it, except *ă* and *a*; while surd *i* can always take *k* as a final in stead of *ʔ*: both pronunciations are equally current.

So *dădak* (bran) and *săsak* (narrow) have always *k* as a final, though Malays often write a ق (see *Spelling*);

1) *ʔanandă*, *kăkandă* and *ʔadindă* are to be derived from the more original forms *ʔănă*, *kăkă* and *ʔădi* (present forms *ʔánaʔ*, *kăkaʔ* and *ʔădiʔ*).



ā not being heard in a closed final syllable no examples are quotable.

The word:

pā'tik (slave, a word for I, when addressing princes) can as well be sounded: pāti<sup>ā</sup>.

Likewise: nā'hik (rise, ascend etc.) = nāhi<sup>ā</sup>

bā'hik (good, well) = bāhi<sup>ā</sup>

The <sup>ā</sup> or *k* in tā'bik (a compliment) is not original, the word being derived from Sanskrit *ksantavya*, by dropping the first syllable (see *Sanskrit element*) and so on.

*Spelling.* — As an initial Malays very seldom write *hamzah*. An *ālif* without any additional signs is written for „ālif hamzata”, „ālif productionis” and „ālif conjunctionis”. The last mentioned sign would only be written in Arabic words.

In the middle of a word it is sometimes used, where it is quite superfluous.

According to Dr. Snouck Hurgronje in his above mentioned *Studien* (p. 32) the guttural is really *heard* as a medial in Achinese (so in lā'in = Mal. *lākin*), but in Malay it ought to be replaced by a conventional sign for *h*, when used as a medial.

The only case where Malays sometimes use it correctly is at the end of a word, when this stands before a pause. But they write it as a final of a word requiring it when followed by a pause, even in the middle of a sentence, arbitrarily interchanging it with the more habitual ق.

It is obvious that the Arabic ق (q in the usual transliteration of the Dutch) is a very ill-chosen sign for the guttural I call *hamzah*, for it represents in Arabic the well-known „deep k”, i. e. a consonant analogous with our *k*, but pronounced deeper in the throat, being a „faucal”. Malays

never write ق as an initial, except in words of Arabic origin (*quwat* etc.). But then they pronounce it as a common „guttural” k and even spell ك in stead of ق.

The ق Malays write in words taken from the Sanskr. (e. g. in *sakti*, divine power, or *pāpiksā*, examine) is absurd (see Skr. element).

Moreover *hamzah* is seen as a final where the word usually ends in a vowel in pronunciation. Then it appears intended to represent the slight ʰ-sound, audible when the breath is stopped a little too abruptly, though not so abruptly as would require a common ʰ.

A few examples will show more clearly these peculiarities of Malay spelling:

*Our transliteration.*

*Malay spelling.*

<i>bāpulañulañ</i> ( <i>bā-pu-la-nū-lañ</i> )	برولانغ or برولغولغ or برولغ ۲
over and over again etc.	
ʰ <i>āpañ bā'tu</i> (coals)	ارغ بات or ارغ باتو etc.
<i>kā'hin</i> (garments, cloth)	كاین or كاین or (seldom) (كاهين) كاهن
<i>pā'hit</i> (bitter etc.)	فاهيت or فاهيت or (sel- dom) فایت (فایت)
ʰ <i>a'hip</i> (water etc.)	اير or (seldom) اير
<i>lā'hun</i> (protracted, a sound etc.)	لاون or لاون
<i>sā'huh</i> (Malay anchor)	ساوه or ساوه or (seldom) (ساهوه) ساهه
<i>būda</i> ʰ - <i>būda</i> ʰ - <i>bālā''kā</i>	بوداء ۲ or بودت ۲ بلاك
(merely boys or girls)	

*Our transliteration.**Malay spelling.*

lâ'lu mi'num-â'hîp satăgú<sup>h</sup> . . . لال مينم اير ستكوء the  
 (then he or she drank a draught last word also: ستكوق  
 of water). or even: ستكوق

mâka di bāpî-y-ôpañ lah . . . مك دبرى اورغله the se-  
 (... and they gave it ...) cond word also: دبرى

when the *i* of this last instance is pronounced a little less clearly and the breath is stopped short, a slight <sup>h</sup> becomes audible. In good Malay pronunciation that „hiatus”, necessary for such a <sup>h</sup>, cannot occur but before a real stop in the sentence, consequently in all other cases it is wrong in speaking and writing.

The word pûla<sup>h</sup> (again, anew) is mostly *written* without <sup>h</sup>, though the real pronunciation before a pause should require it. Likewise pā'pa<sup>h</sup> (loft etc.) and kû'pa<sup>h</sup> (spleen) require <sup>h</sup> before a pause. Consequently both words should be spelt in the dictionaries with <sup>h</sup> or an equivalent sign.

In the word tă'bi<sup>h</sup> or tă'bik (a compliment) the <sup>h</sup> is generally heard, but in writing ك is equally usual (see *Sanskrit element*).

In the word <sup>h</sup>âhîp the same consonant connecting *a* and *i* is heard as in pāhit and in all other words usually written with an *h* (ஹ). Therefore the usual transliteration *ajar* or *ajër* (Dutch *j* = *y*) must be wrong, as it does not represent the true pronunciation in that respect. The mistake is caused by a misunderstanding of the original spelling: the *yâ* is really intended there to represent an *i*-sound in pronunciation. The question *why* Malays usually spell pāhit with a *hâ* (ஹ), and *âhîp* with a *yâ* has to be answered:

because they cannot spell, and nothing else. Consequent spelling is very naturally beyond their power<sup>1)</sup>.

2. — *h*. — This consonant ought not to be confounded with our usual English, German or Dutch *h*. The true pronunciation of it we get by saying, the one immediately after the other, the words „ah, uncle!” Written with the signs I adopted for Malay in this treatise those words would be spelt in this way: *ʔā-h-añkāl*.

Likewise we hear the same consonant in *ah!* when lengthened into several „mora's” in singing, and in all those cases where an *a*-sound (as in *ah*) immediately precedes a word which, according to the usual spelling begins with a vowel. So in Dutch: *sla over* or German *da ist*. But these words must not be separated in pronunciation, so as to allow a hiatus being heard between them. Otherwise *over* and *ist* would sound with the usual initial *hamzah*, the second letter of the above table.

To whomsoever is acquainted with the Arabic writing-system these observations will not be quite new, though that system is not always consequent, which I shall have the occasion to point out in the next following paragraph.

Along with *y* and *w* in Malay we could call the *h* *semi-vowel*. Indeed it is hardly possible to pronounce those sounds without producing a slight vowel-sound before them — *ʔa* before *h*, *ʔi* before *y* and *ʔu* before *w* — but we think it more rational not to make the usual distinction between vowel and consonant. A „vowel” as well as a „consonant” taken in the strict sense of the words are imaginary things;

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1) *Kahāhīpan* is sometimes found spelt كَاهِيَان in *European* editions of Malay books; in the *Çajarah Mālayu* (Abdullah) it is written كَاهِيَان.

for neither a „vowel” can be pronounced without a „consonant”, nor a „consonant” without a „vowel”; they are as intimately connected as colour and matter or form and mass. Curious is the definition of „vowels” and „letters” i. e. „consonants” given by Spinoza, more than hundred years ago, in his „Compendium grammatices linguae hebraeae.” After having told us, that the Hebrew call „vowels” *literarum animae*” and „letters” without „vowels” *corpora sine anima*, he proceeds: „*verum, ut differentia literarum et vocalium clarius intelligatur, explicari ea commodius potest exemplo fistulae digitis ad canendum pulsatae. Sonus namque fistulae vocales illius musicae sunt, foramina vero digitis pulsata ejus litterae.*” He had better say: *positio* digitorum foramina pulsantium; nevertheless many a schoolmaster in our blest nineteenth century might be glad, if he had old Spinoza’s accuracy in defining vowels and consonants ‘).

Henceforth then what I call a *consonant* is the peculiar position of the organs of speech in producing a *sound*, a *vowel* the peculiar way of directing the breath in pronouncing that sound. Both categories of fictions are denoted by *signs*, each of them having always the same application. According to the place where the position above alluded to is taken or whither that direction of the human breath is turned, consonants and vowels may be classed as shown in the above table.

Hence I call *sound* what the Hindu-grammarians designed by the word *akṣara*, the shortest possible syllable, consisting of two elements *consonant* and *vowel*, forming together one „imperishable”, indestructible whole.

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1) The name Arabs give to what we call vowels, *motion*, seems well chosen, if we apply that „motion” to the breath only.

What I call *guttural* only refers to the upper part of the throat. What might be called *faucal* is unknown in genuine Malay words (see *Arabic element*). Hence guttural means here the same as „*velar*”.

Resuming my exposition of the first *guttural* in the row, I give the following rules:

Malay *h* never occurs at the beginning of a single word, sentence or part of a sentence.

At the beginning of a stem it is only heard when there is an *a*-sound, or an *a*-sound closed by *h*, immediately preceding, but in the former case only in slow speaking.

So the word meaning „vanish, get lost” is: *ʼilañ*.

In slow speaking, i. e. when there is no elision by coalescence of words or syllables, the word would become *hilañ*, when immediately preceded by the conjunction *mākā* e. g.

*mākā-hilañ lah*, (then it vanished).

The same in ordinary rapid speech would change its pronunciation into: *māk'ilañ lah* with *tālāh* (already) it would become *tālāhilañ*, which pronunciation it retains even when sounded as rapidly as in the preceding instance.

Taking the same stem connected with the prefix *ka* or *kā* we should hear it again as *hilañ* in slow speech: *kāhilañan*, which becomes *k'ilañan* when pronounced rapidly.

As a substituting initial of the suffixes *ʼan* and *ʼi*, it only appears when the last syllable of the stem is an *a*-sound or ends in an *h* preceded by an *a*-sound when in *pausa*.

As a medial *h* is mostly preceded by an *a* or *a*-sound, exceptionally it comes after *e*, *o* or *o*; but in the latter case it always bears the same vowel as the preceding sound <sup>1)</sup>.

Thus we hear *h* in: *pāhā* (thigh)  
and in: *bōhoñ* (lie)

1) So *peha* must be a foreign word.

kóhōn (having a foul stench, as something rotten)

léheρ (neck)

tóhoρ (shallow)

póhon (tree)

jóhoρ (name of a native state in Malaka)

but not in: t'ú-wan (even in the sense of „the Lord” although  
written with ʘ by Malays).

líyat (see, though Malays write it with ʘ)

so: k'á'yǎ (rich)

becomes: kǎ-k'á-y'á'-han (riches)

but: k'á-yu (wood, tree)

becomes: k'á-yu-k'á-y'ú-wan (all sorts of trees),

ʘan taking w in stead of its initial ʘ (see this letter)

so: ρ'á'-mah (familiar)

becomes: bǎ-ρ'á-m'á'-han (being mutually familiar etc.).

but: s'ú-ρuh (bid, command; send a messenger) becomes:

s'ú-r'ú-wan (messenger, though Malays write it with ʘ).

As to the words lengthened by the rather rare suffix ʘi  
we may take the following examples: búkǎ (open, opened)  
becoming: bu-k'á-hi (open or opened for somebody)

m'á'ρah (cross, angry; anger etc.)

becoming: m'á-ρ'á-hi (be angry with etc.).

But: s'ú-su (woman's brest, udder)

takes the form: su-s'ú-wi (suckle, suckled etc.)

and: búbuρh (put, affix, apply; applied etc.)

becomes: bu-b'ú-wi (applied to etc.) though Malays write ʘ.

The great difficulty Eurasians („half cast” people) find in pronouncing our Dutch or English h, constantly confounding it with Dutch g, proves the non-identity of Malay h with its stronger sister in the mentioned languages; for the former is quite easy to them.

As a final (Sanskrit visarga) it is only heard before a pause, otherwise it disappears, except when preceded by an a-sound and immediately followed by  $\text{ṣ}$ , in which case it replaces the initial  $\text{ṣ}$ .

So:  $\text{ṣ} \acute{u} \text{ma} h + \text{ṣ}' \text{ṣa} \bar{n}$  becomes  $\text{ṣ} \text{u-ma-h ṣ}' \text{ṣa} \bar{n}$  (a man's house)

but:  $g \acute{a} g a h + p \check{a} \text{ṣ} k \acute{a} s \check{a}$  becomes  $g \acute{a} g a \text{-p} \check{a} \text{ṣ} k \acute{a} s \check{a}$  (glorious, prop. powerful and renowned)

and:  $p \check{a} \bar{n} a s u h + \text{ṣ}' i t u$  becomes  $p \check{a} \bar{n} a \text{-s-u-w} i t u$  (that nurse)

thus:  $s \check{a} m b \acute{a} h$  (a respectful salutation) +  $y a \bar{n}$  (god) have become one word  $s \check{a} m b \acute{a}' y a \bar{n}$ .

Consequently in combination with a word or a suffix a final syllable closed by  $h$  is assimilated with one ending in a vowel  $i$ ).

*Spelling.* Malay spelling is a very arbitrary one. We might compare it in that respect with ours in the seventeenth century, when one word was found in three different spellings on the same page. According to the original system almost every word is written separately. Consequently *sandhi*-rules do not exist or rather are never applied. That such a system can never represent the true pronunciation of the words arranged in a sentence is self-evident.

The words being written mostly as though each of them were sounded indepently from the word preceding or following, we might expect never to find a written sign for  $h$  at the beginning of a sentence or part of a sentence, and always to meet such a sign when heard in a single word. But the Arabic-Persian alphabet Malays make use of is not quite fit for the language and Malays cannot spell. So we find  $\text{ḥ}$  and  $\text{ḥ}$  as initials, almost indiscriminately, (١)  $\text{ḥ}$ , (٢)  $\text{ḥ}$ , (٣)  $\text{ḥ}$ , (٤)  $\text{ḥ}$ , (٥)  $\text{ḥ}$ , (٦)  $\text{ḥ}$ , (٧)  $\text{ḥ}$ , and  $\text{ḥ}$  or  $\text{ḥ}$  as medials, and  $\text{ḥ}$  or  $\text{ḥ}$  as a final.

1) Compare J. Crawford. A grammar and dict. of the Mal. L. Orthography p. 3.



So: *ʔápi* (fire) is written اڤى  
*ʔáyam* (hen) " " ايم and هايم  
*ʔikan* (fish, meat) is written ايكن and هيكن

*bá'hu* (odour) is spelt باؤ and باو and باهو

*ná'hik* (rise) " " ناىك and نايك

but *páhit* (bitter) is nearly always found spelt like this: فاحت,  
 without the least good reason.

*sămbáh* is spelt سمبه.

In all these cases the only fit letter for expressing *h* would be **!** without **ʔ**; for it agrees with French *h* written between *a* and another vowel (in *bahut* f.i.), as well as **,** corresponds with our *w* written between *u*, *o* or *oo* and another vowel, **ي** with our *y* written between *a* or *e* and another vowel (as in *Tower* or *layer*). The definition given by Arabian grammarians of each of these consonants authorizes this comparison.

The Arabian **ه** at the beginning of a word representing exactly the sound of our *h* in *house*, it ought never to be used for *h*, but Malays very often do.

As to **ء** and **ي** they are but substituting letters for **!**, when it has a labial or palatal vowel. Malays very often omit the *hamzah*, but even then it would be wrong to transliterate *lâhut* (sea) *lâwut* etc. (as f.i. Klinkert did in his „Zamenspraken”: *barwoe*, *oe* meaning *u*, i.e. *oo* in „mood”); for **,** and **ي** are but substitutes for **!** (Caspari, Arabische Grammatik etc.). But *lâut* with a diaeresis would be as wrong as that, if the diaeresis be intended to denote a *hiatus*, for there is no hiatus at all in the word. Then *lâut* (without any separating sign between the vowels) is by far the best way of transliterating the word, unless we make use of a new letter for the uniting aspiration, as we do in this dissertation (*h*).

Indeed **ا** (ālif non-hamzata) is the true sign for the soft aspiration heard after an *a*-or *a*-sound, when, according to our usual spelling-system, a vowel would be immediately written after it.

**أ** (ālif hamzata) is related to **ا** as **ي**, and **ع** to our Dutch *w* and Engl., Dutch or German *y* as an initial. Arabs merely consider **أ** as another condition of the same consonant without a *hamzah*, but the contraction of the throat, the „breaking off” of the breath, wanted for producing it, is a sufficient reason for calling it another consonant and adopting another sign for it. Though Arabian orthography is not so „perplexing”, as f. i. Marsden thinks it to be (p. 15 of his Malay grammar), if we always hold in view that *it has no special vowel-signs at all*, it verily has considerable defects, of which the mentioned non-distinction is one. Nevertheless it is more rational and consequent than any of our European systems, except Spanish spelling perhaps.

The Sanskrit-system (devanāgarī) does not admit the existence of the soft aspiration *h* in the language, though it had peculiar signs for what in the Arabic system would be called *ālif hamzata* followed by a short vowel (the „substantive” vowel-signs: **अ** — **आ**; **इ** — **ई** etc.).

The writing-systems still used nowadays in the Indian-Archipelago, all new forms of an Indian alphabet (H. Kern and others), mostly make no difference between the consonants *I* write *h* and **अ** (i. e. *ālif* and *ālif hamzata*). The Bataks would spell the word *bāho* differently from *bā'o* etc. (see v. d. Tuuk's Batak-dictionary, p. 361 and 362), making a distinction between *h* and **अ**, but not between *h* and **आ**.

The Javanese seem to have forgotten the correct use of the „sastrā-swārā”, corresponding with the „substantive” vowel-signs of devanāgarī: **aku** (*I*) is written with an initial *h*

(= devanāgarī h) while the medial *h* in *sāhur* is written with the same sign; moreover they use that character, where neither *h* nor *h* is ever heard (so *titiḥhan*, i. st. o. *titiyan* etc.).

The „Korinchi” alphabet, given by Crawford, (Gr. and Dict. p. 1 xii of the Dissertation), does not show quite clearly, whether it had one sign for *ʼa*, *ʼi*, etc. differing only by the several vowel-marks, or represented it like the Javanese by what originally was the sign for the strong aspiration *h*. The *Rejang* alphabet (ib.) shows the some deficiency, while the *Buginese* and *Makasar* alphabets have one sign for *ʼa* and *ha* etc., and rather recently introduced a sign for *ha*. Probably the three first mentioned systems as well as that of the Bisaya and Tagala, used the sign originally corresponding with Sanskrit *h* for *h*, representing *ʼa* by a peculiar sign to which either were applied vowel-marks or to which were added some other signs for *ʼ* followed by another vowel.

3. — g. — Like all other „mediae” or soft consonants this guttural never occurs as a final, being always initial of a word or syllable.

In Malay it sometings interchanges with *b*.

So we find:

*g ā'pis* (line, scratch) along with *b ā'pis* (row, line).

*g ū'p un* (wilderness, old wood) along with *b ū'p un* (the same).

*Spelling.* — Malays very often write *k* and *g* with the same sign (𐄌), omitting the single or triple dot. Though the now current Malay characters very probably are of Persian origin, the influence of Arabic writing and spelling in modern times cannot be denied, and the omission alluded to must be on account of that too. It is a well-known fact that Malays have a great veneration for all that is genuine Arabic or pre-

tends to be so, and even faults made by Arabs writing or speaking Malay are sometimes most zealously imitated.

4. — k. — Malay k is identical with what in Dutch is written as such, not always with the sound represented by the same sign in Engl. or Germ. In the latter an initial kh in speaking very often corresponds to k or c in writing. In Spanish and Italian the c before a, o or u expresses quite the same consonant as that written k in this treatise.

It mostly occurs as an initial of a stem or syllable; as a final only after i and a in the last syllable of a stem.

Examples: kúku (nail)

dădăk (bran)

tă'rik (pull).

In a Malay dissyllabic stem k as initial of one of the syllables is never met along with g as an initial of the other.

After the syllable mă, when used as a verbal prefix the initial k is dropped. I venture this hypothesis for such forms.

In an older period of the language, ma stood apart as a separate word (v. d. Tuuk), then annexed to the following word it took n̄ between them; afterwards k was dropped. This evolution can still be observed in the Javanese (măkă-tăn used along with mănkatăn and 'nătăn in colloquial style). Some names of trees (e. g. mănăkúdu) and a few other isolated cases (mănăkă'wan) would show then the transitional state of these forms. Perhaps they have been better conserved being less used in speaking than verbal forms.

*Spelling.* — The consonant k in genuine Malay words is usually rendered by ك. Sporadically ك is seen instead by mere mistake.

The deviating rendering of it in words from Sanskrit ori-

gin, where another consonant comes next, will be treated afterwards (Sanskrit element).

5. —  $\bar{n}$ . — This consonant is usually rendered by two signs in English, Dutch or German spelling, i. e. ng. In most English and Dutch books treating of Malay this rendering has also been adopted for the Malay  $\bar{n}$ . Indeed its pronunciation is wholly identical with what is written ng in English and Dutch, when these letters close a word. But if we wish to render only that consonant and nothing else, ng is not fit for it, for in the middle of an English word it represents the consonant + g (f. i. singer) or  $\bar{n}$  + j (f. i. in ginger). Moreover, the single consonant ought to be represented by a single sign. So we chose for it the usual one in transliterating Sanskrit.

In Malay  $\bar{n}$  is rather frequent. It occurs as an initial, medial and final.

As a medial it never closes a syllable, always belonging to the syllable which contains the next following k or g.

So *tīṅgal* (remain, stay, live) has to be divided:

*tī-ṅgal*

*paṅkālān* (pier, landing place):

*pa-ṅkālān*

*pāṅulu* (chief, headman):

*pā-ṅulu*

*tāṅgīpi* (a fish):

*tā-ṅgīpi*.

$\bar{n}$  very seldom opens and closes a syllable at a time, when this contains also g or k,

*bī-nūn* (puzzled etc.)

and *tāp-cā-nān-cā-nā''n* (astonished)

are the most current examples.

A Malay stem has never *n̄* as an initial, except in a few words: *n̄ á n̄ ă* (gape)

*n̄ ă n̄ á p* (gasps),

*n̄ ú n̄ a p* (gasps),

*n̄ á n̄ u t* (dote),

*n̄ á n̄ u* (roar),

*n̄ ă p̄ á n̄* or *n̄ ă p̄ é n̄* (indignant),

*n̄ ă p̄ á n̄* (whine),

*n̄ ă p̄ í* (terrified),

*n̄ ă n̄ i n̄ - n̄ ă n̄ i n̄* (be glossy, an abscess),

*n̄ ă l ú* (feel headache),

*n̄ á m á m* (perplex).

Everywhere else *n̄* as an initial of the penult or antepenult either stands before *g* or *k* or has superseded an original *ʔ* or *k*.

So *bā n̄ k á' yā n̄* (overeate, oversatiated etc.), stem *ká yā n̄* (compare Tagalog).

*mā n̄ g á n̄ t i*, (substituting etc.)

stem *g á n̄ t i*,

*pā n̄ a m b̄ í l a n* (taking or catching of something)

stem *ʔ á m b̄ í l*,

*pā n̄ á' p̄ a n̄* (editor, composer)

stem *k á' p̄ a n̄*

(see *k*.)

As a final *n̄* sometimes interchanges with *ʔ*

So *tā g á ʔ* (erect etc.)

seems to be a collateral form of *tā g á n̄* (tight etc.)

*bā l á ʔ* (veined, said of wood etc.) of

*bā l á n̄* (spotted etc.).

Finally we meet *n̄* as an initial in some monosyllables, all imitations of sounds. Thus *n̄ a p!* denoting snapping, etc.

*Spelling.* — The Malay alphabet introduced a new sign for  $\bar{n}$ , as neither the Arabic nor the Persian alphabet could express it. In this respect the Malay system differs from the Hindustani f.i., where  $\bar{n}$  is rendered by  $n + g$ , as in English and other European languages.

We may say  $\bar{n}$  is one of the few letters Malays always express by the same character, namely غ.

6. —  $\rho$ . — This guttural is exactly pronounced as the consonant written  $r$  in English and Dutch is rendered by people having the peculiarity of speaking called „burr” in English and „grasseyer” in French (the Dutch „brouwen”). Those people convert the English cerebral („lingual”) and the Dutch palatal into a guttural.

I heard this consonant in West-Borneo, at Singapore and Batavia. Of course at Batavia the pronunciation of Sundanese or Javanese people cannot be taken into account. Europeans born in that place *very seldom* give the guttural its peculiar value, generally substituting for it a strong palatal (written  $\bar{r}$  in Javanese). Batavian Malays either replace it by a soft palatal (i. e. what the French write  $r$ ) or pronounce it as in West-Borneo.

Marsden and Crawford do not seem to have noticed any difference between the consonant written  $\bar{r}$  by Malays and what is designed by  $r$  with us.

Neither Mr. Hudson (in „The Malay Orthography”) nor l’Abbé Favre appear to have observed it; while Mr. Swettenham (Vocabulary) tells us that „Malay  $r$ ” should be pronounced with „much stress”, obviously meaning to say: what Malays write with  $\bar{r}$  is the palatal Dutchmen and Spaniards represent by  $r$ , *not* the English cerebral („lingual”) denoted by the same Latin character.

Mr. Gerth van Wijk in his elaborate „Spraakleer der Maleische taal” gives a few lines on Malay „burr”, from which we may infer it is *not* general in the Padang Highlands. Mr. H. C. Klinkert, author of a great many books both on Malay (Maleische Spraakleer) and translations from and into that language (f.i. his new Bible-version), a man who made a special study of Malay in Malaka and Riyaw, explicitly describes the consonant in question as „pronounced by Malays with a guttural sound, scarcely audible, back in the throat” (Spraakleer p. 11), i.e. the consonant expressed by *ɣ* is a *guttural*.

This agrees with the statement given in the Mr. Swettenham's above mentioned Vocabulary (VII of the „Instructions for the pronunciation”) about the „pronunciation of r” in Kādah.

In the Basāmah and Sārāway-dialects of the so-called „Middle-Malay” (see Dr. Brandes' Linguistic Map of Sumatra) Mr. Helfrich tells us it occurs, though not throughout (see „Spreekwijzen en Raadsels” in the Bijdragen van Taal-, Land- en Volkenk. van Nederlandsch-Indië 1895), some words being pronounced with the guttural, others with the palatal instead.

The informations I could get from East-Sumatra, Indragiri and Jambi lead me to admit the general existence of the guttural in those countries too, as are designed by Dr. Brandes to belong to the region of the „Riyaw-Malay” (see Map). As West-Borneo and the Riyau-Lingga-islands may be included in that designation, we may consequently infer that the guttural is the usual pronunciation represented by *ɣ* in Malay spelling (with the restriction treated in *Spelling*).

In genuine Malay words *ɣ* never occurs as an initial of the root (last syllable of a stem), when this ends in *ɣ* or *l*.

A root with final *ɣ* cannot be preceded by a syllable com-



menacing with  $\rho$  belonging to the stem. If there is such an initial  $\rho$  it is a substitute for  $\text{ʔ}$ , only heard after a prefix.

So  $\text{b}\check{\text{a}}\text{-}\rho\text{ }\hat{\text{a}}\text{t}\rho$  (put in order etc.) is

derived from  $\text{ʔ}\hat{\text{a}}\text{t}\rho$ ,

not from  $\rho\hat{\text{a}}\text{t}\rho$ ,

$\text{t}\check{\text{a}}\rho\acute{\text{u}}\text{l}\rho$  (veered), from  $\text{ʔ}\acute{\text{u}}\text{l}\rho$ ,

not from  $\rho\acute{\text{u}}\text{l}\rho$ .

In a genuine Malay stem ending in  $\rho$  and commencing with  $\text{ʔ}$  this is always replaced by  $\rho$  after the prefixes  $\text{b}\check{\text{a}}$  and  $\text{t}\check{\text{a}}$ , by  $\rho$  or  $\bar{\text{n}}$  after  $\text{p}\check{\text{a}}$ ; except in a few cases, where  $\text{l}$  is put instead.

A genuine Malay stem ending in  $\rho$  and having another initial than  $\text{ʔ}$ , never takes a prefix closed by  $\rho$ .

The only cases above alluded to are these:

$\text{b}\check{\text{a}}\text{l}\acute{\text{a}}'\text{j}\rho$  (learn),  $\text{p}\check{\text{a}}\text{l}\acute{\text{a}}'\text{j}\rho$  (a pupil), but  $\text{p}\check{\text{a}}\bar{\text{n}}\acute{\text{a}}'\text{j}\rho$  (teacher),

derived from  $\text{ʔ}\acute{\text{a}}'\text{j}\rho$  (learn, teach etc.)

$\text{t}\check{\text{a}}\text{l}\acute{\text{a}}\text{n}\text{t}\rho$  (lying on the ground, as if thrown away or scattered)

most probably is derived from  $\text{l}\acute{\text{a}}\text{n}\text{t}\rho$ , a word nowadays not occurring in Malay, but existing in Dayak (see Harde-land i. v.), and meaning „creech, creep on the ground”.

As to  $\text{t}\check{\text{a}}\text{l}\acute{\text{a}}\bar{\text{n}}\text{j}\rho$  (let out a secret etc.) we agree with Crawford that the  $\text{l}$  belongs to the *stem*, the word being derived from  $\text{l}\acute{\text{a}}\bar{\text{n}}\text{j}\rho$ , a collateral form of  $\text{l}\acute{\text{a}}\bar{\text{n}}\text{j}\text{ut}$  (long) <sup>1)</sup>.

Examples of genuine Malay stems ending in  $\rho$  and having another initial than  $\rho$  follow here:

$\text{b}\acute{\text{a}}\text{k}\rho$  (burn), connected with

$\text{t}\check{\text{a}}$  forms:  $\text{t}\check{\text{a}}\text{b}\acute{\text{a}}\text{k}\rho$  (often written *تباكر*)

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1) So  $\text{t}\check{\text{a}}\text{l}\acute{\text{a}}\bar{\text{n}}\text{j}\rho$  literally means „too long”, i. e. too far in speaking; compare  $\text{l}\acute{\text{a}}\bar{\text{n}}\text{j}\rho$  stretching of the legs.

from: lǎ'buρ is derived pǎlǎ'buρ (provisions, rations)

from: kúkur (coo as a dove) in made

tǎkúkuρ (name of a species of doves)

from: lǎ'yaρ (sail) are formed:

bǎlǎ'yaρ (the verb) and

pǎlǎya'ρan (a voyage, sailing)

from: ceceρ (shed, spill) is made:

bǎcéceρ cecē''ρan (spilt or scattered, said of a great many things)

from: tǎñkáρ (squabble, wrangle) is

derived: bǎtǎñkáρ (be squabbling etc.).

All these examples are very often found with ρ in Malay spelling.

A dissyllabic Malay stem with medial ρ can only take ρ as a substituting initial after a prefix.

So bǎρkĩρim (sending etc.)

is disagreeable to Malay ears, though we often find it *spelt* with ρ. It ought to be

bakĩ'rim.

Likewise bǎpǎρáñ (be warfaring, carrying on war) is derived from pǎρáñ (war) without the help of ρ after the prefix bǎ.

But from ʔǎ'paʔ (a procession) are

formed bǎρǎ'paʔ (be or go in procession)

and pǎρǎρǎ'kan (a going in procession, a procession itself).

From kĩ'ρǎ (consider, fancy, compute etc.) is derived

tǎkĩ'ρa-kĩ''ρǎ (fancied, to be fancied).

This word too is very often written by Malays with ρ after the prefix. Before a stem with initial s the prefix without ρ is preferable. Thus

básisik (having scales, as a fish)

is better than bǎρsisik,

although it is very often found written with ρ.

In hearing Malays read one would sometimes get a wrong impression of Malay pronunciation, because all those *ρ*'s are most carefully sounded, even when not existing in the colloquial. Malays, as many other people, consider the *written* language as fundamental, and it will cost a great deal of trouble and astuteness to get a sincere answer out of them in matters of pronunciation, when they are *asked* at purpose. But in hearing them talk the above rule will be found true.

In genuine Malay words *ρ* never closes the penult of a stem. So *pāρgí* and *sāpāρtí* must be foreign words. Indeed they are (see *Sanskrit element*).

Consequently *ᵃαρālún* or *ρālún* (a land-measure) and *ᵃαρādíᵃ* or *ρādíᵃ* (rebuking, rebuke etc.), being genuine Malay words, cannot be pronounced *haρdíᵃ* and *haρlún*, as some transliterations would imply (see H. C. Klinkert's Malay-Dutch dictionary i. v., compare J. Crawford, Gr. and Dict. of the Mal. lang. Vol. II who gives the words in accordance with our phonetic rendering).

A stem without *ρ* either as medial or final preceded by one of the prefixes *bā*, *pā*, *mā* and *tā* can take *ρ* after the prefix, which replaces *ᵃ* in words beginning with this consonant.

*Bā*, *pā* and *tā* very often take that *ρ*, *mā* (verbal form) only in a few instances; other prefixes never take this broadened form, except *sā* and *kā*, who take it in a few names.

Joined to a stem with initial *ᵃ* *mā* only takes *ρ* in the words *māρúwap*, and *māρúbí* (having the form of a „yam”), cited by H. C. Klinkert in his Malay-Dutch Dictionary, the former meaning *bāρuawap* (exhale foam, vapour), which is equally current.

Annexed to other stems we find *măρ* in the following names of trees and plants:

*măρbúlan*,  
*măρkó'bañ*,  
*măρkúli*,  
*măρkúñit*,  
*măρlílin*,  
*măρlíma'w*,  
*măρpá'yañ*,  
*măρpántay*,  
*măρpísañ*,  
*măρpítis*,  
*măρpúnay*,  
*măρpúsiñ*,  
*măρpó'yan*,  
*măρtá'lä*,  
*măρtápal*,  
*măρcá'li*.

We might add the name of a fish:

*măρsúji*

when the *ρ* coming after *mă* is followed by a vowel it may be questionable, whether that *ρ* belongs to the stem or not. Probably it does belong to it. So *măρánti* may be derived from *ρánti*. Instances of this type are rather rare in the language (only some names of trees).

*kă* takes *ρ* in *kăρmáñan* (name of a tree),

*să* in *săρká'yă* (a fruit, „anona asiatica”)<sup>1)</sup>

and perhaps in some more isolated words.

A word with a prefix containing *ρ* immediately after that prefix, never takes another *ρ* when a second prefix is added to it.

<sup>1)</sup> This word is wrongly pronounced *sri káya* by Europeans (compare Skrt. *r* and *ri*).

So: tăpăposo<sup>o</sup> (have one's leg immersed in mud etc.)  
 and: băpă<sup>o</sup>mâtă (juwelled etc.) ought to be spelt without  
 a sign for <sup>o</sup> after the first prefix, because there is but one  
<sup>o</sup> heard in the words.

But:

bă<sup>o</sup>pălantî<sup>o</sup>nan (roll hither and thither, said of  
 many things rolling)  
 and: tă<sup>o</sup>pălântî<sup>o</sup> (rolled)  
 both containing a heard (i. e. really existing) <sup>o</sup> are correctly  
 written with the sign for it (̣); for this, though originally  
 meaning a *palatal* in Arabic is the only sign Malays use for  
 representing <sup>o</sup>.

As an initial Malay <sup>o</sup> sometimes interchanges with <sup>o</sup>, a  
 phenomenon much more frequent in Malay words when com-  
 pared with the corresponding vocables in cognate languages <sup>1</sup>).

Thus <sup>o</sup>ē<sup>o</sup>ban = <sup>o</sup>ē<sup>o</sup>ban (throw out of the way), sometimes  
 also with s and l:

<sup>o</sup>ā<sup>o</sup>yu = sā<sup>o</sup>yu (melancholy)

<sup>o</sup>ākāt = lākāt (cleave, stick).

As a medial <sup>o</sup> sporadically interchanges with <sup>o</sup>:

kă<sup>o</sup>ūt = kă<sup>o</sup>ūt (wrinkle, fold)

As a final we see it sometimes replaced by s:

kā<sup>o</sup>bu<sup>o</sup> = kā<sup>o</sup>bus (dim, dusky).

The alleged interchanging of final <sup>o</sup> with <sup>h</sup> seems to be  
 an account of bad hearing, because it is scarcely audible to  
 an unwonted ear.

Thus sîmpu<sup>o</sup> is better than sîmpu<sup>h</sup> (a plant with  
 large leaves)

bûmu<sup>o</sup> better than bûmu<sup>h</sup> (a native doctor).

*Spelling.* — <sup>o</sup> is *always* represented by ̣, but this charac-

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1) See: Dr. Brandes Proefschrift.

ter does not always correspond to the consonant. Indeed we very often find *y*, where no *ɣ* is heard in the spoken word. We may believe in those cases it is only written for the sake of uniformity, if we are allowed to call it so, for we exclusively meet with it after the prefixes *tā*, *bā* and *pā*. Where these prefixes must take *ɣ* after them has been pointed out in the preceding paragraph.

*Palatal class.*

7. — *y*. — Its rendering does not offer the least difficulty to the European organs of speech. Only we must take care not to give it the strong pronunciation of English *y* as an initial (= Dutch *j*).

This is heard by Malays as a *j* and mistaken for it. So the Dutch word *jas* is pronounced by Malays *jas* and not *yas* as it ought to be (see *Dutch element*). The true power of Malay *y* is that of the consonant heard between the English words:

*she asks*, i. e. the same as that expressed in *layer* or *mayor*.

Malay *y* is never heard as an initial of a word, except in the words:

*yañ* (that, which etc.) and *yámyam* (a kind of female court officials in Johor); *ʔiya-hítu* (id est) though usually *spelt* with an initial *y* in Malay writing, really begins with *ʔ*. So *yu* (a huge fish, in some stories) is probably a wrong spelling for *ʔiyu* (shark).

As a medial or final *y* is rather frequent.

So we find it in:

*bíyaɣ* (let, allow)

*bá'yaɣ* (pay)

*búyuñ* (jar, waterpot)

*dúyuñ* (sea-cow)

túpay (squirrel)  
 pákay (wear, use)  
 căpáy (part, sever)  
 sŭpay (hair of a prince, manes)  
 bálay (hall).

As a final it always follows an a-sound except in three words:

hóy-huy (drudging)  
 hoy! (excl. for calling)  
 ʔambóy! (oh! alas!)  
 ʔăpúy (brittle)  
 săpuy-săpúy (blowing softly).

When connected with the suffix ʔan, final *y* becomes the initial of the last syllable. The same shifting takes place when it coalesces with a word commencing with ʔ.

In both cases the ʔ is dropped.

So: pákay + ʔan becomes

pakáyan (clothing, garment),  
 pántay (shore) + ʔíní (this) becomes  
 pántayíní (this shore).

When a word ending in *i* or *ih* is lengthened by the addition of one of the suffixes ʔan and ʔi, or coalesces with a word beginning with ʔ, the *hamzah* is replaced by *y*.

So: sākāʔlī (once; very) + ʔan  
 makes the word:

sākālíyan (all, all at once)

etc. (see 1. — ʔ. —).

*Spelling.* — Malays regularly write a yā (يَا), where they mean to express *y*.

E. g.

پکاین (pakáyan)  
 پنتی (pantay)  
 یغ (yān).

8.—j.—Its pronunciation is rather difficult to born Europeans. It is usually identified with that of English j and indeed I chose the same sign as in the English alphabet to express it, because it really has much likeness with the English palatal. Doing so I did not but follow the general habit of English and some Dutch orientalist (Marsden, Crawford, Maxwell, H. Kern etc.). But the exact pronunciation of Malay j differs from that which this rendering would imply. The English consonant is very nearly related to it, but in reality *not identical*, being sounded with the top of the tongue *somewhat turned backward* and a little *flattened* against the palate, while Malay j is formed with the top only. Therefore English j has a *hissing* element in it, something like French j in „jeune”, which the Malay consonant has not to such an extent. The late Abbé Favre, author of a well-known Malay grammar, compared the palatal with what the French write gu before e, é, ê and i. Thus the first syllable of the word jélat (lick) would be described by him as identical in pronunciation with the first syllable in the French word *guipure* or *guide*. I cannot agree at all with that description and never heard the Malay palatal in French, *neither in any other European language* I could observe.

Born Dutchmen sometimes confound j with y: many of them never acquire a good pronunciation of the Malay palatal. Thus jáñan (do not) is often heard as though it were yañan etc. Others, especially those who are well-bred and acquainted with one or more foreign languages, seem to find little difficulty in it. Englishmen very seldom hear the difference alluded to (thus Marsden, pag. 7 of his Grammar); and the eulogy I once heard from the mouth of a Malay, when he spoke of the pronunciation of his language by an Englishman, cannot be considered a contradictory statement:



„O” he said „that gentleman speaks Malay so beautifully, exactly like an Arab”. It was intended to be a great compliment, of course. Surely my friend Mohammad Kétang — the above mentioned Malay — had no great authority in phonetic questions, but perhaps he had really heard the same defect in pronouncing Malay j, which Englishmen and Arabs have alike.

It is necessary to state here, that what is written j in the transliteration of Javanese (ꦗ) ought not to be confounded with the Malay palatal. In Javanese this consonant *does not exist*: ꦗ means a superdental, not a palatal, the consonant being formed *nearer to the teeth* than Malay j: the rather frequent interchanging of ꦗ with ꦛ and ꦗꦲ in Javane must be on account of this. Moreover the harsh pronunciation Javanese people give to Malay words as bújañ, júgǎ and other words of every day occurrence, is well-known to everybody who heard both languages *as they are spoken by either nation respectively*. Of course the authority of those who only heard Malay from the mouths of foreigners is greatly questionable.

Malay j appears to be a later development of an original d.

Malay j never occurs as a final. As an initial or medial it is rather frequent.

Thus we hear it in:

jú'pus (a while)

jálá'tañ (name of a stinging plant)

tíñju (to box; fist)

bá'ju (coat)

jáñji (promise etc.).

*Spelling.* — For representing j Malays use the sign which denotes the Arabian palatal coming nearest to it, i. e. ج.

This character however expresses the same consonant as English j (see Caspari: Arabische Grammatik, and others) or Italian g before i or e.

The Dutch transliterate Malay j by dj, which J. Crawford in his Grammar and Dict. of the Mal-l. greatly approves (orthography p. 3). But I cannot agree with him, for representing *one single* consonant by *two signs* never can claim for a „much nearer approach to accuracy” than denoting it by *one* as the English do. Both transliterations are defective indeed, but the latter is simpler and therefore preferable to the former.

9. — c. — This consonant is formed at the same spot in the mouth as j, standing in the same relation to the consonant represented in English and Spanish by ch, in Italian by c, when before e and i, as j to the English and Italian corresponding palatal (see j). It is also formed by superficially pressing the *top* of the tongue against the lower part of the palate, without turning it backward or flattening it in any way. This palatal and the preceding one might be called „explosive”, while the English and Italian cognate palatals might be designated more appropriately by the appellation of „fricative”.

No more rational is it to identify Malay j with what the French write gu in „guy” of „gué”, than to assimilate c with the consonant represented in French by qu in „qui”. Here again the late Abbé Favre, the French Malayist, made a mistake. I had the opportunity to hear some lectures on Malay given by that amiable and eminent man in Paris at the „Ecole des langues orientales vivantes”, in the year 1883. So I could observe this peculiarity of pronunciation: indeed, his rendering of the Malay sounds in general did

not differ much from that of most of his fellow-countrymen. All of them pronounce Malay sonorously, very few correctly. I heard a great many of them in Dutch India. No wonder the mentioned scholar could not hear the difference between French *qui* and Mal. *ci*.

The remark I made in treating Malay *j* in relation to the Javanese palatal nearest to it, might be repeated here for Malay *c*. Formulated in a mathematical way we could say:

Mal. *j*: Jav.  $\text{ꦗ}$  = Mal. *c*: Jav.  $\text{ꦚ}$ .

Indeed what the Javanese represent by  $\text{ꦚ}$  is produced at the same place of the palate as their  $\text{ꦗ}$ , i. e. very near to the teeth. (Interchanging of  $\text{ꦚ}$  with dental *t* ( $\text{ꦠ}$ ) and  $\text{ꦗ}$  as  $\text{ꦗ}$  with  $\text{ꦚ}$  and  $\text{ꦗ}$ , see *j*).

Malay *c* seems to be a later development of *t*.

It is never heard as a final; as an initial or medial it is rather frequent.

Examples:

*cá'p i* (seele, look for)<sup>1)</sup>

*cúcu* (grandchild)

*cá'ciñ* (intestinal worm etc.)

*călăpá* (straddling etc.)

Commencing a trisyllabic word without suffixes *c* is never followed by another *c* as an initial of the penult.

Thus *căcíbañ* (name of a glittering centipede) is an impossible word in Malay (compare v. d. Wall's Dictionary i. v.).

Malays would convert it to:

*săcíbañ* or *kăcíbañ*,

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1) There is no good reason whatever to write this word with an *h*. (*căhúri*) Etymologically that *h* is absurd, phonetically it does not represent any aspiration (compare Dayak and Madurese). I myself made the mistake as many others, when I had not yet lost my veneration for the *written* language.

or insert a nasal as in *căncûrut*, if ever adopting the word.

We may say, that the Mal. prefix *că* (a collateral form of *să*) is the only possible syllable containing *c* in a word outside a stem.

Thus *cínáñkas* is probably a foreign word, though the dictionaries give it as Malay-Polynesian. The Malays pronounce it *cănañkas*.

*c* and *j* never occur together in one Malay stem.

If in a Malay stem both syllables commence with *c* either both bear the same vowel or, if not, the first has *â* or *ă*.

So: *cúcă* (a spell; insult etc.) must be a foreign word.

It is Hindustani (*chûchă*).

*cíca* and *cíñcañ* are Batavian pronunciations of the words *căcă* (lizard) and *căñcăñ* (cut into pieces mince).

Some Malay examples may still follow here:



*că'cat* (defect)

*cícit* (great grandchild)

*că'cah* (puncture, tattoo)

*căcăp* (taste a small quantity etc.)

*că'cil* (very small).

*Spelling.* — This palatal is mostly rendered by , the same sign as used in the Persian alphabet, being an altered .

Sometimes we find the signs taken the one for the other, sometimes only the latter meaning *j* and *c*. This is especially the case in those places where the influence of Arabic is greatest, because Arabs do not distinguish *j* and *c*, having only the former, and Malays are very prone to imitate them, even in their mistakes.

10. — *ñ*. — This palatal nasal is one of the rarest consonants in the language.

Its pronunciation is rather difficult to the European mouth, especially as an initial. In Spanish and French where we

know this consonant to be much more heard than f. i. in English, Dutch or German, it never opens a word. In Italian a few words have ñ (written gn) as an initial (f. i. *gnucca*, neck). This nasal is represented in the above languages: by ñ in Spanish, by gn in French and Italian, by n, ny or ni in Engl., by nj or n in Dutch and German. The common fault of pronunciation in the English mouth is the parting of the consonant into two elements (n and y). We may admit this bad pronunciation is a direct consequence of the inexact rendering of the consonant in European transliteration. Really ñ has very likely grown out of an original n (compare *n i y u p* = *ñ i y u p* etc., and Javanese), but in the present state of the language it *is an individual consonant*. It is a curious fact that Dutchmen who pronounce this palatal very distinctly and correctly in their own language, sometimes without being aware of it, cannot produce it in Malay, always confounding it with n, ny, (when a medial) or y (when an initial). Thus the Dutch word *Spanje* (Spain) contains ñ represented by *nj*, and in *zoontje* (little son) it is distinctly heard before *tje* (in our transliteration the word would be: *z ò ñ c ă*).

In the last instance most Dutchmen, even the most educated among them, do not realise its existence; but indeed it is impossible to pronounce c (which is nearly the exact equivalent of what is written tj in Dutch orthography) immediately after n <sup>1)</sup>. In English we regularly hear ñ before what is written ch and j. Thus in: *staunch* (in our transl. *stāñc*), in *injust* (*ʔ a ñ j á st*). To Russians ñ must be very easy, even as an initial, although they never use a separate sign for expressing it in writing. The negation *ñe* f. i. contains it,

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1) Compare Boegineesche Spraakkunst door B. F. Matthes pag. 9, where the learned author makes a similar assertion.

but Russians write it with *n* (compare other examples of words having *n* as written initial before *e*).

As an initial of stems it is confined to a few words, some twenty-four:

*ñá'lá* (flame)

*ñá'wa* (soul)

*ñá'mu<sup>a</sup>* (gnat)

*ñéñen* (scoff, insult)

*ñóñoñ* (protruding, one's lip). etc.

As a medial independent from a following *j* or *c* it is a little more frequent (perhaps fifty examples quotable).

Much more it is heard immediately before *j* or *c* (see *Spelling*).

Thus we hear it in:

*pá-ñjañ* — *páñjañ* (long)

*pă-ñca-ɣi-yan* — *păñcaɣiyan* („seeking”, i. e. getting one's livelihood)

*jú-ñjuñ* — *júñjuñ* (lift, rain to one's head)

*bă-ñci* — *băñci* (hate).

In all similar words it has the same function as *n* before *d* and *t*, *ñ* before *g* and *k*, *m* before *b* and *p*, i. e. smoothing the joining of a preceding sound with a following one.

Like the other nasals it then always belongs to the same syllable as the consonant immediately following, by which it is originated. Thus we may observe it in the above instances.

After the prefix *mă* a stem commencing with *c* or *j* is always connected with it by *ñ*, except in the word *măɣ-calɨ* (the name of a tree). Sporadically *ñ* supersedes the initial *c* in such a case.

Thus we meet it in:

*măñcúkuɣ* (shaving) = *măñukuɣ*

mǎñjǎñkít (being turned up, standing up, one's hair etc.).

The prefix bǎ never has ñ after it, taking always ρ before a stem with initial c or j. Of the other prefixes only pǎ, sǎ lǎ and ʳǎ can take the connecting nasal; pǎ very often, sǎ only in:

sǎñjǎluñ (a tree)

sǎñjǎleñ (a shell-fish)

and perhaps a few other words; lǎ only in:

lǎñjǎwañ (a tree)

ʳǎ in the isolated example:

ʳǎñjǎláy (a kind of millet).

After the prefixes mǎ and pǎ ñ immediately followed by a vowel is nearly always a substitute for the initial s of a stem (see s).

Whether in sǎñampañ (luckely) ñ stands for an original s is doubtful.

The pronoun ñǎ seems to be a contraction of nǐ + ʳǎ (compare Batak etc.), both being originally pronominal particles.

ñ is never heard as a final.

ñ and c or ñ and j never occur together in an unchanged Malay stem.

In: mǎñjǎñjuñ,

the original stem is sǎñjuñ (jerk), as in:

mǎñjǎñjam it is sǎñjam (dive, as a waterbird),

From both stems we can derive substantives:

pañjǎñjuñ (one who jerks, has the habit of jerking)

and pǎñjǎñjam (a bird who usually dives might be called so) etc.

The mentioned stems sǎjúʳ (cold, fresh) and sǎjǎ (embroider, if original Malay) are the only stems quotable from

which can be derived words containing an independent  $\bar{n}$ , i. e. not inherent to  $c$  or  $j$ , along with one of these consonants.

Occasionally  $\bar{n}$  interchanges with  $\bar{n}$ .

Thus:  $\bar{n}\acute{i}lu = \bar{n}\acute{i}lu$  (be on edge, the teeth)

$\bar{n}\acute{i}'\rho ih = \bar{n}\acute{i}'\rho i$  or  $n\acute{i}\rho i$  (a tree).

*Spelling.* — Arabic orthography does not recognise this palatal nasal, although it exists in the language (f. i. in انجيل). Therefore Malays introduced a new character for it, giving the sign for  $n$  three dots instead of one. Nevertheless in all cases where  $\bar{n}$  is directly followed by  $j$  or  $c$  they do not make use of the letter, representing  $\bar{n}$  by an ordinary  $n$  sign.

Thus:  $p\acute{i}\bar{n}ca\bar{n}$  (limping, by accident) is written:

فنجڠ  
lón̄jōn̄ (coniform):  
لنڠڠ

Where  $\bar{n}$  immediately bears a vowel it is always represented by the peculiar sign:

تات or تاب —  $t\acute{a}'\bar{n}\check{a}$  (ask)

پارڠ  $\bar{n}\acute{a}'\rho i\bar{n}$  (shrill)

(As to  $niyata$  written as  $\bar{n}\acute{a}t\check{a}$ , see *Sanskrit. element*).

11. —  $l$ . — see  $l$ .

12. —  $\check{c}$ .  
13. —  $z$ . } see  $s$ .

### *Superdental class.*

14. —  $s$ . — The *superdental* „sibilant” has nothing particular for European ears. It is the same „sibilant” as the English  $s$  in *sun*, *sea*, *hiss* etc.

It occurs as an initial, medial and final, but never as an initial and final at a time.

Thus the word

Sambas (name of a native state in West-Borneo) cannot be an original Malay name.



Neither can s be initial and final of the last stem-syllable.

Thus *ʼusus* (bowels), a word used in the Batavia colloquial must be a borrowed word. Indeed it is, being Javanese or Sundanese. Perhaps it is in accordance with the given phonetic rule, that even at Batavia that word is converted to *ʼucus* (which however would not be a possible word in Riyau-Malay).

s cannot be final of a stem when the last syllable of this contains c or j as initial, except in the words

*lúñcas* (missed, an aim etc.) and *lóñcos* (ending in a point)  
Thus *pícis* (small coin, the Dutch „twopence”) cannot be an original Malay word. In fact it must be traced back to the Portuguese *especies* <sup>1)</sup>.

A Malay stem commencing with s cannot have c as an initial of the following i. e. root-syllable.

Thus *suci* (pure etc.) is a Sanskrit word  
If the root-syllable begins with s, the preceding one cannot have c or j as an initial.

Thus *jásā* (use, worth, value) is a foreign word (Sanskrit); likewise

*jásat* (جاسد) has a foreign origin (Arab.)

(see *Foreign element*).

Interchanging of s with c is rather rare. We see it in the word

*lăcút* = *lăsút* (to switch etc.)

As a final it is sometimes replaced by h, but only sporadically:

*cis*! = *cih*! (fy!)

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1) The exceptions are not to be found in any Malay-Engl. dict. — Klinkert seems to have borrowed the words from the great Malay-Dutch dict. by v. d. Wall, while Favre only mentions *lufcas* marked Kl.(inkert).

Coalescing with a word commencing with s a word ending in s drops the final:

$\text{śá'tas} + \text{sá'puṇ}$  become together:  $\text{śá'tasá''puṇ}$  (the upper part of a  $\text{sá'puṇ}$  or frock)

Coalescing with an initial soft consonant except j or with an initial y, l or ρ, s changes into z; thus

$\text{tābús} + \text{bá'paṇ}$  are sounded together:

as  $\text{tābuzbá'paṇ}$  (redeeming of goods etc.)

or  $\text{tūlis} + \text{gámbar}$

as  $\text{tulizgámbar}$  (drawing of a portrait etc.).

In a stem with initial s this is substituted by ñ, whenever it is immediately preceded by mā as a verbal prefix. Only a few names of trees take the prefix without changing s to ñ (only  $\text{māsī'pah}$ ,  $\text{māsúwi}$  and  $\text{māsālāṇ}$  are quotable). Other s-stems with prefixed mā are foreign words ( $\text{māsīyu}$ ,  $\text{māsāgúl}$  etc.).

After the prefix pā an initial s can only remain when ρ is between them: ( $\text{pāsá'wat}$  seems to be a borrowed word)

z and ç are originated:

the former by the coalescing of final s and initial j, the latter by that of final s and initial c. Thus they appear in:

$\text{lāpás} + \text{júgā}$ , together:  $\text{lāpazjúgā}$  (but loose)

$\text{bākás} + \text{cíñcin}$ , „  $\text{bākaçcíñcin}$  (impression left by a ring).

Their pronunciation does not want any peculiar explanation or defining, because one unvoluntarily produces them in a concurrence of consonants as described.

*Spelling.* Malays generally represent s by the Arabian sign for the interdental sibilant (س), which sometimes takes the peculiar (Persian?) form when used as an initial. Thus  $\text{sī'yaṇ}$  (daylight) and  $\text{súsu}$  (udder, breast) are written:

سيغ or سيغ and  
سوسو or سوسو or even سوسو.

It is perhaps from a consciousness of the fact that س properly means an interdental sibilant, why Malays will replace it now and then by ش, the character for the palatal sibilant. Malay s lies just in the middle between that palatal and the interdental represented by س (see *Arabic element*).

z, z and ç being never heard in a single word are consequently never expressed in writing.

15.—d.— This superdental is the same as that represented by the same sign in English orthography, when coming after an n. Its pronunciation has nothing particular to the European ear. It is neither identical with the dental written  $\bar{a}$  in Javanese nor with the palatal written  $\bar{a}$ . The former has a strange sound very difficult to Dutchmen and Englishmen, the latter is formed higher in the mouth than Malay d. Javanese people regularly confound their palatal represented by  $\bar{a}$  with Malay d, always writing this with  $\bar{a}$ .

The superdental is met with as an initial and medial, never as a final.

Thus we hear it in:

dúkun (native doctor)

pádí (rice)

díndiā (wall).

Malay d is found interchanging with l in a few instances.

Thus we may observe it in:

lăbú = dăbú (dust)

lăgáp = dăgáp (a word for a rattling sound).

*Spelling.* — In the alphabets given by Malays in their elementary books there is a peculiar sign never used in writing: it has the form of a د with three dots on it. I venture the hypothesis that this sign was originally intended to represent

Malay d. Indeed this superdental does not exist in Arabic if we may believe the description given by Arabian phonologues of the different letters in their language. In the Persian-Arabic system no peculiar character for a superdental d has been adopted, and the „dāl” with four dots used in Hindustani orthography represents a „cerebral” (i. e. „lingual”). Consequently it seems probable that the corresponding character with three dots had to express the superdental not noticed in any of the said languages. But the superdental being general, while the dental represented by د is unknown in Malay, we may conclude that the three-dotted sign was abandoned in practice on account of its awkwardness in writing; though it was retained in theory for denoting the difference of Malay d and the Arabic dental <sup>1)</sup>).

16. — t. — The hard superdental is much more frequent in Malay than the corresponding soft consonant.

It is identical with the initial consonant written t in English words as *top*, *tongue* etc. Born Dutchmen will pronounce it as a dental, when it opens a Malay word.

It occurs as an initial, medial and final; but never one Malay stem shows the three cases at a time, except in: *tuntut* (require).

Otherwise we find it as a medial or final in:

bátas (an earthen bank, frontier)

kǎpát (cut; piece)

tălálāñjañ (naked)

A word as *tútut* in Javanese would be impossible in Malay.

Neither is a root-syllable ever opened and closed by t

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1) Compare *Marsden*. A Gramm. of the Mal. L. p. 8. *Favre* identifies Malay d with the Arabian dental, and so do *Crawford*, *Gerth v. Wijck* etc.

when preceded by another syllable, with the exception of the words *pá'tut* (proper, fit) and *lá'tut* (knee). Thus a word as *kátut* in Balinese would be a phonetic absurdity in Malay.

Whenever the root-syllable contains two t's, the first must be preceded by *n* immediately before it. But the instances met with are rare, even in this case, probably not exceeding the following twelve:

- úntut* (a kind of leprosy)
- gántát* (incurvated at one side)
- jántít* (flip)
- jíntat* (put out the tongue, as snakes do)
- túntut* (require)
- pántat* (fundament, lower part)
- puntát* (maim; stump)
- bantat* (imperfectly baked)
- bántut* (unfinished, incomplete)
- bíntit* (small pimple)
- búntat* (a petrification)
- búntut* (tail, hinder part).

Initial and final *t* in one Malay stem are nearly as seldom together.

The following list of stems will not be far from complete:

- tákut* (fear)
- túntut* (claim)
- túmpat* (stop up)
- túnkat* (stick, club)
- túngit* (having the lower part jutting out)
- túlat* (two days after to-morrow)
- támbat* (to tie)
- tákát* (embroider)
- tálút* (bă.: kneel)

tăpát (straight, direct)  
 tăbat (dam)  
 tămút (tămut-tămut, loiter)  
 tămpát (place)  
 tă'put (follow)  
 téret (row)  
 túmit (heel).

An open stem-syllable commencing with t or nt is never preceded by a syllable with initial d; neither with initial t, except in three stems:

tánti (wait)  
 tăntú (certain, settled, fixed)  
 títi (bridge, plank over a ditch etc.).

Thus dútă (messenger) and tintă (ink) are foreign words (see *Skr.* and *Port. elements*).

Of stems containing a closed root commencing with t or nt and a penult with initial d, only three examples are traceable, with initial t seventeen:

dátan̄ (come)  
 dătás (onom. for a rustling noise, e.g. by cutting paper etc.).  
 dăntám (onom. for a cashing sound, e.g. that of a huge body falling).  
 tá'tan̄ (bear on the palms of the hands)  
 tá'tiñ (weigh with the hands etc.)  
 tăntán̄ or tătán̄ (behold; opposite)  
 tăta<sup>a</sup> (cut vertically)  
 tătás (break, the shell of an egg)  
 tătál (dense, of a close texture etc.)  
 tătáp (stable, fixed)  
 títi<sup>a</sup> (drop; rap)  
 téte<sup>a</sup> (women's breast)

*tíntiñ* (sift; test by sounding it, e. g. coin)

*tútuḥ* (clip)

*tútu<sup>h</sup>* (stamp or hammer gently)

*tútu<sup>ρ</sup>* (speak)

*tútup* (shut)

*túntut* (demand, claim)

*túntuñ* (point of a weapon etc.)

*túntun* (lead by the hand)

Remarkable is the sporadical interchanging of *t* with *n*. We see it in the words:

*nípis* = *típis* (thin)

and *námpa<sup>h</sup>* = *támpa<sup>h</sup>* (visible).

Probably they are abbreviations of verbal forms with prefixed *mă*, after which prefix an initial *t* is regularly dropped and replaced by *n* (see *n*). They may be compared with *nánti*, (inst. of *mănanti* or *tanti*) an abbreviation used in colloquial style (*nanti d'ulu!* wait a bit!).

Final *t* sometimes interchanges with *h*. Thus:

*că'bi<sup>h</sup>* = *că'bit* (rend).

Interchanging with *d* is rare. We meet it in *búnta<sup>ρ</sup>* = *bundap* (round).

As to *t* changing to *d* this only takes place when a final *t* coalesces with an initial soft consonant or *l*.

Thus we observe it in:

*lămbat* + *lămbat*, heard together as

*lămbad-la''mbat* (slowly; finally)

Likewise *ăamat* + *băpat* become *ămad-băpát* (very heavy).

*Spelling.* — *t* is written with the Arabian character intended to represent the Arabian dental coming nearest to it (ت, ط or ظ). This is the rule, but very often a final *t* is found written with the peculiar sign used in the Arabian orthogra-

phy at the end of female substantives and adjectives (š or ṣ̌), and then sometimes the one sign is even not recognisable from the other, either consisting of a downward scratch with two dots or a short line over it (see Arabic element).

17. — n. — This nasal may be compared with the superdental represented in English by the same sign, when written before a d, though it is a little more distinctly pronounced, i. e. more with the *top* of the tongue.

Malay n occurs as an initial, medial and final.

It never opens and closes a stem at a time and, when occurring as an initial and final of the two last syllables of a word without suffixes, it has always superseded an original t.

Thus nālán and

nākán are the two last syllables of the words

mānālán (to be swallowing etc.) and

mānākán (to be pressing, forcing down etc.)

and these verbal forms may have been originally:

māntālán and

māntākán,

which supposition becomes acceptable, if we compare substantives made with the same prefix as these verbal forms, e. g. māntímun (= -āntímun), a cucumber, māntígí (a rhododendron with tough wood) the phonetic changes are analogous to those spoken of in 5 — n.

Foreign words with initial t, naturally less current than the corresponding native vocables, when used as stems, don't lose their initial by the prefix mā. Thus from taḍbîr is derived māntaḍbîrkān.

The mentioned substantives with this prefix may as well have retained their initial because of their comparatively rare occurrence in daily speaking (see n̄).



A root-syllable very seldom opens and closes with *n* at a time. The only instances met with are the following:

tănún (weave)

kúnun (surely)

kānán (approve)

kǎnan (right, i. e. not left) and

sínún! (yonder! a rather rare word, perhaps not

Riyaw-Malay).

A rootsyllable with initial *n* cannot have *ρ* as a final.

Thus *sínar* seems to be a foreign word, though we find it in cognate languages (Jav. *sunar*, Sund. *sinar*, Tag. *sinag*, Bis. *sinao* etc.).

Initial *n* and final *l* are very rare in a root-syllable. The only examples quotable are

kānál (know, be acquainted) and

čnaw

ǎnál (stopple)

A Malay stem never contains *n* along with *ρ* and *l*, if the *n* be not immediately followed by *t* or *d*.

Thus: lāndíρ (snot, mucus) is a Malay stem, as well as

lúntar (throw, cast = lútar)

A word as *nalar* in Javanese would be impossible in Malay.

In the given instances *n* is very likely not original. We may say:

Malay *n* immediately followed by *t* or *d*, or *n* superseding one of these consonants is never original. In that position it is often omissible. In the body of a Malay word it belongs to the same syllable as the following *d* or *t*.

Thus in *lántah* (leech) the syllables are to be severed: *lántah*; in *múntah* (vomit): *mu-ntah* etc.

Thus we meet it after the prefixes:

mǎ, bǎ, pǎ, kǎ, sǎ, ǎ, cǎ:

mǎnǎnar or mǎndǎnar (to be hearing etc.),

which is the only word in Malay where *d* is dropped after *n*;  
*mān'ulu* from *t'ulu* (help)  
*māntānu* = *bāntānu* (a tree)  
*pān'abu* (one who sows; small shot, from *tābu*)  
*kāndālām* = *kādālām* (a vessel made of a nut-shell etc.)  
*sāndāpū* (a mollusc)  
*\*āntimū* (cucumber, the only quotable with *\*ā + n*)  
*cāndāpāy* (a medicinal plant, sole instance of this kind of words).

Whether the verbal forms with the prefixes *mā* and *bā* (and collateral prefixes *māp* and *bāp*) were originally identical in meaning with those with the prefix *mā* followed by a nasal, is as yet an undecided question, though I am inclined to answer it in the affirmative. In the present state of the language there is some difference, it cannot be denied. Nevertheless there still exist instances of both forms used alternatively without the least difference in signification. Thus:

*māpūgi* = *bāpugi*  
*māmbūwat* = *bāpūwat*  
*mā(n)dīdi* = *bāpīdi* etc.

Moreover the difference in meaning (transitive *mā*, intransitive *bā*) is far from being maintained throughout. Originally a mere phonetic phenomenon, originated by want of smoothness in pronunciation, both ways of connecting prefix with stem seem to have independently developed to special grammatical „characteristics“. Compare cognate languages where this separation never took place (thus Sumbanese).

Coalescing with initial *n̄*, *c* or *j* *n* changes to *n̄*. So:

*pākān* + *n̄iyu* are sounded together  
*pākān̄ n̄i'yu* (market where cocoa-nuts are sold)  
*mākān* + *jāpū* are heard together

mákañjāpu" (eat pickles)

jāñan + cámpa are pronounced

jāñañca"mpa (don't throw)

Before all other initials n remains unchanged. Thus the words  
taná'man bápu (new plants, plantations) are sounded  
independently from one another (no m instead of the final n).

Likewise: yañ-akan ganti is heard without change of  
the final n to ñ.

*Spelling.* In Arabic the n and ñ are constantly represented  
by the same character. In Malay the latter is never written  
with the adopted Malay sign for it, if originated by the  
coalescing of words or syllables

The Arabian  is described as *superdental*.

18. — l and ʎ. — The pronunciation of the first of these  
consonants offers some difficulty to Englishmen, as what they  
write with the same sign seems to be very often a super-  
palatal („lingual” or „cerebral”), i. e. a consonant formed at  
the higher part of the palate with the tongue turned back-  
ward, the top pressed with its full breadth against the roof  
of the palate. The Malay l is produced at the *lower* part of  
the palate, like what the Dutch write l, when pronounced by  
well-bred people. The consonant Germans spell with l is very  
often a dental (so in *wald*, *feld* etc.).

Malay l can occur as an initial, medial and final, but never  
as an initial and final, neither as a medial and final in one stem  
or in the two last syllables of a word without suffixes.

Thus píkul (carry with a stick etc.)  
and lá'lu (go past, proceed)  
are genuine Malay words,

lédal (thimble)

and já'lil (a name, corruption of jalíl, sublime, epithet

of God used as an abbreviation of *ʿabdu'l-jalīl*,  
servant of the Sublime)

are foreign words (see *Portuguese* and *Arabic element*).

If in a Malay stem or the two last syllables of a word without suffixes *d* and *l* occur together there cannot be another *d* or *l* in it.

Thus the Portuguese:

*dé'dal* (see *lé'dal*) is converted by Malays to *bídal*,  
the usual form of the word;

*dóдол* must be a word borrowed from the Jav. (litt.  
something sold, i. e. a sweetmeat) but *dāgil* (re-  
fractory) is genuine Malay.

*l*, *d* and *ρ* never are found together in one Malay stem or in the two last syllables of a word without suffixes, if the *d* be not immediately preceded by *n* (see *n*).

Thus *tālédop* (scoundrel) cannot have anything to do with *tídop* (sleep) from which Klinkert derives it (see *Portuguese element*).

In the antepenult of a word without suffixes, *l* only occurs in the rather rare prefix *lā*, mostly joined with the stem by means of a nasal.

Thus we meet it in:

*lāmbā'yun* (a climbing plant with red flowers)

*lānkúwas* (a useful plant).

But *lā* is never used before a genuine Malay word already containing *l* or *c*.

Thus *lāngā'pā* (or *sālāngā'pā*, take great care for somebody etc.)

and *lānkā'pā* (improbable, fabulous)

are borrowed words (see *Sanskrit element*).

Likewise *lāmā'pi* (cupboard) cannot be genuine Malay (see *Port. element*).

Malay *l* sometimes interchanges with *ρ* and with *d*.

Thus *lān kīya n̄* = *ρān kīya n̄* (small paddy-barn)

*lāg á ρ* = *dāg á ρ* (a word for a rattling sound)

*lāk á h* = *ρāk á h* (a crack, fissure).

Palatal *l* only occurs by the coalescing of final *l* and an initial palatal; as f.i. in:

*bantál-ñā* (his or her cushion)

It may be compared with what is written *lh* in Portuguese and *ll* in Spanish.

*Spelling.* — The Arabian *J* is described as a superdental and is therefore a fit sign for representing the Malay *l*.

Of course a palatal *l* is never expressed by another character than that used for *l*.

### *Labial class.*

20. — *w.* — To Englishmen this consonant does not offer much difficulty. Dutchmen will often confound it with what they write *w* in their own language and South-Germans are inclined to do the same.

The exact pronunciation may be best illustrated by saying the words *do it* and marking the consonant heard between them.

The English initial in *way*, *wish* etc. is formed by putting the lips in the same position as for pronouncing the vowel in *too*, i. e. by protruding them, while leaving a round opening between them. What the Dutch write *w* in their words *wil*, *was* etc. is nearly the same consonant as that written with *v* in English orthography: the only difference is that the latter is formed with the lips almost shut, the former while keeping them a little more open. In both cases the lips only move in a *vertical* sense.

The Malay labial does not require the described effort. The labial an Englishman pronounces almost unconsciously between

the words in the above example, do not demand any particular exertion of the lips. So the word, *duwā* (two) f. i. would be written by an Englishman according to the spelling principles in his language: *dooa*.

The labial bearing the final *ā* in the word is quite identical with that written *w* in *lower* and *coward*. A Dutchman wishing to express the pronunciation of the given word would also spell it without any sign for a labial consonant (see *Spelling*).

Malay *w* does not appear as an initial of a word or the penult of it, except in some exclamations (*wāy!* and *wāhāy!* oh! ah!)<sup>1</sup>.

It occurs as a medial only after *n* or immediately preceded by *ā* and followed by *a* or *ā*.

The few words given by some dictionaries (v. d. Wall and Klinkert) being at variance with this rule are either foreign or wrongly heard.

Thus *sówek* given by v. d. Wall is a misheard:

*súwe\** (rend).

Likewise *kówaḡ* must be *kuwa-* (separate, put asunder), while *tíwas* (overcome, defeated) is probably a Javanese word, *sá'wi* and *ṛé'wañ* (Kl. and Crawf.) most likely have a Buginese origin (naut. terms); *g'é'wañ* is a wrong rendering of *g'é'bañ* (mother-of-pearl) *ráwung* etc. given by Crawford and Marsden in their dictionaries are bad spellings for *rāhuñ* etc. (compare Klinkert i. v.); *s'é'wā* (hire) and *síwap* (a dagger of a peculiar shape) must be borrowed words (see *Sanskrit*. and *Pers.* element).

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<sup>1</sup>) Thus the word *puwākkā* (a ghost, dwelling in trees), must be a foreign word (Sanskrit. *pāwaka*?); likewise *kacuwāli* (except etc.).

As a final *w* is only heard immediately after *a*. Some examples of *w* as a medial and final may follow here:

pá'wān (headman, guide, captain, experienced hunter etc.)

púwas (satiated; quenched)

túwǎ (old)

kúwūn (rainbow)

júwih (turned or curled down, hanging one's lips etc.)

pá'way (fishinglines secured on shore)

sílaw (dazzled by light etc.)

ípa<sup>w</sup> (meddle)

A root-syllable is never closed and opened by *w* at a time, except in the word:

kúwaw (argus feasant), which is an „onomatopoeia”, imitating the bird's peculiar cry.

A root-syllable commencing with *w* is mostly closed. The only stems containing an open rootsyllable with initial *w* are:

púwǎ (= tuwǎ in certain cases),	} all ending in ǎ
júwǎ (= jugǎ, only; too),	
súwǎ (meet)	
lá'wǎ (prevent, hinder)	
ñá'wǎ (soul)	
tá'wǎ (in táptáwǎ — laugh)	
dúwǎ (two)	

The word kúwi (crucible) mentioned by v. d. W. in his dictionary (from which Kl. probably borrowed it) is not to be found in Malay-Engl. dictionaries. It may be a Javanism and perhaps, originally, a non-Malay-Polynesian word. As to já'wi, probably it is the Arabic jáwi' (Malay etc.).

A root-syllable with initial *w* is never preceded by a penult with an initial nasal in an unchanged stem, except in the words:

$m\acute{a}'w\grave{a}$  or  $m\acute{a}'was$  (the ape usually called „orang-utan”)

$m\acute{u}wal$  (ful sick) *Ja*

$m\acute{u}wat$  (load; cargo) and

$\tilde{n}\acute{a}'w\grave{a}$  (soul)

Altered stems showing this concurrence are more frequent:

$m\grave{a}-\tilde{n}\acute{u}wa^\circ$  (entering small creeks and bays in navigating)

$m\grave{a}-\tilde{n}\acute{u}wa^\circ$  (bellowing, lowing) etc.

A root-syllable with initial  $w$  is never closed by a labial, except in the words:

$^\circ\acute{u}wap$  (vapour, steam)

$s\acute{u}wap$  (hand-feed)

$s\acute{u}wam$  (tepid)

$t\acute{u}wam$  (foment, fomentation)

Interchanging of  $w$  as a medial with  $b$  sometimes takes place.

Thus we may observe it in:


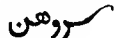
$c\acute{a}'wa\tilde{n} = c\acute{a}'ba\tilde{n}$  (brauch, bough)

$j\acute{a}'wat = j\acute{a}'bat$  (manage, hold)

The only instance of  $w$  interchanging with  $g$  has already been treated ( $juga$  see  $g$ ).

*Spelling.* — This labial is rather regularly represented by the Arabian character used for the same consonant in Arabic. The definition given in Arabic grammars of its exact pronunciation (f. i. in Caspari Ar. Gr.) seems to be quite applicable on that of the corresponding Malay labial. Whenever  $w$  is originated by the coalescing of a word with a final  $h$  and a syllable commencing with  $^\circ$  Malays mostly don't write it with  $\text{و}$ , but retain the sign for  $h$  of the word in pause.

Thus  $s\acute{u}p\acute{u}wan$  (a messenger, ambassador, from  $s\acute{u}p\acute{u}h$ ) is found spelt

 or 

(see  $h$  —).



21. — b. — The description of this labial does not require much explaining. We may say it is quite identical with what is represented by the same sign in English or Dutch spelling; although in the latter not always. In Dutch very often b is written where p is heard (e. g. in *ik heb*, I have), so that all those cases are excepted. The French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Danish, Swedish and Russian b, when used as an initial, generally represents the same labial as the letter heading this paragraph. It never assumes the peculiar pb-pronunciation of what in Javanese is written *ḅṇ* when used as an initial.

Malay b only occurs as an initial of a syllable, never as a final (see *Spelling*).

Thus we hear it in:

*bó'le h* (can, may, get)

*bí'ñ k'is* (a present, mostly from a prince)

*tă b'ál* (thick)

*b'ă' bi* (hog, pig)

The only instances of b as initial of a stem containing p as initial of the root-syllable are;       .

*b'ă' p'ă* (father)

and *bópe n* (pock-pitted), of which the latter seems to be a foreign word (not mentioned in any Mal.-Eng. dictionary, exc. in Crawf. in a wrong form (*bopiu*) as a Batavian word. It may be Balinese.

Malay b very seldom occurs along with p in the same root-syllable.

The only traceable words showing this concurrence are:

*gălă b'áp* (= *gălă bá'*, sound of something voluminous falling)

*jă p'ă m b'áp* (fall headlong with the face downward)

*să m b'áp* (swoln, one's cheek by tooth-ache etc.)

sămbúp (unnaturally puffy, the face).

Still rarer is the concurrence of b as an initial and p as a final of the same stem. The following examples may be the totality of cases met with:

băńáp (hushed, surdened, a sound)

bě'gap (robust, sturdy, bulky)

bókop (having a swoln face).

Not a single instance is quotable of initial p in a Malay stem followed by b or mb at the beginning of the root-syllable.

Thus púmbă (dove) is a foreign wood, borrowed from the Portuguese (see *Port. element*).

The interchanging of b with g has been treated already; a new example may still be mentioned here:

guntuń = buntuń.

A more frequent interchanging is that of b with m.

Thus măpúgi = băpúgi (suffer damage).

The prefix bă, with its lengthened forms băp, băń etc. heard in the actual state of the language, seems to have grown out of an original mă (compare cognate tongues), still existing as a verbal prefix in Malay and other M. P. languages.

Further cases of the above interchanging are:

múmut = múbut

băńkă'puń = măńkă'puń (a black lizard).

*Spelling.* It is always written with the character used in Arabic for representing the soft labial coming nearest to it, i. e. ب or پ, except in those cases where final p has become b by its coalescing with a soft initial (see p. —).

22. — p. — This labial may be identified with what is written with the same letter in English and Dutch, in French and other Roman languages, in the Scandinavian languages etc. A Malay never confounds it with b as Germans.

It occurs as an initial, medial and final; as a medial it always opens a syllable either alone or with an immediately preceding m; but never three p's are found in one Malay stem

págaρ (woll. fence)

pǎpáh (milk, squeeze out)

ˆátap (roof)

pǎlǎpáh (palm-leaf, stem lǎpah)

p as initial of a stem is never followed by m as single initial of the root-syllable.

The word: pǎ'muρ (damasking of a weapon) seems to be foreign (Dayak?).

When the penult and the root-syllable of a Malay stem both commence with p, the latter is never open, except in:

pípi (cheek) and púpu (never used separately sǎpúpu denotes consanguinity).

The only instance quotable of p opening and closing a stem at a time is:

pǎpáp (attack as birds do, f.i. a cock).

After the prefix mǎ the initial p of a stem sometimes takes m, but in the majority of cases the initial is dropped while the m remains; after the prefix pǎ mp is less frequent than a single m after which an original initial p has been superseded; stems with prefixed pǎρ are nearly as numerous as those showing the last mentioned peculiarity (see m).

p very seldom interchanges with b:

bújuˆ = pújuˆ (coax) is one of the rare cases met with  
gǎgáp found now and then instead of gǎgaˆ (clamour, clamorous)

may be a wrong spelling by mistake (one dot in stead of two over the Arabian character or two dots fused together).

A final p coalescing with an initial soft consonant changes to b.

Thus sá'yap + gá'ga<sup>a</sup> is heard as sá'yab gá'ga<sup>a</sup> (a crow's wings).

*Spelling.* As an initial or medial it is either written with the Arabian ف, the sign for the corresponding aspirate, or with that character bearing three dots in stead of one. This however seems to be a European modernism, seldom imitated by Malays themselves. In most of their manuscripts or lithographed books ف is exclusively used for both the Malay p and the Arabian labial aspirate. As neither p occurs in Arabic nor its aspirate in Malay, and moreover the words borrowed from the Arabic are generally very recognisable in the context, there cannot be much objection against this practice.

As a final p is often seen represented by the same character as an initial b, i. e. ب. This is an imitation of the Arabic way of spelling and has nothing to do with the pronunciation.

Thus jǎpá'hap (fall headlong with outstretched arms) has a p as a final and ought to be spelt with the sign for it in the Malay spelling as well as in its transliteration (compare dictionaries, Klinkert and Favre f. i.)

It scarcely needs to be stated that a b originated by coalescence is never heeded in spelling.

23. — m. — The labial nasal in Malay is quite identical with what is written with the letter representing it here in most European languages as make use of the Latin alphabet. A curious exception has to be observed in Portuguese „orthography”: in that language a final nasal, whatever it might be could formerly be expressed by an m, as though it were a

Sanskrit *anusvāra*: in *Achem* and *Bantam*, *\*acin* and *bantān* were meant (the former of these names was still in use with us a quarter of a century ago, the other, in its original spelling, is maintained on all our maps and is not likely to give way so soon).

It occurs as a initial, medial and final; as a medial however it never closes a syllable.

A Malay stem, even a secondary one, never contains three *m*'s, except one:

*mbām bām* derived from the primary stem *bām bam*  
(roast in hot ashes)

*mīmpin* is a secondary stem, the primary stem being *pīmpin* (lead by the hand).

A root-syllable very seldom opens and closes with *m*.

The following may be all cases put together:

*kāmám* (hold in the mouth)

*tām bām* (somewhat risen)

*lām bām* (slow, lazy)

*dāmám* (fever)

and perhaps *nāmám* (frightened), given by Marsden in his dictionary.

Like the other nasals *m* is often heard in connection with a soft consonant immediately after it and belonging to the same class of sounds; the corresponding hard consonant is mostly dropped after it, when belonging to the penult of a stem to which the prefix *mā* is applied. Although the elision of that hard consonant is very often a historical development already accomplished in a former state of the language, it is still observable in its working.

Thus *tūmbuḥ* (grow) is originally the same word as  
*tūbuḥ* (body i. e. something grown)  
but: *támpay* = *tápay* (a sweetmeat made of rice);

the stem  $p\check{a}h$  (squeeze out by pressure) drops its initial after the prefix  $m\check{a}$ :  $m\check{a}m\check{a}h$ , but  $b\acute{a}'suh$  (wash) retains its  $b$  in  $m\check{a}mb\acute{a}'suh$ .

$mp$  is very seldom heard immediately after the prefix  $p\check{a}$ , when this is connected to a stem: the  $p$  is nearly always dropped.

Thus:  $p\check{a}m\check{a}l\acute{u}^*$  (a hug, as much as can be grasped in the arms) seems to have developed out of an original  $p\check{a}m\text{-}p\check{a}l\acute{u}^*$  (primary  $stemp\check{a}l\acute{u}^*$ ), which dropped the  $p$  as an obstacle in pronunciation (change of  $\check{a}$  to  $a$ , see  $a$ ).

After other prefixes  $mp$  remains unchanged.

Thus we hear it in:  $t\check{a}mp\acute{u}'pu\bar{n}$  (coco-nutshell),  
 $t\check{a}mp\check{a}r\acute{a}s$  (scattered, spilt)<sup>1</sup>).

One instance is quotable, where an initial  $b$  seems to be elided after an  $m$  after  $t\check{a}$ :  $t\check{a}mb\acute{a}kay = t\check{a}m\acute{a}kay$  (water-melon),

while  $\check{a}mp\check{a}l\acute{a}s$  (a plant, Jav.  $r\check{a}mp\check{a}l\acute{a}s$ ) and

$s\check{a}mp\acute{o}lo\bar{n}$  (untidely dressed in a knot, the hair) show us examples of  $mp$  preceded by the prefixes  $\check{a}$  and  $s\check{a}$ .

After the last mentioned prefix two cases of the elision of an initial  $b$  have to be registered:

$s\check{a}mb\check{a}r\acute{a}p = s\check{a}m\check{a}r\acute{a}p$  (a kind of tray with foot)

$s\check{a}mb\acute{a}l\bar{n} = s\check{a}m\acute{a}l\bar{n}$  (a fish)<sup>2</sup>).

When a word already lengthened by the prefix  $p\check{a}$  gets a second prefix added to it, the  $p$  of  $p\check{a}$  is never dropped.

Thus  $m\check{a}mp\check{a}r\acute{a}s\check{a}mb\acute{a}kan$  (offering, saying respectfully) is derived from  $p\check{a}r\acute{a}s\check{a}mb\acute{a}kan$  (stem  $s\check{a}mb\acute{a}h$ ).

1) Out of this and other instances ( $t\check{a}n\check{g}al\acute{a}m$ , drowned,  $t\check{a}n\check{g}k\acute{a}p$  ruined, dethroned etc. we may conclude that  $t\check{a}$  is the prefix and not  $t\check{a}r$ .

2) In  $s\check{a}mh\check{u}i$  the  $b$  is most probably not original ( $s\check{a}m\check{u}i$  from a stem  $s\check{u}i$  still, desert; a Malay-Pol. word, compare Dayak); perhaps the two other examples have to be derived from  $s\check{a}r\acute{a}p$  and  $s\acute{a}l\bar{n}$ .

As to the concurrence of *m* with other consonants or its interchanging with them, see *b* and *p*.

*Spelling.* Malay *m* is nearly always represented by the Arabian character for the labial nasal  $\text{م}$ , even when preceding a *b*, in which case the Arabian, Persian or Hindustani writing-system would use a *nûn* in stead of it. Malays rarely imitate this practice.

## VOWELS.

### *Guttural class.*

1) *a* — *â* (clear). — It is short and long. What I call short *a* is the so-called „neuter” vowel in the „devanāgarī”-system, i. e. the vowel written in English with *u* in the words „cup, pluck” etc. (compare Whitney Sanskrit Grammar p. 10). It is really different from surd *a*, but it is a generally spread mistake to consider this as the short counterpart of *a*, so that in Holland f. i. the *â* heard in the word *lazen* (i. e. in my transliteration *lâzân* (read pret. plur.)) is said to have double the length of the *a* in *las* (read, sing.), both only differing in *length*, not in nature. The long surd *â* may be observed in the French word *barre*: if we compare that long vowel with a long clear *â* as it is pronounced in the French word *mare* or in the English substantive *tart*, the non-identity will be palpable; and the long vowels proving different, the short ones necessarily are different too.

The long clear *â* has not fully two „mora's”, being somewhat shorter than the German *â* represented by *ah* in the word *kahn*, or the long *â* in the Dutch verbal forms *razend* (raving) or *zagen* (saw), when not pronounced with emphasis. In that respect it differs still more from the Sanskrit long *â*, expressed in the usual transliteration by *a*. In figures the quantity of this and the German long *â* might be estimated to be 2, the Malay long *â*  $1\frac{1}{2}$ .

As to its exact pronunciation it may be identified with what is written *a* in the English word *ah!* or *au* in *laugh*.

The short clear *a* occurs in the penult of an unaltered stem in but two cases:

in *dáñap* (hear) and  
*dáñan* (with, be with).

Both words are mostly written as though the penult contained *ä* instead of *a*, but really they are pronounced as indicated.

In the antepenult, counted from the root-syllable, a short clear *a* is only heard when the root-syllable has the accent in the word (compare Accent); but then the penult must commence with a single consonant; long clear *ā*, surd *a* or *ä* being impossible in that case.

Thus we may observe the rule in:

*sakăpat* (a lump, a piece) — stem *kăpat*

*kahândā* (will)

*kakupānan* (lack, miss) — stem *kūpan*

but: *săkăpan* (now) — stem *kăpan*

and *păndapātan* (opinion, finding) — stem *dāpat*.

A syllable preceding the said antepenult, be it a part of the word or a monosyllable, can never contain a clear *a*.

Thus in:

*săpăptāna* (one boiling of race, i. e. the time for it)

and *săpamālú* (one encircling with the arms, a measure; we

have to do here with a prefixed monosyllabic numeral),

while in *tăpăpiyasi* (embellished, adorned), stem *piyas*, the first syllable is a second prefix added to the prefix *pă(p)*.

As it seems impossible to give a general rule, I shall try to make a complete list of all the stems containing *a* in a closed root-syllable. In an open root-syllable it is but possible immediately before another word, never before a pause (see *ä*).



The accent is on the penult, if not indicated :

ʼakan	gatal	kāmbán
ʼaʼfañ	gāntát	kiyan
ʼadap	gägáp	kisap
ʼapak	gāngám	kibap
ʼánám	gäpám	ki(m)pal
ʼāñjál	gálám	kusal
ʼándál	gätáp	kusam
ʼigal	gánáp	kumal
ʼikat	gálám (in : tāngálám)	
ʼiñap	gāmáp	pakat
ʼinat	gámás	pañkap
ʼiñgap		pantam
ʼipam	kákát	papat
ʼiñcap	kákál	pamas
ʼisap	käpát	pampat
ʼidap	käpán	pákát
ʼitam	käpáp	pákán
ʼintan	käját	päján
ʼilam	kāñcán	pañcám
ʼibap	kädáp	pädám
ʼipap	kätáp	pädás
ʼuñap	kätát	päsán
ʼutak	kätáp	päsám
ʼutap	kántál	pinkas
ʼunap	käsán	piyam
ʼulap	kásál	piimas
ʼulas	kábám	
ʼu(m)pat	kábál	jaɸam
	käpál	jantan
gaɸam	käpám	jintat
gayam	kāmám	

<i>cakat</i>	<i>tanam</i>	<i>sādāp</i>
<i>cakap</i>	<i>tandas</i>	<i>sādāp</i>
<i>cāpāt</i>	<i>tāgāp</i>	<i>sānāk</i>
<i>cāmāp</i>	<i>tākāt</i>	<i>sānān</i>
<i>cāmāt</i>	<i>tākān</i>	<i>sānām</i>
	<i>tākāp</i>	<i>sāndāp</i>
<i>dāgāp</i>	<i>tānāp</i>	<i>sāndāt</i>
<i>dākāt</i>	<i>tādās</i>	<i>sāntāl</i>
<i>dākāp</i>	<i>tātās</i>	<i>sālāp</i>
<i>dāpās</i>	<i>tātāl</i>	<i>sālāt</i>
<i>dāpāp</i>	<i>tātāp</i>	<i>sālāp</i>
<i>dāpām</i>	<i>tābāl</i>	<i>sālām</i>
<i>dālām</i> (in: <i>kadālām</i> )	<i>tāpāt</i>	<i>sāsak</i>
<i>dādāk</i>	<i>tāpām</i>	<i>sāsāp</i>
<i>dātās</i>	<i>tāmān</i>	<i>sāsāl</i>
<i>dāsāp</i>	<i>tāmbām</i>	<i>sābāt</i>
<i>dāndām</i>	<i>tīkap</i>	<i>sābāl</i>
<i>dāntām</i>	<i>tīkam</i>	<i>sābām</i> (dark grey)
<i>dābāp</i>	<i>tīnkam</i>	<i>sāinbām</i> (overwhelm-
<i>dāmām</i>	<i>tīpam</i>	ed etc.).
<i>datañ</i>	<i>tīlam</i>	<i>sañāt</i>
<i>dalam</i>	<i>tīndas</i>	<i>sañgam</i>
<i>dapat</i>	<i>tukal</i>	<i>sañkap</i>
<i>diyam</i>	<i>tumpas</i>	<i>sandap</i>
		<i>santan</i>
<i>tagap</i>	<i>sāgāp</i>	<i>sambap</i>
<i>takap</i>	<i>sāgān</i>	<i>sambal</i>
<i>tañgap</i>	<i>sākāt</i>	<i>sīgam</i>
<i>tañgam</i>	<i>sākām</i>	<i>sikap</i>
<i>tañkap</i>	<i>sānāp</i>	<i>sīnkat</i>
<i>taṣam</i>	<i>sānām</i>	<i>sīnsat</i>
<i>tajam</i>	<i>sādān</i>	<i>sīṣap</i>

<i>siyam</i> (Siam)	<i>lāmás</i>	<i>pácat</i>
<i>si(n)dat</i>	<i>lāmbám</i>	<i>pádat</i>
<i>sīlam</i>	<i>līnkaṣ</i>	<i>pádam</i>
<i>simpan</i>	<i>līpat</i>	<i>pántas</i>
<i>sīmpal</i>	<i>lukat</i>	<i>pálam</i>
<i>sukaṣ</i>	<i>lu(n)taṣ</i>	<i>pāsán</i>
<i>suñkal</i>		<i>pījaṣ</i>
<i>sūṣam</i>	<i>baham</i>	<i>pījat</i>
<i>sundal</i> <sup>1)</sup>	<i>bañap</i>	<i>pīñjam</i>
<i>subaṇ</i>	<i>bañat</i>	<i>pīntal</i>
<i>sumpat</i>	<i>bayam</i>	<i>pugaṣ</i>
	<i>batas</i>	<i>pucat</i>
<i>latam</i>	<i>bandaṇ</i>	<i>pudaṣ</i>
<i>landas</i>	<i>bantat</i>	<i>pudat</i>
<i>lalat</i> (a fly)	<i>balas</i> (answer etc.).	<i>putaṣ</i>
<i>lāgáp</i>	<i>bānáp</i>	<i>pusat</i>
<i>lākáp</i>	<i>bānám</i>	<i>puntat</i>
<i>lákát</i>	<i>bābat</i>	<i>puntal</i>
<i>lākáp</i>	<i>bāmbam</i>	<i>pulas</i>
<i>lākám</i>	<i>buñap</i>	<i>pulan</i>
<i>lāpám</i>	<i>buñkam</i>	
<i>lāñáp</i>	<i>būpam</i>	<i>masam</i>
<i>lāñán</i>	<i>bulat</i>	<i>malas</i>
<i>lāñkáp</i>	<i>bundaṣ</i>	<i>malap</i>
<i>lácát</i>	<i>buntaṣ</i>	<i>malam</i>
<i>láláp</i>	<i>bósan</i>	<i>mājál</i>
<i>lálát</i> (posey made of <i>sīpih</i> -leaves)	<i>págaṣ</i>	<i>mājám</i>
<i>lálás</i>	<i>páṣam</i>	<i>mādál</i>
<i>lábám</i>	<i>pájal</i>	<i>māndám</i>
		<i>māmáp</i>

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1) Perhaps Skr. *candāta*.

The existing dictionaries don't make any difference between this vowel and surd *a* or confound it with *ǎ* (Crawfurd). In transliterations of Malay words we sometimes see it represented by *ě*, meaning what is represented here by *ǎ*; but in most dictionaries etc. *a* is identified with *a* or *ā*, as the transliterations seem to imply. Thus the word *bósan* (loathing, satiated) is written in Klinkert, and Van de Wall's dictionaries: *bosan*, leading to the bad pronunciation *bó'san* (rhyming on the Javanese word *tó'san*, iron). Less great is the difference between short clear *a* and *ǎ* than between *a* and *a*, and all those who find some difficulty in pronouncing *a* may help themselves by putting *ǎ* instead. But indeed there is a real difference, as one might observe in hearing a Malay and a Javanese pronounce the words:

*sǎnǎn* (Mal. contended)

and *sǎnǎ'n* (Jav. the same)

Short clear *a* in a closed root-syllable not ending in *ʔ*, *k*, *s*, *p* or *n* becomes long clear *ā* when the suffix *-an* or *-i* is added, otherwise it changes to short surd *a*.

Thus from the above *sǎnǎn* we derive

*kasǎnǎnan* (content, tranquility),

for a syllable with a surd *a* can never be immediately preceded by one with a short clear *a*.

Consequently *dǎnǎp* (hear) makes the participle (or preterit)

*ka dǎnǎ'pan*

The *a* of the first stem-syllable must also change, and become *ǎ*, for

short *a* is not possible in an unaccented syllable, unless this be the first or the last syllable of a word;

it cannot become surd *a*, for a surd *a* in the antepenult is always original and belongs to the single stem;

it cannot alter its quantity, long clear *ā* only occurring in the penult of a word (compare *ǎ*).

Long clear *ā* occurring in the penult of a single *closed* stem can only be followed by a root-syllable commencing with

1° a soft consonant;

2° *h*, *ρ*, *y*, *w*, *l* or an independent nasal (except *n̄*);

3° *k*, *c*, *s* or *p*, when closed by *h*, *ʷ* or *s*;

4° *t* not bearing a clear *a* (see short, clear *a*).

Thus we hear a long clear *ā* in:

1° *bā'gus* (beautiful)

*pā'ju h* (be voracious, gluttonous)

*pā'da n̄* (plain; open field)

*cā'but* (pluck, pull out)

2° *sā'hut* (answer)

*lā'ρa n̄* (prohibit, hinder)

*sā'yup* (vegetables)

*sā'lin* (change, translate)

*tā'wa ρ* (bid a price; fresh etc.)

*bā'ña ʷ* (much)

*ρā'may* (crowded etc.)

*nā'nin̄* (a kind of wasp; name of a Malay state)

3° *kā'ka ʷ* (elder brother or sister)

*tā'ka h* (small prominences of the keel at the stem  
and stern of a boat, got by notching)

*kā'kas* (rigid, stiff)

*kā'si h* (love)

*tā'sa ʷ* (styptic)

*bā'sa h* (moist)

*ʷā'ca h* (dissimulate awaiting a good opportunity)

*cā'ca ʷ* (planted in the ground; a stake or pole)

*kā'pa ʷ* (axe)

4° *bā'tu ʷ* (cough)

*tā'ti h* (totter)

*bā'ta n̄* (trunk, stem)

Long clear *â* in the penult of a single *open* stem can only be followed by a root-syllable commencing with:

- 1° a soft consonant,
- 2° *h*, *ρ*, *y*, *l* or *w*,
- 3° a nasal, except *n̄*,
- 4° *t* when not bearing an *i*.

An example of each particular case may serve as an illustration:

- 1° *lâ'gi* (still, yet, more)
- bâ'ju* (coat)
- jâ'di* (become; thrive)
- ρâ'bă* (feel with the hand)
- 2° *tâ'hi* (exerements)
- bâ'ρă* (live coal)
- kâ'yu* (wood)
- mâ'lu* (ashamed etc.)
- bâ'wă* (bring)
- n̄â'n̄i* (sing)
- sâ'nă* (there)
- ρâ'mu* (assemble materials, esp. from the wood)
- jâ'mu* (guest)
- 4° *bâ'tu* (stone, rock)
- bâ'tă* (brick)
- ρâ'tă* (flat, even etc.)

Outside a stem *â* is never heard (compare *a* and *ă* for other cases of *â*).

As to *â* changing its quantity etc. see *Accent*.

*Spelling*. Short clear *a* is sometimes written by Malays with *âlif*, sometimes not. Thus *dânan* is spelt:

داغن or داغان or دغان or دغن.

We can find examples of this spell-luxury by scores in Malay literature or correspondence.

Long clear *ā* is often indicated by *ālif*, although in some cases we should in vain look for a sign representing it. So we find *di-mānā* (where) spelt:

دما and دمان or even دمانا.

2) *a* (surd). — It is rather difficult to define this vowel by comparison with an English equivalent; for its exact counterpoise seems to be entirely lacking in the language. The vowel heard in the English word „some” is given by Mr. Swettenham as an illustration of it (Engl. Malay Vocabulary), but that vowel seems to be still a trifle different from that of the Dutch word *stam*, which is really identical with the Malay vowel. We may further compare it with what in Italian, Spanish and Portuguese is written *a* in a closed syllable (thus in „canto” in the three languages); with the Swedish *a* in *gansk* or *vatten* etc.

In Malay it is never long.

It occurs only in the penult or in the last syllable of a stem and in the suffix *an*.

Thus we hear it in:

*cáka-ā'yam* <sup>1)</sup> („a hen's scratching”, bad writing)

*kū'p ap* (scurf, ringworm)

*kū'p a-kū'p ā* (a land tortoise)

*pā'p cākāpan* (talking).

Surd *a* in the antepenult of a word is only heard when the stem is lengthened by a suffix as in the last given instance.

The only suffix containing *a* being *an* we may say that surd *a* never occurs outside a stem or that suffix.

In the penult of a closed stem surd *a* is only heard immediately before *k*, *c*, *s*, *p* when the final is not *h*,

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1) The hyphen means here that the final *p* in *cākāp* takes over the vowel of *ā'yam*, eliding its initial *ā*.

s or ʼ, before *n̄* and all double consonants; before *t* only when this bears a short clear *a* followed by a final consonant.

Thus we meet it in:

ʼá s a m (tamarind)

k á s a p (rough, coarse)

l á p i s (layer, lining)

m á k a n (eat)

k á c a n̄ (beans)

l á n̄ a w (a blue-bottle)

b á n d i n̄ (compare)

g á n t i (exchange, succeed)

t á m b a h (increase)

ʼá t a p (roof)

t á m p a p (slap with the flat of the hand).

When a root-syllable is closed by *h* or ʼ a surd *a* in the penult is not possible before *k*, *c*, *s* or *p* (see *a*).

Stems with an open root-syllable can only have a surd *a* in the penult before a double consonant, and before a hard consonant (*s* included) if the final vowel be *i* or *u*; clear *a* is never heard in such a case.

ʼá k u (I)

ʼá p i (fire)

n á s i (cooked rice),

but: ʼá' p á (what)

p á' d i (rice) and

l á' p i (run) (compare long clear *á*).

In a root-syllable surd *a* exclusively occurs when it is closed:

k á' p a ʼ (spleen)

and the example already quoted before.

Malay surd *a* sometimes interchanges with surd *e*, though rarely: *p á n d a ʼ* = *p é n d e ʼ* (short).



A surd *a* in a word cannot change its nature or quantity by the addition of a suffix or by coalescing with another word, except in the root-syllable when the word, as a single stem, is closed by *h*, *m*, *n*, *l* or *ρ*.

Thus: *tâmpaρ* (slap) + *an* are sounded together as

*tampâ'pan* (f. i. *tampâρan nâ'mu* shoulder-blade)

and *tīngal* (stay, remain) + *i* make the word

*tīngâ'li* (leave to somebody);

*jâ'jah* + *an* becomes *jâjâ'hān* territory)

*gâ'gah* + *i* „ *gâgâ'hi* (to force, to persist).

The rule is, that surd *a* in a root-syllable closed by *h*, *m*, *n*, *ρ* or *l* changes to long clear *â*, when one of the suffixes *an* or *i* is added.

*Spelling.* In the Arabian-Malay writing-system surd *a* is very often found represented by *âlif*, even in closed syllables. It is evident that this bad spelling ought not lead us to the admittance of a really existing, i. e. pronounced long vowel in those closed syllables.

Thus we find the word *pañkal* (beginning, base) sometimes written:

فنگكال or فاعكال

along with

فنگكل.

Very often too, we may say in in most cases, surd *a* is not expressed by any peculiar sign at all.

The *fathah* is very seldom applied; if so, it means *a*, *α* or *ä* without distinction.

3) *ä* — *â*. — The short vowel is very frequent in all Germanic languages; hence I need not say more of it than that it is the vowel heard in the English definite article. As to the lengthened vowel an equivalent in English is not so near at hand; but it is quite easy to protract the *ä* in „the” till it gets double the length. In Dutch the correspond-

ing word (de) is pronounced in that way, when the person saying it is in suspense or hesitating, not knowing what to say after it, f. i. when a name does not directly occur. In English I sometimes observed an *i*-sound in the word when similarly lengthened. Of course, the long  $\hat{a}$  meant here is not that.

Short  $\check{a}$  can occur in every syllable.

In a root-syllable  $\check{a}$  is always final. This final is only heard when followed by a pause.

Thus it is heard in:  $\text{a}'\text{d}\check{a}$  (be, exist),

$\text{t}\check{a}'\text{n}\check{a}$  (ask).

In the penult of a single stem it always precedes an accented root-syllable.

Outside a stem not lengthened by suffixes we meet it:

1° as only possible vowel in the syllable immediately preceding, when the penult is accented, except in a few words,

2° idem in that syllable, when connected with the stem by a nasal adhering to the stem-initial, in every case,

3° idem in another syllable preceding that.

Besides  $\check{a}$  is heard in the pronoun  $\text{n}\check{a}$  before a pause and in the numeral  $\text{s}\check{a}$  when immediately preceding an accented syllable.

Some examples of all these cases may follow here:

1°  $\text{p}\check{a}\text{l}\check{a}\text{n}\text{d}\text{u}^{\text{a}}$  (very small species of deer, the Java *kañcil*)

$\text{b}\check{a}\text{l}\check{a}\text{k}\text{a}\text{n}$  (behind)

$\text{b}\check{a}\text{l}\check{e}'\text{p}\text{u}\text{n}$  (a contraction of  $\text{b}\check{a}\text{l}\text{ay}$  (hall) and  $\text{p}\check{u}\text{wa}\text{n}$  (apartment), the two last syllables of the contracted word being considered as a stem, since the meaning of the composing parts is no longer clear to the mind)

$\text{a}'\check{a}\text{p}\check{a}\text{m}\text{a}\text{w}$  (tiger);

the exceptions are:

- kiyámbañ* (a water-plant)
- kuwá'ri\** (a small ornament worn on breast and back, Kl.)
- kuwá'la*<sup>1)</sup> (mouth of a river or canal)
- kuwá'li* (iron pan)
- kuwá'yah* (a tree)
- juwándañ* (deity bringing bad luck in gambling)
- juwá'ra*<sup>2)</sup> (expert in cock-fighting)
- siyá'kap* (= *kákap*, a fish)
- siyá'lañ* (tree with bee-hives in it)
- siyá'nañ* (a fish)
- siyá'mañ* (a species of monkey)
- siyúman*<sup>3)</sup> (recovered from sickness etc.)
- suwá'lap* (a kind of vessel, Kl.)
- suwá'tu* (one)
- tiyá'dä* (not, not exist)
- tiyá'rap* (prone, lying on the face)
- tiyá'na\** (only in *puntiyána\**, a bad genius and name of a place in West-Borneo *\*ämpu-n-tiyána\**)
- tiyúman* (name of an island near Singapore)
- biyá'wa\** (iguano-lizard)
- biyá'wan* (a fish)
- biyá'was* (in *jambu biyáwas*: white sort of that fruit)
- biyúku* (a land-tortoise and a fish)
- buwá'yä* (alligator)
- piyáñgañ* (a noxious insect)
- piyáñgu* (a tree)

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1) *Kuwá'sä* must be a hybrid (M. P. prefix with Sanskr. *waça*), compare Javanese.

2) Perhaps Hind.. *juwári*.

3) Perhaps from a stem *siyum*, but then I cannot find out its original meaning probably from *\*uman*, analogously with the rest.

*piyǎ'lañ* (give an order for buying)

*piyǎ'liñ* (a bird)

*piyǎ'tu* (orphan)

*piyú'tañ* (credits)

*muwǎ'pǎ* (roadstead, mouth of a river)

Consequently *i* or *u* exclusively occur before *y* or *w* when in the antepenult of a word without suffixes.

Combinations of words as *si-y-ānu* (Anonymus, N. N.), or *yá-h-itu* (to wit, i. e. etc.: are not taken into account. They are not even compounds, for each word retains its original meaning. *Si* in *siyákap* cannot be separated from the word (*\*ákap* has no meaning), in *si-y-ānu* the monosyllable, though etymologically the same, has not yet taken the character of a „formative element”.

2° *sǎñkǎ'wañ* (a tree, and name of a place in Dutch

West-Borneo, usually written *singkarwang*)

*tǎmbé'pǎñ* (the standing rigging of a vessel)

*sǎmbǎ'yañ* (pray, the two last syllables are considered as a stem, though the word is a contraction of *sǎmbah* and *yañ*)

*cǎñkǎliñ* (linked together, twisted)

*pǎñcǎ'út* (brail)

3° *tǎpǎ'púwat* (made, executed)

As to *sǎ*, a numeral showing the character of a prefix, (for it never stands apart), we may compare:

*sa-dǎpǎ'* (one fathom) with

*sǎ-kákí* (one foot), *s'kákí* in rapid speech.

When the suffix *\*an* or *\*i* or the suffixed pronoun *ñǎ* is added to a stem, only a final *ǎ* can be influenced by the addition. Then it always changes to long clear *ǎ*, as in the following instances:

*\*ǎ'pǎ* (what) + *ñǎ* become together *\*ǎpǎ'ñǎ* (what of it),

while *kăhădă'han* (being, state, condition) has been formed out of the stem *ʔădă* (be exist).

By adding *ñă* to the word the original vowels appear again with their former quantity and quality: *ka hă'dăhăññă*.

Final *ă* always becomes short *a*, when immediately followed by a word; surd *a* when by the suffix *kan*. Thus

*ʔă'pă + ʔitu* are pronounced together or *ʔă'pa-h-itu* (what is that?); *ʔădă + kan = ʔădăkan* (cause to be).

In rapid speech the final *ă* is entirely dropped, when immediately followed by a word with initial *ʔ*.

The last quoted example would then assume this pronunciation: *ʔă'pitu*.

In all syllables of a word preceding the stem *ă* has the same fugitive character.

Thus the words:

*săkă'li* (once, very) and *păpampŭ'wan* (woman) are usually pronounced *s'kăli* and *pəpampŭwan*.

This is especially the case when a prefix containing *ă* is followed by a stem commencing with *l* or *p*, as in:

*k'lămbu* (curtain)

*s'lŭman* (a fruit like the *pambŭtan*)

*p'pôño* (bruised)

*b'păñkat* (depart, leave).

Long *â* only occurs as a final in an accented root-syllable. In genuine Malay words it is rather rare. We hear it in:

*kăpă'â* (ape)

*ʔăśă'â* (single, one)

In crying or calling the final syllable being protracted and pronounced with much stress, it is only natural that every short final *ă* can assume then the character of a long one. Thus the sellers of toasted *pŭlut* and its sauce called *săp*.

ká'yǎ, paddling about in their boats on the Kápúwas river at Pantiyá'na\* (West-Borneo), can be heard crying every night  
 pulút paṅgáṅ sǎp kayǎǎ'!

Interchanging of ǎ and i may be noticed in words as cǎñcǎṅ = cíñcǎṅ (hack, chop), pǎcáh = pícah (broken to pieces) etc., with shift of accent. The forms with ǎ however seem to be better.

*Spelling.* Malays represent ǎ and ǎ̂ by *álif*, if they do it at all; very often they do not. The same inconsistency is reigning here as in the case of surd a and clear a.

ǎ'ǎ (hope) might be found spelt with the same letters as ǎǎǎ' (one), thus:      لسا.

In European transliterations ǎ is sometimes seen represented by i, denoting a short surd i (Engl. *pit*), f. i. in *Sintang*, and *Singawang* (places in West-Borneo), in our transliteration: sántáṅ and sǎṅká'wǎṅ. Compare *intah* in Crawfurd meaning ǎánta'h (possibly); *indah* meaning ǎándah.

4) i — i. — The equivalents given in the table of vowels sufficiently illustrate the pronunciation of this vowel, which perhaps is heard in all languages of the world.

In a Malay stem the long type only occurs before p, when this opens the root-syllable; then short clear i is only possible when the stem is doubled (see p. 83). Thus it is heard in:

sípam (shed, irrigate), but not in

siyáṅ (day-light, noon)

Of course in crying or calling a shift of accent may convey a change of quantity. Thus the word kǎ'pí (left) would be heard as kípí'! when cried at the top of one's voice. This remark is applicable to all vowels (ká'siyá'n! as an exclamation: poor fellow etc.; ǎdúh, tuwǎ'n! alas, my Lord!).

$kĩ\rho im$  (send) +  $\text{ʔ}an$  becomes:

$kĩ\rho íman$  (something sent, a present)

with short clear  $i$ 's and shift of accent, but as soon as the accent is thrown back to the original syllable, the original quantities appear again:

$dĩkĩ\rho imĩ'ñă$  (he or she sent (it) to him or her).

In  $kĩ\rho a-kĩ\rho ă$  (reckon, estimate; approximatively) the first member of the compound alters the quantity of its  $i$  in rapid speech.

Short clear  $i$  always ends a syllable, except before a final  $s$  in a root-syllable. But then it is only heard when the first stem-syllable does not contain  $ă$ .

Thus clear short  $i$ 's are heard in:

$mă'nis$  (sweet) and  $típís$  (thin), but a short surd  $i$  in  $kă\rho ís$  (kris, dagger).

Short clear  $i$  never changes its nature or quantity by the addition of a suffixed syllable. Sometimes it interchanges with surd  $i$ , when an otherwise open stem ending in  $i$  becomes closed by a *hamzah*, f.i.  $bă\rho í$  interchanging with  $bă\rho íʔ$  (compare 1. —  $\text{ʔ}$ .)

$pípí$  (cheek) +  $ñă$  becomes

$pípíñă$  (his or her cheek).

*Spelling.* It is mostly indicated by  $\text{ي}$ , but the long and short vowel are seldom distinguishable in the written language. Therefore it is a mistake to suppose that Malays always mean a long  $i$  when writing a  $yă$ . Very often too a  $y$  is meant where  $\text{ي}$  is spelt, as in Arabic.

5)  $i$ . (surd). — This vowel too is well-known in European languages, though it is not so common as the preceding one. Nevertheless it is very often mispronounced in Malay. In the dictionary of v. d. Wall f. i.  $sĩ\rho íh$  (betel) is written *sireh*

denoting a pronunciation as *sipeh* in our transliteration. The author of that rich lexicon was a German in the Dutch Colonial Service and must have had some well known peculiarities of speech proper to most representatives of his nation. The surd *i* is indeed lacking in most of the German dialects; neither does it exist in some Flemish dialects. In English itself some people regularly replace it by the clear type of the vowel, saying *hit* in stead of *hit*. A final *y* written in words as *poetry*, *daisy* etc. sometimes represents *i* (clear), sometimes *i* (surd), though the former pronunciation seems to be in the inferiority.

In Malay surd *i* is only heard in closed syllables, before all finals except *s*, before which it is only heard when the syllable containing it has the accent. In this case the syllable cannot contain clear *i*.

When one of the suffixes *an* and *i* or *an* + *ñă* is annexed to a stem containing a root-syllable with surd *i*, this must change, because surd *i* is not possible in an open syllable. It must change to short clear *i*, except before *ρ*, the only case where it can become long clear *î*, for this is but possible before that consonant (compare *i*). Thus

*bă' hik* (good) becomes  
*bă' hiki* (de good to; repair);  
*sîndip* (mock, deride) becomes  
*sindî'pan* (mockery, jest); but from  
*ă'hip* (water) is derived  
*ka'hăhî'pan* (water-logged).

When however the pronoun *ñă* is added to the already lengthened word the original quantities of the vowels is restored: *sîndipănñă* (his or her mockery, jests).

*Spelling.* If they wish to denote a surd *i* by a character, Malays make use of a *yă*. But the same character may re-



present a clear *i*, as I already observed in the preceding paragraph. Thus *kāpís* is met in this spelling

کریس or کرس,

while *típís* is represented thus:

تیفیس etc.

6) *e* — *é* (clear). We must be careful not to confound the pronunciation of this vowel with that written in English with the same letter. But it is not sufficient to call that pronunciation „continental”, or „Italian” (Swettenham f. i.), for the vowels expressed by *e* in the Italian words *velo* or *degnò* are different from that represented by the same sign in *nero* etc.

The vowel denoted in the last example by *e* is exactly Malay clear *é* (long).

But the long type is rather rare in the language. Much more frequent is short clear *e*. The former however has more equivalents in English — we may identify it with what is written *ea* and *a* in the words *bear* and *care* — while the short vowel is more properly comparable with the unaccented final written with the same letter in Spanish, Portuguese or Italian (*padre*, *arte*, *carne* etc. in all three). It is a vowel lying very near to short surd *i* as in the English word *kitchen*, though it is not quite identical with it.

The long vowel has not quite double the length of the short one. Analogously with long *â*, long *é* has about one and a half „mora”.

In a single stem the long vowel only occurs in the first syllable before a single consonant; except before *k* or *n̄*:

*bésan* (word denoting the relationship of a married couple's parents)

*pé'la n̄* (a sort of vessel)

*mél'pāh* (red).

A long clear *ê* in the first stem-syllable is only compatible with short surd *a*, *ă* or surd *u* in the second, the two latter cases being rather rare. We observe it in:

*bê'tă* (talk, chat familiarly; respectful pronoun of the first person sing)

*bê'lut* (perfidy, sedition etc.).

It never changes its nature nor its quantity, even when there is a shift of accent:

*kăbêsă'năn* (the state of being *bêsan*), with,

*dî-mê'pahî''nă* (he or she made it red), without shift of accent (compare *Accent*).

A short clear *e* in the root-syllable only occurs as a final or before a final *h*, but in the former case the first syllable must contain the same short vowel, in the latter a long clear *ô*; when in the first stem-syllable, the root-syllable must either contain a short clear *o*; or, if not, always commence with a double consonant (nasal + cognate consonant) or single *ñ* followed by a surd *a*. Compare clear *o* for the cases where this vowel is possible in the root-syllable.

The following examples may illustrate these two cases:

*bô'leh* (can, may)

*tô'leh* (look around or behind)

*tô'reh* (notch, carve)

*lêle* (a fish)

and *pălêle* (a peculiar long boat)

*â'ékop* (tail)

*călêdo* (creech, be abject or base)

*lêñah* (lazy, in different)

*Pălêmba* (name of a place in Sumatra)

*pa'pêntah* (order, government)

Neither the short nor the long vowel ever occur outside a stem. Short clear *e* never changes its nature; when in the root-

syllable its quantity is raised to that of the long vowel<sup>1</sup>, whenever one of the suffixes *an* or *i* or the pronoun *ñā* is added to the stem containing it. Thus in:

*di-pāṣṣōlē'ñā* (got by him or her), derived from the stem *ṣōlēh* (compare 2—*h*), and in: *pāṣṣōlē'yan* (what is got, one's livelihood), from the same stem.

*Spelling.* The long vowel is regularly indicated by *yā*, meaning *y* after *fathah*, so that *bésan* is written as if it were *baysan* or *baysan*.

The short clear vowel is sometimes not indicated at all, sometimes we meet it in the same rendering as the long one.

E. g. the above *bōlēh* is written: *بوله* or *بوليه*.

In European transliterations the short vowel is often rendered by *i*. Thus Klinkert in his dictionary, i. v. etc.

7) *e* (surd). — Perhaps the vowel heard in the word *said* is the best equivalent in English of the Malay vowel heading this paragraph, but the latter seems to be a little shorter. The German word *brett* given in the table (pag. 6), the Dutch word *pret*, and the Italian *senza* contain the same vowel represented by the same letter.

It is always short and never occurs outside a stem. When occurring in the root-syllable, the first syllable always shows the same vowel or, if not, *ā* or surd *o*. Thus we observe it in:

*cēñcēñ* (steal away like a dog)  
*ṣōlēñ* (doubled: toss, roll as a ship)  
*căbēṣ* (curl the lips in contempt)<sup>1</sup>).

A root-syllable with surd *e* is always closed; but never

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1) Therefore *cañgeh* (saucy, foppish), given by Crawford, Klinkert and v. d. Wall represents the Javanese pronunciation; in Malay it is *cāñgiḥ* or *cāñgíḥ* (compare Marsden who gives *cāñi*, a wrongly heard *cāñgiḥ*).

by *h*, when the first stem-syllable has a long clear *ó*. In the first stem-syllable surd *e* can only be heard, when the root-syllable is closed and contains a surd *o* (compare rule for surd *o* in root-syllable).

Thus we hear it in:

dénkol (= *téloρ*, indistinct in utterance, inarticulate)

ρéñeh (speak incongruously, foolishly)

•éje• (mock, deride).

Surd *e* only changes its nature and quantity when the suffix *•an* is added to the stem; otherwise it never suffers any alteration.

In the former case it becomes long clear *é* when occurring in the root-syllable, except before *ñ* or *k*, short clear *e*, when in the first stem-syllable. So

pāleté'pan (volubility, chattering)

is derived from

léteρ (be talkative, voluble)

But from the stem *lāmbé•* (weak, enervated; soft) we derive: *kālāmbékan* (weakness etc.).

Surd *e* is now and then found interchanging with surd *a*. So

ñāpán = ñāpén (indignant).

*Spelling.* It is usually confounded with long or short clear *e* when expressed in writing, but very often wholly neglected as the other short vowels. Céceρ and lāmbé• are to be found in this spelling:

چیکر or چیکیر or even  
چیکر and چکیر  
لبیق or لبی or لبیق

*Labial class.*

8) *u* — *û*. — This vowel is very common in the language, ranking in frequency immediately after *a* and *ä*. We can say it bears quite the same aspect as what in English is written *oo* when before an *r* (*poor*, *moor* etc.), never assuming that clearness of utterance audible in the vowel of *cool* or *truth*. In Dutch and German, though less appropriately, we might compare Malay clear *u* with the vowel heard in *boer* (D. peasant) and *uhr* (G. a watch), in French with that of *pour* (for), in Span., Ital. or Port. with the first vowel pronounced in *cura* etc.

There is a considerable difference between the vowel alluded to and that of the English word *truth*; but Europeans very often confound it with that <sup>1)</sup>.

The long type has not exactly double the length of the short one, we may say one and a half, as the other long vowels.

Long clear *û* only occurs in a stem, never outside of it.

It always precedes *ρ*.

In the root-syllable it is only possible when the *a* stem is lengthened by the addition of *an* or *i* (see surd *u*).

Examples:

*bû'ρuñ* (bird)

*lû'ρus* (straightforward; undisturbedly, smoothly)

*kû'ρañ* (less; fail)

The short vowel in a stem exclusively occurs:

1° in the root-syllable when open; then surd *u* is impossible, e. g.

*kûbu* (fortress)

*kûtu* (louse)

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1) In the table of vowels pag. 7 „*fool*” has to be replaced by „*poor*”.

2° in the first stem-syllable except before  $\rho$  (same examples).

Outside a stem-syllable we only observe it in the words mentioned in — ä. It is not compatible with  $e$ ,  $e$ ,  $o$  or  $o$  in the root-syllable.

Long clear  $\ddot{u}$  never changes its nature; in rapid speech its length is reduced to that of the short vowel, when the accent undergoes a shift by the addition of  $kan$ ,  $ʔan$ ,  $ʔi$  or  $ñä$  or by doubling the word; the short vowel never changes in any way.

So:  $k\ddot{u}'\rho u\bar{n}$  (cage, after-cabin) makes

$k\ddot{u}'\rho \ddot{u}\bar{n}an$  (something as a cage, a cage) and  $ku\rho\ddot{u}\bar{n}an$ ,

$k\ddot{u}'\rho a-k\ddot{u}'\rho \ddot{a}$  (tortoise) and  $ku\rho a-k\ddot{u}'\rho \ddot{a}$ .

*Spelling.* Long and short clear  $u$  are both written with a *waw* (و), perhaps the latter less frequently than the former; when not represented by that character it is not expressed at all.

So  $l\ddot{u}'\rho u\bar{n}$  (way, road) is spelt لورغ and لوروغ,  $b\ddot{u}su-$  (rotten, foul) بوسو or بسو or بوسق or بوسوق.

9)  $u$  (surd). — This vowel seems to be the most difficult of all to the European mouth. It is either confounded with short clear  $u$  or with short surd  $o$ ; the latter mistake being the most general. So it prevails in the dictionary of v. d. Wall and in that of Marsden (*burong*, *busong* etc.). In English or Dutch a similar vowel is hardly traceable, in German it is heard in the words *butter*, *futter*, *dumm*; in French we might compare it with the pronunciation given to the Latin ending *um* (*géranium*, *album* etc.).

In Malay it is only heard in closed root-syllables, never in any other syllable.

Thus we observe it in:

tăpús (right through, through, from one side to another)

kápup (lime, chalk) <sup>1)</sup>

tābup (scatter, sow)

tákut (afraid; fear)

búbup (pap)

símpul (knot)

ké'puh (deviating, false)

Surd u in the root-syllable is not compatible with o or o in the penult of the stem.

It changes its nature and quantity when *an* or *i* is annexed to a stem containing it; but its quantity only before *p*:

kătakútān (afraid, frightened)

tābú'an (what is sown);

when *ñă* is added surd u becomes clear when preceding a final *h* in the original stem:

túbúñă (his or her body) from *túbuh*.

By the addition of *two* suffixed syllables the vowels resume their original quantities, but *ú* becoming short retains its nature:

tābupāñă (what he or she has sown).

*Spelling.* It is very often neglected in Malay spelling, sometimes however we see it indicated by a common *u*. Thus păpút (womb, belly) is written

فوت and فوت or even فارت.

In European transliteration it is frequently represented by o, which leaves undecided, whether ó, o, o or ô is meant.

Probably in most cases it means a short surd o; for Europeans usually confound this with short surd u in speaking Malay or other Malay. Pol. languages. Perhaps a similar cause

1) Though the word is found in Sanskrit (karpura) and Arabic (kâfûr) in the sense of „Camphor” (Malay: kapur Bâpus), it seems to be genuine Malay.

has to be assigned to a certain queer phenomenon in Malegasy spelling (everywhere *o* where *u* or *u* is meant).

10) *o* — *ô* (clear). — This vowel has never the pronunciation of what in English is written *o* or *oa* in *cosy* or *boat*. The designation „Italian” or „continental” is therefore inexact, for the vowel in those words might very well be called so though wholly different from that heard in the English words: *bore*, *more*, *boar*. This being quite identical with the second vowel in the Dutch and German word *verloren* (lost), exactly represents the Malay vowel.

The long vowel has perhaps one and a half time the length of the short one; never double the length as f. i. in German. The short *o* is comparable with the final vowel heard in the Spanish and Italian words: *cabo*, *capo*; in the Portug. *toro* (a peculiar coat worn by servants, Bat. Mal.) we have both the long and the short type.

In a stem not lengthened by the addition of any syllable short clear *o* is only heard 1° in a closed root-syllable, 2° in the penult before a double consonant or *h*; in this case the root-syllable must have a surd *a*, 3° in an open-root-syllable when the penult has the same vowel (a rare case).

The only possible finals after short clear *o* are those gutturals and nasals as occur in that function: *h*, *ʰ*, *ʳ*, *ṇ*, *n* and *m*. Thus we may observe short clear *o* in:

tắpóṇ (egg-plant, *solanum melongena*)

bắlóm (not yet)

tắ'poh (put)

jắtoh (fall)

téṇoʰ (look)

tắlóʳ (egg)



kǎbón (garden, plantation)

póhon (tree)

jóhoh (name of native state in Malaka, Johore)

bónkəp (up-root, discharge etc.)

kómban (an insect)<sup>1</sup>).

ʰolo-h-ólo (make fun, mock)<sup>2</sup>)

A root-syllable containing *o* must be preceded by a penult containing *ǎ*, *á*, *e* or *o* (see examples). Besides, when that root-syllable is closed by a nasal the penult can only have *ǎ*, when by *ʰ* the penult must contain short clear *e*, when by *h* the penult cannot contain but *á*.

In an unaltered stem long clear *ó* is only heard in the penult.

Both the long and the short vowel never occur outside a stem.

Examples of long clear *ó* follow here:

tólaʰ (push forward etc.)

ʰópañ (man, human being)

sópaʰ (sporiosis, a skin-disease)

ʰóleh (by, get, in: pǎpóleh).

The penult of a stem containing long clear *ó*, the root-syllable always begins with a single consonant and, when open (a rare case), can only have *ǎ*, when closed (the usual case) only *o*, *e* or *a*:

sógǎ (a tree with medicinal bark)<sup>3</sup>).

Neither short nor long *o* ever change their nature; *o* in the root-syllable retains its length when *ʰan*, *ʰi* or *ñǎ* are added to a stem containing it, only short *o* changes by such

1) So *bondǎ* given by v. d. Wall and Klinkert in their dictionaries cannot be correct: it should be *bundǎ* (royal mother etc.).

2) The word is given as *olok-olok* in v. d. Wall's and Klinkert's dictionaries this would imply a pronunciation as *ʰolok-oloʰ*, which is absurd.

3) Perhaps a foreign word (Sanskrit?).

an addition to long *o*, *tāpó'wi* (put on or in) from *tāpoh*.

*Spelling.* In spelling Malays mostly indicate *ó* by *,*, supposed to follow a *fathah*, as in Arab, identifying *ô* and *aw*. As to the short vowel we find it sometimes expressed in the same way, sometimes not expressed at all. So:

*Jóhop* will be found in the following spellings:

جوهر or جهور or جوهر.

11) *o* (surd). — Dutchmen seldom find any difficulty in pronouncing this vowel: it is that heard in their words: *pot*, *lot*, *bod*. In German, French and other Roman languages it is equally well-known, while Swedish, Danish and Russian also afford abundant material for a comparison. In English however an equivalent seems wholly lacking, words containing equivalents in some European languages may be mentioned here: Germ.: *Gott*, *posse*; Swed. *och*, *något*; Ital.: *ponte*, *ogge*; Span.: *sol*, *norte*; Russ.: *онъ*, *чтоъ* etc.

In Malay it is always short.

When occurring in a root-syllable, the penult of the stem containing it, must have the same vowel or *ä*; when in the first stem-syllable the root-syllable always contains the same vowel or surd *e*.

Examples: *bóhoñ* (lie; false)

*băṛkătókătó'ᵃ* (cackle, as a hen), from stem  
*kătóᵃ*

*sómbon* (proud, arrogant)

*kómeñ* (unnaturally small in size, an animal,  
hermaphrodite etc.),

*kópet* (narrow, a passage etc.),

*kópeᵃ* (dig with something sharp),

*tókeᵃ* (a large house-lizard making this sound).

Consequently a word as *tá'pom* (implied by the spelling

adopted in v. d. Wall's dicty. etc.: *tārom*) is impossible in Malay. As *ā* is pretty well always correctly observed, we may conclude that only the root-syllable is incorrect, and, surd u being usually heard as surd o by Europeans, while clear o in the root-syllable is never heard before a nasal, when an *α*-sound precedes, so we are authorised to admit that the word is really sounded as *tā'pum*. Indeed it is.

In the same manner we are able to reconstruct a great many words about whose real sound the dictionaries do not give sufficient information availing us of the given rules.

A root-syllable ending in *ρ* can only be preceded by a surd o, when not opened by *h* 2° when the penult contains the same vowel. So *tāgór* is impossible, *tāgór* would be possible, but does not exist: the word meant in v. d. Wall's and Klinkert's dictionaries should be *tāgúr*.

A root-syllable ending in *n* can only contain o when the penult has the same vowel.

In order to avoid mispronunciation of all words written with o in the root-syllable, of which some are to be sounded with clear o, some with surd u, and others with surd o, I give here a list of words containing surd o in the root-syllable with *ā* in the penult. Knowing the rules for clear o and surd u there is no danger for an incorrect pronunciation of all the rest written with o. All of them have the accent on the root-syllable (see *Accent*).

*kāpo<sup>α</sup>* (make a scrubbing noise, scrub)

*kāpo<sup>n</sup>* (word for denoting a clattering sound, as nuts in a box)

*kāto<sup>α</sup>* (knock etc.; *kātú<sup>α</sup>* does not exist)

*kāpo<sup>α</sup>* (cylindric vessel, made of bark for rice etc.)

*kāpo<sup>h</sup>* (full, filled with)

*kābo<sup>α</sup>* (goblet)

- kalo<sup>a</sup>-kale<sup>a</sup> (make all sorts of pretexts)  
 pañkoh (tighten, straiten)  
 pa<sup>a</sup>po-pa<sup>a</sup>po<sup>h</sup> (padlock)  
 jaño<sup>a</sup> (look out with the head put forward, from a window etc.)  
 jañol (appear partly, f. i. the head first)  
 ja<sup>a</sup>goñ (sail-room)  
 ja<sup>a</sup>loh (a tree with medicinal gum)  
 ja<sup>a</sup>ndol (not flat; knobbed; rough, a gem etc.)  
 ca<sup>a</sup>ko<sup>a</sup> (pour a liquid, a medicine in one's throat)  
 ca<sup>a</sup>ko<sup>h</sup> (a medicinal plant)  
 ca<sup>a</sup>lo<sup>a</sup> (feel or grope in a hole etc.)  
 daño<sup>a</sup> (word for denoting a sobbing sound as one kicked etc.)  
 taño<sup>h</sup> (to low, bellow)  
 tañko<sup>a</sup> (neck etc.; no tañku<sup>a</sup>)  
 la<sup>a</sup>ko<sup>a</sup> (a hollow, cavity)  
 lañko<sup>a</sup> (bent, bowed)  
 la<sup>a</sup>co<sup>a</sup> (sound of one treading in limy mud etc.; no la<sup>a</sup>cu<sup>a</sup>)  
 la<sup>a</sup>po<sup>h</sup> (blister caused by burning etc.)  
 sa<sup>a</sup>kot (charms used by thieves)  
 sa<sup>a</sup>po<sup>a</sup> (a measure for rice)  
 sa<sup>a</sup>po<sup>a</sup> (handle indifferently)  
 pa<sup>a</sup>po<sup>a</sup> (put away carelessly)  
 pa<sup>a</sup>ndo<sup>a</sup> (metallic sheathing of a kris)  
 ba<sup>a</sup>co<sup>a</sup> (a fish)  
 ba<sup>a</sup>to<sup>a</sup> (burnt by a caustic; a small fish).

N.B. Monosyllables follow the rules of root-syllables.

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## ACCENT.

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*In a single word.* — Malay accent is not to be identified with that in English, Dutch or German. A peculiar feature of it is its *lack of stress*. Therefore it is difficult to inexperienced ears to make out on which syllable of a word, especially a polysyllabic word, the accent lies. In the mentioned European languages the syllables immediately following and preceding an accented syllable are pronounced very rapidly and therefore indistinctly; nay, in English even the entire rest of the word, if polysyllabic, is sometimes neglected in that manner. The first time I heard an Englishman pronounce the word „governor” I only caught one syllable of it, the accented one: the word sounded in my ears as „gov”! In Malay both syllables of a stem, are pronounced with nearly the same stress. The antepenult however, when immediately preceding an accented syllable, is somewhat indistinct in sound. So *kālīliñ* (around) etc. In a stem the accent lies on the penult, except when this contains *ă*.

A stem lengthened by *one* suffix or particle used as such undergoes a shift of accent towards the new penult, when the accent originally lies on the penult of the stem. So:

*pípi* (cheek) + *ñă* is pronounced *pípí-ñă* etc.

But we must be careful not to make the new penult *longer*

than the preceding syllable. Even when the root-syllable of a stem lengthens its vowel by the addition of a suffix the accent does not become more audible by it <sup>1</sup>).

When the accent lies on the root-syllable, the penult, though pronounced with less stress, yet maintains the full quantity of a short syllable (consonant + short vowel). So the penult of *bālān* (spotted) is quite as long as that of *bīlān* (count). It would be very un-Malay to pronounce the former *blaṇ*. This however is a common mistake among Europeans, especially those of the Germanic race. The skipping long and short, up and down of their speech is as disagreeable to Malays as the placid and well-equilibrated utterance of Malays to Europeans. To them our manner of speaking seems nervous, ergo uncivilised as denoting lack of self-restraint, while theirs sounds dull in our ears.

*In a sentence and in compounds.* The remark we made in the above paragraph about Malay accent in a word might be repeated here concerning the accent in a sentence.

Used in a sentence prepositions and conjunctions are the only words that entirely lose their accent in rapid speech. The word on which the attention is chiefly drawn by the speaker is put forward or an emphasizing particle is used after it; some times both proceedings are simultaneously in practice. So *lah* denotes a wish or an assertion, *kah* asking, *tah* impatience, *pun* repetition or antithesis.

The accent in a sentence in Malay can be compared with

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1) The particles *lah*, *kah* and *tah*, though *written* by Malays as suffixes (connected with the word preceding) really are not; *kan*, mostly written in the same manner, influences the accent as a suffix; of course the preposition *akan*, pronounced *akān* (without accent) in rapid speech, constantly confounded with it in writing, never causes any shift of accent.

that in French, but then accent means *stress* or rather, as it is here, lack of stress: it would be far from the truth to reckon difference of *tone* under that designation: that is considerable in French, insignificant in Malay. I repeat it: Malay speech is dull. The peculiar „singing” tone used by some Batavian natives in speaking Malay is a Sundanese practice, strange to genuine Malay.

In a compound a word only gives up its accent, when the original meaning of the composing parts is lost sight of.

Thus *māta* (eye) + *hāri* (day) meaning together „day”, are pronounced: *mātā’ri*

*dūwa* (two) + *ālāpan* (something taken away) are sounded together:

*dālāpan* (eight, i. e. twice a taking away from ten).

Likewise:

*bālay* (hall) + *ruwān* (apartment) become *balēruwān*, as we already saw before;

*būwat* (make do) + *āpā* (what) give *bātāpā* (how)

*bāpān* (goods, thing, something) + *kālī* (time, turn):

*bāpānkālī* (perhaps);

*māta* (eye), doubled: *mata-māta* (spy, detective).

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## STELLINGEN.

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### I.

*Kāsih* in de beteekenis van geven is Maleisch.

### II.

De vreemde letterschriften zijn eene belemmering voor de studie der Mal.-Pol. talen; rationeele transscriptie is wenschelijk.

### III.

Er zijn in het Maleisch verscheidene Hindustani woorden.

### IV.

De benaming „subjectief-passief” voor de verba met voor-gevoegd *ku* en *kaw* in het Mal. is onjuist. Dit zijn geen passieve vormen.

### V.

De bestaande Mal. woordenboeken zijn zeer gebrekkig, zowel voor uitspraak als voor kritische woordenkeuze.

### VI.

De Maleische woorden *kāday*, *sudah*, *suñi* en *pādā* (op, in enz.) zijn oorspr. Mal.-Pol.

## VII.

't Mal. *kubi's* komt niet van 't Eng. *cabbage*, maar van het Portugeesche *couves*.

## VIII.

Het grondwoord als verbum opgevat heeft een *perfectieve* beteekenis, waaruit zich later ook de *aorist*-beteekenis ontwikkeld heeft; terwijl de vorm met praefix en neusklank een *imperfectieven* zin heeft.

## IX.

De Maleische spelling geeft een slecht beeld van de ware uitspraak der taal, evenals de z.g. litteratuur eene onjuiste voorstelling geeft van het taaleigen.

## X.

Maleische verhalen bevatten dikwijls zinswendingen en uitdrukkingen, die op Arabische wijze gedacht zijn.

## XI.

ᦶᦺᦑᦺ, dat in 't Madureesch als 't Javaansche ᦶᦺᦑᦺᦶᦺᦑᦺ enz. optreedt, is gelijkwoordig met *si*, individualiseert dus als dit.

## XII.

De benaming „accidenteel-passief” is minder juist: 't is een *perfectiefvorm*, die wel eens, evenals het grondwoord, eene aorist-beteekenis kan hebben; maar slechts passief is in zeker verband.

## XIII.

De Mal.-Pol. formatieven *a*, *ha*, *ga*, *ra*, *ja*, *ca*, *sa*, *da*, *ta*, *la*, *na*, *ba*, *pa* en *ma* met hunne bijvormen waren oorspronkelijk demonstratieven, waarvan sommige in 't Maleisch later praeposities zijn geworden.

## XIV.

Ten onrechte verandert Prof. Niemann in Bloemlezing I, blz. 60, r. 13 het سفای der handschr. in مک.

## XV.

In Kañcil (Palmer v. d. Br.), blz. 17 r. 8 moet in pl. v.  
 $\eta\alpha\gamma\epsilon\nu\sigma\tau\omega$  staan  $\eta\alpha\gamma\epsilon\nu\sigma\tau\omega$ .

## XVI.

Ib. blz. 21, r. 11 in pl. v.  $\backslash$   $\overline{\text{am}} \overline{\text{as}} \overline{\text{am}} \overline{\text{am}} \backslash$   $\backslash$   $\overline{\text{am}} \overline{\text{as}} \overline{\text{am}} \overline{\text{am}} \backslash$ .

## XVII.

Het Mal. woord *pāpampūwan* is in beteekenis te vergelijken met het Skr. *bhāryā*.

## XVIII.

Het Mal. en Jav. woord *jam* (uur) is Hindustani *jām*; het Perz. *jām* — glas gaf geboorte aan de beteekenis *klok* (oorspronkelijk = het Fransche *cloche* = bel). Vergelijk *loncen* in 't Maleisch.

## XIX.

De consonanten voorgesteld door *an* en *an* in 't Jav. beantwoorden niet aan de dentale *d* en „linguale” *ḍ* in 't Sanskr., vooral de laatste is zeer verschillend van *an*. In 't Jav. is de eerste der beide voor den Nederlandschen mond het moeilijkste, in 't Sanskr. de laatste.

## XX.

De definitie der verschillende taalsoorten in 't Jav., zooals die door T. Roorda gegeven wordt, is te beperkt.

## XXI.

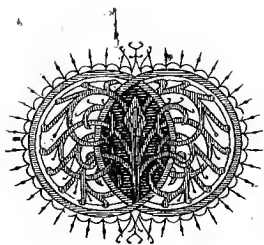
De partikel *an* voor Jav. plaatsnamen wisselt dialectisch met *an* af en heeft dus daar de beteekenis van een demonstrativum en geenszins die eener praepositie.

## XXII.

De Arab. leenwoorden met den vrouwelijken uitgang *ā* worden in 't Maleisch soms uitgesproken, als ware die uitgang *a h*, soms ook *a t*, daarin overeenkomende met de uitspraak aan die woorden in 't Perzisch en Hindustani gegeven.

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LEIDEN: BOEKDRUKKERIJ VAN E. J. BRILL.









