

MODERNIZING BAHASA MALAYSIA: THE MALAYSIAN EXPERIENCE IN IMPLEMENTING ITS NATIONAL LANGUAGE

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(Received April 28, 1971)

INTRODUCTION

The national language of the Federation of Malaysia is Malay, now officially called Bahasa Malaysia (the Malaysian language). It first achieved this status in 1957, when the then Federation of Malaya obtained its independence from Britain. Formerly, the sole official language was the language of the colonial rulers, English; it was the language of instruction in schools, the language of the administration and courts of law, and the language of communication among the educated class. The languages of the people, Malay, Chinese and Tamil, with all the various dialects, were used only at the unofficial levels, such as in the homes, in the markets and shops and between friends at informal gatherings.

THE CHOICE OF MALAY

The choice of Malay as the national language was based on several compelling reasons. It was the language of the natives who then formed the biggest single group in the total population. Secondly, it was felt that in a multiracial, multilingual and multi-religious country such as Malaya, it was important to have a unifying factor, especially a language that could serve as a common medium of communication. In this case, Malay was the obvious choice. It would not have been logical to adopt a policy of multilingualism; neither would it have been practical to adopt one of the Chinese or Indian dialects as the national language since they were more or less mutually unintelligible. Thirdly, since ancient times, Malay had been the lingua franca of the people of Southeast Asia, not only between the native population of the various islands but also between non-native speakers who came to this area for reasons of trade, religion and imperialism. Although the introduction of the English language temporarily crippled it, Malay continued to be spoken in Malaya at the unofficial levels among the multilingual people of the country who were not conversant with English. Added to this was the fact that Malay was comparatively easy to learn and the colloquial Malay that was used was very flexible, with the native speakers themselves quite ready to adjust to the language interference found in the Malay of non-native speakers who were greatly influenced by their own language.

THE POSITION OF MALAY IN 1957

Although Malay became the official language of the Federation of Malaya in 1957, it was not in a position to carry out successfully all the functions expected of it. It is true that it had at one time been the language of the courts of rulers and the language of literature, but it suffered intense neglect during the colonial period. Under British rule, English took over all the important functions and Malay was pushed aside to exist only as a language for informal use such as in the home. A person had to go through an English-medium education to far in life; an English speaking man was automatically an educated person. Malay gradually became a second class language in society. A degraded form of

Malay, Bazaar Malay (Bahasa Melayu Pasar), was used in the markets, coffee shops, in the streets, etc., between Malays and non-Malays and among non-Malays who could not communicate in their own language because of dialectal differences.

Malay certainly then was not in a position to be the language of the administration, the language of the courts of law, the medium of instruction in schools and institutions of higher learning and the means to express ideas in science, technology, economy and other aspects of modern life. It was not that Malay was not capable of these functions, but two events led to this condition. One was the fact that the cultural development of the West came too quickly to Malaya and other countries of Asia and Africa, and these countries had to make quick adjustments to these social and cultural ideas and concepts. More often than not the invasion was faster than the adjustments. Secondly, the neglect of the colonial rulers left an impression so deep that adjustments, socially and culturally, and especially language-wise, took a comparatively longer time.

For this reason the Constitution of the Federation of Malaya, while accepting Malay as the national and sole official language, allowed the continued use of English, to give time for the development and enrichment of the Malay language necessary for it to carry out its functions successfully.

The above description carries this implication: included in the normal adjustment which new developing countries of Asia and Africa have to make as a result of the impact of western modernization, is the modernization of their languages, particularly the newly independent countries who felt it necessary, for reasons of national pride and national identity, to adopt a national language rather than continue using the language of their former rulers. This was neatly stated by Prof. S. T. Alisjahbana (1967): "Since the structure of the grammar of a language channels the expression of thought and feeling and since the vocabulary of a language represents the totality of the concepts of a culture and this mirrors the whole way of life and world view of the users, there is a dialectical interplay between the modernization of the language and the modernization of the concepts and thought in Asian societies and cultures. The modern concepts which are accepted by the Asian mind needed their adequate expression in Asian languages, and at the same time the modern grammar and vocabulary mould the Asian mind into the framework of modern concepts and ideas."

MODERNIZATION

What is meant by the modernization of a language? Basically it means the adaptations/adjustments required of a language in order to function successfully as the means of expression of modern ideas and concepts. The process of modernization, i.e. the changes/adaptations required in the adjustments to modern thought and culture, according to Prof. Alisjahbana (1967), primarily involves two things:

- (a) The creation of a new system of terminology in the fields of science, technology, economy and other areas of modern life. The terms, expressing modern concepts, are the core of modern language and culture.
- (b) The determination of the rules of grammar under the influence of and adjusted to modern thought and languages.

But generally, the process involves other factors as well, especially in an Afro-Asian country. It means the general preparation that a language has to undergo in order to equip itself to become a medium of instruction in schools and a medium of expressing

ideas and concepts which it has never expressed before. The process of the modernization of a language, especially in newly-independent countries where the national languages have suffered intense neglect, is normally carried out by one/several bodies set up by the government for this specific purpose. In the region of Asia, particularly Southeast Asia, we see the establishment of the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka (Language and Literature Agency) or bodies of similar names, especially in Malaya, Indonesia, Singapore and Brunei. All of them have the same aim, that is to look into the question of the national language of the country.

As has been stated above, the work of modernizing Malay was given to a body especially set up by the government. Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur (from now on referred to as the Dewan), was set up in 1956 as part of the Ministry of Education; later it was made an independent corporation with a Board of Control.

The Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Ordinance (1959) stipulates that the terms of reference of the Dewan are:

- i. to develop and enrich the national language;
- ii. to promote literary talents, especially in the national language;
- iii. to print or publish or assist in the printing or publication of books, magazines, pamphlets and other forms of literature in the national language as well as in the other languages;
- iv. to standardize the spelling and pronunciation, and to coin appropriate terminologies in the national language;
- v. to compile and publish a national language dictionary.

THE DEWAN BAHASA DAN PUSTAKA

Since the main tasks of modernizing Bahasa Malaysia was given to the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, it is worthwhile to look briefly into the achievements of this institution.

The Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka was established in July 1956 with the present Vice-Chancellor of the University of Malaya, Prof. Ungku Abdul Aziz, as its first director.

Faced with the formidable task of modernizing the language to make it possible for it to play its proper role in a new growing nation, the Dewan embarked upon several programmes, which included:

- i. coining new terms for use in offices and schools: this matter will be dealt with at some length in this paper;
- ii. writing and translating textbooks for schools. As schools were formerly using the English language, practically no textbooks were available, especially at the higher levels. To meet this demand the Dewan set up an intensive publication programme, producing books ranging from how to learn Malay for the non-Malays to textbooks for the primary and secondary schools. In 1964 the need became more urgent with the introduction of the first Malay-medium pre-university class, and to meet this demand the Dewan launched a crash programme of translating a selected number of advanced English books in history, sociology, economics, anthropology, linguistics, physics and mathematics into the national language. The translation programme was a transition measure while waiting for capable and experienced writers to produce original works in the national lan-

guage. "By the end of 1966", says Syed Nasir bin Ismail (1967), "barely seven years after it started to be actively engaged in the publishing industry the Dewan had, on record, more than 475 titles of books published in over 28,000,000 volumes";

- iii. preparing a modern dictionary. It was most essential to compile a modern, comprehensive and scientific dictionary containing not only the words already in existence in the language, but also to define and explain the many new words that had recently been introduced into the language. What was needed was a dictionary which could serve the needs of all the various peoples in the country: the non-Malay beginners, the pupils in schools, the officers who had to use the language in their day-to-day work and the general public who had to read the daily papers and official correspondence. In 1963 serious work began on the project, and last year, 1970, the Dewan proudly announced the sale of *Kamus Dewan*, its first dictionary;
- iv. campaigning for the general acceptance of the national language among the people, especially the non-Malays who either had little confidence in the ability of the national language or were afraid that their own languages will be threatened with the growing importance of the national language. A section of the Malay population, too, had to be convinced about the possibility of their mother tongue becoming the official language, for some of them, particularly the English-educated, had tremendous misgivings on the feasibility of Malay as a language of bureaucracy and a language of science and technology. A national language campaign was launched. It was more of a psychological war to wipe out the general myth of Malay as an "inferior" language as well as to reorientate the attitude of the general public with regard to the changed situation resulting from the change in the status of the country.

The Dewan had other smaller projects too, projects like preparing a national atlas and an encyclopedia. Since its establishment the Dewan has achieved tremendous success. It has made the national language acceptable to the nation as a whole and it has provided the biggest source of reading material in the national language, for it not only has produced textbooks for schools but also published regularly four monthly magazines, besides one or two other periodicals. The four magazines are:

- 1) Dewan Bahasa: a magazine for linguistic (and until recently) literature articles of good academic standard, with a greater part of its contributors coming from the campuses in Kuala Lumpur.
- 2) Dewan Masyarakat: a magazine catering to the general public, particularly for the non-Malays who wish to polish up their Bahasa Malaysia.
- 3) Dewan Pelajar: a magazine for pupils in primary and lower secondary schools.
- 4) Dewan Sastera: a magazine catering exclusively to people in literary circles.

MODERNIZING BAHASA MALAYSIA

As has been said, the two most important aspects in the modernization of a language, particularly in the Afro-Asian regions, are those of grammar and terminology.

In Malaysia more attention was given to terminology-building than to the writing of a modern grammar. It was felt by most people at the time that though both aspects were

of equal importance in the modernization of a language, in the Malaysian context the need for coining new terms was greater. The writing of a modern grammar would follow as a matter of course once there was a general acceptance and usage of the national language, but new terms had to be created before the language could be used as a means of expressing modern ideas and concepts. Thus the Dewan Bahasa and Pustaka concentrated its efforts on the coining of new terms, particularly technical terms in the national language.

WORD COINING

Upon embarking on word-coining the Dewan Bahasa took two concrete steps that were most praiseworthy, viz:

- a) The Dewan invited specialists from various fields of knowledge to sit on its terminology committees and requested each committee to sit regularly, at least weekly. The main function of these committees was to coin new terms within each man's fields of knowledge; the administration was to be conducted by the Dewan officials. A further incentive was given in the form of a small allowance to members present at each meeting.
- b) The Dewan provided each committee with eight guidelines by which they carried out their task. Linguistically speaking, these guidelines were sound and wise, for they provided a framework for the various committees to work on.

The above two steps taken by the Dewan, as stated earlier, were most praiseworthy. By inviting authorities from various fields of knowledge the Dewan had at its disposal a big pool of resources who for national reasons were most willing to cooperate with the Dewan in the programme. The part played by these specialists was clearly stated by the Dewan itself in a publication published in conjunction with its ten year exhibition. In it the Dewan says (1967:foreword): "Efforts to modernise the vocabulary of the language by addition of new terms particularly scientific ones, were intensified after 1960 It was indeed a great relief to see that the efforts received the most valuable cooperation of an impressive group of professional and educated members of the society. They came forward to sit in various Terminology Committees set up by the Dewan to coin the new terms with great care, patience and dedication." As a result of their sweat and labour, in 1967 some 71,000 terms, word combinations and phrases were coined; today the number has exceeded 90,000.

To date there are 24 Terminology Committees consisting of about 264 members who are experts in the various fields and professions. A good number of non-Malay academicians, scholars and professional people take active parts in various committee meetings. Most committees meet at least once a week.¹

THE METHODS USED IN WORD-COINING

The various committees used several methods in coining new terms. These can be briefly summed up as follows:

- 1) Using existing terms found in Malay.
- 2) Borrowing from English and other foreign languages.
- 3) Translation.

¹Some committees sat more often, especially in the early stages when the need for terms was really great.

4) Coining new words for foreign terms.

We will look at each method briefly.

1. USING EXISTING TERMS FOUND IN MALAY

This is in line with the first guideline given by the Dewan, which reads, "All words of knowledge and words denoting foreign equipment shall be continued to be used after suitable adjustments to the development of knowledge have been made." What is meant here is that where there are already words in the Malay language denoting ideas and concepts of knowledge, the Dewan recommends that these be employed in the terminology-building process. This guideline has been strictly adhered to by most committees, as can be seen in the examples below:

The committee for biology, forestry and agriculture, for example, has coined:

<i>mata</i>	for	eye
<i>mata-tunas</i>	for	bud
<i>abu</i>	for	ash
<i>petani</i>	for	farmer

All these words are everyday words used by the masses in their daily lives.

Another aspect of making use of existing words in the language for coining new terms of knowledge is to make use of words found in everyday life but given an extended, more specific meaning, connected with a certain idea or concept.

In other words, the method is to take an ordinary word of the language and to attach to it an extended meaning. There are many examples for this kind of terms, viz:

<i>word</i>	<i>original meaning</i>	<i>new extended meaning</i>
cherakin	a cupboard consisting of several layers	a description, an analysis
chepu	wooden or metal betel box	anther
balang	long-necked bottle	jar (scientific term)

2. BORROWING

As most of the fields of knowledge were brought into this country from elsewhere a lot of borrowing from other languages must take place within the process of word-coining. Borrowing is not something new in the Malay language. Malay borrowed a lot of words from several languages, particularly Sanskrit and Arabic. In the early days Sanskrit lifted Malay from a language of the ordinary people to a language of the court, the language of literature and a language capable of expressing refined ideas and concepts. With the coming of Islam to this region the Arabs also brought their language and since then the influence of Arabic on Malay has been tremendous. Today with the impact of western influence, particularly in the fields of science, technology, economy and other forms of modern life the Malay language is again faced with the prospect of borrowing words from the European languages in order to describe the ideas and concepts brought over by the European traditions.

Accordingly there are three aspects of borrowing, viz:

a) borrowing whole words as they are because they are used in most of the languages of the world in their original version, such words as:

- esprit de corps
- sandhi
- falsetto

b) borrowing from English and other languages terms of knowledge that have been used by most nations in the world, but adapting the terms in accordance with the structure of Malay. Such terms include:

bikar	for	beaker
alkohol	for	alcohol
molikul	for	molecule
hiderojan	for	hydrogen

This is based on the desire to bring Malay as close to the languages of knowledge as possible. Furthermore, this would be of advantage in the context of standardization with Bahasa Indonesia, as the Indonesians also borrow from another European language, viz: Dutch. A third factor is that this is the best method as some words are quite impossible to translate successfully.

c) borrowing of morphemes. Certain morphemes carrying specific meanings have been borrowed, not only from the European languages, but also from Arabic and Sanskrit. Most of these morphemes are bound morphemes that are added on to newly coined terms. Among them are:

pro-	as in	prokomunis (pro-communist)
anti-	as in	anti-penjajah (anti-colonial)
wati	as in	angkasawati (female astronaut)

3. TRANSLATION

Under this heading is meant loan-translation, i.e. translating the concept and using words in the Malay language that carry the same idea or concept. Hundreds of new words, compounds and phrases are formed in this way, as for example:

pengerusi	for	chairman (kerusi = chair, pe- = prefix denoting doer)
surat perkeliling	for	circular letter (surat = letter, keliling = around)
peluru berpandu	for	guided missile (peluru = bullet, pandu = to guide)
ubahansur	for	evolution (ubah = to change, ansur = slowly)
latarkata	for	commentary (latar = background, kata = word)

4. COINING NEW WORDS FOR FOREIGN TERMS

This is one of the popular methods employed by most committees. Most committees

especially those with conservative members took pains to form new words that look and sound "Malay" and are most reluctant to borrow. As a result they came up with several ways of coining new terms, some good, some questionable from the point of linguistics. As this paper proposes to look into word coining as an aspect of modernizing Malay it would be of advantage to state the various methods employed:

a) By combining two base words resulting in a compound word:

tindakbalas	= reaction	from	tindak (act) + balas (react)
garispusat	= diameter	from	garis (straightline) + pusat (centre)
sukukata	= syllable	from	suku (a section) + kata (word)
rasa-indah	= aesthetics	from	rasa (feel) + indah (beautiful)
pasang-surut	= tide	from	pasang (high tide) + surut (low tide)

As can be seen, some of the terms coined are separated by hyphens, some are not.

b) By combining two base words and allowing the assimilation of a syllable or a phoneme to take place:

jangkala	= for pair of dividers	from	jangka (space, distance) + kala (time)
debunga	= pollen	from	debu (dust) + bunga (flower)
alatulis	= stationery	from	alat (instrument) + tulis (to write)
gambarajah	= diagram	from	gambar (picture) + rajah (diagram)

c) By combining syllables from two or more words:

jentolak	= bulldozer	from	<i>jentera</i> (engine) + <i>tolak</i> (to push)
jelu	= pun	from	<i>jenaka</i> (joke) + <i>luchu</i> (funny)
maging	= carnivorous	from	<i>makan</i> (to eat) + <i>daging</i> (meat)
lamtanah	= hypogean	from	<i>dalam</i> (inside) + <i>tanah</i> (earth)

d) By partial reduplication, i.e. reduplication of the first syllable only:

pepejal	= solid	from	pejal + pejal (firm)
jejari	= radius	from	jari + jari (finger)
gendang	= diaphragm	from	gendang + gendang (drum)
sesungut	= antenna	from	sungut + sungut (feelers)

SOME COMMENTS ON THE PROCESS OF WORD-COINING BY THE DEWAN

Since 1957, when the first Terminology Committee (Committee for Designation and Departmental Terms) was formed, the Dewan has made tremendous progress in this area. As a result of the cooperation given by the various specialists sitting on the committees and the determination of the Dewan itself to produce enough terms to make the Malay language an effective instrument in the advancement of the nation's educational, economic and technological aspirations, it was able to show, ten years later, enough evidence of its hard labour. By then some 71,000 terms had been coined, and more were in the process of formation.

The success of word-coining has not gone unnoticed. Much praise was showered on the Dewan for the quantity of terms produced. Much more praise went to the various people involved, especially the specialists who had spent a lot of their valuable time sitting at the meetings.

The process of word-coining itself came to much notice. A lot of discussions took place with regard to some words that were coined and some methods that were used. A lot of praise went to some of the methods employed, particularly:

- a) the method of coining words by partial reduplication.
- b) the method of employing some morphemes that had been used in the Malay language but were no longer productive.
- c) the method of making use of existing words in the language, either by extending their meanings or by combining them to form compounds.

Method (a) is highly applauded because it is one way of forming words in Malay, although at present no longer productive. In Malay one gets:

kekura	from	kura-kura	=	tortoise
kekuda	from	kuda-kuda	=	toy horse
lelangit	from	langit-langit	=	palate

which shows a process of partial reduplication. Reduplication in all its forms, such as complete reduplication, e.g. *rumah-rumah* (= houses), reduplication with internal change, e.g. *gunung-ganang* (mountains), *sayur-mayur* (vegetables), is found in abundance in Malay. While other forms of reduplication continue to be productive in word-formation in the language, the partial reduplication process has slowly gone out of use. Thus the decision of the Terminology Committees to adopt this system as one of the methods in the process of word-coining revives an old and genuine method of word-formation in the language, and its acceptability in terms of its users and its suitability can be easily seen in the number of new terms formed this way, e.g.:

pepenjuru	for	diagonal (penjuru = corner)
chechair	for	liquid (chair = liquid form)
sesentoh	for	contact (sentoh = to come into contact)
checheper	for	orbiculate (cheper = low-rimmed saucer or plate)

It is the same with method (b), the employment of some morphemes that are no longer productive in Malay. By making use of morphemes that were once popular in the language, the Terminology Committees have found a useful solution to some of their difficulties. This is especially true of the morphemes *-man*, *-wan* and *-wati* (originally from Sanskrit) denoting person or doer. When in possession of a noun denoting a concept, and pressed to produce a word denoting a person or the doer of the concept, they can always resort to adding any of the three morphemes above, thus:

juta	=	million	jutawan	=	millionaire
angkasa	=	outer space	angkasawan	=	astronaut (male)
			angkasawati	=	astronaut (female)

The third method, making use of existing words in the language and creating new terms either by giving extended meanings or by combining two or more words to form compounds, is commendable because the employment of existing words in Malay makes most people, particularly the purists, very happy. The reason is that such a method clearly displays the ability and wealth of the language; and secondly, the method makes use of existing features found in the language.

Like most things the process of word-formation in Malay has some weak points. Firstly, in its early days the Dewan was so immersed in the problem of making the nation as a whole accept the national language that it could not give enough attention to the day-to-day activities of the various Terminology Committees. These Committees were left too much on their own and they made decisions on important linguistic issues independently. More damaging was the fact that the Dewan was lacking in linguistically-trained staff; and as a consequence not enough stress was given to the importance of having linguistically-trained members sitting on the various committees or in a higher-level body to look into the problems faced by the committees in the course of their work. The Dewan did not even possess a coordinating body to supervise and coordinate the work of the various committees. Although as early as 1964 this idea was suggested by Prof. A. A. Teeuw,² no concrete steps were taken to implement it. Consequently, a lot of linguistic problems arose, and because most of the members sitting on the various committees were experts in their own fields but were no experts in the science of language, the solutions given to some of the problems were either linguistically not sound or else no solutions were made and the problems were left as they were. Some of the weaknesses present in the process of word-formation were as follows:

(i) *Lack of uniformity in word-coining.*

There was no uniformity in the methods employed by the various committees. In the translation method, the question of spelling, for example, did not conform to any method, as can be seen in the two examples below:

(a) arkib	for	archive
morfim	for	morpheme
		<i>but</i>
katun	for	cartoon
(b) kuantiti	for	quantity
		<i>but</i>
qota	for	quota

(ii) *Words formed by the combination of several syllables.*

This refers to the method of creating new terms by taking syllables from several words and combining them to form compound words thus:

from <i>makan</i> (to eat) + <i>daging</i> (meat)	is formed	<i>maging</i> = carnivorous
from <i>makan</i> (to eat) + <i>serba</i> (all kinds of)	is formed	<i>maserba</i> = omnivorous

²This was suggested in a paper presented to The Dewan and some members of the Terminology Committees written on 23.9.1964. Prof. Teeuw was seconded by UNESCO for a short period to help the Dewan in its dictionary project.

from *angka* (figure) + *tetap* (fixed) is formed *angkatap* = constant
 from *ganas* (wild) + *kasar* (rough) is formed *gasar* = barbaric

The above method is an extraordinary one; it is completely unsuitable for word-formation in Malay. This method is not found on a large scale anywhere in the world. The normal method of word-formation is based on the combination of meaningful elements, but it is not so with the above method. For *maging*, for example, they have taken *ma* from *makan* (to eat) and *ging* from *daging* (meat); on the other hand, for *angkatap*, they have taken the whole of the word *angka* (figure, number) and the syllable *tap* from *tetap* (fixed). Moreover, *ma* in *makan* or *tap* in *tetap* are not meaningful elements.³ As a result of this lack of system, this method taxes the mind of the user, and thus on this point too is poor.

(iii) *Coining technical terms.*

The terminology committees, in coining terms, make no distinction between technical terms and everyday terms used by the layman. This is contrary to the practice of most languages. English, for example, makes a distinction between:

the skin	and	the	dermis,	or
the stomach	and	the	abdomen	

but the terms coined by the various committees for the above words are the very same ones used by the laymen in their daily lives. There no distinction is made at all between the terms of scientific and ordinary vocabulary. Thus:

kulit is used for the skin as well as the
 dermis

(iv) *No coordinating body.*

The last weakness found in the process of word-coining is that the work of the various committees was allowed to proceed by itself without a coordinating body to look into the techniques and the methods used. The Terminology Section of the Dewan, as the administrative body, of course did some coordinating work, but because of the lack of linguistically-trained staff, it functioned effectively only as an administrative body and failed as a coordinating body looking after the word-coining process itself. The Dewan did set up an Advisory body for this purpose, but it was not effective, as it met only three times in the last 13 years. Moreover, since the non-linguists far outnumber the linguists, solutions that were arrived at were seldom linguistically satisfactory. At these meetings the ordinary public was also invited to participate and contribute ideas. It is little wonder that most of the problems that faced the process of word-coining remained problems and were never solved. Among these problems are: inconsistencies in spelling and inconsistencies in the borrowing of certain foreign morphemes.

Under the heading of spelling lies the question related to the problem of whether to borrow from the English language the way a word is spelt or the way it is pronounced. Is the word *dialect*, for example, to be coined as *dailek* or *dialek*? In the same way, is *sociology* to be spelt *sosiologi* or *socioloji*? To date, no firm decision has been made, and each com-

³Compare with *pe-* (morpheme denoting the doer) in *pemakan*, where *pe-* denotes the person doing the eating.

mittee has made its own stand with regard to this matter. As such we get words like *arkib* and *morfim* formed together with *katun*, *kualiti* and *qota*, and *tisu* together with *muzik*.

Similarly, no decision has been made with regard to the borrowing of certain linguistic forms, and this has led to some disorder. Over the question of the morpheme *-logy*, as in sociology, biology, for example, there have been two opposing views. One party wished to equate *-logy* to the Malay word *kaji* (research, investigation); thus sociology and biology would be *kajimasharakat* (*masharakat* = society) and *kajihayat* (*hayat* = life) respectively; another party opposed this view by pointing out that not all *-logy* forms carry the meaning of *kaji* and as such it would not be practical to adopt this stand. This group went further to say that rather than adopt the above stand they preferred to borrow the form *-logy* and adapt it to the Malay spelling; thus sociology would be *socioloji/sosiologi*.

MALAY AS A MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION IN SCHOOLS

The first Malay school in Malaya was opened in 1821 as a branch of the Penang Free School. But education in the Malay medium under the colonial period was only at the primary level. Any pupil wishing to further his education beyond the primary level was allowed to do so by switching into the English medium, after spending one year in a "Special Malay Class," but the number of such students was small.

In 1957 a committee, chaired by the then Minister of Education and the present Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tun Abdul Razak, made a study of the education system in the context of an independent Malaya. The report, known as the Razak Report, laid down a policy which was "to establish an educational system which is national in its scope and purpose and based mainly on the national language, and at the same time preserves and sustains the various languages and cultures of our country." These principles have since been enshrined in the Education Ordinance, 1957, and re-asserted in the Rahman Talib Review Report, 1960.

On September 1, 1967, ten years after achieving independence the national language became the sole official language of the nation. Within ten years Malay had been gradually introduced into the education system; this was to prepare for the gradual adoption of the national language as the main medium of instruction. It had been made a compulsory subject of the curriculum for all classes, both in primary and secondary schools, for the last ten years. It was a compulsory subject for promotion from primary to secondary school (till the Malaysian Secondary School Entrance Examination was discontinued in 1964); and it was required for the degree of the Lower Certificate of Education (and from 1970 onward of the Malaysian Certificate of Education following the discontinuation of Overseas School Certificate).

Beginning in 1969 all subjects were taught in Bahasa Malaysia in Standard I in all national schools. The process of replacing English with Bahasa Malaysia as a medium of instruction will gradually make it possible for the national language to become the main medium of instruction. English will continue to be taught as a subject. The general policy is to make a student bilingual, or rather trilingual; that is, he will learn his own mother tongue, either as a subject in the school curriculum, or a means of communication in the homes.

Today, Malay as the medium of instruction has reached its peak. In the University of Malaya, more and more courses are being offered in Bahasa Malaysia. A third University in

the country, the National University, which took in its first batch of students last year, has Bahasa Malaysia as its only medium of instruction.

CONCLUSION

There is no doubt that Bahasa Malaysia, the national language of Malaysia, has been playing a successful role in the task of nation building. The path to success, however, has not been easy. It had to overcome the prejudice of an English-oriented people, not only from the non-Malays but from a section of the Malay speakers themselves. It had also to equip itself technically to enable it to play its role successfully. Today the process is almost complete. In parliament and in the courts of law, Bahasa Malaysia is used in almost all instances, although non-Bahasa Malaysia speakers who have not mastered the language very well are allowed the use of English. All official correspondence of the administration are in Bahasa Malaysia and almost all functions of the government are conducted in the national language except at gatherings where there is international participation. The role of the language as a unifying factor, assimilating the different peoples of the Malaysian nation, will take a comparatively longer time, but if the spirit of give-and-take among these peoples of different ethnic and cultural background are maintained, this goal can be achieved very soon.

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Corrigenda to Antoon Postma, S.V.D., "Contemporary Mangyan Scripts," *Philippine Journal of Linguistics* 2(1):1-12.

Footnote 20 (page 10) should read:

²⁰This was confined to the Mangyans of the Southern part of Mindoro, who belong to one language family. The Northern Mangyan tribes (Alangan, Iraya, etc.) belonging to a separate language family, don't show any indication of ever having possessed the syllabic script of their Southern Mangyan neighbors.

Footnote 21 should be added (page 11):

²¹Certain authors are suggesting that the origin of the Philippine Syllabaries should be restricted to a certain group of Indonesians, i.e., the Buginese of Southern Celebes. They base this on the alleged fact that the Buginese have no final consonants in their spoken language. This should explain why the Philippine Syllabaries do not record final consonants. However, it leaves many other things unexplained. It should be considered, moreover, that it belongs to the very nature of the script to express the syllables without final consonants. Wherever final consonants are expressed, it is done by the "syllable-cluster" system as described above, or by diacritic marks that are added to the character.