Malay Borrowings In The Punjabi Language

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Introduction

The purpose of this study is to identify the Malay lexical borrowings in the Punjabi spoken language in Malaysia using the synchronic approach, and to classify these borrowings using the criteria put forward by Haugen and Stene. The scope of the study will be limited to family dialogue and will attempt to cover some common social themes to capture the usage of Malay words and terms in daily occurrences. It is not the intention of the writer to prove or disprove any theory or research findings in studies which have been carried out on the Punjabi language before. No previous research is available on which to develop a theory or research hypothesis. However, research of a similar nature exists with regard to other languages. This study is therefore in a way an extension of the research conducted on other languages.

Malaysia is a multi-racial country in which a number of languages are spoken. During the British colonial period in Malaya, masses of immigrants

from India and China and elsewhere were brought to Malaya to work. Among these were Sikhs who spoke the Punjabi language. Punjabi is the language spoken in the north-western regions (Punjab) of India. It was the medium of communication amongst the Hindus, the Muslims, and the Sikhs of the Punjab before the independence of India. After independence, Punjabi became more prominent as the language of the majority Sikh population of the Punjab.

The early immigrants had to learn Malay for the purpose of interaction with the local population in Malaya. With independence in 1957, Malay was formally declared the national language and this facilitated the acceptance of Malay words in the daily discourse among the different races. According to Haugen (1966), "a nation as an ethno-political unit is marked by 'internal cohesion' and 'external distinction' " Hence the need for the assimilation of the local language by the immigrants.

In the light of the above, the purpose of this paper aims to examine the Malay words that have been borrowed by the Sikh community into the Punjabi language. The following aspects are to be covered ·

1   The circumstances of contact between Malay and the Punjabi language.
2.   Collection of Malay loan words from spoken data (colloquial Punjabi dialogue).
3.   Identification of the transferred items using the synchronic approach.
4.   Classification of the transferred items using the formal as well as the semantic system.
5.   The linguistic and sociolinguistic analysis of integration of the transferred items in the Punjabi language.
6.   The use of the transferred items in the Punjabi language.
7.   A general comparison of findings with those from similar studies.

As a study of such a nature, that is the investigation of Malay borrowings in Punjabi, has never been carried out, it is hoped that this study will add to the existing knowledge available on this subject of lexical borrowings and transfers. It is also hoped that this study will contribute to the understanding of the nature of the influence of Bahasa Malaysia on the Punjabi language.

Methodology

The sample for the study was restricted to one Punjabi (Sikh) family with the following attributes ·

i)   Low income family
ii)   Grandparents are non-English educated with basic informal Punjabi education. Children are educated in English and Malay
iii)   The grandfather is a retired policeman and is presently a watchman.
iv)   The family interaction is mainly with the neighbours who belong to the low income group and with the peer groups of the grandparents at their work place and others from the same social circle.

The above family was chosen specifically as a typical Punjabi low income family which would use Punjabi language as a medium of daily social discourse among the family members and friends.

The data for the study was obtained by means of tape recordings of conversations over a period of 6 weekends at the convenience of the family. The respondents were briefed as to the purpose of the recordings to obtain their cooperation . The main respondents were given the themes for discussion and they are as follows

i)   Experience in the past
ii)   Relating household chores
iii)   Life after retirement
iv)   Discussion of happenings of the day
v)   Open topic
vi)   Conversation with nieces

A list of 50 words were identified from the final recordings (See Appendix A).

Twenty Sikh individuals were interviewed using a structured questionnaire. The respondents were randomly chosen at a Sikh temple. Their responses were marked on a 5-point scale in the questionnaire form.

Definition of Terms

a)   *Borrowing* - According to Haugen (1953), borrowing from the anthropo-
      logical point of view is a form of cultural diffusion, that is "the spread of
      an item of culture from people to people"

b)   *Language contact* - "It refers to the general concept of the direct or indi-
      rect influence of one language on another" (Heah, 1989)

c)   *Semantic domains* - "A group of lexical items which are associated in
      meaning by occurring together in similar contexts."

d)   *Synchronic approach* - A process in which the foreign elements are
      differentiated from the native ones by analysing the phonemic constitu-
      tion and distribution of the 'foreign element' and their morphological
      and syntactic patterning. (Stene, 1945:5)

e)   *Punjabi language* - In this study it refers to the language of the Sikh
      community in Malaysia.

Constraints

Unlike the analysis of written records, the recording imposed various con-
straints on the study.

1   Firstly, the cooperation of respondents was vital. It took immense per-
      suasion to get the respondents to agree to the live recording.
2.   The recording had to be done at the convenience of the respondent and
      sometimes more than one visit was necessary when one respondent did
      not keep his/her appointment.
3.   Some of the recordings were poorly done and could not be used.
4.   At other times impromptu recordings turned out to be more effective and
      therefore had to be used in preference to the planned topic.
5.   Technical breakdowns on the writer's tape recorder was also a source of
      frustration.

Another constraint in this study was the non-existence of studies done on the
influence of Malay on the Punjabi language in Malaysia. This limited the writer
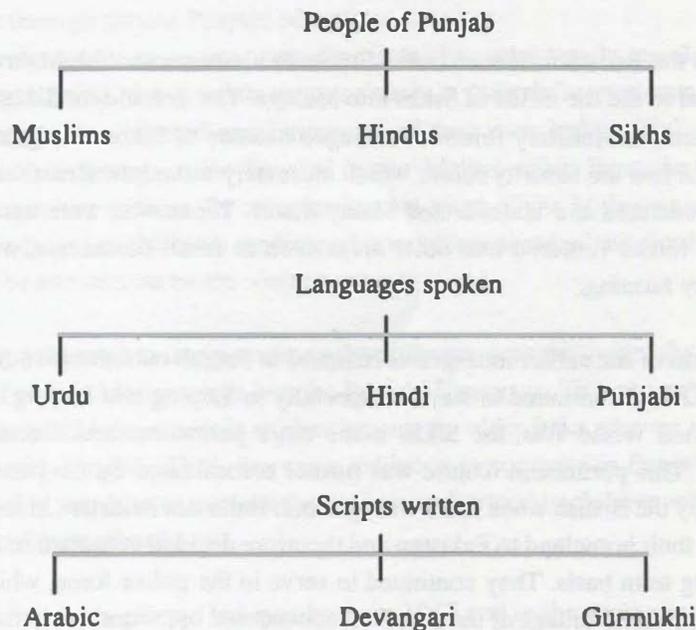
to adopt the synchronic approach only, in identifying the Malay borrowings in the Punjabi language.

The Historical Background of the Languages in Contact

The Sikh migration to Malaya can be traced back to the annex of the Punjab by the British and the latter's sway over the Malay States in the 19th Century.

During the British intervention in the Punjab, Urdu and Hindi languages were developed while the Sikhs were left with "Punjabi" (in the Gurmukhi script) mainly as their language medium for studies of scriptures. The struggle for its recognition continued with deliberate attempts by the Sikhs to develop their language in the 20th Century. The struggle for recognition continued even after India's independence and is one of the factors contributing to the demand for Khalistan.

The following diagram gives a clearer picture of the Sikhs in Punjab in relation to the Muslims and the Hindus.

People of Punjab

Muslims   Hindus   Sikhs

Languages spoken

Urdu   Hindi   Punjabi

Scripts written

Arabic   Devangari   Gurmukhi

This backdrop would indicate the relationship between the Punjabi language and the early Sikh settlers in Malaya and the need for assimilation of Malay into Punjabi discourse.

Migration of Sikhs to Malaya

There is evidence of Sikhs having been deported from India after the British annex of the Punjab. These Sikhs were sent to Singapore and Penang as 'political prisoners' initially and subsequently some of them settled down in Singapore and Malaya to seek their fortunes.

The greater impact of Sikh migration was the result of British intervention in the Malay States where Sikhs were recruited by virtue of their physical fitness, loyalty and the ability to keep peace and order. The earliest formal recruitment can be assigned to Captain Tristian Speedy who was Superintendent of Police in Penang. Having negotiated with the agents of the Mantri of Larut (Perak) he resigned his post in Penang and went to the Punjab to recruit Sepoys to quell the fighting between the Ghee Hins and Hai Sans in the Larut area.

As the British influence in the Straits Settlements and the Malay States increased so did the influx of Sikhs into Malaya. The demand for Sikhs for the police and para-military forces encouraged batches of Sikhs to migrate from Punjab to join the security forces which ultimately served the British interests in the Federated and Unfederated Malay States. Those who were not able to join the forces ventured into other areas such as small businesses, transport and dairy farming.

Most of the earlier immigrants returned to Punjab on retirement from the forces. Others continued to stay on especially in Taiping and Penang. During the Second World War, the Sikhs made more permanent establishments in Malaya. This permanent feature was further consolidated by the partition of Punjab by the British when India was split into India and Pakistan. Many Sikhs had lost their homeland to Pakistan and therefore decided to remain in Malaya on a long term basis. They continued to serve in the police force, while their children took advantage of the excellent educational opportunities in the country. The subsequent generations took to more professional and skilled jobs while the older generation took on jobs as watchmen, money-lenders, dairy

fanning and providing bullock-cart transport - all these occupations are on the decline today. The estimated Sikh population is about 40,000 although no official figures are available.

Influence of Malay on the Punjabi Language

With the above background, the following factors can be identified for the assimilation of Malay words into the Punjabi dialogue amongst the Sikhs in Malaysia.

1   Since most of the Sikhs locally domiciled are from the police force there was a need for them to learn Malay words.
2.   Under the British Government, the security personnel had introduced examinations for advancement and promotions. This encouraged the personnel to study Malay through Rumi or Jawi. Thus they were able to use Malay words where Punjabi equivalents were not available.
3.   The interaction among families and especially children when staying in the barracks together with Malay families helped in the assimilation of more Malay words as the local-born Punjabis rarely had opportunities to go through formal Punjabi education.
4.   In view of the closeness of families in the barracks, family members also began using Malay words unconsciously in their daily conversation.
5.   Those who ventured into businesses of their own had to "pick-up" the Malay language in the form of 'pasar Malay' either from the Malays themselves or from the other immigrant races. Since Malay was the lingua franca or the main medium of interaction, some of the words began to be assimilated by the various races.

Thus the need to interact among the different races motivated the assimilation of certain Malay words into the Punjabi Language. This assimilation or integration of Malay words is evident among the older folks who are not conversant with English. Thus, there is a tendency to converse in Punjabi using more Malay words so as to make themselves understood to children who are in Malay medium schools.

Malaya was granted independence in 1957 and in the same year, Malay was formally declared the national language. The British had transformed the Malayan society into a multi-racial and multi-lingual society. The govern-

ment (after independence) recognised that the majority of the non-Malays were not proficient enough to converse in the language for official purposes. Hence a ten-year period was granted to the non-Malays to prepare themselves for the change and to learn the language. The Malaysian government decided that the implementation of Bahasa Malaysia as the main medium of instruction would be an important step in uniting all the different races.

Hence the motivational factors, such as gaining better positions in the government sector as well as doing well in the trade and commerce sector, ensured a high degree of exposure to the Malay Language. These economic and social advantages of knowing the Malay language all contribute to enhance the prestige of the Malay language.

Analysis and Findings

The corpus of 50 Malay borrowings from recordings of 6 Punjabi dialogues were identified and listed alphabetically (Appendix A). Since these words were derived from a one-slot audio recording, it was not possible to make a frequency count because the recordings were on varied themes. Owing to time constraints, an alternative method to determine the extent of use of these words was done by means of structured interviews using a Research Questionnaire with a 5-point scale. Please refer to Table 1.

These interviews were limited to 10 respondents, and it validated the fact that the words being studied were mostly in use.

Responses appearing under 'Always', 'Often' and 'Sometimes' were taken to support the usage of the Malay borrowings. Responses indicated under 'Seldom' and 'Never' were taken to mean that the words were not constantly in use. The results of the analysis of the interviews are summarised below.

Table 1 Frequency of Malay borrowings

	Scale level	No. of responses	%
1.	Always	254	50.8
2.	Often	87	17.4
3.	Sometimes	52	10.4
4.	Seldom	56	11.2
5.	Never	51	10.2
	Total	500	100

The above table shows that 78.6% of the responses support the usage of the given borrowings in Punjabi conversation, whereas 21.4% feel that the words are not constantly in use. This findings give reliability to the Malay borrowings that are used in this study.

From the analysis it is noted that the following 9 words have more than 50% responses under Seldom and Never, meaning that they are not commonly used.

Malay	Punjabi	
baju	baju	60%
bising	bising	90%
rumah	ruma	80%
gaji	gaji	100%
kacau	kaco	60%
kecil	kici	80%
kotor	kotor	90%
sapu	sapu	80%
sayur	sayor	90%

On the other hand, 28 words have a 100% response in the scale, 'Always', 'Often' and 'Sometimes' collectively. Overall 41 out of 50 words appear to be constantly in use, and this fact increases the reliability of the study of these words.

It is pertinent to note that the following 17 words have 80% or more responses rate under 'Always'

Malay	Punjabi	
baki	baki	80%
dapur	deper	90%
gambar	gamber	80%
gila	gila	90%
itik	ite	90%
jaga	jaga	90%
kunci	kunji	90%
langgar	langger	90%
pasar malam	pasar malam	80%
pagar	paga	90%
pasu	pasu	80%
pekedai	kedavala	80%
peti	peti	80%
puasa	puasa	80%
rokok	ruku	100%
rumah	ruma	80%
subang	suba	80%

Seven of the above words have a 90% response and the word 'rokok' has a 100% response under 'Always' With the above mentioned frequency analysis in mind, the classification of these words can now be considered.

Classification

(a)   Classification Using Formal Criteria

The Malay lexical borrowings were classified into 2 main types of borrowings only· (i) Pure loanwords and (ii) Loanblends. None of the words fell into the Loan Translation category. (See AppendixB). There were altogether 49 pure loanwords in the corpus. This makes up 98% of the 50 items.

Table 2A: Percentage Distribution of Categories of Loanwords

Categories of loanwords	Number	%
Pure loanwords	49	98
Loanblends	1	2
Total	50	100

All the loanwords can be said to be transparent because they are all easily identifiable with the model. In presenting the borrowings from Malay, the standard Bahasa Melayu spelling system was used. Thus, the phonemic as well as the orthographical representations of the borrowings were employed to analyse the degree of assimilation.

The pure loanwords were then further classified. However the loanwords fell into 4 categories only. They are :

(i)   Unassimilated loanwords
(ii)   Partially assimilated loanwords
(iii)   Wholly assimilated loanwords
(iv)   Analysed compounds   (See Appendix C)

Table 2(b) Percentage Distribution of Categories of Loanwords

Sub-categories of pure loanwords	No.	%
Unassimilated	22	45
Partially assimilated	17	35
Wholly assimilated	8	16
Analysed compounds	2	4
Total	49	100
Loanwords as % of Total Borrowings	50	98

The unassimilated loanwords account for almost half of the total corpus of borrowings. This could be due to the fact that there were not many foreign phonological features present in these words. Some of the Punjabi users are either not familiar with the equivalent Punjabi words or are not aware that

such Punjabi equivalents are available. A few of the Punjabi words are diffi-
cult to pronounce. For instance,

Malay model	Punjabi replica	Punjabi equivalent
jaga	jaga	pehere dar
gaji	gaji	thankha

There is a word *'puasa'*, means "*fasting*", for which there is no equiva-
lent as fasting is not culturally practised by the Sikhs. In fact the Urdu word
'roza' has been borrowed into the Punjabi language. So, as a result of language
contact with the Malay language, the word *puasa* is now commonly used. (See
Appendix C, for more example).

Thus, because of commonality during the interaction of the immigrant
Sikhs and the local Malays, these words were assimilated into the Punjabi
language.

Older loanwords which have become well established in the Punjabi lan-
guage have undergone complete phonological assimilation. Words such as,
gambar /gambɔr/, *pagar* /pagɔr/, *rotan* /rotɔn/, have been so completely as-
similated that their Malay origins are unsuspected by the majority of the Punjabi
speakers. In the early stages of contact the Punjabi migrants were monolinguals,
thus they modified the pronunciation of the Malay words, not knowing that
there were equivalent Punjabi words.

Analysed compounds occur when the elements of a compound are adapted
to the syntactic patterns of the recipient language. This assimilation is termed
morpho-syntactic. The Malay words were analysed and their morpho-syntac-
tic order was adapted to Punjabi syntax. Only 2 such examples were found in
this study. They are 'kopi keda' (kedai kopi); and 'gaje paje' (pajak gadai).

Malay	Punjabi	Meaning
kedai kopi	kopi keda	a coffee shop
Head + Modifier	Modifier + Head	Modifier + Head

Thus, in the example above, the compound word, 'kopi keda' follows the syntactic pattern of Punjabi (modifier + head). The Malay word order Head + Modifier has been changed to Punjabi word order Modifier + Head which is the same as the English word order. Analysed compounds account for 4% (2 items) of pure loanwords in this study.

Loanblends occur in a situation where speakers will substitute a native morpheme for some part of the foreign morpheme. Thus loanblend is a process that combines morphemic importation and substitution in the same item. This happens when a compound or a complex form is borrowed. In this study there is only 1 compound loanblend, 'kedavala'

Example,	Malay model	Punjabi replica
	pekedai	kedavala

This loanblend, which is the only loanblend in this study, is an example of a nuclear loanblend. This loanblend accounts for 2% of the Malay borrowings in the study.

Classification According to Parts of Speech

The borrowings were also classified according to the different parts of speech (See Appendix D). The majority of the words (39) fall under the Nouns category. This makes up 78% of the corpus in this study. Only 6 words are verbs which account for 12% of the borrowings. The rest of the words, (5 items), fall under the verbs category, accounting for 10% of the borrowings. The classification is summarized in the table below.

Table 2C: Percentage Distributions of Words by Form Classes

Form classes %	No
Nouns 78	39
Verbs 12	6
Adjectives 10	5
Total 100	50

Thus the most important form classes are nouns, adjectives and verbs, as shown in Table 2 (c). The observation that most of the borrowed items are nouns, conform to findings done by Haugen and Stene. Secondly, most of the Malay borrowings occurred in instances where there existed unfamiliarity with the equivalent Punjabi words or unawareness of the existence of such words. Another feature which is of significance when compared with findings of other studies is that grammatical forms are also borrowed. This occurred in 2 areas, namely verbs and adjectives.

Classification Using Semantic Criteria

From the corpus of items gathered, the following semantic fields were identified:

(i)   Places and buildings
(ii)   Household items and furniture
(iii)   Food and meals
(iv)   People and occupations
(v)   Happenings
(vi)   Jewellery, clothes and cosmetics
(vii)   Descriptions
(viii) Plants and animals
(ix)   Kinship and positions

The percentage of items found in each field from the corpus are as follows:

Table 3: The Percentage Distribution of Loans according to Semantic Domains

Semantic domains	No.	%
Places and buildings	12	24
Household items	10	20
Food and meals	6	12
People and occupations	5	10
Happenings	5	10
Jewellery, clothes and cosmetics	4	8
Descriptions	4	8
Plants and animals	2	4
Kinship and positions	2	4
Total	50	100

By using the semantic criteria to classify the data, a number of observations were recorded. Firstly, most of the borrowed items are confined to 'Places and Buildings', 'Household items and furniture', 'Food and drinks' and 'Happenings'. The nature of borrowings in these semantic classes is a reflection of the initial contact of the two languages, where there was a need to interact with the Malay community which slowly led to the assimilation of these words.

The early Sikh settlers in Malaysia were not highly educated in Punjabi itself because Urdu and Hindi were the main languages of communication in Punjab approved by the British Raj. Punjabi, however, remained a strong religio-socio influence among the Punjabis (Sikhs) who then took up the challenge of enriching Punjabi as a language to be reckoned with. This is aptly validated by Professor Hiralal Chopra when he says that "British diplomacy succeeded in prompting Hindus to claim Hindi as their language and Muslims to claim Urdu as theirs, leaving only the Sikhs to fight the battle single handed for the Punjabi language". (Hiralal Chopra, 1958:57). This virus of communalism injected by the British among the 3 major communities of Punjab was an influential factor for the Punjabis in Malaya to continue using Punjabi in its not so advanced and developed stage. In fact very few Sikhs wrote in Punjabi (Gurmukhi script) in the twentieth century and therefore Punjabi remained mainly as a medium to read the religious scriptures. It can be inferred from this therefore that the early

Punjabis in Malaya were forced to borrow local words where a deficiency in the language existed.

Borrowings from Malay in the area of 'Food, drinks and meals' are generally limited to items which were not generally used by the Sikhs. For instance, words like *kacang, kelapa, kuih* (Malay cakes), and *rokok* (the Sikhs are prohibited from smoking by Sikhism).

Integration

Two types of integration will be discussed in relation to this study: (a) linguistic integration and (b) social integration of loan items in the Punjabi language.

(a) Linguistic integration

The linguistic integration is the adaptation of the Malay borrowings to the phonological, grammatical and lexico-semantic structures of the Punjabi language.

Phonological integration

It is observed from this study, that the Punjabi speakers replace some of the Malay phonemes by the phonemes of their language. Most of the words have been assimilated phonologically because the difference between the phonological structures of the two languages is not so great.

As discussed earlier in the analysis, 45% of the loanwords are unassimilated pure loanwords which have not been adapted in any way. This is because the features of the Malay words have become familiar to Punjabi speakers through constant exposure of the assimilated pure loanwords that make up 35% of the loanwords.

Generally, there are a few patterns of phonological diversity that were observed, between the Malay and Punjabi languages in this study. The patterns are as follows:

(1) The final /k/

Where a standard Malay word ends with /k/, this final consonant is dropped in Punjabi.

bedak [bəda?]   bida [bida]
bilek [bilɛ?]   bila [bilə]
pajak gadai [paɟa? gadai]   gaje paja [gaɟe paja]

(2)   The /o/ followed by /k/

Where an? /o/ is followed by a /k/ in final position, the final consonant is dropped, and the vowel is pronounced /u/.

mabuk / mədbo?/   mabu /mabu/
rokok /roko/?/   ruku / ruku/

(3)   The final /ŋ/

The final /ŋ/ is relatively rare in Punjabi as it is usually found in medial and initial positions.

Where a standard Malay word ends with /n/, it is either not pronounced.

kampung /kampuŋ/   kampu /kampu/
subang /subaŋ/   suba /suba/

However, it is also observed that in words like 'padang', 'bangku', and 'bunga', the medial /ŋ/ positions are retained and the final /ŋ/ positions in 'tiang' and 'bising' are also retained.

(4)   The final /an/

Where a standard Malay word ends with /an/, the /a/ is dropped.

jalan /ɟalan/   jaln /ɟaln/
rotan /rotan/   rotn /rotn/

(5)   The final /au/

Where a standard Malay word ends with /au/, this is changed to /o/ in Punjabi.

pisau /pisau/   piso /piso/
kacau /kacău/   keco /kečo/

(6)　The final /ai/
Where a standard Malay word ends with /ai/, the final /i/ is dropped in Punjabi and the vowel /a/ is pronounced.

　　　　kedai /kədai/　　　　　　　　*keda* /kəda/

(7)　The final /h/ is not pronounced.
　　　　rumah /ruməh/　　　　　　　*ruma* /rumə/
　　　　kuih /kueh/　　　　　　　　*kue* /kue/

　　　An idea of the Malay and Punjabi phonemic system might give a clearer explanation that has led to the above phonological adaptation of the Malay loanwords in Punjabi. An examination of the phonemic system of Malay and Punjabi will reveal that Punjabi has a much larger number of phonemes. Punjabi does not have /k/, /an/, /au/ and /ai/ in final position, which explains why these sounds are omitted in the Malay loanwords.

Grammatical integration

As this study is based on spoken data, findings obtained are limited to the Punjabi word order and plurality.

(i)　It is observed that compound loanwords conform to Punjabi word order, that is Modifier + Head.

　　　　　　　　Malay　　Punjabi
Example:　　　*kedai kopi*　　　　　kopi keda
　　　　　　　pajak gadai　　　　　gaje paja

In the example, 'kopi keda' and 'gaje paja' follow the syntactic pattern of Punjabi (modifier + head). The Malay word order has been changed to the Punjabi word order.

(ii)　In Malay loanwords, the use of the phoneme /e/ may indicate plurality. This is because in Punjabi, the singular for boy, 'munda' is 'munde' in the plural form.

Example:	Singular	Plural	Model
	ita	ite	itik
	bila	bile	bilik
	paga	page	pagar

Lexico-Semantic Integration

"Words seldom pass from one language into another without some change or adjustment of meaning." (Heah, 1989:148).

It was observed in this study that the Malay words have been semantically modified in Punjabi. Semantic restriction is the most common form of semantic modification. Very few words have actually undergone semantic widening and semantic specialisation. The findings did not indicate any productive loanwords.

Examples of Semantic restriction:

Malay	Punjabi
Pasu (deep bowl, basin, flower pot)	pasu (flower pot)
bunga (flower, interest)	bunga (flower)
kacau (jumbled up, confused, interfere)	keco (interfere)

Examples of Semantic specialisation:

Malay	Punjabi
pisau (table knives, razors, jungle knives)	piso (chopper - to cut meat)
kuih (used for traditional malay products)	kue (Malay cakes only)
bangku (stool, long chair, market stall)	bangku (stool)

Examples of semantic extension:

Malay	Punjabi
kunci (lock or bolt, key to open locks)	kunji (lock, key, to wind watch/ clock)

Most of the loanwords have equivalents or near equivalents in Punjabi. This findings contradict Jesperson's findings that "there is generally nothing to induce one to use words from foreign languages for things that one has just as well at home" (Jesperson, Otto 1956:28)

Some examples are:

kunji   *kunci* and Punjabi "chabi"
lampu   *lampu* and Punjabi "beti"
gaji   *gaji* and Punjabi "tankhah"

The above synonyms and the rest in this study are interchangeable, except where semantic specialisation is indicated. The usage of these synonyms is a matter of convenience to the speaker. In some cases, the speaker is not aware that there exists an equivalent in Punjabi. This is especially so among Punjabis who only speak in colloquial spoken Punjabi. Generally speaking, it is clear that Punjabi Sikhs use Malay borrowings with no inhibition at all.

(b) Social integration

This aspect of integration of loanwords has not been given much emphasis. Greenberg has suggested that the degree of social integration of loanwords may be established by sociological and psychological indices of assimilation (Greenberg, 1962:169).

Hasselmo has also devised a number of "acceptability", 'identification' and 'translatability tests' to determine the status of English loans in American Swedish. These tests are used to establish the degree of integration in terms of several different scales.(Heah,1989:35).

In this study the writer had used a structured questionnaire to interview respondents, in order to determine the extent to which the words under this study were used. This conforms to Hasselmo's "acceptability tests" to determine the degree of integration of the borrowed words. The interview provided raw scores which indicated that 78.6% of the respondents actually agreed that the borrowings were more frequently used in their daily Punjabi conversations.

The early settlers also is an important factor in the assimilation of the Malay borrowings. The need to survive in the Malay community encouraged them to use Malay It was not for prestige reasons that they resorted to Malay words but more so because of the deficiency of words related to the local situation.

Conclusion

This study based on spoken data, reveals that the influence of Malay borrowings on the Punjabi language is mainly in the form of transfer of pure loanwords, which is the simplest form of transfer.

The contact with Malay has given rise to fully integrated words which are so ingrained in Punjabi, that most speakers would not think of them as foreign borrowings.

The findings of this study suggest that socio-cultural factors have contributed to the Malay borrowings. Certain cultural traits have been absorbed in the Punjabi culture. 'Culture words' such as, *pasar malam, kampung* (kampu), *rokok* (ruku) *puasa* and many others can be seen in the domains of 'local places', 'food and drinks', 'household items and furniture'

The socio-cultural setting of the early contacts situation is also an important factor in contributing to Malay borrowings. As mentioned earlier, the need for interaction with the local Malay community encouraged them to learn Malay words. The closeness of Malay and Punjabi families helped in the assimilation of Malay words into Punjabi. The economic advantage of knowing Malay further contributed to the enhancement of the prestige of the Malay language.

This study has shown that Haugen's and Stene's criteria in classifying borrowingss revealed some useful information. Most of the borrowings are pure loanwords and they can be classified as unassimilated, partially assimilated and wholly assimilated.

The supplementary classification by form classes and semantic domains provided valuable information. Almost all the borrowings were nouns, indicating that there is probably a deficiency in their vocabulary of nouns especially those which are of local origin. The speaker may be unfamiliar with the Punjabi equivalents and thus resort to Malay borrowings which they are more comfortable with.

Although using the semantic criteria gave useful information, classifying items into semantic classes was a difficult task. This semantic classification

gives an insight into the nature of language contact between the Malays and Punjabi Sikhs.

The linguistic integration of loanwords reveal that phonemic substitution is the most usual type of adaptation. It was found that no new phonemes were introduced into the Punjabi language.

The contact with the Malays does not have a very great effect on the grammar of Punjabi as it is only the spoken discourse that is being studied. On the lexico-semantic level, semantic restriction was the main form of semantic modification. Generally, most of the borrowed words have synonyms in Punjabi and they are interchangeable.

The study has certainly revealed the possibility and scope of further re-search in this area both vertically and horizontally across the Sikh community to ascertain the perpetuity or decline of the use of Malay borrowings among different generations of the community. The research could also establish the rise in the assimilation of Malay words with the increased use of Bahasa Malaysia and the continued "corruption" of the Punjabi language among the younger generations. The Punjabi language's negligible economic value is another factor. These are but some areas of further research which could be undertaken in the future.

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Appendix A

Borrowings Listed Alphabetically

Malay Language	Punjabi Language
almari	
baju	baju
baki	baki
bangku	bangku
bapa	bapa
bedak	beda
bilik	bila
bising	bising
bunga	bunga
dapor	deper
darjat	derja
gaji	gaji
gambar	gamber
gila	gila
goreng	goreng
itik	ite
jaga	jaga
jalan	jalen
kacau	kaco
kampung	kampu
kecil	kici
kedai	keda
kedai kopi	kopi keda
kelapa	kelapa
kerani	kerani
kotor	kotor
kuih	kue
kunci	kunji
lampu	lempu
langgar	langger
mabuk	mabu
mandi	mandi

padang	padeng
pasar malam	pasar malam
pagar	paga
pajak gadai	gaje paja
pasu	pasu
pekedai	kedavala
peti	peti
pisau	piso
puasa	puasa
rokok	ruku
rotan	roten
rumah	ruma
sapu	sapu
sayur	sayor
subang	suba
tiang	tiang
tipu	tipu
tuala	tuala

Appendix B

Categories of Loanwords

Pure Loanwords

Malay Languag	Punjabi Language
almari	almari
baju	baju
baki	baki
bangku	bangku
bapa	bapa/bapu
bedak	beda
bilik	bila
bising	bising
bunga	bunga
dapor	deper
darja	derja
gaji	gaji
gambar	gamber
gila	gila
goreng	goreng
itik	ite
jaga	jaga
jalan	jalen
kacau	kacho
kampung	kampu
kecil	kichi
kedai	keda
kedai kopi	kopi keda
kelapa	kelapa
kerani	kerani
kotor	kotor
kuih	kue
kunci	kunji
lampu	lempu
langgar	langger
mabuk	mabu
mandi	mandi

padang	padeng
pasar malam	pasar malam
pagar	paga
pajak gadai	gaje paja
pasu	pasu
peti	peti
pisau	piso
puasa	puasa
rokok	ruku
rotan	roten
rumah	ruma
sapu	sapu
sayur	sayor
subang	suba
tiang	tiang
tipu	tipu
tuala	tuala

Loanblends

pekedai	kedavala

Appendix C

Categories of Loanwords

UNASSIMILATED

Malay Language	Punjabi Language
almari	almari
baju	baju
baki	baki
bangku	bangku
bapa	bapa
bising	bising
bunga	bunga
gaji	gaji
gila	gila
goreng	goreng
jaga	jaga
kelapa	kelapa
kerani	kerani
kotor	kotor
mandi	mandi
pasar malam	pasar malam
pasu	pasu
puasa	puasa
sapu	sapu
tiang	tiang
tipu	tipu
tuala	tuala

PARTIALLY ASSIMILATED

bilik	bila
dapur	deper
gambar	gamber
itik	ite
jalan	jalen

kacau	kacho
kampunh	kampu
kecil	kichi
kuih	kue
lampu	lempu
mabuk	mabu
padang	padeng
pisau	piso
rokok	ruku
sayur	sayor

WHOLLY ASSIMILATED

bedak	beda
darjat	derja
kedai	keda
kunci	kunji
pagar	paga
peti	peti
rotan	roṭen
subang	suba

ANALYSED COMPOUNDS

Kedai kopi	kopi keda
pajak gadai	gaje paje

Appendix D

NOUNS

Malay Language	Punjabi Language
almari	almari
baju	baju
baki	baki
bangku	bangku
bapa	bapa/bapu
bedak	beda
bilik	bila
bunga	bunga
dapur	deper
darjat	derja
gaji	gaji
gambar	gamber
itik	ite
jaga	jaga
jalan	jalen
kampung	kampu
kedai	keda
kedai kopi	kopi keda
kelapa	kelapa
kerani	kerani
kuih	kue
kunci	kunji
lampu	lempu
langgar	langger
padang	padeng
pasar malam	pasar malam
pagar	paga
pajak gadai	gaje paja
pasu	pasu
pekedai	kedavala
peti	peti
pisau	piso

puasa	puasa
rokok	ruku
rotan	roten
rumah	ruma
sayur	sayor
subang	suba
tiang	tiang
tuala	tuala

VERBS

Malay Language	Punjabi Language
goreng	goreng
kacau	kacho
langgar	langger
mandi	mandi
sapu	sapu
tipu	tipu

ADJECTIVES

bising	bising
gila	gila
kecil	kichi
kotor	kotor
mabuk	mabu