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WHY AND HOW THE "SMALL LANGUAGES" SHOULD BE STUDIED

by

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The languages which generally form the object of teaching and study are those spoken by a number of people and endowed with a prolific literature. On the other hand, a question may be raised: why should languages spoken by few people and are never written be studied? There are at least three reasons:

1. **Anthropological reason.** If one wishes to know a people scientifically it is necessary to study its language and oral literature for the fact that a language is never written does not mean that it has neither grammar, nor poetry, nor folktales.

2. **Educational reason.** If one wishes a minority population to participate in the national life, it is essential that there be schools where the national language is taught. Now all educationists know that it is in the first place necessary for children to learn to write in their mother tongue before proceeding to learn the national language with complete success.

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3. **Historical reason.** Peoples without writing are not without history but this history is not clearly formulated; it is simply woven into the language and thanks to the comparative linguistic methods we are able to establish the various relationships of the language under the question with the other languages of the region. Even in the case of languages which have long had a written form, the information furnished by a small language can be very useful. Thus Khmu and Austro-Asiatic languages supply us with the old pronunciations of Thai words which they borrowed. In order to correctly establish a history of the bigger languages it is indispensable to know well all the small languages which have been in contact through the years.

The conditions of study of a small language present some variation according to the importance, degree of bilingualism and the occupations of those people under the question and only general indications can be made. If it is a matter of an isolated language, it is necessary to establish the writing (the phonological system) by collecting short words and, in order to proceed more quickly with these consonants and vowels, one can make up new words striving to obtain the maximum of combinations possible, in order to establish not only the list of vowels, consonants or sounds but also all the possible combinations. If it is a matter of a dialectal zone of a language already known, one can proceed more quickly by preparing a short questionnaire like those by Marvin Brown or Gedney and concerning the dialectal zone one can detect points where there is maximum phonological differentiation and it is on these points that a lexicological enquiry should be made.

After establishing the phonological system it is necessary to pursue a lexicological enquiry having as the object the collection of the totality of the vocabulary. In fact as regards languages with invariable words, the number of words in the language can be considered limited. To base oneself on the oral literature is not sufficient to obtain the vocabulary

of the language. What is essential is an enquiry into all the spheres of activity : agriculture, arts and crafts etc. The words should be noted in their most concrete and exact sense in such a way as to obtain the lexicological structure of the language. In this structure there are no synonyms, only antonyms (word of opposite meaning to another) or paronyms (a word which is derived from another, or from the same root; radically connected) and these can easily be brought out by means of binary syntagmes either coordinated or subordinated. Thus the structure can be determined in the course of the inquiry.

A precise determination of the sense of words will be particularly useful in the comparisons between the languages and the study of borrowings which will enable us to retrace the history of the languages and the peoples who speak them.

THE PROBLEMS OF GROUP VERSUS NATIONAL IDENTITY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL LANGUAGES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

by

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One of the most remarkable events recently in Southeast Asia, sociolinguistically speaking, is without doubt the rise of indigenous languages to the status of national languages. This is all the more surprising in view of the fact that in all these countries, except Thailand, the languages of the colonial masters—such as English, French, and Dutch—could have been chosen for this prestigious and demanding role. Invariably, however, these nations rejected such well-developed and international languages in favor of one of their own autochthonous languages. In other words, they preferred to undertake the difficult tasks of selection, propagation, standardization, and modernization rather than avail themselves of the immediate advantages of highly modernized, international languages.

The reason for this decision is, of course, obvious. These countries felt that only by setting up one of their own indigenous languages could they achieve authenticity. (Fishman 1968a : 6). In the wake of the nationalistic whirlwind that swept through the region at the turn of the century, it is understandable that these people eventually insisted on choosing one of their own speech varieties to serve as the rallying point and symbol of national unity. They simply felt that a Western foreign language would be unable to represent their unique characteristics as Asians. Moreover, since an autochthonous language would presumably be easier to learn and master, it could improve communication and interaction among their people and thus provide the infrastructure for greater cohesion and solidarity. (Kelman 1971 : 44). Finally, they felt that one of the ways they could overcome the divisive forces of regional and narrow ethnocentricity was to develop a sense of loyalty to a unity of a higher order, a supraregional and national unity. (Fishman 1968a : 6).

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In some cases, of course, as in Burma, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam and Indonesia, success has already been to a large extent achieved; in other cases, however, as Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei and the Philippines, it is still a long way off. Thailand, as was pointed out, is an exception, since it never had to choose between a colonial master's language and one of its own to serve as the country's national language. At any rate, the establishment of indigenous tongues as the national languages of Southeast Asian countries is clearly the rule in this part of the globe today. None of these countries has opted for any of the Western languages for this role.

The Problem

Given the sociolinguistic situation of most of the countries in Southeast Asia today, this established pattern is indeed surprising, for it is not the most efficient, nor the easiest among the options available. (Kelman 1971). It is the case that few countries in this part of the world escaped the imposition of national boundaries whereby diverse cultures, languages, religious and social forms were lumped together under colonially convenient administrations. (Das Gupta 1968: 18). Most of these countries, therefore, especially those more recently established, were faced with the problem of heterogeneity. Unlike the European countries, which were homogenous for the most part, the Southeast Asian countries now have to embark on massive programs of linguistic, cultural and political integration. Since linguistic homogeneity seems to be much more closely related to the desirable endpoints of modern societies (e.g. economic development, advanced education, modernized and stable politics) than heterogeneity (Fishman 1968a: 60), it is reasonable to expect that the developing countries of Southeast Asia would strive to integrate their multilingual constituents and to employ every means available to achieve this end.

Unfortunately, this task is not a simple one. In a multilingual situation, the decision to establish and develop a single national language involves the problem of selection, and this process in turn results in tension. Of course, where political competition among the regional languages for national status is low (e.g. Indonesia) this tension may likewise,

be low; but where it is high (e.g. India) the tension can reach dangerous limits. (Das Gupta 1968:23). In the latter case, the very factors that make language such a powerful unifying force in nation-states that have a common language make it a potentially divisive force. (Kelman 1971:34). This is compounded by the fact that developing nations are usually in a hurry to achieve their goal of homogeneity. (Fishman 1968a:60). Since they have the benefit of the experience of other (especially European) nations, and since they know their goals quite clearly, they engineer their way to achieve them as quickly as possible, telescoping several stages into a few years. (Das Gupta 1968:18). Such haste can exacerbate the problem and heighten the tension a hundredfold.

Basically, however, this tension is the result of a crisis in identity. (Kelman 1971:34). The aggrieved groups feel that they are being discriminated against, their cultural self-development and literacy expression are being inhibited, and equal opportunities as well as full participation in the system are being denied them. Since language is so closely tied to group identity, language-based discrimination against the group is perceived as a threat to its very existence and as an attack on its sacred objects and symbols. It is this problem in the development of national languages in Southeast Asia that I would like to address myself to in this paper. It goes without saying that the phenomenon is widespread. The question is what alternatives are available, and how is this conflict resolved? These questions are, of course, not easy to answer. Fortunately, however, we now have a growing body of sociolinguistic data and principles which can help us arrive at some possible answers. I would like, therefore, in the discussion that follows to treat first the alternatives available, and then the delicate questions of selection, propagation, standardization and modernization of language in the context of Southeast Asian countries today.

Alternative Solutions

First, let us consider the options open to a language planner who is faced with the problem of linguistic and cultural diversity. Is he compelled to single out one of the competing languages and develop it into a national language; or does he have an alternative? One has only

to look at such nations as Belgium and Switzerland today to see that it is possible to have more than one national language in a modern country. A common language is not a necessary condition for a unified state. One or more major language groups can coexist in a system. (Kelman 1971: 34). In fact, when political competition among the rival groups is high, it might be the wiser and more functional policy to establish more than one national language. A diglossia situation could then result where some sort of complementary distribution of functions and domains of activity could be worked out. (Fishman 1968c: 45). To prevent confusion and potential disruption, however, it has been suggested that two or three national official languages be the cut-off point, since no country can conduct its affairs in four or more languages without becoming hopelessly muddled. (Kloss 1967: 42).

On the other hand, one should remember that this type of policy will not automatically prevent further language conflicts and the disintegrative effects such conflicts might entail. Thus, it seems to be working well in the case of Switzerland, but is not so successful in Belgium. (Kelman 1971: 46). A major difficulty in the situation is that two languages which are equally official may not necessarily have the same status within the society. One may be the language of the larger proportion of the population or that of the group which is politically and economically more dominant. Secondly, the nature of the country's political structure may not favor this arrangement, because power is centralized. Thus, in Switzerland, this policy is successful because power is highly decentralized, which makes the control of the center a less desperate issue. The relative dominance, therefore, of different language groups has fewer political implications. (Kelman 1971: 47).

By and large, however, the need for national unity may necessitate a broader ethnic-cultural unity, and this in turn may require the espousal of a given language as *the* national language. Differences in language are almost always correlated with either ethnic, religious or socioeconomic differences between groups (Kelman 1971: 34) and these are potentially disruptive and undesirable. Even in the case of Switzerland, it has been predicted that language problems may someday become apparent (especi-

ally in Ticinio), since Italian does not have equal status with German and French in that country. (Kloss 1967:43).

Thus, from a functional point of view, a single national language has many advantages, and is highly desirable. Moreover, as was pointed out earlier, the "good" and "desirable" characteristics of modern countries seem to be much more closely related to homogenous rather than heterogenous polities.

Selection of the National Language

In Europe, of course, such a process of selection involved, for the most part, only the development of a standard from among the dialectal variants of the same language. (Das Gupta 1968:18). This is true, to a large extent, of Thailand, Burma, Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos. However, in Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines, this selection process involved something more complicated—the decision to single out one of the indigenous languages for the role of the National Language. Sometimes, as in the case of Singapore and Malaysia, such a decision involved picking out one language from among non-related codes—something even more delicate and difficult.

We know, of course, that in Indonesia the choice of the National Language was relatively easy. The widespread use of the tongue throughout the region due to the strategic (geographical) position of the Malay peninsula in commerce and trade, the famous *Sumpah Pemuda* on the *Bahasa Kesatuan* in Bandung on October 28, 1928, the unintentional propagation of the language by the Japanese during the occupation, and the leadership of such dynamic political figures as Sukarno and Hatta—all these paved the way for the acceptance of Malay as the basis of the National Language. (Alisjahbana 1974). An added factor was the fact that there was little political competition between the different languages, both major and minor, for the role of the national language. (Das Gupta 1968:23).

In the Philippines, however, the situation was much more complicated. Although there was little opposition initially to the proclamation of Tagalog as basis of the National Language (officially called "Pilipino"

since 1959), because of the scholarly research of fact-finding committees which preceded the choice (following the mandate of the 1935 Constitution) and the influence of the energetic Commonwealth President Manuel L. Quezon (Hayden 1942:585), dissatisfaction was soon expressed over the fact that the proponents of the National Language were extremely puristic in their approach to the development of the language. This caused an ever-widening gap between the language of the textbooks and that of the masses. Soon there was an organized protest against this state of affairs and during the Constitutional Convention in 1972 the entire question of selecting a suitable language for the role of the national language was taken up again. It is noteworthy, however, that in the debates and committee hearings on the topic, none of the indigenous languages, besides Tagalog, was mentioned as a possible candidate for the role.

Instead, the proposal was made that a synthetic language made up of elements from all the Philippine languages, so as to make it more representative of all the Philippine languages, be established instead of Pilipino. The feasibility of such an artificial language, which lacked both native speakers and literary tradition, was of course pointed out by the local linguists, but the important message of the proposal was not lost on all. The people wanted their National Language to incorporate as many elements as possible, especially by way of vocabulary items, from the other Philippine languages so as to be truly representative of the various language groups of the country. Thus, in the new Constitution, which was ratified by the baranggays in 1973, there was a provision for a new National Language to be developed and renamed "Filipino" (the change of *p* in "Pilipino" to *f* representing a shift away from purism), which will be proclaimed by the National Assembly at some future date.

At this time, therefore, it is not clear whether Filipino is still the National Language of the Philippines. (Pineda 1972:10). What is clear is that Tagalog, which is the basis of Pilipino, because of its prestigious status as the language of the primate city, Manila, and its constant use by the mass media, is now spoken by the majority of the people (55

percent according to the 1970 Census) and is forecast to be spoken by at least 82 percent of the population 25 years from now. (Gonzalez 1974). The inexorable laws of societal behavior seem also to favor the use of Tagalog as the basis of the National Language even if its name should be changed from Pilipino to Filipino.

In Malaysia, the country was prepared for the proclamation of Bahasa Malaysia as the National Language in 1957 by the endorsement of Malay for this role by the *Kongres Bahasa dan Persuratan Melayu yang Ketiga* held in Johore Bahru in 1956, the mapping out of a program for the use of the language as medium of instruction on all levels of education by the Razak Report also in 1956, and by the widespread use of the language among the three major groups in the country--the Malays, Chinese and Indians. (Yahaya Ismail 1974). This does not mean that there was no opposition to the selection of Malay as the National Language, since in Malaysia the political competition between the three groups mentioned above was rather keen up until May 13, 1969. Since then, however, this opposition has been kept under control and the acceptance of the language has been steadily improving.

With regard to Singapore, the choice of Malay as the National Language seems to have been made not on the basis of its prestige nor widespread use among the masses, but because of the stark realities of its geographical and socio-political situation. It is, after all, located in the heart of the Malay region, and its survival is intimately related to its ties with its Malay-speaking neighbors.

It is, therefore, true to say that in Southeast Asia the selection process involved as a rule the choice of one language rather than that of two or three for the role of the National Language. Among the criteria most frequently used for this choice were (1) the widespread use of the tongue, (2) the prestigious status of the language due to its use in the primate city of the country, (3) the socio-political exigencies of the region, (4) its endorsement by the political leaders of the country, (5) its promotion by the mass media and (6) the relatively small opposition to the language due to the mild political competition between the language groups of the country.

Promotion of the National Language

We come now to the next step in the development of the national language once it has been selected, namely its promotion. An engineering of consent and acceptance is needed at this point, otherwise resistance to the language selected may ensue. (Fishman 1968a: 10). This phase is usually beset with difficulties, since it is here that the other language groups tend to feel aggrieved and discriminated against. In the interest of national unity, however, the architects of nationalism usually employ whatever measure necessary to ensure the establishment of the national language as quickly as possible so as to eventually be able to give due attention to the regional languages.

Thus, in Indonesia, where the National Language has already been, to a large extent, established, the government is now showing a great deal of interest and attention to the development of the regional languages. (Mattolaba 1967). In Malaysia, on the other hand, the country is reluctant at this time to encourage the intensive cultivation of the other group languages in the country. The official policy has been to subordinate the interests of the various groups to the goal of linguistic, political and cultural integration so as to achieve national solidarity as soon as possible. Government spokesmen has repeatedly emphasized that this policy would not be implemented so as to destroy the cultural life of the Chinese and Indian communities. (Le Page 1964: 70), but at this stage, concerted efforts must be exerted to bring about the *de facto* use of the National Language in all domains of the nation's activities. Thus, the country has made a pass in Bahasa Malaysia a requirement for academic degrees and promotion in government (Abdullah Hassan 1974) and has promoted literary and artistic productivity. Since the events of May 13, 1969, the people seem to be more conscious of the need to transcend their group interests and overcome the divisive aspects of primordial ethnic loyalties. A new national culture seems to be emerging which is much more Malaysian than merely Malay. It remains to be seen whether this optimistic trend will continue and the efforts of extremists to promote their own narrow advantages will be resisted.

In the Philippines, the promotion of Pilipino as the National Language has suffered serious setbacks because of the extremist methods of its advocates. Thus, as was pointed out above, the puristic policies of such men as Lope K. Santos, the first Director of the Institute of National Language, and his followers provoked adverse reaction from the masses. The effort to resist the intake of loanwords from Spanish and English in view of the poverty of the language especially in the area of technical terminology was just a hindering process. The acceptance and modernization of the language could have been twice as rapid had this policy been abandoned or at least moderated earlier. Evidence for this is the fact that the circulation of a Pilipino daily, the *Taliba*, rose spectacularly after its editorial board decided to use the language of the masses instead of the language recommended by the Institute of National Language. (Sibayan 1971 : 128). And when a group of delegates to the Constitutional Convention of 1974 tried to force the issue of using Pilipino as the language of the basic text of the new Constitution, there was a strong protest from most of the delegates since they could hardly express themselves in the National Language, nor did they think the language itself was adequate to deal with important concepts in such areas as jurisprudence, education, economics and government. The pent up emotions and hostilities against the way Pilipino was being promoted broke out in the open, and the representatives of the non-Tagalog speaking areas retaliated by questioning once again the original selection of Tagalog as the basis of the National Language. It was this group of aggrieved delegates who voted for the change of the name for the National Language from Pilipino to Filipino and who forged the provision that the new National Language, which would be proclaimed by the National Assembly when it convened at some future date, should be representative of the other language groups in the Philippines. The debates in the Convention Hall were good examples of the predictable social upheavals that accompany unjust and insensitive methods of National Language propagation.

In Singapore, the propagation of Malay as the National Language has been rather slow, since it has not been promoted with as much vigor nowadays as during the period when it was seeking amalgamation into the Malaysian Federation. The great majority of the population is Chinese, and English is used quite extensively—more extensively, in fact, than Malay. No one is, therefore, particularly concerned about implementing the official policy to establish Malay as the National Language at this time.

From what has been said above, it is clear that the problem of group versus national identity in the propagation of the National Language is more acute than in Singapore and Indonesia. In both Malaysia and the Philippines, the architects of nationalism must of necessity subordinate the legitimate aspirations of the various language groups to the objectives of greater unity and integration. At the same time, such aspirations cannot be suppressed or ignored. Long-range planning should include the cultivation of minority groups and cultures, once the national language has been promoted and established, since they constitute one of the most important sources of wealth in the sense of traditions, aesthetic expressions and cultural institutions. Above all, extremism and triumphalism must be avoided for they provoke adverse reaction on the part of minority groups and serve only to slow down the pace of the propagation of the National Language.

Sometimes, the best policy, as in the case of Singapore, is to assume a wait-and-see attitude and to let a well-functioning system, that meets the interests of the entire population, emerge naturally. To this end, Kelman (1971 : 37) suggests that the authorities (1) establish and maintain institutional arrangements that adequately meet the needs and interests of the entire population, and (2) provide maximal opportunities for all elements of the society—regardless of ethnic origin, language, religion, or social class—to participate in the running of the system and in its benefits.

Standardization of the National Language

We come now to the process of standardization and the problems this presents in terms of group versus national identity. Standardization basically consists of the creation of a model for imitation and the promotion of this model over rival models. (Ray 1968 : 76). Ultimately, therefore standardization involves the two previous processes discussed above of selection and promotion and their concomitant problems. However, it is probably true to say that the problems which standardization entails are different in degree (though not in kind), since at this stage of the development of the national language only the acceptance of a variety of the language as a supradialectal norm is involved.

The process of standardization can thus be viewed as moving to the point when a language has a single, widely accepted, norm which is felt to be appropriate with only minor modifications or varieties for all purposes for which the language is used. (Ferguson 1968 : 31). Needless to say, it is not possible to eliminate all variation since there will always be regional and social dialects as well as idiolects. However, usually a fairly uniform usage ensues when the speech of the educated middle class of an important urban centre becomes established as the norm or when a great writer or several writers are acknowledged as models for literary use. (Ferguson 1968 : 32). The supradialectal norm, therefore, is in the ultimate analysis, really the accepted usage of a particular language. The task of the ordinary agents of standardization—grammar and dictionary—is to codify this usage such that the formulations they contain are accurate statements of what is accepted usage. People who deviate from the norm or who have uncertainties about it then consult these books for information on what is the “correct usage” and they conform. Since variation is inevitable due to the dimensions of time and space, the formulation of the norms must necessarily be specific as to where and when the usage is accepted as normative. It is also necessary to update both the grammar and dictionary periodically—say after every 25 years—otherwise they become obsolete and ineffective as far as their role as standardizing agents is concerned. Thus, for example Ophuyssen’s early 20th century grammar had to be updated by

Alisjahbana in 1948 (Alisjahbana 1971: 184-185), the Lope K. Santos 1939 Tagalog *Balarila* (grammar) had to be modernized by Llamzon in 1974 (Llamzon 1972: 114-135) and the 1970 *Kamus Dewan* is now in the process of being revised by Abdullah Hassan (1974).

In due time, the standardized language becomes a symbol of national identity (Ferguson 1968:32). This comes about not as the result of the imposition of rules by an authoritative body, nor through the influence of prescriptive grammarians as some have suggested (Alisjahbana 1967), but rather as the natural result of increasing use of the norm. To this end, the use of a descriptive grammar and dictionary in schools help a great deal. The dangers involved in manipulating the language so as to create a norm and imposing it on the masses have been discussed by Haugen (1971) and Ray (1967). Basically, the problem is that language is not just an object but a complex system stored in the brain of each speaker which enables him to perform intricate acts of communication. Attempts, therefore, to alter, improve, correct or regulate it has moral implications which involve the rights and personalities of human beings. This does not mean that attempts at manipulation are necessarily evil and doomed to failure. If the innovations introduced are backed up by plenty of time, power and financial resources, the chances of establishing such innovations are sometimes good. (Haugen 1971:287).

A good example of successful language engineering not only on the national but also on the international level are the recent attempts at standardization by Indonesia and Malaysia. Since December 1972, teams of language experts from both countries have met at regular intervals to work out a spelling system as well as a standard set of technical terms. (Asmah 1974). They have also forged a set of rules for the coining of *istilah* (technical terms). What is significant about this event is that it represents a big step forward in international cooperation. There is here a determination to achieve a higher order of unity which transcends the geographico-political and cultural boundaries of nations. The motivation behind this effort is clearly partly economical and partly political. If the two countries could successfully unite, they would

certainly become a much larger speech community than they are individually at present. They would constitute the sixth largest speech community with an estimated 125 million speakers. (Alisjahbana 1971: 1088) ... a considerable force to reckon with. In the interest of this larger unity, the differences between the two dialects of Malay are viewed as negligible. This does not mean that the task of negotiating has been easy. The disagreements between the two groups have been said to be sometimes acrimonious and annoying, but much has already been accomplished, and both sides seem to be determined to succeed. (Ismail Hussein 1972).

Modernization of the National Language

The last topic that I would like to discuss in relation to the problems of group versus national identity in the development of the national language is modernization. This can be thought of as the process of becoming the equal of other developed languages as medium of communication and appropriate vehicles of modern forms of discourse. It has two aspects, (a) the expansion of the lexicon, and (2) the development of new styles of discourse. (Ferguson 1968: 32).

With regard to the expansion of the lexicon, it is here that maximum opportunity is offered the National Language to incorporate words from the other group languages in the country, so as to give them fitting representation in the vocabulary of the National Language. The tendency among the advocates of the National Language is to insist on the "purity" of the speech forms and to avoid loanwords from other languages. However, it should be pointed out that the national language is not necessarily identical to the group language on which it is based; and, for purposes of rallying the loyalties of all segments of the population, it is probably better that they should not be identical. Thus, Bahasa Malaysia and Indonesia are not exactly identical with Bahasa Melayu. (Ismail Hussein 1972: 81).

On the other hand, according to the Language Policy Survey conducted in 1968 in the Philippines, 61 percent of the householders and 70 percent of the teachers answered that Tagalog and Pilipino were the same. (Otanés and Sibayan 1968). This is probably the result of the

puristic approach of its advocates and one of the reasons why the propagation of the language, despite government support, has not been faster than it is. The masses still have not accepted Pilipino as a national symbol; they still regard it as a group language. Much still has to be done to improve its image and perhaps the suggested change in its name from Pilipino to Filipino might help a great deal towards this end.

Like Bahasa Malaysia and Indonesia, the Tagalog-based national language of the Philippines needs to expand its technical vocabulary and expressions to enable it to serve as the medium of instruction especially in the higher levels of education. To fill this need, however, it seems that the procedure used in Malaysia and Indonesia of forming an Academy charged with the duty of coining the necessary technical terms has not been effective in the Philippines. The *Lupon sa Agham* (Science Committee) of the UNESCO-Sponsored *Akademya ng Wika* (Language Academy) organized groups of language and subject specialists to coin technical terminology and then came up with a dictionary of technical terms after two years of work. (Aspillera 1967). The reaction of the public to these terms was, to put it mildly, quite negative. They felt that although the dictionary was called "A Consistent Vocabulary List of Technical Terms" (*Palaugnayang Talahuluganan*), there was no evident regularity in the formation of the terms. The only basis for segmentation and coupling seems to be whatever will result in a Tagalog-sounding and euphonous word. The rules of morphological segmentation do not seem to have entered the picture at all. Thus, for example, the word for 'mathematics' was *sipnayan* (from *isip* 'mind, thought' and *haynayan* 'system'), 'chemistry' was *kapnayan* (from *sangkap* 'constituent' plus *haynayan*) but 'physics' was *liknayan* (from *likas* 'nature' and *haynayan*). In the first two terms, the hind sections of the first word were joined to the hind section of the second word, but in the third word the front section was selected for coupling with the hind part of the second word.

Perhaps, a better strategy in the future would be to allow the teachers themselves of the various subjects who were conversant in both the language and their professions to coin the needed technical terms.

They have the advantage of obtaining immediate feedback from their students as to the effectiveness of the terms they use, and a list of vocabulary items can then be compiled for their field of expertise. This procedure has, as a matter of fact, been taking place in the Philippines since 1972, when the Board of Education proclaimed its policy of allowing the use of the national language as medium of instruction on all levels of education provided that both materials and trained teachers are available.

Conclusion

I have discussed the problems of group versus national identity from the point of view of four important processes in the development of the national language, namely, selection, propagation or promotion, standardization and modernization. It seems that certain key principles are repeatedly used in these processes, the most important of which is the principle of subordination. This principle requires that group interests be given less importance while the national language is being established. However, it also advocates the cultivation of the regional languages in long-range planning once the national language has *de facto* been propagated. The architects of nationalism should be sensitive to the legitimate aspirations of the various language groups in the country, and should avoid suppressing or ignoring them. When possible, due representation of such language groups in the formation and development of the national language should be given so that the national language will be regarded as truly the symbol of national unity.

In this paper, I have tried to focus attention on the countries of Southeast Asia, but I have given more time and details on the Philippine situation than on the other countries. This is because I come from the Philippines and know the linguistic situation there much better. Lately, I have had the opportunity also to observe the situation in Indonesia, Singapore and Malaysia, hence I have been able to discuss the problems and advances in these countries in greater detail.

There may be some problems also in the mainland countries of Southeast Asia that deserved more detailed comments. I have prescinded from these, however, and confined my discussion to the problems in the

peninsular and island regions of Southeast Asia mainly as I said because I am more familiar with them and also because information on them are much more accessible and copious.

In conclusion, I would like to say that the problems of the developing countries in Southeast Asia as far as the development of the notional language is concerned are not unique to this part of the world. These problems are fairly recurrent and widespread. It is, therefore, possible to learn from the experiences of other countries and in turn to share with those countries the techniques which we have found to be effective in Southeast Asia.

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LANGUAGE IN MINORITY/MAJORITY GROUP RELATIONS: THE CASE OF THE DIVERSITY OF THE MALAY DIALECTS

by

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1.0 Bahasa Malaysia, previously known as Malay, which is the national language of Malaysia, is also the mother tongue of Malaysians of the Malay ethnic group. The fact that the choice fell on Malay to occupy the status of the national language of Malaysia was due to its long recognized role as the lingua franca among the variegated ethnic groups which made up the Malaysian peoples. This is to say that the Malaysians from the various ethnic groups, Austronesian and non-Austronesian alike, have for centuries been using Malay as the medium of intergroup communication. The coming of the English language to the Malaysian world and later the adoption of this language as the language of social and educational prestige did not displace the Malay language from its role as the medium of intergroup communication since the English language managed to become the common language only among the English educated sector of the population,⁽¹⁾ which formed a very small percentage of the total Malaysian society.

Basically, a national language is just like any other language with the linguistic characteristics common to all languages. In other words a national language, like all other languages, is characterised by the presence of various dialects, both regional as well social dialects, besides of course the impending presence of the standard language imposed on the speech community. The standard language, a misnomer in itself, is a variety of language (in other words, a dialect), accepted by all the members of the speech community to be the norm or the prestige dialect, that is the dialect to be used in formal and official communication as well as the dialect used as the medium of education.

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1) Cf. Asmah Haji Omar, "The Malaysian Mosaic of Languages", in Alisjahbana, Thani Nayagam and Wang Gungwu (eds.), *The Cultural Problems in the Context of Southeast Asia*, Kuala Lumpur, 1966.

On examining the standard language situation of Bahasa Malaysia in the context of the definition of the standard language given above, one can for sure say that there is no single standard language. This amounts to contradicting the concept of "standard language" which along with it stipulates the recognition of one and only one standard variety. It is a fact that in Malaysia there are two varieties accepted as the norms for good language usage. Major differences between the two are very slight and they are confined only to the pronunciation of the orthographical "a" and the orthographical "r", both in word-final position. In this distribution, the first of these two varieties phonetically realizes the "a" as the schwa [ə] and the "r" as silence. On the other hand, the phonetic realizations of these two graphemes in the second variety are the low central vowel [a] and the alveolar trill [r].⁽²⁾ Apart from these two differences, there seems to exist some degree of uniformity between the two varieties under discussion.

These two varieties are also quite distinct from one another in their geographical distributions. As standard language, the first variety, henceforth referred to as the schwa-variety, prevails in certain states in Peninsular Malaysia which are situated mainly in the central and southern parts. These states are Perak, Selangor, Negeri Sembilan, Melaka, Johore, Pahang, Kelantan and Trengganu. The second variety, henceforth termed as the a-variety, prevails as standard language in certain states in Peninsular Malaysia as well as in the Malaysian states in Borneo, viz. Sabah and Sarawak. The Peninsular states characterized by this variety are the northern states of Perlis, Kedah and Penang (Cf. Map I). It should be mentioned at this juncture that the a-variety extends beyond the national boundary as it is also identified with the standard varieties of Indonesia and Brunei.

In their sociolinguistic functions, the two standard varieties, the schwa variety and the a-variety, appear in the language used in schools and formal speeches, in their respective geographical distributions. However, the schwa-variety is also identified as the language of Radio and Television Malaysia.

2) Cf. Asmah H. Omar, "Standard Language and Standardization of Malay", *Anthropological Linguistics*, February, 1971.

The presence of the schwa-variety and the a-variety in their respective zones does not mean that each zone is characterized uniformly by its own variety as mentioned here at all segments of the speech community. In fact each zone, whether the schwa-zone or the a-zone has its own subregions and sub-subregions of dialect. The schwa-zone consists of the following subregions of dialects: the Kelantan subregion, the Trengganu subregion, the Negeri Sembilan subregion, the Malacca subregion, the Selangor subregion, the Perak subregion, the Pahang subregion and the Johore subregion. Each of these subregions of the schwa-zone is characterized by a dialect of its own which bears some degree of distinction from that of another subregion, most notably in their phonological features. Apart from the subregions of Trengganu, Malacca, Perak, Selangor, Pahang and Johore, the other subregions of the schwa-zone, viz. the subregions of Kelantan and Negeri Sembilan, at their substandard level, do not phonetically realize the orthographical "a" in the word-final position as a schwa. In the Negeri Sembilan dialect, the realization of this "a" is the rounded open back vowel [ɔ],⁽³⁾ while in the Kelantan dialect it is the unrounded counterpart of the above and that is [ɔ̃].⁽⁴⁾ The final "r" in all the substandard dialects of the schwa-zone does not have any phonetic representation. In its stead is the silence.

As for the a-zone, the final "a" is in general realized throughout the subregions as [a] with varying degrees of openness. The final "r" has a more varied phonetic representation. In the Peninsular Malaysian subregions of the a-zone (viz. Perlis, Kedah and Penang) this "r" is realized as the uvular fricative [R], in the subregion of Sarawak (East Malaysia) it has a variation in the velar fricative (ʁ),⁽⁵⁾ while in Sabah it is the rolled [r].

3) Cf. Hamzah bin Abd. Rashid, *Burong Agot*, unpublished academic exercise, for the B.A. degree in Malay Studies, University of Malaya, 1965.

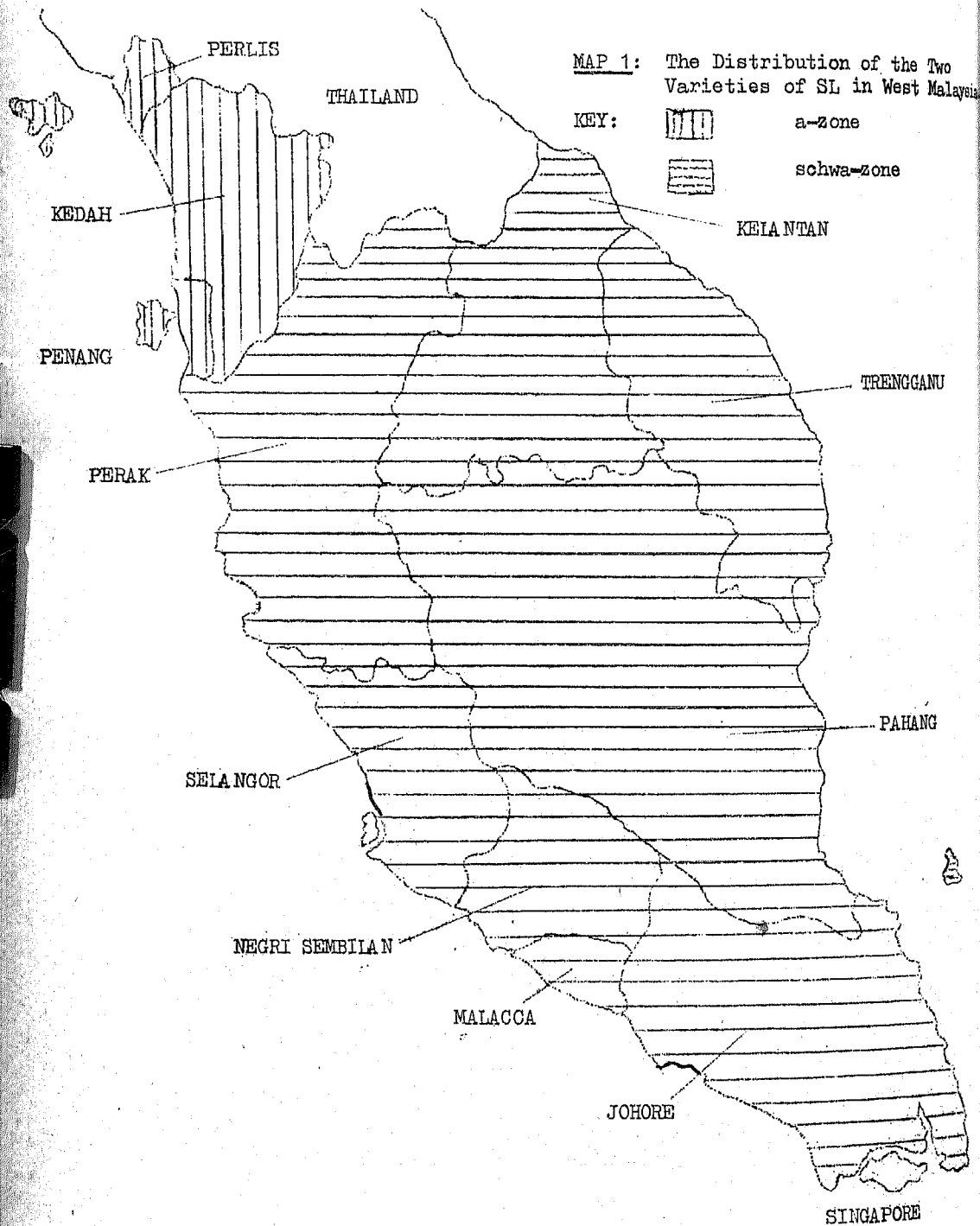
4) Cf. Abdul Hamid bin Mahmood, *Fonem Dialek Kelantan*, unpublished academic exercise for the B.A. degree in Malay Studies, University of Malaya, 1971.

5) Cf. Madzhi b. Johari, *Fonologi Dialek Melayu Kuching (Sarawak)*, unpublished academic exercise for the B.A. degree in Malay Studies, University of Malaya, 1972.

How do these varieties come about? History has it that the schwa-variety came to be the standard language in the schwa-zone due to the hegemony of the Johore empire in the seventeenth century, which made its importance felt on both sides of the straits of Malacca, viz. in the southern half of Peninsular Malaysia and along the eastern coasts of Sumatra and the islands off it. The Johore empire of the Peninsula comprised the states of Johore (inclusive of the island of Singapore) Pahang, Malacca and Trengganu. The state of Negeri Sembilan whose dialect is quite different from those of Johore, Pahang etc. presumably acquired the schwa-variety as its standard language due to its geographical proximity with Malacca and Pahang respectively. As for the a-variety, the subregions of the a-zone of Peninsular Malaysia were in historical times parts of the greater kingdom of Kedah, and it is quite common until today for the subdialects of Perlis and Penang to be referred to as the Kedah dialect. The a-variety in Sabah and Sarawak, characterized by the final [a] and the final trill [r], are in conformity with the subdialects of Malay of the two subregions and even with the genetically related languages found on the Borneo island.

The differences as projected by the pronunciation of the final "a" and "r" are not the only ones which define one dialect of a particular subregion from that of another. There are numerous other phonological differences which do not appear in the two standard varieties, beside of course the differences at the grammatical and the lexical levels.

For the purpose of this paper, it would suffice to give comparison of the phonological systems of the standard language (consisting of the two varieties) and those of the various dialects. It is not possible to give the complete phonological systems of all the dialects as not all have been linguistically described. Seven of these dialects are given here, and they are those of the Kelantan, Kedah, Penang, Perak, Negeri Sembilan, Johore and Sarawak, whose phonological descriptions are available in the form of academic exercises and theses. However, references are also made to other dialects when necessary, based on my own observation of them.



2.0 Phonological Comparison of the Dialects

The inventory of segmental phonemes in the standard language of the schwa-variety is almost identical with that of the a-variety. The differences are realized only in the absence or otherwise of a certain phoneme (/a/ or /r/) in certain phonological distributions. When the standard language is put in a comparison table with the various other dialects, points of divergence will be seen between the standard language and the various dialects as well as between the dialects themselves. The phoneme correspondences are called diaphones.

2.1 A Comparison of Consonants of the Standard Language (SL) and the Various Dialects

Table (1)

Consonants								
<i>Plosives:</i>	<i>SL</i>	<i>Jh</i>	<i>Pk</i>	<i>Pn</i>	<i>Ked</i>	<i>NS</i>	<i>Kel</i>	<i>Sr</i>
	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p
	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t
	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d
	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k
	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g
	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ
<i>Affricates:</i>	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c
	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j
	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s
	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z
<i>Trill/</i>								
<i>Fricatives:</i>	r	ʁ	R	R	R	ʁ	ʁ	ʁ
	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h
<i>Nasals:</i>	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
	ɲ	ɲ	ɲ	ɲ	ɲ	ɲ	ɲ	ɲ
	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ
<i>Lateral:</i>	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l
<i>Semi-vowels:</i>	w	w	w	w	w	w	w	w
	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y

The phoneme /z/ in all the varieties above is a loan phoneme, taken initially from Arabic but later reinforced by the influx of loan words coming from English in which this phoneme forms a component. It should also be mentioned here that the standard language has taken in other phonemes from other languages, notably English and Arabic. Such phonemes (besides /z/) are /f/, /ʃ/, /x/, /v/ and / ʒ/. In most of the dialects, loan words (should they enter the dialects) containing these phonemes, are not realized as [f], [ʃ], [x] and [v] but are given phonetic values of the Malay phonemes most closely related to them, either homorganically or homotypically.

Hence /f/ in the dialects are in general realized as [p], /s/ as [ʃ], [x] as [h] and [v] as [b] or [p].

In terms of the distribution in a word, of the consonants in SL and the various dialects, certain consonants cannot occur in the position before silence, and these consonants are the palato-alveolar /ɲ/, /ç/ and /j/ and all the voiced plosives namely /b/, /d/, /g/. The voiceless velar plosive /k/ does not occur in the word-final position in the Malay dialects except in Sarawak Malay. In SL, /k/ occupies the word-final position only in loanwords such as "bank" /benk/. The same applies to /ç/, /j/, /b/, /d/, and /g/ which in the true Malay phonological system never occur in the word-final position in SL. When the same loanwords if at all, are taken over by the dialects there may or may not occur a shifting of the phonetic values of these phonemes or a loss of such phonemes to suit the phonological system of each individual dialect. The examples below serve to illustrate this point.

Exx. (1)

<i>SL</i>	<i>Dialect</i>	<i>Orthog.</i>	
[mac]	mac	mac	'March'
[imej]	—	imej	'image'
[adab]	[adap]	adab	'decorum'
[abad]	[abat]	abad	'century'
[beg]	[bet]	beg	'beg'
[benk]	[ben]	bank	'bank'

It has been mentioned earlier that the native Malay phonological system does not allow a final /k/, except in the dialect of Sarawak. As such is the case, whenever there occurs a final /k/ in the Sarawak dialect, the correspondence of this phoneme in this particular distribution under discussion is [ʔ] in all the other dialects including SL.

Exx. (2)

<i>Sr</i>	<i>SL</i>	<i>Other dialects</i>	
[məle ^y ɔk ⁼⁼]	[məliuʔ]	[məlioʔ]	'bending over (of plants)'
[na ^w ɔk ⁼⁼]	[na ^w ɔʔ]	[na ^w ɔʔ]	'senile'
[pu ^w jok ⁼⁼]	[pu ^w joʔ]	[pu ^w joʔ]	'to cajole'
[ba ^w tok ⁼⁼]	[ba ^w toʔ]	[ba ^w toʔ]	'to cough'

The phonetic transcription above indicates that the final /k/ in Sarawak Malay is an unexploded sound. Being unexploded, its audibility seems to be somewhat closer to the glottal stop.

Besides the distributional features of the phonemes mentioned above, which more or less seem to follow some common rules for all the dialects under discussion, there are also features of distribution which are peculiar to some dialects but not to others. Let's examine these features one by one.

Although every dialect has the phonemes /s/ and /l/, the distribution of each of these phonemes seem to vary one from the other. In SL, Jh and Sr, /s/ and /l/ occur in the initial, intervocalic and final positions of a word. In the other five dialects, these two phonemes never occur in the final position of a word. The diaphone of the final /s/ in the dialects are in general realized as [h]. However, [h] may or may not be preceded by a glide, which in phonemics would be represented as /y/.

Exx. (3)

SL	Pk	Pen	Ked	NS	Kel	Jh	Sr	Sb
habis	habeh	habeh	habeh	habeh	habih	habes	habis	habis
kəris	kəReh	kəReh	kəReh	kəʒeh	kəʒeh	kəʒes	kəʒis	kəris
tikus	tikoyh	tikuyh	tikuyh	tikuyh	tikuh	tikos	tikus	tikus
buŋkus	buŋkoyh	buŋkuyh	bunkuyh	buŋkuyh	baŋktth	buŋkos	buŋkus	buŋkus
bəras	bəReh	bəRayh	bəRayh	bəReh	bəRah	bəʒas	bəʒas	bəras
atas	ateh	atayh	atayh	ateh	atah	atas	atas	atas

The above list of examples shows that in the dialects of Perak (Pk) and Kelantan (Kel), the diaphone of the final /s/ is /h/. In the dialects of Penang (Pen), Kedah (Ked) and Negeri Sembilan (NS), the final /s/ in SL has a one-to-one correspondence in /h/ only when it follows the front vowels /i/ and /e/ and these vowels correspond with /i/ SL. In cases where the final syllable of SL consists of a back vowel /a/ or /u/ followed by /s/, then the correspondence in the Kedah dialect is a fronting diphthong followed by /h/.

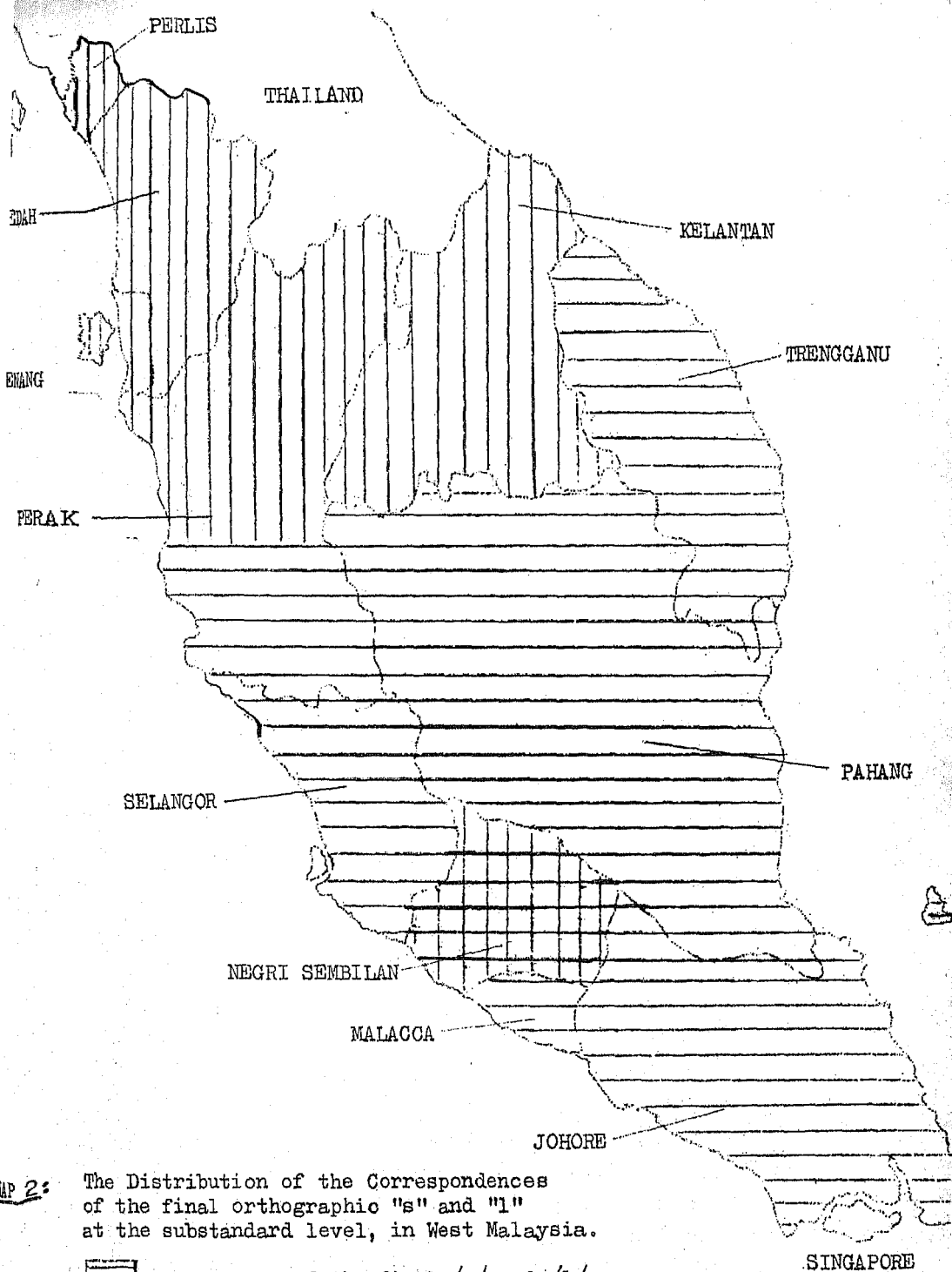
In the case of the dialect of Negeri Sembilan, the diphthongization of the vowel occurs only if the vowel is /u/.

Table (2)

SL	Kedah	NS	Pk. Kel
$X - \begin{Bmatrix} a \\ u \end{Bmatrix} + s$	$X - \begin{Bmatrix} ay \\ uy \end{Bmatrix} ih$	$x_3 - a + s$ $X - uy + h$	$X - \begin{Bmatrix} a \\ u \end{Bmatrix} + h$

Where X stands for any element.

The pronunciations of the orthographic "l" in the final position of the word also vary from place to place at the substandard level. The dialects which pronounce the final "s" as an alveolar fricative are the ones which also maintain the pronunciation of the final "l" as a lateral. On the other hand, those which pronounce the final "s" as [h] with or without a preceding glide do not allow the existence of the lateral in the word-final position. Hence, in such a position, instead of the lateral there is a semivowel (phonetically a glide) or silence.



MAP 2:

The Distribution of the Correspondences of the final orthographic "s" and "l" at the substandard level, in West Malaysia.



- presence of the final /s/ and /l/.



- absence of the final /s/ and /l/.



- absence of /s/ (except after a) and /l/

Table (3)

	<i>SL</i>	<i>Ked</i>	<i>Pn</i>	<i>Pk</i>	<i>NS</i>	<i>Kel</i>	<i>Jh</i>	<i>Sr</i>
(i)	al# - ay#	ay#	ay#	ε#	a#	a#	al#	al#
(ii)	ul# - oy#	oy#	oy#	oy#	oy#	ö#	ol#	ol#
(iii) a)	il# - e#	e#	e#	e#	e#	e#	el#	el#
b)	il# - ɿ#	eɿ#	eɿ#	eɿ#	eɿ#	eɿ#	eɿ#	eɿ#

Exx. (4)

	<i>SL</i>	<i>Jh</i>	<i>Sr</i>	
(i)	təbal	təbal	təbal	'thick'
	awal	awal	awal	'early'
(ii)	bakul	bakol	bakol	'basket'
	pukul	pukol	pukol	'to beat'
(iii) a)	sambil	sambel	sambel	'as, while'
b)	ambil	ambel	ambel	'to take'

	<i>Ked, Pn</i>	<i>Pk</i>	<i>NS</i>	<i>Kel</i>
(i)	təbay	təbe	təba	təba
	away	awe	awa	ɿawa
(ii)	bakoy	bakoy	bokoy	bakö
	pukoy	pukoy	pukoy	pukö

	<i>Pk, Pn, Ked</i>	<i>NS</i>	<i>Kel</i>
(iii) a)	/sambe/	/sambe/	/sambe/
b)	/ambeɿ/	/ambeɿ/	/ambeɿ/

The diaphonic correspondence shown in (iiib) occurs only in the example 'ambil'. Otherwise all correspondences of the standard-*il* follows the pattern given in (iiia). The Standard Language is close to the Johore and Sarawak dialects in the retention of *l* in the word-final position. These two differ only in the choices of vowels preceding *l* in the correspondences (ii) and (iii). However it should be mentioned

here that even in SL, the pronunciations of "u" and "i" in final closed syllables do not indicate the exact production of the high closed [u] and [i] but rather modifications in the values of these two consonants, which give them a greater degree of openness such that they become close to their more open counterparts [o] and [e]. While Pk, Pn and Ked appear to be identical with one another in these correspondences and Kel stands by itself, the NS dialect, differing from the former three, seems to show a very interesting phenomenon in that it is a mixture of Pk-Pn-Ked and Kel. Correspondence (i) places NS together with Kel, while correspondence (ii) shows that it belongs to the same group as the Pk-Pn-Ked group. This sharing of features by NS reminds one of the same phenomenon occurring in the correspondences posed by the final "s". From the point of view of diachronic linguistics, such a phenomenon would be most interesting in the determination of the development of the Malay language as well the direction of diffusion.

The Malay dialects at the substandard level are not characterized by the presence of the alveolar trill [r]. This phoneme exists only in SL. In the standard a-variety, it occurs in all the possible places of distribution in a word: initial, medial, intervocalic and final, while in the schwa-variety of SL this phoneme does not occur in the final position of word. At the substandard level, the dialects have either the velar fricative /ɣ/ or the uvular fricative /R/. The table below gives the various diaphones of SL /r/ in the Malay dialects.

Table (4)

	SL	Pn	Ked	Pk	NS	Kel	Jh	Sr
(i)	r —	R —	R —	R —	ɣ —	ɣ —	ɣ —	ɣ —
(ii)	— r —	— R —	— R —	— R —	— ɣ —	— ɣ —	— ɣ —	— ɣ —
(iii)	— r# — φ#	— ɟ#	— ɟ#	— φ#	— φ#	— φ#	— φ#	— ɣ#

Exx. (5)

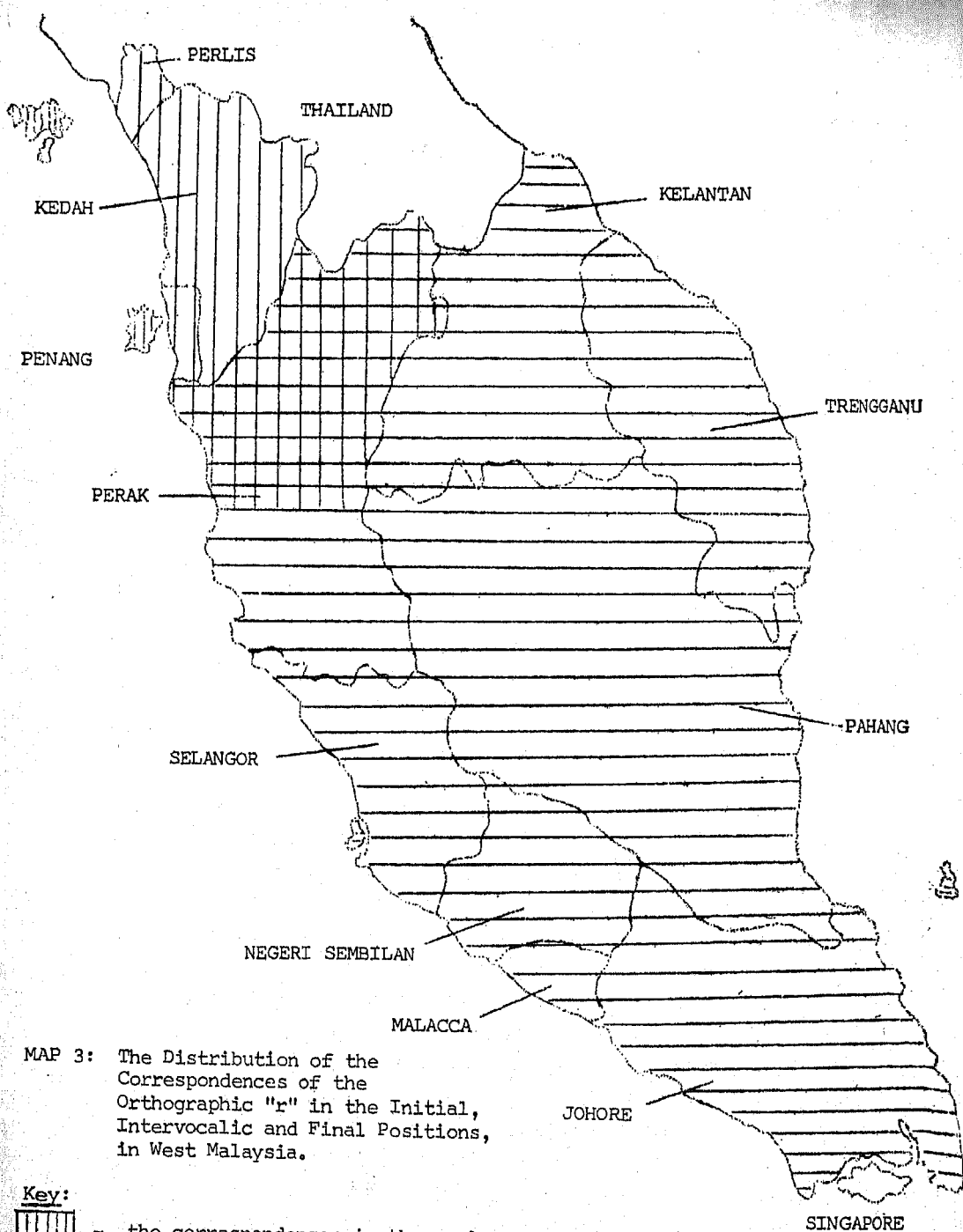
SL:	(i)	[rumah]	'house'
		[ramay]	'many'
	(ii)	[baru]	'new'
		[curi]	'to steal'
	(iii)	bəsar, bəsa \emptyset	'big'
		bakar, baka \emptyset	'to burn'

	<i>Pn, Ked</i>	<i>Pk</i>	<i>NS</i>	<i>Kel</i>	<i>Jh</i>	<i>Sr</i>
(i)	Rumah	Rumah	ɣumah	ɣuməh	ɣumah	ɣumah
	Ramay	Ramay	ɣamay	ɣama	ɣamay	ɣamay
(ii)	baRu	baRu	baɣu	baɣə	baɣu	baɣu
	cuRi	cuRi	cuɣi	cuɣə	cuɣu	cuɣi
(iii)	bəsaɽ	bəsa \emptyset	bəsa \emptyset	bəsa \emptyset	bəsa \emptyset	bəsaɣ
	bakaɽ	baka \emptyset	baka \emptyset	baka \emptyset	baka \emptyset	bakaɣ

From the Table and the examples given above, a grouping can be made of the Malay dialects in their diaphonic variations of /r/. If the grouping is based on the phonetic realisation of the initial and the intervocalic /r/, then the number of groups resulting from this process is two, viz. the Pn-Ked-Pk group and the NS-Kel-Jh-Sr group. On the other hand, if the presence or otherwise of an allophone of the phoneme in the final position is taken as the criterion of subgrouping, then the resultant subgroups will be Pn-Ked-Sr and Pk-NS-Kel-Jh. The group Pn-Ked-Sr will have to be subdivided into Pn-Ked and Sr based on the type of phone occurring in the final position. For the Pn-Ked Subsubgroup this phone is a pharyngeal fricative while for Sr it is a velar fricative. However, looking at the geographical distribution of the dialects, it would seem more plausible to have the first subgrouping, that is the one based on the phonetic realisation of the various diaphones of /r/. Each of these two subgroups seems to have a loss as well as a retention of the allophonic variation of the diaphone concerned. Taking the geographical context of the Peninsular dialects into consideration, it can be seen that the retention of the particular allophonic variation in the word-final position occurs in the northwestern part of the peninsula (Perlis, Kedah and Penang). As one moves eastward or southward, this allophonic variation

disappears. The retention of the final /-ɣ/ in Sr. can be explained both from the historical and the geographical points of view. The final /-ɣ/ in Sr. seems to give justification to a supposition that the diaphones of the final /r/ did occur in history throughout the peninsula as well in the Malay dialect of Sarawak in Borneo. Later developments had caused the loss of the diaphone in the word-final position in all the dialects of the peninsula except those located in the northwestern part of the Peninsula. The Perak dialect can be considered as representing a transitional stage from the development ensuing from the stage shown by Pn-Ked to that shown by all the other dialects. As for the Sarawak dialect, the existence of the velar fricative /-ɣ/ draws it closer to the NS-Kel-Jh group rather than to Pn-Ked-Pk group. This can also be explained in terms of its similarity with the NS-Kel-Jh group though separated by the sea. It was probably this separation by the sea that caused Sr. to retain the final /-ɣ/ and this forms evidence of the divergence of the Sarawak dialect from the changes that were affecting the NS-Kel-Jh group in general and the Johore dialect in particular. It has been shown in the cases of the final *s* and *l* how closely related Sr. was to Jh.

The final nasals form another interesting feature in the differentiation of the Malay dialects. It has been mentioned earlier that among the four nasal consonants existing in SL viz. *m*, *n*, *ŋ* and *p*, only *p* cannot occur in the word-final position. The same applies to all the other dialects of Malay, with the exception of the dialects of Kelantan and Trengganu, both of which are states on the east coast of Peninsular Malaysia, which have their individual characteristics as far as the final nasal consonants are concerned. Both the Kelantan (Kel.) and the Trengganu (Tr.) dialects only admit the velar nasal [ŋ] in the word-final position. While Tr. does not make any exception to the rule in the sense that this velar nasal can be preceded by any vowel, Kel. does not allow the occurrence of the velar nasal after the vowel [a]. In the diaphonic correspondence with SL and other dialects, which involve the syllable with the sequence -aN (where N stands for *n*, *m* or *ŋ*), the representation of this sequence in Kel is /-ẽ/, where the superimposed nasalization can be termed as the diaphonic correspondence of N, and /ẽ/ the correspondence of [a], in SL and the other dialects including Tr., although in the latter dialect, N is confined to the velar nasal.



MAP 3: The Distribution of the Correspondences of the Orthographic "r" in the Initial, Intervocalic and Final Positions, in West Malaysia.

Key:




-  - the correspondences in the uvular R-, -R- and the pharyngeal -q#
-  - the correspondences in the velar / ɣ- / and / -ɣ- /, and silence in the final position.
-  - the correspondences in the uvular / R- / and / -R- /, and silence in the final position.

Table (5)

The Diaphones of the Final Nasal Consonants

<i>SL/Other Dialects</i>	<i>Tr</i>	<i>Kel</i>
(i) — aN	— aŋ	— ε
(ii) — VN	— Vŋ	— Vŋ

(Where N = m, n, ŋ; V = i, e, u, o)

Exx. (6)

SL/Other Dialects

	<i>Tr</i>	<i>Kel</i>	
(i) ʔabaŋ	ʔabaŋ	ʔabe	'elder brother'
kacaŋ	kacaŋ	kace	'nut'
ayam	ayaŋ	aye	'chicken'
(ii) pəniŋ	pəniŋ	pəniŋ	'headache'
jamin	jamiŋ	jamiŋ	'to guarantee'
kenciŋ	kəciŋ	kəciŋ	'to urinate'
sen	seŋ	seŋ	'cent'
minum	minuŋ	minuŋ	'to drink'
himpun	hipoŋ	ipoŋ	'to collect'

Table (5) as well as Examples (6) above indicate the position of the Trengganu dialect as being at the point of divergence of SL/Other dialects and Kelantan. In fact the nasal feature at the word-final position in the Trengganu dialect seems to be about the only glaring difference between the phonologies of Tr. on one side and SL and Jh on the other.

The nasal consonant occurring at the end of a non-final syllable of a word also forms a feature of diaphonic variation between the dialects. In SL and all the dialects, except the Kelantan and the Trengganu dialects, this nasal consonant always forms a cluster with a homorganic plosive consonant which follows it. This homorganic plosive is the

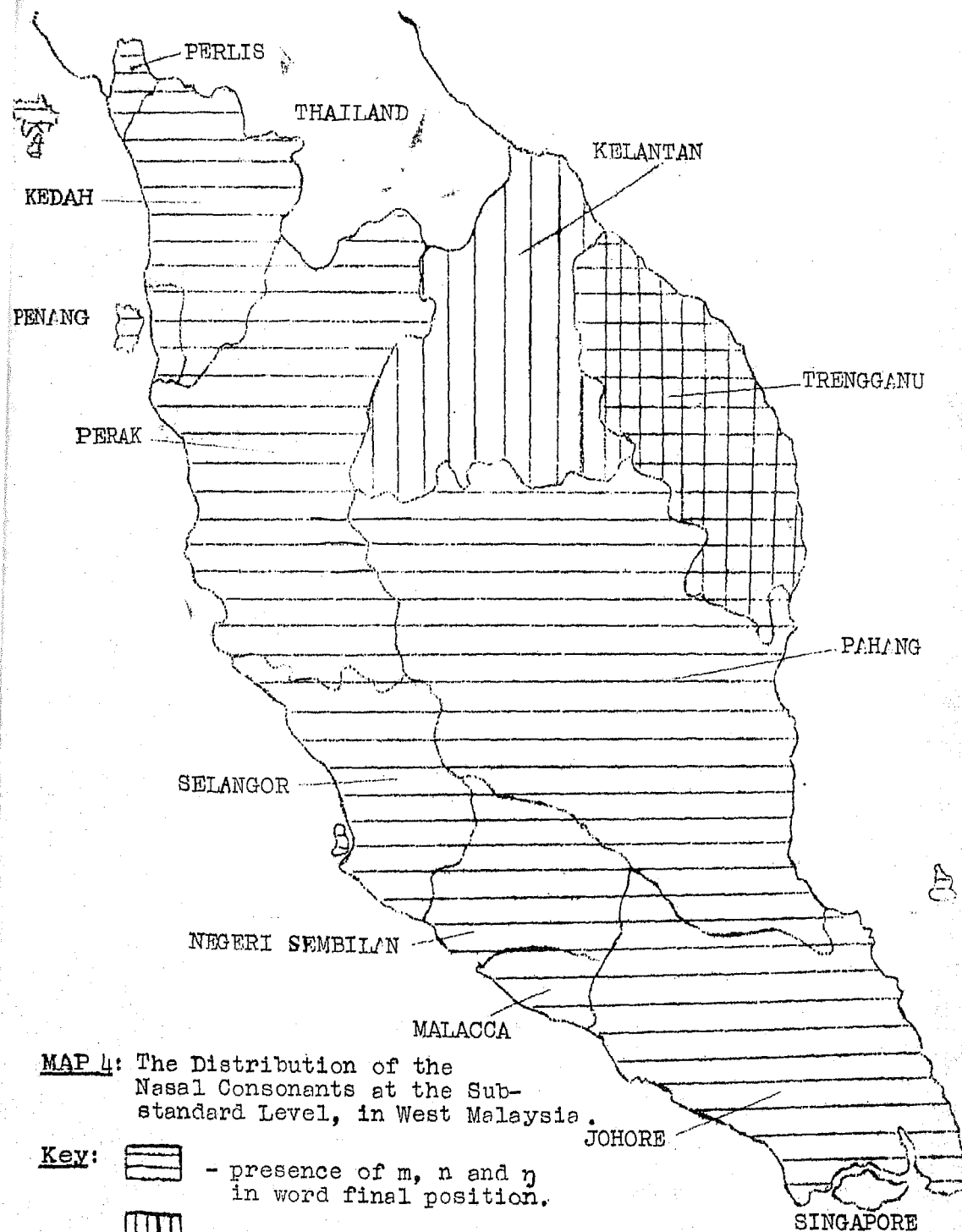
initial component of a syllable which occurs after the syllable containing the nasal consonant, such that in the sequence XNPY, N stands for any nasal consonant, P for any plosive consonant, on condition N and P are homorganic, X and Y for any element preceding and following N and P respectively. The sequence XN belongs to a syllable different from PY. Nevertheless, the physical proximity as well as the phonetic affinity of N and P do not allow a noticeable juncture between them such that in the whole sequence XNPY, NP can be considered as a cluster.

As said earlier, all the Malay dialects, except the Kelantan dialect are characterised by the presence of the medial cluster consisting of a nasal followed by a homorganic plosive. The internal cognates in the Kelantan dialect of words of other dialects show an absence of the nasal if the plosive is voiceless.




Exx. (7)

<i>Cluster</i>	<i>SL/Other Dialects</i>	<i>Tr</i>	<i>Kelantan</i>	
— nt —	pəŋanten	pəŋateŋ	pəŋatē	bride, bride-groom
	unta, untə	utə	utō	camel
— ŋk —	bəŋkək	bəkə?	bökö?	bent (of person)
	təŋkəŋa?	təkəŋa?	teköŋö?	skull
— mp —	tumpul	tupol	töpö	blunt
	səmpit	səpet	söpö?	narrow (of space)
— ŋc —	banci	baci	bacŋ	census
	lancar	laca	laca	smooth (of speech, flow)

If the plosive is a voiced consonant, there is no loss of the nasal component completely but the plosive component undergoes a weakening process. Hence the phonetic realization of the plosive component is very faint.



MAP 4: The Distribution of the Nasal Consonants at the Sub-standard Level, in West Malaysia.

- Key:**
-  - presence of m, n and ŋ in word final position.
 -  - presence of ŋ in word-final position only before / i /, / a / and / ɜ /
 -  - presence of only ŋ in word-final position after all vowels.

Exx. (8)

<i>Cluster</i>	<i>SL/Other Dialects</i>	<i>Kelantan</i>	
-nd-	səndi	sen ^d t	'joint'
	kəndi	kən ^d t	'a water container with spout'
-ŋg-	tingi	tiŋ ^g t	'tall, high'
	mingu	mɛŋ ^g u	'week'
-mb-	sərambi	səɣam ^b i	'verandah, porch'
	səɣambi		
	səRambi		
	sambon	sam ^b öŋ	'to connect, to joint'
-nj-	panjan	pan ^j ɛ	'long'
	təlanjan	təlan ^j ɛ	'naked'

This weakening of the plosive consonant of a nasal-plosive cluster is a very interesting phenomenon in the sound changing processes in the Malay language. There are already certain words in the Kelantan dialect which show a total loss of the plosive consonant, as given below:—

Exx. (9)

<i>Kel</i>	<i>SL</i>	
səmay ^ẽ	səmbahyan	'to pray'
səmf ^l	səmbilu	'bamboo splinter'

In certain subdialects of the Kedah dialect, the phenomenon of the loss of the plosive under discussion is also seen in certain words.

Exx. 10

<i>Sub-Ked</i>	<i>Ked/SL</i>	
kamin	kambiŋ	'goat'
ləmu	ləmbu	'cow, cattle'

Next we come to the plosive consonants, the presence or absent of the word-final plosive is also a feature which differentiates the Kelantan dialect from SL and other dialects of Malay. Plosive consonants in the Kelantan dialect can only function as onsets of syllables. Hence these consonants occur only in the initial and the intervocalic positions. In the final position of a syllable of a word, where SL and other dialects have a plosive, the internal cognate from the Kelantan dialect shows the occurrence of a glottal stop.

Exx. (11)

<i>Consonant</i>	<i>SL/Other Dialects</i>	<i>Kelantan</i>	
-p	sədap	sədaʔ	'delicious'
	taŋkap	takaʔ	'to catch'
-t	kədəkut	kədəkʷʔ	'stingy'
	kətat	kətaʔ	'tight'

The case of the final /b/, /d/, /k/ and /g/ has been mentioned before. However, as mentioned earlier, SL and some of the other dialects do admit these four consonants in the final position in certain words which are borrowed words. The Kelantan dialect does not do likewise but consistently replaces these consonants in the final position with a glottal stop.

Exx. (12)

<i>Consonants</i>	<i>SL/Other Dialects</i>	<i>Kel</i>	
-b	maktab	makətaʔ	'college'
	azab	azaʔ	'misery'
-d	abad	abaʔ	'century'
	maksud,	makəsöʔ	'intention'
	maksot		
-k	cək	cəʔ	'cheque'
-g	beg,	bəʔ	'beg'
	beg		

2.2 The Vowel Systems of the Malay Dialects

The vowel systems of SL and most of the Malay dialects of the substandard level consist of, in Daniel Jones' terminology, the primary cardinal vowels. The exception is the Kelantan dialect whose vowels are the secondary cardinal vowels. Below are the vowel-inventories of dialects under consideration:—

Table (6)

- (1) SL, Jh, /i, e, ə, u, a, o/
- (2) Pk, Ked, /i, e, e, ə, a, u, o, ɔ/
Pen, NS, Sr
- (3) Kel : /ɪ̯, ɛ̯, ə, a, ʊ̯, ɔ̯/

It can be seen from the above, that apart from SL and Jh, each of which has a six-vowel system, all the other dialects have eight-vowel systems. The identity of the vowel system between SL and Jh is due to the historical fact that SL had its basis on Jh. The second group of dialects given above consisting of Pk, Ked, Pen, NS and Sr differ from Kel only in the fact that the back and front vowels of the former group consist of primary cardinals while those of the latter consist of the secondary cardinals. The differences are as follows:

- (i) The front vowels of Kel, /ɪ̯, ɛ̯/ are not as fronted as /i, e, ɛ/ of Pk-Ked-Pen-NS-Sr/.
- (ii) The back vowels of Kel /ʊ̯, ɔ̯/ are not rounded while those of Pk-Ked-Pen-NS-Sr are rounded vowels.

A comparison of the vowel systems of these dialects invites a deduction of the vowel system of an older form of Malay whence emerges these dialects and the developments ensuing from them. It is highly feasible to conclude that the older form of Malay had an eight-vowel system consisting of /*ɪ, *e, *ɛ, *ə, *a, *u, *ɔ/. This system is reflected in the Pk-Ked-Pen-NS-Sr-group without any change in each member of the inventory. In the Kelantan dialect, the system undergoes a change in the qualities of the front vowels and the back vowels. The Johore

dialect shows a development from the parent dialect different from that of the Kelantan dialect, in that it undergoes a loss of two of the vowels formerly existing in the parent dialect. These vowels are the open vowels, front and back : /e, ɔ/.

The phonetic realisations of /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ are close to those of /e/ and /o/, differing only in their degrees of openness, such that /ɛ/ and /ɔ/, known as the open vowels are more open than the half-open vowels /e/ and /o/. Hence, on comparing Jh-SL and the other dialects, the following correspondences are noted :—

Table (7)

	<i>Jh-SL</i>		<i>Kel</i>		<i>Pk-Ked-Pen-NS-Sr</i>
(i)	e	~	/ɛ̃, ɛ/	~	/e, ɛ/
(ii)	o	~	/ö̃, ö/	~	/o, ɔ/

Exx. (13)

- (i) (a) /e ~ ɛ̃ ~ e/
 /sate ~ sate/ ~ sate/ 'a Malay kebab'
- (b) /e ~ ɛ̃ ~ ɛ/
 /ele ~ ɛ̃lə ~ ɛlə, ɛla/ 'yard'
- (ii) (a) /o ~ ö̃ ~ o/
 /batoʔ ~ batöʔ ~ batoʔ/ 'to cough'
- (b) /o ~ ö̃ ~ ö/
 /oʒaŋ/ ~ /ö̃ʒɛ̃/ ~ /ɔʒaŋ/, /ɔRaŋ/
 /bəŋkoʔ/ ~ bö̃köʔ ~ bəŋkoʔ/ 'hunch (of back)'

According to Rule (ii) of Table (7), Jh-SL /o/ corresponds with Kel /ö̃/ and also with /ɔ/ of other dialects, but this only applies to the correspondences in certain non-final position of a word. There are

instances of such correspondences in certain words, also in the non-final position.

Exx. (14)

<i>Jh-SL</i>	<i>Kel</i>	<i>Pk-Ked-Pen-NS-Sr</i>	
sɔɣaʔ, sora	sɔ̃ɣɔʔ	sɔɣaʔ, sɔRaʔ	'to applaud'
kolah	kɔ̃lɔh	kɔlah	'a pond'
təŋkoɣaʔ	təkɔ̃ɣɔʔ	təŋkoɣaʔ,	
təŋkoraʔ		təŋkɔRaʔ	

The examples above indicate the correspondence /a ~ ɔ̃ ~ a/. It is now seen that Rule (ii) of Table (7) is consistent only in the correspondences between Jh-Sl and Pk-Ked-Pen-NS-Sr. The Kelantan /ɔ̃/ can also correspond with /a/ of the other dialects, in closed final syllables. Hence another rule can be formulated.

Table (8)

R (iii) /-aC# ~ ɔ̃C# ~ aC#/

This rule of correspondence reads that in the final closed syllable Jh /a/ corresponds with Kel /ɔ̃/ and Pk-Ked-Pen-NS-Sr /a/.

In talking about the correspondences of Jh /a/, we also have to take into consideration the sequence /-aŋ#/ as previously discussed, that is the sequence which corresponds with /-ɛ̃#/ in the Kelantan dialect. Here we see that the Kel /ɛ̃/ when nasalised and placed before silence, corresponds with /a/ followed by a nasal in all the other dialects.

Vowels in the final position of a word may also form a feature of diversity in the dialects. We have seen the case of the final /a/ and /ə/ in the standard varieties. Now we shall examine the final vowels at the substandard level. In the case of the final /i, e, u, o/ there seems to be a one-to-one correspondence among the dialects. Groups 1 and 2 of Table (6) show identical vowels in correspondence, while Group 3, viz. the Kelantan dialect, as mentioned previously, shows a correspondence which indicates slight differences in the diaphones in correspondence,

In this we must not forget that what is /-e# / in Ked-Pen-NS-Sr-Kel may also correspond to /-el, -il/ in Jh-SL, and also the final /-ö# / in Kelantan may correspond with /-ol, -ul/, in Jh-SL and /-oy/ in the other dialects. (Cf. Table (3)).

The final /-ẽ# / in Kelantan never corresponds with /-e# / in the other dialects but with /-aN/. However, /-e# / exists in each member of the second group and corresponds with /-a# / in Jh-SL, but the final /-e# / even in the dialects of Group 2 is limited in occurrence.

Exx. (15)

<i>Jh-SL</i>	<i>Pk-Ked-Pen-Sr</i>	
kələde	kələde	'donkey'

It should also be mentioned here that the final /-e# / of the Perak dialect may also correspond with /-al# / in Jh-SL-Sr, /ay# / in Ked-Pen and /-a# / in Kel (cf. Table (5)) and besides that it corresponds with the diphthongs /-ay# / in Jh-Sl-Ked-Pen-NS-Sr.

Exx. (16)

/səmpɛ/	/səmpay/	'to reach'
/sələ/	/salay/	'to smoke'

The final /ɔ# / in Ked-Pen is very rare. It occurs only in one or two examples, e.g. /kərə/ 'cowardly'. The final /ɔ# / that occurs in the Perak dialect may correspond with /a# / in Jh-SL, /-aR# / in Ked-Pen, /-aɣ# / in Sr. as given in Exx. (17), besides indicating the monophthongization of the diphthong /-aw/ of the parent dialect, which is still reflected in of Jh-SL and Ked-Pen-NS-Sr. In this correspondence, Kel has /a/.

Exx. (17)

<i>Pk</i>	<i>Kel</i>	<i>Other Dialect</i>	
kəRəbə	kəɣəba	kəɣəbaw (SL)	
		kəɣəbaw	'buffalo'
		kəRəbaw	
hiɔ	hija	hijaw	'green'

The final /-a#/ of Kel also indicates the monophthongization of */ ay/ in the parent dialect, and /-ay/ still appears in Jh-SL-Ked-Pen-NS-Sr. As mentioned above, this type of monophthongization is also manifest of Pk /-e#/.

Hence the correspondences of /sampay ~ sampe/ and /salay ~ sale/ in Kel are /sapa/ and /sala/. The correspondences above can be seen more clearly in the following Table :-

Table (9)

<i>Jh-SL</i>	<i>Ked-Pen</i>	<i>Pk</i>	<i>Kel</i>
-al#	-ay#	-e#	-a#
-ay#			
-aw#	aw#	o#	-a#

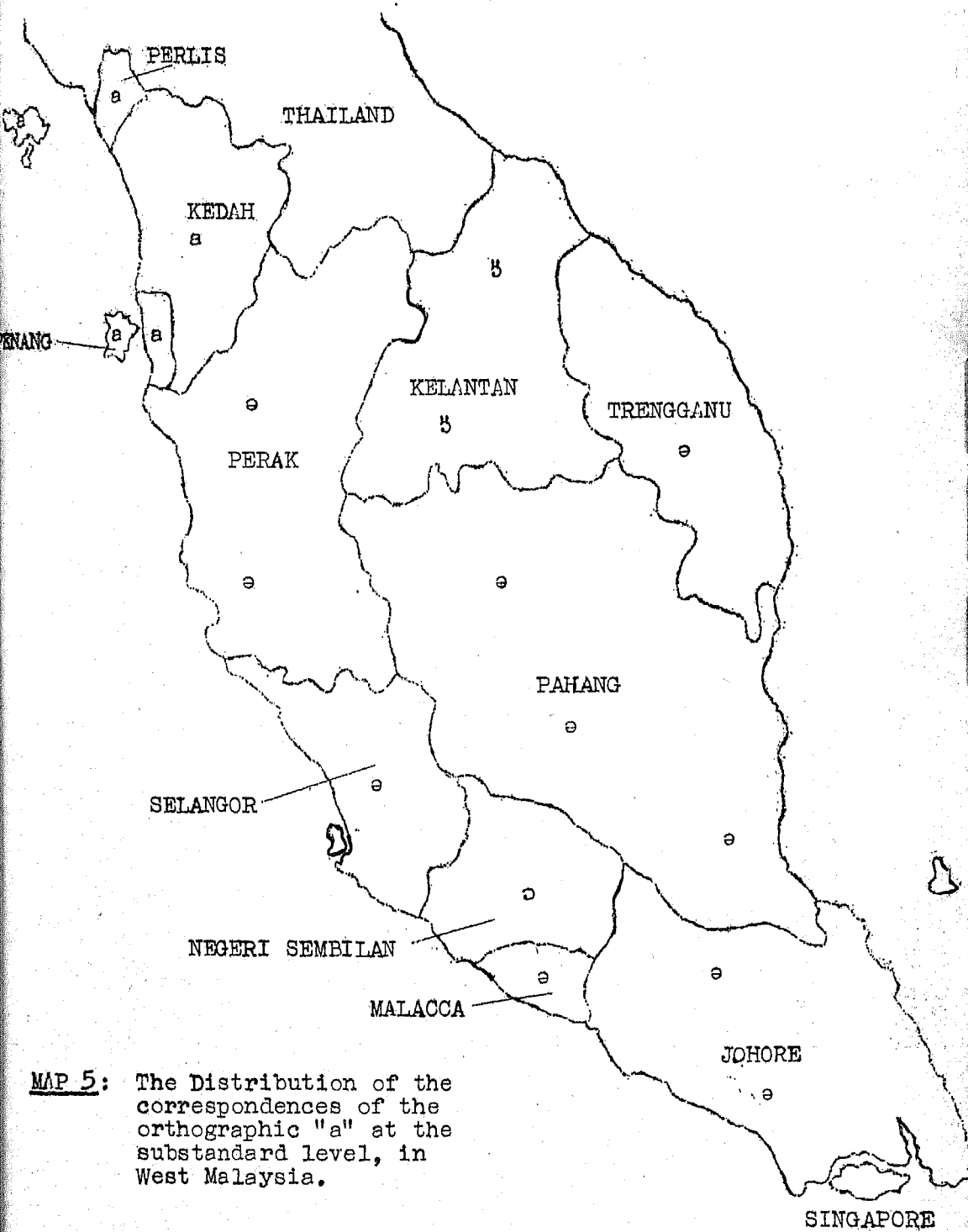
Another interesting feature in the phonological system of the dialects is seen in the correspondences of the final /a/ or /ə/ of the standard varieties, at the substandard level. Earlier we have seen the geographical distribution of /-a#/ and /-ə#/ at the standard level, but on examination at the substandard level, we see that not all the subregions of any of the standard varieties show correspondences which are identical to the vowel in the variety of their choice.

The schwa-variety of the standard level shows a correspondence of /ə ~ ɔ ~ ɔ̃/, as listed out below :

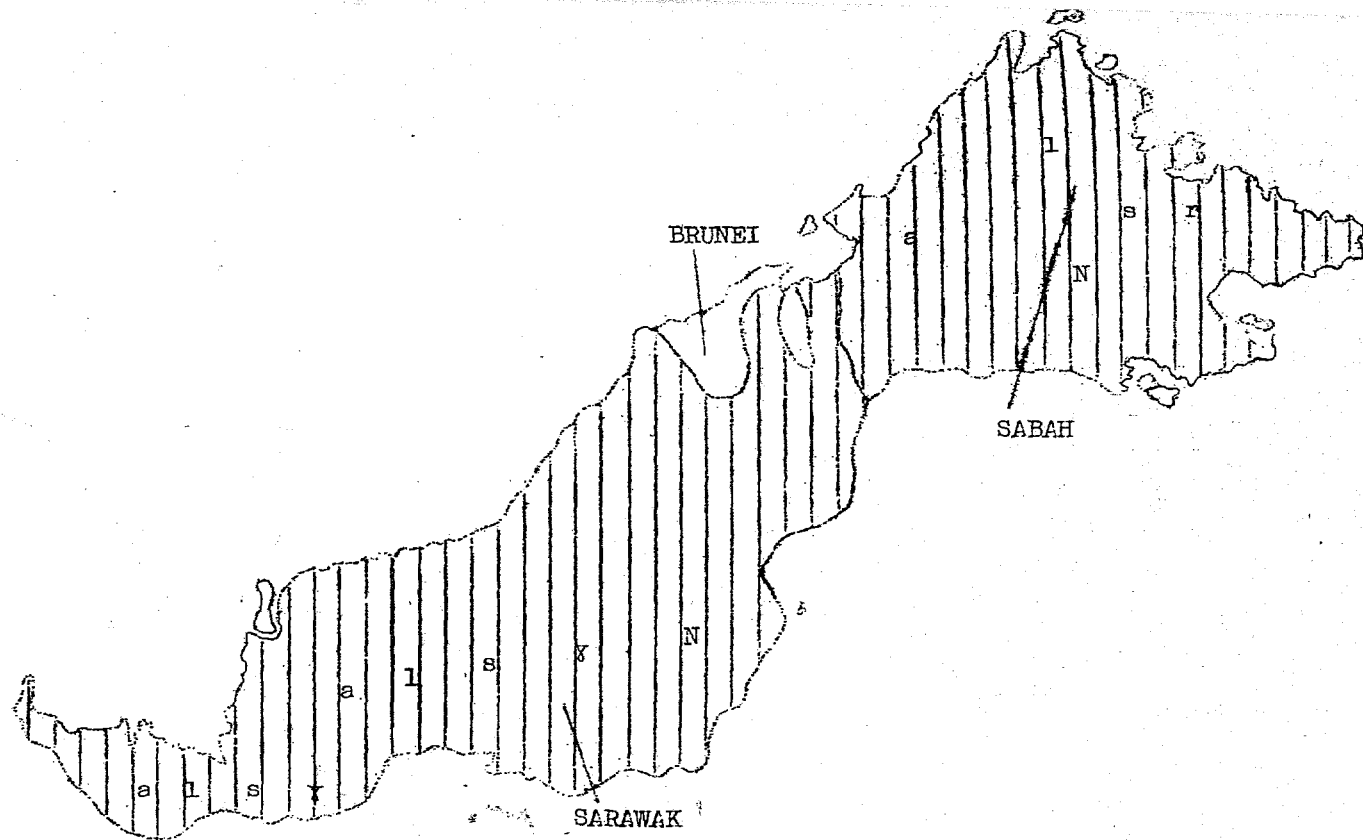
Table (10)

<i>SL</i>	<i>Jh</i>	<i>Ph</i>	<i>MI</i>	<i>Tr</i>	<i>Sel</i>	<i>Pk</i>	<i>NS</i>	<i>Kel</i>
ə	ə	ə	ə	ə	ə	ə	ɔ	ɔ̃


The region of the a-variety at the substandard level does not show the diversity as found in the schwa-region where the phonemic and phonetic representations of the graphemic "a" is concerned, as all its geographical subregions—Northwest Peninsular Malaysia, Sabah and Sarawak—have /a/ as the phonemic representation of /a/ and various modifications [a] in the phonetic realisation of that phoneme.



MAP 5: The Distribution of the correspondences of the orthographic "a" at the substandard level, in West Malaysia.



MAP.6: East Malaysia (Sarawak and Sabah):
Map showing the distribution of the correspondences of "a",
"l", "s", "r" and nasals at the substandard level.

Key:  a-zone

a, l, s, r (Sarawak only), r (Sabah only) and N (m, n, ŋ)
occurring in the initial, medial and final positions of
a word.

Exx. (18)

SL schwa-variety — SL a-variety

Word:	[baja]	'manure'	/bajə/	/baja/
	[apə]	'what'	/apə/	/apa/

Subdialects of the schwa-variety :

<i>Jh-Ph-MP-Tr-SL-PK</i>	<i>NS</i>	<i>Kel</i>
/bajə/	/bajə/	/bajö/
/apə/	/apə/	/apö/

All Subdialects of the a-variety : /baja/
 /apa/

3.0 Malay in Majority/Minority Group Relations

In this paper, the discussion on the nature of Malay in majority and minority group relations in the Malaysian society is confined to Malay as spoken by its native speakers, the Malays. While each native Malay is born into a particular dialectal subregion, each school-educated Malay is in possession of two varieties : one is the standard variety peculiar to his region and the other is the local dialect of his own subregion,

Dialectal differences are not confined to phonological differences but also encompasses differences in the morphological, syntactical and lexical aspects. It is not possible to discuss dialectal divergences in all these aspects in this paper. However, it should be mentioned here that there are no great morphological difference in the dialects of Malay. Certain difference can be found in the use of certain bound morphemes, for example, the use of the suffix *-kan* in causative verbs in the Johore dialect and (*per*)—(*kan*) in the standard dialect as opposed to the prefix *per-* which has the same function as *-kan* or (*per*)—(*kan*), in the dialects of Kedah, Perlis and Penang. In the syntactical aspect, the degree of dialectal divergence is also quite low, but the degree of divergence is higher in the lexical aspect. It can be said that the Malay

dialects show a higher degree of divergence in the phonological compared to the morphological, syntactical and lexical aspects.

The divergence with its various degrees in the various linguistic aspects of the Malay dialects is given in the following table :

Table (11)

1. Phonology	— highest degree of divergence
2. Lexical items	
3. Morphology	
4. Syntax	— lowest degree of divergence

At the substandard level when speakers of the various subregions meet, the verbal communication between them may show any of these phenomena :—

- (i) The suppression of the dialectal characteristics and their replacement by a standard variety.
- (ii) The maintenance by each speaker of his or her dialectal characteristics; this means that each party is equipped with the mechanism of pairing off the dialectal correspondences that may arise in the various linguistic aspects.

The matching of dialectal correspondences may prove to be most difficult in the lexical aspect. This is because there is no rule of correspondence in this aspect compared to all the other three aspects, particularly phonology. Moreover, lexical elements are infinite, whereas the elements of phonology, morphology and syntax are finite. Hence when two speakers of two diverse dialects meet one another, they waste no time in the phonological and the morphological correspondences but one party may stumble over certain words used by the other and vice versa.

At the standard level, when speakers of the two standard varieties, the schwa-variety and the a-variety meet, any of these two phenomena may occur :—

- (i) The maintenance by each party of his or her own standard variety.
- (ii) The suppression of one standard variety in favour of the other.

The second phenomenon above is dependent either on the geographical setting of the verbal communication in process, or on the dominance, socially or professionally, of one party over the other. The suppression of the schwa-variety may take place if the geographical setting of the verbal communication is in the zone of the a-variety. Likewise, the a-variety may be neutralized by the variety's own speaker if he communicates with a schwa-variety speaker in a schwa-variety zone. Geographical setting aside, a variety may be neutralized in a certain speaker in a situation where the other speaker happens to be more dominant, socially or professionally. This is a case of might showing its right.

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THE STANDARDIZATION AND PROMOTION OF BAHASA MALAYSIA

by

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1. LINGUISTIC SITUATION IN MALAYSIA

Unlike its neighbours, Malaysia's racial and linguistic composition is heterogeneous. There are three major races living in the country i.e. Malays, Chinese and Indians. They speak different languages. In addition, there are also other small racial groups; but these are not very significant linguistically e.g. the Portuguese, the Arabs, the Sikhs, the Thais etc.

Malay is widely spoken by both the indigenous as well as the immigrant races; in other words its usage is widely distributed. The racial communities have virtually been kept away from one another, except for the daily business of buying and selling and other limited social contacts. This is not a conducive situation for learning the Malay Language well. As a consequence, many members of these immigrant races, especially those belonging to the older generation, only speak a kind of pidgin Malay which often proves to be quite adequate for limited commercial and social functions. However this is not the entire picture. The younger generation, those who have been educated in Malaysian schools have now achieved good proficiency in the language and use it for administrative as well as other functions according to their professions.

Statistically, the Chinese are the largest immigrant group. They are concentrated in the urban and tin mining areas. They speak various 'dialects' which to a large extent are not mutually intelligible. The dialects spoken are Hokkien, Cantonese, Hakka, and Tieuchiu. Superimposed on these dialects is Mandarin, which is spoken by those who have been educated in Chinese schools.

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The Indians also make up a sizeable group. They speak many different languages which they inherit from their respective states of origin in India. The languages spoken by the Indian community are Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Punjabi, Sikh, Urdu, Benggali and Sinhalese.

There are also other minority languages. One, which is worth mentioning, is Thai which is spoken by Thai-speaking Malays near the Thai-Malaysian border. In Malacca, there is a kind of Portuguese Creole which is spoken by a small group of Portuguese descendants. There is also a small number of Arabs but they are rapidly being assimilated into the Malay community. The Arabic Language is being taught in all the Arabic (Islamic) schools in the country. However, the language, except for its use in small communities of Arabs, and in religious functions, is not widely used.

Besides Malay, there are also other indigenous languages. On the Malay peninsula, we may identify three groups of aboriginal races who speak three different languages. Each is divided into many dialects. The three languages are: the Negrito language which is spoken by the Negritoes, who are believed to be the earliest settlers on the peninsula; the Senoi language, which is more akin to the language spoken by aboriginal communities in the highlands of Thailand, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia; and the group called the Proto-Malay which are a kind of 'archaic' Malay. (Carey, Y.I. 1961). The indigenous languages are just as varied in Sabah and Sarawak. This is because the linguistic situation there is influenced by the geographical terrain of the country. The most important languages in those two states are Iban, spoken by the Sea Dayak of Sarawak, Bedayuh spoken by the Land Dayak and Melanau which is divided into various dialects, Bisaya, Murut, Kelabit, Kayan, Kenyah and Punan.

Besides all these indigenous and vernacular languages there is a considerable widespread use of English, especially since until lately it was one of the languages of instruction in the schools as well as the language of administration.

2. THE CHOICE OF A NATIONAL LANGUAGE

When Malaysia (then Malaya) was under the colonial rule, no real or discernible efforts were made towards choosing a National Language. English was then used as a language of administration and education. This was the policy of the colonial rulers who, to consolidate their own power, wanted the people to remain divided culturally, economically and linguistically.

The National Language question assumed salience after Malaysia was given political autonomy in 1957. Autonomy in government, the Sastrawan 50 (a group of writers in 1950s) argued was meaningless if the people could not participate in their own political discussions or take part in their own government. At that time only 10% of the population could speak English which was the language of administration. This automatically excluded most of the Malays and other races from taking active part in the running of their own affairs. Therefore English had to be replaced by a more widely-used language. Furthermore, as a newly-independent nation, there was the need for a common national identity. The need for a national language was thus quite urgent. There was no doubt as to Malay being the choice for a National Language. Of course, like in all other newly independent states, this was a political question.

There were other factors and considerations too. For example, Malay was the largest community in the population—43% of the people. The second largest community was Chinese, 36%; the third, Indian, 9%. The remaining 12% comprised of other minor races. Although only 43% of the population were Malays, the language was spoken by the other races in the country as a lingua franca between ethnic groups. On the other hand the immigrant languages, as described above, were not uniform. Therefore it would appear to be undesirable to select one of these as the National Language. Thus Malay was the suitable choice, as its use was widespread among the population irrespective of their races. What was more important was the fact that the Malay spoken was quite uniform, i.e. it was intelligible to a large number of the population. In these terms, Malay was undoubtedly the language spoken by the majority of the population.

Making Malay the National Language did not actually mean that the other languages would be discriminated against (cf. Constitution of Malaysia (Revised) 1972: 116-7). The other languages are allowed to be used and developed alongside the National Language. In fact the communities are allowed to set up schools in their own respective languages. The policy of the government was to allow peaceful co-existence, but in a process of nation building such as in Malaysia some form of subordination had to be adopted so that the National Language could be allowed to develop and become established.

When Malaya became independent politically in 1957, the policy was laid out in the constitution making Malay the National Language of the country. This was to be implemented in phases through the educational system.

Malay was supposed to replace English gradually as a language of administration and education. However the government's implementation policy lacked firmness in the beginning. The implementation was expected to be carried out through persuasion. This was not very effective. There was to be a period of ten years after independence (i.e. until 1967) during which English was to be replaced by Malay in the schools as well as administration. Whilst the people sympathized with the government's policy, it lacked, as a matter of fact, a sense of urgency.

However, these initial efforts did not end in complete failure. The population in general sympathized with the policy and to a certain extent blamed the government for not taking firmer steps in implementing it. Soon after, the government took bolder steps to gradually phase out English as medium of instruction in the schools. Malay also became a pre-requisite in getting employment in government departments, as well as for the purpose of confirmation in jobs and passes in examinations. After almost seven years of operation Malaysia witnessed encouraging signs towards this end. The target of the government was that Malay would be fully used as a medium of instruction in schools and universities by 1983. The current situation seems to indicate that in some university courses, Malay has been used as a medium of

instruction and thus the actual implementation of the policy is well ahead of the target date.

3. THE STANDARDIZATION OF BAHASA MALAYSIA

By standardization is meant efforts to create a 'norm' of standard usage of a language in an area where various social and local variations exist (Ray, 1963: 12). In most countries in Asia and Africa, a standard language often coincides with the official language of the country. The official language is of course the language of official pronouncements and administration as well as education. The official language is often the factor that encourages solidarity, unification and modernization. In other words, standardization is a natural process in the growth of languages for the benefit of social, cultural and political integration of these nations (Alisjahbana, 1965: 15).

A standardized language is, therefore, a fairly uniform norm or the supra-dialectal usage by speakers of a language. Here we are treating language as a tool of communication by which the speakers of a community interact. In such a situation then the more efficient a standardized language is, the more it is desirable. By efficiency is here meant the capability of the language to express what its speakers want to say.

The norm varies with respect to place and time. Although in the ideal situation, the norm should not vary, that is commonly conceded as an impossible situation. There will always be variation in a standard language, as the result of geographical as well as social dialects. For instance a speaker of Malay from the South may pronounce *a* in word final position as [ə], whereas a speaker from the North may pronounce it as [a]. There are other variations, such as the selection of affixes. For instance, the Northern (Kedah) dialect of Malay prefers the transitive affix *per - to - kan* in deriving transitive verbs (e.g. *perhangat* (North), *hangatkan* (South) 'to heat'). Of course, there are grammatical differences, too.

Language also changes in time. It is easy to see that the norm of a standard language may change from one period to another. What is considered standard at this time may not be accepted as such in the

future. In other words, language is constantly undergoing a process of change; thus the norm of a standard likewise changes.

The political awakening of the Malays prompted efforts to develop their language (cf. Ferguson, 1968 : 28). However, concrete and effective efforts were only apparent when Malaya achieved political autonomy. After Malay was officially made the National Language, several problems immediately arose. The language was then inadequate and handicapped to assume its new role. Until then, its use was mainly confined to everyday social contacts. In education it was used only in Malay primary schools. It was not required until then to assume other functions such as administration and higher education. It lacked, among other things, special vocabulary items. Thus there was an urgent need to develop the language.

The process of development of any language includes the three conceptually distinct components : (a) graphization, the use of writing; (b) standardization, the use of supra-dialectal norm; and (c) modernization, the development of vocabulary and forms of discourse (cf. Ferguson, 1968 : 34). This process of development have taken place rapidly in Malay. However, a 100% uniform usage of the language cannot be said to be a possibility, but rather an objective to be aimed at. But then, does Malay possess a norm to be propagated? The answer is yes. To a large extent there is a variety of Malay used that often becomes the model followed by the general population, i.e. the Malay used by the government controlled television and radio broadcasting departments. Of course, as I shall point out later, the codification of this norm is yet to be done. However, it is not impossible for propagation to take place without it. From here on, I will focus my discussion on the efforts made in Malaysia in achieving this objective in relation to the existing majority and minority groups.

a) Spelling and Pronunciation

Before the introduction of the new spelling system in August 1972, Bahasa Malaysia was using the Wilkinson-Za'ba spelling system which was formulated in 1904. It was employed in schools, colleges, universities, government departments as well as in the mass media

throughout the country. Although this spelling system was fairly standard and stable it contained some inconsistencies. (cf. Alisjahbana, 1965: 23). After the introduction of the new spelling system, as expected, there was a period of confusion. The switch over from one spelling system to another could not be expected to take place smoothly especially when it involved millions of people using the language. The government then gave a period of five years for the complete change to take place in order to minimize the difficulties caused especially to textbook publishers by the sudden change. The situation was quite chaotic in the beginning as the people were only given a small pamphlet on the new spelling system which gave no clear explanation in most cases. It was deceptive in the sense that the system looked very simple but in fact it was difficult to implement and posed many problems. The country switched to the new spelling system immediately. Rules were misinterpreted or overapplied in some cases. The matter was further aggravated by the fact that no dictionary, written in the new spelling system, existed. Thus there was no guidance.

It goes without saying that this fact makes the learning of the language more difficult not only for non-Malays, but for Malays as well; it retards the growth of the National Language. (cf. Alisjahbana, 1965: 28). The new orthography requires the use of *i* or *u* in closed final syllables if the preceding syllable contained *i*, *a*, *u* or *e* (pepet) e.g. *bilek*→*bilik* 'room'; *balek*→*balik* 'to return'; *buket*→*bukit* 'hill'; *betek*→*betik* 'papaya'; *hidong*→*hidung* 'nose'; *batok*→*batuk* 'to cough'; *buloh*→*buluh* 'bamboo'; and *telor*→*telur* 'egg'. The phonemic justification is that the phonological distinction between /i/ and /e/; and /u/ and /o/ is neutralized in the above environments. This rule is simple and neat to linguists but quite misleading to others. There are three main difficulties which cause constant errors. First, the rule is over-applied in some cases. Although the rule categorically states that the vowel occurring in prefinal syllable influences the one in the final, it has been interpreted in the reverse. Thus words such as *pereksa* 'to examine' and *dewan* 'hall' have been sometimes written as *periksa* and *diwan* respectively. The second common error is that the rule is applied too liberally. Thus all words ending in *e* or *o* are sometimes spelled as *goring* for *goreng* 'to

fry' and *boleh* for *boleh* 'can', *beluk* for *belok* 'to turn', etc. The third type of widespread error is due to the failure to recognize that the letter *e* is now made to represent two phonemes /e/ and /ə/. As for example: *tempoh* [tempoh] 'duration' and *tempoh* [təmpoh] 'to pass through', *telor* [telor] 'accent' and *telor* [təlor] 'egg'. According to the new rule, only the latter members of the two pairs will be affected and respelled as *tempuh* and *telur* respectively. However the result is that both pairs of words are sometimes spelled as *tempuh* and *telur*.

This state of affairs has now lasted about one and a half years ever since the commercial publishing firms in the country have seen the financial opportunities of this situation and have begun to cash in with dictionaries in the new spelling system. Some have incorporated their misinterpretations of the rules of the new spelling system into their lexicons. Nevertheless they have performed one praiseworthy function, namely they have been acting as guides for correct spelling in the new system. Within months after their appearance, spelling began to be more stable and uniform again.

Pronunciation is an important aspect in the standardization of a language. The discussion here will only be focussed on problems of pronunciation using the new spelling system. There are two consistent difficulties with respect to the present pronunciation of Malay. The first is the result of using one letter *e* to represent both /e/ and /ə/. All the dictionaries so far, except the *Kamus Pelajar*, the *Advanced Malay-English Dictionary* of Zainal Abidin Safarwan, and that of Winstedt and Wilkinson, do not indicate this phonemic distinction clearly. Winstedt and Wilkinson represent the two phonemes with *e* and *ě* respectively. However, since of late, the difference in the sound values between the two letters have been ignored. This is an unwise move, especially in view of the fact that Bahasa Malaysia is being actively learned by the population. This has led to the mispronunciation of the letter *e* (pepet) as [e] and not [ə]. The situation is further complicated by the fact that it is not easy to predict the occurrence of each. This has created some homographic but non-homophonous words, such as *sepak* 'to kick' and *sepak* 'to slap', *bela* 'to avenge', and *bela* 'to rear' etc. Under these circumstances, pronunciation becomes a problem

especially to non-native speakers of Malay. They have no guide to the sound value of the orthographic symbol *e*. Such words as *lebah* [ləbah] 'bees' is pronounced as [lebah]; *dengan* [dəŋan] 'with' as [deŋan] etc. In fact the tendency is to pronounce the letter *e* as [e] everywhere. The fact is, this error can be eliminated easily if the dictionaries included this information; and probably now is the time to introduce the letter *ɛ* into the spelling system again. This will help solve the problem.

The second problem is really very minor compared to the first one. However, it can be avoided by including the information on pronunciation in dictionaries, namely that when *k* occurs at the end of a syllable in Malay it should be pronounced as a glottal stop [ʔ]. e.g. *masak* [masaʔ] 'to cook'; *makna* [maʔna] 'meaning'; and *letakkan* [lətaʔkan] 'to emplace'; etc. It will be of help to standardize pronunciation if such information can be obtained from dictionaries. Often, the dictionary is the authority to be consulted for pronunciation. But most Malay dictionaries do not provide information on this matter. On the other hand the dictionaries could be used as one of the vehicles by which standard pronunciation may be disseminated, and hopefully become adopted by the new learners of the language.

Another important aspect connected with spelling and pronunciation involves borrowed forms. Two ways are adopted to standardize the spelling and pronunciation of such forms. Firstly, the borrowed forms are completely assimilated into the Bahasa Malaysia phonological system; i. e. the words are completely respelled in Bahasa Malaysia orthography e.g. 'science'—*sains*; 'physic'—*fizik*; 'pension'—*pencen*; etc. Secondly, only necessary alteration is introduced in the orthographic shape of the borrowed terms. This is necessary, for a drastic change in the spelling of the borrowed words may create ambiguity and confusion. This is particularly true with respect to technical terms in the natural sciences. Take the following two homophonous endings in Chemistry terms. The ending *-ine* indicates the presence of nitrogen, while the ending *-in* refers to any compound. It is important to distinguish between these two ending because, for instance, if the word *amine* is respelled according to its pronunciation it would become *amin*. That would make it look as if it means 'any compound', as the case is in *stearin*, and then the

distinction between the presence and absence of nitrogen is lost. A serious problem is thereby created in chemistry. In view of such considerations, it seems reasonable to retain the distinction between the word endings, *-ine*, *-in*; (*amine* and *stearin*) and assign them the Bahasa Malaysia sound values. Thus the words will be pronounced as [amine] and [stearin]. These steps have been adopted in coining terminology in Malaysia, and if adhered to would eliminate problems in Malay spelling and pronunciation from the start.

b) Grammar

The preparation of a grammar for Malay is undoubtedly essential for the description of the model to be propagated in order to create a uniform usage in the language. This is particularly important since most of the population speak Malay as a second language; and they have to internalize the rules only through practice. The absence of such a model would create an insurmountable difficulty.

At the moment, the teaching of Malay leans heavily on the grammar written in 1940 by Za'ba. Often times the author himself, iterated the need for the grammar of Malay to be rewritten. As of now, such efforts have not been given serious thought. There has been some attempts (Liaw Yock Fang, 1969: Mac-Jun; and Lutfi Abas and Raja Mukhtaruddin, 1968: Mei-Oktober) to revise the grammar of Malay, but the very effort to introduce generative-transformational model defeats the whole purpose, because this model of grammatical description is too abstruse for the common man. No useful result could be derived from these two efforts.

In Malay, the description of morphology is indeed very important. Most of the problems are created due to ambiguous description of functions and usage of such affixes. In Malay morphology there are numerous problems, just as in its spelling and pronunciation. Until recently, it was quite common for schools to adopt a certain attitude in the teaching of Malay, i.e. the children must not be bothered by the use of numerous affixes. The result is that voice affixes such as *me* 'active', *di* 'passive', *ter* 'non-volitive active/passive', *ber* 'reflexive', and transitive affixes such as *per*, *kan* and *i* are often omitted. Thus we have text-

books propagating the teaching of sentences such as 'Ali *panjat* pokok' (memanjat); Dia *membenar* saya pergi (membenarkan); Adik *menyiram* bunga (menyirami) etc. This mistaken concept has created some inadequacies in the mastery of the language for both native and non-native speakers of Malay. Take the case of the use of *-kan* as a causative transitiviser. This is always confused with that of *meN-* a prefix indicating active voice. This has resulted in incomplete derivation of such words as *mengguna* 'to use'; which should have been first derived fully as a transitive verb *gunakan* 'to use'; followed by the active voice prefix *menggunakan* 'to use (active)'; or passive voice prefix *digunakan* 'to use (passive)'. Alisjabana has best summarized this situation by saying that it makes the morphology of the Malay language rather unstable (1965: 29).

The confusion in the Malay morphology, especially in the application of transitive affixes, varies from one dialect to another. In the Kedah dialect, the affixes *-kan*, *di-* and *-nya* are completely absent; the suffix *-kan* to a very limited extent is replaced by the prefix *per-* (e.g. *panjangkan* 'to lengthen', becomes *perpanjang*), and the passive form *di-* is replaced by 'anjing itu kena pukul dengan Mat (anjing itu dipukul oleh Ahmad) (cf. Ismail Hussain 1969: 2). There are other examples but the ones cited above will suffice to illustrate the nature of the problem.

There is, of course, an urgent need to reassess and restate the function of the affixes in Malay in order to meet the new role it plays in the National Language. Although some work has been done along these lines (Asmah, 1968: Abdullah: 1974) the propagation of such findings have not taken place as actively as it should. The propagation of a model of grammar may probably help to standardize the morphology of Malay more rapidly. A more adequate illustration and listing of the application of the affixes is necessary if these diversions are to be eliminated in Malay grammar.

Another aspect of grammar that presents problems in standardization is the fact that there are few affixes in Malay but each carries many functions, varying according to the context and base forms. For instance, *me-* in *membawa* indicates active voice, but *me* in *melayang* indicates an

active state, while *me* in *menggunung* indicates merely a state, and *mengantuk* indicates reflexive action etc.

Thus we see that if the proposed new grammar can include all this information without ambiguity, it will indeed become a very influential tool in standardizing Bahasa Malaysia.

c) Lexical Items

There are two types of lexical items in consideration; general, and specific. General lexical items are those words used every day bearing the most common meaning. Of course, such words do vary in meaning from one dialect to another, be it geographical or social. One example to illustrate this is the word *kemarin* which means 'yesterday' in the Northern dialect of Malay, but which means the 'day before' or 'long ago' in the South. As such, a direction in the use of such a common word would be required in the standard dialect. In this case, both Radio and Television broadcast can help to solve the problem. It has now adopted the word *kemarin* as it is used in the North.

I come now to discuss the other important aspect of standardization; i.e. the formation and use of technical or scientific terms. This is particularly important, since as the society becomes more and more industrialized and modernized, more new items and concepts must be incorporated into their life to enable them to express themselves more accurately. In other words, the process of modernization of the society also demands the modernization of the language. This is the case with Malay. When Malaysia became independent in 1957, the Razak and Rahman Talib reports recommended that Malay eventually replace English in education. However, Malay was never before employed for the first six years of school teaching. As a result there was indeed a serious deficiency, if not a total vacuum in modern and scientific terminology especially in the field of natural sciences. There were only scanty works such as that of Mc Hugh (1948), *Words and Phrases Used in Malay Broadcast During the Period 1942-1945*, and Mohammad bin Hanif's (1949), *Kamus Politik*. Nevertheless, there was a sudden upsurge of nationalism in the country. The recommendation was timely and well received. It was felt that it was the right of the people to be given

education in their own National Language rather than be burdened with the learning of another language before they could gain access to knowledge. In line with the country's policy in education, secondary and tertiary education in Bahasa Malaysia was yet to be implemented.

Two kinds of problems emerged. Firstly there were no textbooks in Malay both for the secondary and tertiary levels of education. There were practically no such textbooks. A solution had to be found, i.e. textbooks in Malay had to be published. They could be written by individuals or at least translated from English. The second problem was intimately connected with the first. Even if there were individuals who were ready to tackle the first problem, Malay lacked the necessary technical terminology. The need for such terminology was acute; without it the whole policy of implementing Malay as the language in administration and education could become jeopardised. The vacuum had to be filled.

The responsibility of preparing the scientific terminology was placed upon the Dewan Bahasa and Pustaka (Literary and Literature Agency). The Dewan concentrated its efforts on developing the language so that it could become an effective tool, to perform its new functions. Although the matter was urgent and had to be solved quickly, there had to be careful planning. The Dewan, upon realizing the urgency of the matter regarding the forming of scientific terms, immediately embarked on a terminology project. The system had to be sufficiently viable to enable it to function with minimum difficulties. Working committees were formed. Each committee was responsible for producing scientific terms for a certain subject area or discipline. The committees numbered as many as 24 at one time. The committee members consisted of scholars (including linguists), professionals, and educated individuals who were competent in specific areas of knowledge. They were called upon to participate in the process of forming the urgently needed scientific terms in Bahasa Malaysia. They worked with such dedication that within a period of ten years they enriched the Malay Language with no less than 71,000 technical terms. Today, the output has been more than doubled.

The Terminology Section of the Dewan was also responsible for co-ordinating the output of the various subject committees. The section acted as a secretariat which called the meeting of the Terminology Committees. Each meeting was probably better called a workshop, for in actual fact it worked on that basis. The Dewan was also responsible for publishing and disseminating the scientific terms (istilahs) formed. In so doing the Dewan was able to ensure a uniform terminology throughout the country. To-date, the Dewan has formed and published English-Malay scientific terms (Istilah) in the following: Designations and Departments (1960), Administrative (1962), Economy (1965), Education (1966), Geography (1967), Biology, Forestry, Agriculture, Physics, Mathematics and Chemistry (1968), Engineering (1970), Law, Linguistics, Literature, Postal (and Telecommunications) (1972), Commerce, Industry, Accountancy, History, Domestic Science (1973), Music, Art (1974). These istilah items were made official by the Ministry of Education and are now widely used in schools, colleges and universities and other relevant institutions.

It goes without saying that the Dewan would not have been able to carry out a project of such magnitude alone. There were complimentary efforts in forming scientific terms outside the Dewan. Certain areas of studies were quite sophisticated or newly introduced in the universities, hence it would have been foolhardy for the Dewan to attempt to form 'Istilahs' for these subjects or disciplines too. In such cases, it was not an uncommon practice for the universities to take the responsibility to form the 'istilahs' required. Now the practice is for each University to have its own Istilah Committee to solve immediate problems in the use of scientific terms for teaching. Normally such committees would include a representative from the Dewan, and would be expected to send a list of 'istilahs' formed to the Dewan for the purpose of preventing duplication of efforts by other institutions. The University committees normally would co-opt working committees to carry out specific functions. At the Universiti Sains Malaysia, there are now several such working committees to form 'istilahs' for the following disciplines: anthropology, political science, architecture, building technology, rubber technology, food technology, plastic technology, pharmacy, computer science, marine

biology, biochemistry, thermodynamics, organic chemistry and non-organic chemistry. Similar efforts are also being carried out in other universities in the country.

The whole process of coining terminology is not as neat as described. During the early stages, there was a lack of proper guidance. The attitude was to coin terms that must in all respects be Malay. This is the purist approach. Borrowing of forms were shunned. As such new terms had to be coined using the Malay elements fully. The result, was that the translations, direct or loan, did not always correctly convey the actual meaning. Secondly, acronyms that were beyond recognition emerged. Moreover it was soon realized that, this purist attitude restricted rather than facilitated the modernization (growth) of the special vocabulary items.

As a result of this restriction, the terminologists became aware of the need for a more liberal or flexible attitude in modernizing the language. Such an attitude, of course, is able to facilitate the process of coining terms and make the effort of modernizing the language more effective and progressive. As a result, it is now possible to carry out the teaching of science and technological subjects in Malay using the borrowed terms that have been adapted to Malay as said earlier on.

Due to the presence of the approaches in coining terms, the purist and the adaptive attitudes, synonyms have been created in some cases. For instance, *maun/hervivore* 'hervivore' and *maging/carvonivore* 'carvonivore' *suhu/temperatur* 'temperature' etc. In most languages, synonyms may be able to make the language more precise in making descriptions.

4. THE PROMOTION OF THE STANDARD BAHASA MALAYSIA

Once a National Language has been adopted, and a standard norm has been chosen, then the next step is to promote it. I will also discuss the various efforts made and agencies for the promotion of the standard model in relation to the minority and majority groups problems within Malaysia.

Although, Malaysia adopted Bahasa Melayu (the Malay Language) as the National Language, in 1957, it failed to make it the sole National Language in 1967 as planned. For one thing, 10 years is of course too short a period for an effective switch over from English to Malay to take place. But, the most significant factor contributing to the failure, was the lack of firmness on the part of the government, and this further allowed dissent among the Chinese and Indian community who preferred the English language to be retained. So the competition was rather between Bahasa Malaysia and English and not between Bahasa Malaysia and the other vernacular languages.

The turning point in the implementation policy was probably 1969 when the government took bolder steps towards making Malay the sole National Language. The first step taken was to remove any group or racial connotation associated with the National Language. The Malay language, would in a sense mean that it is the language of the Malays. To dispel this, the National Language was henceforth called Bahasa Malaysia. Bahasa Malaysia, was free of any racial association with any particular group, because it now referred to the country where they live in. Thus Bahasa Malaysia, which, of course, was based on the Malay language, took a different identity, and became more acceptable to the Malaysians in general.

The government's efforts in propagating Bahasa Malaysia, became more decisive and precise after 1969. The learning of Bahasa Malaysia became more systematic and widespread. The medium of instruction in English schools was gradually phased out and Bahasa Malaysia was scheduled to replace English in schools by 1983. The National University, established in 1970, used Bahasa Malaysia completely, further boosted the morale and indicated the determination of the government to establish Bahasa Malaysia as the sole National Language of Malaysia.

At the same time, the status of Bahasa Malaysia was raised significantly. Proficiency in the language became a requirement for jobs in the government service as more and more administrative matters were conducted in Bahasa Malaysia. A proficiency in the language too became a requirement for a pass in school as well as University examinations. This particular decree, produced a lot of casualties in 1973.

when a group of Chinese and Indian students failed the School Certificate Examination because they did not meet the Bahasa Malaysia requirement. There was a lot of protest from that particular group of the people who demanded the government to relax the requirement. It was rejected. It did not turn to be explosive since more and more people realized that the government was acting fairly as the students had a fair change to master the language (over a period of 11 years) and that it was they who were to blame for the failure. Furthermore, it was realized that, it was no time to relax the policy, but rather to implement and reinforce it.

Meanwhile, the government, through its Ministry of Education, began to look seriously into the teaching of Bahasa Malaysia in schools. More and more books were printed by the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, and better Bahasa Malaysia teachers were trained and retrained by the Language Institute at Kuala Lumpur. With the properly trained Bahasa Malaysia teachers, the teaching of Bahasa Malaysia became more effective and the language more widespread and uniform.

There was also another significant development which favoured the promotion of Bahasa Malaysia. The teaching of Bahasa Malaysia ceased to be a monopoly of the Malays. More and more non-Malay Bahasa Malaysia teachers came into the scene. This state of affairs of course helped to dispel the resentment that the other groups were learning a language of a particular group, but rather they were learning a common National Language.

The efforts of the government in schools and institutions of learning may not be meaningful if it is not complemented by the efforts of the Dewan Bahasa dan pustaka in producing textbook in Bahasa Malaysia. The development of Bahasa Malaysia could not have taken place so rapidly had it not been for the textbooks which employed the standardized vocabulary and terms. On this matter, the Dewan, printed and supplied most of the textbooks for schools and universities. They were written by individuals or translated from another language. There were also individual efforts of various writers as well as that of commercial publishing firms in complementing the efforts of the Dewan. But, these books, whether published by individuals or by the Dewan Bahasa, must

adhere to the regulations stipulated by the Ministry of Education. Violations of these regulations may prevent the books from being sold in the schools and colleges.

Another significant step taken by the government to promote Bahasa Malaysia, was in the field of television and radio broadcasting. The television broadcast had always been in Bahasa Malaysia. The use of other languages were kept to the minimum, such as reading of news items and some film programs. The situation with the radio broadcast was different. Before 1969, the radio programs were broadcast in four different languages, and were always referred to as the Malay, English, Chinese, and Indian Services. This was discontinued, and called National, Blue, Red and Yellow Networks respectively, thus they did not overtly refer to any particular race. The introduction, programs summary and news items were mainly read in Bahasa Malaysia, and only the contents of the programs were left to be handled in the respective languages. This was done obviously, to widen the scope of Bahasa Malaysia, and this was accepted without much difficulty by all the groups concerned. This is undoubtedly, will become one of the most influential tools in standardizing Bahasa Malaysia. In fact the standard norm is often associated with the Bahasa Malaysia used by the radio and television broadcast.

One of the most sensitive issues regarding the propagation of one language over other languages is the fact that it may threaten the existence and development of the cultures of the minority groups concerned. This fear has been felt and often voiced in Malaysia, too, but the various groups are becoming more and more tolerant and are beginning to accept that the Malaysians must now strive for a common culture, a culture based on the Malay Culture; just as the Bahasa Malaysia is based on the Malay Language. The acceptance takes various forms. It is no longer uncommon in Malaysia, now to hear a traditional Malay song being sung by non-Malay singers. It is also just as common to hear various types of Chinese and Indian tunes being given Bahasa Malaysia wordings. It is also not uncommon to witness varieties of folk dances, martial arts, etc. becoming the interest of all communities, irrespective of their racial groups. In other words, the government's

efforts in promoting one national culture and one national language are slowly being accepted by the various communities. This is done not by eliminating and jeopardizing cultures belonging to the minority groups, but rather by amalgamating them into a new identity; the Malaysian one.

CONCLUSION

I have so far painted a very optimistic picture on the standardization of Bahasa Malaysia, and its propagation. True, the achievements so far clearly indicate that the Malaysian Government have successfully avoided some potentially disruptive situations concerning the implementation of Bahasa Malaysia in administration, education, social and cultural life of the people, but it is still a long way from attaining its full objective, of a common identity as one nation, speaking one national language and possessing one culture.

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BAHASA INDONESIA IN RELATION TO THE VERNACULARS

by

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The main questions to which this paper is addressed are as follows:

1. To what extent is Bahasa Indonesia (BI) used as a means of intergroup relations?
2. What are some of the conditions under which minority/majority group relations are carried out by means vernacular languages (VL) ?
3. What are the linguistic problems involved, if any in the intergroup relations?

Before I attempt to answer those questions, let me describe briefly the general linguistic situation in Indonesia. It is a common knowledge that Indonesia is a multilingual country. Besides the national language, Bahasa Indonesia (BI), there are numerous vernacular languages (VL's) spoken throughout the archipelago. No research has been done to determine exactly how many VL's are spoken in Indonesia. Estimates as to their number range between 200 and 400. Obviously one of the problems involved is how to decide whether a VL is a language or just a dialect of a given language in view of the fact most of these VL's belong to one and the same language group, i.e. Malayo-polynesian, and therefore they must have a lot of linguistic features in common.

BI has been used as the national language of Indonesia since 1928 —to be exact, October 28, 1928—, when it was formally adopted by the Historic All-Indonesia Youth Congress in Jakarta. By definition, as the national language, it has served as a symbol of Indonesian nationalism: national identity, national values and national pride. It has grown out of Malay, which had been used as a *lingua franca* throughout the archipelago for centuries, and therefore it was used as a practical language of government in dealing with the people of the country by the Dutch

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colonial government. The Japanese, when they occupied Indonesia during World War II, for obvious reasons prohibited the use of the Dutch language, but found that it was impossible to use Japanese to replace it. Therefore they had no alternatives other than to reinforce the use of BI as an official language of government and as a medium of instruction in the schools. This situation gave a tremendous boost to the development of the language. When Indonesia proclaimed her independence in 1945, the status of BI as the national language of the country was further reinforced, and its status as the official state language of the Republic was guaranteed constitutionally. At the same time it also became the official medium of instruction in schools of practically all types and levels.

In its development from a *lingua franca* to a national as well as an official language as it is today, BI has been influenced by the languages it has come into contact. It has been enriched by the numerous VIs, especially Javanese, and by foreign languages, especially Dutch and English.

Javanese, which is spoken natively by approximately sixty million people in Central and East Java, is probably the most influential VI in the country. This is due not only to the fact that the sheer number of its native speakers is large but also to the fact that it is backed up by a strong literary tradition. Javanese has influenced BI phonologically grammatically as well as lexically.

The contribution of Javanese to the phonology of BI is witnessed by the currently acceptable occurrence of [ə] in final closed syllables in such words as *ruwet* 'complex' and *sumber* 'source'.

Grammatically, Javanese has introduced the use of the suffix *-nya* as a possessive indicator, rather than as a possessive pronoun, as in *ibunya ali* 'mother of Ali (i.e. ali's mother)' in the sentence *ibunya ali sudah datang* 'Ali's mother has come'. Some Indonesian grammarians still regard this use of *-nya* as ungrammatical on the basis of the fact that in Malay *-nya* is used either as a third person (singular) possessive pronoun as in the sentence *ini Ali; ibunya sudah datang* 'this is Ali; his mother has come', or as a definitizer as in *soalnya adalah siapa yang akan*

diundang 'the problem is who is going to be invited'. In Malay, possessive relations are indicated by word-order without the aid of *-nya*. Thus, 'Ali's mother' is expressed by *ibu Ali*. However, the use *-nya* as in *ibunya Ali* has become so common that it does not seem to sound strange any more. Furthermore, the use of *-nya* as a possessive indicator appears to be a useful device in minimizing, if not eliminating, the ambiguity of *ibu Ali*, which means either 'Ali's mother' or 'Ali's wife' in current BI, where *ibu* has also acquired the meaning of 'Mrs.' The two meanings are differentiated by the use of *-nya*. Thus, *ibu Ali* 'Mrs. Ali' is distinguished from *ibunya Ali* 'Ali's mother'. Whether or not this use of *-nya* will become part of standard BI remains to be seen. The chances seem to be, however, that it is likely to stay, at least in spoken BI.

There are at least two ways in which Javanese influences the lexicon of BI. First, it serves as a source of new words and phrases for BI as illustrated by *ganyang* 'to attack' and *sandang pangan* 'clothing (and) food'. Second, consistent with the stratification of its speech levels, Javanese has led to a kind of lexical stratification in the national language, especially for euphemistic purposes. Thus, there are such pairs of lexical items in BI today as *perempuan* 'woman' versus *wanita* 'lady', and *buta* 'blind' versus *tunanetra* 'deprived of vision', in which *perempuan* and *buta* are Malay, and *wanita* and *tunanetra* are Javanese.

What has been said with regard to the role played by Javanese also apply to the contribution of VI's to the development of BI. The ways in which and the extent to which these VI's enrich the national language depend of course upon such factors as the number of native speakers, the role played by these speakers in the national scene, literary tradition, geographic location, cultural prominence, and economic conditions.

Now, to what extent is BI used as a means of intergroup, interethnic, intercultural and interregional communication? To begin with, as the Indonesian official state language, BI is used almost exclusively as a means of carrying out the national business of the government throughout the Republic regardless of the linguistic, ethnic, cultural and regional backgrounds of the population. Only in areas where the VI's are considerably

different from BI are the VI's concerned used as oral supplementary media of communication. Thus, while on the national level radio and television broadcast is totally conducted in BI, on the local level there are certain programs such as local news which are carried out in the VI's.

Books and other written materials that are designed for the consumption of the national public, official or otherwise, are all written in BI. And so are newspapers and non-personal correspondence. Of course one is free to use either BI or one's VI in one's personal correspondence to somebody of the same linguistic background. There are also local newspapers and magazines written in the VI's.

It may be interesting to notice at this point that the use of BI in oral communication is under certain circumstances non-reciprocal in the sense that the person spoken to may respond in his VI instead of in BI. This is especially true in those areas where the VI's are considerably different from BI, and the people spoken to are insufficiently educated. This is also probably true in those rural areas which are geographically isolated regardless of whether or not the VI's concerned are considerably different from BI. For example, while doing research in South Sumatra on Serawai and Ogan,² which are technically two dialects of Malay and are therefore similar to BI to a considerably high degree, I was often spoken to in either Serawai or Ogan whenever I spoke BI.

As I mentioned earlier, BI is the medium of instruction in schools of practically all types and levels, from the kindergarten up to the university, all over the country. For linguistic as well as non-linguistic reasons, certain VI's such as Javanese, Sundanese, Balinese, Buginese and Batak are used as media of instruction in the first three or four years of the elementary school.

Finally, the use of BI in intergroup relations depends upon the degree of familiarity in the personal relation between the speaker and his addressee. The less familiar they are the higher the chances are that they use BI. It also depends upon the subject of their discourse and the overall situation in which the discourse takes place. Non-personal

2 The research was sponsored by the Ford Foundation.

subjects and formal overall situations tends to lead to the use of BI instead of VL's.

Closely related to the extent to which BI is used in intergroup relations is the question of the extent to which and the conditions under which VL's are used for this purpose. It is generally believed that intergroup relations are carried out in BI, and that intra-group relations are conducted in the VL's. This belief is not fully supported by the reality of intergroup relations in the country. As I mentioned earlier, the use of BI in oral intergroup relations is sometimes non-reciprocal. Whether or not the person spoken to will respond in BI, instead of in his VL, depends on the degree of similarity between his VL and BI, on the extent of his education, on the subject of discourse, and on the formality of the situation.

Now, whether or not one will be spoken to in BI also depends on how one is identified by the speaker. If one is identified as a person who comes from a geographically distant group, and therefore is not "one of us" or "one from our area", the chances are that one will be spoken to in BI. Otherwise, except under the conditions mentioned earlier, one is likely to be spoken to in a VL. What VL the speaker will use is dependent upon how one is further identified. If one is identified as a person who represents the same group as the speaker, or who comes from a group whose language is highly similar to that of the speaker's group, one is likely to be addressed in the speaker's VL. If the speaker is quite familiar with one's VL, he might use one's VL instead of his own. If, however, one is identified neither as a complete stranger, nor as a person from the same group as the speaker, nor as a person from a linguistically similar group, but still as a person from the same general area, then one is likely to be addressed in the VL spoken in the geographically closest area of cultural prominence, i.e. the geographically cultural and economic center. Thus, for example, one may be spoken to by a Serawai speaker in either BI, or Serawai, or Pesemah, which is highly similar to Serawai, or Bengkulu, which is the VL of Bengkulu, which is the geographically closest cultural center from the Serawai area, depending upon how one is identified by the Serawai speaker.

However intergroup relations in Indonesia are carried out, either in BI or in one of the VL's, the linguistic problems involved are mainly lexical. Compared with their lexical differences, the phonological and grammatical differences between BI and the numerous VL's and among the VL's are relatively small. The lexical differences are partly systemic differences, i.e. differences in the lexical systems of the languages involved, and partly differences due to the lexical development of BI.

In short, I have tried to show that intergroup relations in Indonesia, which is a multilingual country, are carried out in either BI or in one of the numerous VL's. The choice between the use of BI and the use of one of the VL's is conditioned by such factors as whether or not the discourse involved is concerned with national affairs, the situation and the place where the discourse takes place, whether the communication is conducted in writing or orally, the degree of linguistic similarity between BI and the VL concerned, and the nature of the personal relationship between the speaker and his addressee. Finally, the choice depends on how the speaker identifies his addressee.

The linguistic problems involved are mainly lexical, rather than grammatical or phonological.

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THE CASE OF DIVERSITY IN CAMBODIAN DIALECTS

by

Khuon Sokhamphu *

INTRODUCTION

The Khmer Civilization was marked by the great influence from India at the dawn of Christian Era among the people of valley and plain of Cambodia. They assimilated their old Culture with the Indians and made up a new one of their own. The others especially in the mountainous areas remained untouched. These constituted the different minorities in Cambodia of the day.

Up to now there isn't any Cambodian dialect specialist nor minority language specialist who deals with this matter, except the foreigners. The Cambodian government had set up an alphabetization program in 1960 for the benefit of the different minority groups and of the aged Cambodians. My paper concerns only some of the minority groups and is divided in three parts as follows:

- I. —Geographical setting of the minority groups.
- II. —Socio-cultural linguistic setting.
- III. —Linguistic interrelationship between the minorities and Cambodians.

Some verifications related to the theme have been made in Phnom-Penh with the minority refugee groups which are composed mainly of military families, farmers and local administrators.

I.— GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING OF DIFFERENT MINORITIES

a) — *CHAM*

The Khmer call them Khmer-Islam according to their religious practice. They are the descendants of immigrants from a succumbed

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Empire, the CHAMPA, in 1471. They settled along the Mekong bank from Kratié to Phnom-Penh and the Tonlé Sap from Phnom-Penh to Kg Chhnang. A small group settled along the ocean in Kampot.

b)– *Chong, Saoc, Pear* (Bahr, Pohr, Porr, Samrê)

According to M.A. Martin, these people speak dialects of one and the same language : the Pear language.

– *CHONG*

The Chong, now largely assimilated into Khmer society, were at one time a widespread group. People calling themselves Chong are today located in the Thailand Cambodia border area southwest of Tonlé Sap. Some are found in the Cardamom mountains.

– *SAOCH* (Angrak)

During the French period, the Saoch occupied an administrative reserve that extended along the banks of the Kompong Smach to its mouth on the bay of Veal Rinh which is equidistant from Kampot and Ream on the western side of the Elephant Chain.

– *PEAR* (Bahr, Pohr, Porr, Samrê)

We consider the Pear as part of a larger group that includes some other groups of different areas, also commonly known to Cambodian as Samrê. They are divided into subgroup according to their location :

1)– The Pear of the West are located on the northern slopes of the Cardamom mountains.

2)– The Pear of Kompong Thom are located between the Tonlé Sap and the Dang Rek mountains.

3)– The Pear of Siemreap.

c)– *KUOY* (KUI)

A Mon-Khmer speaking population, of the Katuic branch, located in the Dangrêk mountains in the northern part of Cambodia and especially in the northern Siemreap Kg Thom area. The Cambodians called them Kuoy. They are divided into three subgroups :

- 1) Mahai in Kratié,
- 2) Antor —idem—
- 3) Malo in Centre of Mount Dangrêk.

d) — *PNONG* (Mnong, Bunong)

Cambodians call them Pnong. They settled along the river of Prek Tê, Prek Chlong and Tonlé Srê Pork in the province of Stung Trêng.

The Pnong are divided into nine subgroups but only two of them are in Cambodia.

- 1) — Bhiét
- 2) — Bunur

e) — *STIENG*

Known to Cambodians as Stieng, these minority groups are located in the Northeastern part of Cambodia. The majority lived along the Khmer frontier with South Vietnam. Some other groups are in the Prek Chlong area in the province of Kratié.

f) — *TAMPUON* (Lamom)

The Tampuon live in the Northeastern province of Rattanakiri near the Laos and Vietnam borders. Some of them have now moved to the Pailin area west of Battambang.

g) — *BRAO* (Lavelh)

The Brao live on both sides of the Cambodia-Laos border. Some have now moved to the Pailin area west of Battambang.

II. — SOCIO-CULTURAL LINGUISTIC SETTING

a) — *CHAM*. —

The Cham, the largest group of the minorities, are known to the Cambodians as immigrants who form a very compact group. They observe strictly their way of life and religious practice though they have constant contact with their buddhist neighbours. They use Cambodian among Cambodians and very often among themselves. Their way of speaking the Khmer language can be easily discernable according to their intonation. The Cham school boys attend the Cambodian public

schools as well as their mosque schools. They become the teachers, administrators, militarimen, or any other jobs that Cambodian people can get. They use their own language in their mosques; at home and with their own relatives.

b)– Chong, Saoc, Pear

– *CHONG*.—

Like many other minorities the name of Chong people is well known among the Khmers of the western region but the people themselves are little known. The word Chong in Cambodian has a pejorative meaning :

– Chong, adj., not sociable, acting in the manner of an uneducated person.

– Chong, n., the name for the minority group, in the western region of Cambodia, who have the above-mentioned characteristics.

Linguistically and socially, the Chong in the past have not been in close relation with the Khmer of the region because they like to live in the remote mountainous areas which are difficult of access.

– *SAOCH* (Angrak)

Long considered unfriendly and aloof, the Saoch have been in increasingly close contact with the Khmer. They live in wooden houses with thatched roofs and walls. Paddy is sold, and manufactured articles, often Chinese-made, are bought in an exchange with the surrounding Khmer, for whom the Saoch also work as laborers. They use the Cambodian language to some extent.

– *PEAR* (Bahr, Pohr, Porr, Samrê)

The Pear groups are intermingled with the Cambodian population and scarcely discernable as a group. All of the pear groups have considerable contact with the Cambodians. Villages, usually located near water courses, are made up of scattered clusters of farmsteads. They had been used at the time of Angkor as royal elephant keepers. According to Baradat there are three totemic clans among the Pear, each headed by a chief. This office is inherited patrilineally and passes to whichever of his sons the chief considered most fit. The chief

functions primarily in a ritual role—driving away the spirits that cause sickness and other misfortunes.

The majority of this group especially in Siemreap have attended Cambodian school classes. Many of them have been enlisted as militarimen, teachers, and heads of local authority of the region. They speak Cambodian more fluently than any other minority. Probably the Pear who don't live near Siemreap are not as acculturated to the Khmer.

c)— *KUOY (KUI, SOAI)*

We regard the Kui as representative of an older stratum, predating the coming of both Thai and Khmer into the area. There is reportedly much intermarriage with Cambodians. Although some Kui retain their primitive method of hoe agriculture, the majority have adopted the permanent wet rice cultivation of their low land neighbours. In Siemreap they have acquired reputations as elephant hunters and in Phnom Dek (iron Mountain) Kompong Thom as iron forgers. While some Kui have retained their old animistic beliefs, most have adopted the Buddhism of their neighbours. As the result of a long and close contact with Khmers nearly in every field from the time of Angkor, the majority of Kui speak Cambodian fluently. Their children have attended Khmer school classes in the remote places of the region. They used to exchange valuable things such as ivory, honey and other products of the forest in the markets of the provincial capitals. They are assimilated to the Khmer way in such a great extent that they are ashamed to use their own dialect among the Khmer people, except in the remotest area of their own.

d)— *PNONG.*—

Their families are referred simultaneously Patriachal and Matriachal. The father is head of the family. They live by groups called "clans" isolated from their neighbours. The northern groups are tall and the southern groups are thickset. The quarrels are very often between the clans. They don't speak the languages of the neighbours. Their domestic authorities are composed mainly of the chief of the village, sorcerer and warriors.

e)— *STIENG.*—

The Stieng family is usually referred to as patriachal. The father is head of the family; the eldest male is chief of the extended family

living in one household. The approval of both parties is necessary before marriage arrangements, including payment of a bride price, can be made. Family goods are the property of the husband, providing he has paid the bride price. Upon his death, his adult children divide the heritage and assume responsibility for the widow. Divorce is not common since the wife's parents must return the value of the bride price. Although referred to as a tribe, they have never had any tribal organization or been under any one ruling authority. The tendency of Stieng villages to separate and regroup is at least partly attributable to this loose political structure. Disputes between families are handled by a traditional hierarchy of village tribunal.

Slavery exists among the Stieng but a slave is more like a domestic and is treated as a member of the family. The religion is based on belief in a number of spirits and centered in the family which performs all rituals.

III.— LINGUISTIC INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE MINORITIES AND CAMBODIAN.—

Many of the minority people have learned to speak, read, and write Khmer, though most of them still use their own languages at home. Most of them have also taken many Khmer loanwords into their languages.

a)— *Phonetic sketch.*

Generally Sanskrit and Pali did not have any influence on these languages, for some of them the voiced aspirates become voiceless. The final consonants are implosive except the vibrant which has remained in many languages. The Stieng language still preserves its voiced consonants, while they are very rare in Pear dialects. The palatal nasal exists only as final. Diphthongs are not well developed as in modern Khmer. Pear has borrowed a lot of Khmer as shown by Baradat in a popular song :

“Ânsông snéng nup	“The wild ox with curved horn
rôk si tē yôp	“They search for food only at night
ânsông snéng nup	“The wild ox with curved horn
“thngai loeng puon préi”	They take refuge in the forest at daytime.

(Les Samrê, BEFEO, 1941, p. 97)

Every word in these 2 lines of the Pear song is Khmer.

b) — *Lexical sketch.*—

Cognate words are very common between these minority groups and Cambodian.

1) — *either by initial changes*

KHMER	: KUOY (from Headley's)	: PEAR (from Headley's)	: meaning
kʔuət	kaʔuut	chot	to vomit
jum	ñiam	yam	to cry
cna : j	nghaay	sngai	to be far
dət	buh	tut	to burn
twk	diaʔ	teak	water

2) — *either by final changes.*—

kəndao	kanay	khân	rat
plæ	play	pli	fruit
pheb	phaʔ	phaou	ashes

3) — *either by vowel changes.*—

sok	soʔ	suk	feather
dai	têe	ti	hand
mæe	ʔameeʔ	minh	mother
ruj	ʔaruay	roy	fly

IV. — THE KHMER LANGUAGE AND THE MINORITY GROUPS, THE EDUCATION

Until 1970 the Khmer language had not deeply penetrated in the minority groups. Those people used to speak their own languages and we could only find one or two people, if any, in each village who could really speak Khmer. The campagne of Alphabétisation rarely reached them because they lived in areas which could not be reached easily. But in some district, like Ratanakiri, some of them began to speak Khmer in the 1960th as they were engaged as workers in the Hevea plantation.

The Stieng, however, have specific relationship with Cambodian because their way of life is closely related to the Khmer people. They speak Cambodian exclusively in the market and in contacting their Khmer neighbours. Most of Stieng boys attend Cambodian schools and some of them have become teachers in the various primary schools of the region.

Some of the minority groups (Brao, Tumpuon) who took refuge in Phnom Penh can now speak Cambodian to a certain extent as they must communicate with the Khmer of the capital. And their children go to the Cambodian schools. It seems to mark the beginning of a real khmerization.

In the whole the above remarks are valuable for the minority groups who live (or lived) in the north-east part of Cambodia. The problem is different for the Pear and the Kuy as most of the men seem to speak Cambodian for a long time. In some places, schools have been established and a part of the children, boys and girls, can now speak Cambodian.

It exists in Phnom Penh a Ministry of Refugees, responsible for organizing adequate schooling for the children belonging to the minority groups as well as the Cambodian ones coming from other parts of the country.

CONCLUSION

I regret very much not having had enough time to make a full investigation.

The refugee minority groups have been assimilated to the Cambodian way of living and speaking to the extent that they can get on very well with Khmer people of the capital city as well as in the provincial cities. We wish to improve this field of research. Our Faculty of Letters is in a state of:

- lack of dialect specialists,
- lack of means and funds

but we have some graduate students who are interested in this matter. It would be very appreciated by my Faculty if there is any concerned international organization which could help us to move forward in this field.

Furthermore, it should be most helpful if a Foundation could give scholarships to Khmer graduate students who are interested in the field in order to do their research studies in foreign countries as well as in their own and as the result they can improve the linguistic standards of the country, especially the Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences.

LES DIALECTES PEAR DANS LEURS RAPPORTS AVEC LES LANGUES NATIONALES

by

Marie Alexandrine Martin*

Le *pear*¹ est une langue mon-khmère non écrite qui comprend, semble-t-il, une dizaine de dialectes. J'ai donné par ailleurs un aperçu phonologique du *somrɛɛ*, dialecte de la province de Pursat (1974a) et les résultats d'une première comparaison des différents dialectes entre eux (1974b) auxquels on pourra se référer.

Les différents groupes

Entre 1969 et 1972, j'eus l'occasion de visiter 4 d'entre eux :

Somrɛɛ (Se), province de Pursat (Cambodge)

Somray (Sy), province de Batdambang (Cambodge)

Coŋ lɔɔ (C.l.) et *Coŋ hæp* (C.h.), province de Chantaburi (Thaïlande).

Trois autres groupes existent encore actuellement :

Coŋ, province de Trat (Thaïlande), appelés *coŋ somrɛɛ* par les *Coŋ lɔɔ* et les *Coŋ hæp*

Saoc, province de Kampot (Cambodge)

Suoy, province de Kompong Speu (Cambodge).

Du vocabulaire fut recueilli autrefois chez les *Pear* de Kompong Thom (Cambodge) qui n'ont pu être visités récemment, et chez les *Sâmre* de Siem Reap qui peuplaient autrefois la région d'Angkor.

Etat actuel des dialectes, leur rapport avec le khmer et le thai

1° — Le lexique

Le *pear* comprend un certain nombre de mots qu'il partage en commun avec le khmer. Dans le cas du *somrɛɛ* par exemple et compte

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1) Par convention, j'utiliserai ce vocable, qui a déjà été employé dans un sens général, pour désigner l'ensemble des dialectes parlés par les différents groupes, attribuant à chaque groupe en particulier le nom qu'il se donne lui-même.

tenu que le calcul porte sur 1100 termes, ce pourcentage s'élève à environ 30. Il peut s'agir, soit de mots appartenant au fond mon-khmer, soit d'emprunts récents. Les connaissances actuelles ne permettent pas de faire la part des uns et des autres. On peut tout au plus remonter à la fin du 19^e siècle, époque à laquelle les Pear étaient déjà peut-être acculturés, pour mettre en évidence quelques emprunts. En effet, le Dr. Pannetier dans des manuscrits non datés donne un vocabulaire pour la plupart des dialectes cités plus haut. Par comparaison avec celui recueilli récemment, on relève des changements dont voici quelques exemples :²

—*saoc*

<i>mss Pannetier</i>		<i>Enregistrement Ellul (1968)</i>	<i>Khmer</i>
fer	krohong	[daec]	[daec]
haricot	retāk	[sɔndaec]	[sɔndaec]
riz cuit	rokhō	[səbay]	[baay]

Les mots notés par Pannetier continuent d'être utilisés par la plupart des groupes.

—*pear* de Kompong Thom

C'est dans ce dialecte qu'on relève le plus grand nombre de mots communs avec le khmer, ainsi que le montre le manuscrit de Baradat (1941). Des enquêtes ultérieures et l'examen attentif du vocabulaire recensé par Pannetier confirmeront ou infirmeront ce qui n'est pour l'instant qu'une hypothèse, valable pour tous les groupes vivant au Cambodge : jusqu'à la fin du 19^e siècle, les Pear auraient parlé une langue relativement pure. Après l'abolition de l'esclavage en 1897, les groupes minoritaires furent autorisés à quitter les territoires où ils étaient confinés; ainsi que l'observèrent des résidents français de la province de Pursat, ils fréquentèrent les Cambodgiens, eurent avec eux des relations commerciales et les mariages mixtes en furent facilités. Ce fut peut-être le début d'une acculturation profonde qui toucha aussi bien la langue que les autres domaines de la culture.

2) Ce bref article ayant été rédigé à Bangkok et les manuscrits de Pannetier, consultés en 1973, étant déposés à l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient à Paris, il ne m'a pas été possible de quantifier les emprunts au khmer; tout au plus puis-je rapporter quelques exemples que j'avais notés alors.

Aujourd'hui on trouve trace, chez certains groupes, du remplacement de mots *pear* par des mots cambodgiens ou thai : c'est ainsi que les *Somray* appellent les tubercules [kəp] ou [məəm], le second terme étant khmer; bien des objets sont ainsi nommés à la fois par le mot *pear* et par le mot khmer. On peut imaginer que, dans un premier temps, lors d'un emprunt, les deux mots sont utilisés indifféremment, puis le second devient l'appellation courante. Les emprunts sont facilement reconnaissables chez les *Coŋ ləə* et les *Coŋ hæp* qui, vivant en milieu thai ont adopté des mots de la langue nationale; ex. :

	<i>coŋ</i>	<i>thai</i>	<i>autres dialectes pear</i>
"diverses herbes"	[pak cii pəraŋ]	[phak chii faraŋ]	[rətáak ic kəpaav] Sy [rətáak səlaʔ] Se
"tamarinier"	[məkhaam]	[makhaam]	[əmpil] all dialects
"or"	[toon]	[thəon]	[maah] all dialects
"noix d'arec"	[maak]	[maak]	[slaa] all dialects

Il arrive que le résultat de l'emprunt soit un mot composé d'un terme *coŋ* et d'un terme thai : "guava" [phlii pəraŋ] en *coŋ*, [luuk faraŋ] en thai; [phlii] désigne le fruit en *coŋ*, [pəraŋ] est l'équivalent *coŋ* de [faraŋ]. On rencontre même le mot [taifun] adapté de l'anglais "typhon".

Des exemples précédents, il ressort que les emprunts affectent même des mots fondamentaux.

2° — Phonétiques et phonologie

A — mutations consonantiques

— à l'initiale :

La comparaison des mots communs au khmer et aux dialectes *pear* suggère les remarques suivantes :

sourdes/sonores : En *pear*, on relève peu de mots commençant par une occlusive sonore. Cela est la conséquence d'un phénomène mis en évidence par A.G. Haudricourt (1965) : alors qu'en khmer se produisaient l'assourdissement des occlusives sonores et la sonorisation des occlusives sourdes, en *pear* on assistait à une mutation de type germanique :

b → p	et	p → ph
d → t	et	t → th
g → k	et	k → kh

ex. :

	<i>khmer :</i> <i>translittération</i>	<i>khmer :</i> <i>phonétique</i>	<i>pear</i>
"mot"	bāky	[piək]	[páak]
"trois"	puon	[buən]	[phóon]
"lèpre"	ghlañ	[khluəŋ]	[khloŋ]
"gratter"	kāy	[kaay]	[khaay]
"barque"	dūk	[tuuk]	[tuk]
"faire bouillir"	tām	[dam]	[thum]

Cependant on relève les exceptions suivantes :

"étang, marais"	pīñ	[bɿŋ]	[búuŋ]
"cocotier"	ṭūñ	[doon]	[dúuŋ]
"une espèce de cervidés"	ktān	[khdan]	[kədan]
"étranger"	parades	[bərətəh]	[bərətəh]
"cœur"	peḥ ṭūñ	[beḥ doon]	[beḥ duuŋ]
"chapeau de pluie"	ṭuon	[duən]	[duan]
"blesser"	rapuos	[rəbuəh]	[rəbuah]
"combattre"	cpāmñ	[chbaŋ]	[cəbaŋ]
"balayer"	pos	[baoh]	[booh]
"laver" (le linge)	pok	[baok]	[book]
"fête, mérite"	puṇy	[bon]	[bun]
"serviteur"	anak pamroe	[neak bəmrae]	[rəstuum bəmrae]

ainsi qu'un mot qui n'a pas son équivalent en khmer : duk (Se et Sy)
"épais".

Généralement l'occlusive sonore initiale est préglottalisée mais, à l'instar du cambodgien, ce caractère n'est pas pertinent.

mutation c ←→ s

Cette mutation, fréquente en Asie du Sud-est, existe entre les deux langues; ex. :

"sève, résine"	jär	[cœ]	[sɤɤr] Sy
"Ficus"	jrai	[crey]	[srii] Sy et Se

groupes de consonnes

La sifflante *s* et la palatale *c* deviennent *h*, *r* ou *k* selon les dialectes, *t* et *k* sont alors suivies soit de l'aspirée *h*, soit de la voyelle d'appui *a*; ex. :

"arbalète"	snā	[snaa]	[khnaa] Sy et Cl.
			[tənaa] Se
"cochon"	jrūk	[cruuk]	[hnaa] Ch.
			[trok] Sy
			[krok] Ch.
			[srok] Se
			[cok] Cl.

les disyllabes

Il arrive souvent que les premiers éléments d'un disyllabe ne soient pas prononcés; dans ce cas la structure du mot tend à devenir monosyllabique. Voici quelques exemples empruntés au *Somray* :

"torche"	canluḥ	[cɔnloh]	[nluḥ]
"médicament"	thnām	[thnam]	[hnam]

Le réduction du disyllabe est fréquente dans le cambodgien moderne parlé. Etant donné que les *Somray* parlent un dialecte non écrit, ils peuvent avoir emprunté les mots déjà réduits ou bien, si ces termes appartiennent au fond mon-khmer, la réduction eut lieu indépendamment de la langue cambodgienne.

— à la finale :

La différence essentielle entre les deux langues parlées, khmère et *pear*, est que, dans la seconde, le *r* final est prononcé, sauf dans les dialectes *coṅ* où il devient une palatale³; ex. :

"deux"	bīr	[pii]	[pāar] Sy et Se
			[pāay] Cl. et Ch.
"voler"	hoer	[haə]	[həər] Sy et Se
			[həəy] Cl. et Ch.

3) *r* devient *y* s'il est précédé de *e* ou *i* mais, jusqu'à présent, je n'ai pas relevé de mots communs au *pear* et au khmer qui possèdent ce type de finale.

La même règle s'applique au *l* final.

Dans le vocabulaire noté par Pannetier et par Baradat pour les autres dialectes, *r* final existe; aujourd'hui il est également prononcé par les Cambodgiens qui habitent le Massif des Cardamomes.

Dans le dialecte *coŋ lɔɔ*, il existe un autre type d'équilavence pour quelques mots : *s* final, qui en cambodgien se prononce *h*, devient alors la dentale *t*; ex. :

"racine"	ɾs	[rɯh]	[reet]
"épais"	krās'	[krab]	[krat]

Cette mutation *s* → *t* a été observée dans d'autres parlers mon-khmers.

B — Les voyelles et diphtongues

Comparés au cambodgien moderne, les dialectes pear comprennent peu de voyelles et de diphtongues; le *səmree* par exemple ne compte que 9 voyelles et 4 diphtongues, ces dernières apparaissant uniquement dans les mots communs au pear et au khmer. Cela s'applique aussi aux dialectes *coŋ lɔɔ* et *coŋ hæp*, pour lesquels on ne connaît de diphtongues que dans les mots empruntés au thai; peut-être y-a-t-il là un moyen de déceler certains emprunts : il se peut que la langue pear n'ait compris autrefois que des voyelles, les diphtongues ayant été introduites lors des emprunts au khmer et au thai. En ce qui concerne les voyelles donc, la langue pear apparaît comme conservatrice, l'évolution des voyelles qui a conduit en khmer à la multiplication des diphtongues n'a pas eu lieu, ainsi que ce fut le cas pour d'autres langues mon-khmères parlées par des groupes numériquement peu importants habitant l'Asie du Sud-est.

D'un autre côté, le dialecte cambodgien parlé dans le Massif des Cardamomes n'a que peu de diphtongues et les mots qu'il partage en commun avec le pear sont prononcés de la même manière dans les deux langues. C'est pourquoi, compte tenu des différentes similitudes qui existent entre les dialectes pear et le dialecte cambodgien parlé dans le Massif des Cardamomes—dont l'étude est en cours—, il serait plus juste de comparer les premiers à la fois au cambodgien moderne et au parler des paysans du Massif des Cardamomes, plutôt qu'au cambodgien moderne uniquement. La dialectologie de la langue khmère n'a pas

encore été faite; elle aiderait certainement à mieux comprendre la phonétique et la phonologie des langues sans écriture.

Importance de la langue pear; les facteurs de régression

Au Cambodge le problème du choix d'une langue nationale ne s'est jamais posé. Le pays jouit d'une grande homogénéité linguistique et la langue khmère est parlée par la majorité de la population. Les groupes minoritaires, essentiellement de parlers mon-khmers, représentent une faible partie de la population. Les villages pear installés au Cambodge ne comptent guère plus de 5000 à 7000 individus. Les chiffres semblent également bas pour les autres ethnies. Il est difficile dans ces conditions, d'envisager un programme d'enseignement de langues inconnues de la majorité. Pourtant divers témoignages concordent pour donner au groupe pear, aux temps historiques, une étendue géographique bien plus grande que les parcelles de territoire qu'il occupe aujourd'hui. Outre la tradition orale qui évoque un empire *chong* (Thaïlande) ou un empire *suoy* (Cambodge), les Mémoires de Tcheou Ta kouan (13^e siècle), traduites par, Paul Pelliot en 1951, les enquêtes linguistiques (19^e siècle), les recherches récentes dans les villages apportent des arguments en faveur de cette hypothèse. Tcheou Ta Kouan parle des Tchouangs (*coŋ*) de la montagne (mont Kulen) que les Cambodgiens se rappellent encore sous le nom de *Sâm-rê*. Aujourd'hui ils sont complètement fondus dans la race khmère : leur langue n'a laissé aucun souvenir parmi les habitants de la région d'Angkor et les mariages mixtes ont fait peu à peu disparaître le type physique; seuls, çà et là un individu a gardé les traits de ses ancêtres. Quant Baradat visita l'endroit il y a une quarantaine d'années, il ne put recueillir aucun vocabulaire pear. Seul Moura (1883) eut la bonne fortune de pouvoir noter quelques mots dans les environs de Siem Reap. Il est probable que, comme ce fut le cas pour les *somrœe* de Pursat, l'abolition de l'esclavage ait contribué à fondre le groupe dans la population khmère; les *pear*, devenus libres, auraient épousé des Cambodgiens. En ce qui concerne les *Saoc* — qui occupaient jadis une grande partie de la côte sud du Cambodge et du Golfe de Thaïlande — la tradition orale, rapportée par Ménétrier (1926), explique

l'amenuisement du groupe *saoc* de la façon suivante : maltraités par les Khmers, ils furent ensuite déportés au Siam lors d'un raid siamois au Cambodge; bien peu échappèrent à cette razzia et s'enfuirent dans le Massif des Cardamomes. Cet évènement semble avoir contribué largement au déclin du groupe *saoc*. Aujourd'hui on ne connaît qu'un village près de Veal Renh où la langue *saoc* soit parlée, mais tous les sondages linguistiques n'ont pu être fait sur la côte, qui borde le Golfe de Thaïlande. Les *Saoc* sont bilingues et s'ils parlent leur langue entre eux, il est à craindre que ce petit noyau conservateur se mêle progressivement à la masse des Cambodgiens qui l'entoure. Quant aux *Somree* de Pursat, la trace de leur habitat ancien subsiste dans les villages qui bordent la rivière Tamyong. Il arrive que quelques familles résistent à l'assimilation et forment une enclave en plein village cambodgien, gardant leur parler et leurs coutumes. Dans les cinq villages strictement *pear*, le bilinguisme est total pour les individus endecà d'une cinquantaine d'années; les vieux, les femmes surtout car les hommes depuis longtemps pratiquent le commerce avec les Cambodgiens et donc manient la langue de ces derniers, sont restés monolingues. La situation est la même dans la province de Batdambang. Les *Suoy* de Kompong Speu seraient également réduits à quelques villages. Quant aux *Pear* de Kompong Thom, on ne sait ce qu'ils sont devenus depuis l'époque où Baradat les visita. En Thaïlande la situation est tout aussi critique, peut-être davantage : c'est la langue nationale qui est le plus souvent parlée et les jeunes générations *coy* qui fréquentent les écoles tendent à oublier leur propre parler.

On le voit les événements historiques ont souvent perturbé la vie des populations *pear*; les contacts avec les groupes dominants, la nécessité de se faire comprendre d'eux, les échanges commerciaux, l'abolition de l'esclavage, la fréquentation des pagodes et des écoles, la radio, autant de facteurs qui amènent peu à peu les *Pear* à abandonner leur langue. La poursuite des enquêtes s'avère donc indispensable et urgente, aussi bien en Thaïlande qu'au Cambodge où, la paix retrouvée, l'inventaire risque d'être encore plus tragique.

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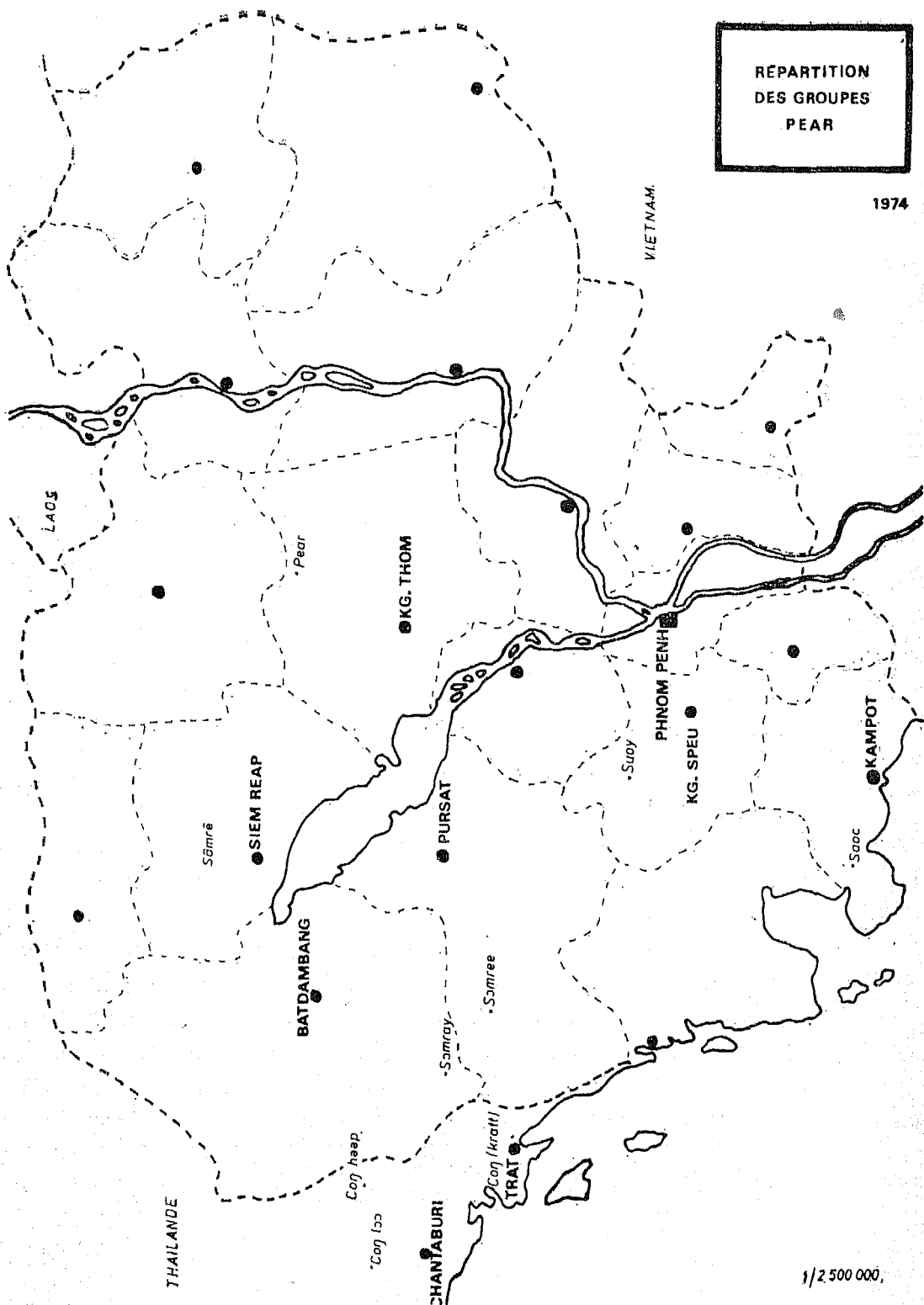
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DES GROUPES
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INFLUENCE OF BURMESE LANGUAGE ON SOME OTHER LANGUAGES OF BURMA (Writings Systems and Vocabulary)

by

Denise Bernot*

In this paper we shall try to show, through a few examples, some of the effects of highly developed cultures of Burma on the language—or writing—of others. We shall try to point out the difficulties the borrowers of alphabets or words had to face, and also what we can learn through those loans.

Beginning with the Mon influence on Burmese culture we shall study it only through the writing. In turn the Burmese culture—and also the Shan one— influenced others and the effects will be studied through the language of a minority group of Burma: the Singpho (or Kachin as the Burmese call them).

When they entered Burma, from the North-East, the Burmese invaders had no writing of their own, they were not a majority group, and they had first to struggle for life. But when they got military power and gradually spread their domination all over the country, they had to borrow from others writing and even vocabulary.

Among the rulers of the pre-Burmese Burma, the most important were the Mons and the Pyus. Both had a writing and a high level of civilization. What sort of cultural inheritance did Pyus leave to Burmans? History does not tell us but the part played by Mons from eleventh century¹ onwards is obvious. Through linguistic facts, one can trace the difficulties Burmese first “writers” had to face when they borrowed from

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1) They surely played a part sooner but historical data are scanty before eleventh century.

the Mons an alphabet which was meant for indo-european languages and which had been adapted by Mons to their own needs.

Burmese is a tonal language: there were no tonal marks in nagari script borrowed from Mons, and this was the first difficulty. In Burmese, the tones were clearly and systematically indicated only at the beginning of twentieth century, eight centuries after the well known Kubyaukgyi (also called "Myazedi") inscription had been written.

In their first attempts for marking the tones, Burmese used sanskrit letters: the "a", which was already used in Mon for the glottal stop, was subscribed to the last letter of the syllable for indicating tone I² (now pronounced high, sharp, with a weak closure of the glottis) and the visarga, written after the syllable, was supposed to indicate tone number 3 (now high, falling, with a stress at the beginning of the syllable)³. There was no mark for the second tone (now low, level); but those marks were not used regularly and the system was often dropped; on the other hand, in sanskrit there are long and short vowels and different signs for them; in Burmese, no need of two signs for one vowel since vocalic length is irrelevant, but the long vowel sign was used for another purpose: for "a", "i", "u", the use of short vowel indicates tone one, the long vowel means tone two, and two dots after the syllable (the visarga) means tone three; for "e", "ui", tone two is supposed to be inherent to the sign of the vowel, so that it is necessary to mark tone three (two dots after the syllable) and tone one (one dot under the last sign of the syllable); for "è" (or "ai")⁴ and for "o", tone three is supposed to be inherent to the sign, tone one is marked with a subscribed dot, tone two is different for each vowel: "è" (ai) is written "ay" and "o" bears a supplementary mark above the sign. This triple system is now well established though not very simple. It is shown underneath:

2) According to Burmese classification.

3) We suppose there were already tones at that time.

4) The transcription used in *Epigraphia birmanica* is "ai".

	tone I	tone II	tone III
For vowels written:	— (a) ⁵	— ā	— ā :
“a, i, u”	— i	— ī	— ī :
	— u	— ū	— ū :
“e, ui”	— e	— e	— e :
	— uḥ	— ui	— ui :
“è, o”	— è	— ay	— è
	— o	— ō	— o

Problems of tones were not the only ones Burmese had to face for writing accurately their language: they had to add a subscribed “h” under the nasals for differentiating two kinds of nasal consonants, while there is only one kind in sanskrit.

When Burmese transmitted a writing system to the Shans of Burma, again it was not a proper one for a Thai language and the last difficulties were solved very late: in 1955, there was a reform of Shan orthography and only then were the tones clearly indicated (four marks for five tones, the fifth being the only one left unmarked); from this date, too, the vowels in close syllable were more accurately transcribed, for instance, the use of mark vocalic length was applied to the same sign for differentiating two different vowels, “u” is /u/, “ū” is /o/⁶.

When in turn the missionaries adapted the Burmese system to the Karen languages, they tried to answer the specific problems of karen: though not a majority group in Burma, they played the same part as Mon and Burmese did before and gave writing systems: romanisation, not only to Karen but also to many minority groups of Burma.

5) “a” is an inherent vowel in nagari and scripts derived from it.

6) Jean Perrin, “La Réforme de l’orthographe shane, *Bulletin de l’Ecole française d’Extrême-Orient*, 1958, XLIX, 1, 259-268,

Karen alphabet was invented (or adapted from the Burmese one) by the missionary Jonathan Wade in 1832. It was meant for Sgaw Karen and was answering completely the needs of the language; the tones are clearly marked in it; even before 1832, there were a few attempts to use Burmese alphabet in Sgaw Karen, but they were not systematical. It was also attempted to give Pwo Karen language a transcription fit for its nasal vowels and specific tonal system. But the Sgaw is the only one to have an alphabet regularly used for handbooks, dictionaries and so on...

Other ethnic groups of Burma, such as Chin, Kachin (Singpho)⁷ Maru, Kadu, Ganan are writing their language in a romanisation established by missionaries; unfortunately tones are not indicated in these romanisations. Two handbooks, written at the end of the last century by British officers on Chin language are marking tones.⁸

The problem of oral communication between two groups, one being more powerful than the other, is different; the smaller group borrows what it needs: things or words; the new words are adapted by the borrowers more naturally, since these words are used daily; the adaptation needs not to be systematic (at least in appearance): words are adopted one after the other, according to the needs; two points seem to me to throw some light on the history of the lender's language: what kind of vocabulary is borrowed and when might tell us the exchanges and relations between these two groups: the loan-words, if borrowed long ago might have kept, to some extent, archaic features which have disappeared from the lender's language.

As an illustration of the above statement, materials from Burmese and Singpho languages will be compared. Reading Singpho vocabulary in dictionaries, or listening to Singpho speakers we can notice that some words bear resemblance with burmese ones, some are totally identical, though Singpho language is different from Burmese, far from being akin

7) The Kachins call themselves, according to the phonetics of their different dialects, Singpho on the border of Assam, Chingpaw in the Center and East of Kachin State.

8) Bernard Houghton, *Essay on the Language of the Southern Chins and its affinities*, Rangoon, Sup. Gov. Printing, 1892. 131 p. and G.E. Fryer, "On the Khyeng People of the Sandoway District of Arakan, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1875, 44(1)39-82.

to it as Arakanese, Tavoyan or Intha; in those three, all words bear a great resemblance with Burmese and they are, in fact, archaic dialects of Burmese language as a whole, the modern dialect being nowadays Burmese.

In Singpho vocabulary loan-words from Burmese, and also Shan have been collected; they are contrasting with other Singpho terms⁹ and we shall examine which kind of vocabulary they belong to and which form of Burmese they look like to, using for the sake of comparison the above mentioned Burmese dialects.¹⁰

We used notes and records collected from Maran Roaja, a Singpho (Maran group) student of Rangoon University who was coming from Myitkyina in 1958. We used also Hertz's Handbook (1954, reprint of 1917 edition)¹¹, and Hanson's Handbook and Dictionary¹². According to Hertz, he uses an orthographic system which is a romanisation prepared by Deputy Commissioner E.C.S. George and Bharno's missionaries, accepted afterwards by local government. Tones are not marked in it, same as in Hanson's works. Though we had recorded the tones when we worked with Maran Roaja, we dropped their marks here since there are none in the other materials.

We shall deal first with loan-words which appear to be old borrowings through comparison with Burmese dialects, that is to say words which bear resemblance with archaic dialects rather than with modern Burmese. We notice that many of these loan-words have a Singpho synonymous¹³ and that most of them are terms of daily life, material civilisation, for instance :

- 9) Though the phonological study of Singpho (Maran group) could not be achieved, and the necessary checking could not be done, due to the situation of Kachin State, it is possible to guess, through the form of words (presence of prefix, of final consonant, in particular) whether words are Singpho or not, and if not whether they can be compared with Burmese or Shan corresponding term.
- 10) Arch. dial. will indicate a form common to all of them, Arak. will refer to Arakanese spoken on both sides of the Burma-Bangladesh border, Marma will refer to Bangladesh Arakanese, sometimes the more archaic marma will be called northern marma and opposed to southern one, less archaic, Tav. accounts for Tavoyan.
- 11) H.F. Hertz, *A Practical Handbook of the Kachin or Chingpaw language*, Rangoon, 1954, VI + 153 pp.
- 12) O. Hanson, *Dictionary of the Kachin Language*, Rangoon, American Baptist Mission Press, 1906, 31 + 751 pp.; *A Handbook of the Kachin or Jinghpaw Language* *ibid*, 1917, 19 + 258 pp.
- 13) Singpho term and loan-word both in use when the dictionaries were written.

	(Singpho)	(Burmese Dialects)
"provisions"	fa phak lu fa jari/jarik	arch.dial. /cəreʔ/, mod.bur. /səyeʔ/
"capital"	ʃətu ʔəraŋ	arch.dial.,shan /ʔə'raŋ/, m.b. /ʔə'yin/
"cup, bowl" (bamboo)	lotək	shan : id
(earth, china)	wan kək	arch.dial /kuəʔ/, m.b. /kueʔ/ (both written <i>kwak</i>)
"to stoop, bow the head"	təgup gum	marma /'kuŋ/ ['koum], m.b. /'kon/
"to be contracted, kyip, kip shrunk"	cum	mar. /cuŋ'/ [coum'], m.b. /con']
"grain, seed"	nsi nli si	north.mar. /ci'/, other arak.d. /tsi' Akyab arak. /si'/, m.b. /se'/
"to transmit"	ʃ(ə) lai ʔəp	arak. /ʔaʔ/ [ʔaeʔ], m.b. /ʔaʔ/ (written <i>ap</i>)
"to lie down"	kələn yup	/ʔeʔ/ [wiʔ] [ʔəy']
"to calculate"	shən thi tak	arak.tav. /twaʔ/, m.b. /tueʔ/ (both written <i>twak</i>)

Other terms are belonging to religious or social life vocabulary, such as :

	(Singpho)	(Burmese Dialects)
"god"	kərai kəshaŋ phra	arak. /'phra/, m.b. /phə'ya/
"festival"	mənau mənau (Singpho traditional festival) poi	arch.dial. /'pwe/, m.b. /'pue/ id.in Shan

“interpreter”	ga kəle ai wa cagəbyan wa ¹⁴	north.mar. /cə`Ka Praŋ/ [cə`gabreŋ] m.b. /Sə`Ka Pyan/ [zəgəbyā]
race, kind”	bə myu	intha /ʔə`myu/, m.b. /ʔə`myo/
“be convenient” shut ¹⁵	təŋ	arak. /taŋ'/ [təŋ'], m.b. /tiŋ'/
“chief”	du duwa moŋ (but maŋsa “prince”, cf. <i>infra</i>)	arak. /`moŋ/ [`moŋ], [`maŋ], m.b. /`min/

The above quoted lists require a few comments :

moŋ shows the arakanese pronunciation of a + ŋ; the realization of this ʔəraŋ back “a” is more or less opened, and in ʔəraŋ, danga show other danga realizations of the same; both can be found in Arakanese and Tavoyan dialects. Again, if we consider :

kok “bowl”, tak “to calculate”, in those two words the same variation shows. The final k of the Singpho terms is written in the Burmese and Shan corresponding ones, but these terms were not pronounced by Maran Roaja : they have been found in Hertz' Dictionary.

si “grain”, different from modern standard Burmese /se'/ is also-most probably-an archaism preserved by other dialects, which have only three degrees of vocalic aperture, while there are four in modern Burmese.

myu “race” differs from m.b. /'myo/ for the same reason.

poi “festival” is akin to Burmese /'puε/, no doubt; the status of w is never clearly distinct from u, and cannot be apposed to it inside one dialect : there is one phonema, realised as [u] when it is the

14) Cagəbyan wa is comdounped of a non-burmese element : wa, an old loan-word cagə- from arch.dial. /cə`Ka/ [cə`ga] and a modern -byan, m.b. [-byā]; cagə (*versus* Singpho ga) not used alone, has survived in the modern borrowing from the Burmese compound [zəgəbyā].

15) According to Maran Roaja, shut is no more in use in Singpho.

nucleus of the syllable, and as [w] when it is before the vocalic nucleus. Even in modern Burmese these two realisations show. The *i* of *poi* is nearer from the vowel of archaic dialects than from the vowel of modern Burmese.

jari, jarik, cagəbyan wa have palatal corresponding with alveolar sibilant of modern Burmese; in an archaic form of Arakanese¹⁶ can be found three palatal plosives: /c/, /ch/, /j/ corresponding to m.b. /s/, /sh/, /z/ and the alveolar sibilant /s/ corresponding to m.b. /θ/; in another arakanese dialect¹⁷ /θ/ corresponds to m.b. /θ/ and /ts/. /dz/, /ths/, to m.b. /s/, /z/, /sh/. In Akyab, capital of Arakan, on the North-Western coast of Burma, there is an emphatic /s/; Intha dialect has only one phoneme: an indistinct /s/ [s] or [sh] corresponding to three m.b. phonemes: /s/ /sh/, /θ/. Singpho has no interdental /θ/ but has palatal plosive /c/ and sibilant /s/. It seems that there have been an evolution in dialects of Burmese from /c/ to /ts/ and then /s/ and, if it is so, that would mean that /si/ is a more recent loan-word than /cagə-/ (from *cagəbyan*), or, on the contrary, that *si/nsi* is an old Singpho word, *cagə-* having been borrowed afterwards, though before the evolution of Burmese /c/ to /s/; because of the meaning of the latter, and because *si* has a synonymous *nsi*, with a Singpho form, I would rather prefer the second hypothesis.

ʔəraŋ, "capital", *phra*, "god" remind us that /r/ is coexisting with /y/ in archaic Burmese dialects while in m.b. both have melted into /y/; this change might not be very old: the Burmese king *Alaungphaya* was known to foreigners as *Alompra*, in his life time (beginning of eighteenth century), modern *Pyi* was *Prome* and so on.

There are many other terms which are obviously borrowed from Burmese or Shan, but which have no Singpho synonymous (we are still referring to borrowings from ancient Burmese); most of them belong to "daily life words" category. For instance:

16) Marma of the Northern, or Mong Circle of Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh.

17) Marma of Southern or Bohmong Circle of Chittagong Hill Tracts, (next to Burma-Bangladesh border, and the Hills of Burmese Arakan),

administrative vocabulary; it is obviously a loan-word from the time of Burmese kingdom.

Another kind of words, identical or almost identical to Burmese ones, have probably been borrowed very recently, since they bear resemblance with modern Burmese. They belong to administrative or military vocabulary; some are dealing with measures, finance and so on . . . This is a list of them (list which is not an exhaustive one) :

	<i>Singpho</i>	<i>modern Burm.</i>
"government"	ʔasoya	/ʔə`soya'/
"school"	jɔŋ	/`cɔN/
"to petition"	ʃɔk	/ʃɔʔ/
"to request"		
"flag"	ʔalan	/ʔəlaN/
"to make enquiry"	soŋ	/soN/
"leave, permit"	ʔakhwiŋ	/ʔəkhuin'/
"to read"	phat	/phaʔ/
"to make apparent"	phɔ	/phɔ/
"to reveal"		
"prison"	thɔŋ	/thɔN/
"dacoit"	dəmya	/dəmya'/
"to imprison"	hlɔŋ	/lɔN/
(Army and war)		
"gun"	sənat	`θənaʔ/
"canon"	ʔamyauk	/ʔəmyɔʔ/
"to win"	ʔɔŋ	/ʔɔN/
"to kill"	sat	/θaʔ/
"army"	tap	/taʔ/
"soldier"	luksuk	shan <i>id.</i>
(Measures)		
"cubit"	tɔŋ	/tɔN/
"fathom"	lɔlam	/lɔlaN/
(Finance, trade)		
"benefit, gain"	myat	/ʔəmyaʔ/
"to partake"	gam	/kaN/
"to add"	pɔŋ	/`pɔN/
"remnant"	can	/ʔəcaN/

	<i>Singpho</i>	<i>modern Burm.</i>
	(Entertainments)	
"to bet"	lɔŋ	/lɔN/
"to dance"	ga	/ka'/
	(but manau manau for Singpho dance)	
	(Ornaments)	
"pearl"	pŋle	/pə'le/
"necklace"	pədi	/pəTi/ [pədi]
"to decorate"	mən	/'moN/
	(Abstractions)	
"to be happy"	pyɔ	/pyɔ/
"luck, fate"	gam	/kaN/
"to bear, endure"	kham	/khaN/
"to reach, succeed"	khap	/khaʔ/
"to be easy"	lwe	/luɛ/

There is obviously a connection between the categories of loan-words and the situation of the Kachin (or Singpho) group: a minority group, in a country where Burmese language is the official one, spoken by a large majority.

In this paper were shown only a few examples of the linguistic response from a minority facing the difficulty of dealing with a majority. Perhaps there is something more to learn, from this response, than the history of the majority's language; perhaps this response might include wider or more general information.

As for us we restrain to a linguistic view point and would like to stress, at the end of this paper, the interdependance between the studies of *all* the languages of a country, whatever might be the situation of their speakers. The last exemples quoted below, have been once more borrowed to Intha, Tavoyan and Arakanese the archaic dialects of Burmese, and at the same time we shall make reference to Singpho, as an archaic stage of Tibeto-Burmese general evolution.

Singpho has prefixes, Burmese has still a few dissyllables whose first syllable is very much like a prefix; if we compare with arch. dialects corresponding terms such Burmese words as:

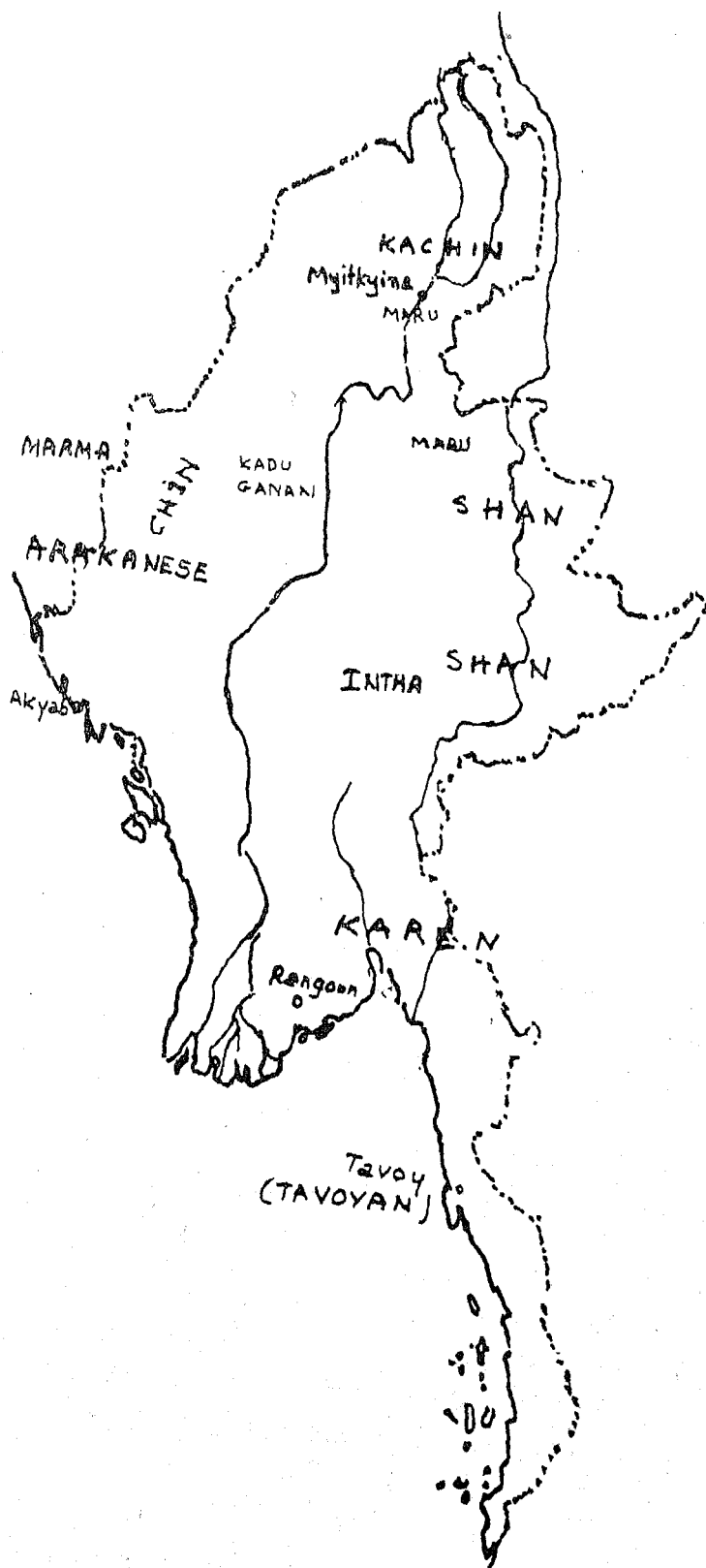
	<i>mod.Burm.</i>	<i>arch.dial.</i>
"cooked rice"	/thə`miN/	intha`/`meN/ north.mar. /hə`maŋ/
"paddy"	/Sə`Pa/	tav /`ba/ intha /`pa/
"snail"	/khəyu`/	intha /fu/
"word, speech"	/Sə`Ka/	intha /`ka/ singpho ²⁰ ga
"bitter cucumber" (<i>momordica</i>)	/θəphuʔ/ ²¹	Tav /phwaʔ/ (it is written <i>saphwar</i> in bur)

we notice that the archaic dialects have been affected by a greater evolution than the modern Burmese : they have dropped their prefix while modern burmese has not.

In Singpho, archaic tibeto-burmese language, a very large number of words has prefix, while in Burmese there are only a few ones, and this makes still more puzzling the examples quoted above; Singpho has also numerous pairs of words, apparently synonymous, one word with prefix and one without. These Facts, among others, arouse the question of the nature, function and history of prefixes in tibeto-burmese; there is a prefix problem that the comparison between dialects of a same language, and between languages of a same family might help to study. That is the kind of linguistic problems between majority-minority groups we tried to have a glimpse of.

20) Exceptionally the Singpho word has no prefix and the Burmese one has still its prefix.

21) Called also by a loan-word from Mon : m.burm. /khə`Uε/, tav. /`khue/.



LINGUISTIC PROBLEMS IN MINORITY/MAJORITY GROUP RELATIONS IN SOUTHEAST ASIAN COUNTRIES : AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY—MALAYSIA

by

Zahrah Buang*

Introduction : Sources, Scope and Structure

The purpose of collecting this annotated bibliography is to show how much of research and in which areas research has been carried out in Malaysia on the topic "Linguistic Problems in Minority/Majority Group Relations in Southeast Asian Countries." I have however also included, besides studies of linguistic problems, opinions on language problems contained in articles written for the layman, descriptions of dialects and comparative studies.

Sources :

Coverage of this bibliography rests on sources available in the University of Malaya library. I have consulted a few bibliographies but they do not provide many titles on our theme. A valuable bibliography on Malay is Teeuw's "A Critical Survey of studies on Malay and Bahasa Indonesia", 'S-Gravenhage, Martinus Nijhoff, 1961 which lists all publications wholly or partly devoted to Malay and Indonesian, thus covering more materials than what is required by the main theme of this workshop. Among others, writings from the fields of Indonesian and general linguistics, literature, ethnography, history, translations of the Bible and of the Koran or concerned with language policy are included. This book is most useful in order to know the types of research which have been done on the Malay language and the people who have been active

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in the field. E.M. Uhlenbeck in his publication, "Indonesia and Malaysia", *Current Trends in Linguistics* 8, Linguistics in Oceania, Mouton, 1972 also supplies us with a list of studies which appeared after World War II. Some older publications are also mentioned. "Index Malaysiana" by Lim Huck Tee and D.E.K. Wijasuriya gives an index to the Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and the Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society from 1878-1963. Some of the titles in the lists mentioned above appear in this paper. Besides these a lot of the titles mentioned here are of articles published in the *Majalah Dewan Bahasa*, a monthly journal published by the Language and Literary Agency of Malaysia. Some of the writings merely give information on opinions on language problems but there are also writings on various aspects of Malay linguistics. These have been included here.

Scope :

I have not set a beginning date for including titles in this bibliography. Most of the works mentioned are the product of research done very recently. Earlier researches which have been referred to by Teeuw or in "Index Malaysiana" do not focus on issues which became important after Malay was made the national language. However in some cases in order to show that a certain problem has been discussed before the period I have also included earlier works. Within the period after 1957 I have to list out works which have been executed at the Department of Malay Studies of the University of of Malaya. The studies are limited in scope. Most of them deal with the various Malay dialects in Peninsular Malaysia. A few deal with bilingualism or multilingualism but on many questions which are of interest to us there exists no research materials.

Structure :

I have compiled the titles under the headings : dialects, language contact situation, growth and development of the national language and grammatical studies of Malay.

Under dialects, titles of studies on the dialects of the Malay language are listed. Most of the serious research done is in the form of unpublished M.A. theses or B.A. academic exercises. The published materials are short articles in *Dewan Bahasa*. I have also included titles of works written earlier by Europeans which are often cited by present day researches.

In the section on language contact situation is a list of works comparing Malay with other languages in Malaysia, analysing the problems of learning Malay by non-Malays, describing the features of Malay in bilingual group or foreign influences on Malay.

Under the heading, growth and development of the national language are articles discussing problems of standardization and modernization of Malay, the coining of terminology, the formulation of a writing system and the various aspects of implementation of the language policy after independence.

The last section contains titles of grammatical studies of Malay. Different authors have discussed different problems in Malay grammar. Grammatical studies published or made recently have been stressed.

Abbreviations

- DB Majalah Dewan Bahasa
- MB Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal
 Asiatic Society
- SB Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal
 Asiatic Society

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Dialects

Abdul Hamid Mahmood

1971 Fonem Dialek Kelantan

This is a description of the vowels and consonants in the Kelantan dialect, followed by the analysis of phonemes, phoneme clusters and the distribution of phonemes.

Unpublished B.A. academic exercise, Department of Malay Studies, University of Malaya.

Abdul Karim Ismail

1972 Dialek Baling

This is a description of the phonology and morphology of the Baling dialect. The author also makes a comparative study of the dialect with the Kedah dialect and with standard Malay. The analysis is based on folk-tales as told by informants.

Unpublished B.A. academic exercise, Department of Malay Studies, University of Malaya.

Abdullah Hassan

1966 Perbandingan Tatabunyi Antara Dialek Kedah dengan Dialek Perak

A comparison of the phonemes of the Kedah and Perak dialects follows a phonetic and phonemic analysis of each.

Unpublished B.A. academic exercise, Department of Malay Studies, University of Malaya.

1969 Satu kajian Fonologi-Morfologi Bahasa Orang2 Melayu Asli, Dialek Temuan

This thesis describes the phonology and morphology of the Melayu Asli or the Temuan language. A description of the sounds and intonation patterns is given. Two chapters deal with morphemes, the construction of words from roots and the reduplication process. Word classes,

phrases and the grammatical function of affixes are dealt with in the last chapter.

Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of Malay Studies, University of Malaya.

Abu Bakar Hamid

1962 Sedikit mengenai Fonoloji Dialek Perak

This is a brief description of the phonology of the Perak dialect.

DB 6 (6) : 263-268

Baker, J.A.

1939 Notes on the meaning of some Malay words

Words not found in Wilkinson's Malay-English dictionary are given here. An introduction to the list gives an account of the types of languages and dialects spoken in Kedah.

MB 17 (1) : 107-120

Blagden, C.O.

1902 Dialects of the Malay Peninsula

This is an occasional note. The author appeals for information and correct accounts of Malay dialects.

SB 37 : 141-143

Brown, C.C.

1935 Trengganu Malay

The author gives an account of the general characteristics of the Trengganu dialect, Trengganu words and expressions and pronunciation followed by dialogues with the standard Malay equivalent and the English meaning.

MB 13 (3) : 1-111

Harun Mat Piah

1970 Sistim Bunyi Dialek Rawa yang dituturkan Dalam Daerah Gopeng, Perak

The sound system of a special Malay dialect called Rawa is described. The speakers of the dialect originally came from Sumatra.

Unpublished B.A. academic exercise, Department of Malay Studies, University of Malaya.

Hashim Musa

- 1972 Pengantar chiri2 prosodi sendi dan intonasi serta pengujudan chiri2 itu didalam dialek Kelantan yang di Pasir Mas

The author describes in detail the intonation features in the Kelantan dialect. The first part of the description deals with prosodic features and juncture. This is followed by a description of intonation patterns.

Unpublished B.A. academic exercise, Department of Malay Studies, University of Malaya.

Hendon, Rufus S.

- 1966 The phonology and Morphology of Ulu Muar Malay

Part one of the book deals with segmental phonology and morphology. The segmental phonemes of Ulu Muar Malay are listed and their distinctive and non-distinctive features described. Segmental morphemes are listed. Problems of segmentation are discussed and types and shapes of allomorphs described. A chapter on morphological words includes formation of derived words by affixation and reduplication. Different types of derivatives are discussed. Word alternants, morphemically and stylistically conditioned words are shown. Part two deals with non-segmental phonology and morphology. Non-segmental phonemes, their distribution, intonation and hesitation pause are discussed followed by non-segmental morphemes including accents, pritraction, contrastive emphasis, contour termination cocernment, keys and sentence termination.

Department of Anthropology, Yale University

Ida Ahmad (Drs.)

- 1969 Fonoloji Bahasa Kedah

This is an analysis of phonemes of the Kedah dialect and their distribution.

DB 8 (12): 538-543

Kamarulzaman Yahya

- 1963 Pelat Bahasa dan Pengaruhnya Dalam Masyarakat

The writer describes the differences in pronunciation among the

dialects, differences in intonation and semantic differences especially Negri Sembilan, Kelantan and Kedah with standard Malay.

BD 7 (5, 6, 7, 8): 208-212, 244-249, 309-311, 363-365

Madzhi Johari

1972 Fonologi Dialek Melayu Kuching (Sarawak)

This is a description of the phonology of the Malay language of Kuching (Sarawak) which is spoken by 46,330 speakers. The author makes use of data from informants. The data includes dialogues, conversations and folk tales.

Unpublished B.A. academic exercise, Department of Malay Studies, University of Malaya.

Mc Kerron, P.A.B.

1931 A Trengganu Vocabulary

The first part is composed of words which cannot be found in Wilkinson's Malay Dictionary or else used in Trengganu with different meanings or shades of meanings. The second part consists of words commonly used in official correspondence in Trengganu.

MB 9 (1): 123-128

Mohd. Fadzil Md. Yunus

1968 Fonoloji Bahasa Temuan

The author describes the phonology of Temuan which is considered Old Malay.

Unpublished B.A. academic exercise. Department of Malay Studies, University of Malaya.

Needham, R.

1958 Notes on Baram Malay

This is a record of usages among older people in the interior parts of Baram District of Sarawak. Changes which standard Malay words undergo are noted.

MB 31 (1): 171-175

Nik Safiah Haji Abdul Karim

1965 Loghat Melayu Kelantan

The phonology of the Malay dialect in Kelantan is described. There is a detailed description of the sounds of this dialect together with prosodic features and intonation. All words used in the analysis are listed in the appendix. The tape recording submitted with the thesis contains words, phrases, dialogues and short discourses also transcribed and put in the appendix.

Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of Malay Studies, University, of Malaya.

1967 Meninjau beberapa aspek Fonoloji Loghat Kelantan

A short description of some of the features in the phonology of the Kelantan dialect is given

DB 11 (8): 357-362

Noor Ein Mohd. Noor

1967 Fonoloji Loghat Pulau Pinang

This is a description of the phonology of the Penang dialect.

Unpublished B.A. academic exercise, Department of Malay Studies, University of Malaya.

1973 Morfologi Dialek Pulau Pinang

This is a description of the Morphology of the Penang dialect. The author discusses the segmental morphemes (types and structures), simple words, compound words and reduplicated words.

Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of Malay Studies, University of Malaya.

Shuib Ismail

1971 Dialek Kedah Pesisiran

This is a description of the Kedah dialect represented by the language spoken around Alor Star. The author uses narratives and folk tales for his material. An analysis of its phonology, morphology and

syntax is given. Differences with standard Malay are noted. A collection of 4 texts used is included, also 13 pages of glossary.

Unpublished B.A. academic exercise, Department of Malay Studies, University of Malaya.

Sturrock, A.J.

1912 Some notes on the Kelantan dialect, and some comparisons with the dialects of Perak and central Pahang

The variations and differences found in vocabulary, pronunciation and distinct usages of word and phrase are noted.

SB 62: 1-7

Ton Ibrahim

1974 Morfologi Dialek Kedah

This is a description of the morphology of the Kedah dialect. The syllable structure of free morphemes is discussed in one chapter. A description of bound morphemes follows. The final chapter deals with reduplication.

Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of Malay Studies, University of Malaya.

Zahrah Buang

1966 Loghat Melayu Johor

This is a description of the morphology of the Johor dialect. One chapter deals with the structure of stems. The affixes and their functions are discussed, also reduplication. One section deals with the relation between the Johor dialect and standard Malay.

Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of Malay Studies, University of Malaya.

B. Language Contact Situation

Abdul Razak Ismail

1965 Kesulitan² yang di-hadapi oleh penutor² bahasa Tamil dalam mempelajari bahasa Melayu serta chadangan² untuk memperbaikinya

The author was a teacher and this thesis draws upon his experience while teaching Malay to non-Malay pupils. He shows the difficulties

faced by Tamil speakers learning Malay. He focuses his attention on the problem of pronunciation and gives suggestions as to how the pronunciation could be improved.

Unpublished B.A. academic exercise, Department of Malay Studies, University of Malaya.

Abdullah Hassan

1969 Bahasa Melayu Pasar di-Malaysia Barat

He defines bazaar Malay, traces its history and growth, surveys studies done in the field and describes the features of the language: syntax, morphology, phonology and vocabulary.

DB 13 (5): 207-219

1974 Pertembungan Bahasa dan Kesannya Terhadap Bahasa Melayu

Language contact and its effects on Malay. The various languages which have influenced Malay and the areas in which the influence is felt are discussed.

DB 18 (5): 216-236

Azman Wan Chik

1968 Satu kajian Leksikal Dialek Samsam daerah Titi Tinggi, Perlis Utara

This is a study of a bilingual community in the north of Malaysia. The people speak Mong Thai and Malay. The author makes a study of lexical items used in the various fields of the community's life. He makes a comparison of these items with their equivalents in the Malay dialect in Perlis. Finally he discusses the influence of Mong Thai on that particular variety of Malay.

Unpublished B.A. academic exercise, Department of Malay Studies, University of Malaya.

Ding Choo Ming

1970 Bahasa Pijin Melayu di Sitiawan berdasarkan kajian sin-
keronik

This academic exercise analyses the structure and function of pidgin Malay. The phonology, morphology and syntax of the language are described. There is a short account of its growth and its future.

Unpublished academic exercise, Department of Malay Studies, University of Malaya.

Hamdan Hassan

1972 Proses peminjaman kata-kata Arab dalam bahasa Melayu

This is an account of Arabic loan words in Malay and the channels by which they came into the Malay language.

DB 16 (7) : 297-303

Ismail Haji Yunus

1958 Masa'alah Bahasa Pasar Dalam Pengajaran Bahasa Kebangsaan

This is a discussion of the problems in teaching the national language posed by the presence of bazaar Malay. The features of bazaar Malay are described. Ways of eliminating the influence are suggested.

DB 2 (10) : 495-506

Ismail Ibrahim

1970 Konsonan-Rangkap Arab : Penyesuaiannya dengan Sistim Konsonan Melayu

The writer discusses the changes which occur to consonant clusters in Arabic Words borrowed by the Malay language.

DB 14 (10) : 458-61

Khamis @ Amir Awang

1966 Kesulitan-kesulitan Orang-orang China berloghat Mandrin mempelajari bunyi-bunyi bahasa Melayu Loghat Umum dan Saranan-saranan untuk mengatasinya

This is an analysis of the difficulties faced by Mandarin speakers in learning the Malay language. The author only deals with the problem of pronunciation. He gives suggestions regarding ways of overcoming

the difficulties. He provides examples of materials to be used for training and exercising.

Unpublished B.A. academic exercise, Department of Malay Studies, University of Malaya.

Lutfi Abas

1973 Vokal-vokal Bahasa Malaysia Dibandingkan Dengan Vokal-vokal Bahasa Cina, Tamil dan Inggeris

This is a comparison of the vowels in Malay, Chinese, Tamil and English.

DB 17 (11, 12) : 494-502, 546-554

Mohd. Khalid Mohd. Taib

1971 Kedudukan dan Pemeliharaan Bahasa Ibu Dikalangan Penuntut2 Melayu yang Dwibahasa

This is a case study of language-related behaviour among a group of 115 bilingual Malay students. Descriptions of the socio-cultural setting and the manner of acquisition of the mother-tongue and second language are given. It is shown that the school is the only active agent of bilingualization while the bilinguals' families are active agents of mother-tongue maintenance.

Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of Malay Studies, University of Malaya.

Sha'aya Basheer Mohamed Basheer

1958 A study of the Influence of English on the Malay Language

This short thesis discusses the various aspects of English influence on the Malay language. In the chapter on vocabulary he looks into loan-words used by a writer, loan-words used by the end of the 19th C, during the inter-war period and during the post-war period. In the chapter on syntax different usages are discussed. He gives his assessment of the advantages and disadvantages of the influences.

Unpublished B.A. thesis, Department of Malay Studies, University of Malaya.

Shellabear, W.G.

1913 **Baba Malay**

This is an account of the language of the Straits born Chinese. The author talks about high Malay (language of literature), low Malay (used by foreigners with local inhabitants), the spoken language of the pure Malays, Baba Malay, its evolution, words of Chinese origin in Baba Malay, Malay words which are unknown to the Babas and Malay words mispronounced by the Babas and the Baba idiom which is Chinese rather than Malay.

SB 65 : 49-63

C. Growth and Development of the National Language

Ahmad Saman Mohd. Nawawi

1972 **Perkembangan Ejaan Bahasa Melayu : Meninjau Sistem2 Ejaan Za'ba dan Ejaan Kongress**

This is a study of the various spelling used in Malaya before Za'ba's spelling system came into use. Za'ba's system is compared to a system discussed in the third Malay Language and Literary Congress in 1956. Spelling systems which were in use after 1956 were also discussed.

Unpublished B.A. academic exercise, Department of Malay Studies, University of Malaya.

Ainuddin A. Wahid

1958 **Perkembangan Bahasa Melayu Dalam Kejuruteraan**

This is an account of the development of the Malay language in engineering. How new terms are introduced and the ways in which new terms are found are discussed.

DB 2 (2) : 81-85

Asmah Haji Omar

1967 **The role of dialects in the modernization of language**

This is a discussion of the various ways the dialects of Malay are able to enrich the standard language.

The Modernization of Languages in Asia, Malaysian Society of Asian Studies, 161-169.

- 1968 Apakah betul Bahasa Melayu Sekarang ini Tidak Mempunyai Standard

The author discusses the concept of the standard language and shows that Malay has achieved a standard form in writing and in the spoken language used by the radio and T.V.

DB 14 (7): 294-299

- 1970 Bahasa Standard dan Standardisasi Bahasa Melayu

This is an account of the concept of standardization and the standardization of the Malay language.

DB 14 (10) 435-55

- 1971 Perkembangan Bahasa Malaysia dan Ejaan Baru

The writer gives an account with evaluation of the various spelling systems in use.

DB 15 (5): 195-204

Asraf

- 1958 Ka-arrah Persatuan Ejaan Malaya-Indonesia

The writer mentions benefits of common spelling for Malay and Indonesian. He discusses phonemic spelling, letters of the alphabet and suggested changes. He refers to the resolutions of the third Malay Language and Literary Congress 1956 and the Indonesian Language Congress 1954.

DB 2 (4): 174-185

- 1958 Mas'alah 'Ain Dan Hamzah Dalam Ejaan Rumi Melayu

This is a discussion of problems of writing words from Arabic containing two special phonemes.

DB 2 (5): 226-231

Azizah Ja'afar

- 1959 Bahasa dan Rumah Tangga

The writer explains about the work of coining terms for home science.

DB 3 (1): 641-45

Fauziah Ismail

1965 Bahasa Kebangsaan dan Istilah2-nya

This thesis discusses the work of providing terminology in the national language.

Unpublished B.A. academic exercise, Department of Malay Studies, University of Malaya.

Ghazali Arba'in

1960 Sadikit Tentang Sebab2 Lambat Majunya Pengajaran Bahasa Kebangsaan

Reasons for lack of progress in teaching of the national language are discussed : lack of practice, use of bazaar forms, lack of enthusiasm. Suggestions to overcome the problem are given.

DB 4 (6) : 315-320

Haji Hamdan Sheikh Tahir

1967 The Development of the Malay Language as a Medium of Instruction in Schools

The development of Malay is discussed under the headings : development before 1956, the Razak Report and its effects, secondary education since 1956, college education and university education.

The Modernization of Languages in Asia, Malaysian Society of Asian Studies, 146-160

Hassan Abd. Wahab

1958 Bahasa Melayu dengan Ilmu Sains

This article discusses the value of words, language as a means of progress, language change, Malay language in relation to English, borrowing of foreign words and other means of enriching the language.

DB 2 (3) : 123-129

Ismail Dahaman

1969 Perancangan Bahasa Kearah Penubuhan Standard Melayu Nusantara

This is an article on the planning of forming a standard Nusantara Malay. Grammar and pronunciation are discussed.

DB 13 (9) : 387-402

- 1970 Sistim Keselarasan Vokal Menurut Ortografi Melindo
 This is a detailed explanation of the spelling of standard Nusantara Malay.
 DB 14 (1, 2, 3, 4) : 3-23, 57-71, 116-126, 164-174

Ismail Ibrahim

- 1969 Fonim-fonim Arab : Masalah Ejaan dan Penyesuaiannya dalam Bahasa Melayu
 This article consists of suggestions on how to write certain consonants and vowels from Arabic in Romanised Malay.
 DB 13 (12) : 538-43

Lutfi Abas

- 1970 Istilah Ilmiah dan Kata Sehari-hari dalam Bahasa Melayu
 This is a comparison of academic terminology and everyday vocabulary in Malay.
 DB 14 (3) : 99-113

- 1970 Vokal-vokal Bahasa Malaysia dalam Ejaan Bersama
 This is an explanation regarding the writing of vowels in the New Spelling
 DB 14 (9) : 387-407

Mahmud Ahmad

- 1959 Kechenderongan Bahasa Melayu Sekarang
 Trends in present day Malay (towards Indonesian and English) are shown.
 DB 3 (4) : 163-167

Mas'od Abd. Rashid

- 1959 Beberapa Kesulitan dalam mencari istilah Sains
 This is a discussion of problems in the coining of scientific terms.
 DB 3 (2) : 59-71

Md. Zin Sham

- 1967 Masalah Penglaksanaan Bahasa Kebangsaan
 This academic exercise discusses the problems of implementing Malay as the national language. The author discusses the question of

why Malay was chosen, acceptance by the people and opposition. He suggests ways of overcoming the opposition and spreading the use of Malay. He also gives an account of the latest development of the language.

Unpublished B.A. academic exercise, Department of Malay Studies, University of Malaya.

Mohd. Aris Haji Othman

1958 Perkembangan Bahasa Kebangsaan di-sekolah²

This is a view of the development in the use of the national language in non-Malay medium schools.

DB 2 (9) : 445-450

Mohd. Yusuf A. Rahman

1958 Kesukaran Menterjemah Perkataan² Sains Ka-bahasa Melayu.

This is a discussion of the problems of translating scientific words into the Malay language: checking correct meanings of terms, lack of scientists who are proficient in Malay, writing of formulae. Suggestions to overcome the problems are given.

DB 2 (2) : 77-80

Narayanasamy, K.

1967 Mungkin-kah di-tulis buku pelajaran bahasa yang sama untuk keempat² daerah Malaya, Indonesia, Singapura dan Berunai

The writer talks of the possibility of writing a standard Malay language text books for Malaya, Indonesia, Singapore and Brunei. He makes a survey of differences in spelling, pronunciation and vocabulary. He deals with word frequency, dictionaries and grammar.

DB 11 (2) : 64-79

Nordin Selat

1966 Bahasa Kebangsaan dan Usaha² Untuk Menyebarkan Pemakaiannya

The author studies the function of the national language as a means of uniting the various races in Malaya and the ways adopted to spread

its use, namely through schools, by introducing national language courses for government officers and through adult education. A chapter is devoted to an account of the contributions made by the terminology committees, local publishers and national language month.

Unpublished academic exercise for B.A., Department of Malay Studies, University of Malaya.

Page, R.B. Le

1966 The National Language Question

This book begins with an account of the function of language for the individual and society. Two case histories follow, one of India, the other of Malaysia. The multilingual situation in Malaysia is described. The language policy and the use of Malay are discussed. The political changes after 1963 are also noted.

Oxford University Press, London.

Roolvink, R.

1960 University dan Bahasa Kebangsaan

The writer traces the use of different languages for different purposes in Malay and Indonesian. He talks about problems of transition from English to Malay in institutions of higher learning.

DB 4 (2): 58-66

Skinner, C.

1960 Bahasa Melayu Sa-bagai Bahasa Pengantar Palajaran Tinggi

The writer states that Malay could be used for higher education; its implementation needs time and money but should begin immediately; there is a problem of standardization of terminology.

DB 4 (2): 66-77

Sulaiman Ismail

1972 Peranan Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Dalam Pembentukan Istilah

This is a discussion of the role of the Language and Literary Agency in the formation of terminology for the Malay language. The

author gives his assessment of the ways used and the progress made after 15 years.

Unpublished B.A. academic exercise, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur.

Wan Zawiah Haji Ibrahim

1970 Bahasa Kebangsaan Malaysia

This is a study of the national Language of Malaysia from the point of view of the constitution. The author also traces the development of the Malay language, its use in education with statistics showing the development of schools in the various language streams (English, Chinese, Tamil and Malay). The role of the Language and Literary Agency is discussed in one chapter.

Unpublished B.A. academic exercise, Department of Malay Studies, University of Malaya.

Z'aba

1958 Bahasa Melayu dengan Tulisannya

This is an article on the Malay writing systems.

DB 2 (2) : 68-76

Zulkifli Muhammad

1958 Beberapa Mas'alah Ejaan Perkataan² 'Arab dalam Bahasa Melayu

The writer discusses problems of spelling Arabic words in Malay.

DB 2 (4) : 192-196

D. Grammatical Studies of Malay

Abdul Aziz Haji Othman

1972 Katakerja Transitif Bahasa Malaysia

This is a description of Malay transitive verbs : how they are formed and how they are used in sentences.

Unpublished B.A. academic exercise, Department of Malay Studies, University of Malaya.

Abdullah Hassan

1973 Golongan-golongan kata Dalam Bahasa Melayu

This is a description of Malay words classes.

DB 17 (8) : 368-377

1974 The Morphology of Malay

The introduction includes a background, studies on Malay, account of Malay phonology, orthography and syntax. Units and processes of Morphology in Malay are described: the morphemes, morphs, words, morphological processes, morphophonology. Nominals, verbals, adverbials and particles are discussed in separate chapters.

Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur.

Asmah Haji Omar

1962 Serba Sadikit Tentang Tatabentok-Tatakalimat Bahasa Melayu

This is a description of some aspects of the morphology and syntax of Malay.

DB 6 (10, 11, 12) : 440-452, 502-508, 549-560

1963 Pemindahan Golongan Jenis Kata

This article is on the transposition of word classes in Malay.

DB 7 (11) : 494-498

1964 Unsur Bawahan Terdekat Dalam Tatabentok Bahasa Melayu

This article is on the immediate constituent analysis in Malay morphology.

DB 8 (1) : 9-15

1964 Pemindahan kalimat

This article shows transformations in Malay syntax.

DB 8 (3, 4) : 105-115, 158-165

Jaaman Abu

1973 Katanama Abstrak Bahasa Melayu

This is a description of abstract nouns in Malay: their classes/categories, how they are formed and how they are used in sentences.

Lewis, M. Blanche

1969 Sentence Analysis in Modern Malay

Word types, word classes, phrases, groups, clauses and sentences are analysed. Examples are given for all types. The texts used with their translations are included, also glossary for the texts.

Cambridge University Press

Liaw Yock Fang

1967 Ilmu Bahasa dan Penggolongan Jenis Kata dalam Bahasa Melayu

The writer talks about linguistics and word classes in Malay.

DB 11 (7, 12) : 304-316, 552-559

1969 Penelitian Sintaksis Bahasa Melayu/Indonesia

This is a transformational analysis of Malay beginning with phrase structure rules and followed by transformation of sentences : single base (pasif, interrogative, imperative), double base (conjunctive, embedding)

DB 13 (5, 6) : 219-228, 260-270.

Lutfi Abas

1971 Linguistik Deskriptif dan Nahu Bahasa Melayu

The first part of the book deals with theories in Descriptive Linguistics. This is followed by a description of Malay phonology, morphemics and generative-transformational grammar of Malay.

Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur.

Payne, E.M.F.

1970 Basic Syntactic Structures in Standard Malay

The author describes the morphology of Malay, types of words and word classes, types of phrases and clauses and sentence categories. Coordination, subordination and other structures are also described.

Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur.

Raja Mukhtaruddin Dain

1969 Pola2 Ayat Melayu untuk Pengajaran Bahasa Melayu

The writer describes seven sentence patterns used by the writer in teaching Malay to non-Malay students in the University of Malaya.

DB 8 (4) : 165-170

1969 Perbuatan Berawalan me- dan cara-cara Mengjarkannya

This article contains views on how to overcome problems in the teaching of affixes, their meanings and functions in Malay with examples of the prefix me-.

DB 8 (8): 372-375

Slametmuljana

1970 Usaha Mencari Sistim Kalimat Indonesia/Melayu

This is a description of Malay grammar. Sentences are described based on slots. The relation between the slots are explained. Simple and complex sentences are described.

DB 14 (5, 6, 7): 195-206, 260-271, 291-304)

Umar Junus

1969 Pembentukan Kalimat² Dengan 'Ke-an' Dalam Bahasa Melayu/Indonesia

This article discusses the functions of ke-an in Malay/Indonesian.

DB 13 (7): 314-319.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF RESEARCHES AND STUDIES ON THE MINORITY/MAJORITY LANGUAGES IN LAOS

by

Bounlieng Phommassouvanh

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AEO	Annales d'Extreme-Orient
ASEMI	Asie du Sud-est et Monde Insulindien
BEFEO	Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient
BSEIC	Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Indo-chinoises de Saigon
BSLP	Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution/Bulletin of the School Oriental and African Studies (University of London)
BTLV	Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde van Neder- landsch-Indie
FEQ	Far Eastern Quarterly
HJAS	Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies
JA	Journal Asiatique
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal/Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal
JBRS	Journal of the Burma Research Society
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JSBRAS	Journal of the Straits Branch, Royal Asiatic Society
JSS	Journal of the Siam Society
TP	T'oung Pao

TAI GROUP

LAO

1. Taupin, J. *Vocabulaire franco-laotien*. Deuxième édition, revue, corrigée et considérablement augmentée. Paris, E. Schneider Ainé, 1903.
2. Cuaz, Marie Joseph, Bishop of Hermopolis. *Lexique français-laotien*. Hongkong Imprimerie de la Société des Mission Etrangères, 1904. LXXXVI, 490 pp.
3. Macey, Paul. *Etude ethnographique sur diverses tribus, aborigènes ou autochtones habitant les provinces des Hua-phans-Hatang-hoc et due Cammon, au Laos*. Int. orient. Congr. 14 (1905), pt.1 5è section. pp. 3-63. (Contains comparative vocabulary of Lao, Chari, Khoi, So, and Sek, pp. 52-57.)
4. Cheminaud, Guy. *Nouveau dictionnaire français-laotien, contenant plus de cinq mille cinq cents mots appuyés par des locutions familières*. Tulle, Imprimerie Crauffon, 1906. 198 pp.
5. Roffe, G. Edward. *The Phonemic Structure of Lao*. JAOS 66 (1946), pp. 289-95. (Based on work with informant, an educated speaker of Luang Prabang).
6. Vidal, Jules. *Noms vernaculaires de plantes (Lao, Mèo, Kha) en usage au Laos*. BEFEO 49 (1959), pp. 435-608, 12 plates.

OTHERS

1. Crawford, John. *Journal of an embassy from the Governor-General of India to the courts of Siam and Cochin China; exhibiting a view of the actual state of those kingdoms. . .* London, Henry Colburn, 1828. vii, (1), 598 pp., 15 plates, 2 maps. (Contains vocabulary of English, Siamese, Lao, Mon, Cambodian, Chong, and Vietnamese.)
2. Hodson, Brain Houghton. *Aborigines of the North-East frontier*. JASB 19 (1850), pp. 309-16. (Letter incorporating vocabularies by N. Brown, including Ahom, Khamti, Laos, and Siamese).

3. Hunter, Sir William Wilson. *A Comparative dictionary of the languages of India and High Asia, with a dissertation. Based on the Hodgson lists, official records, and mss.* London, Truner, 1868. (10), 224 pp. (Vocabulary material on Siamese, Lao, Ahom, Khamti, and Shan.)
4. Dalton, Edward Tuite. *Descriptive ethnology of Bengal.* Calcutta, Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1872. vi, 340 pp., front., 34 plates, tables. (Contains Vocabulary : English-Ahom-Khamti-Lao-Siamese, pp. 69-70).
5. Cust, Robert Needham. *A Sketch of the languages of East Indies. Accompanied by two language maps.* London Trubner, 1878. xii, 198 pp., 2 maps (Treats Siamese, Lao, Shan, Ahom, Aiton, Khamti, Tai, Mow.)
6. Keane, Augustus Henry. *On the Relations of the Indo-Chinese and Indo-Oceanic races and languages.* JRAI 9 (1880), pp. 254-89. (Ref. to Shan; trans. by Charles Grémiaux as : Repports ethnologiques et linguistiques des races Indo-Chinoises et Indo-Pacifiques. AEO 5 (1882/3), pp. 238-64.)
7. LEFEVRE-PONTALIS, PIERRE. *L'invasion thaïe en Indo-Chine.* TP 8(1897), pp. 53-78, 10(1899), pp. 495-512. (script of Lü, Chinese Shan.)
8. SCOTT, JAMES GEORGE, and HARDIMAN, J.P. *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and Shan States.* Part I, vol. 1. Rangoon, Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1900. 4, 2, 728, x pp. (Vocabularies, pp. 626-45. Siamese, Lao, and Shan.)
9. *Linguistic Survey of India. Vol II : Mon-Khmer and Siamese-Chinese families (including Khassi and Tai).* Calcutta. Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1904, 6, ii, 233 pp., 2 maps. (Section on : Ahom, pp. 81-140; Aiton, 193-211; Khamti, 141-65; Nora, 179-91; Tairong, 167-77+ and Vocabularies, pp. 214-33.)
10. CABATON, ANTOINE. *Dix dialectes indo-chinois recueillis par Prosper Odend'hal. Etude linguistique par Antoine Cabaton.* JA, 10è sér., 5(1905), pp. 265-344. (Relationship, comparative and individual vocabularies and bibliography of dialects spoken in French Indo-China. Includes Siamese and Lao.)

11. FINOT, LOUIS. *Recherches sur la littérature laotienne*. BEFEO 17(1917) pt. 5, pp. 1-128. (pp. 10-29 : L'écriture thai, and pp. 34-40 : Planches et observations. Covers Siamese, Tai of Tonkin, Shan, Lü, Yuan, and Lao scripts.)
12. DODD, WILLIAM CLIFTON. *The Tai Race*. Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1923. pp. xix-xii. (Word-lists : Siamese, Shan, Black, Tai, Thô, Chin Tai, Khün, Kon Yai, Lü, Pu Tai, Tai Lai, Tai Nam, Tai Nüa, To-jen, Yuan.)
13. PRZYLUSKI, J. *Les langues tai*. In : A. Meillet et M. Cohen, *Les langues du monde*, 1924, pp. 379-84.
14. GRIERSON, SIR GEORGE ABRAHAM. *Linguistic survey of India*. Vol. I, part II. Comparative vocabulary. Calcutta, Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1928. viii, 30, 337, 2 pp. (Note on the tones of the Tai languages : pp. 10-13. Comparative vocabulary includes words in: Siamese, Lü, K'ün, San, Aham, and K'amtì.)
15. WULFF, KURT. *Chinesisch und Tai : sprachvergleichende Untersuchungen*. Kopenhagen, Levin and Munksgaard, 1934. 260 pp. (Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filologiske meddelelser xx, 3.)
16. LI FANG-KUEI. *Languages and dialects*. Chinese year book/ 1938-9, pp. 43-51 : 1944-5, pp. 132-3. (Discusses the position of Tai languages in the Indo-Chinese group.)
17. RHEINWALD, OTTO. *Die nichtchinesischen Stämme Sudchinas : ein Überblick*. Mitt. Deutsche Gesell. f. Natur u. Völkerkunde Ostasiens, 33A (1942). (Includes linguistic data on Tai languages. Not seen. Title taken from shafer : Bibliography of Sino-Tibetan languages, p. 92.)
18. SEBEOK, THOMAS A. *The languages of South-East Asia*. FEQ 2(1943), pp. 349-56.
19. HEINE-GELDERN, ROBERT VON. *Research on Southeast Asia : problems and suggestions*. AA 48(1946), pp. 149-75. (Contains some remarks on the state of linguistic studies of South-East Asia and a short bibliography.)

20. KLUGE, THEODOR. *Die Völker und Sprachen des indochinesischen Raumes*. Berlin, Nicolassée, 1953. 41 pp. (Typescript; includes Tai peoples and languages, ethnographic maps.)
21. SHAFER, ROBERT. Classification of the Sino-Tibetan languages. *Word* 2(1955), pp. 94-111. (Ref. to Tai group (Daic).)
22. MASPERO, HENRI. *Contribution à l'étude du système phonétique des langues thai*. BEFEO 11(1911), pp. 153-69. (Reprinted at Imprimerie d'Extrême-Orient, 1911. 8vo. 17 pp. (Contains word-lists of Siamese, Shan, Black Tai, White Tai, Thô, and Dìoi. On the problems of ฤๅ ฤๅ ๒ pp. 155 ff., note on the recent origin of ๒ : p. 154.)
23. *Etudes sur la phonétique historique de la langue annamite. Les initiales*. BEFEO 12, pt. 1(1912), pp. 1-127. (Compares tonal system of Annamese and Tai languages. Table, p. 96.)
24. TROMBETTI, LAFREDO. *Elementi di glottologia*. Bologna, Nicola Zanichelli, 1922-3, 2 vols., 755 pp. (pp. 452-78 (phonology) concerned with Tai languages.)
25. WEN YU. *The influence of liquids upon the dissolution of initial consonant groups in the Indo-Sinic family*. J.N. China Br. Asiat. Soc. 69 (1938) pp. 83-91. (Ref. to Tai, pp. 86, 90 (note).)
26. SHAFER, ROBERT. The vocalism of sino-Tibetan. *JAOS* 60 (1940), pp. 302-37+61(1941), pp. 18-31 (Ref. to Tai languages. Reviewed by Li fang-kuei in : *Studia serica* 3(1942), pp. 77-80 (In Chinese).)
27. HAUDRICOURT, ANDRE GEORGES. Restitution du Karen Commun. *BSLP* 42/1 (1942-5) pp. 103-11. (Comparisons with phonological system of northern and southern Tai.)
28. SHAFER, ROBERT. *Problems in Sino-Tibetan phonetics*. *JAOS* 64(1944), pp. 137-43, (Ref. to Siamese, Lao.)
29. HAUDRICOURT, ANDRE-GEORGES, and MARTINET, ANDRE. *Propagation phonétique ou évolution phonologique ? Assourdissement et sonorisation d'occlusives dans l'Asie du Sud-Est*. *BSLP* 43(1946), pp. 82-92. (Ref. to Northern and Southern Tai, pp. 90-92).

30. HAUDRICOURT, ANDRE GEORGES. *Les phonèmes et le vocabulaire du Thai Commun*. JA 236(1948), pp. 197.238. (The phonemes of a common Tai inferred from the best available descriptive accounts of Ahom, Siamese, LAO+ Black Tai, White Tai, Nung, and Tho.)
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32. HAUDRICOURT, ANDRE GEORGES. *Les occlusives uvulaires en Thai*. BSLP 48(1952) 1, pp. 86-93. (Ref. to Common Tai, Siamese, Ahom, Sui, Lao, Black, White Tai, Nung, and Dioi.)
33. LI FANG KUEI. *Consonant clusters in Tai Language*. 30(1954), pp. 368-79. (Ref. to Siamese, Lao, Shan, Ahom, and Tai languages of North Vietnam and South China.)
34. HAUDRICOURT, ANDRE GEORGES. *De la restitution des initiales dans les langues monosyllabiques : le problème du thai commun*. BSLP 53(1956), pp. 307-22. (Ref. to Siamese, Lao, Shan, Black Tai, White Tai, Tho, Dioi, Wou-ming, Nung, Long-Tcheou, Po-ngai, and Thien-Tcheou.)
35. HAAS, MARY ROSAMOND. *The tones of four Tai dialects*. ASHIP 29(1958), pp. 817-26. Taiwan. (On Siamese and dialects of Nakhon Si Thammarat, Roi-Et, and Chiang Mai.)
See also no. (Grierson, 1928, pp. 10-13), note on the tones of Tai languages.
36. LI FANG KUEI. *Some old Chinese loan words in the Tai languages*. HJAS 8(1945), pp. 333-42. (Ref. to Ahom, Lao, Lü, and Dioi.)
37. BRIGGS, LAWRENCE PALMER. *The appearance and historical usage of the terms Tai, Thai, Siamese and Lao*. JAOS 69(1949), pp. 60-73.
38. EGEROD, SOREN. *A note on some Chinese numerals as loan words in Tai*. TP 57 1/2 (1959), pp. 67-74. (Ref. to Siamese, Lü, and Khün.)
39. BROWN, NATHAN. *Alphabets of the Tai Language*. JASB 6 (1837), pp. 17-21 (Plates : Alphabets of the Tai language, Specimen of the Khamti character,)

40. BASTIAN, ADOLF. *Remarks on the Indo-Chinese alphabets.* JRAS N.S. 3 (1868), pp. 65-80. (Includes specimens of Shan and of Lao and Thai common and sacred scripts.)
41. ROSNY, LOUIS LEON DE. *Notice sur l'écriture thai ou siamoise.* Archives paléographiques 1(1869), pp. 61-77. (Also Atlas containing plates showing Lao and Siamese alphabets.)
42. BURNAY, JEAN, and COEDES, GEORGES. *Note sur notre transcription des parlers tai.* JSS 21(1928), pp. 83-85.
43. Levy, Annick. *Les langues Thai.* ASEMI i (1972), pp. 89-113. (Contains brief account of works done on the Tai languages and their different classifications by various authors; short list of bibliography.)

MON KHMER

1. AYMONTIER, ETIENNE FRANCOIS. *Grammaire de la langue chame. Excursions et Reconnaissances* 14(1889), pp. 5-92. (Also published separately : Saigon, Imprimerie coloniale, 1889.)
2. NIEMANN, G.K. *Bibliographische bijdragen.* BTLV 40(1891), pp. 339-46. (Linguistic notes on Cham, Bahnar, Selung, and Buginese.)
3. BLAGDEN, CHARLES OTTE. *A Malayan element in some of the languages of southern Indo-China.* JSBRAS 38(1902), pp. 1-28.
4. DURAND, EUGENE-MARIE. *Notes sur les Chams. VI. Les Baséh.* BEFEO 7(1907), pp. 313-21. (Discusses origin of some Cham words connected with the Brahmin priestly caste.)
5. COWAN, H.K.J. *Rectification de quelques affixes cams, rendus inexactement dans les grammaires.* Act. Or. 16(1938), pp. 181-91.
6. EDWARDS, EVANGELINE DORA, and BLAGDEN, CHARLES OTTO. *A chinese vocabulary of Cham words and phrases.* Transcribed, translated, and edited by E.D. Edwards and C.O. Blagden. BSOAS 10(1940-2), pp. 53-91.
7. IZUI, HISANOSUKE. *Etudes comparative des langues du Sud.* (Hikaku gengogaku kenkyu.) Tokyo, Osaka, Sôgensha, 1949. (2), iv, (4), 304 pp. (In Japanese, pp. 113-54 : La langue Cam, de l'Indo-Chine.)

8. SMALLEY, WILLIAM A. Outline of Khmu? structure. Baltimore, American Oriental Society, 1961. xix, 45 pp. (American Oriental Series Essays 2.)
9. MATRAS, JACQUELINE et FERLUS, MICHEL. Les langues austroasiatiques. ASEMI 4(1971), pp. 55-93. (Contains the classification of the Mon-Khmer groups illustrated on maps; bibliographic sources for each group; and vocabularies for "dog", "tooth", and "salt" for each group.)
10. MATRAS, JACQUELINE. Les langues austronésiennes d'Indochine orientale. ASEMI 1(1972). (Contains vocabulary for Cham, Jarai, Rhadé, Bih, Roglai, Churu, Cabaton).

BAHNAR

11. NIEMANN, G.K. Bibliographische bijdragen. BTLV 40(1891), pp. 339-46. (Linguistic notes on Cham, Bahnar, Selung, and Buginese.)

SEDANG

12. CABATON, ANTOINE. Dix dialectes indochinois recueillis par Prosper Odend'hal. Etude linguistique par Antoine Cabaton. JA, 10è sér., 5(1905), pp. 265-344. (Contains Sedang vocabulary by A. Lavallée.)

SELANG

13. CABATON, ANTOINE. Dix dialectes indo-chinois recueillis par Prosper Odend'hal. Etude linguistique par Antoine Cabaton. JA, 10è sér., 5(1905), pp. 265-344. (Contains Halang vocabulary.)

BRAO

14. SEIDENFADEN, ERIK. Further notes about the Chaubun, & c. JSS. 13, pt. 3(1919), pp. 47-53. (26 words of Kha Tang-Ong, dialect formerly spoken by population carried off from Attopeu and now settled in Petchabun and Korat provinces.)

LAO SUAY

15. BASTIAN, ADOLF. *Reise durch Kambodja nach Cochinchina*. Jena, Hermann Costenoble, 1868. x, 436 pp. (Die Voelker des Oestlichen Asien : Studien und Reisen von Dr. Adolf Bastian. Vierter Band.) (Contains Sué vocabulary, pp. 298-9.)
16. GARNIER, FRANCIS. *Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine effectué pendant les années 1866, 1867 et 1868 par une commission française, présidée par ... Doudart de Lagrée, et publié ... sous la direction de ... Francis Garnier*. Paris, Hachette, 1873. 2 vols. (Contains vocabulary of Sué : vol. 2, pp. 498-506.)
17. CABATON, ANTOINE. *Dix dialectes indo-chinois recueillis par Prosper Odend'hal. Etude linguistique par Antoine Cabaton*. JA, 10è sér., 5(1905), pp. 265-344. Contains Sué vocabulary.)

BOLOVEN

18. CABATON, ANTOINE. *Dix dialectes indo-chinois recueillis par Prosper Odend'hal. Etude linguistique par Antoine Cabaton*. JA, 10è sér., 5(1905), pp. 265-344. (Contains Boloven vocabulary.)
19. BONDET DE LA BERNARDIE, J. *Le dialecte des Kha Boloven*. BSEIC N.S. 24(1949), no. 3, pp. 57-78.

SUOI

20. FRAISSE, ANDRE. *Les tribus Sek et Kha de la province de Cammon (Laos)*. BSEIC N.S. 25(1950), pp. 333-48. (Includes vocabulary of Chari, pp. 341-2 and other short Kha vocabularies.)

ALAK

21. CABATON, ANTOINE. *Dix dialectes indo-chinois recueillis par Prosper Odend'hal. Etude linguistique par Antoine Cabaton*. JA, 10è sér., 5(1905), pp. 265-344. (Contains vocabularies of Kaseng and Kon-Tu by Odend'hal, and of Alak and Lavé by Lavallée.)

KHOI

22. MACEY, PAUL. *Etude ethnographique sur diverses tribus, aborigènes ou autochtones habitant les provinces des Hua-phan(s) Hatang-hoc et du Cammon, au Laos.* Int. orient. Congr. 14(1905), pt. 1, 5è section, pp. 3-63. (Includes comparative vocabulary of Laotian, Chari, Khoi, So, and Sek, pp. 52-57, and linguistic notes on Chari and Khoi, pp. 26-27.)

KON-TU

23. CABATON, ANTOINE. *Dix dialectes indo-chinois recueillis par Prosper Odend'hal. Etude linguistique par Antoine Cabaton.* JA, 10è sér., 5(1905), pp. 265-344. (Contains vocabularies of Kaseng and Kon-Tu by Odend'hal, and of Alak and Lavé by Lavallée.)

LAVE

24. CABATON, ANTOINE. *Dix dialectes indo-chinois recueillis par Prosper Odend'hal. Etude linguistique par Antoine Cabaton.* JA, 10è sér., 5(1905), pp. 265-344. (Contains vocabularies of Kaseng and Kon-Tu by Odend'hal, and of Alak and Lavé by Lavallée.)

RIANG

25. LEFEVRE-PONTALIS, PIERRE. *Notes sur quelques populations du nord de l'Indo-chine.* JA, 8è sér., 19(1892), pp. 237-69; 9è sér., 8(1896), pp. 129-54; 291-303. (Contains vocabularies of Yang (Riang-recorded at Poufang, Lai-Chau), Kha Kwang-lim and Kha Kon-ku; of Le-Met and Khamuk, recorded on Nam Ta, and Kuen, recorded at Muang Pou-Kha.)

KHMU

26. LEFEVRE-PONTALIS, PIERRE. *Notes sur quelques populations du nord de l'Indo-Chine.* JA 8è sér., 19(1892), pp. 237-69; 9è sér., 8(1896), pp. 129-54; 291-303. (Contains vocabularies of Yang (Riang-recorded at Poufang, Lai-Chau), Kha kwang-lim and Kha Kon-Ku; of Le-Met and Khamuk, recorded on the Nam Ta, and Kuen, recorded at Muang Pou-Kha.)

27. SCOTT, JAMES GEORGE, and HARDIMAN, J.P. *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*. Part I, Vol. I. Rangoon, Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1900.4, 2, 728, x pp. (Vocabulary of Khamuk by H.R. Davies, pp. 626-43; of Khamuk survivals in Shanised dialect of Möng Lwe hill tribe, by G.C.B. Stirling, pp. 715-17.)
28. ROUX, HENRI, and TRAN VAN CHU. *Quelques minorités ethniques du Nord-Indochine : Tsa Khmu*. France-Asie, 9è année, 10(1954), nos. 92-93, pp. 297-357. (Vocabulaire sommaire Khmu : pp. 348-57)

LAMET

29. LEFEVRE-PONTALIS, PIERRE. *Notes sur quelques populations du nord de l'Indo-Chine*. JA 8è sér., 19(1892), pp. 237-69; 9è sér., 8(1896) pp. 129-54; 291-303. (Contains vocabularies of Yang (Riang-recorded at Poufang, Lai-Chau), Kha Kwang-lim and Kha Kon-ku; of Le-Met and Khamuk, recorded on the Nam Ta, and Kuen, recorded at Muang Pou-Kha.)

WA

30. ANTISDEL, C.B. *Elementary studies in Lahoo, Ahka (Kaw), and Wa languages*. JBRS 1, pt. 1(1911), pp. 41-64.
31. MILNE, MRS. LESLIE. *A dictionary of English-Palaung and Palaung-English*. Rangoon, Superintendent, Government Printing and Stationery, Burma, 1931. x, 383, v, 290 pp. (Supplementary dialect vocabulary contains some Wa words.)

TIE

32. MACEY, PAUL. *Etude ethnographique sur diverses tribus aborigènes et autochtones habitant les provinces des Hua-phan (s) Ha-tang-hoc et du Cammon, au Laos*. Int. orient. Congr. 14, pt. 1(1906), pp. 3-63. (pp. 58-62 : Vocabularies of Kha-Pou-Hoc (K'kssing M'moull), Kha Khaô (Tié) and Kha Phong (Pou K'kenièng). p. 6 : Linguistic note.)

KHA KON-KU

33. LEFEVRE-PONTALIS, PIERRE. *Notes sur quelques populations du nord de l'Indo-chine*. JA 8^e sér., 19(1892), pp. 237-69; 9^e sér., 8(1896), pp. 129-54; 291-303. (Contains vocabularies of Yang (Riang-recorded at Poufang, Lai-Chau), Kha Kwang-lim and Kha Kon-ku; of Le-Met and Khamuk, recorded on the Nam Ta, and Kuen, recorded at Muang Pou-Kha.)

KHA PHONG

34. MACEY, PAUL. *Etude ethnographique sur diverses tribus aborigènes et autochtones habitant les provinces des Hua-phan(s) Ha-tang-hoc et du Cammon, au Laos*. Int. orient. Congr. 14, pt. 1(1906), pp. 3-63. (pp. 58-62: Vocabularies of Kha Pou-Hoc (K'kssing M'moull), Kha Khaô (Tié) and Kha Phong (Pou K'kenièng).)

PHA POU-HOC

35. MACEY, PAUL. *Etude ethnographique sur diverses tribus aborigènes et autochtones habitant les provinces des Hua-Phan(s) Ha-tang-hoc et du Cammon, au Laos*. Int. orient. Congr. 14, pt. 1(1906), pp. 3-63. (pp. 58-62: Vocabularies of Kha Pou-Hoc (K'kssing M'moull), Kha Khaô (Tié) and Kha Phong (Pou K'kenièng). p. 6: Linguistic note.)

MIAO-YAO

Handricourt, A.G. *Les langues miao-yao*. ASEMI 4(1971), pp. 31-51. (contains linguistic distribution and description of the Miao-Yao languages, and a short list of sources of reference.)

Tibeto-Burman

- Bernot, Lucien. *Les langues Tibeto-birmanes*. ASEMI 4(1971), pp. 13-24. (contains a linguistic account of the Tibeto-Burman languages and word lists.)

**LINGUISTIC PROBLEMS IN MINORITY/MAJORITY
GROUP RELATIONS IN SOUTHEAST ASIAN
COUNTRIES : SELECTED WORKS
(Philippines)**

by
Cesar A. Hidalgo*

Aguilar, Jose V. 1968. "The Iloilo Experiment with the Vernacula."
Philippine Journal of Education, vol. 28, No. 5 (November).

Alfonso, Amelia B., et al. 1972. "Speech Fluency and Linear Distance
as Measures of Social Interaction." In *Sikolohiya ng Wika*
ed. by Virgilio G. Enriquez and Lilia F. Antonio. University
of the Philippines. Mimeographed.

Studies how bilingual social interaction is affected by the
language chosen for verbal transaction in terms of speech fluency
and others. Reports that the student (UP) gave longer responses
when questioned in Pilipino and those interviewed in English showed
a tendency to shift to Pilipino in the course of the interview.

Azores, Fortunata M. 1967. "A Preliminary Investigation of the Pheno-
menon of Language Change in the Philippines." M.A. thesis.
Ateneo de Manila University.

First attempt to determine the patterns in the mixing of Taga-
log and English. Claims that "fusion" is attributable to the students'
inadequate vocabulary in English, to paucity of technical, scientific-
academic terms, to greater familiarity of students with some
English words than with Tagalog equivalents, etc. and more ten-
dency to insert English terms and expressions in Tagalog sentences
than to insert Tagalog words and phrases in English sentences.

*University of the Philippines and President's Special Research Project, Malacanang
Palace, Manila.

- Bulatao, Rodolfo A.** 1973. *Ethnic Attitudes in Five Philippine Cities.* A report submitted to the Philippine Social Science Council Research Committee. University of the Philippines.

Concerned with the different ways ethnic groups perceive and react toward each other. Some parameters for distinguishing ethnic groups : dialect, sub-cultural themes, customs. Reports that Cebuano is the first language of 31% of the Rs (27% for Tagalog); all Rs from Manila can speak Tagalog; percentage of speakers-- Tagalog, 86%; English, 72%; Cebuano, 59%; Waray, 21%; Bicolano, 20%; Ilocano, 10%; Ilonggo, 11%; (Manila, Naga, Tacloban, Cebu, Davao); Tagalog and Ilocano most prominent in Manila, etc.

- Bautista, Ma. Lourdes S.** 1974. "The Filipino Bilingual's Linguistic Competence: a Model Based on an Analysis of Tagalog-English Code Switching." Ph.D. dissertation. Ateneo-PNC Consortium in Linguistics.

Constructs a model of the Filipino bilingual's linguistic competence on the basis of an analysis of Tagalog-English code switching. Presented are: a) a typology of Tagalog-English code switches, b) patterns and constraints in code switching, c) the main similarities and differences between Tagalog and English structure that facilitate or inhibit code switching, and d) a statement of the patterns and constraints in code switching as phrase structure rules that can be expected to generate an infinite set of sentences with code switches. Emphasis is on syntactic code-switching. Model: Chomsky (1965). Data: Pulong-pulong sa kaunlaran (Radio-TV discussion of current problems and issues in the Philippines).

- Bonife, Santiago A.** 1959. "Language Preference of Grade Six Pupils in Selected Schools in the Philippines." M.A. thesis. National University.

- Brual, Tomas G.** 1950. "A Study of How the Bilingual Instruction in a Typical High School Affects the Students." M.A. thesis. Adamson University.

Buenaventura, Amparo S. 1963. "Some Problems Related to Filipino Multilingualism." *Philippine Sociological Review*, vol. 11, nos. 1-2 (Jan.-April)

Cruzate, Lourdes C. 1970. "Tagalog Language Patterns of Greeting, Farewell, Address, Compliment and Obeisance." M.A. thesis. University of the Philippines.

Describes some language patterns of greeting, farewell, address, compliment, and obeisance in relation to such variables as sex, status, age, and social situation. Data taken from short stories published in *Liwayway* and actual conversations in different situations and analyzed according to Dell Hymes formula of ethno-linguistic analysis of speech events according to constituents and functions. Age of speaker found to be most crucial in determining relationships and forms of speech while sex is least considered in determining relationships.

Department of Education, Manila. 1953. "The Relative Effectiveness of the Vernacular and of English as Media of Instruction." Bureau of Public Schools Bulletin nos. 9, 12, 14, 15.

Dizon, Priscilla V. 1970. "The Effect of Language Instruction and Nature of Stimulus Materials on the Language Preference of Bilingual Pupils." M.A. thesis. Philippine Normal College.

Elkins, Richard E. 1974. "The Use of the Vernacular in Promoting Bilingualism among Linguistic Minorities." Paper read at National Seminar on Biligual Education. Ateneo de Manila University.

Feenstra, Henry J. 1970. "The Bilingual Filipino Child." *Occasional Paper*, No. 8. Language Study Center. Philippine Normal College.

Gonzalez, Andrew, FSC. 1974. "The Social Context of the Dissemination of Pilipino: a First Step towards Standardization." PSLP-ASANAL Second Conference on Asian Languages. Manila. Mimeographed.

Reviews studies done within the past decade which indicate the extent of the dissemination of Pilipino (Tagalog) in the Philippines. Predictions on the future of Pilipino as the official language of the Philippines are made. Focus is on elements in Philippine society which are presently contributing to Pilipino's spread in the islands: 1) its use as medium of instruction in the school system and the improving attitude of the people, particularly teachers, toward it; 2) migration of people, 3) the use of Pilipino in the mass media and the movies.

_____, 1971. "Language Policy in the Philippines: an Attempt at a Rational Compromise concerning the Medium of Instruction in Tagalog Speaking Areas." *Philippine Journal of Education*, vol. 50, No. 1,

_____, 1971. "The National Language and the Constitutional Convention." *The Catholic Teacher*, vol XVIII, No. 2.

Gonzales, Julia D. 1961. "Analysis of Three Major Problems Involved in Using the Regional Vernacular as the Medium of Instruction in the First Grade in Iloilo City." M.A. thesis. Central Philippine University.

Goulet, R.M. 1971. *English, Spanish and Tagalog: a Study of Grammatical, Lexical and Cultural Interference*. Special Monograph Issue No. 1, *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.

Hidalgo, Araceli C. 1974. "Recovering a Repertoire of Speech Functions Beneath Gross Forms." Seminar paper, University of Chicago. Forthcoming.

A study determining various speech functions underlying two surface forms of expressions in some Philippine languages and whether such speech functions such as requesting, challenging, pleading, instructing, ordering, etc. are coded in the language. It further determines the sincerity conditions (cultural assumptions)

for such speech functions to take place. These assumptions have been found to be culture specific (e.g. Tagalog and Ivatan --Philippine languages --differ from English in assumptions for the speech act of requesting to take place) and are encoded very subtly in the language.

and **Emy Pascasio**. 1973. "How Role Relationships, Domains, and Speech Situations Affect Language Use among Bilinguals." In *Parangal kay Cecilio Lopez* ed. by Andrew Gonzalez, FSC. Quezon City: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.

The study indicates that role relationships, domains and speech situations covary with language used by some first year college students coming from middle class and upper middle class families in the Manila area. Outside of the home the subjects speak Tagalog or English with their peer group level add with those below their peer group level in terms of status. With those above the peer group level, they speak English in the domain of school, otherwise they speak Tagalog. At home, they speak almost exclusively Tagalog to those below the peer group level. Speech situations that significantly affect language use are those involving commands and requests.

, et al. 1971. "The Language Orientation of the Filipino Bilingual in Terms of Fluency, Dominance, and Usage." Manuscript. Ateneo-PNC Ph D. Consortium in Linguistics.

Determines the language in which some bilingual high school students are fluent and/or dominant in various domains -- home, school, and neighborhood (friendship). Degree of fluency is determined by the extent of appropriate vocabulary the subjects come up with in a given situation and the language of dominance by what is reported to be automatically used given a situation. Results: subjects more fluent in their native language (Tagalog) in all domains language of fluency and the language of dominance do not coincide -- subjects report that they generally automatically use

English more than Tagalog in a given situation. The language of fluency, however, does not vary in the different domains while the language of dominance varies by domains. Language automatically used is contingent on interlocutor and topic.

Hidalgo, Cesar A. 1970. "Responsible Nationalism through Linguistics." *The Diliman Review*, vol. XVIII, No. 3 (July).

A three-part paper discussing generally (a) the status of Philippine linguistics (theoretical and applied), and specifically (b) proposals to make linguistics responsive to the language problems of the Philippines and (c) the development of Pilipino as the medium of instruction in Philippine schools. Part III discusses some problems of communication in terms of biculturalism.

Lynch, Frank and Ronald S. Himes. 1967. "Cognitive Mapping in the Tagalog Area." In *Modernization : Its Impact in the Philippines* ed. by W.F. Bello and M.C. Rolda. IPC Papers No. 4. Quezon City : Ateneo de Manila Press.

Determines communication problems between the well-educated Filipinos and those who are not, i.e., how the several kinds of Filipinos think about or categorize certain very important portions of reality, e.g. disease and kinship. Reports: incomplete congruence of cognitive domain of "disease" (English) and *sakit* (Tagalog), e.g. Tagalog includes "pain",; greater agreement among sample on sub-domain of skin disease than about the inclusive domain of all disease; clear correlation between recalling some disease names in English and involving germs as causal agents; informants who identified disease terms in Tagalog tended to ascribe diseases to environmental conditions, etc.

Marfil, Alice E. and Aida L. Pagnia. 1970. "An Analysis of Shifts from Tagalog to English in Printed Materials." M.A. thesis. Philippine Normal College.

Investigates language shifts (code-switching) and formulates rules of occurrence patterns of shifts, e.g. nominal phrases (Tagalog marker + English noun and Tagalog marker + English title and name) and verbals (Tagalog aspect + Tagalog affix + English base).

Mendoza, T.L. 1968. "A Comparison of the Bilingual Proficiency of Two Groups of Children with Different Early Home Language Learning." M.A. thesis Philippine Normal College.

Otanés, Fe T. and Bonifacio P. Sibayan. 1969. *Language Policy Survey of the Philippines*. Initial Report. Language Study Center. Philippine Normal College. Mimeographed.

Determines the language use and language attitudes of Filipinos in certain domains. Reports that: a) English is preferred as the medium of instruction for the primary, intermediate and high school levels; b) achieving success in an occupation of high prestige is associated with multilingualism (English, Pilipino, and the vernacular), c) indication of acceptance of bilingual instruction where some subjects are taught in English and in Pilipino d) the Pilipino used in schools meets the approval of the householders and teachers, e) determination of language policy should include consultations with parents and school personnel, f) English is still associated with certain personal goals directly or indirectly contributing to the individual's economic and social advancement; g) the vernacular is the most important language for oral communication with various types of persons, at home or outside; etc.

Parpan, Mariflor. 1974. "The Role of the Vernaculars in Bilingual Education Programs in the Philippines. Paper read at National Seminar on Bilingual Education. Ateneo de Manila University.

Pascasio, Emy M. 1973. *Language in its Socio-Cultural Context: a Sociolinguistics Approach*. Research Monograph. Culture Learning Institute. East-West Center.

An analysis of 125 contextual dialogs -- 80 Pilipino and 45 English. Reports: one pattern for the Pilipino interaction is that whenever there is a role shift there is code-switching; cues usually emanate from the superordinate participant in the interaction process; interlocutors sensing language difficulty of a member of the group quickly shift to the code which all can use comfortably;

switch to English or Tagalog is effected whenever there is a change in topic, e.g. national or international events, family matters; for Pilipino-English bilinguals, the combined features of English and Pilipino have become a natural way of speaking and expressing ideas more explicitly than does either language; etc.

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- _____. 1972. "The Language Behavior Profile of Selected Filipino Bilinguals Preprint : Proceedings of the XIth International Congress of Linguists. Bologna, Italy.

Determines whether there is a dominant language among Filipino bilinguals when Pilipino and English are readily available as a response, especially in a learning task. Findings : Pilipino nouns were better recalled than either verbs or adjectives; between verbs and adjectives there was no significant difference in the number of words recalled (similar result for English); Pilipino words as mediators were easiest to learn, whether stimulus and response words were in English or Pilipino, etc.

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- _____. and Asuncion Lande N. "Language Maintenance and Code-Switching among Filipino Bilingual Speakers." In *Social Factors in Language Contact*. ed. by William Mackey and Jacob Ornstein. Laval University. International Center on Bilingualism. Canada.

- Paterno, Adelaida.** 1974. "Language Orientation of Filipino Bilinguals." Paper read at National Seminar on Bilingual Education. Ateneo de Manila University.

- Perez, A.Q.** 1970. "A Factor Analysis of the Bilingual (Tagalog and English) Skills of Tagalog and Non-Tagalog Freshman Students." *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*, vol. 1, no. 2 (December)

- Pimentel, Lourdes C.** 1970. "A Study of the Patterns of Mixing English and Tagalog in Radio Broadcasts : a Descriptive Analysis." M.A. thesis. University of the Philippines.

A descriptive analysis of shifts from English to Tagalog and vice-versa in radio broadcasts. Reports that in almost all the constructions analyzed, function words tend to be Tagalog while content words tend to be English and most of the shifts occur in the nominal phrase. Five reasons reported to influence language mixing: precision, comic effect, atmosphere, emphasis and clarification, lack of Tagalog word or words that can describe what the speaker wants to convey.

Ramos, M., et. al. 1967. *The Determination and Implementation of Language Policy*. Philippine Center for Language Study. Quezon City: Alemar-Phoenix Publishing Company.

Roco, Ma. Milagros, FMM. "Survey of the Verbal Interactions in Some of the High School Classes in a Girl's College Using the Verbal Interaction Category System." M.A. thesis. Ateneo de Manila University.

Studies the interactive verbal behavior of teachers and students in the classroom to determine the extent of verbal interactions adopted in select subject areas using the Verbal Interaction Category System (E. Amidon and E. Hunter). Reports that on the aspect of sustained student participation, Pilipino had as much as 15.96% of the class time spent in the area while English had only 9.37%; a greater amount of teacher talk took place in the English subject areas.

Sibayan, Bonifacio P. 1974. "Language Standardization as a Component of Language Planning: a Suggested Typology." PSLP-SWP-ASANAL Second Conference on Asian Languages. Manila. Mimeographed.

Delineates various social variables to be considered in standardizing a language: potential users of the standard language (characteristics of whom would determine the facility or difficulty in accepting or implementing the standard language), the institutions or agencies for spreading the prescribed norms, and modernization demands for the standard language.

- Sibayan, Bonifacio P.** 1971. "Language Planning Processes and the Language-Policy Survey in the Philippines." In *Can Language Be Planned?* ed. by J. Rubin and B.H. Jernwed. East-West Center. The University Press of Hawaii.
- Socrates, Jose B.** 1964. "The Language Problem in the Public Schools of the Philippines. Chicago : Department of Photoduplication, University of Chicago Library Microfilm-4601.
- Taylor, D. and Robert Gardner.** 1968. "Bicultural Communications : a Study of Communicational Efficiency and Person Perception." Occasional Paper No. 2 Series 1968. Language Study Center. Philippine Normal College.
- Tucker, G.R.** 1968. "Profile of a Filipino Bilingual." Paper read at the National Conference on Language Teaching. Manila.
- Untalan, Pelagia.** 1950. "Difficulties in the National Language of the Students of the Philippine Normal School." M.A. thesis. University of the Philippines.
- Determines the difficulties encountered by the students of the Philippine Normal School in learning the national language (Tagalog) and the differences in the difficulties met by the Tagalog and non-Tagalog students. Difficulties discovered were in functional grammar, the recognition of interjections, verbs, gender, adverbs, and other parts of speech. For non-Tagalogs, it is vocabulary.
- Villamor, Esperanza.** 1974. "Code-Switching Processes among Filipino Bilinguals." Paper read at National Seminar on Bilingual Education. Ateneo de Manila University.
- Villanueva, Antonio F.** 1966. "The Origin, Growth and Future of 'Pilinipino'." *Unitas*, 39, No. 2.
- Voegelin, C.F. and F.M. Voegelin.** 1965. "Unified List of Austronesian Languages in Southeast Asia, Indonesia, the Philippines, Formosa, and Madagascar." *Anthropological Linguistics*, 7, No. 2.

Identifies Philippine-type languages as a group, locates it genetically in relation to other languages of the area. Subgrouping and sociolinguistic data on pages 57-71. (Ward)

Von Heiland, Katherine. 1965. "A Study of Cross-Cultural Differences in Assessment of Situations on the Analysis of Ten Bicultural Contexts of Situations." M.A. thesis. Ateneo de Manila University.

Yamio, Teodora. 1959. "Measures for the Development and Propagation of the Filipino Language." M.A. thesis. University of the Philippines.

Zamora, Benigno. 196_. "The Role of the Filipino Language in the Development of our National Culture." Cultural Foundation of the Philippines. Manila.

Historical, but it also enumerates factors involved in the national language development including the role of other languages. (Ward)

THE CASE OF DIVERSITY IN CAMBODIAN DIALECTS : BIBLIOGRAPHY

by

Thong Thel*

A.— INTRODUCTION

This bibliography, referred to the dialects of the minority in the Khmer Republic, had been largely compiled in H.L. Shorto, J.M. Jacob and E.H.S. Simmonds (bibliography of Mon-Khmer and Tai linguistic, London, Oxford University Press, 1963). I have just added those which have edited after 1963 up to now. This bibliography is written in an abridged form. The previous workshops on the linguistic of the minority were very scarce. As the result the linguistic field is not matured yet. Ancient work consists only of a rough handwritten list words. The annotated bibliography is done by alphabetical order of the author.

B.— ABBREVIATIONS

JSS	Journal of the Siam society
JA	Journal asiatique
MKS	Mon-Khmer Studies
IPLS	Indo-Pacific Linguistic Studies
IIEH	Institut Indochinois pour l'Etude de l'Homme.
SEI	Société des Etudes indochinoises
ASEMI	Asie du Sud Est et Monde Insulindien.
BEFEO	Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient
BSLP	Bulletin de la Société linguistique de Paris.

C.— WORK AND GENERAL ARTICLES

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D.- WORK AND ARTICLES RELATING TO THE CASE OF DIVERSITY IN THE KHMER DIALECTS

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– **-id-** *Les Sâmre ou Pear* in BEFEO, 1941.

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- idem—1962 word-final syllabics in Stieng. *Van-hoa Ngu yet-san* 11 : 846-848.
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[Considers Saoch closely related to Pear and Chong, the three of which sometimes referred to collectively as Samrê.]