

ISSN: 2088-6799



PROCEEDINGS

International Seminar

LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND SHIFT V

September 2–3, 2015



Revised Edition

Master Program in Linguistics, Diponegoro University
in Collaboration with
Balai Bahasa Provinsi Jawa Tengah



Proceedings International Seminar Language Maintenance and Shift V

“The Role of Indigenous Languages in Constructing Identity”

September 2—3, 2015

xviii+433 hlm. 21 x 29,7 cm

ISSN: 2088-6799

Revised Edition

Compiled by:

Herudjati Purwoko (Indonesia)

Agus Subiyanto (Indonesia)

Wuri Sayekti (Indonesia)

Tohom Marthin Donius Pasaribu (Indonesia)

Yudha Thianto (United States of America)

Priyankoo Sarmah (India)

Zane Goebel (Australia)

**Master Program in Linguistics, Diponegoro University
in Collaboration with
Balai Bahasa Provinsi Jawa Tengah**

Jalan Imam Bardjo, S.H. No.5 Semarang

Telp/Fax +62-24-8448717

Email: seminarlinguistics@gmail.com

Website: www.mli.undip.ac.id/lamas

NOTE

This international seminar on Language Maintenance and Shift V (LAMAS V for short) is a continuation of the previous LAMAS seminars conducted annually by the Master Program in Linguistics, Diponegoro University in cooperation with *Balai Bahasa Provinsi Jawa Tengah*.

We would like to extend our deepest gratitude to the seminar committee for putting together the seminar that gave rise to this compilation of papers. Thanks also go to the Head and the Secretary of the Master Program in Linguistics Diponegoro University, without whom the seminar would not have been possible.

The table of contents lists 92 papers presented at the seminar. Of these papers, 5 papers are presented by invited keynote speakers. They are Prof. Aron Reppmann, Ph.D. (Trinity Christian College, USA), Prof. Yudha Thianto, Ph.D. (Trinity Christian College, USA), Dr. Priyankoo Sarmah, Ph.D. (Indian Institute of Technology Guwahati, India), Helena I.R. Agustien, Ph.D. (Semarang State University, Indonesia), and Dr. M. Suryadi, M.Hum. (Diponegoro University, Indonesia).

In terms of the topic areas, the papers are in sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, theoretical linguistics, antropolinguistics, pragmatics, applied linguistics, and discourse analysis.

NOTE FOR REVISED EDITION

There is a little change in this revised edition, which as the shifting of some parts of the article by Tatan Tawami and Retno Purwani Sari entitled “Sundanese Identity Represented by the Talents of *Ini Talkshow* A Study of Pragmatics” on page 166 to 167. This has an impact on the change of table of contents.

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"The Role of Indigenous Languages in Constructing Identity"

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 2015					
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LOAN WORDS AS SHAPERS OF IDENTITY IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY MALAY: A HISTORICAL LINGUISTICS STUDY OF CHRISTIAN SONGS INTRODUCED BY THE VOC

Yudha Thianto

Trinity Christian College, Palos Heights, IL, USA

Yudha.Thianto@trnty.edu

Abstract

The presence of loan words in a language shows the long-standing interactions between that particular language as a recipient and its donors. Over time, these loan words are absorbed into the recipient language and they become a part of the linguistic identity of its speakers. Very often the speakers no longer realize that these words originally came from another language. This essay looks at seventeenth-century texts of Christian songs in Malay that were first introduced to the East Indies by the VOC. By looking at the presence of several loan words, mostly coming from Arabic, Sanskrit, and Dutch this essay seeks to explain how these loan words form the identity of speakers of Malay, not just among Christians who sang these songs, but also the speakers of this *lingua franca* who lived all over the East Indies archipelago.

INTRODUCTION

As an academic discipline historical linguistics is beneficial not only because it provides a description of how a language takes its shape over time, but also to provide contemporary speakers of a language to learn about their linguistic identity. Robert King has explained that as a discipline that studies all aspects of the development of a language through time, historical linguistics always takes note of all the changes that happen in a language (King 1969, 1). Because languages keep adapting themselves to the way their most immediate cultures take place, changes in languages are inevitable. These changes in due time shape the identity of the speakers of the language, not just linguistically, but also culturally. When employed as an avenue to learn about changes that happen in a language that eventually shape the identity of its speakers, historical linguistics provides us with a function that is far beyond just being pragmatic. In the past this field of study was considered useful only when it could be employed to build linguistics theory. But today, as Lyle Campbell reminds us, it is truly an exciting area of study in itself, without having to be pragmatic, and according to Campbell, the study of historical linguistics is "fun, exciting, and intellectually engaging." In addition, Campbell also points out to the fact that this academic field helps people to understand human nature better (Campbell 2013, 1).

Roger Lass looks at historical linguistics and language change as two intertwined areas that make up a certain form of an art of linguistic story telling (Lass 1997, xiv). It is in the line of Lass' reasoning that I am presenting this essay. It is a brief linguistic story telling by way of studying some seventeenth-century Christian songs. This essay looks at how loan words played an important role in shaping the identity of Malay as a language in the seventeenth century, and by extension, how the speakers of Malay—which later became Indonesian—find their identity. I will carry out my task by way of studying certain loan words that are used in some Christian songs that were first introduced by the Dutch at the time when the VOC started to establish its power in the East Indies. My goal in this study is to demonstrate that the employment of these loan words in the Christian songs that the Dutch introduced to Christians in the archipelago at the beginning of the seventeenth century did not just shape the identity of Christians in the East Indies, but they actually formed a shared identity of the speakers of the language as a whole. The loan words being studied in this research are ones that came from outside the languages spoken in the East Indies archipelago and not the ones that came from within, such as Javanese, Sundanese, etc. My focused attention in this study is to demonstrate the presence of these loan words at the beginning of the seventeenth century and how they contributed to the formation of the Malay language, and not on the explanation of how the words became a part of Malay's vocabulary.

The readers of this essay will also see that in this study I focus mainly on the lexical borrowing as I exclusively work on published seventeenth-century texts of the Christian songs.

LOAN WORDS IN EARLY-MODERN MALAY

The study of how loan words are introduced in a particular language is an important part of historical linguistics research. Linguistic borrowing is a common occurrence when speakers of two languages interact with each other. As Grijns, de Vries, and Santa Maria point out, studying language borrowing can tell many stories of the history of languages and cultures. These scholars list several factors that are predominant in the process of borrowing; they are: the native speakers' interactions with the foreign language, their appreciation of the language, the kind of interactions in which the contacts happen, and the structures of both the source (or the donor) and the receptor (or the recipient) languages (Grijns, de Vries, and Santa Maria 1983, ix).

Masanori Higa distinguishes between the abstract and concrete levels of language borrowing. At the abstract level, according to Higa, one culture may be influenced by another on matters pertaining to religion, philosophy, and ideology; whereas at the concrete level the influence may be related to food, clothing, and shelter. Higa explains that at both levels, one culture may receive more from the other than the other way around (Higa 1979, 277).

Sociolinguistically, the presence of loan words in a particular language demonstrates intense contacts of that particular language with the donor language or languages. These contacts generally result in a bilingual or multi lingual situation where the speakers of the recipient language speak these languages. This then results in language interference. As Bernard Spolsky explains, an interference happens when a bilingual who has understood both languages can attach the meaning of words from another language to his or her own language. Spolsky sees that interference can happen on all aspects of a language, ranging from sound interference that results in a speaker having an accent, to the mastery of conversational rules (Spolsky 2004, 49). Language borrowing, therefore, happens when speakers of the recipient language commonly use the words from the donor language over a long period of time, and thus language interference becomes a common occurrence in the interactions between the languages. Unlike code-switching, language borrowing is permanent. In the case of lexical borrowing, the speakers of the recipient language use the terms they borrow from the donor language indefinitely. Borrowed terms and concepts are integrated into the recipient language and become the integral part of the language.

In its development prior to the seventeenth century, Malay borrowed significant amount of words from other languages with which it had very close contacts. One major language from which it borrowed was Arabic. As Islam spread throughout the East Indies, the Arabic language came into close contact with Malay. In line with Higa's statement regarding language borrowing, we see that the influence came more from the Arabic language toward Malay, and not vice versa. This is clearly seen through the fact that many Arabic words are borrowed in Malay, and this borrowing permeates throughout the entire cultural experience of the people. Later, when Christianity was introduced to the East Indies, many of the Arabic loan words were also used in the Christian songs. As we can see in this essay, this particular research endeavor shows that the language borrowing that we study here reflects what Higa attributes as borrowing in the abstract level, in which the act of borrowing happens on matters connected to religion and philosophy.

Russell Jones comments that the spread of Arabic and Persian loan words was a slow and complex process. Jones sees the parallel between the Islamization of Nusantara and the spread of loan words from these two languages, and argues that there is significant evidence of Arabic influence in the East Indies that dated back to the fourteenth century (Jones 2007, xxiii). Jones also indicates that even though there are only a limited number of direct Persian loan words in Malay, a large proportion of Malay words with Arabic cognates did not come directly from Arabic, but they came by way of Persianized Indian languages that were used by the traders and teachers of the Islamic religion from India (Jones 2007, xxiii). Where some loan words truly came from Arabic, Jones further remarks, they were consistently borrowed from the literary forms of Arabic, namely from classical Arabic, and there is virtually no evidence that any regional dialects of Arabic lent their words to Malay. Therefore, Jones argues that Islam, Arabic, and literacy spread hand-in-hand in the East Indies (Jones 2007, xxiv).

In studying language borrowing in Malay we find it hard to precisely determine the time and the process in which the borrowing happened. Russell Jones states that while it is relatively easy to prove

that language borrowing happens in Malay, based on the fact that the loan words are found in the language, there is little evidence of the when, the where, and the who of the borrowing (Jones 2009, 8). Furthermore, Jones also supports the statement of Higa, that in the particular case of Malay, this mother tongue is the borrowing language, in which the speakers of this language are the "successors to the writers of *hikayats*, to the *ulama*, to the scribes and chroniclers, whose knowledge of foreign languages led to the enrichment of Malay over the millennia, from Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Portuguese, and other languages (Jones 2009, 8).

Malay's contact with Portuguese predated its contact with Dutch. Therefore, we see that in the texts published in the seventeenth century, many Portuguese loan words were already in use. In matters pertaining to the Christian religion, the Dutch were willing to use these Portuguese loan words, even though the Portuguese were the enemies of the Dutch, both politically and also in terms of religion. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Dutch embraced the Protestant branch of the Christian religion, and the Portuguese embraced Roman Catholicism. These two branches of Christianity did not get along with each other. As I have explained elsewhere, in the East Indies, while the VOC was trying to gain monopoly over the trading of spices against the Portuguese as their rivals, in matters concerning language the Dutch were willing to allow Portuguese loan words to be used in the Protestant church songs for the simple reason that these words were already used by the people for more than half a century before the arrival of the Dutch in the archipelago (Thianto 2014, 150).

De Vries states that the Portuguese introduced everyday articles that were previously unknown to the people of the East Indies and lent words that are used to refer to foods, plants, and clothes, as they also brought Roman Catholicism with its own vocabulary (de Vries 2007, xxx). Even though the Dutch ousted the Portuguese at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Portuguese language was still used in many communities in the East Indies, de Vries notes, and therefore Portuguese loan words were still present in many seventeenth-century texts published by the Dutch. De Vries points out the oddity of the situation, that despite the fact that Dutch was the official language of the VOC, the Protestant churches, and of a few schools—particularly in Batavia—Portuguese remained to be used as one *lingua franca* of many of the communities in the archipelago (De Vries 2007, xxxi).

Sanskrit had been in close contact with Old Malay long before Arabic and European languages came in touch with Malay. When the rulers of Sriwijaya in the Southern part of Sumatra adopted Old Malay as their official language around the end of the seventh century, Jones notes, the officials of the Sriwijaya kingdom resorted to Sanskrit to express many concepts that were not present in Old Malay. Jones believes that about a third of the words found in the inscriptions of Sriwijaya were Sanskrit in origin (Jones 2007, xxii).

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY CHURCH SONGS IN MALAY

Since their earliest presence in the East Indies the Dutch also brought Protestantism to the land. They saw the importance of teaching the new Protestants in the land to sing the Christian songs that are taken from the book of Psalms. These Psalms are considered the best form of the singing for the Christian church. This tradition was started in the sixteenth century, in the church in Geneva under the leadership of John Calvin (Calvin 1543). The Dutch then adopted the same approach to church singing when, as a nation after liberating themselves from Spain which was a Roman Catholic nation, they declared the Protestant form of Christianity that was shaped by the views of John Calvin as the religion of the country.

When the Dutch came to the East Indies, they also established the Protestant churches. In order to regulate the churches, they published series of church orders that governed in detail how church had to operate and organized. The 1624 Church Order of Batavia, later revised in 1643, regulated that all ministers had to preach in the language of the people and to teach them to sing the Psalms, also in the language of the people. The church order also regulated that the singing of the psalms in the church should follow the method adopted by the English church (*de Engelsche maniere*) in which the leader sings one line to be followed by the congregation, and then the leader sings the next line, with the congregation following, and so on. This method seemed to be the best method to adopt considering that the indigenous people of the East Indies were still unfamiliar with singing the church songs when the church was still in its earliest years.

In order to teach the basics of the Christian religion the Dutch put an effort to translate parts of the Bible. The first Malay translation of the Gospel of Matthew was published by a *koopman*, or merchant of the VOC by the name of Albertus Ruyl. Less than a decade later Ruyl also published the

Malay translation of the gospels of Matthew and Mark in 1638. Following the text of these Malay translations of the gospels was a small collection of the church songs, also translated into Malay, in metrical form. This collection of Christian songs is a significant source of the study of seventeenth-century Malay, because they provide us with a window to look into the early modern form of Malay as a developing language. The texts of these songs can serve as our way to study the language as it was spoken (and sung) during the time when the VOC started to establish its power in the region.

There are 13 songs in the collection. These songs had roots in the tradition of the singing of the Protestant churches in Europe, especially that of Geneva. Very similar to its origin in the church in Geneva under the leadership of John Calvin, these songs were written in versified form that followed set patterns of meters. These versified form of the Psalms were then set to particular tunes. Generally, this type of songs is called the metrical Psalms. In the tradition of the Protestant churches, however, the songs were not just taken from the Psalms. There are also some songs that are taken from the rest of the Bible. One characteristic remains the same for these songs, namely that they are all written in set patterns of meters.

As these songs were translated into Malay at the beginning of the seventeenth century, they helped shape the identity of Christians in some parts of the East Indies. There were evidences of the tradition of singing these songs in churches in Batavia and in Ambon (Thianto 2014, 155). In Malay, the text of these songs were printed side-by-side with their Dutch original texts. Each page has the Dutch text on the left column, and the Malay text on the right. The verse stanza of each song is printed together with the music or the tune of the piece. Each stanza also followed certain set of rhyme. Therefore, when looked as a whole, these songs resemble nicely written poetical structures.

DATA ANALYSIS

The data analysis in this paper is done qualitatively. Instead of trying to find the number of loan words found in the texts of the songs to try to figure out how often each loan word occurs, this analysis will look at the kind of words being used and the origin of the words. In so doing this essay will show how the loan words play an important role of forming the identity of Malay as a lingua franca in the seventeenth century, and how the speakers of the language also found their identity in using these loan words. By looking at these songs we can infer that these words were widely used in the community, beyond just the church community. These songs were just one avenue that we could use to look at the wider use of the language in the community.

The following tables show the loan words used in the collection of the church songs of the 1629:

Table 1: Arabic Loan Words

WORD	Modern Spelling	Meaning
Allah	Allah	God
rahmat	rahmat	grace / mercy
misri	Mesir	Egypt
nadjis	najis	ceremonially unclean
sedjut	sujut	prostrate / genuflect
(ber)hukum	hukum	law
Sabbat	Sabat	Sabbath
(ber)mumin	mukmin	righteous person
massamur	Mazmur	Psalm
Israel	Israel	Israel
Sakaria	Zakaria	Zechariah
Davud	Daud	David
ulkadus	Ul-kudus	Holy (Spirit)
nabbi	nabi	prophet
seitan	Setan	Satan
nafas	nafas / napas	breath
kawum	kaum	people
Ibrahim	Ibrahim / Abraham	Abraham
adil	adil	just

wasalam	wasalam / wassalam	and peace be with you
haram	haram	forbidden
kabul	kabul (terkabul)	fulfilled
waktu	waktu	time
maut	maut	death
Malaikat,	malaikat	angel
hurmad	hormat	honor
wahid(u)	wahid	number one
mamur	makmur	prosperous
salam	salam	greetings
Mariam	Mariam	Mary
(ter)surat	(ter)surat	written
ruh	roh	spirit
ruhani	rohani	spiritual
(ber)daulat	(ber)daulat	sovereign
kauwat	kuat	power / might
madjilis	majelis	assembly
nakal	nakal	naughty
miskin	miskin	poor
(nu)rahim	(nu)rahim	merciful
umat	umat	people
kafir	kafir	gentile
faidjar	fajar	dawn
djahat	jahat	wicked / evil
Ruah Ulkadus	Roh Ulkudus	Holy Spirit

Tabel 2: Sanskrit Loan Words

Word	Modern Spelling	Meaning
sabda	sabda	word
maha	maha	great
pudji	puji	praise
kawassahan	kekuasaan	power
muka	muka	face / front
hari	hari	day
budi	budi	intelligence / wisdom
daja	daya	power
dosa	dosa	sin
bumi	bumi	earth / world
surga	surga / sorga	heaven
budiman	budiman	a wise person
(ber)binassa	binasa	destroyed
harta(wi)	harta	wealth
tjsutsji	cuci	wash
tsjaja	cahaya	light

Tabel 3: Dutch Loan Words

Word	Modern Spelling	Meaning
Christiani	Kristiani	Christian
Namma	nama	Name

Joannis, Lucas Simiunis Christus Christaan Iesu	Yohanes Lukas Simeon Kristus Kristen Yesus	John Luke Simeon Christ Christian Jesus
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Tabel 4: Portuguese Loan Words

Word	Modern Spelling	Meaning
gresia	gereja	church

Tabel 5: Persian Loan Words

Word	Modern Spelling	Meaning
amsaja	hamsaya	neighbor

The first point to be noted in this study is that Arabic loan words constituted the majority of non-Malay words employed in the songs. It is quite understandable, considering that these songs were religious in nature. As has been discussed above, Higa has explained that on the abstract level, loan words pertaining to religion, philosophy and ideology are commonly employed (Higa 1979, 277). In the study of these church songs we can clearly see that borrowing terms from the Arabic language, the language of Islam, was naturally done. As Islam had been in the archipelago longer than Christianity, the community was already familiar with religious terms in Arabic. Therefore, when Christianity came, the borrowing continued to be used. Therefore, in this case we can see that the two religions were able to sit next to each other and that Christianity was indebted to Islam as far as the vocabulary was concerned.

The most notable word in this collection of songs was the adoption of God's name Allah into the songs. The Dutch recognized that the Malay language does not have its own word for God. The Malay-speaking people living in the archipelago had been using the Arabic name Allah that was commonly done by the Muslims, as explained by Sebastian Danckaerts, a Dutch minister serving in the East Indies in the 1620s in his Dutch-Malay dictionary (Danckaerts 1623, 25). This use is clearly seen in the versification of the Ten Commandments which is the first song in the collection (Ruyl 1629, A3 recto, back part). Another important word that was adopted from Arabic was that related to holiness. In the translation of the Song of Mary (The Magnificat) the translator adopted the word *ulkaduss* to refer to the holy name of God (Ruyl 1629, A4 recto, back part). This is consistent with the translation of the rest of the Gospel of Matthew in which the name Holy Spirit is translated as *Ruah Ulkadus*. The Arabic word *kadus* or means "holy. The Arabic *Ruh* or *Ruah* means "spirit." The use of its derivation, *ruhani* was widely used to refer to the spirits or human spirituality. Thus, it was natural that in verse 6 of the Magnificat, the Malay translation of the song uses the word *ruhani* to show that God satisfies those who are poor in spirit (Ruyl 1629, A4 recto, back part). Another use of the word *Ruh* to refer to the spirit of God is found in the translation of the Apostles' Creed, the first stanza where Jesus is said to have been conceived by the Holy Spirit.

The Song of Zechariah, or commonly known as the *Benedictus*, follows the Ten Commandments. The short description of this song says that it is originally taken from the first chapter of the Gospel of Luke, in its 68th verse (Ruyl 1629, A2 recto, back part). In this translation we see that there was some effort to contextualize the content of the Christian message using the vocabulary that was common for the people. The hymn translated the names of David and Abraham into the Arabic names Davud and Ibrahim, because the people were already familiar with the names (Ruyl 1629, A2 verso, back part). We also see the use of Arabic name Mariam for Mary, in the translation of the Magnificat that is a part of this collection (Ruyl 1629, A3 verso, back part). Even though these are the names used in the Koran, the translator of this piece were not hesitated to adopt these names into the

song. The people were already familiar with them, and therefore there was no need to enforce the use of the Dutch versions of these names.

As table 2 demonstrates, many Sanskrit loan words were also used in the songs. Some of these words are ones commonly used in connections with religious matters. The word *sabda* which originally means utterance of exalted person in Sanskrit (Jones 2007, 271) was then borrowed by Malay and was widely used in the Christian community in the seventeenth century. As these songs demonstrate, the word *sabda* had the connotation of the word of God. The use of the word in Malay fit its original meaning in Sanskrit, and therefore the borrowing of that word was a natural occurrence that took place as Sanskrit and Malay interacted with each other.

Another Sanskrit loan word that is worthy of note is *pudji*. As expected, this word that originally means worship in Sanskrit (Jones 2007, 255), would find a good use in Malay, in the context of religious setting. Later in its use in Malay the word found a new but closely related meaning: praise. In the context of these Christian songs, the word *pudji* therefore became very important. In the context of the church, the singing of praises to God in worship is called *pujian*. And the songs that Christians sing at church are also called *pujian*, or *puji-pujian* in its plural form.

Sanskrit words related to religious belief such as *dosa*, "sin," and *surga*, "heaven," are also widely used in the songs. They became the regular part of Christians' as well as other religions' vocabularies because of the need to have such words in everyday use. These words may be used to illustrate how the borrowing happened in the Christian community. The presence of these Sanskrit words predated the arrival of Christianity in the archipelago. The fact that in Malay these words were employed in the Christian community demonstrated that their acceptance in Malay had happened long before Christians came to the region. As the Dutch came to the East Indies and introduced Protestantism, these words have been there and readily available. Therefore, instead of using terms from Dutch or other European languages, they used these loan words in the translations of the songs and other religious discourses because it was the simplest step to take. Thus, as the words are widely used in the Christian community, they also formed the linguistic identity of the speakers of the language.

Most of the words with Dutch loan words that are used in the collection of songs have to do with proper names that are Christian in origin. As we have seen in the case of the words borrowed from Arabic, some names that are written in the Koran are borrowed in Malay and are widely used by Christians. The words listed in table 3 show proper names that are found in the Bible and are used almost exclusively by Christians. The name of Jesus Christ, for instance, is thoroughly Christian in origin, and therefore in the translations of the songs, and also translations of other Christian texts to be used for the church, the Dutch preferred to use the Dutch, or European, form of the name. In the Koran Jesus Christ is referred to as Isa Almasih (Jones 2007, 128). However, even though this name is found in Arabic, the Dutch preferred the European form of the name. Because of that, a new identity is formed within the Christian community. Beginning from the early decades of the seventeenth century, the name of Jesus has always been referred to by the Dutch form. In the modern spelling of the name, Yesus Kristus is the commonly accepted form.

The Persian word *amsaja* is a unique example in this brief historical linguistics study. In its Persian origin, this word means "neighbor" (Jones 2007, 103). In the seventeenth century Christian texts this word was commonly used. Christian texts that teach people to love their neighbors as themselves, or those that teach people not to covet their neighbors' possessions consistently use this term. In the translation of the Ten Commandments printed in *Sovrat ABC* published by Albertus Ruyl, the ninth commandments says: "Dj'ang-an angkou bersacry dousta kapada amsayamoe," and the tenth commandment says: "D'jang-an nerhendack rouma amsayamoe" (Ruyl 1611, A2verso). It is clear from these quotations that the word *amsaya* commonly used. And again, when the *Sovrat ABC* was republished with revisions in 1682, the same word was still used for the commandments. However, in the later development of the language, this word was no longer used. In subsequent years, the preferred word in Malay for the word "neighbor" was *sesama* or *sesama manusia*. Until today, the word *amsaya* is not commonly used in the Indonesian language. This is to show that a lexical borrowing can happen over a period of time, and as language keeps changing, certain words are no longer in use, and there are new words adopted to convey similar terms.

The Portuguese word *gresia* was another loan word that came from Europe. Since the Portuguese had been in the East Indies longer than the Dutch, Roman Catholicism which was the dominant form of Christianity embraced by the Portuguese was brought to the archipelago more than

half a century before Protestantism. The Roman Catholic missionaries introduced the concept of church as they spread Roman Catholicism in the land. Therefore, we see that the Portuguese word *igreja* was then adopted and adapted into Malay as *igresia* (Jones 2007, 95). This loan word became very important in Malay. And in the Roman Catholic and Protestant communities, as well as in the culture of the people, this word formed the identity of Christians. The Christian religion is inseparable from the word *gereja*. The Malay-speaking as well as Indonesian-speaking Christian communities are indebted to the Portuguese for this one word. As such, this word functions as an identity formation for the Christian community.

CONCLUSION

This brief study of the use of loan words in Malay in the seventeenth century shows that borrowing from Arabic, Sanskrit, Dutch, Portuguese, and Persian was a common occurrence in the formation of Malay as a language. This particular study demonstrates that within the Christian community, these loan words became an integral part of the development of Christianity in the East Indies. In the wider landscape of lexical borrowing, loan words that are originally from Arabic are mostly used. This was mostly due to the fact that Islam as a dominant religion had already had a strong presence long before the Europeans came to the archipelago in the sixteenth century. As Islam and Arabic are inseparable, many Arabic words became loan words in Malay and were widely used by the community. These words had helped form the identity of the Malay-speaking people of the day. When Christianity came into contact with the Malay-speaking people in the archipelago, it naturally adopted many of the Arabic loan-words that were readily available. In so doing, these Arabic loan words also shaped the identity of Christianity in the East Indies. Very close to the use of Arabic loan words was the use of Sanskrit loan words in the Christian songs we study here. Just as Arabic is closely connected to Islam, Sanskrit is closely connected to Hinduism that was also a major religion in many parts of the East Indies. The presence of Sanskrit predated that of Arabic. In the seventh century the kingdom of Sriwijaya flourished in the southern part of Sumatra. Already in that era merchants from India came to the kingdom for trades. With these merchants came Sanskrit. As a language that had been in contact with Malay for centuries, it supplied ample number of words to be borrowed by Malay. Therefore, when Christianity came to the archipelago in the seventeenth century it almost automatically borrowed the Sanskrit words into its vocabulary.

Even though the Protestant branch of Christianity was first introduced by the Dutch, Dutch loan words did not dominate the vocabulary of Malay in regards to Christianity. The Dutch seemed to have been contented with using Arabic and Sanskrit loan words when they introduced Protestant Christianity to the people. As we see in these songs, only certain proper names, and most notably the name of Jesus Christ, was borrowed from the Dutch. It may have been caused by the fact that the Dutch felt the need of being exclusive in the use of the name of Jesus. Even though the name had a corresponding term in Arabic, the Dutch decided to use the European form of the name instead of the Arabic.

One important loan word we find in the study of the Christian songs here is the word *gresia*, the church. It came from Portuguese and it was consistently used in Malay beginning from the sixteenth century. In its later development, in Indonesian, the word is spelled *gereja*. For almost five centuries the word has provided certain kind of identity for the Malay and Indonesian speaking people. The word has become a part of the languages and the cultures associated with them.

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**Master Program in Linguistics, Diponegoro University
in Collaboration with
Balai Bahasa Provinsi Jawa Tengah**

**Jalan Imam Bardjo, S.H. No.5 Semarang
Telp/Fax +62-24-8448717
Email: seminarlinguistics@gmail.com
Website: www.mli.undip.ac.id/lamas**

