K. Zhi

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KONG YUAN ZHI

A STUDY OF CHINESE LOANWORDS (FROM SOUTH FUJIAN DIALECTS) IN THE MALAY AND INDONESIAN LANGUAGES

I was in South Fujian (Hokkian) to conduct preliminary research on South Fujian dialect loanwords in Malay and Indonesian languages in April and May 1985. I have additionally consulted eight Malay-Indonesian dictionaries (Poerwadarminta 1976; Zain 1960; Arifin 1951; Harahap 1951; Chaer 1976; Iskandar 1970; Yang Kui Yee and Chan Meow Wah 1984; Wilkinson 1932), as well as studying quite a number of Chinese and foreign articles dealing with this subject. The following observations, which, I should point out, are of a preliminary nature, are the result of these researches.

I. Historical Background

Chinese loanwords in Malay and Indonesian languages in the main are derived from South Fujian dialects. In the eight Malay-Indonesian dictionaries studied, I have found altogether 507 Chinese loanwords, of which a rough check has shown at least 454 to be derived from South Fujian dialects, representing 89.5% of the total Chinese vocabulary found in the Malay and Indonesian languages.

The reason why South Fujian dialect loanwords form such a great majority of the total number of Chinese loanwords in the Malay and Indonesian dictionaries is provided by certain historical and social factors. To begin with, it was a long established practice for South Fujian people to go overseas in search of a new life. The South Fujian region mostly consists of barren mountains (80%), with very little land for cultivation. This made the people more vulnerable to hardship in the event of war or some natural calamity. They were thus forced to seek ways and means of evading hardship. As the old saying goes, 'Men are

KONG YUAN ZHI, a graduate from Peking University who has studied at the Universities of Jakarta and Leiden, is Associate Professor of Indonesian at Peking University. Specialized in Indonesian linguistics and stylistics, he has published Chinese translations of numerous works of modern Indonesian literature as well as original articles in these fields. His address is: Indonesian Section, Oriental Languages Department, Peking University, Beijing, China.

controlled by their surroundings'. So the adventurous spirit of the South Fujian people was fostered mainly by their particular surroundings.

For the past few centuries, the overseas Chinese in Indonesia and Malaya have included quite a large percentage of South Fujian people. But the contacts between Chinese and Malay-Indonesian people go back several thousand years. The Dutch archaeologist De Flins, after studying excavated Chinese porcelain and earthenware, drew the conclusion that the Chinese went overseas and landed on what is now Indonesian territory much more than two thousand years ago; some of them may have settled at *Banten* (Honig 1945:160).

Fujian Province is located on the southern Chinese coast, and Quanzhou has long been an important seaport for foreign trade. There were Fujian people settling in foreign countries a thousand years ago. According to historical records, there were Fujian people migrating and settling as far as Chanzhou (Ling Ruixiang 1984:43) – a name for the present Philippine Islands – as early as the East Han Dynasty (A.D. 25-220). The Dutch scholar C. Lekkerkerker pointed out in his book *Land en Volk van Java* that there were Fujian people landing in Indonesia from the 9th to the 10th century A.D. (quoted from Toer 1960:143). Under the Tang Dynasty (618-907) the government established a municipal shipping office at Quanzhou. After the Yuan Dynasty (1206-1368), more and more Fujian people migrated to Indonesia and Malaya.

According to the available historical sources, more Fujianese went south to the East Indies than Cantonese. In the 13th century, when the emperor of the Yuan Dynasty appointed General Shi Bi to command an expeditionary force to the south, including Java, most of Shi Bi's soldiers originated from South Fujian. Many of them eventually settled down in Java, and their descendants multiplied and grew prosperous there (Qiu Shouyu 1947:379).

Under the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), more and more South Fujian people went abroad. In the early years of the 17th century a government official named Xu Fuyuan pointed out in his *Development of Overseas Trade*, that 'it has long been known that along the southeastern coast people were making their living by the sea trade, prominent among them being the inhabitants of Fujian. The four districts of Fuzhou, Xinghua, Quanzhou and Zhangzhou are backed by high mountains and face the blue sea. There being insufficient land to till, the only way out for the inhabitants is to carry on sea trade. Compelled by the exigencies of a hard life, they have courageously faced the rough sea and even defied death. This mode of life is more prominent in Zhangzhou District . . . Yet, as a rule, the masses are inclined to follow the easiest way, just like water flowing towards the lower ground, which is easy to release but hard to stop.' (Xu Fuyuan s.d.). All this explains why it was obvious that Fujian people should go abroad in search of a new life in large numbers under the serious oppression of feudal rulers, aggravated by the natural

conditions of Fujian Province. It was especially under the Qing Dynasty (1616-1911) that numerous South Fujian people migrated abroad.

One of the principal causes of these migrations was the failure of various peasant revolts. Having driven the Dutch colonists out, the famous military leader Zeng Cenggong occupied Taiwan (Formosa) in 1662. Since Zeng Cenggong stubbornly held out against the Qing Dynasty, his followers, chiefly people along the southeast Chinese coast, were cruelly persecuted by the Qing authorities. As the saying goes, 'The old and the weak were thrown into ditches; the young and the strong were fleeing in all directions' (Xu Zaiquan s.d.:192). It was just before the Qing troops succeeded in landing in Taiwan that a large number of Zeng's soldiers were compelled to leave the island and sail to other countries in Southeast Asia. These soldiers were chiefly South Fujianese, speaking different South Fujian dialects. Likewise Fujian people who had joined such anti-Qing organizations as 'The Small Sword Society', 'Society of Heaven and Earth', etc., were persecuted by the Qing authorities. At that time, the Qing government was pursuing a policy of 'drive them out and slaughter them relentlessly' (Zhang Yishan 1980: 168), so that the members of such organizations, together with their families, were compelled to flee to foreign countries like Indonesia, Malaya and others.

In the early years of the 18th century, when China was under the rule of the Qing Emperor Yong Zheng, the Fujian-Zhejiang viceroy Gao Qizhou stated in his report to the emperor: 'Of those going abroad, Fujian people account for 60-70%, and Cantonese and those from Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces make up the remaining 30-40%' (*Royal Instructions*).

It was in the mid-19th century, after the Opium War, that China unfortunately declined into a semi-feudal and semi-colonial state. Hosts of bankrupt peasants and urban proletarians were unable to make a living on land and thus were compelled to brave the risks of a hard and dangerous life at sea. Consequently, the number of Chinese emigrants to Southeast Asia increased rapidly. This is obvious from, for instance, the figures for overseas Chinese living in Indonesia in the latter half of the 19th century, viz.:

1860	221,438
1870	259,560
1880	343,793
1890	461,083

In the 20th century this figure increased even more rapidly, coming to eight hundred thousand in 1920, and one million and two hundred thousand in 1930 (*Indisch Verslag* 1940:47).

The population of Yongchun County, not far from Quanzhou, at that time came to a little over one hundred thousand. In order to escape from the oppressive practices of the ruling classes, over ten thousand in-

habitants migrated to the South Seas (Yan Wenzhui 1982). Thus in Yongchun County, one half of the area of which is mountainous, one tenth of the population left their home.

In the 20th century, the Fujianese hold the record in numbers of overseas Chinese settling in the East Indies.

A work entitled *Chronicle of the East Indies and the Economic Development of Overseas Chinese*, published in 1947, states: 'With regard to the number of present-day overseas Chinese in the East-Indies, the Fujianese make up 46% of the total, the Hakka 17%, the Guangzhao group 10%, the Chaozhou group 8% and the remainder 19%' (requoted from Qiu Shouyu 1947:381).

Similarly, over the past century thousands upon thousands of Fujian people have gone to Malaya. According to *History of the Development of the South Sea Regions by Chinese Nationals*, written jointly by Liu Jixuan and Shu Shicheng, 'Among the overseas Chinese in Malaya, Fujianese form the majority; next come people from Chaozhou and Guangdong (i.e. those speaking the Cantonese dialect), people from other provinces being very rare . . . Regarding the life-style of *peranakan* (i.e. Chinese born in Malaya), they usually observe the native customs, combined with Malay habits . . ., speaking the Malay language, mixed with a Fujian dialect.' (requoted from Xu Younian 1981). By 'Fujian dialect' we mean a dialect of one of the South Fujian districts.

After the early 20th century, South Fujian people likewise placed themselves at the head of the overseas Chinese as regards number in Malaya. The following statistics were published by the *Singapore Daily* on Oct. 10th, 1949 (requoted from Society for the Investigation of Overseas Chinese Questions 1950):

Number of overseas Chinese in Malaya in 1947

South Fujianese	827,411
Guangfu (Cantonese)	641,407
Hakka	437,407
Chaozhou	364,232
Others	unspecified.

In this connection, it was also pointed out by the English scholar, Dr. Victor Purcell, that South Fujian people were the earliest settlers in Indonesia, especially among the overseas Chinese in Java. Purcell further asserted that Fujian people were the pioneers of Malaya and formed the majority of overseas Chinese in Malaya (Purcell 1951).

Secondly, *peranakan* (i.e. Chinese born abroad), whose relations with the local inhabitants are naturally closer, make up the majority of the South Fujian overseas Chinese. According to sources published in the 1940s: 'Among the overseas Chinese, *peranakan* form 60%, *singke* (i.e., those who are newly migrated from China) 40%' (Qiu Shouyu 1947). And among the *peranakan*, those from the Zhangzhou and Quanzhou districts of South Fujian Province form a majority of 80%. This is

because 'those compatriots from the Zhangzhou and Quanzhou districts going to the South Sea islands usually settle there for years – from ten years to several decades or all their life. Moreover, as they seldom return to their fatherland, it will be very easy for their children to observe the Indonesian social customs and ways of life.' (Qiu Shouyu 1947). Again, according to statistics from 1930, of the overseas Chinese in Indonesia, 78% of the Fujianese were born in Indonesia, while of the Cantonese and the Chaozhou people 60% were born on the continent (Santa Maria 1974). In other words, of the Guangdong and Chaozhou Chinese, only 40% at most were born in Indonesia – a much lower percentage than in the case of the Fujian people.

Thirdly, the South Fujian people in Indonesia are economically better off in comparison with the other Chinese groups, and maintain more harmonious relations with the native Indonesians. According to data published in the 1950s: 'Nationals of Asiatic origin residing abroad, comprising 2.2% of the Indonesian population, earned roughly 20% of the total Indonesian national income. In this 20%, overseas Chinese held by far the greatest share . . . Some economic activities were for the greater part in the hands of overseas Chinese; for instance, overseas Chinese owned 80% of the retail shops.' (China News Agency 1959). It is well known that retailers have a close involvement with the daily life of Indonesians. And the South Fujian people have a special way of running their businesses, usually putting their profit minus a small portion which they remit to their home-towns back into the business. Hence, their business grows and expands with time. On the other hand, Chinese from the Guangzhao or Jiaying (Meixian) districts very often remit a large share of their profit to China or go home every few years, and, if they become very rich, even return to their native country for good. As a result, 'the estates of overseas Cantonese are much smaller than those of people from Fujian Province' (Qiu Shouyu 1947). Owing to their stronger economic position, especially in the retail trade, the Fujianese are also able to establish closer relations with local Indonesians.

The stronger economic position of the Fujianese is also reflected in their political position. When Indonesia was still under Dutch rule, nearly all official positions held by overseas Chinese, such as those of *Letnan* (Lieutenant), *Kapitan* (Captain) and *Mayor* (Major), were occupied by South Fujian people. Such well-known office holders as So Beng Kong and Khouw Kim An played an important role in spreading the South Fujian dialects through the former Dutch East Indies.

Fourthly, multitudes of South Fujian people settled in Java, which for many centuries was economically and culturally more developed than the surrounding islands, so that it had a strong influence in the rest of Indonesia. Here they became actively engaged in the business of printing and distributing publications written by their compatriots, thus also strongly promoting the spread of South Fujian dialects.

By way of comparison, let me quote some statistics given by the Indonesian author Pramoedya Ananta Toer regarding the number of overseas Chinese in Indonesia in 1935, classified according to their districts of origin (cf. Toer 1960:between 146 and 147).

District of Origin	Number of Chinese in Java and Madura	Percentage	Total number of Chinese in Indonesia	Percentage
Fujian (Hokkian)	379,611	65.1%	554,981	46.6%
Kejia (Hakka)	75,170	12.9%	200,736	16.9%
Chaozhou (Tio-Tsyu)	5,263	1 %	87,812	7.4%
Guangzhou (Kwongfu)	39,878	7 %	136,130	11.4%
Others	85,509	14 %	210,355	17.7%
Total	585,431	—	1,190,014	—

The above table shows that around the year 1935 the number of South Fujian people settling in Java and Madura came to 65.1% of the total number of overseas Chinese there – a much larger percentage than for the Hakka and Cantonese. It further indicates that the South Fujian people in Java constituted nearly one half (46.6%) of the total number of overseas Chinese in Indonesia. Moreover, the majority of the South Fujian people resident in Indonesia, namely 68.4%, were living in Java and Madura. Many of them were engaged in writing, translating and editorial work, publishing a great many newspapers, magazines and books of various kinds. They were especially active in Batavia (present-day Jakarta), Semarang (Central Java) and Surabaya (East Java).

According to statistics supplied by the French scholar Claudine Salmon, the number of overseas writers and translators in Indonesia (both migrants and their descendants) from the 1870s to the 1960s totalled 806. Their combined works numbered 2757 volumes, plus 248 anonymous volumes, making a total of 3005 volumes, excluding re-editions, consisting of 73 plays, 183 *syair*-type poems, 233 translations of

Western works, 759 translations from Chinese, and 1398 original novels and short stories (Salmon 1981:10).

Translations from Chinese writings in this period include such popular stories as 'The Romance of the Three Kingdoms', 'The Water's Edge', 'The Pilgrimage to the West', etc. In the category of stories about knights-errant, there are translations of 'Extraordinary Heroes from Guandong', 'The Jungle Sword-Fighters', and so on. Numerous of the above-mentioned works went through many editions, some of them abridged and revised, and some even complete translations. For instance, from the 100-chapter 'The Pilgrimage to the West', the story of 'A Visit of Emperor Li Shimin to Inferno' was translated in six different editions (Oey forthcoming). These works not only are very popular among the overseas Chinese, but are also widely read by Malay-Indonesians. The following will serve as an illustrative example. When 'The Pilgrimage to the West', translated by Auw Ing Kiong, was broadcast in serial form by the Solo broadcasting station on Friday evenings in or around the year 1936, it had enthusiastic listeners among Indonesian people of all classes, including the Palace residents (Oey forthcoming).

The translations of Chinese knight-errant stories are likewise very popular with Malay-Indonesian readers. Up to the 1980s, every edition of the Indonesian monthly *Selecta* included knight-errant stories written in Indonesian by South Fujianese authors such as Kho Ping Hoo and others.

In this connection, it should be noted that the majority of the overseas Chinese engaged in original writing and translation in Malaya and Indonesia are South Fujian people, most of them living in Java. This is closely connected with their long habitation of that island, their generally large numbers, and the higher percentage of *peranakan* among them than the other overseas Chinese, especially because many of them have intermarried with the natives and lived abroad for generations, so that they have made themselves truly familiar with the Malay and Indonesian language. In their Malay writings and translations, words from the South Fujian dialects are often mixed with the Malay (especially words denoting specifically Chinese concepts, official titles, the eighteen types of arms, etc.).

Let us take the famous overseas Chinese writer Lie Kim Hok (1853-1912) as an example. A native of Fujian Province, he has produced many literary works, as well as articles on Malay as spoken by overseas Chinese, and was honoured as the father of the Chinese-Malay language. Claudine Salmon's investigation has proved Lie Kim Hok to have been a *peranakan* born in Bogor, West Java. At the age of thirteen, he 'spent some time in a Chinese school, where he gained some basic knowledge of Hokkien [usually meaning one of the South Fujian dialects] with Totok Chinese teachers' (Salmon 1981:228).

Pramoedya Ananta Toer, when referring to Lie Kim Hok, stated that

quite a number of famous Indonesian and Dutch scholars have recognized him as an authority on the Sino-Malay language. Toer further asserted: 'The Sino-Malay language promoted by Lie Kim Hok spread widely in Malay-Indonesian newspapers, and later became a kind of standardized lingua franca, which is quite pleasant and vivid. And after the collapse of Dutch colonial rule, in 1942, when the dominance of the Dutch language also came to an end, and Indonesian completely took over from it, Sino-Malay, which was commonly used in newspapers, began to extend its influence to the "official" Indonesian language as well.' (Toer 1960:130). With reference to the strong influence of Sino-Malay, Pramoedya Ananta Toer pointed out: 'But the Sino-Malay which was most influential was that which had sprung up in Jakarta, a strange mixture of Batavian Malay [i.e., the Jakarta dialect], Malay as spoken by the Chinese, and the requirements of a practical social language' (Toer 1960:130).

It is well known that the Indonesian language is based on the lingua franca prevailing in the archipelago at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. And Malay as spoken by overseas Chinese (which included the use of many Chinese words, especially those originating from South Fujian dialects) formed part of this lingua franca. The Indonesian linguist Sutan Takdir Alisyahbana has also pointed out that the overseas Chinese, especially those born in Java, used a kind of Malay which was mixed with Chinese loanwords in their various publications. He further asserted: 'The position of the Sino-Malay language as a social language alongside the Indonesian language should be regarded as a legitimate position in Indonesian society' (Alisyahbana 1957:57).

History has taught that when one language was so influenced as to absorb many words from another language, this must have been the result of close contacts between the native speakers of that language and people of foreign races (Gau Mingkai and Shi Anshi 1957:216). Therefore, the historical and social circumstances outlined above are the main factors responsible for the fact that South Fujianese loanwords form the majority of the Chinese loanwords found in the Malay-Indonesian dictionaries.

II. Special Characteristics of South Fujian Loanwords in the Indonesian and Malay Languages

Of the 454 loanwords from South Fujian dialects found in the eight dictionaries of Indonesian and Malay mentioned above, we discovered by far the greater majority to be closely connected with every-day life, many of them denoting objects and articles found exclusively in China in general or South Fujian in particular. Quite a number of the Chinese loanwords are not explicitly indicated as such in some of the said dictionaries, but are treated simply as words of the relevant language, testifying that these loanwords have been absorbed by that language.

The South Fujian loanwords listed in the Indonesian and Malay dictionaries have been divided into eleven categories on the basis of their meanings. They include:

1. Names of fruits, vegetables, and other foods, etc., e.g.:

tauge (bean sprouts)	kucai (Chinese chives)
lengkeng (longan)	tahu (bean-curd)

 lumpiah (spring roll, a thin sheet of dough, rolled, stuffed and fried).
2. Names of articles of every-day use, e.g.:

cawan (teacup of Chinese design)	bakiak (wooden clogs)
kemoceng (feather duster)	sempoa (abacus)
kengkap (gold brocade-cloth)	jose (Chinese silk crape)
kuntuan (a shiny fabric suggesting satin)	pangsi (black silk)

 lokcuan (silk crêpe).
3. Names of festivals, customs, etc., e.g.:
 capgomeh (the Lantern Festival, 15th of the 1st lunar month)
 pecun (the Dragon Boat Festival, the 5th day of the 5th lunar month)
 cengbeng (Pure Brightness, 5th solar term)
 bacang (a pyramid-shaped dumpling made of glutinous rice wrapped in bamboo or reed leaves, eaten during the Dragon Boat Festival):
4. Terms of reference or personal pronouns, e.g.:

engkim (aunt)	engko (elder brother)
engso (elder brother's wife)	engkong (grandfather)
lu (you, thou)	gua (I, me).
5. Numerals and measures, e.g.:

ji (two)	go (five)
cepek (one hundred)	ceceng (one thousand)
ban (ten thousand)	cun (Chinese inch)
hun (a Chinese measure of weight or length)	li (Chinese unit of length, ½ kilometre).
6. Names of buildings or places, e.g.:

lankan (railing)	loteng (upstairs)
suhian (brothel)	kongkoan (residence of a rich or important person).
kit (opium saloon)	
7. Names of games or divining practices, e.g.:

congki (Chinese chess)	susek (a Chinese card-game played with four cards of four colours)
cuki (a game resembling 'go-bang')	
pa(i)kau (dominoes, dice, a game of cards)	koa (a game played with Chinese cards)
pakpui (practise divination; divine)	jailangkong (planchette writing).

8. Words indicating status or function, e.g.:

Huakio (overseas Chinese)	singke (newcomer from China)
toke (Chinese employer)	singse (mister; Chinese doctor or teacher).
9. Names of geographical areas, e.g.:

Tiongkok (China)	Hailam (Hainanese; Cantonese)
Hokien (Fujian, one of the provinces of China)	tongsan (China, motherland for overseas Chinese).
10. Names of boats, ship's parts, etc., e.g.:

sampan (sampan, shoe-boat)	jung (sea-going ship)
toako (Chinese lighter)	tongkang (barge)
cunya (boat for cargo)	ciang (oar)
cincu (owner's representative on a Chinese trading ship)	compoh (ship's cook).
11. Others.

I have given in categories 2 and 10 the names of Chinese silk piece-goods and ships in connection with the silk trade in detail. The *Encyclopaedia* gives all the names of the various types of ship built by Indonesians.

On comparing the South Fujian with the Western loanwords (chiefly English and Dutch) listed in Indonesian and Malay dictionaries, we find these Western loanwords to be mostly connected with modern politics, economics, military affairs and science and technology. The *Kamus Umum*, for example, includes as English loans such words as *demokrasi* (democracy), *republik* (republic), *federasi* (federation), *protektorat* (protectorate), *tank* (tank), *bom* (bomb), *stetoskop* (stethoscope), etc., many of them abstract nouns. The *Kamus Umum* also includes quite a number of Western loanwords referring to ordinary, every-day objects or activities, such as English *bar* (bar) and *golf* (golf); Dutch *tarcis* (cake) and *jenever* (jenever). But these Western loanwords are often reflective of the Western life-style. For instance, the Dutch loanword *tarcis* denotes a Western type of cake which ordinary Indonesians are not familiar with and seldom eat. On the other hand, the South Fujian loanword *kue* denotes cakes of a kind which are very common in Indonesia; the word does not denote any specifically Chinese cake, but has been completely integrated into the Indonesian vocabulary.

On making a grammatical classification of the 454 South Fujian loanwords, we found about 80% of the total to be nouns (nearly all of them being designations for material objects or articles used in daily life, and none of them abstract nouns). The remaining 20% includes numerals, pronouns, adjectives and verbs.

III. Similarities and Dissimilarities in Meaning Between South Fujian Loanwords and the Corresponding Words in South Fujian

Between some of the South Fujian loanwords and the corresponding

South Fujian dialect words there is no significant difference in meaning. Words such as *tahu* (bean curd), *kuaci* (melon seeds) and *sampan* (sampan), etc., mean the same in both. But in the case of others there is a certain difference. This is a result of social, cultural and historical differences between South Fujian and Indonesia/Malaya. This dissimilarity in meaning is manifested mainly in the following ways:

(a) Reduction or Expansion in Word Meaning

The Indonesian word *nyonya* (madam) is derived from the South Fujian *diūkiā*, itself a derivative of *diūk*. According to the *Dictionary of Mandarin – South Fujian Dialects*, South Fujian dialect *diūk* denotes ‘mistress of a wealthy family in former times’ (both married and unmarried women). The word *diūkiā* is a respectful term of address or reference for young or older ladies (often used in older colloquial language). In Indonesian *nyonya* only means ‘Mrs. so and so’, not ‘Miss so and so’, while South Fujian dialect *diūkiā* does not exclusively designate married women. Hence in comparison with South Fujian *diūkiā*, the meaning of the loanword *nyonya* has been reduced. Again, let us take the loanword *sinse* as an example; the Fujian dialect word *siansī* designates occupants of six different kinds of position, meaning ‘teacher’, ‘intellectual’, ‘husband’, ‘doctor’, ‘accountant’ and ‘fortune teller’ (Huang Deancheng et al. 1982:840), while in Indonesian and Malay the loanword *sinse* usually denotes either a physician practising Chinese medicine or a Chinese teacher. The range of its meaning thus has been significantly diminished. As regards examples of expansion in meaning, the South Fujian Mandarin word *hūnts’ui*, ‘stem of a pipe’, after inclusion in the Indonesian vocabulary became *huncue*, meaning ‘smoking-pipe, or other smoking-tools’. For instance, the Indonesian Dictionary *Kamus Umum* lists the word *huncue* with the definition ‘*pipa cangklong (pipa tembakau)*’. As the stem of a pipe is only part of a pipe or other smoking-tool, obviously the meaning of the original Fujian word has been expanded.

(b) Changes in Word Meaning

In this category of loanwords the original meaning has either been changed altogether or has had extra aspects of meaning added on to it. For instance, the *Kamus Umum* lists the South Fujian loanword *becak* with the meanings (1) ‘three-wheeled cart’ and (2) ‘rickshaw’, though the latter with the reservation that the meaning is ‘dubious’, ‘rare’, ‘archaic’ and that it is ‘used in a very restricted sense’. In the *Kamus Besar* and *Kamus Moderen* the word *becak* is only defined as ‘a three-wheeled cart’. Yet, the meaning of the original South Fujian dialect word *bet’sia* is ‘carriage’, the word denoting neither a three-wheeled cart nor a rickshaw.

(c) Extension of Word Meaning

By ‘extension of word meaning’ is meant that the original meaning of a word has been applied to a different but more or less related concept. For instance, the South Fujian dialect word *petsun* means ‘boats’. Ac-

cording to an old Chinese custom, the fifth day of the fifth month of the lunar calendar is celebrated with the eating of a special food (a kind of dumpling) and with 'Dragon-Boat' races (*Duan-Wu* festival). This word *petsun* has been incorporated in the Indonesian and Malay vocabularies as *pecun* with the meaning 'Duan-Wu or Duan-Yang festival'. In the *Kamus Umum*, the relevant definition is 'hari raya Tionghoa, yang dirayakan dengan bersampan-sampan di kali dsb.', 'hari raya Tionghoa' actually denoting the *Duan-Wu* festival. In the Malay dictionary *Kamus Dewan* the word *pecun* is defined as 'hari yang dirayakan oleh orang China dengan bersampan-sampan di sungai dll.'. The relevant definitions in *Kamus Istilah Baru Bahasa Malaysia* are (1) 'rowing-boats', and (2) 'Duan-Wu festival'. The process of the extension of the original meaning of the South Fujian word *petsun* is quite obvious, therefore.

Similarly, the South Fujian dialect word *samsin* ('three offerings') denotes the sacrifices offered to either the ancestors or the gods in olden times. These are distinguished into the three major and the three minor offerings. In the former, cattle, sheep and pigs are offered, and in the latter hens, ducks and fish. When this became the loanword *samseng* in Indonesian and Malay, its meaning was extended to 'melawat (orang kematian)' (see *Kamus Umum*, *Kamus Dewan* and *Kamus Istilah Baru Bahasa Malaysia*). Quite possibly, it is due to the fact that some of the overseas Chinese integrated the three offerings into their sacrifices to deceased relatives that other overseas Chinese, as well as local Indonesians and Malays, extended the meaning of the original word *samsin*. The loanword *samseng* in Indonesian and Malay had its meaning further changed to 'condolences to the bereaved'.

(d) Changes in Word Connotation

After becoming Indonesian or Malay loanwords, some of the South Fujian dialect words acquired certain additional meanings, either in an appreciatory or in a derogatory sense, though more often the latter. For example, the South Fujian dialect word *tsabɔ*, meaning 'woman', not in any derogatory sense, when accepted into Indonesian and Malay as the loanword *cabo*, came to mean 'courtesan' or 'prostitute', the *Kamus Umum* and *Kamus Dewan* defining it as 'jalang', 'sundal'. Further, these two dictionaries add as a footnote that the word *cabo* is derived from the Jakarta dialect. In *Kamus Dialek Jakarta*, *cabo* is also defined as 'perempuan pelacur' (prostitute). Only in the *Kamus Istilah Baru Bahasa Malaysia*, compiled by a number of Chinese-descended writers, is *cabo* defined as 'woman', without any derogatory connotation.

Again, the well-known South Fujian dialect loanword *kongkalikong*, when used as a verb, *berkongkalikong*, means 'to plot, conspire' (see *Kamus Umum*, *Kamus Dewan* and *Kamus Dialek Jakarta*). But in South Fujian dialects the word *kɔka'dikɔŋ* means 'I tell you'. Hence the process of change from 'I tell you' (whispering) to 'plotting', 'con-

spiring', 'cheating' etc., shows the development of a derogatory connotation.

(e) Range and Shades of Meaning of Loanwords

A comparison of South Fujian dialect loanwords in Indonesian and Malay with the corresponding original words shows there to be some differences in the range and shades of their meanings. For example, South Fujian terms of reference adopted as loanwords are mostly applied to overseas Chinese. Compare the following:

<i>South Fujian Loanwords</i>	<i>Corresponding Original Indonesian and Malay Words</i>
enci	kakak perempuan
engko	kakak laki-laki
engkim	bibi
encik	paman
engtia	mertua laki-laki
engkong	kakek

Quite a number of South Fujian dialect loanwords are words denoting objects and articles used particularly by overseas Chinese in their daily life. Compare the following:

<i>South Fujian Loanwords</i>	<i>Corresponding Original Indonesian and Malay Words</i>
sentiong	kuburan
jung	kapal
congki	catur
ongji	izin
kenceng	bor
wangkang	kapal besar

There is also difference in degree between the South Fujian dialect loanwords and their Indonesian and Malay equivalents. As was indicated above as regards the word *kongkalikong*, when used in daily life, the form *berkongkalikong* denotes a certain trivial kind of conduct. The Indonesian word *bersekongkol*, on the other hand, means 'to intrigue' referring to a much more serious kind of activity. When translated into Indonesian, the verb 'to intrigue, conspire' is usually rendered with 'bersekongkol' rather than 'berkongkalikong'. But in the sentence 'Two of my friends plotted to surprise me', a translation of the word 'plot' with 'bersekongkol' would render the mood too serious; 'berkongkalikong' generally is the correct word to denote this kind of activity.

Aside from the above, there remain some points requiring explanation. There is the question of whether there are any differences between the ways in which South Fujian dialect words have been integrated as loanwords in the Indonesian and Malay languages. To answer this question I have consulted two dictionaries possessing a certain acknowledged authority, viz. *Kamus Umum* and *Kamus Dewan*, in order to make a comparison. This has shown about 90% of the South Fujian dialect

loanwords to be the same in both dictionaries. As for the *Kamus Istilah Baru Bahasa Malaysia*, owing to the fact that all the editors are Chinese-descended, the number of South Fujian dialect loanwords listed here is far greater.

Of the above-mentioned South Fujian dialect loanwords, how many have been become an integral part of the Indonesian or Malay language? After analyzing all the South Fujian dialect loanwords listed in the *Kamus Umum* one by one, we were able to establish the categories of all the 218 relevant loanwords as follows:

Category	No.	%
Total of South Fujian dialect loanwords listed in <i>Kamus Umum</i>	218	100 %
No. regarded as regular Indonesian words	77	35.3%
No. regarded as Jakarta dialect words	24	11 %
No. used chiefly by overseas Chinese among themselves	117	53.7%

The above represents the results of a preliminary analysis of the historical and social factors responsible for the presence of a large number of South Fujian dialect loanwords in the Indonesian and Malay languages, together with certain features of their meanings. Owing to the limited scope of this article, the subject of the phonetic particularities of these South Fujian dialect loanwords will be discussed in another paper.

ABBREVIATIONS USED

- JMBRAS *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London – Kuala Lumpur – Singapore.
 JSBRAS *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Singapore – London.
 KITLV Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Leiden.
 LIPI Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia, Jakarta.

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