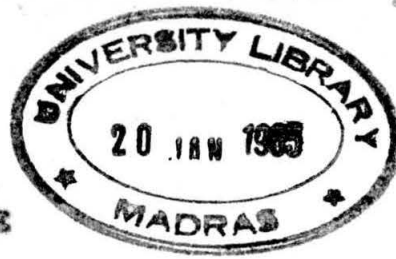


PART I

L A N G U A G E



CHAPTER ONE

SANSKRIT IN THE PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES (1)

CLASSIFICATION

I.11. Introductory. The languages of the Philippines as they are now known are a closely related group of speeches that belong to the great family of languages called Malayo-Polynesian.¹ This family extends to include the languages of all the islands between the east of Asia and the west coast of America south of the 30th degree N latitude, except Papua and Australia. It also includes the languages spoken in the Malay Peninsula in the southeastern end of the Asian continent, and the speeches in the island of Madagascar just off the east coast of Africa.²

¹Cr., H. Wilfred Walker, Wanderings Among the Savages, p. 86: "Many evenings, when I had finished my work, I would get Vic to teach me the Pampanga dialect, and wrote down a large vocabulary, and when some years afterwards, I compared word for word with other languages and dialects throughout the Malay archipelago, I found out with few exceptions there was not the slightest affinity between them..."

²Frank R. Blake, "Contributions to Comparative Philippine Grammar," JAOS, xxvii, 2, p. 317-96. Also, A. Meillet and Marcel Cohen, Les Langues du Monde, p. 649, et seq.

The inter-influence of all the languages of these widely spread islands is believed to have been caused by the waves of culture movement in the various periods of man's history in these regions. These waves may be roughly divided into three great divisions to which correspond the three grand groups of M-P languages: Polynesian, Melanesian and Malay. The Malay group under which the Philippine languages fall as a sub-group has been recently called Indonesian.³ The Philippine sub-group comprises the Formosan, Batan, Tagalog, Iloko, Bikol, Bisaya, Ibanag, Igorot, Magindanaw, Maranao, Tinguian, Sulu, Sambal, etc. Other islands outside the Philippine territory but whose languages are classified under the Philippine group are Dadayag, Palau, Sangirese and Talaud, Bantín, Bentenan, Bolaang-Mongondow, Tombo-lo-Tonsea-Tondao sub-group and Tontemboan-Tonsawang sub-group which actually belong to the greater Indonesian group.⁴

W. E. Retana, a Spanish scholar, wrote that there are twenty-five languages in the Philippines.⁵ In 1899,

³Vide R. Brandstetter, Introduction to Indonesian Linguistics; and J. Gonda, Sanskrit in Indonesia, part 1.

⁴Vide Linguistic Map, in Gonda, ibid., facing p. 1.

⁵Lenguas de Filipinas ("Prologo" to his Ed. of F. Combes, Historia de Mindanao y Jolo, Madrid, 1897).

MAJOR CULTURAL-LINGUISTIC GROUPS





I LUZON

-  ILOKO
-  APAYAO
-  TINGGIAN
-  KALINGA
-  IBANAG
-  BONTOK
-  IFUGAO
-  KANKANAÏ
-  IBALOI
-  ILONGOT
-  PANGASINAN
-  SAMBAL
-  PAMPANGAN
-  TAGALOG
-  BIKOL









II MINDORO

-  TAGALOG
-  IRAYA
-  ALANGAN
-  NAUHAN
-  BATANGAN
-  TAGAYDAN
-  BANGON
-  PULA
-  BUHID
-  HANUNOO
-  BATAGNON
-  HILIGAYNON

III BISAYAN ISLANDS








-  SAMAR LEYTE
-  SUGBUANON (CEBUANO)
-  HILIGAYNON
-  AKLAN

IV PALAWAN (CUYO & CAGAYANCILLO IS.)


-  KUYONON
-  SULANGANEN-TABANAN
-  TANDULANEN-TASHANAWA
-  BATAK
-  TAGBANAWA
-  PALAWAN
-  KE-NEY
-  TIRO [TAW-SUG, SAMAL, BAJAU]

V MINDANAO & SULU

-  MORO [TAW-SUG, SAMAL, BAJAU]
-  SUGBUANON
-  SUBANON
-  MARANAO (MORO)
-  MAGINDANAO (MORO)
-  TIRURAY
-  DULANGAN (COTABATO-MANOBO)
-  TAGABILI
-  BILAAN
-  KULAMAN (MANOBO-SARANGANI)

-  TAGAKAULO
-  BAGOBO
-  ATA
-  MANGGUANGAN
-  MANOBO [AGUSAN, DINABAO & OTHERS]
-  BUKIDNON
-  MANDAYA

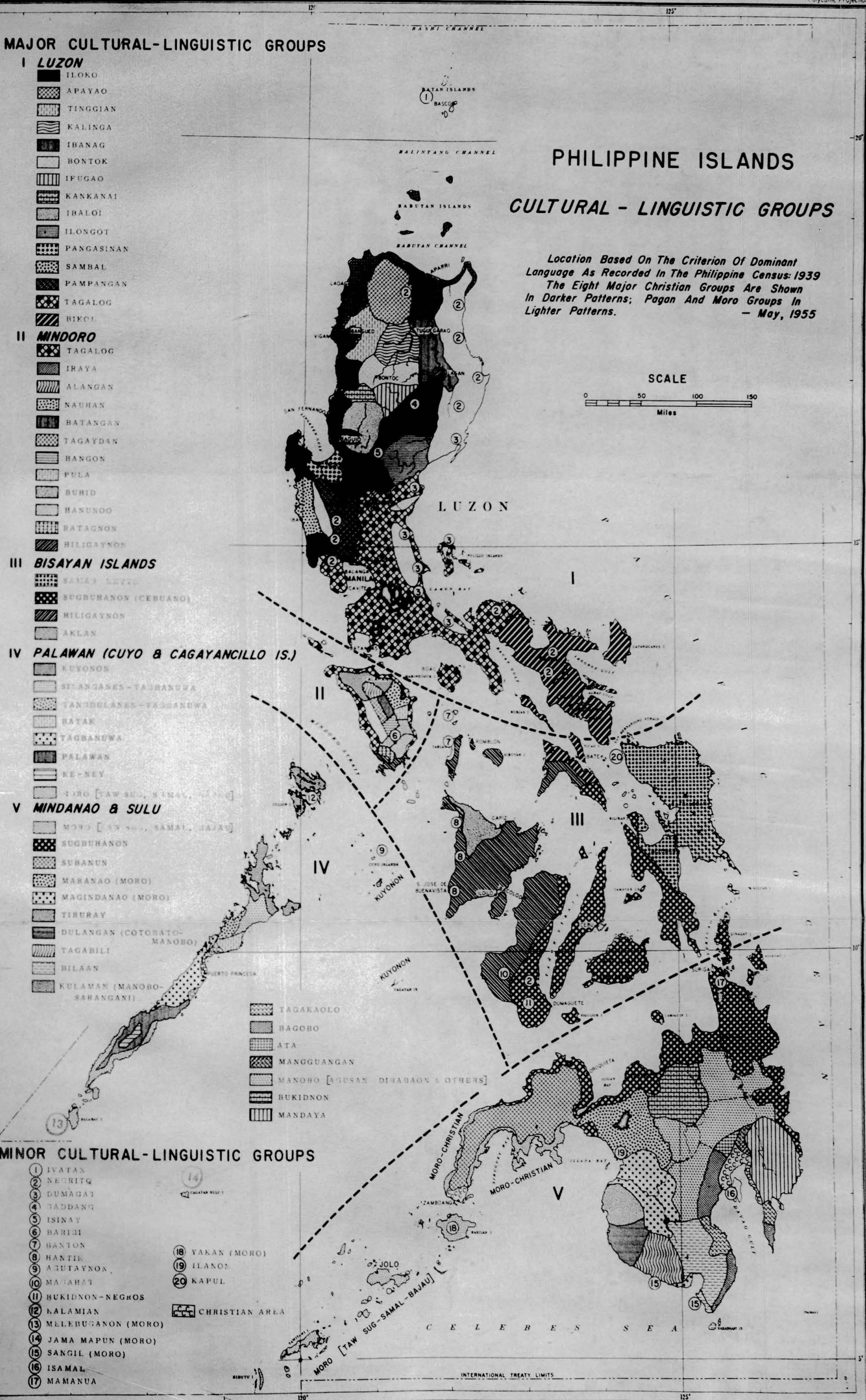
MINOR CULTURAL-LINGUISTIC GROUPS

- ① IVATAN
- ② NEGRIQ
- ③ DUMAGAT
- ④ TADDANG
- ⑤ ISINAY
- ⑥ BARISI
- ⑦ BANTON
- ⑧ HANTIK
- ⑨ AGUTAYNON
- ⑩ MAGAHAT
- ⑪ BUKIDNON-NEGROS
- ⑫ KALAMIAN
- ⑬ MELEBUGANON (MORO)
- ⑭ JAMA MAPUN (MORO)
- ⑮ SANGIL (MORO)
- ⑯ ISAMAL
- ⑰ MAMANUA
- ⑱ YAKAN (MORO)
- ⑲ ILANON
- ⑳ KAPUL
-  CHRISTIAN AREA

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS CULTURAL - LINGUISTIC GROUPS

Location Based On The Criterion Of Dominant
Language As Recorded In The Philippine Census: 1939
The Eight Major Christian Groups Are Shown
In Darker Patterns; Pagan And Moro Groups In
Lighter Patterns.
— May, 1955

SCALE



Ferdinand Blumentritt wrote that there are thirty,⁶ and in the early years of the present century, the Society of Jesus in its El Archipelago Filipino mentioned the number of languages in the Islands to exceed fifty.⁷ The latest notice of the number spoken and known languages in the Islands is found in the Philippine Studies Programme series. There are seventy-six (vide Linguistic Map).⁸

A glance at the linguistic map will immediately reveal the comparative distribution of the languages and dialects in so small a territory. However, many the languages are, they have characteristics common to each, which nevertheless are not within the compass of this thesis to discuss. However, it may be mentioned that these languages have been divided into three groups, which F. R. Blake⁹ calls Northern,¹⁰ Central,¹¹

⁶"List of Native Tribes of the Philippines and the Languages Spoken by Them", Smithsonian Inst. Ann. Rep., 1909.

⁷Cited in JACS, xxvii, 2.

⁸F. Lynch, "Social Class in Bicol Town", Research Series No. 1, PSP. Linguistic Cultural Map. Cf. Fred Eggan, et al, Area Handbook on the Philippines, I, p. 323: There are "...75 main linguistic groups..."

⁹JACS, xxvii and xxviii.

¹⁰The principal languages of Northern Luzon and the Islands to the North: Batan, Ibanag, Iloko, Pang. and Igt. languages or dialects in the Mountain Province.

¹¹Tag., Bik., and Bis.

and Southern¹² groups. Pampanga, which lies between the Northern and Central groups, partakes of the peculiarities of both.

The most common feature of the Phil. languages, however, is their power of verbalizing almost anything: noun, pronoun, numeral, adverb, and even whole phrases. The words they borrow (particularly in Tag., the most developed of the Phil.) are usually treated as roots and follow thereby the various processes of nominal and verbal derivations. Cases are found and observed that the borrowed word is sometimes regarded as a derivative, "and a hypothetical root is abstracted from it."¹³

These languages, furthermore, approach the inflective stage of development although they are agglutinative.¹⁴ By this agglutinative character, it is evident that while the Sanskrit language had helped in the enrichment of the Phil., it did not affect their grammatical structures, just as it did not alter the syntactical systems of the Indonesian (Jav., Bat., etc.) and Mal.

¹²Mag., Mar. comprise the Southern Group. Bagobo and Sulu are isolated from Mag. and Mar., the latter of the two being more like the Mal. than any other Phil.

¹³F. R. Blake, "Sans. Loan-words in Tag.", JHUC, xxi, 163, p. 64.

¹⁴Cf. A. F. Chamberlain, "Phil. Studies III: The Tagal Language," American Antiquarian, xxiii, 2, p. 45.

languages,¹⁵ which had a much longer contact with Sanskrit.

1.12. On the evidence of Sans. inscriptions found in Champa, Cambodia, Siam, Malaya,¹⁶ and the Indonesian archipelago, it presupposes that antecedent to the earliest inscriptions, the Sans. language already was known to a point whereby the inscribers had become masters of the complex ramifications of the language. It is proved beyond doubt that a number of these inscriptions, whether grants or prasastis, were not in prose but in verse, and that the various Sans. metres were employed extensively.¹⁷

¹⁵Cf. Reinhold Rost. "Malay Language and Literature," JRAS-SB, 15, p. 93-101; Wm. Marsden, "On the Traces of Hindu Language and Literature Extant Among the Malays", Asiatick Researches, iv, p. 224, et seq. (Vide also, Asiatick Researches, iii, p. 10.) In this paper, notice of the Sans. influences on the East Asian region was first made (1792). Vide, Brandstetter, op. cit., p. 327.

Indeed, the view (vide, Saleeby-2, p. 25) that "the Malayan Philippine languages are branches of an Indian Aryan Stem" is unacceptable. This would then lead to the concept that the Phil. partake of the Aryan inflective and declensional characteristics, which is not so. If they did, then it would logically follow that Mal. and Jav. would partake of similar characteristics.

¹⁶G. Coedès ("Les Inscriptions Malaises de Crivijaya", BEFEO, xxx, p. 65-80) gives a lexical list of words used in the 4 inscrip. of Crivijaya in Mal. In this list, a number of Sans. loan-words in the Phil. are found. These are referred to in the subsequent pages and identified in the footnotes as IM plus the inscrip. and line no. according to Coedès.

¹⁷Vide Barth, Bergaigne, Vogel, Majumdar, etc.

However, it is not ill-considered in the present chapter to note that even in the voluminous literatures - whether of indigenous or foreign themes inclusive of Indian - in the South East Asian countries Sanskrit preponderates. Sir R. O. Winstedt,¹⁸ following the suggestions of a paper published in 1792,¹⁹ made a short but very cogent survey of the relative number of Sanskrit elements in the Mal. literature. "When even a cursory analysis does, how is it that a thousand years' contact with Hindu India still has in all fields other than Muslim theology, a wider influence than Islam on the Malay vocabulary (and literature)?"²⁰ Though the Indian "colonists" perhaps have undoubtedly spoken their local languages, e.g., Tamil, it was Sans. that primarily enriched the local languages, contributing a large amount of words which are still in use in the localities where the Sri Vijaya empire held sway.²¹

It is of interest also that even taking haphazardly twenty pages of each of the ten works in manuscripts,

¹⁸"Sans. in Mal. Literature," BSOAS, xx, p. 599, et seq.

¹⁹Asiatick Researches, iii, 1792, p. 10, et seq.

²⁰Winstedt, loc. cit.

²¹Cf. Nilakantha Sastri, Sri Vijaya, p. 10.

Sir Richard arrived at the conclusion that Sans. words have a ratio of 45 words to one Arabic on the whole. One literary work, the Damar Bulan (No. 1 in his list), which seems to show an indigenous title, has 130 Sans. words in contrast to only ten Arabic. In analogy with this haphazard survey, it may safely be said that the Ojav., in which the earliest Jav. literature was written, was very much Sanskritized.²² Furthermore, the present Bahasa Indonesia still betrays the Sanskrit sources of its religious and literary vocabulary.

The languages of Ancient Champā, Cambodia and Siam - countries which for centuries after Christ had enjoyed the influencing power of India - are doubtless not without the influence of Sans. The Sans. used in their inscriptions and probably in their literatures, was comparatively a perfected language, judging from their knowledge of Sans. metrics. Moreover, it is to the credit of Śrī Vijaya that Sans. studies became widespread in South East Asia, for it was the centre of these studies in the Archipelago in ancient times to which the famous Chinese Buddhist monk, I-Tsing, advised his fellow Chinese Buddhist monks pro-

²²vide JRAS, xiii, p. 42, et seq.; also Raffles, 1, Chapter VIII.

ceeding to India on pilgrimage to sojourn for a year or two, in order that they may acquire mastery of the language, and minimize the language difficulties when they reached India. Gabriel Ferrand²³ rightly observes: "Such advice (to his fellow monks) by a Chinese monk who speaks with full knowledge of facts, has had evident significance for us. The teaching of Sanskrit and the interpretation of Buddhist texts were organized (in Śrī Vijaya) with such care, method, and knowledge, that the reputation of the masters of Śrī Vijaya led to their being preferred to those of India proper by a Chinese Buddhist so eminent as I-Tsing."

1.13. With the exception of ancient Champā, Cambodia and Siam, the Malay Peninsula and the Indonesian Archipelago shall be taken as springboards of the Sans. words in their "exodus" to the Philippines. Thus, it is clear that the Sans. loan-words in the Philippine languages did not reach the Islands directly; and that this indirect introduction is apparently via Indonesia and Malaya.

The introduction of Sans., minus its grammatical structure (its phonetic structure adopting itself to that of the borrowing Phil. languages) can not be earlier than

²³JA, 11e Serie, t. xx (1922), p. 1-104, 161-246.

the coming of the Hindu "colonists" either in the South East Asian mainland or in the Indonesian archipelago. It is not, however, later than the earliest Sans. inscriptions discovered in these regions. It has been already proved that the coming of these Hindus was not in the nature of conquest, but in the nature of commerce and traffic.²⁴ Hence, the impact of Indian culture was not sudden, but it was a slow process of building up the culture through the efforts of the Brahman priests who came with the merchants. This slow but enduring process created a new culture synthesized from both the indigenous and the foreign. In the words of K. A. Nilakantha Sastri,²⁵ it may be noted that "when two cultures, originally independent, come into contact, and this contact is sustained for a period sufficiently long, there always emerges a new culture which draws sustenance from both the original cultures, and yet perceptibly differs from them. Such is the result of the further spread of Hindu influences from South India across the seas to the Malay Peninsula, Archipelago, and Indo-China. ..."

²⁴Cf. Vogel, Bijdragen, lxxiv, p. 192. Also, Crawford, History of the Indian Archipelago, ii, p. 107-11.

²⁵"Sanskrit Learning in the Cola Empire", JOR-Madras, xi, 1, p. iii.

Thus, the Indian culture reached the Philippines in a very altered form - a form no longer purely Indian in character. So that, it is not surprising that very faint vestiges of Indian culture as such could be found in the Philippines. Furthermore, attempts to show Indian cultural influences had been comparatively frustrated by the meagreness of archaeological finds (and the lack of inscriptions) which alone would finally show the extent and depth of these influences.

Going back to the modified character of this culture that came to the Islands, even during the exodus of this culture within the original springboard, e.g., its migration to the Island of Bali from Java, some changes and modifications in Sans. vocabulary had already taken place.²⁶

Presently, the Sans. loan-words in the Phil. languages which were collected during the period of research will now be listed. These words listed for scrutiny in the subsequent sections belong to the field of thought and activity in which they had exerted influence on the people, and from which may be seen the effect of these words upon

²⁶R. Friederich, "An Account of Bali," JRAS, viii, p. 163.

the religious beliefs of the people, their social life, their government and administration, the operation of their minds, their commerce and economic life, their arts, etc. These words include also, to some extent, the nomenclature of the flora and fauna.²⁷

1.2 SANSKRIT LOAN-WORDS IN THE PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES

1.21. Names of Plants, and other terms pertaining to the flora. In the whole length of the Islands, Sulu alone uses a borrowed word for "seed": biji, "seed, grain" with a var. bigi, "stone of a fruit" (< Sans. bija, var. bliaka).²⁸ The Sans. mūla, "root, beginning," is found in Ilk. mūla and Mar. mola to mean "plant" or "to plant" in formatives; while in Tag. and So. Mang., mula,²⁹ has for its meaning the same as the Sans. (cf. Mag., nula, "plant"). Not one of the intervening languages show the word to mean "plant" or its verbal form. But cf. Mar.

²⁷Cf. J. R. Logan, The Languages of the Indian Archipelago, p. 5-7. Vide also, Gonda, loc. cit.

²⁸Mal. biji; Jav., wiji, wijah; Bat. and Mak. bija; Bug. wija, "grain, seed, etc."

²⁹IM-III, 6; IV, 2 (mūlaña). In Mag., Saleeby (-2) believes that kayu, "tree" is Sans. kaya, "trunk of a tree". This seems doubtful for the intervening languages do not possess the word.

verbal form pe-mola (< mula, "commencement, principle, origin, cause," Mag. mula, "id."), "to plant, to raise", whose prefix pe- shows affinity with the Mal. prefix used to form a verb from a substantive.

Of the part of a plant, among the major languages treated in this thesis (Tag., Bik., Bis., Ilk.), sanga, "branch of a tree" is universal, but it is somewhat mutilated on being borrowed by the minor dialects proximate to these major ones, e.g., Igt., which is proximate or more appropriately contiguous to Ilk., has paŋga, "id."; and Tagi. which is a neighbor to Bis., has haŋga. Dib. Mand. which is in the neighborhood of Bis. in north Mindanao, and So. Mang. and Tagb. proximate to both Tag. and Bis. have the unchanged sanga. Pamp. has sanga. T. H. Pardo de Tavera³⁰ assumes this to be Sans. aṅga, "member", but it is more likely that the word may have its origin in the Sans. sākhā, "branch of a tree". Bik. has another name for this part of the tree, saka, which to all appearances is from the Sans. word just mentioned.³¹

H. Kern derives the Tag. līhà, "streep, lijn, reep-je"³² (which is more appropriately "each division of an

³⁰Tavera.

³¹Cr. Mal. angga, "branch of a tree" < Sans. aṅga, "member."

³²Kern-1, p. 268.

orange fruit") from Sans. lekha (lekha?), "ray, line" (Pkt. lekha). Pamp., So. Mang. and Ilk. have li-a, "id."; Tagb. has liga, "division (of fruit)."

Tag. sampaka < Sans. campaka, "michelia campaka, L" is a "garden plant with a yellow fragrant flower."³³ Bis., Bik. and Ilk. sampaga is the "jasmin - Jasminum sambac" which in Tag. is the Sampaguíta, whose popular etymology is from the Spanish "diminutization" of terms to denote beauty, fragrance, etc. (-ita, Sp. fem. diminutive suffix), Mal. champaka, "michelia champaka", var. chepaka. Ilk. kasumba < Sans. kusumbha, "the safflower - Cartamus tinctorius, L" is in Bis. and Tag. kasubha, "id." (Mal. kasumba).

Bis. has gansuli, "a plant" which H. Kern³⁴ derives from Sans. karcūra, "a kind of turmeric,³⁵ or orpiment," but whose identity is unascertainable in the botanical lexicons.

The same is true of Bis. balanti, "a plant" < Sans. vāsantī, "name of various plants - Gaertnara racemosa, Bignonia suaveolens," and H. Kern adds "jasmin".³⁶ Simi-

³³ Known in ancient India. Vide Umrao Singh, "Plants in Ancient India", The Botanica, ix, 3-4 (U. of Delhi).

³⁴ Kern-2, p. 282.

³⁵ Turmeric, "an east Indian plant of the ginger family."

³⁶ ibid., p. 287.

larly, Bis. kodyana, kadyapa, "a garden plant" < Sans. kacchapa, "Cedrela toona, L."³⁷ seems doubtful.

Of the various spices known in India, three are known in the Philippines. They have Sans. names: Tag. lasoná, Ilk. lasuná, Tagb. kesuna, lansoná', "onion" (also "garlic" in Tagb.) < Sans. lasuna, rasuna,³⁸ "one of the ten kinds of onions, garlic"; Bis. malisa, Mar. marisa, "pepper, black pepper" < Sans. marica, "pepper, a kind of occimum"³⁹ and Tag. ganda, "garlic, allium sativum," which Pardo de Tavera derives from Sans. gandha (gandha), "fragrant substance, perfumed." H. Kern writes that Bis. ganda is "a kind of plant of the onion family" < Sans. kanda, "tuber, garlic, a bulbous tuberous root."⁴⁰ This latter derivation may be more likely than the former. Mar. which is nearest the intermediate localities has lasona, "garlic", exactly the same as the Sans.

In the vegetable group, there are a few with Sans. names. Tag. patóla, "a cucurbitacea - Cucurbitaceous acutangulus,"⁴¹ which may be the Sans. patola, "a species of

³⁷ibid., p. 283.

³⁸allium ascalonicum, Allium cepa, L. Vide Singh, loc. cit. The latter is known in Vedic times as Al. sativum.

³⁹Piper nigrum.

⁴⁰ibid., p. 282.

⁴¹Another species (INL Vocabulary) of the same name, patóla, is a herbaceous vine bearing elongated 10-angled fruits (Lux acutangula, R.).

small cucumber - *Trichosanthes dioecia*⁴² and Sulu lābū, "gourd, pumpkin" < Sans. alābū, alābū, "bottle gourd - *Lagenaria vulgaris*, Ser."

Two genera of cotton have been found in the Philippines which have names derived from Sans. They are used side by side with the native Tag. name būlak, "cotton." The *Gossypium herbaceum* is quite widely distributed: Sulu kāpas, Bis. gāpas, Ilk. kāpas, Bik. gāpós, Igt. kāpos, Pang. kāpas, Mag., Mar., Dib. Mand. and Tagb. gāpas < Sans. kārpāsa (Hindi kāpas, Pkt. kappasa),⁴³ while the *Occimum* in its various species is found in Tag. and Pamp. only (sulási < Sans. tūla, "cotton").⁴⁴

The fruit bearing tree, Tag. and Ilk. naranghita, "a species of orange" which obviously has been borrowed from Sp. naranja (naranjita, dim. form), "orange" shows a long journey from the Indian mainland. Nāraṅga may have been introduced in Sp. through trade either in early Christian times or in the post Middle Ages as it is in the extensive trade between India and Europe. Tag. sirí-

⁴²Known in the Agni Purāṇa, Ch. 285 (Singh, loc. cit.)

⁴³Mal. kaspas (Favre), Jav., Sund., and Day. kapas; Min. kapeh, Bat. hapas, Mak. kapassa, Ach. gapes, Rot. abas.

⁴⁴Mal. selaseh, sulási, "species of the basilicum - *Occimum vasilicum*," Mak. tolasi, Jav. selashi, telasi. Known in the Yajur Veda, 3, 51 (Singh, loc. cit.).

sa and Ilk. sarisa, "a tree which bears small cherry-like fruits, with small seeds and whose leaves close at nighttime," may be the Sans. sirisa, "Mimosa Sirissa, Acacia Sirissa." But, this name is still subject to verification in the list of plant names in Ilk. and Tag.

Trees of various economic importance and named with Sans. appellations are also found in the Islands. These names are more or less confined in Tag. and Bis.: Tag. naga, "a plant, or tree - Pterocarpus pallidus (T)" but which may be identified with Pt. indicus; Bis. naga, "a large tree having fragrant flowers (K)." Pardo de Tavera derives this name from Sans. nāga, "Mesua ferrea" and H. Kern⁴⁵ from "Mesua Roxburghii." Except for the species Pt. indicus, which shows that the tree is certainly Indian in origin, the derivations of both Kern and Pardo de Tavera are far from acceptable, as indicated by the divergent botanical identifications, although the genus of such plants demonstrate their identity. Another tree whose name has been derived from Sans. tālisa, "a tree (T)" is Tag. talisay, "a shade tree - Terminalia catappa, L". Pardo de Tavera writes that the Sans. is Terminalia latifolia. But the identification is very doubtful, for the

⁴⁵Kern-2, p. 284.

Sans. lexicons do not yield this term (talisa).

Tag. lagundi, "a plant - *Vitex trifoliata*, L. or *Vitex repens*, Bl. (T) and Bis. lagundi, "a certain tree from which medicine is made" may be the same tree as the Sans. nirgundi, "*Vitex negundo*."⁴⁶ Tag. sandana, "a perfumed wood used for incense - *Tala odorata*, Per. (T), Bis. sandana, "a kind of odoriferous tree (K)" and So. Mang. sandana, "sandalwood" are definitely the Sans. candana, "the sandal tree - *Sirium myrtifolium*". It may be through the Mal. that the word is borrowed: chendana, "sandal tree" or the Jav. chendana, "id."

The Bis. sala, "a kind of a large tree" has been derived by H. Kern⁴⁷ from Sans. sāla, "*Shorea robusta*," but may be also the "tall stately tree - *Vatica robusta*", which is more likely.

Names of products derived from the flora are also of Sans. origins. Tag. galá-galá, "plant resin, a mixture of resin and lime used in stopping holes or for caulking ships" and Mar. gala, "plaster, gum" < Sans. gala, "resin from *Shorea robusta* (T)". Cf. however, Sans. guggula, "gum, resin, bdellium, wax, tar, a kind of resin for caulking."

⁴⁶Also, Mal. légundi, "*Vitex trifoliata*, L." Known the Garuda Purāna, Ch. 169 (Singh, loc. cit.).

⁴⁷Kern-2, p. 285.

ing boats">Mak. galagala, "id."

The Mar. gola, "sugar" (and Bis. and Ilk. guleman, "sweet jelly") is perhaps the Sans. gula, "raw or unrefined sugar" from any sugar-producing plant (>Jav. gula, "sugar").

Sulu gotah, var. gatah, "gum, gutta percha" (Tag. and Bis. gata, Ilk. getta, "juice, esp. coconut juice") shows a rather doubtful derivation from the Sans. guda, "sugar which forms itself into lumps."⁴⁸ If it is not OInd., the Mak. gutta may be the intermediate form.

Tag. lakha, var. laksa, "gum shellac, lacquer, red resin for dyeing (T)", Bis. lakha, "gum shellac," Mar. laka, "gum, resin" come from Sans. laksā, "lac obtained from the cochineal or a similar insect as well as from the resin of a particular plant or tree," var. laka probably through the OJav. laka, "id."

Other products obtained from plants are Tag. suka, Ilk., Bik., So. Mang., suka, Sulu, sukak', Bis. suka, and Mar. soka, "vinegar," which is certainly the Sans. cukra, "vinegar, made of acetuous fermentation." The introduction of the word may be through Mal. chuka, "id." (Sund. chuka).

⁴⁸Cf. Mal. and Sund. getah, Bat. gota, Mak. gutta, "id."

1.22. Names of Animals, and other terms pertaining to the fauna. The elephant's name - Tag. and Bis. gadya, Sulu gajah, and Ilk. gadia - is already obsolete except its being used as a family name,⁴⁹ particularly among the Tag. and Ilk. speaking people. Obviously, it is the Sans. gaja, "id."⁵⁰ The Sulu form corresponds phonetically to the Mal. gajah, which may be the intermediate form of the word before it reached the islands.

"Deer or antelope" is known by just one name from Northern Luzon to Sulu in the South. Ilk. in the north has ugsa, which is borrowed by the proximate or contiguous tribal languages: Igt. ugsa, and CChNeg. ugtaq; Tagb. usa, Tag., Bis. and Dib. Mand. usa, Bik. osa, Pang. ulsa, and MVNeg. u'isa, this last being borrowed probably through Tag. which ^{is} a contiguous major language. It must have been borrowed from Sans. ṛṣya, through the Mal. rusa, "id." (Mak. and Bat. ursa).

"A sort of fish" or merely "fish" is mamsá in Bis., which ^{is} used in the sense "fishmeat".⁵¹ So. Mang. has mam-

⁴⁹Vide §1.323, infra. "Names of Families".

⁵⁰Bat., Day., Sund. gaja, Jav. gajah. Vide Johannes Rahder, "The Elephant in South East Asian Languages", Liebhenthal Festschrift (Sino-Indian Studies, v, part 3-4, Santiniketan), p. 171-173. Vide also Crawford, Dictionary.

⁵¹Kern-2, p. 284.

sa, "a large fish, very light in colour, or white," which may have been borrowed from Bis. or vice versa. Cf. Tagb. mansâ, "hatch (eggs), v." It may be the Sans. māṃsa, "flesh". Cf. however, Mal. mangsa, "prey (of beast),"⁵² and Mal. mangsa, "flesh."⁵³

In the aves family, there is Sans. hansa, "goose" which is distributed in the three geographical divisions of the archipelago: Ilk., Pang. and Bik. gansó, Tag. gansa - in Luzon; Bis. gansa, var. gangsa (all dialects) - in the Bisayan Islands; and Mar. ganso - in Mindanao: all mean both the "goose" and the "gander". It is probable that the word arrived in the Islands earlier than the 16th century, and therefore unlikely to have been introduced through the Sp. ganso, "id." Mal. has the forms cited above, e.g., hangsa, gangsa, angsa, "id." (Jav. ongsa, Sund. gangsa).

Among the Phil. languages, Mar. alone calls "the large bird of the eagle species, the vulture": garoda <Jav. garuda, "the eagle": Mal. garuda or geruda, "Viṣṇu's eagle" < Sans. garuda, "a mythical bird of the eagle species, the yāhana of Viṣṇu," Tag. has a native name for this

⁵² Winstedt, "An Unabridged Malay-English Dictionary, p. 209.

⁵³ W. C. Maxwell, "New Light in the Malayan Language," JRAS-MB, xiv, 2, p. 104.

species, lavin,⁵⁴ used side by side with Sp. aguila.

Sans. ruru, "dog" seems to have been borrowed in Mag. and Sulu, uru, "dog", according to N. M. Saleeby.⁵⁵ But uru is not verifiable in Mal. and Jav.

Tag. palapati, "dove, pigeon," Cur. Tag. and Ilk. kalapati, Bis. salapati, "id." Pardo de Tavera derives the Tag. from Sans. pārāvata, "pigeon" and H. Kern⁵⁶ shows that it is from Sans. parapati, "turtle dove". The latter's derivation is perhaps much closer to the Tag. than the former's. It is likely that the Sans. parapati is the origin of the Phil. word (cf. Mal. pērapati, "pigeon, dove"). Sans. māya, "Illusion, possessing vision" <Tag. māya, "bird", Bis. māya, "the sparrow, which in poetry, is the pièce de comparaison concerning passing fancies or illusions."⁵⁷

"A certain species of bee" is called in Bis. pusu-nagta, which has been derived from Sans. puspanikṣa, "a

⁵⁴Also used to call the "kite" or "hawk". Vide National Language-English Dictionary, INL, p. 98.

⁵⁵Saleeby-2.

⁵⁶Kern-2, p. 286.

⁵⁷Connected with the Aves family is "nest". In native Tag. it is pugad beside nido <Sans. nīda. Cf., however, Latin nidus > Sp. nido. Tag. may have borrowed the word nido from the Sp.

bee"⁵⁸ It is, however, a very doubtful derivation for the Bis. defies identification.

Sans. liksā, "louse" > Tag. lisa, Ilk. lis-a, Bis. losa, So. Mang. li'ós, and Tagb. li'ús. Cf. this word with Tagb. luksô, "flea". The name seems to derive from the characteristic of the insect, which is continuously jumping: luksô, "to jump, jumping".

Two words phonetically closely related are used to designate the "ant" in Bis.: hapila and pipila. The former is found in the Diccionario Bisaya-Espanol of de la Encarnacion which Kern used in his list.⁵⁹ The latter was found (by the present writer) in the English-Tagalog-Visayan Dictionary,⁶⁰ and fig. means "few". It is the Sans. pipila, "an ant".

Tag. and Ilk. laksá, "a species of vermicelli" < Sans. laksā, "small worms that give colouring materials". Bis. lipaka, "a sort of swelling caused by a gnat-bite" < Sans. paripāka, "ripe, mature, the result or consequence". Apparently, the Sans. paripāka does not have a form in the Mal. and Jav. languages. Hence the derivation does not seem convincing.

⁵⁸Kern-2, p. 285.

⁵⁹ibid., p. 281.

⁶⁰Jacobo Enriquez, et al, editors. Manila, 1949.

In the reptile family, there is Sans. nāga, "serpent" > Bis. nāga, "id.", but Mar. nāga, "dragon", which may have been derived through Jav. naga, "a large serpent, dragon" or Mal. naga, "dragon, mythical serpent". The same species of this family is known in Tag. as ahas (cf. Sulu haas), which Tavera has derived from the Sans. ahi, ahī, "snake, serpent." However, intervening forms are absent. Moreover, it is known only (?) in the RV as such. Therefore, Pardo de Tavera's derivation lends itself to doubt.

The "river snake", as Pardo de Tavera calls it but which is more likely the "python", is sawa, and has been derived by him from Sans. sattva, "a wild animal, beast" (> Mal. satwa, "wild animal"). This is rather very doubtful identification. While Mal. has satwa, it seems improbable to show that Tag. sawa is Sans. sattva with Mal. as the intervening form. But, cf. Sans. sarpa, "serpent, snake" > Pkt. sappa, which perhaps develops further into savva > sauva > sava. A Pkt. medium through which the Tag. was derived may be assumed if sawa, which is OInd.,⁶¹ is Sans. Cf. this with the other Mal. term, sawa, "python" and BhInd. (ular) sawa, "id."

⁶¹Jav. Rām., xxv, 30.

Beside the native word for poison, kamandag, in Tag., is bisa < Sans. visa, "poison, venom, anything active." Sulu bisa, "deadly, poisonous, noxious". Bis., Tagb. and Mar. have bisa, which has the same meaning as Tag. Cf. Mal. bisa, "venom, venomous", OJav. wisa (also Sund., Bat., Mak., etc.). Side by side with Bis. bisa is lala, "venom", which H. Kern⁶² shows with reserve that it is Sans. lālā, "spittle, saliva."

1.3. CLASSIFICATION OF SANSKRIT LOAN-WORDS
IN THE PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES PERTAIN-
ING TO MAN AND HIS WORKS

1.31. Words pertaining to the Human Body, its parts, ailments, clothing, ornaments, scents. Starting from the topmost part of the body, the hair, particularly the "curly hair" in Tag. and Ilk. is kulót, and CONeg. (probably a borrowing from the contiguous Ilk.) kulót, "curl of the hair" < Sans. kurula, "a curl or lock of hair." The Sans. is believed to be a loan-word.⁶³ The state of being "bald-headed" is in Tag. kalbo < Sans. kulva, "id." Cf., however, Latin calvo > Sp. calvo, which

⁶²Kern-2, p. 283.

⁶³F. B. J. Kuiper, "Proto-Munda words in Sanskrit," Verhandelings,^{en} li, 3, p. 13.

may be the origin of the Tag.

The "face" in Phil. languages takes three forms, and these may have been derived from Sans., except one which more or less has a meaning in the figurative-referential sense. Tag. mukhâ, So. Mang. moka⁶⁴ and CONeg. mukaat, "face" < Sans. mukha, "id." (Mal. and Jav. muka, Sund. mukha).

Ilk. rûpa,⁶⁵ "face" < Sans. rûpa, "likeness, image, reflection." Inib. lûpa. Pang. and Pamp. lûpa, "face", also "features" in Pang. Sulu (in) lûpâ, "seemingly" and Mar. rûpa, "colour" more or less retain the idea expressed in Sans. But, cf. these forms with Mag. lupa, "form" which apparently retained the Sans. meaning: rûpa, "form, shape" (> Jav. and Mal. rûpa, "form, appearance, looks"). Ilk. lângâ, "countenance, form, mark, appearance, facial features or expression" < Sans. lînga, "form, sign". The last meaning in Ilk. refers to the "face".

N. M. Saleeby⁶⁶ includes in his list of Mag. vocabulary a word which he believes to be derived from Sans. The word for "tongue", dîla, according to him is Sans. lîdha, "licked, tasted" (> Jav. and Mal. lîdah, "id.").

⁶⁴cf. So. Mang. muklat, "opening of the eyes."

⁶⁵IM-II, 12 (rûpa).

⁶⁶Saleeby-2.

The Mag. word is also found in the other Phil. languages: Ilk., Tag., Pang., Pamp., etc., dilà, "id."

Abbé Favre lists hapala, "head" in his Grammaire Javanaise⁶⁷ to be Bis. in comparison with Jav. and Mal. kapala, "head" < Sans. kapāla, "the skull". Mag. has kapa-la, "head".

Tag. kubà, Ilk. kub-bó, Bis. kubong, bakû, and So. Mang. kaba, "bent, hunchback, stooped" have their origin in Sans. kubja, "id." (Cf. Tag. kubò and Ilk. kubong, "a hut, which can be entered only by stooping or bending").

The term for "foot" takes two forms. Tag. and Bis. paá: MNeg., a dialect contiguous to Tag., pa'a, and So. Mang., proximate to both Tag. and Bis. pa-á < Sans. pāda (OJav. pada, "id."). But, Tagb. paá, "leg (thigh)". Cf. Mal. pada, "foot, the feet, foot (of a royal personage)".⁶⁸ While Ilk. has dapán, and Bik. dapán-dapán, "sole of the foot" (cf. Mag. palad, "id." and Sulu pad, "palm of the hand"), both have sáka, "the lower limbs, the legs, including the feet" < Sans. śākhā, "limbs of the body, arms and legs". The sound produced by "footfalls", and the

⁶⁷ Introduction, p. v.

⁶⁸ Also, Mad., Bat., Bali., Pamp., Bug. pada. Tag. according to Favre has another form - paah. The appearance of the visarga seems curious.

"footprints" are in Ilk. padák, and paddák, respectively. Though in some restricted sense, the latter may also refer to "the sole of the foot" like Dib. Mand. para-para. Foot-covering, like "sandals" and "slippers" are known in Ilk. as pallóká and in Tag. as paruká < Sans. pādukā, "shoe or slippers". Cf. Jav. pedaka, "footprints", but Mal. paduka, same as Sans.

Mar. warna, "colour", though it shows a general meaning referring to the caste system, which in Mal. is the archaic warna, "caste" is Sans. varna, "colour, caste". Tag. walna, to which Pardo de Tavera assigns the meaning "roof of different colours", can only be referred to with caution. Cf. Sans. varana, "shelter, screen" in reference to the meaning "roof".

Of the ornaments used to adorn the person, Sulu has manik-manik, So. Mang. manik, "beads", Tag. manik, "glass beads, beadwork". Probably, these were borrowed from Mal. manek or manik, "bead",⁶⁹ which in turn was borrowed

⁶⁹Cf. manikam, "ruby, precious stones" (Favre), Bali. manik, "a jewel". But, it has a special meaning in ceremony. J. Hooykaas ("A Yantra of Speech Magic in Balinese Folklore and Religion", Bijdragen, cxv, 2, p. 176) writes that "manik had for the Balinese first of all the meaning of the special part of a grain or a fruit in which germinating power is to be found... An embryo is also called a manik or when a couple longs for a child, they pray for a manik-memargi (a jewel able to walk)... that in Bali the manik has come to mean germ of life, and that it has often lost much of its literal meaning of an actual jewel..."

from Sans. manika, "jewel, pearl, precious stone, any amulet or ornament" (Jav. manik ?). The Tag. and probably the Zambali, manik-nik may be the various species of palaquim and other genera of sapotaceae, the brilliantly polished seeds of which are used as beads.⁷⁰

Sans. mutya, muktā, or muktikā, "pearl" develops in the Phil. through the Mal. mutiya, mutia, "pearl, mother of pearl", var. mutiara, "pearl", in various forms and meanings. Tag. mutyá, var. mutiká, "precious stone", Mag. and Ilk. mutiá, "pearl, charm, precious stone, amulet", Bik. mutya, "pearl, gem", Bis. motya, "pearl, jewel", Mar. montia, "jewel, gem". Tagi. mutia, "charm stone", So. Mang. mutya, "besoar stone, amulet", and Sulu muchá, "pearl" (cf. OJav. mutyara, OMad. mutyara, OSund. mutiara, Bug. and Mak. mutiara).⁷¹

Sulu has a term generally applied to "gems, jewels": pamata, var. permata, parmata, which is probably Sans. paramatā, "excellence" (>Mal. permata, "jewel, gem").

Sans. kāca, "glass", which Pardo de Tavera translates as "crystal or quartz used as an ornament" >Tag. kása, "bracelet of green and gold stones (T)". Bis. kat-

⁷⁰E. E. Schneider, "Notes on Mangyan Language", PJS, vii, p. 164.

⁷¹Crawford, History of the Indian Archipelago, ii, p. 154.

ya, "glass, crystal (k)", and Sulu kāchā, Mag. kacha, "glass, bottle" may be Sans. kāca (>Mal., Jav., Sund., Mak., Bug., Day. kacha, "id.").⁷² Cf. Igt. kanching, "brass (?glass beads)" which may be Sans. kāncana, "gold" (>Mal. kanchana, "id.").

Mag. gantang, "bell" may have been also an article of trade, and the name may be Sans. ghanta, "a plate of iron or mixed metal struck as a clock, bell(?)" (>Jav. gentā, Mal. gēntā, "bell").

"Silk or silk thread" is in Tag. sutlā, Bis. suklā, Sulu sutra or sutla, and So. Mang. sutla which developed from Sans. sūtra, "a thread, a yarn, a string". The intermediate forms in Mal. sutēra, "silk", Jav. and Sund. sutra (Bat. suntura, Mak. and Bug. suntara, "id.") show definite borrowing from the Sans. It could, however, be the Jav. form which the Phil. forms were developed, judging from the very close phonetic structures.

Of the scents, Sans. kastūri, "musk" is found in Tag. kastuli, Bis. katsuli, and Ilk. kastoli, "musk, a kind of musk" (<Jav. kasturi, "musk (name of the animal that produces musk), civette," Mal. kēsturi, "id.").

⁷²Vide JRAS-SB, xvi, xviii: "Sulu Vocabulary".

1.32. OF THE HUMAN SOCIETY

1.321. KINSHIP TERMS that may have been borrowed from Sans. are onomatopoeic. However, they may be independent developments.⁷³

A term very widespread in the Islands for "spouse" is in Tag., Ilk., Bis., Bik., Pamp., Pang., Tagb., So. Mang., Igt. asawa, Sulu asawa < Sans. svā, "one's own, own." The Negrito dialects in Central Luzon have this term though it is obvious that it may have been borrowed through the Tag. which is either contiguous or proximate to them. These dialects are spoken in the West- and East-Central Luzon. One appears "indistinguishable", so that without the cognate dialect forms, it can hardly be recognized: HNeg. ahāua, DNeg. asāua, BNeg. hāua, OlNeg. ahaua,

⁷³ Tag., Ilk., Bik. and Bis. ama < Sans. ama, "father", Tag. tāta, "uncle" var. tātay, "father", Ilk. tāta, "uncle, father" var. tātang, "uncle", Bik. tāta, "uncle, father" and Bis. tātay, "father" < Sans. tāta, "father"; Ilk. nāna, "aunt, mother" var. nānang, Tag. nāna, "aunt" var. nanay, "mother" < Sans. nānā, "(familiar expression for) mother". (Cf. Tag. māmā, "uncle" < Sans. māma, "uncle" (Mag. mama, "male, man").)

Beside Bis. ama, there is also bapa (Favre), cognate with Jav. bapa, bapak (K), Sund. bapa, Mad. bapa, Bali., Bat., Mal. bapa. Pamp. and Bug. have ama.

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K3



ONeg. asaua, CNeg. asáua.⁷⁴ Pardo de Tavera, in deriving the Tag., used the nominative form of svāmi, which is svāmin, which he translates as "married, beloved". But, this word more appropriately means "gentleman, lord, master". Jav. and Mal. suami, "husband", however, appears to have developed from Sans. svāmi.

Tag. áte, áti, "elder sister" may be Sans. or Pkt. attā, atti, "a mother, an elder sister, a mother's elder sister." The same may be true of Tag. áli, "maternal or paternal aunt, or a term of address to an elderly woman" < Sans. āli, "woman's female friend".

1.322. TITLES AND HONORIFICS are not without significance among the early Filipinos. These titles are either indigenous or borrowed. Those borrowed from Sans. and naturalized through the intervening languages are numerous. They possess meanings not necessarily those in the original, as "every Malay title has a very precise meaning, not always the one that it bore in San-

⁷⁴Vide G. A. Baer, "Contribution a l'étude des langues de indigènes aux îles Philippines," Anthropos, ii, p. 467-91. Cf. Tag. bala-i and Ilk. abalayan with Santal bala, "term of address between the parents of the husband and wife."

skrit."⁷⁵

Bis. gami, "master, state of being somebody of station" has like the Mal. suami, "husband" for its apparent ancestor the Sans. svāmin (Nom. of svāmi), "gentleman, lord, master."⁷⁶ The "lady/ladies of the court" is in Tag. dayang < Sans. jāyā, "wife", but Sulu daiāng is "mistress, lady". Cf. Mal. dayang, "young maid of honour, lady-in-waiting", Sund. dayang, "id." OJav. dayah, "young woman of high rank".

Of a rather doubtful Sans. ancestry is the Tag. "title of a petty chief in ancient Philippines", magat, which has intermediate form in Mal. magat, mēgat, "the

⁷⁵R. O. Winstedt, "Malay Titles", JRAS-MB, xviii, 2, p. 146.

⁷⁶Cf. this title with another in Tag., Bik., and Bis. Tag. ginoo, "sir, mister" which is derived by Tavera from Sans. go, "all that is good, the earth, the cloud, the sacrifice, the mother (vedas)". Bik. ginoo, same as Tag., while Bis. ginoo, "gentleman". With the feminine form of Tag. and Bis., which is ginang, "madame, lady", it appears that it may be derived from Sans. gnā, "wife, woman, divine female". But this assumption may be dismissed for an ancient form like this Vedic word could not have travelled to the Philippines. On the basis of this, it may be well to dismiss Tavera's derivation.

title of a chief who is noble on one side" <Sans. mā-gadha, "the son of a vaiśya by a ksatriya woman".⁷⁷

Tag. maharlika,⁷⁸ "a free man, noble, he who is not a slave" (<Sans. mahārdhika, "rich, he who has great talent or knowledge") may be comparable to Mal. mardahika, mardhika, "free, liberated", Jav. mahardika, "a priest, a learned man" (but mardika, "free, freeman, a burgess". Mag. mardika, "free". Cf. Sund. mardika, Bat. mardaekoh, Mak., Bug. maradeka, and Mod. Jav. mer-deka, "free, independence".) An agnate of the Tag. maharlika, is found in Mag. for "noble", chatria, which to all appearance may be Sans. ksatriya (> Mal. chēṭeria, "the second or warrior (and princely) Hindu caste"; Bhind. sat(e)ria, "knight").

"Landlords" in early Philippine times had also a respectable title, lakan, which is derived by Pardo de Tavera from Sans. rakṣa, "protector, guardian". But, there seems to be no further evidence to prove its origins in Sans. than one reference to the title as such in the name of an historical figure - Lakan Dula, the ruler

⁷⁷W. E. Maxwell, in JRAS, xiii, p. 506, fn. 1.

⁷⁸IM-II, 5; IV, 2 (mahārdhika).

of the settlement on the north bank of Pasig River in Manila in the century before the coming of the Europeans. It may not be ill-considered therefore to dismiss Pardo de Tavera's identification, and assign the word to a native M-P ancestry.^{78a}

Another title of likely Sans. origin is "(an honorific) title appended before names of persons": Tag. si (e.g. Sidapa (Śrī Pada?), "a god of the sky who has power over the lives of every living man,"⁷⁹ and (Raia) Siri-pada (Śrī Pada), "the king of Sulu at the time when the party of Pigafetta, the chronicler of Magellan, dropped anchor to collect supplies"⁸⁰) < Sans. śrī, "placed before

^{78a} The native M-P ancestry of this word is proved by the name of the royal personage responsible for the inscription of Kalasan (Central Java, dated Saka 700 (778 A.D. or 22 March 779 A.D.): Śrī Mahārāja Raka i Panangkaran. Jav. Raka >? Tag. lakan. The title of his royal personage was Mahārāja Dyah Pañcapana Kariyāna Panankaranah (vide Louis-Charles Damais, "Études d'Épigraphie Indonésienne," BEFEO, 46, 1, 1952, p. 23). M. Damais writes that "kariyāna est la sanskritisation du titre javanais qui apparaît dans les inscriptions sous les formes raka-rayān, rakryan, rakai et rake (- raka i) et quelques autres moins courantes,..." It is also found in the form (Dang) Karayan in an old Malay inscription (*ibid.*) Moreover, the title is used by a number of personages responsible for the inscriptions in Java (*ibid.*)

⁷⁹ B & R, v, p. 131.

⁸⁰ B & R, xxxiii, p. 221.

names of persons as a sign of respect". It may also mean "lord".

The priests of a Davao tribe, in Mindanao,⁸¹ have pandita-s for their titles, while those of Sulu⁸² have the same title, but it occupies a secondary rank < Sans. pandita, "wise, learned, etc." (> Mal. pandita, "a sage, doctor of laws"). This word is also found in Mar. and Mag. which means "scholar or priest".

In Mindanao, the Tirurayes, a tribe in the South-west of the Island possessing a patriarchal system of government, have a chief of the tribe called bandarra⁸³ (< Mal. bendahara, archaic, "the prime minister and commander-in-chief of the army" < ? Sans. bhāṇḍagārika, treasurer"). It is likely that the Tiruray word has been borrowed through Jav. bendara, "master, chief, commandant, captain, etc." (cf. Mal. bendahara, "treasurer, minister of finance").

⁸¹Letter from Fr. Querico More to Fr. Superior of the Mission, S.J., Davao, January 20, 1885, in B & R, xliii, p. 204.

⁸²Salisbury-1, p. 152.

⁸³Extract from a letter by Fr. Pablo Pastells to Fr. Provincial ... S.J., Manila, April 20, 1887, in B & R, xliii, p. 181.

Tag. and So. Mang. hari, Ilk., Pamp., and Pang. ari, "king"; and Bis. hara, "queen", may have their origins in the Sans. hari, m. "king, name of Indra, king of the celestials". (Cf. Mal. mata hari, "lit., eye of the king; fig., the sun".)

Side by side with the Tag., So. Mang., Ilk., and Pamp. term for "king", there is another which is more widely spread, and takes various meanings - from "king" to merely "subordinate chief" administering districts or sub-districts in the various political divisions, e.g., in Sulu:⁸⁴ "districts were...sub-divided into smaller divisions which were administered by subordinate officials or chiefs called maharaja..., laksamana, parruka, etc." (maharaja < Sans. mahārāja; laksamana (< Mal. laksamana "admiral" <? from the name of Rāma's half-brother with whom Hang Tuah compared himself in 15th century Malacca⁸⁵) < Sans. lakṣmana, "name of Rāma's half-brother"; and parruka (< Mal. paduka, "(-foot) in titles, title given to princes") < Sans. pādukā, "the slippers or shoes: that which is addressed in addressing an official of high rank, or the mahārāja.")

⁸⁴ Saleeby-1, p. 162.

⁸⁵ Winstedt, Dictionary, p. 181.

Mag. has maharaja, "subordinate ruler" and laksa-
mana, "officer of the state", whose meanings are appar-
ently pejorated. Tag. and Bis. rāja, with var. ladyá,
radya, respectively, means "king, monarch". The same
word is also found in Sulu - rajah (Mal. raja < Sans. rāja,
"id.").

The use of the titles rāja and pādukā in the Sulu
sub-archipelago was/is very extensive. In "Diagram I,
Sultans and Royal Datus of Sulu,"⁸⁶ an extract of which
is reproduced here, the titles rāja and mahārāja to which
is usually appended the word 'diraja are found (vide Text
Figure I, p. 38-39, and fn. 93).

Certain titles taking the meaning of names in the
Diagram draw attention and can not "escape" from being
commented upon.⁸⁷ Paramasuli may be Mal. përmaisuri,

⁸⁶Saleeby-1, facing p. 158, reading from below.

⁸⁷Baginda appears to be Mal. baginda, lit. "the
fortunate, His or Her Majesty, a title for rulers" (Jav.
bagenda, "a prince, title of a high dignitary") which
Winstedt derived from Sans., which Sans. word he does
not mention in his Dictionary. It is doubtful whether
Sans. bhāgin, "fortunate, prosperous" (< ?bhāgin /
?indra) is the word's origin (cf. Saleeby-1, p. 160).

Bagi-n-da, "he who is fortunate, the fortunate
one?" is found to have parallel phonetic developments in
Jav., Mal., and Bali. adi-n-da, "younger brother or sis-
ter", kaka-n-da, "elder brother or sister", mama-n-da,
"uncle", etc. Cf. Ilk. adi-ng, "younger brother or sis-
ter, Ilk. & Tag. kaka, "elder brother or sister", Tag.
mama, "uncle".

I. Raja Baginda Paramasuli (Daughter of Raja Baginda)
married to
(1) Sayid Abu Bakr¹ ash Shariful Hashimi² (2 sons)
Al awad din & Kamalud Din³
and a daughter (2) Putri Sharif⁴
(3) Amirul Umara, ⁵ Maharaja'diraja
Sultans: (4) Mu izzul Mutawaddin, ⁶ Maharaja upu
(5)
(6) Mohammed-ul-Halim, ⁷ Pangiran Buddiman
(7) Batara Shah Tangu
Datus: Raja Muda Haram, under the 19th Sultanate
Putri, under the 25th Sultanate (daughter of
the 24th Sultan)
Muwallil Wasit, ⁸ Raja Muda, 26th Sultanate
Batara Shah, 27th Sultanate

TEXT FIGURE NO. I^x

^xNote on the Text Figure. The Arabic names as listed in Saleeby-I had been recorded "exactly" as they had been transmitted by the early Muslim "missionaries". It must be understood, however, that the Sulu people, who received this Islamic culture, were not Arabs but merely converts of the faith. Hence, errors in the transmission of Arabic names may be explained in terms of the peculiarity of the Sulu languages in borrowing, and perhaps in terms of the linguistic habits of the speakers of the language. Vide other citations on p. 40-41.

The following are the correct forms (right-hand column) of the above listed Arabic names which are orthographically incorrect:

¹ Sayid Abu Bakr:	Sayed Abu Bakr
² ash Shariful Hashimi:	El Sherif El Hashim
³ Al awad din & Kamalud Din:	Ala ud-Din & Kamal ud-Din
⁴ Sharif:	Sherif
⁵ Amirul Umara:	Amir El Umara

⁶Mu izzul Mutawaddin:

Muiz El Mutawaddin

⁷Mohammed-ul-Halim:

Mohammed El Halim

⁸Muwallil Wasit:

Muwalli El Wasit

The underlined words, according to the communication received from the Arab official of the United Arab Republic at Manila, have no original forms in the Arabic language.

"queen consort (used of the chief wives of ancient kings on tales of Javanese origin. GONDA, p. 41): a queen of lower rank than her lord, any queen" or Jav. permaisuri, "queen, empress", which is derived from Sans. parameśvarī, "name of the consort of the Supreme Being or Lord, e.g., consort of Parameśvara (Śiva)" (cf. purmassuri, "name of a Sulu lady of exquisite beauty"⁸⁸). Putri is definitely Sans. putrī, "daughter" via the Mal. puteri (putri, Favre), "princess" or Jav. putri, "daughter of a prince, princess". It is more likely that it is the latter. Cf. Mar. potri, "queen, princess"⁸⁹ and Bis. putli, "maiden, virgin, honourable miss".

It is certain that 'diraja is Sans. adhirāja, "supreme king, emperor" which in Mal. is 'diraja, "an hon-

⁸⁸Wilkes, in B & R, xliii, p. 177.

⁸⁹Howard McKaughn (The Inflection and Syntax of the Maranao Verb, Text Sample No. 2) records the name of Potri-bonso, "name of a Maranao princess" < ?Sans. putrivansa, "daughter of the nation, princess".

ourific title, royal".⁹⁰ Buddiman is Mal. budiman, "clever, discreet" < Sans. buddhimān, "wise, learned" (< Sans. buddhi, "intelligence, reason, judgment"). The -man must be the Sans. suffix -mān or -māt, which word have been in this form when it was borrowed, e.g., buddhi-māt, "having intelligence or reason" (nom. sing. buddhimān). Mal. ar. Batara or batarah, "title of Hindu gods and rulers of Majapahit"⁹¹ < Sans. bhattāra, "noble lord, honourable".

Related to rājas or mahārājas is "the rāja's palace," which in Mag. is istana < Sans. sthāna, "dwelling house". This word may have been borrowed through Jav. or Mal. istana, "palace".

As late as the 19th century, in the Treaty of July, 1878, between the Spanish Governor General of the Philippines and the Sultan of Sulu,⁹² the Sulu datus present in the negotiations have titles or names which echo Malay titles. These titles betray Sans. origins: Padukka Mahasari Maulana Sultan Mohammed Jamalul Alam, Paduk-

⁹⁰Winstedt, Dictionary, p. 81. Favre also lists this in his Dict. Malaise as adiraja, "a title", which he derives from Sans. adirāja.

⁹¹Winstedt, ibid., p. 31.

⁹²Salceby-1, p. 226-233.

ka Datu Mohammed Badaruddin, Padukka Datu Raja Lawut Mohammed Zaymul Abidin, Padukka Datu Muluk, Bandarasa Mohammed Pula, Padukka Datu Mohammed Harun-ar-Rashid, and Padukka Datu Raja Muda Mohammed Badarud Din.⁹³ Ma-
hasari may either be the Mal. maharesi, ar., "a great Hindu sage" < Sans. maharsi, "id." or the Mal. maheswara, "supreme lord" < Sans. mahesvara, "Siva". It is more likely, however, that it may be mahā-srī.

Bandarasa, at a glance, betrays a form that is perhaps derivable from the Mal., ar., bendahara, "prime minister and commander-in-chief". But, compare this with the common current Mal. bandar-sjah, "harbour-master," which might be the origin of the Sulu term, with the inference that perhaps Bandarasa Mohammed Pula was a "harbour-master" of Sulu, and that, therefore, the word is not Sans.

⁹³ Cf. Winstedt, JRAS-MB, xviii, 2, p. 146-47. Vide Note on Text Figure I, ante. The following list is the reconstruction of the Muslim titles according to the communication received from the Arab official of the United Arab Republic Embassy at Manila: Mawlana Sultan Mohammed Jamal El Alam, Datu Mohammed Badr-ud-Din, Lawut Mohammed Zayr El Abidin, Datu Muluk, Mohammed Pula, Datu Mohammed Haroun El Rashid, Mohammed Badr-ud-Din. The underlined words are Malay in origin, which have been used side by side with the Muslim and Hindu titles.

Other than what is found in the lexicons or lists of vocabularies, the title rāja has been noticed to be in vogue in a rather diffused usage. The king of Zubu (Cebu), who first came in contact with the Spaniards was Rajah Humabon⁹⁴ or Raja Humabon.⁹⁵ On the north-eastern part of Mindanao, the chiefs of Butuan and Calagan were Rajah Colambu and Rajah Siago,⁹⁶ respectively, or Raja Colambu and Siagu (Siani).⁹⁷ The chronicler, Pigafetta, recorded the name of "...the king of Sulu who is a Mohammedan, is called Rajah Siripada."⁹⁸ The rāja of the southern bank of the river which divides Manila on the sea-shore was called Raja Soliman, and the ruler of the northern bank, known as Tondo, was called Raja Lakandula.⁹⁹ Antonio de Morga,¹⁰⁰ however, writes that the chief of the southern bank was Raja Mora (Mal. raja muda, "young king") and that of the north was Rajah Ma-

⁹⁴Pinkerton, xi, p. 334.

⁹⁵B & R, xxxiii, p. 139.

⁹⁶Pinkerton, xi, p. 331.

⁹⁷B & R, xxxiii, p. 123, 139.

⁹⁸Pinkerton xi, p. 353. Dampier (Pinkerton, xi, p. 15) records that the "brother of the Sultan of Sulu is called Raja Laut..."

⁹⁹Beyer & de Veyra, op. cit., p. 46-52.

¹⁰⁰Sucesos de las islas Filipinas (Haklyut Society, 1868), p. 18.

tanda at a contemporary date (1571) with the reigns of Soliman and Lakandula. With the interpolation of these two pairs of names a discrepancy of facts might have been apparent. But, a study of the meanings (this is not necessarily within the scope of the present chapter) of the latter pair will lead to the clarification of the interpolation. Rajah Mora is Mal. raja muda, "young king, prince or heir apparent," which refers to Rajah Soliman, the nephew of Rajah Lakandula, to whom the title Rajah Matanda has been given. The term matanda is Tag. for "old", hence the title means "old king". Mora, var. mura is Tag. for "unripe, young, fresh."

In far off Northern Philippines, there is an isolated reference to rajah,¹⁰¹ in a folk-tale, as the title of a chief.

In the Sulu Genealogy¹⁰² mention is made of a certain Mantiri Asip, the minister of state of Menangkabaw. Mantiri, "minister of state" can not be derived from any other language than Sans. mantri, "minister". Mag. possesses the word with the same meaning. Cf. Mal. mantri (Favre), mēntēri, "a hereditary minister of state",

¹⁰¹I. V. Mallari, Tales from the Mountain Province, p. 98-99. Tale No. 52, "The First Gabi".

¹⁰²Saleeby-1.

Jav. mantri, "minister."

Sri Kala is recorded as chief of Sulu circa 1838-1842.¹⁰³ This name is not verifiable in the Diagram of Moro Sultans and Royal Datus.¹⁰⁴ It shows instead that at the period during which the American expedition was in Sulu, the ruling sultan was Jamalul Kiram I, the 23rd Sultan since Abu Bakr. Sri Kala, however, may be Sans. Śrī Kāla, "Lord Kāla (Time?)."

1.323. Names referring to persons not as titles but to AGE, STATUS, OCCUPATION, ETC. OF MAN. A child, male or female, in Tag., Bis., Dib. Mand. is bātā, bāta; Mar. wāta, oāta; and Sulu, specifically, bāta, "boy" and bata-bata, "baby child" < Sans. vatsa, "child". Tag. dalāga, So. Mang., Tagb. and Bik. daraga, "maiden, girl, virgin" < Sans. dārikā, "a maiden" (cf. dārā, "girl, daughter"¹⁰⁵). Saleeby¹⁰⁶ believes that Mag. raga, "unmarried woman" is Sans. rāka, "a girl whose menstruation has begun." Isidore Dyen¹⁰⁷ writes a masterly ety-

¹⁰³Wilkes, loc. cit.

¹⁰⁴Saleeby-1, facing p. 158.

¹⁰⁵Cf. Mal. dara, anak dara, "a female child", Ojav. and Bat. dara, Jav. lara, Sund. dara, "a woman who had just a child," Mak. rara, same as Sund.

¹⁰⁶Saleeby-2.

¹⁰⁷"Tagalog Reflexes in M-P D," Language, xxiii, p. 231, 32.

mological study of the word dalāga, which will be commented upon in the chapter on phonetic change. Bis. putlī, "maiden, virgin, honourable miss" is certainly Sans. putrī.

H. Kern¹⁰⁸ derives Bis. mantilī, "a rich woman of low birth, a woman of the army caste of a virtuous character" from Sans. maithilī, "the familiar sobriquet of Rāma's consort, Sītā, daughter of Jānaka, king of Mithilā." J. Gonda¹⁰⁹ observes that the learned professor is no doubt right in his derivation. This, however, must be accepted with caution as it might turn out to have no Indo-European connections or origins.

It is probable that Ilk. and Pang. kamalāla, "concubine, mistress" is Sans. kāmala, "libidinous, lustful" or more likely Sans. kāmalola, "overcome with desire or passion." Tag. and Pamp. sintā, "beloved, affection, to love" < Sans. cintā, "thought, reflection, meditation, dream." Cf. Hindi cinto, "desire, covet", also sinto, "want, desire, inclination; piety, conduct inspired by loving reverence to parents or by parental love." (Ach.

¹⁰⁸Kern-2, p. 284.

¹⁰⁹Sanskrit in Indonesia, p. 234.

cinta, like Gayo sinta, KBat. cininta, cinta, "one's heart of inner self;" Mal. cinta, "devoting much thought, care, love, solicitude, etc."¹¹⁰).

Sans. pandita, "learned, wise, shrewd, etc." > Hindi pandey, "learned, etc." > Mal. pandey, pandei, Jav., Sund., and Bat. pande, "learned, skillful" > Sulu pandei, "apt, clever, skillful," Tag., Ilk., Bikl, Bis., Pang. and Mag. panday, "blacksmith, any metal smith, mason." Sulu pandei-batu, "stone mason", and pandei, moreover, has a specialized meaning, e.g., "mid-wife", Dib. Mand. pandey, "carpenter", Tagb. panday, "mid-wife".

Pardo de Tavera derives Tag. bisa, which he translates as "diligent man, worker" from Sans. visa, "intelligent" (cf. bisa, "worker, attendant, servant", which is purely a Vedic (RV) word, and Mal. bisa, bisanya, "skill, ability"). Possibly connected with this word are Tag. and So. Mang. bihása, "accustomed, skillful, expert", and Sulu biaksa, "accustomed" < Sans. abhyāsa, "repeated or permanent exercise, discipline, habit." Cf. Mal. biyasa, biasa, "accustomed, expert, adroit, etc.",

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 59, Cf. Mal. (Favre), chinta, "sadness, anxiety, etc."

OJav. biyasa, "habit", Sund. bisa, Bat. biyasa, "enough".

It is rather ill-considered to derive Bis. angga, "one's own shortened name, nickname" from Sans. anga, "a limb, member (the lower part)," although H. Kern considers it on the basis of semantic change.¹¹¹ It is by no means probable for no intermediate forms are citable.

Family names like Gadia (<?Sans. gaja) among the Ilokos and Tagalogs, Soria (<?Sans. sūrya) among the Ilokos, and Bala (<?Sans. bāla) among the Tagalogs, betray features that show their origins in Sans. May the Phil. family name Adeva have its origins in Sans. a-deva, "godless"? It is, however, difficult to show the "exodus" of these words as intervening forms are absent. Perhaps, they are merely fortuitous morphological resemblances.

1.324. THE OPERATIONS OF THE MIND AND CONSCIENCE are not without names in the Phil. languages. These terms may have been borrowed from Sans., although it is sometimes difficult to show their migration. Sans. buddhi, "understanding, mind, reason" > Tag. budhi, "con-

¹¹¹Kern-2, p. 281.

science" (cf. Pardo de Tavera's rendering of the word as "treachery". In like manner, the unexpected meaning is found in Bis. budhi, var, burhi, "treason", in formatives: buddhion, "traitor to one's country"). Perhaps, Pardo de Tavera had in mind only one of the two aspects of conscience, which is negative. But Bis. budhi shows a similar tendency as the Tag.: the treacherous, and the benevolent conscience (?). Sans. buddhimān (-t), "endowed with understanding, intelligent, etc." > Mar. bodiman, "talkative, fussy". A very interesting change is evident. Cf. Mal. budi, "sense, intelligence", budiman, "wise, intelligent." It is also likely that Jav. budi, "soul, intelligence, reason, etc." may have been the intervening form. Mar. maana, "sense, meaning" and So. Mang. maan, "think, seem" may be derived from Sans. manah, "mind". Mal. does not have this word, but Jav. has: manah, "intention, desire."

Sans. words descriptive of man's goodness have enriched the Phil. languages. They are found, in some cases, to be used side by side with native terms. Sans. pūjā, "honour, worship, adoration" > Tag. pūrī (< pudya > pudya^a > pudi), "praise, honour, fame" (Pamp. puri, So. Mang. pudi, "id.") beside galang, "respect, praise, etc."

(cf. Mal. and Jav. puji, Sund., Bat., and Mak. pujji, "praise, honour, etc."). Ilk. sudi, "brilliance, lustre, exalted, noble, pure" < Sans. suddhi, "purity, holiness, freedom from defilement" beside Ilk. tan-ók, "exalted, pure, etc." (cf. Mal. sudi, "purified, refined, delicate"). Tag. and Bis. have surhi and sudhi var. sudi, but they take a different direction in their significations (vide infra). "Clean, neat, pure" in Tag. and Pamp. is susi, perhaps derivable from Sans. suci, "clear, pure, undefiled" (Mal. suchi, "pure, neat, innocent").

The absence of an intermediate form in Mal. or Jav. makes it difficult to show the migration of the Tag. and So. Mang. awa, "pity, compassion, mercy" from Sans. avah (RV, I, 128, 5), "favour". Another problem in the derivation also lies in the word's being found only in the RV, which apparently has to reckon with the barrier of time, not so much of space, between the RV period and the probable date of Indian expansion in the Far East (more specifically in the early centuries of the Christian Era).

Sans. tyāga (< tyaj), "sacrificing one's life"
> Tag. tiyagá, var. tyagá,¹¹² "persevering, sacrificing,

¹¹² IM-II, 10 (tyāga).

diligent". This word, too, has its first appearance in the RV, iv, 243. Agnate to this word is the Bis. yukti, "persevering, persistent, headstrong, obstinate", which probably is Sans. yukti, "spiritual, mental exertion; intent, design".¹¹³ Tag., Bik. and So. Mang. āsa, "hope" < Sans. āśā.

Classified under the evil nature of man are Sans. loan-words which take various degrees of badness or force. Tag. samā, "bad" probably also "wicked" < Sans. visama, "ugly, bad, wicked". Sans. anyāya, "unjust or unlawful action; impropriety, disorder, irregularity, etc." > Tag. anyaya, "indolence, disgrace, misfortune, neglect." Pardo de Tavera renders anyaya besides "indolence" as "to harm, to damage". Cf. Bis. anāya, "careless in deeds" < Sans. anaya, "bad conduct, evil course, ill-luck" (> Mal. aniyaya, aniaya, "oppression, injustice, tyranny, etc."). Mag. also has anyaya, "oppression".

It is doubtful whether Tag. alipustâ, "insult, despise, maltreat, offend" could be derived from Sans. pariprsta, "investigation, interrogation"(T). Similarly, there may be doubt whether Bis. sudhi, var. sudi,

¹¹³Kern-2, p. 286.

"blame, censure, reprove" is derived from Sans. suddhi, "purity, freedom from defilement". But, cf. So. Mang. alipusta, "critical", which also exhibits a very interesting development. Bik. dustá, "untidy, filthy" < Sans. dusta, "spoilt, corrupt" (cf. Tag. dustâ, "accursed, damned", and Mal. dusta, "false, lying, deceitful, untruth").

"To compel by force" is in Sulu paksa (Mal., Jav. and Sund. paksa, "force") < ? Sans. paksa, "a side, faction, partisan" or paksapāta, "adopting a side or argument" (has by itself the nature of "threat, intimidation or menace"). Cf. this with Tag. bála, So. Mang. balám < Sans. bāla, "force, strength", balātkāra, "employment of force", which may be considered an agnate of Sulu paksa, if it is Sans. and bāla or balám also are derived from Sans. Cf. furthermore, the Tag. paksá, "purposefully, with intent" (T), that perhaps shows another direction that Sans. has taken after having been adapted by Tag. via Sulu.

Sans. himsā, "violence, injury, etc." takes a primary, but mild meaning in Bik. himsá, "to hatch", but may be used to show similar degree of force as in Sans. Sans. sāhasa, "violence, force, rapine, rape" > Tag. ga-

hása, "violence, impetuously, rape", dahas, "ferocity", "Rape" is the more common meaning of gahása. Both words are also found in Bik. as dahas, "violence", in So. Mang. as dagas and dahas, "quick", as gahús, "rape", dahas, "force", and as sagása, "enforce".

Tag. banggâ, "to attack, combat (T), collision", Bik. bangga, "collision, breakage", Bis. bangga, "to buttonhole a person, assault, assail; in collision with" (K), banggi, "break company, demolish, break", may have their origins in Sans. bhaṅga, "fall, loss, defeat, rupture (T)" (< ? √bhāṇi (to break, shatter, split), breaking, shattering, etc.), and bhaṅgī (no. of bhaṅgīn), "breaking, crack, etc.). Cf. the Philippine forms with Jav. bongga, bangga, "force, resistance, rebellion, etc."

Sulu drāhka, var. dāhulāka¹¹⁴ "mutiny, revolt, sedition" < Sans. drohaka, "injury, mischief, harm, perfidy, treachery". According to Tavera, Tag. duluhakâ, which he translates as "to explain wrongly, to give a false interpretation of a word other than its true meaning, etc." is Sans. Its central meaning is, however,

¹¹⁴IM-III, 7, 8; -IV, 3, 7 (drohaka).

overlooked by him, which is "treachery, betrayal". It follows more closely Mal. dērhaka : Jav. duraka, and Sund. dorhaka, "treachery".

Sulu moeka, "rage of a raja" may possibly have its origin in Sans. mūrcha, "to strengthen, rouse, excite" via Mal. murka, "wrath of God or of a ruler, irritation, anger" (Jav. murka, "greedy, dissatisfied").

"Human joy, delight, etc." are expressed Bik. as ranga, "joy, comfort, bliss" < Sans. raṅga, "diversion, mirth"; in Tag. bilāsa, "enjoyment" < Sans. vilāsa, "pleasure, joviality, pastime"; while "sensuality, worldly amusement" are in Tag. and Bis. lāsa < Sans. lāsa, "amorous pleasures" (T), but more appropriately Sans. lāsa, "dancing" or lāsa, "playing, etc." Cf. Tag. lāsa, "taste, savour" < Sans. rasa, "taste, flavour, lust (for flesh)", Bis. lāsa, "to season, spice"; Tag. nāsa, "desire" < Sans. lalāsa, "desire" (> Pamp. nāsa, "id."). Tag. saṁaya, "share of one's happiness, partner" according to H. Kern¹¹⁵ is Sans. saṁaya, "coming to a mutual understanding, compact, covenant" (cf. Jav. semaya, semados, "promise"). But, Bis. saṁaya, "resemblance, similarity, etc." < Sans. sāmya, "resemblance, etc." show de-

¹¹⁵Kern-1, p. 275.

finite connections.

"Admiration and surprise" in Tag. is bisain (T) < Sans. vismaya, "admiration". But, it seems that Ilk. dismaya, "to wonder, stupefy, amusement" bears closer relation with Sans. (vismaya < smi / vi, "admiration, wonder, etc."). Ilk. dismaya, may, however, be the Sp. desmayo, "faint, swoon, dismay, discouragement" (< desmayar, v., "to dismay, to lose strength"; -se, "faint"). Cf. Ojav. wismaya, "to be in love, in love".

Probably considered as transition from "joy, happiness, etc." to "mourning, grief, etc." are Tag. alibughâ, "prodigal, to squander, to waste" < Sans. paribhoga, "enjoyment (esp. sexual intercourse)" and Tag. aksaya, "destruction, waste" < Sans. ksaya, "loss, waste, diminution, etc." (cf. So. Mang. aksaya, "happy").

The "state of mourning" in Tag. is luksâ, which appears to be Sans. rukṣa, "wrinkled, harsh, bitter, rude, severe, emaciated". Bis. balata, "mourning" < ? Sans. vrata, "a religious vow or practice" may also be classified under this condition. "Grief and sorrow" in connection with mourning is expressed in Tag. moha, var. muhi < Sans. moha, "grief, pain", which at the same time expresses "resentment and anger" (cf. Pamp. mua, "anger,

ire"). Tag. and Pamp. bata, "to suffer, to have patience, to feign" according to Pardo de Tavera is Sans. vatha, "to have enough force for, to be firm". This word is not verifiable in this exact meaning in the Sans. lexicons, but it is likely that it may be yath, "to be powerful, able". So. Mang. bata has the same meaning as Tag. and Pamp. "Pain or penitence" in connection with "mourning, grief, and suffering" is in Tag., Bik., Ilk. dusa < Sans. dosa, "fault, vice, sin, guilt, crime, etc." or dusa, "sinful, wicked, etc." (Mal. dosa, "sin, a crime"). But Pang. dusa, "condemnation" also "discipline, doom, fine" shows distinct development. This word will again appear in the list of terms referring to RELIGION and LAW.

"Poverty, misery, misfortune" are in Tag. expressed by karukhaan (ka-dukha-an < dukhâ: intervocalic d > r in Tag.), while "destitute, indigent, low" in Pang. are expressed by duka < Sans. dukhka, "misery, etc." (Mal. duka, "grief, sadness"). Dalita, too, expresses "suffering". Bik. has for its primary meaning "humble" < Sans. dhrta, "to bear, to endure" (> Mal. derita, "constant, firm (Favre)", derita, "endure (Winstedt)"). Tag. salanta, "poor, mendicant (T), fatigued, withered", Bik.

lantá, "maturity", Bis. malantá, "wilt, wither", So. Mang. lantá, "dry, desicated": all these may have their origins in Sans. randá, "maimed, crippled" or śrānta, "wearied, fatigued, tired." It is, however, more likely that the latter bears a much closer affinity with the Phil. forms. Cf. this with Ilk. sarantá, "healthy, hale", which if it has its origins in Sans. takes a diametrically opposite meaning from the development of the word in the other Philippine languages.

Sans. vikala, "weak, defective, deficient", also "poor", may be the ancestor of Tag. bígal, "weak, exhausted due to work". Tavera, however, derives it from Sans. vigara, "abstinent, one who does not eat or drink, etc.", but his authority is not verifiable. Cf. Tag. bagal, "slow, sluggish".

"Tidings, news or omen (of joy or sorrow)" is expressed in Tag., Bis. and Pang. by the word balítà, in Bik. by baréta, and in So. Mang. by baríta < Sans. vārtta, "news, etc." (Jav. warta, warti, news, etc.", Mal. warta, "news", but beríta, brita (Favre), "id." may be the intermediate forms between Phil. and Sans.).

1.325. While Sulu bhāsa, Mag. basa and Mar. bāsa, "language, speech, dialect" retain the meaning of Sans.

bhāṣā, "speech, language, any of the prakṛtic languages or dialects", Tag., Bik., Ilk., Pang., So. Mang. bāsa and Igt. fāsa show a different meaning, that is, "read, to read". It is, however, probable that the more widely spread bāsa, "read" may have had the meaning "language, dialect" before the shift. Cf. Mal. bahasa, Jav., Sund., Mak. and Bug. basa, Day. basa and bahasa, "language". Mal. bacha, "to read", Mak. bacha, Jav. and Sund. wacha, are derivable from Sans. vāc (causal) "to read". This is, probably, a coalescence of bhāṣā and vāc in the different forms cited above.

In relation to bhāṣā, another Sans. word found its way into the vocabulary of the Phil. languages, that is, carita, "adventures, deeds, stories, tale" > Tag. and Pamp. salitâ, "word, language, speech, story, event," Ilk. sarita, "id.", but its principal meaning is "narrative" (cf. So. Mang. salitâ, "sobbing", salit-on, "utterance", Pang. salita, "idiom"). In the intervening localities, Lit. Jav. has vicarita, "knowing many tales" (< carita, "tale narrative") and Mal. chēritra (Favre), "id.". Tag. has another term that expresses "word, sentence": wikâ, and probably also "speech" < ? Sans. vākya, "saying, assertion" or vāka, "utterance".

Side by side with Tag. salitâ, Ilk. sarita, "tale, narrative" is Tag. kathâ, Sulu kata-kata, "story, fable,

narrative, saying". This word is undoubtedly Sans. ka-thā, "id." Cf. So. Mang. kat-hā, "made, finished" and Mal. kata, "remark", kata-kata, "report". Probably, connected with story-telling is Sulu kamudi (literary) "guide" <?Sans. kaumudī, "an elaboration, a guide, introduction or preface of a book" (Mal. kemudi, "rudder", Mak. and Sund. kamudi, Jav. mudi, Bat. hamudi, "id.")

Sulu pandei, "apt, clever, skillful", in compounds shows versatility of use, e.g. pandei-bichāra, "eloquent" (Mal. pandei-bichara, "skilled in speech" bichara, "consultation, deliberation, conference" and Mag. bichara, "talk, conference" <Sans. vicāra, "deliberation, examination, etc.)). With the formative prefix ma-, e.g., ma-pandei, "scholar, scholarly" <Sans. pandita, pandya, (Mod. Vernacular, pandey).

Sulu guru, Tag. guro, Mar. goro and So. Mang. guru "instructor, teacher". This word is certainly Sans. guru, "spiritual teacher or preceptor" (Mal., Sund., Bat., Jav., Mak. and Day. guru, "id.")). In contrast to Sulu, Tag., and Mar. "teacher", there is in Bis. yugi, "a talker, one rich in words, verbose", which has been derived from Sans. yogin, (nom. of yogi), "philosopher".¹¹⁶ Cf. Mal.

¹¹⁶Kern-2, p. 286.

yugi, "a monastic, a Hindù mendicant".

1.33. TERMS RELATING TO GOD, RELIGION - ITS PRACTICE, IDOLS, DEITIES AND BELIEFS. In Sulu, Mag. and Mar. "religion" is agāna, agama < Mal. agama, var. igama (Favre), ugama, "religion" (Jav. agama, agami; Sund., Mak. Bug. and Day.) < Sans. āgama, "religious practice or spiritual knowledge, anything handed down or fixed by tradition." "Custom" and "Tradition" as known in the islands, whether it be "religion", are in Tag. ka-bihas-nān (< biḥāsā, "adept, skilful", with native prefix and suffix: ka-an, and syncope), in So. Mang., biḥāsa, "id." (cf. Sulu biāksa, "accustomed") < Sans. abhyāsa, "practice, custom". Side by side with this, there is in Tag. and Bik. another term relative to the above words: asal, "custom, rite, usage", which Pardo de Tavera believes to be Sans. ācāra, "precept or rule of conduct."

"Supreme God" in Tag. and So. Mang. is Bathalā, while in Mag. "god" is batara < Sans. bhattāra, "noble lord, great lord" (cf. Jav. batara, Bali. battara, "god", Mal. batara, "title given to Hindu gods"). But, Bis. has bahala or bathala, "idol", while Pamp. has batala, "an omen bird".

In the writings of the Spanish priests, the term

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bathala is frequently referred to. F. Blumentritt¹¹⁷ writes that the appellation is the name "given to various gods of the Malay Filipinos". The ancient Tagalogs called their principal god Badhala or Bathala may kapal, "God the creator". Bathala may kapal, whose life and deeds are the centre of the worship, was propitiated in "tunes and verses like hymns."¹¹⁸ On these songs was based primarily their religion,¹¹⁹ and these were "passed from generation by word of mouth, and were sung in their feasts and most solemn assemblies..."¹²⁰

The Muslims in the vicinity of Manila¹²¹ worshipped a deity called by them, batala, "god". They adored him because he was lord of all, creator of all living beings and protector of their dwelling place. He had agents¹²²

¹¹⁷Dictionario Mitologico de Filipinas, p. 34.

¹¹⁸B & R, xxi, p. 138. D.S. Fansler (Filipino Popular Tales, Nos. 67, 77) writes that bathala is the "supreme being of the ancient Tagalogs".

¹¹⁹ibid.

¹²⁰Cf. Chirino, in B & R, xii, p. 263.

¹²¹B & R, v, p. 171-173.

¹²²These "agents" were called anito (<?Sans. hantu, "death" (T). Cf. Mal. hantu, "ghost, evil spirit, etc.", Jav. antu, Bat. and Sund. hantu, Day. hantu, "cadavre". R. A. Kern ("Anitu", Journal of Austronesian Studies, I, 1, 1956) attempted to show that the word anitu is native Indonesian. He takes the view that the word is a demonstrative pronoun (general indefinite), meaning "yonder". "...anitu.., meaning 'those there, far away'. It

through whom creation is accomplished, and through whom propitiations and worships were offered.

It is interesting to note that the Muslims in and around Manila still retain the name of their supreme deity antecedent to their conversion to the Islamic faith. These Muslims may have been the converts of the Islamic missionaries who were believed to have reached Manila a few decades before the advent of the Spaniard.

Fray Encarnacion¹²³ wrote that "the Cebuan Indians, both past and present, give the name Bathala (God) the image of the Holy Child, which is supposed to have been left by Magallanes" (Magellan). This reference to Bathala is apparently very late development. But, it can safely be surmised that the old system of thought regarding religion still lurked in the minds of the people. H. Kern,¹²⁴ although including this word in his list of Sans. words in Bis. and using Fray Encarnacion's Diccionario, does not interpret it as the clergyman did. He interpreted it as "idol", perhaps from the meaning of the bound

is a veiled expression, perhaps for magic reasons, not without parallels in other regions. Javanese and Sundanese lu-luhur, 'the ancestors', literally those on high, luhur, 'high'; another word in Sundanese is karuhun, in which ka is a generic prefix and ruhun means 'before', i.e., 'those that were before'. These words reveal a same state of mind as their Philippine fellow-Indonesians."

¹²³Diccionario Bisaya-Espanol, in B & R, xxxiii, p. 336.

¹²⁴Kern-2, p. 282.

member of the phrase: the image of the Holy Child, or perhaps even from its meaning independent of the Fray's interpretation.

While in Tag. "supreme god" is Bathala, in Bis. it is diwata,¹²⁵ var. dioata, "godhead" < Sans. devatā, "divine beings, divinity". However, Tag. has the word diwata, "spirits, goddess, nymphs, fairy", Mar. diwata, "water spirits", So. Mang. diwata, "spirits", Tagi. dewata, "god", and Mag. dewa, dewata, "good spirits" (cf. Jav. dewa, Mal. dewata).

Chirino,¹²⁶ in contrast to Encarnacion's reference to the "image of the Holy Child" as Bathala, writes that the "Indians make sacrifices to it after their custom, and anointing it with their oils, as they are accustomed to anoint their idols..." They call it "the dioata of the Castillians, for among them dioata is God". Colin¹²⁷ mentions private idols of the Bisayans which they inherited from their ancestors, and which were called by them as

¹²⁵IM-III, 4-5, 6; IV, 2 (devatā). Various forms of this term are listed in Blumentritt, op. cit., p. 45, i.e., diwata: dewata, devata, divata, diuata. Fansler, Tales 67-77, diwata, "the supreme god of the universe."

¹²⁶B & R, xii, p. 180-181.

¹²⁷B & R, xl, p. 69, 71.

diwata-s. This may possibly refer to the diwata of Chirino, though it is uncertain and may belong to another "pantheon?" of idols. Referring back to Blumentritt, diwata (var. dewata, diobata) is found to be "applied by different races in the Archipelago - sometimes the souls of the ancestors (whom they invoke), sometimes to any of the inferior spirits whether good or bad..."

In literature, Bantugan¹²⁸ calls upon his spirit friends. Magaw, the chief of the diwata-s, "spirits", comes to his aid in his distress. Again, he calls upon this spirit and other diwata-s in his battle against the enemy.¹²⁹ The Mandayas of Mindanao believe in a "good spirit who is besought for aid against the machinations of evil beings", whom they call diwata.¹³⁰

Of the minor deities, there are Tag. lakan-pati, var. lakam-pate, "god of the fields (T)" <?Sans. raksa, "protector, guardian" / pati, "lord, etc."; lakam-bini, "consort of pati (T)" <?Sans. raksa / Mal. bini, "wife, woman". Pardo de Tavera interpolates lakan-pati with another "god of the fields" whom he names lakhan-bacor (vide

¹²⁸Frank C. Laubach, "Bantugan...", Philippine Public Schools, iii, no. 8-9, Nov.-Dec., 1930, Strophe 40.

¹²⁹Strophe 71.

¹³⁰Cole, in FMNH, Publ. 170, xxi, 2, p. 175.

p. 34 ante, for references to Sans. raksa > Tag. lakan (T).¹³¹ Moreover, there is another deity, according to him, that is worshipped by the Tagalogs, particularly those whose main source of livelihood is fishing: sinaya < ?Sans. śrī nāya (Śrī Nāyaka?), "lord director, blessed leader". All this, however, seems very doubtful.

Idols worshipped by the early Filipinos were called in various names: Tag. manusiá, "idol", but more appropriately, "spirit" (cf. Mal. manusia (manusya, manusia, Favre), "human, mankind, person") < Sans. manusya, "human, manly, human beings"; Tag. lingga, "an idol" (T)¹³² < Sans. līṅga, "the form of Śiva" (cf. Bowring,¹³³ who writes that linga is the "god who cured diseases"). An "icon" or "statue of God" (T) in Tag. is likhá < Sans. lekha, "god, deity". But, cf. So. Mang. likha, "create", which is probably Tag. likha "creation, invention" < ?Sans. likha, "write, inscribe".

Writing of icons and statues, Colin¹³⁴ says that in memory of their ancestors, the Tagalogs kept small yet bad-

¹³¹bakor or bakod, "fence". Cf. John Bowring, A Visit to the Philippines Isles, p. 158: lathanbacor, "the protector of the growing crops".

¹³²Tavera's surmise seems to be confirmed by Blumentritt (op. cit., p. 72): lingga, "an idol of the ancient Tagalog, which represented the phallus."

¹³³Loc. cit.

¹³⁴Op. cit., in B & R, xl, p. 69.

ly carved statues or idols of stones, wood, gold or ivory, which they called likha. Whether or not Pardo de Tavera has derived this word from Sans. lekha, it is a derivation yet to be tested by the presence or absence of forms in the intervening localities.

"Faith, trust, and belief in God" is expressed in Tag. by the word sampalataya < Sans. sampratyaya, "firm conviction, perfect trust, or faith"; in Sulu by the term perchaya < Sans. sampratyaya. Could the Sulu term have come from Sans. paricaya, "acquaintance, intimacy"? Cf. Mal. perchaya, "faith, confidence, belief", Jav. prechaya, Sund. and Day. perchaya.

Beside Tag. langit, "sky" > ka-langit-an, "heaven, paradise" is the Sp. loan-words gloria > Tag. glorya, and paraíso > Tag. parayso, "id." Bik., Bis., Ilk., etc. have the same term referring to "heaven" or "paradise". The term for "hell", too, is a Sp. loan-word, particularly Ilk. and Tag., i.e., Sp. infierno > impiverno. In the other languages, the terms for "heaven" and "hell" are derived from Sans.

Sulu, Mag. and Mar. possess terms for both "heaven" and "hell" apparently derived from Sans.: Sulu shagra, "heaven", Mag. surga, "heaven", and Mar. ka-sorga-an (sor-

ga), "spiritual heaven, glory" < Sans. svarga, "the abode of light and of the gods, heaven" (> Jav. swarga, swargi, suwarga, Mal. and Sund. surga, "id."); Sulu nērāka, Mag. naraka, "hell" < Sans. naraka, "place of torment, hence, a hell". Cf., however, Mar. naraka, "nefarious, cursed of God, sinner" (Mal. naraka, "hell, infernal regions").

Basilan, an island just below the south-western arm of Mindanao, is inhabited by Muslims, who may be converts from Sulu or immigrants from the Malay Peninsula. The Muslims of this island have a conception of hell, apparently more developed, as evidenced by the various divisions of hell¹³⁵ in their traditions, than either the Sulus or any other groups of people in the Archipelago.

Bas. naruk may be Sans. naraka. The hells of this group of people are: naruk yahanna, "a place of confusion", naruk sacar (sakar?), "where found contrivances and animals for inflicting torture", naruk sigmilti, "place where tortures in language are inflicted", naruk abus, "where mostly ugly things are seen", naruk janya, "a place where one is run through spears," naruk zaalt, "where one sent to this hell suffers from thirst", and naruk jamia, "where

¹³⁵Letter from Fr. Pablo Cavalleria to Fr. Francisco Sanchez, S.J., December 31, 1886, in B & R, xliii, p. 263.

torture by fire is inflicted."¹³⁶ This may be a syncretism of the Hindu idea and the Muslim concept (?) of hell further blended into the native beliefs in a place of torture after death. It is likely that antecedent to the advent of Islam, the concept of hell may have been purely Hinduistic in orientation or one in which the native character has been infused into or with the Hindu.

ACTS RELATED TO RELIGIOUS PRACTICE are not without names that show Sans. origins. On the suggestion of H. Kern, Bis. puāsa, "to fast," may be the corrupted form of Sans. upavāsa, "abiding in the state of abstinence, "fast."¹³⁷ Following this suggestion, Sulu puāsa, "fast, abstinence" may also be derived from the same Sans. word through either Mal. or Jav. puasa, puwasa, "fast" (Sund., Day., Mak., Bat. puwaso, "id."). Bis. balata (var. in form.: pamalata), "vow, promise", Tag. balata, "abstinence" (T), Pamp. balata, "a kind of mourning till the dead is avenged" (T) <?Sans. vrata, "a religious vow or promise."

¹³⁶Cf. The Garuda Purāna Sāroddhara (Text and Translation by Ernst Wood and S. V. Subrahmanyam, Chap. iii, Vv. 60-64) that tells of 84 lakhs of hell, but enumerates only 21 of the most dreadful of these infernos: "all forms of various afflictions and diseases of various classes; the various fruits of sins, and inhabited by multitude of servants" (v. 64).

¹³⁷Kern-2, p. 285.

Cf. Tag. and Pamp. bata, "to suffer, to have patience, he who suffers", which Tavera derives from the ?Sans. vatha, "to have enough force for, to be firm" (vide ante, p. 55). So. Mang. bata, "suffering".

Mar. baratapa, "devoted to prayer, religious", appears to show a compounding of Sans. vrata and tapas, "relating to religious austerity". Sans. tapas is verifiable in Mal., i.e., tapa, "Hindu austerities (to acquire magical powers), yogism" and Jav. tapa, "penitence, austerity, etc."¹³⁸ while vrata does not have any form. Perhaps, the first part of the compound (bara) is a native word, or that the entire word is native Mar., and its resemblance with the conjectured Sans. compound is merely fortuitous.

To avert "evil" and "sin" (Mar. dosa < Sans. dusa, "sinful, wicked"), the Maranaw Muslim resorts to prayers and other religious acts.

In relation to "chastisement, punishment, pain" caused by the commission of evil or sin (Sulu dūsāh), Tag., Ilk., and Bik. have a term that is used to call this idea, e.g., dusa < Sans. dosa or dusa¹³⁹ (Mal. dosa).

¹³⁸Winstedt, Dictionary, p. 326. Favre, Dictionnaire Javanais: tapa, "penitence, exercise of piety."

¹³⁹IM-III, 13-14; IV (dosana).

Mag. has dusa, but it has a different meaning, "guilt".

Cf. Bik., Ilk. and Tag. dusa with Mag. siksa, "punishment"
 < Sans. siksa, "punishment, chastisement" and pahala, "re-
 ward" < Sans. phala, "fruit".¹⁴⁰

"Spirit" in the sense "soul, life, or consciousness, breath" is in Tag., Bis., Ilk. So. Mang. diwa < Sans. jiva, "living, alive, existing" (OJav. jiwa, "life, soul, spirit"). Bik. diwa, however, refers to "semi-divine beings". Cf. Mar. dewa, "goddess",¹⁴¹ which may be Sans. deva, like OJav. deva. Of a rather obsolete usage is Ilk. karma, "soul", but in modern usage, it means "vigour, force, strength, energy" < ? Sans. karma, "action, deed". May Sans. ayus, "living, movable, life, duration of life" be the origin of Ilk. ayus, "the course of a river", lit., "life, breath"? Cf. Mal. usiya, "duration of life", which Abbé Favre derives from Sans. ayus.

"Death, to die" is expressed in Tag. as muksa < Sans. moksa, "final delivery, exemption from bodily needs and miseries of life, spiritual salvation" (cf. OJav. muksa,

¹⁴⁰Vide Saleeby-2. Mal. siksa, siksa, "torment, pain", Jav. siksa, "punishment, torture"; Mal. pahala, "profit, reward for good works," Jav. pahala, "merit, reward".

¹⁴¹Blumentritt, op. cit., p. 44.

"to disappear, to perish"; mukta, "death"). In relation to death and the consequent dis-integration and decay of the human body, Ilk. calls this "phenomenon" as rupsa, "decay, peeling off" < ?Sans. rup, "break off." Mag. calls this binasa, "perishing, to perish" < Sans. vināsa, "annihilation, decay" (Mal. binasa, "ruination, ruined", Jav. binasa, "destroyed, lost").

"Prayers and mysterious words" are expressed in Tag. and Pamp. as mantala.¹⁴² It also expresses the idea contained in the phrase "enchantment formula", but Bis. mantala, "advise, counsel" preserves the other meaning of the Sans. mantra, "verse or formula of enchantment (T), instrument of thought, sacred texts, consultation, counsel" (Mal. mantra (Favre), mantera, "magic spell, incantation", Jav. and Sund. mantra, "enchantment"). Cf. Tag. rahuyò, "charm, enticement, hold" < ?Sans. rahasya, "secret", which exactly applies to the nature of mantras. Connected with mantra, the mystery and secrecy implied in it, is Sulu rahisa, "mystery, secret" < Sans. rahasya, "secret, private, clandestine, concealed, mysterious" (Mal. rahasiya, rahaia, rahasia, Jav. rusiya, Mak. rahasiya, "secret").

¹⁴² IM-IV, 12; IV, 5 (mantra).

As Pardo de Tavera thinks that Tag. dapâ, "to lie prostrate against the floor (face down)", is related to prayers and secret enchantments, he derives it from Sans. japa, "to recite in a low voice the (Vedic) mantras".

Therefore, he further explains that while the prayers and enchantments are going on "incense and/or perfume" (Tag. dûpa < Sans. dhûpa, "fumigation, incense, aromatic vapour") is being burned in the dupaân, "a small brazier for burning perfume or incense", evidently as a means to insure the efficacy of the prayers. Tag. dapâ is not verifiable in either Jav. or Mal., while Tag. dûpa is found in both Jav. and Mal. (dûpa, "perfume, incense"; Jav. pedupaân, "censer"). It is, therefore, not ill-considered that Tag. dapâ (< ?Sans. japa (T)) may be dismissed at this juncture; and regarded as native Tag.

It is common among the Bisayans for the horoscope or the destiny of a person to be read. It is pronounced by persons known among them as manalagna (var. mananagna, matalagna, magatagna) < lagna, "to foretell, to prognosticate" < Sans. lagna, "horoscope, an auspicious moment or time fixed upon as lucky for beginning to perform anything, or decisive moment or time for action". "Accident, misfortune, ominous, bad omen" is expressed in Tag. as sakunâ

<?Sans. sakuna, sākuna, "any auspicious object or lucky omen, but rarely an inauspicious omen" (cf. Tag. tadhana, "nature, fate").

Pardo de Tavera translates Tag. patianak as "an evil spirit which is believed to cause miscarriage or abortion", and he derives it from Sans. punth, "to strike, to kill" / Mal. anak, "child" (Mal. puntiyanak, puntianak, "pernicious spirit which attacks children or pregnant women" (T). But, cf. Mal. pontianak, "vampire ghost of a woman who died in childbirth". Cf., again, the Tag. meaning "a demon that possesses pregnant women or children", with Bis. sang-putana-n, (< putana, n.f., "the producer of gloom or doom"), "doom, gloom" < Sans. pūtana, "the female demon which kills children or infants, or causes a particular disease in children" and Mand. muntianak, "the spirit of a child whose mother died while pregnant, and who for this reason was born in the ground".¹⁴³

In the story of Kṛṣṇa, it was told that in search for infants and children, Būtana, the demoness came upon the birthplace of Kṛṣṇa, who was still in his infant years. In the act of nursing the infant Kṛṣṇa, she took him on her lap... "she offered her terrible breast containing indigestible poison. The Lord (Kṛṣṇa) crushed it with his

¹⁴³Cole, loc. cit.

hands, and with anger, sucked it together with her life..."¹⁴⁴

In the myths of the Filipinos, the (pa?)tiyanak-s are small beings who bring mischief to any one who crosses their path. They cry like babies to attract the attention of passers-by. When the unfortunate man gets lost in the woods, he cannot find his way home unless he makes the (pa?)tiyanaks laugh by wearing his clothes inside out.¹⁴⁵ Cf. pūtana, furthermore, with Tag. asuang and mangungu-anak. The former is said to locate herself on the roof of a house where a pregnant woman sleeps. From there, she sends her long, red, threadlike tongue to reach the unborn child (by means of which she sucks the child's blood?).¹⁴⁶ The latter is an old man who kidnaps little children and takes them to his cave in the mountains. There he slits the throat of his innocent victims, letting the blood mingle with the earth to bring forth red metal coins.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴Srīmad Bhāgavata (Cnd. Text & Transl. by V. Raghavan). Cf. Vanap. xxix, Mārkaṇḍeya Samāsya Parva: Pīśachā Sītā Pūtana, "that fierce looking spirit causing abortion in woman".

¹⁴⁵"Spirits of the Underworld", Phil. Free Press, December, 1957.

¹⁴⁶Ibid. Cf. Metzger, in Proc. of the Am. Philos. Soc., xlix, p. 26. F. Starr, "Some Filipino Beliefs", Proc. and Trans. of the Jubilee Congress of the Folklore Society, 1928.

¹⁴⁷Ibid.

While the connection of Sans. pūtanā with the Bis. term is clear, that with the Tag. is doubtful.

1.34. TERMS RELATING TO NATURAL PHENOMENA, ELEMENTS, THE SUN AND OTHER COSMIC BODIES, CATASTROPHES, ETC. The Sans. connections of the names of the planets - the sun and the stars - in the Phil are evident. Sulu shegra, "the sun" may be Sans. svarga, "the abode of light". But cf. Bali. surya, "id." < Sans. sūrya, "the sun" (> Mal. suria, lit. "the sun"). There is in Ilk. a family name, Soria.¹⁴⁸ May it have the meaning "sun" also? for we know that in India royal houses were designated as solar or lunar.

Related to the sun's heat in Tag., Ilk. and Bik. is tápa,¹⁴⁹ "to dry in the sun, to dry over the fire (T); cur. "salted meat or fish dried under the sun" which may be Sans. tapas, "heat, glow".

The other cosmic body whose Sans. name is used in Tag. and Bik. is tála, "the morning star" and perhaps Ilk. (kamónta)tála, "the planet Venus". This term may be Sans.

¹⁴⁸vide ante, §1.323, fin.

¹⁴⁹In formative: tinapa (with influx in), "that which is dried with heat, either in the sun or over the fire". This is applied to either smoked fish or meat for table use.

tāra, "star, asterism" (OJav. tara, "star").

According to Pardo de Tavera, Sans. aga, "sun" (according to the Sans. lexicons) is borrowed by Tag. and Bik. to express "the early morning, dawn". The term is aga. But no intermediate form of this word is found (in Jav., Mal., etc.).

Tag. maghá, var. megha, bigha, and Pamp. biga, "cloud" are certainly derived from Sans. megha, "id." (>Mal. mēga, lit. "cloud", OJav. mega, "id.").

The cosmic phenomenon commonly known as "the eclipse of either the sun or moon" but more specifically the latter is called in Tag. lahò,¹⁵⁰ (in Pamp. lawo, "obscurity of the eclipsed moon"). It is probably derived from Sans. rāhu, "monster, son of Diti, the deity with a serpent's tail which in eclipses devours the sun or the moon", through Mal. rahu, "the Hindu dragon that swallows the moon and causes the eclipses". In Mar. the phenomenon of eclipse is expressed in the other term known in Sans. It is garahana < Sans. grahana, "seizure of the sun or moon,

¹⁵⁰Blumentritt (*op. cit.*, p. 99) believes that only the Maranao Muslims believe in the demon which devours the moon in eclipses called rahu. This shows, however, that both the terms for this phenomenon have found usage in Mar.: rahu is used beside grahana. *Vide infra*.

eclipse" (Jav. grahana, Mal. gērhana, "eclipse (of sun, moon, great men, woman's beauty)").¹⁵¹

Mal. or Jav. bumi, "earth, globe, country, etc." may be the intermediate form between Sans. bhūmi, "the earth, the soil" and Sulu būmi, "id." Ilk. disó, var. dissó, "place, region, point" (Igt. diso) may be Sans. disa, "direction, region, quarter or point of the compass". Or, it might be related to Sans. desa, "region, country." Cf. Mal. desa, "district", Jav. desa, "country" < Sans. desa, "point, region, spot."

Any natural breach whether "a cave" or a "crevice" on the surface of the earth is called in Bis. gawáng, in Tag. guwáng, in Sulu gaha, and in So. Mang. gahang ("hole") < ? Sans. guha, "cave, cavern". Cf., however, Tag. gúhò, "to cave in, collapse, crumble, a cave-in" (Jav. guwa, "cavern, cave", and Mal. guwah, guah, "cavern, hollow, den").

¹⁵¹IM-II, 7 (graha). Balinese (vide R. Friederich, The Civilization and Culture of Bali, p. 156-157) distinguishes the eclipses of the two cosmic bodies; eclipses of the sun are called graha, and those of the moon, rahu, which in India, however, no distinction is made, as the latter is the demon that devours (Rāhu > √rabh, "seizer"), while the former is the act of devouring (graha < √grabh, "seizing, holding").

"Calamity, catastrophe or disaster" is expressed in Bis. as gonda which H. Kern¹⁵² shows to be a borrowing from Sans. ganda, "which in astrology is an unfavourable moment or portent". This is doubtful, not only because it is not verifiable in the Sans. lexicons, but also it does not have any form in either Mal. or Jav. Cf., however, Mar. morka, "trouble, calamity" < ? Sans. mūrkhā, "stupid, foolish,"

Of the many "calamities or disasters", two have been conjectured to have names originating from Sans. (1) Tag., Bik. and So. Mang. bahā, "flood" < Sans. vāha, vahā, vaha, "bearing along (said rivers)". (2) The other, which is directly related to "flood" is Tag. (T), Ilk., Bik., and So. Mang. bagyu, var. bagyo, Pang. baguió and Dib. Mand. bagiu, Tagb. bagiyo. H. Kern¹⁵³ translates Bis. bagyu as "whirlwind, heat lightning", which he and Tavera derive from Sans. vāyu, "wind". The word in the other Phil. languages is also derived from the same source (cf. OJav. and Mal. bayu, "id.").

Three names of the quarters in the Philippines seem to have been derived from Sans. H. Kern¹⁵⁴ renders Bis.

¹⁵²Kern-2, p. 282.

¹⁵³Kern-2, p. 281.

¹⁵⁴Kern-2, p. 286.

utala as "east, the east-wind" and assumes a Sans. origin: uttara, "north, northern". The assumption, however, is unlikely when the Bis. term is compared with Mag. utara and Sulu utara, "north". Derivatives from the Sulu, e.g., utala, do not show any relationship with the base (like musun-utala, "dry season" in comparison with Mal. utara, "north" > musun-utara, "northeast monsoon"). Sans. uttara, is also found in Jav. as utara.

In the Sans. lexicons and literature,¹⁵⁵ the eastern quarter is known as udaya (-giri or - parvata, "the mountain of the sunrise"), "the mountain behind which the sun rises, the east". The Ilk. for the eastern quarter is daya. The geographical location of the Iloko region may have helped in the naturalization of Sans. udaya in the language. It may, however, be through Jav. udaya, lit. "mountain top" (< OJav. udaya, "the mountain behind which the sun rises, east").

The third quarter known in the islands is Mag. dak-sina, "south" < Sans. daksina, "id." (Mal. and Jav. daksi-na, "south").

¹⁵⁵Kathās. ix, 415, et seq.

1.35. TERMS RELATING TO TRADE, COMMERCE AND ECONOMY.

In ancient times traffic, trade or commerce (Ilk. baniāga, Bis. baligya, Dib. Mand. baligya, "sell"; Bis. binayāga, "a bargain, sale"; So. Mang. balidya, "sale, peddling" <Sans. vāniya, "traffic, trade, commerce") may have been conducted in "frame sheds made of palm leaves" or "out-houses", which in Ilk. is commonly known as bangsal. This word may be Sans. vāniya, "trade" / sālā, "hall" on the suggestion of R. O. Winstedt¹⁵⁶ by his derivation of Mal. bangsal, "coolly lines, shed", e.g., (1) Bengali bankasala <Sans. vāniya / sāla; and (2) Sans. bhāṇḍasālā > Malm. pandisala, "a store house, magazine".

Merchants and traders (Tag. (T) and Ilk. banyāga, Bis. ma-baligya-on <Sans. vānījika, "merchant, trader" > Mal. bērnīyaga, bērnīaga, Jav. banyaga, etc."¹⁵⁷), either singly or with business (Sulu kreja <Sans. kārya, "work, business to be done")¹⁵⁸ partners (Tag. b_ānig, <Sans. vāniya, or Tag. sāma <Sans. sama, "equal"), ex-

¹⁵⁶"Some More Malay Words", JRAS-SB, lxxx, p. 136.

¹⁵⁷L. C. Damais (BEFEO, xlix, 2, p. 698) thinks that banyaga is not Sans. but OJav., which is phonetically almost the same as OMal. waniyaga. Vide Gonda, op. cit., p. 290-291.

¹⁵⁸Cf. Sund. karia, Bat. horia, "festival".

changed goods (Sulu arta, "articles, goods" < Sans. artha, "substance, wealth"¹⁵⁹). Currency may have been in use, if Tavera's derivation of Tag. salapí, "money" from Mal. usa or Tag. isa, "one" compounded with Sans. rūpya, "the Indian currency" is correct.

The goods that may have been exchanged or sold were Tag. sutlá, "silk thread", Bis. suklá, Sulu sutla, sutra, Mag. sutra, So. Mang. and Pang. sutla, "silk" < Sans. sūtra, "a thread, yarn";¹⁶⁰ ornaments, perfumes and other precious metals (vide ante, §1.31), e.g., Ilk. taníkalá, "chain, golden chain", Tag. (T) and Bis. talíkalá (K), "chain, bond" < Sans. śrīṅkhala, "fetter, chain".¹⁶¹ Minerals may have been part of the trade or traffic, e.g., Sulu sendawa, "saltpetre" < Sans. saindhava, "a kind of rock salt, salt". Cf. Tag. sanyawa, "sulfur (T)" and Mar. sandawa, "sulfur, brimstone";¹⁶² Mag., Tag., Ilk. and Bis,

¹⁵⁹Jav. and Mal. harta, "wealth, etc."

¹⁶⁰Mal. suntara, sutra (Tavre), Jav. and Sund. sutra, Bat. suntora, Mal. and Bug. suntara, "silk."

¹⁶¹Cf. Sans. tanka, "gold" /? Sans. śrīṅkhala, "chain" "golden chain". Vide Phonetic Change for further discussion, Chapter II.

¹⁶²Mal. sendawa, "saltpetre, nitre", Jav. sendawa, Sund. chindawa, "id."

tumbaga, "copper, brass"¹⁶³ <?Sans. tāmra, "made of copper, copper colour" (Mal. tembaga, Jav. tembaga, tembagi, OJav. tambaga, "brass, copper"); Tag. tingga and Sulu tenga, "lead" <?Sans. tāṇka, "borax, lead" (Mal. tinkal, "lead"). Other objects of trade are certainly ornaments of precious stones (vide §1.31).

Sans. petaka, petikā, "little basket, basket" provides a name for Mar. "pocket-book, bill-folder, purse" and Ilk. "bag, wallet", e.g., pitāka (Mal. pétaka, "book").

A widely spread Sans. loan-word relating to trade is argha, "value, worth, price" > Tag., Bis., So. Mang. hala-gá, Sulu hālga, Mar. arga, "price, value, cost, charge, rate", Mag. haraga, "value".¹⁶⁴ Tag., Tagb. and Bis.

¹⁶³The word takes another meaning, although it does not entirely deviate from the original idea. It is tumbaga, "gold mixed with copper" (Vide Ildefonso Santos, "Old Gold in the Philippines", Philippine Numismatic Monographs, xi, p. 13). "Copper" becomes secondary, which according to all lexicons examined, is the principal meaning. It may be explained that on its being alloyed with gold it loses its importance, although it may still be seen that it plays a very important role in the valuation of the other metal.

Alexander Chamberlain ("Phil. Studies I, Place Names", American Antiquarian, xxii, 6, p. 398-99) writes that "silver" is another alloy of copper, and still it is called tumbaga.

¹⁶⁴Mal., Sund., and Bat. harga, Jav. and Day. rega, and Mak. angga, "value, etc."

mahál, "expensive, costly of an exorbitant price" is known in Bik. and So. Mang. as mahál, also, but with a different meaning, e.g., "dear, holy, dignified, precious". Sometimes, Tag. mahál means "good, fine, excellent" and hence, "beautiful, expensive." The word may be Sans. ma-hārha, "very worthy, or deserving, very precious, or valuable" (cf. Sans. mahā, "great" (T)). But, Sans. mahār-gha, "high priced", seems closely related to Tag., Tagb. and Bis. mahál, like Mal. mahal, "of an exorbitant price".

The word in both Tag. and Bis. always refers to "price or cost" and rarely in Tag. to mean "esteemed", e.g., Kay mahál mo sa ákin, "you are very dear to me (or, much esteemed by me)".

It is likely that the intermediate forms in Mal., laba, "profit", and lebeh, "more (than)" (< Sans. lābha (√labh, "to gain possession"), "profit, gain, excess") may have developed in Tag. and Bis. as lāba, "profit, benefit, gain, winnings" and in Sulu lebi, "to exceed," respectively.¹⁶⁵ Cf. this word with Mag. guna, "profit" (<? Sans. guna, "good quality, merit, virtue" (>? Mal. guna, "benefit" and Jav. guna, "benefit, profit").

¹⁶⁵Cf. Sund. lowih, OJav. laba, Bat. lobi, Day. labhi, Mak. labi, "id.".

Sans. bhānda, "goods, wares, merchandize, capital, income (T)" becomes, in various forms, in four Phil. languages, a term for "wealth, etc.": Tag. and Pamp. bandí, "estate, a piece of land to let, wealth (T), security", Bis. bahandí, "furniture, household, goods, prob. treasure, wealth". But, Bik. bahandí, "jewels" may be Sans. bhānda, "ornament, gem?". It is doubtful whether Mal. bēnda, "thing, article, object, material, treasure, riches" is Sans. bhānda, bhanda through which the Phil. term may have developed.

Ilk. dondón, "fine, a redemption of something lost and found, or of a mortgage", Mag. dinda, "fine" < Sans. danda, "punishment, fine", via Mal. dēnda, archaic, "penalty, a fine" (Jav. denda, "fine" and Tbat. dandan, "fine, sum paid by the loser to a party gaining in a law suit"). The Tbat. form seems to be more akin to Ilk. than the Mal. However, the Mal. form is closely related to Mag.

While Tavera seems to be convinced that Tag. upa, "pay, salary, rent" (Ilk. and Pang. upa, "wages, rent") is Sans. utpatti, "products, production" (ut-pat, to be produced) with Mal. upati, "tribute, tax, contribution" as the intervening form, there seems to be no other evidences to confirm his derivation. R. O. Winstedt does not list Mal.

upati, in his Dictionary, instead he lists upah, "payment for work done or for special service (i.e., wages, fee, expenses, commission). He derives this word with caution from Sans. He lists upeti, "tribute (to a more powerful state)." Jav. opah, and epah apparently show closer affinity with the Phil. forms. But the question arises whether or not the Jav. has its origins in Sans. (vide §2.293).

Sans. bhāga (< √bhaja), "to divide, to distribute, division, allotment", provides a similarly widespread terminology in the Islands like Sans. argha. Tag. and So. Mang. bahagi, "share, portion, division, sharing", Ilk. and Mar. bagi, "share, part", Bik. bang, "id.", Tagb. bagi, "share, part" and Sulu bahagi, var. bhagian, "to distribute, to divide, a division, separate".¹⁶⁶ It may be assumed that Sulu, Tag. and So. Mang. are probably Mal.; Ilk. and Mar., Jav. Bik. shows very doubtful origin. Cf. this word with Bis. sagala, "piece, part, fragment", though isolated seems to show Sans. origin, e.g., sakala, "fragment, piece".

1.36. NUMERALS. The lesser numerals in Phil. languages are M-P. The lowest numeral, two (Ilk. dua, Bik. duwa, Bis. duha, Tagb. duwa, and Tag. dalawa), shows an

¹⁶⁶Mal. bahagi, "part, division", OJav. baga, bage, "share".

Indian origin. This may be assumed through the pre-supposition of an Indian contact, which actually occurred at a period early enough for the languages of the Indian archipelago to assimilate the numeral within a reasonable time.¹⁶⁷ But it has been pointed out that the word is "derived from Austronesian 'DUWA' (Jav. ro, Hova rua, Fiji, Futura and Samoa, lua) which has been treated by Otto Dempwolff as a native Austronesian word".¹⁶⁸ A reconstruction of duwa or dewha, "two" has been attempted by Isidore Dyen.¹⁶⁹ Earlier, R. Brandstetter¹⁷⁰ showed that "the resemblance of dua to the corresponding Indo-European (Sans.) numeral is merely fortuitous," for it also occurs in the languages that have not borrowed from Sans.¹⁷¹

The numerals that were actually borrowed from Sans. begin with "ten thousands" and reach the highest possible figure, i.e., "one hundred millions". A Table of Numerals

¹⁶⁷Cf. I. Dyen, "Malay Tiga, Three", Language, xxii, p. 137.

¹⁶⁸Loc. cit.

¹⁶⁹"Malayo-Polynesian Word for TWO", Language, xxiii, p. 50-55.

¹⁷⁰Op. cit., p. 129.

¹⁷¹Cf. Saleeby-2: that Mag. numerals "one" to "ten", and "one hundred" are derived from Sans. Saleeby's derivation is not acceptable.

is here presented to show the comparative distribution of these numerals in the languages of the Islands (vide Text Figure No. II, p. 87).¹⁷²

The figure shows that Bis.(Hil.), Pang., Ilk., and Sulu build the highest numerals - "one hundred thousands" and "one million", and moreover, "ten millions" and "one hundred millions" in Pang. - upon the lower numeral, that is, "ten thousands". "One hundred thousands" in Bis. (Hil.), Pang., Ilk. and Sulu, for instance, is "ten thousands"; "one million" in Bis.(Hil.), Pang. and Sulu, is "one hundred ten thousands"; "ten millions" and "one hundred millions" in Pang. are "one hundred ten thousands" and "ten thousand ten thousands", respectively. Tag. and Mar. do not build their two highest numerals upon the lower. "One million" in Tag. is built upon "one hundred thousands". It would then be, literally, "ten one hundred thousands".

Sans. ayuta, "ten thousands", laksa, "one hundred thousands", and koti, "ten millions" either reduce or increase their values in the Philippine languages. Sans. koti, however, retains its value in Tag. kati, but it be-

¹⁷²Extract from F. R. Blake, in JAOS, xxviii, part 2.

| <u>Language</u> | <u>NUMERALS</u> | | |
|--------------------|---|---|---|
| | Ten Thousands ¹
(10,000) | One Hundred Thousands ²
(100,000) | One Million ³
(1,000,000) |
| Tag. | Sang laksa
(isang laksa)% | sang yota
(isang yota) | sang powong yota
(isang poo-ng yota) |
| Bis. (Ceb.) | xx | xx | xx |
| Bis. (Hil.) | isa)
usa) ka-laksa | hapole ka-laksa | isa)
usa) ka-gatos ka-laksa |
| Bik. | xx | xx | sang laksa (isa-ng ⁰)
sarong laksa |
| Pamp. | laksa | xx | sang yota (isa-ng ⁰) |
| Pang. | san laksa
(sakey laksa?) | sanpolon laksa
(sakey polon ⁰ ?) | san lasus laksa#
(sakey lasus laksa) |
| Ilk. | sanga laksa
(maysa nga laksa) | sangapolo a laksa
(maysa nga polo nga) | xx |
| Mar. | salaksa
(isa or usa ⁰) | sapjuta
(isa or usa ⁰) | sakati
(isa or usa ⁰) |
| So. Mang. | (sa)laksa | xx | xx |
| Sulu | salaksa (isa or usa) | hangpolo laksa [‡] | ang ratus laksa [‡] |
| Tag., 10,000,000 - | sang kati (isa-ng ⁰); Pang. 10,000,000 -
san libon laksa (sakey ⁰); ⁴ 100,000,000 -
ni laksa laksa. ⁵ | | |

TEXT FIGURE NO. II^x

^xNotes on Text Figure No. II.

¹Jav. and Mal. salaksa. IM-I, 5 (laksa).

²Jav. saketi, Mal. keti.

³Jav. sayuta, Mal. juta, sajuta

⁴Jav. sawendra.

⁵Jav. sabara.

% Reconstructions in brackets the present writers.

‡ Pigafetta (B & R, xxiv, p. 101-105) records the numeral as sacati (sa-kati).

P. Jacobo Enriquez (Pang. Pocket Dict.) records sanlaksa.

& ibid., as sa-inta.

comes one-tenth of its value in Mar. sakati (isa⁰ or usa⁰) "one million". Sans. ayuta, is increased in value ten times in Tag. sang yuta (isa-ng yuta), "one hundred thousands" and in Mar. sajuta, a similar increase is observed. It is increased in Mal. juta, "one million" by a hundred times. The increase is also observable in Pamp. sang-yota, "one million". Sans. laksa undergoes reduction of value in Mal. and Jav. laksa, "ten thousands" (Bat. lokxa, Mak. lossa, and Day. laksa, "id."). This becomes the basis of some Phil. languages. Mag. has laksa, "ten thousands", and yuta, "one million", that undergo similar decrease and increase of value from Sans.

In the Figure, it is shown that "one hundred millions" is expressed in Pang. by ni laksa laksa (lit. "ten thousands ten thousands"), a reduplicated form with prefix ni-). F. R. Blake¹⁷³ suggests that the prefix may be the Pang. ni- which is used instead of the infix-prefix -in/in- expressing similarity before l or y initials, or it may be the Sans. prefix ni-, which is used with certain higher numerals, e.g., niyuta, "one hundred thousands", nyarbuda, "one hundred millions", and nikharva, "one hundred bil-

¹⁷³Ibid. Cf. ?Ilk. ni-lungsot-lungsot (lungsot, "rotten, decay"), "decayed-like, rotten-like". Also, l-in-ungsot-lungsot.

lions".¹⁷⁴

1.37. TERMS RELATING TO TIME, SEASONS. Sans. māsa, "month" > Tag. masa, Mag. masa, "time, epoch, season" via Mal. masa, "id."¹⁷⁵ Beside Tag. masa, there is in Mar. kotika, "season, moment" and Mag. katika, "time", which are certainly cognates of Mal. kētika, kotika, (Favre), "time, season (e.g., "the particular moment which on the ground of divination is auspicious or inauspicious with regard to the enterprise" and also "all writings, figures, tables, etc., which may help in calculating such moments"¹⁷⁶)" < Sans. ghatikā, "a period of 24 minutes", also "the Indian clock: a water clock consisting of a jar with a hole through it, which fills and sinks in 24 minutes" (Day. katika, and Bat. hatika, "time").

Mar. has a var. form, according to Blumentritt,¹⁷⁷ which is a bound member of the compound, i.e., kotika lima (lima, "five"). It is the five divisions of the day, which, in fact, is seven divisions called by the Maranao Muslims as pito kotika (M-P, pito, "seven"). However, these divisions

¹⁷⁴Vide W. D. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, p. 177-178.

¹⁷⁵OJav. masa, Jav. and Sund. mongsa.

¹⁷⁶Gonda, op. cit., p. 43.

¹⁷⁷Op. cit., p. 66.

are named after the ancient divinities presiding over the first five hours of the day. These divinities are Hindu in origin, e.g., maheswara, kala, sri, berma, visnu.¹⁷⁸ It is certain kotika has its earlier developments in Jav. or Mal., and the five divisions may have their use in the time reckoning of the Javanese and Malays.

So. Mang. antal, "waiting", antala, "late" may have been naturalized via the Tag. antala,¹⁷⁹ "delay"¹⁸⁰ (<Mal. antara, "between, in space and time") < Sans. antara, "being in the interior, interval" (ColJav. wetara, "between, inter-space" < OJav. antara, antawis, "meantime, inter-space"). "In the meantime, meanwhile" is expressed in Tag. by samantala, which may have developed from Sans. samanantara, "immediately after", through Mal. sementara, "shortly after"). So. Mang. has samantala, "while, during", which may have been borrowed from Tag.

Pardo de Tavera following H. Kern¹⁸¹ translates Tag. sakali as "just in case, if", and he derives it from Sans. kāle (loc. of kāla, "time, duration"). Perhaps, it is

¹⁷⁸maheswara, kāla, sri, brahmā, visnu.

¹⁷⁹IM-II, 5 (antara).

¹⁸⁰Cf. Gonda's rendering "intervene, occupy", which he renders either from H. Kern or Tavera.

¹⁸¹Kern-I, p. 274.

more likely to have been derived from Sans. sakala (saha > sa,¹⁸² "along with" / kāla, "time"). Cf. Tag. with Sulu sakali, "suddenly" and So. Mang. sakala, "perhaps, by chance, at least".

Tag. and Bik. aga (vide § 1.34), aside from its other meaning, has another which may make it classifiable under this section. It means "early" (in form., to mean "early", it is usually used with the prefix, ma-).

1.38. TERMS RELATING TO GOVERNMENT, ITS OPERATION, ADMINISTRATION; LEGAL. Tag. bansâ, Pang. bansa, "country, nation" (Sulu bāngsa, So. Mang. bansâ, "nation, country, land, family relations, race", Mar. bangensa, "social rank, race") is Sans. vaṃsa, "lineage, race, family, stock". Mal. has bangsa, var. bansa, "race", that may be the intervening form between Sans. and Phil. forms (OJav. wongsa, "id." Also, "family, parentage").¹⁸³

It is difficult to say whether Ilk. turay, "rule, command, power" has its origins in Sans. tura, "strong, powerful", due to its absence in Mal. or Jav. In reference to "treason, sedition, and the like", there is in

¹⁸²Saha > sa in compounds?

¹⁸³Jav. bongsa, Sund., Bat. and Day. bangsa, Mak. bansa, "id." Cf. Bik. banwa, "town, nation", Bis. banwa, "community", Ilk. banwa, "country (as opposed to city)".

Tag. the expression duluhakâ, which has been rendered by Pardo de Tavera as "to explain wrongly, etc." (vide §1.324). But, cf. Sulu drähka, var. dähuläka, whose meaning "mutiny, revolt, sedition" rightly represents the idea. It may derive from Sans. drohaka (droha), "injury, mischief, harm, perfidy, treachery" via perhaps Mal. durhaka,¹⁸⁴ "treason (against a ruler, state)".

Concerning Law, its Practice and Administration in Court. "A case for trial" in Sulu is bichära (also "debate, discuss" and "talk, conference" in Mag.) which has cognates in Mal. bichara, "consultation, etc.", and Jav. wichara, "to discuss, discourse" < Sans. vicāra, "examination, investigation". An "advocate" in Sulu is tabang bicharähkan. Beside bichära is Sulu parkära, "case, circumstances" < Sans. prakāra, "manner, affair, concern, business".¹⁸⁵ "Legal investigation or enquiry" is expressed in Tag. as alusithâ < Sans. ālocita, "to consider things, to investigate", beside another Tag. expression, paligsá, "to probe". This second Tag. word has cognates

¹⁸⁴Gonda, op. cit., p. 42: durahka, dērhaka, Jav. duraka.

¹⁸⁵Mal. parkara, pērkara, "circumstance", Sund. per-kara, "action in court", Jav. prakara, "affair, concern, etc."

in other Phil., e.g., Sulu preksa, "examine, enquire", and Mar. periksa, "id.", and in other languages within the M-P family¹⁸⁶ < Sans. parīksā, "scrutinize, examine, inspection, probe".¹⁸⁷

"Calumny, accusation" is in Ilk. pardaya < ?Sans. parivāda, "blame, censure, reproach, charge, accusation". "Witness, testimony, and evidence" are bound up in one term, that is, saksi, which is found in Tag., Bik., Ilk., Mag., So. Mang. and Igt. Cf. this with Pang. tási and Tagb. t-um-aksi (v., "witness"; with native infix -um-?). The word is Sans. sāksi, "the office of any legal witness, evidence, testimony, attestation"; sāksin, n., "witness" (Mal. saksi, "witness").

An "oath" taken by a witness in court before his testimony or cross examination is in Sulu sāpāh, n. (and v., mak^o, "to swear, to take oath"), in Ilk. sapatá (v., "to swear"), and in Mar. kasepa, "to take oath", sapa (also Mag.). The word is Sans. sāpa, "an oath, a curse, imprecation" and sapatha, "an oath, vow".¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁶Mal. preksa, pereksa, Jav. pariksa, priksa, Mak. paressa, Day. pariksa, riksa, "examine".

¹⁸⁷Cf. Tag. adhikā, "motive" < ?Sans. adhikā(ra), "authorization, capability".

¹⁸⁸Cf. Jav. prasapa, "malediction, imprecation", and supatah (< ?Sans. sapatha), "imprecation".

Sans. dosa, "fault, vice, sin, guilt, crime, etc." or dusa, "sinful, wicked" > Sulu dūsāh, var. dosā, dūsa, dosāh, dosa, "to commit a crime, offense, illegal". When Sulu is compared with the same word in the other Phil. languages, it evinces a meaning that is more legal in connotation (although its other meanings refer to religion).

Cf. the above word with OJav. parusa, "violent, vehement, forte" and Mal. pērusa, "domineering" < Sans. paru-sa, "harsh, etc.", which are phonetically and semantically akin to Tag. parúsà, "punishment", whose initial syllable appears to be a prefix (pa/dúsà :: d > r when intervocalic), for Tag. like Ilk. has also the word dúsà "punishment". But it is more likely that Tag. parúsà is Sans., judging from its presence in OJav. or Mal. that could have been borrowed by the Phil. language. Ilk., however, does not have the form parúsà.

Ilk. dondon, "fine, redemption of a mortgage", though classified under § 1.35, is also classifiable in this section.

A South Indian term, Tam. vilangu, "fetters" may be origin of the widespread word - Ilk. bilanggu, "jail, prisoner", Tag., So. Mang., Mar. bilanggô, and Tagl. belanggu, "prisoner, fether". It could have been through Mal.

belenggu, "fetters" that the word in Phil. was introduced.

So. Mang. balam, Tag. bala, "threat, menace, intimidation" (< Sans. bala, "strength, force", balātkāra, "employment of force") are always related to the commission of a crime, like Tag. gahasa, "rape, violation of a woman" (< ? Sans. sāhasa, "violence, force, rapine, rape"). Cf. this latter word with Tag., Bik. and So. Mang. dahas, "ferocity, violence, force", So. Mang. sagasa "enforce", dagas and dalas, "quick", gahus, "rape"; and Sulu paksa, "compel by force" (< ? Sans. paksa, "a side, faction", paksa-pāta, "adopting a side"; Mal. and Jav. paksa, "force, compulsion"). But, Tag. paksa, according to Pardo de Tavera, is "purposely, with intent". This word, however, shows a very doubtful origin.

Sulu palihāra, "to protect" may be Sans. parihara, "defending (protecting, preserving from, abl.)"

1.39. TERMS RELATING TO ARTS. 1.391. The Fine Arts. That the ancient Filipinos were a music-loving people is borne out by the testimony of writers who wrote of ancient Philippines. Moreover, the evidence of language, though doubtful in some cases, shows their knowledge of and love for the art. Pigafetta,¹⁸⁹ the first European

¹⁸⁹Op. cit., in B&R, xxxiii, p. 149. Vide also, Pinkerton, xi, p. 337-338.

who made reference to the music abilities of the inhabitants in 1521, wrote, "...the prince of Zubu (Cebu)... conducted us to his own house, where we found four girls playing on music after their manner: one was beating on a drum similar to our own, but placed on the ground; another had two kettle drums beside her, and in each hand a small drum stick, the end of it armed with cloth made of the palm, with which she struck first and then the other; the third was beating in the same manner a large kettle drum, and the fourth held in her hands two small cymbals, which she alternately struck one against the other and which rendered an extremely pleasing sound. They all of them kept such excellent time, that we conceived them to possess great knowledge of music..."

Note the two small cymbals which may be comparable to the Indian cymbals used for keeping time or beat in any music performance.

It is interesting to note that the notices on ancient Philippines earlier than Pigafetta made no references to the musical aptitudes of the early Filipinos. However, as the Spanish colonization gained more foothold and security in the Islands, notices on the culture of the people became more profuse.

Fray Chirino¹⁹⁰ wrote that the early Filipinos were much given to musical practice. They have a guitar, called cutyapi,¹⁹¹ which though not very rich in tone according to this priest-writer was very pleasing. They play it with such vivacity and skill that they seem to make human voices issue from its four metallic cords.¹⁹² "By merely playing this instrument they can, without opening their lips, communicate with one another, and make themselves perfectly understood."¹⁹³

With the exception of Pablo Pastell's notice which specifies a definite ethnic group that uses the musical instrument (vide fn. 191), all the other notices mention no definite ethno-linguistic source. In the next paragraphs, therefore, the probable diffusion of the instrument in the various linguistic groups of the Islands will be surveyed.

Tag. kudyapi, var. koryapi (and kodyapi¹⁹⁴), could possibly be the coryapi of Colin (fn. 191). Bis. kodyapi

¹⁹⁰B&R, xii, p. 241.

¹⁹¹Cf. Diego de Bobadilla, "Relation of the Philippines" in B&R, xxix, p. 290 - cutiape; Colin in B&R, xl, p. 68 - coryapi; Fr. Pablo Pastells, Letter to Prov. Juan Capel, S.J., in B&R, xliii, p. 181 - Tiruray, tiape (kutiape).

¹⁹²Cf. Colin, loc. cit. He records that the strings of this guitar are made of copper, which are two or more in number.

¹⁹³Cf. again, Colin, loc. cit. "They play it, with a quill with great liveliness and skill. It is a fact that by playing it alone, they carry on a conversation and make themselves understood whatever they wish to say."

¹⁹⁴Tavera.

(var. kotsapi¹⁹⁵), Ilk. kodiapi, and Bik. kudyape apparently are not reflected in the Notices that were cited above; neither do they have variants to show diffusion in the various other groups. But, Mar. kotiapi is comparable to the cutiape of Bobadilla, the cutiapi of Chirino, and the Tiruray tiape (<? kutiape) of Pastells. It is probable that Mar. kotiapi is the source of the Tiruray. So. Mang. has kudyapi, like Tag. All these mean "lute, or guitar, or any stringed instrument", which may derive from Sans. kacchapi, "lute" via Jav. kacchapi, "id." (>Borneo, kechapi, TBat. kuichapi, hasapi, So. Celebes kachapi, and Mindanao, kuchapi¹⁹⁶). The Jav. kacchapi is box-like, while that of the Philippines has the same shape as the Indian.¹⁹⁷

J. Kunst¹⁹⁸ disputes the assumption that the term kacchapi which has been derived from the species of tor-

¹⁹⁵Kern-2, p. 283.

¹⁹⁶J. Kunst, Music in Java, i, p. 371. Dr. Kunst cites the Mindanao term from the Philippine Magazine, xxxvi, July 1939. Cf. the orthography cited by him with Mar. kotiapi, that is found in the Maranao-English Dictionary which is used in this thesis.

¹⁹⁷Mal. kechapi, "a specie of lute or lyre with four cords", Sund. kachapi, Bat. husapi, Day. kosapi. The Phil. kacchapi is not like the Indonesian kacchapi which is box-like; on the other hand, it is like the Indian as seen in old sculpture and painting. This may be cited as an evidence of the Indian influence not having always been through Indonesia.

¹⁹⁸Ibid.

toise of the same name whose carapace originally served as resonator. He writes, further, that the name does not actually derive ^{from} the reptile's name, instead from the tree named kachapi, "Cedrela toona", whose wood is used by the Indians to make the instrument, and whose name was given to the Indonesian forms. The argument advanced by him appears cogent, but unimportant. What is significant is that, though the Indians derived the name kacchapi, "lute" < kacchapa, "tortoise", whose carapace served as a resonator, the instrument got its name from the shape of the tortoise when its neck is extended, and this is vividly represented in the various sculptures and paintings in Indian art.¹⁹⁹

Probably connected with string instruments is Tag. bidya, which is rendered by Pardo de Tavera as "the finger board of a guitar" (but, cf. its more significant meaning, "the fret or step of a string instrument"). He derives

¹⁹⁹The antiquity of the Indian instrument is attested by archaeology as it can be seen in the Chālukyan art of the 10th century at Pattadakal (Mallikārjuna Pillar Sculpture, Pattadakal, in H. Cousens, "The Chālukyan Architecture of the Kanarese Districts", Archaeological Survey of India, xliii, plate 48).

The instrument has a round body and a rather long arm, which nevertheless show an exact resemblance to the tortoise with its head and neck stretched out (kacchapa kacchapi).

Late developments are also citable. Vide E. B. Havell, Indian Sculpture and Painting, plate 68. Curt Sachs, Die Musikinstrumente Indiens und Indonesiens, plate 85.

this word from Sans. vedhya, "to penetrate, to fix, to play". Cf., however, Sans. vādyā, "to be sounded or played (as a musical instrument)". This seems to be a more probable source than that suggested by Pardo de Tavera.

Other musical instruments, whose names are Sans., but are not mentioned in the notices of the Spanish priests, are found in the lexicons: Tag. and So. Mang. bangsi, bansi, "flute" < Sans. vamsi, "id." (Mal. bangsi, "id."); So. Mang. songgo < ? Sans. saṅkha, "shell, conch, the horn of Visnu". The derivation seems doubtful for there are no intermediate forms. Ilk. gansa, Igt. kangkangsa, "a gong of brass plate," Tag. gangsa, var. ganza, gansa, "a brass gong the handle of which is hooked to the belt of the man's trousers and is beaten with the palm of the hands" < Sans. kāṁsya, "a sort of a gong or plate of bell metal struck with a stick or rod". The word is found in Jav. and Mal. as gangsa, "a copper or brass gong".²⁰⁰

The last mentioned instrument is most popular among the non-Christian peoples in North Luzon. They are played

²⁰⁰ Kunst, op. cit., p. 136. It is "an alloy of 10 parts copper (tembaga) to 3 parts of tin (rejasa), i.e., bronze."

in various ways. The Negritos²⁰¹ lay the gansa on their knees while it is played or beaten with the hand. Among the Kalingas, dance music is ordinarily furnished by a battery of four or more gansa-s played energetically and skillfully by men who beat them with their hands.²⁰² While the Bontoc Igorots use flutes (bangsi?) in playing music like the Kalingas beside gansa, the latter instrument is by far the most important musical instrument. It is made of copper or brass, which is suspended from a handle "which theoretically should be and practically often is the jaw-bone of an enemy killed in battle."²⁰³ It is neither beaten with the hand nor with a piece of stick, but with a "well fashioned skin-covered drum stick". A short stick or a slat of bamboo is used by the Lepanto-Benguet Igorots in playing the gansa.²⁰⁴ Dance music is furnished by gansa-s among the Tinggians.²⁰⁵ The Ifugaos of Kiangnan also use gansa-s in their musical performances.²⁰⁶

²⁰¹Dean C. Worcester, "The Non-Christian Tribes of North Luzon", PJS, i, 8, p. 809. Cf. Vanoverbergh, in Anthropos, xx, p. 405.

²⁰²Ibid.

²⁰³Ibid.

²⁰⁴Ibid.

²⁰⁵Ibid. Also Cole in FMNH, publ. 209, xiv, p. 440.

²⁰⁶Juan Villaverde, "The Ifugaos of Kiangnan and Vicinity," PJS, iv, 4, p. 250.

The gangsa also finds its place in the songs of these non-Christian peoples. A few extracts from the songs of the Lepanto Igorots²⁰⁷ may be cited.

x x x x

Angey adi ay sia!
Ipaytokmo san gangsa
Ta baliwak san anawa

Let it be so!
Throw down the gangsa
And I shall look after the
larger field²⁰⁸

x x x x

No umeyka san num-a
Et gangansaem san loa

When you go to the field
You use the loa-basket as a
gangsa.²⁰⁹

The foregoing extracts show that the gangsa is either discarded at work or it is substituted by a kind of basket, i.e., the loa.

In the Swinging Songs of the same Non-Christian group, the musical instrument is described as beautiful, its tone fine, and seems to cause love to flow from the hearts of the youth.²¹⁰

²⁰⁷M. Vanoverbergh, "Songs of the Lepanto Igorot as it is spoken at Bauco", Anthropos, xiv-xv; svi-xvii & xxiii. Translation by Vanoverbergh)

²⁰⁸Band xiv-xv, p. 800, Daing 3.

²⁰⁹Band xvi-xvii, p. 25, Daing 17.

²¹⁰Band xxiii, p. 672-673, Vv. 43-48.

x x x x

Taŋtanadek ed daya
men-at annek diŋ gangsa
Ta eyak kad pumapa
Ay Kaegiat san gangsa

I look up at the sky
Let me beat that gangsa
The gangsa rings
That very fine one.

x x x x

Magmagsa ya magmagsa²¹¹
Din bayukyuk di gangsa
Et dagusda magka.

It cracks, it cracks,
The beautiful gangsa
And they fall very much in
love though.

x x x x

Dean C. Worcester²¹² believes that the gangsa, which is the principal instrument of the Northern Luzon peoples, is imported from China. Whether such an importation is historical it is a moot question. It is worth noticing here that this "copper timbrel" was not imported from China. It is nevertheless not without probability that it may have been a Chinese ware, but whose name was borrowed from another language than Chinese, perhaps in analogy with another instrument similar to it. Against these surmise, however, it will be recalled (fn. 200, p.100) that the Javanese gangsa (Mal. gangsa, "bronze bell-metal") is made of an alloy of ten parts of copper (tembaga <?Pkt. tembaga, "brass, copper"²¹³) to three parts of tin (rejasa

²¹¹Band xxiii, p. 674-675, Vv. 52-60.

²¹²Loc. cit.

²¹³VG, x, p. 151.

<?Sans. rajasa, "a kind of bronze"). J. Gonda²¹⁴ cites J. Ph. van Ronkel²¹⁵ to be of the opinion that Tamil may have played a role in transmitting tambaga. The instrument was imported from India via Java, and its name borrowed from an Indian origin.

It may not be ill-considered to include with the terms relating to music two words which seem significant. Sulu suala, "voice", appears to be related to vocal music. Mar. has suara which refers to "heavenly voice" though it may refer to "a melodious haunting spirit-elevating voice". No doubt, the word is borrowed from Sans., svara, "voice" via Mal. suwara, suara, "id."²¹⁶ The other word which may have been derived from Sans. is dhuni, "noise, sound, roar of the river" or dhvani, "echo, voice, tone, tune". Tag. huni has "voice" for one of its meanings, and "chirping of the birds" for another, like Bik. huni. So. Mang. uni, "song of a bird or insect" also shows a possible affinity with music. But, cf. Bis. honi, Mar. oni, Ilk. and Dib. Mand. uni, "voice, cry, sound".

Whether terms relating to painting were introduced in the Phil. vocabulary, it is difficult to prove. For no

²¹⁴Op. cit., p. 70, fn. 13.

²¹⁵In TBG, xvi, 1902, p. 105.

²¹⁶Jav. suwara, Bat. sowara, Mak. sara, bersorak, Sund. and Day. sorak.

pre-hispanic paintings are known, and no such art appears to have been executed by the early Filipinos, it is with caution that terms relating to the art will be cited. Mar. warna, "colour" < Sans. varṇa, "id." (Mal. warna, "colour, tint, hue". Cf. Tag. walna, "roof of different colours (T)"); and Bis. samala, "dark shade of amber" < Sans. śyāmala, śyāmālā, "dark, gloom",²¹⁷ may suggest an artistic orientation. It is also within probable limits that Sulu chahia, "bright, shining" (var. wai chahia, "tarnished") and Igt. chaia, prob. obs., "shadow, shade" (also "sky, heaven") < Sans. chāya, "shading or blending of colours, play of light colours, luster", may be related to art.²¹⁸

Of the vocabulary of literary art, two words are very significant. Tag. kathâ, "story" and Sulu kata-kata, "fable, narrative" (cf. So. Mang. kat-ha, "made, finished") < Sans. kathā, "tale, story, fable" (Mal. kata-kata, "report, etc.") may show a definite literary meaning. The other term is Sans. carita, "adventures, story, tale" which develops to Tag. salitâ, "story, event", according to Tavera; and Ilk. sarita, "word, narrative, tale, etc." Cf. So. Mang. salita, "sobbing" and salit-on, "utter-

²¹⁷Kern-2, p. 286.

²¹⁸Mal. chahaya, Sund. chahaya, Mak. chaya, Jav. chaya, "a beautiful figure".

ance".²¹⁹

1.392. PRACTICAL AND MECHANICAL ARTS. Sans. pan-dita, "learned, wise, etc.", as it is naturalized in the Phil. languages has a widely diffused usage. Furthermore, it perhaps stands out as the only term applicable to all the practical and mechanical arts in the Archipelago. In Tag., it is pandáy, "blacksmith or any other metal smith". Ilk. and Bis. pandáy has the same function as the Tag., although Bis. has another practical function of the "artist", that is being a "mason". Dib. Mand. and Pang. have pan-day, but he becomes a "carpenter". So. Mang. pandáy shows two meanings: (1) "smith, smithing, black^o, forging", and (2) "manufacture, construction, making of an object". Sulu has pandei, which aside from its meanings similar to those cited above, is made a member of a compound, e.g., pandei batu, "stone mason" (batu, "stone"), and in a very specialized sense, like Tagb. pandáy, means "midwife".²²⁰

The labour of the loom was not unknown to the Filipinos. The art of manufacturing cloth from cotton (Ilk.

²¹⁹Lit. Jav. vicarita, "knowing many tales" < carita, "tale".

²²⁰Mal. pandey, pandei, Jav., Sund., Bat. pande, "learned, wise."

kapas, Tagb. gapás, "cotton", vide § 1.21) may have been acquired from the Indians, who may have introduced it to the inhabitants of the Indonesian archipelago during the Hindu period of its history. John Crawford²²¹ writes of the art among the Indonesians of early times - "the loom of the Indian Islanders varies essentially from that of the Hindus, but the rollers for separating the cotton from the seed, and the spinning wheel are exactly the same. The latter as well as the materials of manufacture are known by two Sans. names... jantra, and kapas. Jantra... is the parent language of the common term for machinery. How humble must have been the state of the mechanic arts among the Indian Islanders, when their instructors bestowed such a name upon one of the earliest of all mechanic inventions!" Jav. jantra is certainly Sans. yantra, "mechanism, mechanical contrivance", which may be Tag. gantala, "spinning wheel (T)".²²² Relative to the labour of the loom is the silk art, which may have been introduced by

²²¹History of the Indian Archipelago, i, p. 177-178.

²²²Cf. Mal. gantala, lit. & ar., "magic car of romance" jentèra, "spinning wheel", jantra (Favre), "a wheel, machine".

the Indian traders or settlers.²²³

The products that may have been manufactured by the pandei or pandáy are Ilk. tanikala, "golden chain", Tag. talikala, var. tanikala, and Bis. talikala, "chain, bond", that may be Sans. śrṅkhala, "fetter, chain", according to Pardo de Tavera and H. Kern. But Ilk. tanikala (which is similar to the var. of Tag. and appears to be an older form) suggests that it may have developed from the compounding of two words: Sans. taṅka, "gold" and śrṅkhala, "chain."

A lock-smith's piece of work is Tag. kunsi, "bolt, latch", Mar. gonsi, "key", gonsi-an, "lock", Mag. kunsi, "lock", and Tagi. kunsi, "key", Tagb. gunsi < Sans. kuñcī (kā), "key". This word is proved to be a borrowing from Sans. via Mal. kunchi, "key-hole, lock" (kunci, Favre). It is probable that a "lock-smith" is called pandei or pandáy.

²²³Cf. Crawford, op. cit., p. 181-182. "The Indian Islanders... were taught the use of silk by the Hindus, for the commodity both in its raw and manufactured state is called by every tribe that knows its use by the one name of sutra, which is the pure Sans. name for the commodity..." F. Jagor (Travels in the Philippines, p. 292) thinks that the silk manufactured in Manila was of Chinese origin. This is very doubtful. As far as the present research has gone, it may be assumed that the commodity is an Indian introduction, since philologically there is a proof that is still upheld by Oriental scholars.

It is also certain that the pandáy forged the Tag. dupá-an (<dúpa, "incense, perfumed"), "small brazier (of any metal) used in burning perfume or incense" < Sans. dhūpa (Mal. dupa). Cf. Tag. dupá-an with Jav. pa-dupa-nga, "incensor".

Two words are carpenter's tools, Mar. garogádi, Tagb. garogádi, "file, a tool for cutting", Sulu gaugari, Tag. lagári, Ilk. ragádi, Tagb. & Bik. lagádi, Igt. lakachi, and Tagi. legadi, "the carpenter's saw" < ? Sans. krakaca, "a saw". Could this word for the carpenter's tool have been borrowed through ?Mal gergaji, garagaji (Favre)? (Cf. Jav. garji, gorgaji, Mak. & Bat. gargaji). The other tool having a borrowed name is Ilk. & Tag. palakól, Bis. pákol, "axe" < ? Sans. paraśu "id. (T)". Cf., however, the Phil. forms with OJav. parkola,²²⁴ "an axe, hatchet".

The finished product that comes out of the carpenter's shop is Ilk. palangka, "chair, couch" < Sans. paryāṅka, pal-yāṅka, "couch, litter, palanquin".²²⁵

Three products that come from the weaver's shop have names that may be traced to an Indian origin. Ilk. & So.

²²⁴Cf. Sans. kola, "weapon" (L) which may be the ancestor of Jav. parkola (with prefix par-?). Vide § 2.27, infra.

²²⁵Cf. Mal. pēlankin, pēlanki, "four-wheeled carriage", Jav. pelanki, "palanquin", Oriya, palanka, "bed", AMag. pa-llanka, "bedstead".

Mang. súpot, "bag, pouch, purse, sack" < ?Sans. samputa, "bowl, casket, case for jewels".²²⁶ Ilk., Pang. & Mar. pitaka, "bag, woman's case, pocket-book, wallet", Igt. pitek, "match box, box" < Sans. petikā, pitaka, "little basket".²²⁷

The third product is Bis. bitana, "fish net" < Sans. vitāna, "spreading, expansion, fig., a net" (< vi / tan, "to spread, to stretch as a net or snare"). Cf. this word with Tag. dala, "cast net" < Sans. jāla, "net" (Mal. jala, "a fish net", Sund., Bat., Mak. & Day. jala), and Tag. bitag, "snare, trap" and Tagb. laya, "casting net".

1.39.1. PLACE NAMES. The name of the region in the northwestern part of Luzon is Iloko. It is also the name of the language and the people. It may be derived from Sans. loka, "district, region" (OJav. loka, "place, the world," Mal. loka, "the world"). The Phil. word has a number of var. forms, e.g., Ylocos, Ilocos, Ilocano which are hispanized and anglicised forms.

²²⁶Cf. Sans. puta, "fold, pocket, etc.", Tam. puttil, "basket, sheath", Kan: putti, "basket of leaves", Tel. puti, "flower basket", in Burrow, op. cit., p. 384.

²²⁷Cf. Pkt. petta, "basket", Hindi & Guj. peta, "basket, bag", Tam. petti, "box", Jav. peti, "trunk, chest".

On the eastern bank of the river Rio de Cagayan in northeastern Luzon is a town called Aparri. It may be fortuitous that Aparri may mean "above, up" like Sans. upari. In the same province (Cagayan) where Aparri is located, is another town named Camalaniugan²²⁸ which name may be a compound formed from two ?Sans. words: kamala / yuga, "lotus era?". However, Camalaniugan may turn out to be native derivative from the root niog or niug, "cocoa-nut" / kamala and -n (?-an), which are native formantic affixes.

One of the tribes in Northern Luzon is called Kalinga, (var. kalingga, kalingka). Otto Scheerer²²⁹ surmises that since Kaling-a in Ibanag and Kalinga in Gaddang²³⁰ both mean "enemy", it was originally given as name of peoples from outside. It is likely that the meaning "enemy" is a new development, for if the name came from outside, it may well be that the tribe could have been a migrant group from an origin now unknown. It may not be without basis to look for its origin further south in the Malay Peninsula

²²⁸Morga, "Sucesos..." in B&R, xvi, p. 78.

²²⁹"Kalinga Texts from Balbalasang-Ginaang Group," PJS, xix, p. 175.

²³⁰Two other tribes in Mt. Province contiguous to Kalinga.

and then west in the Indian sub-continent.

In the pre-Islamic history of Malaya and Cambodia, the Hindus that settled in these localities were called klings. The name is the shortened form of Kalinga, the last of the nations conquered by Asoka Maurya before the Christian Era. It appears that the early Indians who settled in Malaya and Cambodia were originally from a region known then as Kalinga, now the state of Orissa. John Crawford²³¹ writes that it is the Telinga nation of South India, which is now the Telugu speaking region - Andhra Pradesh. This can not be accepted in the light of new evidences. Professor Nilakantha Sastri²³² writes, "the name Kalinga... finds its echo in Ho-ling, the name by which the Chinese designated the kingdom and Java, and in Kling applied to Hindus by Malays and Cambodians. Likewise the name Talaing applied by Burmans to the Mons implies that at a certain period Telingana was in active touch with the Mon country". While Ho-ling and Kling had been identified to be the Kalinga in India, the identification of Crawford may be dismissed here.

²³¹Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands and Adjacent Countries; History of the Indian Archipelago, ii, p. 117.

²³²K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, History of Sri Vijaya, p. 16.

It is, however, strange that Phil. kalinga (< Ind. kalinga) has intermediate forms Holing or Kling, which are phonetically distorted. Until new evidences are found, it may be well to treat this word with caution.

On the western side of the Central Luzon, in the province of Pangasinan, is the capital town named Lingayen, which named is derived by H. O. Beyer²³³ from the likely presence of Siva's linga-s in the locality. Lingayen, therefore, is a derivative, e.g., linga-y-en, perhaps, "the place where linga-s are found". Since no archaeological finds in this locality are citable to attest to the presence of linga-s, it is safer to treat Beyer's surmise with diffidence.

Nāga, the capital town of Camarines Sur, in the Bicol region, Southeast Luzon, may have its origin in Sans. nāga, "serpent" or nāga, "a kind of a tree - *Mesua ferra*, *Mesua Roxburghii* (cf. *Pterocarpus indicus*)."

One of the geographical divisions of the Archipelago is the Bisayan Islands in Central Philippines. The term Bisaya may be Sans. visaya, "sphere, dominion, territory, country, kingdom". In ancient India, particularly during

²³³In PJS, lxxvii, 3-4, p. 224.

the Pallava times, the kingdom was divided into units for the purpose of effective administration.²³⁴ The early copper plates inscribed by the Pallavas mention visaya as one of the larger divisions of political units beside rastra. In the Hirahadagalli plates, the head of the visaya is mentioned.²³⁵ From the time of Paramesvaravarman, the bilingual charters of the Pallavas also speak of visaya-s and rastras.²³⁶ It may not be remote that the bisaya of the Philippines, as a politico-geographical unit, may echo the Pallava visaya-s.

It is worth noticing here that the earliest Spanish settlements in the Islands, particularly in the Island of Panay, a government for the Bisayos de los Pintados²³⁷ was established by the most trustworthy soldiers. The Sp. phraseology means the "Bisayas of the Painted (Tattooed) People,"²³⁸ which may be interpreted as the "country of the Painted (Tattooed) People". H. O. Beyer²³⁹ connects the

²³⁴C. Minakshi, Administration and Social Life Under The Pallavas, p. 37.

²³⁵Epigraphica Indica, i, p. 5.

²³⁶Minakshi, loc. cit.

²³⁷Morga, in B&R, xvi, p. 19.

²³⁸The Spaniards called them Pintados, "painted", because they had the custom of painting or tattooing their bodies for ornamental purposes. Cf. Chirino, B&R, xii, p. 217, "The island of Panai...is in the province of the Pintados... Its inhabitants are the Bisayas, a white people who have among them some blacks...who occupied it before the Bisayos".

²³⁹In Steiger, et al, A History of the Orient, p. 122-23.

term bisaya (v^o) with the supposed tribe in Western Borneo, which is also called by the same name. He believes that it is a "direct survival of the spread of the colonies from the pre-Buddhist Shri Vishaya (sic) state into Western Borneo and Formosa".

It has already been proved that the Shri Vishaya of Beyer or more correctly Sri Vijaya did not have any political or colonial connections with the Philippines in ancient times.²⁴⁰ Furthermore, his insistence of a Sri Vijaya period of Philippine history is purely without historical basis. If the evidence of the 'Bisayos de los Pintados' be taken at its face value, the term bisaya may suggest that the geographical region now known as Bisaya in the central Philippines was a territory (visaya) of a strong colonial or political power now unknown to history.²⁴¹

While Bis. bisaya var. visaya may have no cognates in Mal. or Jav., there is a possibility that the term may echo the political units of Pallava times. If the West Bornean term bisaya had connections with Sans. visaya, then

²⁴⁰Vide Juan R. Francisco, "Sri Vijaya and the Philippines: A Review", PSSHR, October-December, 1961.

²⁴¹Ibid.

little or no difficulty may be encountered in explaining the term in the Philippines.²⁴²

Kottam was one of the political units over which the Pallavas ruled in Tamilnad.²⁴³ Kottam may be Sans. Kos-tha, "treasury, an apartment, an enclosed place, a surrounding wall". In Southern Philippines, on the Island of Mindanao, one of the provinces is called Cotabato < ? Sans. Kos-tha (Tag. kúta) / Phil. bato, "stone", hence a "stone fort". The compound may have developed into a much more extensive connotation.

Directly west of the Bisayan Islands is a long strip of land running from northeast to southwest. It is the Island Province of Palawan. The name appears to be Sans. pallava, "sprout, shoot, bud, blossom". But, it may be South Indian dynasty, Pallava, which flourished in the 6th-9th centuries A.D.²⁴⁴ Whether historically the Pallavas or their vassals expanded beyond Champā or Sumatra, etc., is a moot question.

The Chinese records may show a solution. It has been shown that the Chinese Pa-lao-yu is the island of Pala-

²⁴²Vide & cf. John Carroll, "The Word Bisaya in the Philippines and Borneo", Sarawak Museum Journal, ix, 15-16 (n.s.), 1961, p. 499-541.

²⁴³Minakshi, loc. cit.

²⁴⁴Vide & cf. B. Ch. Chhabra, in JASB-Letters, 1, 1935, p. 1-64.

wan.²⁴⁵ If the Chinese dynastic records have Pallava in the same orthography as Palawan or any other Chinese rendering which ultimately is identified with it, it may be easier to show that Palawan is Sans. Moreover, if there was such a reference, then the historical participation of the Indians or Indianised Asians in colonizing the Island which they later called Palawan would no longer be a question of conjecture.

The major city of the Islands is Manila, which is situated on the west coast of Luzon. The name has been subjected to a number of studies, but the most interesting of these is worth giving some attention here. A. Chamberlain²⁴⁶ writes, "...Thus Manila really means "abounding in indigo trees (a Rubiaceae, ixora Manila :: Sans. nila, "In-

²⁴⁵F. Hirth & W. W. Rockhill, Chau Ju-kua: His Work in the Chinese and Arab Trade in the 12th & 13th Centuries entitled CHU-FAN-CHI, Chapters xl and xli. Vide also Rockhill, in T'ung Pao, xv-xvi, 1914, 1915.

Palawan ?Sans. pallava, "sprout", which is also the name of a South Indian dynasty that flourished in the 6th-9th centuries A.D. If Palawan is a pre-historic name of the present island of Palawan, and that it is derived from Sans. pallava, then the Chinese Pa-lao-yu may be explained according to the phonetic change from Sans. to Chinese as M. Stanislas Julien (in his Méthode pour déchiffrer et transcrire les noms Sanscrits que se rencontrent dans les livres Chinois, Paris, 1861) has explained every Sans. word found in the Chinese records and annals.

²⁴⁶A. Chamberlain, "Philippine Studies, V: The Origin of the Name Manila", American Antiquarian, xxiii, 5, p. 333-334.

digofera tinctoria, Papilionaceas). Nila, however, does not seem to be native Tagal or Malay word, but is a loan from Sanskrit..." The inference that may be deduced from this statement is that nila is the root with the formantic ma, a prefix used to form adjectives denoting abundance (or potentiality).

From the botanical point of view, Mr. Chamberlain's observation is negatived by his own argument. The fact that he assigns the Phil. nila to the Rubiaceae family, and that he derives it from Sans. nila, which belongs to the Papilionaceae family, shows his etymology untenable. No doubt, the Phil. nila and Sans. nila are phonetically related but the much more important aspects of the words have to be considered, particularly in regard to the derivations of botanical (and zoological) names. At least, derivation could be acceptable if both the plants in this case belong to one family, but more acceptable should they belong to the same genera and species.

On the basis of this, Mr. Chamberlain's etymology may here be dismissed, and assign the place name to its native origins: Manila < May-nilad (nilad, prefixed with may (ma), "a glabrous tree found along the seashore with coriaceous leaves - Scyphiphora hydrophyllacea, Gaertn."

with the dropping of (y and) the final d. This popular etymology holds more sense, owing to the fact that Manila, in ancient times, abounded in this kind of plant.

The last two words treated in this section do not refer to definite place names, but they have relevance to points, regions, etc. Ilk. disó, var. dis-só, "region, place, point" (also Igt. diso) < Sans. disah, "quarter, etc.". This word, however, might be related to Sans. deśa (vide §1.34, ante). Cf. Bat. desa, "cardinal points of the compass",²⁴⁷ and OJav. desa, "country, region, terrain, village" (for Ngoko language, desa means "village, rural municipality"²⁴⁸). Cf. also Mal. desa, "district" < Sans. deśah.

The other word is a part or section of a house, Bik., Ilk. & Tag. sála, "living room, the hall of a house" < Sans. śāla, "a house, hall, a large room". Cf., however, Sp. sála, "the living room of a house". If Phil. sála is not Sans., it may be Spanish.

1.39.2. MISCELLANY

1.39.21. MILITARY and WAR TERMS. J. Ph. Vogel's thesis that the penetration of Indian culture in South-East

²⁴⁷Gonda, p. 65.

²⁴⁸Ibid. Ngoko is the vocabulary of informal speech.

Asia was of a peaceful nature²⁴⁹ may be attested by the meagre terminologies relating to the military and war. In the Philippines, which may be considered to be in the outer sphere of Indian influence, there is a very insignificant collection of terms relating to the subject. "Weapons and arms of any kind" are known in Tag. as sandata, in Sulu, sinjata, Mar. sandiata. Sulu has a late meaning "firearms". The word may be Sans. samyatta, "coming into conflict with weapons", which may have been introduced through Mal. sendyata, senjata, "weapons of war of any kind". In OJav. texts senjata is "ready, armed", a Javanized form of Sans. samyatta, "prepared, ready" (Mod. Jav. senjata, "weapon esp. rifle").²⁵⁰

A weapon diffused and well-known in the Philippines is the "bow and arrow". It is known in Bik., Bis., Ilk., Mar. & Tag. as pána. But, in Sulu panah is "bow for the arrow". Mag., Pang. & So. Mang. pána is "arrow". The word may be Sans. bāna, "arrow", which may have been introduced through Mal. panah, "arrow, archer's bow".

²⁴⁹Biidragen, lxxiv, p. 192.

²⁵⁰Gonda, p. 347. Cf. Karo Batak, sinjata, which stands for the "full fighting kit of a soldier - rifle, sword or knife, powder horn, cartridge belt, etc." The word also applies to the accessories of a loom.

Equally widespread is Sans. kosṭha, "an enclosed place, a surrounding wall." Mal. kota (or Jav. kuta) may have been the intermediate form before it was finally adopted in the Phil.: Tag. kuta, Bis., Ilk. & Mar. kota, and Mag. & Sulu kuta.

It is doubtful whether Sulu jāga, var. jaga-jaga, "to guard, awake, etc." could be classified under this section. It is equally doubtful whether it is Sans. jāgr, "to watch, to keep awake". Pardo de Tavera derives Tag. daga, "sentinel" from Sans. via Mal. jaga, "awake, be alert", cpds. orang jaga, "watchman" (Jav. jaga, jagi, "guard, sentinel").

Sulu drāhka, var. dāhulāka, "mutiny, revolt, sedition", is certainly Sans. droha(ka), "injury, perfidy, treacher" (> Mal. durhaka, "treachery, treason against a ruler or the state"). "Enemy" in Mag. is satru, which may be Sans. śatru, "id.". No Mal. or Jav. forms are citable.

1.39.22. WORDS FOR RESPECT. Sans. ksantavya, "to be forgiven or pardoned" has been borrowed by OJav. as ksantawya, santawya and santabya, which is used where it follows a welcome or serves as an introduction to a proposal or request, e.g., "pardon me for addressing you" as

bhāgyānak ni nhulum, santawya nhulum umañaskāra, "happiness (to you), my son, pardon me for troubling you, I should like to administer the consecration to you..."²⁵¹ In the Indonesian Archipelago, the word undergoes changes as it is handed over from language to language. Santabe: e (< ya) tabe occurs in Bali; santabi in Bat., which is pronounced when passing in front of a person or used when saying words which may be impolite.²⁵² It also occurs in Mal. tabek, "salute, salutation, compliment".²⁵³

The history of Tag. santabi, "an expression requesting permission to pass before persons", may be traced through one of the OJav. forms: santabya. It is likely that the younger form of the OJav. which is either santabe or santabi may be the direct ancestor of the Tag. Bik., Bis., Ilk. & So. Mang. tabi, "polite expression, with permission, permit" (Bis. var. tabia) may have its parent in the dissyllabic form of the Indonesian : tabe or tabi; or as H. Kern had suggested that the san in Tag. may have been considered as a native prefix. Hence, the other Phil. languages have elided it to retain only the dissyllab-

²⁵¹Asramawasana-parva (15th Bk. OJav., in H. Juynboll, Dei Boeken van het oudjavaansche MBH, p. 48), cited in Gonda, p. 433.

²⁵²Gonda, ibid.

²⁵³Favre, Dictionnaire Malaise.

ic form.²⁵⁴

J. Gonda²⁵⁵ has treated this suggestion with caution stating that it is not necessary to follow Professor Kern "in assuming an ancient date for the origin of the short forms, because it occurs in both North and South Indonesia." He adds, "such abbreviations are apt to arise independently in more than one region". Professor Gonda's argument is well taken, but the Tag. var. tabí aptly demonstrates that even without the initial syllable san or sang, it can stand alone by itself, and that in some cases, sometimes very frequent, tabí with san or sang still is prefixed with compound formatives, e.g., i-pág-pa-san-tábi or i-pág-pa-sang-tábi nga po ninyo, litl. "please excuse or pardon (me) thou: please excuse (pardon) me".

The present writer, however, disagrees with H. Kern in assuming that the san was considered as a native element, equivalent to san in santaon (isang taon), "a whole year", which he presents for an analogy. While it may be true in some cases, this assumption does not apply to this particular word. It may be that Tag. var. tabí, and the same form in the other Phil. languages have resulted in the tendency of these languages toward dissyllabism. It can not

²⁵⁴VG, x, p. 275, 286.

²⁵⁵Op. cit., p. 434, fn. 11.

be attributed to the assumption on the basis of the analogy mentioned above.

Bik., Ilk. & Tag. pugay, expresses "the act of saluting or giving respect to a person of age or of station". With the necessary prefix, e.g., Tag. magpugay, Ilk. agpugay, "to salute, to respect", the nominal form is verbalized. It may be Sans. pūjā, "honour, worship, homage to superiors, respect".²⁵⁶ Cf. another word of almost identical meaning like pugay: Pamp. & Tag. puri < ?pudi, and So. Mang. pudi, "honour, praise, fame", which apparently is also Sans. pūjā (>Mal. puja, "sacrifice, offering").

H. Kern²⁵⁷ lists Bis. bána in form. gikabána as a "term or word for respect, esteem", and assumes it to originate from Sans. māna, "esteem, respect, regard, etc.". It is, however, very doubtful.

1.39.23. WORDS WHICH CAN NOT BE CLASSIFIED UNDER ANY OF THE DIVISIONS ABOVE, but have certainly contributed to the enrichment of the vocabulary of the Phil. languages are enumerated below.

(A) USED MAINLY AS ADJECTIVES. Tag. búti, "beautiful, pretty, dressed-up", may have its origin in Sans.

²⁵⁶Jav. puja, puji, "homage", Mal. & Bat. puji, "praise, to praise".

²⁵⁷Kern-2, p. 282.

bhūti, "adornment". Likewise, Pamp. & Tag. sūsi, "clean, pure, neat" is derived from Sans. suci, "pure, clear". However, no intermediate forms of būti are found in Mal. or Jav. But, sūsi is found in Mal. as suchi, "pure (ritually, of persons, food or drink)". Sūdi, "brilliance, lustrous, noble, exalted" is the Ilk. form of Sans. suddhi, "purity, holiness, freedom from defilement".

Bis. banyāga, "mean, base, shameful, disgraceful, a term of abuse", is probably Sans. pandaka, "eunuch, weakling", according to H. Kern.²⁵⁸ It is more likely that banyāga is native Phil.

Sans. hīna, ppp. of 3. $\sqrt{hā}$, "fatigued, weak, deficient, defective, insufficient" becomes Ojav. hina, "defective, poor, bereft", Mod. Jav. ina, "defective, blind, be in want" and Mal. hina, "mean, humble, degraded". The Phil. forms more or less retain all the ideas embodied in the original and intermediate forms:- Bik. & Tag. hina, "weak, reduced, subtracted", So. Mang. mahina (with native prefix, ma-), "weary", and Sulu hinā, "mean, ignoble".

The sentence "I do not establish the objects of all senses" (I am not performing actions) is in Ojav. ma-pra-wrtti (pra-vrtti, "action") s-um-iddha-ken (Sans. siddha, "accomplished") pa-wisaya (Sans. visaya, "objects") sarven-

²⁵⁸Ibid.

driya (Sans. sarvendriya).²⁵⁹ The OJav. siddha appears to be the intervening form between Tag. sidhâ, "laborious, diligence, industrious" and Sans. siddha, "thoroughly skilled or versed in, diligent, etc.".

Sans. śighra, "rapid, quick" is the parent of Mal. sigra (Favre), sēgēra, "speedily (beside sigēra, and Min. sugiro) and Mag. & Tag. siglá, "quick, active". Mar. bodiman, "talkative, fussy" seems to be a doubtful borrowing from Sans. buddhimān, "endowed with understanding, intelligent, learned, wise". Cf., however, Tag. budhí, "conscience," and Bis. budhi, "treason". Sulu gūma expresses the idea "good" which is implied from the bound member wai gūna, "good for nothing" found in the glossary of Sulu vocabulary.²⁶⁰ < Sans. guṇa, "quality" (> Mal. guṇa, "value, utility").

(B) VERBS, QUASI-VERBS OR BASE FOR VERB FORMATION.

While an intermediate word is not citable in Jav. or Mal., Sans. himsā, "injury, harm, hurt", may be the origin of Bik. himsá, "to hatch, prob. obs., to be violent, violence". Cf., however, isaka, according to J. Gonda²⁶¹ is a corrupted form of Jav. himsaka, "hostile" (< ?himsā). Bis. sulá,

²⁵⁹Gonda, p. 120

²⁶⁰JRAS-SB, xvi and xviii.

²⁶¹Ibid., p. 182

"to feel pain" may show a Sans. origin in sūla, "grief, pain, sorrow" (< √sul, "to inflict pain"). Tag. sulá, "to strike", which has a cognate in Jav., sula, "split, sharp stake for impaling", is Sans. sūla, "any sharp instrument, or pointed dart, spike".

Sipát, "to slap with the open palm", may be Ilk. form of Sans. capeta, "slap with an open palm".²⁶²

Sans. sāra (< √sr), "rend, destroy, crush" appears to be borrowed by Ilk. sāri, "to break through (said of buffaloes or cattle breaking through an enclosure or fence)". Cf. Ilk. sāra, "horn, prob. metaphoric - that which is used for butting, breaking or rending, the horn of an animal", which may derive from the nominal form of Sans. verb √sr, that is, sāra, "arrow, that which is used for cleaving". Cf., furthermore, Tag. sirā, "destroy, spoil" (So. Mang. sira, "to waste, break") < ?Sans. ched < chid, "to split, act of splitting (T)", and Bali. cedanga (Sans. cheda, "cutting off, deprivation" and aṅga, "limb").

Puná, "to repair, to remedy an evil", may be in Bis. an echo of Sans. punah, "new again", but this perhaps is confused with pūrṇa, "full".²⁶³ This is apparently doubt-

²⁶²Burrow, *op. cit.*, p. 383. Cf. Kan. capparisu, "to slap", cappali, "clapping the hands", Tel cappata, "clap of the hands". Cf., also, Tag. palakpak, onom., "clapping".

²⁶³Kern-2, p. 285.

ful.

Sans. pāna, "drinking (esp. spirituous liquor), draught (in RV)", becomes Bis. pāna, "to drink", but there are no Mal. or Jav. forms.

It is without doubt that the Ilk. word in its obs. usage, sandi, "to join", and cur. usage, "to substitute", is Sans. sandhi, "connection, conjunction, union". It has a cognate in Mal., i.e., sēndi, "joint" (Ach. sondi, "joint, hinge", Tbat. sandii, "limbs", KBat. sendi, "lath or plank which joins the piles or pillars of the house").

"Union or coming together" is expressed in Tag. as salamuhā ("to assemble, mix") < Sans. samūha, "assemblage, collection, community" (> Mal. samuha, samoha, "company, a meeting, reunion, crowd". Bis. sāmi, "to unite one's self with" < Sans. sāmya, "equality, parity" is doubtful.

Tag. ligta (var. ?likta), "omission, omit", may be Sans. rikta (< ric, "to leave behind"), "empty, void", also "emptied".

The verbal forms in Bis. meaning "to admonish, to exhort" and "to become known, to publish" are sudāya < Sans. codya^a, "to importunate a creditor, to be criticised, consideration, etc.", and sūta < ? Sans. cyuta, "streaming forth from (litl. & fig., as speech from the language organs)",²⁶⁴

²⁶⁴Kern-2, p. 286.

respectively. Sudāya has a form in Jav. codya, "blaming". While suta derives from cyuta, it has a form in Bali. cuta, which refers to "fallen or degraded brahmans"²⁶⁵ (< Sans. cyuta, "fallen, morally sunk, deprived of").

Sans. asūya, "intolerance, grumbling at, displeased with (loc.), displeasure, indignation", is in Ilk. and Tag. sūyà, "disgust, dislike, grudge, grumble, displeasure, etc.". In a very special sense, it means "the cessation of one's desire for a kind of food". Figuratively, but rare, it is also the "cessation of sexual desire".

Atau and atawa, "either, or" are the Mal. forms of Sans. athavā, "either-or, or rather" (Jav. & Sund. atawa, Jav. var. utawa < Sans. uta vā, "or (else)"). It is the first Mal. form that Sulu borrows - atau, "either". Bis. yawat, "how little!, anything, something", has been derived by H. Kern²⁶⁶ from Sans. yavat, "as little, how great!, as much". The derivation is doubtful, for there are no forms in either Mal. or Jav.

(C) WHILE NO JAV. OR MAL. FORM CAN BE CITED, Tag. sāla, "dam, dike" may be Sans. sāla, "rampart, fortification". This is opposed to Pardo de Tavera's derivation -

²⁶⁵Gonda, p. 172

²⁶⁶Kern-2, p. 286.

Sans. sarah, "pond, lake".

OJav. mandala, "a settlement of persons devoting themselves to spiritual life, religious territories" < Sans. mandala, "circle, district, territory", appears to be Tag. mandala, "circular pile of harvested paddy that is ready for threshing".

Bis. punāsa, "the lost (journey)" is perhaps, on the suggestion of H. Kern, a corrupted form of Sans. pranāśa "loss, vanishing, etc."²⁶⁷ While there are no citable forms in Mal. or Jav., the resemblance of the two words may be fortuitous, although future research may show a historical connection between Bis. and Sans.

A few of the above discussed Sans. words have recently been considered by scholars like T. Burrow to have their origins in Dravidian or Austrie.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁷Kern-2, p. 285.

²⁶⁸The Sanskrit Language: Vide also, F. B. J. Kuiper, "Proto-Munda Words in Sanskrit", Verhandelingen, 11, 3; and Robert Caldwell, A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian.