

## SANSKRIT IN TAUSOG

Indian cultural influence in Southeast Asia is best summarized in the works of George Goedes (1948) and the scholar contributors in the volume dedicated to the centenary of Vivekananda (1970). While it is true that Indian cultural influences in the region had contributed to the further enrichment of the then rich culture of Southeast Asia, this contribution is best viewed along D. Devahuti's (1970) perception of the ancient cultural encounter between India and Southeast Asia. She wrote, "Cultural exchange and the synthesis of the original and the local is the overriding characteristic, and an ever-present theme in the story of India's relation with Southeast Asia, and the relations with each other, of the various countries in this vast region." Along the western margin of the Pacific Ocean, however, there are still spots in the total picture of that influence that need to be understood. I refer to some areas in the Philippines, like the southern part of the archipelago, the Tausog-speaking people of the Sulu Sea.

The purpose of this paper is to provide some light to enable the creation of a more pervasive picture of that cultural influence, already understood in terms of Devahuti's view.

The Tausog-speaking people of the Philippines are located in the southwestern end of the archipelago, and occupy a series of islands, the biggest of which is Jolo. The next largest is Siasi which is surrounded by smaller islands between which the Tausog move and ply their seafaring trade and commerce. This seafaring characteristic of the Tausog from ancient times has brought them in contact with equally mobile peoples. This contact, which brought about inevitable cultural

exchanges, may be best illustrated by a tradition, albeit mythological, that is related by Najeeb M. Saleeby (1901). In his account Saleeby said:

. . . earliest known ruler . . . was Raja Sipad the Older, of whom nothing is related except that he was ancestor of Raja Sipad the Younger. In the days of the latter there appeared Tuan Masha'ika, about whose ancestry there seems to be considerable ambiguity and difference of opinion. According to the Genealogy of Sulu he was supposed to have issued out of a stalk of a bamboo and was held by the people as a prophet. The traditions state that Tuan Mash'ka was the son of Jamiyum Kulisa and Indira Suga, who came to Sulu with Alexander the Great.

Jamiyum Kulisa and Indira Suga are mythological names and in all probability represent male and female gods related to the thunderbolt and the sun, respectively. The former religion of the Sulus was Hindu in origin. It deified the various phenomena of nature and assigned the highest places in its pantheon to Indira, the sky, Agni, the fire, Vayu, the wind, and Surya, the sun. The ancient Sulus no doubt had many myths relating to the marriages and heroic deeds of their gods by which natural phenomena were explained, and it is not unlikely that the above story of Jamiyum Kulisa was one of those myths. Taken in this light, the above legend may express the beliefs of the ancient Sulus that, by the marriage of the gods, Jamiyun Kulisa and Indira Suga, rain fell and life was so imparted to the soil that plants grew.

The word Tuan Masha'ika is so written in the Malay text as to suggest its probable formation from two words Masha and ika. The Sanskrit word *Masha* means "pulse" or "plant." *Ika* or *eka* means "one." On the other hand *masha-ika* may represent the two parts of the Sanskrit *mashika* which means "five mashes." It may not therefore be improbable that *masha'ika* refers to the subordinate deity which assumes the form of a plant or signifies the first man, whom the deity created from a plant. It is not an uncommon feature of Malay legends to ascribe a supernatural origin to the

ancestor of the tribe, the Tuan Masha'ika probably represents the admission into the (Sulu) stock of foreign blood and the rise of a chief not descended from Raja Sipad the Older. The tarsila (genealogy) adds that he married the daughter of Raja Sipad the Younger, Indha (Sunshine), and became the forefather of the principal people of Sulu (the Tausog).

The citation above, legendary though it may be, shows certainly vague but interesting social recollections. It is interesting in more ways than one, since the contact history of Sulu, or of the Tausog, to be more specific, is evident in the excavations of Alexander Spoehr in the island of Jolo (1973). The archaeological finds date back to the period even before that of Indianization in Southeast Asia. These consist of porcelain from earlier than the Sung, or even the T'ang, dynasties of China. The contact, however, was not confined to the Chinese. It included the other two great traditions, namely the Indian and later, the Arab.

The Indian contact, while relatively contemporaneous with the other two, the Chinese and the Arab, may have had a profound impact upon the Tausog. This possibility rests on the assumption that despite the equally important impact of Islam and Arab culture, *Indianism*, particularly in the language, remained and was absorbed in the milieu of Tausog life and culture. The phenomenon also occurred among the Malay and the Javanese and in their languages. It must be noted that these languages did not absorb Indianisms (or Arabicisms or Sinocisms) passively. Rather the process of borrowing entailed a mechanism of readjusting the borrowed concepts in favor of the Malay, Javanese or Philippine (Tausog) perceptions.

Perhaps this adaptation was also true in the borrowing of the scripts. The complex symbolic representations of the Indian, particularly the Sanskrit, had to be adjusted to fit with the simpler sound system of the Javanese, Malay and Philippine languages. That is, since the phonological systems of the Malay, Javanese and Philippine languages are not as complicated as that of Sanskrit, the sounds of the latter were reduced to the "simplest" forms, even as the Indian system of writing was being adapted.

### Sanskrit in Tausog

In 1964, I published <sup>1</sup> "Indian Influences in the Philippines, with special reference to language and literature," where references to the Sulu language were made. In subsequent works (1971, 1974), similar references were made on the same language, without regard to the other languages that are spoken in the Sulu Archipelago, namely Samal and Badjao. I did not fully realize that the language I was referring to in those works was Tausog, and this was due primarily to the inavailability of more specific materials, which more or less distinguished these three speeches. What was available to me then as early as 1957 was the "List of Sulu Vocabulary" published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Straits Branch*, No. 16 (December 1885) and No. 18 (December 1886), by T.H. Haynes.

In this paper, I would like to correct the references to Tausog as Sulu in those earlier works. Henceforth, any reference to the languages of the Sulu Archipelago in the Southwestern Philippines shall be more specifically Tausog, or Samal or Badjao as the case may be. The same terms are also used to call the people that inhabit the entire archipelago, and they constitute the three major ethno-linguistic groups of that area. Of the three major ethno-linguistic groups of that area, the Tausog are more politically, socially and economically dominant (Arce 1963). They are the main inhabitants of the Jolo island, and have spread southward throughout the archipelago. They are largely farmers, traders and seafarers. While they are devout Muslims, they have still vestiges of pre-Islamic religious practices (Szanton 1973). The language, which is generally known as Tausog, "is quite distinct from the others of the archipelago but closely related to the languages of the central Philippines, suggesting that they are relatively recent arrivals from the north" (*ibid.*)

Based on the latest Tausog dictionary, the words in the list are recognized to have been "derived" from Sanskrit. Included in this list are those that have been referred to in the previous works in this attempt to correct an earlier error (*supra*). There shall be no attempt to discuss the phonological development of Sanskrit in Tausog, as this has been dealt with in that earlier work where the general principles of the development of Sanskrit sounds as adopted in Philippine languages has been established. Only peculiar developments shall be

discussed where they occur.

The word list is divided into two parts. Part I constitutes the comparative list, which includes other Philippine languages, Malay/Old Malay, Javanese/Old Javanese, and Sanskrit. It may be observed in this list that there is a general pattern of phonological and semantic change from the Sanskrit through Malay/Old Malay and Javanese/Old Javanese to Tausog. The phonological change may not be problematic, but the semantic change may show certain difficulties, since this kind of change may not merely involve meaning per se but may be more significantly socio-cultural in nature. The Tausog perception of the concept as expressed in the term may be different from the Sanskrit, as well as the Malay or Javanese, given the differences in ecological orientations and locations.

Part II constitutes a listing of Tausog words which are suspected to be Sanskrit, but which at the moment cannot be checked for lack of time and the inavailability of materials for this purpose. (See the Appendices for the Word List).

In the Haynes (*ibid.*) word list, there are two words in Tausog which are no longer used, namely ANGSA, goose, which is in Sanskrit *Hamsa*, goose; and GAJAH, elephant, in Sanskrit also GAJA, elephant. There is in the other Philippine languages – Ilk., Tag. and Bik. – GANSO, and Tag. and Ceb. GANSA, but it would seem to have been borrowed from the Spanish GANSO, rather than from Sanskrit through Mal. GANGSA, HANGSA or Jav. ONGSA, GANGSA. Tag. and Ceb. GAJAH and Ilk. GADIA are no longer used in contemporary language like in modern Tausog. The word certainly belongs to an age now lost in the collective memory of the peoples. For both words, Philippine languages have substituted the Spanish GANSO and ELEFANTE. It is understandable that the language of the colonial masters certainly had a very significant influence upon the languages of the conquered.

The forms of the Sanskrit VIDYADHARI in Maranao (Francisco 1974) certainly presents an interesting development as it passed to the Southern Philippine language. But the form of the word in Tausog is even more fantastic to say the least. Tausog BIRADDALI, whether or not it certainly is Sanskrit in origin, shows the initial consonant, the bilabial plosive B, as following the Malay, but somehow deviates from the Javanese, which is much closer to the Sanskrit, namely WIDADARI.

There is indeed a progressive assimilation in the DD from DH and the liquification of the trill, which does not change in the other forms in the Austronesian. This seems to be the most unusual form among all the Sanskrit terms in Tausog, the rest being reflections of either the Javanese or Malay.

### Reflections on Sanskrit in Tausog

In two earlier works (Francisco 1964, 1971), my references to the Tausog (at that time still Sulu) had been rather few and sometimes very much speculative. The present essay is an attempt to view the presence of Sanskrit in Tausog in a more different and more or less definitive light. A cursory examination of the list shows a very deep understanding of the Sanskrit, in the sense that the acceptance of the terms did not necessarily affect local cultural orientations nor entail any changes in the thought systems of the Tausog. Rather, these words enriched the already rich speech and conceptual systems.

As another thought system, namely Islam, was introduced into Tausog thinking, it is expected that Sanskrit terms and the ideas they expressed should have been pushed aside and the primacy of Islamic concepts established. This did not happen, however. Instead, Islam was accepted and adopted to the new socio-cultural environment without damage to the Sanskrit terms. For example, it is interesting to note that in Tausog we find Islamic concepts expressed in Sanskrit terms, for example, Tausog SULGA, heaven (Sanskrit SVARGA), NARAKA, hell (Sanskrit NARAKA), PUASA, the Ramadan (Sanskrit UPAVASA, abiding in the state of abstinence). These terms carry Islamic meanings and contexts. This is also true for the other languages spoken by the other Islamized Filipinos, namely the Maranao and the Maguindanao. Perhaps this is also a reflection of what occurs in the Malay and Javanese languages that were also inheritors of the Islamic tradition.

The role of Tausog in the dissemination of Sanskrit in the Philippines is not merely apparent but distinct considering its position in the geographic configuration of the country. It is nearest the center of Indian cultural influence in the farthest east. Moreover, the Sanskrit found in Tausog are culturally substantial. They represent a very important language aspect as to have given Tausog a significantly important

thought or concept system, particularly in the abstract, like religion and socio-political organization.

Being located in an archipelagic situation, the Tausog's ecosystem certainly included seafaring, whether fishing, trade or any other economic maritime activities. These activities certainly give them the best opportunities to be in constant contact with the other ethnic groups in the Philippines and in the course of these contacts not merely trade elements are exchanged but also cultural "artifacts" like language. It is also in the nature of its geographic location that Tausog played a role as a bridge between languages in the Philippines.

### Conclusion

Part II of the word list certainly indicates that this brief paper shall not have any conclusion, except to remark that the study of Sanskrit in Tausog, or in the Philippine languages (particularly in the southern regions) is just starting. The study should not be confined only to the language aspect of that cultural influence, but it should include an investigation of the pre-Islamic religious practices, the artistic tradition. It is perhaps not ill-considered to say that it is in archaeology that another segment of this cultural influence can be seen. The surface is barely seen, hence it would not be surprising to speculate that more intensive digging in the area should be made. The initial diggings of Spoehr, though having excavated no Indian artifacts, may just be the beginnings.

### POSTSCRIPT

In assessing the impact of Indian culture in Southeast Asia, particularly in the Malay Peninsula and Indonesian and Philippine archipelagoes, the Coromandel Coast as the point of origin of that culture impact has been certainly **fully studied**. And that impact was primarily due to the medium of trade, except at one point of that long period of exchange, namely the hegemony of one of the Cholas over the Sri Vijaya/Sailendra kingdoms.

Certainly, the peoples of the Coromandel Coast of those of

Northern Bengal Bay Coast were not the only seafaring peoples who plied their trade with the lands beyond the seas. The peoples of the Malabar Coast cannot be said to be less intrepid and crossed the oceans for trade and traffic. If they did, and I am sure they did, vestiges of their culture after long centuries of contact through trade and traffic with the peoples of insular and peninsular Southeast Asia, should be found.

The question may, however, arise, namely: Why did they leave only the Brahmanic/Buddhistic elements of their culture, and not elements of their own culture? To illustrate this, let me use the language — Why didn't they leave behind "Tamilisms" or "Malayalamisms"? With the exception of three Tamil inscriptions found in Sumatra and Northern Malaysia, in the Isthmus of Kra, these are not evidence enough of that regional impact if we can call it impact, and to impart significance on a broad perspective or high level influence. Of Malayalam, we have no evidence, if but one or two inscriptions or reference in any of the inscriptions in the Sanskrit or even in the Old Javanese or Old Malay languages.

While earlier works on South Indian impact on trade and traffic in Southeast Asia provide no material substantial evidence of Kerala's influence in the SEA region, I would agree with the view that there were certainly trade and traffic contacts between the Malabar Coast and the Southeast Asian Regions. But the question still remains.

I would like to advance the view that "Malayalamisms" are not found in these regions on account of one very significant event in South India itself. That is, during this period — the period of trade and traffic contact, South India was in a period of high saturation of Brahmanic and Sanskrit tradition, at which acceptance of it was certainly deep and wideranging. Hence, the enthusiasm that the Tamils and Malayalees had for the traditions extended beyond their own physical borders. As a result, instead of imparting their indigenous cultures to the peoples of Southeast Asia, they left the new culture as a legacy of their contact with the Malayo-Indonesian and hence to the Filipino peoples of early times, and whose culture has been permeated with Brahmanic if Sanskrit traditions. In the Philippines, it was the coastal as well as the riverine peoples who received the greatest bulk of that tradition and

through whom all other peoples of the archipelago had received their share of that tradition.

All this is pure speculation, and I stand corrected in the face of substantial material evidences. I would not, however, be surprised if these evidences will tend to support my view.

### Acknowledgments

I wish to acknowledge the Sulu College of Development and Technology, Jolo, Sulu, for my travel funds to undertake a preliminary investigation on the probable extent of Indian culture in the area. The General Secretary of the First World Conference of Malayalam, Kerala Culture and Development, also provided me travel funds and accommodation to attend this international gathering of scholars. To him I owe a debt of gratitude. And to the Philippine Government, for allowing me official time to attend this Conference, my thanks.

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## PART I. COMPARATIVE WORD LIST

TAUSOG	OTHER PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES	SANSKRIT	MALAY/OLD MALAY	JAVANESE/OLD JAVANESE
ANTAL, hinder, delay	Tag. ANTAL, delay	ANTARA, being in the interior, interval	ANTARA, between, in space and time	ANTARA, mean-time, interspace
ANYAYA, persecute, grab s.t. from s.c. by injustice	Tag. ANYAYA, to harm; destroy; indolence	ANYAYA, unjust or unlawful action	ANIYAYA, ANIAYA, oppression, injustice, tyranny	
ASAWA, wife	Tag. Ilk., Bik., etc. ASAWA, spouse, wife	SVA, one's own, own	SUAMI, husband	SVAMI, husband
ASTANA, palace, house of a <i>datu</i> or <i>sultan</i>	Mar., ASTANA, mansion, king's palace	STHANA, abode, dwelling, house, place	ISTANA, palace	ISTANA, palace
ATAWA, or	ATHAVA, either-or rather	ATAU, ATAWA, either, or	ATAWA, UTAMA, either or, rather	
BAKTI, a gift esp. given by an Islamic student to his teacher as a token of gratitude and appre-	BHAKTI, homage, love, worship; loyal	BHAKTI, devotion attachment	BEKTI, a customary gift, present	

BAHAGI, share, allotment section, part, portion fraction, division	Tag., BAHAGI, Ilk., Mar., Mag., BAGI, share, portion, part	BHAGA (/bhaj), divide, distribute division allotment	BAHAGI, share, part, portion	BAGI, share, part, portion
BAHASA, language, speech, dialect	Mag., Mar. BASA, dialect, language, speech	BHASHA, speech, language, any of the prakitric languages of dialects	BHASA, language	BAHASA, language
BANDAHARA, title given by the sultan to one of his worthy followers	Mar. BANDARA, title of nobility	BHANDAG ARJKA, treasury; BHANDA-GARA, treasurer	BENDAHARA, royal treasurer, prime minister	BENDARA, master, chief, commandant, captain
BANGSA, people, race nation	Tag. BANGSA, Mar. BANGSA, nation, people	VAMSA, lineage, race	BANGSA, BANSA, race; nation	WONGSA, race, nation
BANYAGA, a chattel, slave	Tag. BANYAGA, Ilk. foreigner; Ceb. BALIGYA commerce, trade and traffic; merchant	VANIJA, traffic, trade, commerce, VANIJKA, merchant	BENIYAGA, BERNIAGA, WANIYAG, merchant, trader	BANYAGA, merchant, trader
BAYAN BUDDIMAN, intelligent, quick-witted, shrewed, wise, sagacious	Tag. BUDHI, conscience	BUDDHIMAN, having intelligence, or reason, wise, learned	BUDIMAN, clever, discreet	Achinese, BUDI-MAN, to behave well, wise
BICHARA, speak, talk, discuss; also gossip.	Mar. BITIARA, speak, dialogue	VICARA, deliberation, reflection, etc.	BICARA, deliberation	WICARA, deliberation, reasoning, speaking.

BIGI, seed as a fruit, vegetables, grains, nuts	Vis. BINHI, seed, grain	BIJA, seed, grain	BIJA, BIJI, seed, grain	WIJA, WIJI, seed, child, race, blood relative
BILANGGU, chain, shackle, fetters	Tag. BILANGGU, Ilk. BILANGGO, prison, fetters. chain	Tamil, VILANGU, fetters, chain	BELENGGU, fetters chain	
BIRADDALI, fairies, beautiful heavenly beings with wings	Mar. BIDARIA, MIDADA- RI, houri, angel, lady of god, beautiful lady in heaven	VIDYADHARI, a fe- male of the class above supernatural beings, fairy, sylph	BIDIADARI, BIDADA- RI, celestial nymph	WIDADARI, celes- tial nymph
BISA, sharpness or sting as wound; effectivity as of medicine; deadly, poisonous, noxious	Tag., Mar., Ceb., BISA poison; effective	VISA, poison, venom, anything active	BISA, venom, venomous	WISA, venom, venomous
BIYAKSA, accustomed to, used to, in the habit of	Tag. BIHASA, Mar., BIAKSA, accustomed, skillful, expert	ABHYASA, repeated or permanent exer- cise, discipline, habit expert	BIYASA, BIASA, Adroit,	BIYASA, habit
BUDDI, debt of gratitude which may not be de- manded but which must be repaid	Tag. BUDHI, conscience	BUDDHI, under- standing, mind, reason	BUDI, sense, intelli- gence	BUDI, soul, intel- ligence, reason

KAPALA, master, leader, head, as the head of an organization	Mag. KAPALA, head	KAPAL, the skull, head	KAPALA, head, also KEPAL	KAPALA, head
KASSA, glass, bottle, jar	Tag. KASA, bracelet of green and gold stones also Mag. KACHA	KACA, glass	KACEA, glass	KACHA, glass
KASTURI, a tree of incomparable fragrance in heaven	Tag. KASTURI, Ceb. KATSULI, Ilk. KAS-TOLI, musk, a kind of musk	KASTURI, musk	KESTURI, civet cat produces musk	KASTURI, musk (name of the animal that produces musk, civet)
KATA-KATA, fictitious story, tale, legend, fable; to tell or relate such stories	Tag. KATHA, story, fable narrative, saying	KATHA, fable, story, narrative; talk, conversation	KATA, remark; KAT-KATA, report	
KUNSI, key for locking or unlocking	Tag. KUNSI, bolt, latch; Mar. GONSI, key; KUSI, lock	KUNCIKA, key	KUNCHI, keyhole, lock	
KUTA, fort, stonewall, fortifications	Tag. KUTA, fort; Mar. KOTA, fortifications	KOSTHA, an enclosed place, a surrounding wall	KOTA, fortification	KUTA, fortification

DARUHAKA, see JAHU-LAKA

DUKKA, grief, woe, tribulation	DUKHA, poverty, misery, etc., misfortune	DUKHA, misery, etc., unpleasant, pain	DUKA, grief	DUKA, angry, anger
DUSA, sin, crime, guilt, fault	Tag., Bik., Ilk. DUSA, mourning, grief, suffering	DOSA, fault, vice, sin, guilt, crime	DOSA, sin, a crime	DOSA, sin
DUSTA, to test one's honesty, intelligence, skill, patience with intent to contradict or provoke	Tag. DUSTA, accused, damned; Bik. DUSTA, untidy, filthy	DUSTA, spoiled, corrupted, wicked, false	DUSTA, false, lying, deceitful, untruth	A chinese, DOSOTA, a lie, lying
GANGSA, brass bowl	Tag. GANGSA, brass gong; Ilk. GANSA, a gong of brass plate	KANSYA, a sort of a gong or plate of bell	GANGSA, copper	GANGSA, copper or brass gong
GAPAS, cotton, gauze; also KAPAS	Ceb. GAPAS, Ilk. KAPAS Bik. GAPOS, cotton	KARPASA cotton	KAPAS, cotton	KAPAS, cotton wool
GULA, a thick sweet syrupy substance extracted from sugar cane	Mar. GOLA, sugar, Ceb. Ilk., Tag. GULAMAN, sweet jelly	GULA, raw, unrefined sugar	GULA, sugar	GULA, sugar
GUMI, earth, the solid matter of this planet. also BUMI	BHUMI, earth, ground	BHUMI, earth, soil	BUMI, earth, soil	BUMI, earth soil
GUNA, usefulness, utility worth, value, service, use applicability	Mag. GUNA, profit, Ilk. GUN-GUNA, profit	GUNA, good quality merit, virtue	GUNA, benefit	GURU, benefit, profit

GURU, teacher of Islamic studies or of esoteric knowledge	Tag. GURO, Mar. GORO, teacher, instructor	GURU, spiritual teacher or preceptor	GURU, teacher	GURU, teacher
HALGA, price, cost of . . ., also value as one's life, honor or integrity	Tag., Ceb., HALAGA, Mar. ARGHA, value, price charge, value	ARGHA, value, price	HARGA, value, price	HARGA, value, price
(HAYLAY) PUASA, celebration at the end of the of Ramadan	Mar. PUASA, fast, abstinence	UPAVASA, abiding in the state of abstinence	PUASA, fast	PUASA, fast
HINA, shame, disgrace dishonor, mean, ignoble	Tag., Bikol, HINA, weak, reduced, sub-traced.	HINA, fatigued, weak deficient, defective insufficient	HINA, mean, humble, degraded	HINA, defective, poor, bereft
JAGA, guard, watchman; mourner esp. one who takes a nightlong vigil	Tag. DAGA, sentinel	JAGARI, to watch, to keep awake	JAGA, awake, be alert or NG JAGA, watchman	JAGA, JAGI, guard, sentinel.
JAHULAKA, cruel, unkind, pitiless, malicious; also DRAHKA, DAHULAKA, mutiny, revolt, sedition	Tag. DULUHAKA, to give false testimony treachery	DROHAKA, injury, perfidy, treachery	DURKAHA, treachery, treason against a ruler or the state; DERHAKA, disobedience to lawful authority.	DORAKA, crime, sin, offence, disloyalty

- LABI**, extra, excess; also a protruding or projecting part of . . . also **LEBI**. Tag., Cebu., **LABA**, profit, gain, excess; cf. Tag. **LABIS**, excess
- LADJAMURA**, crown prince or heir apparent. **MURA**, young. Tag., Cebu. **RAJA**, king, monarch
- LAHASIYA**, relatives, mystery, secret **RAHASYA**, secret, clandestine, mysterious
- LAHU**, eclipse of the sun or the moon Tag. **LAHO**, eclipse of the sun or moon; Pam. **LAWO**, obscurity of the eclipsed moon
- LAYA**, casting net Tag. **DALA**, cast net Tagb., **LAYA**, cast net
- LISA**, nit the egg of a human louse Tag. **LISA**, ilk, **LIS'A**, Ceb. **LOSA**, louse
- MANUSIYA**, human being, mankind **MANUSYA**, human, manly, human being
- LABHA** (/labh), to gain possession. **LABA**, profit; **LEBEH**, more than. **RAJA**, king
- RAHA**, profit, gain more than. **RAJA**, king
- RAHASYA**, secret, mysterious
- RAHU**, eclipse of the moon and the sun **RAHU**, monster, son of Diti, the deity with a serpent's tail which in eclipses devours the sun or the moon
- RAHA**, profit, gain more than. **RAJA**, king
- RAHASYA**, secret, mysterious
- RAHU**, eclipse of the moon and the sun **RAHU**, the Hindu dragon that swallows the moon and causes eclipses
- JALA**, casting net **JALA**, a fish net
- LINSA**, nit **LIKSA**, louse
- MANUSA**, human being **MANUSIA**, idol, spirit

<p>MAHADJANA, people from all walks of life people collectively</p>	<p>MAHAJANA, a great multitude of men, the populace</p>	<p>MAHAJANA, a great man in earlier literature, the public in modern times</p>
<p>MAHARADJA, a title conferred by the Sultan upon various officials of his court during the days of the Tausog sultans</p>	<p>MAHARAJA, great king Mar. MAHARADIA, king</p>	<p>MAHARADJA, king MAHARAJA, king</p>
<p>MAHARDIKA, free, as a people country</p>	<p>Tag. MAHARLIKA, a free man, noble; mag. MARDIKA, free</p>	<p>MARDAHKA, MARDHIKA, free priest, learned man; MARDIKA, free freeman</p>
<p>MAHASARI, His Majesty/ Grace, title of address for the Sultan of Sulu</p>	<p>MAHASRI, great power, high rank, majesty</p>	<p>MAHASARI, great power</p>
<p>MAHASUSSI, pure, Holy laudable, praiseworthy, spoken of Allah only</p>	<p>SUCI, undefiled pure, clear</p>	<p>SUCHI, pure, neat innocent, ritually pure SUCI, pure, clear</p>

<p>MANIK, amulet, talisman, comprised of a number of chained beads worn usually around the waist making the weaver invulnerable</p>	<p>Tag. MANIK, glass beads, headwork</p>	<p>MANIKA, jewel, pearl, precious stone, any amulet or ornament</p>	<p>MANEK, MANIK, MANIK, amulet, or ornament</p>
<p>MANTILL, MANTIRI, minister of state: a person whose father is a commoner but whose mother is a caliph; descendant of the Prophet</p>	<p>Mag. MANTIRI, minister of state</p>	<p>MANTRI, minister</p>	<p>MENTERI, hereditary minister of state MANTRI, minister</p>
<p>NAGA, dragon</p>	<p>Mar. NAGA, serpent, dragon; Ceb. NAGA, serpent</p>	<p>NAGA, serpent</p>	<p>NAGA, dragon, mythical serpent, dragon</p>
<p>PALMATA, gem, precious stone used in jewelry var. PAMATA, PERMATA PARMATA</p>	<p>Mar. PARAMATA, sapphire jewel</p>	<p>PARAMARTHA, the higher truth, spiritual knowledge, any excellent or important object, the best kind of wealth, PARAMATA, excellence</p>	<p>PARAMARTA, MARTA, any important object</p>
<p>PANA, arrow as in archery; PANAHI, bow for the arrow</p>	<p>Tag., Ilk., Bic., Mar. Ceb., PANA, bow and arrow</p>	<p>BANA, arrow</p>	<p>PANAHI, arrow, archer's bow</p>

PANDAY, someone who has a special skill or talent in a specific field; also a local midwife;	Tag., Ilk, Bik., Ceb., PANDAY, blacksmith, any metal worker, mason, carpenter	PANDITA, learned, wise, shrewd, etc.	PANDEY, PANDEI, skillful, learned	PANDE, learned, skillful
PANDEI, apt, clever, skillful				
PARATSAYA, to believe trust, have confidence in;	Tag. SAMPALATAYA. faith, trust, belief in God	SAMPRATYAYA, firm conviction, perfect trust, or faith	PERCHAYA, faith, confidence, belief	PRECHAYA, faith, confidence, belief
PERCHAYA, faith, trust				
PARKARA, PARKALA, a court case, circumstance		PRAKARA, manner, affair, concern, business	PERKARA, affair, concern, business	PRAKARA, affair, concern, business
PARIKSA, PREKSA, examine, inquire	Tag. PALIGSA, to probe completion between two contestants: Mar. PERIKSA, "id."	PARIKSA, scrutinize, examine, inspection	PEREKSA, PARESA, inquiry, investigation	
PUASA, to fast, to keep a religious fast. See HAYLAYA PUASA, above.				
PUDJI, to glorify, to praise, to honor	Tag. PURI, praise, honor, fame	PUJA, honor, worship	PUJI, praise, honor	
PUTLI, princess, also a feminine name	Mar. POTRI, queen, princess; Cebu. PUTLI, maiden, virgin	PUTRI, daughter	PUTERI, princess	PUTRI, daughter of a prince

RAHASIYA, secret. see RAHISA, above.  
LAHASIYA

RAJA, king, the royal king of pre-hispanic Philippines. see LADJAMURA, above.

SABDA, quotation, that which is said or spoken (only used of the prophet's words).  
SABDA, sound, speech  
SEBDA, word, utterance  
SABDA, word, utterance

SAKSI, witness  
Tag., Ilk., Bik., SAKSI, witness, testimony, of any legal witness, testimony, evidence, attestation  
SAKSI, witness  
SAKSI, witness

SANJATA, SINJATA, firearms, deadly weapons ammunition  
Tag., SANDATA, Mar., SANDIATA, weapons and arms of any kind  
SAMYATTA, prepared ready  
SENJATA, ready armed, weapon, esp. rifle.

SAPA, to swear an oath to take an oath; SAPAH  
Ilk. SAPATA, swear; Mar. KASEPA, to take oath, SAPA  
SAPA, an oath, a curse, imprecation; SAPATHA, an oath, cursing  
SERAPA, SERAPAH, imprecation of evil, cursing  
SAPATA, SUPATA, oath, curse  
VOW.

SATRU, that which one is against, that which is contrary to, enemy  
Mag. SATRU, enemy;  
Mar. SATRO, trouble  
SATRU, enemy, rival  
SATRU, personal enemy; SETERU, personal enemy.

SIKSA, to punish physically or mentally, pertaining  
Mag. SIKSA, punishment; Mar. SIKSA, chastisement, punishment, torment, agony  
SIKSA, SIKSA, agony, punishment, torment  
SIKSA, punishment, chastisement, torment, agony

primarily to the punishment of God, but can also be used of people.

punishment

SUKA, vinegar

Tag., Ilk., Bik., Ceb.  
SUKA, vinegar

CUKRA, vinegar,  
made of acetous  
fermentation

CHUKA, vinegar

CUKA, CUKAK,  
COKAK, palm wine  
which has gone sour

SUCHI, clean, pure,  
undefiled, chaste

Tag., Pamp., SUSI,  
clean, neat, pure

SUCI, clear, pure,  
undefiled

SUCHI, pure, neat  
innocent

SULGA, heaven

Mar. SURGA, Mag.  
SURGA, spiritual heaven,  
glory

SVARGA, the abode  
of light and of the  
gods of heaven

SWARGA, SWARGI,  
SUWARGA, heaven

SUTLA, silk; SUTRA

Tag. SUTLA, Ceb. SUKLA  
silk, silk thread

SUTRA, thread, yarn,  
string

SUTRA, silk

SUWARA, sound of a  
voice, word, message

Mar. SUARA, heavenly  
voice

SVARA, voice

SUWARA, SUARA,  
voice, sound

SUARA, sound,  
voice

UTTARA, north, strong  
north wind, north mon-  
soon season

Mar. OTARA, northeast  
monsoon

UTTARA, higher,  
upper northern

UTARA, north

UTARA, northeast  
wind

PART II

SUSPECTED SANSKRIT WORDS IN TAUSOG

- ANUGHARA, gift, blessing, grace from god.  
BACHA, to read  
BAGAY, friend  
BAGINDA, a title before the names of the four caliphs  
BAHANA, a report, information, rumor  
BAYA, desire, wish, will  
BIDDA, different, distinct  
BIGA, sexual lust  
KAPPAL, ship  
KAPSIYU, kettle for boiling water, tea kettle  
KARNA, reason or cause  
KUMALA, a fabulous gem often mentioned in legends.  
KURA, a horse  
DAGA, a maiden, girl, adolescent girl in puberty stage.  
DAYANG, a term for respect for a lady teacher or an elder sister.  
DAYANGDAYANG, princess, title of respect for the daughter of a sultan.  
GANDA, reward, compensation, given by God in recompense for good deeds, usually in the present world.  
GANDASULI, a garland of flowers.  
GANDAWARI, a figurehead of a boat.  
GANDING, to beat rhythmically on metal.  
GANTA, plan, scheme.  
GIMBA, interior of a country, rural area.  
HINANAY, slowness, sluggishness.  
JIYARA, to kiss someone's hand, especially an elder's hand on feast days.  
JUBA, vestment, usually worn at religious ceremonies.  
JULBAHASA, interpreter, a court official of the sultan who acted as go-between or speaker between the sultan and his subjects.  
LABHA, any illness caused by evil spirits, esp. those dwelling in big trees, a brook, etc.  
LASA, love for someone  
LAWAI, spider  
MAANA, meaning, interpretation, version, translation.  
MAHAKUTTA, crown, title of a sultan's righthand man.  
MAHALAWAK, widely known.  
MANNI, sperm, egg cell or ovum, reproductive secretions of either male or female.  
MAWPAKKAT, general council meeting of all the peoples; an agreement made by such a council; a covenant made by all the people.

**MULKA**, wrath, intense anger of a datu, sultan, or god.

**MUSIM**, season, referring to seasons or long periods of time, era, times of.

**PITAKA**, wallet, handbag, purse.

**PUTI**, white

**SIPA**, kick

**SUKNA**, spoken wish for good or bad to happen to someone, a curse, an imprecation.

**SUSA**, sad, worried.

**TAKSINA**, north, any point or direction opposite to the South.

**TAHALA**, to delay, hinder for a time, detain.

**TANDAK**, stamp one's feet

**TAPA**, to roast something above hot embers, dry something over live embers.

**TIKSA**, suffering, oppression, misery.

**TUMBAGA**, brass, copper, brozen.