

The first standard grammar of Malay

George Werndly's 1736 *Maleische spraakkunst*

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ABSTRACT

A brief biography of George Henrik Werndly and description of contemporaneous development of linguistics is followed by a perusal of Melchior Leydekker's and Petrus van der Vorm's policy of strictly using Classical Malay in Christian publication, that served as basis of Werndly's work. Then, a detailed perusal of Werndly's 1736 Malay grammar, in particular the divisions ("books") on (I) spelling, (II) morphology, and (III) syntax, is illustrated by reproductions of original text passages. Elements of the complicated Latin-script spelling are demonstrated in detail and compared with that of other authors in separate tables. Werndly's grammatical terminology is considered, and where Arabisms are used, Werndly's spelling is provided besides modern Indonesian cognates and Arabic etymons. Signs of a likely precolonial Malayan grammar tradition are inspected. Finally, the partly unexpected influence of Werndly's work on language policy of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is inspected.

KEYWORDS

Jawi-script; Latinization; grammar; High-Malay; language-policy; Malay-morphology; Malay-syntax.

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1. INTRODUCTION¹

About the earliest years in George Henrik Werndly's² biography not much seems to be known. Early reports even erroneously named Zürich, Switzerland, the birth place of his father,³ as his (Fäsi 1819: 1; Van Troostenburg de Bruyn 1893: 480), as pointed out to me by Ludwig Hartz (personal communication). As noted in the doctoral thesis of Beestermöller (1914: 85) and the biographies of preachers of Lingen (Tenfelde 1968: 85), Werndly was born on 25 October 1693 in Beesten in the county (*Grafschaft*) of Lingen. As of 1705 he attended the Latin School, to then be immatriculated at the academic gymnasium in Lingen to study theology and oriental languages. In 1717 he applied for a clergyman's position with the Dutch East India Company. He boarded ship at Rotterdam in that same year, and arrived in Batavia in early 1718. After a half-year assignment in Padang (West Sumatra) where he began learning Malay, he was posted in Batavia where he preached in Malay for the first time on Sunday, 12 November 1719. He was subsequently stationed in Makassar (South Sulawesi), where he remained for three years.

Having gained repute for his knowledge of Malay, he was recalled to Batavia in 1723 to join the editing board charged with reworking the Bible translation of the deceased Melchior Leydekker (also spelled *Leijdecker*, as in Swellengrebel 1974). Due to the ill health of Petrus van der Vorm who had originally been in charge, Werndly performed an increasingly important and responsible role. Upon completion in 1729, duplicate sets of the translation of the New and Old Testament, each in Latin and Jawi⁴ script, were carried to the Netherlands by two persons on different ships. One of the two was Werndly. The translations were then printed in Amsterdam (*Biblia* 1731, 1733), employing Werndly's spelling system.

There followed a longer stay in the Netherlands where he prepared a

¹ This is an updated version of my presentation at the ATMA-Goethe Universität Colloquium German-speaking scholarship and the Malay world: Exploring an empirical tradition, Bangi, Selangor, 11-12 March 2002. I am indebted to the colloquium organizers James Collins and Bernd Nothofer, and to the director of ATMA at that time, Dato' Shamsul Amri Baharuddin, for organizational and financial support that permitted me to take part. I am also grateful to Hein Steinhauer for inviting me to contribute this article for this *Wacana* issue. My special thanks to Lourens de Vries for insight into a preliminary version of his impressive and very informative article about Lambert ten Kate's natural philosophical work and its influence on Werndly (De Vries n.d.), and to Ludwig Hartz for updating my insight into Werndly's early biography, particularly with references to Beestermöller (1914) and Tenfelde (1968). I am particularly indebted to Gerhard Ertl for financing my post-retirement employment at the Fritz Haber Institute, and wish to thank the present department director, Martin Wolf, for permission to use department facilities in my linguistic research, and to Marcel Krenz and Albrecht Ropers for technical support.

² This is how the name is spelled in Werndly (1732 and 1736). In Werndly (1735c) it is spelled as DJerdjjs Henrik Werndlij (with DJ and dj as ligatures). Alternative spellings of his Christian names and surname are respectively: Georg ~ George; Heinrich ~ Hendrik ~ Henric ~ Henrik; and Werndleij ~ Werndley ~ Werndli ~ Werndlij ~ Werndly.

³ Johannes Thomas Werndly, born 1665, died 1756 (Tenfelde 1968: 61).

⁴ Jawi script is the Malay adaption of the Arabic script, additionally having *ca* (چ), *ga* (گ), *nga* (ڠ), *nya* (نڠ), and *pa* (پ) that do not occur in Arabic.

number of publications (Werndly 1730, 1732, 1735a, 1735b, and 1735c), so too his presently reviewed *Maleische spraakkunst* 'Malay grammar' (Werndly 1736). This latter remains an outstanding landmark in the history of Malay linguistic learning, that has immortalized his name. In 1737 King Friedrich Wilhelm I of Prussia accorded him the post of professor extraordinarius for philology at the Gymnasium of Lingen in Westphalia. His inaugural address was published in Amsterdam as Werndly (1738), and reprinted in his father's native Zürich in the *Tempe Helvetica* (Werndly 1740). In the early 1740-s he returned to Batavia where he died in August 1744. The above biographic notes are compiled from Fäsi (1819: 1-2), Van Troostenburg de Bruyn (1893: 480-481), Beestermöller (1914: 85-87), Stibbe (1921: 758-759), Tenfelde (1968: 85-86), Taubken (1981: 348), and Werndly (1736: 254-265).

In the course of its long literary history, Malay had experienced profound culture influence from India, China, and the Arabo-Islamic world. But although Sanskrit, Chinese, and Arabic are – besides Greek and Latin – languages with the longest-standing grammatical traditions in the world, no indigenous grammar of Malay has become known before Ali Haji (1857 and 1859) viceroy of Riau's *Bustanu'l-katibin* (see Van Ronkel 1901) and *Kitab Pengetahuan Bahasa* (see Kridalaksana 1991). As we will see in the course of this review, some Malay gramatical learning may well have existed before the seventeenth century. Albeit, written records of it have not survived or been explicitly cited in accessible sources.

Two seemingly contradicting principles appear to have played a decisive role in European linguistic learning of that period. The one was continued application of Graeco-Latin grammatical concepts that had already been the guiding principle in European linguistic learning of the Middle Ages. Languages were typically described in terms of Latin grammar the way it was presented for example in Donatus' *Ars minor* and Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae* (Izzo 1984: 270-271). This principle was then subverted by interest in Semitic languages caused by study of the Old Testament and acquaintance with scientific literature from the Arabo-Islamic world. Scholars were confronted with languages exhibiting grammatical features quite different from the familiar Indo-European (Robins 1968: 96-99), and grammars appeared, amongst others, of an Iberian vernacular of Arabic by Pedro de Alcalá in 1505, and of Hebrew by Johann Reuchlin in 1506 (Izzo 1984: 274). This led to a new descriptive principle, quite different from the classicist prescriptive one. Accompanied by increased self-assurance of an awakening urban middle-class, this resulted on one side to distinct nationalistic sentiment in the question of language use as opposed to the cosmopolitanism of the courts, but on the other to more uniformity or standardization (Kukenheim 1932: 198-211; see also Jansen 2003).

By irony of history, the legacy of Arabic grammatical learning that culminated in the eighth-century *al-Kitāb fi an-naḥw* 'The Book on Grammar' of Sibawaih, nickname of Abū'l-Hasan 'Amr ibn 'Uthmān ibn Qanbar of Basra (Robins 1968: 98; Amirova, Ol'chovikov, and Rozjdestvenskij 1980: 139), did

not reach the Malay world in the course of its Islamization, but by a roundabout route over Europe. Collins (2001) traced its chief stations: the year of final triumph of the *Reconquista* in Granada, 1492, also saw the appearance of the *Gramática de la lengua Castellana* 'Grammar of the Castilian language' of Antonio de Nebrija that profited from an Arabic grammatical tradition inherited from the Western Caliphate. Then, in 1584, at the height of last Spanish attempts to regain control of the Netherlands, the anonymous Dutch grammar *Twe-spraack vande Nederduitsche letterkunst* 'Dialogue about the Dutch (literally: Low-German)⁵ grammar' appeared, possibly edited by Hendrik Laurenszoon Spieghel⁶. In the formulation of these first comprehensive standard grammars of Castilian Spanish and of Dutch respectively, both nations seem to have appropriated their grammatical learning via the community of the respective former master in the process of establishing and consolidating own liberated national identities.

At the same time, grammar gained significance in Christian proselytising, and while the new Spanish grammatical tradition led to grammars of Amerindian languages, for example of Quechua in 1560,⁷ so too, as Collins (2001: 1-2) notes, did Dutch grammar awareness bring Malay to the distinction of a place in the illustrious list of languages with a grammar written before 1700. There even were three Malay grammars: a short sketch with grammatical observations by Sebastiaen Danckaerts appended to the dictionary of Wiltens and Danckaerts (1623); a short Malay grammar by Roman (1674), of which a preliminary version had appeared in 1655; and an augmented Latin adaption by Lorber (1688) of the latter cited grammar. But with the appearance of the presently reviewed grammar of Werndly (1736), Malay not only pulled abreast with Dutch and Spanish in boasting a grammar of at least equal scholarly expertise, it acquired a standard grammar for Malay-language publishing and tuition that was to remain in force for a whole century.

2. CONFLICTING INTERPRETATIONS OF LIKE BASIC PREMISES

The 1730s, during which Werndly's works were published, were pivotal in the history of Dutch missionary publications in Malay. Before that, the language of these publications had mainly been Low Malay, particularly contact vernaculars of the language, and featured numerous loans from Portuguese. Indeed, Christian communities in the Dutch colony spoke either local Malay vernaculars or Creole Portuguese. Not surprisingly, the Malay grammar of Roman (1674) revealed considerable Javanese Malay influence (Collins 1991: 75-79), and – like Wiltens and Danckaerts (1623) and Lorber (1688) – even included features of Ambon Malay (Mahdi 2007: 98, 100).

⁵ Dutch originally was a Low-German language and referred to itself till a few centuries ago as *Nederduitsch* (German *Niederdeutsch*), hence it is still referred to in English as *Dutch*.

⁶ I will refer to it as "Twe-spraack (1584)". With regard to the actual multiple authorship, Dibbets (1992: 44) speaks of "the *Twe-spraack* authors". On the question of Spieghel's role as editor of the *Twe-spraack*, see Dibbets (1985: 23-26).

⁷ And after first grammars of Portuguese in 1536, 1539, and 1576 (Izzo 1984: 274), there appeared the first grammar of Guarani in 1639 (Robins 1968: 103).

An important question in Bible translation had been that of the “mother tongue” or “language of the country”, in which particularities of dialect and style, particularly that of folk vernaculars and contact dialects had considerable significance (Koper 1956: 50-75). With regard to missionary work in the Malay world, this led to controverse discussions on the role of Malay as *lingua franca* and the influence of Creole Portuguese on the Malay vernaculars of Christian communities (Koper 1956: 75-86), as well as the choice between Malay and local languages such as Balinese (Swellengrebel 1974). Following the basic principle of comprehensibility for indigenous laypersons, Danckaerts (1623: in the dedicational preface without page numeration) explained his preference for the use of the Low Malay vernacular, that alone being understood in the region (Mahdi 2016: 112). This was later elaborately supported by Valentyn (1698). Quite apart from that, the language used by almost all seventeenth-century Bible translators abounded in Portuguese loanwords current in the Low Malay of the Christian communities. Portuguese even came to be regarded as the language of Christianity *par excellence* (Dalgado as quoted in Groeneboer 1993: 26).

Nonetheless, the ubiquitous use of Creole Portuguese in the Dutch colony was the source of certain official unease (Schuchardt 1891: 2-3; Drewes 1929: 137-140), and this may have been one of the reasons for Melchior Leydekker to propound a different language policy in Malay Bible translation. It rejected the use of vernaculars, and eliminated all Portuguese and even Latin words from Biblical Malay, replacing these with loanwords from Arabic, the main source of religious terms in Islamic classical Malay. This was implemented in his Malay catechism, Leydekker (1685). The author supplemented it with a list of “difficult words”, mainly Arabisms, and then elaborately substantiated this policy in a letter to the Christian Synode of North Holland of 15 November 1697, of which the relevant passage was published in Valentyn (1698: 9-30).

Another important factor in Leydekker’s motivations may have been current views in Dutch linguistic scholarship. This was at that time characterized by a profound conservatism. The already mentioned first Dutch grammar of *Twe-spraack* (1584) called attention to what was considered the destructive influence of loanwords on the Dutch language, particularly from French and other Romance languages. That critical attitude became part of a puristic campaign in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to preserve Dutch as a national language by fighting such contaminations, even though Latin remained the language of scientific discourse (Jansen 2003).

Leydekker’s plea for elimination of Portuguese words from his proposed standard Malay was in full agreement with the puristic approach in language policy in the Netherlands. Werndly (1736: LXIV) followed suit, considering Low Malay a colloquial vernacular without spelling or other rules, so that a grammar could only be based on High Malay, that is the language of classical Malay literature. However, Werndly’s implementation of Leydekker’s language policy in Bible translations made these so incomprehensible for the average reader, that Governor General Gustaaf Willem van Imhoff (governed

1743-1750) had an explanatory dictionary published solely for reading the Bible (Drewes 1929: 147; Swellengrebel 1974: 173).

The controversy about either implementing Low-Malay vernaculars or a High-Malay standard in Bible translation would continue till into the twentieth century (see Swellengrebel 1974: 176-181, 200-203), with Bible publications appearing in Low Malay as well as in High Malay throughout the nineteenth (see Mahdi 2016: 114-117). Meanwhile, in the preface of his Malay grammar – as noted by De Vries (n.d.) – Werndly (1736: XLV-XLVI, XLVIII) quotes Lambert ten Kate's 1723 distinction of various sociolinguistic speech levels of Dutch in describing the same for Malay.

Work on a High Malay grammar along the lines promulgated by Leydekker was apparently begun by Petrus van der Vorm who completed an elaborate manuscript in 1703 (Van der Vorm n.d.). At first, Werndly simply meant to re-edit and augment it. But after comparing it with Dutch grammar books in the Netherlands, the author introduced more fundamental changes (Werndly 1736: LXV-LXVI), bringing it into conformity with contemporaneous grammatical state-of-the-art. The resulting reedited version of the grammar is divided into four divisions called "books" (*boeken*), of which the first three will be reviewed here:

- I. on the spelling (*van de spelling*, pp. 2-58);
- II. on the morphology (*van de woordgronding*, pp. 59-130);
- III. on the syntax (*van de woordvoeging*, pp. 131-195); and
- IV. on poetry (*van de dichtkunst*, pp. 196-226).

Already a comparison of relative lengths of the first three divisions is remarkable. The 57-page very detailed treatment of the spelling that even involved a non-Latin script was nevertheless shorter than the discussion of the morphology (72 pages) and syntax (65), respectively representing 29.3%, 37.1%, and 33.6% of the total. In spite of a conscientious study of the spelling, he paid even more attention to a profound analysis of the actual grammar. By comparison, the already cited Dutch grammar of *Twe-spraack* (1584) dedicated chapters I till V to spelling and pronunciation (pp. 1-62), Chapter VI to morphology that even included elaborate declension tables of Latin nouns and pronouns (pp. 63-90), and Chapter VII, the last, to syntax and wealth of the language (pp. 90-112), that is respectively 54.9%, 24.8%, and 20.3%.

In addition to the above-listed four divisions of the grammar itself, the edition encompassed furthermore:

- (a) an introductory preface that included an elaborate history of the Malays and their language (pp. I-LXVIII); and two appended supplements:

- (b) a comprehensive bibliography of published and unpublished works in, or translations into, Malay by European authors (pp. 227-342); and
- (c) an annotated listing of 69 original Malay manuscript titles (pp. 343-357).

MALEISCHE SPRAAKKUNST,

Uit de eige schriften der Maleiers opgemaakt;

Met eene

VOORREDEN,

Behelzende eene inleiding tot dit werk,

En een

Dubbeld Aanhangfel

Van twee

BOEKZALEN

*Van boeken, in deze tale zo van Europeërs,
als van Maleiers geschreven.*

Door

GEORGE HENRIK WERNDLY.



Te AMSTERDAM,

Op kosten van de E. A. Heren BEWINDHEBBEREN
der Oost-Indische Maatschappye gedrukt by R. en G.
WETSTEIN, drukkers van de E. Maatschappye.

MDCCXXXVI.

Figure 1. The title page of Werndly's 1736 Malay Grammar.

3. DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW LATIN-SCRIPT SPELLING

The most conspicuous novel feature in the standard Bible translations (Biblia 1731 and Biblia 1733), contrasting it with seventeenth century Latin-script Malay texts of Dutch translators (Daniel Brouwerius, Franchois Caron, Sebastiaen Danckaerts, Jan van Hasel, Justus Heurnius, Frederick de Houtman, Joannes Roman, Albert Ruyl, Caspar Wiltens), was the spelling.

The first attempt at a renovated Latin-script spelling of Malay based on an as close as possible transcription of the Jawi-script spelling was made by Leydekker (1685) himself. His spelling featured a number of digraphs to represent the variety of Arabic consonants occurring only in loanwords from that language. Those are actually not distinguished in Malay pronunciation (see Table 2). A further step was achieved in the spelling guide of Van der Vorm (1708) that additionally systematized the presentation of the vowels and improved the transcription of glottal stop. However, even after this, the proposed transcription spelling remained a far cry from that which would be implemented in the mentioned standard Bible editions.

Van der Vorm's (1708) spelling guide appeared after his completion in 1701 of Leydekker's unfinished translation of the New Testament that would be published as Biblia (1731). Therefore, it must have reflected, beside his own innovations, also all additional changes that were made by Leydekker himself after his 1685 publication. Hence, all novelties not reflected in Van der Vorm (1708) were apparently the result of the work of the 1723 till 1729 editing commission, in which Werndly played a particularly important role. A guide for the new spelling was indeed provided for the first time by Werndly (1732: *folii 5r-12v*), so I will simply refer to it as Werndly's spelling, as contrasted with Van der Vorm's (1708), and Leydekker's (1685).⁸ Indeed, the final formulation of the new Malay spelling standard seems for the greater part to have been the work of Werndly.

Amongst Van der Vorm's (1708) contributions one must note the use of *u* and *uw* for short and long *u* respectively (see Table 1). In this, the second component of the *uw* digraph merely represents the Jawi-script *wāu* (و) that serves to indicate the "length" of this vowel. Strictly speaking, Malay does not distinguish vowel length. The distinction of long vowels in the script served to indicate place of stress, as the articulation of vowels in stressed syllables is indeed somewhat longer than in not stressed. In Arabic and Jawi script, a short vowel is noted either by a diacritic above or below the consonant, or not at all, while a long vowel is represented by a *yāi* (ي) or *wāu* (و). Leydekker (1685) still spelled *oe* for long *ū*. Even as late as in his letter to the Christian Synode of North Holland of 15 November 1697, published in part by François Valentyn, Leydekker had rendered the words *gunung* 'mountain', *Yunani* 'Greece', and *Rum* 'Rome' as *goènong*, *Joenan*, and *Roem* respectively (Valentyn 1698: 13, 16).

⁸ As I have not had the opportunity to access Leydekker (1685) itself, I can only infer Leydekker's spelling from the reprint of his "list of difficult words" in *Collectanea* (1708: 283-286, in the third section).

IPA symbol	Leydekker (1685)		v.d. Vorm (1708)		Werndly (1736)			modern Indon.
	short	long	short	long	short	long		
						non-final	final	
a	a	aa	a	aʌ	a	â		a
ə	a, e		e		e			e
ɛ ~ e	e		}	æ æj	e	ej		{
aj	ei					e (é)	ai	
i	i	ij	i	y	i	î	ij	i
o	au		}	o ow	o	aw		{
aw								
u	o, u	oe	u	uw	u	û	uw	u

Table 1. Comparison of transcriptions of Malay vowels.

Van der Vorm’s strictly rational representation of the vowels had, from a formal point of view, doubtlessly been an improvement to Leydekker’s, inspite of its somewhat unwieldy appearance. But it was abandoned in Werndly’s spelling. The latter introduced a somewhat complicated system of long and short vowels which actually exceeded the complexity of the Jawi-script original (see Table 1). Besides representing the long correspondents of *a*, *i*, and *u* as *â*, *î*, and *û* respectively, the two latter were replaced in final position by *ij* and *uw* respectively. The most conspicuous particularity of Werndly’s Latin-script rendering of Malay is indeed the great variety of vowel notations, as already noted in 1848 by Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munsyi who collaborated in the Malay translation of the Bible from the English (Besar and Roolvink 1953: 120):

Maka semuanya itu kukenal belaka hurufnya melainkan bersalahan noktanya sahaja. Karena dalam surat-surat Melayu tiada demikian banyak noktanya.

‘I recognized all the letters throughout, and only the vowel-notations were wrong. Because, in the Malay script, the vowel-notations are not that numerous.’

125 Sû'âl. 'Apâtah permintâ'an jagg ka-
'ampat?
Djawâb. Rawtij kâmiij fahârij p berilah
'âkan kâmiij pada hârij 'ini, 'ija 'itu, hendak-
lah kirânja meng'upajâkan pada kâmiij fakalijên
rezikhiij tûboh, 'opâja 'awlehnya 'itu kâmiij
meng'âkaw, bahuwa 'argkaw 'ini sendirij djû-
ga 'ada samâta p pôhon fakalijên kabajikan,
dân bahuwa bâjik pergintâ'an, dan kafusâhan
kâmiij, bâjik segala kârunjâmu 'itu tijâda ber-
gûna 'âkan kâmiij melâjinkan dergan berkatmu:
dân 'opâja sebâb 'itu kâmiij menjârahk pergha-
râpan kâmiij deri pada samowa machlûkh, dan
menatapkan 'itu di'âtas 'argkaw sâdja.

Figure 2. A sample of Werndly’s Malay transcription.

An example of a text in Werndly's Malay transcription, being question and answer no. 125 in his Catechism translation (Werndly 1735a: 21) is shown in Figure 2. The text in modern spelling is:

125 Soal. Apatah permintaan yang keempat?

Jawab. Roti kami sehari-hari berilah akan kami pada hari ini, yaitu, hendaklah kiranya mengupayakan pada kami sekalian rezeki tubuh, supaya olehnya itu kami mengaku, bahwa Engkau ini sendiri juga ada semata-mata pohon sekalian kebaikan, dan bahwa baik percintaan, dan kesusahan kami, baik segala karuniaMu itu tiada berguna akan kami melainkan dengan berkatMu: dan supaya sebab itu kami menyarak pengharapan kami dari pada semua makhluk, dan menatapkan itu di atas Engkau saja.

'125 Question. What is the fourth request?

Answer. Our daily bread do give us this day, that is, do grant us all bodily well-being, that by it we may confess, that You alone are the tree of grace, and that our suffering and troubles, as well as all Your benevolence would be in vain but for Your blessings: and for that reason we take our hopes away from all creatures, and place it unto You only.'

A particular feature of Malay is the vowel schwa ə , for which there was no specific character in either Arabic or Jawi script. However, as the vowel in a stressed syllable in standard Malay is never schwa, Jawi script had an indirect means of at least noting that the vowel in a given position was not schwa by explicitly spelling it as long vowel (even in an unstressed position). Leydekker had spelled the schwa either as *a* or *e*, but also used the latter to spell $\text{ɛ} \sim \text{e}$ (the Malay lower mid-front vowel having dialectally variable articulations). Van der Vorm now used *e* only to spell schwa, and introduced æ for the lower mid-front vowel. On this point, Werndly made a step backwards by spelling both ə and $\text{ɛ} \sim \text{e}$ as *e*.⁹

No less remarkable was Van der Vorm's treatment of Malay $\text{ɛ} \sim \text{e}$ and *ay* as short and long variants of the same vowel, spelling them æ and æj respectively, and similarly also Malay $\text{ɔ} \sim \text{o}$ (dialectally variable articulations of the lower mid-back vowel) and *aw* as *o* and *ow*. Neither of these mono- and diphthongue pairs occurs in Arabic, and Jawi-script spelling expanded the use of *yāi*, that spells *y* and *ī* in Arabic, to also spell $\text{ɛ} \sim \text{e}$ and *ay*, and that of *wāu*, that spells *w* and *ū* in Arabic, to also spell $\text{ɔ} \sim \text{o}$ and *aw*. This extended use of the characters in Jawi-script spelling, that underlies the treatment by Van der Vorm, could not have originated from Arabic grammar, in which the feature did not occur. It therefore apparently reflected some early grammar tradition of pre-Islamic Malay, ultimately having a Sanskrit origin. Indeed Sanskrit phonetics as provided by Paṇini treat *e* and *ai* as the *guṇa* and *ṛddhi* extensions of *i*, and *o* and *au* as the respective same of *u* (see for example Vasu 1962: 3-4). Hence, Van der Vorm's spelling on this point, that was retained by Werndly (see Table 1), demonstrates that a Malay grammar tradition must have existed, apparently originating from a (pre-Islamic) Hindu past.

⁹ This is also how the two vowels are spelled in modern Indonesian Malay.

Another feature of Van der Vorm's spelling concerned Arabic and Jawi *thā* (ث) that had been transcribed as *ç* by Leydekker (1685), as in *çaldjoe* 'snow' (modern *salju*),¹⁰ but as *tz* in *tzaldju* by Van der Vorm (1708). This was retained, but with the *tz* and *dj* as ligatures by Werndly (1736: 12). A *zā* (ظ), transcribed *tl* as in *tlalim* 'despotic' (modern *lalim*) by Leydekker (1685), was rendered *thl* by Van der Vorm. However, Werndly returned to Leydekker's digraph, refashioning it to a ligature. A significant innovation of Van der Vorm was the introduction of distinct representations of *alif* (ا) as *Λ*, of *'ain* (ع) as *Λ*, and of the *hamza* (ء) by an apostrophe ('). They had remained unaccounted for in Leydekker's transcription. Van der Vorm's spelling principle was retained by Werndly, but using other symbols, namely an apostrophe for *alif*, uppercase *ʌ* and lowercase *ʌ* for *'ain*, and ^u for *hamza*.

In the actual choice of Latin-script representations of individual Jawi-script characters, Werndly's most significant innovation was perhaps the replacement of Leydekker's and Van der Vorm's *c* for *qāf* (ق) by a *kh*-ligature. The older transcription had the disadvantage that before *e* or *i*, this *c* had to be replaced – in accordance with European spelling tradition – by *k*. As a consequence, the distinction of *qāf* from *kāf* (ك) was obscured in this environment. It remains unclear, why one had not used *q* for *qāf* (as for example much later by Roorda van Eysinga 1877), because Van der Vorm was evidently well aware of the currency of that mode of transliteration in Europe, citing transcription, character name, and explanation respectively as (Van der Vorm 1708: 10 #21):

21.	C	<i>Caaf</i>	<i>Cowf der Hebreewen, onse q of kh.</i>
'21.	C.	<i>Caaf</i>	<i>Cowf of the Hebrews, our q or kh.'</i>

4. DESCRIPTION OF JAWI-SCRIPT SPELLING

Book I is dedicated to spelling, for which Werndly also cited the Arabic term that he spelled as *'Imlâ* (modern Indonesian *imla* 'dictation', Alwi and Sugono 2001: 426).

The treatment of spelling and phonology by Werndly (1736: 2-58), however, is not primarily concerned with Latin-script transcription. Chapter I (pp. 2-17) is dedicated to the Jawi script, noting differences in the consonant inventory of Arabic and Malay (p. 7), variations in the form of the characters and diacritics or of the connection between adjacent characters in manuscripts (pp. 8-10), and the complicated situation of ligatures and specific positional variations in the form of characters (pp. 10-17). The exposition of the Latin-script spelling is practically restricted to the tables of characters on pp. 3-4, one of which is reproduced in Figure 3 (see also Table 2).

¹⁰ Spelled *thalj* by Wilkinson (1901-03: 211), *tsaldjoe* by Klinkert (1902: 292).

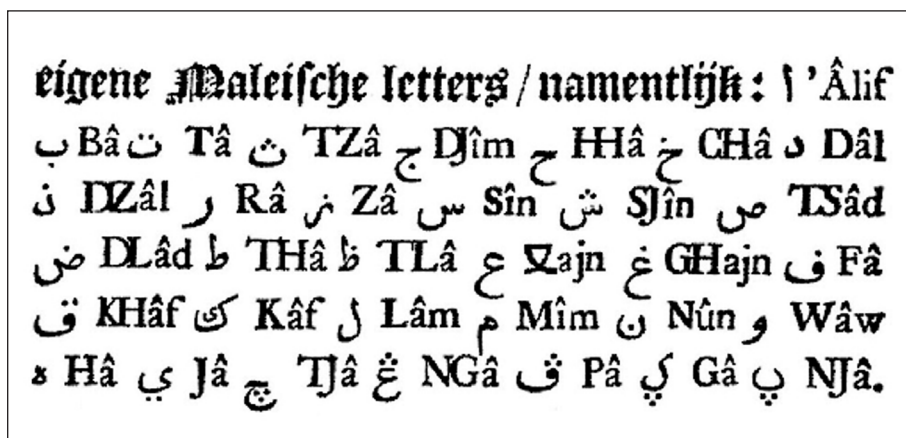


Figure 3. The first list of Jawi-script characters in Werndly (1736: 3).

Chapter II (pp. 17-23) is dedicated to the phonology, more specifically to that of the consonant inventory. The Jawi-script characters are considered one by one, indicating how each should be pronounced in the reading. Of the positional constraints, only that *nj* (the palatal nasal *ñ*) does not occur in syllable-final position is indicated (p. 23). Indeed, although many more constraints exist for Malay, particularly for example that voiced stops do not occur in final position, this only applies to inherited Malay words, not to the (spelling of) numerous Arabic loanwords. Therefore, Werndly did not perceive voiced stops in word-final position as unusual. Malay constraints on consonant clusters were similarly obscured by exceptions in Arabisms and so remained unnoted.

Chapter III (pp. 23-25) explains the alternative ways of noting numbers, that is, either using characters of the Jawi-script alphabet (pp. 23-25), or Arabic numerals that differ in form from their Latin-script renderings (pp. 25).

Chapter IV (pp. 26-27) systematizes the consonants according to place of articulation as follows, listing the Jawi characters only, indicated here using Werndly's Latinization of their names:

Gutturals (*Keel-letters*): 'alif, hhâ, châ, xain, ghain, hâ;

Labials (*Lip-letters*): ba, wâu, mîm, fâ, pâ;

Palatals and velars (*Gehemelte-letters*): djîm, jâ, khâf, kâf, njâ;

Dentals (*Tand-letters*): tzâ, dzâl, tlâ, tâ, dâl, thâ, lâm, nûn;

Linguals (*Tong-letters*): râ, zâ, sîn, sjîn, tsâd, dlâd, tjâ, ngâ, njâ.

This somewhat idiosyncratic classification, grouping palatals with velars, but including palatal *sjîn*, *tjâ*, and *njâ* with the linguals, placing *lâm* among the dentals but *dlâd* among the linguals, classifying velar *ngâ* as lingual, is difficult to explain. It does not follow the remarkably accurate classification of Lambert Ten Kate described by De Vries (n.d.). Nevertheless, it seems

not to be covered by either Sanskrit phonological tradition, or conventional treatment in Arabic grammars.

Chapter V (pp. 27-32) attempts a treatment of the confusing notation of vowels in Jawi script. This involves an ambiguous use of diacritics, and also the use of symbols for semivowels, *yāi* (ي) and *wāu* (و) as vowel monophthongs and diphthongs (already discussed above).

Character	Name of the character			Latin-script transcription				
	Arabic	Wilkinson (1901-03)	Spat (1950)	Leydekker (1685)	v.d. Vorm (1708)	Werndly (1732)	Klinkert (1902)	Indon. Malay
ا	<i>alif</i>	<i>alif</i>	<i>alif</i>		ʌ	'		
ث	<i>thā</i>	<i>thā</i>	<i>tša</i>	ç	tz	tz	ts	s
ج	<i>jīm</i>	<i>jīm</i>	<i>djim</i>	dj	dj	dʒ	dj	j
چ		<i>chā</i>	<i>tja</i>	tj	tj	tʃ	tj	c
ح	<i>hā'</i>	<i>hā</i>	<i>ha</i>	hh	hh	h	h	h
خ	<i>khā'</i>	<i>khā</i>	<i>kha/cha</i>	ch	ch	ch	ch	kh
ذ	<i>dāl</i>	<i>dzāl</i>	<i>dzal</i>	dz	dz	dz	dz	z
ش	<i>šīn</i>	<i>shīn</i>	<i>sjin</i>	ʃj	ʃj	ʃj	sj	sy
ص	<i>šād</i>	<i>šād/šāt</i>	<i>çad</i>	tʃ	tʃ	tʃ	ʃ	s
ض	<i>dād</i>	<i>dlād/dlāt</i>	<i>dlad</i>	dl	dl	dl	dl	d
ط	<i>tā'</i>	<i>tā</i>	<i>tha</i>	?	th	th	t̪	t
ظ	<i>zā'</i>	<i>tlā</i>	<i>tila</i>	tl	thl	tl	l	l
ع	<i>'ayn</i>	<i>'ain</i>	<i>'ain</i>		ʾ	ʾ	-	
غ	<i>ghayn</i>	<i>ghain</i>	<i>ghrain</i>	?	gh	gh	gr	g
ڠ		<i>ngā</i>	<i>nga</i>	ng	ng	ng	ng	ng
ق	<i>qāf</i>	<i>kāf</i>	<i>qaf</i>	c	c	kh	k	k
ن		<i>nya</i>	<i>nja</i>	nj	nj	nj	nj	ny
ء	<i>hamz</i>	<i>hamza</i>	<i>hamza</i>		'	ʾ		

Table 2. Comparison of names and transcriptions of some Jawi-script characters. A question mark (?) means that no examples were found; a blank entry that the spelling system did not provide a transcription for the character, or, under "Arabic", that the given character is a Jawi script feature not occurring in Arabic.

Chapter VI (pp. 32-43) treats the use of special symbols:

the *jazm* (◌°) spelled by the author as *Djazm*, Malay *Djazam* (modern Indonesian *jazam*, Alwi and Sugono 2001: 463) to suppress the postconsonantal default vowel (pp. 32-33);

the *tashdīd* (◌ˆ) spelled *Tefjdīd*, Malay *Sjaḍu*, for consonant gemination (pp. 33-35);

the *hamza* (ء), spelled *Hamzah*, transcribed as ^h, to indicate hiatus and morphophonologically conditioned prevocalic glottal stop (pp. 35-39);

the *waṣlā* (◌ْ) spelled *Wetsl*, Malay *Watsal* or *Wetslah* (modern *wasal/waslah*, Alwi and Sugono 2001: 1270) that is placed over an *alif* but suppresses its articulation and conjoins the articulation of the word with that of the previous one (pp. 39-40); and

the *maddah* (◌̄) spelled *Međ* or *Međah* (modern *mad/madah*, Alwi and Sugono 2001: 694), is placed over an *alif* to spell a long *ā* (pp. 40-42).

Van der Vorm had transcribed a Jawi consonant carrying a *tashdīd* literally as a geminated Latin-script consonant,¹¹ as in *darri padda* ‘of, about’. Werndly now transcribed the *tashdīd* as a macron diacritic (◌̄) over the Latin-script consonant, and spelled the cited expression as *deri padā*.

Chapter VII (pp. 43-52) is a detailed treatment of syllable division of words, and place of stress. Noteworthy here is the indication that word stress in Malay increases the length of the syllabic vowel. Malay does not have opposition of short and long vowels, and the means provided by the Arabic script for the notation of long vowels is employed to indicate place of stress. At the end of the chapter, the author shows the shift of place of stress at the addition of either suffixes or enclitics (*aanhechtingen*) – not differentiated from one another – to base words (pp. 48-52), also at successive addition of two such components, for example *Kâta* ‘word, say’, *Katânja* ‘he said’, *Katanjâlah* ‘he did say’.

Chapter VIII (pp. 52-56) discusses so-called ‘irregularities’ (*uitregeligheid*), by which the author meant the frequent occurrence of doublet forms, such as *Hantîmon* beside *Tîmon* ‘cucumber’ (modern *ketimun* ~ *mentimun* ~ *timun*), or ‘*Ampûnja* beside *Pûnja* ‘possess’ (modern *empunya* ~ *punya*), and also *Mârah* ~ ‘*Amârah* ‘anger’, *Sâdja* ~ *Sahâdja* ‘only’, *Bâgij* ~ *Bahâgij* ‘divide’, and more.

Finally, Chapter IX (pp. 56-58) lists various (mostly optional) punctuation marks, and calligraphic protraction of some inter-character connecting strokes.

5. DESCRIPTION OF THE MORPHOLOGY

In Book II Werndly peruses the morphology (*woordgronding*, literally ‘word founding’), implementing for it the Arabism *taṣrîf* ‘alteration, inflection, declension, conjugation’ that he spelled *Tatsrîf* (modern Indonesian *tasrif* ‘word-form alternation’, Alwi and Sugono 2001: 1147).

Chapter I (pp. 59-62) contemplates the ‘shape’ (*gedaante*) of words. The author distinguishes:

- (a) Words with single root morpheme (that he terms *woordt* ‘word’).

¹¹ Leydekker also geminated the consonant, as in *muchallis* ‘saviour’ (modern *mukhalis*).

- (b) Words with either fully reduplicated root morpheme – for which the Jawi script uses the Arabic numeral for ‘two’ (r) that was modified to *ʹ* by Werndly – or partial reduplication, for example *Sasâma* from *Sâma* *ʹ* (modern *sesama* / *sama-sama*) ‘together’.
- (c) Semantic reduplications (pleonasms), and also the reciprocal verbal construction like *Tangkis menangkis* ‘parrying each other’s thrusts in turns’; and other similar constructions.

Chapter II (pp. 63-81) is titled *Soorten der woorden* ‘kinds of words’. This distinguishes at first between basic words (*wortelwoorden*, literally ‘root words’) and affixes (*takwoorden*, literally ‘branch words’, because they seemed to ‘branch out’ of words). Of the latter, *Ka-*, *Ber-*, *Per-*, *Bel-*, *Pel-*, *Men-*, *Pen-*, *Di-*, and *Ter-* before the root, and *-an*, *-wan*, *-mân*, *-kan*, and *-ij* after it, are listed (p. 63). Prefixes are subsequently termed *voorteken* (‘front marks’), suffixes *achterteken* (‘hind marks’). The addition of *Ka-*, *-an*, or both at the same time to a basic word results in nouns (*zelfstandig naamwoord*, literally ‘independent name-word’, compare Latin *nomen substantivum*; pp. 64-65), as in *Kabenâran* ‘truth’, from *Benâr* ‘true’. The suffixes *-wan* and *-mân* are only added to loanwords (p. 65).

There follows an elaborate description of the workings of the verbal prefixes (pp. 65-70), and a somewhat unsystematic listing of examples illustrating various use of these and alternant variants of prefixes (pp. 70-81), allowing amongst others for variation such as *Berdîrij* ~ *Badîrij* ‘to stand’ (p. 73), but also for example up to 22 different combinations of *Âdjar* ‘teach’ with *De-*, *Di-*, *Ter-*, or *Ta-* with *Pel-* or *Per-*, and *-ij* or *-kan*, all glossed as ‘to be taught’ (pp. 70-71).

The not previously listed prefix variants *Ba-*, *De-*, and *Ta-*, being dialectal cognates of standard *Ber-*, *Di-*, and *Ter-* respectively, remain unexplained. The prefixes *ba-* and *ta-* occur in Malayic languages of West Sumatra, particularly Minangkabau, and may have been taken up by Werndly during his stay in Padang, where he began learning Malay.

Chapter III (pp. 81-84) establishes three ‘principal parts of speech’ (*hoofdangen der woorden*, literally ‘main ranks of words’) to each of which is dedicated a separate further chapter. In these further chapters, however, Werndly makes a finer subdivision into altogether ten subclasses:

naamwoorden ‘nomina’ (Chapter IV, pp. 84-97),
 subdivided in adjectives (*byvoeglyk naamwoordt*), proper names
 (*zelfstandig naamwoordt*),
 common nouns (*zelfstandig gemeen naamwoordt*), numerals (*getallen*,
 pp. 91-93), and pronouns (*voornaamwoorden*, pp. 93-97);

werkwoorden ‘verbs’ (Chapter V, pp. 98-110); and

stukwoorden ‘particles’ (Chapter VI, pp. 110-130)),
 subdivided in adverbs (*bywoorden*, pp. 111-122), prepositions
 (*voorzetsels*, pp. 122-124),
 conjunctions (*voegwoorden*, pp. 124-127), and interjections
 (*tusschenwerpsels*, pp. 127-130).

It was noted above that Werndly (1736: LXV) had reworked Van der Vorm’s Malay grammar to bring it into agreement with grammatical learning he found current in the Netherlands. It seems likely, therefore, that the “two-tiered” hierarchy in his classification of Malay wordclasses reflected those two stages in the development of the treatment. The primary tripartite division into nouns, verbs, and particles follows Arabic grammatical tradition (see Versteegh 1997: 36, 76)¹² and could have been originally acquired by Van der Vorm from the Malay scholars who served as his informants. The finer subdivision into ten subclasses must then have been the result of Werndly’s subsequent methodological updating.

Indeed, the standard Dutch grammar of *Twe-spraack* (1584) distinguished nine parts of speech following the tradition based on Donatus and Priscian (Polomé 1994: 204):¹³

lid (Latin *articulus*) – article;
naam (*nomen*) – includes nouns, adjectives, and numerals;
voornaam (*pronomen*) – pronoun;
werkwoord (*verbum*) – verb;
deelneming (*participium*) – participle;
bywoord (*adverbium*) – adverb;
inworp (*interiectio*) – interjection;
koppeling (*coniunctio*) – conjunction;
voorzetting (*praepositio*) – preposition.

The preliminary tripartite division based on Arabic tradition suggests that domestic grammatical learning had indeed been extant in the Malay world and current among Malay literates consulted by Van der Vorm. It seems unlikely that Van der Vorm, acquainted as clergyman with Latin, would have intuitively arrived at the tripartite division of Arabic tradition upon studying Malay independently.

Werndly directs particular attention to unmarked conversion from one part of speech into another (pp. 81-84), a very specific typological feature which Malay shares with many languages of Southeast Asia, and to a certain degree also with English, but is rather exotic from the point of view of classical grammatical theory (pp. 82-83):

¹² Thanks are due to Jan van der Putten for calling my attention to this circumstance.

¹³ Of course, the *Ars minor* of Donatus, for example, actually only listed eight, because an article (*articulus*) does not occur in the grammar of Latin (but it occurs in Greek).

nomen to particule:	<i>Kârana</i> 'reason, cause'	→ 'because' (modern spelling <i>karena</i>);
	<i>'Atfal</i> 'origin'	→ 'so that' (<i>asal</i>);
	<i>Mâfa</i> 'time'	→ 'when' (<i>masa</i>);
verb to <i>nomen</i> :	<i>Pûdji</i> 'to praise'	→ '(the) praise' (<i>puji</i>);
	<i>'Aḏa</i> 'to be'	→ 'the being' (<i>ada</i>);
	<i>DJâdi</i> 'become'	→ 'emergence' (<i>jadi</i>);
verb to particule:	<i>Sâjang</i> 'to have pity'	→ 'alas' (<i>sayang</i>);
	<i>Meng^uapa</i> 'doing what'	→ 'why' (<i>mengapa</i>);
	<i>Tetâpi</i> 'make sturdy'	→ 'but' ¹⁴ (<i>tetapi</i>).

Only conversion between the three primary word classes are noted by Werndly, which possibly indicates original observations of Van der Vorm or even of domestic scholars. This is nevertheless quite a revolutionary treatment. Traditional European grammatical convention not only considered alternance of contrasting markation as prerequisite in distinguishing word forms and derivations, but practically equated such distinction with contrast in markation.

Albeit, in considering the paradigm of forms of the noun, Werndly returns to Latinist tradition. The author distinguishes two genders, masculine and feminine, that are not contrasted by alternant word ending, but by adding *Lâki* ρ or *Parampuwân*, (modern *laki-laki* 'man', *perempuan* 'woman') for example *Râdja laki* ρ 'a king', *Râdja parampuwân* 'a queen'. For animals (*onredelyke fchepsel*, literally 'non-sapientic creature') the added attributions are *Djantan* and *Betîna* respectively (modern *jantan* 'male' and *betina* 'female'), as in *Hâjam djantan* 'rooster', *Hâjam betîna* 'hen' (p. 86). Plural is formed by reduplication. The author makes particular note of loanwords, in that the plural of the Arabic loan *Nabij* 'prophet' is *Nabij* ρ in Malay, although in Arabic it is *Nabijûn* or *'Anbijâ* (p. 87).

With regard to noun cases, Werndly notes that the nouns do not undergo case declension, but that, with one exception, various "particles" are added. Thus, in the dative (*Gever*) that is *Paḏa*, *Kapaḏa*, *Baḡi*, or *'Âkan*, for example *Berîlah* 'îtu *paḏa*' *awrang* 'give it to the man'. In the vocative (*Roeper*) it is *Hej*, *Jâ*, or *'Ahâw*, as in *Hej* 'awrang 'oh people', or *Jâ Tûhan* 'oh Lord' (pp. 87-90). The main exception is the genitive (*Teler*) that is expressed in that the noun is placed after that which is possessed, for example *'Ânakh Dâ^uud* 'child of David' (p. 88). In considering word order as grammatical means (in absence of flectional markation or analytical markers), however, Werndly is merely continuing an already conventional treatment of the possessive in Malay, first formulated by Sebastian Danckaerts, and subsequently by Joannes Roman and Johann Christoph Lorber (see Mahdi 2007: 98, 100 footnote 115, Mahdi 2012: 403).

¹⁴ Werndly assumed *Tetâpi* 'but' to result from conversion of *Tetâpi* 'make sturdy', considering the latter to be a verbal derivation of *Tetâp* 'constant, sturdy' with suffix *-i*. It is, however, a coincidental homonym borrowed from Sanskrit *tathâpi* 'nonetheless' (see De Casparis 1997: 36).

'In the indicative mood / ...'

Beta
Engkau
Ia
Kami
Kamu
Mereka itu

} pukul

'In the past imperfect tense'

Beta
Engkau
Ia
Kami
Kamu
Mereka itu

} pukullah

'In the past perfect tense'

Beta
Engkau
Ia
Kami
Kamu

} sudah pukul

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In de aantoonende wyze / waar mede de
aanvoegende wyze overeenkomt / behalven
dat de genoemde stikwoorden daar hooz ge-
sield woorden.

In den tegenwoordigen tydt.

ذوكل	بيت	Bejta	} Pû- kol,	ik	sla.
	انگكو	'Angkaw		gy	slaat.
	اي	'Ija		hy	slaat.
	كامي	Kâmij		wy	slaan.
	كام	Kâmu		gyl.	slaat.
	مريكيت	Marika'itu		zy	slaan.

In den onvolmaakt hoozleden tydt.

ذوكله	بيت	Bejta	} Pû- kol- lah,	ik	sloeg.
	انگكو	'Angkaw		gy	sloegt.
	اي	'Ija		hy	sloeg.
	كامي	Kâmij		wy	sloegen.
	كام	Kâmu		gyl.	sloegt.
	مريكيت	Marika'itu		zy	sloegen.

In den volmaakt hoozleden tydt.

سده ذوكله	بيت	Bejta	} Sudah pûkol	ik	heb
	انگكو	'Angkaw		gy	hebt
	اي	'Ija		hy	heeft
	كامي	Kâmij		wy	hebben
	كام	Kâmu		gyl.	hebt
	مريكيت	Marika'itu		zy	hebben

In

Figure 4. On this and the following page - Malay "verb conjugation" in the example of *pukul* 'to hit' (Dutch *slaan*) according to Werndly (1736: 104-105) - with modern spelling on the margins.

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In den meer als volmaakten tydt.

سدهله ذوكلا	بيت Bejta	{ ik hadt gy hadt hy hadt wy hadden gyl. hadt zy hadden }	ge- sla- gen.
	اڠكو 'Argkaw		
	اي 'Ija		
	كامى Kâ mij		
	كام Kâ mu		
	مرىكيت Marika'itu		

'In the plusquamperfect'

Beta	}	sudahlah pukul
Engkau		
Ia		
Kami		
Kamu		
Mereka itu		

In den toekomenden tydt.

اكن ذوكلا	بيت Bejta	{ ik zal gy zult hy zal wy zullen gyl. zult zy zullen }	slaan
	اڠكو 'Argkaw		
	اي 'Ija		
	كامى Kâ mij		
	كام Kâ mu		
	مرىكيت Marika'itu		

'In the future tense'

Beta	}	akan pukul
Engkau		
Ia		
Kami		
Kamu		
Mereka itu		

In de gebiedende wyze.

اڠكو	{ 'argkaw , kâmu , 'awlehmu , 'awleh kâmu , }	} sla en slaat gylie- den.
كام		
اولهم		
اوله كام		
	ذوكلا Pûkollah	

'In the imperative mood'

pukullah	}	Engkau
		Kamu
		Olehmu
		Oleh kamu

De onbepaalde wyze heeft drie tyden.

De tegenwoordige tydt.

ذوكلا Pûkol, slaan.

'The infinitive mood has three tenses'

'The present tense'

Pukul

On page 106 (Werndly 1736) follows:

De voorleden tydt 'The past tense': *Sudah pûkol*;

De toekomende tydt 'The future tense': '*Âkan pûkol*.

The comparative degree of comparison (*vergroetende trap*) is formed by prefixation of *Ter-*, the prothesis of *Lebèh* 'more' or postpositioning of *Deři pađa*. The superlative degree (*overschryvende trap*) is formed by the prefix *Ter-*, or with the help of one or two of the "particles" *Terlebèh* 'most', '*Âmat* 'very', *Terlâlu* 'very', *Terlâlu 'âmat* 'too very', *Sakâli* 'totally', or by a following *Sakâli p* 'uniquely' (pp. 90-91). Numerals are also included among the *nomina* (pp. 91-93), so too the pronouns (pp. 93-97).

Discussing the verbs in Chapter V, Werndly at first similarly follows the standard Latinist treatment along lines of conjugation for three persons – by prothesis of the corresponding personal pronoun – in the singular and in the plural respectively (p. 99), distinguishing furthermore:

the present tense (<i>tegenwoordige tydt</i>)	the basic verb form;
the past imperfect tense (<i>onvolmaakt voorleden tydt</i>)	the basic verb form, or occasionally with <i>-lah</i> added to the verb;
the perfect tense (<i>volmaakte tydt</i>)	with <i>Sudahlah</i> or <i>Telâh sudah</i> before the verb;
the future tense (<i>toekomende tydt</i>)	with ' <i>Âkan</i> , or occasionally <i>Kalâkh</i> (modern <i>kelak</i>) before the verb.

The author notes, however, that the tense of the verb may also be clear from the context without requiring some particular markation. The above refers to the indicative mood (*aantonende wyse*) (pp. 100-102, 104-105), and see Figure 4.

In the imperative mood (*gebiedende wyze*) the verb with additional *-lah* precedes the second person pronoun which may be optionally introduced by '*Awleh* (modern spelling *oleh*). For the infinitive mood (*onbepaalde wyse*), the verb is taken alone in the present tense, or with preceding *Sudah* or '*Âkan* for the past and future respectively. For the participle (*deelwoordt*), Werndly distinguishes the present tense with *Jang* before the verb, the imperfect past with an additional *-lah* after the verb, the past and future with *Jang sudah* and *Jang 'âkan* before the original verb respectively. Finally, the passive voice is formed with the prefixes *Di-* or *Ter-* (pp. 104-106).

Werndly also indicates that the above merely described the manner of inflecting the verb along conventional lines used for Western languages. He notes that the Malay verbs also undergo various other inflections in agreement with Oriental languages such as Hebrew, Chaldean, Syriac, Samaritan, and Arabic (p. 107) without, however, giving any concrete examples.

It is possible that the author is alluding to similar analytical descriptions of declension and inflection that feature alternating auxiliary words or "particles" before an invariant baseword (instead of alternating word endings as in Latin).

Thus, for example, in the 1505 grammar of the Arabic vernacular of Granada by Pedro de Alcalá, six noun cases – nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, vocative, and ablative – are listed,¹⁵ being six combinations of the invariant noun with alternating preceding "particles" (Cowan 1983: 123).

¹⁵ Classical Arabic actually has three noun cases: nominative, accusative, genitive.

At the same time, Werndly may perhaps have simply named these contemporaneously best known languages with Non-Indo-European morphology to evoke the concept of a language not exhaustively described by familiar categories of Indo-European grammar.

Finally, the author redirects attention to the use of verbal prefixes, already discussed in Chapter II, which allow for some specific inflections, and develops a paradigm of forms numerated from I till XI (pp. 107-110), listed here with X representing the base of the verb:

- | | |
|-----------------|--------------------------|
| I. X | VI. X-kan |
| | VII. X-ij |
| II. Ber-/Bel-X | VIII. Ber-/Bel-X-kan/-ij |
| III. Per-/Pel-X | IX. Per-/Pel-X-kan/-ij |
| IV. Men-X | X. Men-X-kan/-ij |
| V. Ber-per-X | XI. Ber-per-X-kan/-ij |

In this listing, *Bel-* may occur instead of *Ber-* and *Pel-* instead of *Per-*, similarly *-kan* and *-ij*.

Chapter VI is dedicated to *Stukwoorden*, so-called 'particles'. These begin with adverbs (*bywoorden*), which are subdivided into 18 subclasses (pp. 111-122), including, amongst others, words expressing (according to the author):

quality (*Hoedanigheid*): *Bâjik* 'good, well', *DJâhat* 'bad, evil', *Benâr* 'true', *Betûl* 'right', *Songgoh* 'sure', which may combine with a preceding *fa-* or a postfixed *-nja*, so too with both at the same time, as in *Safonggohnja* (pp. 111-112);

quantity (*Hoegrootheid*): *Bânjakh* 'much', *Sedîkit* 'little, few', *Sedàng* 'moderate', *Kûrang* 'less', *Lebèh* 'more', *Sângat* 'very', and several more (p. 112);

number/division (*Telling/deling*): *Barāpa* 'how many', *Barāpa kijèn* 'how many times', *Sakijèn* 'so much, so many times', *Dūwa kijèn* 'twice so much', so also for encreasing numbers *Sakâli* 'once', *Dūwa kâli* 'twice', and so on, *Bârang kâli* 'sometimes', *DJârang* 'seldom', *Pûla* 'anew', *Kombâli* 'again' (pp. 112-113);

time (*Tydt*): *Sakârang* 'now', *Bahâru* 'just, recently', *Tahâdij* 'just now', *Komedijen* 'after that', *Ejfokh harînja* 'on the morrow', and others (pp. 113-114);

location (– –): *Sîni* 'here', *Sabelâh* 'side', *DJâwoh* 'far', *Bâwah* 'underneath', *Dâlam* 'inside', *Sabaràng* 'the opposite side', which are often preceded by *Di-* 'in', *Ka-* 'to', or *Dēri* 'from', as in *Disîni* 'here', *Kadâlam* 'into', et cetera (pp. 115-116);

negation (*Ontkennen*): *Tijâda*, *Tîda* 'no, not', *Bûkan* 'no, not, in no way', et cetera (p. 116);

affirmation/assurance (*Bekennen / verzekeeren*): *'Ijâ* 'indeed, yes', *Behkan* 'even', *Bahuwâ* 'for, after all', *Nistjâja* 'indeed, assuredly' (p. 116);

interpretation (*Verklaren, uitleggen, aandringen*): *JaɁnij*, *'Artînja* 'that is to say', *'Ijâ 'îtu* 'that is', *Sabenârñja* 'actually', *Deṁikiĵen* 'thus' (pp. 116-117);

and several other.

This was followed by prepositions (*voorzetsels*) which included besides conventional prepositions such as *Di* 'in, at', *Ka* 'to', *Pada* 'at', *'Awleh* 'by', and more, also adverbs, such as *Salâlu* 'always', and locatives, such as *'Âtas* 'above', *'Antâra* 'between', and many more (pp. 122-124);

Conjunctions (*voegwoorden*), are divided into 11 subgroups (pp. 124-127), not conforming with presently conventional grouping into coordinating, correlating, and subordinating conjunctions. The subgroups are amongst others:

interconnective (*Zamenbindende*): *Dân* 'and', *Lagi* 'and also', *Lâlu* 'and then', *Sambil* 'while', *Sjâhdân* 'then, thereupon' (p. 124);

appositional (*Schiftende*): *'Âtaw* 'or', *Bâjik*, *Mâwu* 'both, as well as, either' (pp. 124-125);

conditional (*Toestaande*): *DJiĵka*, *DJiĵkalaw* 'if', *Welâkin*, *Mâfa*, *Mâfakan* 'though, although, albeit' (p. 125);

adversative (*Wederstravende*): *Tetâpi*, *Hânja* 'but, actually, although' (p. 125);

and many mores.

Finally, there were interjections (*tussenwerpsels*), divided into 20 subgroups (pp. 127-130), and including a large number of examples such as *Jâ* 'oh [dear]', *Hej* 'oh, hey', *'Inĵâ* 'Allah 'God permit', *Deṁi* 'Allah 'for Gods sake', *Tawbat!* 'mercy!', *Wah* 'oh my', *Tĵih* 'phooey', *'Adòh* 'ow, gosh', *Nĵah* 'begone', *Hâ p* 'ha'.

Although much in Werndly's treatment of adverbs, auxiliaries, prepositions, conjunctions, and other grammatical words, as also of the interjections, may seem naïf, confused, and unsystematic from a modern point of view, they impress by the scrupulous attention to detail and comprehensiveness of scope. If the supposition made above is correct, that the tripartite division of word classes represented Van der Vorm's preliminary presentation, and the further analysis into ten classes the result of Werndly's work, then the detailed comprehensiveness of the now perused part too must evidently be credited to the latter.

6. THE SYNTAX

Book III discusses the syntax (*Woordvoeging*), for which Werndly cites the Arabic term as *Nahhw* (that is *nahw* ‘grammar, syntax’), and the borrowed cognate in Malay as *Nahhuw* (modern Indonesian *nahu* ‘grammar, syntax’, Alwi and Sugono 2001: 771). The author notes that Malay syntax is relatively simple, as there is no concord of forms with alternating flection.

One remarkable feature of the treatment of the syntax is that Werndly illustrates the rules he formulates with quotations from Classical Malay manuscripts in Jawi script with Latin-script transcription. The titles of the manuscripts were listed on p. LXVIII in the preface as:

- HHikâyat 'Iskander* (that is *Hikayat Iskandar*);
HHikâyat 'Indara Patarâ (*Hikayat Indera Putera*);
HHikâyat Kalilah dâñ Dimnah (*Hikayat Kalilah dan Daminah*);
Mâkota segala Râdja ρ (*Mahkota Segala Raja-raja*, that is Bukhari al-Jauhari's *Taju's-Salatin*);
Sulâletu-'lŷalâthîn (*Silsilat as-Salatin*, that is the *Sejarah Melayu*);
*Kûda Parûngu*w (*Kuda Perunggu*); *'Ismâ Yatîm* (*Hikayat Isma Yatim*).

An example of such quotations can be seen in Figure 5.

<p>4 Regel.</p> <p>Alle werkwoorden eischen in de gebiedende wyze 't vooznaamwoozdt van de tweede persoon natuurlyk achter zich / als : فرچيله كام كثر اتوسن يڠ داٲق ايت Pergilah kâmu kapada 'utulan jang datang 'itu. Gaat gy naar den gezant, die daar aankomt. 'Isk. bladz, 172.</p> <p>Dit woødt ook wel uitgelaten / als : مكن كات مراج اسكندر كتاكله كثر قوم ايت جائن مريكت ساڠ اكن ايت فرجوانن Maka kâra râdja 'Iskander; katakañlah kapada khawm 'itu: djâggañ marika 'itu sâ-jang 'âkan perbowâtan 'itu. <i>En de koning Alexander zeide; zeg tot dit volk, dat sy zich aan dit maaksel niet gelegen laten syn.</i> 'Isk. bladz, 223.</p>	<p>Rule 4</p> <p>All verbs in the imperative require a second-person pronoun following it: <i>Pergilah kamu kepada utusan yang datang itu.</i> ‘Go you to the envoy who is coming there’. <i>Hikayat Iskandar</i> p. 172.</p> <p>This may also be left out: <i>Maka kata raja Iskandar; katakanlah kepada kaum itu: jangan mereka itu sayang akan perbuatan itu.</i> ‘And king Alexander said; say to these people, that they should not care for those deeds’. <i>Hikayat Iskandar</i> p. 223.</p>
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Figure 5. Example of quotations from a Classical Malay manuscript: beginning of the section on rule #4 (p. 145) – the English translations are of Werndly’s respective Dutch glosses.

Chapter I (pp. 131-134), titled "Irregularity" (*Uitregeligheid*), treats three features which the author apparently deemed unusual: licence or omission of a word (*woord uitlating*), pleonasm (*overtolligheid*), and conversion (*verandering*). The latter feature refers to unmarked transformation of a word from one part of speech in another, already treated at the beginning of the section on morphology above.

With regard to omission, Werndly often regarded this as given when an item that is required in Graeco-Latin, Romance, or Dutch syntax was either found to be optional, or even missing. Thus, an existential or equational phrase in Malay does not require a copula or verb of being, not even when there is a temporal or aspectual auxiliary, for example 'Ânakh *judāh besār* 'the child is already big' (literally 'child already big', modern spelling *Anak sudah besar*). Werndly sees an omission of 'Ađā 'be' or *DJâdi* 'become' (p. 132).

Chapter II (pp. 134-156), titled "Agreement" (*Overeenkomst*), comprizes eight rules (*regels*), of which #2 and #4 are complemented by five and two remarks (*aanmerkingen*) respectively. The rules are that:

- #1 two nouns referring to the same denotat may follow one another (the author meant sequences of two nouns, of which the first specifies the genus of the latter), for example *Tānah DJâwa* 'the land Java', *Tuwan Panghulu* 'master community-chief' (pp. 134-135);
- #2 an adjective follows a noun, as in 'Awrang *kāja* 'a rich man' (modern *orang kaya*), whereby the "pronoun" *Jang* (modern *yang* 'that, which is') may intercede, for example *Binatang jang lijar* 'a wild beast' (that is 'a beast that is wild', modern *binatang yang liar*) (pp. 135-136);
- #3 the subject can precede or follow the verb: 'Âku *lihat/Lihat* 'âku 'I see' (pp. 143-145);
- #4 a verb in the imperative is optionally followed by a second person pronoun (see quotation in Appendix 3);
- #5 "adverbs" that are combined with nouns sometimes precede these, as in *Sâma mânufiĵa* 'an equal person' (modern spelling *sama manusia*), and sometimes follow them (no examples cited, except with the enclitics *kah*, *tah*, and *lah*) (pp. 150-151);
- #6 adverbs may precede as well as follow verbs (pp. 151-152);
- #7 prepositions precede nouns and pronouns (pp. 152-154);
- #8 a preposition before a verb places the latter in the infinitive mood, as in *Pada berlakûkan* 'as to accomplish' (pp. 154-155).

Chapter III (pp. 156-195) is dedicated to "governance" (*beheersching*), comprizes ten rules, most of which are complemented with remarks. For example:

- #1 indicates that, in a sequence of two nouns referring to different denotats, the first "governs" the second, by which Werndly meant that the one serving as attribute follows the one that is the head, the target of attribution (p. 156);
- #2 determines that a deverbal noun takes the same preposition as the verb from which it is derived (pp. 158-159);

and ##3-10; it does not seem necessary to go even further into detail to demonstrate Werndly's approach. This closes Book III on syntax, and is followed by Book IV on poetry (*dichtkunst*) on pp. 196-226, that no longer directly concerns grammar.

7. SOME CONCLUDING REMARKS

One unexpected side effect of the study of Werndly's description of Malay (and that of his predecessor, Van der Vorm) are possible insights into what may have been aspects of domestic pre-seventeenth century Malay grammatical learning, although in absence of direct written testimony, this must remain to a certain degree speculative.

The primary division into three word classes, inspired by the grammar of Arabic, was possibly acquired by Van der Vorm from local scholars familiar with Arabic. As unmarked derivation (conversion) was only considered between these three primary classes, this could have likewise reflected observations of indigenous scholars in attempts to apply acquired knowledge of Arabic grammar to Malay. The treatment of the vowel-and-diphthongue pairs *e - ai* and *o - au* as extensions of *i* and *u* respectively in Jawi-script spelling possibly reflects even more ancient grammatical tradition resulting from Sanskrit influence.

As already indicated above with regard to so-called particles, the most impressive feature of Werndly's work is his care for detail and comprehensiveness of scope. This elaborate manner of treatment considerably exceeds that, for example, of even the standard Dutch grammar of *Twe-spraack* (1584) and similar national grammars of the time. This is perhaps a consequence of what one might see as Werndly's disadvantage: providing a description not of an own or domestic language, but of a - for Europeans - little-known foreign one. This set particular demands to comprehensiveness and elaborateness. The readers could not be expected to fall back on their own basic knowledge to fill in missing details of the description. Apart from that, considering Werndly's Swiss origin, one is tempted to mobilize clichés about the love for detail of a nation that would in a century or two bring forward leading watchmakers and bankers as additional explanation for the extraordinary perseverance and painstaking care that he invested in this work.

Space and time limitations do not allow a comprehensive review of the richness of detail in Werndly's grammar, and an elaborate discussion and critique would require an even more forbidding volume. Furthermore, as linguistics in general, and that of Malay in particular, has progressed a long

way since Werndly's days, that would probably not lead to worthwhile novel insights. More significant are perhaps points in which Werndly's description anticipated developments of later times.

While following established linguistic canons based on Graeco-Latin tradition, Werndly also takes notice of the circumstance that Malay grammar escaped the structural straightjacket they imposed. He is not satisfied with mechanical listings of Malay correspondences to Latin declension and flection tables, and proposes an alternative paradigm of verb forms based on the actual alternation of affixes in Malay. In this he anticipates treatments at the turn of the nineteenth to twentieth century, such as by Gerth van Wijk (1890: 56-139), or by Van Ophuijsen (1910: 220-260).

Even more revolutionary, of course, is the treatment of conversion in Malay word derivation. However, as already noted above, Werndly was not the first to call attention to this feature of Malay morphology, contradicting conventional views that equated the apposition of word forms with contrasting markation. It is remarkable that the so persistently described situation in Malay escaped the attention of general linguistics, so that the concept had to be reintroduced one and a half century later by Von der Gabelentz (1886: 100) with regard to Chinese, and even later to English by Sweet (1900: 38-40) who was apparently the first to use the term *conversion*.

On the other hand, Werndly also anticipated future developments when he was misled by the established language feeling of speakers of Germanic and Romance languages. The author expected a verb of being or its equivalent in existential and equational sentences, although it is quite superfluous in Malay.¹⁶ In this he inadvertently anticipated the use of *ialah* and *adalah* as equivalence copula in the speech of indigenous Indonesian intellectuals since the early twentieth century (Mahdi 2012: 417-419). These had acquired their school education in Dutch – with English, French and German as “foreign languages” – and were led by the same West European biased language feeling as Werndly had been.

In the whole, the fundamental significance of Werndly's work was its being the crowning fulfillment of the policy formulated by Melchior Leydekker: abandonment of the vernacular spoken by the domestic Christian community in favour of a literary standard language held free of all Portuguese and other European loanwords. The consequence of this language policy was, however, that Bible translations became quite incomprehensible for unprepared laypersons (Brumund 1853; Van der Tuuk 1856; Drewes 1929: 145). Consequently, Werndly's extremely complex spelling system, still used in the early nineteenth century (as in Werndly 1826), was then abandoned (Mahdi 2016: 114).

However, Werndly's Malay grammar based on the High Malay of classical literature – even seeing a revised re-edition as late as Werndly (1823) – anticipated future developments in a most unexpected manner. The same enforcement of that High Malay, likewise free of any European influence,

¹⁶ It is also superfluous, for example, in Russian.

characterized official language policy after 1918 as implemented by *Balai Poestaka*, spelled *Balai Pustaka* since 1948 (Mahdi 2006: 85). Throughout the period of Indonesian national resurrection, and the subsequent period of independence, the language of spontaneous public discourse had been forms of European-influenced Low Malay known as Modern Malay (Drewes 1932), but the standard grammars, such as Koewatin (1910), Alisjahbana (1949), and Moeliono and Dardjowidjojo (1988), were all essentially based on High Malay. Hence, Werndly's Malay grammar became the first in an unbroken tradition of a High Malay standard being officially enforced in an environment of unofficial or spontaneous use of Low Malay by the speech community.

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[Consists of three individually paginated sections, includes in the first section on pp. 3-27 a proposal for a Malay Latin-script spelling, being a reproduction of Van der Vorm 1708, and in the third section on pp. 283-286 the "list of difficult words" from Leydekker 1685.]
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*Habita est hæc oratio inauguralis Lingæ ad diem XVII. Decembris anni MDCCXXXVII. quum extraordinariam Philologiæ Professionem in Illustri Gymnasio Lingensi solenni ritu auspicaretur. Amstelodami typis Wetstenianus excripta prodiiit: ... Autor illius est G.H. Werndly, Heloetio – Tigurinus,...]
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[Author's name and year of first publication indicated in the colophon: terkârang 'awleh G. H. Werndly; pada tânon [sic] 1735; re-issue of the 1735c and 1822 editions.]

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