

Detecting pre-modern lexical influence from South India in Maritime Southeast Asia

Détecter l'influence du lexique pré-moderne de l'Inde du Sud en Asie du Sud-Est maritime.

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EMPRUNTS ET RÉINTERPRÉTATIONS

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Introduction

In the mid-19th century, the famous Malacca-born language instructor Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir documented the following account in his autobiography *Hikayat Abdullah* (Munšī 1849):

“[...] my father sent me to a teacher to learn Tamil, an Indian language, because it had been the custom from the time of our forefathers in Malacca for all the children of good and well-to-do families to learn it. It was useful for doing computations and accounts, and for purposes of conversation because at that time Malacca was crowded with Indian merchants. Many were the men who had become rich by trading in Malacca, so much so that the names of Tamil traders had become famous. All of them made their children learn Tamil.” (translation by Hill 1955: 48)

Roughly four decades later, a colonial official regretted the lack of financial transparency among the rajas of Aceh’s recently “pacified” coastal areas, complaining that administration records were either absent or kept in *Klingaleesch* (Scherer 1891: 298). A late 18th-century religious manuscript written partly in Tamil and partly in Malay (Tschacher 2009: 54) also points to the existence of a tradition of bilingualism at the crossroads of South India and Maritime Southeast Asia. While it is difficult to contextualise such isolated accounts, the importance of South Indian traders in Maritime Southeast Asia is well-attested historically (cf. Edwards McKinnon 1996; Christie 1998, 1999). This situation remains to be studied more thoroughly from a linguistic perspective. This article, hence, delves deeper into early interethnic contact

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between South India and Maritime Southeast Asia, focusing specifically on Tamil and other Dravidian loanwords in Malay, Javanese and other West-Malayo-Polynesian (hereafter WMP) languages.

South India and Maritime Southeast Asia have been in close contact for more than two millennia. Dravidian loanwords occur in the earliest Javanese literature, i.e. from the 9th century CE, following the establishment of Tamil as a literary language in India.³ Commercial networks between the two regions, however, must have predated the textual evidence by several centuries. In the late 1st mill. BCE, interaction was frequent enough to account for large quantities of imported Indian beads, pottery and metal artefacts at several sites in Southeast Asia (cf. Ardika & Bellwood 1991; Bellina 2007). From the 9th to the 11th century, Javanese inscriptions list different South Indian toponyms (or, perhaps, rather ethnonyms), such as *Kliñ* “Kaliṅga(?)”, *Siñhala* “Sri Lanka,” *Cwalikā* or *Drawiḍa* “Coromandel Coast,” *Pañdikira* or *Malyalā* “Malabar Coast” and *Karṇāṭaka* “Karnataka” (cf. Christie 1999: 247). From the 11th to the 13th century CE, following the decline of Śrīvijaya and the expansive ambitions of the Cōḷa Dynasty, Tamil inscriptions indicate the presence of South Indian merchant guilds in North Sumatra and other parts of Southeast Asia (Edwards McKinnon 1996; Christie 1998; Karashima & Subbarayalu 2009; Francis 2012; Griffiths 2014). The Tamil settlements in North Sumatra are supported by recent archaeological research (cf. Guillot et al. 2003; Perret & Surachman, éd., 2009). South Indian communities also feature in the classical Malay literature and were documented in substantial numbers in the 15th c. Malacca Sultanate. By that time, they were typically referred to as *Kāling*, a name presumably connected to the Kalinga State in present-day Odisha (hence also the Dutch *Klingaleesch*) but equally often applied to other Indian or Indianised communities (cf. Damais 1964; Mahdi 2000: 848; Hoogervorst 2013: 26 fn. 54). The scope of this study ends with the colonial period, during which policies of indentured labour introduced an entirely new episode of South India-Southeast Asia contacts, in particular in Rangoon, Penang, Medan and Singapore. Islamic connections across the Bay of Bengal also fall beyond the purview of this paper.⁴

This is not the first study on Dravidian loanwords in Southeast Asia. While a number of new hypotheses are added, it builds on a long strand of earlier scholarship. In the early 18th century, the Dutch orientalist Herbert de Jager (1707: 36) first called attention to the presence of South Indian

3. There is some controversy over the antiquity of the earliest Tamil literature. Tieken (2008) argues that the *Caṅgam* (சங்கம்) poetry was produced at the time of the *Vēlvikkūḍi* (வேள்விக்குடி) and *Daḷavāyppuram* (தளவாய்ப்புரம்) inscriptions of the Pāṇḍyas (8th–9th c. CE) and that claims to date the genre to earlier times—typically from the first centuries BCE to the first centuries CE—tend to be fraught with overtones of regionalistic pride. However, this remains a minority view within Tamil Studies (cf. Wilden 2002).

4. But see Tschacher (2009) for an overview.

(*Maalebarischen*) as well as Sanskrit loanwords in the high speech register of Javanese, while noting that the Javanese script originates from the same region. Tentative Tamil borrowings are also postulated at several places in Van der Tuuk's voluminous Old Javanese dictionary (1897-1912) and in a series of papers by Van Ronkel (see under references). Further lists of assumed Tamil loanwords in Malay are given in Hamilton (1919), Asmah (1966), Jones (2007) and Wignesan (2008), whereas Arokiaswamy (2000) focuses on the South Indian influence in Philippine languages. Valuable as they are, these works typically do not refer to the pioneering work of Van der Tuuk and Van Ronkel, nor to each other. They are also of a rather impressionistic nature; little if anything is written to satisfaction about the expectable or observed sound correspondences between the Dravidian and WMP languages under research. This matter is further complicated by the existence of Indo-Aryan loanwords in Dravidian languages, some of which also spread to Southeast Asia; the need to distinguish between direct Sanskrit, Middle Indo-Aryan or New-Indo-Aryan loans on one hand and those acquired through Dravidian languages on the other requires that the phonological history of all source languages is taken into account.⁵ Cumulatively, these factors underscore the necessity for a novel contribution on this topic. This study addresses the question of which Indic loanwords entered pre-modern Maritime Southeast Asia from—or through—Dravidian sources and how this can be demonstrated phonologically.⁶

The corpus of this study largely consists of dictionaries, whose glosses have been translated and adjusted wherever considered necessary.⁷ Fig. 1 presents a map of the languages mentioned in this study. Other potential corpora, such

5. Even then, it remains difficult to pinpoint the direct source of Indic loanwords in Southeast Asia. As I argue elsewhere (Hoogervorst forthcoming), plausible etyma of Malay words such as *bapak* "father", *camati* "whip", *curiga* "a broad-bladed short curved sword or dagger," *kodi* "score" and *tiga* "three" are found both in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages and the exact pathways through which they spread across the Bay of Bengal often remain opaque.

6. I will not here focus on loanwords transmitted in the opposite direction, as this topic has already been addressed elsewhere (Mahdi 1998; Hoogervorst 2013).

7. The following sources are used: Acehnese (Djajadiningrat 1934), Angkola-Mandailing Batak (Eggink 1936), Balinese (Barber 1979), Bengali (Biswas 2000), Bugis (Matthes 1874), Cebuano (Wolff 1972), Cham (Aymonier & Cabaton 1906), Gayo (Hazeu 1907), Goñḍī (Burrow & Bhattacharya 1960), Hindi (Platts 1884), Ilokano (Rubino 2000), Javanese (Robson & Wibisono 2002), Kannaḍa (Kittel 1894), Karo Batak (Joustra 1907), Koṇḍa (Krishnamurti 1969), Magindanao (Juanmartí 1892), Makasar (Cense 1979), Malagasy (Richardson 1885), Malay (Wilkinson 1932), Malayālam (Gundert 1962), Maranao (McKaughan & Al-Macaraya 1996), Marāṭhī (Molesworth 1857), Middle Indo-Aryan (Turner 1966), Middle Javanese (Zoetmulder 1982), Minangkabau (Moussay 1995), Ngaju (Hardeland 1859), Old Javanese (Zoetmulder 1982), Old Khmer (Jenner 2009), Old Mon (Shorto 1971), Oṛiyā (Praharaj 1931-40), Pāli (Rhys Davids & Stede 1966), Persian (Steingass 1892), Sanskrit (Monier-Williams 1899), Sinhāla (Clough 1892), Subanon (Finley 1913), Sundanese (Coolsma 1913), Tagalog (Noceda & Sanlucar 1860, Ferrer 2003), Tamil (*Tamil* 1924-36), Tamil (colloquial) (Asher & Annamalai 2002), Tausug (Hassan et al. 1994), Telugu (Brown 1903), Thai (Haas 1951-present), Toba Batak (Warneck 1977) and Tuḷu (Männer 1886).



Fig. 1— Map of the source languages for this study.

as toponyms, onomastics and literary parallels, fall beyond the scope of the present study but merit a more comparative approach in future research.⁸ The list of tentative borrowings presented here thus remains far from exhaustive. I am primarily concerned with the earliest loanwords. My focus on pre-colonial language contact raises the methodological problem of dating lexical transmissions. The Javanese literature is particularly helpful in proposing *termini ante quem* for the adoption of Dravidian loanwords into Maritime Southeast Asia. I therefore make an effort to mention the source texts in which loanwords are (first) attested. Another, less reliable, yardstick to assess the antiquity of a given lexical transmission is its geographical distribution. I am inclined to treat Dravidian loans established far beyond the Malay core area as pre-modern, as competition from well-organised Chinese and Indian merchant fleets greatly diminished the role of Malay shipping from the 15th century onwards (cf. Manguin 1993).

This paper is organised into three sections. The first, “Phonological integration”, addresses the phonological characteristics of Dravidian loans in WMP languages, focusing specifically on Tamil loanwords into Malay and Old Javanese. Doing so provides an idea of what to expect upon further investigating lexical borrowing between these languages. The second section, “Direct borrowings”, lists early Dravidian loanwords in WMP languages and indicates earlier sources of the postulated etymologies. The third section, “Indirect borrowings,” focuses on Indo-Aryan loanwords transmitted

8. Van der Tuuk (1897-1912/1: 755), for example, suggests that the Javanese name *Irawati* (also *Irəwati*) goes back to Sanskrit *Revati* through its Tamil form *Irēvati* (இரேவதி), as the prothetic /i/ is characteristic of Tamil. Other scholars have detected “Tamilisms” in the classical Malay literature (cf. Van Ronkel 1904; Muniandy 1995).

eastwards through Dravidian languages. It elaborates on the expectable sound changes in such a scenario and clarifies why certain loanwords do and others do not reflect Dravidian intermediacy. In the conclusion, the impact of Dravidian lexical influence in pre-modern Maritime Southeast Asia is assessed and some directions for further research are suggested.

Phonological integration

Dravidian languages, including Tamil, Malayālam, Telugu and Kannaḍa, typically display a wide range of internal varieties. Tamil, for example, consists not only of regional dialects (northern, western, eastern, southern, Sri Lankan), but also of sociolects (Brahmin, non-Brahmin, literary, colloquial). It may be expected that those who travelled eastwards spoke urban, coastal varieties. However, linguistic research on these and other specific varieties remains sketchy, with a preliminary but still relevant overview on the modern situation provided by Zvelebil (1964). Even less is known about historical varieties of Tamil and other Dravidian languages. Our understanding of Dravidian-WMP language contact is also complicated by the fact that the Tamil script does not clearly indicate the pronunciation of stops and affricates, although the position of these phonemes within a word provides some rule of thumb; they are predominantly voiceless in word-initial position and word-medially in geminated form, but voiced post-nasally and word-medially in non-geminated form. In the latter case, they are also fricativised (Andronov 2004: 23-30). Stops and affricates do not typically occur word-finally and require an epenthetic or “enunciative vowel.” However, these rules do not always apply to loanwords and depend on the speaker’s familiarity with the source language. This paper gives the indigenous spelling of Tamil (and the other Dravidian languages) along with a transliteration (Table 1).

Common Dravidian features such as phonemic vowel length, gemination and the presence of retroflex consonants are typically absent in Malay, although this may have been different in certain historical varieties or acrolects. Javanese maintains the distinctions /t/ vs. /t̪/ and /d/ vs. /d̪/ to date (as does Madurese). In certain WMP languages, the original presence of a retroflex or geminated consonant triggered schwa-substitution in the preceding vowel, e.g. Malay *pəti* “box, chest, case” from Hindi *peṭī* id. and *məta* “mad or rutting, wild or excited” from Sanskrit *matta* “excited with joy, in rut, insane,” although this sound correspondence is not consistent.⁹

The morphophonology of the recipient language(s) can also influence the phonological integration of loanwords. Old Javanese *mərəcu* ~ *mər̥cu*

9. Ras (1968) calls attention to an orthographic convention in Malay and Javanese in which the schwa—originally lacking a dependent vowel sign—can be indicated through gemination of the next consonant. As intervocalic consonants following a schwa are typically longer in several WMP languages, the author argues that this rule reflects Malay and Javanese phonology.

orthography	transliteration and phonetic transcription (between slashes)			
	word-initial	intervocalic	post-nasal	geminated
க	k /k/	g /x ~ fi/	g /g/	kk /k:/
ச	c /s ~ ʃ/ ¹⁰	c /s/	j /dʒ/	cc /ʃ:/
ட	ṭ /t/	d /t/	d /d/	tt /t:/
த	ṭ /ṭ/	d /δ/	d /ḍ/	tt /ṭ:/
ப	p /p/	b /β/	b /b/	pp /p:/

Table 1 – transliteration of Tamil stops and affricates used in this paper.

“fire-ball (from the sky),” for example, appears to reflect Tamil *viricu* (விரிகு¹⁰) “a kind of rocket” (cf. Gomperts unpublished), from the root *viri* (விரி) “to expand; to open; to burst asunder.” In this case, the word-initial consonant has undergone nasalisation in accordance with regular morphophonological sound correspondences in WMP languages. While more common in transitive verbs, this development does not stand in isolation in other lexical categories.¹¹ A related process is back-formation. Tamil *muḍukku* (முடுக்கு), a verb root denoting “to plough,” presumably gave rise to Javanese and Sundanese *muluku* in the same meaning.¹² If so, Old Javanese *waluku* ~ *wiluku* ~ *wuluku* “a plough” must be a hypercorrection, in which the word-initial /m/ was reinterpreted as a nasalised verbal prefix substituting an earlier /w/.¹³ A similar process is seen in Old Javanese *waji* “wedge,” presumably derived from the Tamil verbal root *vaci* (வசி) “to split, to cut,” which displays the by-form *paji* (cf. Van der Tuuk 1897-1912/3: 599). The latter appears to be a back-formation of the derived verb (*a*)*maji* “to split, cleave (with a wedge),” as both /w/ and /p/ would yield /m/ through prenasalisation.

Semantic innovation of equal complexity is evidenced by the word *samburani* ~ *sambarani*, the legendary flying steed of Malay literature. Van Ronkel (1905) argues that this name originally referred to a horse breed of a sorrel or cinereous colour, denoted by the Tamil compound *cemburani* “red-

10. The exact pronunciation differs from one variety to another. According to Zvelebil (1964: 242-246), northern dialects incline towards /s/, western dialects to /ʃ/ and southern dialects to /ʃ/.

11. Cf. Middle Javanese *miñu* “wine” from Portuguese *vinho* id., Javanese *mau* “just now” from (*krama*) *wau* id. (ultimately from PMP **baqeRuh* “new, recently”), *muṣṭika* “bezoar; the most excellent, a jewel” from *puṣṭika* id. (reflecting Sanskrit *sphaṭika* “crystal, quartz” through metathesis), Malay *moyang* “great-grandparent” from an earlier **puyang* (reflecting **pu* + **hiang* “Lord God; ancestor,” Adelaar 1992: 109), *mārpati* “dove, pigeon” from Sanskrit *pārāpati* “female pigeon” (Gonda 1973: 165), and a set of Malay compounds beginning with *manca* “many,” reflecting Sanskrit *pañca* “five” (ibid.: 438-440).

12. The realisation of <ṭ> (ட) as a retroflex flap /ṭ/ in colloquial Tamil (cf. Andronov 2004: 25) suggests the pronunciation /muṭuk:u/.

13. Malay *tanggala* “plough” has been formed through a similar process and presumably goes back to Middle Indo-Aryan **naṅgala* id.; /t/ regularly corresponds to /n/ through prenasalisation (Hoogervorst forthcoming).

skinned” (செம்புறணி).¹⁴ In support of Van Ronkel’s etymology, later scholars have called attention to the Malay compounds *tambaga sambarani* “reddish bronze” (Van Leeuwen 1937: 274-275) and *batu sambarani* or *basi sambarani* “magnetic iron, loadstone” (hence Old Javanese *wasi warani* “magnetic iron,” Karo Batak *basi barani* “magnet, loadstone,” Tagalog *balani* “magnetism, magnet, loadstone”), which is typically tinged with a reddish colour due to manganese and iron oxides (Gonda 1941: 163-164). This etymological derivation would imply that an existing reddish horse breed gradually evolved into a supernatural flying horse in the Malay perception.

Borrowings can also be re-borrowed, as demonstrated by Malay *candu*, Javanese *candu*, Makasar *candu* and Toba Batak *sandu* denoting a purified opium paste prepared for smoking. As the habit of smoking opium pellets was a European introduction, the meaning of *candu* in pre-colonial literature is nebulous. An early Malay dictionary defines *candu* as a “moisture thickened to a tough gel, prepared opium; tough, sticky soot; sugary exudation” (Von de Wall 1877-97/2: 37). The early 20th century Malay work *Kitab Pengetahuan Bahasa* glosses it as “a resin made from opium, a kind of tree from West Bengal which is famous for its opium production” (Haji 1986/87: 349). As regards the word’s original meaning in Javanese, Berg (1927: 65 fn. 2) glosses it as a “kind of *boreh* (i.e. a fragrant cosmetic unguent of coconut-oil coloured with saffron)” based on its occurrence in the *Kidung Sunda* and Prijohoetomo (1934: 97) as a “gum” in the *Nawaruci*. Van Ronkel (1903f: 543-544) identifies Tamil *cāndu* (சாந்து) “paste; mortar, plaster; sandalwood” as the ultimate source of the word. However, we also find Tamil *caṇḍu* (சண்டு) “a preparation of opium used for smoking,” Hindi *caṇḍū* “an intoxicating drug made of opium” and Bengali *caṇḍu* “an intoxicating preparation from opium.” It is unlikely that the latter forms gave rise to the WMP attestations (*contra* Jones 2007: 46), as we would then expect a retroflex /d/ in Javanese. Conversely, the above forms were presumably borrowed either directly from Malay or through Indian English “chando”. In other words, it seems most plausible that a word denoting an unidentified paste spread from South India to Maritime Southeast Asia in pre-modern times and was later re-borrowed in the opposite direction in the more specific meaning of “prepared opium.”

Direct borrowings

The sound innovations and other historico-phonological processes addressed in the previous section enable a better analysis of the early Tamil borrowings into WMP languages postulated in Table 2, all of which are

14. Such a word remains unattested in the literature, but would evidently consist of the elements *ce-* (செ) “red” and *purani* (புறணி) “skin; anything that is outside.” Other scholars favour a Persian etymology of Malay *samburani* ~ *sambarani* (e.g. Jones 2007: 281), which I find problematic on phonological as well as semantic grounds (Hoogervorst 2013: 17 fn. 17).

attested in pre-modern Javanese texts. Previous etymologies or etymological remarks are acknowledged in the rightmost column. I have adapted and updated these comments with additional data from other WMP languages, using the dictionaries listed in the introduction.

Tamil	WMP	comments
<i>cāndu</i> (சாந்தி) “paste; mortar, plaster; sandalwood”	Malay <i>candu</i> “prepared opium,” Middle Javanese <i>candu</i> “a kind of unguent (also as a dye?),” Javanese <i>candu</i> “opium,” Makasar <i>candu</i> , Toba Batak <i>sandu</i> id.	Cf. Van Ronkel (1903f: 543-544).
<i>cauttu</i> (செத்து) “pattern, sample, model”	Middle Javanese <i>conto</i> “a sample,” ¹⁵ Javanese <i>conto</i> “example, model,” Malay <i>contoh</i> “sample, model, specimen,” Minangkabau <i>conto</i> ~ <i>cinto</i> “example, model”	Cf. Gomperts (unpublished). Both the insertion of a homorganic nasal and the addition of a word-final /h/ are attested in other loanwords in Malay. ¹⁶
<i>cemburani</i> (செம்புணி) “red-skinned”	Malay <i>samburani</i> ~ <i>sambārani</i> “winged steed of romance,” Middle Javanese <i>sambrani</i> “a winged horse of romance,” ¹⁷ Acehnese <i>samarani</i> “a legendary horse,” Minangkabau <i>sambarani</i> ~ <i>samburani</i> “winged, flying,” Tausug <i>sambalani</i> “a white winged horse”	Cf. Van Ronkel (1905).
<i>ceppu</i> (செப்பு) “casket, little box of metal, ivory or wood”	Malay <i>cəpu</i> “a flat round box of wood or metal,” Old Javanese <i>cupu</i> ~ <i>cupu-cupu</i> ~ <i>cucupu</i> “small pot,” Gayo <i>cərpū</i> “round box of silver or copper with cover”	Cf. Van der Tuuk (1897-1912/1: 649), Zoetmulder (1982/1: 339).
<i>ilai</i> (இலை) “leaf, petal”	Old Javanese <i>halay</i> ~ <i>hale</i> “piece (of cloth or a flat object; also of a lotus-stem?),” Malay <i>halai</i> ~ <i>alai</i> “a num. coefficient for tenuous objects such as garments, sheets, thread, blades of grass,” Minangkabau <i>alai</i> “classifier for flat or long objects”	Cf. Van Ronkel (1903f: 533-534), Jones (2007: 105). Mahdi (1998: 399) expresses concerns regarding the addition of a word-initial /h/ in Malay, which is indeed atypical. Is does, however, not stand in isolation. ¹⁸

Table 2 – Early Tamil loanwords in WMP languages (attested in pre-modern texts)

15. Attested in the *Kidung Sunda* (Zoetmulder 1982: 333).

16. Compare, among many other examples, *cambuk* “heavy whip” from Persian *čābuk* (چابک) “a horse-whip,” *nənggara* ~ *nagara* “royal kettle-drum” from Persian *naqāra* (نقاره) “a kettle-drum” and *məndali* ~ *mədali* “medal” from Dutch *medaille* id. on the former tendency and *gajah* “elephant” from Sanskrit *gaja* id., *səkolah* “school” from Portuguese *escola* id. and *teh* “tea” from Southern Min *tē* (茶) id. on the latter.

17. Attested in the *Rangga Lawe* (Zoetmulder 1982: 1636).

18. Cf. Malay *hong* “the Buddhist *om* (ॐ)” from Sanskrit *om* “a word of solemn affirmation and respectful assent,” *handai* “companion; associate” from Tamil *āṇḍai* (ஆண்டை) “master, lord, landlord,” *hablok* “piebald (of a horse)” from Hindi *ablak* “piebald; spotted; pepper-and-salt,” *hasidah* “meal-cake eaten at the *ashura* festival” from Arabic *‘ašīda* “a thick paste made of flour and clarified butter” and *haleja* “an Indian woven fabric of mixed silk and cotton” ultimately from Turkish *alaca* “multi-coloured”.

Tamil	WMP	comments
<i>kaḍai</i> (கடை) “shop, bazaar, market”	Old Javanese <i>gaḍe</i> ~ <i>gaḍay</i> “pawn, pawning,” ¹⁹ Javanese <i>gaḍe</i> “pawning,” Malay <i>gadai</i> “pledging, pawning, mortgaging,” Minangkabau <i>gadai</i> “guarantee, warranty, bail, mortgage,” Toba Batak <i>gade</i> “a mortgage”	Cf. Van der Tuuk (1897-1912/4: 706), Zoetmulder (1982/1: 470). The voicing of word-initial /k/ does not stand in isolation. ²⁰ Also cf. <i>kaḍai</i> (கடை) in the meaning of “shop” (Table 4), which is presumably a lexical doublet. ²¹
<i>kaḍalai</i> (கடைலை) “chickpea (<i>Cicer arietinum</i> L.)”	Middle Javanese <i>kaḍale</i> “soya bean (<i>Glycine max</i> (L.) Merr.)” Javanese <i>kaḍele</i> ~ <i>ḍele</i> , Malay <i>kaḍalai</i> id. ²²	Cf. Van der Tuuk (1897-1912/2: 145), Van Ronkel (1903f: 550), Jones (2007: 148).
<i>kārikkam</i> (காரிக்கம்) “unbleached plain cotton cloth” ²³	Malay <i>kārikam</i> “coarse linen,” Middle Javanese <i>trikām</i> “a part. kind of fabric” ²⁴	The innovation *k > t/# in Javanese is irregular, but does not stand in isolation, especially before /r/ and /l/. ²⁵

Table 2 – Early Tamil loanwords in WMP languages (attested in pre-modern texts)

19. Attested in the Javano-Balinese *Adhigama* (Zoetmulder 1982: 762).

20. Other examples include Malay *kangsa* ~ *gangsā* “bell-metal” from Sanskrit *kamsa* “brass, bell-metal” and *gusti* “wrestling” from Persian *kuštī* (کشتی) “fighting, wrestling.”

21. The differences in pronunciation and meaning between these two sets would suggest different pathways of borrowing, e.g. dispersal through Old Javanese *gaḍe* ~ *gaḍay* “pawning” vis-à-vis Malay *kaḍai* “a shop.” However, Bugis *gade* “stall, store” and Makasar *gaḍde* “booth, shop, stall” resemble the former series phonologically but the latter semantically.

22. The word may have previously denoted other pulses, as the soya bean originates from East Asia. The word *kaḍale* is first attested in the Middle Javanese poem *Sri Taiṅjung*, where Prijono (1938: 105) leaves it untranslated. Later textual attestations must be dated to colonial times. The word *kaḍalai* occurs once in the *Hikayat Abdullah*, translated by Hill (1955: 118) as “soy beans.” Von de Wall (1877-97/2: 500) glosses it as “k.o. gram, small tree.” Van der Tuuk (1897-1912/2: 145) as “pulse (soya)” and Wilkinson (1932/1: 526) as “mung-bean (*Vigna radiata* (L.) R. Wilczek); soya bean (*Glycine max* (L.) Merr.)” Mung-beans are currently known in Malay as *kacang hijau* (cf. Javanese *kacang ijo*), a term absent in early literature. It may be pointed out that both mung-beans and soya beans can be used to make different types of fermented bean cakes, such as *tempe*, *bongkrek* and *oncom*; the two pulses may have been used interchangeably in the past. The “chickpea” is known in modern Malay as *kacang kuda* or *kacang Arab*.

23. Also *kārikkam* (காரிக்கம்) in the same meaning.

24. Attested in the *Wangbang Wideha* (Zoetmulder 1982: 2038).

25. Compare Javanese *talkun* “turkey” from Dutch *kalkoen* id. We may further call attention to fluctuation between *kamṅggō* ~ *tamṅggō* “spider,” *kledēk* ~ *tleḍēk* “female dancer,” *krātāg* ~ *trātāg* “bridge,” *krātāp* ~ *trātāp* “decorative buckle” and *kropos* ~ *tropos* “rotten, porous, hollow.” Javanese *truwelu* ‘rabbit’ and Malay *tārwelu* (†*tāruilu*) ~ †*kuilu* go back to Portuguese *coelho* id. and in this case the fluctuation may be due to false association between the Malay verbal prefixes *tār-* and *kā-*, both expressing accidental passives.

Tamil	WMP	comments
<i>kaṭṭi</i> (கட்டி) “a measure of weight” (the “catty”)	Malay <i>kati</i> , Old Javanese <i>kati</i> ~ <i>kaṭi</i> , Javanese <i>kati</i> , Acehnese <i>katə</i> , Toba Batak <i>hati</i> , Tausug <i>katti</i> , Cham <i>kati</i> id. (cf. Old Khmer <i>kaṭṭi</i> ~ <i>kaṭṭi</i> id.)	Cf. Van Ronkel (1903f: 548-549). The dental consonant in the Old Javanese and Javanese attestations is possibly the result of Malay intermediacy, otherwise we would expect a retroflex consonant.
<i>kayappū</i> (கயப்பூ) “aquatic flower”	Old Javanese <i>kayapu</i> “aquatic flower,” ²⁶ Javanese <i>kayu apu</i> “water lettuce (<i>Pistia stratiotes</i> L.),” Sundanese <i>kiapu</i> id., Malay (Malaysia) <i>kayu apung</i> id., ²⁷ Balinese <i>kapu-kapu</i> “a species of water- cress,” Cebuano <i>kayapo</i> “water lettuce (<i>Pistia stratiotes</i> L.),” Maranao <i>kayopo</i> , Tagalog <i>kiyapo</i> , Magindanao <i>kiyupu</i> id.	Cf. Hunter & Supomo (forthcoming). The Javanese and Sundanese attestations are taken from Heyne (1913: 160), the Philippine attestations from Madulid (2001: 239-240).
<i>koṇḍi</i> (கொண்டி) “prostitute, concubine”	Malay <i>gundik</i> “secondary wife,” Old Javanese <i>gundik</i> “female attendant,” Javanese <i>gundik</i> “mistress, concubine,” Minangkabau <i>gundiak</i> “mistress, concubine,” Acehnese <i>gunde?</i> “secondary wife, concubine,” Gayo <i>gundik</i> “concubine,” Karo Batak <i>gundik</i> “a scapegoat”	See Adelaar (1992: 118-119) and Mahdi (2000: 850) on the addition of a word- final glottal stop, typically written as <k>. For the voicing of word-initial /k/, see under <i>kaḍai</i> (கடை) in this table.
<i>kuḷai</i> (குழை) “to become soft, mashy, pulpy, as well- cooked”	Old Javanese <i>gulay-gulayan</i> “curry- dishes,” ²⁸ Malay <i>gulai</i> “wet-curryng; curryng in rich highly-spiced sauce,” ²⁹ Acehnese <i>gule</i> “k.o. vegetable soup,” Gayo <i>gule</i> “meat-based side-dish with rice,” Karo Batak <i>gule</i> “meat, prepared meat as a side-dish,” Angkola- Mandailing Batak <i>gule</i> “side dish with rice,” Tagalog <i>gulay</i> “vegetable,” Maranao <i>golay</i> id.	For the voicing of word-initial /k/, see under <i>kaḍai</i> (கடை) in this table.

Table 2 – Early Tamil loanwords in WMP languages (attested in pre-modern texts)

26. Glossed as such by Hunter & Supomo (forthcoming) and found in the 12th-century *Ghaṭoḱkacāśraya*.

27. Possibly rationalised as *kayu* “wood, tree” + *apung* “floating on water.” Analogously, Malay exhibits the synonym *kiambang*, which appears to be a portmanteaux of an earlier **kiapu* and *ambang* “to be afloat.”

28. Through reduplication and the addition of suffix *-an*. The form is attested in the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* (Zoetmulder 1982: 551).

29. There is some semantic overlap with Malay *kari* “curry (prepared in the Indian way)” and Javanese *kare* “a dish of meat cooked in a spicy sauce, curry,” both presumably reflecting Tamil *kari* (கறி) “chewing, eating by biting; vegetables (raw or boiled); meat (raw or boiled); pepper,” either directly or through English “curry.” While largely similar, *gulai* and *kari* consist of slightly different spice mixtures; the latter often contains *daun kari* “curry leaves (*Murraya koenigii* (L.) Spreng.).”

Tamil	WMP	comments
<i>kuvaḷai</i> (குவளை) “wide-mouthed vessel, cup”	Malay <i>kuali</i> “wide-mouthed cooking-pot,” Old Javanese <i>kawali</i> “cooking-pot,” Javanese <i>kuwali</i> “earthen or metal cooking pot,” Tagalog <i>kawali</i> “frying pan, skillet,” Tausug <i>kawali?</i> “a large iron pot”	Cf. Arokiaswamy (2000: 80). The rendering of /ai/ as /i/ at the word-final position implies a secondary distribution via an early Malayic language (cf. Wolff 2010/1: 480). ³⁰
<i>muri</i> (முறி) “piece of cloth, rough cloth”	Malay <i>muri</i> “plain white linen or cotton fabric,” Acehnese <i>muri</i> “fine fabric imported from India,” Middle Javanese <i>mori</i> “undyed cotton cloth,” ³¹ Javanese <i>mori</i> “white cotton fabric, unbleached plain cloth,” Cham <i>mrai</i> “cotton yarn” (cf. Thai <i>mōrī</i> (มอริ) “a kind of foreign cloth, a kind of silk”)	
<i>muḍukku</i> (முடுக்கு) “to plough”	Javanese <i>muluku</i> “to plough,” Sundanese <i>muluku</i> id.	As indicated in the previous section, I consider Old Javanese <i>waluku</i> ~ <i>wiluku</i> ~ <i>wuluku</i> “a plough,” Javanese <i>wluku</i> , Sundanese <i>wuluku</i> , and Angkola-Mandailing Batak <i>luku</i> id. to be back-formations.
<i>paḍaku</i> (படகு) “small boat; dhoney, large boat” ~ <i>paḍavu</i> (படவு) “small boat” ³²	Old Javanese <i>parahu</i> “boat,” Javanese <i>prau</i> “ship, boat,” Malay <i>pərahu</i> “undecked native ship,” Toba Batak <i>parau</i> “boat, ship”	Cf. Van der Tuuk (1897-1912/4: 159). The directionality of the transmission is uncertain; see Mahdi (1994/2: 462), Hoogervorst (2013: 83-84) and Blust & Trussell (2014 s.v.) for a more detailed discussion and more reflexes than can be included here.
<i>paricai</i> (பரிசை) “shield, buckler”	Old Javanese <i>parisya</i> ~ <i>parise</i> ~ <i>paresi</i> “round shield,” Malay <i>pərisai</i> id., Minangkabau <i>parisai</i> ‘shield’, Acehnese <i>purise</i> ~ <i>prise</i> id., Karo Batak <i>pərise</i> “k.o. shield,” Angkola-Mandailing Batak <i>parince</i> “shield,” Balinese <i>paresi</i> ~ <i>presi</i> , Javanese <i>paris</i> id., Tagalog † <i>palisay</i> “k.o. shield used in dances”	Cf. Van der Tuuk (1897-1912/4: 97), Van Ronkel (1902: 110), Jones (2007: 240). As the first author makes clear, modern Javanese <i>paris</i> “shield” goes back to an earlier * <i>parise</i> , subsequently reanalysed as the would-be stem <i>paris</i> + the possessive suffix <i>-e</i> “his shield, the shield”

Table 2 – Early Tamil loanwords in WMP languages (attested in pre-modern texts)

30. While the proto-Austronesian word-final diphthong /ay/ had already become /i/ in proto-Malayic (Adelaar 1992), I would argue that the rule was still partly in force during an earlier developmental stage of Malay, as evidenced by loanwords such as *kalui* “a freshwater perch (*Osphronemus goramy*)” from Tamil *kalavai* (கலவை) “Indian rock-cod (*Mycteroperca acutirostris*),” *malai* ~ *mali* “pendent flower ornament for the human head” from *mālai* (மாலை) “garland, wreath of flowers,” *mətərai* ~ *mətəri* “seal” from *muttirai* (முத்திரை) “seal, signet” and *sərunai* ~ *səruni* “a sort of clarinet” from Persian *surnai* (سرنی) “a clarion.”

31. Attested in the *Wangbang Wideha* (Zoetmulder 1982: 1148).

32. The colloquial pronunciations would have been /paṛaḥu/ and /paṛawu/ respectively.

Tamil	WMP	comments
<i>tanḍu</i> (தண்டு) “palanquin”	Middle Javanese <i>tanḍo</i> “carried on a stretcher or chair on poles?,” ³³ Javanese <i>tanḍu</i> “stretcher-like conveyance for transporting things or persons,” Balinese <i>tandu</i> “a stretcher (for carrying an injured person),” Malay <i>tandu</i> “a hammock-litter,” Angkola-Mandailing Batak <i>tandu</i> “litter”	Cf. Van Ronkel (1903f: 542), Jones (2007: 312).
<i>uṇḍai</i> (உண்டை) “ball; dice”	Old Javanese <i>uṇḍi</i> “ball?,” ³⁴ Javanese <i>uṇḍi</i> “to decide by lot,” Malay <i>undi</i> “lot, die”	The innovation *ai > i/ # is addressed under <i>kuvalai</i> (குவளை) in Table 2. This Tamil etymon has also been connected to a set of ball-shaped sweetmeats (cf. Von de Wall 1877-97/1: 125; Van Ronkel 1902: 101; Jones 2007: 226). ³⁵
<i>vaci</i> (வசி) “to split, to cut,” cf. <i>vaci</i> (வசி) “cleft; point; pointed stake; sword”	Malay <i>baji</i> “quoin, wedge,” Old Javanese <i>amaji</i> “to split, cleave (with a wedge)” (from <i>waji</i> ?), Gayo <i>baji</i> “keg, wedge,” Toba Batak <i>baji</i> “splitting wedge,” Karo Batak <i>basi</i> “wedge, keg (to split something),” Sundanese <i>baji</i> “the filling (e.g. while using a thin wedge),” Angkola-Mandailing Batak <i>baji</i> “wedge”	Cf. Van Ronkel (1903f: 538); Old Javanese <i>paji</i> “wedge” appears to be a backformation based on the verb <i>amaji</i> , presumably also yielding Balinese <i>paji</i> “wedge” and Tagalog † <i>pari</i> “to cut wood with wedges.”

Table 2 – Early Tamil loanwords in WMP languages (attested in pre-modern texts).

33. Attested in the *Rangga Lawe* (Zoetmulder 1982: 1931).

34. So glossed by Zoetmulder (1982/2: 2120) on account of its occurrence in the *Ādiparwa* as a rendering of Sanskrit *vīṭā* “a kind of metal ball.” In the 15th c. CE *Tantu Panggalaran*, however, the form *hunḍi* definitely refers to a “lot (in a drawing).” In this text, the ruler Kaṇḍyawan decides which of his five sons is to replace him as a king: *Wəkasan ta sira magawe hunḍi halangalang; sing mandudut ikang winuntalan, sira gumantyanana ratu* (Pigeaud 1924: 62), which I would translate as “Eventually he made lots of *alang-alang* grass; whoever pulled [the lot that was] rolled up, he would replace him as king.” Van der Tuuk (1897-1912/1: 52) doubtfully glosses the word as “quiver.”

35. I would argue that attestations such as Malay *onde-onde* “ball-shaped cake, dumpling” and Javanese *onde* ~ *onde-onde* “a round fried cake made from rice flour filled with sweetened ground mung-beans sprinkled with sesame seeds” reflect Tamil *el-ḷ-uṇḍai* (எள்ளுண்டை) “pastry balls made of sesame,” whereas Javanese *ronḍe* “hot ginger-flavoured drink containing small round glutinous rice-balls” goes back to *urunḍai* (உருண்டை) “mouthful of food in the shape of a ball.”

Tamil	WMP	comments
<i>vaṅṅāra-</i> (வண்ணாரர்) “(relating to a) washerman” ³⁶	Malay <i>bānara</i> “laundryman,” Old Javanese <i>banantān</i> ~ <i>walantān</i> “cloth washed or prepared in a special way,” Javanese <i>wlantān</i> “to whiten, wash (clothes)” ³⁷ (cf. Old Khmer <i>vannāra</i> “unidentified slave function”)	Cf. Van der Tuuk (1897-1912/3: 575, 4: 584). Old Javanese has <i>jurū banantān</i> in the meaning of “laundryman” (<i>jurū</i> = “trained worker”).
<i>viricu</i> (விறிகு) “a kind of rocket” ³⁸	Old Javanese <i>mārcu</i> ~ <i>mārcu</i> “fire-ball (from the sky),” Malay <i>mārcu</i> “pinnacle, highest point”	Cf. Gomperts (unpublished). Javanese <i>mārcu</i> “fireworks, firecrackers” consists of <i>mārcu</i> + the suffix <i>-an</i> through vowel contraction. It was presumably borrowed into Malay as <i>mārcu</i> “firework,” Makasar <i>baraccung</i> “k.o. fireworks, firecrackers” and Bugis <i>bariccung</i> id. The otherwise irregular word-initial /b/ in the latter two attestations may reflect the /v/ of the Tamil precursor, suggesting an earlier * <i>barācu</i> .

Table 2 – Early Tamil loanwords in WMP languages (attested in pre-modern texts).

In addition to the loanwords postulated in Table 2, some Tamil borrowings feature in Old Javanese, but remain unattested in (modern) Malay. A well-known example is Old Javanese *pane* ~ *panay* “earthen vessel, pot” from Tamil *pānai* (பானை) “large earthen pot or vessel” (Van der Tuuk 1881: 56; Van Ronkel 1903f: 545; Gonda 1973: 80).³⁹ Gomperts (unpublished) postulates other tentative Tamil loans, including Old Javanese *kol* “measure of circumference: what can be encompassed with the arms extended” from *kōḷ* (கோல்) “taking, receiving, accepting, seizing, holding, enveloping,” *wuṅkal*

36. Van Ronkel (1903b) discards this etymology, pointing out that Tamil *vaṅṅāra-* can only occur as the first element of a compound; the form reflects *vaṅṅān* (வண்ணான்) “washerman, a person belonging to the washerman caste, dhoby,” plural *vaṅṅār* (வண்ணாரர்). However, there are several similar cases in which Malay has only adopted the first element of a Tamil (or other) compound, e.g. *kāndāri* “a measure of weight” from *kunṅri-maṅi* (குன்றிமணி) “a standard weight for gold,” (*batu*) *canai* “whetstone” from *cānai-k-kal* (சாணைக்கல்) “grindstone, whetstone, hone,” *kāluli* “steel” from *kalluḷi-y-urukku* (கல்லுளியுருக்கு) “a kind of very hard steel used for cutting stones” and (Penang dial.) *sandārom* “necklace worn by women” from *cantira-mālai* (சந்திரமலை) “a kind of necklace.”

37. Substitution of the final syllable by the segment *-ntān* is common in Javanese and merits a more elaborate treatise elsewhere.

38. The *Tamil Lexicon* (1924-36) also lists the synonyms *viricu* (விறிகு) “rocket” and *purucu* (புருகு) ‘a kind of rocket.’

39. Cf. Javanese (dial.) *pane* “large flat bowl for cooking,” Ngaju *panai* “large earthen bowl,” Makasar *panne* “plate made of porcelain,” Cebuano *panay* “earthenware vessel, usually hemispherical but shallow, used to hold liquids.” Also see Blust & Trussell (2014 s.v.), who reconstruct PMP **panay* “dish, bowl (of clay or wood)” and attribute the similarity to the Dravidian attestations to chance.

“boulder” from *uñkal* (உண்கல்) “limestone”⁴⁰ and perhaps *kori* “door” from *kōṭṭi* (கோட்டி) “gateway under a temple tower; door of a house.” To this list can be added Middle Javanese *beram* “a part. k.o. fabric”⁴¹ from Tamil *vayiram* (வயிரம்) “woollen cloth.” Several more examples may surface once the vast Javanese literature is examined more closely.

Alongside borrowings from Tamil, a set of loanwords presumably entered Southeast Asia through Malayālam, as postulated in Table 3.

Malayālam	WMP	comments
<i>kāccu</i> (കാച്ചു) “cutch (Areca catechu L.)”	Old Javanese <i>kacu</i> , Malay <i>kacu</i> id., Acehnese <i>kacu</i> “black Aloe extract,” Gayo <i>kacu</i> “gambir”	Tamil has <i>kācu</i> (காசு) in the same meaning, which would have yielded the unattested **kasu . Both forms reflect the Dravidian root *kāy “to grow hot, burn; be dried up, etc.” (Burrow & Emeneau 1984 #1458).
<i>malayāla</i> (മലയാളം) “the Malabar Coast”	Old Javanese <i>malyāla</i> “a country in South India and its people; steel (a partic. kind of steel),” Javanese <i>mālela</i> “steel,” Malay <i>mālela</i> “dark, undamasked steel,” Sundanese <i>mālela</i> “shining (steel),” Balinese <i>mālela</i> “steel,” Acehnese <i>mulila</i> , Gayo <i>mālela</i> , Toba Batak <i>mālela</i> id., Karo Batak <i>mālela</i> “a word often used in mantras”	Cf. Hoogervorst (2013: 25). Also compare the Karo Batak clan name <i>Māliala</i> “a subgroup of <i>Sāmbiring</i> ,” ⁴² which is presumably a lexical doublet of <i>mālela</i> .
<i>pañikkar</i> (പാണിക്കർ) “a title or last name in Kerala traditionally associated with teachers of martial arts” ⁴³	Malay <i>pāndekar</i> “leader of a charge, fighter, swashbuckler,” Javanese <i>pāndekar</i> “champion of a cause, skilled fighter,” Minangkabau <i>pāndeka</i> “champion, master, expert (in silat),” Acehnese <i>pañika</i> “agile, a fence master,” Karo Batak <i>pāndikar</i> “fence master,” Angkola-Mandailing Batak <i>pāndikar</i> id., Tausug <i>pāndikal</i> “wise, having great mental ability, intelligent, genius”	In Malay, the insertion of a post-nasal epenthetic homorganic voiced stop is regular if followed by /r/ or /l/ in the lending language (Adelaar 1988: 65).

Table 3 – Malayālam loanwords in WMP languages.

40. Cf. Javanese *wungkal* “a flat grindstone.” In word-initial position, the rounded vowels /o/, /ō/, /u/ and /ū/ are preceded with an “automatic w-glide” in spoken Tamil (Schiffman 1999: 16).

41. Attested in the *Wangbang Wideha* (Zoetmulder 1982: 240).

42. Several other clan names in North Sumatra have South Indian origins (Joustra 1902).

43. Not attested in Gundert (1962), but glossed in Yule & Burnell (1903: 669) as “a fencing-master, a teacher (but at present it more usually means ‘an astrologer’)”.

Malayālam	WMP	comments
<i>paravadāni</i> (പരവതാനി) “a carpet”	Old Javanese <i>paramadani</i> “carpet, floor-rug, rug,” Javanese <i>prangwədani</i> “a carpet, floor rug (floral or embroidered with gold),” Malay <i>pərmadani</i> “floor-rug,” Acehnese <i>puurumadani</i> “rug,” Angkola-Mandailing Batak <i>sordamaudani</i> “rug, floor-rug”	From the root <i>parava</i> (പരവ) “spreading.” Cham <i>parmadani</i> “rug, tapestry,” Tausug <i>palmaddani?</i> “carpet, rug, floor covering,” Javanese <i>pərmədani</i> “carpet” and Angkola-Mandailing Batak <i>paramadani</i> “rug” appear to be secondary borrowings from Malay.
<i>saṛāmbi</i> (സരാമ്പി) “a house standing on four posts” ⁴⁴	Old Javanese <i>surambyan</i> “outer veranda, front porch,” ⁴⁵ Malay <i>sərambi</i> “a Malay open veranda,” Acehnese <i>suramə</i> “gallery of a house,” Toba Batak <i>surambi</i> “pillars under rice barn,” Karo Batak <i>surambih</i> “a kind of gallery or annex,” Ngaju <i>sarambi</i> “annex at the front or back of a house,” Tagalog <i>sulambi</i> ~ <i>sulambî</i> “eaves (the lower, projecting end of a roof); small annex to a house”	Cf. Wilkinson (1932/2: 446). Tamil has <i>ciṛāmbi</i> (சிறாம்பி) “a loft or platform for keeping watch.” If this word is indeed of Dravidian provenance, high-order Austronesian reconstructions such as proto-Hesperonesian * <i>surambiq</i> “eaves” (Zorc 1994: 556) and proto-WMP * <i>surambi</i> ~ * <i>surambiq</i> “extension to house” (Blust & Trussell 2014 s.v.) should be revised.
<i>tenggara</i> (തെൻകര) “southeast”	Malay <i>tənggara</i> “southeast,” Acehnese <i>tungara</i> ~ <i>tunggara</i> , Javanese (dial.) <i>tunggora</i> , Makasar <i>tunggara</i> id., Tausug <i>tunggara?</i> “the name of a wind that blows from the Southeast”	from <i>ten</i> (തെൻ) “south” + <i>kara</i> (കര) “shore;” also compare Tamil <i>teṅ</i> (தென்) “south” + <i>karai</i> (கரை) “shore of a sea” (Adelaar 1992: 115 fn. 161). ⁴⁶

Table 3 – Malayālam loanwords in WMP languages.

Most of the loanwords postulated thus far occur in pre-modern Javanese literature, testifying to their relatively early transmission. Alternatively, we may look at the geographical distribution of tentative Dravidian etyma. Several Tamil loanwords have been disseminated beyond the Malay core area, *inter alia* to Madagascar and the Philippines. While Malay is no longer spoken in these regions, the Italian scholar and explorer Antonio Pigafetta documented that it was used as a lingua franca when he visited the Philippines in the early 16th century (cf. Wolff 1976: 345-346).⁴⁷ As argued in the introduction, I consider Tamil loans with a wide geographical distribution across Maritime Southeast Asia to be pre-modern borrowings, as postulated in Table 4.

44. Also *saṛāmbi* (സരാമ്പി) ~ *srāmbi* (സ്രാമ്പി) ~ *śrāmbi* (ശ്രാമ്പി). The word can also denote “a prayer-house of Māppīlas (a Muslim community in Kerala)” or “small mosque.” A more specific definition is given by Yule and Burnell (1903: 181): “a gatehouse with a room over the gate, and generally fortified. This is a feature of temples, &c., as well as of private houses, in Malabar. The word is also applied to a chamber raised on four posts.” Upper class houses in Kerala were traditionally equipped with such a fortified gateway (Logan 2007: 82-83).

45. Consisting of *surambi* + suffix *-an*.

46. However, Tamil sailors use the term *Cōla koṇḍal* (கோழ கொண்டல்) for “southeast” (Arunachalam 1996: 265), making a Malayālam etymology more plausible.

47. This development may be connected with the expansion of the Brunei Sultanate in the late 15th century CE and perhaps with commercial contacts, if not slave trade, in earlier times.

Tamil	WMP	comments
appam (அப்பம்) “round cake of rice flour and sugar fried in ghee; thin cake, wafer, bread”	Malay <i>apam</i> “steamed rice flour cake,” Javanese <i>apəm</i> “a rice flour cake usually served as a ceremonial food,” Gayo <i>apam</i> “k.o. pastry,” Karo Batak <i>ampam</i> “k.o. cake,” Makasar <i>apang</i> “k.o. rice cake,” Maranao <i>apang</i> “pancake,” Tausug <i>apam</i> id.	Cf. Van der Tuuk (1897-1912/1: 330), Van Ronkel (1902: 101), Blust & Trussell (2014 s.v.).
kappal (கப்பல்) “ship, sailing vessel”	Malay <i>kapal</i> “decked ship,” Javanese <i>kapal</i> “ship,” Toba Batak <i>hopal</i> id., Acehnese <i>kapay</i> “large ship,” Makasar <i>kappala?</i> “big ship,” Cham kapal “boat, ship with quadrangular sail,” Tausug <i>kappal</i> “a ship (of modern times, with iron hull)”	Cf. Van der Tuuk (1897-1912/2: 301), Van Ronkel (1902: 111-112), Jones (2007: 143), Hoogervorst (2013: 86).
kaḍai (கடை) “shop, bazaar, market”	Malay <i>kadai</i> “shop,” Minangkabau <i>kadai</i> “shop,” Acehnese <i>kuude</i> “shop, booth, stall,” Tausug <i>kadday</i> “a restaurant, eatery, small refreshment stand”	Cf. Jones (2007: 148); also cf. <i>kaḍai</i> (கடை) in the meaning of “pawning” (Table 2), which could be a lexical doublet.
kāval (காவல்) “watchman, guard”	Malay <i>kawal</i> “watchman, patrol, guard,” Javanese <i>kawal</i> “to guard, escort,” Karo Batak <i>kawal</i> “guard,” Tagalog <i>kawal</i> “soldier; warrior; troops”	Cf. Van Ronkel (1902: 111), Jones (2007: 148). Possibly from Hindi <i>qarāval</i> “guard, watchman,” of ultimate Turkish origins.
kommaṭṭikkāy (கொம்மட்டிக்காய்) “unripe water melon” ⁴⁸	Malay <i>kəməndikai</i> “watermelon (<i>Citrullus lanatus</i> (Thunb.) Matsum. & Nakai),” Minangkabau <i>kamandiki</i> , Karo Batak <i>mandike</i> , Makasar <i>mandike</i> id.	Cf. Van Ronkel (1903e). Malay also displays <i>təmbikai</i> through metathesis.
māmpalam (மாம்பழம்) “mango fruit” ⁴⁹	Malay <i>məmpalam</i> “mango (<i>Mangifera indica</i> L.),” Javanese <i>pələm</i> , Acehnese <i>mamplam</i> , Minangkabau <i>marapalam</i> id., Angkola-Mandailing Batak <i>marapolom</i> “a smaller type of mangga with a more refined and sweeter taste,” Maranao <i>mampalang</i> “red-fleshed mango,” Tausug <i>mampallam</i> “a small variety of mango,” Subanon <i>mapalam</i> “mango”	Cf. Van der Tuuk (1897-1912/1: 407-408), Van Ronkel (1902: 115), Jones (2007: 199). The first author glosses Old Javanese <i>hampləm</i> “small type of mangga, about the size of a goose egg, with a very thin and easily removable yellow peel” (not attested in Zoetmulder 1982), implying that the word originally referred to a specific mango variety.

Table 4 – Widespread Tamil loanwords in WMP languages.

48. This form is absent in the dictionaries consulted, but would evidently consist of *kommaṭṭi* (கொம்மட்டி) “a small water-melon, climber (*Citrullus*); country cucumber, climber (*Cucumis melo* L.)” + *kāy* (காய்) “unripe fruit.” The WMP attestations suggest that the segment <ṭṭ> (ட்டி) in the envisioned Tamil precursor may have been voiced, at least in a particular variety. This is supported by Telugu *gummaḍi* (గుమ్మడి) “a gourd, a pumpkin (*Cucurbita maxima* Duchesne)” and Koṇḍa *guməṇḍi* “a pumpkin (*C. maxima*; *C. pepo* L.).”

49. The form consists of *mā* (மா) “mango” + *palam* (பழம்) “fruit, ripe fruit.” Colloquial Tamil has *ma:mbazam* “mango (ripe),” displaying regular voicing of post-nasal stops. However, the WMP attestations suggest that the <p> (ப) was voiceless in the Tamil variety through which the word has spread eastwards.

Tamil	WMP	comments
māṅgāy (மாங்காய்) “unripe mango fruit,” (colloquial) ma:ṅga: id.	Malay mangga “mango (<i>Mangifera indica</i> L.),” Maranao mangga? , Tagalog manggá id., Tausug mangga “common Cebu mango” ⁵⁰	Cf. Jones (2007: 193). This word may have originally referred to an introduced cultivar. Wild mango populations occur naturally in Maritime Southeast Asia and of proto-Malayo-Polynesian * pahuq “mango” are widespread.
mettai (மெத்தை) “bed, cushion; quilt stuffed with cotton”	Malay metai “a thin cushion-quilt for sitting on,” Tagalog † mitay “mattress”	Cf. Van Ronkel (1902: 115), Jones (2007: 201).
mīcai (மீசை) “moustache”	Malay misai “moustache;” Acehnese mise id., Karo Batak mise “moustache, pointed beard, goatee,” Angkola-Mandailing Batak mise “moustache,” Tagalog misay , Tausug misay id.	Cf. Van Ronkel (1902: 116), Jones (2007: 204).
murungai (முருங்கை) “horse- radish tree (<i>Moringa</i> <i>oleifera</i> Lam.)”	Malay mərunggai Tagalog malunggáy , Ilokano marunggáy , Tausug kalamunggay id. (cf. Swahili mlonge ~ mronge id.)	Cf. Van Ronkel (1902: 115), Jones (2007: 200). Malay also displays rəmunnggai through metathesis.
puṭṭu (புட்டு) “a kind of confectionery” ⁵¹	Malay putu “gen. for a number of sweetmeats,” Javanese puṭu “cylindrical dumpling of rice flour in a sauce of salted coconut milk with a lump of brown sugar in the centre,” Acehnese putu “a sweetmeat,” Tagalog puto “k.o. white cake made from rice flour,” Ilokano pito “rice cake made with eggs, grounded sugar, rice, water and coconut,” Tausug putu “a confection made by steaming grated cassava”	Cf. Van Ronkel (1903f: 547), Jones (2007: 256), Blust & Trussell (2014 s.v.).
tālam (தாலம்) “eating-plate, porringer (usually of metal)”	Malay talam “platter, tray (without pedestal),” Javanese talam “serving tray, platter,” Acehnese talam “big, round tray,” Cham talam “plate,” Subanon talam “a brass serving platter,” Tausug talam ‘a brass tray (without legs)’	Van Ronkel (1902: 105), Jones (2007: 311).
vagai (வகை) “kind, class, sort; goods; property; means of livelihood”	Malay bagai “kind, variety, species,” Acehnese bagəə id., Angkola-Mandailing Batak bage “various, etcetera,” Tagalog bagay “thing; object, article,” Bikol bágay “things, stuff; item, matter, object”	Cf. Van Ronkel (1903d), Jones (2007: 30), Blust & Trussell (2014 s.v.).

Table 4 – Widespread Tamil loanwords in WMP languages.

50. Also known as “Carabao mango” (*Mangifera indica* L. cultivar *Carabao*).

51. The more common form is **piṭṭu** (பிட்டு).

Tamil	WMP	comments
<i>vaḍi</i> (வடி) “sharpness,” cf. Telugu <i>vaḍi</i> (వడి) ~ <i>vāḍi</i> (వాడి) id.	Malay <i>badik</i> “k.o. dagger,” Sundanese <i>badi</i> ~ <i>badi-badi</i> “k.o. cut- and-thrust weapon (from Sumatra),” Acehnese <i>bade?</i> “k.o. knife,” Cham <i>padaik</i> “short poniard, Malay <i>kəris</i> ,” Makasar <i>badi?</i> “k.o. thrusting weapon,” Cebuano <i>bari</i> “k.o. sickle”	Cf. Hoogervorst (2013: 22). If this etymology is correct, the reconstruction of PMP * <i>badiq</i> “dagger” must be revised (cf. Mahdi 1994: 173-175, Blust & Trussell 2014 s.v.); iron metallurgy is not indigenous to Maritime Southeast Asia.
<i>vari</i> (வரி) “paddy”	Malay <i>kadut bari</i> “dried pulut-rice,” Bugis <i>kado? bari</i> “cooked, sun- dried rice,” Malagasy <i>vary</i> “rice” (cf. Swahili <i>wali</i> “cooked rice”)	Cf. Hoogervorst (2013: 42-43). Malay <i>kadut</i> = “sack-cloth; glutinous rice dried but uncooked.” Further attestations from Bornean languages are given in Adelaar (1989: 26).
<i>veḍil</i> (வெடில்) “explosion”	Malay <i>bədil</i> “firearm,” Acehnese <i>bude</i> , Toba Batak <i>bodil</i> , Makasar <i>ba?dili?</i> , Bugis <i>balili?</i> id., Tagalog <i>baril</i> “gun,” Cebuano <i>baril</i> “shoot someone or something with a gun,” Bikol <i>badil</i> “gun, shotgun, piece of artillery”	Cf. Kern (1902), Blust & Trussell (2014 s.v.).
<i>vilanḡu</i> (விலங்கு) “fettters, shackles, manacles”	Malay <i>bəlḡngu</i> “fettters, shackles for the feet,” Minangkabau <i>pilḡngu</i> id., Acehnese <i>blanḡku</i> “shackles,” Ilokano <i>bilḡngo</i> “bailiff,” Tagalog <i>bilangḡ</i> “prisoner, captive,” Maranao <i>bilangḡo?</i> “jail, prison,” Tausug <i>bilangḡu?</i> “a chain, shackle, fetter”	Cf. Van der Tuuk (1897-1912/4: 1010), Van Ronkel (1902: 103), Jones (2007: 36), Blust & Trussell (2014 s.v.).

Table 4 – Widespread Tamil loanwords in WMP languages.

Indirect borrowings

In addition to the direct loans from Tamil and Malayāḷam addressed in the previous section, this section calls attention to Indo-Aryan vocabulary that reached Southeast Asia through Dravidian sources. Such “northern loanwords,” known as *vaḍamoli* (வடமொழி) in Tamil, are prone to phonotactic conditioning. In the case of Tamil this often involves the addition of a gender suffix—i.e. female *-ai*, male *-aṅ* or neutral *-am* (cf. Van Ronkel 1902: 102)—to loans displaying a word-final /a/. In addition, word-initial and geminated stops are usually devoiced, whereas word-medial and post-nasal consonants are voiced, in accordance with Tamil phonology (cf. Table 1). Other characteristics hinting at Tamil intermediacy are the insertion of epenthetic vowels (*svarabhakti*) in certain consonant clusters and the rendering of <c>, <ch>, <j>, <jh>, <ś>, <ṣ>, <s> and <z> to <c> (ச).⁵² Table 5 lists Indo-Aryan

52. As indicated before, its exact pronunciation differs across the Tamil varieties. In varieties spoken by Brahmins, Sanskrit loanwords tend to be pronounced more authentically (cf. Zvebil 1964: 253-256).

loanwords in WMP languages whose transmission presumably took place via Tamil or other Dravidian languages based on these sound innovations.

Indo-Aryan	Dravidian	WMP
Hindi <i>bāzār</i> “market, market-place, bazar, mart” (or directly from Persian <i>bāzār</i> (بازار) “a market; a market-day”)	Tamil <i>pacār</i> (பசாற்) “bazaar, permanent market or street of shops”	Malay <i>pasar</i> “bazaar; market; fair,” ⁵³ Middle Javanese <i>pasar</i> “market, bazaar,” Karo Batak <i>pasar</i> “big road,” Cham <i>pasā</i> ~ <i>pasar</i> “market” (cf. Old Mon <i>psā</i> ‘market, market place’)
Hindi <i>turś</i> ~ <i>turuś</i> “sour, acid” (or directly from Persian <i>turś</i> ~ <i>turuś</i> (ترش) “acid, tart, sour”)	Tamil <i>turuci</i> (துருசி) “blue vitriol” ⁵⁴	Malay <i>turusi</i> “copper vitriol; copper sulphate; bluestone,” ⁵⁵ Javanese <i>trusi</i> ~ <i>prusi</i> “verdigris; an ointment made from verdigris for healing sores,” Sundanese <i>trusi</i> “green mineral, verdigris,” Balinese <i>trusi</i> “green vitriol (iron sulphate),” Acehnese <i>turusi</i> “copper vitriol”
Hindi <i>vijay</i> “conquest, victory, triumph” (from Sanskrit <i>vijaya</i> ‘contest for victory, victory’)	Tamil <i>vicai</i> (விசை) “victory”	Malay † <i>bisai</i> “gallant, victorious”
Kāśmīrī (Doḍī dial.) <i>jōrō</i> “pair of shoes,” Sindhī <i>joro</i> “pair, pair of shoes,” Kumaunī <i>joro</i> “pair,” Gujarāṭī <i>joṛū</i> “pair, a shoe” (Turner 1966 #10496)	Tamil <i>cōḍu</i> (சோடு) “pair, couple, set,” Malayāḷam <i>jōḍu</i> (ജോടു) “a pair, match, couple; a pair of shoes,” Kannāḍa <i>jōḍu</i> (ಜೋಡು) “a pair or couple, a match,” Tulu <i>jōḍu</i> (ಜೋಡು) “a pair, match, couple,” Telugu <i>jōḍu</i> (జోడు) “a pair, a couple”	Malay <i>jodoh</i> “twin-soul, affinity, second self, match,” ⁵⁶ Acehnese <i>judo</i> “pair, couple,” Javanese <i>jodo</i> “marriage partner; the right match (for); etc.,” Karo Batak <i>jodu</i> “a pair”
Sanskrit <i>bandha</i> “binding, tying, a bond”	Tamil <i>pandam</i> (பந்தம்) “tie, attachment, link; torch, flambeau; lamp”	Middle Javanese <i>pandam</i> “lamp,” Javanese (lit.) <i>pandam</i> “light, lamp,” Malay <i>pandam</i> “fixing in resin,” ⁵⁷ Acehnese <i>panam</i> “mixture of resin with wax and oil”
Sanskrit <i>gañja</i> “hemp (<i>Cannabis sativa</i> L.)”	Telugu <i>gañjāyi</i> (గంజాయి) id. (cf. Oṛiyā <i>gañjēi</i> id.)	Old Javanese <i>guñje</i> ~ <i>guñjay</i> , Javanese <i>ganje</i> id. ⁵⁸

Table 5 – Indo-Aryan borrowings transmitted through Dravidian languages.

53. Cf. Adelaar (1996: 697).

54. Also written as *turicu* (துரிசு) ~ *turucu* (துருசு).

55. Cf. Van Ronkel (1902: 105), Jones (2007: 321).

56. Van Ronkel (1903c) argues that Malay *jodoh* is a Telugu loan, apparently unaware that the etymon is attested in all major Dravidian languages. In fact, even Tamil *cōḍu* (சோடு) may have given rise to the WMP attestations if it was pronounced as /d̪o:ḍu/ ~ /d̪o:ṭu/ in the lending variety; this level of phonetic detail cannot be indicated in the script.

57. Cf. Gonda (1973: 161), Van Ronkel (1903f: 545-546), Jones (2007: 232).

58. Malay *ganja* id., on the other hand, must have been borrowed either directly from the Sanskrit etymon or through Hindi *gāñjā* id.

Indo-Aryan	Dravidian	WMP
Sanskrit <i>ghoṣa</i> “horse”, Hindi <i>ghoṣā</i> , Marāṭhī <i>ghoṣā</i> id.	(Cf. Goṇḍī <i>kōḍa</i> id.) ⁵⁹	Malay <i>kuda</i> , Toba Batak <i>hoda</i> , Subanon <i>guda</i> , Tausug <i>kura?</i> id.
Sanskrit <i>mālika</i> “a palace” ⁶⁰	Tamil <i>māligai</i> (மாளிகை) “palace; temple; mansion; house”	Malay <i>maligai</i> “palace; princess’s bower,” ⁶¹ Javanese (lit.) <i>malige</i> “throne,” Gayo <i>mālige</i> “palace,” Acehnese <i>muligæ</i> “palace, royal residence,” Cham (Vietnam dial.) <i>mōlagai</i> “palace, royal residence, house of a prince, etc.,” Bugis <i>malige</i> “palace,” Subanon <i>maligai</i> “spirit house”
Sanskrit <i>manda</i> “drunken, addicted to intoxication; etc.”	Tamil <i>mandam</i> (மந்தம்) “drunkenness; etc.”	Malay <i>mandam</i> “intoxication,” Javanese <i>mandam</i> “drunken, intoxicated”
Sanskrit <i>nīla</i> “dark-blue; dyed with indigo; the sapphire, etc.”	Tamil <i>nīlam</i> (நீலம்) “blue, azure or purple colour; blue dye, indigo; sapphire”	Malay <i>nīlam</i> “sapphire,” ⁶² Makasar <i>nīlang</i> , Magindanao <i>nīlam</i> id.
Sanskrit <i>parikhā</i> “a moat, ditch, trench or fosse round a town or fort”	Tamil <i>parigai</i> (பரிசை) “moat, ditch; mound within a rampart”	Malay <i>parigi</i> “well, spring,” Old Javanese <i>parigi</i> “low encircling wall of stones, paved bank or slope,” Tausug <i>paligi?</i> “an area of wet, filthy and soggy ground,” Malagasy <i>farihy</i> “a pool, a pond, a lake” ⁶³
Sanskrit <i>patra</i> “the blade of a sword or knife; a knife, dagger”	Tamil <i>pattiram</i> (பத்திரம்) “small sword”	Malay <i>pataram</i> “a small kris used by women,” ⁶⁴ Old Javanese <i>patram</i> “dagger, kris (prob. a small variety),” Javanese <i>patram</i> “a small dagger”

Table 5 – Indo-Aryan borrowings transmitted through Dravidian languages.

59. The Tamil Lexicon gives the rather uncommon forms *kōḍai* (கோடை) and *kōḍaram* (கோடரம்) ~ *kōḍagam* (கோடகம்), the latter undoubtedly reflecting Sanskrit *ghoṣaka* “a horse, a mare.” Kern (1889: 281) speculates that a form **kōḍa* may also have existed in some undocumented variety of Tamil, giving rise to the WMP attestations. The most common Dravidian word for “horse,” however, is (Tamil) *kudirai* (குதிரை), presumably derived from the root *kudī* (குடி) “to jump” (Burrow & Emenau 1984 #1705, #1711), whose similarity with the WMP attestations is probably fortuitous. Also refer to Bhattacharya (1966: 38) for superficially similar Austro-Asiatic attestations.

60. Glossed as such in Benfey (1866: 704); the meaning of “palace” is absent in Monier-Williams (1899: 813).

61. Cf. Van Ronkel (1902: 114), Jones (2007: 191).

62. Cf. Van Ronkel (1902: 117), Jones (2007: 220).

63. The Indic origins of this word were already postulated by Van der Tuuk (1897-1912/4: 131) and Zoetmulder (1982/1: 1298). Conversely, Mahdi (1994/1: 441-453) supports an Indonesian origin. Along similar lines, Blust & Trussell (2014 s.v.) reconstruct proto-WMP **paRigi* ‘artificially enclosed catchment for water: well, ditch’.

64. Cf. Van der Tuuk (1897-1912/4: 184), Van Ronkel (1902: 109-110), Gonda (1973: 162) and Jones (2007: 236).

Indo-Aryan	Dravidian	WMP
Sanskrit <i>śāstrī</i> “versed in the <i>śāstras</i> , learned; a teacher of sacred books or science, a learned man”	Tamil <i>cāttiri</i> (சாத்திரி) “one versed in the <i>śāstras</i> , learned man; a title, especially of <i>smārta</i> brāhmins” ⁶⁵	Malay <i>santari</i> “seminarist; divinity student,” Javanese <i>santri</i> “a student of Islam living in a school; one who adheres strictly to Islamic rules,” ⁶⁶ Tausug <i>santili?</i> “a beggar (someone esp. an old man who comes to one’s house and asks blessing from God for the family and in return is given rice or money)”
Sanskrit <i>śigru</i> “horse-radish tree (<i>Moringa oleifera</i> Lam.)”	Tamil <i>cikkuru</i> (கிக்குரு) id.	Old Javanese <i>cikru</i> id., ⁶⁷ Karo Batak <i>cingkəru</i> “Job’s tears (<i>Coix lacrymajobi</i> L.),” ⁶⁸ Toba Batak <i>singkoru</i> id.
Sanskrit <i>śuci</i> “shining; clear, clean, pure”	Tamil <i>cuci</i> (சூசி) “cleanliness purity, ceremonial purification”	Malay <i>cuci</i> “to cleanse, the act of cleaning” ⁶⁹
Sanskrit <i>vajra</i> “diamond, etc.,” Middle Indo-Aryan <i>vāira</i> id.	Tamil <i>vairam</i> (வெரம்) “diamond”	Malay † <i>beram</i> “red diamond,” ⁷⁰ Acehnese <i>biram</i> id., Sundanese <i>burum</i> “red” (cf. Thai <i>baīrām</i> (ไพบร) “gem, jewel; precious stone”)
Sanskrit <i>vañṭha</i> “a javelin”	Tamil <i>vaṇḍam</i> (வண்டம்) “a weapon”	Old Javanese <i>baṇḍam</i> ~ <i>paṇḍam</i> missile (or the throwing of such?), ⁷¹ Javanese <i>paṇḍam</i> “missile, object hurled”
Sanskrit <i>vāṣī</i> ~ <i>vāṣī</i> “a sharp or pointed knife or a kind of axe, adze, chisel”	Tamil <i>vācci</i> (வாய்ச்சி) “adze” ⁷²	Malay <i>banci</i> “adze,” ⁷³ Acehnese <i>baci</i> “axe (small type)” Angkola-Mandailing Batak <i>bangsi</i> “a large adze,” Makasar <i>banci</i> “a tool to cut stones,” Bugis <i>banci</i> “k.o. adze”
Sanskrit <i>veda</i> “the Vedic books and hymns”	Tamil <i>vēdam</i> (வேதம்) id.	Malay † <i>widam</i> “prayer, incantation (in <i>hikayats</i> and poetry),” ⁷⁴ Magindanao <i>wedam</i> “the Vedic books”

Table 5 – Indo-Aryan borrowings transmitted through Dravidian languages.

65. More commonly spelled *cāstiri* (சாஸ்திரி).

66. First proposed by Van der Tuuk (1897-1912/3: 37). The insertion of a homorganic stop is addressed under *cauttu* (செளத்து) in Table 2.

67. Given as such in Van der Tuuk (1897-1912/1: 606), but absent in Zoetmulder (1982).

68. Cf. Edwards McKinnon (1996: 95).

69. Cf. Gonda (1973: 169).

70. Cf. Van Ronkel (1902: 104), Jones (2007: 36).

71. See *vaci* (வசி) in Table 1 on the hypercorrection of word-initial /b/ to /p/ in loanwords; Old Javanese displays the derived verb *amaṇḍam* ~ *umaṇḍam* “to throw at and hit (with st.).”

72. Also written as *vāycci* (வாய்ச்சி) or *vāṭci* (வாட்டி).

73. Cf. Van Ronkel (1902: 103), Jones (2007: 32).

74. So glossed in Von de Wall (1877-97/3: 231); cf. Van Ronkel (1902: 117) and Jones

Since some Sanskrit loanwords in WMP languages display voicing of intervocalic consonants, it has been argued that speakers of Tamil were involved in their transmission (cf. Gonda 1973: 161-166; Tadmor 2009: 694). I would argue, however, that the observed process of voicing intervocalic consonants – as well as devoicing word-initial consonants – cannot always be explained through Dravidian intermediacy. If the would-be Dravidian etyma are either unattested or display additional phonological innovations unreflected in the recipient WMP languages (typically the addition of gender endings), we are urged to look for alternative explanations. In some cases, the transmission may have taken place through Middle Indo-Aryan languages, some of which also show voicing of intervocalic stops (cf. Hoogervorst forthcoming). In others, the fluctuation between voiced and voiceless consonants appears restricted to Malay attestations, as demonstrated in Table 6.

Sanskrit	WMP	comments
<i>cañcala</i> “moving to and fro, unsteady, shaking”	Old Javanese <i>cañcala</i> “to move to and fro, shake; uneasy, unsteady,” Javanese <i>cancalo</i> “to shake violently; to unsettle,” Malay <i>cāncala</i> ~ <i>janjala</i> “loose-tongued; over-talkative”	Cf. Tamil <i>cañjalam</i> (சஞ்சலம்) “unsteadiness; rapid motion; trembling”
<i>caṇḍāla</i> “an outcast, man of the lowest and most despised of the mixed tribes”	Old Javanese <i>caṇḍāla</i> “of low birth; mean, despicable (conduct); trader, merchant,” Malay <i>cāndala</i> “low, mean, ignoble, depraved” ~ <i>janḍala</i> “low, mean, scoundrelly”	Cf. Tamil <i>caṇḍālam</i> (சண்டாளம்) “baseness; demon” ~ <i>caṇḍālan</i> (சண்டாளன்) “low, degraded man; person of the degraded caste”
<i>ghaṭikā</i> “a period of time”	Malay <i>katika</i> “period of time, season,” ⁷⁵ Toba Batak <i>hatiha</i> “point in time,” Karo Batak <i>katika</i> “a time obtained by calculation,” Maranao <i>kotika?</i> “astrology, season, moment”	Cf. Tamil <i>kaḍigai</i> (கடிசை) “Indian hour of 24 minutes; time”

Table 6 – Sanskrit loanwords displaying fluctuation between voiced and voiceless consonants.

(2007: 341). The word-initial /v/ of Tamil loanwords is typically reflected as /b/ in Malay, as other examples in this study demonstrate. Its pronunciation as /w/ in the case of *ṭwidam* may point to a later acquisition, when the presence of /w/ in the word-initial position no longer violated Malay phonotactics. In this regard, we may also compare Malay *ṭwapalai* ~ *ṭwepalai* “k.o. tree whose leaves are placed between papers to repel insects” (Klinkert 1947: 1018), presumably derived from Tamil *vēpillai* (வேப்பலை) ~ *vēppālai* (வெட்டலை) “conessi bark (*Holarrhena pubescens* Wall. ex G.Don).” It has further been pointed out that this rule does not apply to Arabic loanwords, whose authentic pronunciation is religiously motivated (Adelaar 1988: 62-63).

75. The presence of Malay *bintang katika* “stars that tell the time, the Pleiades” would suggest that *katika* constitutes a blend of Sanskrit *ghaṭikā* and *kārttika* “the twelfth month of the year, when the full moon is near the Pleiades,” cf. Pāli *kattikā* “the month October-November” and Old Khmer *kattika* ~ *kāttika* “the twelfth lunar month, corresponding to October-November.” In the latter meaning, the word was presumably also borrowed into Malagasy (dial.) as *hatsiha* “the name of one of the months.”

Sanskrit	WMP	comments
<i>guñjā</i> “a bunch, bundle, cluster of blossoms”	Malay <i>kuncak</i> “bale, bundle (measure of capacity for things made up in bales or trusses such as bundles of straw),” Acehnese <i>gunca</i> “measure of capacity”	Cf. Tamil <i>kuñjam</i> (குஞ்சல்) “bunch of flowers; tassel, cluster of grass; a measure in the width of cloth”
<i>jūrṇa</i> “old, worn out, withered, wasted, decayed”	Old Javanese <i>jūrṇa</i> “old, worn out, decayed; digested; satisfied (with water), refreshed,” Javanese (lit.) <i>curṇa</i> “broken to pieces, smashed, wrecked, crushed,” Malay <i>cərna</i> “assimilation or digestion (of food)”	Cf. Tamil <i>cīraṇam</i> (சீரணம்) “digestion; decay, ruin, spoil condition”
<i>krakaca</i> “a saw”	Malay <i>gərgaji</i> “a saw, to saw,” Acehnese <i>grəgajə</i> “a saw,” Javanese <i>graji</i> , Makasar <i>garagaji</i> , Toba Batak <i>garagaji</i> , Angkola-Mandailing Batak <i>garagaji</i> , Cebuano <i>lagádi</i> id., Tagalog <i>lagari</i> “carpenter’s saw,” Ilokano <i>ragádi</i> id., Maranao <i>garogadi?</i> “file (a tool),” Tausug <i>gawgari?</i> id.	The substitution of word-final /a/ by /i/ in Indic loanwords borrowed into WMP languages does not stand in isolation (Gonda 1973: 427-430; De Casparis 1988: 53; Hoogervorst forthcoming).
<i>sac-chattra</i> “with an umbrella”	Malay <i>səjahtara</i> “peace, tranquillity, ease”	The Sanskrit compound has been explained as a metaphor for “under government protection” (Poerbatjaraka 1953: 41). ⁷⁶
<i>uccar</i> “to emit (sounds), utter, pronounce”	Old Javanese <i>ujar</i> “words, speech, talk,” Malay <i>ujar</i> “utterance, speech, saying”	
<i>vicaḷṣaṇa</i> “conspicuous; clear- sighted, sagacious, clever”	Old Javanese <i>wicaḷṣaṇa</i> “sagacious, clever, wise, versed in, familiar with, expert in,” Javanese <i>wicaḷṣaṇa</i> “endowed with wisdom,” Malay <i>bijaksana</i> “practical wisdom or skill”	

Table 6 – Sanskrit loanwords displaying fluctuation between voiced and voiceless consonants.

Most of the above examples of fluctuation between voiced and voiceless affricates are restricted to Malay. Rather than attributing such changes to acquisition from speakers of Dravidian languages, it would thus be more fruitful to consider this a definable tendency within the Malay language. While it is by no means a regular phonological innovation, the following Malay lexical doublets substantiate this claim.⁷⁶

- *bucuk* ~ *bujuk* “murrel (*Channa* sp.)”
- *cakat* ~ *jagat* “world” (from Sanskrit *jagat* “the world, earth”)
- *cicik* ~ *jijik* “disgust”
- *cogan* ~ *jogan* “metallic standard or emblem” (from Persian *čaugān*

76. Along similar semantic lines, Old Javanese *ekacchattra* “supreme (sovereign) ruler” reflects Sanskrit *ekacchattra* “having only one (royal) umbrella, ruled by one king solely.”

- (چوگان) “a stick carried as an ensign of royalty”)
- *cokar* ~ *jogar* “an indoor-game played with counters or pieces” (from Portuguese *jogar* “to play”)
 - *congkah* ~ *jongkah* “sticking out at the point or jagged at the edge”
 - *corong* ~ *jorong* “a funnel”
 - *cuai* ~ *juai* “of little account”
 - *curang* ~ *jurang* “ravine”
 - *kəracang* ~ *kərajang* “gold foil”
 - *picit* ~ *pijit* “pinching, compression in the hand, a form of massage”

The above examples lend support to the aforementioned hypothesis that fluctuation between voiced and voiceless affricates reflects internal developments in Malay, which may include interdialectal transmission and infrequent usage of the words involved.

Concluding remarks

Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir was hardly exaggerating when he insisted that the study of Tamil was a worthwhile investment in the multi-ethnic environment of his childhood. Two millennia of intermittent contact between South India and Maritime Southeast Asia have left a considerable and lasting lexical imprint. This study called attention to some tentative Tamil, Malayālam and perhaps other Dravidian borrowings into WMP languages, illustrating the interconnectedness of the speech communities inhabiting both sides of the Bay of Bengal. To better understand these patterns of language contact, I have made an effort to demonstrate why certain loanwords in WMP languages can be identified as Dravidian or Dravidian-mediated, whereas others cannot. In doing so, the following definable (yet inconsistent) tendencies of sound change in Malay and other WMP languages have surfaced:

- The monophthongisation of /ai/ to /i/ (also in inherited vocabulary), as evidenced in Malay *pərigi* “well, spring” from Tamil *parigai* (பரிகை) “moat, ditch; mound within a rampart,” *kuali* “wide-mouthed cooking-pot” from *kuṟṟai* (குவளை) “wide-mouthed vessel, cup” and *undi* “lot, die” from *uṇṇai* (உண்டை) “ball; dice”
- The voicing of word-initial /k/ to /g/, as evidenced in Malay *gadai* “pledging, pawning, mortgaging” from Tamil *kaṭṭai* (கடை) “shop, bazaar, market,” *gundik* “secondary wife” from *koṇḍi* (கொண்டி) “prostitute, concubine,” *gulai* “wet-curry; currying in rich highly-spiced sauce” from *kuḷai* (குழை) “to become soft, mashy, pulpy, as well-cooked” and *gərgaji* “a saw, to saw” from Sanskrit *krakaca* “a saw.”
- The insertion of a word-medial homorganic nasal, typically before geminated consonants, as evidenced in Malay *banci* “adze” from Tamil *vācci* (வாச்சி) id., *contoh* “sample, model, specimen” from *cauttu*

(செளத்து) “pattern, sample, model,” *kamāndikai* from *kommaṭṭikkāy* (கொம்மட்டிக்காய்) “unripe water melon” and *santāri* “seminarist; divinity student” from *cāttiri* (சாத்திரி) “one versed in the *sāstras*, learned man; a title, especially of *smārta* brāhmins.”

- The addition of word-final /h/, as evidenced in Malay *contoh* “sample, model, specimen” from Tamil *cauttu* (செளத்து) “pattern, sample, model,” *jodoh* “twin-soul, affinity, second self, match” from a Dravidian reflex of *jōḍu* “a pair, a couple” and *kuncāh* “bale, bundle” from Sanskrit *guñjā* “a bunch, bundle, cluster of blossoms.”

It was further argued that the voicing of intervocalic consonants and the devoicing of word-initial consonants, observed in Indo-Aryan loanwords adopted into Malay, cannot be unambiguously associated with Dravidian intermediacy; this process partly reflects internal developments within Malay, predominantly attested in affricates. On the other hand, I contend that proto-WMP **paRigi* “artificially enclosed catchment for water: well, ditch,” **surambiq* ~ **surambi* “extension to house” and proto-Malayo-Polynesian **badiq* “dagger” and **panay* “dish, bowl (of clay or wood)” were in fact early South Indian borrowings, rather than inherited forms.

While this study provides an overview of the remarkably scattered earlier scholarship and postulates a number of new etymologies, it does not claim to present a comprehensive list of Dravidian loanwords in Southeast Asia. For the Malay language, Jones (2007) remains the best resource. Tamil and Malayālam loanwords restricted to specific regions, such as North Sumatra, Java or the Malay Peninsula, merit a more extensive research beyond the constraints of this paper. Of equally keen interest is the introduction of Persian and Arabic loanwords into Southeast Asia and the plausible role played by Indian speech communities in this process.

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