

THOMAS BOWREY (1701) 17th CENTURY DESCRIPTION OF MALAY

Thomas Bowrey's (1701) 17th-Century Description of Malay

Inaugural dissertation
for the attainment of the academic degree
of a Doctor of Philosophy (Dr. Phil)
in the Department of Linguistics and Cultural Studies
of the Johann Wolfgang Goethe-University
at Frankfurt Am Main

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Submission Year:
2023

Publishing Year:
2024

Reviewer 1: Prof. Dr. Bernd Nothofer

Reviewer 2: Prof. Dr. Arndt Graf

Date of Defense: 15.12.2023



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SUMMARY

Thomas Bowrey, who was an employee of the British colonial government, visited the Malay-speaking region at the end of the 17th century and published a dictionary of Malay (1701) which consists of 12,683 headwords. It is one of the oldest and largest collections of data on this language, which was the first language of the people he came into contact with while travelling through the Malay Peninsula, spending most of his time in harbours along its west coast. Malay, which was spoken in the various trading centres of this area (e.g. Penang, Malacca), had long previously begun to develop into a form of *lingua franca* during Bowrey's stay there due to the fact that traders, especially those from Arabic countries (beginning in the 12th century), China (from the 15th century onwards), Portugal (since 1511), the Netherlands (since 1641), and less so from England, came into contact with Malays speaking their local dialects in the various trading posts in Malaya and probably began to become acquainted with the trade-language variant. Thus, Bowrey must have observed and recorded elements of both.

The data he collected is not limited to Malay variants spoken in coastal areas, but includes material from dialects which he encountered during his travels throughout the Malay Peninsula, though without, however, describing the locations in which he took notes on the lexicon and clauses. Not all of his material was written into manuscript form during his stay in Southeast Asia. A large part of his notes taken *in situ* were prepared for publication during his long journey home. His notes, which were used to print his dictionary, are in part kept in British libraries. Most of the material accessible to the public was studied during the preparation of this thesis.

Earlier works on this dictionary are quite limited in scope. They deal with very specific aspects such as the meanings of headwords found between the letters A and C (Rahim Aman, 1997 & 1998), and the work of Nor Azizah, who deals with the lexical change found in Bowrey's dictionary between D and F, and syntactic and sociolinguistic aspects (Mashudi

Kader, 2009), and collective nouns by Tarmizi Hasrah (2010). This study will discuss Bowrey's dictionary as a whole in order to describe its contribution to our knowledge of linguistic and non-linguistic facts in 17th century Malaya. Besides analysing Malay synchronically, this thesis also deals with historical-comparative questions and asks whether Bowrey contributes to our knowledge of the changes to the Malay language between the 17th and 21st centuries.

In order to answer the research questions, this study not only relies on the dictionary in its entirety, but also on the notes found in British libraries as well as other material on early Malay, such as the Pigafetta list (1523), Houtman (1598–1603), and the Wilkinson dictionary (1901) as a complement to Bowrey's dictionary; at the same time, the Malay Concordance Project (online), the SEALang Project (online), *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (online), and *Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat* (2007) will represent modern Malay. It should be borne in mind that in contrast to the Thomas Bowrey dictionary (TBD), *Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat* (KDE4) does not hold information on colloquial forms of Malay, many of which reflect features of *lingua franca* Malay. This study is divided into two different branches, namely the consideration of synchronic aspects and historical comparative aspects.

Finally, this study concludes that the Malay language in Thomas Bowrey's dictionary is heavily influenced by both external and internal factors prevalent to the 17th century. The Malay language recorded in the Thomas Bowrey dictionary is very similar to modern Malay. The similarities between the Malay language of the 17th century and the Malay language of today are considerable, even though there are, of course, still some notable variances.

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ABBREVIATIONS

TBD	Thomas Bowrey Dictionary
MML	Modern Malay Language
KDE4	<i>Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat</i>
KBBI	<i>Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia</i>
PRPM	<i>Pusat Rujukan Persuratan Melayu, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Malaysia</i>
MCP	Malay Concordance Project
AP	Adjective Phrases
NP	Noun Phrases
PP	Prepositional Phrases
QUAN	Quantifiers
BI	Bahasa Indonesia
PWMP	Proto West Malayo Polynesian
PPh	Proto Philippines
pp	Personal pronoun
1P	First Personal Pronoun
2P	Second Personal Pronoun
3P	Third Personal Pronouns
AMP	Amplifier
ADV	Adverbs
DEM	Demonstratives
PREP	Preposition
N-PREP	Noun Preposition
PTC	Particle
EXT	Existential

CON	Conjunction
EMPH	Emphatic Particle
PC	Possessive Construction
NP-Dir	Noun Phrase-Direction
AUX	Auxiliary Verb
Lat	Latin
Por	Portuguese
sl	<i>sastera Lama</i> (Old Literature)
bk	<i>bahasa kiasan</i> (Figurative Language)
C	<i>Cina</i> (Chinese)
ark	<i>arkaik</i> (Archaic)
sj	<i>sejenis</i>
Id	Indonesia

LINGUISTIC SYMBOLS

—	Macron (diacritic)
[]	Represent phonetic notation
{ }	Represent alphabet
//	Phonemic notation for features that are distinctive in a language or dialect, e.g., the word /saŋuŋ/ in Baling dialect
→	Became new form
<	Derived from certain language or form
>	Became
—	The location of a segment

CHAPTER 1

The Thomas Bowrey Dictionary

1.0 The Purpose of the Study

This work attempts to describe the historical development of the Malay language between the 16th and 21st centuries by comparing the contents of Thomas Bowrey's English-Malay-English dictionary (1701) and modern Malay, as found in the most recent version of *Kamus Dewan* (2007).

1.1 Introduction

This introductory chapter discusses the historical background leading to the publication of the dictionary, the relationship between the earliest dictionaries and wordlists, Thomas Bowrey's dictionary as a preferred source, opinions about Thomas Bowrey's work, the main objectives of the study, the problem statement and research questions, the significance of the study and its limitations, the literature review, and the definitions of the terms used.

1.2 The Historical Background to the Publication of the Thomas Bowrey Dictionary

The arrival of traders, religious priests, colonisers, as well as travellers to the Malay Archipelago created the need for some form of dictionary. The Malay language at that time was used for various purposes such as to facilitate business, trade, administration, and *da'wah*.¹ According to Mehmet Ozay (2011), Malay became a *lingua franca* in this 17th century when Sufis and Muslim traders were using this language, especially during the process of introducing Islam to the Archipelago's populace. This dire need had spurred Europeans to compile word

¹ *Da'wah*, is an Arabic word that means preaching. In this context, I refer *da'wah* as an activity of spreading and preaching Islam in the Malay Archipelago in the 17th century.

lists, books on conversations or dialogues, religious texts in Malay, and dictionaries for their own use as well as for any of their countrymen who might come after them. The position and importance of the Malay as the language of commerce at that time was also among the main factors leading the Europeans to document the Malay language. Since the tradition of writing began, lexicography has indirectly become one of the most important agendas. According to Ibrahim Ahmad (2004), even if a dictionary is not compiled and published by linguists, it definitely still presents information and linguistic instructions to users and speakers of the language. Ibrahim Ahmad adds that a dictionary not only describes the meaning of a word but, also, if a comparison of several synchronic dictionaries is made, users are able to obtain linguistic information contained in each entry, such as diachronic information (word etymology), orthography (spelling), phonology, grammar (word classes), semantics (definitions), and pragmatic information (usage labels), in addition to information related to the development of the language and the people that speak it.

The development of Malay lexicography began after the influx and arrival of the Europeans in the 16th century. The era of colonialism, which officially began with the conquest of Malacca by the Portuguese, also effectively marked the starting point of dictionary compilation in earnest. The Dutch, French, and the English began to engage in Malay lexicography in the 17th century in both Indonesia and also in the Malay Peninsula. The need to master the Malay language for trading purposes became the main reason for the publication of Malay manuscripts by foreigners, especially by Portuguese, Dutch, English, and Italian traders. This is despite the fact that Arabic, Persian, Chinese, and Indian traders had already established communication and trading activities with the locals prior to the arrival of European traders to the Malay Peninsula. Evidence for such can be found in old inscriptions, temples, and shrines left behind, as well as their influence on language, culture, and religion which were later assimilated and became part of the lives of the Malay people.

The arrival of Arab, Indian, Persian, and Chinese traders to the Malay Peninsula began in late prehistoric times in Nusantara. The presence of traders, especially from the Middle East, in the Malay realm was very much influenced by Persian traders prior to the spread of Islam to this region because Persian traders from the Parthian Empire arrived in the Malay realm in the 3rd century AD (Zuliskandar Ramli & Nik Hassan Shuhaimi Nik Abd. Rahman, 2009), some three centuries before the development of Islam. However, the arrival of these traders did not result in the production of dictionaries or word lists, unlike with the arrival of the European traders, even though their commercial transactions were conducted in Malay, which was considered the *lingua franca* at that time; the one exception to this was traders from China, who took the first steps towards compiling Malay language manuscripts. Nevertheless, their arrival had a significant impact on the sociocultural aspects of Malay society. In contrast to the European traders who came to the Malay realm, the need to master the Malay language resulted in the learning, collection, and recording of Malay vocabulary they had heard and learned from the local population. In this regard, Linehan (1949) noted the following:

“For the Chinese their objective was entirely trade, for the Portuguese, trade and the propagation of the Christian religion; for the Dutch and English, trade with the idea in the background of propagating their religion... To affect their purposes the new arrivals had to establish contacts with the old-established Malay peoples, and not only learn the Malay language, the lingua-franca of the archipelago but provide means for teaching it to those who would carry on their work. Hence the importance of Malay word lists and dictionaries.” (p.184)

The ability to communicate in Malay made many things simpler, especially in terms of communication with the local community. Trade competition between the Dutch and the English, for example, sparked conflict in the Malay realm, which brought about the idea of

producing a bilingual dictionary as a political strategy (Ibrahim Ahmad, 2004). The need to conquer and the ability to speak in Malay gave Western traders, preachers, and scholars the idea to compile and record Malay vocabulary as a guide for those of their countrymen who might come after them. It can be seen through the emergence of word lists and bilingual dictionaries published by the traders of that time. The appearance of these bilingual dictionaries not only benefitted the users at the time but also provided information and descriptions of the language and of the sociocultural aspects of the Malay-speaking community for today's world.

This discussion only pertains to the dictionaries and word lists prior to the publication of Bowrey's dictionary in 1701. Furthermore, documentary evidence from the 17th century also contains linguistic information that is considered extraordinary, as mentioned by Blagden (1931):

“Malay documents older than the seventeenth century are decidedly rare, and very little indeed has come down to us from still earlier times; so that anything that can be discovered has a certain value.” (p.176)

Yang Pin's Chinese-Malay word list marks the beginning of the publication of bilingual word lists in the history of Malay lexicography. Collins (2011) mentions the following:

“The Chinese-Malay vocabulary (of about 500 words), compiled in 1560 by Yang Pin using lists he found in the imperial archives (considered lists from Melaka), was not printed until 1932.” (p.1)

The Chinese-Malay word list was compiled around 1403-1511. This word list, according to Linehan (1949), was written using Chinese characters and was not influenced by Portuguese loanwords, the latter proving that it was compiled before the Portuguese defeat of Malacca in 1511. This word list, also according to Blagden (1931, p.47), depicts the Malay sultanate, as described in sections VII, IX and XIV.

Furthermore, this word list is one of ten manuscript vocabularies that was compiled, and called *Kō Kwō Yi Yü*. This set of manuscript vocabularies is a collection of Chinese books compiled by the famous missionary, Morison (1782-1834), and which is currently on permanent loan to the Library of the School of Oriental Studies, University College London². The vocabulary in this word list is recorded using Chinese characters, which represented a major constraint to the researcher in terms of understanding and interpreting the meaning of any given word.

Pigafetta's word list (1521) came after Yang Pin's. Antonio Pigafetta's word list was written using the Latin alphabet in Italian. Pigafetta arrived in the region with Magellan's entourage in 1519 which had departed from Seville, Spain (Harun Aminurrashid, 1966). This word list was characterised by Bausani (1960) as a small list of words, and which consists of a mixture of various vocabularies from other languages. Bausani mentioned:

“... Pigafetta gives us more than 400 words of what he calls the language of the “Moorish” (= Muslim) people of the Moluccas...this vocabulary shows that the language there represented is Malay, which, at the date when Pigafetta visited the Moluccas (1521), had already become the “lingua franca” of the entire Malay Archipelago.”³ (p.229)

Francesco Antonio Pigafetta was born in 1480 in Vicenza, northern Italy (The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1978, p.1001). Pigafetta was an Italian seafarer who had a deep interest in Malay life and culture, due to which he collected a total of 426 lexical items which he called the Moorish language. Pigafetta's voyage to East Asia saw him arriving at the south of Samar Island on 16 March 1542, as recorded in The New Encyclopaedia Britannica (1978,

² Edwards & C. O. Blagden. 1931. A Chinese Vocabulary of Malacca Malay Words and Phrases Collected between A. D. 1403 and 1511.

³ Ibid.

p.293). Pigafetta's dictionary was compiled while he sailed to Tidore and Brunei in 1521 and was published as part of a journal of Magellan's voyage around the world (Collins, 2011). Pigafetta and the other crew members fled the Philippines after Magellan was killed in a fight with locals on 24 April 1521. He arrived in Borneo on 9 July 1521 and set sail again on 27 September of the same year. He had the opportunity to stop at Tidore and the Moluccas when his ship, the *Victoria*, sailed through the islands. The task of collecting data was attempted in the East and the process of compiling the word list was carried out after his return to Europe with the help of Henrique, who could converse in Malay⁴.

The third dictionary considered important as a source of information on the Malay language in the 17th century was the first Malay-Dutch Dictionary by Frederick de Houtman (1603). Cornelis and Frederick de Houtman were two brothers from the Netherlands. In 1595, Frederick de Houtmann headed the first batch of four Dutch ships that sailed from the Netherlands to the eastern countries, reaching Bantam City, Java, in 1596 with the main purpose of representing Dutch merchants who were eager to conduct business and trade in spices with the inhabitants of Malay. However, a misunderstanding between de Houtman and the local government resulted in Cornelis being arrested and sentenced to death by the Bantam government. Frederick was imprisoned by the Sultan of Aceh from 1599 to 1601. During his imprisonment, Frederick recorded and compiled as much information as he could on the Malay language through conversations he overheard from the locals.

Frederick was appointed the Governor of Ambon in 1605, and later a member of the Dutch East India Company from 1619 to 1623. Among de Houtman's famous works is the Malay-Dutch Dictionary, published in 1598. In addition, *Spraek de Woordboek in de Maleysche en de Malagasy Talen* (1603) is also among de Houtman's more important contributions to the field of Malay literature and language. This work contains a format of 12

⁴ Ibid.

conversations in Malay, three in Malagasy, and lists more than 2000 Dutch-Malay and Dutch-Malagasy lexical items, the latter including the names of minerals, the main products that were fought over by Westerners, and lexicals related to firearms. Frederick died in 1627.

From all of the above word lists and early bilingual dictionaries, it may be noted that not a single one of these manuscripts was written by the English; however, all the early manuscripts played an important role in the emergence of the first Malay-English dictionary.

1.3 The Relationship Between the Earliest Dictionaries and Wordlists

The manuscripts by Yang Pin and Pigafetta inform us that the arrival of foreigners in the Malay Archipelago was built on different agendas. The ability to master the local language meant being able to wield power and gain an understanding of the local culture. According to Linehan (1949), Augustine Spalding began compiling a Malay language manual written in English. This manual was a translation from the original Latin version by Gotthard Arthus (1608). Gotthard translated Frederick de Houtman's book of dialogues (1603). Of all the early works compiled by Europeans, only that from the Portuguese seemed to have 'disappeared' from the radar following their 130-year presence in the region. It is highly unlikely that they failed to produce any Malay language works during this period. In Linehan's 1949 article, there was no mention of the first English-Malay dictionary by an English merchant (Harun Aminurrashid, 1966) even though this dictionary is among one of the most important manuscripts of the 17th century. The English-Malay dictionary in question is Thomas Bowrey's dictionary, printed by Sam Bridge in 1701⁵. R. Mee (1929) mentioned that this dictionary was extraordinary, further noting the following:

"...Winstedt states... in writing of the interest of Stamford Raffles in the

⁵ The Dictionary *A Dictionary Malayo & English, English & Malayo* was published in 1701 in London.

Malay language...most Europeans fail to grasp its grammar after a lifetime among the people, but Bowrey, although not perfect in his grammar, certainly acquired a working knowledge of the language which is to be envied...Winstedt further states that Raffles...was distinguished for his interest in the Malay language... and mastered it from some antediluvian book on a long voyage to the East.” (p.318)

Based on Mee’s account, the ancient book Winstedt was referring to is mostly likely Thomas Bowrey’s dictionary (1701). Bowrey mentioned in his dictionary that the absence of Malay-English manuscripts at that time made it difficult for English traders in particular to communicate and carry out trading affairs. Thus, the existence of Bowrey’s dictionary was in accordance with the times and coincided with the needs of English traders at that time. The first Malay-English bilingual dictionary was compiled by Bowrey with reference to earlier manuscripts.

1.4 Thomas Bowrey’s Dictionary as a Preferred Source of 17th-Century Malay Language

This dictionary was chosen as being representative of the 17th-century Malay language based on its status as the first English-Malay bilingual dictionary of its kind. I decided to make this dictionary my preferred source of 17th-century Malay language based on Bowrey’s experience, history of voyaging, and trading routes in the Malay Archipelago. Bowrey did not start out like most English merchants; he began as an independent trader who was not bound to a particular company. This freedom, in my opinion, resulted in Bowrey’s manuscript being more popular and down-to-earth.

Bowrey, an English merchant and seafarer who was born in 1659 and died in March 1713, was an Englishman who worked for the East India Company and actively participated in

expeditions to the East Indies in search of spices and other commodities. He spent 19 years sailing around the islands of Southeast Asia and India. Starting out as an independent trader, he became a seaman for the East India Company in the 17th century. In the midst of a chaotic political atmosphere during the 18th century, Bowrey was subsequently appointed to represent the East India Company as a captain in command of merchants operating in the Indian Ocean (R.C. Temple, 1903).

While he was sailing with the East India Company, Bowrey observed and learnt a lot about the culture and customs of the areas he travelled to. These observations and learning processes resulted in him being able to interact with the local community. These interactions also opened doors for Bowrey to learn the Malay language and its different dialects during that time. A long period of sailing and trading in the Bay of Bengal and other parts of Southeast Asia, especially in the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Borneo, Bantam, Batavia, and some parts of Java, made Bowrey an influential and wealthy man upon his return to London in 1688 (R. Mee, 1929). Bowrey departed for London from Fort St. George as a passenger on the *Bengal Merchant I* on 20 October 1688. The long voyage back to London gave Bowrey a brilliant idea. Bowrey, who was at that time enjoying a long period of leisure without being bound by any commitments on board ship, took the opportunity to write down all his experiences and knowledge of culture, the intricacies of trade – especially in the areas he had travelled to – and, most importantly, his knowledge and memory of the Malay language which became the *lingua franca* of that era (R.C. Temple, 1903).

After arriving in London, Bowrey lived comfortably and according to the marriage certificate issued by the Vicar General of the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated 14 September 1691; Bowrey who was then 31 years old, was married to Mary Gardiner (20 years old). Mary was Bowrey's cousin, and they remained childless. After the marriage, there was no valid

record of him returning to sea. Bowrey died on 14 March 1713 and was buried in the same church where he married his wife 21 years previously.

Bowrey's assets were left entirely to his wife. In his will, he mentioned several manuscripts that were kept in an iron chest. The company and the government were allowed to make copies of parts of these manuscripts. This statement also indicates that the Malay-English Dictionary was not Bowrey's only work. He actually produced several other manuscripts, one of which was sold at an auction for the high price of £34,000 (Sue Paul, 2016). Bowrey's work, which will be described later, is also a testament to his charisma and his competence as an East India Company merchant and lexicographer. Apart from this, it also serves as a reference and benchmark for the Malay-English dictionaries that came after.

1.5 Thomas Bowrey's Contributions

Bowrey, who originally came to the Malay Archipelago as a privateer and later as an officer to the East India Company, had accomplished an extraordinary feat. His endeavour stemmed from his deep sense of responsibility and the time he had available during the long voyage back to London. A sense of responsibility towards his countrymen and England spurred him to produce many significant works. While travelling across the vast oceans on his way back to London, Bowrey made the effort to write down every single Malay word he could remember. He explained in the preface of his dictionary that '...the following work was undertaken chiefly for the promotion of trade in the many countries where the Malayo language is spoken, which your honours having perused in manuscript, were pleased to approve of; and to encourage the publishing of it...' (Bowrey, 1701).

Apart from compiling the first Malay-English dictionary, Bowrey also produced several manuscripts, journals, maps of the Eastern territories he travelled to, logbooks, and important letters that bore witness to his expertise in seafaring, especially when he was in command of

merchant ships for the East India Company. Bowrey also stated in the preface of his dictionary that his work (dictionary) was far from perfect but remained a significant starting point in the appearance of such dictionaries at much later points in time (Bowrey, T., 1701).

Bowrey also wrote a manuscript entitled *The Case of the Owners and Freighters of the Ship Worcester* in 1705. This manuscript did not contain biographical details but was rather more about Bowrey's statements and arguments against the seizure of the *Worcester*. In addition to this manuscript, another of Bowrey's important manuscripts was also found in an iron chest in a large mansion in the west of England. The manuscript was entitled *Description of the Coast of Africa from the Cape of Good Hope to the Red Sea (1708)*. However, only fragments of this manuscript had survived, and for the most part it contained only altered, crossed-out, and blank pages. The text in this manuscript contains several early versions of a preface, brief information about the Dutch Cape Colony and Delagoa Bay in Mozambique, as well as a partial draft with the title "Islands of ye Coast of Africa on ye East Side of ye Cape of Good Hope: Places of Trade on Madagascar". This section was written in a difficult-to-read script with a total of sixty pages providing information on Assada, Old Masselege, Manangara, New Masselege, Terra Delgada, Morondova, Crab Island, St. Vincent, St. Iago, Tulear, St. Augustin Bay, St. John's, Port Dauphin, Matatana, Bonavola, St. Mary's Island, and Antongil Bay; it also contained information about Mauritius and Bourbon, which are now known as La Réunion. Most of these places were visited by English, Dutch, and French seamen in the late 17th century (Arne Bialuschewski, 2007).

Unfortunately, Bowrey did not have the opportunity to publish another book written about his voyage, entitled *A Geographical Account of the Countries Round the Bay of Bengal, 1669 to 1679*. This manuscript was later edited by Sir Richard Carnac Temple and published in 1903. This manuscript provided information about Bowrey's voyage as well as personal information; the edited manuscript was later partially corrected by Donald Ferguson in his

journal article entitled “Captain Thomas Bowrey” in 1907. Details corrected by Ferguson included the route taken by Bowrey upon his return to London as well as some of the facts found in R.C. Temple’s edited version. Ferguson added that Temple had unknowingly overlooked one volume of the three-volume manuscript he had edited, namely the *Diary and Consultation Book of the Agent, Governor, and Council of Fort St. George for 1682-1685* (Ferguson, D., 1907). This volume was later edited by A.T. Pringle and published in Madras around 1894-1895. According to Ferguson, this volume is important because it describes the route taken by Bowrey during his 1688 voyage to London. Apart from the manuscripts mentioned above, R.C. Temple also edited another important Bowrey manuscript entitled *The Papers of Thomas Bowrey, 1669-1713*. This manuscript contains two parts: Part I, which discusses the diary of Bowrey’s six-week tour to Holland and Flanders, and Part II, which tells the story of Mary Galley (1704-1710).

Information about Bowrey’s contribution and competence had not previously attracted much public attention. This may have had something to do with Bowrey’s status as he embarked on the voyage as an independent trader, with no ties to any company. In fact, there was no formal record of him. After he started working for the East India Company, however, records related to him were found. Nevertheless, Bowrey’s work is considered important, especially the dictionary he compiled. This is because it was not until 1801 that a bilingual dictionary by James Howison appeared. Bowrey’s dictionary became Howison’s reference for compiling his dictionary. From the records kept by the company and a study of the travel records of fellow merchants such as William Dampier, a privateer, pirate, and seafarer whom Bowrey invited to his home in Aceh for discussion, it can be concluded that Bowrey was a prominent figure not only as a captain but also as a citizen. Dampier recorded their meeting and conversations in his notes entitled “A New Voyage Round the World, 1727” (R.C. Temple, 1903).

Research into Thomas Bowrey began after almost 200 years of neglect. Bowrey's documents can be grouped into seven categories, as follows (Sue Paul, 2016):

- i. Documents related to his life in India.
- ii. Documents related to his life in England.
- iii. Papers related to the ships and cargoes under his control.
- iv. Various schemes and documents belonging to the company.
- v. Records of his travels to France, Flanders, and Holland.
- vi. Documents related to the families of Gardiner, Searle, and Bushell which were (presumably) produced after Bowrey's death.

1.6 Opinions about Thomas Bowrey's Work

Bowrey's contributions through his voyages in the Bay of Bengal and the Malay Archipelago are significant ones despite the numerous criticisms of his work. One of the more notable statements related to Bowrey was made by Marsden, who characterised Bowrey's work as:

“This, although the work of an illiterate person, possesses considerable merit, and derived, as is evident, no advantage whatever from the preceding publications, of the existence of which the author was probably ignorant. His extensive knowledge of the language of the people whose ports he frequented as a trader, he laudably rendered permanent and useful to his countrymen by committing to paper all the words with which his memory furnished him, but he appeared as to have been entirely ignorant of the written language, as even the short specimen of words in the original character, printed at the end of his book, he acknowledges to have been prepared for him at Oxford by that learned and indefatigable orientalist,

Thomas Hyde. Owing to his own want of sufficiency in this and some other respects, he has unavoidably fallen into numerous errors, and the sentences he has employed to exemplify the words, being of his own composition, and not quotations, are for the most part incorrect or vulgar, and uncouth in their phraseology.” (Haklyut Society, 1903, p. IVI)

Marsden’s opinion can be discussed in light of certain evidence from dictionaries that appeared after Bowrey’s. The majority of such dictionaries, especially Howison’s, used Bowrey’s work as a source of reference. The evaluation of the authority of Bowrey’s work can be seen when *The Guardian* newspaper, on 25 February 2006, reported that “...the previously unknown journals by the 17th century explorer Thomas Bowrey...have turned up at an Isle of Wight auction house”. The journals were subsequently sold at New Bond Street, Bonham, in March. The book auction noted that the journal contained two autograph logs, a journal, and a memorandum book kept by Thomas Bowrey. Most of the documents related to Thomas Bowrey were sold to the British Library in 1972, though some are still kept by Bowrey’s heirs.

Winstedt also mentioned in his book, *Malaya*, that Stamford Raffles showed a deep interest in the Malay language and was able to master it because he referred to an ancient book about a long voyage to the East. The ancient book mentioned by Winstedt was most likely a reference to Thomas Bowrey’s dictionary.

1.7 Objectives of the Study

This study aims to:

- i) Describe the form of 17th century Malay language recorded in Thomas Bowrey’s dictionary (1701),

- (ii) Describe the changes in the form of the Malay language in Bowrey's dictionary and modern Malay language (MML),
- iii) Identify changes that may have possibly been caused by Bowrey's mistakes during the compilation of the dictionary, and
- (iv) Describe the development of Malay lexicography from the 17th to the 21st centuries.

1.8 Problem Statement and Research Questions

Research that focuses on main linguistic aspects such as morphology, syntax, phonology, and sociolinguistics found in early Malay dictionaries with the aim of describing the Malay language recorded in the dictionary in question is extremely sparse. Based on all the previous studies selected, it was found that past researchers have tended to examine only certain linguistic aspects in Bowrey's dictionary, as was done, for instance, by Rahim Aman (1997), Hashim Hj. Musa (2003), Mashudi Kader (2009), Anna Winterbottom (2016), Nazilah Mohamad and Nor Hashimah Ismail (2017), and Nor Azizah Othman (2010 & 2019). Thus, I believe that there is certain room for improvement concerning efforts to examine and make Bowrey's dictionary the main data of the study. Aspects which have not been explored or discussed using methodology that differs from that in this study will be the focus of discussion, namely orthographic and phonological aspects, morphological aspects, grammatical aspects, and sociolinguistic aspects of 17th-century Malay language as recorded by Bowrey in his dictionary.

1.9 Significance of the Study

The findings of this study are significant because they contribute to the development of lexicography in Malaysia, especially efforts to improve information categories in Kamus

Dewan, for instance, in terms of etymological information and in the publication of a Malay etymological dictionary. The analysis results of this study may also contribute to the growth and development of the approaches used. This study could assist readers in understanding the approaches used to analyse the Malay language, especially that from the 17th century. Moreover, this study could contribute to the knowledge of lexicography in the 17th and 21st century. The study of dictionaries from the 17th century, especially Bowrey's dictionary, is limited, even though information found in manuscripts from this century would have been beneficial to the knowledge of the modern Malay language.

1.10 Limitations of the Study

This study is limited to two dictionaries which came before Bowrey's Dictionary, namely Pigafetta's word list (1523) and a word list by de Houtman (1598/1603) as representative of 17th-century Malay language, and three modern Malay dictionaries, namely Wilkinson's Dictionary, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (online), and *Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat*, as well as two concordant data collections, which are the Malay Concordance Project (MCP) and the SEA Lang Project, as representative of the modern Malay language. Identified issues which can be linguistically explained are discussed individually. This study is not only limited to certain entries but also involves the overall content in Bowrey's dictionary.

1.11 Literature Review

This section will give an overview of previous studies pertaining to Thomas Bowrey's dictionary, namely studies on the Dictionary itself and descriptive studies of the Malay language in the 16th Century.

1.11.1 Research on Thomas Bowrey's Dictionary

Studies that examine Bowrey's dictionary include those conducted by Rahim Aman (1997), Hashim Hj. Musa (2003), Mashudi Kader (2009), Anna Winterbottom (2016), Nazilah Mohamad and Nor Hashimah Ismail (2017), and Nor Azizah Othman (2010 & 2019).

Rahim Aman (1997) in an article entitled "Bahasa Melayu Abad ke-17: Satu Sorotan terhadap Kamus Bowrey", examines the entries AB-AY, BA-BY and CA-CY in Bowrey's dictionary. The study reviewed entries, phrases, and clauses that are considered archaic by providing equivalent meanings and comparative explanations in standard Malay (1997, p.882). The findings show that there are semantic changes in the entries studied such as broadening, narrowing, synecdoche, and amelioration. As this study only discusses entries AB to CY, different findings may arise if the content of the dictionary in terms of archaic words and phrases is examined by studying a larger corpus.

Hashim Musa (2003) in his book entitled *Epigrafi Melayu: Sejarah Sistem Tulisan dalam Bahasa Melayu* discusses Bowrey's orthographic and spelling system. According to Hashim, the spelling system that Bowrey adopted was different from the Roman spelling used by other Europeans. According to Hashim, in Bowrey's spelling system, there are kinds of vowel and consonant extension sounds when there are words spelt with the presence of consonant clusters and vocal clusters. Hashim argued that Malay speakers developed long vowels and long consonants during this period. These features are described in Jawi's writings of the 16th and 17th centuries. Hashim also highlighted some of the uniqueness in Bowrey's orthographic system such as loss of *e pepet* (schwa vocals), although this only occurs in certain words, for example, in the words *brat*, *praw*, *sabla*, *Frangee*, *brapa*, and *blas*. Hashim mentioned that there are also examples of other vowels replacing this *e pepet* (schwa), such as the following:

e → a	<i>tampat (tempat), sacaran (sekarang), salatan (selatan)</i>
e → u	<i>dungan (dengan), guggeto (begitu)</i>
e → i	<i>Killing (keling)</i>
e → oo	<i>booloon (belum), persoombaawn (persembahan)</i>
e → ke	<i>Queda (Kedah)</i>

Hashim also discussed sound representations that have a variety of variants, either four or more, as is the case with *e pepet* (schwa vocals) with six variants, a diphthong [ai] with four variants, and [k] with four variants, while [u], [h], [ŋ], [ɲ], and [r] each have three sound variants.

Mashudi Kader published a study of Bowrey's dictionary in 2009. In his article entitled "Some Aspects of Seventeenth Century Malay via Thomas Bowrey's Bilingual Dictionary Published in 1701", he focused on morphological and syntactic aspects by making comparisons using Transformation Generative Theory. Mashudi examined the entire content of Bowrey's dictionary, using the diachronic comparisons approach of de Saussure (1970) to compare aspects of the passive prefixes and the transitive prefixes *me-* and *ber-* found in Bowrey's dictionary compared to data from dictionaries such as the Dictionary of Pigafetta (1523), the de Houtman dictionary (1598/1603), the Vocabulaer dictionary (1599), Asmah Haji Omar (1991), and Tatabahasa Dewan (1986, 1993, 2008). Mashudi concludes that Bowrey fairly accurately recorded the nature of the oral Malay of the 17th century especially regarding the use of the prefix *ber-* as a marker of an active transitive verb, an active verb, and a passive verb. In addition, the prefix *meng-*, with its allomorphs *me-*, *men*, *mem-*, *meny*, *meng*, also marked an active transitive verb (2009, p.112). According to Mashudi, with regard to syntax, Bowrey's data, especially his sentences, shows that there were five surface structures in Malay basic sentences, namely [Noun Phrase – Noun Phrase], [Noun Phrase – Adjectival Phrase],

[Noun Phrase – Prepositional Phrase], [Noun Phrase – Predicate Phrase], and [ø – Predicate phrase]⁶.

In an article entitled “Linguistics Landscape: Early English Studies of Malay and the EIC Maritime Southeast Asia”, Anna Winterbottom (2016), a historian, discussed a limited number of 73 words relating to shipping, trade commodities, religious terms, terms related to disease and medicine, terms related to palaces and courtrooms, terms related to personal relations, vocabulary on food, plants and animals, and terms related to second-person singular pronouns. Winterbottom concludes that most of the terms recorded in Bowrey’s dictionary were not compiled by Bowrey himself but consisted of contributions from other individuals such as Thomas Hyde (Oxford University Professor of Oriental Languages) and Henry Smith (Bowrey’s brother). Winterbottom’s study only focuses on the lexical and sociolinguistic aspects of Bowrey’s dictionary and does not make comparisons with modern Malay language forms.

Nazilah Mohamad and Nor Hashimah Ismail (2017), in an article entitled “Malay Science: A Study on the 17th Century Dictionary”, discussed aspects of science (geography, astronomy and mathematics), religion, and commerce based on data from Bowrey’s dictionary. Their study uses the review method to analyse Bowrey’s data, with the associated findings revealing that the knowledge of the Malay community in the 17th century in the fields of religion, commerce, geography, mathematics, and astronomy is equivalent to that of the Malay community today.

In addition, Nor Azizah Othman (2010) also discussed Bowrey’s dictionary in a thesis entitled *Perubahan aspek leksikal antara kamus Thomas Bowrey 1701 dengan Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat*. It aimed to examine the aspect of change in meaning over three centuries by comparing two dictionaries, namely Bowrey’s dictionary (1701) with the *Kamus Dewan Edisi*

⁶ Ibid.

Keempat (2005). Nor Azizah used a content analysis method to scrutinise data from Bowrey's dictionary. The study refers to the Componential Analysis of Meaning Theory by Nida (1975), the findings from which indicate that the Malay language of the 17th century has experienced semantic broadening and semantic narrowing, where as many as 31 words have experienced semantic broadening while 13 have experienced semantic narrowing. Nevertheless, this study focused purely on the lexical aspect without taking into account other aspects such as phonology and morphology.

The aim of the study of Thomas Bowrey's dictionary by Nor Azizah Othman (2019), entitled "*Analisis Entri "A" Kamus Thomas Bowrey 1701*", was to discuss aspects of orthographic and phonological representations, aspects of morphology and etymological information in the "A" entry through diachronic comparison between Bowrey's dictionary and a corpus of modern, 21st century Malay language to observe the changes and differences that occurred in both eras. The data was divided into three main categories, namely explainable, semi-explainable, and unexplainable words. The findings of the study indicate that the Malay language used 400 years ago was already very similar to modern Malay language and was used in business, official governmental affairs, as well as socio-cultural fields in the Malay community.

1.12.2 Studies on 16th Century Malay Language

A study related to the description of 16th-century Malay language by Asmah Hj. Omar (1991), entitled *Bahasa Melayu Abad Ke-16: Satu Analisis Berdasarkan Teks Melayu 'Aqaid Al-Nasafi*, examined the 16th-century Malay language used in the '*Aqaid Al-Nasafi* manuscript in terms of spelling, morphophonemic system, morphology, grammar, and vocabulary (1991, p.3). This study uses a systematic approach and diachronic comparison. The findings show

that the prefix *per-*, as a verbal prefix, is rarely used (1991, p.54) and that there is no difference in the use of subordinating conjunctions in the 16th and 20th centuries. In addition, the study also shows that the grammatical system in *'Aqaid* is the same as that used in modern Malay. However, this study only focuses on the morphological and grammatical aspects of *'Aqaid*.

The aim of Collins' (2006) study, entitled "*Sejarah Bahasa Melayu: Sulawesi Tengah 1793-1795*"⁷, was to discuss the etymology of the Malay language recorded in Woodard's biography. This study uses Collins' (1999) etymological approach by conducting an examination of the Malay word list printed in Woodard's biography to identify the source language of each word (2006, p.23). The findings revealed that out of approximately 200 entries in the comparative list of Woodard's biography, only 175 are semantic (*masukan Semantik*) (2006, p.37). Moreover, Collins explained that there are categories of meaning that were less emphasised, namely terms related to limbs, house construction, and family (2006, p.43). Collins also explained that the spelling of Woodard's Malay words relied heavily on the norms of English language spelling during that time (2006, p.49).

1.12.3 Summary of Literature Review

Previous studies on Bowrey's dictionary discussed only parts of it. The literature review indicates that research on Bowrey's 17th century dictionary has received scholarly attention through different aspects of study. However, the studies focused purely on the selection of data and were limited in terms of type and total number of entries. Among the main issues studied by previous scholars are orthographic representation, phonology, morphology, and etymology based on the entries found in Bowrey's dictionary. Furthermore, the literature review also presented studies on the Malay world and scientific vocabulary, as well as a comparative study

⁷ English translation: "History of Malay Language: Central Sulawesi 1793-1795".

of Bowrey's dictionary from the 17th century and the most recent Malay dictionary, *Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat*. Therefore, this thesis will be more exhaustive by studying the dictionary as a whole and will analyse all the lexical, morphological, orthographical, and sociolinguistic aspects found in Bowrey's dictionary. This thesis will also examine all lemmata, phrases, clauses, and verses in Bowrey's dictionary to obtain an overview of 17th-century Malay language. This study will also use the most recent Malay language dictionary to determine any changes since Bowrey's dictionary and the 21st-century Malay and English dictionaries, as well as explain the contribution and importance of Bowrey's dictionary to the development of the Malay language.

1.12 Definition of Terms

There are several terms that need to be defined as they appear frequently in the discussion of this study.

1.12.1 Malay and the Malay Language

Milner (2012) opined that the word Malay refers to a group of Austronesian people living in the 'Malay World' who inhabit the majority of the region of Southeast Asia as well as small districts in Sri Lanka, Australia, and South Africa. Bowrey (1701), on the other hand, described the Malayo Country as:

*'The Peninsula beyond Ganges stretching down to Johor...the extrem
Southern point and ...the most southern point of land in Asia' (1701, p.
The Preface).*

Bowrey added the following about the Malay language:

‘...it retaining to this say the Malayo Language as the mother tongue and general language of the country...whereas in all the Island of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Macassar, Balee, Cumbava, Sallayer, Bootoon, Booto, Ceram, the Mollucas and innumerable other island, the Malayo Language is received and generally used in all the trading port of those islands’
(1701, p. The Preface)

Based on the views of Milner (2011) and Bowrey (1701), the term ‘Malay’ used in this study refers to the Malay people in the Malay Archipelago, while ‘Malay language’ refers to the language spoken by the Malay people.

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1.12.2 Lemmata

Lemmata is the plural form of lemma. The term lemmata as used in this study refers to all entries in Bowrey’s dictionary. In the *Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat* (2007), lemma refers to “*kata masukan dlm kamus, entri*” (p. 915). Meanwhile, the Oxford English Dictionary (online) defines lemma as “The heading or theme of a scholium, annotation, or gloss”⁸.

1.12.3 Morphophonemics

Asmah Hj.Omar (1991, p.26) defines morphophonemics as the depiction of morphemes, which include words based on the formation and phonemic changes that occur when morphemes are

⁸ Oxford English Dictionary, Retrieved April 19, 2023, <https://www-oed-com.proxy.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/view/Entry/107191?rskey=wSDaBL&result=1#eid>

combined. Meanwhile, Syed Zainal (2017, p.378) defines morphophonemics as a field that examines the process of phonemic changes caused by the combination of two or more morphemes. According to Zainal, phoneme change can be categorised into several types, namely addition of phoneme, loss of phoneme, assimilation, dissimilation, and consonant change. Meanwhile, *Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat* defines morphophonemics as “*kajian tentang kelainan fonologi dlm alomorf*” (2007, p.1043). Therefore, it can be concluded that morphophonemics refers to the study of how phoneme sound changes when two or more morphemes combine together.

1.12.4 Orthographic Representation

Orthographic representation refers to the spelling system used in a language. In this study, orthographic representation refers to the spelling system introduced by Bowrey in his dictionary. Spelling systems in every language have similarities as well as differences. Mohd Naim Daipi (1990) states that the spelling system presented by Bowrey in his dictionary is an unsystematic method. Therefore, research on spelling systems or orthographic representations is important to ensure that written words can be read and understood well.

1.12.5 Inflectional Morphology

One of the processes of word formation is inflection. The morphological inflection process that occurs in a word does not change its meaning but changes its function instead. In Malay, morphological inflection rarely occurs (Suriani Sulaiman et.al, 2011). Katamba (in Bagiya, 2017, p.33) explains that inflection is a process related to syntactic methods that are predictable, automatic, systemic, fixed, and consistent and do not change lexical identity.

1.12.6 Gloss

Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat define gloss as “*penjelasan dan huraian ringkas untuk menjelaskan dan menunjukkan makna sesuatu kata, frasa dan sebagainya*”⁹ (2007, p.477). The explanation given is short and not as extensive as those found in encyclopaedias. The explanation given refers to the meaning of a word or a text.

1.12.7 Bimorphemic

The Oxford English Dictionary (online) defines bimorphemic as “Consisting of or pertaining to two morphemes”¹⁰. Meanwhile, the Cambridge Dictionary (Online) defines bimorphemic as “having two morphemes (= the smallest unit of language that has its own meaning, either a word or a part of a word)”¹¹. Based on these definitions, it can be concluded that bimorphemic is an adjective that describes a word formed by two free and bound morphemes.

1.13 Concluding Remarks

Bowrey’s works, which are used as source of reference, do not only focus on his voyage; for instance, Bowrey was mentioned by Richard Davenport-Hines in his book “The Pursuit of Oblivion: A Global History of Narcotics” as the first westerner to consume cannabis or “Bhang”, a traditional edible preparation of cannabis which was later used in food and

⁹ “An explanation and brief description to explain and show the meaning of a word, phrase, and so on” (Author’s English Translation).

¹⁰ Oxford English Dictionary, 09 April 2023, <https://www-oed-com.proxy.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/view/Entry/19101?redirectedFrom=bimorphemic#eid>

¹¹ Cambridge Dictionary. *bimorphemic*. Retrieved 09 April 2023, from <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/bimorphemic>

beverages for centuries from as early as 2000 B.C. on the Indian subcontinent (D. Richard, 2002). Bowrey's account of piracy in the Indian Ocean is also among his writings, and which is a source of reference for many writers. Information about pirates in the Indian Ocean can be found in his work of 1708, but which was not completed by him. Only part of the information could be retrieved.

Thomas Bowrey (1650-1713) was an extraordinary seafarer who became an exceptional merchant of a renowned English company. Bowrey undertook a long voyage to become the person we read about today. Bowrey's most notable and significant contribution is the Malay-English Dictionary 1701 which became the benchmark and reference for other Malay-English dictionaries that followed. Further studies on all the documents left behind by Bowrey will enable us to find out more about the trade, piracy, and political issues that influenced him towards the end of his life. In order to discover and understand the content and the motivating factors behind Bowrey's work, one thing that needs attention is the methods that can be used to analyse data in Bowrey's dictionary and other works. Chapter 2 discusses the approach and methodology used in analysing and describing the data in Bowrey's dictionary as well as any of his manuscripts that are relevant to this study.

CHAPTER 2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the instruments used to shape the study. All research questions and objectives of the study are explained in detail. This chapter includes a discussion of the research methodology, sources of data, theoretical framework, data analysis procedures, justification for data selection, and conceptual framework.

2.2 Analytic Approach

This study uses an approach applied by several scholars, namely Hartmann and James (1998), Hausmann and Wiegand (1998), Asmah Hj. Omar (1991), Collins (2003), and Nothofer (1993 & 2021).

I utilised the synchronic approach and the diachronic approach by Nothofer (1993 & 2021). Nothofer (1993, p.164-166) in his paper entitled “Cita-cita Penelitian Dialek” describes three main goals of synchronic studies, namely:

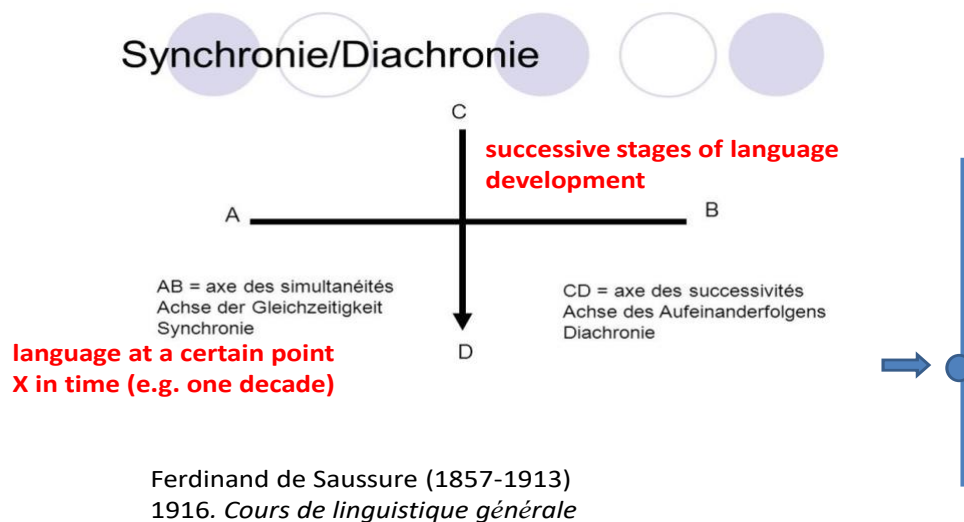
- i) a. Description of phonological, syntactic, lexical, and semantic variants
b. Mapping of related variants.
- ii) Description of dialect; dialect recognition, and dialect grouping;
description of phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon of a dialect.
- iii) Sociolinguistic aspects such as:
 - a. Difference between urban dialect and rural dialect.
 - b. The impact of the dominant dialect on regional dialects.

In this discussion, the author only made use of the first goal from the approach proposed by Nothofer (1993), namely the description of phonological, syntactic, lexical, and semantic variants.

Meanwhile, diachronic comparison compares data from two different eras. Nothofer (2021), in his lecture “Etymology of Malay/Indonesian Language”, explains that there are two types of linguistic studies. Nothofer’s approach is referred to de Saussure’s (1916) approach, where synchronic studies examine a language at a certain point of time while diachronic studies examine a language in different stages of time. Therefore, based on this view, I examine each word found in Bowrey’s dictionary and compare it with modern Malay language to observe whether changes occurred since Bowrey’s dictionary.

Figure 1 Types of linguistic studies according to Nothofer based on the diachronic approach by Ferdinand de Saussure (1916).

Two types of linguistics:



Note: Taken from “Etymology of Malay/Indonesian Language” Lecture Notes, Nothofer (2021).

The approach described by Hartmann and James (1998), and Hausmann and Wiegand (1998) was used to analyse the synchronic aspect, namely to examine the structure of information found in the dictionary. Hartmann and James (1998, p.74) explain that there are as many as five categories of information in a dictionary, including linguistic information, pictorial information, onomastic information, encyclopaedic information, and other information. Hausmann and Wiegand (1998), on the other hand, listed nine categories of information that need to be present in a dictionary, including synchronic information, diachronic information, diasystematic label information, description information, paradigmatic information, syntagmatic information, other semantic information, user notes, and pictorial illustrations. The notions of these two scholars were then compared with the information structure found in Bowrey's dictionary. However, after the data was analysed, I decided to focus on only one category of information, namely synchronic information. The synchronic information category consists of five items contained in Bowrey's dictionary, namely spelling, pronunciation, grammar, lexicon, and meaning.

In order to examine the diachronic aspects of Bowrey's dictionary, I combined the approaches described by Asmah Hj. Omar (1991), Collins (2003), and Nothofer (2021). Based on the approaches of Asmah Hj Omar (1991) and Collins (2003), four main linguistic aspects have been identified, namely orthography and phonology, grammar, morphology, and sociolinguistics. Asmah (1991), in a book entitled *Bahasa Melayu Abad ke-16: Satu Analisis Berdasarkan Teks Melayu 'Aqaid Al-Nasafi*, discusses four linguistic aspects, namely spelling, morphology, grammar, and vocabulary. Asmah compares the data from the 'Aqaid text with modern Malay, which she refers to as "*amper Melayu sekarang*" (the Malay language of today).

Collins (2003), in his book entitled *Mukadimah Ilmu Etimologi*, explains six guidelines for examining the etymological aspects of a word. The first guideline states that it should be ensured that the word appears for the first time, the second guideline is to consider history and

geography, namely words can only be borrowed through social encounters. The third guideline refers to sound correspondence, which must be grounded in etymological efforts, and the fourth guideline refers to the emphasis on the spoken word where pronunciation is able to explain textual contradictions and focus on etymology. The fifth guideline refers to regional dialects, which are an important source in etymology because proto-words are often maintained in a dialect, and the sixth guideline states that each word element must be explained because explaining only part of the word is not sufficiently convincing. In this study, I used two guidelines presented by Collins (2003), namely the second guideline and the fifth guideline. The approach by Collins (2003) is used to analyse the lexicon as well as morphological and sociolinguistic aspects in Bowrey's dictionary.

2.3 Research Methodology

This study uses qualitative methods in the form of content analysis. The method of content analysis was used to examine the linguistic aspects of the Malay language and observe changes between the form of Malay language presented in Bowrey's dictionary and modern Malay language. The analysis process is focused on Thomas Bowrey's 17th-century dictionary as kept in the British Library and several archives around London. The analysis of this dictionary aims to identify the linguistic aspects and changes in the use of the Malay language recorded in the dictionary. The data involved Bowrey's dictionary, *A Dictionary English and Malayo, Malayo and English (1701)* and Bowrey's notes in the form of a manuscript (reference number: IOR Mss A33 E 192), which is related to Bowrey's language project. A library research method was used to obtain all the data required for this study, especially Bowrey's dictionary and the two manuscripts of Bowrey's work obtained from the British Library.

2.4 Sources of Data

This study uses seven sources of data. The first main source was taken from Thomas Bowrey's dictionary (1701), which consists of three main parts. The first consists of a section called the *Preface* which contains information on Bowrey's voyage, the areas in the Malay Archipelago that he travelled to, information on spelling and pronunciation methods of the Malay language used by Bowrey and English–Malay entries. The second part consists of Malay–English entries, and the third part consists of general information on the Malay language such as grammatical information, dialogues, sample letters, and information about Islam.

The second data source was obtained from Bowrey's notes regarding the language project he was working on, namely the IOR Mss A33 E 192 manuscript which is now kept in the British Library, London. This data is used to analyse the sociolinguistic aspects discussed in this study.

The third data source is the information found in the IOR Mss Eur D782 manuscript entitled *A Geographical of Countries Round the Bay of Bengal 1669 to 1679*. The data in this manuscript was also used to analyse the sociolinguistic aspects in Bowrey's dictionary.

The fourth source was Pigafetta's dictionary (1523) and de Houtman's dictionary (1598/1603). In addition, corpus data from the Malay Concordance Project, which contains examples of language used in old manuscripts, was also used. The aim was to ensure that words found in Bowrey's dictionary also appeared in other sources from the 17th century. These three sets of data were used to analyse orthographical, phonological, morphological, and sociolinguistic aspects of Bowrey's dictionary.

On the other hand, data sources representing modern Malay language (MML) consist of Wilkinson's dictionary (1913) and contemporary dictionaries, *Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat* (2007), *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (online), as well as one corpus data known as the SEALang Project. The aim was to ensure that words found in Bowrey's dictionary also

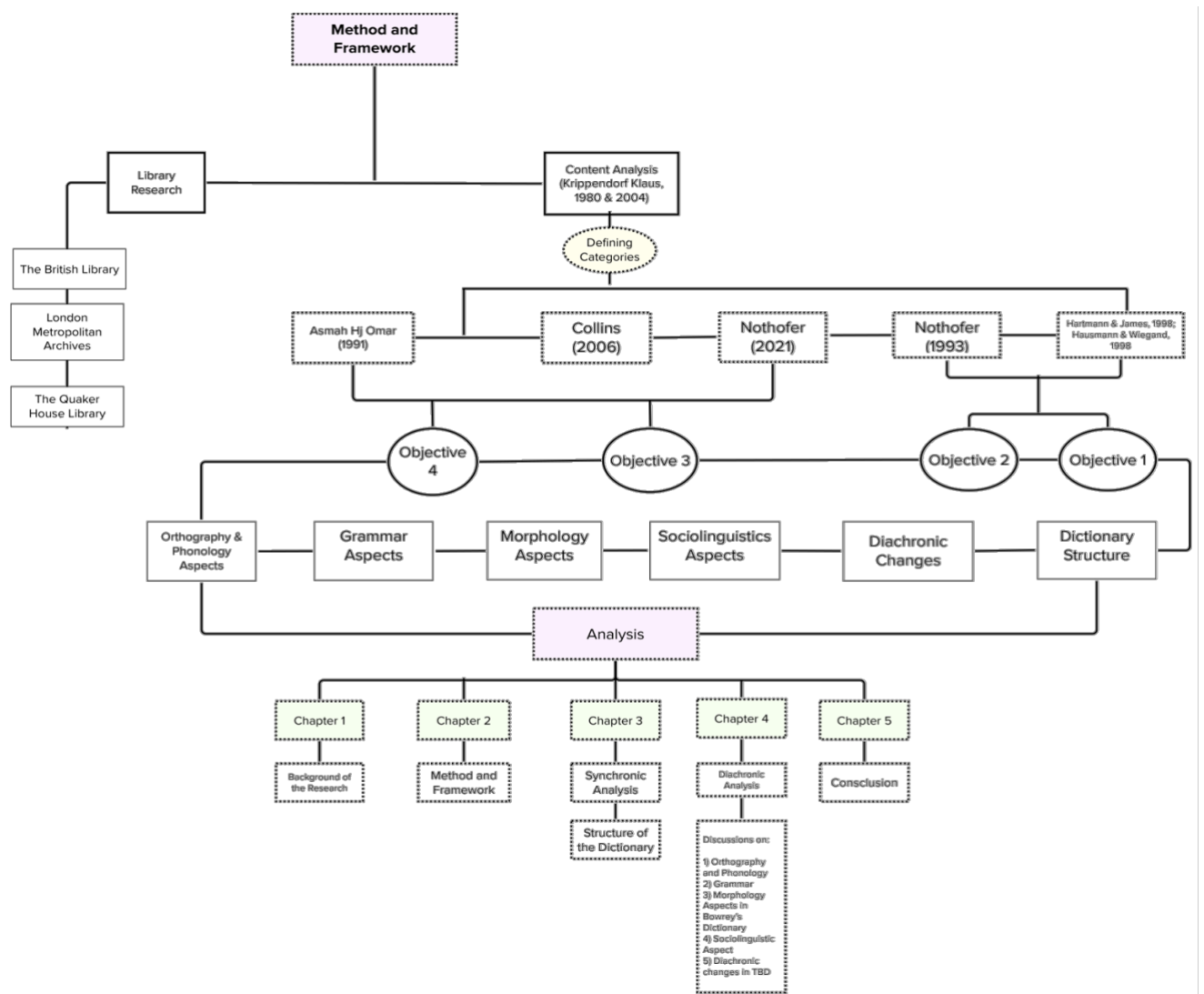
appeared in contemporary dictionaries. All these data were used to analyse grammatical, morphological, and sociolinguistic aspects.

2.5 Justification for Data Selection

There are several factors that led to Bowrey's dictionary being chosen as the main data source for this study. Firstly, Bowrey's dictionary is the first English–Malay bilingual dictionary compiled in the 17th century. Word lists and dictionaries compiled prior to Bowrey's dictionary used other languages such as Dutch, Italian, and Mandarin. Secondly, Bowrey's dictionary contains similar categories of information to modern dictionaries such as user information and grammatical information compared to word lists and dictionaries that were published prior to Bowrey's. Thirdly, this dictionary contains a total of over 12,683 entries. Word lists and dictionaries that were published much earlier than Bowrey's dictionary are considerably more limited in terms of the numbers of entries. A larger number of entries can provide a richer source of sociocultural information. Finally, the study of Bowrey's dictionary among language scholars in Malaysia in particular and other countries in general is very limited, even though it contains a lot of information about the form of the Malay language in the 17th century and the social conditions of Malay society during that time.

2.6 Conceptual Framework

Figure 2 Conceptual framework for this research.



CHAPTER 3

Structure of Thomas Bowrey's Dictionary

3.1 Introduction

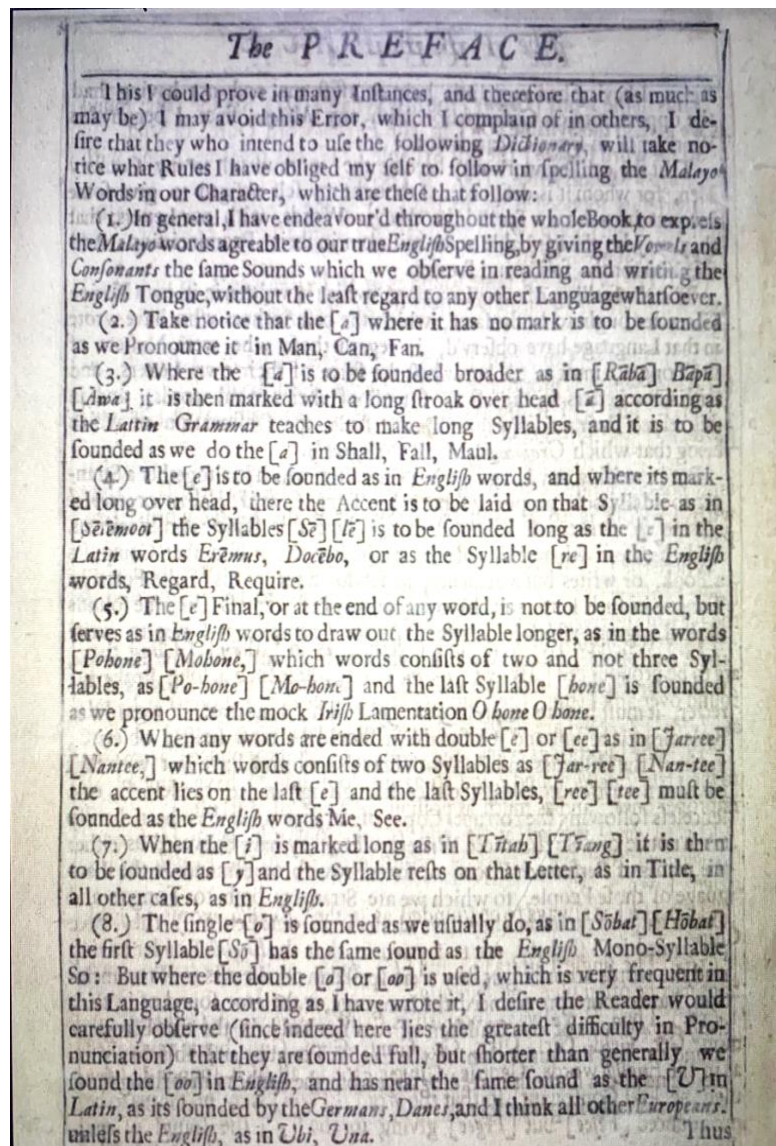
Bowrey's dictionary can be classified as a bilingual dictionary of oral Malay in the 17th century. The words in the entries of this dictionary include general vocabulary. In the preface, Bowrey described the regions that use the Malay language, such as Peninsular Malaysia, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and Makassar. Bowrey also described phonological and orthographic aspects of the Malay language, especially that spoken in the Malay Peninsula, as shown in Figure 3.

The first section contains an English-Malay word list while the second contains a Malay-English word list. The third section contains information on user notes. User notes in Bowrey's dictionary, in my opinion, are similar to a set of instructional tools that serve as a user manual for this dictionary. The information in the third section encompasses grammar, sample letters, sample dialogues, as well as information related to Islam. The number of entries in the first section and the second section is different. This is because the selection of words as headwords and derivatives in both sections is itself different. In the first section, for example, a word may be listed as a headword, but the same word is listed as a derivative in the second section. For instance, the term A Ewe¹² "*Doomba betina*" in the first section is listed as a headword but in the second section, the term *doomba betina* is a derivative under the entry *doomba*. The selection of headwords listed in the first and second sections appears somewhat random, and not based on any particular semantic field. Furthermore, the total number of words in the first section is larger as English is Bowrey's native language, whereas Malay is his newly acquired language used for specific purposes such as trading. Apart from that, the second section which contains Malay-English words is the main purpose of this dictionary, which

¹² *ewe*: A female sheep, retrieved from <https://www-oed-com.proxy.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/view/Entry/65482?rskey=QIGGs4&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid>

served as a reference to the English people who wanted to learn Malay. Figure 4 below shows a sample of the first and second sections in Bowrey's dictionary.

Figure 3 Phonological and orthographic information on the Malay language in Bowrey's dictionary.



Note: Photo taken from Thomas Bowrey. (1701). *A Dictionary Malayo & English*. London: Sam Bridge.

Figure 4 Sample entry section one and section two.

A B	A C
<p>an Abbyfs, <i>Lovas</i>. to Abjure, <i>Bālick soompa</i>. Able or strong, <i>Coat, Gaja</i>. —or Powerful, <i>Bercawāsa</i>. —as to Learn, <i>Arif</i>. Abode, Habitation, <i>Tampāt, doodooc</i>. Abolish, <i>Ampoos</i>. Abominate, <i>Hāram</i>. Abominated, <i>Berbāram</i>. Abomination, <i>Hāram</i>. Abortive, <i>Anak googoor</i>. Above, <i>Attas, deattas</i>. —or more than, <i>Lebbe</i>. he is Above, <i>Deadda de Attas</i>. —Gone up, or to Above, <i>Pēgee ca Attas</i>. from Above, <i>Derre Attas</i>. Above and below, <i>De attas daen de bāra</i>. —or more than an Hundred, <i>Lebbe derre sa rātoos</i>. to Abound, <i>Lakoo, Māmoor, Bānyak</i>. to make Abound, <i>Berbānyak</i>. Abundance, <i>Banianea, Bānyak, Sa-cālee, Māmoor</i>. Abundant, <i>Sanzat</i>. About, or round about, <i>Coolceeling</i>. About in Number, <i>Bārang</i>. About the Town, <i>Coolceeling nēgree</i>. About Ten Men, <i>Bārang sapooloo ōran</i>. —Concerning, <i>Kēna</i>. Abraham, <i>Ibrahim</i>. Abroach, <i>Berchāboot</i>. Abroad, without, <i>Deloōar</i>. to set Abroad to Air, <i>Joomoor</i>. gone Abroad, <i>Sooda pēgee de looar</i>. to Abscond, <i>Melindoongan</i>.</p>	<p>Absent, far off, <i>jaoo</i>. —not here, <i>Teadda de sēnee</i>. to Absolve, <i>Ampoos</i>. Absolution, <i>Maaf</i>. to Abstain or indure, <i>Tāhan</i>. —from Viſuals, <i>Pantang, jemat</i>. I can Abstain from that, <i>Sāya bōlee Pantang ōtoo</i>. Abstemious, <i>Modoo</i>. Abſtinency, <i>Modooavn, Pantang jemat</i>. Abſtrufe, myſterious, <i>Semboonce</i>. Abſurd, <i>Bābal</i>. to Abuse or rail, <i>Makkee</i>. to Abuse, or deceive, <i>Dāya, Tīpoo</i>.</p>
	A C
	<p>An Academy, <i>Mendarfa</i>. to Accelerate, <i>Banātcan</i>. an Accent or Sound, <i>Boonce</i>. to Accept, <i>Tārēma</i>. Acceptable or pleaſing, <i>Sēdap</i>. Accepted, <i>Sooda tārēma</i>. Acceptation, <i>Tārēmaavn</i>. Access, <i>Maſooc, Bōlee ſampee, Dāpat ſampee</i>. an Accident, or Chance, <i>Koonjong, koonjong</i>. by Accident that was done, <i>Etoola ſooda jaddee Koonjong koonjong</i>. an Acclamation of Joy, <i>Soorack, berſoorak</i>. to Accompany, follow, <i>Ecot, Men-gēcot, Menſirring</i>. —or keep Company, or go together, <i>Pēgee dungan, Bertum-mun</i>. to accompliſh, end, <i>Abisācan, Poo-tosācan</i>. —or</p>

Section 1 : English – Malay Section

A D	A D
<p><i>Acan ika</i>, For me. <i>Acan ōmoo</i>, To us. <i>Acan de jooat</i>, To ſell. <i>bee Acan doe</i>, Give unto him. <i>Jākanas</i>, a Former, or Laſt to make any thing on, a Model, a Mould to caſt in. <i>Arhūnas calber</i>, a Shoe-laſt. <i>Arhūn</i>, Invereracy, Envy, Malice, open Malice. <i>Arker kibar</i>, or Black-coal. <i>Ar</i>, Oblige, Bind, Conſels, Ac-knowledge. <i>Aor</i>, a Root.</p>	<p>Am, Am he, It is, Have you. <i>Addala kōrang carja padimoo</i>. Have you any Work. <i>Addala ligor</i>. Is there more. <i>Adda ligor</i>. It is yet. <i>Adda menjald</i>. Shall be. <i>Adda</i>. Over-againſt, Right againſt. Oppoſite, Before, in Preſence of. <i>Addipan</i>. Before, the Fore part of the Body. <i>Addipan ōkipe</i>. The Shirt. <i>Addipan ōmoo ōmoo</i>. Before your Face. <i>Addipan raja</i>. Before the King. <i>Addipan ōgalla ōlūmāſa</i>. Before all Men, in the Preſence of all Men. <i>Kiva Iroo Iroo pada Addipan raja</i>. Bring that Man Before the King. <i>Adda</i>. Affidoe. <i>Adda</i>. Ceremony, Cuſtom, Uſe, Right, Tradition. <i>Adda ōgree</i>. Cuſtom of a Country. <i>Adda</i>. Broad. <i>Addak</i>. Youngſt. <i>ſoutra iadick</i>. Youngſt Brother. <i>Jāl</i>. Holy, Divine, Righteous, Devout, Religious, Faithful, Juſt, Vertuous, Pious, Modeſt, Upright. <i>Addān</i>. Holineſs, Devotion, Righteouſneſs, Integrity, Piety, Ver-nac, Juſtice, Honesty. <i>Jāl</i>. Fennel. <i>Addamāris</i>. Annifer. <i>addat</i>. O, Oh, Wo, Alas. <i>Addān ōgān</i>. It is ſo. <i>Adda carja</i>. Bailie, Imployed. <i>Adda la</i>. It is there; There is; It is the.</p>
A D	
<p><i>Aden</i>, <i>Adan</i>. <i>Adda</i>. Shall, Should, Had, Has, Have, Hath, Will, Am, Are, Is, It is, There is, Be, to Be, Subſtantial, of a Conſiſtence, Eſſential. <i>de Adda dōng</i>. He ſhall come. <i>Adda la pada tuon ōro</i>. Have you that. <i>Iyo Adda de ōnce</i>. I am here. <i>Adda padimoo</i>. He has. <i>ſiappa Adda de tuoma</i>. Who is in the Houſe. <i>kōrang ōmoo tang Adda padimoo ōla dipat ſa pitee ōgōmoo</i>. All that he has is not worth one pitee. <i>Addamoo</i>. a Being, Eſſence, Sub-ſiſtence, Conſiſtence. <i>Adda</i>. Is it, Is there. <i>Addān ōgōmoo</i>. It is ſo. <i>Adda carja</i>. Bailie, Imployed. <i>Adda la</i>. It is there; There is; It is the.</p>	

Section 2: Malay – English Section

Note: Photo taken from Thomas Bowrey. (1701). *A Dictionary Malayo & English*. London: Sam Bridge.

The entries in this dictionary are arranged according to Latin alphabetical order and there is one entry in the second section (Malay-English) that mixes between alphabets I and J. The third section of the dictionary contains linguistic information such as Grammar Rules for the Malay Language. After this grammatical guide, Bowrey later included miscellaneous information pertaining to the Malay language under “Miscellanies English & Malayo” which includes sample sentences such as *Lātack la kitta* “let me alone”, *Joo fooda toocar baju ko* “You have changed my coat” and *Warna fooda berroobo* “The colour is changed”. After “Miscellanies English & Malayo”, Bowrey recorded ten sample dialogues. The first dialogue¹³, *Tootoorawn ēang bermoolay*, was written by Bowrey as *Tootoorawn antāra sōbat dua ōran* “A Dialogue between Two Friends” which talks about their mutual friend, Joesoof, who committed suicide. The second dialogue¹⁴, *Tootoorawn ēang ca dua*, was also written as *Tootoorawn antāra sōbat dua ōran* “A Dialogue between Two Friends” that mentions a nutmeg warehouse owned by Mr. Keping. On the other hand, the third dialogue¹⁵, *Tootoorawn ēang ca tēga*, is a conversation between two merchants. The fourth dialogue, *Tootoorawn ēang ca ampat*, is a conversation between the King, the *Shahbandar*, a pepper weigher, a merchant, and his partner.¹⁶ The fifth dialogue¹⁷ is a sample conversation between Joejoof (Yusof), Adam, and Daud regarding debt collection. The sixth¹⁸ and seventh dialogues¹⁹ are related to a feast and riding, respectively, while the eighth dialogue²⁰ is about sailing and the ninth²¹ dialogue refers to two travellers discussing religion. The tenth dialogue²² is an example of a conversation

¹³ *Tootoorawn ēang bermoolay*: “The First Dialogue: A Dialogue between Two Friends”

¹⁴ *Tootoorawn ēang ca dua*: “The Second Dialogue: A Dialogue between Two Friends”

¹⁵ *Tootoorawn ēang ca tēga*: The Third Dialogue “A Dialogue between Two Merchants”

¹⁶ *Tootoorawn ēang ca ampat* The Fourth Dialogue; A Dialogue between the King, the Shahbandar, The pepper weigher, a Merchant and his partner.

¹⁷ *Tootoorawn ēang ca lēma*; A Dialogue between Joseph, Adam, and David about Demanding Debt.

¹⁸ *Tootoorawn ēang ca Nam*; A Dialogue about a Feast.

¹⁹ *Tootoorawn ēang ca Toojoo*; A Riding Dialogue.

²⁰ *Tootoorawn ēang ca dēlāpan*; A Dialogue about Sailing.

²¹ *Tootoorawn ēang ca Sambēlan*; A Dialogue between two travellers concerning Religion.

²² *Tootoorawn ēang ca fa pooloo*; A Dialogue between a Malayo and any other country man.

which contains information about the countries in the Malay Archipelago, recorded by Bowrey as a conversation between a Malay and a foreigner.

Bowrey also attached two sample letters after the dialogue section. An example of the first letter is *Oompāma foorat kirrimawn ēang Raja nēgree Ootāra, bōlee fooroo ca Raja nēgree timmore*, “The Form of a Letter that may be sent from a King of the North to a King of the East”. The second letter recorded by Bowrey is a *Soorat kirrimawn kēna bernēāga*, “Letter about Merchandise”. The final content in the third section is related to information on Islam which revolves around the Hijri year and months in Islam. In this section, Bowrey also included a listing of the Jawi alphabet which, according to him, was obtained from Thomas Hyde, a professor of Arabic and Hebrew from Oxford University. In this list, Bowrey wrote the name and pronunciation of each alphabet. Each Jawi alphabet in the list has more than one representation based on the position in the alphabet (initial, middle, and final positions), as well as the type of alphabet it is connected to. Bowrey made a note at the bottom of this page that the Jawi alphabet is a writing system for the Malay language, as shown in Figure 5 below. Bowrey also included an example of the counting system in Malay along with the form of the words in Jawi script, as well as the names of days, names of months, names of animals, plants, parts of the body, pronouns, and several terms that are often used in daily life. The dictionary ends with a prayer written in English and its translation in Malay, as well as the Malay translation in Jawi script.

Figure 5 The Arabian and Malayo alphabet according to Bowrey.

Here follows a Specimen of the Malayo Character, which I have obtained from the Reverend Doctor Hyde Hebrew and Arabick Prof. in the Univ. of Oxford.

The Arabian and Malayo Alphabet.

<i>The Names.</i>	<i>The Sounds.</i>	<i>The Figures.</i>
Aliph.	A.	ا ا ا ا
Ba.	B.	ب ب ب ب
Ta.	T.	ت ت ت ت
Thfa.	Tf.	ث ث ث ث
Jim.	J.	ج ج ج ج
Hha.	Hh.	ح ح ح ح
K'ha.	K'h, Gr. x.	خ خ خ خ
Dal.	D.	د د د د
Dshal.	Df.	ذ ذ ذ ذ
Re.	R.	ر ر ر ر
Ze.	Z.	ز ز ز ز
Sin.	S.	س س س س
Shin.	Sh.	ش ش ش ش
Sad.	S.	ص ص ص ص
Dad.	D.	ض ض ض ض
Ta.	T.	ط ط ط ط
Da.	D.	ظ ظ ظ ظ
Ain.	A.	ع ع ع ع
Gain.	G.	غ غ غ غ
Fe.	F.	ف ف ف ف
Kiàf.	K.	ك ك ك ك
Kof.	K.	ق ق ق ق
Lam.	L.	ل ل ل ل
Mim.	M.	م م م م
Nun.	N.	ن ن ن ن
Waw.	W.	و و و و
Ha.	H.	ه ه ه ه
Ya.	Y.	ي ي ي ي
Lam-alif.	La.	لا لا لا لا
Tcha.	Ch or Tch.	چ چ چ چ
N'ya.	N'ya.	نن نن نن نن
Nga.	Ng.	نگ نگ نگ نگ
Pa.	P.	پ پ پ پ
Ga.	G.	گ گ گ گ

These following Letters are said to be never found in words purely Malayan, but only in certain Arab. words which are in use with Malayan Writers, viz. ث Thfa, ح Hha, خ K'ha, ذ Dshal, ش Shin, ص Sad, ض Dad, ط Ta, ظ Da, ع Ain, and ق Kof. The Figures of the Letters are according to Initials and Medials and Finals, joining or not joining.

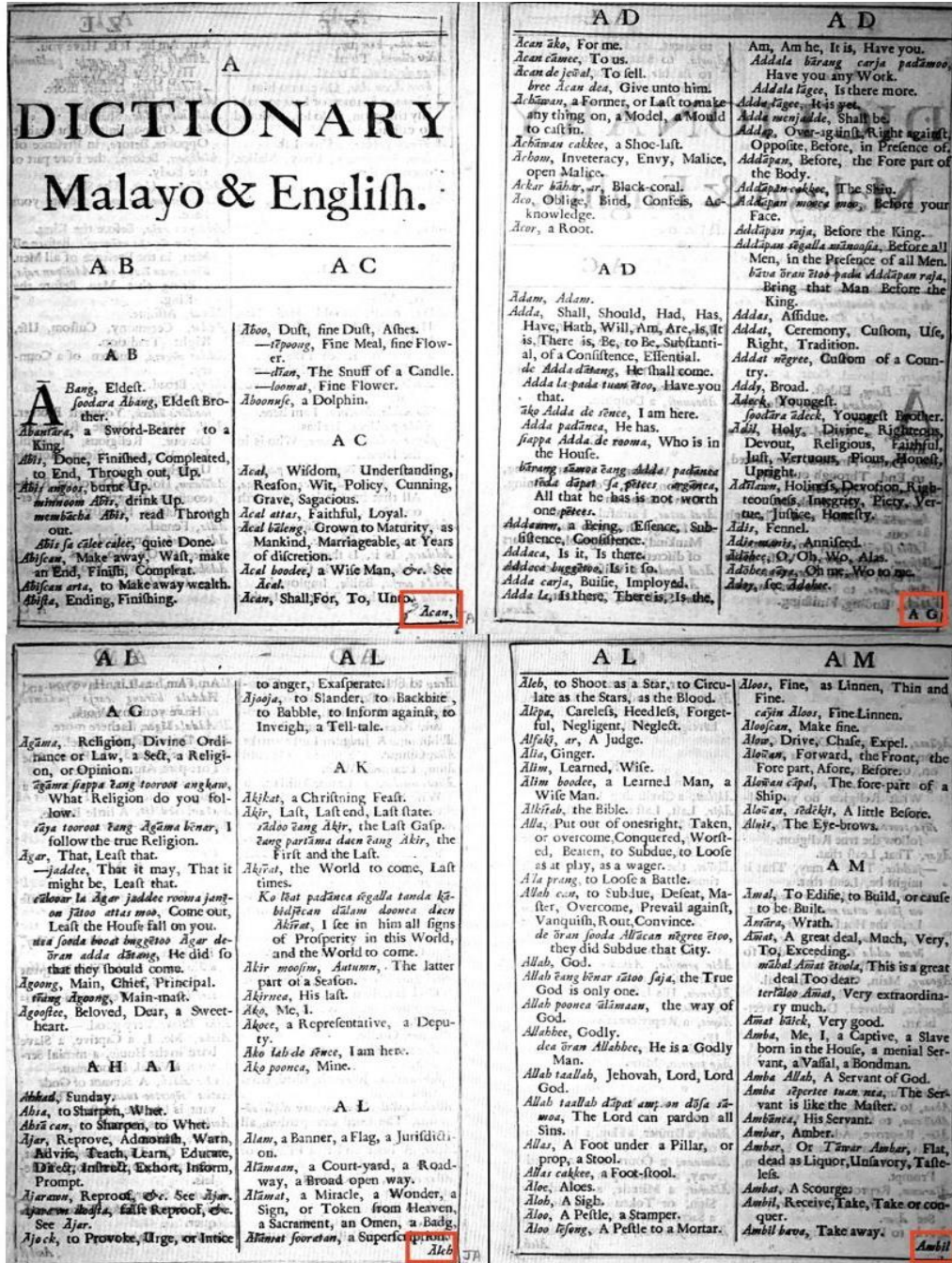
One

Note: Photo taken from Thomas Bowrey. (1701). *A Dictionary Malayo & English*. London: Sam Bridge.

This dictionary is not marked with page numbers. Instead, the reader should read it according to the Roman alphabetical order A – Z and information on the first word on the next

page is written at the bottom right-hand corner of each page. Figure 6 below shows a sample of the page markers used in Bowrey's dictionary.

Figure 6 Information on page markers in Bowrey's dictionary



Note: Photo taken from Thomas Bowrey. (1701). *A Dictionary Malayo & English*. London:

Sam Bridge.

3.1 Primary Purpose of Thomas Bowrey's Dictionary Compilation

The role of a dictionary is fundamentally that of a source of reference of the meaning and vocabulary of a language. Dictionaries provide a rich source of information on a language and speakers of that language. Not only does it provide information about the language spoken, it also serves to preserve the culture of speakers of a particular language.

The original purpose for actually compiling a dictionary plays a crucial role in determining its particular content. For example, the Vietnamese-Portuguese-Latin trilingual dictionary compiled by Alexandre de Rhodes and published in Rome, Italy, in 1651, was compiled for religious purposes (Gallop, 2015). The dictionary, produced by de Rhodes, a Jesuit from Italy, was a compilation of Vietnamese words in Roman script as influenced by Italian and Portuguese conventions. It contains information that is not limited to the lexicon but also other phonological and grammatical aspects such as the phonological structure and grammatical structure of the Vietnamese language in use at the time (Nguyen, 2009, p.1- 4). The examples found in this first trilingual Vietnamese dictionary play the same role as Bowrey's dictionary. Even though differences exist in terms of the background of the compiler and the purpose to its compilation, one thing that can be learned is that the original purpose for compiling a dictionary determines its final content structure. The Rhodes Dictionary was produced by a Jesuit to fulfil the need of propagating Christianity, with its content and structure revolving around the use of religious words followed by other linguistic guidelines and information such as phonology and grammar.

Bowrey's dictionary was compiled based on his personal knowledge, experience of communicating and being in contact with Malay speakers during trading affairs, as well as his recollection of knowledge of the culture of the Malay-speaking community. Bowrey explained the following:

“I (am) being out of employment, did at my leisure time, set down all that came into my memory of the Malayo Language, which together with some helps that I have attained since, has furnished me with so much of that language as I think may be of great use to trade and conversation in the Malayo Country or any other South-Sea Islands...I finding so very few English Men that have attained any tolerable knowledge in the Malayo tongue, so absolutely necessary to trade in those Southern Sea and there is no book of this kind published in English to help the attaining that language...this consideration has emboldened me to publish the ensuing dictionary...(that) may become more useful to my countrymen”.

(The Preface, Thomas Bowrey Dictionary, 1701)

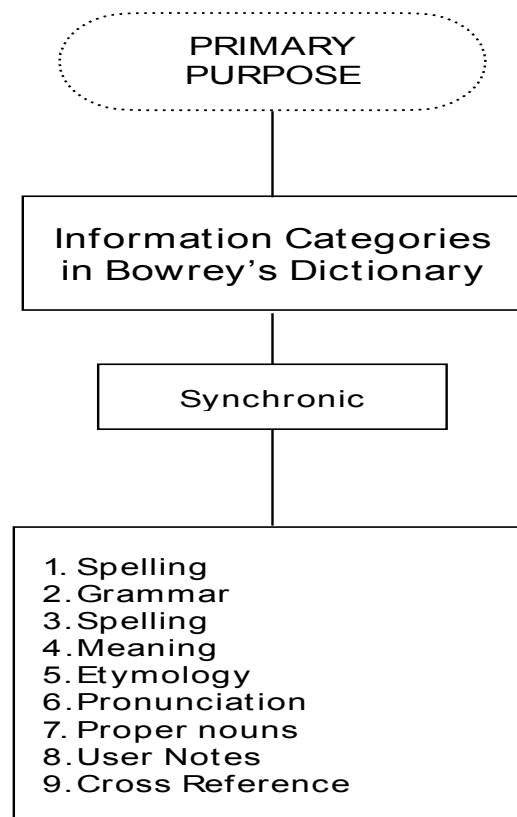
Bowrey mentioned the absence of books or other sources of reference in English prior to the publication of this dictionary, as bilingual sources of reference were only available in other languages. A sense of duty to produce a reference text on the Malay language in English became the starting point that led to the publication of the first English-Malay dictionary.

Researchers of Bowrey’s dictionary today are able to explore more information about it, and its other functions, such as linguistic and socio-cultural information about the Malay community of that time. To ensure that this dictionary could be used to its full potential by other Englishmen, Bowrey added descriptions about the writing system, information on word formation or morphology, as well as information on pronouns and grammar. Bowrey used the Latin grammar system as a guide in accordance with the position of Latin as the primary language used in Europe in the 17th century. Users of Bowrey’s dictionary are not just able to refer to language information but also information on the culture and customs of the people of the Malay Archipelago at that time. Additional information found in this dictionary includes

the religion practised by the majority of the locals, the culture, guidelines, as well as examples and ways of interacting with the Malay people.

3.2. Information Categories in Bowrey's Dictionary

The role played by a dictionary as a source of reference in a target language requires it to contain extensive information that fulfils its function as a vocabulary reference. Hartmann and James (1998, p.74, in Ibrahim Ahmad, 2004) explain that there are five categories of information in a dictionary, namely linguistic information, pictorial information, onomastic information, encyclopaedic information, and other information. Hausmann and Wiegand list nine categories of information that need to be present in a dictionary, namely synchronic information, diachronic information, diasystematic information, descriptive information, paradigmatic information, syntagmatic information, semantic information, user notes, and pictorial illustrations. I adapted the views of Hartmann and James as well as the recommendations given by Hausmann and Wiegand to the information found in Bowrey's dictionary. The findings led to the conclusion that in addition to focusing on its primary purpose, Bowrey also explained other aspects such as grammar, phonology, meaning, pronunciation, etymology, proper nouns, guidelines on dictionary use, and cross-referencing methods in his dictionary. Figure 7 below shows the categories of information found in Bowrey's dictionary based on the suggestions by Hartmann and James and Hausmann and Wiegand.

Figure 7 Information Categories in Bowrey's Dictionary.

Adapted from Hartmann and James, 1998: 74, and Hausmann and Wiegand, 1998, p.343, in Ibrahim Ahmad, 2004, p.756-757.

3.2.1 Synchronic Information

Hausmann et.al. (1989, p.341) explain that synchronic information in a dictionary refers to information that helps users recognise lemmas and basic morphological structures and usually refers to spelling, pronunciation, word formation processes (inflection), and semantics. Bowrey described the methods for pronunciation and spelling of the Malay language in the preface of his dictionary. He pointed out that words spelled using the Roman alphabet that are also used in the English language are difficult, especially if any of the words originate from foreign

languages such as Arabic. In order to make it easier for users of this dictionary to understand and be able to pronounce Malay words spelled using the Roman alphabet, Bowrey came up with an orthographic and pronunciation system used during his interaction with Malay-speaking locals. This spelling and pronunciation system has similarities with the spelling method of Romanised Malay found in previous bilingual dictionaries, especially in Houtmann's dictionary, even though the spelling in 'the latter is unstable following the representation of speech sounds using three or more different graphemes (Hashim Musa, 2003, p.402). In Bowrey's dictionary, for instance, the sound [k] is recorded using several alphabets such as {ch}, {c}, {ʔ} and {k}. Likewise, the aspect of grammar, or as mentioned by Bowrey, "Grammar Rules for the Malayo Language", is explained and elaborated upon in the appendix to the dictionary. Besides that, in this dictionary, Bowrey recorded entries in the form of root words, reduplicated words, as well as derivatives, as shown in the table below.

Table 1 Word Forms in different entries in Bowrey's Dictionary.

WORD FORM	EXAMPLE
Root Word	<i>Kēra</i> Think, Account, Conceive, Imagine, Mind, Forecaſt, Revolve, Conjecture, Conſider, Gueſs, Reckon, Surmiſe.
Reduplicated Words	<i>Kēra kēra</i> <u>see kēra</u> <i>sāya Kēra kēra fooda ſapooloo jam</i> I do guess it is ten o'clock.
Derivative	<i>Kēraawn</i> a Thought, Account, <u>See Kēra</u> , Arithmetick.

The word *Kēra* in Table 1 above shows three types of word form found in Bowrey's dictionary. Reduplicated words in MML refer to the process of duplicating the root word either

completely or partially, and this duplication can be achieved with or without affixes. Asmah Hj. Omar mentioned that “reduplication has a lexical function; that is to say it derives new words from the root-forms”. (2001, p.17-35). Therefore, in Bowrey’s dictionary, full duplication of the root word is referred to as full reduplication, whereas the duplication of certain parts is referred to as partial reduplication. There is another type of reduplication in MML, namely rhythmic reduplication, which is the duplication of the whole root word with similarities or differences in sound (Noor Husna binti Abd. Razak & Hasnah binti Mohamad, 2016). A hyphen is placed in the middle of the duplicated words, especially for full reduplication, such as in the examples of *kata-kata*, *mula-mula*, and for rhythmic duplications such as *saki-baki*, *kuih-muih*, and *rumpit-rampai*. Slightly different are the fully reduplicated words in Bowrey’s dictionary which do not include a hyphen in the middle of the fully reduplicated word as in the word *Kēra kēra* above. Derivatives in Bowrey’s dictionary are not only limited to the *-awn (-an)* ending alone, but also involve almost all types of affixes such as prefixes, affixes, and suffixes which form a variety of derivatives.

Apart from spelling, pronunciation and grammar, the description of meaning is the most important element of a dictionary. A dictionary can first be assessed by observing the way the meaning of a word is described and presented within it. Ibrahim Ahmad (2004, p.775) describes definition as a method of forming the meaning of a word and distinguishing the meaning of the word from others. Ibrahim further explained that there are several methods for defining a word in a dictionary such as the synonym method, the referential or reference method, the analytical method, the paraphrasing method, the hybrid method, the rule method, the anthropocentric method, and the folk definition method, amongst others. However, the description of meaning in Bowrey’s dictionary is categorised as synchronic information because Bowrey provided a description of meaning at the time the word in the dictionary was recorded. For example, the word *Cēser* with the meaning “a fish scale”; *Cēser* has another spelling form, *Sēfee*, which

means “a Shell, or Scale of any fish, Tortoise shell, a Comb”. This form is still valid in modern Malay dictionaries such as *Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat*, as in the word *pandai* “1. *Clever, smart*: 2. *Bijak, cekap, mahir*:” (2007, p.1126). The word *pandai* is synonymous with several other words such as smart, wise, intelligent, brilliant, and so on. This is referred to as circular definition that is description of meaning that goes from one word to another without clear definition (Nor Hashimah Jalaluddin, 2002, p.2 in Ibrahim Ahmad, 2004, p.776).

Meanwhile, diachronic information in dictionaries refers to words or phrases that are described according to a specific time interval in the history of a language²³ and are also marked with usage labels that indicate the specific time period chronologically, such as from ancient, obsolete, and archaic to modern, current, and contemporary. In KDE4, words containing such diachronic information are marked *sl sastera lama*, “old literature”, or *ark arkaik*, “archaic”, as in the word *warita* “*ark sl berita, cerita, khabar, warta*: → *urit*” (*Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat*, 2007, p.1802). Moreover, words categorised as diachronic information that often become the focus are etymological elements.

Bowrey also provided information on loanwords from the Arabic language. Information on words of Arabic origin is indicated by marking the *ar* sign, meaning “Arabic”, which is present after a word, for example, in the words *Nabbee ar*, “a Prophet”. However, not all words of Arabic origin are marked with this etymological information; indeed, only several Arabic words are marked with etymological information. Words derived from other foreign languages such as Portuguese, Dutch, Tamil, Persian, Sanskrit, Mandarin, and Hindi are not given any such etymological information. Only descriptions or explanations of word use are explained as in the word *tial*, which is “a gold weight used in many parts of India and China”. However, from my perspective, the absence of etymological information indicators of other languages in this dictionary does not mean that Bowrey was unaware of the etymology of words that were

²³Ibid, pp.758.

not of Malay origin, as is the case with the words *rootee* and *gendoom*, which are words of Hindi origin, as stated by Bowrey in the preface to his dictionary. Berg (1991, p.19, in Ibrahim Ahmad, 2004, p.759) explains that among the elements that are likely to be found in the etymological information of a dictionary are facts relating to history, usage, pronunciation, and so on. The entries in Bowrey's dictionary that contain usage information such as the word *tial* prove that etymological information, apart from the obvious signs such as *ar* for Arabic words, can also be explained by providing a description of usage and history related to the word.

According to Ibrahim Ahmad (2004), among the categories of information found in a dictionary is onomastic information. Onomastic information in a dictionary refers to information about proper names such as names of people and of places, especially pertaining to the origin and meaning of the names concerned (*Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat*, 2007, p.1098). Bowrey also inserted several entries of proper nouns such as words that briefly describe the name of a person and the name of a place and the origin of particular things such as the word *Andēlis*, “the Island Sumatra”, which refers to the name of an island in Sumatera – Andalus Island in modern terms. Along with other names such as *Israel*, “Israel”, Bowrey also included some examples of people's names such as *Ibrāhim*, “Abraham”, *Joefoof*, “Joseph”, and *Ifaac*, “IJaac”. Apart from numbers, Bowrey recorded other numbering terms such as *Sāpāro*, “a Moiety, a Part”, *Sāperāmpat*, “a Fourth”, *Sāperētēga*, “a Third”, *Sāsā*, “Each, Every” and *Sātenḡa*, “one Half”, which are referred to as collective numerals. In addition, Bowrey recorded numeral classifiers such as *Booa*, *Bidjee*, *ley*, and *kēping*.

Bowrey also incorporated information on how to use the dictionary. In my opinion, the information he offered on how to use the dictionary is similar to user notes in modern dictionaries. Bowrey advised readers of his dictionary to pay attention to guidelines on reading words with symbols before them. For example, for the word *Nēgree*, which is followed by a row below with the sign ‘ ____ ’ and the phrase *attas anḡin* after the corresponding sign, this

sign should be filled with the word *Nēgree* and read as *Nēgree attas anġin*. Bowrey noted that the ‘ ____ ’ sign that appears before a word, phrase, or sentence should be filled with the base word; and, if no ‘ ____ ’ sign is used, no base word is present in that sample phrase or sentence.

Bowrey also mentioned that information related to the names of the 12 months in Malay was not included because there was no equivalence to the months in English. In this dictionary, Bowrey pointed out the errors that occurred in the first (English–Malay) and second (Malay–English) sections as well as words that are not included due to printing errors.

In modern dictionaries, cross-reference information is explained in the user notes. Bowrey explained this cross-referencing method in his dictionary, especially the cross-reference for words for which no target term could be found in the Malay language. Bowrey suggested that for every word for which no term could be found in the corresponding language, the reader should check the English section to search for the equivalent word in Malay. However, Bowrey did not use the cross-reference symbol (→) in his dictionary. Bowrey mentioned in his dictionary:

“If the reader seeks the Malayo word answering to any English word, in many places the true force of the word will be the better understood by turning to the Malayo word answering to the English word”.

(Bowrey, 1701, Preface)

Examples given by Bowrey include the words *Diſclose* and *Tēlēlēcan*. If the reader wants to know the Malay term for the word *Diſclose*, they are able to search the English section for the meaning of this word in Malay, and the word *Tēlēlēcan* will be found. When cross-referenced with the Malay section for the word *Tēlēlēcan*, the reader will find the words

“Disclose, Undiscover, Make bare”. The precise meaning of an English word is sometimes, according to Bowrey, best checked using this method. Bowrey gave an example of the word *Faract* in the search for an equivalent word in English. Bowrey suggested that this word be checked in the Malay section and the reader will find the word “Difference”, and if this word “Difference” is cross-referenced with the English section, the reader will understand that the word *Faract* means “Difference or Distance in Price or Value or goodness”. The cross-reference marks used by Bowrey can also be seen, for example, in the words *Kēra kēra* and *Kēraawn* in the examples below. Bowrey used the directional mark “see kēra” to direct the user to revisit the root word meaning for the word *kēra*. In the *Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat* (2007), the two cross-reference symbols used are the signs (→) which means to see, and (=) meaning or, equal to (2007: xlix), as shown in the following examples:

kejengkang Jw jatuh terlentang; →**jengkang**.
(*Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat*, 2007: 706)

jelabir →**jabir** (*Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat*, 2007: 618)

kerinjal = *buah* ~ buah pinggang, ginjal.
(*Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat*, 2007: 760)

3.3 Concluding Remarks

The structure of Bowrey’s dictionary, despite not being compiled by a linguist or a lexicographer, has inadvertently complied with a number of today’s lexicographic practices. The presentation of information in this dictionary not only satisfies the basic purpose for which

the dictionary was compiled, but also serves an important purpose for its users. The category of information presentation found in this dictionary, that is, synchronic information, is the same as that found in monolingual and bilingual Malay dictionaries today. Even though not all lexicographic practices have been implemented, the presentation of information is sufficient to prove that this dictionary has fulfilled the basic goal of lexicography. For example, the use of the word *see* as a cross-referencing method to check for other meanings for a particular word shows that this dictionary contains important information in an almost identical manner as modern dictionary practices today. If we reflect on the history of Malay dictionaries prior to the publication of this dictionary, Bowrey's work can be considered a dictionary that fulfils all the purposes expected of a dictionary, even though it was compiled by a trader without comprehensive linguistic knowledge and without the help of a native speaker. It is also undeniable that Bowrey learned and referred to dictionaries of other languages that already existed at the time.

Chapter 4 Phonological Aspects in Bowrey's Dictionary

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses five linguistic aspects of Bowrey's dictionary, namely orthography and phonology, grammar, morphology, and sociolinguistics. The topic on orthography and phonology presents and analyses the orthography and pronunciation of the Malay language according to Bowrey. The topic on grammar discusses the types of affixes, noun particles, and verb particles in Bowrey's dictionary. Furthermore, the topic of morphology discusses the Malay language as a *lingua franca*, distortion of Malay words, loanwords, and diachronic changes in Bowrey's dictionary. Sociolinguistic aspects discuss terms related to kinship and pronouns, daily activities between traders and the local community, as well as terms related to shipping, harbours, trade, and goods. In addition, terms related to flora and fauna, religion, and glosses for non-Western concepts are also discussed under the sociolinguistic aspect.

4.2 Orthography and Phonological Aspects

4.2.1 Description of the Orthography and Pronunciation of the Malay language according to Bowrey

To facilitate the use of this dictionary by Englishmen who might come to the Malay Archipelago after him, Bowrey took the initiative to explain the pronunciation and writing system used in the dictionary. Bowrey refers to the section "The Preface" in his dictionary as:

*"That the ensuing work may become the more useful to my Country Men,
for whom it is designed, I thought my self obliged to give some account how*

I have Spell'd the Malayo Words, with our Letters, that they may be the less liable to be mistaken in their Pronunciation” (1701, p. The Preface).

Bowrey includes a list of pronunciation and spelling conventions of the Malay language in the dictionary's preface. Bowrey mentioned "...I have endeavour'd throughout the wholebook to expresf the Malayo words agreeable to our true English spelling by giving the vowels and consonants the same sounds which we observe in reading and writing the English tongue without the least regard to any othe Langugae whatfoever” (1701, p. The Preface). The following table presents examples of the pronunciation of vowels and consonants in the Malay language according to Bowrey.

Table 2 Letters and examples of Malay pronunciation according to Bowrey.

BOWREY'S LETTER	WORD EXAMPLES (TBD)	ENGLISH EQUIVALENT ACCORDING TO BOWREY
[a]	<i>Pada</i>	<i>Man, Can, Fan</i>
[ā]	<i>Rāba, Bāpā, Āwa</i>	<i>Shall, Fall, Maul</i>
[e]	<i>Nēnek</i>	<i>English</i>
[ē]	<i>Sēlēmoot</i>	<i>Regard, Require</i>
[ee]	<i>Appee, Kanjee</i>	
[-ee]	<i>Jurree, Nantee</i>	<i>Me, See</i>
[i]	<i>Tītah, Tīang</i>	<i>Title</i>
[o]	<i>Sōbat, Hōbat</i>	<i>so</i>
[oo] □ u	<i>Oojong</i>	<i>Troop, Soop</i>
[u]	<i>Jurree</i>	<i>Jury</i>
[v]	<i>Bava</i>	<i>Bavin</i>
[y]	<i>Bāñyak, Miñyak</i>	<i>Yawn, Your</i>

[-y]	<i>Moolay, Toonay</i>	<i>Lay, Pay</i>
[ȳ]	<i>Aȳer, Aȳam</i>	<i>Yes, Ay</i>
[ch]	<i>chōba, chābar</i>	<i>Child, Chip</i>
[c]	<i>cābang</i>	-
[k]	<i>Kātak, Kētee</i>	-
[g]	<i>Gooree, Gāring, Pēgee</i>	<i>Gamma</i>
[-awn]	<i>Cafsēawn, Moodawn</i>	<i>Lawn dan Fawn</i>
[-ore]	<i>Timmore, Tēdore</i>	<i>more</i>
[more]		<i>sore.</i>
[dore]		

This discussion under this topic describes Bowrey’s explanation of the pronunciation method of letters in the Malay language. According to Bowrey, the vowel {a} written without a macron (̄) needs to be pronounced as per the words “Man”, “Can”, “Fan”. Meanwhile {ā} needs to be pronounced with an extended sound as in the words *Rāba*, *Bāpā* and *Āwa*, just like {ā} in Latin grammar. Words with the vowel {ā} need to be pronounced like the words “Shall”, “Fall” and “Maul” in English. Words with the vowel {e} are pronounced like [e], just as in the word “English”, and if the letter is [ē] the vowel needs to be pronounced longer like {e} in the Latin words “Erēmus” and “Docēba” or as in the English words “Regars” and “Require”. The vowel [-e] at the end of the word is not pronounced but has the same function as in English, namely to lengthen the final syllable sound, . For example, as in the words *Pohone* and *Mohone*. The final syllable *-hone* is pronounced like the Irish lamentation “O hone O hone”. If the word ends with two letters {e} like [ee] in the words *Jurree* and *Nantee* or a word containing two syllables, the vowel {e} is pronounced like the sound of [e] in the English words “Me” and “See”. I vowel {ī} that appears in words like *Tītah* and *Tīang* is pronounced like the [y] sound

in the English word “Title” and, in most words, this vowel [ī] is pronounced as in the word “English”.

On the other hand, for the letter {o} in the words *Sōbat*, *Hōbat*, the first syllable *Sō-* is pronounced in a similar manner to the English word “So”. Bowrey explains that this letter is spelled {oo} as written in his dictionary because the sound for this letter is difficult to produce and requires careful attention before it is pronounced. According to Bowrey, the letter {oo} is fully pronounced but is shorter than the sound of [oo] in English but similar to the sound [u] in Latin. It also sounds like the word “Danes” by speakers of German and other European languages with the exception of English, as in the words *ubi* /ubi/ and *una* /una/. Therefore, in the word *Oojong*, the first syllable [Oo] is pronounced the same way as the first syllable [Ou] in the English word “Ouze” or “Mud”. The first syllable *Too-* in the word *Tooah* is also pronounced the same way as the monosyllabic English word, *too*, as in the phrase “Too much”. In short, the [oo] sound is like the English sound in “Troop” and “Soop”, if the word is pronounced in the French way as in “Soop” or “stewed-Meat”. The letter {u} is also pronounced in the same way as in English. For example, the word *Juree* pronounced by Malay speakers has the same sound as the word “Jury” /'dʒʊəri/ in English.

The consonant {v} is also pronounced exactly as in the English. For example, in the word *Bava*, the [v] sound is pronounced as in “Bavin” in English. The consonant {y} in *Banyak* and *Minyak* is pronounced like “Yawn” /jɔ:n/ and “Your” /jɔ:, jʊə/ in English. When {y} is present at the end of a word, as in *Moolay* /mulei/ and *Toonay* /tunei/, [y] is not pronounced like the [e] often found in English and instead the sound in words such as these is pronounced as per the words *Lay* /lei/ and *Pay* /pei/. If the consonant {y} is marked by a macron such as the [ȳ] in *Aȳam* and *Aȳer*, it is pronounced like the word “Yes” /jɛs/ in English.

When two vowels are present at the same time in words such as *Māin* and *Lāin*; they are pronounced with two syllables as /Mā-in/ and /Lā-in/. The macron is placed above the first

vowel in both words where the sound for the word is emphasised for the letter with the macron. For example, the words *Inġin* and *Tanġan* are pronounced as /I-nġin/ and /Ta-nġan/. Diphthongs in this language have the same function as diphthongs in English. Bowrey states that he does not include words with diphthongs which he finds inappropriate, and which make it difficult to avoid confusion. {-awn}, which is written at the end in most words as in *Cafsĕawn* and *Moodawn*, is pronounced as per “Lawn” /lɔ:n/ and “Fawn” /fɔ:n/ in English.

Words spelled with the consonant {ch} should be sounded like the English words “Chils” /tʃil/ and “Chip” /tʃip/. For words with consonants {c} and {k}, these two consonants are sounded the same way and, in most cases, are sounded and used differently. The consonant {g} is sounded the same as in the words “Gather”, “Gammon”, “Get”, “Geld”, “Girl”, “Give”, “Go”, “Gone”, “Gum”, and “Gun”, but unlike the sounds in the words ‘Gentile’ and ‘Ginger’. For words that have the same sound as these words, Bowrey replaced them with the consonant {j}, for example, in the word *Pĕjee* which is supposed to be sounded as /Pĕjee/ but the [g] in ‘Pĕjee’ is sounded as in “Gamma”. Vowels in words that appear to have improper diphthongs can be clearly heard, as in the word *Maġālĕat* which has four syllables that are sounded as /Ma-ġā-lĕ-at/. If any word ends in *-more* or *-dore*, as in the words *Timmore* and *Tĕdore*, these are words with two syllables and are sounded as Tim-more/ and /Tĕ-dore/, respectively. The final syllable is sounded like the English words “more” and “sore”.

4.2.2 Orthographic and Phonological Representations of the Malay Language in Bowrey’s dictionary

There are four important points related to orthographic and phonological representations in Bowrey’s dictionary. These four main points, in my opinion, need to be kept in mind to enable it to be read and analysed, namely (i) the influence of Bowrey’s mother tongue (English), (ii) misheard mistakes made by Bowrey when conversing with Malay speakers at that time, (iii)

printing errors, and (iv) misinterpretation by the publishing editor. The data presented in Bowrey's dictionary shows the influence of English spelling in its orthographic representation. After analysing the words found in the dictionary, the orthographic system can be described by categorising the discussion in terms of vowels, consonants, and diphthongs in Malay according to Bowrey.

4.2.3 Vowels in the Malay Language according to Bowrey

According to the new edition of *Tatabahasa Dewan* (2003), there are six vowels in the Malay language, namely three front vowels consisting of a close front unrounded vowel {i}, a close-mid front unrounded vowel {e} and an open front unrounded vowel {a}, a close-mid central unrounded vowel {ə} and two back vowels, which are the close back rounded vowel {u} and the close-mid back rounded vowel {o}, as presented in Table 3 below.

Table 3 Vowels in modern Malay language (MML).

VOWELS	POSITION		
	Front	Central	Back
i	<i>ikan</i>	<i>Pintu</i>	<i>mari</i>
e (é)	<i>enak</i>	<i>Perang</i>	-
e (ə)	<i>empuk</i>	<i>Selaput</i>	-
a	<i>angsa</i>	<i>Bangku</i>	<i>mangsa</i>
u	<i>udara</i>	<i>mulus</i>	<i>pulau</i>
o	<i>oleng</i>	<i>boleh</i>	-

Nevertheless, there are some variations in the vowels found in Bowrey's dictionary. The table below shows a comparison of MML vowels and Malay vowels according to Bowrey. Examples of words recorded by Bowrey are also listed in the table. It must be stated here that the word examples recorded by Bowrey are the spoken, not the written, form.

Table 4 Comparison of MML and TBD vowels.

MML VOWEL	TBD VOWEL	EXAMPLES (SPEECH) TBD	EXAMPLES OF EQUIVALENT WORDS IN MML
i	i	<i>Iffsee, hilīr, ambil</i>	<i>isi, hilir, ambil</i>
	e	<i>de, dādeh</i>	<i>di, dadih</i>
	ē	<i>Lēma, Chērit, Mānēkam</i>	<i>lima, cirit, manikam</i>
	ee	<i>appee, kanjee</i>	<i>api, kanji</i>
	y	<i>Pypee, Bysoo, Sepy</i>	<i>pipi, bisu, Sepai</i>
e (é)	e	<i>Efook</i>	<i>esok</i>
	ē	<i>lēleh</i>	<i>leleh</i>
	ee	<i>Bōlee</i>	<i>boleh</i>
e (ə)	i	<i>Limpar</i>	<i>lempar</i>
	e (ə)	<i>jerneh, renda, Sēpertee</i>	<i>jerneh, rendah, seperti</i>
	ē	<i>jērooc, Mampēlee</i>	<i>jerok, mempelai</i>
	a	<i>ampat, dankee, Lambing</i>	<i>empat, dengki, lembing</i>
	u	<i>curbo, dunḡan, Dunḡar</i>	<i>kerbau, dengan, dengar</i>
	i	<i>Sinjom, Killim, Sambillee</i>	<i>senyum, kelim, sembilan</i>
	ue	<i>Queda</i>	<i>Kedah</i>
	oo	<i>Coontoot</i>	<i>kentut</i>
	o	<i>Combala, Combālee</i>	<i>gembala, kembali</i>
	-	<i>Nam, Gra, Sābla, Iftree</i>	<i>enam, gerak, sebelah, isteri</i>
a	a	<i>Mara, Sandang, Lambat</i>	<i>marah, sandang, lambat</i>
	ā	<i>ālam, ākir, Sensāra</i>	<i>alam, akhir, sengsara</i>
	e	<i>diem, Lāyer</i>	<i>diam, layar</i>
	i	<i>Kēlihee, Mīam</i>	<i>kelahi, mayam</i>
	u	<i>Buggēmāna</i>	<i>Bagaimana</i>
	o	<i>Bobbee</i>	<i>babi</i>
	ae	<i>daen</i>	<i>dan</i>
	oa	<i>Kōtoak</i>	<i>katak</i>
	oo	<i>Poongoong</i>	<i>panggang</i>
	u	u	<i>Dauloo</i>
o		<i>Lajo, Loompoh,</i>	<i>laju, lumpuh</i>
ō		<i>Kōning, Chōba</i>	<i>kuning, cuba</i>
oo		<i>goola, Caftooree, āboo</i>	<i>gula, kesturi, abu</i>
-		<i>Croos</i>	<i>kurus</i>
o	o	<i>Loh</i>	<i>loh,</i>
	oo	<i>Coolam, Cootool</i>	<i>kolam, kontol</i>
	ō	<i>Cōdee, Cōdook</i>	<i>kodi, kodok</i>

The vowels proposed by Bowrey do not differ much from those in MML, except for the vowel {ə} which has several sounds variants such as [ə], [ē], [a], [u], [i], and [oo]. Although some of these sounds are not productive as [ue], this variation clearly shows the difference in

the vowel {ə} in the orthographic system by Bowrey and in MML. Bowrey's proposed vowel sounds also have more than two variants except for the [o] sound.

4.2.4 Types of Consonants in Bowrey's Dictionary

There are several variations of consonants in Bowrey's dictionary where one sound is represented by one or more letters, while for certain words the consonant sound is not recorded at all. The table below gives a comparison of MML consonants, and consonants according to Bowrey's convention.

Table 5 Comparison of consonants in MML and Bowrey's consonants.

MML CONSONANTS	TBD CONSONANTS	TBD WORD EXAMPLES P- (Front, Central, Back)	EXAMPLES OF EQUIVALENT WORDS IN MML P- (Front, Central, Back)
b	b	<i>bah, Ooban,</i>	<i>Bah, Uban,</i>
	bb	<i>Nabbee, Tabbal</i>	<i>Nabi, Tebal</i>
c	c	<i>Coopas, Āco, Landac</i>	<i>Kupas, Akur, Landak</i>
	ch	<i>Champoore, Penchārōba, Tācālinchir</i>	<i>Campur, Pancaroba, Tergelincir</i>
	t	<i>Tābbe</i>	<i>Cabai</i>
d	d	<i>Dāyoong, Badak</i>	<i>Badak</i>
	dd	<i>Puddōmawn, Taddee</i>	<i>Pedoman, Tadi</i>
	t	<i>Tāfētar, Mēsajit, Moorit</i>	<i>Daftar, Masjid, Murid</i>
f	f	<i>Fētēna, Nāfas,</i>	<i>Fitnah, Nafas</i>
	p	<i>Limpa</i>	<i>Limfa</i>
g	g	<i>Gātal, Gēgas,</i>	<i>Gatal, Gegas, Gedung</i>
	gg	<i>Gōyanggan, Segga, Tampanggan</i>	<i>Goyangan, Segah, Tumpanggan</i>
	j	<i>Prējee, Wanjee, hinjap</i>	<i>Perigi, Wangi, hinggap</i>

h	h	<i>Hantoo, Jāhat, Tītah</i>	<i>Hantu, Jahat, Titah</i>
	w	<i>Tawōn</i>	<i>Tahun</i>
	ø	<i>Ootan, Pāit, Rooa</i>	<i>Hutan, Pahit, Roh</i>
	ch	<i>Pauch</i>	<i>Pauh</i>
j	j	<i>Jāhat, Baju</i>	<i>Jahat, Baju</i>
	z	<i>Guzārat</i>	<i>Gujerat</i>
k	k	<i>Kawāl, Bakas, Aīyak</i>	<i>Kawal, Bekas, Ayak</i>
	c	<i>Cāpan, Bacool, Pērac</i>	<i>Kapan, Bakul, Perak</i>
	ck	<i>Mackin, Baick</i>	<i>Makin, Baik</i>
	-ke	<i>Gōfōke, Chātoke, Rōdoke</i>	<i>Gosok, Catuk, Rodok</i>
	x	<i>Laṡēmāna, Saṡee</i>	<i>Laksamana, Saksi</i>
	q	<i>Quala, Lanquas</i>	<i>Kuala, Lengkuas,</i>
	kk	<i>Makkee</i>	<i>Maki</i>
	cc	<i>Baccar</i>	<i>Bakar</i>
	ct	<i>Bactee</i>	<i>Bakti</i>
	r	<i>Bātoor</i>	<i>Batuk</i>
	ø	<i>Māmoor, Banca</i>	<i>Makmur, Bengkak</i>
	l	l	<i>Līar, Poālam, Oombal</i>
ll		<i>Killing, Reall</i>	<i>Keling, Riyal</i>
m	m	<i>Mālam, Sāmāca, Maṡṡam</i>	<i>Malam, Semangka, Masam</i>
	mm	<i>Soṡammee</i>	<i>Suami</i>
	n	<i>Cātan</i>	<i>Ketam</i>
n	n	<i>Nīroo, Oonoos, Baṡgoon</i>	<i>Niru, Hunus, Bangun</i>
	nn	<i>Minnoom, Sinneen, Binnee</i>	<i>Minum, Isnin, Bini</i>
	ng	<i>Badang</i>	<i>Badan</i>
	m	<i>Tōcam</i>	<i>Tokan</i>
ng	ng	<i>Bangat, Baloong</i>	<i>Bangat, Balung</i>
	ngg	<i>Tampanggan, Wronggon</i>	<i>Tumpangan, Warangan</i>
	n	<i>Aṡcat, Jinckin, Jankit</i>	<i>Angkat, Jengking, Jangkit</i>
	ø	<i>Ōran, Sācāran, Sooṡgoo</i>	<i>Orang, Sekarang, Sungguh</i>
ny	ny	<i>Miṡyak</i>	<i>Minyak</i>
	ni	<i>niāla, menioomba</i>	<i>Nyala, Menyembah</i>
	ne	<i>Niānee, femboonee</i>	<i>Nyanyi, Sembunyi</i>

p	p	<i>Pandang, Dāpat, Pandang, Dapat, Sayap Sāyap</i>
	b	<i>Baggoam, Sowāb Peguam, Suap</i>
	pp	<i>Sappee, Siappa Sapi, Siapa</i>
	f	<i>Fīhak, Fāfooroo, Pihak, Pesuruh, Pasal Fatfal</i>
r	r	<i>Rooma, Chērana, Rumah, Cerana, Bahar Bāhar</i>
	rr	<i>Mirriam, Namfyrree, Meriam, Nafiri, Besar Bēfarr</i>
	ø	<i>Pācātaawn Perkataan</i>
s	s	<i>Sāboon, Bāris Baris</i>
	ʃʃ	<i>Paffack, Paffar, Pasak, Pasar, Pasung Paffong</i>
	ʃ	<i>foolong, māʃin, Nēpiʃ Sulung, Masin, Nipis</i>
	z	<i>Santōza Sentosa</i>
sy	sch	<i>Scharat Syarat</i>
	sh	<i>shītan Syaitan</i>
t	t	<i>Chātoor, Pantat Catur, Pantat</i>
	tt	<i>Attēlas, Kitta, Attee Antelas, Kita, Hati</i>
	d	<i>Lālad Lalat</i>
w	w	<i>Warna, Māwar, Warna, Mawar</i>
	v	<i>Bāvang, Sāsāvee Bawang, Sesawi</i>
y	y	<i>Chāya Cahaya</i>
	ȳ	<i>Aȳam, Ayam</i>
	ea	<i>Eang Yang</i>
z	z	<i>Zēmawn, Gaz Zaman, Gaz</i>

4.2.4.1 Glottal Consonants [ʔ] and [k]

The discussion in this section focuses on glottal consonants [ʔ] and [k], voiceless palatal plosive [c], fricative sound [h], bilabial nasal sound [m], alveolar nasal [n], velar nasal [ŋ], and palatal nasal [ɲ]. The voiceless plosive [ʔ] sound is often missing from words found in Bowrey's dictionary. The table below shows examples of the representation of the consonant sound [k] in Bowrey's dictionary.

Table 6 The sound of consonant [k] in TBD.

SOUND REPRESENTATION	POSITION		
	Initial	Medial	Final
-	-	<i>Māmoor</i>	<i>Bālāpo, Chāro, Inchee</i>
[k]	<i>Kēchap, Kawāl</i>	<i>Dākī, Lankaw</i>	<i>Kārḥik, Lāyak</i>
[c]	<i>Carja, Carling, Cāpan</i>	<i>Ēcat, Bactee, Lāncooa</i>	<i>Antooc, Pērac, Landac</i>
[ck]	-	<i>Jinckin, Mackin</i>	<i>Ājock, Arrack, Hēndack</i>
[-ke]	-	-	<i>Chātoke, Gōfoke, Rōdoke</i>
[x]	-	<i>Laḡa, Laḡēmāna, Saḡee, Saḡēawn,</i>	<i>Panḡḥiḡa, Paḡa, Priḡa, Priḡaawn, Siḡa</i>
[q]	<i>Queda, Qua, Quala</i>	<i>Lanquas</i>	-
[kk]	-	<i>lakkee lakkee, Makkee, Cakkee</i>	-
[cc]	-	<i>Baccar</i>	-

The glottal sound in Bowrey’s dictionary is recorded for two circumstances, namely words marked with a glottal sound and words which are not marked with a glottal sound. Bowrey did not mark the glottal sound of the three word examples in the table above, namely the word *berlapuk*, which Bowrey had written as *Bālāpo*, “Mouldy, growing Mouldy”, *caruk* as *Chāro*, “to Guzle”, and *encik* as *Inchee*, “Master, Sir, in a familiar way”. In the initial and middle positions of words, Bowrey often uses other letters. There are also words with a glottal sound that Bowrey records with the letter {k}, which can be present in all positions – the initial, medial, and final position of a word. For example, the words *Kēchap māta*, “to Twinkle or shut the eyes” and *Kawāl*, “a night Watch, a night Guard” show the presence of a glottal sound at the initial position of the word. Likewise, glottal sounds are present for *Dākī*, “Dandrif, or Scurf of the Body” and *Lankaw*, “to Scip, to Overlook, Omit, Stride over, Step over” in the

medial position, and *Kārḥik*, “Gravel” and *Lāyak*, “Becoming, Proper, Fir, Convenient, Decent, Meet, Neceſſary, Pertinent, Opportunely, Seemly, Suitable” in the final position. Besides [k], the glottal sound in Bowrey’s dictionary is also represented by the productive letter [c] in all positions, as shown in the table above. For example, it is present in the initial position for the words *Carja*, “Work, Toil, Labour, Trade, Exerciſe, Office, Charge, to Make”, *Carling*, “to Leer, or look wantonly”, and *Cāpan*, “When”. We can also observe the use of [c] in the medial position in words such as *Ēcat*, “Tie, Faſten, Pitch, or Set up, Bind”, *Bactee*, “Devout, Vertuous” and *Lāncooa* “Gallingal”, whereas it can be seen in the final position of words such as *Antooc*, “Droufy, to Slumber”, *Pērac*, “Silver” and *Landac*, “a Hedge-hog, a Porcupine”.

Bowrey also uses {ck} to represent the glottal sound in several words in his dictionary. However, it is only used in the medial and final positions of words, as in *Jinckin*, “a Scorpion”, and *Mackin*, “More”. In the final position, {ck} is written for example in the words *Ājockck*, “to Provoke, Urge or Intice, to anger, Exaſperate”, *Arrackck*, “Arrack, or Jingle Spirit” and *Hēndackck*, “to Covet, Deſire, Will, Vouchſafe Permiſſion, Leave, Pleaſed”. In the final position, the use of {ck} is more productive compared to it being in a medial position. In addition, another interesting variant used by Bowrey is the form {-ke}, which is written at the end of a word, for example, in the words *Chātoke*, “a Bandy-ſtick, or Cat-ſtick, or Hammer”, *Gōfoke*, “to Scour, Rub, Chafe in, Rub one thing againſt another”, and *Rōdoke*, “a Fork, Rake”. Bowrey explains in the preface to his dictionary that words containing this variant should be pronounced in the manner of the English words “cake”, “wake”,² and “make”. I opine that Bowrey had written the word *rodok* as *Rōdoke* because he heard the glottal sound as if it were the same as the examples “cake”, “wake”, and “make” in English and wrote it in the form of *Rōdoke* [RodoIk].

In addition, the glottal sounds in Bowrey’s dictionary may also be noted for their use of the letters {x} and {q}. The plosive uvular sound [q] is used by Bowrey in the medial and initial position of words. For words such as *kuah*, *kuala*,² and *lengkuas*, Bowrey uses his

knowledge on convention of sounds often heard in English. Bowrey heard the sound [k^w] in the word *kuah*. It is likely that he heard a sound which sounded like the English word “quit”. However, he did not hear the [k] sound in the word *kuah* but instead heard a [q] sound. Thus, Bowrey wrote the word *kuah* as *Qua* “Sauce, a Sop”. Meanwhile, when the word *paksa* written by Bowrey as *Paṅa*, “Force” is observed, which mostly likely occurred because Bowrey adjusted the [k] sound in the word *paksa* in accordance with English words such as “flexible” and “sexy”. {x} is used in place of the [k] sound in word examples in the table above.

Bowrey also uses a consonant cluster to represent glottal sounds such as for the words *lakkee*, “Male, the Male kind, Husband”, *Makkee*, “Blaspheme, Reproach, Call ill names, Chide, Defame, Detract, Rebuke sharply, Reprove, Revile, Scandalize, Villifie, Abuse”, and *Cakkee* “a Foundation, Foot, Groundm work, Leg, Paw, a Frame”. The cc consonant cluster is also used by Bowrey for the word *Baccar* “Burn, to Heat, as Iron”. From the examples given, it can be observed that all consonant clusters are present in the middle of words. Another letter that Bowrey uses to represent the glottal sound can be seen in the word *batuk*. The glottal sound in the word *batuk* is written with two spelling variants, namely *Batock* with *-ck* and *Bātoor* with the meaning “a Cough, Coughing”. This form is unproductive compared to other forms recorded by Bowrey. Moreover, Bowrey writes consonants for words that contain vowel clusters such as the words *Bāwoor*, “Bent, Warped, Dented, Crooked”, *Caṅin*, “Linnen-cloth”, *Caṅew*, “a Whole piece of cloth, of linnen, Woollen, or filk”, *Loṅas*, “Copious, Large, Spacious, Wide, Roomly, Broad”, *Toṅas*, “Allom” and *Sowāb*, “a Bribe, Fee”. The consonants {w} and {y} are written by Bowrey in the medial position according to the pronunciation of the word. Both consonants are written because Bowrey heard the consonant sounds when the words were spoken.

4.2.4.2 Representation of Plosives in Bowrey's Dictionary

The discussion in this section touches on the representation of three plosives, namely the voiceless palatal plosive [c], the bilabial plosives [p] and [b], and the alveolar plosives [t] and [d].

4.2.4.2.1 Voiceless Palatal Plosive [c]

Bowrey records the voiceless palatal plosive [c] in two forms, namely [ch] and [c]. Bowrey (1701) also explains that words spelled with the consonant {ch}, should be sounded like the English words “Chils” and “Chip”. However, [c] in the medial position of words is not found in Bowrey's dictionary. The table below shows examples of words with the [c] sound.

Table 7 Representation of the voiceless palatal plosive [c] in TBD.

<i>SOUND REPRESENTATION</i>	<i>EXAMPLES (Position)</i>	
	<i>Initial</i>	<i>Medial</i>
[ch]	<i>Champoore</i>	<i>Penchārōba</i>
[c]	<i>Caṽan</i>	-

4.2.4.2.2 Bilabial Plosives [p] and [b], and Alveolar Plosives [t] and [d].

Words with the plosives [p], [b], [d], and [t] are often interchanged. Bowrey presents data showing confusion or instances where he misheard the words being spoken. In the table where TBD and MML consonants are compared, it can be seen that each TBD plosive is represented by at least two letters. The sound [b] is represented by two letters, {b} and {bb}. The voiced sound [b] is consistently present in the initial and middle position of words, such as in *Nabbee*,

“*ar*, a Prophet” and *Saptoo*₂ “Saturday”. The sound [p] is represented by four letters, namely {p}, {b}, {pp}, and {f}. The word is *lalat* is spelled as ‘lalat’ by Bowrey, most likely due to hearing a [d] sound. Loanwords from foreign languages which are spelled *Fīhak*₂ “Side, part”, *Fāfooroo*₂ “an Ambaʃfadour, Meʃʃinger, Officer of a King” and *Fatʃal* “*ar*, a Chapter”₂ as well as all examples from Bowrey’s dictionary are, in my opinion, hypercorrect. This is because these three words have been adapted to modern Malay pronunciation and are spelled *pihak*, *pesuruh*₂ and *pasal*. However, I did not find elements of folk etymology in Bowrey’s dictionary as found in MML in words such as *petua*, *perlu*, *pakat*, and *melarat*.

Table 8 Representation of the plosives [p], [b], [d], and [t] in TBD.

MML CONSONANT	TBD CONSONANT	TBD EXAMPLES Position- (L,M,F)	MML EXAMPLES Position- (L,M,F)
B	b	b ah, Ooban,	Bah, Uban,
	bb	Nabbee, Tabbal	Nabi, Tebal
p	p	P andang, Dāpat, Sāyap	Pandang, Dapat, Sayap
	b	B aggoam, Soḡab	Peguam, Suap
	pp	S appee, Siappa	Sapi, Siapa
	f	Fīhak, Fāfooroo, Fatʃal	Pihak, Pesuruh, Pasal

4.2.4.3 Fricative Sound [h]

Bowrey did not explain this sound in the “Grammar Rules for the Malayo Language” section of his dictionary. Despite this, there are examples of words with the [h] sound in all word positions such as *Hantoo*, which means “an Evil Spirit, an Evil angel”, *Jāhat*₂ which means “Bad, Naught, Ill, Base, evil, wicked, Harm”, and *Jerneh*₂ which means “Fine, Clear, Transparent, as any liquor”. Nevertheless, there are also examples of words without the presence of the fricative sound [h] in Bowrey’s dictionary, as shown in Table 9 below.

Table 9 Examples of words without the presence of the fricative sound [h] in all word positions in TBD.

TBD EXAMPLES	MML EXAMPLES	POSITION
<i>Ābis</i> <i>Ampir</i> <i>Ootan</i>	<i>habis</i> <i>hampir</i> <i>hutan</i>	<i>Initial</i>
<i>Pāit</i> <i>Cawin</i>	<i>pahit</i> <i>kahwin</i>	<i>Medial</i>
<i>Mērooboo</i> <i>Mēnīelo</i> <i>Rooa</i>	<i>meroboh</i> <i>menguluh</i> <i>roh</i>	<i>Final</i>

Based on Table 9 above, I believe that the absence of the [h] sound occurred because the glottal stops [ʔ] and [h] in the final position of words do not occur in English. For this example, Bowrey used several letters to represent the sound in Malay. The hypothesis that can be made in this case is that Bowrey did not hear the fricative [h] at the end of the word, but it must be emphasised that this does not mean that [-h] did not exist in the 17th century Malay. This contradicts the fact that the final proto-phonemes *q and *h appear as [h] in modern Malay (Adelaar, 1992). However, examples of such remain extremely limited.

4.2.4.4 Velar Nasal [ŋ] and Palatal Nasal [ɲ] Sounds

The phonemes *m*, *n*, *ŋ*, and *ɲ* in Malay can be present in all word positions, while the phoneme *ɲ* can only be present in the initial and medial positions (Tatabahasa Dewan, 2003). However, in Bowrey’s dictionary, velar nasal [ŋ] and palatal nasal [ɲ] sounds are not often recorded in the initial position. However, for the medial and final positions, the velar nasal sound [ŋ] is noted by Bowrey, such as for the words *Bangat*₂ “Sudden, Quick, Soon, Suddenly, Quickly, in a Short time, Apace, Fast, Haft, Haft, Haft, Speed, Unadvised, Celerity” and *Baloong*₂ “a Cocks

Comb”. The velar nasal sound [ŋ] is also represented by several sounds but there are also words where the [ŋ] sound is not noted, such as the words *Ōran*₂ “Man, a Denomination added to the name of any species of mankind when the number is to be denoted, a way of expression used by the Malayo, a Person, Mankind” and *Sācāran*₂ “Now, This present time” and *Soonṅoo* “Certain, Sure, True, Indeed, Truly, In earnest”. The [ŋ] sound is also represented by the alveolar nasal sound [n] in several word examples such as *Añcat*₂ “raise Up, hold Up, lift Up, Depart from, take out, Adopt”, *Jinckin*₂ “a Scorpion” and *Jankit*₂ “Overtaken, Possessed, Infected”. The palatal nasal sound [ɲ] is also represented by two other forms besides [ɲ] itself such as the words *niāla*₂ “a Flame”, *menioomba*₂ “to Invoke, Serve in worship, Pray to, Bow in reverence, Intercede, Intreat”, *Niānee*₂ “to Sing” and *femboonee*₂ “Hidden, Secret, Mysterious, Obscure, Private, Hid, Unknown, Abstruse, Ambiguous, Covertly”.

4.2.4.5 Diphthongs in Bowrey’s Dictionary

There are three forms of diphthong in MML, namely *ai*, *au*, and *oi* (Tatabahasa Dewan, 2003).

The diphthongs in Bowrey’s dictionary are shown in the following table:

Table 10 Comparison of diphthongs in MML and TBD.

MML DIPHTHONGS	TBD DIPHTHONGS	TBD EXAMPLES Position- (I,M,F)	MML EXAMPLES Position- (I,M,F)
ai	Ey	<i>Dāwey, Soonṅey, Ley</i>	<i>Dawai, Sungai, Helai</i>
	Ee	<i>Dammee, Sampee</i>	<i>Damai, Sampai</i>
	Ay	<i>Lālay</i>	<i>Salai</i>
au	O	<i>Ranjo, Curbo</i>	<i>Ranjau, Kerbau</i>
	Oo	<i>Pooloo, Soodāra</i>	<i>Pulau, Santau</i>

The diphthong *oi* is not recorded by Bowrey; only the diphthongs *au* and *ai* are recorded. These latter two diphthongs also have more than two representations each, as shown in the table above.

4.3 Grammatical Aspects

Bowrey describes the basic aspects of Malay grammar in his dictionary based on his understanding of and the observations made during his interactions with Malay speakers. Bowrey's writing and description of Malay grammar is based on Latin grammar that most Western children learn in schools. Three fundamental concepts in Latin grammar that Bowrey applies during the structuring of Malay grammar according to his prior linguistic knowledge are "...the divisions of the parts of speech, the declining of nouns...the forming of verbs" (Bowrey, 1701, Grammar Rules of the Malayo Language Section). In this section, the grammatical aspects of the Malay language according to Bowrey are discussed; this discussion is also based on the grammatical aspects of MML.

4.3.1 Particles

One of the grammatical aspects Bowrey explains is affixes such as prefixes, circumfixes, and suffixes. Bowrey uses the term *Particles*, which refers to affixes in MML. Bowrey does not classify the types of affixes but instead lists and provides a brief explanation of such regarding the function and form of each. I created a classification system to demonstrate that Bowrey understood and listed almost all affixes according to the word classes found in MML. The table below reports a list of the particles recorded in Bowrey's dictionary.

Table 11 Particles according to Bowrey.

TYPES OF PARTICLES	Prefix	Suffix	Circumfix		
Noun	<u>pem-</u>	-an	<u>pem-...-awn</u>	<u>pa-...-an</u>	<u>ka-...-awn</u>
	<u>pen-</u>	-awn	<u>pen-...-awn</u>	<u>pa-...-awn</u>	<u>ka-...-an</u>
	<u>pēnī-</u>	-gan	<u>pang-...-awn</u>	<u>pa-...-an</u>	
	<u>peng-</u>		<u>pang-...-an</u>	<u>pa-...-gan</u>	
	<u>poon-</u>			<u>pe-...-an</u>	
	<u>pang-</u>				
	<u>pē-</u>			<u>per-...-an</u>	
	<u>Jurree</u>			<u>per-...-awn</u>	
	<u>ka-</u>			<u>per-...-can</u>	
	Verbs	<u>me-</u>	-can	<u>me-...-can</u>	<u>me-...-awn</u>
<u>ma-</u>		-kan	<u>mem-...-can</u>	<u>me-...-gan</u>	<u>ter-...-an</u>
<u>mem-</u>		-e	<u>men-...-can</u>	<u>men-...-an</u>	<u>ter-...-awn</u>
<u>men-</u>		-ee	<u>mēnī-...-can</u>	<u>men-...-awn</u>	<u>de-...-can</u>
<u>meng-</u>			<u>māni-...-can</u>	<u>meng-...-awn</u>	<u>de-...-ee</u>
<u>mang-</u>			<u>ma-...-ee</u>	<u>meng-...-an</u>	<u>de-...-an</u>
<u>mēnī-</u>			<u>me-...-ee</u>	<u>mēnī-...-an</u>	<u>ka-...-awn</u>
<u>menni-</u>			<u>mem-...-ee</u>	<u>mēnī-...-awn</u>	
<u>mēny-</u>			<u>men-...-ee</u>	<u>māni-...-awn</u>	
<u>ber-</u>			<u>meng-...-ee</u>	<u>be-...-can</u>	
<u>ba-</u>			<u>mēnī-...-ee</u>	<u>ba-...-an</u>	
<u>ta-</u>				<u>ba-...-awn</u>	
<u>ter-</u>				<u>ber-...-an</u>	
				<u>ber-...-awn</u>	
			<u>ber-...-ee</u>		
Adjectives	<u>ter-</u>	-	<u>ka-...-awn</u>		
			<u>ka-...-an</u>		

In the table above, particles underlined in red, namely pem-, pen-, pēnī-, peng-, Jurree, -awn, me-, mem-, men-, meng-, ber-, ba-, and ta- are the particles that Bowrey listed and explained in the “Grammar Rules of the Malayo Language” section of his dictionary; other particles in the table above are found in the entries and sample sentences in its appendix. For the purposes of comparison, I classified each particle found and explained by Bowrey based on the classification found in MML, namely affixes for nouns, verbs, and adjectives.

4.3.2 Noun Particles

4.3.2.1 The Particle *pe-*

As mentioned above, Bowrey uses the term Particles, which refers to affixes in MML. Bowrey also uses the term Letters, which refers to the sound at the beginning of a word. Bowrey explains that the particles *pem-*, *pen-*, *pēnī*, and *peng-* are used with the aim of turning a verb into a noun after being affixed to the root word. According to Bowrey, the particles used depend on the initial letter of the verb, that is, whether it is a vowel or a consonant. Bowrey mentions that “These particles...varied...according to the initial letter so is either the particle (*pem*, *pen*, *pēnī*, *peng*) adapted for to give a smoothness to the language” (Bowrey, 1701, p. Grammar Rules for the Malayo Language). For example, the words *Pemmācan*, “an Eater” and *pendoofta*, “a Lyer” are derived from the words *Mācan*, “to eat” and *Doofta*, “to Ly”. Bowrey explains that the particle *peng-* is generally used before verbs with the initial letter of the root word beginning with a vowel or the root word beginning with the letter *g*. Bowrey mentions that the particle *pēnī-* is used for words that start with the letters *s* or *t*, and both letters are omitted in order to form a word that is soft and simple in terms of sound and pronunciation. Bowrey further explains that for words beginning with the letters *c*, *d*, *g*, and *k*; the particle *pen-* is used, and for words starting with the letters *b* and *m*, the particle *pem-* is used.

Based on Bowrey’s explanation, it can be concluded that the particle *pe-* in TBD has the same form as the affix *peN-* in MML. The table below shows examples of words based on particles described by Bowrey in the “Grammar Rules of the Malayo Language” section of his dictionary, namely *peng-*, *pen-*, *pēnī-*, *pem-*, and *pen-*.

Table 12 Examples of words derived using the particle *pe-*.

PARTICLES	INITIAL LETTER	WORDS	MEANING	DERIVATIVES	MEANING
penġ-	vowel	<i>Artee</i>	to Understand	<i>Penġartee</i>	a Underſtander
		<i>Ēcot</i>	to Follow	<i>Penġĕcot</i>	a Follower
		<i>Irrop</i>	to Sip	<i>Penġirrop</i>	a Sipper
		<i>Oocoor</i>	to Meafure	<i>Penġoocoor</i>	a Meafurer
pĕnĭ-	g	<i>Gālee</i>	to Dig	<i>Penġgālee</i>	a Digger
	s	<i>Soorat</i>	to Write	<i>Penĭoorat</i>	a Writer
pem-	b	<i>Bōhoong</i>	to Cheat,	<i>Pembōhoong</i>	a Deceiver
	m	<i>Mācan</i>	Deceive to Eat	<i>Pem mācan</i>	a Eater
pen-	c	<i>Cāta</i>	to Speak	<i>Pen cāta</i>	a Speaker
	d	<i>Doofa</i>	to Lie	<i>Pen doofa</i>	a Liar
	g	<i>Gĕling</i>	to Roll	<i>Pen gĕling</i>	a Roller
	k	<i>Kāil</i>	a Angle for	<i>Penkāil</i>	a Angler
	t	<i>Tarrick</i>	Fīſh to Hawl	<i>Penarrick</i>	a Hawler

In the table above, there are two words, namely *Penĭoorat*₂ “a Writer” and *Penkāil*₂ “an Angler”, which are written differently from the equivalent words found in MML. Bowrey explains that the particle *pĕnĭ-* is used for words beginning with the letter *s*. I believe that this particle *pĕnĭ-* is equivalent to the prefix *peny-* in MML. Phonetically, the *pĕnĭ-* form is equivalent to *peny-*. The *pĕnĭ-* form recorded by Bowrey may also be due to the fact that the *n* sound does not exist in English. In MML, *peny-* is produced when *pe-* is combined with a root word beginning with letters *s*, *p*, *t*, and *k*, and these letters are removed and substituted with homorganic nasals such as *m* for *p*, *n* for *t*, *ng* for *k*₂ and *ny* for *s* (Tatabahasa Dewan, 2007). Therefore, the word *Penĭoorat* is equivalent to the word *penyurat* in MML. Apart from the word *Penĭoorat*, there are several more examples of derived words with the same form, such as *Pĕnĭakit*₂ “Infirmity, Disease”, *Pĕnĭamoon*₂ “a Robber on the highway”, *Pĕnĭarrot*₂ “a Sickle”₂ and *Pĕnĭāntap*₂ “One that eats at pleasure”. The same applies to the word *Penkāil*₂ “an Angler”. In this case, Bowrey does not record the [ŋ] sound. The initial consonant of the root word is omitted and the nasal equivalent of *k*₂ that is, *ng*, is inserted, resulting in *pengail*. In

principle, it can be concluded that Bowrey knows about phoneme substitution but does not know that voiceless sounds need to be replaced with nasal sounds. Moreover, the explanation of particles in Bowrey's dictionary shows that Bowrey has a fairly good understanding of Malay affixes even though he does not always use the right affixes, for example, in the word *Penkāil*. The data provided by Bowrey for several cases as discussed above does not match the morphophonemics of the Malay language of the time.

The misinterpretation that occurred with regard to the prefix *pēnī-* also occurred for the particle *pem-*, for example, in the word *Pemmācan₂* “an Eater”. The root word for the derived word *Pemmācan₂* which is *makan* in MML, needs to be affixed with the prefix *pe-* instead of *pem-*, as noted by Bowrey. Such errors can also be observed in examples of derived words such as *Pēmājoh₂* “to Gormandise, Eat wantonly, Greedily”. Although Bowrey lists this word under the particle *pem-*, he also lists the base word *mājoh* in his dictionary. In other words, Bowrey understood and knew about this base word but may have been confused about the affix he needed to use. Even though Bowrey does not mention the *pe-* prefix in his grammatical description, it is written in the main entry of Bowrey's dictionary such as in the words *Peñoolis₂* “a Drawer, a Describer of any figure” and *Peřoogool₂* “to Deflower, to Know as a Virgin by consent”. These examples show that Bowrey understood the principle of using *peng-* before a liquid consonant. There are several other forms of the particle *pe-* listed in Bowrey's dictionary, apart from what is explained in the grammatical description of *poon-*, *pang-* and *pē-*. However, not many instances of the use of *per-* are recorded by Bowrey. There are two more similar forms that are similar to *peng-*, namely *poon-* and *pang-*. The table below shows examples of the usage of these three particles in Bowrey's dictionary.

Table 13 Particles *Peng-*, *Pang-*, and *Poon-* in TBD.

BOWREY'S PARTICLES	EXAMPLE	MEANING
<i>Peng-</i>	<i>Penggooroo</i>	a Master, Teacher, Tutor
	<i>Penggōreck</i>	a Piercer, Borer, one that bores holes
	<i>Penḡkāil</i>	One that Fiſhes with hooks
<i>Pang-</i>	<i>Pangdoofa</i>	a Lyer, Lying
	<i>Panghiṃam</i>	Chief prieſt
	<i>Panḡmēlaicat</i>	an Archangel
<i>Poon-</i>	<i>Poongooroo</i>	a Maſter, Teacher
	<i>Poongoodoot</i>	a Tobacco-pipe
	<i>Poonḡooloo</i>	Chief, Head, Captain, Principal, Preſident, Commander, Ruler, Gouverneur, General

Table 13 above shows word examples of the three particles in Bowrey's dictionary. There are no productive examples of the *poon-* form in Bowrey's dictionary. The examples for the particle *poon-* in the table above are inconsistent with the *peng-* form recorded by Bowrey. The same goes for the word examples for the particle *pang-*, where the listed examples are contradictory and incompatible with the particle *peng*; for instance, the word *Pangdoofa*. Bowrey uses the particle *pang-* instead of *pen-*, which should be used to form the word *pendusta*. However, I assume that this contradiction is due to Bowrey's confusion. This can be observed, for example, in the word *Penḡkāil* 'One that Fiſhes with hooks' which has another form, *Penkāil*. Bowrey placed a cross-reference marker on the word *Penkāil* (see *Penḡkāil*). Therefore, it can be concluded that Bowrey did not distinguish between the use of the particles *pen-* and *peng-* in his dictionary.

4.3.2.2 The Particle *Juree*.

Bowrey also presents the prefix *juree* in his dictionary, where *juree* is the form Bowrey uses therein. In MML and *Bahasa Indonesia* (BI), the word *juree* is synonymous with the word *juru*. The table below shows word examples in Bowrey's dictionary which employ this particle.

Table 14 Examples of the use of the prefix *juree* in TBD.

PARTICLE	ROOT WORD	MEANING	DERIVATIVES	MEANING
juree	<i>Coolittee</i>	to Skin	<i>Juree coolittee</i>	a Skinner
	<i>Baffo</i>	to Wash	<i>Juree baffo</i>	a Washer
	<i>Larree</i>	to Run	<i>Juree larree</i>	a Runner
	<i>Cāta</i>	to Speak	<i>Juree cāta</i>	a Speaker

In the above table, it can be observed that the function of *juree* in Bowrey's dictionary and MML is the same. It refers to a member or a person who is directly involved with the area of specialty and expertise associated with the base word (Tatabahasa Dewan, 2003, p.116). However, there is one example that does not correspond to MML that is *Juree coolittee*. The prefix *juru-* in MML is not combined with the suffix *-i* as stated by Bowrey in this example. Bowrey's interpretation is different because the root form that follows the prefix *juree* is not a root word. This deviation probably occurred due to Bowrey's misinterpretation of the root word in the example.

Bowrey explains in the "Grammar of Malayo Language" section that a prefix functions as a prefix to derive nouns. Although Bowrey lists the word *juru-* in a form different from MML, namely *juree-*, the meaning supported by this prefix in TBD is the same as that found in MML. *Juree-* refers to members or people involved in the occupation indicated by the root

word, and this prefix can be combined with nouns, verbs, and root words²⁴. Thus, it can be concluded that the word *juree* listed by Bowrey is equivalent to *juru* in MML. *Tatabahasa Dewan* (2007) provides several examples of the prefix *juru* combined with root words such as *juru + tera*, from which one derives the word *jurutera*₂ “an engineer”. This prefix in TBD is combined with root words from noun and verb classes. However, the resulting derivatives are mostly not equivalent to those found in MML, such as *Jurree toongo billick*₂ “a Chamberlain”, *Jurree mānis*₂ “a sweetener”. Even though many of the derivatives recorded by Bowrey do not have an equivalent in MML, the basic functions and meanings of these prefixes remain the same as in MML.

4.3.2.3 The Particle *-an*

There are three forms for the suffix *-an* listed by Bowrey, namely *-an*, *-awn*₂ and *-gan*. The suffix *-an* according to *Tatabahasa Dewan* (2007, p.116) is a proper noun suffix that can be combined with a root word without changing the letters in the latter. In Bowrey’s dictionary, this suffix can be seen in examples such as *Champooorawn*₂ “a Mixture” and *Panchinggan*₂ “Capricious, humour-some, Techy, Pevijh”. There are several examples of the suffix *-an* represented by the *-gan* form apart from the word *Panchinggan*₂ such as the words *Kirringgan*₂ “a Shoal, Flat, Shallow”, *Dātanggan*₂ “a Coming”₂ and the word *Pantanggan*₂ “Abstinency, Temperance, Precaution”. However, I assert that the suffix *-gan* is Bowrey’s way of spelling and writing when recording spoken words ending with *-an* and is not an issue of pronunciation.

²⁴ Ibid, pp.116.

4.3.3 Verb Particles

4.3.3.1 The Particle *me-*

The particles *Me-*, *Mem-*, *Men-*, *Meng-* and *Mēnī-* according to Bowrey are “...expletives frequently set before Verbs and seem to give an Elegancy to the Word rather than any addition to its signification” (Bowrey, 1701, Grammar Rules of the Malayo Language Section). For verbs beginning with a vowel, the particle *Meng-* is used, as in *Ampoon*, “to Forgive” which derives *Mengampoon*, “to Forgive” and *Ēcal*, “to Curl” , derives *Mengēcal*. However, for words beginning with *s* or *t*, Bowrey explains that these two letters are omitted (Euphonic gratia), and the particle *Mēnī-* is used for words beginning with the letter *s*. The particle *mem-* is also used for words beginning with *t*, for example *Sāpoo*, “to Sweep” , which derives *Mēnī āpoo*, “to Sweep”, whilst *Tinḡal*, “Leave behind”, becomes *Meñ iṅgal*, “Leave behind”.

Bowrey also explains that root words starting with the letter *p* use the particle *mem-* as in *Paṅgil*, “to Call” to become *Memaṅgil*, “to Call”, and *Pandang*, “to Stare on” from which is derived *Memandang*, “to Stare on”. For root words that start with *b*, the prefix *Mem-* is used, for example, in the words *Bēfar can*, “to Magnifie” becomes *Membēfarcan*, “to Magnifie” and *Byfeecan*, “to Trim” becomes *Membyfeecan*, “to Trim”. The table below gives examples of words based on the particle *me-* described by Bowrey in the “Grammar Rules of the Malayo Language” section of his dictionary, namely *mem-* and *mēnī-*:

Table 15 Examples of derived words with the particle *me-*.

PARTICLES	INITIAL LETTER	ROOT WORDS	MEANING	DERIVED FORMS	MEANING
<i>mem-</i>	t	<i>Tinḡal</i>	Leave behind	<i>Meñ iṅgal</i>	Leave behind
	p	<i>Paṅgil</i>	to Call	<i>Memaṅgil</i>	to Call
	b	<i>Byfeecan</i>	to Trim	<i>Membyfeecan</i>	to Trim
<i>mēnī</i>	s	<i>Sāpoo</i>	to Sweep	<i>Mēnīāpoo</i>	to Sweep

There are also three more particles, *me-*, *men-*, and *meng-* which are not mentioned, but examples of derived words for these three particles can be found in the main entry of his dictionary. In the table above, it can be observed that the words *Meñiñgal* and *Memañgil* are combined with the particle *mem-*, and this is a different from the form found in MML. The same is true for the particle *pe-*. Bowrey was aware that phoneme substitution was necessary but does not specify that a nasal sound should replace the [k] sound. The same applies to the word *Mēñiāpoo*. Bowrey knew the principle of phoneme replacement but uses the particle *Mēñi-* instead of the *meny-*. This is because the *i* and *y* sounds are similar, and the *Mēñi-* particle, just like *pēñi-*, is essentially equivalent to the *meny-* form in MML.

Bowrey lists three *me-* particles that refer to nasal forms, namely *mēñi-*, *menni-*, and *mēny-*, for example, *mēñioongkill*, “to Poke out, to Shoot out”, *menniānee*, “to Sing”, and *mēnyram*, “to Sprinkle water”. Although the nasal forms recorded by Bowrey are different to those in MML, it is clear that Bowrey understood the words *siram* and *nyanyi*, as after receiving the prefix *me-* the nasal forms *mēnyram* and *menniānee* are derived.

4.3.3.2 Particles *ber-* and *ta-*

According to Bowrey, Malay speakers employ *ber-* and *ta-* as both passive and active markers. Bowrey explains that in Malay, *ba-* is used in front of a verb and is a present-tense derivation, as seen in Table 16 below.

Table 16 Derived words with the prefix *ba-*.

PARTICLE	ROOT WORDS	MEANING	DERIVATIVE FORM	MEANING
<i>ba-</i>	<i>Bācha</i>	to Read	<i>Ba bācha</i>	Reading
	<i>Dunḡar</i>	to Hear	<i>Ba dunḡar</i>	Hearing
	<i>Kēna</i>	to Apply	<i>Ba kēna</i>	Applying

According to Bowrey, in the examples above, all three words are active markers in Malay. The *ber-* particle in TBD has two variants, namely *ber-* and *ba-*. Similar to MML, both of these variants denote derived words which function as verbs. Examples of derived words in TBD show that this particle is affixed to all types of root words from the four word classes in MML, namely verbs, nouns, adjectives, and adverbs. Table 17 below presents examples of words from four word classes in Malay that receive this prefix from both the *ber-* and *ba-* variants.

Table 17 Examples of base words that receive the prefixes *ber-* and *ba-* in TBD.

<i>ber-</i> Particle in TBD	WORD CLASSES			
	Noun	Verb	Adjectives	Adverbs
<i>ber-</i>	<i>Beṛarga</i>	<i>Beṛañyam</i>	<i>Beṛādil</i>	-
	<i>Beṛattee</i>	<i>Beṛchoomoor</i>	<i>Beṛālim</i>	-
<i>ba-</i>	<i>Bācāboong</i>	<i>Bāchampoor</i>	<i>Bālāpo</i>	<i>Bārātoos rātoos</i>
	<i>Bāsēlēmoot</i>	<i>Bāprangan</i>	<i>Bārenda</i>	-

Bowrey adds that *ber-* also functions as a passive marker, for instance, in the following example:

1) *Āko fooda berpooool*

Aku sudah berpukul

I am beaten

2) *Joo fooda berpooool*

Jo sudah berpukul

You are beaten

In examples (1) and (2) and the examples in Table 17 above, it can be observed that Bowrey distinguishes active and passive markers through the use of the adverb *sooda*. In MML, *ber-* can be used to form passive sentences, for example, in the sentence “*Baju sekolah Ali belum berbasuh lagi*”. Sentences (1) and (2) above, in contrast, show that the action has already been performed or has already passed. The form *sooda* written by Bowrey does not show the passive form. There is a passive form with the prefix *ber-* in MML but without the presence of the adverb *sooda* (*sudah*) because this word means done, complete, and finished, and does not indicate a passive form.

Bowrey also mentioned *-awn* as a particle. However, he did not directly mention and explain circumfixes in his dictionary. The term circumfix is written as an explanation to the form found in Bowrey’s dictionary and has similarities with MML. The data in Bowrey’s dictionary entry also shows that the *ber-* particle accepts particles that form circumfixes as found in MML, namely *ber-...-kan* and *ber-...-an*. The data from Bowrey’s dictionary shows both circumfixes are listed with one more form that is not found in MML, which is *ber-...-ee* or *ber-...-i*, for example, *Ber̄coolittee* “Skined, Fleaed” and *Ber̄bāickkee* “mended”. However, this type of circumfix is not found in MML. The particle *ber-* in Bowrey’s dictionary also functions in the same way as *men-* in MML, such as in the words *Babācha* and *Badun̄gar*. In MML, these two words are equivalent and function in a similar manner to the words *membaca*, “reading” and *mendengar*, “listening”. Bowrey explains that the particles *ber-* and *ta-* seem to function as variants or allomorphs.

The particle *ter-* in Bowrey’s dictionary is also shown to take the suffix *-an* in both variants of this prefix, for example, in the words *Tāchaṅgānan*, “Amazed, Astonished” (MML *tercengangan*) and *Tafoontoawn*, “a Stumbling” (MML *Tersentuhan*), *Terbangōnan*, “Flying, Rising, Resurrection” (MML *Terbangunan*) and *Terpilleawn*, “the Chosen” (MML *Terpilihan*). The two forms of circumfixes *ter-...-an* and *ter-...-awn*, despite having no equivalences in

MML, are Bowrey's way of writing the *-an* sound he heard and are not forms specific to the Malay language at that time.

4.3.3.3 Particles *-kan* and *-i*.

Bowrey listed the particle *-i* in two forms, namely *-e* and *-ee*. The *-kan* particle in Bowrey's dictionary has the same function as *-kan* in MML. In Bowrey's dictionary, the *-kan* particle indicates that it can accept the particles *men-* and *di-* as well as being able to accept the particle *be-* like the circumfix *be-...-can*. However, I was not able to find two types of affixes that can accept this suffix, namely *memper-...-kan* and *diper-...-kan*.

Another suffix that forms verbs, namely *-i*, is also found in Bowrey's dictionary. Similar to the *-kan* suffix, the *-i* suffix can receive two prefixes, namely *men-* and *di-*, and this suffix is also not found with several other affixes, as in MML, namely *dipeR-...-i* and *mempeR-...-i*. However, one type of affix combined with this suffix is found in Bowrey's dictionary, namely the form *ber-... -ee* such as *Beṛbāickkee*, "Mended", *Beṛcoolittee*, "Skined, Fleaed", *Beṛdendāee* "Fined, MulCted, Taxed", and *Beṛnabbehee*, "Prophefied". When all these examples are examined, it can be understood that these words receiving the prefix *ber-* and the suffix *-i* form verbs with causative intent. Nevertheless, the form *ber-...-i* is not found in MML but its use, through a search of the Malay Concordance Project, appeared as many as 46 times in 13 different manuscripts, for example, from *Hikayat Iskandar Zulkarnain* (12 times), *Taj al-Salatin* (six times), *Hikayat Hang Tuah* (six times), *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah* (four times), *Surat Keterangan Syeikh Jalaluddin* (four times), *Taj al-Salatin* (ed. Khalid, four times), *Surat al-Anbiya* (three times), *Hikayat Aceh* (twice), *Hikayat Hasanuddin* (twice) and in *Hikayat Merong Mahawangsa*, *Hikayat Seri Rama*, and *Tarjumān al-Mustafid*, (once each) respectively. The evidence from these records shows that the word *berbaiki*, that appears in the

TBD is also used in other manuscripts. Thus, it is my conjecture that the form *ber-...-i* existed in 17th century Malay but is no longer used in MML. This is based on its usage being found in manuscripts contemporaneous with Bowrey's dictionary.

In general, it can be concluded that the grammatical aspects found in Bowrey's dictionary have many similarities with MML. Only several aspects such as circumfixes are not found in MML, for example, in the words *Ber̄bāickkee* and *Ber̄coolittee*. In addition, passive and active markers are also written differently from MML. These differences and variations do not mean that the Malay language at that time was significantly different from MML. The differences and variations could be due to Bowrey's way of spelling affixes and also due to his misunderstanding of the principles of phoneme replacement, for instance, in the *Penkāil* example. One thing that should be noted is that the Malay language recorded by Bowrey was a language spoken on the Malay coast in the 16th century. Even though there are forms that have no equivalent in MML, this does not imply that they did not exist in the 17th century. It must also be considered that the mistakes of the writer or those of the original transcriber of this dictionary most likely played an important role. Despite the differences, variations and similarities found in TBD, these details provide us with valuable information and knowledge regarding the Malay language recorded by Bowrey during that time.

Chapter 5 Morphological Aspects In Bowrey's Dictionary

5.1 Malay as a *Lingua Franca*

The Malay language is influenced by various other languages both from the west and the east such as Hindi, Arabic, Portuguese, Dutch, and English. It is perhaps unsurprising that the Malay language contains many loanwords from Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, Dutch, Portuguese and English, among others. The dynamic nature of the Malay language in addition to its position as an intermediary language, especially during the 16th and 17th centuries, placed it as the main choice for communication at that time, and later elevated it to the status of *lingua franca*, which became the main medium of communication between foreign traders and the locals. Evidence of the presence of Malay words in other languages around the Asian archipelago indicated that a thousand years ago, Malay was already the main *lingua franca*, also referred to as *basa dagang*, “trade language”. Besides being influenced by foreign languages, Malay also left its mark on other languages as found in Old Javanese texts and also in Malagasy and Tagalog. Malay loanwords found in Malagasy are evidence that Malay was a dominant *lingua franca* that had a deep cultural impact on the language and society (Adelaar, 2000, p.230).

The age of colonialism was an era that marked considerable change in the significance of the Malay language. Beginning with the Portuguese invasion in Melaka up to the mid-20th century, the importance of Malay as both a trade language and a literary language is indisputable. The role played by the Malay language, especially in the introduction and propagation of Islam and other major religions in Southeast Asia, cannot be denied. After the arrival of European colonists to the east, the role of the Malay language increased in significance. Not only did it serve as a medium of communication between foreign traders and

the locals, Malay also played a major role among Christian preachers and missionaries (Collins 2005, Adelaar 2000).

The importance of the Malay language to foreign traders effectively required them to learn the language. To this end, language tools such as dictionaries, word lists, conversation books, or any form of reference that could be used as a guide were essential. Such was the case with Bowrey's dictionary, published in 1701. The dictionary was compiled with the primary aim of helping Englishmen who were travelling to the Malay archipelago at that time. Bowrey's dictionary is a collection and description of the spoken Malay language in the 17th century which was used not only in palaces and harbours but also in rural areas that used Malay. It is therefore not surprising that this dictionary recorded the *lingua franca* form of Malay, the *basa dagang*, "trade language", used during that century. The importance of Malay in the 17th century is described by Francois Valentyn (1726), a Dutch Jesuit who served in Ambon, as quoted by Collins (2005):

"Bahasa Melayu...tidak hanya digunakan di pantai-pantai tetapi digunakan di seluruh Hindia Belanda, termasuk negeri-negeri di timur sebagai bahasa yang dimengerti di mana saja dan oleh siapa saja, seperti Bahasa Prancis atau Latin di Eropa, atau sebagai lingua franca di Italia atau Levant sehingga dengan mengetahui bahasa itu tidak ada orang yang dapat tersesat karena digunakan dan dimengerti di Persia, di luar pedesaan di dalam daerah itu, dan juga sampai jauh ke Filipina". (p.43)²⁵

²⁵ "...the Malay language...was not only spoken on the coast, but was used through the whole of India, and in all the Eastern countries, as a language understood everywhere and by every one, just as French or Latin in Europe, or as a Lingua Franca in Italy or in the Levant, to such an extent even that, knowing that language, one never will be at a loss, it being used and understood in Persia, nay even beyond that country on that side, and also as far as the Philippines" (Harvey, D.F.A., & Bio Stor, 1884, p.52-53).

Valentyn's description depicts the panorama regarding the Malay language in the eastern world when he arrived in the region. The importance and necessity of mastering the Malay language as a means of communication was especially important during the century of invasion and control imposed by European powers over the Malay Archipelago. Therefore, Bowrey, with a great sense of zeal and responsibility, took the initiative of compiling the first Malay-English dictionary. As explained in an earlier chapter, this dictionary consists of a collection of words taken from the spoken language of Malay speakers at that time and is not a literary language, as compiled by Wilkinson in his dictionary. In fact, Bowrey mentions in the preface to his dictionary that the Malay language was spoken and used by traders, including travellers, religious preachers, and officials, especially in coastal areas where trading took place. Bowrey also states that the Malay language recorded in his dictionary is not a literary language.

Bowrey's statement indirectly implies that the forms and characteristics of Malay as a *lingua franca* during the 16th and 17th century were recorded in the dictionary. However, data in the dictionary suggests that Bowrey did not distinguish between *lingua franca* and standard Malay. The use of both forms of Malay proved that Bowrey did not realise that there were two types of distribution, namely the *lingua franca* used on the coast and the standard Malay used in rural areas. Thus, in this section, the discussion focuses on the *lingua franca* form recorded by Bowrey in his dictionary. Examples of phrases and sentences from his dictionary, including all entries and appendices, are examined and discussed.

5.2 Basa Dagang According to Thomas Bowrey

A *lingua franca* is a bridge language used by speakers who have different native languages. The conquest of Melaka by the Portuguese in the early 16th century indicated the beginning of

a period of change in the Malay language as such a platform in various sectors. Adelaar (1996) mentioned three groups of Malay sociolects during the era of European colonialism, namely literary Malay, *lingua franca* Malay, and inherited Malay. Before the arrival of the Portuguese, Malay speakers used a variety of dialects as mediums of communication among themselves in the Malay Peninsula and the Indonesian Archipelago, and this variety of dialects is referred to as low Malay or *bazaar malay*.

According to Adelaar (1996), the origin of *lingua franca* Malay is still unclear and, evidently, is the result of a pidginisation process that occurred due to the need for clear communication between Chinese and Malay traders, as well as a form of *lingua franca* Malay that shares characteristics and forms with dialects in Southern China that differentiates it from other forms of Malay. Collins and Nothofer (in Adelaar, 1996) argue that *lingua franca* Malay is a phenomenon that occurs as a result of pidginisation considering that some of its forms are also found in vernacular Malay dialects, which usually inherit forms that are not found in written language. In this discussion, the characteristics of *lingua franca* Malay, as stated by Adelaar (1996) in his writing, are used as a reference and foundation for identifying, analysing, and discussing the form of *lingua franca* Malay found in Bowrey's dictionary. Among its characteristics and forms, according to Adelaar, are:

- i) possessive constructions consisting of possessor + *puña* + possessed item.
- ii) plural pronouns derived from singular pronouns + *orang*.
- iii) the retention of affixes *tər-* and *bər-* as the only productive original Malay affixes.
- iv) *ada*, as an existential marker, indicating progressive aspect.
- v) reduced forms of the demonstratives *itu* and *ini* which precede nouns and function as determiners.

vi) causative constructions consisting of the auxiliary verb *kasi/bəri* ('to give') or *bikin/buat* ('to make') + the head verb.

vii) the use of *sama* or other words as a preposition for direct and indirect objects.

viii) the reduced form of *pərgi*, 'to go', as a verb and as a preposition which means 'towards'.

With reference to the characteristics listed by Adelaar, I present the forms of *basa dagang* listed by Bowrey in his dictionary.

5.2.1 The Possessive Construction Pattern *Poonea* (MML: *Punya*).

Punya "possess" in Malay means possession of something owned, a right, belonging to the owner. In TBD's *basa dagang*, this word has two forms, namely *poonea* and *ampoonea*. This word *punya* functions as a modifier to the noun phrase. The position of *punya* in a sentence often precedes the described object. In standard Malay, this possessive construction pattern is built on the sequence of owner (possessor) + modifier *punya* + possessed object. According to Daw Khin Khin Aye (2005, p.113), sentences in Bazaar Malay that contain this modifier consist of all phrase categories, such as noun phrases (NP), adjective phrases (AP), prepositional phrases (PP), quantifiers (QUAN), and independent clauses. Examples of possessive construction patterns of *poonea* in Bowrey's dictionary are as follows:

3. *Packānēra de gōcho kitta poonea mooca dauloo sāya añcat tangan ko.*

Pakanira di gocoh kita punya muka dahulu saya angkat tangan ku

2P PREP. hit 1P PC 'punya' face first 1P lift hand 1P

You hit my face first before I lifted my hand.

4. *Cāmee poonea sākee dunḡan ōran pāpa bōlee mācan ābīs sāmōa.*

Kami punya sakai dengan orang papa boleh makan habis semua

2P PC 'punya' aborigins with people poor can eat finish all

Our servants and the poor can eat all.

5. *bree la haak kitta poonea.*

beri la hak kita punya

give EMPH due 2P PC 'punya'

Give us our due.

6. *Tuan ampoonea rooma*

Tuan ampoonea rumah

Mister master+3P house

Master of the house.

7. *Sanḡat sēdēkit de Nēgree ampoonea.*

sangat sedikit di negeri ampunya

AMP. little PREP. state master+3P

Very little of its own, but its own, but it a bounds with all forts of Merchandise of India.

Examples (3 – 4) show the possessive construction of *poonea* in a noun phrase (NP). The constituent *poonea* is not only present before the object of possession but is also present at the end of the sentence, as in example (5). Besides *poonea*, the word *ampoonea* can also be found in TBD. Dempwolff (in Collins, 1983, p.30) in *Küchen Malai* states that the word *empoe*

/əmpu/ means “master, lord” which comes after 3P /-ja/. However, in MML, the form *empunya* is no longer separated and is a constituent similar to the form *poonea*.

5.2.2 Plural nouns derived from singular nouns.

In MML, personal pronouns are a substitute for proper nouns and common nouns. Personal pronouns can be divided into three further types, namely first-person pronouns (1P), second-person pronouns (2P) and third-person pronouns (3P). Examples of personal pronouns in MML are as follows: first-person pronouns in MML include *saya, aku, beta, patik, kami, and kita*, while second-person pronouns include *anda, engkau, awak, and kamu*. Finally, third-person pronouns include *ia, dia, mereka, and -nya*. Table 18 below compares the personal pronouns in MML and Bowrey’s dictionary.

Table 18 Comparison of personal pronouns in MML and TBD.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS	MML	BOWREY’S DICTIONARY
pp 1 (1P)	<i>saya, aku beta, patik, kami dan kita</i>	<i>Āko, Sāya, Ko, Cāmee, Amba, Kitta, Kitta ōran</i>
pp 2 (2P)	<i>anda engkau, awak dan kamu</i>	<i>Joo, Pākānēra, Ankaw, Cāmoo, Ayo, Moo</i>
pp 3 (3P)	<i>ia, dia, mereka dan -nya</i>	<i>Dea, -nea, Deōran,</i>

One interesting feature of the forms of personal pronouns in the *lingua franca* Malay recorded by Bowrey in his dictionary is that they are plurals derived from singular words. The first-person pronouns recorded in Bowrey’s dictionary are *Āko, Sāya, Ko, Cāmee, Amba* and *Kitta*. The plural form is *Kitta ōran*. Similarly, the second-person pronouns recorded by Bowrey are *Joo, Pākānēra, Ankaw, Cāmoo, Ayo, and Moo*. The singular forms of third-person pronouns consist of *dea, -nea, and deōran*. The use of pronouns in social communication plays a very important role. The correct and appropriate use of pronouns enhances two-way

communication. The personal pronoun (*pp*) used also reflects existing social relationships, intimacy, as well as social distance between two parties. Each personal pronoun (*pp*) that is chosen and used serves to differentiate a situation (atmosphere), the person being spoken to, the status of a speaker, and so on.

There are two singular word forms in MML and Bowrey's dictionary that form plurals after adding the noun *orang*, such as *Kitta ōran* and *Deōran*. Daw Khin Khin Aye (2005, p.200) explains in her thesis that singular personal pronouns changing to plural personal pronouns also occurs in Hokkien, such as the word *guan* which is formed from the combination of *gua* (1P) + *lang* (person/people) = *guan* 'we' (exclusive). The same applies to *basa dagang* recorded by Bowrey. *pp 1 kitta* and *pp 2 dea* turn into plural personal pronouns when the noun *ōran* is added after the singular (*pp 1* and *pp 2*), as demonstrated in the examples mentioned earlier. The plural forms in MML are different from the forms found in *basa dagang*, namely *ia*, *dia*, *mereka*, and *-nya*. All of these forms do not allow for the addition of *orang* to form the plural. Examples found in TBD show that the form *Deaōran* is more productive than *Kittaōran*. In the current usage of MML, both forms are still used productively in informal situations in everyday life. Examples of *pp* usage in plural form derived from singular words can be seen in the sample sentences below.

8. Bētool deaōran pendeck.

betul dia orang pendek

true 3P+people short

It is true he is a short man.

9. Bōlee perchāya padanea deaōran bernama baik

boleh percaya padanya dia orang bernama baik

can trust NP-Dir+2P 2P+people name good

He can be trusted as he has a good name.

10. Deaōran attee loomboot

dia orang hati lembut

2P+people heart soft

He is a soft-hearted man.

11. Deaōran tēda bōlee jimpan sāla

dia orang tidak boleh simpan salah

2P+people no can keep wrong

They cannot stow them amifs

They cannot arrange [the goods] inappropriately.

12. Kittaōran poonea

kita orang punya

1P+people own

Ours.

5.2.3 *tər-* and *bər-* Affixes

A clear difference that can be seen in the data in TBD and MML is the aspect of affixes. The prefixes *bər-* and *tər-* are two productive affixes that still retain their original form in the Malay language. Tatabahasa Dewan mentioned that “...*Imbuhan ber- boleh menjadi kata kerja yang bersifat tak transitif sama ada yang memerlukan pelengkap atau yang tidak memerlukan*

pelengkap”²⁶ (2003, p.156). For a root word that receives the prefix *ber-*, the meaning that represents the derived word with *ber-* is important. Usually, the word with this affix is a verb or action that is associated with the definition of the root word. The prefix *ber-* is a non-transitive prefix that can be combined with all types of root words, namely verbs, adjectives, nouns, and adverbs. The particles *ber-* and *tər-* in Bowrey’s dictionary also have several variants, namely *ba-*, *ber-*, *ta-*, and *ter-*. The forms *ba-* and *ta-* are considered original affixes. Some examples are shown below:

TBD: ba-

13. Joo carna appa menḡancat **Bābanta** awn de antāra Sōbat sōbat.

Jo kerana apa mengangkat berbantah an di antara sahabat sahabat.

Why do you raise Arguments of strife among friends.

14. Brāpa maoo **bātāroo** attas ēttoo.

Berapa mau bertaruh atas itu.

How much do you want to bet on that

15. Raja raja **bāprang** ācan dāpat māhamoolia daen lowās can nēgreenea.

Raja-raja berperang akan dapat maha mulia dan luas kan negerinya.

Kings go to war to gain honour and to enlarge their country.

²⁶ “...the prefix *ber-* can be an intransitive verb that either needs a complement or does not need a complement” (Author’s English Translation).

TBD: ta-

16. *Ōran ēang fooda dunḡan ēnee deōran fooda Tāchaṅgan.*

orang yang sudah dengan ini diaorang sudah tercengang.

The men which heard this were amazed.

17. *Tāsāroompak menjaddee ētoo.*

Terserempak menjadi itu.

It happened accidentally.

5.2.4 The Use of *Pēgee*, ‘to go’ Form.

Adelaar’s (1996) discussion also mentions that one form of *lingua franca* Malay makes use of the reduced form of the word *pərgi*, “to go”, which functions as a verb and preposition which means “heading towards a particular direction”. However, this form is not found in Bowrey’s dictionary. Instead, the form *Pēgee* without an *r* is recorded in the dictionary, as shown below:

18. *Pēgee ca goonoong.*

pergi ke gunung

‘to go’ PREP. hill

Go to the hill.

19. *Pēgee ca paſſar.*

pergi ke pasar

‘to go’ PREP. market

Go to market.

20. *Pēgee pada.*

pergi pada

‘to go’ PREP.

Go to.

The discussion of forms of *lingua franca* Malay in Bowrey’s dictionary is based on Adelaar (1996), Collins (1980, 1983), Daw Khin Khin Aye (2005), and Sasi Rekha (2007). Not all of the *lingua franca* characteristics that Adelaar proposed are recorded by Bowrey in his dictionary. Based on the results of the above discussion, it can be concluded that there are four forms of *lingua franca* in Bowrey’s dictionary. This conclusion is based on the approach adopted by Adelaar (1996). However, I am convinced that the study of *lingua franca* forms found in Bowrey’s dictionary can be extended by broadening the aspects of research considered and the associated discussion. In this discussion, however, I have only described examples of the forms of *lingua franca* recorded by Bowrey. These forms, as a whole, show differences compared to other forms of *lingua franca* Malay such as Ambon Malay, Malay spoken by the Indian community in Singapore and several other forms.

5.3 Loanwords in Bowrey’s Dictionary

The colonisation period of the Portuguese, spanning 130 years (1511-1641), followed by the Dutch, spanning 182 years (1641-1824), and the British, spanning 171 years (1786-1957), had a significant effect on the language and culture of the Malay-speaking community at that time. Although the Dutch had the longest colonial presence, they had only been ruling for 28 years

when Bowrey first came into contact with Malay speakers. A period of 28 years is a relatively long period for a word to be assimilated into a target language. At the time of the Dutch rule, the influence of the Portuguese was still quite prevalent. Loanwords from European languages, especially Portuguese, began to enter the Malay language in the early modern period and the borrowing of Portuguese words occurred gradually and continued to be used by Malay speakers, especially those from the upper classes residing in the principal cities in the Archipelago (Collins, 2005, p.41).

The discussion in this section delves into the types of European vocabulary found in Bowrey's dictionary, namely Portuguese and Dutch which were discussed from a social history perspective when this dictionary was compiled. Furthermore, the discussion will also focus on vocabulary borrowed from Sanskrit, Tamil, Hindi, Persian, and Chinese. The discussion in this section is not intended to explain the etymology of the words in detail; rather, it is limited only to forms of European vocabulary and its social history, which influenced the compilation of this dictionary.

5.3.1 Portuguese Loanwords

Prior to the arrival of the Dutch in the Malay Peninsula and their influence on the Malay language, the Portuguese had already had a great impact on the language. G.W.J. Drewes (in Teixeira, 1962) mentions:

“Portuguese, who made their entry into the Archipelago via Malay-speaking Malacca, and who probably managed to acquire a smattering of this language, took advantage of their knowledge of this language throughout the Archipelago. They were able to use it in the Moluccas and in the whole of the so-called "Great East", from which it appears that

Malay, even before the arrival of the Portuguese was the 'lingua franca' of the Archipelago. It was therefore this 'lingua franca' which had to bear the shock of the first contact with the West and it was through the Malay language, the medium of contact between the Westerners and the natives 'par excellence', that western influence penetrated deeper in some districts". (p.97)

The arrival of the Portuguese for the purposes of trade and spreading Christianity unsurprisingly brought them into close contact with Malay speakers. The presence of the Portuguese at the time underlined the importance of mastering the Malay language which arose as a result of the need to ease communication, especially between the ports around the Spice Islands²⁷. After successfully defeating Melaka in 1511 and being in power for 130 years, the Portuguese did not introduce printing technology, as previously done by the Dutch, even though Europe was at the peak of the Renaissance (Collins, 2005, p.53-54). The Portuguese introduced a culture of governance, built defensive cities, introduced monopolies in commerce and, even though Portuguese Christian preachers at the time used Malay to preach, no documentation was written. Even after the Dutch attacked the Portuguese fortress in Maluku, Ambon, and when the reign of the Maluku Islands was ended by the Dutch, the Portuguese, who were then physically gone from the Malay-speaking islands, still left their traces.

Even though no evidence or written reports were left behind, the Portuguese language had long been seeping into the Malay. In Bowrey's dictionary, for example, I found more Portuguese vocabulary than Dutch. As mentioned earlier, even though Bowrey was in the region until the dictionary was published in London, the archipelago was still under Dutch rule. The Dutch chose to continue using Malay after attempts to use Dutch proved unsuccessful.

²⁷Ibid.

Malay was then used by the Dutch in education, the spreading of Christianity and also in the courts in Ambon (Collins, 2005, p.63). Given this, it is perhaps unsurprising that Portuguese vocabulary is the more prevalent in Bowrey's dictionary. Table 19 below presents some of the Portuguese vocabulary found in Bowrey's dictionary.

Table 19 Portuguese vocabulary in Bowrey's Dictionary.

THOMAS BOWREY DICTIONARY	MEANING	PORTUGUESE
Aftingarda	a Hand-Gun, a Firelock	espingarda
Stingarda	Fire-arms	
Booranda	The great Cabin of a Ship, a Cabin or division.	varanda
Bōnīāca	Plunder, Spoils.	boneca
Ārooda	Rue, the Herb	arruda
Ānānas	a Pine-apple	Ananás
Lemboo	a bullock, Ox, Cow, the kind of Cows.	lombo
Cāma	a Bed.	camara
Campo	a Quarter, one canton of a City, a Suburb, a Parish, a Meeting or dwelling place.	campo
Lēlang	an Auction, Outcry, Sale, of goods.	leilão

In Table 19 above, several Portuguese words found in Bowrey's dictionary are listed. Some of the words in the table originated from Latin (Lat) as well as other languages but were assimilated into Malay vocabulary through Portuguese; for example, the word *Lembu* (<Por *lombo*²⁸ "masculine noun; back, loin"²⁹). Bowrey defines the word *Lemboo* as "a bullock, Ox, Cow, the kind of Cows". This word was adapted from the Portuguese *lombo*, according to Manuel Teixeira (1962, p.104). The word *Lemboo*, however, is not found in Russell Jones

²⁸ From Old Portuguese *lombo*, from Latin *lumbus* ("loin"), from Proto-Germanic **landwīn*, **landwiō* ("waist, loins"), from Proto-Indo-European **lendhw-* ("kidney, waist"). (<https://www.wordsense.eu/lombo/>)

²⁹ Collins Dictionary. Retrieved 2 January 2023 from <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/portuguese-english/lombo>

(2008), nor is it stated by Grijn et.al. (1983). In Wilkinson's (1932) dictionary, the word is described as "of white highly-prized oxen such as that ridden by Sang Sēpërba; (in Java) an honorific and a title, the usual word for "ox" being *sapi*; (in Sumatra) a literary expression, the words for "ox" being *jawi*, *sapi* and *banteng*" (1932, p.20751). The Cambridge Dictionary (online) defines the word *lombo* (according to Manuel Teixeira) as "*lombo* (noun) "sirloin [noun] a joint of beef cut from the upper part of the back".

The words listed in the table above are in common usage in the daily life of modern Malay speakers except for the words *istinggal* and *aruda*. The word *aruda* appears in two Classical Malay texts, namely *Hikayat Seri Rama* and *Hikayat Pandawa Lima*. The word *aruda* in Bowrey's dictionary is written in the form *Ārooda*, which means "Rue, the Herb". In the *Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat* (2007, p.79), the word *aruda* means "*sj tumbuhan (herba), daun inggu, Ruta graveolens*". This word is derived from the Portuguese word *arruda* (<Por *arruda*). *Arruda* is a herbaceous plant that has been used in Europe for over 1500 years. *Arruda*, or its scientific name, *Ruta graveolens*, is a type of herbaceous plant that is not only used in medicine but also in the culinary field. It is a plant from the Mediterranean region, found in southern Europe and northern Africa. This plant is used to treat various diseases such as eczema, ulcers, arthritis, and is even used as a flavour enhancer in dishes such as soups, cheese, butter, coffee, and tea. *Arruda* is also used in the preparation of medicine such as rue oil and infusions used as antispasmodics and emmenagogues (Fadlalla, K. et.al, 2011, p.3). Hence, it is unsurprising that this plant was brought by the Portuguese when they came to the region. Not only was it used as a flavour enhancer in cooking, but was also used as medicine. Figure 7 below shows *Ruta graveolens L.* as recorded by the botanist, William Woodville (1752-1805).

Figure 8 *Ruta graveolens* L branch by William Woodville, 1790.



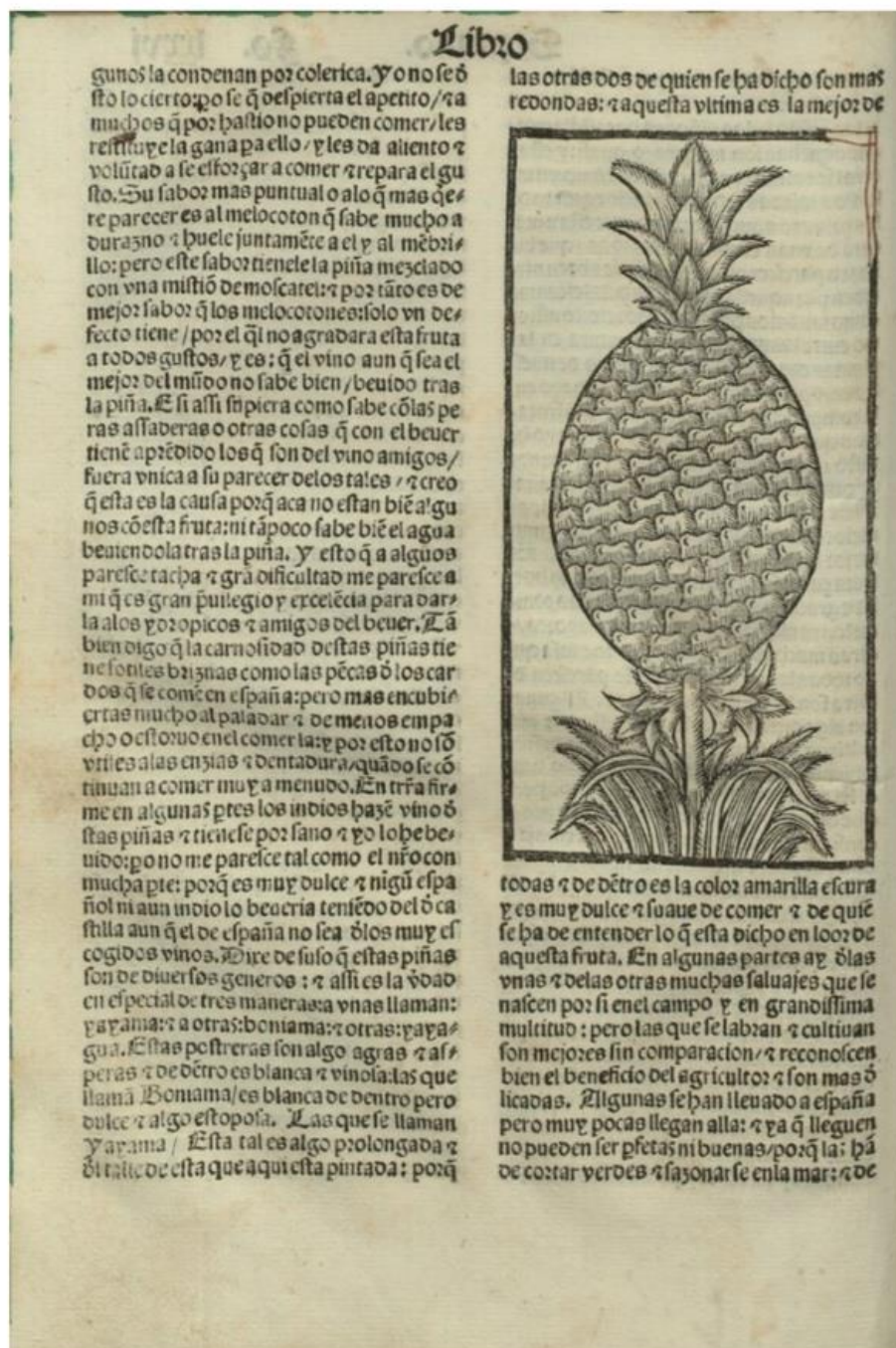
Note: Photo taken from Woodville, W., Medical Botany, vol. 1: t. 37 (1790)³⁰

Apart from the word *arruda*, Bowrey also recorded the word *Ānānas*, which means “a Pineapple” (1701). Wilkinson (1926, p.6958) recorded the word *nanas* by providing two pieces of etymological information, namely words from Portuguese and Hindi. When cross-checked with the Austronesian Comparative Dictionary corpus (online), the word pineapple is recorded

³⁰ *Ruta graveolens* L. By William Woodville (1790). Retrieved on 27 July 2023 from http://plantillustrations.org/illustration.php?id_illustration=125280&SID=g8hjt04mut791np7pid9egl316&mobile=0&size=0&uhd=0

as being a loanword from the Tupi language in Brazil which made its way into the Malay language through Portuguese with the same term, that is, ananas (<Por *ananas*). The history of pineapple cultivation dates back to circa 2000 BC by the indigenous Tupí Guarani tribe, who were hunters and gatherers of forest produce, in the Paraná -Paraguay river valley close to the borders of Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay and Argentina today. The crops were not only used within the tribe but also traded in various places and communities in South and Central America, including the Carib tribe who eventually brought the crops and cultivation-related knowledge to the Carribean Islands. During his second voyage, Christopher Columbus discovered the pineapple in Guadeloupe, Hispaniola, and Jamaica in November 1493 and brought the seeds back to Spain. The Tupí and Carib tribes called the fruit *nanas*, which means “excellent fruit”; the Spanish referred to it as *Piña*, meaning “little pine”, while the English called it “pineapple”. In the 16th century, the Portuguese exported the fruit throughout their colonies in South America, the Azores, East and West Africa, India, China, and Southeast Asia (Ruth Levitt, 2014, p.106-107). In addition to pineapples, the Portuguese also brought various plant species such as sweet potato, cashews, nuts, and cassava to India, the Maluku Islands, and the Java Islands (Carvalho, 2020, p.16).

Figure 9 Sketch of a pineapple in the text “Historia General de las Indias” (Oviedo y Valdés 1535).



Note: This photo was taken of the Gonzalo de Ovieda (Carvalho, 2020, p.7).

Bowrey also recorded a term for weaponry of Portuguese origin in his dictionary, namely the word *Aſtingarda* (<Por. *espingarda*). Bowrey wrote this word with two different spellings, *Stingarda* and *Aſtingarda*. Both are given different meanings, with *Aſtingarda*

meaning “a Hand-Gun, a Firelock” and *Stingarda* meaning “Fire-arms”. The word *Aftingarda* in modern Malay, according to the *Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat* (2007, p.592), is recorded as *istinggar*, which means “*sl sj senapang kuno*”. The word *istinggar* is also found in old letters and classical literature with different spellings³¹. In the 16th century, when the Portuguese began their exploration of the region, they brought weapons as well as military technology. Evidence of this can be seen in manuscript records on gunsmithing³². Firearm technology possessed by the Malays is also believed to have been influenced by the Arabs, which was further strengthened after the invasion of European colonisers to the region.

The Malay realm is known to be rich in natural minerals such as sulphur, which is used in the manufacture of bullets, also known as mesiu “= ~ salts, gunpowder, explosives” (KDE4, 2007, p.1027). The Malays at that time also knew how to mix sulphur with carbon and potassium nitrate, which is then used to fill stalks of bamboo for insertion into a rifle (Soegondo, 1954 & McNair, 1972 in Pramono, Wan Mohd Dasuki & Herry Nur Hidayat, 2015, p.375). Alfonso d’Albuquerque (in Gibson-Hill, 1953, p.147) mentioned that “the gun founders in Malacca were as good as those in Germany, and had at their disposal much copper and tin”. Malays generally use the word *bedil* to refer to all types of firearm such as *lela*, *lela rentaka*, *ekor lotong*, *jinjal*, *tahan turut*, *meriam*, *jala rembang*, *istinggar*, *pemburas*, *senapang terkul*, *senapak kopak* (Pramono, Wan Mohd Dasuki & Herry Nur Hidayat, 2015, p.375) and many others. However, the different definitions provided by Bowrey are of interest. Although both definitions of the words *Stingarda* and *Aftingarda* refer to a weapon of the same type, it is possible that he perceived them to be two different forms of weapons which were recognised

³¹ The word *istinggar* found in classical Malay manuscripts are spelled in several variants such as *setinggar*, *esfanger*, *tenggar*, *espingard*, *esfinkarnya* and *astengar*. All these spellings refer to the same meaning and equipment.

³² Wan Mohd Dasuki (2014) discusses the knowledge and firearm technology found in six manuscripts related to the Malay traditional weaponry. There are two manuscripts that mention the use of the Minangkabau *istinggar*, physical characteristics, techniques for positioning the *istinggar* correctly and methods of loading bullets and gunpowder in accordance with the weight and measurements of gunpowder and bullets to be used. The two manuscripts are manuscript MS31 *Ilmu Bedil* and Manuscript 85.48 *Petua Menembak Meriam Iistinggar*.

by the same name. This difference could have resulted from the istingggar manufacturing process witnessed by Bowrey.

Terms for buildings, objects and names of places which are commonly found and used in the Malay language today such as *Cāma*, *Campoon*, *Booranda*, and *Bōnīāca* are also listed by Bowrey in his dictionary. All of these words are prevalent in the daily lives and activities of Malay speakers. All of these words also originated from Portuguese. *Cāma* (< Por. *Camara*) is defined as “a bed”. In *Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat*, *kamar* means “I. bilik, ruang; II. Ar bulan; alkamar. III. sl ikat pinggang:”. Meanwhile *Campoon* (< Por. *campo*), in Bowrey’s dictionary, is defined as “a Quarter, one canton of a City, a Suburb, a Parijh, a Meeting or dwelling place”. In *Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat*, *kampung* is defined as “1. kawasan kediaman (terdiri drpd sekumpulan rumah dll) di luar bandar; desa, dusun: 2. kawasan dlm bandar tempat sesuatu kaum tinggal berkelompok: 3. ki tidak moden, agak kolot: 4. bukan dihasilkan (dipelihara dll) dgn cara pengurusan moden, terpelihara (terhasil, terjaga, dll) cara kampung;” (2007, p.667). The word *Booranda* (< Por. *varanda*) in Bowrey’s dictionary is described as “The great Cabin of a Ship, a Cabin or diviſion”. Meanwhile, *Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat* defines *veranda* as “1. ruang terbuka yg berbumbung dan berlantai di bahagian depan atau tepi rumah: 2. ark sj bilik dlm perahu” (2007, p.166).

Bowrey also listed the word *Bāleew*, “A ship deck, a boarded floor”. The word *Bāleew* has been thoroughly discussed by Collins (2018, 1996 & 1980). It originated from a Portuguese word (< Por *baileu*)³³. Meanwhile, *Bōnīāca* (< Por. *boneca*) is given the definition “1. anak patung, anak-anakan; 2. patung (mis orang atau binatang) yg boleh digerakkan dgn menarik tali yg dilekatkan padanya, atau dgn memasukkan tangan ke dlm badannya dan menggerakkannya; 3. ki orang atau negeri yg tindaktanduknya dikawal oleh kuasa atau

³³ Collins explains at length the etymology for this word in his book *An Introduction to Etymology*. Collins mentions “...baileu ialat a seafaring term from one of the Romanic languages borrowed by the Portuguese and later assimilated into Ambon Malay through Portuguese” (2018, p.266-267).

pengaruh luar:” in KDE4 (2007, p.201). All of these terms are used by Malay speakers in everyday life. Bowrey also listed a term related to trade, namely the word *lelong*, which he recorded as *Lēlang* with the meaning “an Auction, Outcry, Sale, of goods”. In Portuguese, this word is *leilão* (< Por. *leilão*).

5.3.2 Dutch Loanwords

After successfully defeating the Portuguese in Maluku and Ambon, the Dutch began their colonisation agenda in a more organised manner. The intention of using the Dutch language in matters relating to proselytising and spreading Christianity, however, was not realised. The status of Portuguese as a foreign language that became a medium of communication, apart from Malay, could not be replaced by Dutch, and this was coupled with the attitude of the Dutch who were “closed” to outsiders who wanted to learn their language and culture (Ening Herniti, 2006, p.9). They focused more attention, with a more organised approach, on using Dutch in education and in court, among other things (Collins, 2005, p.63). Dutch vocabulary related to government and administration has been widely assimilated into Indonesian³⁴ and Malay.

Dutch words in Bowrey’s dictionary are fewer in number than those in Portuguese. This small number of words assimilated into the Malay language is a reflection of the conservative attitude of the Dutch towards their own language and culture. Indeed, Bowrey recorded only two Dutch words in his dictionary, namely *Wāwoo* (<Dutch “*wouw*”³⁵) and *toong*. The word *Wāwoo* means “a Kite of paper” in Bowrey’s dictionary. In KDE4 (2007, p.1804), the word *wau*³⁶ is described as “*layang-layang yg dibuat drpd kertas dan buluh:*”. Wilkinson (1932,

³⁴ Ening Herniti, 2006: 9.

³⁵ Etymologisch Woordenboek. (2023, January 2). *wouw*. <https://etymologie.nl>

³⁶ The word *wau* in KDE4 (2007) has three secondary meanings. The equivalent meaning as stated in TBD is the primary meaning of this word.

p.38784) also provides the same etymological meaning for the word *wau*. The Dutch word *wouw* was adapted by Malay speakers to become *wau*. The Malay pronunciation of *wouw* is /wau/ with the diphthong [au]. Bowrey also listed the word *toong*, “a Cask”. In KDE4, the word *tong* means “1. *tempat (air, padi, dll) yg dibuat drpd papan kayu bulat torak bentuknya, tahang;* 2. *tin atau kaleng yg besar (tempat mengisi minyak dll);*” (2007, p.1706). Wilkinson (1926 & 1932) listed the word *tong* as “a tun, tub, barrel” with a Dutch etymology. However, the *Etymologisch Woordenboek* (online) notes that the word *ton* is a loanword that made its way through the French language *tonne* “big ton” and the Middle Latin *tunna, tonna*³⁷. The word *tong* is commonly used in daily communication among Malay speakers.

In this section, only a small sample of Portuguese and Dutch loanwords are mentioned as the underlying intention in this discussion is not to explain etymological aspects in depth; rather, it is to highlight that Bowrey’s dictionary contains European loanwords, especially from Portuguese and Dutch. I do not reject the possibility that more Portuguese and Dutch vocabulary could be discovered in this dictionary in the future. This modest discussion serves only to depict the diversity of vocabulary recorded by Bowrey in his dictionary as well as to briefly describe the social history of several words from these languages. Besides Portuguese and Dutch loanwords, Bowrey also recorded loanwords from Tamil, Hindi, Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, and Chinese; however, not all of them are presented along with etymological information.

5.3.3 Loanwords from Sanskrit, Arabic, Mandarin, Persian, and Hindi.

Other than European languages, the Malay language is influenced by other languages such as Persian, Hindi, Urdu, Chinese, Sanskrit, Tamil, and Arabic. When it comes to loanwords,

³⁷ Etymologisch Woordenboek. Retrieved on 2 January 2023 from <https://etymologie.nl>

etymology cannot be excluded from the discussion. Collins (2018) mentions that the study of etymology not only examines the history of loanwords but also considers the social history behind the process of assimilation. This discussion not only examines the history of the word based on the etymological approach, but also highlights the social history behind the assimilation process and, to some extent, discuss the linguistic processes that occurred to the loanwords mentioned.

5.3.3.1 Sanskrit Loanwords

When the oldest Malay text written in Sumatra, in 682 AD, was discovered, the writing on the stone was an adaptation of Indian orthography which is known as the Palawa script, where this form of writing is normally used in Sanskrit texts (Collins, 2005, p.8). The discovery of textual evidence on ancient inscriptions using the Palawa script and Sanskrit testifies to the importance and strength of this language's influence and impact on the development of the Malay language. Sanskrit and Arabic are the largest contributors of loanwords to the Malay language (Kazuhiro, 2017, p.1199). Both languages, especially Sanskrit, have a long social history in the development of Malay. Sanskrit loanwords in Malay mostly cover the domains of administrative bureaucracy, religion, culture, and trade. Sanskrit words that were incorporated into Malay (Indonesian variant), for example, were assimilated through other Austronesian languages such as Javanese (Jones, 2008, p.xxii-xxiii). Even though etymological information for words derived from Sanskrit was not given in the dictionary, Bowrey had already clarified this matter in the preface to his dictionary; "...some few words they have taken from the Indostan, and Perfian; as for Wheat, Bread, & things not grown or made in their Country, but brought to them from Indostan, Perfia or Arabia and they together with the thing, received the

Country-Name it came from” (Bowrey, 1701, p. The Preface); Bowrey was aware that there are loanwords from languages other than Malay such as Hindi, Arabic, and Persian.

The evolution of Malay corresponded to that of Sanskrit and Arabic. Andaya and Andaya, W. (in Kazuhito, 2017, p.1200) explained that large number of loanwords from Sanskrit were found in Old Malay in the 7th century due to the cultural and economic influences of a small continent in India, and in the centuries thereafter, especially in the 15th century when many Malay rulers in the Peninsula began to embrace Islam, Arabic loanwords also began to appear in the Malay language as Arabic is central to the Islamic faith. In fact, Sanskrit and Arabic are extremely closely related to the proliferation of Malay loanwords. Research on loanwords, such as Sanskrit words, can be performed through lexicography, and a study of early Malay dictionaries would ultimately be able to provide a degree of insight into the development and growth of the Malay language (Shidarta, 1995 in Arif Budi Wuriyanto, 2015, p.126).

The discussion of Sanskrit loanwords in this section addresses the changes that occurred when Sanskrit was assimilated into the Malay language, as discussed by Collins (2009). The changes include changes to form, sound, and meaning. There are several Sanskrit loanwords that underwent changes in form in modern Malay. Table 20 below compares several Sanskrit words that underwent changes when they were assimilated into the Malay language.

Table 20 Examples of Sanskrit words which underwent changes in the Malay language.

MALAY LANGUAGE (BOWREY)	SANSKRIT LANGUAGE	MODERN MALAY LANGUAGE	TYPE OF CHANGE
<i>Bādowan</i>	<i>widwan</i>	<i>Biduan</i>	Sound w > b
<i>arga</i>	<i>arga</i>	<i>harga</i>	Form (+h)

Based on the table above, it can be concluded that there are several changes in form, meaning, and sound. Changes in sound can be observed, for example, in the word *biduan* in MML. The original word *widwan* in Sanskrit *w* is replaced with *b*. Many Sanskrit words are recorded in Bowrey’s dictionary, for example, the words *Bādownan* and *Bādownanda*. The word *Bādownan* is defined as “a Singer of fooliḥ Songs” while the word *Bādownanda* is defined as “a Halberdier”. According to the Oxford English Dictionary (online), the word “halberdier” means “A soldier armed with a halberd”. Before discussing this at length, it is useful to check the meaning of the word *biduan* in KDE4 (2007, p.182) and other sources for comparison. The word *biduan* means “*penyanyi lelaki*”, while *biduanda* means “*budak kundang, budak raja, juak-juak, hamba (suruhan) raja:*”. Based on the list of words by Amran Halim (et.al) (ed.) (1997, p.13) in *Sanskrit Loan-Words in Indonesian: An Annotated Check-list of Words from Sanskrit in Indonesian and Traditional Malay (SLIM)*, *biduan* is listed as a Sanskrit-derived word (< Sn. *Vidvān*); however, the word *biduanda* is not included in this list. Wilkinson (1926, p.1153-1155) listed three definitions of the word *biduanda*, namely “(1) 1 a royal musician, (2) 1 original inhabitants, 2 a pagan Malay tribe and (3) 1 a royal messenger, 2 Malay police cadets”, whilst he defined the word *biduan* as “1 a musician, a singer in a séance” (1926, p.1152). Table 21 below reports the meaning of each source for comparative purposes.

Table 21 Comparison of the Words Biduan and Biduanda from Four Sources.

TBD	KDE 4	SLIM	WILK.
<i>Bādownan</i>	<i>Biduan</i>	<i>Vidvān</i>	<i>Biduan</i>
a Singer of fooliḥ Songs	<i>penyanyi lelaki</i>	wise	a musician, a singer in a seance

<i>Bādownanda</i>	<i>Biduanda</i>	—	Biduanda
a Halberdier	<i>budak kundang,</i> <i>budak raja, juak-juak,</i> <i>(suruhan) hamba raja</i>		(1) 1 a royal musician, (2) 1 original inhabitants, 2 a pagan Malay tribe (3) 1 a royal messenger, 2 Malay police cadets

Only the definition given by Wilkinson differed from the three other sources, including TBD, as there are two secondary meanings, namely “original inhabitants” and “a pagan Malay tribe“. Both refer to the original inhabitants of the Malay Peninsula. It is interesting to note the meaning given by Bowrey to the word *biduan*, “a Singer of foolish songs”. Based on Bowrey’s definition, I presume that Bowrey is referring to *penglipur lara* who is “*orang yang menghiburkan hati yang duka dengan menyampaikan cerita yang berunsur jenaka, biasanya dengan syair, pantun, seloka dsb*” (KDE4, 2007, p.947). Bowrey’s primary meaning of *Bādownan* is equivalent to the definitions provided by the three other dictionaries, even though the secondary meaning of Wilkinson’s and the other two dictionaries was broadened compared to Bowrey’s. Bowrey apparently heard a semi-vowel consonant sound [w] in the middle of the word *biduan* and wrote it as *Bādownan*, and indeed the same applies to the words *Bādownanda* and *arga*. This word originates from the Sanskrit word *arha*, which means “adj. costing”³⁸. In MML, the letter {h} is added to the beginning of the word to become *harga*, which means “1. nilai sesuatu barang dgn (kiraan) wang.; 2. ki kehormatan (diri), maruah.; 3. ki faedah, erti, guna, manfaat, kepentingan.” (Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat, 2007, p.514).

However, the changes in Sanskrit words assimilated into the Malay language can only be determined after comparison with data sources from MML. If the comparison is only made

³⁸ Definition of *arha*. Retrieved on 20 July 2023 from <https://kosha.sanskrit.today/word/en/cost/te>

between words in TBD and words of Sanskrit origin, such changes cannot be observed, and are in fact difficult to identify because the words recorded by Bowrey are not consistent in terms of orthography. Nevertheless, there are words where changes can be detected by examining the words found in TBD and original Sanskrit words, such as the word *hina*. Bowrey recorded the word *Hīna* in the same form as the original Sanskrit word *hīna*, which became *hina* in MML.

5.3.3.2 Arabic Loanwords

“By the early sixteenth century, Islam and the Malay language were dominant component of the trade and transportation complex that linked India and China”. (Reid, 1998) (in Collins, 2013, On Malay Manuscripts: Lessons from the Seventeenth Century).

For centuries, the Malay and the Arabic languages have had a shared history. Beginning with the purpose of spreading Islam to trading affairs, the mutual relationship that exists between these two languages is indisputable. From the time Bowrey arrived until the time he finally finished compiling his dictionary, the Arabic language and Islam became firmly established in the Malay world. Arabic vocabulary used as decoration on tombstones from the 14th century alongside Malay and Sanskrit vocabulary remains the main vocabulary for that piece of evidence, for example, by providing information and an impression that the Arabic language had been gradually assimilated into the Malay even prior to the 14th century (Collins, 2005, p.12). The assimilation of words from Arabic into Malay occurred due to various factors. However, the two main factors for such, namely trade and the spread of Islam, became the cornerstone of the assimilation of vocabulary from different languages, changing the landscape

of the Malay language starting from the 13th century until today. The vocabulary from these languages has been assimilated into the terminology of various fields such as religion, commerce and trade, flora and fauna, law, customs and culture, as well as science and literature.

Arabic vocabulary is the second largest source of loanwords that Bowrey has recorded in his dictionary. In his dictionary, Bowrey explains the etymological information of foreign languages which were absorbed into the Malay language, though, etymological information with a distinctive symbol was only provided for words of Arabic origin. Bowrey mentions that the etymological marker *ar* that appears after a word, for example, in the word *Nabbee, ar*. Bowrey provides etymological information by notating *ar* to indicate that the word is of Arabic origin. Bowrey also points out that as Mahometan is the main religion of Malay speakers, therefore many words from Arabic were borrowed, especially words related to religion that have no Malay equivalent.

The discussion in this section centres upon Arabic loanwords found in TBD. Bowrey elaborates that words marked with *ar* are from the Arabic language used by the majority of Malay speakers at that time. Many words, especially religious terms of Arabic origin, were absorbed into the Malay language. Religious terms are among those most frequently labelled with *ar* as they do not exist in the Malay language. As a result, original Arabic terms were kept by Malay speakers (Bowrey, 1701, p. The Preface:). There are also words of non-religious origin that were assigned Arabic etymological markers. Table 22 below presents a few examples of Arabic words that were assigned the etymological marker *ar* by Bowrey.

Table 22 Arabic vocabulary and etymological information in TBD.

TBD WORD	MEANING	MML WORD
<i>Ackar bāhar</i>	Black-coral	<i>akar bahar</i>
<i>Alfakī</i>	ar, A Judge	<i>faqeh</i>
<i>Affada</i>	ar, a Lyon	<i>asad</i>
<i>Arzon</i>	ar, Cedar	<i>araz</i>

<i>Cālif</i>	ar, a High-priest.	<i>khalifah</i> (?)
<i>Charthal</i>	ar, Oats.	
<i>Chārif</i>	ar, Harvest-time.	<i>Kharif</i>
<i>Coobat</i>	ar, an Arch, or Vault.	<i>kubah</i>
<i>Coomafra</i>	ar, a Pear.	-
<i>Corban</i>	ar, an Offering to the dead.	<i>korban</i>
<i>Fatfal</i>	ar, a Chapter.	
<i>Elbābat</i>	ar, a pope.	-
<i>Elcātif</i>	ar, a Carpet.	-
<i>Elkālam</i>	ar, Theologie.	-
<i>Elmoo</i>	ar, Art, Science. —elhookoom, the Law. —nājam, ar, the Art of Astrologie.	<i>ilmu</i>
<i>Faicat</i>	ar, Palmistry.	-
<i>Fājer</i>	ar, Dawning of the day.	<i>Fajar</i>
<i>Fākeer</i>	ar, a Religious Mahometan begar.	<i>Fakir</i>
<i>Fālāsāthion</i>	ar, a Philistine.	<i>Palestin</i>
<i>Gārib</i>	ar, Rich, Costly, Precious.	
<i>Hājal</i>	ar, an imposture in religion.	-
<i>Hākāyat</i>	ar, a Chronicle, History.	<i>hikayat</i>
<i>Jātoon</i>	ar, Beer.	<i>zaitun</i>
<i>Jārat</i>	ar, a Planet.	-
<i>Jāwars</i>	ar, Rosin.	<i>juar</i>
<i>Idjats</i>	ar, a Prune.	-
<i>Lauzan</i>	ar, an Almond.	-
<i>Lazāwardee</i>	ar, Amel.	(لازوردي) <i>lazuardi</i>
<i>Loofāhat</i>	ar, a Mandrake.	-
<i>Marjan</i>	ar, Coral.	<i>Merjan</i>
<i>Marka fājer</i>	ar, the Red of the morning	<i>Fajar soddiq</i>
<i>Matfal</i>	ar, a Proverb. —Sōlīmawn, a Proverb of Solomon.	<i>misal</i>
<i>Mauledon</i>	ar, Christmas-day.	<i>maulid</i>
<i>Māzējon</i>	ar, a Bitter Almond.	-
<i>Mikāel</i>	ar, Michael.	<i>mikail</i>
<i>Mimbar</i>	ar, a Pulpit.	<i>mimbar</i>
<i>Mifchēor</i>	ar, Famous.	<i>masyhur</i>
<i>Nabbee</i>	ar, a Prophet. —Ējsa, the Prophet Jesus.	<i>nabi</i>
<i>Naamoon</i>	ar, an Ostrich. Booloo Naamoon, an Ostrich feather.	-
<i>Nādir</i>	ar, a Point in the heavens.	-
<i>Nādirat</i>	ar, a Phenix.	-
<i>Nājam</i>	ar, Astrology, a Plow share.	<i>Nujum</i>
<i>Noofoor</i>	ar, a Kite, a fowl so called.	-
<i>Oolowātoo</i>	ar, Aloes	الألوه نبات (<i>Aloe</i>)
<i>Pharīfan</i>	ar, a Pharisee.	Parsi
<i>Philōfoof</i>	ar, a Philosopher.	filusuf
<i>Philōsōphat</i>	ar, a Philosophy.	falsafah
<i>Rabīngon</i>	ar, the Spring season.	-

<i>Rahim</i>	ar, the Womb.	<i>rahim</i>
<i>Randon</i>	ar, Lawrel.	-
<i>Rāfool</i>	ar, an Apoſtle.	<i>rasul</i>
<i>Sāfāron</i>	ar, Safron.	<i>safron</i>
<i>Safarjol</i>	ar, a Quince.	<i>Kuins</i>
<i>Sālwa</i>	ar, a Quail.	-
<i>Sōdōmo</i>	ar, a Sodomite.	<i>sodomi</i>
<i>Scheringon</i>	ar, a Lawgiver, Legiſlator.	-
<i>Soojab</i>	ar, a Squiril.	-
<i>Taurit</i>	ar, Law, Ceremony.	<i>taurat</i>
<i>Tālāja</i>	ar, Snow.	<i>Talaj</i>
<i>Tjaaidat</i>	ar, a Burnt offering.	<i>Istiadat</i>
<i>Uskafan</i>	ar, a Biſhop.	-
<i>Wali</i>	ar, a Guardian to a child, a Tutor.	<i>Wali</i>
<i>Zābib</i>	ar, Raſins.	<i>Zabib</i>
<i>Zābour</i>	ar, a Pfalm.	<i>Zabur</i>
<i>Zamoorood</i>	ar, an Emerald.	<i>zamrud</i>

Table 22 above gives a list of Arabic vocabulary in TBD that has the etymological information marker, *ar*. A detailed observation reveals that the majority of such of terms recorded by Bowrey are related to flora and fauna, followed by terms related to religion, customs and culture, seasons and time, law, knowledge, trade, and terms used in daily life. It is interesting to discuss terms related to seasons and time considering that the Malay Archipelago does not have seasons such as in Europe or other countries on the Asian continent such as Japan, Korea, the Middle Eastern countries, and India. Bowrey listed four (4) terms related to seasons and time, namely *Chārif*, *Fājer*, *Rabīngon*, and *Tālāja*. A comparison of meanings and terms for seasons and time is presented in Table 23 below.

Table 23 A comparison of vocabulary and meaning for terms related to seasons and time in TBD.

TBD	MEANING	MML	ARABIC LANGUAGE
<i>Chārif</i>	ar, Harveſt-time.	<i>kharif</i>	خريف
<i>Fājer</i>	ar, Dawning of the day.	<i>fajar</i>	فجر
<i>Rabīngon</i>	ar, the Spring ſeaſon	-	ربيع
<i>Tālāja</i>	ar, Snow.	-	الثلج

The Malay Archipelago, or according to Bowrey “Country’s wherein the Malayo Language is Spoken”, does not have four seasons, unlike the home countries of the traders who came to the archipelago at that time. Accordingly, it was conditions at the harbour and the presence of traders from countries with four seasons that led to the assimilation of the related terms. The word *Chārif* is defined as harvest time by Bowrey. In Arabic, this word means “Autumn. Autumnal rain. Year”³⁹. It is the season for harvesting crops, in a four-season country, that are planted during midsummer and harvested in autumn, such as spinach, broccoli, carrots, cabbage, beans, and beetroot⁴⁰. The harvest is usually in October. According to PRPM⁴¹ data (online), the word *kharif* (a geographical term) means “*Angin barat daya yang kencang, yang bertiup di pesisir selatan Teluk Aden dan Somalia*”⁴². However, the context and meaning given by Bowrey refers to the harvest season because when the harvest begins in the Malay Archipelago, it indicates that autumn has also arrived in the continent where Bowrey was from.

Nevertheless, the word *Chārif* was not assimilated into Malay and the word *kharif*, which is listed in PRPM, does not refer to the meaning recorded by Bowrey. I opine that Bowrey acquired this word after mingling with Arab traders. The same applies to the words *Rabīngon* and *Tālāja*. The word *Rabīngon*, or ربيع in Arabic, means “four/fourth”. Meanwhile, the word *Tālāja*, or الثلج, which means “Snow”, is also a direct translation of the definition of *Tālāja*, which is snow. I presume that Bowrey was using this word to refer to winter. The word *Fājer* means “Dawning of the day”. The equivalent word in MML is also *Fajar*, which means “*1.dinihari: 2.cahaya kemerah-merahan di langit timur menjelang matahari terbit*” (KDE4, 2007, p.405). The definitions found in TBD and MML are identical. Of all these vocabularies

³⁹ Retrieved from Cambridge dictionary (online). https://www.oed.com/dictionary/kharif_n?tab=meaning_and_use#40140881 (retrieved 30 July 2023).

⁴⁰ Dennis Worwood. 2013. Planting Vegetables Midsummer for a Fall Harvest. Utah State University Cooperative Extension.

⁴¹ Retrieved from *Pusat Rujukan Persuratan Melayu, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Malaysia (online)*. <https://prpm.dbp.gov.my/Cari1?keyword=kharif&d=226112&#LIHATSINI>. (retrieved on 30 July 2023).

⁴²

with etymological information, one thing that is clearly different is the difference in the form⁴³ of words in TBD and MML.

For words related to flora which are marked as being of Arabic origin, Bowrey also provided etymological information for several words, as shown in Table 24 below.

Table 24 Terms related to flora and corresponding etymological information (Arabic).

TBD	MEANING	MML	ARABIC LANGUAGE
<i>Safarjol</i>	ar, a Quince.	<i>kuins</i>	سفرجل
<i>Zābib</i>	ar, Raḡīns.	<i>zabib</i>	زبيب

In Table 24 above, both terms for flora (or, more precisely, the names of fruits) refer to fruits that originated outside the Malay Archipelago. *Safarjol* means “a Quince”. This word is labelled by Bowrey with an Arabic etymological marker. In the English-Malay Dewan Dictionary (online), this word is given the equivalent word *kuins*, which is a forestry term. The social history (Abdollahi, H., 2019, p.1041-1042) of this word shows that the domestication of the quinces dates back to the Akkadian civilisation, Mesopotamia (2334-2154BC). Quince are known as “*Supurgillu*”, which is a term from the Arabic *Safarjal* “سفرجل”, and which refers to the name of this fruit tree. Quinces made their way to Europe via Persia after its widespread domestication in the Middle East. The arrival and introduction of this fruit into Europe was intensified when Alexander the Great (356-323 BC) invaded the Near East, which was then the centre of origin of the quince. The region between Dagestan to Talysh in Trans-Caucasia as well as the north of Iran is where the quince originated. In the late 19th century, the fruit was introduced and widely cultivated in East and West Asia, America, and Europe. There are two varieties of the fruit, namely apple quinces and pear quinces⁴⁴. The assimilation of the word

⁴³ This form of orthography is explained in the following discussion in this chapter.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

quince, recorded by Bowrey as *Safarjol*, stems from the borrowing of words from the Arabic language. The influence of Persian and Arabic traders who introduced this fruit, along with the associated cultural information, has had a considerable effect on the general terms used to represent fruits that were not grown and cultivated in the Malay Archipelago. The list of loanwords presented above is not in any way representative of the total number of Arabic loanwords in Bowrey's dictionary. There are a large number of words of Arabic origin that are not labelled by Bowrey with etymological markers. All of this vocabulary consists mostly of terms from the domains of religion, knowledge, law, and science, though from other domains, such as nationhood, were also recorded in Bowrey's dictionary.

5.3.3.3 Loanwords from Tamil, Hindi, Persian, and Chinese

Loanwords from the Tamil, Persian, and Mandarin languages are also present in Bowrey's dictionary. The vocabularies from these languages are not labelled with etymological markers, however, in contrast to the Arabic loanwords. However, some information related to the etymology and social history of several such words was provided by Bowrey, for example, for terms originating from Tamil and Hindi. Table 25 below presents several loanwords equipped with etymological information in Bowrey's dictionary.

Table 25 Example of words from Hindi in Bowrey's dictionary.

TBD	MEANING	MML	HINDI
<i>Ganja Ganja</i>	an Intoxicating herb in India.	<i>sj tumbuhan (herba), Clerodendron indicum.</i>	<i>ganja</i>
<i>Mas</i>	Gold, Is also the name of a Gold wieght sixteen	<i>mas;</i>	<i>masha</i> ⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Wilkinson (1932).

whereof is accounted one Tial and ufed in in many parts of India and China.

1. bp sj logam berwarna kuning yg mahal harganya; 2. sl sj mata wang; 3. Kl duit syiling yg bernilai 50 sen.

Table 25 above contains three word samples from Hindi recorded by Bowrey in his dictionary. These words are not provided with etymological information, unlike Arabic loanwords which are labelled with the etymological marker, *ar*. However, explanation and information regarding the context of word use are provided in the meanings of the words. The same applies to words originating from Chinese that Bowrey recorded in his dictionary. Examples of words in Mandarin recorded by Bowrey can be seen in Table 26 below.

Table 26 Examples of Mandarin words in Bowrey's dictionary.

TBD	MEANING	MML	MANDARIN
<i>cha</i>	tea.	-	<i>chá</i> ⁴⁶
<i>chap</i>	a Signet, a Seal, an Impreffion, or Mark with a Seal. —ēang tēda bētool, a false Seal. Tāroo Chap to Seal, or make an Impreffion. Ēang memēgang chap raja, a Chanceloar.	<i>cap</i>	<i>chap</i> ⁴⁷
<i>dāchin</i>	a Pair of Stilliards, the Beam of Ballance.	<i>dacing</i>	<i>chhing</i> ⁴⁸
<i>sampan</i>	a Boat, fhips Boat.	<i>sampan</i>	<i>shān bǎn</i>

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid

In terms of words originating from Mandarin in TBD, no etymological information or explanation is provided, unlike words originating from Hindi. I made a comparison with Wilkinson's dictionary in order to obtain the etymological information of those words. The same applies to words originating from Persian. Most words from this language share similarities with Arabic, for example, the word *Paffar*, "a Market-place, a Market, a Fair" and the word *Dooftar*, "a Turbant, a Roller or Wreath about, the head, a Fillet or Forehead-cloth". Even though etymological information or explanation regarding a particular word may be absent, comparisons can help reveal its origin.

5.4 Distortion of Malay Words

Bowrey's dictionary contains words that are distorted compared to the equivalent words in MML. Nor Azizah Othman (2019), in her article entitled "Analisis Entri 'A' Kamus Thomas Bowrey 1701", discusses the distortion aspect in the "A" entry of Bowrey's dictionary. A similar discussion is conducted in this section, but the dataset involves all entries in Bowrey's dictionary. Nor Azizah Othman (2019) divides the data in Bowrey's dictionary into three categories, namely explainable, semi-explainable, and unexplainable words. Explanation, as referred to by Nor Azizah, is related to the meaning of the word (semantics), and phonological and morphological aspects. Words that fall under these three categories are perceived to show distortion from the forms found in MML. Nor Azizah Othman (2019) clarifies that there are different issues with regard to category one and category two. For category one, namely explainable words, two issues were detected in the words found in Bowrey's dictionary, which are wrong analogy and blending. Category two, on the other hand, is a category that contains loanwords. However, in this discussion, issues related to foreign loanwords from category one are not discussed given that this aspect was elaborated upon in detail under a different subtopic

at the start of this chapter. Category three does not have any particular issues. The words placed under this category are, on average, words that have no equivalent in MML.

Table 27 Categories of distorted words in Bowrey’s dictionary.

LINGUISTIC ASPECTS	DISTORTION CATEGORIES		
	Category I Explainable words	Category II Semi explainable	Category III Unexplainable words
Blending	X	-	-
Wrong analogy	X	-	-
Loanwords	-	X	-

Note: Adapted from Nor Azizah Othman (2019, p.267) from an article entitled “Analisis Entri “A” Kamus Thomas Bowrey 1701”.

Blending, as highlighted by Nor Azizah (2019), is also not discussed in depth; instead, other forms of distortion that occur in Bowrey’s dictionary are examined. In Table 27, a summary of the categories of distortion in Bowrey’s dictionary is given. A linguistic aspect marked (-) indicates that it is not present for the corresponding category, whilst an (x) mark indicates that a particular aspect falls under the corresponding category. Category two, as mentioned previously, will not be discussed in this section. Distortion aspects, as reported by Nor Azizah (2019), are also not examined or discussed in depth, but instead the aspects of blending and wrong analogy that occur in Bowrey’s dictionary are investigated.

5.4.1 Wrong analogy

Nor Azizah (2019) explains the meaning of wrong analogy in Bowrey’s dictionary, which means that Bowrey’s description of the meaning, affixes, and derivatives has often been misinterpreted, most likely due to the experience and influence of his surroundings. Wrong

analogy in TBD can be divided into three types, namely (i) initial syllable truncation of a base word, (ii) truncation of prefixes, and (iii) addition of the vowel {a} at the beginning of the word.

A discussion of the phenomenon of (i) initial syllable truncation has been given by Nor Azizah (2019). Among the examples given are the words *Āwan* and *Āwanchee* from the *A* entry. These two words, according to Nor Azizah, refer to the same domain of meaning, namely women, but with different connotations. Bowrey describes the word *Āwan* as “ordinary girl” or “Mistress, dame in a familiar way” in contrast to the word *Āwanchee* which means “noble maiden” or “Mistress, Dame in a high degree”. By referring to the meanings of these two words, I am of the opinion that this word refers to the word *perawan* in MML. However, the first syllable and second consonant in the word which together form [pe.r-] was not recorded by Bowrey, whom I presume most likely considered [pe.r-] to be a prefix in Malay. The table below gives a comparison of the connotation of the meanings of these two words with the word *perawan* in MML.

Table 28 Comparison of connotation of the meanings of the words *Āwan*, *Āwanchee*, and *perawan*.

SOURCE			
	TBD		MML
WORD	<i>Āwan</i>	<i>Āwanchee</i>	<i>perawan</i> ⁴⁹
MEANING	Mistress, dame in a familiar way	Mistress, Dame in a high degree	1. anak dara, gadis: 2. belum berkahwin (gadis), belum hilang dara:
	ordinary girl	noblewoman	

Note: Adapted from Nor Azizah Othman (2019, p.269) from an article entitled “Analisis Entri “A” Kamus Thomas Bowrey 1701”.

⁴⁹ Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat, 2007, p.1180

The closest equivalent word in MML for the word *Āwan* found in Bowrey’s dictionary is the word *perawan*; however, there is no equivalent for the word *Āwanchee*. I believe that the word *Āwanchee*, based on its meaning and form, refers to the phrase *perawan che*. Nor Azizah (2019) did not elaborate on the possibility of this word being formed. As suggested by Nor Azizah, the word *Āwanchee* is a combination of two words, “*perawan + che*”. I found out that when this word is split into *Āwan + chee*, the meaning differs. The word *chee* in Bowrey’s dictionary is given another meaning, which is “Fie, Oh fir, a word of detestation”, which is equivalent to the interjection *cis* in MML. However, I agree and am of the opinion that the word *Āwanchee* is a combination of the phrase “*perawan che*” based on the data found in Wilkinson (1932, p.5690) where the secondary meaning is explained as being “(ii) *che’ wan: a title given to the descendants of a non-royal bĕndahara or tĕmĕnggong or ([Perak Malay]) orang kaya bĕsar and mĕntĕri;*”. However, the form found in Wilkinson’s Dictionary has a different spelling to that in Bowrey’s. These differences can be seen in the table below.

Table 29 Comparison between the words *Āwanchee* and *che’ wan*.

SOURCE	WORD	MEANING	NOTES
Thomas Bowrey Dictionary	<i>Āwanchee</i>	Mistress, Dame in a high degree mistress, noblewoman	Refers to two social classes for women, namely mistresses and noblewomen.
Wilkinson Dictionary	<i>che’ wan</i>	a title given to the descendants of a non-royal <i>bĕndahara</i> or <i>tĕmĕnggong</i> or ([Perak Malay]) <i>orang kaya bĕsar</i> and <i>mĕntĕri</i>	Refers to women from one social class, namely ladies from the noble class.

In the above table, both words have different forms. The difference lies in the position of the word described (object) and the word that describes (predicate). However, the meanings

of both words are similar and indeed have the same connotation. Hence, I am convinced that the word *Āwanchee* that Bowrey refers to in his dictionary is a reference to *perawan che*, which is equivalent to the term *che'wan* in a dialect known as Perak Malay. Nor Azizah (2019, p.268) also mentions that the truncation in the initial syllable of the word *perawan* to become *Āwan* in Bowrey's dictionary, with Bowrey's understanding that it is the initial syllable, also occurred in several other word examples, as shown in table 30 below, such as for the words *Koo*, "the Elbow", *Hoūan*, "Skill, Knowledge", *Lāboan*, "an Anchoring place, a Haven, Port, Road", *Ley*, "Is a denomination added to the name of anything that is Natural and Thin, when the number is to be denoted, a way of expreffion used by the Malayos", and *Rajaawn*, "a Kingdom, Realm, Dominion". After examining all the entries in Bowrey's dictionary, it was found that the phenomenon of initial syllable truncation of root words also occurred in other word examples. For certain words, this seems to be similar to the occurrence of morphological truncation, while for others it is similar to the case of the words *Āwan* and *Āwanchee*.

In Table 30 below, several words are clearly subject to the same phenomenon as the words *Āwan* and *Āwanchee*, for example, *Gāraan*, *Koo*, *Ley*, *Lalay*, and *Saurat*, where the initial syllable is omitted in Bowrey's dictionary. Bowrey could have assumed that the syllable of a particular word is a prefix, even though it is not an affix. Initial syllable truncation in these words is shown in Figure 10 below.

Figure 10 Process of initial syllable truncation in Bowrey's dictionary.

ger	h a. na	→	ga. r a.an
si	ku	→	koo
s a	lai	→	l a.lay
me	sy u a.rat	→	s au.rat

Table 30 Examples of wrong analogy in Bowrey's dictionary.

TBD WORD	TBD DEFINITION	MML EQUIVALENT	DEFINITION (KAMUS DEWAN EDISI KEEMPAT)
<i>Gāraan</i>	an Eclips. —boolon, an eclips of the moon. —māta arree, an eclips of the Sun.	<i>gerhana</i>	1. = ~ bulan bulan gelap sebahagian atau seluruhnya (kerana kena bayang-bayang bumi); 2. = ~ matahari matahari gelap sebahagian atau seluruhnya (kerana bulan berada di antara bumi dan matahari); 3. Id, ki dlm kesusahan;
<i>gawap</i>	to Yawn, as for wany of fleep.	<i>menguap</i>	membuka mulut lebar-lebar dan mengeluarkan nafas (sebab mengantuk dll);
<i>Hoūan</i>	Skill, Knowledge.	<i>pengetahuan</i>	1. perihal mengetahui, apa-apa yg diketahui: 2. perihal tahu, kepandaian, kebijakan: 3. = ilmu ~ segala yg (akan) diketahui atau dipelajari bkn sesuatu:
<i>Koo</i>	the Elbow.	<i>siku</i>	1. persendian di antara lengan atas dgn lengan bawah; 2. selekoh atau kelok (pd sungai, jalan, dll); 3. = siku-siku = ~ bedil pangkal atau gagang senapang, popor;
<i>Lāboan</i>	an Anchoring place, a Haven, Port, Road.	<i>pelabuhan</i>	tempat kapal berlabuh, persinggahan kapal, pangkalan kapal:
<i>Lālay pada affap</i>	to Dry in the Smoak.	<i>salai pada asap</i>	<i>Lālay pada affap</i>
<i>Ley</i>	Is a denomination added to the name of any thing that is Natural and Thin, when the number is to be denoted, a away of expreffion ufed by the Malayos, Daŵon fa Ley, One leaf.	<i>helai</i>	I;1. benda yg tipis dan lebar (daun, baju, dll), lembar, keping, carik:2. penjodoh bilangan bagi barang yg tipis (spt daun, rambut, kertas, kain, dll): II;sehelai; daun ~ setahun sj tumbuhan (herba), daun satu tahun, <i>Nervilia aragoana</i> .
<i>pābooan</i>	a Yard for a sail, a Sail yard.	<i>pelabuhan</i>	tempat kapal berlabuh, persinggahan kapal, pangkalan kapal:

<i>Rajaawn</i>	a Kingdom, Realm, Dominion.	<i>rajaan (kerajaan)</i>	1. negeri atau negara yg dikepalai oleh raja: 2. pemerintahan, negara:3. martabat (kedudukan) raja: 4. tanda-tanda alat kebesaran raja: 5. sifat sbg raja:6. sl naik takhta, menjadi raja:
<i>Saurat</i>	Advise Council.	<i>mesyuarat</i>	perundingan (utk membincangkan sesuatu, atau mencapai sesuatu keputusan), pembicaraan, rapat;
<i>Taoaan</i>	Knowledge.	<i>pengetahuan</i>	1. perihal mengetahui, apa-apa yg diketahui: 2. perihal tahu, kepandaian, kebijakan: 3. = ilmu ~ segala yg (akan) diketahui atau dipelajari bkn sesuatu:

When the words *gerhana*, *salai* and *mesyuarat* are observed in Figure 10, there are sounds in these three words that are represented by other sounds. For example, the *h* sound in the second syllable of the word *gerhana* is notated with an *r* to become *garaan*. For the word *mesyuarat*, the vowel pair *ua* becomes the diphthong *au* in Bowrey's dictionary. Meanwhile, for the word *salai*, the *s* sound becomes an *l* sound and the diphthong *ai* is written as *ay*. The spelling of the word *salai* → *lalay* is the same as the word *helai*, where the initial syllable is truncated to become *Ley*. This also applies to the words *siku* and *gerhana*. The process of initial syllable truncation that occurs to all the words in Figure 10 shows that this process does not involve the truncation of prefixes (inflectional morphology). Instead, only the initial syllable is truncated.

The truncation of prefixes (inflectional morphology) also occurs in Bowrey's dictionary. Examples of words which undergo truncation of prefixes are shown in Figure 11 below.

Figure 11 Process of prefix truncation in TBD.

me	<u>n</u> gu.ap	→	ga.wap
pe	<u>nge.ta</u> .hu.an	→	Hoū.an
ke	ra.ja.an	→	Ra.ja.awn
pe	<u>nge.ta</u> . <u>h</u> u.an	→	Taoō.an

In addition to the truncated prefixes for the words in Figure 11 above, second and third syllables are also truncated. For example, the word *pengetahuan* has two forms in Bowrey's dictionary, namely *Hoūan* and *Taoōan*. Truncation of the prefix, as well as truncation of the second and third syllables, applies to these two words in Figure 11 above. The word *Rajaawn*

also undergoes truncation of the prefix *ke-*, just like the word *gawap* from MML's *menguap*. The half-vowel *w* is written because Bowrey heard this when the word *gawap* was spoken and recorded it as [ga^wap] in his dictionary. The word *pelabuhan* is written in two forms in Bowrey's dictionary, namely *Lāboan* and *pābooan*. It is interesting to discuss these two forms even though both show the same pattern as the previous examples, namely prefix truncation and truncation of the second syllable.

It is interesting to look into the historical background of the two words *Lāboan* and *pābooan*. Raja Masittah Raja Ariffin (2014) discussed the etymology and meaning of the word *Labuan* in an article titled "Etimologi Nama dan Makna Labuan (Sabah) Berdasarkan Konsep Linguistik Bandingan". According to Raja Masittah, the word *labuan* comes from the word *pelabuhan*⁵⁰, which means "*tempat persinggahan kapal, perahu dan lain-lain*" (*Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat*, 2007, p.863). In *Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat*, the letter *h* is maintained in the word *pelabuhan*. Raja Masittah added that the removal of the letter *h* revealed the existence of the double vowel *au*. The word *labuan*, according to Raja Masittah, is not an inherited etymology but instead has its origins in the word *pelabuhan* with the root *labuh*, which changed to *labuan* according to the language of the Kedayan people, who are the largest indigenous population in Labuan⁵¹. Despite not having an equivalent in MML, the word *labuan*, with the same meaning as suggested by Raja Masittah, appears a total of 95 times in the Malay Concordance Project (online) corpus. The word *pelabuhan* can be found in manuscripts such as *Bo' Sangaji Kai*, *Bo'Bumi Luma Rasanae*, *Saudara*, *Warisan Warkah Melayu*, *Syair Kerajaan Bima*, *Warta Malaysia*, and *Warkah Bima*. Thus, it is my conjecture that the word *Lāboan* in Bowrey's dictionary is not subject to any distortion or deviation. On the other hand,

⁵⁰ Ibid, pp.212.

⁵¹ Ibid, pp. 211.

the word *pābooran* underwent deviation because the second syllable, *-la-*, is not recorded by Bowrey in his dictionary.

The third form of distortion detected in Bowrey's dictionary is the use of the article "a", which is the influence of English on several Malay words. Nor Azizah (2019, p.270) characterises this form of distortion as an effect of the influence of Bowrey's mother tongue. Some examples of words with "a" at the beginning are also listed by Nor Azizah (2019, p.271), including the words *Ānācooda*, *Āwāda*, *Ājooja*, *Ārinḡan*, and *Abantara*. All of these words have "a" at the beginning. Aside from these words listed by Nor Azizah (2019), there are further examples in Bowrey's dictionary that display the same characteristic, such as the word *Aḡtingarda*. *Aḡtingarda*, in Bowrey's dictionary, means "a Hand-Gun, a Firelock". In MML, the equivalent word is *istinggar* which means "*sl, sj senapang kuno*" (*Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat*, 2007, p.592). Therefore, I suggest that the word *Aḡtingarda* also experienced the same distortion as some of the words discussed previously by Nor Azizah (2019).

It can be concluded that the three phenomena depicting wrong analogy in Bowrey's dictionary are the result of the influence of Bowrey's own mother tongue. Mishearing and misunderstanding are also among the contributing factors to the occurrence of this phenomenon.

5.4.2 Blending

There are at least two forms of blending that occur in Bowrey's dictionary. The first form is the term blending, which refers to the combination of two or more words to form a new word. The combination of words is not only limited to syllables but also involves the combination of syllables with letters from other words to form new words (Matthew, P.H., 1997; Dobrovolsky, M., 2001). The second form of blending can also include the combination of foreign words and Malay. This form of blending shares similarities with the phenomenon of wrong analogy.

However, some differences exist; wrong analogy applies more to Bowrey's own misunderstanding of the Malay language, whereas blending occurs when two languages are mixed, namely Malay and a foreign language, which might include English, Arabic, or other Asian languages.

In the data of Bowrey's dictionary, as discussed by Nor Azizah (2019), examples of words that demonstrate blending, such as the word *Ādis*, "Fennel", are recorded. This word, according to Nor Azizah, is a combination of the words *adas*, "Aḡḡīdue" and *anis*, "fennel". This word is the result of the combination **ad + is** → **Ādis**. This phenomenon, as described by Nor Azizah (2019), is found to be present in the "A" entry. However, at the time of writing, I am yet to discover the same phenomenon in other entries in Bowrey's dictionary. The second form of blending found in Bowrey's dictionary applies to several other entries, which occurs due to the influence of foreign languages, including Bowrey's mother tongue, English. I am of the opinion that this is the result of communication between Bowrey and other foreigners who were also in the Malay Archipelago at that time, such as the Arabs, Persians, Chinese, and others. Table 31 below provides examples of words that exhibit the second form of blending in Bowrey's dictionary.

THOMAS BOWREY (1701) 17th CENTURY DESCRIPTION OF MALAY**Table 31** Examples of the second form of blending in Bowrey's dictionary.

TBD WORD	MEANING	MML EQUIVALENT	MEANING (MML)	LANGUAGE SOURCE
<i>Cha</i>	Tea	<i>Cha</i>	<i>teh</i>	Chinese; (茶) <i>Chá</i>
<i>Coomafra</i>	ar, a Pear.	-	-	Arabic; kamuthraa (كمثرى)
<i>Ēden</i>	Earthly paradife.	<i>Eden (Garden of Eden)</i> ⁵²	<i>Taman Firdaus</i>	Hebrew; <i>ēden</i> ⁵³
<i>Efcretere</i>	a Cabinet.	<i>escritoire</i> ⁵⁴	<i>n meja tulis berlaci.</i>	<i>escritoire</i> ⁵⁵ , n.; < French <i>escritoire</i> (now <i>écritoire</i>) writing-case, writing-desk < late Latin <i>scrīptōrium</i> apparatus or place for writing, < <i>scrībēre</i> to write.
<i>Tooton</i>	a Mulberry.	-	-	Arab; Al-Tawt التوت

⁵² English-Malay Dewan Dictionary (online), Retrieved from <https://prpm.dbp.gov.my/Cari1?keyword=eden&d=139128&#LIHATSINI>, (retrieved on 31 July 2023).

⁵³ Oxford English Dictionary, (online), Retrieved from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/59493?rskey=HISSx2&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid>, (retrieved on 31 July 2023).

⁵⁴ English-Malay Dewan Dictionary (online), Retrieved from <https://prpm.dbp.gov.my/Cari1?keyword=escritoire&d=139128&#LIHATSINI>, (retrieved on 31 July 2023).

⁵⁵ Oxford English Dictionary (online), Retrieved from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/64323?redirectedFrom=escritoire#eid>, (retrieved on 31 July 2023).

The word *cha* in the table above is Chinese in origin, but which Bowrey assumed to be a Malay word. However, the use of the word *cha* had already been naturalised in everyday speech when Bowrey heard it more than 400 years ago, and even in modern situations today. Two of the words in the table above, *Ēden* and *Eſcretere*, for example, are recorded in the English-Malay *Kamus Dewan* as being words of English origin. Both these words are derived from foreign languages, in particular, Hebrew and French. The same goes for these two words derived from Arabic, *Coomafra* and *Tooton*. Both these words refer to fruits in Arabic. Rahim Aman (1997, p.884) pointed out that the word *Coomafra* was a Malay term used for pears in the 17th century. However, the word *Coomafra* is clearly an Arabic term that was probably used at that time, and which did not originate from the Malay language. Similarly, *Tooton* is an Arabic term for mulberries. This second form of blending, as in the examples in Table 31 above, is a result of the mix of foreign language and Malay terms, which Bowrey assumed to have originated from the Malay language.

For the first type of blending, I did not find any data from entries B to Z to support Nor Azizah's (2019) view. I do not reject the fact that clearer explanations may found in the future, however. I also do not reject the arguments and discussion given by Nor Azizah (2019) because the discussion is a preliminary analysis which only examined the "A" entry of Thomas Bowrey's Dictionary.

5.4.3 Unexplainable Words

The discussion in this section addresses words that cannot be explained linguistically. All of these words are possibly from foreign languages that have been mixed up or misunderstood by Bowrey, who assumed them to be of Malay origin. As a result of the misunderstanding and mix-up that occurred, words that are assumed to be Malay in origin cannot be fully understood

in terms of meaning and context of use, in addition to not having an equivalent in MML. The mix-up that occurred has similarities with blending; however, blending can still be explained linguistically. Unlike the words in this category, all of the words discussed in this section cannot be explained linguistically, either in terms of meaning or affixes.

Several examples of words in this category include those discussed by Nor Azizah (2019, p.279) and some words which have also been discussed by Rahim Aman (1997), such as *Andee*, *Āboonufe*, *Āgooftee*, and *Āmettee*. The examples given by Nor Azizah and Rahim are words taken from the “A” entry. This also applies to other entries in this dictionary. Rahim Aman (1997, p.884) lists examples from entries AB to CY, which he claims no longer exist in standard Malay. Rahim’s statement is consistent with the data found in Bowrey’s dictionary, namely that these words no longer exist in standard Malay. Furthermore, Rahim also states that the word *coomasra*, for example, is a 17th century standard Malay word that is no longer in use. However, I opine that the word *coomasra* “ar, a Pear” comes from the Arabic word *kamuthraa* (كمثرى) which was borrowed into Malay at that time, as explained in the discussion on blending above.

Nevertheless, I am under the impression that words belonging to this category cannot be clearly ascertained etymologically to be either Malay or other languages because the majority cannot be explained linguistically in terms of meaning or form. Table 32 below presents examples of words that belong to this category.

Table 32 Examples of unexplainable words.

TBD WORDS	MEANING	EQUIVALENT WORD (MML)
<i>Horgay</i>	Strange, Foreign.	x
<i>Koong</i>	a Rainbow.	x
<i>Parāsēta</i>	Lovely.	x
<i>Hīob</i>	Job.	x
<i>Hifmoo</i>	Deceive, Betray.	x
<i>Nāna</i>	a Buoy.	x

In Table 32 above, for example, it can be observed that there are examples of words that do not have an equivalent in MML. However, I do not reject the possibility that Bowrey had misunderstood or confused foreign words with local terms that he knew. At the time of writing, there was still no linguistic justification for any of these words. Not only do the meanings differ, the forms (spelling, for example) of other word examples also differs.

The three categories of distortion that occur in Bowrey’s dictionary show that the main factor in their occurrence was misunderstanding and confusion between Malay and foreign languages heard by Bowrey. The foreign languages that contributed most to distortion are Arabic and English; however, other languages such as Chinese, Tamil, and Persian, for example, have also had an influence. In order to examine, identify, analyse, and discuss the distortions that occurred, an etymological approach can play a major role. Nevertheless, in this section, further discussion using the etymological method is not a priority. Instead, I only intend to highlight this phenomenon as it occurred with several words in Bowrey’s dictionary.

5.5 Diachronic Changes in Bowrey’s Dictionary

There are two interesting forms of change which occurred to the words *delapan* and *veniaga* in Bowrey’s dictionary. Some examples of the word *delapan*, “Eight”, which can be found in Bowrey’s dictionary include *Tootoorawn ēang ca dēlāpan*, “The Eight Dialogue”,

Dēlāpanblas, “Eighteen”, and *Dēlāpan pooloo*, “Eighty”. The word *Dēlāpan* is the same as the form recorded in Pigafetta’s dictionary (1523). Haex also recorded the same words, namely *Delapan*, “Octo”, and *delapan poulo*, “Octoginta”. Other than Pigafetta and Haex, the word *delapan* is also found in several old Malay manuscripts such as *Sejarah Melayu* (1612)⁵⁶ and *Hikayat Aceh* (1600-1625)⁵⁷. In the Malaysian variant of Malay, the word *delapan* is no longer used but has been replaced by the word *lapan*; in the Indonesian variant of Malay, however, the word *delapan* is still in current use.

Besides the word *delapan*, there is one further word that has changed, namely the word *vēniaga*, which means “Trade, Merchandise, Trading”. In MML, the word *niaga* means “*dagang, jual beli*,” (*Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat*, 2007, p.1080). Nothofer (2013) mentions that the word *niaga* is derived from Sanskrit but changed its form due to wrong analogy (2013, p.33). Nothofer (2013) further explains that the Sanskrit form of *vaniyāga* has been adapted to the Malay phonological pattern $v \rightarrow b$ and the glide consonant *y* is omitted because it is not needed between *i* and *a*, whilst the long vowel becomes a short vowel ***baniaga*, and the vowel in the first syllable, namely *a*, is weakened to *e* [ə], which is the derivation of the word *beniaga* [bəniaga]⁵⁸. Nothofer (2013) also added that due to the first syllable being *be-*, Malay speakers consider this word to be bimorphemic, that is, a word with two morphemes that contains the prefix *ber(r-)* and the root word *niaga* to form other derived words such as *per-niaga-an* ‘*perdagangan*’ or *me-niaga-kan* ‘*mendagangkan*’⁵⁹.

⁵⁶ A. Samad Ahmad. (2013). *The Malay Annals* (Student Edition). Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

⁵⁷ Teuku Iskandar (ed.), *De Hikajat Atjéh*, 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1958. *Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land en Volkenkunde*, deel 26.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p.34

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p.34

Chapter 6 Sociolinguistic Aspects in Bowrey's Dictionary

6.0 Introduction

Terms for address, kinship, and pronouns are among the words recorded by Bowrey in his dictionary. This section further discusses terms related to daily activities between traders and local communities, as well as terms related to shipping, harbours, trade and merchandise, flora and fauna, as well as religion.

6.1 Terms of Address, Kinship, and Pronouns.

Interactions with different classes of the local community exposed Bowrey to the socio-cultural knowledge of the local people. Bowrey understood the terms, meanings, and usage of relevant terms according to situation and type of people involved. Bowrey explains about the terms and ways to use pronouns found in the Malay language in the “Grammar Rules for the Malayo Language” section of his dictionary as follows:

“The Second Person has several Words to express it by, according to the Quality of the Person spoken to; as to a Person of Quality or Superiour, tis proper to say (Tuan) Thou or You, to an equal (Joo) Thou or You, to a Servant or Inferiour, (Packānēra) Thou or You”. (Bowrey, 1701).

Based on Bowrey's description above, it is clear that he knew the function for each pronoun listed. Bowrey lists twelve personal pronouns, and also includes determiners *Ētoo*, “that” and *Ēnee*, “this” as pronouns. The following table lists all the personal pronouns recorded in Bowrey's dictionary.

Table 33 List of personal pronouns according to Bowrey.

TBD PRONOUNS	MEANING
Āko	I
Sāya	Me, I
Ko	My, I
Joo	You, Thou
Pākānēra	You, Thou
Ankaw	You, Yea, Thou
Dea	He or She
-nea	Him, Her, His, Hers, Them, Theirs, There,
Cāmee	Its, Your
Cāmoo	We
Deōran	Ye
Kitta fındirree	They, Them
Ētoo	I myself
Ēnee	That
Kitta poonea	This
Kitta ōran	My, Mine, Our
Tuan poonea	We, Us
Dea poonea	Thy
Cāmee poonea	His
Cāmoo poonea	Ours
Deōran poonea	Yours
	Theirs

Looking at this list of pronouns, one can observe that there are a number of differences in usage between the pronouns recorded by Bowrey and those found in MML. For example, the word *Kitta*, which means “My”, is consistently recorded by Bowrey as a first-person pronoun, just like the words *Āko*, “I” and *Saya*, “I”, for example, in the sentence ***Kitta** tēda tāoo*, “I do not know”, and *Pada **Kitta***, “to Me”. The word *Kitta* means “I”, which is similar to the word *Saya* in the sentence *Sāya minta jēka dāpat jaddee haal ētoo de addāpan ferpada*, “I pray of ot may be done in the preface of you Majesty” and *Sāya minta brēcan ētoo padako*, “I ask to give me that”. The use of the word *Kitta* with the meaning “I” or “Me” can also be seen in the letter sent by Sultan Abu Hayat to the King of Portugal in 1521, and also the letter sent by Faquhar to the Raja Bendahara of Pahang, Tun Ali, in 1819 (Raja Marsitah Raja Ariffin, 2001).

Although the second-person pronouns *Cāmo*, “Ye” and *moo*, “you” are more frequently used by Bowrey in his dictionary⁶⁰, the words *Joo*, “You, Thou” and *Pākānēra*, “You, Thou” are also worth discussion. Mashudi Kader (2009) expressed four opinions regarding the word *Joo* recorded by Bowrey in his dictionary. According to him, this word has no equivalent in MML either in written or spoken form, and it is possible that Bowrey had misunderstood and confused it with the word “you” in English at the harbour and this had caused him to assume that *Joo* was a word from Malay. Mashudi also added that *Joo* was recorded by Bowrey as having the meaning “You”, possibly because this word was used in harbours around East and West Nusantara such as in Ternate, Ambon, Maluku, Banda, and so on, or possibly also when he had dealings at other harbours where he found this word to be used as a reference to a second person (Mashudi, 2009, p.91). Some examples of the word *Joo* include ***Joo** pēgee pada pānas māta arree sāya pada tēdoh*, “do you go in the heat of the sun, and in the shade”.

However, there is some usage of the pronoun *Joo* with the meaning “you” in modern Malay. The context of use is the same as *awak*, “You”, in MML. Speakers who use the word *Joo* to refer to a second person come from Eastern Malaysia, namely Sabah⁶¹. Areas that use the word *jo* with the meaning “you” lie in the eastern part of Sabah, namely in Sandakan, Tawau, and Lahad Datu. There are also areas in the western part of Sabah, namely Kota Kinabalu, Kudat, Pitas, Kota Belud, and Kota Marudu that have this same usage. Youths and the elderly between the age of 50-60 are amongst those who use this word most frequently, though its usage is generally rare amongst women. Examples of sentences that use the word

⁶⁰ Check the use of the word ‘moo’ which means ‘You’ in the section of Miscellanies English and Malayo and Dialogues English and Malayo (Bowrey:1701).

⁶¹ This information was obtained through an interview with a respondent who comes from Lahad Datu, Sabah. The respondent is a male who is 29 years old.

Joo include *Jo*, *macam mana juga keadaan di situ?*, “Are you okay there?”, *kau ni jo, bahaya bha tu begitu!* “Hey you, that’s dangerous!”.

The word *mereka*, “They”, is also not recorded in Bowrey’s dictionary. Instead, Bowrey recorded the word *Deōran*, which means “They, Them”. However, the absence of this word does not mean that third person pronouns did not exist at that time. This is because Asmah (1991, p.115) in “*Bahasa Melayu Abad ke-16: Satu Analisis Berdasarkan Teks Melayu ‘Aqid Al-Nasafi’*” mentions that the plural word they was detected in this text but was followed by the demonstrative pronoun *itu*. Hence, the absence of the word they is most likely because Bowrey forgot to record it in his dictionary.

Bowrey defined the word *Māma* as “Aunt”. In KDE4 (2007, p.988), the word *mamak* means “1. *Mn saudara ibu yang laki-laki, bapa saudara*, 2. *sl sebutan oleh raja kpd pembesar-pembesar negeri (menteri dll)*, 3. *ark mak kecil, mak tua*, 4. *Bp panggilan kpd lelaki India yg beragama Islam (terutamanya yg terlibat dgn perniagaan makanan dsb)*”. This word has similarities in terms of meaning with the word used in MML and also in manuscripts of the same century as Bowrey’s dictionary. For example, Raja Marsitah Raja Ariffin (2001, p.253) explains that the pronoun *mama* appears as a second person pronoun in *Warkah Melayu Terpilih* 1521. Likewise, Asmah (1988, p.19) also explains that the word *mamak* (or *mameh*) is a reference used by kings to refer to the chief minister; Asmah added that *mameh* is an original Malay word still used in Sumatra which means *paman*, “uncle”.

6.2 Terms Used in the Daily Activities between Foreign Traders and the Local Community

Bowrey carried out trading activities on the islands for 19 years and, throughout this period, the ability to understand and master the local language was considered a most basic and essential need. A good command of the Malay language and a good understanding of the culture

and customs of the local community gave Bowrey a considerable advantage. The relationship between Bowrey and the local community indirectly required him to understand and master the terms used by the local community, especially terms related to daily life such as family terms, greetings, terms for flora and fauna (especially for species not found in his home country), terms related to shipping and trade and daily activities that occurred between English traders, other traders, and the local community. The discussion below describes the social and cultural aspects that Bowrey recorded in his dictionary.

Communication and good relations between foreign traders from both the east and the west with local traders and communities are among the more vital of necessities; effective communication and good relationships helped ensure the smooth running of future trading activities. To this end, Bowrey also recorded everyday terms used by traders who dealt directly or indirectly with him. The words he recorded were related to daily activities at the harbour such as card games and other activities which were carried out together with the locals. Activities that are the norm among the traders, sailors, and nomads who typically spend a lot of time at the harbour – according to their various needs – include activities such as playing card games and music. The terms used in card games originated from several foreign languages such as Dutch and Chinese. Hamilton (1924), in his article entitled “Chinese Loan-Words in Malay”, lists words originating from Chinese that were assimilated into the Malay language. According to Hamilton, the majority of such are words related to home appliances and to games of chance. Hamilton also lists a number of terms for card games in his article that can be found in the table below.

Table 34 List of card game terms originating from the Chinese language as recorded by Hamilton (1924).

MALAY	HOKKIEN	MEANING
<i>chěki or main chěki</i>	<i>chít ki</i>	a popular Chinese card game played with small oblong cards (<i>daun chěki</i>)
<i>chapjiki</i>	<i>tsáp jī ki</i>	a lottery of twelve letters or signs also a game of chance played on a board with 12 squares corresponding to the letters (the latter game is often termed <i>chapjiki panjang</i>)
<i>kapchio</i>	<i>khap chhió</i>	a gambling game of heads or tails played by spinning a Chinese cash on a smooth board.
<i>pakau*</i>	<i>phah káu</i>	a Chinese game of cards resembling <i>vingt et un</i> played with European cards: <i>daun pakau</i> - European playing cards.
<i>po</i>	<i>pó</i>	a Chinese gambling game played with an oblong brass dice box.
<i>paikau*</i>	<i>pâi káu</i>	Chinese dominoes.
<i>pebin</i>	<i>peh bīn</i>	a gambling game played with a teetotum having facets.
<i>susek</i>	<i>sú sek</i>	a Chinese card game played with small cards of four colours.
<i>siki</i>	<i>sì ki</i>	a Chinese card game

There are several terms related to card games in Bowrey's dictionary such as *Joodee*, *Kīaw*, and *Main*. The word *Main* is defined as "to Play, Game, Recreate, Brandish, any merry Sport, or Play, Jestling", while the word *Kīaw* was interpreted by Bowrey simply as "Cards". Bowrey also presents a phrase example for this word, namely *sa boocoos Kīaw*, or "a pack of Cards". The word *Kīaw* has no equivalent in MML. I am of the opinion that *Kīaw*, which originated from Chinese, had its front syllable removed, as is the case for several other word examples such as *Rajaawn* and *Labooan*⁶². This view is based on the form and sound of the word *Kīaw* itself. There are two terms in Table 34 above that are similar to the word *Kīaw* in Bowrey's dictionary, namely the words *paikau* and *pakau*. The original form of the word *paikau* in Chinese, *pâi káu*, means "Chinese dominoes" and shows greater similarity to the form of the word *Kīaw* in Bowrey's dictionary. If the word *Kīaw* in Bowrey's dictionary does

⁶² Further discussion about the process that occurred to these words can be found in the morphological aspect section in Bowrey's dictionary.

indeed refer to *pâi káu* as found in Hokkien, then it can be said that the first syllable of this word was either removed or discarded by Bowrey.

Figure 12 Chinese Dominoes.



Note: Photo taken from Wikipedia Online⁶³

The same applies to a number of the words stated above. In addition, the second syllable *-aw* in the word *Kīaw* is the same as the other form of the diphthong *au* in Bowrey's dictionary. Bowrey listed several examples of the diphthong *-aw*. "*-au*", which is written the same way as the word form *Kīaw*, such as the word *Cāchaw*, which means "to Shake, as a tree hastily, to Stir about, as meat in a pot hastily" and the word *Cāfaw*, which means "a Rafter, a Ridgpole, a Spart". As such, the two words *phah káu* and *pâi káu* are most likely the words Bowrey was referring to. The word *phah káu*, according to Hamilton, means "a Chinese game of cards

⁶³ Chinese Dominoes, Retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chinese_dominoes#/media/File:相十副的一種隨機佈置.JPG, (retrieved on 2 August 2023).

resembling *vingt et un* played with European cards”, whereas the word *pâi káu* means “Chinese dominoes”. Therefore, based on the meaning and also the form of diphthongs in these two words, it can be concluded that the word *Kīaw* in Bowrey’s dictionary is a loanword from the Chinese language, *phah káu*, or the MML equivalent, *pakau*. In the *Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat* (2007, p.1117)., the word *pakau* means “*C sj permainan terup*”. The terms for card games has been discussed by Collins (2018, 2003), Winstedt (1906), and Hamilton (1924). Nevertheless, the word *Main* recorded by Bowrey does not refer to any specific card game.

Besides card games, musical instruments were also recorded by Bowrey, amongst which are as the following:

Table 35 List of musical instrument terms recorded in TBD.

TBD	MEANING (TBD)	EQUIVALENT (MML)	MEANING (MML)
<i>Kēchappee</i>	a Harp, Lute, Cittern. <i>Pētick kēchappee</i> , to Play on the Harp.	<i>kecapi</i>	<i>I; sj alat bunyi-bunyian bertali yg dipetik sbg gitar (spt cerempung); II;sj tumbuhan (pokok dan buah), sentul, Sandoricum koetjape; buah ~ buah sentul.</i>
<i>Rābab</i>	any musical Instrument to be played on with a bow.	<i>rebab</i>	<i>sj alat bunyi-bunyian (spt biola) yg bertali dua atau tiga; berebab menggesek rebab.</i>
<i>Rābāna</i>	a Kettle-drum.	<i>rebana</i>	<i>I;sj gendang yg di sebelah sahaja dipasang kulit; berebana bermain rebana. II;= rebanar; akar ~ sj tumbuhan (pokok memanjat), akar banar, akar kelona, Smilax megacarpa.</i>
<i>Rādap</i>	a little Drum.	<i>redap</i>	<i>I;sj gendang (rebana) kecil; ® dap.II;mredap 1. makan di dlm sahaja (api), marah di dlm hati sahaja; rindu~ rindu yg bersangatan dlm hati; 2. berlarut-larut (penyakit), merana.</i>

Bowrey also sketched activities that took place using these musical instruments such as dance. Even though Bowrey's dance sketches were about activities performed in Choromandel by women during ceremonies of worship and sacrifice to God (Bowrey, 1903, p.14), it can be assumed that he observed and recorded the daily activities of the local community in detail, even though the sketches did not involve traders based on his description. Bowrey mentions:

*“But first, I will describe Some of their activities of body, danceings before the front of the Pagod as I my Selfe have often Seene with admiration much rarer then Ever I beheld amongst us Europeans, or indeed any Other people in Asia”*⁶⁴. (1701, p. The Preface)

Besides card games and musical instruments, guessing games such as *Terka* are also included in Bowrey's dictionary. The word *Terka* is defined by Bowrey as “to play with or snap”. For this *Terka* game, Bowrey gives an example of *Terka jarree* or “Snap or Play with the fingers”. This word has an equivalent in MML, namely *terka*, which means “*I; dugaan, sangkaan, tebakan*”. (*Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat*, 2007, p.1671). Although there are relatively few card games recorded by Bowrey in his dictionary, the leisure activities of traders and other foreigners can be determined through some of the words discussed above.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

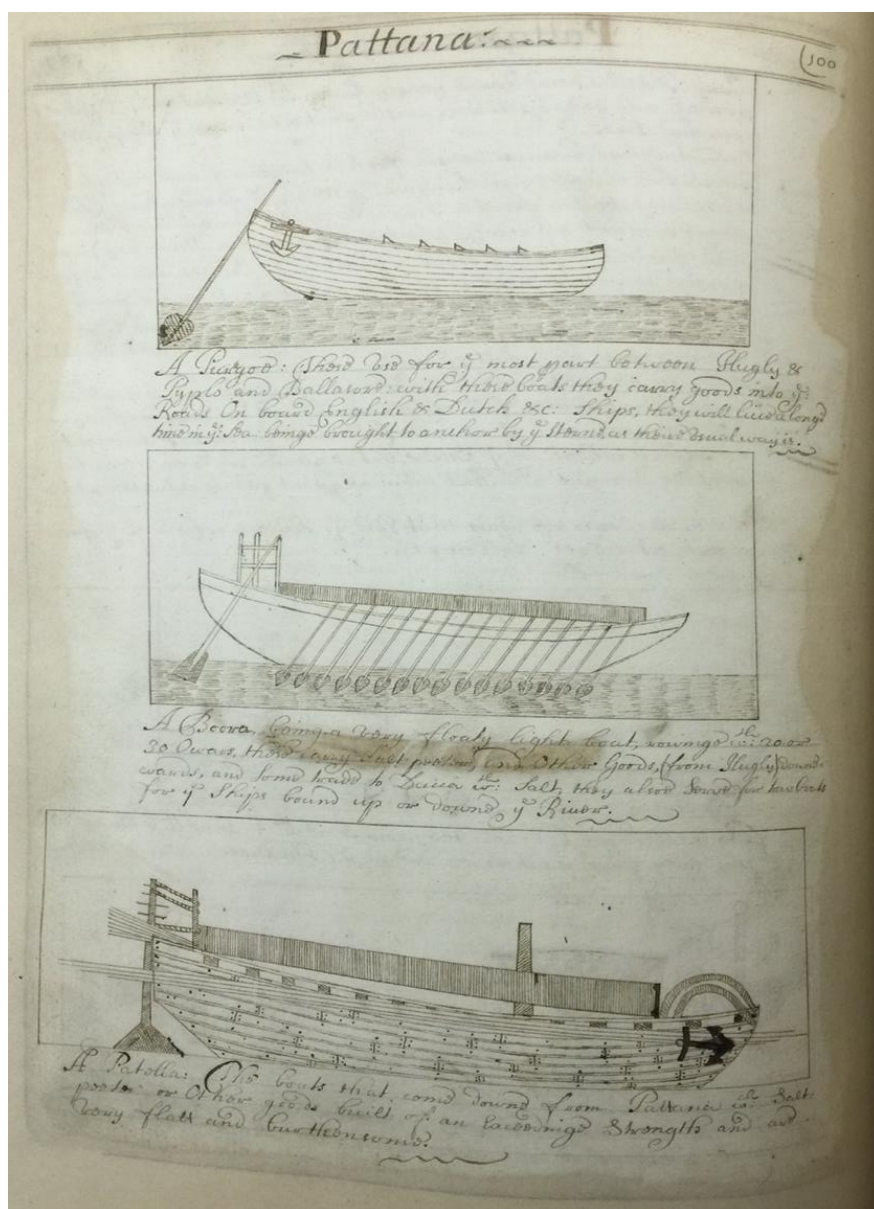
Figure 13 Dance by women in Choromandel.



Note: This photo was taken from Manuscript EUR 322, British Library: London.

6.3 Terms Related to Shipping, Harbours, Trade, Goods, and Shipping Positions

Terms related to shipping, trade and goods are among some of the most frequently recorded terms in Bowrey's dictionary. Apart from terms related to shipping, Bowrey also includes sketches in his notes about the islands around the Bay of Bengal, amongst which are those of boats and ships. For example, a drawing of a boat referred to by Bowrey as 'A Purgoo' is used to transport goods on board English and Dutch ships which were mostly used in the region between Hugly and Pyplo. The aforementioned sketches by Bowrey in Pattana are as follows:

Figure 14 Sketches of fishing boats and small boats by Bowrey in Pattana.

Note: This photo was taken from MS EUR 322, British Library: London.

Harbour-related words such as *Bālābo*, “Anchoring”, *Toonda*, “a Sounding lead”, *Kāloomat*, “a Ships-hold” and *Sēlōran*, “a Canal, Chanel, Gutter, Sinck” are among the terms in this domain that are still in use today, with the sole exception of the word *Kāloomat* for which there is no equivalent in MML. The vocabulary recorded in the harbour domain also shows that Bowrey not only concentrated on trading activities in the main harbour and coastal

areas but that he also engaged in trade with traders and locals in rural areas. This can be observed through words such as *Kāwāla*, *Quala*, “the Points or Entrance out of the Sea into a River or Haven”, *Soonḡey*, “a River”, *Tanjoong*, “a Cape, Head-land, Promontory”, *Tēloo*, “an Arm of the Sea, a Bay, Road, Harbour, Gulf, Haven, Creek”, and *Simpanggam āyer*, “a Reservoir for water, a Canal”. All the above hint at the fact that trading activities occurred inland. The words *Soonḡey* and *Simpanggam āyer*, for example, indicate that the areas travelled to included remote areas. Further evidence can also be found through shipping equipment and gear.

Seafaring equipment recorded by Bowrey includes *Cāpal*, “a Ship”, *Goorack*, “a Gally”, *Praw*, “Boats”, *Rakīit*, “a Float, Raft” and *Sampan*, “a Boat, Jhips Boat”. The words *sampan*, *gurap*, *perahu*, and *rakit*, for example, are means of transport used in shallower waters and are common in inland areas. In the Dialogues section of Bowrey’s dictionary, namely the 8th Dialogue, Bowrey’s narrative was of the voyage to Persia, as discussed by Winterbottom (2016). Apart from the medium of transport used on the voyage, terms relating to parts of the ship’s body were also recorded by Bowrey such as *Booritan*, “the Hinder-part, the Stern” and *Tambērang*, “the Side of a Jhip, Waft-cloths of a Jhip” and *Bāleew* “a Ships Deck, a boarded Floor”. The etymology of the word *Bāleew* is discussed by Collins (1996) in “Of Castles and Councillors: Questions about Baileu”. In this article, Collins argues that the word *Bāleew*, in Portuguese, is a loanword from another Romance language that was later borrowed into the Malay language. Collins denies that the word *Bāleew* is based on folk etymology (1996, p.201). Besides the vocabulary related to equipment and transport on this voyage, another interesting aspect recorded by Bowrey is that of terms related to cardinal points.

In this regard, two forms of navigation that were often used were wind navigation and celestial navigation (Mohamed Nazreen, et.al, 2017). Nazilah Mohamad and Nor Hashimah (2017) also discuss words related to navigation, namely words from the domains of astronomy

and geography in their article. Among the examples of words discussed are the cardinal directions – north, south, east and west – which were also recorded by Bowrey, and the names of constellations (The Big Dipper or The Plough) that guided sea voyagers in the past. Cardinal directions, or wind navigation and celestial navigation (Mohamed Nazreen et.al, 2017), or astronomical information were recorded by Bowrey along with several other terms, as shown in the table below.

Table 36 Information on wind navigation in Thomas Bowrey’s Dictionary.

WORD (TBD)	TBD DEFINITION	EQUIVALENT
<i>Ootāra</i>	North. —bārat, North-west. —fa māta bārat, North-west. —timmore, North-East. —Sa māta timmore, North, East. Anḡin Ootāra, North Wind. Laoot Ootāra, North sea. Nēgree Ootāra North country. Bintang Ootāra, North star.	<i>utara</i>
<i>Sālātan</i>	South. —Sāmāta bārat, South-west. —Sāmāta timmore, South-east. Anḡin Sālātan, South Wind. Laoot Sālātan, South sea. Bintang Sālātan, South star. Nēgree Sālātan, South country, Fihak Sālātan, South parts. Sābla Sālātan, Southwards,	<i>selatan</i>
<i>Timmore</i>	East. —laoot, South-east. —ootāra, North-east. —fa māta ootāra, North-east. —Sālātan, South-east. —fa māta sālātan, South-east. Anḡin timmore, East wind. Laoot timmore, East sea. Nēgree timmore, East country. Sābla timmore, Eastward.	<i>timur</i>
<i>Bārat</i>	—famāta sālātan, South-West. —fa māta ootāra, North-West.	<i>Barat</i>

	anġin Bārat, Weſt-wind. Lāoot Bārat, Weſt-Sea. nēgree Bārat, Weſt Country. Fihak Bārat, Weſt-parts. Sābla Bārat, Weſt-ward, Weſt-ſide. South-eaſt.	
<i>Taṅgara</i>		<i>tenggara</i>

The cardinal directions listed in Bowrey’s dictionary with their equivalents in MML are, of course, north, south, east, and west. The terms that may differ from those found in MML are the other four cardinal directions, namely terms for north-west, south-west, south-east, and north-east. Bowrey lists the terms *Ootāra fa māta bārat*, “North-weſt”, *Ootāra Sa māta timmore*, “North, Eaſt”, *Sālātan Sāmāta bārat*, “South-weſt”, *Sālātan Sāmāta timmore*, “South-eaſt”, *Timmore fa māta ootāra*, “North-eaſt”, *Timmore fa māta sālātan*, “South-eaſt”, *Bārat ſamāta sālātan*, “South-Weſt”, and *Bārat fa māta ootāra*, “Nort-Weſt”. Also recorded in Bowrey’s dictionary are the words *Puddōmawn*, “a Sea compaſs”, *Tooṅgal anġin*, “a Vain, a Weathercock”, and *Pangāpar*, “a Weather-cock”. The table below shows a comparison of all these words with the equivalent words in MML.

Table 37 A comparison between terms for wind direction instruments in TBD and MML.

TBD	TBD MEANING	MML EQUIVALENT	MML MEANING
<i>Puddōmawn</i>	a Sea compaſs	<i>pedoman</i>	<i>1. ſj alat berupa jam yg menunjukkan arah (mata angin), kompas;</i>
<i>Tooṅgal</i>	a Vain, a Weathercock	<i>tunggal</i>	<i>1 Angin kēlambu mēnunggal: strong North wind with rain.</i>
<i>Pangāpar</i>	a Weather-cock	-	-

In Table 37 above, the two words recorded by Bowrey have equivalents in MML, namely the word *Puddōmawn* as recorded in *Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat* (2007, p.1158). The word *pedoman*, which is also a wind direction indicator is discussed by Collins (2018,

p.154) in terms of its etymology, which has its roots in Javanese. The equivalent word for *Toōngal* is recorded by Wilkinson in his dictionary (1932, p.37908). Only the word *Pangāpar* has no equivalent word in MML, but was recorded as a term used for wind direction in Bowrey's dictionary. Meanwhile, several interesting terms for the category of positions and tasks related to shipping are reported in the table below.

Table 38 Terms related to shipping positions in Thomas Bowrey's Dictionary.

TBD WORD	TBD MEANING	MML EQUIVALENT
<i>Ānācooda</i>	a Captain and Supra-Cargo jointly	<i>nakhoda</i>
<i>Āwa</i>	a Crew —cāpal, a Ships Crew. —praw, a Boats Crew	<i>awak</i>
<i>Ōran roompak</i>	a Pirat	<i>lanun</i>
<i>Juree moodee</i>	ſtear-man	<i>jurumudi</i>
<i>Juree bātoo</i>	Boatſwain	<i>juru batu</i>

As for the terms *Ānācooda* and *Āwa*, both are still used in MML. The difference between these two words in MML and TBD is the equivalent word *nakhoda*. *Nakhoda* is written as *Ānācooda* in Bowrey's dictionary. The letter *a* at the beginning of the word *Ānācooda* is the same as other words in Bowrey's dictionary, such as *Abantāra* which will be discussed in the following section of this study. The same is the case for the word *Āwa*, which does not have the *k* sound at the end of the word as in MML, namely *awak*. *Ōran roompak*, which means “a Pirat”, is a term for the word *lanun* in MML. Meanwhile, the word *Juree bātoo*, “Boatſwain” is defined as a seaman who is well versed in wind and current conditions according to season ⁶⁵.

Bowrey also recorded vocabulary for traded commodities; indeed, in the third part of his dictionary, which constitutes extensive examples of dialogue, several examples of traded

⁶⁵ Ibid, pp.15.

commodities mentioned by Bowrey include *Āphēon*, “Opium”, *Attēlas*, “Satin“, and *Chankee*, “a Clove”, amongst others. The terms related to traded commodities indicate that the goods consist of both local commodities as well as those imported into the Malay realm, particularly *Attēlas*, “Satin”, and *Āphēon*, “Opium”.

6.4 Terms Related to Flora and Fauna

Plants and animals from the Malay Archipelago and the surrounding islands that are unique and unusual, or in other words “exotic” in the eyes of Europeans, especially in the 16th and 17th centuries, were meticulously recorded, sketched, and even brought back to their respective countries to be studied and documented. The uniqueness of these plants and animals was apparently recorded by many herbalists, botanists, and European scholars who visited the region during that time. Donald F. Lach (1991) mentions in his book *Asia in the Eyes of Europe - Sixteenth through Eighteenth Century*, that many plants from the East were already known in Europe, especially spices, before they were brought to the continent despite the fact that sea routes had not yet been discovered. Seeds and corresponding plants were brought back to Europe to be studied in depth and, if there were plants that were not suitable to be grown in European weather – for example, cinnamon trees – then sketches of their appearances and characteristics would be made and then sent to Europe. This is in contrast to exotic animals in the region, which of course were difficult to transport to Europe. Despite facing such challenges, however, the Portuguese nevertheless managed to bring back a number of Asian elephants, rhinoceros, and other species during the 16th century⁶⁶. Even before Bowrey published his Malay dictionary and notes on the countries around the Bay of Bengal, the Dutch were already actively focusing on medicinal plants in addition to administration and trade in

⁶⁶ Ibid, p.21.

the region in the 17th century. This was evident when Jacob de Bondt, a Dutch physician, began to study tropical diseases and natural sciences in Batavia⁶⁷.

As such, an explanation of the flora and fauna recorded in the dictionary and manuscripts by Bowrey is necessary to examine the word forms used, as well as the meanings and descriptions given. In this section, I will discuss some examples of flora and fauna originating from Malay-speaking countries. Some words that have been borrowed from other languages, such as Hindi, Tamil, and Chinese, are also discussed. The majority of the words are recorded by Bowrey in the Dialogues section of his dictionary, namely *Tootoorawn ēang ca fa pooloo*, “The Tenth Dialogue”. Apart from the notes in that section, Bowrey also lists a corresponding gloss in his dictionary in the English-Malayo section, as well as notes on the countries surrounding the Bay of Bengal⁶⁸. In these notes, Bowrey describes the characteristics of flora and fauna that did not exist in the West and those which he had never previously encountered. Bowrey also includes sketches of a number of flora and fauna, including glosses not available in the West.

6.4.1 Terms Relating to Flora in Bowrey’s Dictionary and Travel Entries

Glossaries related to flora (including fauna) are the most widely recorded semantic domain by the Western traders, scholars, religious priests, and colonisers who arrived in the Malay world, including Bowrey himself. Bowrey recorded many terms related to flora in his notes about the countries around the Bay of Bengal, which included those for traded plants such as cloves, nutmeg, and other spices. The table below shows the terms for plants that Bowrey recorded in his dictionary, as well as notes on the countries around the Bay of Bengal.

⁶⁷ Ibid, p.21.

⁶⁸ Bowrey, T. (1903). *A Geographical Account of countries Round the Bay of Bengal , 1669-1679*. Cambridge: The Hakluyt Society.

Table 39 Terms related to flora recorded by Bowrey.

WORD (TBD)	DEFINITION & GLOS	MML EQUIVALENT
<i>Ādis</i>	Fennel	<i>jintan</i>
<i>Ādis manis</i>	Anniſeed	<i>jintan manis</i>
<i>Ālia</i>	Ginger	<i>halia</i>
<i>Ampullum</i>	a Mango, a Fruit in India.	<i>empulur (?)</i>
<i>Bamboo</i>	Bamboo, a Sort of Cane.	<i>bambu</i>
<i>Pambou</i>	a sort of cane, also the Name of a Cocave-Measure, used in Achee and Sumatra.	
<i>Bāroos</i>	Weſt, Borneo camphir	<i>barus</i>
<i>Bāvang</i>	an Onion — <i>mēra</i> , an Onion, or Shalot. __ <i>pootee</i> , Garlick.	<i>bawang</i>
<i>Boonga pāla</i>	Mace.	<i>bunga pala</i>
<i>Cāchew</i>	Cauch, Terra japan.	<i>kacu (katchu)</i>
<i>Cālamback</i>	Lignum aloes, Agilawood.	<i>kelembak</i>
<i>Cālāpa</i>	a Coconut, full grown.	<i>kelapa</i>
<i>Camcāmoon</i>	Cinnamon.	<i>koma-koma</i>
<i>Cāpālaga</i>	Cardimoms.	<i>pelaga</i>
<i>Cāphoor</i>	Camphir.	<i>kamfor</i>
<i>Cāpoor</i>	Lime <i>bālābor dūṅgan Cāpoor</i> , to Whiten, or Plaiſter with Lime.	<i>kapur</i>
<i>Carcāpoolee*</i>	a Plum as big as a Cherry.	<i>Karivēppilai</i>
<i>Cātoombar</i>	Coriander ſeed.	<i>ketumbar</i>
<i>Cāyoo mānis</i>	-	<i>kayu manis</i>
<i>Jēra mānis</i>	Anniſeed, Mint.	
<i>chabe</i>	long pepper	<i>cabai</i>
<i>Chankee</i>	a Clove.	<i>cengkih</i>
<i>Chinkee</i>	Cloves, a Clove.	
<i>Chimmēlagy*</i>	Tamarind.	<i>asam celagi</i>
<i>Chindāna</i>	Sandal wood, Yellow-Sanders.	<i>cendana</i>
<i>Coobāchēna *</i>	Cubebs.	<i>kemukus</i>
<i>Cuba chēna</i>		
<i>Cumūc</i>		
<i>Coonhet</i>	Turmerick.	<i>kunyit</i>
<i>Coohir</i>		
<i>Dāmar</i>	a Torch, the Gum of a Tree.	<i>damar</i>
<i>Dāmar bātoo,</i>	Rofin	<i>damar</i>
<i>Jāwar</i>		<i>damar batu</i>
<i>Doorēan</i>	Doorēan, a Prickly fruit in India.	<i>durian</i>
<i>Durian</i>		
<i>Jamboa</i>	Pommelo	<i>jambua</i> <i>sj limau (yg besar), limau bali, Citrus decumana.</i>
<i>Jintan</i>	Cuminſeed.	<i>jintan</i>
<i>Kāchang kēpee*</i>	a Flat ſort of Garavances or Beans.	<i>kacang kapri</i>

<i>Lāda</i>	Pepper. —pootee, white Pepper.	<i>lada</i>
<i>Lañcooa</i>	Gallingal.	<i>Lengkuas</i>
<i>Langquas</i>		
<i>Jērooc</i>	Lemons Jērooc tēpis a Lime, Lemon —curbo, a Citron. —mānis, an Orange. —tēpis, a Lime, Lemon. Limes āchār	<i>Id, Jeruk</i>
<i>Mace</i>	Boonga pāla	<i>bunga pala</i>
<i>Mango, Mango</i>	Ampullum. a fruit in India.	<i>mangga</i>
<i>Mangoſtan</i>	Mangoſtan, a fruit in India.	<i>manggis</i>
<i>Mangosteen</i>		
<i>Mangastino</i>		
<i>Mājākānee</i>	a Gaul-nut.	<i>manjakani</i>
<i>Mēty</i>	Coriander seed.	-
<i>Ooby kaſtella</i>	Parſnips.	<i>ubi ketela</i>
<i>padi</i>	Paddy	<i>padi</i>
<i>Pāla</i>	Nutmeg	<i>pala</i>
<i>Pēnang</i>	beetel-nut	<i>pinang</i>
<i>Pēfang</i>	a Plaintain, or Bonano, fruits in India.	<i>pisang</i>
<i>Rambūtan</i>	Leachee (litchi)	<i>rambutan</i>
<i>Rambotang</i>		
<i>Rōtan</i>	—bēfarr, a Cane.	<i>rotan</i>
<i>Sāgo</i>	Sāgo, is made of the Pith of a tree in India, and is healthful and pleaſant to eat.	<i>sagu</i>
<i>Sāsāvee</i>	Muſtard.	<i>sesawi</i>
<i>Seeree</i>	Beetel	<i>Sireh</i>
<i>Tābee</i>	Long pepper.	<i>cabai (?)</i>
<i>Tēboo, Tōboo</i>	a Sugar-cane.	<i>tebu</i>
<i>a Sugar-Cane.</i>	—Mill, or preſſ, Āpitan tōboo, Āpit tōboo.	

Bowrey also includes words derived from languages from other Asian regions, such as Tamil, Hindi, and Chinese⁶⁹. I categorised these terms according to type in order to simplify the comparison and discussion, namely spices, vegetables, fruit, and agricultural products. For each of these groups, words that exhibit noticeable deviations will be discussed. The deviations refer to form and meaning. Words that do not have equivalent terms in MML were determined

⁶⁹ Words marked with * means that they originate from foreign languages such as Hindi, Tamil and Chinese.

by perusing contemporary dictionaries, and word lists and notes or documents published prior to Bowrey's dictionary.

Spices became a symbol of Nusantara's glory that enriched the history of the region. The journey to procure spices was not an easy one. Spices, which were luxury commodities, were a symbol of status, prestige, wealth, and power. Before spices became well-known as flavour and aroma enhancers, Turner (2011) stated that spices such as pepper first captured the attention of physicians as forms of medicine before entering culinary use (in Fadly Rahman, 2019). Nutmeg and cloves, for example, which are synonymous with the Maluku Islands, are recorded in numerous European travel journals, early bilingual dictionaries, and fables. In the semantic domain of the word spice, I categorised several words that are not only terms for spices from Nusantara but also terms for spices from India, for instance. The following are terms for spices that were recorded by Bowrey in his manuscripts.

Table 40 Terms for spices in Thomas Bowrey's dictionary and notes.

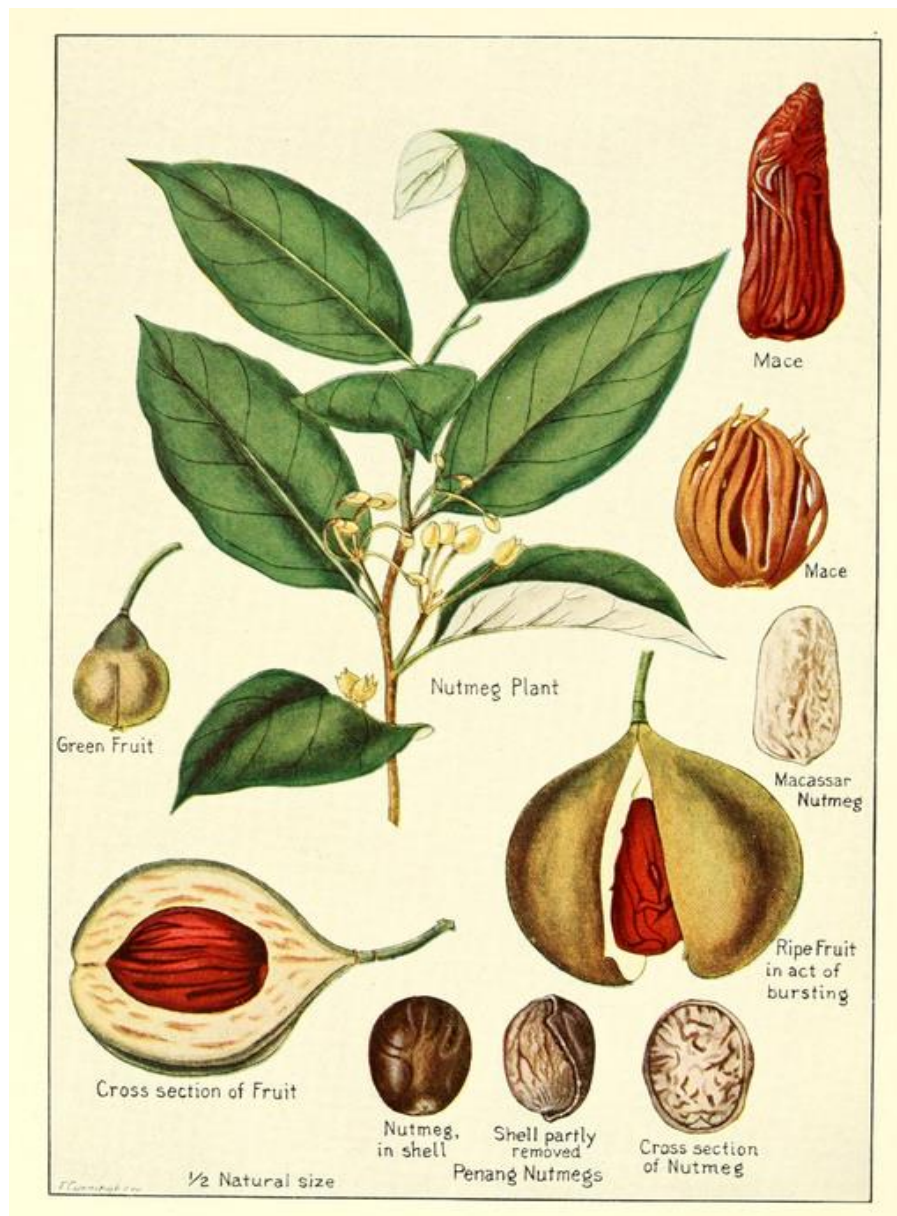
TBD	DEFINITION & GLOS	MML EQUIVALENT
<i>Ādis</i>	Fennel	<i>jintan</i>
<i>Ādis manis</i>	Annifeed	<i>jintan manis</i>
<i>Boonga pāla</i>	Mace.	<i>bunga pala</i>
<i>Pāla</i>	Brown as paper.	<i>pala</i>
<i>Boaa pāla</i>	a Nutmeg	
<i>Camcāmoon</i>	Cinnamon.	<i>koma-koma</i>
<i>Cāpāлага</i>	Cardimoms.	<i>pelaga</i>
<i>Cātoombar</i>	Coriander seed.	<i>ketumbar</i>
<i>Mēty</i>	Coriander seed.	-
<i>Chankee</i>	Cloves, a Clove.	<i>cengkih</i>
<i>Chinkee</i>	Cloves.	
<i>Chenkee</i>	Cloves.	
<i>Coobāchēna</i>	Cubebs.	<i>kemukus</i>
<i>Cūba chēna</i>		
<i>Cumūc</i>		
<i>Kōmoonkoos</i>	Cubebs.	<i>kemukus</i>
<i>Coonhet</i>	Turnerick.	<i>kunyit</i>
<i>Coohir</i>		
<i>Mājākānee</i>	a Gaul-nut.	<i>manjakani</i>
<i>Lāda</i>	Pepper.	<i>lada</i>
	—pootee, white Pepper.	

<i>Jēra mānis</i>	Annisfeed, Mint.	<i>Jintan manis</i>
<i>Cāyoo mānis</i>	Cinnamon, Caffia-lignum.	<i>kayu manis</i>
<i>Jintan</i>	Cuminfeed.	<i>jintan</i>
<i>Sāsāvee</i>	Mustard.	<i>sesawi</i>

Luxury spices from Banda and Maluku, nutmeg and cloves, were particularly coveted, and are accordingly the two types of spices that were most frequently recorded by Europeans travelling in the region. The same goes for Bowrey, even though he did not explain this at length in his account of “The Bay of Bengal” (1903). However, both sections of his dictionary contain words related to nutmeg. Bowrey’s description of nutmeg was related to *Boonga pāla*, “Mace”, and the word *pāla* itself which was described as “Brown as paper”. Bowrey’s depiction of nutmeg being brown like paper⁷⁰ refers to the copper-brown colour of a nutmeg shell. The entire nutmeg fruit can be used for various purposes; from the seed to the skin, every part of the fruit is useful. Idris Awab (2020) explains that the innermost part of the nutmeg fruit, namely the seeds and its outer covering (mace) can be used as spices when dried. The pericarp⁷¹ can also be made into snacks such as fruit candy, preserved nutmeg, and *kandi*, which are foods synonymous with Pulau Pinang. Saturated oil can be extracted from the seeds and the aril of this fruit and used as traditional medicine for stomach pain and fatigue. Further, nutmeg juice has also recently become popular among consumers. Besides Bowrey’s dictionary, Danckaerts (1623, p.102) also recorded the word *palla*, “of bonga-palla”. Similarly, Haex (ca.1597) recorded the word *palla*, as “bonga-palla”.

⁷⁰ Paper colour (?) and the manufacture of paper, materials used and so on.

⁷¹ Students’ Dictionary (online edition) describes pericarp as an outer layer of a plant’s ovary which consists of endocarp, mesocarp and exocarp (Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 2020).

Figure 15 Cross-section of a nutmeg.

Note: Photo taken from McCormick & Co. (1915). *Spices, Their Nature and Growth, The Vanilla-Bean, A Talk on Tea*. Baltimore: Munder Thomsen Press, pp.8.

The word clove is also recorded in three different variants by Bowrey, namely *chankee*, “cloves, a clove”, *Chinkee*, “Cloves”, and *chenkee*, which also means “Cloves”. Bowrey mentions that “Many of them have the Shackles on their arms made of **Chanke**, a great Shell brought from Tutacree (a Dutch Factorie neare the Cape Comorin)” (1903, p.208). The spelling

in this entry again differs from the previous three words recorded in his dictionary and the Index section of his notebook. Here, I assume that this could be caused by printing errors and mistakes made by the copyist when reading the notes and writings Bowrey left behind. A deviation in form which frequently occurs is the vowel in the middle of the word *cengkih*, which is *ə* that is spelt with *a* and *i*, as shown in the table above. Apart from the word clove, other names of spices with more than one form include *kunyit*, which is also spelt *Coonhet* or *Coohir*, “Turmerick”. Bowrey does not explain the word turmeric in his account of countries around the Bay of Bengal.

Similarly, the word cinnamon is recorded in two different forms, namely *Cāyoo mānis*, “Cinnamon, Caſſia-lignum” and *Camcāmoon*, “Cinnamon”. The word *Cāyoo mānis* is recorded as a word derived from the word *Cāyoo*. In his account of the Bay of Bengal, Bowrey did not mention *Cāyoo mānis* but instead recorded the scientific name for cinnamon; “From Java Major, Sugar, Sugar Candid, rice, **Cassia Fistula...**” (1903, p.2919). In the footnotes, Richard Carnac Temple; an editor of Bowrey’s “The Bay of Bengal” papers, explained that the word *Cassia Fistula* that Bowrey was referring to most likely referred to the same tree mentioned by Watts in his Dictionary of Economic Products of India, namely “The name *Cassia Fistula...* was first applied to a form of cinnamon very similar to the *Cassia Lignea* of the present day, the name *Fistula* having been given because of the bark being rolled up” ⁷². For the word *Camcāmoon*, “Cinnamon” however, there is no equivalent word in MML, Danckaerts (1623) and Heax (1597). I opine that the word *Camcāmoon*, in MML, is the word *koma-koma*, which means “the dried flower pistils of the plant *Crocus sativus* used as a spice, flavouring and food colouring” (*Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat*, 2007, p.807). *Crocus sativus* in KDE4 refers to *saffron*. I also presume that the *oo* sound in the word *Camcāmoon* is similar to the sound of the final syllable of the word cinnamon, which is *-mon*.

⁷² Ibid, 291.

For the word *jintan*, Bowrey recorded four variants, namely *Ādis*, “Fennel”, *Ādis manis*, “Annifeed”, *Jēra mānis*, “Annisfeed, Mint”, and *Jintan*, ‘Cuminfeed’. Originally, Bowrey knew that these three spices, namely sweet cumin, fennel or black cumin, and white cumin come from the same family. However, Bowrey confused the terms *adis* and *adas*, which refer to two spices from the same family. *Ādis manis* and *Jēra mānis* mean the same thing, which is “Annifeed”. The word *Jēra mānis* has no equivalent word in MML. When cross-checked with the word aniseed in Marsden (1812, p.381), it is found to mean sweet fennel. The word *adas* in Marsden is described as “adas or adis; fennel”⁷³. Likewise, Wilkinson marks the word *adas* as “1 Fennel. Also (specifically) a. spicy or “peppery fennel” in contrast to a. sweet, adis, or sweet cumin, “sweet fennel” or aniseed” (1932, p.156). Based on the meanings given by Marsden and Wilkinson⁷⁴, the word *adas manis* seems to refer to aniseed, as in the case of Bowrey’s *Ādis manis*. The word *adas* in Wilkinson, which refers to fennel, is similar to Marsden’s definition and, even though it differs in form from Bowrey’s, the meaning remains the same for all three. I believe that *adis* is a variant of the word *adas*. In the *Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat* (2007:, p.8), the word *adas* refers to “1. = ~ *landi* = ~ *pedas sj tumbuhan (herba), Foeniculum vulgare*; 2. = ~ *cina* = ~ *manis sj tumbuhan (herba), Anethum graveolens*”, although the word *adis* cannot be found in KDE4. Similarly, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (KBBI-online) does not record the word *adis*. In the Austronesian Comparative Dictionary (Trussel, 2020, online) the proto-form of the word *adas* is **hadas* from Proto West Malayo Polinesia (PWMP) which means “anise, aniseed, fennel: *Foeniculum vulgare*”. The word *adas* is also found in the Lampung dialect *adas*, old Javanese *hadas*, Javanese *adas* and *leṅa adas* and also Balinese *adas*. Bowrey also recorded the word *Jintan* which means

⁷³ *Ibid*, p.3.

⁷⁴ *Dictionaries produced in the 16th and 17th century often become sources of reference for subsequent dictionaries, therefore it is not impossible if the terms in TBD are also recorded in other dictionaries such as Marsden.*

“Cuminfeed”. I conclude that the word *Jēra mānis* was understood by Bowrey despite the varying forms reported, possibly caused by differences in pronunciation. The word *ketumbar* is also recorded by Bowrey in two different forms, which both refer to the same meaning, namely *Cātoombar* and *Mēty* which mean “Coriander seed”.

Figure 16 Types of spices.



Note: Personal collection

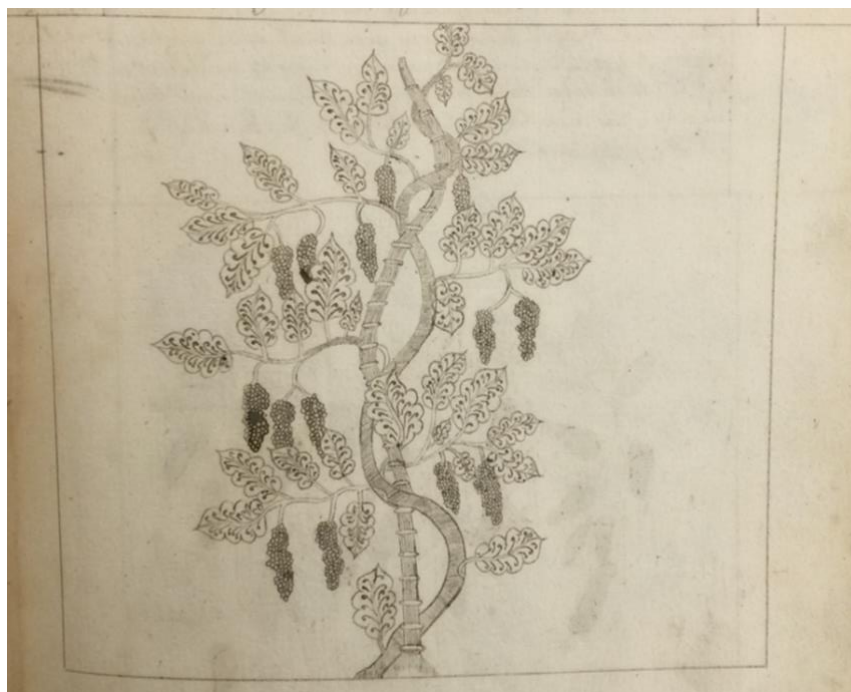
The word *kemukaas* also has four variants, namely *Kōmoonkoos*, *Coobāchēna*, *Cūba chēna*, and *Cuṁuc*, which mean “*Cubeb*”. *Kemukus*, or tailed pepper (*Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat* 2007 & Wilkinson, 1932), is a plant that is often used to treat venereal diseases such as gonorrhoea and respiratory diseases such as bronchitis, and so on (Endjo Djauhariya et al, 2006). Bowrey’s account of the Bay of Bengal did not explain the word *kemukus*. And Hobson-Jobson (1886) explains the word *Cubeb* as:

“*Cubeb, s. The fruit of the Piper Cubela, a climbing shrub of the Malay region. The word and the article were well known in Europe in the Middle Ages, the former being taken directly from the Arab. Kabābah. It was used as a spice like other peppers, though less common. The importation into Europe had become infinitesimal, when it revived in this century, owing to the medicinal power of the article having become known to our medical officers during the British occupation of Java (1811-1815)*” (p.214).

In Hindi, the word Cubeb or *kabāb-cini* means “Piper cubeba, a Javan shrub, used medicinally and the source of a resin” (McGregor, R. S., 1993, p.167). *Kemunkus* or *Kabab-Cini* entered Europe through India after trade relations were established with the Arabs. According to the travel route of this plant and the two forms of the word *kemunkus* recorded by Bowrey, namely *Coobāchēna* and *Cūba chēna*, I contend that these two words are derived from *kabab-cini*, a Hindi word, which must have been heard by Bowrey.

In his account of the Bay of Bengal, Bowrey observed that *Lada*, “Pepper” grew abundantly in the state of Kedah. Bowrey mentions; “This country produces a considerable quantity of pepper, which is indeed astounding, and not without a desert that is considered the best in India or the Southern Seas... none grows on the mainland of this kingdom but on an island... named Pullo Ladda... 8 miles south-west of the river Queda... black pepper and white pepper grow...”. (1903, p.276-277). Bowrey also included sketches for the two types of peppers he mentioned, namely long pepper and white pepper.

Figure 17 Pepper in Queda.



Note: Photo taken from Thomas Bowrey papers, Mss Eur D782 (1669-1679), British Library.

Figure 18 Long pepper.



Note: Photo taken from Thomas Bowrey papers, Mss Eur D782 (1669-1679), British Library.

Besides spices, Bowrey also recorded words related to vegetables. In this category, there is a word originating from Tamil, *Carcāpoolee*. In the table below, there are also vegetables that did not originate from the Malay Archipelago but were brought in by foreign traders, namely *Chimmēlagy* and *Kāchang kēpee*.

Table 41 Flora terms for the category of vegetables.

TBD	DEFINITION & GLOS	EQUIVALENT
<i>Ālia</i>	Ginger	<i>halia</i>
<i>Bāvāng</i>	an Onion __mēra, an Onion, or Shalot. __poootee, Garlick.	<i>bawang</i>
<i>Chabe</i>	long pepper	<i>cabai</i>
<i>Carcāpoolee</i>	a Plum as big as a Cherry.	<i>daun kari, Karivēppilai</i>
<i>Cālāpa</i>	a Coconut, full grown.	<i>kelapa</i>
<i>Chimmēlagy</i>	Tamarind.	<i>asam celagi</i>
<i>Lañcooa</i>	Gallingal.	<i>Lengkuas</i>
<i>Langquas</i>		
<i>Jērooc</i>	Lemons Jērooc tēpis a Lime, Lemon __curbo, a Citron. __mānis, an Orange. __tēpis, a Lime, Lemon. Limes āchār	<i>Jeruk</i> <i>Limau</i>
<i>Kāchang kēpee</i>	a Flat sort of Garavances or Beans.	<i>kacang kapri</i>
<i>Ooby kaftella</i>	Parfnips.	<i>ubi ketela</i>

In the table above, the word *Carcāpoolee*, “a Plum as big as a Cherry”, is a familiar term to people living in Asia. The meaning given by Bowrey to this word refers to the *Carcāpoolee* fruit, which is as big as a cherry. The word *Carcāpoolee*, in MML, refers to curry leaves which are usually called *karipule*. Curry leaf or *karipule* is a word borrowed from the Tamil language, *karivēppilai*, from the Rutaceae family, with the botanical name *Murraya koenigii Spreng* (Pandanus Homepage, 2020). The fruit of this tree are green and it has white

flowers when it is still immature. It turns a purplish-red colour, similar to the colour of cherries, when ripe. Thus, the nature of the *Carcāpoolee* fruit is described by comparing it to a cherry.

Figure 19 Curry berries.



Note: Photo donated by Mastura Binti Ab Razak from Baling, Kedah, Malaysia.

The same is true for the word *Kāchang kēpee* in Bowrey's dictionary. The equivalent word for *Kāchang kēpee*, "a Flat sort of Garavances or Beans" is *kacang kapri* in MML and it

is one of the Lablab bean species, *Lablab purpureus (dolichos lablab)*. In KDE4 (2007, p.675), *kapri* beans are described as “*sj kacang kara*” and in KBBI (online) as “*kacang kara yang bentuknya bulat, berwarna hijau (muda); Pisum sativum*”.

The word *Chimmēlagy* means “Tamarind, Assam” in Bowrey’s dictionary. The word Tamarind is mentioned several times in Bowrey’s account of the Bay of Bengal with reference to the tree and its fruit, as found in Choromandel, Bengal, and Queda (Kedah). Hobson-Jobson also describes the word Tamarind as “The pod of the tree which takes its name from that product, *Tamarindus indica*, L., ... cultivated throughout India and Burma for the sake of the acid pulp of the pod, which is laxative and cooling, forming a most refreshing drink in fever... The origin of the name is curious. It is Ar. tamar-u’l-Hind, ‘Aa.te of India,’ or perhaps rather, in Persian form, tamar-i Hindi. It is possible that the original name may have been thamar; (‘fruit’) of India, rather than tamar, (‘date’)” (Yule, Henry & Burnell, A. C., 1903, p. 680). Likewise, KDE4 lists the word *celagi* as having the meaning “1. *sj tumbuhan (pokok dan buahnya), asam jawa, Tamarindus indica*; 2. *sj tumbuhan (herba), Xyris anceps*” (2007, p.257). The closest equivalent of the word *Chimmēlagy* would be *asam celagi* in MML. Wilkinson (1932, p.5888) lists the word *chēlagi* as “*Asam chēlagi: tamarind, = asam jawa*”. *Asam celagi* is a tamarind confectionery that is particularly popular on the east coast of Peninsular Malaysia in Kelantan and Terengganu. *Asam celagi* is produced by coating ripe tamarind fruit with sugar and chili powder and then wrapping it in plastic like candy. Bowrey had probably seen this sweet before.

Figure 20 Modern *Asam Celagi* as a candy.



Note: Photo taken from *Asam Celagi Ummi Facebook*⁷⁵.

⁷⁵ Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=811845496798222&set=ecnf.100039183386534>, (retrieved on 2 August 2023).

Tropical fruits from the flora category were both unique and interesting to the Europeans who came to the region. This is due to the unique appearance of these fruit and their taste and smell, which often cause discomfort, especially for those who experience them for the first time. In his account of the Bay of Bengal, Bowrey describes the fruit found in Queda (Kedah) as follows: “They have several sorts of very good fruit in the country, vizt. limes, lemons, **Duryans**, **Mangoes** and Pines...” (1903, p.322), as well as Achin (Acheh); Bowrey mentions that “This country afford several excellent good fruits, namely **Duryans**, **Mangastinos**, Oranges the best in India or the South Seas, comparable with the best of China, Lemons, Limes, **Ramastines**, Coconutts, Plantans, Pineaples, Mangoes, Mirablins, Bolangos, Monsoone plums, Puple Mooses, and the trees bear fruit both green and ripe all the year along”⁷⁶. From this excerpt, several fruits were mentioned by Bowrey, which include *durian*, mango, mangosteen, *rambutan* and coconut. The table below reports terms for fruits as well as the relevant descriptions by Bowrey.

Table 42 Terms for fruit in the dictionary and Bowrey’s account of the Bay of Bengal.

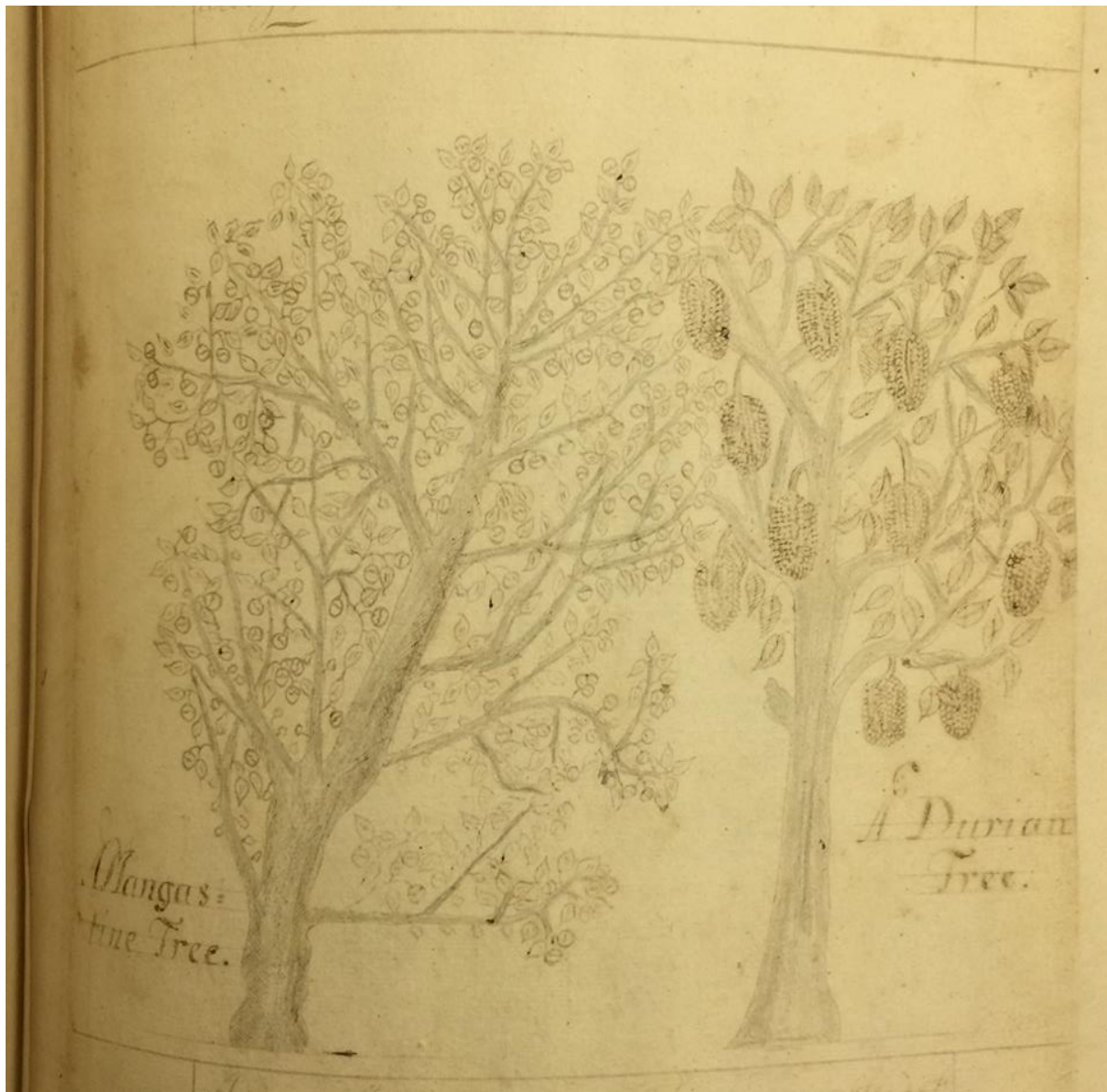
TBD	DEFINITION & GLOS	MML EQUIVALENT
<i>Ampullum</i>	a Mango, a Fruit in India.	<i>empulur (?)</i>
<i>Doorēan</i>	Doorēan, a Prickly fruit in India.	<i>durian</i>
<i>Durian</i>		
<i>Duryans</i>		
<i>Jamboa</i>	Pommelo	<i>jambua</i> <i>sj limau (yg besar), limau bali, Citrus decumana.</i>
<i>Mango, Mango</i>	Ampullum. a fruit in India.	<i>mangga</i>
<i>Mangoftan</i>	Mangoftan, a fruit in India.	<i>manggis</i>
<i>Mangosteen</i>		
<i>Mangastino</i>		
<i>Pēfang</i>	a Plaintain, or Bonano, fruits in India.	<i>pisang</i>
<i>Poomplemoos</i>	Poomplemoos, a fruit in India was brought from India by Captain Shaddock, the seeds of which was	<i>limau bali</i>

⁷⁶ Ibid, p. 322-324.

	planted at Barbadoes, and the fruit of them there, is now named Shaddock.	
<i>Rambūtan</i>	Leachee (litchi)	<i>rambutan</i>
<i>Rambotang</i>		
<i>Sāgo</i>	Sāgo, is made of the Pith of a tree in India, and is healthful and pleafant to eat.	<i>sagu</i>
<i>Tēboo, Tōboo</i>	a Sugar-cane.	<i>tebu</i>
<i>a Sugar-Cane.</i>	—Mill, or prefs, Āpitan tōboo, Āpit tōboo.	

Bowrey recorded the word *durian* as having three variants, namely *Doorēan*, *Duryans*, and *Durian*, which means “a Prickly fruit in India”. Wilkinson (1932, p.8810) recorded the word *durian* as “Thorny fruit”. In Hobson-Jobson, two variants are recorded, namely *durian* and *dorian*, which are described as “Malay duren, Molucca form *duriyān*, from *durī* ‘a thorn or prickle,’ the great fruit of the tree (N. 0. Bombaceae) called by botanists as *Durio zibethinus*, D. 0. The tree appears to be a native of the Malay Peninsula, and the nearest islands; from which it has been carried to Tenasserim on one side and to Mindanao on the other” (Yule, Henry & Burnell, A. C., 1903, p.255). The word *mangosteen* in Bowrey’s dictionary is also recorded as having several variants such as *Mangofstan*, *Mangosteen*, and *Mangastino* which means “Mangofstan, a fruit in India”. Hobson-Jobson (Yule, Henry & Burnell, A. C., 1903) describes the word *Mangosteen* as a fruit that is well known throughout the Malay Archipelago, and it is a fruit of an archipelago known as *Mangusta*. It is also referred to as *manggistan* (Favre) and, in Java, as *manggis*. Bowrey also left sketches of a mangosteen tree and a durian tree, as shown below in his account of the Bay of Bengal (1903).

Figure 21 Sketch of a durian tree and a mangosteen tree by Bowrey.



Note: Photo taken from Thomas Bowrey papers, Mss Eur D782 : 1669-1679.

The word banana is recorded by Bowrey in his dictionary as *Pēfang* “a Plaintain, or Bonano, fruit in India”. Bowrey also explains how bananas were used as one of the dishes to welcome and celebrate the arrival of his entourage in Janselone; Bowrey explains, “After wee have come to a Composition he feasteth us royally a day or two, or more if wee be free to Stay; and dismisseth us downe with many Complements and great attendants, and giveth us a convenient house to dwell in during our Stay, and doth often Send us henns, ducks, coconuts,

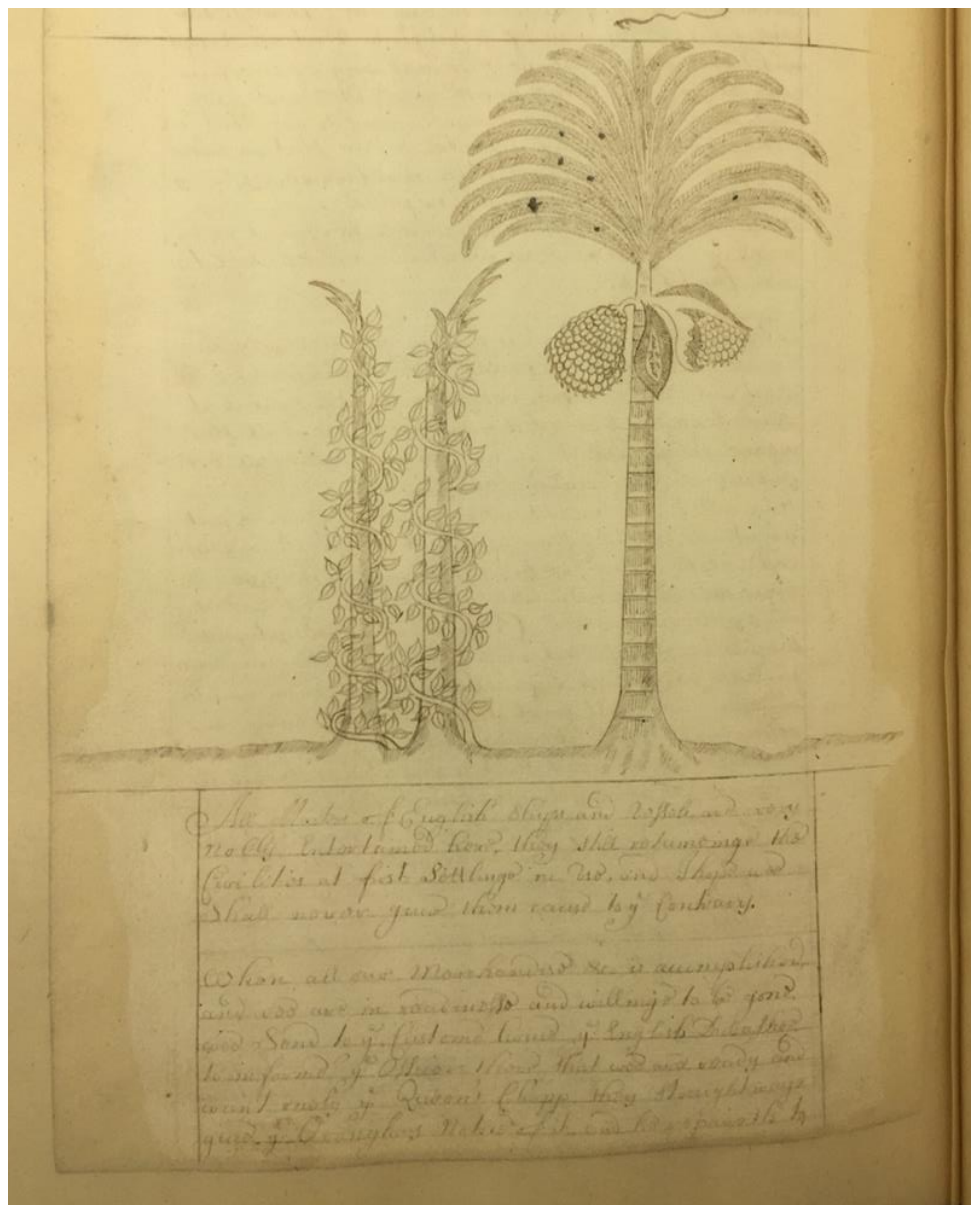
Plantans, &c..., and beats the Gunge for all people that please to buy our goods, before which they dare not buy any” (1903, p.245). Bowrey also mentions that bananas were among the best fruits available in the state of Janselone; “...The best, and indeed all the fruite this countrey affordeth is Coconutt, **Plantan**, **Sam cau** and Betelee Areca...but noe fruits soe plenteous here as the **Plantan** and Samcau... ”⁷⁷. In his account of Choromandel, Bowrey refers to banana trees, including banana fruits that were used when elephants were transported by ship for days on end and how these trees and fruits became lifesavers. Bowrey mentioned, “Each of these large animals must have at least 70 banana trees laid down to provide its food at the time of its transport, and, at some seasons in the year 100, when they expect a more tedious journey at sea... the banana trees being a very easy thing to dry up naturally, and will not dry up in less than 2 months, and many a time the Monyoone I have known have been at sea for a month, and still landed all their elephants safely” (1903, p. 73).

In his account of the Bay of Bengal, Bowrey also recorded other terms used to symbolise bananas. In his description of the state of Queda (Kedah), Bowrey recorded other terms used for bananas. His description was one of how people in Kedah tamed wild elephants by using tame elephants as bait in a fenced area in which bananas and bamboo were also placed⁷⁸. Bowrey mentions the word “Plantrees” instead of plantan; according to Temple, R.C., the form “Plantrees” is a contemporary form of the word “plane-tree” which refers to plantain or banana⁷⁹. In MML, plantain is also known as *pisang tanduk* due to its larger size compared to the common banana and plantain is used as an ingredient in cooking due to its starchier texture.

⁷⁷ Ibid, 247-248.

⁷⁸ “The tamed Elephants goe into the woods (where the Wild ones resort) and feigne themselvs as mad as they, and by that means they delude them into a very Stronge pound or fence made for the Same purpose, and when 5 or 6 tame Elephants have gotten one or two wild ones in, they fall upon them and beat them severely, untill the Keepers come and put their leggs in the Stocks, by which means, and having the tame Elephants by them, and good Store of victuals, as **Plantrees**, younge bamboos and the like, they alsoe in the Space of 30 or 40 days become tame, but they never ingender after they are once tamed” (Bowrey, T., 1903, p.274).

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

Figure 22 A sketch of a Banana Tree and Betel Leaf by Thomas Bowrey.

Note: Photo taken from Thomas Bowrey papers, Mss Eur D782 : 1669-1679.

Rambutan is also recorded by Bowrey in three variants, namely *Rambūtan*, *Rambotang*, and *Ramastines*, which are assigned the meaning “Leachee (litchi)”. Bowrey mentions rambutans in his account of the islands around the Bay of Bengal when describing Acheh as follows: “This country affordeth Severall Excellent good fruites, Namely Duryans, Mangastinos, Oranges the best in India or the South Seas, comparable with the best of China,

Lemons, Limes, **Ramastines**, Coconutts, Plantans, Pineapples, Mangoes, Mirablins, Bolangos...” (1903, p.322-323). Similarly, *sago* or *Sāgo*, as recorded in TBD, is described by Bowrey as “Sāgo, is made of the Pith of a tree in India, and is healthful and pleafant to eat” (Bowrey, 1701). Bowrey gives a description of sago in the dialogue section of his dictionary as one of the foods found in Borneo. Even though India was mentioned in his dictionary, an example of a brief conversation that contains the word *sago* is given in the Borneo section of his dictionary. Bowrey mentions the dialogue in his dictionary; “...*de sāna dā can kitta berjāmoo pada moo dunḡan Sārong boorlong, SagoI, daen jēnis mācānan lāin Sēdap pada rāsa, lāgee dunḡan Seeree Pēnang rang sēdap pada rāfa*” (1701, p.Dialogues Section). In addition to fruit, Bowrey also recorded words related to forest produce and agricultural products, as presented in the table below.

Table 43 List of forest produce listed by Bowrey in his notes and dictionary.

TBD	DEFINITION & GLOS	MML EQUIVALENT
<i>Bambooo</i> <i>Pambou</i>	Bamboo, a Sort of Cane. is a sort of cane, also the Name of a Cocave-Measure, used in Achee and Sumatra.	<i>Bambu</i>
<i>Bāroos</i>	West, Borneo camphir	<i>barus</i>
<i>Cāchew</i> <i>Cālamback</i> <i>Cāphoor</i> <i>Cāpoor</i>	Cauch, Terra japan. Lignum aloes, Agilawood. Camphir. Lime bālābor dunḡan Cāpoor, to Whiten, or Plaijster with Lime.	<i>kacu (katchu)</i> <i>kelembak</i> <i>kamfor</i> <i>kapur</i>
<i>Chindāna</i> <i>Dāmar</i> <i>Dāmar bātoo, Jāwar</i> <i>Paddee</i> <i>Pēnang</i>	Sandal wood, Yellow-Sanders. a Torch, the Gum of a Tree. Roḡin Rice with the husk on. beetel-nut is eaten with the Leaf. a Beetle-box, or Slaver, Chārāna.	<i>cendana</i> <i>damar</i> <i>damar batu</i> <i>padi</i> <i>pinang</i>
<i>Rōtan</i>	a Ratan —bēfarr, a Cane.	<i>rotan</i>
<i>Seeree</i>	Beetel-leaf is much eaten in India.	<i>sireh</i>

Agricultural products including forest produce that grow wild are also recorded by Bowrey, including plants that used for customary purposes by some of the people in the region, such as the custom of chewing a mixture of betel leaf and areca nut. Bowrey describes *sireh* or *Seeree*, “Beetel-leaf; is much waten in India” in his account of the Bay of Bengal as “...a broad leafe not very much unlike an Ivie leafe, only something thinner, and groweth resembling the Vine, as followeth” (1903, p.306). The areca nut, which Bowrey refers to as *Areca*, a term from its scientific name, is described as growing from a tall tree with a small trunk. Bowrey noted that “*Areca, vizt. commonly called betelee Nut, doth grow Upon a very comely streight and Slender tree, tapering in joynt, and the nutt groweth out of the body thereof below the branches...It is very hard wood, and much Used by many in India to make lances and pikes on*”⁸⁰.

Rattan and bamboo are two types of forest produce that are not only important as economic resources but also for use in daily life. Rattan and bamboo were historically used by the communities of this region to build houses. Bowrey also describes the use of rattan and bamboo in his dictionary, as well as in his account of the Bay of Bengal. In particular, he recorded the word rattan in his dictionary as *Rōtan*, “a Ratan”, also mentioning houses in Queda (Kedah) that were built using rattan in his notes:

“Theire buildings in this Generall are but of a very meane Sort built of Bamboos and Rattans, and Stand for the most part Upon Stillts of wood, because of the great riseinge of the waters in time of the raines, which happen fort he most prt in the Months October and November” (1903. p.277).

⁸⁰ Ibid, 306.

Apart from rattan and bamboo, other forest produce such as camphor, lime, sandalwood, rhubarb, catechu, and resin were important economic generators of the community at that time. These plants, which grew wild, were among the forest products that were traded, as can be seen in the dialogue section of Bowrey's dictionary when he recorded examples of conversations that discuss the buying and selling of forest products, as well as the amount and price for each. As for plants that were not traded but deemed unique and exotic, they would commonly be brought back to the home countries of foreign traders; if that was not possible, they would be planted in botanical gardens by botanists from their respective countries for the purposes of research and documentation for future reference.

6.4.2 Terms Related to Fauna in Bowrey's Dictionary

Fauna, or wildlife, that inhabits the jungles of the Malay Archipelago are also included in Bowrey's notes and not only recorded in his dictionary but also in his account of the Bay of Bengal (1903). Animals that were strange and unique, at least from Bowrey's point of view, would be described, some of which were subsequently sketched. This section discusses exotic and unique wildlife, as recorded by Bowrey. For the sake of brevity, I have selected only a few examples of wildlife that is interesting, unique, and not indigenous to Europe to be highlighted in the discussion. In the table below, the terms for fauna or wildlife not found in Europe and Western countries, as recorded by Bowrey in his manuscripts, are listed. The analysis of fauna in this section considers only those fauna marked with an asterisk* according to Bowrey's notes in his dictionary and other manuscripts.

Table 44 Fauna-related terms recorded by Bowrey in his work

TBD	DEFINITION & GLOS	MML EQUIVALENT
<i>Bādak*</i>	a Rhinoceros, Unicorn choola bādak, a Rhinoceros-horn.	<i>badak</i>
<i>Gōdang</i>	a Shell-fish, a great sort. —a middle sort, Kālembor, Kālembor laoot. —a small sort, or Perriwinckle, Kēchaw. —with a streaked Shell, as a ocle, Cārang.	<i>gondang</i>
<i>Ōran ootan*</i>	a Satyr —man.	<i>Orang utan</i>
<i>Canchel</i>	a Wild goat, a Roe buck.	<i>kancil</i>
<i>Gaja mīna*</i>	Ēcan gaja mīna a Whale	<i>walrus</i>
<i>Hārīman</i>	a Wolf. Anjing ootan.	<i>harimau</i>
<i>Lāba footra</i>	—that breeds in the legs, in some part of India, Oolat bedey.	<i>ulat sutera</i>
<i>Nooree</i>	a Parrot of the Mollucas.	<i>nuri</i>
<i>Rajawālee</i>	an Eagle, Hauk	<i>rajawali</i>
<i>Tockee*</i>	a Salamander	<i>tokek</i>
<i>Tēcoocoor</i>	a Turtle-dove Booroong tācoocoor, Mērāpātee.	<i>tekukur</i>
<i>Wālee</i>	an Eagle.	<i>walet</i>

Orangutans (*Pongo pygmaeus*) are inhabitants of tropical rainforests in Indonesia and Malaysia, whose name is often recorded in the diaries of Western botanists who travelled across the region. Bowrey refers to orangutans as *Ōran ootan*, “a Satyr, Satyr man”. Bowrey describes the orangutans of Borneo he encountered as having the body of a full-grown man, walking on two legs, hairless and tailless, and an animal that was intelligent when it was taught an action but was unable to speak like an ordinary human. Bowrey’s description also shows that, historically, owning and keeping wild animals, such as orangutans, was somewhat common. Bowrey himself owned two orangutans which eventually died after a few months in captivity. Even the King of Banjar kept orangutans as pets, according to Bowrey. In the dialogue section

of his dictionary (Dialogues English and Malayo), Bowrey describes the orangutans found in Borneo, noting the following:

“Ēang sātoo, Ōran Mālāyo de nāmaee Ōran ootan, ētoo la jēka jade sālin dālam bāfa Eñgrees, (Man of the woods) binnātang ēnee de tampon bēfarr sāma dunḡan ōran lakkee ēang tooboo bēfarr, Roopēnea tooboo ampir sāma dunḡan ōran, Dea bajālan bādirree ba cakkee dua, tēda poonea ramboot attau Ēcor, Chāpat menḡājar bārang perboobatan, tētāpee boo loom ōran mendunḡar dea cāta.

Ōran pooloo ētoo jēka dālam ootan tācoot padanea, Carna dea cooat fanḡat, lāgee dea buono ōran dunḡan de limpar Bātang caḡoo pada nea.

Dauloo cāla fooda kittà Poona dua ēcor binnātang ētoo, sīappa fooda mātee pada bārang sēdēkit boolon, Dea lāgee anak.

Sooda Raja Banjar poonea fa Ēcor binnātang ētoo, bēfarr nea sāma dunḡan ōran, dea jēnak berjālan cooleeling nēgree banyak taḡon”.

(p. Dialogues English and Malayo)

Waruno (2007) mentions that the word *Ōran ootan* recorded by Bowrey is a Malayic isolect spoken by the Banjar people of southeastern Kalimantan and that Bowrey probably heard this pronunciation from the Malay people living nearby. Besides Waruno, the word orangutan is also recorded in Hobson-Jobson, where *Orang-otang*, *Orang-outan* are described as “The great man-like ape of Sumatra and Borneo; *Simia Satyrus*, L. This name was first used by Bontius... It is Malay, orang-utan, ‘homo sylvaticus.’ The proper name of the animal in Borneo is *mias*” (Yule, Henry & Burnell, A. C. (1903, p.491). The word *mias*, recorded in Hobson-Jobson, is also reported by Wallace. Wallace (2015) also describes orangutans at length in his travel notes. One interesting excerpt from Wallace’s notes is the description he gives of the first *mias* (orangutan) he met; “I...saw a large red-haired animal moving slowly along,

hanging from the branches by its arms...passed on from tree to tree until it was lost in the jungle” (2015, p.106).

Figure 23 Female Orangutan.



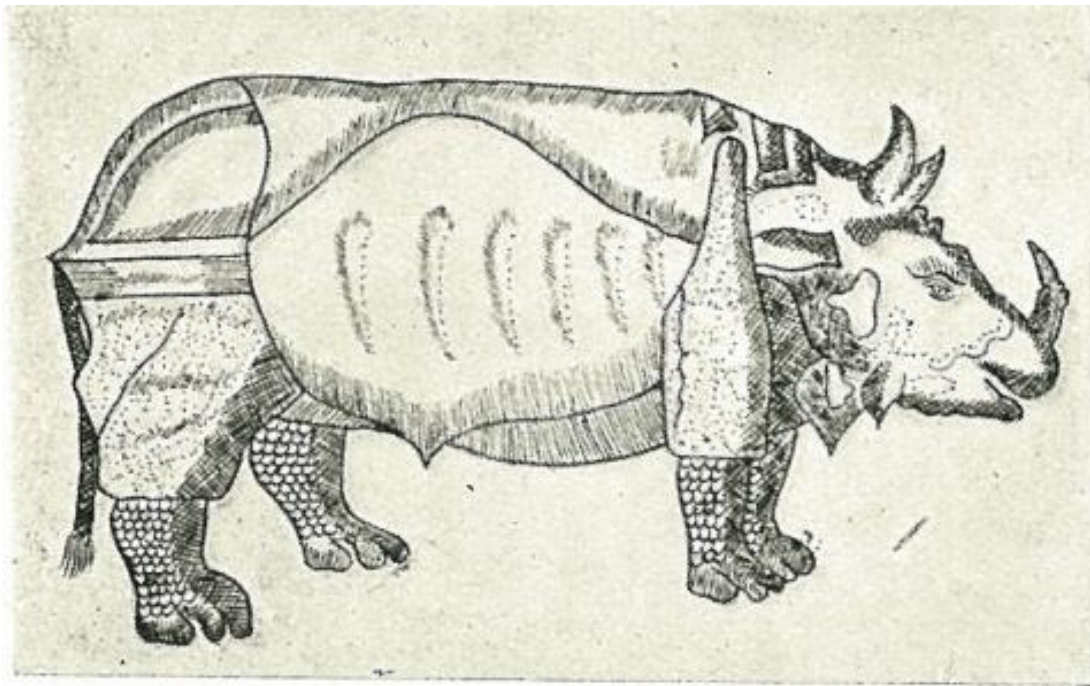
Note: Photo taken from Wallace. (2015, p.107), *The Annotated Malay Archipelago*.

Singapore: NUS Press.

Bowrey recorded the word *Bādak* and defined it as “a Rhinoceros, Unicorn” and likened the rhinoceros horn to the horn of a mythical creature called the “unicorn”. In his dictionary, Bowrey describes the rhino horn as *choola bādak*, “a Rhinoceros-horn”. An explanation for this misunderstanding was provided by Bowrey in his account of the Bay of Bengal under his notes on Pattana, a town west of the Ganges in the state of Patan. Bowrey mentions: “...the Woods in this Kingdome afford great store of those deformed Annimals called Rhinocerots,

and many of them are taken younge and tamed...Many of our Countreymen and Others in europe doe take this Creature to be the Unicorne... I do rather Condemne the Errour of this, that this is a Unicorne as it is a one horned beast, but I cannot Say that it ist he Unicorne...For example, I saw a horne of about 13 to 14 inches long, in the very forme and Shape that wee picture or carve a Unicorne's horne, it was of a very darke grey colour” (1903, p. 221-223). Although Bowrey still lists the word Unicorne in his dictionary as a secondary meaning for the word *Bādak*, Bowrey refuted and rectified this error in his account of the Bay of Bengal.

Figure 24 An illustration of a rhinoceros by Bowrey (1701).



Note: Bowrey, T. (1903). A Geographical Account of Countries Round the Bay of Bengal, 1669 to 1679. Cambridge: The Hakluyt Society

Another interesting term related to fauna discussed and recorded by Bowrey is the word *Gaja mīna*, “Ēcan gaja mīna, a Whale”. Wilkinson (1932, p.23836) defines the word *Gajah mina* as “fish-elephant; ma-kara; whale; walrus”. Wilkinson added, “The “makara” on old monuments has the head of an elephant and the body of a fish, whence (probably) the term *gajah mina*. Modern Malays who know nothing of the makara interpret *gajah mina* either as a gigantic “fish” (whale) or as a tusked sea-monster (walrus)”. In Hindu tradition, statues of this mythological creature are often sculpted onto the walls of temples. Makara, a mythological creature, is a combination of a fish and an elephant referred to as *gaja-mina*. It is often represented by a wide-open mouth with a tongue lolling out to reveal teeth with a rectangular or triangular shape and fangs with horns chiselled into the upper teeth (Susetyo, Sukawati, 2014, p.102-103). I believe that Bowrey gave *gajah-mina* the word equivalent of walrus because the characteristics of this animal resemble the description of this mythical creature that he had presumably heard of.

Other than mythological creatures such as *gajah-mina*, Bowrey also recorded the name of another type of fauna, *Tockee*, “a Salamander”. In MML, this animal is referred to as *tokek* or, according to some speakers, especially in more rural areas, *cicak tokek*. In the *Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat*, the word *tokek* is marked with etymological information from the Indonesian language, which means “*Id sj binatang spt cicak (besarnya spt mengkarung) yg kulitnya kasap*” (2007, p.1702). *Tokek*, or gecko, is a forest lizard with rough and coloured skin. It is unique as it makes a loud sound, especially during mating season. The sound emitted by the gecko brought into being the name *tokek* among Malay speakers. In fact, in the customs and traditions of the old Malay community, if a gecko enters a house, the occupants need to perform a ritual to ward off misfortune. In Bowrey’s dictionary, the equivalent word for gecko is Salamander, although of the two are actually entirely different species: salamanders are amphibians while geckos are reptiles. I am of the impression that Bowrey used the equivalent word Salamander

due to its characteristics, which are similar to that of the gecko: both have colourful skin with different patterns. In the Austronesian Comparative Dictionary (online), the word /toʔkék/ in Malay is an onomatopoeic form, the **-kik*⁸¹ sound, due to the sound made by this animal.

The terms for flora and fauna recorded in the manuscripts of other Europeans, including Bowrey, contain a lot of information and knowledge related to the socio-culture of the Malay community in the 16th and 17th centuries. The notes made by Bowrey himself provide a lot of information, including that of a linguistic nature such as etymological information and the social history of the words recorded.

6.5 Religious Terms

In light of the strong emphasis on and impetus behind missionary activities by European rulers and religious preachers, it is perhaps unsurprising that such activities also led to the emergence of various studies on the Malay language by Europeans. One might therefore reasonably expect that religious terms are among those most frequently recorded in Thomas Bowrey's dictionary. Nazilah (2017, p.1065) states in her article "Malay Science: A Study on the 17th Century Dictionary" that Bowrey noted that there are no words related to religion derived from the Malay language, and indeed that any existing religious terms used by Malay speakers are loanwords from foreign languages such as the word *Tuhan*, *malaikat*, *gereja*, or *syaitan*. This can be noted from the preface to Bowrey's dictionary, which mentions that the inhabitants in the Malay Archipelago at that time were pagan prior to embracing the Mohametan religion. This can be seen in some of the words that describe ceremonies that reflect paganism, as per the word *Toolac bara*, which is defined as "Ballast of Jhip". This term is not found in KDE4, though the *tolak bala* ceremony referred to by Bowrey is still practised by the inhabitants of

⁸¹ Shill throaty sound (Trussel, R. B. (2020, June 21). Austronesian Comparative Dictionary. Retrieved from https://www.trussel2.com/acd/acd-r_k.htm?zoom_highlight=gecko (retrieved on 2 August 2023).

the Malay Archipelago today. Such ceremonies show that they worship the spirits of their ancestors in order to gain something or to ask and worship for something. Other examples that can be seen include the word *Saṅgol*, which means “Prefage, Foretel. Saṅgol on tanḡan, Palmistry, to tell Fortunes by the hand”. The word *Saṅgol* has no equivalent word in MML. The meaning given by Bowrey has similarities to a word in the Baling dialect of Kedah, /saṅuŋ/. However, one thing that needs to be highlighted and questioned is the relationship between the word *saṅuŋ* in the Baling dialect and the word *Saṅgol*, as recorded by Bowrey. This is because, in terms of meaning, these two words have similarities which can be accepted, but in terms of phonetic form it is unclear whether the -ŋ>-l form is common in the Baling dialect, and one needs to confirm whether -ŋ >-l frequently occurs and is not differentiated between the two in the Baling dialect. I do not reject the possibility that in the future more practical explanations and proof of such may be presented by other researchers.

Table 45 Difference between the word *Saṅgol* in TBD and /saṅuŋ/ in MML.

TBD WORD	TBD MEANING	MML EQUIVALENT	MML MEANING
<i>Saṅgol</i>	Prefage, Foretel. —pada tanḡan, Palmistry, to tell Fortunes by the hand.	<i>sangung</i> /saṅuŋ/	<i>menyeru, menyebut,</i> <i>memuja.</i> <i>Berkeanaan upacara</i> <i>pemujaan kuasa</i> <i>ghaib.</i>

The data in Bowrey’s dictionary shows that most of the words related to religion are of Arabic origin such as *mēsajit* and *moskit*, are defined as “a Mohametan church, a Temple”. Meanwhile the word *Mauledon* was defined by Bowrey as “ar, Christmas-day”. The equivalent word for *Mauledon* in MML is *maulid*, which means “Ar 1. hari lahir (terutama hari lahir Nabi Muhammad SAW); 2. tempat lahir” (*Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat*, 2007, p.1009). The word *Ākīrat*, for example, means “the World to come, the Last times”, which is similar to the meaning and context given by KDE4, namely “Ar alam tempat kita berada sesudah kita mati,

*alam yg kekal (sesudah hari kiamat), alam yg baqa” (Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat, 2007, p.25). Bowrey defines the word *akhirat* according to the interpretation of the Islamic community. Similarly, the word *kiammat* is defined as “the Last Day, Last Judgement”. The meaning of this word is the same as that provided by KDE4 “Ar 1. = hari ~ akhir zaman, iaitu apabila seluruh alam musnah:2. = hari ~ hari apabila manusia dibangkitkan (drpd mati) utk dihisab segala amalannya dan diberi pem^obalasan; 3. = hari ~ hari penghisaban, iaitu hari apabila segala amalan manusia dihisab; 4. = hari ~ hari pembalasan, iaitu hari apabila manusia menerima balasan atas segala amalan baik dan buruk di dunia: pd hari ~ Allah akan menghukum dgn adil dan benar; 5. ki rosak binasa, kacau-bilau, mendapat bencana (kecelakaan):” (Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat, 2007, p.785).*

Anna Winterbottom (2016) has touched on religious terms in Bowrey’s dictionary which for the most part, at least according to her, consist of loanwords from Arabic. According to Winterbottom, this indicates that when these words were recorded, the competition between Christian and Islamic propaganda in the 17th century was fierce. Another competition that was also challenging was that of Catholic preachers, who at that time were also actively spreading their religion and attempting to gain the interest of the locals in order to convert to their religion. In one of the dialogues in the third part of Bowrey’s dictionary, namely in the ninth conversation between two travellers who talked about their respective religions, the conversation takes place between a Christian preacher and a Muslim. Winterbottom argues that in this conversation it can be understood that a religious debate took place between these two travellers. In this conversation, the subject of Islam was not directly mentioned; rather, only matters relating to prayers and the Ten Commandments, probably taken from a Dutch manuscript, were discussed. In keeping with the story of this conversation, the word *Hājal*, which means “ar, an imposture in religion”, is recorded by Bowrey in his dictionary. Although this word does not have an equivalent in MML, two interesting points may be discussed here.

Firstly, the word *Hājal* recorded by Bowrey refers to an imposture in religion. In Arabic, wherein the word *Hājal* means “shame”. This meaning is similar to the analogy and connotation described by hadith scholars when they criticise (*jarah*) any narrator who deceives when narrating the hadith, declaring them *dajjal* or *kazzab*, which means a great deceiver. The particulars of the word *Hājal* are the same as those of *Saṅgol*; Bowrey most likely heard the *h*-sound, as in *Hankar* meaning “to Hoift”, even though the word begins with the sound of another letter. I believe that Bowrey misheard the *d*- sound as *h*- in this word, even though there are no other examples to support this supposition. I came to this conclusion based on the meaning of the word and the social historical context in which it occurred. Secondly, hadith scholars had a long-running dispute regarding the context of use of the word *Hājal*, which was equated to the word *dajjal*, which could understandably be difficult for an Englishman with limited knowledge of Arabic to comprehend. In other words, my assumption that Bowrey misheard the word *dajjal* and instead replaced it with the word *Hājal* would seem a reasonable assumption as the term and context of the word ‘*dajjal*’/‘*Hājal*’ are not customary in Islam. However, I have my own reasoning regarding Bowrey’s knowledge of Arabic. This is because, during the compilation of material for this language project, Bowrey received the assistance of Thomas Hyde (Winterbottom, 2016, p.73), an orientalist who was also a loyal businessman and translator of oriental languages in court. Hyde had also been a professor of Arabic and Hebrew at Oxford University since 1701. It is unsurprising, then, that Bowrey seemed to know and subsequently recorded religious terms, especially from the Arabic language, which was rare for a merchant who spent much of his time on the coast and in major ports.

When it comes to religious terms in this dictionary, it is inevitable that we come across religious terms that are actually loanwords from the Arabic language. This is in accordance with the spread of religion that occurred in the 17th century in this region, which saw a clash of efforts between Islamic and Christian preachers. Due to this competition, the EIC took steps

by increasing the incentive for EIC employees – such as Bowrey, Hyde, and others – to produce manuscripts in Malay that could contribute and help with the effort to spread Christianity.

6.6 Glosses for Non-Western Concepts

Bowrey also recorded brief explanations of the meanings of certain words, especially those that are not of Western origin, in his dictionary. Glosses for words originating from the Malay Archipelago in Bowrey's dictionary include words for fishing, construction of houses, objects, and food (including drinks). In this section, I not only focus on words found in the Malay world, but also on several words of Indian origin that were also recorded by Bowrey. Table 45 below presents some examples of glosses for concepts from the East in Bowrey's dictionary.

Table 46 Examples of glosses from the East in Thomas Bowrey's Dictionary.

TBD	MEANING IN TBD	MML EQUIVALENT
<i>Kājāng</i>	Mats made with the leaves of trees for covering of houfes.	<i>kajang</i>
<i>Loh</i>	a Copy for children, a Inscription. ___pāpan, a Board to strew dry sand or Ashes on, in which children learn to write, a way used in India.	<i>loh</i>
<i>Nīroo</i>	a Fan, a Winnow.	<i>nyiru</i>
<i>Sālampooree</i>	Salampoore, a sort of Callico.	<i>selempuri</i>
<i>Sēro</i>	a Net with a long cod.	<i>sero</i>
<i>Tappee</i>	a Painted callico worn as a Petticoat by the Malayos, Men and Women.	<i>tapih</i>
<i>Toṽac</i>	any Strong spirits.	<i>tuak</i>
<i>Crēis</i>	a Poniard Dagger.	<i>keris</i>

In this section, I will discuss the gloss for terms from the Malay world and countries in the East that Bowrey had been to. The words presented in the table above are terms from the

domains of food, construction, tools, and culture; the words included above are not only from the Malay language but are also derived from Arabic and Hindi⁸². For example, the gloss for the word *Kājang*, from the domain of construction; this word, in terms of form, is still preserved and is the same as that found in MML. Bowrey explains the meaning of this word as being “a plait made from the leaves of a tree to protect the house”. Wilkinson (1932, p.4172) also explains the word *Kajang* as “1 Mat-protection against rain; mat-awning; mēngkuang-mat used as a sort of ridge tent”. Wilkinson also lists several varieties of *kajang* such as *kajang lipat*, *kajang rangkap*, *kajang rung-kup*, *kajang magun*, and *kajang serong*, and also describes the tool used to weave this material, called the *Chuchok kajang*, which is described as “to spike pieces of matting together”⁸³. Marsden (1812, p.246) also recorded the word as *cajan*, with the following description: “a sort of matted awning formed to broad leaves or flags sewed together, for keeping out the sun and rain”.

An example of the usage of this word is given in the following sentence: *Banīak iāng lāri ka-dālam kājang* “many ran (for shelter) under the awning (of the boat)”. The descriptions given by Bowrey, Wilkinson, and Marsden indicate an identical context of use, even though Marsden gave the example of *kajang* being used as the roof of a boat. In modern Malay (MML), the word *kajang* not only refers to the meaning and explanation related to housing architecture above but also underwent semantic expansion to include a new meaning, which refers to the width of paper⁸⁴. Based on the explanation of meaning and examples given in the dictionaries stated above, *kajang* refers to objects (roofs and walls) woven from screw pine leaves and *nipah* leaves. Traditional Malay houses mostly use *kajang* roofs made of screwpine leaves. Likewise, small boats and cross boats (boats used as ferries carrying passengers) also generally

⁸² Both languages (Arabic dan Hindi) are among the biggest source of loanwords in Thomas Bowrey’s dictionary. Check the discussion in the section of other loanwords in TBD.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Secondary meaning for the word *kajang* in KDE4 (2007, p.657) that is “ 2. *helai yg besar (bkn kertas);* ”

have *kajang* roofs, especially for the Orang Laut, or sea nomads. Marsden notes that *kajang* roofs are used on boats in his dictionary.

Figure 25 Small boats (sampan) of the Orang Laut with *kajang lipat* roofs in Lingga.



Note: By Dinas Kebudayaan kabupaten Lingga⁸⁵

Another word that underwent semantic expansion is that of *Loh*. Bowrey defines *loh* as “a Copy for children, an Inscription” and also gives the example of the phrase *loh pāpan*, which is “a Board to strew dry sand or Ashes on, in which children learn to write, a way used in India”. This word, in MML, experienced semantic expansion with the addition of four secondary meanings. KDE4 also labels the word *Loh* as an Arabic word. The primary meaning of this word, in KDE4 (2007, p.951), is “Ar 1. papan batu, batu tulis; 2. papan (batu dll) yg bertulis;”.

⁸⁵ Dinas Kebudayaan of the Riau Islands Province has given the researcher written permission (email) to use this photograph.

Wilkinson, in his dictionary, also provides the etymological information of the word *loh* from Arabic with the meaning “1 [Arabic luh] Slate; tablet; for writing” (1932, p.21543). The word *loh* is also found in a number of old stories, with the same meaning as that given by Bowrey and Wilkinson, with a frequency of use of 143 (Malay Concordance Project). There are differences in the context of use for this word in some stories. For example, in *Hikayat Abdullah bin ‘Abdul Kadir* (in Amin Sweeney, 2006) and *Hikayat Bayan Budiman* (R.O. Winstedt, 1966); both of these stories show that the use of the word *loh* is the same as the context of the primary meaning given by Bowrey and Wilkinson, that is, a *loh* tablet, an object used as a medium for writing. Another example mentioned in the MCP corpus (online) shows that the word *loh* is used with the same context and meaning as its original meaning in Arabic. The connotation of this original meaning, which is then expanded in the context of use, is similar to what Bowrey noted in his dictionary as well as the extension to several secondary meanings in MML. KDE4 defines *lohmahfuz* as “*Ar suratan atau ketentuan nasib manusia, suratan loh Tuhan*” (*Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat*, 2007, p.951). In Arabic, the word *loh*, pronounced اللوح المحفوظ (*al lawh al mahfuz*) according to Esposito (2020) means:

Well-preserved tablet. Phrase used in Quran 85:22 to refer to the original codex or document on which the Quran, according to traditional commentators, was originally inscribed and which has always existed in heaven. Associated with another description of the divine archetype of revelation, “mother of the book” (Quran 3:6; 13:39; 43:3).

The surah referred to in the above description is surah Al-Buruj verse 22 which reads:

فِي لَوْحٍ مَّحْفُوظٍ

(85:22) In a Preserved Tablet.

(Talal Itani, 2009, p.319)

Bowrey also recorded a gloss for the Hindi word *Sālampooree*, “Salampoore, a sort of Callico”. In MML, the word *selempuri* means “*kain ~ sj kain tenunan India*” (*Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat*, 2007, p.1423). Hobson and Jobson (1886, p.852) recorded the word as *Salempoory*; similarly, Wilkinson recorded it as *Sēlampuri* and described it as a “salempoory cloth. This cloth, often mentioned in East Indian trading records, is a cotton fabric made principally at Nellore. It is generally a chintz” (Wilkinson, 1932, p.31827). The MCP corpus also shows that the word *selampuri* appears in two manuscripts, namely in *Syair Hemop* (1817) and *Surat Pawang* (1890). Without reading in terms of linguistic analysis, it can be clearly seen that the spelling of this word is different in all four sources; Bowrey, Wilkinson, Hobson and Jobson, and the MCP corpus. Andaya explains the inconsistent spelling of terminology for clothing from India and in the article, providing a gloss for this word and its spelling, which is *salampuri*, “ordinary calico, usually white with a red stripe at each end, a speciality of Coromandel” (1989, p.46). This *selempuri* fabric is among the clothing products that make up the main economy of the people of Coromandel (Andaya 1989, Riello & Roy, 2009 and Raychaudhuri, 1962). The variety of spelling variants both in the 17th-century manuscripts and current usage is most likely due to the influence of the scribe’s own mother tongue and the other languages that he knows, similar to Bowrey himself.

The word *Tappee*, described as “a Painted callico worn as a Petticoat by the Malayos, Men and Women” is also among the glossaries of clothing terminology recorded by Bowrey. In KDE4, this word is recorded as *tapih* and carried two meanings; the primary meaning is written “*sj kain panjang (yg dipakai oleh orang perempuan)*”; the word undergoes semantic extension with a new secondary meaning, which is “*salut pd sarung keris jawa*” (2007, p.

1607). Andaya (1989) and Raychaudhuri (1962) provide glossaries for this word as “a general name for coloured piece goods used as skirts by both sexes in many parts of Southeast Asia”. Peck, A. et.al. (2013, p.311) also explains the meaning of *tapih* cloth, with the variant spellings *tappe* and *tapichindaes*, as “from Javanese *tapih* or skirt [cloth], flowered cloth; inexpensive painted cotton for Indonesian market”. None of the variants of this term are found in Wilkinson’s dictionary. The textile industry that was led by India around the beginning of the 17th century, in Coromandel and Gujerat, was a link to the discovery of spices in the East Indies, such as nutmeg (including the aril of the nutmeg seed), cloves, and pepper (Andaya, 1989 & Peck, A. et.al., 2013). Melaka’s role as a commercial trading hub linking India, and as a producer of textiles such as *tapih* (and *silampuri*), with the Aceh Sultanate in Sumatra for pepper and the harbour on the north coast of Java as a hub for luxury spices from Maluku, made a considerable impression not only on the Portuguese who ruled the Peninsula at the time but also on the Indian textile industry. *Tapis*, which is originally a woven fabric from India, after its long journey from India to the East, eventually seeped into Malay-speaking culture. Not only did technology, art, and the aesthetics of *tapih* make an entry, even the form and linguistic information pertaining to the word *tapih* itself was thoroughly assimilated into Eastern society. *Tapih*, in the Malay world, is famously woven by the Lampungese in Southern Sumatra by housewives and girls in their spare time to fulfil customary demands and to improve their skills. This word, however, cannot be found in Wilkinson and Marsden. Despite the different spelling variants, Bowrey’s explanation of *Tapih*, somehow, is similar to the common *Tapih* used by the Malay people.

Another cultural gloss Bowrey recorded is the word *Nīroo*, which means “a Fan, a Winnow”. *Nyiru* in KBBI (online) is defined as “*alat rumah tangga, berbentuk bundar, dibuat dari bambu yang dianyam, gunanya untuk menampi beras dan sebagainya*”. Meanwhile, in KDE4, *nyiru* means “*sj alat (yg dianyam drpd bilah, rotan, dll) utk menampi beras dll;*” (2007,

p.1090). *Nyiru* in modern Malay society is considered a traditional kitchen utensil. The use of *nyiru* is no longer a general aspect of daily life, with the exception of villagers who still use it, especially those involved in agricultural activities. As noted by Bowrey, *nyiru* not only serves as a winnowing device⁸⁶, but is also used as a fan. Agricultural societies and rural communities use *nyiru* for the purpose of winnowing rice. The tool is triangular in shape with curved and rounded edges. *Nyiru* is often woven using thin strips of bamboo, screwpine leaves, rattan, and so on. Apart from being made into winnowers, as Bowrey described, *nyiru* can also be made into fans by weaving the stems into the side or back of the *nyiru*. This word, when comparing the appropriate glosses given in Bowrey and KDE4, shows semantic narrowing. The primary meaning of the word *nyiru* remains in KDE4, whereas Bowrey noted the secondary meanings which refer to the expanded use of *nyiru*.

The word *Sēro* is described by Bowrey as “a Net with a long cod”. This form is still maintained in MML. KDE4 defines the word “(séro) *Id pancang-pancang spt pagar (drpd kayu, buluh, dll) yg dipasang di tepi laut utk menghalau ikan ke tempat yg dikehendaki, kelung, belat betawi*”, and which has the further secondary meaning of “(séro) *Id syer, saham*”. These two meanings, as recorded in KDE4, are marked with etymological information from Indonesia. The same applies to Wilkinson (1932, p.3305), who provides Batavian Malay etymological information for this word. Wilkinson records the word *sero* as having the meaning “A large marine fishtrap, kelong, betawi splint”. The word is described as “a certain type of barred fish trap” in the Austronesian Concordance Project (online), which is a Javanese term. In Tagalog, it is referred to as *silo?* and in Toba Batak as *soru*. All three meanings in these three languages refer to a means of trapping objects or animals. However, the Tagalog word *silo?* is

⁸⁶ Terms synonymous with *nyiru* are *badang*, *gadang* and *penampi* with differences in terms of shape and size.

a reflection of PPh *siluq “noose, snare, net;” which is not equivalent to the other two forms (*sero* and *soru*)⁸⁷ when compared phonologically.

Tuak, recorded as *Tōwac* by Bowrey with the meaning “any Strong fspirits”, is a drink that is familiar to the inhabitants of the Borneo Islands. There are two definitions of *tuak* in KDE4, namely “(I) *sj minuman keras yg dibuat drpd nira (kelapa, enau, dll)*”; dan makna pinggiriran “(II) *ahan ~ duduk dgn tidak sopan yg menyebabkan kain terselak lalu menampakkan betis atau paha*” (2007, p.1717). Wilkinson (1932, p.37667) defines the word *tuak* as “toddy; palm-wine”. *Tuak* is basically made from coconut sap, *nipah* (sugar palm), sugarcane, and pineapple, and is the main ingredient in religious ceremonies and major celebrations of the Dayak people, especially the Iban and Bidayuh in Malaysia and in Northern Sumatra, Indonesia. Today’s term *tuak* has undergone a process of evolution, innovation, and creativity. As reported by *Utusan Borneo*, there is *tuak* produced with new flavours such as pandan, green tea, barley, sweet potato, and so on (Cinderella, 2018). Scott, C.P.G. (1897, p.123) provides a gloss for the word *tuak*, which is “toddy, tuwak”, similar to the definition provided by Wilkinson.

The word *keris*, also listed as *Crēis*, “a Poniard Dagger” by Bowrey, is an interesting word. Various forms and meanings for this word can be examined. Marsden (1812, p.256) recorded the word as *kris*, “a weapon”; Danckearts (1623) also recorded the word *creis*. However, the meaning given by Danckearts differs as it refers to the state of a *kris* brushed with poison. Wilkinson (1932, p.17573) defines the word *kēris* as “The well-known Malayan dagger;”. Three spelling variants of the word *keris* include *kris*, *kriss*, and *crease*. The word *keris* entered the English language in the form of *kris*. *Keris*, a dagger-like weapon with an engraved hilt and an iron blade moulded into grooves that add aesthetic value to its manufacture as well as the stabbing effect. The appearance of the word *keris* in wordlists and dictionaries

⁸⁷ Ibid.

prior to Bowrey's, such as Danckearts, is unsurprising given that the *keris* is the primary weapon of the inhabitants of the Archipelago. Although there are differences in descriptions and explanations that depict the form and use of the *keris*, ultimately, all glosses refer to the same weapon. What distinguishes Bowrey's glosses from those in other manuscripts is the place where they first encountered the *keris*. The art of *keris*-making is different in every region and country. In his report on the countries surrounding the Bay of Bengal⁸⁸, Bowrey recorded the word *kris* in various forms including *creese*, *crease*, *creis*, *cresset*, and *kris*. The word *crease* recorded by Bowrey in his report is the same form recorded by Hobson-Jobson. Hobson-Jobson recorded the word *crease*, *cris* with the meaning and description "A kind of dagger, which is the characteristic weapon of the Malay nations; from the Javanese name of the weapon, adopted in Malay" (1886, p.212).

In addition to providing glosses for non-Western words, Bowrey also created sketches for words such as *jong* and flora and fauna that are not found in the West. The glosses for such terms recorded by Bowrey show that this dictionary fulfils the role of a contemporary dictionary. The information and descriptions provided as a reference for the Englishmen who would come after him were extremely useful, especially when previously published manuscripts only mentioned words from specific fields such as terms pertaining to weaponry, shipping, and fishery, as found in Danckearts and Houtman. Even though these two manuscripts do not contain glosses as completed by Bowrey, the importance of the equivalent words recorded is highly significant with regard to comparing the glosses found in Bowrey's dictionary, for instance, for the word *silampuri*. Although there are obvious differences in the word forms discussed above, it is clear when a word is recorded by a foreign speaker who has been influenced by his mother tongue.

⁸⁸ In this set of reports, Bowrey describes in detail the countries he travelled to during his 19-year voyage.

6.7 Concluding remarks.

The discussion in this chapter has touched on synchronic and diachronic aspects found in Bowrey's dictionary. The discussion of the linguistic aspects provides us information about the form of Malay language recorded by Bowrey in the dictionary, as well as the changes that have occurred compared to modern Malay language. The following chapter summarises the overall discussion in this study. Several points that will be addressed include recommendations for future research and improvements that could be made to the current study.

Chapter 7

Summary and Recommendations

7.1 Summary

This study represents an effort to describe the Malay language as recorded in Thomas Bowrey's dictionary, which represents data on the spoken language of the 17th century. There are four main objectives to this study, namely (i) to describe the Malay language in the 17th century as recorded in Thomas Bowrey's dictionary (1701), (ii) to describe the changes in the Malay language between Bowrey's dictionary and modern Malay language (MML), (iii) to identify changes that were possibly due to errors made by Bowrey during the compilation of the dictionary, and (iv) to describe the development of Malay lexicography between the 17th and 21st centuries. All these objectives are individually considered in detail below to measure the extent to which they have been achieved. The researcher summarises the findings of this study under the themes of external and internal factors of the Malay language in Thomas Bowrey's Dictionary as follows:

7.2 External Factors

The discussion regarding Malay language as recorded by Bowrey inevitably touches on social, cultural, economic, and geographical conditions during that time, whether it was during the time Bowrey learned and used the Malay language or during the compilation of the dictionary during his journey back to London. For example, the compilation of this dictionary was influenced by the variety of external factors experienced by Bowrey when the East India Company (EIC) encouraged its employees to compile and produce writing in the oriental languages that they knew. Besides encouragement from the company, political and economic

factors during that time also had a significant influence, for instance, competition for territory as well as religious competition and political competition among local and European powers. This can be observed in the discussion in Chapter 3, which mentioned the main purpose for the compilation of this dictionary, namely fulfilling the needs of the Englishmen who would come after him. The discussion involving Bowrey's dictionary prior to this mostly did not touch on external factors, as discussed in Chapter 4. Thus, the researcher concludes that external factors played an important role in influencing the starting point of this dictionary.

7.3 Internal Aspects

The internal factors of 17th century Malay language alone are not significantly different to those of 21st century Malay language, with the exception of a few particular aspects such as the affixes *me-*, *be-*, and *pe-*, and lexical changes *delapan* and *veniaga*, as discussed in Chapter 4. One cannot deny that differences still exist, even if they are small, but 17th century Malay and modern Malay have been found to be extremely similar. This conclusion one can thus draw is essentially identical to those of the studies by Asmah (1991), Mashudi Kader (2009), and Nor Azizah Othman (2019), namely that 17th-century Malay language is almost the identical to modern Malay and, accordingly, the Malay language recorded by Bowrey in his dictionary.

7.4 Recommendations for Future Studies

Recommendations for future studies are as follows:

7.4.1 Discussion of dialectal vocabulary

The lemmata collected and compiled by Bowrey in his dictionary were data obtained and selected from the spoken Malay of the 17th century. There are several dialectal vocabularies

recorded by Bowrey in his dictionary. However, the researcher did not study or discuss the aspect of dialectal vocabulary because the approach used in this research was different. The researcher opines that if a comparison is to be made, a field study would be necessary. In this study, however, the researcher did not carry out fieldwork and focused purely on the secondary data available in Bowrey's dictionary.

7.4.2 Discussion of the Etymology of Malay Vocabulary

Etymological aspects were only discussed in moderation in this study as the main objective was not to explain the etymology of the Malay words found in Bowrey's dictionary in detail. Nevertheless, the discussion of the etymological information that is given in this study nevertheless plays an important role. It is hoped that future studies would question and rediscuss the topic of etymology because the information offered in this study is based purely on several loanwords, such as loanwords from Arabic, Tamil, Hindustani, Mandarin, Portuguese, and Dutch. The researcher stressed the importance of and need to place greater emphasis on the discussion of the etymology of Malay words in Bowrey's dictionary, following the study of etymological aspects in terms of historical linguistics as touched upon by Collins (2016).

7.4.3 The *Lingua Franca* Aspect of Bowrey's Dictionary

More in-depth research and discussion regarding the forms of *lingua franca* recorded in Thomas Bowrey's dictionary is a study that can be conducted in and of itself, and indeed the subject of particular focus. The characteristics of *lingua franca*, as suggested by Adelaar (1996) and Collins (1980), for example, is something that can provide information on the social and

linguistic aspects of the Malay-speaking community of the 17th century. Studies of the forms of *lingua franca* found in early Malay dictionaries by Malay language researchers remain limited. Therefore, this opportunity should be embraced and pursued by future researchers with perseverance and an open mind.

7.4.4 Redigitisation of the Dictionary

This dictionary contains considerable information on Malay language and culture which can be explored further. However, as discussed in the early chapters of this study, the main challenge is to be able to read and thoroughly understand the content of this dictionary as the Malay language and medieval English used makes it difficult for one to understand the dictionary in a single reading. To facilitate research, as well as to add to the treasury of Malay language literature besides the printed form, the researcher suggests that this dictionary be republished in digital form. It must be emphasised that the rewriting of the entire dictionary in its original Malay form, as recorded by Bowrey in his manuscript, is vital to ensuring that the authenticity of the data can be preserved. To achieve this, Bowrey's entire work needs to be examined in detail in order to do it justice.

7.5 Concluding Remarks

Research on the early lexicography of the Malay language is one of the important platforms which align with other linguistic disciplines. Research on early Malay bilingual dictionaries can shed light not only on linguistic aspects but also the ethnology and culture of the community of speakers itself.

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