Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities

About the Journal

Overview

Pertanika Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities (JSSH) is the official journal of Universiti Putra Malaysia published by UPM Press. It is an open-access online scientific journal which is free of charge. It publishes the scientific outputs. It neither accepts nor commissions third party content.

Recognized internationally as the leading peer-reviewed interdisciplinary journal devoted to the publication of original papers, it serves as a forum for practical approaches to improving quality in issues pertaining to social and behavioural sciences as well as the humanities.

JSSH is a **quarterly** (*March, June, September* and *December*) periodical that considers for publication original articles as per its scope. The journal publishes in **English** and it is open to authors around the world regardless of the nationality.

The Journal is available world-wide.

Aims and scope

Pertanika Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities aims to develop as a pioneer journal for the social sciences with a focus on emerging issues pertaining to the social and behavioural sciences as well as the humanities.

Areas relevant to the scope of the journal include Social Sciences—Accounting, anthropology, Archaeology and history, Architecture and habitat, Consumer and family economics, Economics, Education, Finance, Geography, Law, Management studies, Media and communication studies, Political sciences and public policy, Population studies, Psychology, Sociology, Technology management, Tourism; Humanities—Arts and culture, Dance, Historical and civilisation studies, Language and Linguistics, Literature, Music, Philosophy, Religious studies, Sports.

History

Pertanika was founded in 1978. A decision was made in 1992 to streamline Pertanika into three journals as Journal of Tropical Agricultural Science, Journal of Science & Technology, and **Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities** to meet the need for specialised journals in areas of study aligned with the interdisciplinary strengths of the university.

After almost 25 years, as an interdisciplinary Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities, the revamped journal focuses on research in social and behavioural sciences as well as the humanities, particularly in the Asia Pacific region.

Goal of *Pertanika*

Our goal is to bring the highest quality research to the widest possible audience.

Quality

We aim for excellence, sustained by a responsible and professional approach to journal publishing. Submissions are guaranteed to receive a decision within 14 weeks. The elapsed time from submission to publication for the articles averages 5-6 months.

Abstracting and indexing of *Pertanika*

Pertanika is almost 38 years old; this accumulated knowledge has resulted the journals being indexed in SCOPUS (Elsevier), Thomson (ISI) Emerging Sources Citation Index (ESCI), Web of Knowledge [BIOSIS & CAB Abstracts], EBSCO, DOAJ, ERA, AGRICOLA, Google Scholar, ISC, TIB, Journal Guide, Citefactor, Cabell's Directories and MyCite.

Future vision

We are continuously improving access to our journal archives, content, and research services. We have the drive to realise exciting new horizons that will benefit not only the academic community, but society itself.

Citing journal articles

The abbreviation for *Pertanika* Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities is *Pertanika J. Soc. Sci. Hum.*

Publication policy

Pertanika policy prohibits an author from submitting the same manuscript for concurrent consideration by two or more publications. It prohibits as well publication of any manuscript that has already been published either in whole or substantial part elsewhere. It also does not permit publication of manuscript that has been published in full in Proceedings.

Code of Ethics

The Pertanika Journals and Universiti Putra Malaysia takes seriously the responsibility of all of its journal publications to reflect the highest in publication ethics. Thus all journals and journal editors are expected to abide by the Journal's codes of ethics. Refer to Pertanika's **Code of Ethics** for full details, or visit the Journal's web link at http://www.pertanika.upm.edu.my/code_of_ethics.php

International Standard Serial Number (ISSN)

An ISSN is an 8-digit code used to identify periodicals such as journals of all kinds and on all media–print and electronic. All Pertanika journals have ISSN as well as an e-ISSN.

Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities: ISSN 0128-7702 *(Print)*; ISSN 2231-8534 *(Online)*.

Lag time

A decision on acceptance or rejection of a manuscript is reached in 3 to 4 months (average 14 weeks). The elapsed time from submission to publication for the articles averages 5-6 months.

Authorship

Authors are not permitted to add or remove any names from the authorship provided at the time of initial submission without the consent of the Journal's Chief Executive Editor.

Manuscript preparation

Refer to Pertanika's **INSTRUCTIONS TO AUTHORS** at the back of this journal.

Most scientific papers are prepared according to a format called IMRAD. The term represents the first letters of the words **I**ntroduction, **M**aterials and Methods, **R**esults, **A**nd, **D**iscussion. IMRAD is simply a more 'defined' version of the "IBC" [Introduction, Body, Conclusion] format used for all academic writing. IMRAD indicates a pattern or format rather than a complete list of headings or components of research papers; the missing parts of a paper are: *Title, Authors, Keywords, Abstract, Conclusions*, and *References*. Additionally, some papers include Acknowledgments and Appendices.

The *Introduction* explains the scope and objective of the study in the light of current knowledge on the subject; the *Materials and Methods* describes how the study was conducted; the *Results* section reports what was found in the study; and the *Discussion* section explains meaning and significance of the results and provides suggestions for future directions of research. The manuscript must be prepared according to the Journal's **INSTRUCTIONS TO AUTHORS**.

Editorial process

Authors are notified with an acknowledgement containing a *Manuscript ID* on receipt of a manuscript, and upon the editorial decision regarding publication.

Pertanika follows a **double-blind peer-review** process. Manuscripts deemed suitable for publication are usually sent to reviewers. Authors are encouraged to suggest names of at least three potential reviewers at the time of submission of their manuscript to Pertanika, but the editors will make the final choice. The editors are not, however, bound by these suggestions.

Notification of the editorial decision is usually provided within ten to fourteen weeks from the receipt of manuscript. Publication of solicited manuscripts is not guaranteed. In most cases, manuscripts are accepted conditionally, pending an author's revision of the material.

As articles are double-blind reviewed, material that might identify authorship of the paper should be placed only on page 2 as described in the first-4 page format in Pertanika's **Instructions to Authors** given at the back of this journal.

The Journal's peer-review

In the peer-review process, three referees independently evaluate the scientific quality of the submitted manuscripts.

Peer reviewers are experts chosen by journal editors to provide written assessment of the **strengths** and **weaknesses** of written research, with the aim of improving the reporting of research and identifying the most appropriate and highest quality material for the journal.

Operating and review process

What happens to a manuscript once it is submitted to *Pertanika*? Typically, there are seven steps to the editorial review process:

1. The Journal's chief executive editor and the editorial board examine the paper to determine whether it is appropriate for the journal and should be reviewed. If not appropriate, the manuscript is rejected outright and the author is informed.

2. The chief executive editor sends the article-identifying information having been removed, to three reviewers. Typically, one of these is from the Journal's editorial board. Others are specialists in the subject matter represented by the article. The chief executive editor asks them to complete the review in three weeks.

   Comments to authors are about the appropriateness and adequacy of the theoretical or conceptual framework, literature review, method, results and discussion, and conclusions. Reviewers often include suggestions for strengthening of the manuscript. Comments to the editor are in the nature of the significance of the work and its potential contribution to the literature.

3. The chief executive editor, in consultation with the editor-in-chief, examines the reviews and decides whether to reject the manuscript, invite the author(s) to revise and resubmit the manuscript, or seek additional reviews. Final acceptance or rejection rests with the Edito-in-Chief, who reserves the right to refuse any material for publication. In rare instances, the manuscript is accepted with almost no revision. Almost without exception, reviewers' comments (to the author) are forwarded to the author. If a revision is indicated, the editor provides guidelines for attending to the reviewers' suggestions and perhaps additional advice about revising the manuscript.

4. The authors decide whether and how to address the reviewers' comments and criticisms and the editor's concerns. The authors return a revised version of the paper to the chief executive editor along with specific information describing how they have answered' the concerns of the reviewers and the editor, usually in a tabular form. The author(s) may also submit a rebuttal if there is a need especially when the author disagrees with certain comments provided by reviewer(s).

5. The chief executive editor sends the revised paper out for re-review. Typically, at least one of the original reviewers will be asked to examine the article.

6. When the reviewers have completed their work, the chief executive editor in consultation with the editorial board and the editor-in-chief examine their comments and decide whether the paper is ready to be published, needs another round of revisions, or should be rejected.

7. If the decision is to accept, an acceptance letter is sent to all the author(s), the paper is sent to the Press. The article should appear in print in approximately three months.

The Publisher ensures that the paper adheres to the correct style (in-text citations, the reference list, and tables are typical areas of concern, clarity, and grammar). The authors are asked to respond to any minor queries by the Publisher. Following these corrections, page proofs are mailed to the corresponding authors for their final approval. At this point, **only essential changes are accepted**. Finally, the article appears in the pages of the Journal and is posted on-line.

Pertanika Journal of

SOCIAL SCIENCES & HUMANITIES

A special edition devoted to
Malay Studies in the Contemporary World

Guest Editors
Shaiful Bahri Md. Radzi & Muhd. Norizam Jamian

JSSH
Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities
AN INTERNATIONAL PEER-REVIEWED JOURNAL

Preface

Alhamdulillah, with the grace of Allah s.w.t., this Special Edition of the PERTANIKA Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities (JSSH) is successfully completed. This issue is a result of a Colloquium held atthe School of Malay Language, Literature and Culture 2014. It was organised and hosted by the School of Malay Language, Literature and Culture, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM). The conference was held from 19th to 20th March 2014 at the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

The theme of the conference was '*Malay Studies in the Contemporary World*', which was aimed at providing an in-depth understanding of the contemporary Malay world, leading to an appreciation of the challenges faced by it in adapting and adjusting to the conditions of the modern world. This theme focused on the development of Malay Studies in the global and contemporary context. Malay studies is not a rigid field but dynamic in accordance with the passage of time. The conference managed to attract presenters who discussed the evolution and transformation of Malay Studies in and its relation to ethics, gender, children, psychology, environment, politics, media, commercialisation and law in changing times.

The 13 papers selected for this special edition cover research on three broad domains of Malay studies – Language, Literature and Culture. In line with the guidelines of *Pertanika* Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities (JSSH), the papers underwent blind review and the final papers were accepted after incorporating editorial comments. We are grateful for the rigour of the review process and thank the reviewers for graciously consenting to do the job, and the contributors who patiently went through drafts and comments.

We thank the authors and reviewers for their hard work and diligence in making this special issue publication possible. We are also grateful to our Chairperson, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Maslida Yusof, for her constant encouragement and guidance, helpful suggestions and excellent coordination that contributed towards making this publication a reality.

Last but not least, this issue is a concerted effort made possible with the help of Dr. Nayan Kanwal, the Chief Executive Editor and his dedicated *Pertanika* team at the Journal Division, UPM, who supported us at every stage of this publication.

It is our sincere hope that this collection of well written and well researched articles will be a valuable resource for readers and stimulate further research in Malay studies.

Guest Editors
Muhd Norizam Jamian
Shaiful Bahri Md. Radzi *(Assoc. Prof. Dr.)*

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Malay Party Conflict in the Eyes of an Author: An Analysis of *Busa Kalbu*

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ABSTRACT

This article aims to examine the conflict described by Arena Wati in his novel *Busa Kalbu* (2002). This novel shows the conflict that occurs in a Malay political party dealing with the upcoming General Assembly. The General Assembly includes the selection of top leaders with the conflict taking various forms related to power struggle, such as hostility, drop-passing and corruption and money politics. The study found the general conference to which the author refers to is actually the General Assembly. It ends with the UMNO Conference. The paper blends with the author's creativity to turn it into creative reality.

Keywords: Conflict, conventions, election, leaders, Malay party, politics, power, rivalry

INTRODUCTION

Literary works are born of experience and knowledge of an author and which blends with the author's imagination, creativity and vision (Baha, 2002). What happens in the environment provides a fodder to the author to produce a work of literature. The many turbulences experienced by the community is depicted by authors through their works. The Conference of the United Malays National Organization (UMNO) is one of the main annual events in Malaysia. This conference receives wide media coverage both in Malaysia and overseas as it is a conference of the Malay party, UMNO, which leads the BN government in Malaysia. The power struggles featured in this Conference are a source of many conflicts taking the form of character-assassination campaign, backstabbing, corruption, money politics and others. The power struggle occurring in UMNO is discussed by Arena Wati in his Busa Kalbu. This book was published by the National University of Malaysia in 2002.

This novel focuses on the annual UMNO General Assembly held in Kuala Lumpur which coincides with party elections. This results in a split in the party because of the competition for top posts. Party followers split into two groups; the first group defends its party position while the second group tries to take over the reins of power. In order to achieve victory, the groups resort to money politics which also results in widespread hostilities that lead to unprecedented violence (including murder), vote fraud or vote rigging and poison pen letters among others.

Faced with such a situation, Syed Zahid Omar and two political veterans work hard to ensure victory in favour of the group that they support which has held power for some time. The various ways they did to ensure their group's victory is through vote buying and cheating in the selection process by creating bogus votes. Finally, their group emerged victories albeit with a small margin.

RESEARCH PROBLEM

An author has a close relationship with the community because he or she is a part of the community. What happens in the community provides a fodder and material for the author to produce a work of fiction via creative reality. Authors observe and analyse current political situations in the country; and blends them with his or her creative imagination and an ideology to produce a work of art. This study examines the view of Arena Wati, a well-known author and critique of the Malaysian political

situation, in his novel titled Busa Kalbu which examines at the power struggle and ensuing hostilities that occur in UMNO, a Malay-based political party in Malaysia.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

(i)   To see how the turbulence that occurs in a Malay political party is captured in a novel and blended with creative reality.

(ii) To examine the views of a Malay author on the political situation in Malaysia.

(iii) To look at the role of literature as a socio-political recorder of history in a country.

(iv) To educate the community about the harmful effects of the negative attitude of the political leaders.

OPERATIONAL CONCEPT

This paper uses the operational concept of literature review. It discusses many irregularities committed by politicians. Issues such as fraud in elections, the division between party members, money politics and others are described by the author. Authors usually display a bad image of politicians who may look like perfect politicians physically but suffer from a damaged faith. This article approaches the theme of the novel from the perspective of conflict.

Conflict means contradiction between individuals or specific groups. Dissent or disagreement includes resistance to powerful individuals or groups. According to Ting (1985, p. 67), conflict is a direct and conscious antagonism between individuals or groups to achieve common goals. In

order to achieve the common goal, the opposing team must be defeated first. In a conflict situation, due to rising enmity, often beating the opponent is more important than the achievement of goals. Conflict theories emphasise conflict as a key element in social life. It is considered normal and which cannot be avoided. Tjosvold (1993) said that "conflicts exist due to humans having different desires. This situation will bring the occurrence of conflict with each other."

The conflict should be resolved or balanced (Conn, 1971). This is necessary to ensure adverse or negative effects do not occur. The main role of a mediator is to ensure a fair deal for the community. To resolve this conflict, the mediator requires adequate power and must be legally qualified for the job to resolve the conflict. The need for power in resolving this conflict is asserted by Miller and Rowe, two political scientists whose research has focused on the relationship between political conflicts and consensus achieved in human societies. The key assumption in their approach that revolves around the fact that members of the community have different goals, and different goals lead to conflict is that the conflict needs to be controlled if society wants to continue to exist. Controlling and balancing conflicts between conflict and consensus require power (Syed, 1994, pp. 29-30).

This is what Arena Wati portrays in Busa Kalbu. Problems that recur in the country due to political conflicts are illustrated again and again through characters such as Omar Syed Zahid, Syed Mokhtar, Baim and others. Among the themes tackled by Arena Wati in this novel are power struggles (vying and fighting for posts in the party), abuse of power, fraud in the voting process that in turn led to a number of conflicts with the opposition and animosity among party followers, jealousy, slander, money politics and poison pen letters. What is disturbing is the pretentious attitude of political leaders that on the outset look genuine especially from the point of appearance, but their hearts are described as being 'full of dirt'. Arenawati describe leaders who paint an image of themselves as passionate fighters but in reality, are only interested in accumulating wealth for themselves and their families.

ANALYSIS

Busa Kalbu shows the contradiction between two rival groups in a Malay political organisation. Conflicts occur during the General Assembly held in Kuala Lumpur. The existing leadership is led by one group and scrambling for positions has caused a split in the party into Team A and Team B. Both sides resort to various tactics to achieve victory. The advent of these dissidents raises concern among veteran leaders because of self-interest. Their position would be affected if the power holders are defeated in the elections. Syed Omar as a veteran political leader feels the tension due to this resistance.

> *"We are riding a horse with a broken leg." Laments Syed Omar painful.*

*"If the horse collapsed, we also fall!
Salmah warned. "Danger!"*

"What are your thoughts?" asked
Syed Omar to his wife.

*"Time just ten days away but there
is still much to be done."* Salmah
depressed. *"Supporting from the
external sector, the trade sector
and youth who are not satisfied so
far, already integrated."* (Arena,
2002, p. 23)

As the leader of the party since its
establishment, this resistance is not
appreciated by Syed Omar. The victory of
the opponent would threaten the position of
Syed Omar as a Malay Kedah party leader.
Pressure is felt when the rebels receive
substantial support from delegates. Groups
supported by Syed Omar are expected to
suffer heavy losses. Most of the delegates
provide support to the opposing team (Team
B):

*"...They said, their leader, Tuan
Habib will be severe. For the party
presidency, Team A can only win
twenty seven areas. Team B can
win a hundred and twenty. For the
Deputy President post, Team A may
only get twenty-two. Team B one
hundred twenty five areas."* (Arena,
2002, p. 220)

Zahid feels the pressure when it is reported
that the opposition groups have gained
greater support from delegates. Nevertheless,
he still hopes delegates will vote not based
on the area they are from:

*"The forecast decision continues
to penetrate well into the Zahid
head. That means that Team B
had achieved over two-thirds
majority. However, Zahid is not
easily convinced. If it is true that
his opponent conquered the area,
it does not mean that all members
of the representative of the area
already supported Team B…"*
(Arena, 2002, pp. 194-195)

This contradiction has created a number of
actions such as money politics. Libellous
words, slander and poison pen letter have
resulted in the opponents being cast in a
bad light. Team A uses money politics to
win votes which distresses Team B. Zahid
condemns the practice of money politics
(Arena, 2002, p. 194). Many followers of the
two groups descend in Kuala Lumpur and
create trouble resulting in riots and fights.
The situation becomes intractable when
they start killing each other. It is difficult
to accept and fight for veteran leaders like
Zahid especially so since this situation is a
recurring feature since the party's inception;
it is very difficult for them to digest what is
happening:

*Any such news coming into the
party headquarters, he considered
it as nonsense because for Zahid,
the behaviour of the Malays has
not been and will not be as bad as
it. Willing to kill each other simply*

because of the bickering among the leaders. Zahid really understand that the situation that exists now is a decisive element for the Malays; continue to exist or disappear slowly. They need to be united if they want to continue to exist. The main elements of the destruction are split by infighting. (Arena, 2002, p. 193)

While Zahid initially does not believe in the reports received, he is finally forced to agree this is the case. Supporters of both sides all converge in Kuala Lumpur. There is widespread ambivalence and hostility between them, which almost cripples the city of Kuala Lumpur. Chaos erupts in Kuala Lumpur, opponents fight until they are exhausted, burn buildings and many innocent people flee for their lives. Human lives become worthless as murders take place. The police and army interventions finally lead to a declaration of an emergency in Kuala Lumpur.

"... The curfew will start at six. Soldiers have received orders to 'shot to kill'. They help police to maintain the security. Kuala Lumpur residents scramble to return home. The villagers were fleeing. Outlets closed. Market becomes empty. Flea market disbanded. Massive arrests occurred." (Arena, 2002, p. 212)

As the party in power, Team A has power over the media. It uses the online media to attack its opponents. Events that occur are not reported in the mass media under the orders of superiors. Therefore, most people are not aware of the developments taking place:

… But they were disappointed because no such news. News of the bodies in Jalan Raja Bot, severed arm in Jalan Raja Alang, darted ear in Jalan Raja Muda, spilling blood in Jalan Chow Kit, and the dead bodies of unknown killer, did not attract the attention of the editor or prohibited from been published by the appointor of the editor. (Arena, 2002, p. 230)

To resolve the conflict, the author highlights the character Syed Omar, a political veteran who is liked by most party members. Despite being dishonest in judgment by favouring Team A, Syed Omar's voice is heard by the delegates. As one of the longest serving leader of the party, his voice is heard by both warring parties. As Miller and Rowe say, "conflict and reconciliation requires power" (Syed, 1994, pp. 29-30).

To deal with this situation, Syed Omar proposes a number of recommendations to the organisers of the conference to provide a place and a healthy environment to reduce the likelihood of conflicts breaking out again among the delegates. The organiser is also reminded to take care of the welfare of the delegates and provide good food to them so that any dissatisfaction can be stemmed; since any unhappiness can lead to a groundswell of support among the

unhappy delegates and spark another round of violence. Syed Omar who represents the powerful group organises this effectively:

> *- Luxury vision in the trial so that their eyes do not look bad, which can encourage the rise of resistance.*
>
> *- Give them extra space and comfortable seating area to eliminate fretting that may stimulate criticism.*
>
> *- Make sure everyone gets enough food and beverages before going to the conference to prevent them from hunger that always leads to anger.*
>
> *- Serve them with a smile and warm-hearted because the Malays, when won his heart with good service, will not forget the keris on the belt as a weapon. Keris will only be considered as complementary fashion in the ceremony. That's the attitude of the delegation. Suave and smile will eliminate their opposition.* (Arena, 2002, p. 169)

Alarmed by the situation that does not favour the group that he supports, Syed Omar also proposes that the team he supports commit fraud via fraudulent votes. With the formula $2k + 3m = 5U$ (two lost, three won the five profit) he feels the party could be saved though it will be a small victory. He believes defeating the leader of the small opposition group will not cause a split in the party. The winning formula (a ratio of 3 to 2) is to satisfy all parties (5U). A small victory will create awareness among party leaders that the myriad weakness in their leadership has caused the people to raise up against them. Team B suffers narrow defeat which it accepts though it is dissatisfied that it did not win the hearts of the people. The formula proposed by Syed Omar is finally able to reduce the intensity of the "storm" that would have badly hit party leadership.

Nevertheless, Team B prepares to exact revenge. According to Simmel (1966, p. 13), "among the factors that prompted the emergence of conflict is hatred, jealousy, desire and need for something". Hate and jealousy did not work as the Team B desires revenge in silence. As a result, Syed Mokhtar is finally caught in the snares set up by Team B. He was arrested when the police found the weapons stashed away in his car. Syed Mokhtar becomes a victim of dirty play and subsequently imprisoned. He eventually dies in prison when the prison collapses as a result of an earthquake:

> *In the boot of the car, the Forest Police found three machetes, two baskets of rice packs, eight reams of A4 paper which is stencilled reciprocity – poison pen letter.*
>
> *"You were lucky." An inspector approached them. "If the infantry in the intersection find this, you will be shot dead on the spot." He ordered the Sergeant there, "Capture. Seized evidence and cars. Contact headquarters, let them make the interrogation!*

Weapons, food, poison pen letters in an emergency like this. It was a terrorist crime under the guise of political privileges." (Arena, 2002, p. 251)

Through this novel, Arena Wati criticises the Malays as being antagonistic. The opposition does not only come from outside the party but from within it; there are contradictions within the party machinery although ostensibly they are all from the same party. There is widespread disunity in the Malay community which leads to the formation of two rival groups in the same party; the split between them is ostensibly to achieve their respective ideals. Arena Wati also expresses concern over the disintegration of the Malay community because the others will take the opportunity to divide the Malay community. This is seen in Ah Hoe's action to distribute poison pen letters to divide the Malay community:

"I'm not crazy." Ah Hoe laugh. His hands stretched out the bowl to Salmah to be filled with alcohol ale. After gulping it out, he said, "Ask two people to Johor. Two people to Melaka. Two people to Pahang. Two to Kelantan. Two to Kedah. Two other to Perak, and two to Selangor. It was adequate. There are many smart people that can write the letter. Give them a lot of money. Told them what we want them to write. They will write the letter. Now you know how the

poison letter is spread?" (Arena, 2002, p. 226)

The poison pen letters cause conflict and the split between the two sides become more apparent. Both groups accuse each other of spreading the poison pen letter. Animosity will only result in the Malays becoming losers according to Arenawati: "Let the Malays kill each other and Kuala Lumpur in chaos! Let the Malay-owned hotel destroyed by fire…" (Arena, 2002, p. 225).

The Conflict Rivalry

The novel also features a power struggle due to internal conflicts and abuse of power. Power is a crucial political element to help shape the political process and achieve a peaceful and prosperous society. It is the responsibility of the authorities to foster justice, freedom and social responsibility. On the other hand, too much power brings negative elements for the ultimate goal of every individual or party involved in politics is to gain power. The authorities will attempt to defend the power they hold while others attempt to gain power. Having some sort of power will allow the leaders to achieve their goals with less distortion. This is the Arena Wati's key message delivered in *Busa Kalbu*.

The Power Struggle (Position in the Party)

Busa Kalbu is a classic display of jostling for posts in a Malay party. Syed Omar and Datuk Zahid who are two political veterans

who strive to ensure they win the election at all cost so that their position is not threatened. The situation became tense when a group backed by some delegates challenge them. Syed Omar who is unable to accept the situation works hard to ensure that his team wins, despite his own poor health. For him, a defeat would be a great disaster as it would undermine his position and his political future:

> *"What if I lose?" The question was repeatedly appeared in his head. He honestly admits that this time the battle is intense. The opponent is stronger, though all electronic and print media have been used ..."*
> (Arena, 2002, p. 22)

To maintain power, politicians appear to be willing to do anything. They are not only willing to commit oppression and cruelty but also commit fraud in the voting process. Syed Omar clearly does not respect democracy. Decisions are made based on the formula $2k + 3m = 5U$. This means getting two wins and losing three. Quite simply, Syed Omar wants to ensure his team wins, but with a slight majority. Narrow defeat will not hurt the opponent and will not cause the winning side to be arrogant. According to the author:

> *"We must seek a narrow victory. And they lost narrowly. In that way those who hold power will awaken and the losing side is not disappointed. The more important*

> *thing is that other countries will be more confident, our party as the backbone of the government implements democratic maturity."*
> (Arena, 2002, p. 242)

The defeat of his group will certainly threaten his position as a leader of the party in Kedah. Thus, he continues to fight despite his declining health. He attends the general conference in a wheel chair. Syed Omar's strategy and persistence in defending his power is in line with the opinion of Thomas Hobbes that "the general tendency of man is greed for more power, power that will only end in death" (Ball, 1993, p. 5).

The Abuse of Power

Power offers an individual the latitude to act according to what he or she wants (Flechtheim, 1952). Those authorities also often force individuals or members of society to follow what they decide. Individual points and opinion are often dismissed by the powerful and therefore, those in power commit abuses. MacIver (1952, p. 87) says the authorities have "… the capacity to control the behaviour of others either directly by fiat or indirectly by the manipulation of available means...". With a strong sense of belonging, Syed Omar manages to ensure his victory in the party. Seeing that his opponents have strong support, Syed Omar decides to take more dramatic steps by vote rigging and committing fraud. As a legitimate leader, he abuses his power through fraudulent votes.

He asks the Chief Clerk of the party, Baim, to place ballot boxes containing fraudulent votes in a special room before voting begins:

> *"Why must you hesitate? We've mastered the building control. Two special room key was already in the hands of Baim. We will take the special ballot box, save there for a few hours before the voting session. The box containing valid votes were stored there as well for more than three hours, and then taken back to calculate the amount. In that room, we will implement the formula of 2k + 3m = 5U."* (Arena, 2002, p. 200)

The author also describes the attitude of corrupt leaders who ignore the plight of the Malay community. Arena Wati describes how the leaders receive bribes from the Chinese to open a pig-breeding farm in the Malay community. Bureaucracy that slows down the approval or application of a tender is a result of corruption. Though the power is in the hands of politicians they are free to make whatever decision as long as it benefits them. This is characterised by Syed Omar who possesses the power to accumulate wealth. All property owned by him was unlawful:

> *Syed Omar in doubt, how far Baim know he has a condominium complex in Bandar Baru Bangsar and Brickfields? Condominium and hotel complex in Penang? Some of the building blocks of shops and residences in Alor Setar? This was done through correspondence with secretarial work behind the scenes to get the easy approval from the mayor and the managing director of a number of financial institutions.* (Arena, 2002, p. 283)

As a chief clerk of the party, Baim knows all the irregularities committed by Syed Omar. Therefore, the news breaks out that the Chief Clerk of the party is giving in to the immense pressure by Syed Omar. However, it also frightens Syed Omar. He does worry all the irregularities and scandals will eventually make him lose power. Faced with such pressure, he faints in the plane.

CONCLUSION

Busa Kalbu is a product of Arena Wati's disgust and disillusionment with the current UMNO leadership. In particular, he is concerned with the political upheavals taking place in the party which have led to many undesirable outcomes. The novel is an angry vent by the author related to the ugliness of what is happening at the political scene but it is beautifully written. Behaviours of political leaders who physically project an image of calm, faith and religiosity mask their actual self-serving agenda. They are not concerned with the well-being of the people. The novel describes ugly behaviours of politicians in gaining and retaining power.

Busa Kalbu talks about the political turmoil in UMNO characterised by rival groups and their hostility, money politics, the presence of favouritism (cronies) and the existence of a small number of mutually

exclusive groups, abuse of power among others which the author present in the form of creative reality. Although not mentioned directly, the Malay party alluded to is UMNO and clearly the novel is for UMNO audience. As the largest Malay party and which is heading the government, the novel is clear reflection of the ills affecting UMNO The author explains that Dato' Onn founded this party and some characters used by him play a crucial role within the party. The author also points out that the main character and Zahid Syed Omar are followers of the party founded by Dato' Onn.

The appearance and character of Dato' Onn Hussein clearly shows the mess taking place in UMNO party. The year 1946 selected by the author also shows he is referring to UMNO since it was established in that year. The General Session also refers to UMNO General Assembly held each year. The importance of a general conference in this novel remind us of the UMNO General Assembly in 1987 when Tengku Razaleigh stood against Tun Dr. Mahathir Muhammad for the post of president. Contest for the Presidency was the most intense in the history of UMNO. Tengku Razaleigh managed to get support from other UMNO's leaders. Even though the final result was not in favour of Tengku Razaleigh, he managed to win 49% of the vote. The election crisis eventually led to a split in UMNO when UMNO sacked Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah which led him to founding Parti Semangat 46.

Indeed, *Busa Kalbu* is a socio-political account of UMNO which is important for future generations. The author deals with issues related to hostility between members of the party, the practice of money politics, their cronies and others from an environmental reality and presents them in the form of creative reality. Events discussed in the novel will serve as a guide and lesson for readers, particularly young audiences.

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Adjectives in a Seventeenth Century Malay Language Grammar

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ABSTRACT

Malay grammars produced in the 17th century were a product of Dutch influence. These grammars were written a century after the arrival of the Portuguese and seven years after the arrival of the Dutch. The development of Malay grammatical studies occurred in stages beginning in 1603 with an analysis of conjugations by Houtman, followed by a brief explanation about the formation of words in Malay by Wiltens and Danckaerts in 1623 and finally in 1655, a systematic Malay grammar authored by Roman. Roman's grammar is a complete Malay grammar that discusses aspects of Malay word classes. However, in this grammar, adjectives were not categorised as an independent word class, instead, it is placed under the noun word class. This paper will explain the discussion of adjectives in Roman's grammar. Among the aspects that will be elaborated is the position of adjectives in the noun *namen* word class. In addition, discussions about the formation of adjectives and the degree of comparison of adjectives will be presented as well. Roman's treatment of adjectives will also be compared with the treatment of adjectives in today's Malay grammar. This paper concludes that adjectives discussed by Roman were parallel with the climate of opinion in Europe.

Keywords: Adjective, degree of comparison, grammar, noun, preposition, substantive, verb, word class

INTRODUCTION

The Malay grammars that were produced in the 17th century were the results of the efforts of the Dutch. They were written a century after the arrival of the Portuguese and seven years after the Dutch arrived in the Malay world (Karim, 2009). The

development of the praxis of writing Malay grammars occurred gradually in stages beginning in 1603 with an analysis of the Malay "conjugational" system by Houtman followed by Wiltens and Danckaerts (1623) who described the formation of words in Malay and finally in 1655, a systematic Malay grammar was written by Roman.

From these three early grammars, only Roman's grammar system gained the attention of scholars. Among the scholars who discussed this grammar were Gonda (1936), Harimurti (1991) and Collins (1991). Gonda (1936) discussed the cases found in Roman grammar while Harimurti (1991) clarified the content of this grammar book by restating the grammatical aspects discussed by Roman in a simplified manner. Collins (1991) on the other hand, studied the source of data that was used by Roman. This article will also discuss Roman's grammar.

However, it focuses on the treatment of adjectives that are found in this grammar.

WORD CLASS IN ROMAN'S GRAMMAR

In the second part of his grammar, Roman discussed Malay grammar based on word class. Roman (1655) began his discussion by stating that "Previously, we discussed letters that form words among the Malays. Now, let us also discuss words that form sentences."[1] He divided words that form sentences in Malay into seven word classes. He explained: *"Die konnen gevoeghlyck onder deze seven begrepen werden, namelyck, datze zyn Namen / Voornamen / Woorden / Bywoorden / Voorzettingen / Koppelingen / ende Inwurpen."* The word classes listed by Roman can be compared with the current Malay and Indonesian language word classes as shown in Table 1.

Table 1
Comparison of Roman's Word Classes with the current Malay word classes

Roman (1655)	Bahasa Melayu (Nik Safiah et al., 1996)	Bahasa Indonesia (Moeliono, 1988)	Post intervention M(SD)
Namen	'Noun'	Kata nama	Nomina, pronomina, numeralia
(Namen)		Kata adjektif	Adjektiva
Voornamen	'pronoun'	(Kata nama)	(Nomina)
Woorden	'verb'	Kata kerja	Verba
Bywoorden	'adverb'	-	Adverbia
Voorzettingen	'preposition'	-	-
Koppelingen	'konjungation'	Kata tugas	Kata tugas
Inwurpen	'interjection'	-	-

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[1] "That can be the following seven concepts, namely noun, pronoun, verb, adverb, preposition, conjunction, and interjection."

From Table 1, we can see that the number of word classes listed by Roman is larger compared with what can be found in the current Malay and Indonesian grammar books. In the current Malay grammar, prepositions, conjunctions and interjections, classified by Roman as word classes on their own, are all now placed under function word class. While the *bywoorden* 'adverb' word in Roman's grammar can still be found in Indonesian grammar, it is not found in the Malay grammar of Malaysia. Moreover, in Roman's grammar, adjectives are not discussed as a word class of its own; instead, it is a part of *namen* 'noun'.

Adjective in Van Namen 'Noun'

The first word class discussed by Roman was namen. He defined *namen as zyn die deelen eener redne waer mede men eenige zaeck zonder beteekenisse van tydt nomen kan.*[2] From this definition, *namen* 'noun' is explained as part of the word class with which one can talk about something without any reference to time. This definition demonstrates Roman's usage of semantic criteria to explain namen in Malay. The current grammar systems, for example the one written by Nik Safiah et al. (1996), applied two criteria, namely syntactic

criteria and semantic criteria to classify words in Malay.[3]

Roman divided *namen* 'nouns' into two subcategories, namely *zelf-standige* 'substantives' and *byvoeghlycke* 'adjectives'. According to Roman, the Malay language differs from Dutch because in Malay, *byvoeghlycke* 'adjective' is categorised under *namen* 'nouns'.

For *zelf-standige*, Roman explains that *"Deze zyn ofte **zelf-standige** / de welcke beteekenen een dingh dat zyn eygen wezen heeft ofte by zich zelven bestaet"*.[4] In other words, *zelf-standige* 'substantive' means words that are able to wholly function without support. Roman equates the term *zelf-standige* with the term *substantiva* in Latin. Even though Roman had given the definition of *zelf-standige*, he did not however, elaborate in detail on either the meaning of *zelf-standige* or *substantiva*.

Bussmann (1996, p. 473) stated that *substantiva* has two meanings. The first is *substantiva* which is synonymous with a noun. The second, in a wider context, *substantiva* refers to nominal which in some grammar books include nouns, adjectives, pronouns and numerals as *substantiva*. Nevertheless, there are also grammar books that explain that *substantive* encompasses nouns and adjectives only.

Based on the definition given by Bussmann (1996), it is evident that *substantiva* is more suited to be paired with *namen* and not *zelf-standige*. However, as explained by Roman, the Malay language

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[2] "The name is part of the word class where one can state something without any meaning related to time.

[3] As Nik Safiah et al. (1996) defined kata nama: "Noun is a group of words that can become the principle unit in the construction of a nominal phrase and usually such a word refers to a person, place, thing or concept.

[4] "These are substantive which means a thing that has its own essence or exist within itself"

differs from Dutch because in Malay, *byvoeghlycke* 'adjective' is included under *namen*; therefore, Roman tried to differentiate between *namen* 'noun' and *byvoeghlycke* 'adjective'. Thus, he named them *zelf-standige* 'substantive'. An example given by Roman for *zelf-standige* is:

(1) *Daoud*   'David'

(2) *Orang*   People'

(3) *Pohon*   'tree'

From the examples above, it is clear that the concept of *zelf-standige* meant by Roman is noun. He did not include adjective, pronoun and numeral within *zelf-standige*. The concept of *zelf-standige* used by Roman resembles the Latin grammatical concept in which *nomen substantivum* means independent noun. In contemporary Malay grammatical terminology, noun refers to persons, places, things or concepts. According to Nik Safiah et al. (1996, p. 97), pronouns are considered within the category of noun, but apparently Roman did not agree.

Roman placed *byvoeghlycke* 'adjective' within the noun class. According to Roman "...**byvoeghlycke** / *de welcke beteekenen iets dat geen eygen wezen heeft, maer aen een zelf-standige naem gevoeght werdt...*"[5]

Roman equates the term *byvoeghlycke* with the term adjectiva in Latin. According to him, in Malay, *byvoeghlycke* 'adjective' is often added to *zelf-standige* 'substantive.' Examples of *byvoeghlycke* 'adjective' given by Roman are:

(4) *benar*   'true'

(5) *hitam*   'black'

(6) *ketsjil*   'small'

In current Malay grammar, examples (4), (5) and (6) are also classified as adjectives. However, in today's Malay grammar, adjective is not placed within the noun word class as found in Roman's grammar book, but adjective is in a word class of its own.

According to Roman, the Malays also often add *byvoeghlycke* 'adjectives' to *zelf-standige* 'substantives'. He states that *"Hier van staet aen te mercken dat in een reeden by de Maleyers, altydt dezelf-standige naem voor de byvoeghlycke werdt gestelt, recht anders als 't Nederlandtsch gebruyckelyck is."*[6] Examples of addition of *voeghlycke* 'adjective' to *zelf-standige* 'substantive' are given below:

(7) *orang hitam*   'black person'

(8) *pohon ketsjil*   'small tree'

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[5]   "Adjective by which it's meant something that has no essence of its own but is added to substantive noun."

[6]   "Here it is observed that for this reason, in the Malay language the substantive noun is always placed in front of (proceeding) the adjective, exactly the opposite of the Dutch usage."

The words orang in (7) and *pohon* in (8) are *zelf-standige*, whereas the word hitam (7) and ketsjil (8) are *byvoeghlycke*. Therefore, the words *hitam* (black) and *ketsjil* (small) are *byvoeghlycke* that are added to the *zelf-standige orang* (person) and *pohon* (tree).

According to Roman, adding the *byvoeghleycke* 'adjective' to *zelf-standige* 'substantive' differs from the Dutch language. From the examples given by Roman, the difference that occurs is in the position within the combination, namely in Malay, *zelf-standige* is placed before *byvoeghlycke* whereas in Dutch, *byvoeghlycke* is placed in front of *zelf-standige*. The examples given by Roman in Dutch are:

(9) *swart man*   'black person'

(10) *een kleyne boom*   'small tree'

In (9) *swart* 'black' and (10) *kleyne* 'small' are *byvoeghlycke*, while (9) *man* 'person' and (10) *boom* 'tree' are *zelf-standige*. Therefore, the order of combining *zelf-standige* and *byvoeghlycke* in Dutch differs from Malay in terms of position within the noun phrase.

However, according to Roman, in Malay the combination of *byvoeghlycke* 'adjective' and *zelf-standige* 'substantive' also occur, similar to constructions in Dutch. He gave the examples of the words *segala* and *barang* which according to him are *byvoeghlycke*. According to Roman, although these words *segala* and *barang* are *byvoeghlycke*, they are placed in the

initial position of the combination. In other words, the combination has the form of *byvoeghlycke-zelf-standige* 'adjective-substantive', not *zelf-standige-byvoeghlycke* 'substantive-adjective'. The examples given are as below:

(11) *segala orang*   'all persons'

(12) *barang pohon*   'any tree'

In examples (11) and (12) the words *segala (all)* and *barang (item)* are *byvoeghlycke* while the words *orang* (persons) and *pohon* (tree) are *zelf-standige*. These two examples are very similar to the form that occurs in Dutch such as (8) *swart man* and (9) *een kleyne boom*. In current Malay grammar, the term that matches *byvoeghlycke* is adjective but the words *segala* and *barang* are not classified as adjectives but as numerals.

Roman also discussed the combination of the word *byvoeghlycke* 'adjective' with *zelf-standige* 'substantive' that are interchangeable. Previously, Roman had discussed the combination of *byvoeghlycke* 'adjective' with *zelf-standige* 'substantive,' which is a combination that begins with the *zelf-standige* 'substantive,' followed by *byvoeghlycke* 'adjective;' and *byvoeghlycke* 'adjective' followed by *zelf-standige* 'substantive.' This combination is probably discussed with the intent of demonstrating that in Malay there are also combinations of *byvoeghlyke* and *zelf-standige* that are interchangeable. Roman gave a *byvoeghlyke* example such as *baick* which can be combined with the *zelf-standige* word *hati*,

that becomes *hati baick*, or according to him it is also commonly said as *baick hati*. In this example given by Roman, the combination of *both baick* and *hati* can yield forms that are interchangeable.

In today's Malay grammars, the process of combining *zelf-standige* 'substantive' with *byvoeghlycke* 'adjective' as discussed by Roman is a nominalisation process. This combination creates noun phrases in Malay. Thus, we can see that Roman not only discusses the aspects of the word but he also discusses the syntactic aspects of the Malay language.

DEGREE OF COMPARISON OF THE ADJECTIVE

Roman states that the Malay language also demonstrates degrees of comparison. In Malay, degrees of comparison occur in *byvoeghlycke namen* 'adjective'. According to Roman, the degree of comparison in Malay occurs when someone compares one thing with another. He explains:

"De byvoeghlycke Namen zyn in hare beteeckenisse mede opklimminge

als by trappen onderworpen: Dit geshiedt somtydts wanneermen iets by vergelyckinge met wat anders zeght meer te wezen als dat; zoo komt van groot, grooter."[7]

He divides the degree of comparison in the Malay language based on the usage of particular words. The first comparison degree in Malay uses the word *byvoeghlycke* 'adjective' itself, namely *besar* 'big'. The second degree of comparison uses the word *lebeh* 'more'; and the third degree uses the comparative word *sekali* 'most' or *lebeh deri samoa* 'more than all'. Roman gives examples of all three degrees of comparison as shown in Table 2 below:

From the examples given in Table 2, the comparative word *lebeh, sakali* and *besar lebeh deri samoa* are used in Malay to show the degree of comparison. In other words, the degree of comparison in Malay consists of not only words but also phrases.

The division of adjective comparison into three levels by Roman was influenced by the categorisation of comparison found

Table 2

Degrees of Comparison of Adjectives in Roman's Grammar

Degree of Comparison	Byvoeghlycke	Kata Perbandingan (Comparative Word)	Post intervention M(SD)
First	Besar	-	Besar
Second	Besar	Lebeh	Lebeh besar
Third	Besar	Sekali/Lebeh deri Samoa	Besar lebeh deri samoa/ besar sekali

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[7] "The adjectives in their meaning are subject to ascending in stages when one views something in comparison to something else as being more, such as big, bigger.

in Latin. In Latin, there are three levels of comparison which are positive degree, comparative degree and superlative degree. These levels of comparison in Latin are indicated by changes in word form of the word, through affixation and subsequent changes in the root word. Changes in the word through affixation are shown in Table 3:

In today's Malay grammar, there are three degrees of comparison: the normal degree, comparative degree and superlative

Table 3
Degree of Comparison in Latin

Positive	Comparative	Superlative
Lóngus 'long'	Lóngior 'longer'	Longíssimus 'longest'

degree. By the measure of current Malay grammar, the examples given by Roman, for example, the byvoeghlycke **besar** ('big') are *besar* the normal degree, *lebeh* the comparative degree and *sakali* and *lebeh deri samoa* the superlative degree. However, from the examples given, it can be seen that Roman used the comparative word *lebeh* to convey the meaning of the second degree of comparison. This can be seen in the examples given by Roman in Dutch. The examples are listed in Table 4.

Forming Nouns from Adjective (Nominalisation)

According to Roman, in Malay, a noun (*zelf-standige*) can be formed from an adjective (*byvoeghlycke*). This formation is made by adding the suffix an to the adjective. Roman states that *"Zelf-standige namen die van byvoeghlycke spruyten, werden in 't eyndt meest wel vermeerdert met an"*, for example:

(13) *kouassa – kouasssa'an*

(14) *benar – benaran*

From the example above, the word *kouassa* (13) and *benar* (14) are *byvoeghlycke* 'adjective'. However, the *byvoeghlycke* 'adjective' changes into *zelf-standige* 'noun' when it receives the addition *an*.

Table 4
Degrees of Comparison in Malay and Dutch

	Normal Degree	Comparative Degree	Superlative Degree)
Malay	Besar	lebeh besar	besar lebeh deri Samoa
Dutch	Groot	Grooter	zeer groot allergrootst
English	Big	Bigger	very big biggest

In addition, the *zelf-standige* 'noun' that is formed from *byvoeghlycke* 'adjective' that has been added with the suffix an can also receive the addition of ka to the front of the word. The examples given by Roman are:

(15) *besar* - *kabesaran*   'greatness'

(16) *bakti* - *kabaktien*   'service'

(17) *lappar* - *kalapparan*   'hunger'

(18) *malou* - *kamalou'an*[8]   'shame', shyness'

(19) *sondel* - *kasondel'an*   'prostitution'

During the process of adding the prefix *ka* to the *byvoeghlycke* 'adjective' it is not stated whether the *byvoeghlycke* 'adjective' had already received the addition of *an* first, and only after that received the addition of *ka* or whether both the *ka* and *an* were added simultaneously. From examples (15) - (19) that are given by Roman, it is found that Roman did not give an example of adding only the *an* to examples (15) -(19), such as in the instance of *besar→besaran*; instead, he only gave the example of *besar→ kabesaran*. Moreover, for examples (13) *kouassa* and (14) *benar*, Roman only stated the addition of *an* but did not include it as an example of adding *ka* at the beginning of the word. It can be hypothesised that examples (13) and (14) can receive the addition of an at the end of the word and the additional

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8   In the seventeenth century, 'kemaluan' means shy or ashamed; there was no reference to genital.

ka at beginning of the word in an ordered sequence as suggested in the figure below:

(a) *byvoeghlycke* (adjective)
     +   *an*   →   *zelf-standige* 'noun

(b) *ka* + *zelf-standige* → *zelf-standige*

For example,

(a) *kouassa* +   *an* →   *kouassa'an*

(b) *ka* + *kouasa'an* →   *kakoussa'an*

Based on Roman's discussion, a *zelf-standige* 'noun' can be formed from a *byvoeghlycke* 'adjective' by adding *an*. This *zelf-standig*e 'noun' (*byvoeghlyck*e + *an*) accept *ka*. This process demonstrates that the addition of ka can be performed on a derived word (spruyt woorden). However, not all *byvoeghlycke* 'adjectives' accept the addition of *an* and *ka* in stages. Examples (15) -(19) for instance cannot be added to with *an* and *ka* in stages. Instead, the process of adding *ka* and *an* is done simultaneously. In other words, *ka* and *an* are a form of circumfix.

This process of adding *an* and *ka* is the same as the process of adding the prefix *ke-* and the suffix –*an* in the today's Malay language. Although a noun can be formed from an adjective that has receives the –*an* suffix and also the *ke-* prefix, not all adjectives can be affixed nor the suffix *an* and prefix –*ke*. In the affixation process of the current Malay language, only examples (13) and (14) given by Roman can accept

the suffix –*an*. Examples (15) - (19) on the other hand are not able to accept the suffix –*an*. However, these examples can accept the circumfix *ke-…-an*.

Forming Adjectives from Verbs

In Malay, *byvoeglycke* namen 'adjectival noun' can also produce through *woorden spruyten* 'derivative verbs'. In other words, in today's Malay grammar, the adjective is formed through affixation to the verb. Roman states "*Byvoeghlycke namen die van woorden spruyten, ende geven eenige gemeynschap te kennen, met het gene dat het woordt beteeckent, hebben in 't gemeen voor haer ka, en achter haer an.*"[9] To produce *byvoeghlycke namen* 'adjectival noun', the additions of *ka* and *an* are combined with *woorden* 'verb'. The addition *ka* is placed at the beginning of the *woorden* 'verb', while *an* is placed at the end of the *woorden* 'verb'. Roman gives the following examples:

(20) *liat*　→　*kaliatan*　'seen'

(21) *takot*　→　*katakotan*　'afraid'

Based on Roman's examples, (20) *liat* 'seen' and (21) *takot* 'afraid' are *woorden* 'verbs'. Both these words have received the addition *ke* at the front part of the word and *an* at the end of it yielding *kaliatan* 'appearing seeming' and *katakotan* 'ketakutan' 'afraid'. Both words are adjectives because according

to Roman, a verb that accepts the addition *ka* and *an* will change into an adjective. In other words, the addition *ke* and *an* change the word class of both words from *woorden* 'verbs' into *byvoeghlycke namen* 'adjectives'.

In current Malay grammar, the form of the addition of *ka* and *an* is known as the circumfix affixation of *ke-…-an*. This circumfix can be combined with nouns, verbs and also adjectives. The *ke-…-an* circumfix yields a meaning of "hal keadaan yang terkandung dalam kata dasar (the condition and qualities are contained in the root word)" (Nik Safiah et al., 1996: 128). In addition, the *ke-…-an* circumfix can also mean a passive verb. (Nik Safiah et al., 1996, p. 202).[10]

Change from *Zelf-standige* to *Byvoeghlycke*

 According to Roman, in Malay, the combination of two *zelf-standige* can also produce changes to the *byvoeghlycke*. In other words, the second word that follows *zelf-standige namen* 'noun' change from *zelf-standige* into *byvoeghlycke*. Roman states that *"Twee zelf-standige namen neffens malkanderen gevoeght zynde, werdt de achterste somwylen als een byvoeghlycke gebruyckt."*[11] The examples given are:

(22) *ikan garam* 'salted fish '
　　 fish salt

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[9] "Adjectival noun, that is derived from verbs, and express commonality with the base that the word means in general have in the front ka and in the back an."

[10]   The number of verb and adjective that can accept ke-...-an is limited.
[11] "Two nouns having been combined, the latter part functions as an adjective"

(23) *babi oetang* 'wild pig'
      pig forest

Examples (22) and (23) show the *zelf-standige* that is placed after a *zelf-standige* functions as an adjective. In example (22) *ikan garam (fish salt)*, the word *ikan(fish)* is *zelf-standige* and the following word *garam (salt)* is also *zelf-standige*. This is the same for example (23) *babi oetang* 'wild pig', the word *babi* 'pig' is *zelf-standige*, and the word *oetang* 'forest' is also *zelf-standige*.[12]

    Both examples (22) and (23) are given a gloss in Dutch, which is *gezoute visch* for *ikan garam* 'salted fish' and *wildt berckey* for *babi oetang* 'wild pig'. In Dutch, the word *gezoute* is a past participle that functions as adjective and *wildt* is *byvoeghlycke* 'adjective'. In Malay, even though *garam* 'salt' and *oetang* 'forest' are nouns, nonetheless from the semantic point of view examples such as *garam* and *oetang* convey an adjectival meaning. *Ikan garam* means fish that has been cured with salt to make it salty. In today's usage, salted fish is no longer referred to as *ikan garam* but *ikan masin* 'fish tasting salty'. In this current term of use for *salted fish* 'ikan masin', we can clearly see what Roman meant by stating that the adjective follows the noun. Meanwhile, *babi oetang* 'wild pig' means a pig that is not a domestic animal or a wild

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[12] Wiltens and Danckaerts(1623) also discussed the combination between noun and noun that functions as adjective. The ikan garam example is also the same as the example cited by Wiltens and Danckaerts (1623). In Wiltens and Danckaerts, the adjective can also be traced from the given meaning in Latin.

pig that lives in the forest. The word *oetang* or 'forest' refers to the quality of the pig that is wild.

CONCLUSION

This paper is not questioning the grammar analysis made by Roman (1689). His grammar was analysed in a systematic way based on classical and grammatical framework well-known to the educated elite of the late Renaissance (Collins, 1991). In this grammar, Roman intended to describe the most common and grammaticality correct usage of Malay. For example, the Malay adverb was also discussed. Thus, in this paper we only describe the efforts of the writing of Malay grammar by Roman in 17th century. In other words, we are not trying to criticise his analysis on Malay grammar.

    In the Malay grammar of the seventeenth century, the adjective is discussed within the word class of noun. This discussion is systematic and comprehensive. As a matter of fact, when compared with analyses found in the Modern Malay grammars, Roman's grammar is still relevant. The discussion of the adjective as part of the nominal word class is parallel with the developments in the writing of grammar in seventeenth century. This discussion of adjectives within the nominal word class in not unusual if we examine the seventeenth century perspective. In that century, the discussion of adjectives is placed under the noun. In a Dutch grammar book published in the sixteenth century, *Twee Spraack* (1584), and also in grammar books published in the seventeenth century, *De nederduytsche*

grammatical ofte spraeckonst by Van Heuele (1625) and *Aanmerkingen op de Neererduitsche taale* by Leupenius (1653) also did not discuss the adjective as being in a word class of its own. Indeed, the discussion of the adjective under the noun is the effect of the seventeenth century *'climate of opinion'* that demonstrates the influence of European grammar on Malay grammar.

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NOTES

The Verb Phrase Construction in Malay: The Minimalist Program

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ABSTRACT

Affixes and lexical verbs in Malay occupy the same head position in the verb phrase (VP). This raises the question of how is it that these two different morphemes with different syntactic categories - one a functional head and the other a lexical head - could occupy the same head position in a verb phrase of a sentence in Malay. This article will attempt to shed some light on this question. In this article, we will analyse the verb phrase structure in Malay using the Minimalist Program Approach. Based on Larson (1988) and Chomsky (1995), we will posit the VP shell hypothesis in which the verb phrase structure in Malay has two layers of the VP: one is the VP and the other is a small v (little verb phrase vP). Based on these two layers of the verb phrase, this discussion will revolve around the notion that each of these two layers has its own head and projections in their own VP structures. The head position of the VP node is occupied by the lexical verb while the affix is based-generated at the head v of the vP, which is a functional category. We will use, as examples, Malay active and passive sentences and demonstrate how this two-layer analysis could adequately describe Malay sentences. We assume that each sentence has its own functional heads which are used to hold affixes: active or passive affixes.

Keywords: Active, functional category, little verb phrase, Malay, Minimalist Program, passive, verb phrase structure, VP shell

INTRODUCTION

The verb phrase (VP) is a syntactic category which function as a predicate in a sentence. In sentence (1a and 1b), the noun phrase subject *nelayan* 'fisherman' and *semua orang* 'everyone' is followed by the

predicate: *menjumpai rakit keselamatan* 'found the life raft' and *berdoa* 'prayed' respectively.

(1) a.   *Nelayan* [VP *menjumpai rakit keselamatan*].
          fisherman   affix-find raft safety
          'The fisherman found the life raft'.

     b.   *Semua orang* [VP *berdoa*].
          all   people   affix-pray
           'Everyone prayed'.

The verbs *menjumpai* 'AFFIX-found' and *berdoa* 'AFFIX-pray' are important elements in the VPs. The verb *menjumpai* 'AFFIX-found' is a transitive verb as it is followed by the noun phrase *rakit keselamatan* 'life raft'. The verb *berdoa* 'AFFIX-pray' on the other hand is an intransitive verb as it does not have any noun phrase following it.
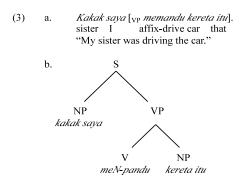
In Malay sentences, the VP can be preceded by the ASPECT such as *pernah* 'have', *sudah* 'have', *telah* 'have', *sedang* 'in progress'; the modal auxiliary such as *akan* 'will', *hendak* 'want', *mahu* 'want', *ingin* 'want', *harus* 'should', *mesti* 'must', *dapat* 'can', *boleh* 'can'; and negation such as *tidak* 'not' and *bukan* 'not'. Linguists such as Nik Safiah et al. (1978) and Mashudi (1991) assumed that the auxiliaries belong to the verb phrase. However, Ramli (1995) argued that the auxiliaries do not belong to the VP node as it is a separate element from the full verbs. This is proven using the yes/no question construction i.e. *Mahukah anda minum kopi?* 'Do you want to drink coffee?' in which the auxiliary *mahu* 'want' is fronted leaving the verb *minum* 'drink' behind in the predicate. The separation between the auxiliary and the verb gives impetus to

the creation of an inflection (INFL) node. According to Ramli (1995), the auxiliaries and the negation are elements which occur in the position between the NP subject and the verb (V) of the VP in a sentence. For example, in sentence (2), the verbs can be preceded by the aspect telah 'have'/*hendak* 'want' in (2a); the modal auxiliaries *mesti* 'must'/ *harus* 'should' and negation *tidak* 'not'/*belum* 'not yet' (2c).

(2) a. Salmah *telah/hendak pergi ke perpustakaan*.
         Salmah have/want go to library
         'Salmah have gone /want to go to the library'.

     b. *Semua pelajar mesti/harus berusaha gigih*.
         All students must/ should affix-work hard
         All students must/should strive to work hard.'

     c. Amin *belum/tidak menyiapkan tugasan itu*.
         Amin NEG /NEG affix-complete-affix assignment the.
         'Amin has not completed/did not complete the assignment.'

The verb in the VP could be a bare verb i.e. a verb which does not have affixes on it or it could also be a derived verb i.e. a verb which has undergone affixation. In (2a) for example, the VP has a bare verb *pergi* 'go' without any affixation attached to it. The

other two verbs have affixation on them for example the verb *berusaha* in (2b) has the prefix *ber-* and the verb *menyiapkan* in (2c) has the prefix *meN-*. The derived verbs in the VPs are a point of contention and will be discussed in the next section.

THE VERB PHRASE CONSTRUCTION IN MALAY

Previous discussions in Malay grammar described the affixes and the verb as sharing the same head position in the VP (for e.g. Abdul Hamid, 1992; Nik Safiah et al., 2008). In (3a) and whose structure is in (3b), the prefix *meN-* and the verb *pandu* 'drive' is base generated in the same head position V in the VP.

(3)   a.   *Kakak saya* [$_{VP}$ *memandu kereta itu*].
                sister   I   affix-drive car   that
                "My sister was driving the car."

        b.   S
                        /   \
                    NP   VP
                kakak saya   /   \
                                 V   NP
                            meN-pandu *kereta itu*
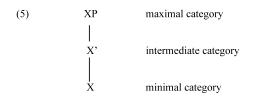
In the VP structure (3b), the prefix *meN-* and the root word *pandu* 'drive' are combined to form into a verb phrase which is the nucleus of the S node dominating it. One issue here is the status of the prefix *meN-*. In the Government & Binding approach (Chomsky, 1981), specifically in the X-Bar Theory, it is assumed that each phrase will have a head. This is stated in the following template:

(4)
        FX   ✎   ...X...
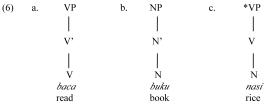
The template in (4) states that each phrase XP must contain one head (X) where X represents the same word category as the phrase dominating it. X has the value of (N, V, Adj, or Prep). All types of phrases: that is noun phrase (NP), verb phrase (VP), adjective phrase (AP) and preposition phrase (PrepP) will each have a head whose value is identical to the value of the phrase. Therefore, an NP will have an N as its head (Rogayah, 2003).
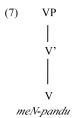
The X-bar template has a three-layered structure which consists of (i) a head category (X), (ii) the intermediate category (X') and the maximal projection (X"/XP) as shown in (5).

(5)   XP   maximal category
                  |
                 X'   intermediate category
                  |
                 X   minimal category

Based on the template in (5), the head X is the minimal category and can be filled by a lexical category, for example a noun and a non-lexical category such as the auxiliaries, aspects, negation etc. The X' is an intermediate node which is used to place the adjunct while the XP node is the maximal projection node i.e. the phrasal level. Based on this X-bar system, the VP and NP will have the following structures. Structures (6a) and (6b) are grammatical whereas (6c) is not grammatical as the head of the VP is a noun which differs from the category of the maximal projection VP.

(6) a.   VP   b.   NP   c.   *VP

          V'   N'   V

          V   N   N
       baca   *buku*   *nasi*
        read   book   rice

We present again (3b) the construction VP which is as follows:

(7)   VP

      V'

      V
   meN-pandu

Based on the X-bar representation, the prefix *meN-* is a bound morpheme. Bound morphemes are morphemes that are not able to occur on their own and need to be combined with a free morpheme (Ramli et al., 1997, p.162). The affixes as bound morphemes do not have a lexical meaning, instead they carry functional/grammatical meaning. This is distinct from the free morphemes, lexical items or content words such as verbs *pandu* 'drive', *pukul* 'hit', *baca* 'read', *jual* 'sell', etc. The affixes which are bound morphemes need to be combined with a free morpheme in order to form a derived form, e.g. *meN-* + *baca* 'read' → *membaca; meN-* + *pukul* 'hit' → *memukul* 'affix-hit', etc.

Even though the prefix and the verb are considered as two different morphemes, previous studies have not pointed out the differences between these two elements in the VP of sentences in Malay. In fact, both morphemes are base-generated at the position V which is shown in structures (3b) or (7). The main issue here is - how will the affix or the bound morpheme such as prefix *meN-* be allowed to occupy the head position of VP? What is the grammatical status of the morpheme *meN-* in the VP?

In principle, determination of a head for a phrasal construction is important because each phrasal level is the projection of the head with the same category as the phrase dominating it. Therefore, for the VP construction in (3b) or (7), the status of the *meN-* morpheme which is occupying the head position of the VP is still not clear, whether it is a type of independent head or it is a head in the VP. So far, no known study has examined this issue and thus, it is timely for this article to explicate this using the Minimalist Program.

This article will argue that affixation and the base-generated verbs are two different heads with different syntactic category. These two heads occupy different head positions in the VP. We contend that the VP in Malay has two separate layers of VP: one is the VP and the other is the small verb phrase or written as 'vP'. Based on this analysis, we will show that both phrasal nodes have its own head and projection in its own shell in the VP.

MINIMALIST PROGRAM

The Minimalist Program (MP) (Chomsky, 1995) is a major line of inquiry which has developed within the generative grammar since the Government & Binding (GB) theory (Chomsky, 1981). Chomsky presented MP as a programme and not as a theory. The

MP has a few important characteristics which differ from the previous generative grammar theory. First, the programme emphasizes on an economical description of the grammar in that it motivates the economy of its representation and derivation. An implementation of the concept of economy of representation can be seen from its representation of language. Figure (8) shows the representation of language which comprises the lexicon, the Merge operation, the Logical Form and the Phonetic Form. The Logical Form and the Phonetic Form are universal components which are found in all natural languages (Kartini, 2013, p. 40). These two levels of representations are connected to the Intentional Conceptual System; that is a system which handles the semantic interpretation of the language and the Articulatory Perception System which handles the interpretation of sounds in the language. Note that the language representation in Figure (8) does not contain the previous levels of representations in GB that is the Deep Structure and the Surface Structure. In other words, these two levels of representations which play an important role in the derivation of sentences since the Syntactic Structures model (Chomsky, 1957) are no longer posited in the program.

(8)
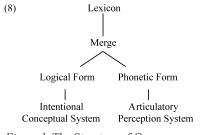
Figure.1: The Structure of Grammar

The economy of derivation is a concept which states that each derivation of a sentence must occur in the most economical frame and is syntactically motivated. In relation to this, Chomsky (1995, 2000, 2001) explained that movement is triggered by the need for an uninterpretable strong feature checking. The strong uninterpretable feature is checked or deleted so that the representation of a derivation could converge at both Logical Form and Phonetic Form. An example of the strong uninterpretable feature in Malay is the uninterpretable verbal feature [uV] and the Extended Projection Principle (EPP) feature of the NP [uN] (Note: 'u' represents uninterpretable). Aside from the strong uninterpretable feature, there are also the interpretable features. For example, verbs such as *beli* 'buy', *makan* 'eat' *tendang* 'kick' has the verb feature [iV]; nouns such as Malaysia, *universiti* 'university' and *buku* 'book' has the Noun Feature [iN]; preposition such as *dari* 'from' and *ke* 'towards' has the Preposition feature [iP], the question words such as *apa* 'what', *bila* 'when' and *siapa* 'who' has the feature [iWH]. The features of [iV] on verbs, the feature [iN] for nouns, the feature Preposition [iP] for preposition and the feature WH [iWH] for questions are all interpretable features. (Note: 'i' refers to interpretable.)

In terms of the construction of the phrase structure, the Minimalist Program introduced the notion of bare phrase structure. The bare phrase structure posits a phrase structure which is derivative and recursive. Based on this system, each

phrasal unit is built up from a step by step derivation in which the phrase unit is built based on a bottom up fashion and from right to left. The derivation will go through the Merge operation which is divided into an external merge and an internal merge. The external merge is a merging process which will build the basic structures of the phrase. This process will involve the merge of two independent lexical items which are taken from the lexical array in the lexicon to form a new phrasal unit. This process is recursively done or repeated until all lexical items in the lexical array of a sentence is fully used up in the derivation. The internal merge refers to the syntactic movements involving a merge between one syntactic element with another syntactic element to produce a newly formed structure.
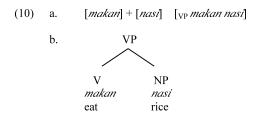
In the Minimalist Program, the derivation of a sentence is based on elements which are taken from the lexical array. The lexical array is a set of lexical items which are taken from the lexicon and then used to complete the derivation of a sentence. Each sentence has its own lexical array as shown in (9) below.

(9)   a.   *Mereka menjual durian di pasar malam.*
            they   affix-sell   duarian at market night
            "They sell durians at the night market."

    b.   lexical array : [*mereka, men-, jual, durian, di, pasar, malam*]

Sentence (9a) has a lexical array as in (9b) which is an unorganised list of lexical items. This lexical array will prepare the lexical items which are words that will be used in the external merge process during the formation of the base phrase unit.

At the same time, the bare phrase structure used binary branching in the formation of the construction of the phrase. The configuration structure in Figure (10) below shows the scheme of the bare phrase structure which focuses on binary branching during the external merge process.

(10)   a.   [*makan*] + [*nasi*]   [$_{VP}$ *makan nasi*]

        b.   VP

              V   NP
          makan   *nasi*
           eat   rice

Based on the structure in (10a), two lexical items i.e. *makan* 'eat' and *nasi* 'rice' are merged through the external merge process to form the VP phrase which is headed by the verb *makan* 'eat'. The configuration (2b) shows the merged verb *makan* 'eat' and the noun phrase *nasi* 'rice' to form the VP *makan nasi* 'eat rice'.

We have briefly introduced the Minimalist Program. We will now proceed with the analysis of the VP construction in Malay sentences.

ANALYSIS OF THE VERB PHRASE STRUCTURE IN MALAY SENTENCES
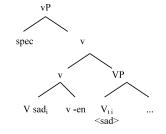
As mentioned earlier, we assume that the affix and the lexical verb have two different heads. We assume that the VP construction has two layers of VP and each of these layers have their own heads and their own maximal projections. The small v analysis is adapted from Chomsky (1995) and Larson (1988) which argued for the VP shell analysis. The Minimalist Program assumes that the verb

phrase has two layers: the VP node and the vP (small vp) node as represented in the figure below.

(11)

```
                    vP
                  /    \
             spec       v
                      /    \
                    v       VP
                          /    \
                        V       ...
```
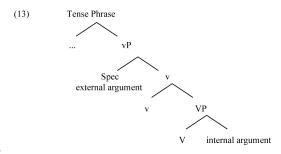
Based on the configuration in (11), the verb phrase structure consists of two types of verb phrase i.e. (i) VP which is headed by the lexical verb (V) and (ii) vP which is headed by the head v of the vP. The projection of the VP has its own specifier position and this node is adjoined to the specifier position of the highest VP node. The head of the small v is a functional category type with abstract characteristics. Radford (2004) stated that the position of the small v contains the abstract verbal suffix which is assumed to merge with the lexical verb from the VP. For example, the suffix -*en* for the word *sadden* is an abstract morpheme which is in the vP and will merge through the internal merge with the adjective *sad* at the head position of the VP and will subsequently form a causative verb *sadden* as shown in the configuration (12).

(12)

```
                    vP
                  /    \
             spec       v
                      /    \
                    v       VP
                  /   \    /    \
            V sad_i  v -en  V_{t i}   ...
                          <sad>
```

One important implication from the introduction of this VP node is that the internal and external argument is assumed to be base-generated in the phrase structure. According to Chomsky (1995), the position of the specifier of the vP is the position where the external argument of the transitive and causative verb is placed or base-generated in the phrase structure. The internal argument, on the other hand, is base generated outside of the vP, that is in the VP where the internal argument is the complement to the lexical verb. The position of both arguments is stipulated in (13).
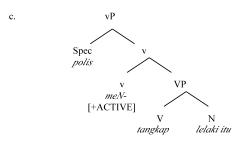
(13)

```
            Tense Phrase
              /      \
            ...       vP
                    /    \
                Spec      v
          external argument  \
                          /    \
                        v       VP
                              /    \
                            V    internal argument
```

Based on the configuration in (13), the internal argument is under the VP node whereas the external argument is under the vP node. In other words, the internal argument is the argument to the lexical verb in the VP and the external argument is the argument to the small v head under the vP node.

We argued that the VP structure in Malay sentences has a two-layer verb phrase structure which is represented by the VP node and the vP node respectively. Based on this two-layer verb phrase, both phrasal nodes have its own head and maximal projections. The position of the VP node is filled by the verb as a lexical category while the bound morpheme or affixes, which are functional category elements, are

base-generated in the head position of the vP. Sentence (14a) is generated based on the lexical array (14b) while the sentence (14c) shows the VP construction having a two-layer format.

14) a. *Polis menangkap lelaki itu.*
   police affix-catch man that
   "The police caught the man."

   b. lexical array : [*polis, meN-, tangkap, lelaki, itu*]

   c.

The configuration in (14) shows the binary nature of the VP structure. There are two layers in the verb phrase which is represented by the VP node and the vP node. Through this two-layer VP, the affix or bound morpheme and the verb are analysed as occupying the respective head positions and have their own different projections in the sentence. The head position of the VP is occupied by the verb *tangkap* 'catch' while the head position of the vP node is occupied by the affix *meN-*. In addition, this article also claims that the bound morpheme *meN-* and the verb *tangkap* 'catch' are two different heads with different categories. The morpheme *meN-* is a functional category as it carries grammatical meaning and is a bound morpheme while the verb *tangkap* 'catch' is a lexical category unit and is a content word which carries meaning. This analysis is succinct in capturing the issue of

the overlapping structures of the affix verbs and the lexical verb which is postulated in previous pre-MP analyses. In other words, this analysis is able to explain the status of the bound morpheme as a functional head occupying the head of the vP node which differs from the status of the head of the VP node which is occupied by the bare lexical verb.

In terms of the argument structure of the verb *tangkap* 'catch', the NP *lelaki itu* 'the man' is an internal argument as it is subcategorised by the verb *tangkap* 'catch' and is assigned the theta-role of theme (14c) while the NP polis 'police' is the external argument which is base-generated in the specifier position of the vP and whose theta role is agent. One important characteristics of the VP in configuration (14c) is that the morpheme *meN-* is a functional head and has the feature [+/- ACTIVE]. The existence of the feature [+PASSIVE] is an inherent feature of the morpheme *meN-* which carries the active meaning or is used to generate transitive active verbs as in 14c.
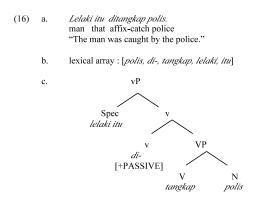
At the same time, the analysis of the VP structure based on the Minimalist Program has contributed significantly to the derivation of passive sentence structures in Malay. In previous grammatical analyses, grammarians described passive sentences as having been derived from active sentences (Lufti, 1971; Abdul Hamid, 1992; Nik Safiah et al., 2008). In previous analyses, a passive sentence is derived when the passive transformation rule is applied to the active sentence at deep structure as in (15a) and resulted in a passive sentence being generated at the surface structure as in (15b).

(15) a. *Polis menangkap lelaki itu.*   Deep Structure
           "Police caught the man."

      b. *Lelaki itu ditangkap* (*oleh*) *polis.*   Surface Structure
           "The man was caught by the police."

However, under the Minimalist Program, there are a few issues which arise out of the passive construction formation particularly with the di- passives. One issue is how could the PrepP *oleh* 'by' be allowed to appear in a passive structure? In the case of the passive *di-*, the passive transformation has to produce a new node, an *oleh* 'by' PrepP node. Chomsky (1957) stated that the transformation rule behaves in an ad hoc manner and it (the transformation rule) is postulated just to cater for the passive type sentences. This has resulted in numerous transformational rules to account for the numerous sentence types. In other words, the transformation at this level is assumed to have a new node. Aside from this, the transformational rule passive was not syntactically motivated to trigger off the movement of the NP object. Mashudi (1991) was of the opinion that the passive transformation rule is too independent and is not being constrained due to the fact that this rule is able to generate any kind of structure via the application of the rule. For example, sentences which have the derived verbs with prefix *meN-* is transformed into a passive sentence by converting the prefix *meN-* to prefix *di-*.
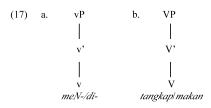
In line with the above, we will show how the verb phrase structure based on the Minimalist Program is able to adequately explicate the formation of the passive sentence in Malay. As shown in configuration

(14c), the verb phrase structure has the VP node and the vP node. The head of the vP node is occupied by the bound morpheme *meN-* which has the feature [+ACTIVE]. Therefore, the same verb phrase structure could be applied to explain the VP structure in passive sentences. Consider sentence 16.

(16) a. *Lelaki itu ditangkap polis.*
           man   that affix-catch police
           "The man was caught by the police."

      b. lexical array : [*polis, di-, tangkap, lelaki, itu*]

      c.

(16a) has the lexical array as in (16b). Note the different lexical array between sentence (16) and sentence (14) with the presence of the morpheme affix *di-* and the morpheme *meN-* which occupied the head position of the vP node. Based on the configuration (16b), the *di-* morpheme and the verb *tangkap* 'catch' respectively occupied different head positions: the verb *tangkap* 'catch' is at the head position of the VP i.e. the V node while morpheme *di-* occupied the head position of the v. Note that the morpheme di- is a functional head having the feature [+PASSIVE] as its inherent feature.

Based on this analysis, the formation of the passive sentence no longer requires the connection between sentences at deep and surface structures. This is in contrast with the previous analyses of the derivation of

passive sentences in generative grammar, particularly the Government and Binding model, in which the derivation of the passive sentence involved changes at two different levels of representation i.e. deep structure and surface structure. In our analysis, the derivation of active and passive sentences can be determined from the element which occupies the head position in the vP node. If the morpheme affix di- which has the feature [+PASSIVE] occupies the head v then the derivation is that of a passive sentence. Likewise, if the head position of the vP is occupied by the morpheme affix *meN-* with the [+ACTIVE] feature, then the derivation is that of an active sentence.

From the discussion above, we can summarise that the bound morpheme or affixes such as the morpheme *meN-* and *di-* are functional head categories and heads of the vP node while the lexical verbs such as *tangkap* 'catch' or *makan* 'eat' are lexical head categories which is the lexical head V of the VP. Both head category structures are represented in Figure (17).

(17)   a.   vP   b.   VP

                   v'   V'

                   v   V

           meN-/di-   *tangkap|makan*

The flexibility of the affixes in (17a) and the dichotomy between lexical and functional heads as in (17) epitomises the economy of derivation as espoused in the Minimalist Program.

CONCLUSION

This article has examined the verb phrase construction in Malay sentences based on the Minimalist Program. The argumentation has been to posit that the verb phrase construction in Malay sentences consist of two layers; one is the VP node and the other the vP node. Based on this two-layered structure VP, each verb phrase nodes has its own head and maximal projections. Both heads i.e. the bound morpheme head and the lexical verb head were identified as the functional head category and the lexical head category respectively. This line of inquiry has been applied to the Malay verb phrase data of active and passive sentences. In active sentences, the head position V of the VP structure is occupied by the bare lexical verb (without affixation) while the functional head with the feature [+ACTIVE] is in the head position of the small v node. Likewise, the verb phrase structure in passive sentences has the head position V of the VP being occupied by the lexical verb while the head position of the small v of the vP is occupied by the *di-* morpheme which has the feature [+PASSIVE]. Ultimately, it is suggested that the head of the vP has both the *meN-/di-* affixes and will trigger the derivation of relevant active or passive sentences.

In conclusion, the Minimalist Program has been instrumental in achieving the explanatory adequacy of the description of the Malay verb phrase structure. It is apparent that the Minimalist Program has the capability to be further harnessed in

the description of more complex syntactic structures in Malay, particularly the controversial ones. Equally important is that the Malay data could contribute to the cross-linguistic data of all languages in efforts to develop the universals of human language.

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Searching for Absolute Happiness in Dinsman's play *It Is Not a Suicide*

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ABSTRACT

In the advent of becoming a modern nation, it is typical that achievement will be measured through power rankings and material fulfilment. One of the most important elements that most people forget is that the true meaning of happiness will define a strong soul in confronting greater challenges in life. Happiness is an area that is mostly subjective. However, that is the major centre of discussion in Disnman's play, *It Is Not A Suicide*. In this play, the main character is going through a traumatic experience whereby Adam is trying to redefine the meaning of happiness using his own interpretations. This paper focuses on Dinsman's absurd theatre style which is prominent in this play. His experiments had successfully highlighted a situation that portrays the weaknesses of humans when the concept of happiness had been misperceived. The confusions become the central thrust of the entire play, where meaning of life is questioned. The painful situation portrayed in the play reflects that humans live in a superficial, empty and meaningless life. The issues raised by the playwright had called for a special attention that the Malay Muslim perception of the concept of happiness should be realigned according to the Islamic teachings specifically. Hence, it becomes an important aspect that should be discussed at the fundamental level. For the purpose of this paper, the discussion will be carried out through the lens of Naquib Al-Attas' *Concept of Happiness*. It is hoped that this paper will highlight some solutions that would help to guide many in understanding the importance of finding the true meaning of happiness in order to gain a well-balanced life in this present world and the hereafter.

INTRODUCTION

We are constantly busy in preparing ourselves to face the challenges of modernisation. It is a tough world and we are expected to compete or we shall be left behind. In keeping up with the challenges, we don't realise that we are far from being a well-balanced society. We tend to overlook that in the process of becoming a modern nation, a sole emphasis on economics alone is insufficient since higher economic growth may not guarantee equal opportunities to all individuals (Al-Roubaie, 2010, p. 321). The interpretations of progress in a modern world could easily be related to the material fulfilment that is believed to bring prosperity and happiness to all mankind. However, the spiritual element that is equally important in the concept of human development tends to be ignored. This materialistic approach without reference to spiritual requirements certainly contradicts with the teachings of Islam. This is simply because, Islam defines the concept of development to include the material and spiritual elements to ensure balance in the present life and the hereafter.

Many Muslims are not aware that their understanding of the concept of development is actually influenced by the secular western school of thoughts. As explained by Mas Rynna Wati (2013) westernization in various forms is still influential in the present context of globalisation. Hence, much of the contemporary knowledge is manipulated by the West as a result of hundreds of years of colonisation. These have created confusions since the act of westernisation has affected the worldviews of the modern Malay Muslims especially in the way they think and perceive life. In this context, according to the western school of thoughts, happiness is an ultimate accomplishment in life and choices are meant to be an individual goal. The secular concept of happiness stresses on the material achievement rather than the fulfilment of the spiritual aspects. This is in line with Aristotle's view that happiness is derivative of worldly actions. This is in contrast to the Islamic point of view which al-Roubaie (2010) emphasised: "development must create balance between [humans'] material needs and [their] spiritual requirements" (pp. 327-328). In other words, progress becomes a means for increasing human satisfaction and happiness in this life and the Hereafter. It is expected that with a proper understanding of the concept of happiness, humans will become more positive and thus will become more resourceful. This was pointed out by Professor al-Attas that, 'Islam regards [human] as not merely an object but also as an object of knowledge' (al-Roubaie, 2010). With a proper knowledge of Islam, clear minds and sincere hearts, humans will be obligated in carrying out the trust that are put onto them and fulfilling their duties as a vicegerent of God. This would definitely fit with the ideals of a nation that will be respected and productive at the same time.

The misconception of the concept of happiness is vividly portrayed in *It Is Not A Suicide*, a play written by Dinsman during the period of Malay experimental theatre. The struggle in coping with the inevitable vortex of change was depicted through

the playwright's creative experimentation of the absurd theatre style. This style was once popular as an alternative mode of expression among local young playwrights in the 1970s. The young playwrights had to find a new style in presenting their creative insights, as the typical realistic style was perceived to be outmoded (Nur Nina Zuhrah, 1992, p. 142). The play is a depiction of had happened during the period of political and national policies changes which in turn had contributed to the rise of absurd theatre 'ala' Malaysia in the 1970s (Solehah, 1990). The play is heavy with the trappings of philosophical views of total happiness in life which depicts the conflict of an individual in coping with the challenges of modernisation. Dinsman had successfully transformed a typical absurd play that is atheistic in nature to be an absurd play that is distinctively his own through his method of appropriation. With the appropriated mode of style, Dinsman had created a play that somehow became very religiously oriented. For the sole purpose of this study, the paper intends to highlight the techniques that were experimented by the playwright, from a theatre style that is inevitably rejected by many local theatre scholars into a play that is able to portray the meaninglessness of human search for happiness in a modern world. The search that is presented in the play portrays the confusion of two differing worldviews of the western thoughts and the Islamic concept of happiness that further highlights the needs to realign our understanding of the concept of happiness according to the *sha'riah* in

confronting the challenges of living in a modern world today.

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

In achieving a modern society, the issue of happiness is often ignored since happiness has become a subject of a personal attainment. It can also be mentioned here that such discourse is not only rare to be highlighted in Malay plays, but also the subject itself is indeed very philosophical. In realising this, the playwright had experimented with the absurd theatre style to depict the situations that realistic theatre style seemed to have failed to deliver. However, the relevance of appropriating the absurd theatre style was deemed to be unsuitable due to its origins and epistemology (Siti Jasmina, 2005, p. 31). The theatre of the absurd is also seen as unsuitable for Malaysian viewers who are perceived to generally uphold their religious beliefs, as the absurd theatre is seen as negating Islamic principles. Many theatre critics and scholars feel that the absurd theatre is flawed by western atheistic existentialism. As a result, not many scholarly researches have been carried out especially to highlight the importance or the significance of these works to the development of the Modern Malay Theatre (Mas Rynna Wati, 2013, pp. 225-226). Regardless of the philosophies that underpinned the style of the absurd theatre, Dinsman had appropriated the typical western absurd style for a style that had become distinctively his own. The portrayal of an unhappy man who intends to seek happiness in his own interpretations needs

special attention, so that the playwright's insights would be properly highlighted and thus, appreciated further.

REVIEW THEATRE OF THE ABSURD IN THE HISTORY OF MODERN MALAY THEATRE

The advent of the absurd movement has resulted in the growth of many young and talented playwrights who celebrated the fame of this new movement which promises an alternative mode of expressionism to arts and society. Absurd theatre has never been successfully accepted by many theatre activists and the local audience. Since the absurd plays originated from the theory of existentialist, society has by and large refused to accept its influence in the local productions. The audience rejected the emergence of Theatre of the Absurd mainly because it contradicted with the socio-cultural background of its society since society still basically upholds its religious beliefs and traditions. As a result, Theatre of the Absurd had a short span of popularity in the local theatre scene (Nur Nina Zuhrah, 1992, p. 154).

Absurd theatre has created ongoing doubts and criticisms as this style is perceived to be vague and difficult to be comprehended by many. This has resulted in confusion among the audience as they fail to appreciate these works. Thus, to many theatre critics, absurd plays are unable to relate its significance to the audience. It is through Mohd. Amin who stated that, 'any forms of literary works which includes drama, should communicate well with society as literature works function as a medium to disseminate good values for the people at large' (1987, pp. 105-115). With this perception, absurd works are believed to have no values for the benefit of society. Furthermore, society is not familiar with the idea of pessimism of future as presented by this form of theatre. The audience prefer to be in their own comfort zone to watch plays that they can really associate with. Society's mentality is basically bound by ethnicity, religion and cultural beliefs. Hence, theatre of the absurd is not feasible to be promoted as a creative presentation for the audience.

Theatre of the absurd is also not suitable for Malaysian viewers who are perceived to generally uphold their religious beliefs as absurd theatre is seen negating Islamic principles. Many theatre critics and scholars are of the view that the absurd theatre is flawed due to the western atheistic and existentialist tendencies; hence, not many scholarly articles or research have been pursued especially to highlight the importance or the significance of these works to the development of the Modern Malay Theatre. Kalam (2003) also felt that absurd plays in Malaysia were not having a clear direction since the philosophies that influence the styles had been found unstable and thus, inappropriate (p. 135). It is a philosophy that believes humans should not be bound by any religious principles and values since these will limit their actions and the way they think. It (the philosophy) also completely accepts the meaningless of life as solely based on human struggles to achieve an authentic human existence.

Apparently, these basic principles of the epistemology of the absurd theatre have absolutely contradicted the basic principles of Islam, which is the official religion of this country. Even though the Malaysian society is now living in the threshold of modernisation, many still adhere to religious and social values. The surge in Islamic consciousness resulted in many comments and critics of the contemporary practitioners who are of the opinion that the proponents of the theatre of the absurd were ignorant because being Muslims themselves, they are unaware of the origins and the philosophy which underpinned this type of theatre (Siti Jasmina, 2005, p. 31). The criticisms showed that absurd theatre does not receive good feedback neither from the audience nor from the critics. These criticisms have created a gap that distance the plays from the audience, since these plays are labelled as not suitable for Malaysian viewers according to many experts and scholars of Malay theatre.

On the contrary, experimental dramatists viewed the Western form of absurd theatre as no longer appropriate in the period of intensified efforts to promote Malay culture and language (Nur Nina Zuhrah, 1992, p. 154). Although Malay absurd styles do have some aspects similar to the western contemporary theatre, many new dramatists tend to create their own platform in order for new ideas and styles to flourish. As a result, experimental dramatists give priority to sources of inspiration from their own background and imagination thus leading the modern theatre to a distinctly Malaysian identity. In the article 'Trends In Modern Malay Theatre', Solehah (1990) argued that "the absurd dramatic form further illustrates the absurdity that these young, highly educated Malay playwrights feel at their own inability and helplessness to make known of the shortcomings dominant in their society" (p. 163). She also added that the absurd plays that are written by local playwrights are far more objective than the typical absurd plays that originated from the West. It must be stressed here that the "absurd" plays in Malaysia are called as such because they are not realistic plays and most of their works are difficult to understand as the writing is not based on solid, philosophical or cultural tradition. "Malaysian theatre scholars, rooted in the Western tradition are aware that Malaysian absurd plays are in a class of their own and have no connection to the western absurd plays. In fact, these theatre scholars have resorted to using the term 'absurd ala Malaysia' or abstract plays" (Solehah, 1990, p. 170). Her statement shed some light that cleared many doubts and confusions on the unique adaptation of Malay absurd plays.

In addition, a closer look at the plays that were produced during the period of experimental theatre showed that most absurd works are not as absurd as it was once labelled. The plays are indeed philosophical. Mohd. Ramli (1991) mentioned that in accordance with some sociological issues raised by the playwrights, the characters displayed in the absurd plays are actually searching for human dignity in the essence of life (pp. 21-23). Therefore, it will be deemed inappropriate to classify all plays with elements of absurd theatre as being

atheistic and pessimistic. The concept of Malay absurd theatre is still unclear. There is a call for another approach to read through these plays, thus revealing the quality of these works. Apparently, approaches in existentialism or even absurd theatre techniques are to be found inadequate and misleading especially in the works by Dinsman during the period of experimental theatre. This is simply because Dinsman's plays mainly sought solace through religion, in this context, Islam. *It Is Not A Suicide* is a perfect resemblance of a metaphysical quest in search of divine power to fulfil the insatiable need for absolute happiness.

METHODOLOGY

This play focuses on a play, *It Is Not A Suicide*, written by Dinsman using the approach adopted in the *Concept of Happiness* by al-Attas (2001). The method of discussion is through a text-based analysis and an interview session with the playwright himself to further strengthen the discussion of this paper.

Absurd theatre has generated ongoing criticisms and the playwright's attempt in creating his own version of absurd work 'ala' Malaysia did not gain much appreciation. Therefore, this paper intends to highlight Dinsman's creative appropriations of the typical western absurd theatre style in revealing his concerns of the influence of fast paced modern lifestyle on the personal development of an individual. Although the western style of absurd theatre is flawed by the philosophy which underpins the origins of this theatre, the playwright had

transformed the style that was known to be unsuitable for the local audience into a play that is socially- oriented (Rahmah & Nur Nina Zuhrah, 1988).

It Is Not A Suicide is heavy with the trappings of existential dilemma of confused individual in the vortex of urbanisation. The modern lifestyle has led humans to focus on the material achievement alone and placed little emphasis on the spiritual aspects. This is what happens to Adam who feels that he is so lonely and his life seems empty. He cannot find the answers that can fulfil his inquisitive mind. The pile of books that surrounds him shows that he is literate and widely read. He starts to feel that all his academic achievements have indeed reached a point of saturation. The knowledge that he gains fails to answer his existential quests. Hence, this play requires an appropriate theoretical approach to bring about a discussion on the lack of spiritual fulfilment highlighted by the playwright.

The author analyses the play through the lens of Syed Naquib al-Attas' *Concept of Happiness*. Examining the play through al-Attas concept of happiness will shed some light on the central theme of in the play. Thus, the paper hopes to bring the concept of modernisation into a new dimension without having to neglect the social, cultural and spiritual dimensions.

AL-ATTAS AND THE CONCEPT OF HAPPINESS

In his book, *Prolegomena to the Metaphysics of Islam, al-Attas* (2001) explains that happiness is a concept that links humans to

God. This bond allows humans to achieve a perfection of the mind, body and soul. Happiness is described as having blessed lives which become the ultimate goal for humans, as servants of God. Therefore, this material world is a passport for individuals to achieve eternal lives in the Hereafter.

Happiness, according to al-Attas, is *Saadah* which is linked to two dimensions of existence. The opposite of *Saadah* is *shaqawah* which means misfortune and misery in general. The first dimension of the concept of happiness is *dunnyawiyah* which is the happiness in the present world and the second is *ukhrawiyah* which is the happiness in the world hereafter. In respect to the world hereafter, *Saadah* refers to the ultimate happiness, which is the more everlasting felicity and bliss in one's life. This is the highest being in the vision of God, promised to those who in worldly life have lived in willing submission, conscious and knowing obedience of God's commands and prohibition. Hence, in Islam, it is important to balance both dimensions of happiness as a proper life in the present world will lead to a promised happiness in the world hereafter (p. 91).

The term *Saadah* is related to the hereafter world which is closely connected to the present world, with respect to three things. The first one is self or *nafsiyyah* that pertains to knowledge and good characters, the second to the body (*badaniyah*) such as good health and security and the third one to the external entities to the self and the body (*kharijiyyah*) such as wealth and other causes that promote the well-being of the

self, the body, and the external things and circumstances in relation to them. al-Attas emphasises that happiness in the present world can not only be found in secular and modern life, but also with living life as interpreted and guided by religion whose source is Revelation.

Happiness from the Islamic perspective is closely related to the self which pertains to knowledge and character. Islam teaches that the "seat of knowledge in [humans] are spiritual substance variously referred to in the Quran as [their] hearts (*qalb*), or [their] souls or [selves] (*nafs*), or his intellect (*aql*) or [their spirits] (*ruh*)" (p. 92). The self is involved in dual aspects of body and soul. The first one is described as the animal soul (*al-nafs al-hayawaniyyah*); and the other one as the rational soul (*al-nafs al-natiqah*). The destiny of achieving happiness in life and ultimate happiness in the hereafter are very much dependent upon which aspect it chooses to align itself in a preponderant way.

Virtue (*fadilah*) is classified generally as an excellence of mind or discernment and good characters. Al-Attas defines characters as a stable state of soul. However, characters can be called as good characters only if it causes actions commended by the intellect and by religion. Good character can be achieved by learning good habituation and in some cases, it may come as a divine gift. The goal of good character is happiness, both in this world and in the hereafter. In order to achieve this, the animal soul and its bodily faculties must be subordinated to the practical soul. This will enable the rational soul to direct individual actions after

a deliberation in accord with what parallels with the theoretical faculty of what is good and what is bad. Only when this has been accomplished can it realise wisdom.

Al-Attas's emphasis on the concept of happiness under the limelight of Islamic perspectives has been found to be in contrast to the concept that is well-known to many Muslims nowadays. Many Muslims are not aware that the concept that they have in mind is secular in nature and influenced by the western school of thoughts. This is simply because in the Islamic concept of happiness, happiness is not attained in the present world only, but it is also sought and achieved in the present world which would lead to happiness hereafter. In contrast to the Western school of thought, happiness is an ultimate accomplishment in life and choices are meant to be an individual goal to what is best in one's life. This confusion of contrasting concepts of happiness can be dated back to the history of two different traditions, the West and the Islamic concept of happiness. In the traditions of Western thought, there are two conceptions of happiness: one which goes back to Aristotle (in the Middle Ages it goes back to Muslim philosophers and theologians chiefly Ibn Sina and Al-Ghazali) and the modern which gradually emerged in Western history as a result of secularisation. This philosophic and scientific process according to al-Attas involves the diverting of spiritual meaning from the world of nature, the desacralisation of politics from human affairs and the deconsecrating of values from the human mind and conduct.

Secularisation is an initial movement in the experience and consciousness of Western man in the philosophical foundations laid down by Aristotle. The modern conception of happiness that is prevalent in the West today has undergone changes, bringing with it not only moral decadence and crisis, but political dissension and conflict as well. Islamic perspectives do not agree on the basic premises of the Aristotelian position that virtue and happiness relate to this present world only. Consequently, happiness that has become a permanent condition experienced consciously in the course of our worldly life is unattainable.

ANALYSIS

al-Attas discusses happiness from the Islamic perspectives. He suggests that in achieving happiness, man must seek from different dimensions, namely the happiness in the present world and happiness in the world hereafter. It is important to note that man must be able to strike a balance from both dimensions of happiness, as a proper life in the present world will promise an ultimate happiness in the world hereafter. When a man is unable to understand and fail to follow God's commands and prohibitions, the happiness that is sought after will only be superficial. This is what happens in the play where the main character is lost in search for happiness. He is looking for happiness in the present world. Hence, the happiness in the present world is empty and confused since done is not emotionally fulfilled.

In *It Is Not A Suicide*, living life is perceived as difficult; we cannot escape

from making decisions. Decisions have to be made either it turns out to be good or bad. In life, we are confronted with these challenges as part of achieving a meaningful life. However, it will be tough when we find ourselves unable to make choices as choices being made sometimes would clash with the principles of religion or even values that had once shaped who we are now. This is evident in Adam, a character who is experiencing conflicts, as he tries to question God and about existence in general. He decides to commit suicide in order to meet God to answer his burning questions. Unfortunately, his preoccupations with existence confuses Adam and he becomes lost. He loses his sense of judgment when he suddenly decides to end his life in order to meet God. By having such intentions, Adam feels he can find the meaning of life that he has been seeking and achieve absolute happiness.

In this play, Adam is not happy as he fails to get what he yearns for. He searches endlessly for answers from many sources such as through his readings and attending lessons offered by respectable teachers. He tries to find the answers from his father, and yet he still fails to find what he is looking for. He wants answers to the meaning of life. Adam feels that there is no other way except to seek answer from God himself:

> *(He climbs the pile of books while reflecting on the noose)*. Today, today I will no longer wait for you. Today, *(holds the noose)* today I

will go to you. I will not commit suicide. This is my last attempt to meet you. There is only this left for me to do. (Suddenly) Heh, don't, don't bother me. This is my affair.

(Dinsman, 1979/1988, p. 53)

These lines indicate how Adam really wants to pursue the meaning of happiness. To Adam, life at the moment is perceived to be a burden. He is not happy, as he fails to achieve what he wants. He finally decides that he will no longer wait and therefore, he feels he has no other choice left. Adam and his suicidal plan have become the main discussion in this section as his action to end his life is thought to be permissible. On the contrary, suicide is not allowed in Islam. Muslims are highly encouraged to seek *ikhtiyar* (choice) to achieve their desires but they have to work hard to gain good things in their life. In this case, one can understand how Adam thinks. He believes he owns *ikhtiyar* and that will shape his decision to take his own life. This he perceives as the only way to work out what he wants.

Al-Attas mentions that *ikhtiyar* or choice has to be made based on good judgment for better options in life. However, it is important to highlight that when aligned to the philosophical question of freedom, any choice on what is bad is to be disregarded. Looking at this context, Adam's attempt to meet God by ending his life cannot be regarded as a choice or *ikhtiyar*. Clearly, Adam's confusion has clouded his thinking and judgment. Being

humans, we have to affirm that freedom is to act as our real and true nature demands. Ending his life to meet God is not acting according to the demands of true nature. It is an act of pure desperation of tainted heart (*qalb*) when he thinks he has found his way of fulfilling his quest and his soul (*nafs*). He fails to wait further and pray to seek guidance from God, instead he goes to the quickest way in getting what he wanted. His intellect (*aql*) becomes confused with what he reads and what he actually learns. Therefore, he decides that he has the choice of what is good for him to satisfy his thirst to seek answers:

> *Nothing is meaningful anymore, Father. Father, I ask you, please don't bother me anymore. I have chosen my own path, which I think is good for me. And, Father, you already have your own lifestyle, which I believe is good for you.*

(Dinsman, 1979/1988, p. 157)

Adam has decided, and unfortunately his decision is not deemed to be based on his ignorance. His action reflects the instigation of the soul that inclines towards the blameworthy aspects of the animal powers. He is playing with his blind instinct. This would reflect his mind which is unable to think straight as he is desperate and impatient in getting things done his way.

The play reflects that Adam reads well. This can be seen through the depiction of the setting of the play in which Adam is standing on the top of a pile of books. What he is looking for is to make sense of what he had learnt in his entire lifetime. Adam is a thinker and he likes to think. This further illustrates that he wants to learn more about the nature of his existence and everyone experiences this call at some point in their lives. When he mentions, "I don't blame those religious people, Father. In fact, I respect them. And if I could I'd want to be like them" (Dinsman, 1979/1988, p. 155) tells us that he actually wants to learn from religious teachers in pursuing his quests. Al-Attas mentions that, proper knowledge in religion is highly required as it will be applied in daily life which will bring one to the worldly happiness and happiness in the hereafter. Therefore, Adam cannot be regarded as a learned person as he has knowledge without a proper foundation. Any man has to learn from a teacher who has great knowledge as learning without a teacher is like learning in the darkness without knowing which correct path to follow. However, in this case, Adam has learned from the teachers and he learns from the books that he reads, and eventually he fails. Knowledge of God and meaning of existence cannot be found by only reading through books and learning from great teachers. It has to come through revelation that only God is able to shed light on. Without it, man will be seeking meaning endlessly and therefore he will feel the emptiness as there is no soul fulfilment that leads towards a meaningful existence. This is parallel with al-Attas's notion that happiness in the present world is not only

to be found in secular life, but also with life as interpreted and guided by religion whose source is revelation. Adam has to wait and pray hard to God to seek his guidance to the right path. Revelation in a form of wisdom and enlightenment always come from within. Happiness and the search for life's meaning, though pertinent to ensure a blissful life, should absolutely not contradict with the faith of Islam.

CONCLUSION

Dinsman had created a play that is heavy with the discussions of human existential issues. Hence, it is deemed impossible to depict the issues raised through typical realistic style in which realistic style had its limitations. Absurd theatre style was perceived to represent human psychological dilemmas and an interesting visual representation for further reflections and discussions by the audience at large. Even though his appropriations on absurd theatre style had created plenty of misleading criticisms, It *Is Not A Suicide* is a creative depiction of the playwright's insights. It is important to highlight the playwright's closing lines at the end of the play. Typical of the absurd style, there is no conclusion to the matter raised. The play ends well with a closure that signifies that there is hope to Adam's sufferings. Going back to the path of religion will be the only way to save Adam from being unhappy and feeling worthless. This is the part that represents Dinsman's mode of appropriation from a typical pessimistic ending to a play with a closure

which resembles hope for the betterment of the newly structured society.

Through this play, Dinsman had emphasised the need to realign the concept of modernization so that the confusions of two differing worldviews will be avoided. This discussion has further revealed that being a Muslims, we had gone far from the proposed religious teachings. The repercussion of modernisation on the Muslim society had called for a serious readjustment to our understanding of happiness which should not be solely achieved through material gain. We certainly would like to avoid what has happened in the West, as they are grappling now with the lack of spiritual aspects after achieving modernisation for decades. Al-Attas views that: "development, change and progress as a means will enable Muslim society to move towards a genuine Islam" (al-Roubaie, 2010, p. 342). He proposes that development must not only strengthen the nation's ability to become materially prosperous, but also promote Islamic fundamentals by overcoming some of the challenges facing Muslims. The development of a modern nation simply based on material gain alone will result in a nation that is spiritually fragile. As al-Attas suggests, we can infer that people need to have a balance in their lives. When religion becomes secondary, a person will not find the correct path that leads to living life happily. Dinsman attempts to explore this in his play that humans are responsible in seeking the meaning of their existence (Mohd. Ramli, 1991). This would fit with

the purpose of humans to find harmony in their lives for the ultimate purpose of the current world *dunnyawiyah* and the world hereafter, *ukhrawiyyah*. The play, *If Is Not A Suicide*, reflects that the Malay Muslims in this country are not immune to the globalisation of modernity. Humans need to find a well-balanced life to gain a blessed life from God the Almighty. When humans are clear with their purpose, they will work sincerely for the sake of blessings from God. The positive energy will flourish and soon the modern nation can be achieved without which the spiritual needs of the society have to be neglected. Therefore, there is a strong need to realign our concept of development, progress or even modernisation into an Islamic worldview in achieving a balanced nation.

With the arrival of modernisation and globalisation of today's world, it would be prudent to equip ourselves with knowledge and skills to better prepare us. However, preparing ourselves with knowledge and skills alone will never guarantee us to be strong in confronting the great challenges. In developing a nation to become productive and well respected by the entire world, we must agree that the spiritual requirements have to be set correctly since it will be a foundation to manage globalisation. Without the strong fundamentals in the spiritual aspect, humans will become confused and whatever they achieve will only be superficial. When material gains have become the only source of motivation, humans will end up feeling empty. This kind of motivation can easily fade away

and when it does, humans will start to search for something substantial. The search will turn into a major distraction and the modernisation will become a source of spiritual destruction to mankind.

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'Sampai Di' *Vs* 'Sampai Ke': Accomplishment or Achievement Verb?

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ABSTRACT

The Malay corpus shows that the verb '*sampai*' (arrive) can occur with the preposition '*ke-*' as in '*Sharifah Aini mahu segera sampai ke kampung itu*' (Sharifah Aini want to arrive at the village immediately). '*Sampai*' can also occur with the preposition '*di*'- as in '*Nisa terbangun ketika sampai di Tanjung Malim*.' (Nisa awoke when she arrived at Tanjung Malim). Based on data in the corpus, it is discovered that '*sampai*' occurs in two locative preposition patterns which are locative direction preposition (*ke*) and locative position preposition (*di*). '*Sampai-ke*' occurs as an accomplishment (which has the features + duration and + telic), meanwhile '*sampai- di*' occurs as an achievement (which focuses on telicity). Accordingly, this paper will examine the emergence of locative preposition patterns with '*sampai*'. It will determine whether the verb '*sampai*' is classified as an achievement verb or an accomplishment verb. Data is amassed from two novels, titled *Buih* and *Noni*. Data from both novels were electronically recorded and inputted into the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka (DBP) Malay corpus data base. The analysis will be based on the aspectual features of the verb focusing on the *Aktionsart's* representation decomposition classes (Van Valin, 1997, 2005). This paper will further explain the situation that '*sampai di-*' and '*sampai ke-*' can occur in sentences. It also concludes that '*sampai*' should occur with the locative preposition '*di*', not with the preposition '*ke*' based on the semantics properties of the verb '*sampai*' as an achievement.

INTRODUCTION

The occurrence of locative prepositions '*di*', '*ke*' and '*dari*' with a verb can be foreseen.

Maslida (2009) demonstrated that the preposition '*di*' expresses the relationship of the static locations that correspond with the characteristics of stative verbs, achievement and activity (without any change of positions) while the prepositions '*dari*' and '*ke*' indicate the location of the dynamic relationship that is suitable to the characteristics of the location change which is the accomplishment characteristics that determine the target and completion of an action.

The verb '*sampai*' is a motion verb which is inherently directional. This type of verb includes specific direction of motion even in the absence of an overt directional complement.[1] In the corpus, the verb '*sampai*' (which means *tiba*) can occur with the positional preposition '*di*' as in the sentence *Hari itu 19 Ogos, ***sampai di*** HKL kira-kira pukul 12.00 tengah hari (That day 19 Ogos, arrived at HKL, approximately at 12.00 afternoon)* and can also occur with the directional preposition '*ke*' as in *"Apabila ***sampai ke*** lokasi, pengarah tidak ada masa untuk melatih pelakon (When he arrived at the location, the director did not have time to train the actor)"*. Based on data from the corpus, the verb '*sampai*' shows

two patterns of occurrences with locative preposition, namely being present with the locative preposition (directional) (*ke*) and also occurring with the locative preposition (position) (*di*). This paper will discuss the Aktionsart class for the verb *sampai*. If the preposition '*di*' is static and may occur with verbs that do not involve any changes in state, then this paper will also describe the emergence of the preposition '*ke*' *that is* dynamic together with the verb *sampai*'.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The discussion on the prepositions by renowned Malay grammarians has established a similarity which focuses on the form of usage of the Malay Language prepositions. Prepositions are word forms that cannot stand on their own and the meaning can only come together when they receive other words which are nouns. The definition of 'preposition' given by Malay grammarians (which include Za'ba (2000), Nik Safiah et al. (2008), Asmah (2009), Arbak (1981), Liaw & Abdullah (1994)) has clearly shown that prepositions have a close relationship with the accompanying nouns. In English, Bennet (1975) has performed a meaning analysis for the preposition of space and time and had been regarded as *"...the single most comprehensive semantic analysis of English prepositions currently available in the literature."* (Hawkins, 1995 cited in Jolly, 1991). Bennet has used the verb classification by Vendler (1957) to show the relationship between the verb and the type of preposition that appears with it. Bennet demonstrates how the

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[1]   Levin, B (1993) states that for some verbs, this specification is in deictic terms; for others, it is in nondeictic terms. None of these verbs specify the manner of motion. However, the members of this class do not behave uniformly in all respects. They differ as to how they can express the goal, source, or path of motion and depending on the verb, these can be expressed via a propositional phrase, as a direct object, or both.

type of locative sentence can be related to Vendler's verb classes which are classified into activity, accomplishment, achievement and state; for instance, locative sentence and extent in (1) involving stative predication.

(1a)   *Gwyneth is at the supermarket.*
(1b)   *The mall extends from Buckingham Palace to Trafalgar Square.*

The directional sentence in (2) shows the relationship with the predicates of accomplishment and achievement.

(2a)   *We walked along the Mall to Trafalgar Square.*
(2b)   *(Then) the bridegroom arrived at the church.*

The verb meaning approach not only offers an explanation on the relationship between the verb and locative preposition but Bennet admits that the temporal adverbial is intimately related to the verb in a sentence. Bennet states *"...a sentence may be ungrammatical because of an incompatibility between the verb and temporal adverbial"* (1975, p.100). The classification of meaning of the lexical verb not only is applicable to explain the relationship between the type of verb and locative preposition but according to Bennet, it is important to understand the temporal adverb, for instance, the predicates of activity and state normally receiving the temporal adverb *for a few hours or for several years* as exemplified in sentence (3).

(3a).   *....dig the garden (activity) for a few hours.*
(3b)   *....own a house (state) for several years.*

The discussion on the role of the preposition by way of looking into its relationship with the verb semantic class and the method adopted are consistent with Jolly's approach (1991) in his analysis on the role of the preposition. However, Jolly (1991) uses the Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) Theory, namely the verb classification based on the logical structure that motivates the selection of the preposition and analysis. The RRG is a theory that is based on the *predicate decomposition*. When the predicate decomposition is performed, then the verb being in the same semantic class will have the same decomposition sub-structure. Based on the system of decomposition, verbs are classed into four types, namely statives, achievements, activities and accomplishments. The process of grouping the verbs into these classes is based on certain aspects such as time adverbials, aspectual frames and logical entailments (Jolly, 1991, p. 70).

As an example, Jolly describes the role and presence of the preposition in the semantic structure for the prepositional words *to* and *from*, as can be seen in the following sentences:

(4a)   *John gave the book to Bill.*
(4b)   *John took the book from Bill.*

The analysis for the semantic structure for the verbs give and take demonstrates a logical structure as in (4c).

(4c)   [[DO(w,[**do**'(w)]]CAUSE [BECOME NOT **have**'(x,y)] & [BECOME **have**'(z,y)]]

In the logical structure proposed, y=theme, z=goal and x= source. The determination of agent (w) as x or z shows a semantic structure that opposes *give* and *take*: which is *give*, w=x, *take*, w=z. In relation to this, the logical structure for (4a) and (4b) is as follows;

(4ai) [[DO (John, [**do**'(John)])] CAUSE [BECOME NOT **have**' (John, book)] & [BECOME **have**' (Bill, book)]]
(4bi) [[DO (John, [**do**'(John)])] CAUSE [BECOME NOT **have**' (Bill, book)] & [BECOME **have**' (John, book)]]

As such, *to* and *from* make up the function for the logical structure for the transfer accomplishment verbs such as *give* and *take*. The structures BECOME **have**' and BECOME NOT **have**' fit with the respective verb structure namely *give* and *take*. In relation to this, according to Jolly, when stative verbs are present with the locative argument (with the verbs of perception, cognition, possession and location) and the predicate is attached under BECOME and not the subject and thus, it is marked by the preposition *to*. The analyses by Bennet (1975) and Jolly (1991) have shown that the meaning of a verb has a relationship with the preposition that co-occurs in a sentence. In

this vein, Van Valin and LaPolla (1997, p. 53) as well as Van Valin (2005) state that "a preposition functioning as either predicative or non-predicative depends on the verb that comes with it in a sentence". Thus, this article is an effort to explain the pattern of existence of prepositions in clauses. The existence of prepositions is seen as having a relationship with the verb class that appear with it in a clause.

METHODOLOGY

The distinction between a static and dynamic situation is usually reflected in the choice of lexical items which in turn is usually reflected in the verb. Thus, we may say that there is a relationship between the verb and the different types of situations. In particular verbs, there are verbs that explain the different types of situations inherently. Some verbs describe a state and there are verbs that describe the dynamic situation. Accordingly, this paper will describe the elements of a meaning of the verb that is associated with the distinctions in the types of situations. Hence, by utilising the *Aktionsart* class principles as a basis, this paper will apply the theory of verb classes as advocated by the Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) to show the behaviour of Malay verbs that are encoded through the situation of the said verb. To achieve these objectives, examples of sentences that contain the verb '*sampai*' has been extracted from the database of the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka corpus; the corpus of two novels titled, '*Noni*' (Abdullah, 1997) and '*Buih*' (Azizi, 1995).

A corpus is a collection of parts of language (or full text) that are selected and arranged according to explicit linguistic criteria to be used as a sample of a particular language (Sinclair, 1991). Data from both novels were electronically recorded and inputted into the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka (DBP) Malay corpus data base. The two novels that were electronically recorded generated approximately 24,399 words for the novel *Noni* and 31,729 words for *Buih*.

Concordance

Concordance is a software/program that enables the listing of specific frequently used words in a text in the same line. A concordance shows the context of the words which are before and after the word choice. Biber et al. (1998) refer to this as a list concordance.

Examples of the concordance word list for the preposition '*ke*' in the novel *Noni* is as given below:

KEYWORD: "ke"

Concordance:

LINES:

1 batu sejam. Debu berterbangan ***ke*** udara. Syarifah Aini terasa ku B00286

2 tekanan minyak dan berpaling ***ke*** kiri. Anaknya tertidur dengan B00286

3 aan kasih yang seni menyelinap ***ke*** dalam sanubarinya demi dia me B00286

To clarify, this paper will not use data in a concordance line as an example. This is because a concordance line does not show a complete sentence, as shown by the example of concordance lines of two and three above. The analysis of this novel will cite the sentence in the corpus to show the presence of the preposition in a complete and perfect sentence as shown in the example below. Nonetheless, in exceptional circumstances when a phenomenon is observed but is not contained in the corpus data, the author will give an example based on the author's intuition as a native speaker of the Malay language. Both of these methods are regarded as complementary to one another. In this paper, not all the sentences in the corpus are selected as sample sentences for analysis; it will be done randomly whereby a few examples will be given to explain the analysis based on a particular preposition.

CLASSIFYING VERB

Dowty (1979) discussed and developed a verb classification (Vendler, 1967) that is recognised as a class of *Aktionsart* into four different classes according to their logical entailment, interaction with temporal modifier and interaction with tense (Rothstein, 2004). The four classifications refer to the states, activities, achievements and accomplishments. These classes can be characterised in terms of four properties, [± static], [± dynamic], [±telic] and [± punctual] (Van Valin, 2005). From these criteria, activities, achievements, and accomplishments are [- static] while

state verbs are [+ static]. State and action verbs lack inherent terminal points and are therefore non-telic (atelic), while achievement and accomplishment verbs have terminal points. Therefore, states and activities are unbounded (atelic) while achievements and accomplishments are bounded (telic). Since state and action verbs are atelic, thus by definition it will involve a temporal duration, therefore, they are always [-punctual]. Thus, the achievements are punctual events but accomplishments are not.

According to Rothstein (2004), the four classifications of Vendler's intuition is an expression that has two properties which are crucial in categorising eventualities or event types. These two properties are either events that have a natural stopping point (whether it is telic), or an event that can be analysed as progressing or developing (whether it is dynamic, or has stages). The first property, [+ telic] groups states and actions together while achievements and accomplishments are in another [+ telic].

The second property, [± stages] determines whether the verbs can appear in the progressive. A sentence with a verb in the progressive asserts that an eventuality of a particular kind is "in progress" or ongoing. States and the achievements generally do not appear in the progressive while activities and accomplishments do. Thus, states and achievements will share the property of [- stages] while activities and accomplishments share the property of having stages [+stages]. Achievements

do not (should not) appear progressively because the situation is too short and thus, each stage (if any) cannot be distinguished. By using cumulative and homogeneous characteristics, Rothstein (2004), considers that achievements are not (downward) homogenous since a part of a dying event is not in itself an event of dying. In other words, they have no internal structure and are also not cumulative with respect to contiguous events. Two contiguous events of '*John recognising a friend*' cannot together form a single event in the denotation '*recognise a friend*'. Thus, achievement and accomplishment verbs behave analogously in that they are both temporally bounded. On the other hand, they differ in that achievement verbs lack temporal duration as [+punctual] indicated. The change of the state denoted by achievement verbs therefore must occur instantaneously while accomplishments allow temporal duration for the change to take place. The differences in properties for achievement and accomplishment verbs can be described as follows:

a.   Achievements: [-static],], [-dynamic], [+ telic], [+ punctual]

b.   Accomplishments: [-static],], [-dynamic], [+ telic], [-punctual]

Achievement verb and accomplishment verb have similarities in terms of properties [+ telic], [-static] and [-dynamic] but differ in terms of features [punctual]. In order to distinguish the four classes, RRG makes

use of some diagnostic tests developed in Dowty (1979). A list of possible tests for verb classes as adopted in the RRG are given below:

i.   Occurs with progressive
ii.   Occurs with adverbs like vigorously, actively, etc.
iii. Occurs with adverbs like quickly, slowly, etc.
iv.   Occurs with X for an hour, spend an hour
v.   Occurs with X in an hour

In determining the classification of the verb based on the Aktionsart tests, Maslida (2008, 2009) had demonstrated that both verbs produce the following findings as seen in Table 1.

Table 1
Tests for Aktionsart classes on Achievements and Accomplishments verbs

Criteria	Achievements	Accomplishments
Occurs with progressive 'sedang'	No	Yes
Occurs with an adverb 'dengan penuh semangat'	No	No
Occurs with an adverb 'dengan perlahan'	No	Yes
Occurs with the phrase 'selama sejam'	No	Irrelevant
Occurs with the phrase 'dalam masa sejam'	No	Yes

As an example, we have chosen the verb mati 'die' as an achievement verb and cair 'melt' as an accomplishment verb to demonstrate the application of the proposed syntactic test in Table 1 above.

SYNTACTIC AND SEMANTIC TESTS FOR MALAY VERB CLASSES

Occurs with Progressive

Van Valin and LaPolla (1997) used a progressive test as an evidence for the [-static, - punctual]. According to *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics* (1997, p. 297), progressive is a feature of verbal forms used to refer to actions in progress without necessitating a time limit. From this definition, a progressive functions in a situation that is not a state but to actions or processes. In Malay, markers that refer to the ongoing actions and have not been completed are the auxiliary verbs such as '*sedang*' *(is)*, '*tengah*', (colloquial language for being) and '*masih*' (still) (Asmah, 2009). Asmah distinguishes '*sedang*' as referring to an on-going action and has not been completed; for example, '*Jangan bising*. Ayah *sedang tidur*.' (Don't be noisy. Father is sleeping) while '*masih*' refers to the transition time between two actions or circumstances; for example, '*Kawan-kawannya sudah pulang. Dia masih bermain di padang*.' (His friends have returned home. He is still playing at the field). Although the auxiliary verbs '*sedang*' and '*masih*' are

still referring to the ongoing actions, but the authors suggest the auxiliary verb '*sedang*' as a progressive marker while '*masih*' is a marker of continuity.

In that regard, this paper will use the test of the progressive '*sedang*' to determine the class of the verb '*sampai*'. Based on the above facts, the test of Malay verb classes is based on whether the verb is able to be applied with the auxiliary verb '*sedang*'.

Test 1: Selection of the progressive form.

    * a. '*Haiwan itu sedang mati*'.
       Animal DET[2] PROG[3] die
       'The animal is dying'.
    b. '*Salji itu sedang cair*.'
       Snow DET PROG melt
       'The snow is melting'.

* Indicates the sentence is ungrammatical

As achievement verbs denote the type of events that are almost immediate, namely events that would end as soon as it began, then it should not be parallel to the incident indicating progressive or events that are 'in progress' that is characterised by process and progress of accomplishments.

Occurs with an adverb such as *dengan Penuh Semangat (vigorously)*

This second test determines whether a verb can occur with an adverb '*dengan penuh semangat/penuh kesungguhan*' that involves

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[2] DET - Determiner
[3] PROG- Progressive

the ability to co-occur with adverbs that is code dynamic in action as outlined in Van Valin (2005).

    *a. '*Haiwan itu mati dengan penuh semangat*'.
       Animal DET die vigorously
       'The animal is dying vigorously'.
    *b. '*Salji itu cair dengan penuh semangat*'.
       Snow DET melt *vigorously*
       'The snow is melting vigorously'.

The adverbs '*dengan penuh semangat*' modifies actions. Test 2 shows that achievement and accomplishment verbs with the adverb '*dengan penuh semangat*' are odd since this adverb modifies actions. In order to modify action, the verbs should have subjects which refer to an agent-participants in the action. Subjects in achievement and accomplishment verbs (Haiwan 'animal' and salji 'snow') are undergoers, therefore, the action of mati 'dying' and cair 'melting' cannot be modified. However, activity verbs such as menari 'dancing', berlari 'running' and menyanyi 'singing' which code dynamic action compatible with adverb '*dengan penuh semangat*' due to the agentive aspect belonged to these verbs.

Occurs with pace verbs like *'dengan Cepat' (quickly), 'dengan Pantas' (rapidly),* and *'dengan Perlahan' (slowly).*

This test is associated with the [-static] verb and differentiates the [- punctual event]

verb with the [+ punctual event] verb. This test serves to identify non-static verbs with temporal duration. Adverbs such as '*dengan cepat*' (quickly) or '*dengan perlahan-lahan*' (slowly) occur also with the verbs with [-static, -punctual].

> *a. 'Haiwan itu mati *dengan perlahan-lahan*'.
>
>   Animal DET die slowly
>
>   'The animal is dying slowly.'
>
> b. 'Salji itu   cair dengan *perlahan-lahan*.'
>
>   Snow DET melt slowly
>
>   'The snow is melting slowly.'

An achievement verb indicates the type of events that are immediate. Therefore, the emergence of the verb '*mati*' with a pace adverb that refers to a duration will make its sentence structure and meaning unacceptable. So, '*mati*' can be determined as not occurring with pace verbs, which is a characteristic of the achievement predicate. While the verb '*cair*' is an accomplishment verb that refers to the process, the emergence of these verbs and adverbs is grammatical.

Occurs with a preposition phrase 'selama sejam' (for an hour)

Tests four and five distinguish telic from non-telic verbs. The prepositional phrase '*selama sejam*' (for an hour) indicates duration while the preposition phrase '*dalam masa sejam*' (in an hour) indicates completion. Thus, test four isolates the property of having a duration in time and

therefore, the phrase '*selama sejam*' may be used by the state, accomplishment and activity verbs because all of these verbs have a duration that is characterised by [-punctual event] while achievement verbs are characterised by [+ punctual event].

> *a. '*Haiwan itu mati selama sejam*'.
>
>   Animal DET die for an hour
>
>   'The animal died for an hour.'
>
> b. '*Salji itu cair selama sejam*'.
>
>   Snow DET melt for an hour
>
>   'The snow melted for an hour.'

The presence of the phrase '*selama sejam*' may be used to distinguish achievements with other class of verbs in Malay. Since achievements should not be 'forced' to change to non-telic interpretation, therefore, the achievement verbs in Malay are [+ punctual].

Occurs with a prepositional phrase 'dalam masa sejam (in an hour) (Focusing on the terminal point)

Test 5 focuses on terminal points (Van Valin & LaPolla, 1997). If something is performed '*dalam masa 10 minit' (in 10 minutes)*, therefore the explicit reference is to the terminal point for the action/event. In other words, the event began at one point in time and ended 10 minutes later. However, if something is performed for about 10 minutes, the same event could still be ongoing at a later time. Thus, in *'Ahmad membaca buku itu dalam masa sejam' (Ahmad reads the book in an hour)*,

the beginning and completed events took place within the one hour as the subject had finished reading the book; while in '*Ahmad membaca buku itu selama sejam' (Ahmad reads the book for an hour)*, there is no marker when the event began or has ended as the same event may still be ongoing at other times. Typically, state and activity verbs easily conform to '*selama sejam*' (for an hour) because this verb class does not have a terminal point (i.e. the same action can be repeated) while achievement and accomplishment verb concurs with '*dalam masa sejam*' (in an hour) because these verbs are characterised as [+ telic]. Thus, in '*dalam masa sejam*' marks the duration of '*masa satu jam*' by showing that the event began and is completed within an hour. This adverb may naturally appear to be characterised by telic verbs such as accomplishments and achievements because these events have terminal points to the actions.

However, as achievement verbs are punctual, they are only compatible with the phrase *dalam masa (in-phrases)* referring to a very short period of time as in '*dalam sekelip mata*' (in the blink of an eye) or '*dalam sesaat*' (in a second), thus the verb is incompatible with the phrase '*dalam*' *(in-phrases)* that refers to a longer temporal period, e.g. '*dalam 10 saat*' (in 10 seconds), '*dalam beberapa minit*' (in a few minutes) and '*dalam sejam*' (in an hour), unless they are iterative (repetition of a verbal action), as shown in the example '*...sehingga kita tidak sedar bahawa di dalam tubuh kita beribu-ribu sel sedang mati.' (...until we are unaware that thousands of cells are dying in our bodies.)*

*a. '*Haiwan itu mati dalam masa sejam*'.

Animal DET die in an hour

'The animal died in an hour.'

b. '*Salji itu cair dalam masa sejam*'.

Snow DET melt in an hour

' The snow melted in an hour.'

As shown in Table 2, both achievements and accomplishments express changes of state which are inherently temporally bounded (telic). Achievements are instantaneous while accomplishments are not.

Table 2
Tests for Aktionsart classes on Achievements and Accomplishments verbs

	Occurs with the progressive *'sedang'*	Occurs with the adverb *'dengan penuh semangat'*	Occurs with the adverb *'dengan perlahan-lahan'*	Occurs with the phrase *'selama sejam'*	Occurs with the phrase *'dalam masa sejam'*
Achievements	No	No	No	No	No
Accomplishments	Yes	No	Yes	Irrelevant/ Yes	Yes

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

From the discussion above, we can now integrate the tests by Van Valin (2005) to identify the Aktionsart class of the verb *'sampai'* and further explain the occurrences of this verb with the preposition *'di'* and the preposition *'ke'*.

Test of the verb *'sampai'*

With the same test, this paper examines the verb 'sampai' to determine the class of verbs.

Occurs with the adverb *'dengan penuh semangat'*

* *'Keretapi itu sampai dengan penuh semangat/dengan aktif'*.

Train DET arrive vigorously/actively

'The train arrived vigorously/actively.'

Occurs with adverb 'dengan perlahan'

* *'Keretapi itu sampai dengan perlahannya'*.

Train DET arrives slowly

'The train arrived slowly.'

Occurs with the phrase 'selama sejam'*
'Johan sampai selama sejam'.

Johan arrives for an hour

'Johan arrived for an hour.'

Achievements should not be 'forced' to change to non-telic readings/interpretation. Achievements may occur with the phrase *'selama α masa'* if there is a plural argument that justifies the interpretation, as in the example, *'Tetamu sampai/tiba selama dua jam (The guests arrived for two hours)*.

Occurs with the phrase 'dalam masa sejam'

In the fourth test, occurrence with the in-phrase, *'dalam masa sejam'*, in one hour serves to identify verbs with terminal points. The asterisk for the verb *'sampai'* indicate that achievements do occur with in-phrases, e.g. *'Ahmad akan sampai dalam masa sejam'* (Ahmad will arrive in an hour). This phrase refers to the time until the onset of the action or event, not to the temporal duration of the event itself and is therefore, irrelevant to these tests.

* 'Ahmad *sampai dalam masa sejam*'.
Ahmad arrives in an hour
' Ahmad arrived in an hour.'

The verb *'sampai'* consists of only a telic point, which is equivalent to asserting the achievement event that had happened at the end of the relevant time period. The time period itself begins, or is counted on from some contextually specified point.

The summary of these tests for the verb '*sampai*' is shown in Table 3 below.

Based on the above test, we may conclude that the verb *'sampai'* has the property as the achievement class which does not occur with the progressive, not to be present with the adverb *'dengan penuh semangat'*, does not occur with pace adverbs, does not show temporal duration and also does not occur with the adverb *'dalam masa sejam'*.

Table 3
Summary of the Aktionsart test for the verb 'sampai'

Verb	Occurs with the progressive *'sedang'*	Occurs with the adverb *'dengan penuh semangat'*	Occurs with the adverb *'dengan perlahan'*	Occurs with the phrase *'selama sejam'*	Occurs with the phrase *'dalam masa sejam'*
Sampai	No	No	No	No	No

'Sampai di' Vs 'sampai ke'

The verb *'sampai'* is a verb that is inherently directional, as with the verb *'pergi'* (go), *'datang'* (come) and *'masuk'* (enter), (Maslida 2010). However, the verb *'sampai'* is an achievement verb while the verbs *'pergi' (go), 'datang' (come)* and *'masuk' (enter)* are accomplishment verbs. A test for distinguishing achievement predicates between accomplishment predicates is through a progressive test of *'sedang'*. As indicated in the sentences below, the accomplishment verbs should accept the progressive word *'sedang'*, while the achievement verbs should not be present with the progressive word *'sedang'*.

    a. Ahmad *sedang* pergi ke kedai.
         'Ahmad is going to the shop.'
    b. Ali *sedang* masuk ke dalam rumah.
         'Ali is entering into the house.'
    c. * Ahmad *sedang* sampai ke rumah.
         * Ahmad is arriving to the house.

Sentence (c) is not grammatically correct as applying the progressive word *'sedang'* causes it to fail with the progressive test of *'sedang'*. The achievement verb such as *'sampai'* focuses on the end of the journey. The achievement verbs show the achievement of the goal without referring to the previous activity (Bennett 1975: 101).

Sampai= X1 -----------------------X3
        starting point   endpoint

The accomplishment verbs of motion also describe the completed journey. However, it does not only demonstrate an achievement of a goal but also refers to a previous activity.

Pergi = X1--------------X2----------------X3
starting point   midpoint / operations   endpoint

The test of the verb 'sampai'.

Occurs with the progressive 'sedang'
* *'Ahmad sedang sampai di Kuala lumpur/ ke Kuala Lumpur'*.
   Ahmad PROG arrives at Kuala Lumpur/ to Kuala Lumpur
   'Ahmad is arriving at Kuala Lumpur/ to Kuala Lumpur.'

Occurs with the adverb 'dengan penuh semangat'

* *'Ahmad sampai di kuala Lumpur/ke Kuala Lumpur dengan penuh semangat'*.

  Ahmad arrives at Kuala Lumpur/ to Kuala Lumpur vigorously

  'Ahmad arrived at Kuala Lumpur/ to Kuala Lumpur vigorously.'

Occurs with the adverb 'dengan perlahan-lahan'

* *'Ahmad sampai di kuala Lumpur/ ke Kuala Lumpur dengan perlahan-lahan'*.

  Ahmad arrives at Kuala Lumpur/ to Kuala Lumpur slowly.

  'Ahmad arrived at Kuala Lumpur/ to Kuala Lumpur slowly.'

Occurs with the phrase 'selama sejam'

* *'Ahmad sampai di kuala Lumpur/ke Kuala Lumpur selama sejam'*.

  Ahmad arrives at Kuala Lumpur/to Kuala Lumpur for an hour.

  'Ahmad arrived at Kuala Lumpur/to Kuala Lumpur for an hour.'

Occurs with the phrase 'dalam masa sejam'

* '*Ahmad sampai di Kuala Lumpur/ke Kuala Lumpur dalam masa sejam'*.
  Ahmad arrives at Kuala Lumpur/to Kuala Lumpur in an hour.
  'Ahmad arrived at Kuala Lumpur/to Kuala Lumpur in an hour'.

Based on the test, the verb *'sampai'* that occurs with the prepositional phrases *'di'* and *'ke'* displays the same results as shown in Table 4. This is to prove that the verb *'sampai'* is an achievement verb. Thus, a verb that has inherently directed motion characteristics such as *'sampai'* is a verb that focuses on an end of a journey/action that encodes, namely the immediate changes which involve changes in state or previous activity. The characteristic of the achievement verbs, focusing on the end instead of change, describes that this verb commensurates with the locative preposition *'di'* which indicates position. It is more appropriate for *'sampai'* to accept the preposition *'di'* as the preposition *'di'* has no characteristic change in location. This

Table 4
Aktionsart Test for the phrase 'sampai di' and 'sampai ke'

	Occurs with the progressive *'sedang'*	Occurs with the adverb *'dengan penuh semangat'*	Occurs with the adverb *'dengan perlahan'*	Occurs with the phrase *'selama sejam'*	Occurs with the phrase *'dalam masa sejam'*
Sampai di/sampai ke	No	No	No	No	No

paper suggests that *'sampai+di'* focuses on the place (namely encoding the state of an immediate and the punctuality of an event) namely one that has been completed. For example, in the sentence: *'Sampai sahaja ***di*** rumah petang itu, ibunya sedang memungut buah kelapa yang entah bila orang memanjatnya'.* (Upon arrival ****at*** the house that evening, his mother is collecting coconut where it is unknown when someone had climbed the tree then.)* In this sentence, the focus is on the arrival location of the doer/ subject and does not provide any information on the arrival to the destination stated. This is to clarify why the verb *'sampai'* should not appear with the progressive word *'sedang'* as in the Malay language sentence: * *'Ahmad sedang sampai di rumah' (Ahmad is arriving at home)*.

This logic is also based on the preposition properties *'di'* are [+ static, - punctual] and usually occurs with the [+ static] verb that shows no change in state and no change in activity such as the verbs of location namely *'menetap'(stay), 'tinggal'(live)* and *'berada'(at)*, for example;

i.   *'Ali tinggal di Kuala Lumpur'.*
     'Ali stayed at kuala Lumpur.'
ii. *'Ali menetap di Kuala Lumpur'.*
     'Ali stayed at Kuala Lumpur.'

On the condition that the verb *'sampai'* occurs with the prepositional phrase *'ke'*, then this will result in the conflict of the characteristics of achievement verbs which are [-static], [-dynamic], [+ telic], [+ punctual] with the characteristics of the preposition *'ke'* which has properties of [-static, - punctual]. The preposition *'ke'* may occur along with accomplishment verbs but accomplishment verbs should not be present with the preposition *'di'*, for example, the accomplishment verb *'pergi'*, as in the following sentence:

Ahmad pergi ke sekolah.
 'Ahmad goes to school.'
* *'Ahmad pergi di sekolah'*.
  'Ahmad goes at school.'

This example shows that accomplishment verbs are suitable or parallel with the preposition *'ke'* that also has the meaning / property of an accomplishment. Thus, this paper suggests that *'sampai'* that has no process property should be present with the locative preposition *'di'* and not a locative preposition *'ke'*. Accordingly, this paper suggests that the verb *'sampai'* should be applied with the preposition *'di'* and not the preposition *'ke'*. The acceptance of this pattern can be confirmed again by the test that includes auxiliary verbs indicating completion such as *'sudah'* and *'pernah'*. The test results find that the word *'di'*

may be present in auxiliary words *'sudah/ pernah'* but it would be odd if it occurs with the preposition *'ke'*, as shown below:

a. *'Ahmad sudah/pernah sampai di Kuala Lumpur'.*

   Ahmad AUX[4] arrive at Kuala Lumpur

   'Ahmad has arrived at Kuala Lumpur.'

b. * *'Ahmad sudah/pernah sampai ke Kuala Lumpur'.*

   Ahmad AUX arrives to Kuala Lumpur

   'Ahmad has arrived to Kuala Lumpur.'

This suggests that the verb *'sampai'* focuses on the terminal point, namely a final destination and does not emphasise on the travelling process to the intended destination. Additionally, this paper finds that a word that is synonymous with *'sampai'*, namely *'tiba'* never occurs with the preposition *'ke'*, as in the sentence * *'Ahmad tiba ke Kuala Lumpur'.* (Ahmad arrived to Kuala Lumpur) but what is found in the corpus instead is *'Ahmad tiba di Kuala Lumpur'* (Ahmad arrived at Kuala Lumpur).

CONCLUSION

This paper discusses the verb *'sampai'*. The issue of the verb 'sampai' is indicated through two types of locative prepositions, namely the preposition *'di'* and *'ke'* which may be present along with the verb *'sampai'*. Thus, this paper suggests that *'sampai'* should occur with a locative preposition

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4   AUX- Auxiliary

'di', and not with the preposition *'ke'* based on the semantics properties of the word *'sampai'* which is an achievement class that gives support to [-static, + punctual, + telic] ending and not on the process of how a particular event is achieved, as indicated by the accomplishment verb.

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SOCIAL SCIENCES & HUMANITIES

The Search between Ambiguity and Anti-Story in Zaen Kasturi's *Taman Uzlah*

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ABSTRACT

The development of the short story genre in Malay literature is reaching its first century. Malay short stories underwent an experimental phase in the 1970s. It brought about an interesting impact that should be analysed. The experimental decades influenced the short stories produced by young writers in the 1980s, such as Marsli, N.O., Azmah Nordin, Daeng Ramliakil, Muhd Nasruddin Dasuki, Zainal Rashid Ahmad and S.M. Zakir. This essay will focus on short stories written by Zaen Kasturi who not only continues to experiment, but is also creative and innovative in incorporating new and novel elements. This analysis utilises the "anti-narrative" framework to view the non-conformity experimentation model created by Zaen Kasturi. The analysis will focus on his collection of short stories entitled *Taman Uzlah*[1] (2005, DBP) consisting of 20 stories from three earlier collections, *Yuda*[2] (1992, DBP) *Idola*[3] (1997, Sasbadi), *Rapsodi*[4] (1998, DBP). Based on the short stories in *Taman Uzlah*, it is found that Zaen Kasturi generally portrayed the "search" as an authoritative subjectivity. Therefore, in many occasions in his short stories, Zaen Kasturi engaged an artistic audacity attitude when presenting an issue, in particular, dissent: courage with fiery emotion and artistic sentiments to state what he believes is the truth. Reading method used in this research can generally be used to clarify the message presented by the author.

Keywords: Anti-story, experimental short story, Malay literature, Malay short stories, *Rapsodi, Taman Uzlah, Yuda*, Zaen Kasturi

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[1] *Taman Uzlah* means Garden of *Uzlah*.
Uzlah refers to isolating oneself from society.
[2] *Yuda* means war.
[3] *Idola* means idol.
[4] *Rapsodi* means rhapsody.

INTRODUCTION

Zaen Kasturi is one of the names that frequently appears alongside several young writers from the 1980s, including Marsli, N.O., Azmah Nordin, Daeng Ramliakil, Muhd Nasruddin Dasuki, Zainal Rashid Ahmad and S.M. Zakir. Zaen Kasturi took part in the Teen Writers Week or Minggu Penulis Remaja (MPR), first held in 1985, thus marking his involvement in Malay literature for the first time. Furthermore, his seriousness and focus on his studies and activities at Universiti Malaya helped to expand his creativity.

Zaen Kasturi, or his real name Zainal Palit, was born on 16 October, 1964 in Kampung Ladang, Kuala Sungai Baru, Malacca. He received his education at Universiti Malaya and University of London. He served as the editor of *Dewan Sastera* literary magazine at one time. He is currently with the Islamic Da'wah Foundation Malaysia (Yadim). Zaen Kasturi was the recipient of the 2010 SEA Write Award. He is active in many literary organisations, including the National Writers Association Malaysia (PENA), The Federation of National Writers Association of Malaysia (GAPENA) and the Kuala Lumpur Writers Association (KALAM). Zaen Kasturi has often been invited as a judge for national writing competitions in poetry and short story.

He has produced works in almost all literary genres such as poetry, short story and novels. He has produced two poetry collections, *Iga* (2005, Dewan Bahasa

dan Pustaka) and *Katarsis* (1993, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka) and two novels; *Angin Belantara* (1996, Kharisma Publication) and *Fujiyama* (1992, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka). To date, Zaen Kasturi has published four collections of short stories: *Yuda* (1992, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka), *Idola* (1997, Sasbadi); *Rapsodi* (1998, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka) and several of his stories from these three collections are compiled in *Taman Uzlah* (2005, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka).[5] He tends to incorporate references to traditional texts with creative modifications that breathe new meanings to his writings. Zaen Kasturi's short stories are listed below:

Yuda

1. Warna Katarsis
2. Taman Uzlah
3. Bukan Agitasi Bandel
4. Pertarungan Kedua
5. Gua Zuhud
6. Merpalang
7. Pertemuan Sukma
8. Nurzina
9. Detak Arloji
10. Sat Malangkaii
11. Mafatih Nur
12. Kinanti
13. Warawiri
14. Kata
15. Menyadap Madu Bunga Tongkeng
16. Musim Yuda
17. 777

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[5] *Yuda* won Hadiah Sastera Malaysia 1992/1993 (Malaysia Literary Prize)

Idola

1. Sewang
2. Idola
3. Nanti Dulu, Matahari
4. Pertemuan Sukma
5. Risik Hujan di Kaca Jendela
6. Kemerdekaan yang Lain
7. Angin dari Tanah Balkan

Rapsodi

1. Kepang Ala Kuda Kepang
2. Dendam
3. Model Cinta Terpana
4. Keterbalikan Versi Pesan Raden Panji
5. Qaf, Mim, Nun
6. Bulan
7. Saujana Watas Yojana
8. Keterbalikan Versi Pesan Raden Panji 'ii'
9. Giri
10. Kubur
11. Kisah Lain tentang Nadim
12. Cerita Atas Cerita
13. Catatan Lanang 'ii'
14. Rapsodi
15. Keterbalikan Versi Pesan Raden Panji 'iii'
16. Keterbalikan Versi Pesan Raden Panji 'iv'

Taman Uzlah

1. Warna Katarsis
2. Taman Uzlah
3. Pertarungan Kedua
4. Gua Zuhud
5. Merpalang
6. Sat Malangkaii

7. Warawiri
8. Musim Yuda
9. Kepang Ala Kuda Kepang
10. Dendam
11. Model Cinta Terpana
12. Bulan
13. Saujana Watas Yojana
14. Kubur
15. Kisah Lain tentang Nadim
16. Cerita Atas Cerita
17. Rapsodi
18. Keterbalikan Versi Pesan Raden Panji 'iv'
19. Nanti Dulu, Matahari
20. Idola

Taman Uzlah, a collection of short stories in the *Siri Kumpulan Cerpen Pilihan Abad Ke-20* alongside many other collections, features 20 short stories from Zaen Kasturi that are considered to represent conceptually the decade when the situation took place, as written in the foreword by DBP Director-General (p. vii). *Taman Uzlah* short story collection includes stories from as early as 17 July 1988 namely "Warna Katarsis" *(Berita Minggu)* until "Idola" (*Pelita Bahasa*, Jun 1996). Othman (1999) wrote that the non-conformity experiment that Zaen Kasturi brought to Malay short story genre in the 1980s is a continuation of similar writings by writers from the 1970s.

The genre of Malay short story provided a space for many writers in the 1970s to experiment. According to Othman and Ramli in *Sejarah Kesusasteraan Melayu Moden: Cerpen* (2003), the development of Malay literature in the 1970s is frequently

referred to as an experimental decade, taking into account several contributing factors such as the educational background of the local writer, reading materials and engagement with Western literature. Several authors produced works steeped in absurd, surrealistic and semiotic elements, including Othman Puteh, Anwar Ridhwan, Mana Sikana, Abdullah Tahir or Ali Majod (Muhammad, 2008).

They often present ambiguous characters and settings that contain symbolic meanings. The characters frequently engage in internal monologues in order to exemplify the author's thoughts or "stream of consciousness". This term is used by William James in *Principles of Psychology* (1890); it is formed at the subconscious level and is a continuous stream of consciousness in thoughts, memories, emotions or images (Cuddon, 1998). Through art, this creativity means that life should not be perceived from the naked eye alone, but also from within, through thoughts, imagination, emotions and the soul of the characters. The location chosen for the setting of the story is not clearly described as found in many conventional short stories.

Zaen Kasturi has shown commitment in continuing this non-conventional method. However, as a creative and innovative writer, Zaen Kasturi has mostly presented new ideas. This paper will study the traditional elements that he kept to and the possible new input that he offers as a versatile writer in drawing the new experimental map through his short stories.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Zaen Kasturi has a desire to search *for something* and this is one of the reasons that he produced works that are deemed "astray", insane and nonsensical. The following discussion is an attempt to read his short stories in *Taman Uzlah*, taking into consideration his "search" in the framework of anti-story.

Anti-Story

In a foreword by Philip Stevick (1971, pp. ix-xxiii) about *Anti-Story,* he presented, among others, how to exemplify what is *new* or what is considered as *opposing* the existing situation in arts, specifically literature. Several elements that are opposing are:

i.   mimesis
ii.   reality
iii. event
iv.   subject
v.   middle range experience
vi.   analysis
vii. meaning
viii. scale

This literary analysis aims to highlight several points presented by Stevick illustrated by Zaen Kasturi in Taman Uzlah. Through the study of the 20 short stories in *Taman Uzlah*, this research attempts to analyse what is considered new or opposing the existing situation that is non-conformity

in the tradition of experimental Malay short stories.

ANALYSIS

Warna Katarsis (The Colour of Catharsis) represents Zaen Kasturi's enthusiasm and deviation in his early creative works. From this short story, Zaen Kasturi started to show his inclination towards metaphorical titles, and later helped to clarify specific meanings hidden throughout the whole short story. Zaen Kasturi admitted that he was 'fond' of the titles of his short stories; a title acts as the "driver" for the story and he was disappointed when an editor changed it (1999, p. 88). Why did Zaen Kasturi choose the combination of these words? What is the link between catharsis, the space of emotional tranquillity and colours?

This short story begins against the background of the character *"I"* painting, playing with colours. There is equipment such as an easel, a brush, a knife, paint bottles and canvas. This was the beginning of colour. What follows is a dialogue between three characters, Sang Bohemian, Sang Senteri and Sang Pelukis (the artist - *I*); Zaen Kasturi is pointedly *"showing"* when introducing the characters through dialogues on issues of differences in opinions, beliefs and faiths with the need for mutual respect. The artist's monologue dominates and takes up a large portion of the short story in order to reiterate his point. Is *I the author surrogate* Zaen Kasturi himself? Isn't the first person point of view usually much easier for a writer to reiterate his point of view? The character *I* is indeed sensitive towards several viewpoints of his two companions and this created conflict/rage (p. 5). According to *I* what is important is the faith towards the one they worship. Zaen Kasturi uses several ancient terms and Javanese words, for example, *amben, ngobrol* and *ambrol*; however, this usage is vague and seldom can be determined if they are associated to the characters or setting.[6]

Lastly, what is the link that Zaen Kasturi has put forth between *I* being introduced as an artist and the dialogue created? The play of colours is symbolic to *I*'s stand and life. The field that *I* chooses is different from his two companions, Bohemian (religion) and Sentri (knowledge), portraying each individual's choice and identity. The colour of catharsis becomes the ending of the story in the sentence, *Lihatlah dengan mata batin kalian, maya ini penuh dengan warna katarsis!* (Look with your inner eyes, this world is filled with colours of catharsis!) *Catharsis* acts as a place for cleansing, purging and appeasing emotions. Therefore, the combination of the words *catharsis* and *colours* could either reiterate the personality of *I* / his confidence or his views that his two companions should be aware of the vast space provided to solve human conflicts and grievances.[7]

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[6] These foreign words (Javanese, English) are italicised in the collection of short stories, *Yuda*, but not in *Taman Uzlah*. It is rare to find foreign words in the dictionary like *Kamus Dewan*. This paper made reference to the glossary in *Yuda*. Refer Mawar (2002).

[7] *Katarsis* is also the title of a poem by Zaen Kasturi (Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1993).

Indeed, that was the take-away from reading the first short story that gave an insight to Zaen Kasturi's ambiguity. His words are not only used to convey a strong message but are polysemous and contain layered meanings, and do not provide an absolute meaning but invites more doubts. This is due to the many interpretations from the readers who have different reading horizons and understanding. However, isn't it fair for a work of art to be given a considerable magnitude to be *enjoyed*? Othman observed that Zaen Kasturi executed his creative works philosophically, allusively and metaphorically (1999, p. 92). This is clearly exhibited by Zaen Kasturi through "Warna Katarsis" that raised the issue of human dignity using polysemous language that requires deep thinking, full concentration and serious analysis. The message of the short story is delivered by Zaen Kasturi through dialogue, monologue, symbolic setting (painting, colours, canvas) and title.

Other Short Stories in *Taman Uzlah*

"Taman Uzlah" is also a combination of two words that contain a symbolic meaning (Mawar Safei, 2001). *Uzlah* means isolation or secluding oneself from others and the conflict faced by the protagonist, Nun. Similar to "Warna Katarsis", this short story is set against the background of fine art; this branch of art seemingly provides a meaning of its own to the author. Several paintings of women hang on the wall, such as Umegawa, Laila, Monalisa, Cleopatra and Juliet become characters that spoke to

Nun. Zaen Kasturi uses the *in medias res* method where the female characters were suddenly startled or angered, felt tragic and sadistic when Nun punched and injured them because they were smiling cynically and jeered at him (p. 9).

Likewise, in Nun's mysterious dream, he met an old man in a white robe, with a long beard that reached his chest, his right hand was clasping an orange flower, there were dazzling turquoise rays emitting in between its petals. The man carried a piece of empty canvas and requested Nun to draw a portrait of a woman whom he saw from his inner eye. The presence of this man suffocated Nun and he wanted to kill him immediately,

> *"Old man, if you are to come now, I will kill you. You come without any sign knocking at my institution. I do not need your face. Ah! Perhaps you have conquered many women through their dreams. Rascal! Why do you rob me of my right?" (p. 10)*

> ...

> *"Damn!" cursed Nun. His cursings were drowned by the jeering that echoed louder and louder. (p. 14)*

Whether it was to strengthen his ego or otherwise, Nun became offensive; presenting a character that is angry and self-centred. However, Nun's anger and complex emotions were soothed by the *orange flower*

and *turquoise light*; Nun was brought to a garden filled with flowers and a woman, Ayn. This is *taman uzlah* and Ayn had been waiting for Nun for a long time. The *orange flower* and *flowery garden* meant something beautiful, fragrant and peaceful. Meanwhile, the *turquoise light* (a type of bluish jewel) is very enchanting and able to calm one's emotions. This short story ends with Ayn reminding Nun of his promise to God in Lohmahfuz and to read surah an-Nur: 44.

A detailed reading of this short story will reveal the moment when Nun met Ayn (an ambiguous choice of names; *Nun, Ayn*, pronunciation of the jawi alphabets that are also among the first few letters in the surah and complement the surah *Nur*)[8] breaks the conflict between Nun and the female portraits and the old man. Nun in the subconscious realm lives with his paintings or is this is a surrealistic world conjured by Zaen Kasturi who eventually submits to the greatness of Allah? *Allah arranges night and day and that is ibrah (lesson) to those who can see*. Or at the end, Ayn (which means eye in Arabic) sees the truth, highlights the content, importance and authenticity (this is also the meaning of *ain* or *ayn*) in the discontinuities and chaos of Nun as a person. Nun's *search* is like Aku (or *I*) in "Warna Katarsis", worked in through the reflection / dialogue with other characters that are presented, the Old Man and Ayn. The search finally ends with a meeting with the Supreme Creator, Allah The Almighty.

Mana mentions most of this spiritual aspect in *Yuda* (1994, pp. 86-91).

Zaen Kasturi definitely does not map out the expedition to *Taman Uzlah* with a straight path, hence, is this common complaint from readers that it is *difficult* to follow this story and many other stories by Zaen Kasturi? Zaen Kasturi himself admits that the important part of his work is to enter the *difficult* zone in his works because it is a *delight* (1999, p. 98). Are the readers of *Taman Uzlah* able to enjoy it? In my opinion, with the identified formula starting from *"Warna Kartasis"*, Zaen Kasturi's short stories are means to seek himself with confidence, dignity and truth. It can be seen through his choice of titles, methods of metaphor, issues debated by the characters and the keyword search (journey, goals and setting that is the destination or point of exit).

Isn't this means a grace that is abstract but subconsciously a natural, basic desire as recorded in surah Sajdah: 53, *"We will show them Our manifest signs (proofs) in the horizons of the universe and within their own selves, until it will become manifest to them that it (the Qur'ān) is indeed the truth"*. Isn't knowing oneself a way to know Allah?

The short story "Merpalang" also features a character identical to The Artist and Nun, called Syafawi. From the start, Zaen Kasturi uses the symbol *merpalang*; a type of bird known as Malaysian eared

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[8]   *Nun* is the first letter in surah al-Qalam, while *ayn* is among the first letters in surah Maryam *(kaf, ha, ya, ayn, sod)*.

nightjar (Lyncornis temminckii) that is often associated with superstitious belief that it portends disasters.[9] The *search* in this short story is explained through the characteristics of the bird, which is often viewed as a seeker, and Syafawi's job as a sailor. The dialogue between Syafawi and Hakimin is used as the technique to harness the "search". Syafawi explained that what will be brought back to his family comprises sea corals, sea water and wings of the sea gull wings as symbols of solidarity with the universe (p. 45-46). Zaen Kasturi returns to present ambiguous symbols and meaning of this "search", as written below,

> *... sometimes this ocean is like an everlasting space. Only the fierce spirit who spoke in languages that are difficult to translate while our instincts are somehow thrown into the sky. We may be here but in reality all of our being and soul are punished by the impermanence of it all. Our temporary presence and limited movement have been written and enacted. Fate has spoken before us.* (p. 47)

The story "Gua Zuhud" features the character I, Lam Alif, who wanted to return to the cave after committing adultery with an immoral woman. Lam Alif longed for the *moon* and *cave* that smelled of *narwastu* (spikenard) that he had left for a long time. The moon is very significant in the first verse of Surah al Qamar in the Quran, *"the hour has come near and the moon has split"*.[10] In this story, the moon is greatly anticipated by Lam Alif, the moon is a carrier of light, guidance, hope and whatever names one calls a saviour,

> *... So the night came and the day fell to its rightful place, he never failed to call the moon. At times, even the glare of lightning was mistaken for the rays of the moon. At that moment, he was ready to cheer, but it turns out that the moon did not appear as if its glow was stolen by a million tezi horses (magical horses)* (p. 33)

Is this also a self-insertion by Zaen Kasturi? Similarly, the cave is loaded with hidden meanings in Surah Al-Kahf (9-15) and its chain of history in surah Iqra': 1-5 or in Taubah: 57. *Gua Zuhud* becomes the fate that reveals the place (closed, hidden) for Lam Alif to distance himself from worldly luxuries and merriment. The cave is a sanctuary and refuge. He was also disturbed by voices that came from within him, and sometimes the voice resembled his late

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[9] This meaning is found in the glossary in *Yuda*. 'Merpalang' is not found in *Kamus Dewan.*

[10] What is meant by that moment is the end of days or the destruction of non-believers and the moon is split is the miracle of Prophet Muhammad. Refer Hasbi (1971, p. 878).

father; Is this a calling to return to the righteous path?

The short story "Warawiri" however, carried a resigned or pessimistic tone when "we" confronted with obstacles in the form of *barkhan, yardang* and *zuegen*[11] and they will be history that is deliberately wasted. Warawiri means (i) hibiscus, and (ii) walking aimlessly; contextually, the short story leans more towards the second meaning. The character *"we"* are dreaming, becoming a spectator of a girl who is singing until they start to laugh at their own stupidity (p. 70). They almost did not find anything in the foggy *search* and that ignorance becomes the fate of those who choose not to think.

The strong desire to seek truth and justice is echoed again in the short story "Pertarungan Kedua" which starts with snippets from *cetera keenam belas* (the sixteenth story) on Hang Tuah who was sentenced to death by the Sultan and hoped to return and fight against Kasturi (Kassim, 1995). This was taken from *Sulalat al-Salatin* (the ninth story). In this short story, Zaen Kasturi uses verisimilitude in the fight between Tuah and Kasturi while in the Malay mind, the duel is between Tuah and Jebat (Tun Seri Lanang, 1997). The same goes that the soul and spirit of Kasturi

is revived because physically Kasturi has already died (p. 22) and the spirit of Kasturi is seeking justice from the current generation.

It is obvious that this short story uses ancient words that can be attributed to Zaen Kasturi's reading of old texts or perhaps materials from Indonesia. It must be remembered that Zaen Kasturi is an established poet and he has a wide and creative range of vocabulary. The usage of archaic words becomes an idiosyncrasy for Zaen Kasturi every time his work is discussed.

"Sat Malangkaii", is a short story adapted from the Bugis community's *Tuhfat al-Nafis*. Zaen Kasturi developed it into a character that witnessed the intelligence, silliness, strengths, weaknesses, grandeur and downfall of his people. Here lies the "search" to improve the meaning of life. It appears that Zaen Kasturi sees traditional texts as a means to create the future (Mohamad, 1999, p. 89) and when it is transferred to the short story medium it provides a space to predict, assume, suggest and create for the future. It is apparent that Zaen Kasturi hopes for a life filled with mutual respect, often balanced with justice and wisdom.

Another short story that was adapted from a traditional text is "Other Stories about Nadim." Here, Zaen Kasturi creates a sense of defamiliarisation in order to find a more constructive meaning from the ancient text. Zaen Kasturi revives Nadim, the smart young boy who gave his idea to the king and adults in order to save the lives

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[11] *Barkhan* is a sand hill shaped like a horn or crescent moon in the desert; *yardang* is a dry lake in the desert; *zuegen* are stone pillars formed by wind movements in dry land. These explanations are found in *Yuda* glossary or in many physical geography books.

of the people. However, his intelligence was seen as a threat and an obstacle that must be destroyed. Nadim was rescued by Pak Tua (Old Man) at sea after he was thrown into the ocean. When he turned 25 years old, Nadim, who now lives in an island with Pak Tua, frequently observes the island from far and the island is now,

> *The land becomes a shady tree for seekers of wealth, and a barren tree under the hot sun for seekers of knowledge and truth. Even if amongst them there are those who are intelligent and knowledgeable, they must follow the dictates of the Wisesa* (p. 167).

Wisdom is the enemy of the authorities and that is the message that the author aims to deliver. Thus, began Zaen Kasturi's "search". Through Nadim, the "search" is to set the heart so that past mistakes will not be repeated. Thus, when looking for an answer to whether he should leave his new island or return to the island of his birth, Nadim found a boat that contained two things,

> *"... a paddle and an axe. If I take the paddle, it means I will sail back to my homeland and live there, dear remote island. And if I take the axe, it means that I will have to destroy the boat, and I will not sail home. I will be a loyal inhabitant of this island. Yes, I have to make the best decision right now. Axe or paddle?"*
>
> *With the most willing smile, he reaches for the...* (p. 171).

Zaen Kasturi's non-conformist style of reinterpreting what he understood from literary tradition is what Barthes called mirage of citations in the intertextuality framework (Culler, 1981, p. 102). It then provides the magnitude for readers to consider the original text as a code provider and uncover the meaning in the contemporary text. Culler reiterated the same point that what could be interpreted today is the goal (1981, p. 100). Zaen Kasturi brings back excerpts from pages of text from his Malay roots. Through what is considered as mirage, Zaen Kasturi dug, searched and brought to surface what is the truth that can be filtered and eventually brings benefit to the duality of relationship in man.

As seen in many of the background settings for his stories in *Taman Uzlah*, Zaen Kasturi carried out many of deviations outlined by Stevick (1971) in his "search". The writer does not seem to reproduce what he sees or what is happening in front of him, but instead challenges the realities and events that should occur in the name of justice, truth and dignity. In general, what was analysed by Zaen Kasturi contained polyphonic meanings even though they appear casual, minor and almost unimportant. He also tends to ignore the space allocated in literature for short stories. Instead he focuses on grabbing the opportunity and fate; Zaen Kasturi only wants to express human desires and ambitions through his works. Therefore, is the audience ready to accept his deviations in *Taman Uzlah*?

CONCLUSION

A number of short stories in *Taman Uzlah* that were discussed in this paper generally places the "search" as an authoritative subjectivity, found through the guidance offered by Stevick on Anti-Story. Thus, in many settings in his short stories, Zaen Kasturi adopts an artistic audacity in presenting issues and contradictions as well as courage coupled with fiery emotions to state what he believes to be the truth. To have the courage to stand up for the truth is the slogan (theme) found in many of Zaen Kasturi's short stories. The author, a recipient of the SEA Write Award 2010, in many cases, frequently chooses not to end his "search" for his own audience, as it should be determined by one's inner eye. Certainly his writings, steeped in symbolism, philosophical dialogues, Zaen Kasturi's inner voice with his inclination to use ancient words will eventually produce ambiguous meanings that *are many and invite doubts*. Did Zaen Kasturi not highlight the fact that *I write for readers who "want to read" and "want to think"?*

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Ittifak and *Ikhtilaf* in al-Syeikhain in *Sabil al-Muhtadin*: Review by Decisive Theory

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ABSTRACT

This study was conducted to analyse the problems that have been *ittifak* and *ikhtilaf* law as decided by al-Syeikhain (al-Imam al-Nawawi and al-Rafii) in *Sabil al-Muhtadin* of al-Shaykh Muhammad Arshad al-Banjari in 18th century. This study was based on content analysis using the theory of *al-Muᶜtamad ᶜind al-shafiᶜiyyah* as its structure. This theory compiles Syafiiahs' *qauls* or views to be the decisive *qauls* in Shafii Sect. Interestingly, this theory remains to be practised. Regarding al-Syeikhain, their words became a major concern in producing the final *qaul*. Our analysis found 58 of al-Nawawi's *qauls* and 10 of al-Rafii's *qauls*. In total, both *ittifak* was found in three cases while both *ikhtilaf* have been found in 6 cases. Through the decisive theory, it has been proven that al-Banjari was in particular presenting the al-Syeikhain's *qaul* especially regarding *ittifak* and *ikhtilaf*. This result explains that the content of *Sabil al-Muhtadin* as Malay-Muslim ancient thinking work of art is very fine discipline according to Shafii Sect perspectives and should continue to be practised.

Keywords: Decisive qaul, decisive theory, *ittifak* and *ikhtilaf*, Malay thinking, *Sabil al-Muhtadin*, Muhammad Arshad al-Banjari, theory of *al-Muᶜtamad ᶜind al-shafiᶜiyyah*, Shafii Sect

INTRODUCTION

Kiai al-Shaykh Muhammad Arshad ibn Abdullah al-Banjari is known as a devout and competent Malay Muslim scholar. His contributions have been respected as well as his success in generating Islamic reforms in Banjar and around the of the Malay Archipelago (Azyumardi, 1995, pp. 251-257). Even after 200 years since

his passing, he is still remembered and revered. His monumental treatise titled *Sabil al-Muhtadin* remains a societal heritage known as the yellow book and it is diligently studied and examined. In its glorious history, the book *Sabil al-Muhtadin* is recognised by al-Sultan Abdul Hamid II al-Uthmani (who ruled from 1876M-1909M) as main reference among the Malay Muslim archipelago in the Shafii Sect ('Abbas, 2002; Bruinessen, 2009).

PURPOSE AND METHODOLOGY

This study was conducted to identify the standard qaul found in the book of *Sabil al-Muhtadin.* The methodology employed is content analysis. As this study is qualitative in nature, descriptive data configuration and content analysis of this study has been done using the theory of *al-Mu^ctamad ^cind al-Shafi^ciyyah* (final *qaul* on Syafiiah fuqaha).

RESEARCH THEORY

This study uses the theory of *al-Mu^ctamad ^cind al-Shafi^ciyyah* which has been introduced scholarly and critically by the al-Banjari teacher, Imam Muhammad ibn Sulaiman al-Kurdi in *al-Fawa `id al-Madaniyyah* (al-Kurdi, 2009). Since then it has continued to grow and received serious attention. This discipline is recognised until today and it is the very latest literature on the decisive *qaul* of Shafi Sect. Among the studies conducted on this topic is by Muhammad Ibrahim Ahmad Ali in the Journal of *al-Madhab ^cInd al-Shafi^ciyyah* (Muhammad, 1978) and Muhammad ibn Umar ibn Ahmad al-Kaf

who wrote a thesis titled *Nazariyyat al-Mu^ctamad ^cind al-Shafi^ciyyah* (al-Kaf, 2008).

In Malaysia, Brunei and Indonesia, the decisive *qaul* question is still relevant. It is practised by those who are from the Shafii sect. This is reflected in the various enactments or bills in administration of the states in Kedah, Selangor, Terengganu, Sabah and others.

In Brunei, the judicial institution has followed closely the Kelantan religious law based on the Shafii Sect. In Indonesia, the scholars and judges have enacted a sort of authoritative arrangement by involving several books of fiqh in Shafii Sect as reference to Islamic law (Abdul Hadi, 2003).

LITERATURE REVIEW

This study is based on the text of *Sabil al-Muhtadin*. There have been several studies on *Sabil al-Muhtadin* text which include among others, a dissertation by Ahmad Sarbini from UKM in 2003titled 'Sheikh Muhammad al-Banjari Arsyad: Overview of Some Issues' in *Sabil al-Muhtadin* using an argumentation technique. His shows al-Banjari has a very firm stand against the bidaah, consistent with Syafii Sect of views and ijtihad in the matters that are categorised as local case and have never been found in other fiqh's book before the *Sabil al-Muhtadin*.

Sharifhudin (2002) wrote a Master's thesis titled 'Studies in the Book of Hadith' in *Sabil al-Muhtadin* for first Juz. Using the methodology based on the *hadith*, the study found 208 hadiths and 175 of them were *Hadith Sahih* mainly from al-Bukhari

and Muslim. The nine *Hadiths Hassan* from *maqbul* category were referred to in the matter of circumcision and abomination, 12 *Hadith Da^cif*, 10 hadiths were not stated by the author and two more have not been found in any original source.

In Indonesia, the case of Zakat in *Sabil al-Muhtadin* is constantly used as the scope of study. Among them is Skripsi Jurusan Peradilan Agama Fakultas Syariah IAIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta titled 'Sheikh Muhammad al-Banjari opinion about Zakat' (through his study of the book *Sabil al-Muhtadin*) by Moch. Irfan Islami published in 1998, Skripsi S1, Yogyakarta: UIN Sunan Kalijaga in 2003 titled *Konsepsi Zakat Produktif dalam Pemikiran Syeikh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari* by Hosnu El Wafa, The dissertation titled *Kitab az-Zakah dalam Sabil al-Muhtadin oleh Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari: Analisis Intertekstual dan Suntingan Teks* by Muslich Shabir and Master'x thesis titled *Konsepsi Kekuatan Zakat Dalam Pemberdayaan Ekonomi Umat* (Overview On reflection of Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari in *Sabil al-Muhtadin Littafaqquh fi `Amr ad-Din*) by Syamsiar (n.d.) from Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta.

All of the above studies are qualitative and some use a comparative approach. It can be said that all the studies agree that the ijtihad al-Banjari in the study of zakat is unique and suitable for the current needs. The uniqueness of the ijtihad is relevant in increasing Muslims economic benefits. Among all the above studies, Moch. Irfan and Hosnu stated that the ijtihad al-Banjari is aligned with *al-Maqasid Shari^cah*.

Other research is by Rasyidah (1990), a postgraduate student of Fakultas Pasca Sarjana Institut Agama Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta who wrote a thesis titled Ijtihad Sheikh Muhammad al-Banjari in the field of Fiqh. Rashidah has confined her study by highlighting only certain aspects of *Sabil al-Muhtadin*. The thesis discusses the congregational prayers, productive Zakat and burials. Rasyidah describes al-Banjari as the *mujtahid fi al-masa'il* (mujtahid in matters of fiqh) or known as Fatawa mujtahid (mujtahid in the fatwas) in Sect of Shafii especially in South Kalimantan district and surrounding areas.

Specifically, case studies have not resulted in the *Muktamad* theory to being taken seriously as a theoretical study to identify the finality of *qauls* in *Sabil al-Muhtadin*. This article is a study on the *Sabil al-Muhtadin* text which discusses on the decisive theories on the *qaul*.

FOCUS OF DISCUSSION

In this study, the authors focus their research on the decisive questions based on the text of *Sabil al-Muhtadin* by examining *ikhtilaf* and *ittifak qaul* as discussed by al-Imam al-Nawawi and al-Imam al-Rafii. Thus, a content analysis was done on both al-Nawawi and al-Rafii's *qaul*. Data collection efforts through a variety of fiqh highlighted in the text of the study is done in a comprehensive manner. Once data had been collected, an analysis was carried out by using a built-in understanding of the decisive theory of Syafiiah. In fact, *ittifak* and *ikhtilaf* by both imams is very valuable

in the eyes Syafiiah, as they become the final *qaul* and not a compromised position in the Shafii sect or the Syafiiah sect. It became the dominant cultural practices among al-Syafiiah for centuries when writing books.

According to the final theory, the highest final *qaul* by Syafiiah *mutakhirin* was taken from al-Syeikhain (al-Nawawi and al-Rafii). If there was disagreement, the *rajih qaul* will be chosen. However, if both have disagreements, only the rajih qaul will be adopted. If in dispute, when together they have *their rajih qaul* or equal *rajih*, , the preferred *qaul* by al-Nawawi is an absolute term (cAli Jumcah, 1996, p. 24). All *qaul* of al-Nawawi were derived from the scriptures and where disputes arise it will normally take the following order: *al-Tahqiq, al-Majmuc, al-Tanqih, Al-Rawdah, al-Minhaj al-Fatawa, Sharh Muslim, al Tashih –Tanbih* and *Nukat al-Tanbih* (al-Haytami, n.d.; al-Habishi, n.d.). Therefore, this study focuses on both *qaul* by main imams as mentioned in *Sabil Muhtadin*.

INTRODUCTION OF *SABIL AL-MUHTADIN*

This study will briefly explain *Sabil al-Muhtadin* based on the printed copies of Bin Halabi, Thailand, printed in two juz and bound together. The first Juz is 252 pages with content. The second juz is 272 pages including the content page. The entire text is 524 pages. At the edge of the printed margins of *al-Sirat al-Mustaqim* of al-Shaykh Nur al-Din al-Raniri. This paper is based on the original work of al-Banjari because on the first volume, page number 2-3 the author has recorded his own name. The content is divided into eight books (fiqh topics) such as *Kitab al-Taharah, Kitab al-Salah* (Prayer Book), *Kitab al-Zakah* (Book of Zakat), *Kitab al-Sawm* (Fasting Book), *Kitab al-Iᶜktikaf* (Book of the retreat), *Kitab al-Hajj wa al-ᶜUmrah* (The Book of Hajj and Umrah), *Kitab al-Sayd wa al-Dhaba`ih* (Book of Hunting and Slaughtering) and *Kitab al-Atᶜimah* (Book of Food).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Based on this study, al-Nawawi's *qauls* in *Sabil al-Muhtadin* has been identified in 58 cases while al-Rafii's qauls is found in 10 cases. Among all, 9 of them have been mentioned by both scholars simultaneously. It means that the remaining 49 cases are headed by al-Nawawi's *qauls*. There remained only one case only in al-Rafii that leads to itself. In 9 of the above cases, 3 have showed *ikhtilaf* for both scholars while the rest show *ittifak* in both.

In the above discussion, *Sabil al-Muhtadin* proves that the number of al-Nawawi's *qauls* exceeds al-Rafii. This is definitely relevant because al-Nawawi's *qauls* is more acceptable to most Syafiiah *mutakhirin*.

Al-Banjari *in Sabil al-Muhtadin* discusses *qauls* from both scholars without any critical input. As a scholar with a deep

understanding of this issue, he has strived to contribute and guide his readers to have a better and accurate understanding.

Ittifak al-Syeikhain

There is at least three ittifaks of al-Syeikhain in Sabil al-Muhtadin. Here are the examples:

Example I. Stated below is a case summarised from juz 1, case 35:

> Scholars' *ikhtilaf* in the case of the Prophet's excrements. The al-Khatib al-Sharbini's *iktimad* (decisive view) in *al-Mughni* follow the Shaykh of Islam's fatwa, also the al-Ramli's *iktimad* in *al-Nihayah* follow the al-Shihab al-Ramli' fatwa, also affirmed by al-Baghawi and other scholars, and confirmed by Husayn al-Qadi, al-Subki, Baziri, al-Zarkashi's fatwa by al-Bulqini and Ibn al-Rif'ah who have said that they firmly believe and also Qinati has said 'it is exactly truth' that it was pure and not vile. But, majority of jurists including al-Rafii in *al-Sharh al-Saghir* and al-Nawawi in *al-Tahqiq* confirmed that the Prophet's excrete was same as all the other excretes.

As seen, there is refusal to *ittifak* by al-Imam al-Nawawi and al-Imam al-Rafii and it seldom takes place. This is because the scholars have agreed to recognise it supreme as the decisive *qaul* in the ultimate theory. Therefore, when it happens then, it is an act of courage and transparency

of the scholars in defending a view which is calculated by them as very desirable to maintain even if they have to face the *qaul* by al-Syeikhain. It also portrays that the Syafiiah scholars are not *taklid*. If they are found to support a *qaul*, the support is based on knowledge and understanding parallels. If there are objections, they are based on certain arguments.

Example II. Next, there is an *ittifak* al-Syeikhain in a case in Juz 1, case 91.

> Scholars have differences in stating the same chapter as {*Bab Asbab al-Hadath*}, {*Bab Nawaqid al-Wudu'*} and {*Bab Mujibat al_wudu'*}. In *al-Minhaj* and *al-Muharrar*, al-Nawawi and al-Rafii have chosen the first name.

It is interesting to look at the way al-Banjari concerns himself with the writing style in Syafii's sect. Obviously, it did not involve law cases but more towards issues in stating and giving title when writing. In this case, al-Banjari has followed al-Syeikhain and dismissed all other different views. Al-Banjari wants to deliver an understanding on the distinction of al-Syeikhain in discussing both the law and writing aspects. Al-Banjari even believes *ittifak* as a final choice is right.

Example III. Next, there is the *ittifak* al-Syeikhain in juz 1, case 181 and summarised as follows:

> *Ittifak* al-Rafii and al-Nawawi states that if anyone scratches his or her warts and

they bleed and during the prayer but if it does not hit the skin or is slightly outside the place, it does not nullify the payers.

Al-Banjari in the above case, does not express the views of scholars other than al-Syeikhain. Perhaps this does not need further discussion and it is sufficient to know them both in *furuk* (branch) which has become final in the sect and sufficient.

Al-Syeikhain *ikhtilaf*

After a review, the researchers successfully found six cases of *ikhtilaf* between al-Syeikhainin in the *Sabil al-Muhtadin*. Each one of them are discussed below:

Example I. At the juz 1, case. 181 there is an *ikhtilaf* and summarised as follows:

> *Ikhtilaf* rules on waving hands to dry for ablution. Al-Nawawi in al-Tahqiq confirms that is a sunnah to leave it. While in al-*Rawdah and Al-Majmuᶜ*, al-Nawawi says it is mubah. Al-Rafii stated it is makruh in his two preaches .[1]

Obviously, the decisive theory says if the *qaul* of al-Nawawi is different between each other, consequently his *qaul* is chosen for al-Tahqiq. As a result, al-Nawawi's qaul in the above al-tahqiq is the final *qaul* in this matter. Priority should be given to this *qaul* rather than those in al-Rawdah and al-Majmuc. Al-Banjari's style in prioritising

al-Tahqiq *qaul* will be able to assist readers to understand it conclusively.

Example II. Next, al-Banjari discusses a problem that seems to have al-Syeikhain *ikhtilaf* but the fact is it can be considered ittifak between al-Syeikhain. The problem in the juz 2, case 14-15 is summarised as follows:

> There is a khilaf between al-Rafii and al-Nawawi in the end time of duha. Al-Rafii jazam asserts, the hours for circumcision is during the rising sun at a quante and ends during the noon sun. Al-Nawawi mentions in al-Majmuc and al-Tahqiq that the *duha* period will end when the sun[2] ends.Sheikh al-Islam says the meaning of afternoon as mentioned by al-Rafii in line with al-Nawawi, which is late afternoon. However, *takhir* (delaying it) rising to the centre is *afdal* (preferable).

In recognising the above problem that follows the famous *qaul*, it is categorised as an *ikhtilaf* al-Syeikhain. Shaykh al-Islam Zakariyya Ansari seeks to unite the two *qaul* as can be seen in *Fath al-Wahhab* (al-Ansari, 1418H). Obviously, al-Banjari has the Shaykh Islam stance. However, in such a situation, typically scholars hold on to al-Nawawi *qaul*. Al-Banjari's writing style is similar to the style of Shaykh Islam in *Fath al-Wahhab*. Nevertheless, the purpose remains the same which is equal to al-Nawawi's final.

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[1]   In two peaches book.

[2]   Of the sun, called *al-zawa*l.

Example III. Next *ikhtilaf* can be seen in the *ittifak* of al-Syeikhain in the juz 2 and case 202 are summarized as follows:

> Tashih *ittifak* by al-Rafi⁣ᶜi in *al-Sharh al-Saghir* of al-Nawawi tashih in *al-Manasik* on the khilaf with *Asl al-Rawdah.* The khilaf is, when the sun in, then one goes from Mina in the state as he was busy with his business as being in *mahmal* (a stretcher) and his camel is moving out. In *Asl al-Rawdah* it is said as *harus*. In *al-Sharh al-Saghir* and *al-Manasik* say it is not to be. [2, 202]

In the context of the above issue, the final two laws are made by the ulama after al-Syeikhain. Al-Banjari has not explained the opinions of Ibn Hajar and al-Ramli in this connection. Perhaps for al-Banjari, it is sufficient to show of strength on the two laws according to al-Syeikhain. While for al-Rafii's *qaul*, it is strengthened with *tashih* and it *ittifak* with *tashih* (confirmation) of al-Nawawi in *al-Manasik*. This despite the fact that al-Nawawi's *qaul* in *Asl al-Rawdah* is theoretically can sometimes be understood as original *qaul* by al-Syeikhain consensus. In reality, both decisive *mutakhirin* Imam Ibn Hajar chooses the *qaul* that is aligned with *Asl al-Rawdah* whereas al-Ramli chooses the *qaul* that is aligned with *al-Manasik* and *al-Sharh al-Saghir*. By all appearances, *qaul* held by al-Rafii was still a *khilaf* with other *qaul* for al-Nawawi in *Asl al-Rawdah*. In this situation, if *qaul* al-Nawawi in *Asl al-Rawdah* was only considered as *qaul* al-Nawawi, then it is a *ikhtilaf* al-Syeikhain.

Example IV. Next *ikhtilaf* al-Syeikhain occur in juz 1, case 83 summarised as follows:

> Al-Nawawi and al-Rafii are in disagreement on the issue of reading prayers on wuduk's limb. Al-Nawawi in al-Minhaj judges it is not sunnah because the law of the relevant hadith has "no sources to it" in all the Hadith books. Al-Rafii says it in *al-Muharrar*. Ibn Hajar in *al-Tuhfah* says it is permissible to say that circumcision is not as turuk[3] (sanad path) and that all hadiths are daif (weak); there are lies and slander which cannot be used as an argument in practicing an excellence charity (edge of practice). Al-Sharbini in al-Mughni and al-Ramli in al-Nihayah say that al-Ramli al-Kabir has endorsed as sunnah through the hadith narration of *Tarikh Ibn Hibban* and others despite the fact it is weak including practising the fadilat amal. [1, 83][4]

In the above case, a unique situation took place. Mutakhirin scholars are uncomfortable in accepting al-Nawawi *qaul* despite the policy that has been followed is usually the decisive theory and considered

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[3] Turuk is originally turuq the plural of *tariq* means road or here, means history or chain.
[4] Al-Banjari is supportive of al-Shihab al-Ramli as seen in him quoting all prayers and remembrance after the errors.

as the final. Yet, many scholars tend to accept the al-Rafii *qaul*. Among them are al-Ramli, al-Kabir, al-Shams al-Ramli and al-Syarbini. Even Ibn Hajar himself supports the al-Rafii side and says that it should be permissible. When it is not compulsory, of course with the intention of worship, it will be beneficial and rewards the practitioner.

Example V. Next *ikhtilaf* of al-Syeikhain occurs in juz 2, case 108 of which is summarised as follows:

Khilaf al-Nawawi in *al-Majmu^c* and al-Rafii in *Bab al-Nafaqat*, when the servant with independent status (not slaves) who is worked as a servant to the wife of a man with nothing given as wages and only provision to be paid. Is it compulsory for the man to pay Zakat fitrah for his servant? Al-Nawawi takes it as not compulsory though Al-Rafii says it is compulsory on the man to pay= the zakat fitrah as the servant of his wife is counted as equal to his wife. Ibn Hajar and al-Ramli stick with al-Rafii *qaul*.

For the above case, once again al-Rafii *qaul* was decided as a final compromise between the two mutaakhirin Scholars. This is unusual in a state that sets in khilaf between al-Nawawi and al-Rafii and al-Nawawi *qaul* is final.

Example VI. Next, a simplified khilaf of Juz 2, case 240-241 *Sabil al-Muhtadin* is as follows:

The khilaf of two *qaul* when a prey animal that is caught by the beagle, arrow or lay with wounds that may lead to death but not to the extent harakah mazbuh[5] but the animal suddenly disappeared and then found dead and judged as Haram to be consumed based on Azhar[6] *qaul* by two *qaul*. *Qaul* quoted by al-Rafii of Jumhur concluded it as *haram*. Al-Khatib al-Sharbini and al-Shams al-Ramli say this is conclusive in *al-Mughni* and *al-Nihayah* as stated by al-Imam al-Bulqini and *Sunan al-Bayhaqi* and others. The second *Qaul* that stated it halal is *qaul* from al-Imam al-Ghazali and al-Imam al-Nawawi and quoted by al-Imam al-Nawawi, it is asah,[7] and in al-Majmuc calls, it is an authentic or a sawab[8] (right) and has been chosen in *al-Tashih* and *Sharh Muslim.* [2, pp. 240-241]

The case indicates the *Ikhtilaf* of al-Syeikhain. Al-Nawawi's qaul has become conclusive while al-Syeikhain differed. In the above context, al-Nawawi *qaul* is

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[5] *Haraka mazbuh* means the movement of live animals which are slaughtered. At that time, the animal no longer hears, sees, moves, and is not selective (see al-Sharwani & al-C Abbadi, n.d., p. 320).
[6] Azhar *qaul qaul* usually strongest between two or more qaul Imam. (see al-Mandili, 2004, p. 179).
[7] *Asah* comes from the Arabic word which means the first teaser authentic.(does not make sense, please rewrite)
[8] *Sawab* is derived from the Arabic word sawab meaning proper and accurate.

not conclusive since it is considered as unaccepted in the sect. Here, the accuracy of the scholars in explaining the decisive *qaul* is explicit. They have not ignored the principles and methods stipulated in the Shafii sect. Although Al-Nawawi is an Imam and specialises in the Shafii's sect *qaul*, it will be rejected if it confronts the methods used by Shafii sect. Al-Banjari in this situation makes al-Nawawi *qaul* as second and it means not conclusive.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the above discussion indicates that the examples of *ittifak* and *ikhtilaf* by al-Syeikhain have reflected the efforts of al-Banjari in providing a definitive explanation to the *qaul* by two imams. Although fundamentally the al-Nawawi *qaul* is set as a conclusive if there is conflict with al-Rafii in its usual practice, in some cases, *qaul* al-Rafii has been adopted as a decision. This as shown in example (vi), (v) and (vi) in part of *ikhtilaf* al-Syeikhain. As previous discussed, the conclusive *qaul* by al-Syeikhain as an example has been rejected by many scholars. Although the example is not found, it is enough to show the probability of its occurrence and as a very logical reason. All these indicate that he is alert and endeavours to equip the readers with knowledge of the relevant information and their significance. Al-Banjari also shows his concern toward the decisive question and current issues. The results described in the book of *Sabil al-Muhtadin* is sufficient to meet the conclusive standard and to lift the quality of the thinking and practises of

Shafii's especially in the Malay-Muslim world. These are the highest thoughts and practices outlined by the Shafii sect leader of all time.

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Traditional Malay Literature and the Generation of Knowledge

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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the functions of traditional Malay literature as a platform for generating knowledge to contribute towards human civilisation and fulfil his/her responsibility as Allah's representative on earth. The traditional Malay literature is rich in knowledge of various types. Consistent with the goal to produce a perfect human, knowledge is important to produce individuals who successfully achieve real perfection either spiritually or physically. Data studied involves a multiple genre of traditional Malay literature produced or copied from the 15th to 19th century including *Sejarah Melayu (Sulalatus Salatin), Hikayat Raja Pasai, Syair Perang Siak, Syair Perang Mengkasar, Hukum Kanun Melaka, Taj al-Salatin, Bustan al-Salatin, Sirat al-Mustaqim, Sabil al-Muhtadin, Syair Perahu, Syair Dagang, Surat al-Anbiya, Hikayat Abu Syahmah* and *Hikayat Ibrahim ibn Adham*. In establishing the functions of traditional Malay literature as a platform for generating knowledge, this study applies Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas's (2001) framework on *adab*. The study demonstrates that traditional Malay literature has played an important role of generating knowledge towards producing a noble, well-balanced individual, spiritually and physically, in this world and the hereafter. Traditional Malay literature is apparently conceived by its readership as providing enlightening principles in seeking a guided relationship both with their Creator (*hablumminaLLah*) and fellow human beings (*hablumminannas*) as well as explicating the divine purposes of every living human being in this world to become His vicegerent and servant. Knowledge contained in this traditional literary text could produce a perfect human being that has the ability to fulfil his obligations as Allah's representative on earth and His righteous slaves.

Keywords: traditional Malay literature, knowledge generation, knowledge, science, perfect human, *hablumminaLLah, hablumminannas*, Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas

INTRODUCTION

Knowledge is one of the key concepts underpinning the Islamic civilisation and thus gives Islam a special appearance and place (Rosenthal, 1970/1993, p. xii). No other religion or institution gives as much importance to knowledge as the religion of Islam (al-Attas, 1995, pp. 14-18). The close relationship between knowledge and Islam has been clearly stated in the Quran and Sunnah.

This can be seen when the root word *'ilm* ('knowledge' in Arabic) has been mentioned about 750 times in the Quran. This number makes up about one per cent of the whole vocabulary of the Quran (Rosenthal, 1970/1993, pp. 18-19). In fact, the Quran also includes nearly 800 sentences referring to knowledge (al-Attas, 1977, p. 57). Furthermore, the emphasis on reading as the most important asset in the pursuit of knowledge and recognition of God as the ultimate source of human knowledge can be seen since the first revelation to Prophet Muhammad:

> *Read! (O Muhammad) in the name of your Lord, Who has created (all that exists); He has created man from a clot (of congealed blood); Read! And your Lord is the Most Gracious; Who has taught man by means of the pen [and the art of writing]; He has taught man what he did not know (Quran 96: 1-5, Tafsir pimpinan ar-Rahman kepada pengertian al-Quran).*

The Prophet also never tired of urging Muslims to seek knowledge (al-Attas, 2001, p. 49). This is emphasised by Allah through the Prophet's hadiths that oblige Muslims to seek knowledge. *Seeking knowledge* is an obligation of *every Muslim* man and woman. The Prophet said in an authentic narration (hadeeth): *"Seeking knowledge is an obligation upon every Muslim"*, "Seek knowledge from the cradle to the grave" and "Go in quest of *knowledge even unto China*" (al-Attas, 2001, pp. 48-50).

Aims to restore mankind to its original state (*fitrah*) and thus producing a perfect human being (*insan al-kamil*), knowledge discloses depth of meaning and uses, covering all aspects of Muslim life intellectually, religiously, and politically. Knowledge is a tool to guide people to the right path and to boost his capacity as the caliph and his duties as a slave for fostering this world.

The importance of knowledge has also been stressed in traditional Malay literature. Knowledge acquisition has become the core and major activity of the Malay writers to cater to the needs of its audience. This is important because knowledge and thought reflects the strength of pride, modesty and character of a nation and its intellect (al-Attas, 1977). The injection of knowledge in literary works gives audiences the opportunity to discover and develop them in various aspects of life in realising the perfect human nature. The works produced not only focused on the aesthetic aspects, but also emphasizes the didactic aspect. Therefore, as a beautiful and worthwhile

work, literature becomes an effective tool to establish a personal higher level journey to become humans who are righteous and consequently reach the stage of a perfect human being (Ungku Maimunah, 2007, pp. 16-17).

THE CONCEPT OF KNOWLEDGE FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF SYED MUHAMMAD NAQUIB AL-ATTAS

According to Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas, knowledge (*'ilm*) is both the arrival of meaning in the soul as well as the soul's arrival at meaning (Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas, 1995, p. 14). It's a process which allows a man to know the unknown. Knowledge requires confidence. This confidence is the belief that is strong, fixed and immutable. This belief is not a blind belief but confidence in the truth. It eradicates ignorance, doubt, suspicion, or confusion (Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas, 2001, p. 50). True knowledge is then knowledge that recognises the limit of truth in its every object (al-Attas, 1995, p. 14).

The main goal of knowledge in Islam is to restore mankind to his original state (*fitrah*) and subsequently gives birth to a perfect man (*insan al-kamil*). In the process of realising this *insan al-kamil*, the right science, good behaviour (civilised) and fair consideration would be required. Thus, knowledge is strongly associated with the element of life, religions, cultures and civilisations.

Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas classifies knowledge into two categories known as *fardu ain* and *fardu kifayah*. Both of these categories are fair and have a

perfect union (al-Attas, 1977, p. 59). They need and complement each other. A close linkage between both knowledge is shown in Figure 1.
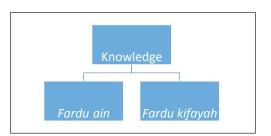
Figure 1. Categories of knowledge

The *fardu ain* knowledge, also known as the science of illumination (*ma'rifah*), is given directly by God as a gift to His servants. In the context of the Prophet Muhammad, this kind of knowledge is given directly by God in the form of revelation (Quran) and Sunnah as understood and practised. This *ma'rifah* of the Prophet is considered as the supreme science and serve as a reference and guide for all the events concerning a Muslim (Wan Mohd Nor, 2005, p. 94). The knowledge acquired by man in the form of revelation and the Sunnah are careful observation by the heart; inspired, enlightened, unveiling and *musyahadah* as well as the power of dialectic movement (al-Attas, 1977, pp. 60-68; 2001, pp. 57 & 93). Only people who worship with courtesy (sincerely for the sake of His good pleasure) and adopt the sanctity of life will be blessed by Allah SWT who knows the needs of humans and the completeness of the human soul (al-Attas, 1977, p. 60). The role of science reveals the secrets of essence and existence, describing the relationship

with God and explains the actual meaning and purpose of human life in the universe. Therefore, as a guide and counsellor to the right path, studying the *fardu ain* knowledge is compulsory and duty of every Muslim and a base prior to the acquisition of knowledge.

Knowledge can also be reached by its own through an observation, research and study. Also known as *fardu kifayah* knowledge, it's related to physics and objects associated with it, which can be achieved through the use of intellectual and physical resources. In this respect, this kind of knowledge is closely related to earthly life and become a tool of human life, interacts and adapt to the environment (al-Attas, 1977, pp. 59 & 62; 2005, p. 95). In contrast with the *fardu ain* knowledge which is compulsory for every individual Muslim, the *fardu kifayah* knowledge is only mandatory for some Muslims depending on his or her needs and requirements of the times. However, this knowledge must be guided by the *fardu ain* knowledge so that the *fardu kifayah* knowledge do not confuse humans and trap them in an atmosphere that is full of confusion in finding the meaning of life (al-Attas, 2001, p. 60; 2005, p. 95).

KNOWLEDGE OF *FARDU AIN* IN THE TRADITIONAL MALAY LITERATURE

The spread of Islam to the Malay world has changed the philosophy of life in society from animist-Hindu-Buddhist centric to one which is Islamic based (al-Attas, 1990, p. 48). It is based on elf-awareness among the community about the

realities of human existence in this world as *Abdullah* (servant of God) and *Khalifatullah* (representative or vicegerent of Allah on earth). Thus, they begin to realise their duties and responsibilities in relationships among creatures and devote themselves to the Divine and to achieve the standard of a perfect human being (*insan kamil* or *insan adabi*) (Braginsky, 1993, 1998).

This change or transformation can be seen in the 15th century literature which became the highlight of the spread of Islam. Literature is not only a means of propaganda to spread Islam but also a platform for the efficient functioning of civilised human beings and elevate human nature to a higher level (al-Attas, 2001; Ungku Maimunah, 2007). The knowledge that is the basis of formation of the insan adabi is an important element contained in literary works.

In line with its emergence in the early Islamic period, literary works produced during this period are laden with knowledge on Islam. Such content is categorised as the *fardu ain* knowledge by Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas. With the aim to get closer to the Creator, the display of Islamic religious knowledge is delivered either directly or indirectly. The works of traditional Malay literature describing directly on knowledge about Islam comprises the work of *sastera kitab* (religious literary). This genre discusses the basic teachings of Islam such as the science of jurisprudence (*fiqh*), theology and Sufism. Meanwhile, indirect exposure to Islamic teachings has been in the form of a narrative through historiography, *hikayat* and the literature

of law and state administration as well as the stories of the prophets and leaders of Islam. The scope of the content does not deviate from the range of the science of jurisprudence, theology and Sufism.

Fiqh

Fiqh or the science of jurisprudence is a field of knowledge in Islamic law that specifically debates the question of laws governing the various aspects of human life, whether personal lives, society and man's relationship with his Creator. *Fiqh* deals with the observance of rituals, morals and social legislation in Islam. This field of knowledge interprets the questions of worship (*ibadah*) which is compulsory for Muslims and the right and perfect method of its implementation. In addition, *fiqh* also discusses the question of *munakahat* (marriages), *muamalat* (matters related to trade and civil) and *jinayat* (criminal liability) (Harun et al., 2006, pp. 443-446).

The traditional Malay literature also discusses directly the science of jurisprudence, especially in the genre of *sastera kitab. Sirat al-Mustaqim* by Nuruddin al-Raniri is among the earliest writings that discuss the science of jurisprudence in the Malay world. This book describes the laws of the Shafi'i school of Islamic jurisprudence. Among the issues discussed in the *Sirat al-Mustaqim* is discussion on the purification, prayer, charity, fasting, pilgrimage, hunting and haram-halal food law (Tjokrowinoto, 1964, pp. 130-144; Harun et al., 2006, pp. 443-445).

Views about the *fiqh* were infused in legal literature genre, for example, the *Hukum Kanun Melaka* (Laws of Melaka). Most of the 44 clauses of the law in this work comprises Islamic law. Clauses 25 to 29 and clauses 34 to 40 *Hukum Kanun Melaka* elaborate on the question of Islamic jurisprudence such as *munakahat, muamalat* and *jinayat* (Liaw, 1976, p. 9; Harun et al., 2006, pp. 527-528):

Fasal 25:   Menyatakan Hukum Orang Berwali dan Akad Nikah

Fasal 26:   Hukum Saksi Nikah

Fasal 27:   Hukum Khiyar

Fasal 28:   Hukum Talak

Fasal 29:   Hukum Orang Berniaga

Fasal 34:   Hukum Amanat

Fasal 35:   Hukum Ikrar

Fasal 36:   Hukum Murtad

Fasal 37:   Hukum Saksi

Fasal 38:   Hukum Menuntut dan yang Dituntut

Fasal 39:   Hukum Bunuh-membunuh

Fasal 40:   Hukum Zina

In addition, the stories of the prophets and leaders of Islam genre also indirectly spoke of *fiqh*. This can be seen for example in the text *Hikayat Abu Syamah*. The story is trying to show firmness and justice of a ruler Caliph Umar in implementing Islamic law, even against his own flesh and blood. As a government that is fair, Umar punished his biological child who drank alcohol and

committed adultery, offences based on the Sharia law.

Tauhid

Tauhid discusses the concept of God in Islam that touches on belief, faith and trust that God is one. In addition to questions of substance pertaining to God, the science of monotheism also describes the attributes of God and must be known by every Muslim (Harun et al., 2006, p. 455). Also known as theology, the science of monotheism attempts to disassemble the concept of God and faith, Qadak and Qadr, the afterlife, heaven and hell and man's relationship with his Creator.

The question of the science of monotheism also appears in the works of traditional Malay literature either directly or indirectly. In the genre of historiography, for example, questions of *tauhid* is said to have been discussed in court, particularly among the Malay rulers who are interested in Islamic thought. For example, *Sulalatus Salatin* (Malay Annals) reported on Sultan Mansur Shah who was particularly interested in the question of faith. He who has concerns regarding the question of whether the contents of Heaven and Hell will remain forever in heaven or hell or otherwise asks that problem to be answered by Pasai *ulama* named Makhdum Mua (Abdul Samad, 1997, pp. 158-160). So is the case with Sultan Mahmud Shah, who also has questions related to the science of monotheism. He wanted to know why those who say that God has made and provide sustenance in eternity, is considered by Islamic law as an infidel.

The Sultan has submitted the issue to Pasai and was answered by an *ulama* named Tun Hasan (Abdul Samad, 1997, pp. 247-249).

In addition, the question of faith is also expressed in the works of the state administration. This can be seen in works such as *Taj al-Salatin and Bustan al-Salatin*. For example, part of the contents of the *Taj al-Salatin* discusses the question of knowing oneself and God, and the purpose behind the creation of *death* and life. *Bustan al-Salatin* also discussed the science of monotheism in respect of the creation of the Heavens and the Earth, the Preserved Tablet (*Loh Mahfuz*), the Pen (*Kalam*), the Throne (*'Arasy*), the Footstool (*Kursi*) and the history of the Prophets (Harun et al., 2006, pp. 551-555; Jelani, 2009, pp. 138-139).

The discussion on the prophet is also contained in the works of traditional Malay literature. This can be seen in the text of *Qisas al-Anbiya*, which describes the struggle of the prophets to spread the word of Allah SWT. The struggle to spread the message of monotheism since the time of Adam till Prophet Muhammad is not only worthy of emulation but it should be planted in the hearts as part of the pillars of Muslim faith.

Sufism *(Tasawuf)*

Tasawuf or Sufism is a branch of Islamic knowledge which emphasises on the spiritual development of the Muslim. Sufism centres on believe in God and getting closer to Him. This field of knowledge emphasises the feelings of love for God and the convergence of worshipping Him

with the goal of achieving spiritual dignity through stages called tareqat, ma'rifat and haqiqat (Harun et al., 2006, pp. 467-468).

Questions related to the science of Sufism are also included in the work of traditional Malay literature. This can be seen in the *Hikayat Sultan Ibrahim ibn Adham* which is based on the story of one of the most famous and prominent early ascetic Sufi saints. This *Hikayat* emphasises the importance of human spirituality and piety to Allah SWT. Wealth and worldly pleasures are known to distract people's attention from Allah SWT but, the characters of Sultan Ibrahim ibn Adham and his son are exemplary in willing to come down from the throne solely to serve Allah SWT (Mohd Yusof 1989, pp. 1-26).

Apart from prose, works of poetry in traditional Malay literature also highlights the questions of Sufism. Various works of syair were produced to spread the teachings of Sufism that developed in the Malay world since the 16th century. These include poems from Hamzah Fansuri, an influential *ulama* in Aceh. For example, his poem *Syair Perahu* describes the man as a symbol of a boat sailing on the sea of life towards the final goal, namely the afterlife. Similarly, the poem *Syair Dagang* likens human life in the world as a stranger who wants to return to his country of origin in the afterlife (Harun et al., 2006, pp. 492-493).

KNOWLEDGE OF *FARDU KIFAYAH* IN THE TRADITIONAL MALAY LITERATURE

Literary creation is the result of the use of language as a means of delivery, whether in writing or orally, with artistic value and the aim of providing guidance and teaching (Ismail, 1974; Teeuw, 1984; Siti Hawa, 2002 & Harun et al., 2006). In terms of *adab*, the guidelines and teaching are knowledge that could produce the perfect human being spiritually and physically. The perfect human being is also able to live his or her life in this world and the hereafter perfectly. Hence, knowledge acquired by a perfect human being is not only limited to *ukhrawi* (hereafter) but also worldly knowledge that can be used as a means of life in this world. Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas categorises this type of knowledge as *fardu kifayah*.

In achieving a balance between life here and hereafter, the works of traditional Malay literature not only discusses about how to get closer to the Creator but also on matters of human relations in this world. Aspects such as administration, social and community as well as history will be discussed in traditional Malay literary genres in the following section. .

Administration

Man is born in this world with the responsibility of being the vicegerent of Allah. As Allah's representative on earth, man has been given a mandate and duty to maintain, manage and govern from this nature at its best (Quran 33: 72, *Tafsir pimpinan ar-Rahman kepada pengertian al-Quran*). This responsibility distinguishes human beings from animals and other beings and reflects his advantages and dignity. Thus every human is responsible to control the

environmental information and unlock the secrets of the universe so that he can or she can prosper in the universe as well as get closer to God.

Traditional Malay literature contains knowledge that motivates people to carry out their duties as Allah's representative to govern the universe. This can be seen especially in the works of the state administration (*sastera ketatanegaraan*). This "Mirror for Princes" serves as a guide to the king to govern a nation or government. For example, *Taj al-Salatin*, features various guides to be a government that is just. For example, in Chapter 5 (The Greatness of the King), Chapter 6 (How to Implement Justice), Chapter 7 (The Characters of the Just Kings), Chapter 8 (The Just Non-Muslim Kings), Chapter 9 (The Unjust Kings), Chapter 10 (The Task of the Adviser of the King) and Chapter 13 (The Features of the Court Officials). Guidance to perform the duties as the government is also contained in the *Bustan al-Salatin* as in Book 3 (The Story of Just Kings and Wise Minister), Book 4 (The Story of the Pious Kings and Pious Saints of God) and Book 5 (The Story of the Oppressive Kings and Unjust Viziers Who Committed Treason Against Their Kings) (Harun et al., 2006, pp. 551-556; Jelani, 2009, pp. 47-54).

Social/Community

Efforts to become a perfect human being require one to balance his relationship with God and his fellow human beings. Hence, man should ensure that all aspects of his life have rules to maintain harmony and sustainability. To ensure this harmony and sustainability, every man must know his rights, obligations and responsibilities in maintaining relationships between them and the others as well as the Creator.

The social aspect is also emphasised in the works of traditional Malay literature. As a knowledge that can be used as a guide to mankind to live here and hereafter, traditional Malay literature displays social and community issues involving the relationship between husband and wife, parents, government-people and so on.

For example, *Hikayat Darmata'siah* and *Hikayat Ali Bad Shah* tell the story of the wife who obeys her husband and performs good deeds in her life. Her steadfastness and fidelity to husband as well as devotion to Allah SWT despite living in misery were finally rewarded when she received protection from Allah SWT (Mohd Yusof, 1989, pp. 74-82; Shaiful Bahri, 2006, pp. 1-61).

In addition, social and community issues are also featured in literary works such as *Taj al-Salatin*. For example, Chapter 20 deals with the relationship between the Muslims and their king while Chapter 21 unravels the relationship between the people who didn't trust their king. Chapter 14 discusses ways to educate children as guidance for the parents (Harun et al., 2006, pp. 551-553).

History

History is important as a source of reference for the present and the next generation. In the corpus of traditional Malay literature,

there is a genre called literary history or historiography. The main function of historiography is to explain the history of a city-state by displaying the origin of the king and his family and all events related to the kingdom. The text aims to provide lessons and benefit the people who lived then, not only in terms of information about ancient society with the various values and rules but also on a variety of experiences that have undergone (Harun et al., 2006, pp. 325-326).

History in the works of traditional Malay literature became good model and example to the audience. If there are elements of imperfection, it acts as an example to be avoided, while a good example is to be emulated for self-improvement. In other words, literature serves to enhance the quality of perfection which is divine in nature, thus, producing a perfect human being (Shafie, 1996, pp. 121–122).

Sulalatus Salatin (Sejarah Melayu) for example, chronicles the development of the Malacca sultanate starting from the era of its establishment and development until the time of its fall. This work emphasises that the justice and wisdom of a ruler plays an important role in ensuring the continuity of the greatness of the kingdom. The loss of these elements trigger the deterioration of the government. Feelings of envy, treason, bribery, provocations and insubordination were the factors that destroyed the life of the government (Abdul Samad, 1997, pp. 1-330).

Meanwhile, *Hikayat Raja Pasai* depicts the development and the decline of the Pasai kingdom. This work highlights that the

tyranny of a ruler become the turning point of the fall of Pasai government. Pasai was destroyed because of the cruelty of its king, Sultan Ahmad, not only to his citizens but also to his own sons (Jones, 1999).

The question of history is not only shown through the work of prose but also poetry. However, narratives in the form of a historical writing poetry are highly selective and focused on some important events only. This can be seen in works such as *Syair Perang Siak* and *Syair Perang Mengkasar. Syair Perang Siak* as an example tells the story of Siak war which occurs between the months of April to June 1761. While *Syair Perang Mengkasar* is a story of a war fought with the Dutch as witnessed by the author, Encik Amin. The exposure of patriotism and the spirit against the invaders appear in both of these works as an example to the audience.

CONCLUSION

Knowledge is a basic element in the hierarchy of the insan adabi. The traditional Malay literature is rich in various forms of knowledge. Consistent with the goal to produce good human manners, this knowledge is needed to create beings who achieve ultimate perfection spiritually and physically. Literary work containing introductory sciences are based on Al-Quran and Sunnah and aimed at uncovering the secrets of Being and Existence. They describe the relationship with God and explain the meaning and purpose of human life in the world. Literary works which contain science based knowledge are closely

associated with earthly life and become a tool for human to live, interact and adapt to the environment.

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SOCIAL SCIENCES & HUMANITIES

The Level of Language Proficiency of Orang Asli Che Wong in Malay Language: The Analysis of UPSR Examination Results

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ABSTRACT

Che Wong's Language is a native language for the Orang Asli Che Wong students in Sekolah Kebangsaan Bolok, Pahang Darul Makmur while the Malay Language is their second language in everyday use and also in the classroom. This research is conducted to identify the level of Malay language proficiency in writing and comprehension based on the students' UPSR results. The Malay language proficiency of Orang Asli Che Wong students in Malay language is found to be very weak. This is proven by the previous examinations results for the period 2008-2012. Although the students' weaknesses in the Malay language proficiency cannot be justified based on their results alone, it is possible to serve as a basis to measure their weakness in the language. The weakness in the Malay language proficiency should be given serious attention because failing in the Malay Language subject will not only affect the students' future, it will also affect the improvement of the Orang Asli Che Wong's academic excellence in particular. This research adopts the interview method which includes Orang Asli Che Wong's students, the Headmaster and the teachers who teach Malay Language in Sekolah Kebangsaan Bolok. This research is a descriptive study which examines the UPSR examination results and the interview results obtained during the research. It was hoped that the study would be able to identify the reasons behind the lack of Malay language proficiency in writing and the comprehension aspects among Orang Asli students and also the measures that can be adopted to manage and minimise this problem.

Keywords: Che Wong, language proficiency, Malay language, native language, Orang Asli, primary school, second language, UPSR

INTRODUCTION

The Native people or Orang Asli is a term which will be used consistently in this paper.

Orang Asli are the indigenous peoples who first inhabited the Malay Land. The result of archaeological research conducted in a few mountains located in the southern and northern parts of the Peninsula showed that the ancestors of Orang Asli had inhabited the Peninsula since the 8th century BC, roughly about 10,000 years ago (Mohd Fauzi, 2006). Orang Asli are a minority in Malaysia (Sunaidin, 1997; Nicholas, 2000). They are considered minority because they are numbered 178,197 in 2010 representing a mere 0.6 per cent of the national population of 28 million (Nicholas, 2012).

According to *Jabatan Hal Ehwal Orang Asli* (JHEOA, 2003), Orang Asli in Malaysia are divided into three main tribes, namely Negrito, Senoi and Melayu-Proto. All these tribes have their own distinctive characteristics. Che Wong's tribe is the sub-tribe of Senoi. The Senoi is the biggest aboriginal community in Peninsula Malaysia. The Orang Asli are now given attention mainly by the Jabatan Hal Ehwal Orang Asli (JHEOA, 2010). The lifestyle of Orang Asli has also changed due to modernisation that has taken place in the country. They have also undergone changes in many aspects such as social, economy, religion, politics and language. However, there is still an opinion which regards them as not professing to any religion and not complying with any rules of life. These natives are considered 'stupid' and reluctant to accept any form of modernisation with some even claiming that they are wild and practise violence (Er et al., 2010).

Based on the statistics from a research conducted by Nicholas (2006), there is an increase in the amount of aboriginal children registered as school students. In 1994, a number of 13, 200 children were registered in primary schools and in 2003, it increased to 23,087, an increase of 45%. It is clear that the Orang Asli have now realised the importance of knowledge for their children. It appears they are trying to free themselves from living a life which leads them to be lagging so far behind especially in the education aspect. Life that focuses on subsistence can be altered through a formal education. With a systematic educational system, they are able to compete with other races in this country.

This paper focuses on the Malay language proficiency among Che Wong's aborigines in Kuala Gandah, Pahang. This research also analyses the UPSR examination results of the Malay Language. It also focuses on Standard 6 Che Wong's aboriginal students in Sekolah Kebangsaan Bolok. This research is important because Malay Language is a main subject that is taught in every school in Malaysia, thus, Malay language skills need to be strengthened so that Bahasa Malaysia will stay consolidated as the official and national language (Article 152 Federal Constitution).

RESEARCH PROBLEMS

To make sure no community lags behind in Malaysia's rapid pace of modernisation, education has become the main focus of the government. However, some Natives are

left behind in the world of education (Basir, 2008). It is undeniable that only through education, these aborigines can make some changes to their lives. One of them is the concept of lifelong learning which should be applied to every person.

The parents in particular ought to be sensitive enough of the development that is taking place and realise the importance of education for their children. They should also change their mentality and perceptions towards how important education is for the wellbeing of their children. They have to accept positive changes if they wish to make some progress in line with the current developments. Furthermore, the national education policy is always urging them to move forward.

According to Zunaida et al. (2010), the dropout rate for aboriginal people has decreased rapidly over the last 15 years; however, a whopping 80% of aboriginal children have not completed their secondary school. The percentage of attendance in schools is very low and inconsistent, thus contributing to the high level of dropouts and illiterates in the aboriginal community in general (Abdul Razaq & Zalizan, 2009). Hence, this research recommends the Malay language proficiency among Che Wong's tribe in particular. Malay Language's mastery be given attention because only by being aware of it, improvement measures can be adopted and the issue concerning dropouts can be overcome.

Therefore, this study looks into Che Wong students' UPSR achievement because UPSR is the first national examination for primary school children in Malaysia. If at this level there are problems, then appropriate actions must be taken to ensure that the future of children would be brighter, particularly in regard to the Che Wong community.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The aim of this research is to study the Malay language proficiency of Orang Asli Che Wong's students in Sekolah Kebangsaan Bolok, Pahang Darul Makmur. Through the research, factors that contribute to the problem in mastering Malay Language among them and the measures that should be taken to improve the Malay language proficiency can be identified.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In implementing the Malay Language proficiency's research among Orang Asli Che Wong in Kuala Gandah, Pahang as stated above, a suitable method for the research that will achieve the objective was through data collection which included observation, interview and document analysis (Mohd Majid, 2005; Fraenkel & Wallen, 2007). This research involves observation during the learning process, interviewing teachers who teach Malay Language subject to Standard 6 students, asking the aboriginal students about their opinions on Malay language proficiency especially in writing, comprehension and finally for the documents analysis, the UPSR grades of aboriginal students in writing and comprehension, from 2008 until 2012 were obtained from the school's Headmaster;

these three data collection methods- are proven to be very crucial in this research.

The usage of these three methods will complement each other, and any ambiguity can be addressed directly with the informants through the interview method and vice versa which is in turn supported by the document analysis method. The usage of those three methods is part of the triangulation process which can produce findings that are more accurate and convincing (Mohd Majid, 2005). Triangulation allows data that are unable to be collected by one method to be able to be collected using another.

SCOPE OF RESEARCH

This study focuses on the level of Malay Language proficiency among aboriginal students in primary schools, specifically the Standard Six students. The research study was undertaken in Sekolah Kebangsaan Bolok, in Kuala Gandah, Lanchang Pahang. This school is located at the outskirts of the city. Two teachers were interviewed: one a Malay Language teacher and the other was the Head Teacher. This research depended completely on the feedback given by the respondents through the interviews and also through observations in the class.

Students' achievement in Malay Language subject in the Primary School Evaluation Test (UPSR) was also analysed. The analysis of UPSR achievement covered the period 2008 until 2012. This research also looked into the overall command of Malay Language in particular the proficiency in writing and comprehension.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This research leans on a theory which is known by its relation to acquisition and command of language, that is the theory of second language acquisition (B2) introduced by Stephen Krashen (1985). Krashen has given his theoretical perspective about the learning of the second language that has become the platform of this research, which is the hypothesis input theory. His theory of evolution began in the late 1970s, when Krashen introduced the Monitor Theory (Monitor Model), soon known as the Acquisition-Learning Hypothesis and now popularly known as the Input Hypothesis (Brown, 2007). Krashen's Input Hypothesis theory is a combination of five hypotheses based on five principles: the acquisition-learning theory, monitor hypothesis, natural order hypothesis, input hypothesis and affective effect hypothesis.

According to Krashen (1985, p. 1), acquisition is a subconscious while learning is a conscious process. Although both play a role in developing second-language competence, acquisition is far more important since the competence developed through it is responsible for generating language and thus accounting for language fluency. In his view, language learning occurs through the formal study of rules, patterns and conventions, a study which enables one to talk about and consciously apply the knowledge gained. Language acquisition, however, occurs quite differently, for it develops *exclusively*, Krashen believes, through "comprehensible input." That is, second-language students acquire language competence by exposure

to language that is both understandable and meaningful to them.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

The explanation and discussion in this section will be based on the UPSR achievement grades of Orang Asli Che Wong students for the period 2008 until 2012. Results of the interviews will also be discussed to recognise the factor behind Orang Asli's command of Malay Language, specifically at the primary school level.

Overall, the findings indicate that Orang Asli Che Wong students showed no interest in sitting for the UPSR examination although it is an important exam for the primary school level. Orang Asli Che Wong students also do not have mastery of the Malay language as one of the important subjects in school.

The data below display the results of Orang Asli Che Wong students in the Malay language subject in the UPSR from 2008 to 2012.

Orang Asli Che Wong students' UPSR results in Sekolah Kebangsaan Bolok

On average, X the present research showed, based on the grades of the Orang Asli Che Wong students in the UPSR examination from 2008 to 2012, they have problems in mastering the Malay Language particularly in comprehension and writing.

Figure 1. UPSR grade A result in 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011 and 2012. (Source: Research findings)
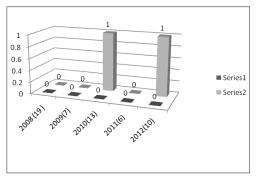
Figure 1. UPSR grade A result in 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011 and 2012. (*Source:* Research findings)

The Figure 1 above shows the average Grade A result from the years 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011 and 2012 in the Primary School Evaluation Test (UPSR) obtained by Orang Asli students, particularly the Che Wong ethnic group. The Figure shows the UPSR Grade A result for Comprehension and Writing of Che Wong aboriginal students at Sekolah Kebangsaan Bolok.

The number of Orang Asli Che Wong students who sat for the UPSR examination in 2008 was 19 but finding shows that all of those 19 students did not achieve A. The same goes for the writing part, where not even one of the entire Che Wong aboriginal students achieved grade A in that year.

In 2009, 7 Orang Asli Che Wong students registered for the Primary School Evaluation Test (UPSR) for Comprehension and Writing papers. All of those seven students did not succeed either in achieving A for both comprehension and writing papers.

In 2010, 13 candidates from Che Wong ethnic group sat for the UPSR examination.

Out of the 13 candidates, only one got A grade for Writing. As for the comprehension paper, none scored the A grade.

In the same year, the number of Orang Asli candidates who registered for the UPSR examination was six and none of them achieved the A grade for both comprehension and writing. The research finding in the 2012 shows that out of 10 registered aboriginal candidates for the UPSR examination, only one candidate from the Che Wong aboriginal community succeeded in achieving A for the writing paper. For comprehension, none out of those 10 students scored A.
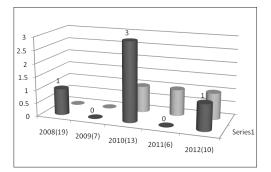
Figure 2. UPSR grade B result from the years of 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011 and 2012. (*Source:* Research findings))

Figure 2 above shows the UPSR grade among the students from Che Wong ethnic group students in 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011 and 2012. The bar graph above shows the B grade for comprehension and writing achieved by Che Wong students.

The number of Che Wong ethnic group who sat for the UPSR examination in 2008 were 19 , but out of that, finding reveals that only one student managed to achieve

B grade for the comprehension paper. For the writing paper, none of the 19 students achieved B grade.

In 2009, seven candidates from the Che Wong ethnic group registered for UPSR's comprehension and writing papers. However, none of them achieved B grade for both comprehension and writing papers.

In 2010, 13 candidates from the Che Wong ethnic group registered for the UPSR examination and three of them scored B grade for comprehension. As for the writing paper, only one candidate achieved B grade. In year 2011, the total number of aboriginal students who registered for UPSR was 6 but only one of them got B grade for the writing paper. For comprehension, none of those students achieved B grade.

In 2010, from the total number of 13 Orang Asli students from Che Wong aboriginal group who registered for UPSR, three candidates scored grade B in the comprehension paper and only 1 for the writing paper. In 2011, six aboriginal students registered for UPSR, and only one of them got grade B for the writing paper and none for the comprehension paper. Findings in 2012 show that 1 out of 10 aboriginal candidates obtained grade B for the writing paper as well as for the comprehension paper in UPSR.

Based on the findings of this study, it is clear that the percentage of Orang Asli students in the Che Wong group in mastering comprehension and writing in Malay language is very low. The findings of the grade A data analysis show that from 2008 to 2012, none of the candidates scored

grade A in the comprehension paper but for the writing paper, in 2010 and 2012, 1 candidate got grade A.

The study also shows that in 2008, 1 candidate out of 19 got grade B for the comprehension paper. In 2010, the number of students who obtained the B grade was 3 out of 13 candidates. In 2012, there were a total of 10 Orang Asli candidates from the Orang Asli Che Wong group who got grade B for the comprehension paper. Meanwhile, for the writing paper between the year 2008-2012, only one candidate succeeded in scoring grade B from the year 2010, 2011 and 2012.
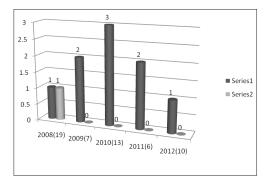
Figure 3. UPSR grade C result from the years 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011 and 2012. (*Source:* Research findings)

The bar chart above (Figure 3) shows the number of aboriginal candidates who got grade C in UPSR. This graph shows the average of students who got grade C from the 2008 to 2012. The vertical lines indicate the number of Orang Asli candidates who got grade C in UPSR while the horizontal lines indicate the year in which the students sat for UPSR. Meanwhile, the bars in

red and blue show the number of Orang Asli candidates who scored grade C in comprehension and writing papers in UPSR in the period covered in this research (2008-2012).

In 2008, only 1 Orang Asli candidate from Che Wong aboriginals scored grade C in UPSR for both comprehension and writing papers out of the 19 candidates who sat for the same exam.

In 2009, a total of 7 Orang Asli students registered as candidates in UPSR but not all of them sat for the examination. All the Orang Asli students who sat for the UPSR failed to get even grade C for the writing paper. However, there was an increase of 2 more candidates who obtained grade C for the comprehension paper.

In 2010, 13 Orang Asli Che Wong students registered for UPSR. Findings indicate a similar pattern in 2009 in terms of grades obtained by Orang Asli Che Wong candidates in the UPSR comprehension paper; in 2010, none of them who sat for UPSR scored grade C. However, for the comprehension paper, the graph shows an increase of 3 candidates who obtained grade C.

In 2011, the graph shows that the number of Orang Asli Che Wong students who scored grade C in the UPSR writing paper is the same from 2009 to 2011. For this year, a total of 6 Orang Asli Che Wong candidates registered for UPSR. The grade C graph displays the results of Orang Asli Che Wong students that had decreased from three in 2010 to 2 students. This is likely

due to the fact that only a small number of students registered for the examination compared with the other years.

In 2012, a total of 10 Orang Asli Che Wong students registered, but none of them obtained grade C in the writing paper. No changes are seen when the results are compared from 2009 to 2012. Meanwhile, for 2012, the graph for the comprehension paper shows that the number of Orang Asli Che Wong students who obtained grade C had dropped from 2 in 2011 to only 1 student.
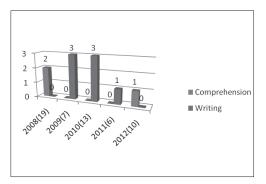
Figure 4. UPSR grade D result from year 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011 and 2012. (*Source:* Research findings)

Figure 4 shows the average in terms of candidates who obtained grade D from 2008 to 2012. This study shows the number of Orang Asli Che Wong candidates who scored grade D in UPSR. From 19 students who registered, none of them obtained grade D for the writing paper while 2 of them scored grade D for the comprehension paper.

Practically, scores obtained in 2009 was the same as the previous year, where none of the candidates obtained grade D

for the comprehension paper. However, the number of students registered in year 2009 was only 7 which was significantly lower than in 2008. The result in 2009 showed no improvement for the comprehension paper. Even so, the year 2009 had shown an increase in the number of people passing the writing paper where there were 3 candidates from the Orang Asli Che Wong group who obtained grade D compared with 2008.

In the year 2010, 13 Orang Asli Che Wong students registered for UPSR. Even though the number of registered students had increased from the previous year, the result showed that none of them scored grade D for the comprehension paper. Meanwhile in the writing paper, three candidates obtained grade D, similar to the 2009 results.

In 2011, a total of six Orang Asli students from the Che Wong group registered for UPSR. None of them obtained grade D for the comprehension paper. These results had shown the same pattern for three consecutive years. Although there were candidates who scored grade D for the writing paper, the graph showed a decline in the number as only one candidate obtained grade D compared with 2009 and 2010 where there were three candidates who scored grade D.

In 2012, a total of 10 Orang Asli Che Wong students registered for UPSR, but none of them obtained grade D for the writing paper. This graph shows the decline in the number of candidates who got scored D in 2011 from 1 to 0 in the UPSR writing paper. For the comprehension paper, the result shows that only one candidate

obtained grade D. Despite this, it still shows a growing number of students from the previous year.
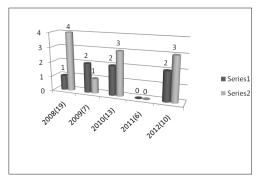
*Figure 5*. UPSR grade E result from year 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011 and 2012. (*Source:* Research findings)

Figure 5 above shows the number of Orang Asli Che Wong students, who earned grade E in the UPSR from 2008 to 2012 for the Malay Language paper of Comprehension and Writing. The graph indicates uneven grade patterns for both the Malay Language papers.

In 2008, a number of Orang Asli Che Wong's students had registered to sit for the UPSR examination. From 19 students enrolled, one student obtained grade E in the Malay Language Comprehension Paper and four students scored grade E in the Malay Language Writing paper. Meanwhile in 2009, a total of seven Orang Asli Che Wong students enrolled for the UPSR examination. Of those enrolled, a total of two students obtained grade E in the Malay Language Comprehension paper while another scored got grade E in the Malay Language Writing paper.

Thirteen Orang Asli Che Wong students had registered to sit for the UPSR in 2010.

For the Comprehension paper of the Malay Language, 2 students obtained grade E and 3 others could only manage grade E in Malay Language Writing paper. Next, only 6 Orang Asli Che Wong students were enrolled to sit for UPSR in 2011. During that year, none of the students obtained grade E on the Malay Language Comprehension or Writing paper. In 2012, a total of 10 Orang Asli Che Wong students registered for the UPSR examination.
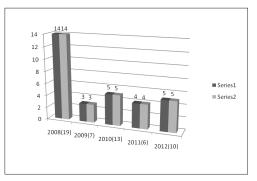
Figure 6. UPSR absentees from year 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011 and 2012. (*Source:* Research findings)

The chart in Figure 6 above shows the number of Orang Asli Che Wong students who were not present for the UPSR, or particularly for Malay Language Comprehension and Writing. In 2008, out of 19 students who registered for the UPSR examination, about 14 students were absent the day the Malay Language Comprehension and Writing papers were scheduled. The total number of absentees during that year was higher compared with the number of students who registered.

In 2009, three out of seven students were not present to take both Writing and Comprehension papers under the Malay

Language subject. The total of number of absentees was nearly half of those who had registered. The number of absentees during the UPSR examination in 2010 were 5 out of 13 registered students. The total number of absentees was smaller than it was in the previous years. Those who were absent did not register for both Malay Language papers.

In 2011, from a total of six students enrolled, it can be said that the majority of Orang Asli Che Wong students did not attend the examination or specifically sat for the Writing and Comprehension papers, except for four students. The total number of registered students in 2011 decreased compared with the previous years and the number of absentees also increased.

In 2012, half of the total number of Orang Asli Che Wong's students who enrolled for the UPSR did not turn up for the examination of both the Malay Language papers. The total number of registered students was 10 but five students were absent on the day of the examination. Although 50% of the students who did not sit for the examination is considered a large number, it was still lower in total compared with 2011.

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE POOR COMMAND OF MALAY LANGUAGE AMONG THE ORANG ASLI CHE WONG STUDENTS

Based on the interviews conducted with the Malay Language teachers at Sekolah Kebangsaan Bolok, researchers identified several factors that contributed to the poor command of the Malay Language among students of Orang Asli Che Wong at the school.

Environmental Factors

The Orang Asli communities of Che Wong have their own native language, known as the Che Wong language. Pupils enjoy using their native language when speaking with their peers who are also indigenous peoples of the Che Wong tribe. They seldom use the Malay Language when speaking with each other unless they are reprimanded and instructed to do so by the teacher. Malay is a second language for them and even then they only use it in the classroom. The Malay language used is also not formal in nature or rather, colloquial. Thus, the educational achievement of Orang Asli Che Wong students, especially in the Malay language subject, is becoming weaker. These students should be exposed more to the use of the Malay language even among their own people.

At home they speak to family members or neighbours using the language of Che Wong. Thus, the influence of the daily usage of their native language has weakened their ability to master the Malay Language which in turn affects the level of command of Malay Language among indigenous students, especially in terms of writing. According to the Malay Language teachers interviewed, Orang Asli Che Wong students also prefer to use simple vocabulary that is understood by them alone. Their constructed essays also tend to be more colloquial.

They also rarely use Malay words for example, the word 'memberikan' (giving), 'menggalakkan' (encouraging) and many others.

In addition, the Orang Asli Che Wong students also have trouble understanding comprehension questions as there are some Malay words that are difficult for them, for example, 'menjerang air' and 'menuai padi'. For indigenous people of the Che Wong tribe, they simply use the word 'masak' to describe the food being cooked, 'masak nasi' and 'masak air'. Whereas in Malay, there is other terms used to describe activities such as 'masak air', as in 'menjerang air'. This is confusing for Orang Asli Che Wong students because they do not understand the word. This could be because the words are not used in everyday situations at home.

Culture of Learning

The findings from the interviews also show that the indigenous students do not master the Malay Language well due to the learning culture. Their learning process only occurs in the class and when they return home, they are less motivated to do their homework or to study. Often, the homework given by the teachers is not completed. Parents often do not show enough attention and are less concerned about the education of their children. This has adversely affected the students' studies and made it more difficult for them to master the lessons taught by teachers and subsequently, it affected their proficiency in Malay Language.

STEPS TO IMPROVE STUDENT PROFICIENCY IN MALAY LANGUAGE AMONG ORANG ASLI CHE WONG STUDENTS

Teachers who teach Malay Language at the school were interviewed to find out about the relevant measures taken by the school to improve indigenous students' mastery of the Malay Language . Among them is by holding extra classes after school hours. Through these classes, teachers were able to identify the students' problem areas or skills and assist them. This is in line with what was mentioned by Krashen (1985) when he stated that a teacher can promote acquisition of language by providing students with appropriate comprehensible input. The only alternative procedure for language teachers that he describes is that of presenting students with a rule and then helping them practice applying it, a procedure which inevitably leads to learning.

The Malay Language teachers also conducted drills related to the UPSR past year questions in the classroom to help students understand the types of questions that will be asked, where the teachers discussed the answers with the Orang Asli Che Wong tribe students in the classroom. The school also attempted to obtain some cooperation from the children's parents as well as trying to convey =information on the importance of learning to the parents. However, the responses of the students and parents were limited. Parents did not show much determination to ensure their children attend classes and drills conducted by the teacher.

Through interviews and observations during a study session in Sekolah Kebangsaan Balok, based on the process of learning a second language (L2) and the native language (L1) among students of Orang Asli Che Wong tribe, learning Malay language in schools is not the case, as suggested by Krashen through the principles contained in his Monitor theory. This is because the hypothesis does not provide significant implications on the teaching of the language because the assumption is that in order to understand a language, what should prevail is communication. The communication expected among students on learning the spoken language does not occur. The students do not use the Malay language, especially when communicating at home.

CONCLUSION

The study was conducted to explore the major issues faced by Orang Asli Che Wong students associated with the level of learning, understanding and writing in Malay Language. This was considered a measure to create a literate and knowledgeable society with close reference to the Orang Asli Che Wong students in Sekolah Kebangsaan Bolok, Pahang.

The findings show that the language proficiency of Orang Asli Che Wong students in Malay Language, as evidence in their performance in the UPSR, is still very weak. Research shows that students' skill and proficiency levels do not match with the level of education they receive.

Skills at a basic level also show a low level of mastery. If the student continues his or her education to high school with a lack of proficiency in the Malay Language, of course more complex problems will arise in the effort to master the Malay Language well. The issue of dropouts in education is likely to continue if the level of proficiency in Malay Language is not addressed because it is fundamental to understand the subjects being taught. Therefore, the level of the Malay Language proficiency among Orang Asli Che Wong students must be improved to achieve the goal of developing this group.

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From Folklore to Urban Folklore: A Discourse

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ABSTRACT

This article discusses the field of folklore and urban folklore at the School of Malay Language, Literature and Culture Studies, Faculty of Social Science and Humanities, National University of Malaysia. Obviously, the term oral tradition and its subtopic oral literature or folk literature is well accepted in Malaysia compared with the term folklore. Being part of the literature especially traditional Malay literature, folk literature is introduced as society's earliest form of literature before the existence of other forms of literary genres either written or print traditions. According to Mohd. Taib Osman, folk literature emerged as a tradition but eventually became incognisant in the context of nation building. Such a scenario makes the field of literature static, outdated and assume the role of a complementary subject in the field of literature as a whole. In this context, a different perspective is needed and folklore should be considered. From this perspective, literature is seen as a phenomenon that exists parallel to the changes in the way of life in the contemporary world, the world of IT and cyber traditions. Folklore now not only exists as an oral tradition but it has been captured and spread via modern technology and cyber space such as the internet, blog and social networks. Through such medium, urban folklore and urban legend exist as a continuation of yesteryear traditions when one discusses the current phenomenon as society's thought and creativity.

Keywords: Cyber tradition, current phenomena, folk literature, folklore, oral tradition, social media, urban folklore, urban legend

INTRODUCTION

From the perspective of Malay Studies, 'folklore' and 'oral tradition' are two terminologies that are often used when referring to traditional Malay literature. The usage of such conceptual terms is an

important indication of the recognition of oral tradition as the earliest form of Malay literature. Discursively, the predominance of both conceptual terms does hint at the impact as well as implications that they might have had on the development of Malay literary genres today. It was perhaps R. O. Winstedt, the British colonial anthropologist whose scholarship first shed a critical light on the usage of the term 'folklore' in the context of oral traditions in Malaya. Winstedt (1939) sees the emergence of Malay folklore as the resulting influence of a well-known British colonial policy in places such as India, Arabia and Persia, that is, the acquisition and control of 'indigenous knowledge' for the 'creative' purpose of colonialism; in essence, the critical invention of colonial knowledge that it can control. However, for Mohd. Taib (1974), this is not the case. An influential Malay Studies scholar, he argues that the Malay oral tradition is a collection of genuine and creative literary works produced at an early phase of civilisation. He sees it as one of the key evolutionary tools for Malay civilisation as much as modes of expression of Malay identity. Mohd. Taib is a major figure in nurturing and propelling the field of oral tradition and its sub-disciplines, folk literature and oral literature to becoming recognised as one of the most popular subjects in schools and universities in the 1960s in post-colonial Malaysia.

In the scenario above, 'oral tradition' seems to be the perfect field to leverage on a collective but battered sense of Malay identity that had been undermined as the 'colonised.' It also functioned to promote the spirit of solidarity among the racially diverse society. However, as old policies and visions are replaced by new ones within the vastly changing sociocultural, economic and political landscapes resulting in what has been dubbed as 'borderless world', or for the same account, a 'global village' founded upon digitally-propelled process of time-space compression better known as 'globalisation', the study and research on Malay folklore suddenly and comparably finds itself rendered somewhat on the peripheral, becoming lesser in importance and contribution with respect to the processes and demands of nation building and generating transformation. The new scenario does make oral literature look unwittingly obsolete, static, outdated and complementary to the field of literature as a whole. In contrast the field of folklore develops parallel to the changes in the ways of life in the West, especially in the hypertext, multiple-identity world of ICT and cyber 'traditions'. Folklore no longer exists in its status quo conventional form as we now know it. Today, this oral tradition has been virtually embedded and diffused electronically as 'e-folklore' and may become accessible from a digital repository such as websites, blogsites and social networking sites. This paper attempts to explore the slippery terrains beholding Malay folklore and its scholarship in the future.

FA(R)THERING MALAY FOLKLORESHIP ON TWO FRONTS

Folklore as Colonial Knowledge

Based on history, the field of folklore[1] has had its root in the colonial period of Malaya. The British administrators were among the pioneers in this field such as of W. Maxwell, R.J. Wilkinson, R.O. Winstedt, A.J. Sturrock, Evans, W.W. Skeat and A. Hale. Most of their works were published in the *Journal of the Malayan/Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (JMBRAS)*[2] and printed in a book form for British officers as well as reading materials in Malay schools before the Second World War (Mohd. Taib, 1981, pp. 10-11). Shamsul (2000) linked such an effort towards the 18th century's Western imperialism and colonisation due to European nation-state in developing a new world order for exploitation of wealth and developing the field of social sciences. Gathering information is vital to sustain the Western dominance of the colonised state since knowledge represents a form of power. Through such acquisitions, the British managed to control the mind of the natives by changing, establishing and replacing the existing mind set and strengthening the colonial position including in Malaya. Therefore, according to Shamsul

(2000), during the colonial period (1819-1957), anthropology was the medium of intellectual discourse and the methodology involved gathering information; it was part of the British science of administration vital as a tool in building the colonial image and also gather knowledge on Malaya's natives.[3] Shamsul's notion is based on the concept of 'epistemological space' coined by Bernard Cohn (1996) in discussing British occupation of India. Similar notions could be seen in Knaap (1994, pp. 637-638):

> *'In order to rule the colonies properly, the colonial power of the time were of the opinion that they needed not only a strong army and navy and a well-trained civil service, but also scholarly and practical knowledge of indigenous society. Scholarly interest in the colonies can thus be interpreted as an offspring of the process of colonial state formation. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in England and France as well as in the Netherlands, all sorts of journals came into being to disseminate knowledge about the colonies. Few of these journals survived the wave of decolonization*

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[1]   Folklore is an English term coined by William John Thoms on 22 August 1846 (Dundes, 1965, pp. 4-5). Folklore then developed in the study of English language and literature and also later in anthropology before separating itself to form a separated field of study.

[2]   Previously *Journal of the Strait Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (JSBRAS)*.

[3]   Anthropology was then seen as a critical subject for the British in implementing its administration policies. One had to bear in mind that one of the subdivision of anthropology is cultural anthropology which encompasses similar elements like the to folklore.

after the Second World War. In the Netherlands only two survived, Bijdragen and (Nieuwe) West-Indische Gids, founded in 1919. The other well-known journal on Southeast Asia from this period that is still in existence is the Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, founded in 1878.'

In the field of folklore studies, most of the early efforts were focused on collecting and editing stories rather than engaging in theoretical debates, except for and indeed among the most prolific, were those of Wilkinson and Winstedt (Muhammad, 1999, pp. 129-164; Braginsky, 2008, pp. 417-428). The latter, for instance, initiated the theories of diffusion and Indianisation in his discussion of traditional Malay literature including folk literature which he referred to as folklore. As Winstedt (1939, p. v) maintains:

> *Any one who surveys the field of Malay literature will be struck by the amazing abundance of its foreign flora and the rarity of indigenous growths. Malay folklore, even is borrowed, most of it, from the vast store-house of Indian legend, an early crop garnered in the Hindu period, and later in the Islamic.*

Winstedt's commentary, published in his well-known book *A History of Classical Malay Literature*, demonstrates his conviction in the diffusive impact of Indian culture within Malay society and folk literature. He asserts that Indian socioculture is the main source of folk stories for a budding Malay folklore and subsequently the Arabic-Parsian imaginary through the spread of Islam in the region. Similar plots between source and contact cultures respectively, for instance, in humorous Malay tales such those *Pak Belalang, Mat Jenin* and *Si Luncai* are identical to those in *Kartha Sarit Sagara, Jataka Tales, Hitopadesa* and other Southern Asian great works. Likewise, *Abu Nawas* and *Musang Berjanggut* were clearly appropriated from The Arabian Nights and other tales from the Arab world. Indeed, the immense influence of the Indian sociocultural heritage on Malay social identity and practices must have informed Winstedt's (1920) perception on language, religion, customs and literature. The direction of the dissemination of such stories, in this case from India to the Malay Archipelago, can be understood from a diffusionist perspective, in that, it highlights traceable engagement between cultures and the shifting of a group of people through migration.

Folklore as Post-Colonial Identity

Most third world countries such as Malaysia, Indonesia and Brunei share similar experiences; they were once colonised either by the British or Dutch. When they gained their independence after the Second

World War (1942-1945), folklore (oral tradition) and the written tradition became the medium to restore their image in order to lift the spirits of people from the shackles of colonialism and its remnants. By means of these traditions, their pride and self-esteem could be restored to the heights of their pre-colonial days. Therefore, past achievements were extolled and glorified in order to portray the nation's greatness as a great power and civilisation a long time ago. In contrast to Javanese civilisation which depicts the greatness of their civilization through bas-reliefs, monuments and temples, the Malays preserved their cultural knowledge and values, political or historical records by means of literary works especially after the coming of Islam (Braginsky, 1993, p. 1; 1994, p. 41; 1998, p. 1). As highlighted by Ismail (1974), traditional Malay literature is rich in repertoires from whence two sub-traditions may be derived, one, the folklore (oral tradition) while another, the written tradition.[4]

Folklore is considered to be the oldest form of literature and became the basic foundation of civilisation before it took on new forms expressed through the written, print and now cyber traditions. Through this evolutionary changes, from primitive to higher form of civilisation, folklore acts as a signifier of the height of civilisation. In other words, all folklore should be considered as 'a form of empowerment to the nation'. As such, following Hanapi and Shaiful Bahri (2003, pp. 69-70), the concept of '(em)power(ment) to the nation' necessitates an acknowledgment of the greatness of a nation's folkloric tradition for its immense contribution to the evolution of thoughts and sustainability of values and norms from which generations in future may benefit. There are three basic components or traditions encompassed in a folklore or oral tradition: verbalised expression, behavioural,[5] and material culture.[6] Verbalised expression is also known as folk

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[4] To him, traditional Malay literature encompasses oevery form of literary phenomenon either written or oral that existed or exidted during the middle of 19th century. Basically, the demacation is based on the introduction of printing machineries which revolutionaised the concept of Malay literature. In terms of traditional Malay literature, Ismail differentiated it by the court composition and by the masses. The court literature is confined to written literature which is more advanced and cosmopolitan in nature whereas for the masses it is an orally transmited tradition (Ismail, 1974, pp. 9-10).

[5] The behavioural tradition is a performance types of tradition which includes customs, ritual, ceremonies, traditional theater, food and delecasies, art and carft such as those of kniting, weaving, carving, wood and metal works (cooper, bronse, silver and gold).
[6] Material culture encompasses inherited artifacts such as costumes, musical instruments, architecture, vase and weaponary.

literature or oral literature[7] which includes the narrative form of heritage (prose) and non-narrative (poetry). Among others, such narrative form or prose are those of myths, legends, animal tales, beneficial stories and *lipur lara* (soother of cares) whereas *pantuns*, charms, *selokas*, riddles, *talibun (sesomba), teromba (perbilangan adat)* and proverbs make up the poetries. From this verity of genres, the function and creation of works clearly show the genius of the Malay thought and creativities in coping with their surroundings.

After the independence in 1957, many local academicians began to explore this field, especially from the perspective of traditional Malay literature[8] to replace the

vacuum left by the British administrator cum-academicians pioneered by Mohd. Taib Osman.[9] Their intervention was timely as the nation had just gained its independence. In addition, world governing bodies such as UNESCO also assisted in channelling funds for collecting oral traditions and conducting relevant research especially folk literature in identifying and promoting solidarity among Malays freed from colonialism.[10] Mohd. Taib Osman's writings have influenced local scholars since the 1960s and it continues to do so as seen in the works of Jamilah Haji

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[7] Oral literature is a form of literature disposed orally and it is part of an oral tradition or folklore. It is the earliest form of literature that existed in society during the primitive stage. It is also considered to be the oldest form of literature as its existence came before the written form of literature. Each form of literary genre is disseminated orally by words of mouth from one generation to the other. Oral literature is also known as folk literature based on its creator. Each individual in the groups is considered to be the owner collectively and each member is able to narrate it freely in terms of genre and at any particular time as the concept of copyright did not exist then. Folk literature or oral literature can be divided into two subdivisions, narrative in the form of prose and poetry as non-narrative.

[8] Since 1993 by the publishing of namely *Kesusasteraan Melayu Tradisional* by DBP whereas other terminologies used are *'sastera Melayu lama'* (oldern Malay literature) and *'sastera Melayu klasik'* (classical Malay literature).

[9] The Indonesian James Ananda has a different view from Mohr. Taib Osman. As Danandjaja (1986, p. 5), who prefers folklore puts it: "I'm not in agreement with the usage of oral tradition to replace folklore since oral tradition is more acute in its meaning compared to folklore which is very broad. Oral tradition only encompasses folk stories, riddles, proverbs and folk songs, whereas folklore's scope goes beyond them, like folk dance and folk architecture" *(Kami tidak setuju penggunaan istilah tradisi lisan untuk menggantikan istilah folklor, karena istilah tradisi lisan, mempunyai arti yang terlalu sempit, sedangkan arti folklor lebih luas. Tradisi lisan hanya mencakup cerita rakyat, teka-teki, peribahasa, dan nyanyian rakyat; sedangkan folklor mencakup lebih dari itu, seperti tarian rakyat dan arsitektur rakyat).*

[10] See the project report on *Regional Seminar on Oral Tradition. Final Report, Kuching, Sarawak. 12-16 November 1973.*

Ahmad.[11] In the meantime, similar efforts have been undertaken by Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka (DBP), the key government agency responsible in promoting language, literature and culture. Under the stewardship of its second director, Tun Syed Nasir Ismail (1957-1969), numerous research officers were sent throughout the country to collect and record folk stories before they disappeared. Most of these research officers who took part in the project were under graduate students doing part time jobs such as Baharuddin Zainal (Baha Zain), Zaharah Khalid, Zaharah Taha, Nik Maimunah Yahya, Hamsiah Abdul Wahid, and Sa'ad Haji Musa. Eventually, the project achieved its goals in collecting various form of folk literature either in prose or poetry. In terms of *lipur lara* (soother of cares), they succeeded in recording a huge collection of stories which were later published in a book

form under the 'DBP Classic Series' *(Siri Klasik DBP)* for 1960s readers. These *lipur lara* stories which they managed to record are listed below:

i. *Cerita Raja Dera* (The Story of King Dera),

ii. *Raja Gagak* (The Raven King),

iii. *Selindung Bulan Kedah Tua* (The Old Kedah and Hidden Moon),

iv. *Raja Donan* (King Donan),

v. *Cerita Si-Gembang* (The Story of Si Gembang),

vi. *Cerita Selampit* (The Story of Selampit),

vii. *Bongsu Pinang Peribut* (The Story of Bongsu Pinang Peribut),

viii. *Cerita Sulung Jawa* (The Story of Sulung Jawa),

ix. *Hikayat Parang Putting* (The Tales of the Nipple Machete), and

x. *Raja Donai Bahtera Kulit Kacang* (King Donai and the Peanut Shell Ship).

Interestingly, the issue of a suitable term to be used for such field either 'oral tradition'

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[11] Several works of Mohd. Taib Osman include "Mengenalkan Kesusasteraan Melayu Lama," *Penulis* (1964); "Kesusasteraan Melayu dengan Corak Masyarakat dan Budayanya: Tradisi Lisan atau Sastera Rakyat yang bercorak Cerita," Penulis (1970); "Myths, Legends, and Folktales in Malay Culture," *ASPEC Quarterly of Cultural and Social Affairs* (1970); "Sastera Rakyat dalam Pembinaan Kesusasteraan Kebangsaan," *Dewan Sastera* (1974); "Pendokumentasian Sastera Rakyat dan Sastera Daerah Malaysia," *Dewan Sastera* (1976); and "Strategi Pendokumentasian Tradisi Lisan di Sabah," *Dewan Bahasa* (1977).

or 'folklore' did arise. Such an era can be considered as the transitional period from Winstedt's school of thought to Mohd. Taib Osman. However, oral tradition is a much preferred term for Mohd. Taib (1975, pp. 86-87) compared with folklore when he casually stated his views as follows:

Penggunaan istilah tradisi lisan atau oral tradition *difikirkan lebih sesuai dan tepat daripada istilah* folklore *kerana istilah yang kemudian ini selalunya mendapat tanggapan yang berbeza daripada tujuan asalnya. Kalau pada mula-mulanya istilah* folklore *ditujukan kepada aspek-aspek itu selalunya terdapat dalam masyarakat yang dikenali dengan label folk (atau volk dalam bahasa Jerman), sekarang ia menjadi satu istilah popular untuk ditujukan kepada benda-benda atau perkara-perkara yang kebenarannya disangsikan. Sebab itu bahan-bahan* folklore *selalu diterjemahkan sebagai dongeng…Untuk menghindarkan berlakunya salah tanggapan itu, maka istilah* tradisi lisan *atau* oral tradition *lebih diutamakan daripada* folklore. *Namun bahan-bahan yang dirangkumi oleh* oral tradition *itu samalah dengan yang ditunjukkan oleh istilah* folklore *pada awalnya.*

[The usage of oral tradition or *tradisi lisan* is considered suitable and a perfect

terminology compared with folklore as the latter is usually perceived differently in its actual meaning. Obviously, at the beginning, folklore is referred to any aspect of society which is normally known under the label 'folk' (known as volk in German) but currently it has become a popular term referring to things or events whose truth is considered questionable. This is the reason why folklore materials are viewed as nonsensical. To avoid any wrong perceptions, the term tradisi lisan or oral tradition is preferred compared with folklore. Nevertheless, all the elements in oral traditions are similar to those in folklore.

Although Mohd. Taib admits that both oral tradition and folklore encompass similar set of materials, actually his preference lies with the former.[12] The reason for his selection is to avoid confusion since the term folklore has become very popular that can cause confusion and deviation of its actual meaning more so because the truth in folklore is doubtful as it is

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[12] The materials contained in oral tradition as explained above by Mohd. Taib Osman are similar to the ones identified by Western scholars who placed them under the folklore label for collections from the Orang Asli, Malays, Sabahan and Sarawakian indigenous peoples such as those of H.N. Evans Ivor (1923) *in Studies in Religion, Folklore, and Customs in British North Borneo and the Malay Peninsula.* Winstedt (1969) used the term extensively especially in his well-known work, *A History of Classical Malay Literature.*

considered nonsensical. Surprisingly, no materials on folklore were written in Malay by local scholars that eventually made it so popular. In relation to the matter, the 'Mohd. Taib Osman sect' established itself in Malaysia especially at the local universities dominating the field in the likes of Halimah Hassan (Universiti Putra Malaysia), Mohd. Khalid Taib and Mustafa Mohd. Isa (Universiti Sains Malaysia), Ismail Hamid, Mohd. Pozi Hj. Masurori and Inon Shaharuddin Abd. Rahman (Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia), Siti Aishah Mat Ali (Universiti Malaya) and Jamilah Hj. Ahmad (Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka). Amin Sweeney[13] joined the debate of this era when he criticized rather strongly

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[13] Patrick Lois Amin Sweeney (1938-2010), of Irish descent came to Malaya during the Emergency (1948-1960) to join the British Army. He became a Malaysian citizenship after he passed his HSC and was awarded a scholarship by the Kelantan State government to further his study in SOAS. In 1970 he gained his PhD in SOAS under the guidance of Hooykaas. He then joined the Institut Bahasa, Kesusasteraan dan Kebudayaan Melayu (IBKKM, currently Institut Alam dan Tamadun Melayu, ATMA), Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia. In 1977, Sweeney moved to join University of California at Berkeley, United States and stayed there until his retirement in 1998. During his tenure there, he held several posts such as Professor of Malay Language and Literature and also as the Head of the Department of Southern Asia and Southeast Asia (1986-1991). After his retirement, Sweeney moved to Indonesia and resided in Cibeureum, Cipayung, Bogor until his death.

Winstedt's views on folk literature. For Sweeney (1976), if borrowing were to be over-emphasized, it would inevitably lead to an assumption that there would not be a single story left for the Malays to call their own. Sweeney insists that what matters most is to understand how the motifs from various sources have been deployed and remoulded to create and authenticate its 'Malay' settings. Sweeney sustained his criticism in several of his works such in *A Full Hearing: Orality and literacy in the Malay world (1987) and Malay Word Music. A Celebration of Oral Creativity* (1994).

In Mohd. Taib Osman's views, folk literature should be seen and developed as a heritage which eventually made the field insignificance in the context of nation building. Such scenario makes the field of literature static, outdated and becomes only as complementary subject to the field of Malay literature as a whole. The function in portraying identity and civilization through folklore becomes insignificant as the nation moved forward to achieve its ultimate goals, Vision 2020. It is only essentials during the early years of independent and in 1960s and 1970s as the spirits of identity and civilization has faded away by time due to the current needs of life in this fast moving world of the 21st century. The new generations of 1990s and in the new millennium were totally of a different generation. Such situation made the field of folk literature a dead field. Therefore, a new perspective in the folk literature research is much needed and urban folklore provides a promising hope.

THE WORLDLINESS OF FOLKLORE STUDIES

'Folk' and Urban Folklore

The West especially, the United States and Europe, is considered the centre of knowledge. The advancement of knowledge in the West through various intellectual activities is very well nurtured and this includes the field of folklore. Notable scholars in the field include W. Bascom, S. Thompson, A. Dundes, D. Ben-Amos, J. H. Brunvand, V. Propp, and R. Bauman. Their involvement , according to Sims and Stephens (2005, pp. 174-201) resulted in the introduction of various new methodologies and theories such as functionalism,[14] structuralism,[15] psychoanalytic interpretation,[16] and also post-structuralism. Some of these new methodologies and theories were in fact introduced as early as the 1930s in Western academy, though Malaysian universities had to wait for almost 50 more years before their scholars could return from their studies abroad to introduce 'new methodologies' and 'new theories.'

Alan Dundes (1980, p. 2) is one of the leading figures in the field of folklore studies who has brought in a new dimension in the debate on the conception of the 'folk.' Since the 19th century, the 'folk' has been defined as the lower stratum groups of people referring especially to the peasant, savage and primitive.[17] Such view contrasted the 'folk' against what was perceived to be the more 'civilised' urban society based on their writing and reading literacies. As peasants, they were considered to be illiterates. These earlier, built-in biased perceptions could well be deployed against the marginalised through a set of crude labels such as the uncivilised, un-European, primitive and rustic; and deemed as people who were dispossessed of the best traditions and 'lore.' Furthermore, the repertoires of this group of people were considered traditional in nature, full of fantasies, charming, spontaneous, unsophisticated, uncritical and obsolete. Interestingly, these views have also been echoed in Malaysian scholarship especially in the works of Mohd. Taib (1975, 1981 & 1982), Ismail (1987) and Jamilah (1993). Dundes (1980, pp. 1-19) has refuted such a restrictive definition because he believes peasants will undergo

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[14] Bascom (1965) is well-known for his monuemantal article entitled, 'Four Function of Folklore': amusement, validating culture, education and identity.

[15] Prop with his 'function of Dramatis Personae' while Stith Thompson with his Motif-Index and Type-Index.

[16] Pioneered by Freud but championed by Dundes in terms of folklore studies

[17] Folk was defined in contrast with or in opposition to some other group. Folk was understood to be a group of people who constituted the lower stratum, the so-called *vulgus in popula* – in contrast with the upper stratum or elite of that society. The folk were contrasted on the one hand with "civilisation" – they were the uncivilised element in a civilised society – but on the other hand, they were also contrasted with the so-called savage or primitive society, which was considered even lower on the evolutionary ladder (Dundes, 1980)..

social transformation as they gradually become part of the urban community; they tend to lose some of their agrarian qualities due to development and modernisation. He believes that modernisation will promote uniformity in all cultural aspects such as language, education, food, clothing and ways of living, thus paving the way for the emergence of a new set of lore while the 'folk' go about their everyday lives. In this context, Dundes has interpreted the 'folk' as any group of people that shares at least one similar factor with each other such as occupation, language, interest or religion. In theory, the group may be as large as a country or as small as a family as explained by Dundes and Pagter (1975, p. xv):

> The modern definition of folk as any group whatsoever that shares at least one common factor-language, occupation, religion, ethnicity-makes it possible to consider the folklore of various urban groups. Labor unions, industrial companies, civil rights groups, and hippies are all examples of urban folk groups who have their own special sets of traditions.

However, he points out that what matters most is that the folk groups must have their own traditions. Although the group members may not know each other but they understand the core of the shared tradition and could feel that they are part of the formed group. Clearly, there is a possibility that the existing group will be adopting or adapting to a new set of tradition which is completely different from that of the rural, marginalise and traditional elements. Its values will be modern, culturally-sophisticated and shared among the urban communities. Folklore needs to loosen up its perspective and conventions for its own survival. The significance of urban folklore and its co-existence in the modern urban technological world has been highlighted by Dundes and Pagter (1991, p. 20) who disagreed with the view that folklore is merely a nostalgic social and cultural practice. They wrote:

> The idea that folklore reflects only the past is incorrect. Yes, some folklore reflects the past, but there is also folklore, ongoing, current, which reflects the present, the culture of today. As more and more individuals move from rural to urban settings, a trend which is observable in many parts of the world, the folklore of offices and of bureaucracy is bound to continue.

Once a society has changed through evolution, its tradition may follow suit. Therefore, any form of unpopular traditions may be left behind due to its loss of functionality while at the same time, a new tradition which is more significant and relevant emerges. Folklore is not limited to a time frame but it is a continuous process which mirrors its current culture. The society that possesses such traditions is the print based society and they are no longer

an oral based society. Furthermore, "…the folklore of offices and of bureaucracy…" as stressed by Dundes and Pagter above are humorous folklore such as jokes in the forms of cartoon, chain letters, memo, poetry and short notes that are disseminated through photocopy machines in work place environment. What made these types of modern stories as urban folklore is its criterion of 'existing in multiple versions and in more than one time or place' (Dundes and Pagter 1975, p. xix). In relation to this, the perception of associating folklore to illiteracy is unfounded (Dundes 1980, pp. 1-6). Well in fact, Dundes (1980, p. 17) has pointed out that technology actually promotes folklore in terms of the transmission of exciting source of inspiration for the new generation of folklore.

In practice, Sweeney who championed the field of folklore in Malaysia does not care about the existence of the two conflicting views between oral tradition and folklore (the thoughts of Winstedt and Mohd. Taib Osman). To him, what matters most is the 'purity of the tradition' and 'originality of the data' (Sweeney 1987, pp. 10-11). Sweeney (1987, 1990) doubts the existence of such modern form of folklore in the context of Malay society and he strongly opposes it. He is more concerned with seeing folklore in its purely traditional nature and thriving in society whereby the practice of oral transmission will not be discriminated against by the dominant written and print tradition. Furthermore, the originality of data must be ascertained

through a data collection procedure that privileges the narrator voice through direct recording or recitation by the narrator.[18] Sweeney (1987, p. 10) raises his concerns as follows:

> *"Folklore" is equally unsatisfactory terms for the orally produced materials with which we are concerned, particularly since the recent efforts of Dundes (Dundes and Pagter, 1975), which have convincingly demonstrated that the compass of folklore need not be confined to orally transmitted materials. This has, however, removed one of the few criteria upon which folklorists are able to reach some consensus in defining their field. Dundes's contention that his 'urban paperwork" written materials are folklore, that is, traditional, insofar as they "exist in multiple versions and in more than one time or place" (1975, p. xix) would force us to label all traditional Malay literature "folklore."*

Besides this new form of folklore as stressed by Dundes dan Pagter above, the other terminology which also formed part of the urban folklore is urban legend. Jan Harold Brunvand (1981, p. xi) defines urban legend as:

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[18] Further explaination, see Sweeney (1994).

…stories that most people heard as true accounts of real-life experiences, and few except scholars recognize as an authentic and characteristic part of our (American folk) contemporary folklore. … refer to these believable stories about vanishing hitchhikers, batter-fried rats, grandmothers' runaway corpses and the like as "urban belief tales" or, simply, "urban legends." …Urban legends, …are realistic stories concerning recent events (or alleged events) with an ironic or supernatural twist. They are an integral part of white Anglo-American culture and are told and believed by some of the most sophisticated "folk" of the modern society-young people, urbanites, and the well-educated.

The essence to Brunvand's definition above shows that urban legends are stories which are modern and contemporary in nature. Such stories are supposedly true account of believable recent events that occurred in real-life. In one example, Brunvand drew the story of the vanishing hitchhiker which is well-known among the American society - the story of the disappeared hitchhiker whose return as a ghost were depicted in numerous versions.

Accordingly, the contemporary Malaysian society is no longer a purely oral based society as once hoped for by Sweeney. Malaysia has changed so much since it achieved independence. The National Education Policy has successfully eliminated society of basic illiteracy, the traditional criteria begin to become redundant and almost at the same time the characteristics of urbanisation begin to emerge. However, in 20 years' time, any tradition will be regarded 'traditional' and 'conservative' before decidedly and qualitatively considered as 'classic'. This paper argues that the Malaysian society perceives its own folk literature or oral literature as having entered a kind of vicious cycle which will unfold itself in the aforementioned order: old, traditional and classic. The survival or rather revival of an oral tradition in such a situation must be championed by later generation, one that bears the traits of its 'ancestors' and yet, capable of adjusting to the demands of changing times. This is precisely the reason why the future of oral tradition lies within the landscape and unchartered terrains of urban folklore and its emergent sub-genres.

Folklore and Social Media of the Digital Age

Computer technologies have become the necessary tools for communications and competitions in this globalised world. The advancement of computer and the internet have been the driving force behind the dynamics of global economics and politics in the 21st century. The young generations nowadays are capable users of various platforms of social media such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, WhatsApp including their personal blogs. Through social networking sites, group members

are able to exchange stories, update current status, distribute news, express their sorrow and happiness and may even conduct business transactions. This means that the involvement of social networking sites inevitably is transforming the 'traditional' notion of urban folklore because these platforms have become the new terrains for urban folklore. It is possible to say that cyber culture exists because of the existence of folkloric sites in the Internet. E-mail for instance, has become the major medium for society to have a connection, to reach each other and also to interact (Bronner, 2009).

Since the younger generations today are both users and audiences of various forms of social networking sites such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, WhatsApp, and of course, the blogs, we cannot afford but to see the involvement of such social networking sites as part of the emergent urban folklore. Through social networking sites, group members are able to post their daily thoughts, find out each other's status, make speculations or analyses, seek help from strangers and openly share their sorrow and happiness. If scrutinised further, folkloric items emerging from such groups can be considered a verbal form of literature within which is embedded their ethos and worldviews. In other words, it is something which is delivered is not solely for entertainment purposes but it also performs other social functions such as deliberating their emotions for the things that happened in their lives. Based on this perspective, folklore represents the group personal image of them (Dundes, 1980, p.

9). As an image of the group, interpretation of folklore is significant and much desired. In this respect, the meaning of certain items of folklore can be ascertained. Dundes (1980, p. viii) elaborates:

> … *it represents a people's image of themselves. The image may be distorted but at least the distortion comes from the people, not from some outside observer armed with a range of a priori premises. Folklore as a mirror of culture provides unique raw material for those eager to better understand themselves and others.*

All items of folklore are not only for the purposes of collecting, recording, classifying, transcribing, editing, archiving and publishing – not just in computers but in our smart phones and tablets too – but more than that, because they are loaded with variety of meanings given the many ways of reading them. Things which otherwise would be considered to be nonsensical and irrational by folklore's common standards should be subject to critical interpretations for they might surprisingly reveal certain ethos and worthy worldviews of the bearers. It is through interpretation that our understanding on the pattern of the society and its awareness will increase because such awareness will be shared with the others in society. Dundes (1980, p. xi) explains that, "[t]hrough an understanding of worldview principles, we should be better able to comprehend ourselves as well as others."

Undeniably, urban folklore came into existence due to the advancement of communication technology. The cyber culture enables people to interact. Unknown to each other, they exchange stories and jokes, distribute news, share information and experiences and express their views and emotions. The subject discussed are the 'tradition,' in which they could feel they are part of the group. On the same account, these groups are formed based on similar interests such as in entertainment, sports, experience, field of study and hobby - travelling, pets, music, foods, cars, bikes, and movies. They are the chat groups of colleagues, neighbours, car lovers, animal lovers, music lovers, and sport lovers chatting and debating current issues or any incidents that occurred recently that attracted the interest of general public. From this perspective, it is crystal clear the existence of the fundamental criterion of folklore, group and tradition. Since the tradition is contemporary in nature, there is no doubt such tradition is qualified to be labelled as urban folklore because it suits the interest of the current young generations, the capable users of social networking sites. Bonner (2009, p. 31) says:

Youth has also influenced the growing compactness of the Internet, which can be utilized on the run and in private, away from home and the watchful eye of authority. Youth are thought to engage the Internet particularly because they have more to say,

fantasize, or worry about, and they derive gratification from widening their circles of contacts into definable networked cliques. It enables their transition out of the home, giving them the physical mobility and social connections often associated with cultural passage into adulthood. The openness of youthful endeavor is indicated by the number of electronic means to tell others what one is doing. Facebook has a prominent feature of posting what one is doing presently and Twitter is a service to stay connected through the exchange of quick, frequent answers to one simple question: what are you doing? This linkage of action to age is yet another way the Internet mediates and alters tradition.

Ontologically, Malaysia is not much different from the rest of the world in terms of the globalised phenomenon of urban folklore discussed above. In the Malaysian scenario, this social phenomenon created various forms of groups based on entertainment, sport, experience, and hobby such as EPL (English Premier League) fans especially the Devils MU, the Harimau Malaya; pets' lovers, Kembara groups etc. They too reach out to each other and interact, express their views, exchange stories, update current status, distribute news, share information, exchange jokes, exchange experiences, emotions, promote ideologies and also

discuss current issues and incidences. Accordingly, due to freedom of expression, some members of these groups would convey matters that are sensitive especially in the plural society of Malaysia and get entangled with the authority. This immense wealth of information and stories that these groups convey are actually tradition in terms of folklore. Therefore, the existence, nay, survival of urban folklore in Malaysia is promising. These warehouse of stories are contemporary in nature and turned them into urban folklore. Furthermore, as some of this stories fit Brunvand's definition of urban legend, true account of recent happenings that occurred in real-life and much believed could surely be classified as urban legends. The unfortunate fatal crash of the Malaysian airplanes, flight MH370 and MH17, the introduction of the GST and the Duke Expressway fatal accidents recently are among the hotly debated topic in the internet and which are examples of local urban legends.

At the Frontier of Malay Folkloreship

It appears that clouds of ignorance do still linger upon the utilitarian jargons of 'urban folklore' and 'urban legend.' Although considered somewhat 'alienating', both terminologies have indeed intrigued the local academic circles who seem wary of the fact that the interest in the more popular terms like 'folklore' and 'oral tradition' are rapidly declining, and eventually losing their significance in academia and scholarship. The conventional purposes of

folklore for recognising identity, promoting solidarity, and as a signifier to the evolution of civilisation have little, if no relevance, to the current generations. The contemporary society is a changing society especially in terms of the hypertext, multiple-identity world of ICT and cyber traditions. They are no longer a purely oral based society as desired and imagined by Sweeney. Currently, folklore, namely urban folklore and urban legend, has been virtually diffused electronically and become accessible from a digital repository such as websites, blogsites and social networking sites.

Due to the current development in the study of folklore, The School of Malay Language, Literature and Cultural Studies (*Pusat Pengajian Bahasa, Kesusasteraan dan Kebudayaan Melayu*, PPBKKM – Malay Studies), Faculty of Social Science and Humanities, National University of Malaysia intends to take the School to greater heights in terms of Malay folkloreship. By taking such steps in playing the leading role in promoting urban folklore and urban legend in its curriculum, PPBKKM will be placing itself at the nation's forefront and in line with current trend of the world folkloreship. Through such perspective, literature is seen as a phenomenon that exists in parallel to the changing way of life in the contemporary world, the world of IT as folklore diffused in cyberspace via the internet, blog and social networking sites. Through such new and social media, urban folklore and urban legend now exist as a continuation of the yesteryears whereby the

process of reflecting upon one's tradition now means relating society's thought and creativity to the current phenomenon. As an ongoing process, focusing on urban folklore could be perceived as something anew and thus giving freshness and originality to the field of research study. Furthermore, it will become more interesting and exciting as it touches upon every aspect of life and eventually may reveal certain ethos and worldviews of the bearers, the current young generations and the capable users of social networking sites.

However, while promoting urban folklore is desirable, it is unwise to abandon the importance of folklore in terms of recognising identity, promoting the spirit of solidarity and as a signifier of the evolution of human civilisation. Failure to promote these fundamental functions, will surely create a disastrous effect, as future generation will become ignorance of its own roots and existence. Pertaining to these pressing issues, it is wise perhaps, that conventional folklore is taught at the undergraduate level, whereas urban folklore is offered at the postgraduate level. Having a two-tier programme of study as such has been effective in demonstrating how the traditional-urban continuum salience embeds the sub-disciplinary study of folklore in a modern, sociocultural phenomenon. Indeed, the efforts in introducing urban folklore at the School have been quite a fruitful endeavour. To date, several postgraduate theses at MA level have been written on the discourse of urban folklore. The topics range from the wellbeing of Putrajaya

residences, MU[19] glory in *pantun*, Mat Rempit in pantun and Malaysian cuisine as shown in Table 1 below:

CONCLUSION

'Folklore' has performed various functions ever since its introduction to the Malay World in 19th century. During the colonial period, folklore was used by the British colonial as a tool for gathering information which is vital in terms of colonialisation. However, after Independence, local scholars use it under the much preferred term 'oral tradition' in identifying identity and promoting solidarity among Malays. In time, such perspective lost its touch and significance as the interest in folklore declined rapidly and made literature static and outdated. Accordingly, Dundes's monumental views on folklore in 1980 changed the general perception on the subject matter. Folklore is not only seen as belonging to the lower stratum groups of people but is also perceived as the more civilized urban society based on their writing and reading literacies. With the advancement of current comminution technology, folklore not only exists in merely oral tradition but it diffused in cyber space via the internet, blog and social networks. Through such medium, urban folklore and urban legend exists as a continuation of yesteryear tradition when one discusses the current phenomenon as society's thought and creativity.

The existence of urban folklore is phenomenal. Such social phenomenon created various form of groups based

[19] Manchester United.

Table 1
MA Thesis on Urban Folklore and Urban Legends

No.	Title	Candidate	Year Start	Year Completed
1.	*Folklor Bandaran: Suara Warga Putrajaya* (Urban Folklore: The Voices of Putrajaya Residence) (Master of Arts)	Zaiton Mohd Rashdi (P37829)	2008	Completed (2008)
2.	*Manchester United dan Legenda Urban: Satu Analisis Ke Atas Pantun Siber* (Manchester United and Urban Legend: An Analysis on Cyber Pantun) (Master of Arts)	Siti Arash Zakaria (P61452)	2012	Completed (July 2013)
3.	*Folklor Urban dan Pantun Siber: Satu Analisis Gejala Mat Rempit Berdasarkan Teori Sosiologi Sastera Strukturalisme Genetik Lucien Goldmann* (Urban Folklore and Cyber Pantun: An Analysis on the Mat Rempit Phenomena based on Lucien Goldmann's Genetic Structuralism of Sociology of Literature) (Master of Arts)	Nurul Fitriah Afifi Baharuddin (61789)	2012	Completed (July 2013)
4.	*Jurang Digital dalam Cerita Jenaka Internet: Satu Wacana* (Digital Gap Humour in the Internet) (Master of Arts)	Siti Salasiah Tamam (P64352)	2013	Completed (Jan. 2014)
5.	*Mona Fandey: Legenda Urban Di Malaysia* (Mona Fendy: Malaysian Urban Legend) (Master of Arts)	Norashikin Hamzah (P66761)	2013	Completed (August 2014)
6.	*Skeptis dan Sterotaip Terhadap Kereta Nasional: Satu Wacana Daripada Perspektif Folklor Urban* (Sceptism and Stereotyping of National Cars: A Discourse from the Perspective of Urban Folklore) (Master of Arts)	Muhammad Izzuddin Nawi (P67850)	2013	Completed (August 2014)
7.	*Juadah Malaysia dalam Folklor Urban* (Malaysian Cuisine in Urban Folklore) (Master of Philosophy)	Suhaila Muhamed (P75235)	2014	On Going

Source: Own Data

especially on entertainment, sports, experience, and hobby among the current young generations who are capable users of social network. As they reach out to each other and interact, they express their views, exchange stories, update current status, distribute news, share information, exchange jokes, exchange experiences, emotions, promote ideologies and also discuss current issues. Besides being a tradition for this particular groups, these materials of folklore represent a people's image of themselves that could reveal certain ethos and worldviews of the bearers.

Through such perspective, literature is seen as phenomenon that exists parallel to the changes in the way of life in the contemporary world, the world of IT and cyber traditions. In regard to this, the School of Malay Language, Literature and Culture Studies, Faculty of Social Science and Humanities, National University of Malaysia lead the path in promoting urban folklore and its sub-genre urban legend especially at post-graduate level. That such efforts have been fruitful yielding success are evident in the encouraging number of Master's theses produced recently.

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The Concoction of Flora and Fauna in the Malay *Mujarrabat*

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ABSTRACT

Traditional medicine continues to flourish within the world of modern medicine as a method of treatment of illnesses for the community. Traditional treatment methods predominantly use ingredients derived from flora (plants) or fauna (animals). These ingredients are believed to contain hidden medicinal values to cure diseases. In relation to the *Mujarrabat Melayu,* the concoction of flora and fauna simply means acquiring selected ingredients derived from flora and fauna to be used as traditional medicine in order to treat varieties of illnesses that are either caused by physical or spiritual elements. These plants are easily found around the house and often used as flavour enhancers and seasoning for foods (such as turmeric, kaffir lime leaves, cekur (*Kaempferia galanga*), pandan leaves, curry leaves and ginger) or as medicine and garden plants. However, these materials should be mixed with other ingredients to increase the effectiveness of their usage. There are several common methods to prepare medicine derived from plants such as boil, blanch, squeeze, knead, grate, fry, pound, dry, parch, soak, bake, cook, smoke, dry, wet, ferment, ensile and compress. Meanwhile, there are various ways to apply the herbal medication such as dabbing, rubbing, dripping, applying as a poultice, wrapping, pasting, massaging, eating, drinking and bathing. The commonly used parts of the plants in making traditional medicine are leaves, flowers, roots, stems, seeds skin, seeds, bark, fruit, water or fruit juice, root stem, root hair, coating fruit, thorns, rubber, coir, fill, kernel and pulp. Each component also has its own usefulness as a remedy or cure for illness. In addition to the flora, fauna is also utilised in concocting potions and cures for certain illnesses. However, its use is limited to only certain parts of the body of an animal. However, such substance should also be adapted with other ingredients to demonstrate their efficacy. Among the parts of fauna or animals that are used for treatment are blood, bile, horns and bones which are mixed with other ingredients believed to be able to cure human ailments. Therefore, this paper will

discuss the properties of flora and fauna in the *Mujarrabat Melayu* as an alternative treatment for diseases that inflict humans.

INTRODUCTION

Traditional treatment methods generally use ingredients from flora or fauna, plants and animals that are believed to contain hidden medicinal values to cure diseases or ailments (Haliza, 2000; Ong, 2004a, 2004b). In relation to the *Mujarrabat Melayu*, flora and fauna are ingredients of plants and animals that are utilised to produce medicine to treat varieties of ailments that are either caused by physical or spiritual elements (Ali, 1900).

The *Mujarrabat Melayu* is a traditional medical text that is applicable as one of the ways to treat ailments. In this paper, the texts used are those translated by scholars of the ancient times (Ding, 2003). This can be seen on the front page of the said text (refer to Appendix 1):

Yang dinamakan dia (Fawaidul Bahiyyati kitab Mujarrabat al-Arabiah) <u>diterjemahkan</u> ke dalam bahasa Melayu oleh setengah daripada alim ulama solihin dengan nas ...

[As named by him (Fawaidul Bahiyyati the al-Arabiah Mujarrabat) <u>translated</u> into Malay by half of the pious scholars with the lines ...] (*Mujarrabat Melayu*, 1883, p.1)

The text consists of 96 printed pages and uses Malay as the main medium and is written in Jawi. The title of the text 'Mujarrabat' is closely linked with the term *mujarab* which means potent in relation to the medical field. The word 'Mujarrabat' originates from the Arabic word jarraba (جرب) meaning to try or test (Abdul Rauf et al., 2005, p. 66). In addition, the term also means to potently heal (diseases or other ailments alike) as well as being effective and compatible (with drugs and others) (Kamus Dewan, 2000, p. 903). Meanwhile *Kamus Umum Bahasa Indonesia* (W.J.S. Poerwadarminta, 1976, p. 657) defines the word as potent or efficacious. The word Malay refers to the use of the Malay language in the text. Based on these meanings, it can be said the *Mujarrabat Melayu* is a text containing prayers, inquiries and various medications to treat a variety of ailments for men and women.

It is observed that the language used in this text is a mixture of Malay and Arabic, in addition to a number of Javanese words used in the text. The mixture of Malay and Arabic words (see Appendix 1) can be seen as follows:

Yang dinamakan dia (Fawaidul Bahiyyati kitab Mujarrabat al-Arabiah) diterjemahkan ke dalam bahasa Melayu oleh setengah

daripada alim ulama solihin dengan nas. ...

Alhamdulillahi Rabbil 'Alamin wa sollatu wassalamu ala asyrafil mursalin saiyidina Muhammad wa alihi wasohbihi ajmain amma ba'. Inilah suatu risalah yang sangat elok bukan kepalang. Maka dinamakan dia (Fawaidul bahiyyati fi tibbil badaniah -).
... (فوائد البهية في الطيب البدنية) . ...
(*Mujarrabat Melayu*, 1883, p. 1)

The text is a discussion of medicines and relevant treatment for men and women. It contains descriptions of medication for treatment along with Asmaul Husna (the 99 names of Allah), hadith Nubuwwah and verses from the Quran. In addition, it also accumulates various charms or emulates.

With reference to the text, there is no mention of a specific date when the text was written. Nonetheless, evidence states of the last date when the text was completed which was on Friday, 17 Shawwal 1300 Hijri (see Appendix 2) which is on 20 August 1883 BC. This can be seen as follows:

... yaumul Jum'at fi syahri Syawal al mukarram sab'a 'asyara ba'dal thalatha maat wa alfa min hijrat nabina Muhammad... (Mujarrabat Melayu, 1883, p. 96).: (... on Friday ... the 17th day of the month of Shawwal after 1300 from emigration of Prophet Muhammad ...)

PROBLEM STATEMENT

The Malay community is unique and distinctive. Malays often use plants or the various flora around them as a source of medicines and they generally use wood shoots as salads in their diet. In addition, they are also exceptionally well-versed with the different types of animals which are believed to have specific functions in traditional treatments, particularly those that are associated with male virility. Hence, the question is how did they acquire these knowledge or abilities? Therefore, the problem statement of this research is to determine the source of their knowledge or information and curative treatment methods for particular ailments. What are the ingredients of flora and fauna that are used and to what extent are they potent in curing diseases?

OBJECTIVES

The majority of the classical texts have yet to be accessed and are mostly untapped, especially texts that are related to medicines and the traditional medicinal field. The texts are largely still mixed with the language of incantations and figures that are referred to as *wafak*. These texts are rarely examined even though they are rich in traditional values of the culture and heritage of the past. Traditional medical texts contain a treasury of a nation's heritage that includes various fields of information that can be used as a guide and source of reference for current and future generations. Judging from the importance of the value of these works, this study aims to help develop and add

information about Malay texts on medicines. Hence, the specific purposes of this study which are:

  i. To identify the contents, especially those concerned with the meaning and ideas of a society.
  ii. To explain the medical substances used to cure ailments that are derived from flora and fauna.
  iii. To examine the extent of the impact of the use of such materials in the Malay community.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology used in this paper for data collection is literature review. The researcher has sourced for materials from the Tun Sri Lanang (PTSL), Library of Malay World and Civilization (PATMA), the National Library of Malaysia (PNM), the National Library of the Republic of Indonesia (PNRI) Yogyakarta, Johor Heritage Foundation Library (YWJ), Johor State Archives, Resource Centre of the School of Language, and Literature and Malay Culture in order to obtain relevant information. Books, journals, conference papers, theses, encyclopaedias, magazines, newspapers, reports and other sources of information are also accessed. Data obtained are filtered and then processed in the form of analysis before they are recorded.

To reinforce the information obtained from literature, interviews were also conducted using a voice recorder. Data obtained through interviews were then analysed to support the facts presented.

Interviews were conducted among a few selected shamans, leading teachers and imams (religious teachers) because they are among the few who know the real contents of the texts. From the interviews conducted, various important information was been obtained in relation to the group of people who seek their services, the methodology employed, the time taken in the healing process and the materials used in the process.

In addition, the researcher also used the observation method to find out how the shamans treat their patients by massaging them. Patients who are treated by massage are required to comply with certain conditions as part of the healing process.

FLORA AS A HEALING AGENT AND CURE

In general, flora or plants are often used as salads that are eaten raw or as flavour enhancers in foods. For example, the 'pegaga' (*Rotundifolia*) and cucumber (*Cucumis Sativus*) are prized for its efficacy in ensuring a youthful look, the 'cekur' (*Sauropus Albicans*) is used to treat sore throats, cough and fever while turmeric and onions are applied on the wounds of the body as a treatment method. Such cases demonstrate the significance of flora or plants to humans because they are often used as medicine and cure for diseases. In fact, some plants are believed to offer supernatural strength. For example, the betel leaf are often used to cure diseases while the 'kelur' leaf (*Moringa Oleifera*) is used to extract embedded gold pins from the body

which have been used to harm the person. The Tendril is used to kill snakes, while the 'kenanga' flowers are often used as part of the shaman's treatment to cure ailments or as an important ingredient to offer the individual supernatural strength (Mudjadi, 1997, p. 80).

In association with the *Mujarrabat Melayu*, there are many names and floral healing properties that are used as ingredients for treating various kinds of ailments. The flora is selected from particular trees that are believed to have distinctive nutritional values. Both the leaves and fruits are used to make medicine. Each part of the fruit such as seeds, bark and roots, are used to cure various ailments. It is said that in the process of selecting flora in Malay medicine, certain conditions need to be fulfilled as the contents are said to have hidden properties to cure diseases.

Based on this text, there are several types of flora that are said to have their distinctive nutritional values. Some examples are as follows:

• Nutritional values of cotton seed
• Nutritional values of the luli nuts
• Nutritional values of sesame oil
• Nutritional values of galangal
• Nutritional values of cinnamon
• Nutritional values of corn hair
• Nutritional values of the jungle guava peel (*eugenia polyantha*) and grape peel
• Nutritional values of ginger and pepper
• Nutritional values of red onion and garlic
• Nutritional values of jungle guava and its peel

The red onion, for example, is used as medicine to treat burn wounds and garlic is used to treat trapped wind. In the healing process, these materials should be mixed with other ingredients to obtain its intended efficacy. This is stated as follows:

> *(Faedah) ini suatu faedah bagi pedih sakit kena api engkau tumbukkan bawang merah yang mentah dan engkau perahkan airnya dan engkau tumbuk garam halus-halus dan engkau campur dengan itu air bawang dan engkau campur pula dengan telur putih elok-elok hingga jadilah ia seperti minyak lenga dan engkau jadikan dia di dalam perca-perca kain kulit kayu yang putih yang lama kemudian daripada engkau tambah kebekas sabun baru dan engkau hantarkan dengan itu perca di atas tempat terbagi itu maka bahawasanya jadilah sejuk sakitnya dan ringanlah dan jadi kuping dan hilang dengan segera dengan izin Allah taala … (Mujarrabat Melayu,* 1883, p. 27*).*

'(Benefit) this is a is a remedy for burnt wounds, mash some raw onions and squeeze the pulp to get the juice out and mix it with salt that has been pounded fine. Then, mix it with egg white, which will then turn into lenga oil. Place the solution in pieces of cloth-like materials made from dried bark of the white tree, then you place it in a container, and then dab it on to help ease

the pain and to avoid from the wound to be scabbed. The wound will be relieved immediately with the grant of Allah... '

...Bermula ubat angin dan lainnya iaitu ambil beras sekira-kira habis orang seorang makan maka masak seperti mana adat memasak nasi gulai jua maka adalah rempahinya itu bawang putih sahaja tetapi sama banyaknya dengan beras itu jua dan ayamnya seekor sekira habis seorang memakan dia maka makannya demikianlah beratnya maka perbuatlah seperti mana memasakkan nasi gulai setelah sudah maka makanlah hingga habis semuanya sama sekali inilah adat daripada jika nabawi (Mujarrabat Melayu, 1883, p. 48*).*

'(We begin with medicine for flatulence and other medicine which requires rice which amounts to a serving, cook it with garlic which is in equal amount to the rice and the chicken that is served should also be of equal amount and cooked in the same method as with the rice and then eat them all as they should be eaten, this is a way according to the Prophet's tradition).'

Based on field research there is a type of oil that is known as onion oil that works to heal wounds and scabies.[1] In addition to onion and oil, other ingredients that are added to produce the onion oil are 'jerangau' (*Acorus Calamus*) and turmeric which induces the fragrance. A very interesting fact is that the onion oil or the lenga oil term is often used by the Java community, but as stated in the *Malay Mujarrabat* this is also a practise in the Malay community.

Javanese influence can also be seen through the use of garlic to cure flatulance as described in the Mujarrabat Melayu. For example, Javanese women would use sliced garlic to cure headaches by pasting them at the sides of their heads (Ismail, 1988). They believe that the trapped wind that causes the headache will disappear once the sliced garlic fall from the patient's head.[2]

In addition, this text also states the functions of using paddy stalks for treating the female body when mixed with forest guava peel, grape peel, shoots and roots. In addition, the 'senduduk' (*Straits Rhododendron*) is used to treat diabetes while honey that is mixed with 'cekur' (*Kaempferia Galangal*) is used to overcome the problem of obesity. This is stated as follows:

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[1]   An interview with Puan Ngatiah Tamjis on 10 April 2009 at Kampung Rinching Hilir Bangi, 43000 Kajang, Selangor.
[2]   An interview with Puan Siti Naemah Jamburi on 15 January 2009 at Kampung Rinching Hilir Bangi, 43000 Kajang, Selangor.

(Bermula khasiat roman padi) kulit jambu hutan dan kulit anggur dan pucuknya dan akarnya dan digiling lumat-lumat maka bubuh air madu maka minum tiga pagi insya Allah membaikkan serira perempuan Mujarrabat (Mujarrabat Melayu, 1883, p. 53*).*

(We begin with the nutritional values of paddy stalks) the forest guava peel and grape peel, shoots and roots are finely ground, then add in honey and drink for three mornings, Insha' Allah this will improve the body of the ailing woman.

*(Khasiat duduk yang terpenting) maka bakar ambil arangnya digiling lumat-lumat kemudian ditaruh gula pasir sedikit maka diminumnya tiga pagi oleh orang yang sakit kencing afiat insyaAllah (Mujarrabat Melayu, 1*883, p. 54*).*

(The most important nutritional value of 'seduduk' [*Straits Rhododendron*]) thus it is burnt and take the burnt ashes and then grind it finely and add a little sugar, then drink it for three mornings by one who suffers from urinary ailments, Insha 'Allah it will be cured.

(Dan) barang siapa sangat gemuk maka dimakannya dengan air madu dan cekur nescaya kurus ia ah mujarab (Mujarrabat Melayu, 1883, p. 51*).*

(And) one who is overweight should then eat the 'cekur' (*Straits Rhododendron*) that is mixed with honey, thus one will lose weight, it's very efficacious.

The quotations above show that the usage of medicine is more focused on treating women. For example, honey is believed to contain various nutritional values to cure certain ailments. In addition to nourishing the body, it is also believed that honey when combined with 'cekur' (*Straits Rhododendron*) can help in losing weight. When associated with women after childbirth, 'cekur' (*Straits Rhododendron*) is used as the main ingredient in the preparation 'param' and 'tapel' (powder-like medicine that is applied to the body). 'Param' is mixed with rosewater and is applied to the entire body of the mother who has just given birth by rubbing it on the body to produce heat and enhance blood flow. 'Tapel' is applied on the abdomen before putting on the girdle. 'Tape'l is used to expel trapped wind, protect the body from flatulence and it also helps to flatten the stomach.

The usage of flora is not only limited in use as medicine to treat human ailments, but

it is also used as a tool to treat male virility as shown below:

(Bermula khasiat biji kapas) jika seorang jimak perempuan itu tiada mu segerakan keluar maninya maka ambilkan olehmu akan dia maka tumbuk olehmu isinya yang di dalam maka campurkan dengan minyak jarak yang kecil maka disapukan kepada zakar kamu nescaya tiadalah turun maninya dan tiadalah payah nafsu perempuan itu kepadanya daripada Tib an-Nabawi Mujarab (Mujarrabat Melayu, 1883, p. 48*).*

(We begin with the nutritional values of cotton seed) if a man wants to delay his ejaculation whilst engaging in sexual intercourse as the woman is yet to achieve orgasm, pound the cotton seeds with castor oil and apply it to the penis, thus ejaculation will be delayed and the woman will achieve orgasm easily. from *Tib an-Nabawi* Mujarab.

(Bermula khasiat kacang luli) yang hitam maka ambil oleh mu giling lumat hingga seperti tepung maka gosok olehmu kepada zakar kamu nescaya tiadalah keluar maninya atasnya waktu subuh jua pun (Mujarrabat Melayu, 1883, p. 49*).*

(We begin with the nutritional values of the luli nut) grind the black nuts until it turns as fine as flour then rub it to the penis, thus you will not ejaculate till dawn.

(Bermula khasiat cangkur (cekur) apabila diminum) padanya tiap-tiap hari berat setengah dirham telah dimenambahi dengan susu kambing atau susu lembu maka kuatlah atas jimak dengan kuat yang sangat dan apabila dimamah ia maka disapukan kepada zakar nescaya menambahi lazat pada jimak dan menambahi kuat pada jimak bagaimana mau kita maka dipakai wallahu alam (Mujarrabat Melayu, 1883, p. 52*).*

(We begin with the nutritional values of the 'cangkur' ('cekur') [*Straits Rhododendron*] after drinking it) use the amount of the cekur that is equivalent to half a dirham in value and add to it goat's milk or cow's milk then either drink it or rub it to the penis to increase sexual prowess, only Allah knows the nature of things to be.

(Bermula khasiat kulit manis) adalah ia menggerakkan syahwat kuat dan mengeraskan baik apabila diistikmalkan pada pagi-pagi hari sebelum lagi makan sesuatu atau

ketika sudah makan nasi adalah ia menghancurkan makanan dan menambahi baik pinggang serta mengeraskan syahwat dengan keras yang amat sangat wallahu alam (Mujarrabat Melayu, 1883, p. 52*).*

(We begin with the nutritional values of the cinnamon) it intensifies sexual prowess and hardens the penis well when eating it is practiced in the morning before breakfast or after having eaten rice, as it digests food, and is good for the waist and intensifies sexual prowess and orgasm, only Allah knows the nature of things to be.

(Bermula khasiat daun) kayu emas itu ditumbuk maka dicampurkan sertanya isi telur ayam telur yang kuning maka sapukan pada zakar kita maka iaitu keraslah ia pada ketika itu jua maka telah dicubakan seperti katanya dapat ia sah seperti tersebut wallahu alam (Mujarrabat Melayu, 1883, p. 52*).*

(We begin with the nutritional values of the leaves) the leaves from the Merbau tree (*Intsia Bijuga*) is pounded and then mixed with egg yolk which is then rubbed on the penis so that it is instantly erected firmly as only Allah knows the nature of things to be.

As can be seen from the above quotations, the author focuses primarily on the strength or virility of men as synonymous to the purpose of this text which is to heal both men and women. From the research and observation carried out, it is revealed that the role of men is essential in marriages apart from that of women. Men take on the role as the head of the family thus indirectly assuming the essential role in sexual relationships because they are responsible in producing offspring for the next generation. Therefore, to ensure the survival, health and longevity, men are given priority in marriages. To achieve and maintain a fit body, a man is encouraged to eat healthy foods in order to be able to provide sustenance to his wife in all aspects of life, both worldly and sexual needs. Nutritious foods are produced from the ingredients used in the preparation and cooking of such foods. The *Malay Mujarrabat* also states how to prepare medicines that are potent and effective to the users.

Methods of Preparing Medicines

The Malay community uses various methods in concocting medicines derived from plants. Boil, blanch, squeeze, knead, grate, fry, pound, dry, parch, soak, bake, cook, smoke, dry, wet, ferment, ensile and compress are among the common methods for the preparation of medicine derived from plants. There are various ways to apply them such as dabbing, rubbing, dripping, applying as a poultice, wrapping, pasting, massaging, eating, drinking and bathing.

Consequently, the preparation of medicine as mentioned in the Malay Mujarrabat are medicaments that are ground, baked, cooked, boiled, soaked, spread and pounded as required accordingly. For example, as seen below:

*(Bermula khasiat roman padi) kulit jambu hutan dan kulit anggur dan pucuknya dan akarnya dan **digiling lumat-lumat** maka bubuh air madu maka minum tiga pagi insyaAllah membaikkan serira perempuan Mujarrabat (Mujarrabat Melayu,* 1883, p. 53*)*

(We begin with the nutritional values of paddy stalks) the forest guava peel and grape peel, shoots and roots which are **finely ground**, then add in honey and drink for three mornings, Insha' Allah this will improve the body of the ailing woman.

*(Khasiat duduk yang terpenting) maka **bakar** ambil arangnya digiling lumat-lumat kemudian ditaruh gula pasir sedikit maka diminumnya tiga pagi oleh orang yang sakit kencing afiat insyaAllah (Mujarrabat Melayu,* 1883, p. 54*).*

(The most important nutritional values of 'seduduk' [*Straits Rhododendron*]) thus it is burnt and take the **burnt** ashes and then grind it finely and add a little sugar, then drink it for three mornings by one who suffers from urinary ailments, Insha 'Allah it will be cured.

*(Bermula ubat angin dan lainnya iaitu ambil beras sekira-kira habis orang seorang makan maka **masak seperti mana adat memasak** nasi gulai jua maka adalah rempahinya itu bawang putih sahaja tetapi sama banyaknya dengan beras itu jua dan ayamnya seekor sekira habis seorang memakan dia maka makannya demikianlah beratnya maka perbuatlah seperti mana **memasakkan** nasi gulai setelah sudah maka makanlah hingga habis semuanya sama sekali inilah adat daripada jika nabawi (Mujarrabat Melayu,* 1883, p. 48*).*

(We begin with medicine for flatulence and other medicine which requires rice which amounts to a serving, **cook it accordingly as how it should be cooked** with garlic which is in equal amount to the rice and the chicken that is served should also be of equal amount and **cooked in the same method** as with the rice and then eat them all as they should be eaten, this is a way according to the Prophet's tradition).

(Bermula jika orang) hendak akan kahar zakar laki-laki maka ambil telur ayam hitam satu dibuangkan yang putih maka ambil air madu dan minyak sapi dan air tajin yakni nasi dan jintan hitam dan jalabat yakni halba kelabat pun namanya sekelian itu dibubuk yakni direbus maka disukat dengan kulit telur ayam itu juga beri sama-sama banyak dengan telur kuning itu demikianlah selama-lama membuat dia maka diminum tiga pagi hari-hari tujuh hari atau sembilan hari ah Mujarrabat (Mujarrabat Melayu, 1883, p. 48*).*

(We begin with when one) wants to strengthen the penis thus take an egg produced by a black hen, discard the egg white then **boil** the yolk with honey, ghee and starch and black cumin and *jalabat (Trigonella Foenumgraecum)* and drink the concoction that is measured as much as the quantity of the egg yolk for three, seven or nine mornings.

(Bermula khasiat biji kapas) jika seorang jimak perempuan itu tiada mu segerakan keluar maninya maka ambilkan olehmu akan dia maka tumbuk olehmu isinya yang di dalam maka campurkan dengan minyak jarak yang kecil maka disapukan kepada zakar kamu nescaya tiadalah turun maninya dan

tiadalah payah nafsu perempuan itu kepadanya daripada Tib an-Nabawi Mujarab (Mujarrabat Melayu, 1833, p. 48*).*

(We begin with the nutritional values of cotton seed) if a man wants to delay his ejaculation whilst engaging in sexual intercourse as the woman is yet to achieve orgasm, **pound** the cotton seeds with castor oil and apply it to the penis, thus ejaculation will be delayed and the woman will achieve orgasm easily. from *Tib an-Nabawi* Mujarab.

The quotations above show how the preparation of herbal medicine as stated in the *Malay Mujarrabat* is similar to how they are prepared and practised by the Chinese community. The Malay traditional herbal medicine that is boiled and drunk is commonly known as root medicines, clay pot medicines or allspice. This kind of herbal medicine is sold in the form of cuttings or pieces of about a finger length and the amount of dose is usually about a handful. Ong (2004, pp. 3-4) states that all herbal materials are dried before being marketed. If herbal medicine is tainted with dust or soil, then it should be washed with water before it can be used. Since herbal medicine materials and pieces of dried herbs are about the length of a finger and has the thickness of a finger, it will be more effective if they are soaked before the water is heated. If the herbs are not soaked in

water, there is a concern that the nutritional values of the herbs that are contained in the middle of roots will not be dissolved in the stock. There is also an old adage or rule that is observed whereby the boiled materials that have been used to extract the stock[3] are not removed or discarded, instead; water is added to boil the ingredients again for up to seven times.

From the research and observation carried out, it has been found that most Malays plant flora or plants, around the compound of their houses, that have nutritional values. These plants are often used as food flavouring or to be used as medicine (lemon grass [*Cymbopogen Citratus*)], turmeric, kaffir lime leaves, 'cekur' (*Straits Rhododendron*), pandanus leaves, curry leaves [*Murraya Koenigii*] and 'bonglai' (plants that has roots that can be used as medicine [*Zingiber cassumunar Roxb*]) and are planted as garden plants ('ati-ati' [*Coleus*], 'bunga cina' *[Gardenia Augusta]*, button flower [*Gompherena Globosa L*], pudding tree [*Codiaeum Variegatum*] hibiscus [*Hibiscus Rosasinensis*] and 'bunga tahi ayam' (*Lantana Camara*)). Nevertheless, not all medicinal plants maintain their properties if the natural habitat of the plants are changed or altered. These plants thrive on particular soil, climate, sun and drainage

system. For example, the Tongkat Ali tree (*Eurycoma Longifolia*) grows in shady forests, is shaded with a cool -atmosphere. If it is planted in the housing area, it will lose its natural medicinal properties. The Tongkat Ali (*Eurycoma Longifolia*) that is rich in medicinal properties can only be obtained from a healthy forest. In addition, there is also the possibility that the varied components of the soil can influence the growth process of plants.

Fauna as the Main Healing Ingredient

In addition to flora, fauna is also used as a source and cure for certain ailments. Fauna or animal parts, such as blood, bile, horns and bones are used with other ingredients are believed to be able to cure some human ailments. This fact is attested to by Encik Mat Shah[4] who states that animal bile is often used to cure problems related to male virility. The *Mujarrabat Melayu* also states some of the nutritional values of animals and animal parts as follows:

- Bat blood
- Male goat bile
- Nutritional values of black hen eggs
- Blood of the black cockerel
- Nutritional values of rabbits
- Nutritional values of 'halitah'
- Nutritional values of bile flutter
- Bile of the black bird
- Nutritional values of cat

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[3] The suitable pot is made up of clay, glass, ceramic or enamel. Steel pots or pots made of any kind of metal substance are not suitable due to the possibility of chemical reactions with the chemical compounds contained in the plants and unbalanced heat transfer.

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[4] An interview with Encik Mat Syah on 27 December 2008 at Balai Seni Nusantara, Pantai Lido, Johor Bahru, Johor.

- Nutritional values of bile
- Nutritional values of lamb bones
- Nutritional values of cow bile
- Information on the nutritional values of crocodile
- Information on the nutritional values of 'bekatak'

Based on the *Mujarrabat Melayu*, the usage of animal parts is mainly focused on the treatment of male strength, fever and headache. In addition, parts of the animals are also used to treat kidney stones, reduce grey hair and eliminate mucus in the stomach. Furthermore, this text discusses the nutritional values of animals used in making amulets or charms (ones that are used to destroy an enemy).

Upon detailed study, it is found that the usage of fauna in treating diseases is limited to certain parts of the body of an animal. The text states of a variety of nutritional values of animals that are used to treat certain illnesses. Some of the animals are the Chinese tarwilu or rabbit, alligator, goat and deer. For example, rabbit fur can be used to treat wounds and it is believed that women will be able to get pregnant if she consumes rabbit bile together with honey and fresh plain yogurt. In this text, the usage of fauna as medicinal ingredients is as stated below:

(Bermula khasiat tarwilu cina) yakni arnab bermula bulunya menahankan darah jika dibakar ditaruh atas lukanya maka tiadalah keluar darahnya (dan) hempedunya jika diminum oleh perempuan

dengan air madu dan kepada dadih yang tawar sah nescaya buntinglah ia (dan) darahnya (dan) isi perutnya dibubuhnya pada tubuh hampir hentikan segala penyakit yang sudah lama, disapukan pada sekelian tubuhnya dan badannya (dan manakala) dimasakkan tiada terbuang jua suatu daripada mujarab nescaya menghancurkan batu-batu karang (dan jika) dimakan satu berat tiap-tiap hari hingga tujuh hari menahankan uban rambut kita mujarab hendaklah dimakan dengan air susu berat dua-dua rial (dan lagi abu) tulangnya menghancurkan lendir diminum atau dicampurkan dengan air maka sapukan (dan) air sah kencingnya apabila dititikkan di dalam mata menerangkan mata daripada melihat memandangan (dan) matanya apabila dipagi memberi hebat atas yang memakai dia (Mujarrabat Melayu, 1883, p. 50).

(We begin with the nutritional values of the Chinese 'tarwilu') which is the rabbit whereby when the fur of a rabbit is burnt and applied on an open wound, it is able to suppress blood (and) if the bile is consumed with honey and fresh plain yoghurt by a woman, thus she will easily conceive (and) when the blood with the entrails of the rabbit is rubbed on the body, almost all of

the diseases that are suffered for a long time will be cured. Meanwhile, when cooked, it is still efficacious in healing and can help to break kidney stones (and if) consumed of the same amount or serving every day for seven days, it delays the hair from becoming grey, and should also be consumed with milk of a certain amount, (Furthermore) the ashes from the crushed bones expels mucus when it is drunk after it is mixed with water (and) when the mixture is dripped in the eye, it will help make the eye sight clear.

Based on the text above, it is found that parts of the rabbit contain a variety of medicinal properties such as the bile which is able to help a woman to conceive when it is drunk together with honey. Apart from that, the flesh of the rabbit is believed to cure kidney stones. In relation to field research observation, kidney stones can also be cured by using corals that grow in the sea. This is documented by Encik Yunos Jati who states that he had drunk water that had corals soaked into to cure his ailment from kidney stones in 1986.[5] After drinking the coral water three times whilst reciting the prayer for the Prophet ('selawat Nabi') simultaneously, his suffering lessened and he completely recovered from kidney stones.

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[5] An interview with Encik Yunos Jati on 20 March, 2009 at Kampung Rinching Hilir Bangi, 43000 Kajang, Selangor.

Besides rabbits, crocodile's limbs are also believed to have a variety of healing properties such as curing eye diseases, deafness and madness.

(Bab ini fasal pada menyatakan ubat-ubat yakni khasiat badan buaya) mula-mula disebut akan khasiat matanya jika sakit mata kita kanan maka ambil mata kanan buaya maka dibubuhkan ubat mata jika sakit mata kiri maka dibubuh pada mata kiri dan sebagai lagi kaifiat buaya jua akan ubat tuli telinga dan sebagai lagi (tahinya) buaya juga akan ubat mata putih sekalipun mata itu inilah ubatnya insya Allah taala mujarab ... (Dan sebagai lagi) khasiat hati buaya akan ubat orang sakit gila maka ditunun[6] pada api hati itu maka diasapkan pada orang yang sakit itu tiga hari berturut-turut insya Allah mujarab (Mujarrabat Melayu, 1883, p. 60-61*).*

(This chapter explains the medicinal values of parts of the crocodile) the first is about the nutritional values of its eyes, if our right eye is sore, then take the right eye of crocodile and apply it on our right eye, vice versa if it is our left eye that is sore. The eyes of the crocodile

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[6] In archaic Malay literature,'tunun' means 'burning (*Kamus Dewan*, 2000, p. 1496).

can also help cure deafness and (its droppings) can also be used as medication for the white part of the eye, If Allah wills it. (Furthermore) the liver of the crocodile is used in curing mental illness whereby the liver is burnt and the ailing person is smoked with the smoke produced for three consecutive days. If Allah wills it, it will be efficacious.

From field research observation, it is found that parts of the crocodile such as the bile play an important role in strengthening the private parts of men. The bile is eaten raw while reciting specific spells or incantations to enhance the efficacy of the bile. Due to its highly prized nutritional values, a few people are willing to purchase them at an expensive price. According to Encik Mat Shah, the price of a piece of a crocodile's gall bladder is worth hundreds of ringgit. This is due to the difficulties in getting it because crocodiles are wild and ferocious animals and only those who have the expertise to tame and catch them are able to extract the gall bladder from the stomach of the crocodile .[7]

The text also states the nutritional values of antlers and goats' horns which are said to cure fever and headaches. This is stated as follows:

(Ini fasal pada menyatakan khasiat) daripada kambing iaitu tanduknya

jika sakit demam maka diambil janggutnya tiga helai maka ikatkan pada sapad (سافد) *bahawa kita atau sakit kepala atau sakit muntah-muntah dan sebagai lagi ubat demam jua maka ambil hujung limpa kambing dikerat oleh orang yang sakit salah demam itu tetapi syaratnya digantung dalam rumah biarlah kering insyaAllah taala mujarab ... (Mujarrabat Melayu,* 1883, p. 61*).*

(This is about the nutritional values) of the goats' horns, if one has fever, headache or is vomiting, then takes three pieces of a goat's beard to be tied on the 'sapad' (سافد), to help with the cure. Furthermore, to relieve fever, the person suffering from fever should cut the end of goats' spleen and it must be hanged and dried in the house of the sick person, If Allah wills it, it will be efficacious.

(Dan demikian lagi) faedah tanduk rusa akan ubat demam jua dan sakit kepala maka ditunun tanduk itu maka ambil abunya dicampur di dalam sayur ada campur dengan air maka diminumlah oleh orang yang sakit dan yang sakit kepala serap dalam hidungan, khasiat tanduk rusa maka ditunun kedua-duanya maka ambil abunya maka dicampur dengan cuka maka dibubuh akan orang yang sakit sopak atau

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[7] An interview with Encik Mat Syah on 27 December 2008.

susut atau kedi tetapi syaratnya berduduklah dalam hari insyaAllah taala mujarab (Mujarrabat Melayu, 1883, p. 61*).*

(In addition) antlers will cure any fever and headaches; burn the antlers and grind them, take the ashes of the antler and mix it with water to drink or add to some vegetables to be eaten by those who are ill. To relieve headaches, inhale the water mixture into the nose, the antlers ash can also be mixed with vinegar to heal Vitiligo by applying it on the skin and to help with weight reduction or effeminacy, one should be confined in the house during treatment, If Allah wills it, it will be efficacious.

Based on the extract above, it is found that antlers and goats' horns are used to treat fever and headaches. This is similar to the cooling water drink branded 'Badak' or the Rhino which is popularly used to reduce body heat or fever. This cooling water is proven to be able to cool the body of one who suffers from fever.

Apart from the above mentioned parts of animals, other parts of animals are used to treat male virility as mentioned before. To overcome this particular problem, other internal organs such as the liver and bile are often used. This can be seen in the following excerpts:

(Dan bermula) jika barang siapa menggosokkan lubang zakarnya dan kelilingnya dengan hempedu kambing jantan nescaya melihatlah ia ajaib daripada tiada segera anzal maninya (Mujarrabat Melayu, 1883, p. 46*).*

(We begin with) if any man rubs the tip of his penis and the skin of the penis with the male goat's bile, thus he will be able to suppress ejaculation.

(Bermula khasiat hempedu kibas) disapukan pada waktu hendak jimak setelah goyang maka jimaklah maka perempuan itu terlalu kasih kepada kita dengan kasih yang amat sangat antahi sah Mujarrabat (Mujarrabat Melayu, 1883, p. 52*).*

(We begin with the nutritional values of the kibas (goat from the Arabic region) bile); when a man rubs his penis with the bile of the kibas (goat from the Arabic region) before engaging in sexual intercourse, his partner will surely love him as dearly as she should be.

(Sebagai lagi) barangsiapa menyapukan kepada zakarnya dengan hempedu sesuatu barang suatu yang (hitam) maka dibawa

jimak dengan perempuan maka tiadalah terkira-kira ia berkehendak kepada orang yang lain daripadanya demikianlah perbuatan maka dapat olehlah suka cinta dan kasih berkasihan wallhu alam (Mujarrabat Melayu, 1883, p. 52*).*

(In addition) when any man applies bile (originating from any black substance) to his penis and then has sexual intercourse with a woman, thus she will not have any desire to be with other men; this will enhance their love and relationship.

(Sebagai lagi pula) yang telah mujarab daripada khasiat yang mengatakan hempedu dan membesarkan zakar kita dan lain daripada itu tiada disebatkan oleh mafidnya kata Ayub al-Hakim bahawasanya datang seorang laki-laki dan rankaribnya (dan karibnya) umurnya 120 tahun adalah haknya itu songir adakah engkau hendak membela budak perempuan elok rupa parasnya dan adalah aku tiada baik pertemuanku dengan dia telah malu aku kepadanya maka kataku baginya ambil olehmu jahe yang kering yakni halia yang kering dan lada maka daripada tiap-tiap satu jenis itu delapan mithkal beratnya adalah yang delapan mithkal itu menjadi kurang enak saka lima

*suku dan kuningan telur ayam dua puluh biji maka dicampurkan pada air madu yang baik berat duit 120 dirham adalah yang 120 dirham menjadi dua puluh dua rial setali empat saka kemudian daripada itu maka dimakanlah pagi-pagi dan petang sebelum lagi makan nasi atau sudah makan nasi demikian itulah adanya maka apabila ia sudah habis memakan ubat itu maka datanglah ia kepadaku lanya (lakunya) seperti kelakuan orang yang gila daripada kesangatan syahwatnya berjalannya serta mengangkatkan kainnya daripada kebanyakan jamaknya maka kulihat ia 120 jimaknya kepada malam dan siang maka kuperbuatkan ubatnya memulangkan dia wallahu alam (Mujarrabat Melayu, 1*883, pp. 54-55*).*

(In addition) the bile is proven to be efficacious in enlarging the penis, thus as mentioned by Ayub al-Hakim of the tale when a man and his best friend came to seek his advice. The man was 120 years and wishes to be with a woman who is younger and beautiful but she did not show much interest in him due to his old age and inabilities. Thus, I told the man to take dry ginger and pepper of equal amount in weight to be mixed with 20 egg yolks and good quality honey. He

should then consume the mixture in the morning or evening before or after eating rice. After sometime, the man came to see me again and he was filled with excitement due to his revitalised sexual prowess which enabled him to fulfil his sexual desires.

(Bermula hasiat hempedu) ayam yang hitam dan sedikit cabe yang sudah ditumbuk halus-halus maka digosokkan kepada zakar kita maka baru jimak maka satu jadilah lazat yang amat sangat perempuan itu ah Mujarrabat (Mujarrabat Melayu, 1883, p. 55*).*

(We begin with the nutritional values of) the black chicken and some chillies that are pounded fine which is then rubbed on the penis before sexual intercourse; the woman will be fully satiated after that.

(Bermula khasiat tulang kambing) dibakar ambil abunya dibubuh pada susu lembu maka digosokkan pada zakar kita sentiasa maka besarlah zakar kita antahi Mujarrabat wallahu alam (Mujarrabat Melayu, 1883, p. 55*).*

(We begin with the nutritional values of lamb bones); burn the bones and take the ashes to be mixed with cow's milk, and then rub it on the penis frequently so as to enlarge the penis; it will be efficacious, as Allah knows best.

(Bermula khasiat hempedu lembu) maka ambil olehmu barang tiga dirham beratnya maka bubuh di dalam air madu beratnya lima dirham jua setelah sudah dicampur bersamaan maka digosokkan kepada zakar kita maka jadilah zakar kita kuat yang sangat ia mujarab sah) (*Mujarrabat Melayu,* 1883, p. 55*).*

(We begin with the nutritional values of cattle bile); the bile that is equal to the weight of three dirhams (old currency equivalent to cents) is added into honey that is equal to the weight of five dirhams. Upon mixing, rub it on the penis which will render it strength and virility to the man.

(Bermula khasiat makan ikan) yang basah serta bawang merah yang banyak maka menambahi pada mani dan menguatkan zakar (*Mujarrabat Melayu,* 1883, p. 55*).*

(We begin with the nutritional values of eating fish) that are fresh together with a lot of red onions to increase the quantity of the semen and strengthen the penis.

The quotations above show that this text places an importance and focus on the male strength and prowess. This is because men play a vital part in ensuring the continuation of the family line, thus until now, the sexual prowess and virility of men is always the subject of discussion that men are willing to consume varieties of medications to strengthen their virility and sexual prowess such as horse pills (a synthetic drug that contains a high dose of methamphetamine), steroids and Viagra, the most popular drug of all. Based on observations made at Mesra Pharmacy in Bandar Baru Bangi, Selangor, Malaysia, it is found that a Viagra pill costs RM50 each and is known to be one of the most potent in the market. However, caution must be exercised as improper usage of the Viagra without consulting a doctor can cause sudden death.

In addition, there are also different types of coffee based energy drinks that can enhance and stimulate the male energy in the market, such as "Kopi Jantan", "Kopi Tongkat Ali Ginseng" and "Kopi Tok Guru". "Kopi Janda" and "Kopi Kacip Fatimah" meanwhile are coffee based energy drinks that specifically strengthen the female energy. In general, consumers are easily influenced by the coffee brand advertised and are willing to buy them because they believe in the nutritional values of the coffee. The mixture of tongkat Ali (*Eurycoma Longifolia*), ginseng and jarum emas (*Striga Asiatica*) in the coffee mixture is believed to be able to strengthen both the male and female sexual energy, thus, attracting consumers to buy this specialised coffee. Only those who drink this specialised coffee will be able to know or gauge the actual nutritional values or efficacy of the additives contained in the coffee. At present, there is no statistics or empirical data that is able to either support or refute the efficacy of these drinks.

CONCLUSION

The Malay medicine continues to flourish in the world of modern medicine as a method of treatment to complete the medical needs of the community. This is because not all ailments can be cured with modern medical methods especially those caused by spirits or *djin*. In the context of the Malay medicinal treatment, the healer plays a prominent role by using spells, mantra or incantations, in addition to using medicine that is derived from flora and fauna. This situation demonstrates that the Malay healing process is closely associated with the human environment.
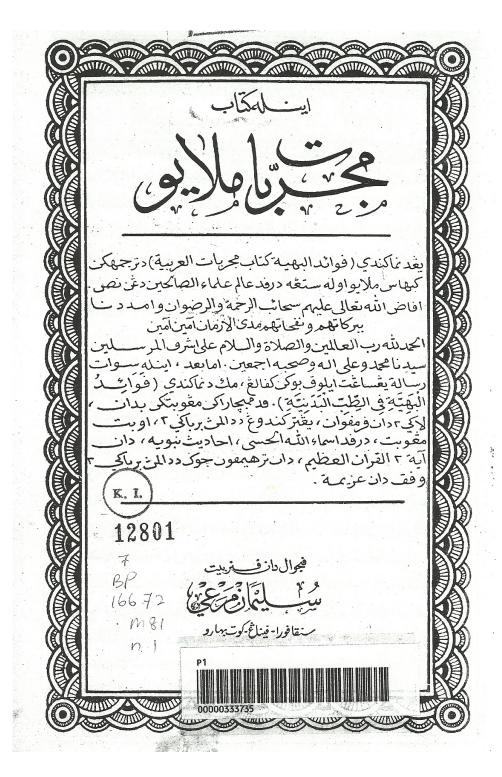
The usage of natural treatment substances that comprise flora and fauna helps to treat a variety of ailments caused by physical or spiritual factors. They must be used or applied accordingly on a regular basis based on the advice given by the related authority. Utilising flora that is found around the household compound not only saves energy and time, but also ensures the

cleanliness and purity of the substances as they are not contaminated with pesticides and toxic wastes. Nonetheless, these substances cannot be applied unwittingly without any proper guidance or consultation from those who are learned as they may cause harm to the consumer.

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APPENDIX 1

APPENDIX 2

مجرب انشاء الله تعالى (باب يڠ كتيك فوله سمبيلن) فد مينتاكن اوبت بغت يا دما
وسمبه دغن اوبة يڠ لاين داب سكن عزيمة دان دعامك سورة تغكل اين كارن تغكل
اين فڠهول سكل اوبة دسورة فد قرطس تيك فالك ـ تورة ـ عافيتم اولهن انشا ءالله
تعالى ابله يڠ عد سورة ذلك تخفيف عن ربكم ورحمة (اين يڠ عكدا) سورة الرحمن
ذلك تخفيف عن ربكم خلق لانسان ضعيفا (اين يڠ كتيك) دسورة الرحيم الآن خفف
الله عنكم برحمتك يا ارحم الراحمين ـ بستان (باب ـ فبل كغ) بڠان اورغ درفد مانثوى اتو
ترماكن اى كن داچن ملك دسورة أيت اين فد تافق تاغن كان ملك جبلت غز ليبسان
توجهماري توجه كالا هيلكن الله درفدات سكل هما بچاز ايت سعم هيد تر نولق
درفدات سكل بوغ هبات ايت سكيات تكال سورة دغن ايرسمبه هيغ سرته عن
فكاين هيغ سوج اين يڠ عد سورة بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ومن يخرج من بيته مهاجرا الى الله
ورسوله ثم يدركم الموت فقد وقع اجره على الله وكان الله غفورا رحيما (باب اين ف د
مينتاكن) اوبت سكل فيالت ـ يغ سراكان أمفت فوله رد لدنيا اين دسورة فد مغكوا فوت ته
باسه دغن ابو دبرى ميغ توجه كال برتورة ١٢ اتو تيكا كال فاكى اين راجس بسم الله الشاف
بسم الله الكافى بسم الله المعافى بسم الله الذى لا يضر مع اسمه شى ء فى الارض ولا فى
السماء وهو السميع العليم تمت بحمد الله تعالى هذا الكتاب المبارك فى يوم
الجمعة فى شهر شوال لمكم سبع عشر بعد لثلاثة مائة والف من هجرة نبينا
محمد افضل الصلاة والسلام وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد على آله وصحبه وسلم

اعلان

Jihad as the Core of Malay Ethnocentrism

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the role of *jihad* as the foundation of Malay ethnocentrism as reflected in *Syair Perang Mengkasar, Syair Peperangan Aceh* and *Syair Perang Menteng/Muntinghe.* The context for ethnocentrism thus refers to the initial resistance of the natives against the invaders at the onset of colonialism. This study deploys the concept of *jihad fi sabilillah* and William Graham Sumner's notion of ethnocentrism as one's tendency to perceive and value another culture as being superior to his or her own. The deconstruction of the texts is carried out through the intrinsic analysis on the depth of their literariness as well as the poets' portrayal of ethnocentrism among ethnic Malays in Makasar, Aceh and Palembang. Based on the written form, it is found that the bards have utilised their poetic strength to raise and uphold the stature of the Acehnese Malays. The accuracy in the choice of dictions has enabled them to illustrate the highly spirited sense of *jihad* among the comrades in Makasar, Acehnese and Palembang to triumph over their adversaries. The spirit of Islam, sustained by the invocations of *jihad fi sabilillah*, is seen as the main factor in engaging a deeper sense of ethnocentrism among the Acehnese studied. It seems clear that, as shown in the works, the poets' propensity to attach importance to their own ethnicity as opposed to that of the Other, is strategic in order to boost ethnocentrism among the Malays of Makasar, Aceh and Palembang.

Keywords: Diction, ethnicity, ethnocentrism, initial resistance, intrinsic, *jihad fi sabilillah*, Malay ethnic, William Graham Sumner

INTRODUCTION

The Western powers and the indigenous communities in the Malay Archipelago first came into contact with each other during the era of Western colonialisation in the Malay world which subsequently marked

the beginning of a long history between both civilisations. The turn of events that depicted this very history are recorded in many traditional Malay poetry (*syairs*) on war, which were documented by the locals based on data locally transmitted from generation to generation and gathered from sources that were either related to or had been directly involved in the respective events. Examples of such poems include *Syair Perang Mengkasar, Syair Perang Kaliwungu, Syair Perang Menteng, Syair Peperangan Acheh* and others.

Through such war poems, the respective authors attempt to return power and authority to the community they represent, which is a form of subtle retaliation against the colonisers or foreign rule. This initial ripple of subtle ethnic resistance against the threat of foreign powers became the basis of the formation of the concept of "ethnocentrism". It is in such situations that the underlying elements in the concept of Malay ethnocentrism were assumed to be fore grounded. In the context of this discussion, *jihad fi sabilillah* is underlined as the fundamental principal of Malay ethnocentrism, apart from other factors such as patriotism, unity, and so forth.

RESEARCH PROBLEMS

The findings on war poems by various scholars (Skinner, 1963; Jelani Harun, 2003) clearly demonstrate how cultural and intellectual conflicts and the vast disparities between the two civilisations culminated in war, which was the last resort taken by the

natives in their retaliation against the arrival of Western powers and the threat that they brought. Correspondingly, the indigenous people perceived the act of defending their homeland from foreign domination as an inevitable obligation.

It is in such situations that elements which informed the concept of ethnocentrism become more crystallised. Concomitant with this, several interesting questions arise: Was ethnocentrism merely a sudden and unexpected occurrence that came about when the Malay community was placed in a situation that threatened their interests? What were the underlying elements of Malay ethnocentrism, and did the concept of *jihad fisabilillah* truly constitute the core of its construction? This study seeks to analyse selected war poems that recount the struggles of the indigenous people against the colonisers in order to address the questions raised.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

Based on data taken from *Syair Perang Mengkasar* (an account of the war between the Mengkasar Malays and the Dutch in 1660-1669), *Syair Peperangan Aceh* (the war between the Acehnese and the Dutch in 1873), and *Syair Perang Menteng / Syair Perang Muntinghe* (the war between the Palembang Malays and the Dutch in 1812-1819), this study, among others, aims to:

i. Examine the authors' understanding of the ideas of *jihad* and how these ideas are couched in the poems.

ii.   Examine how *jihad* is fore grounded as the core of ethnocentrism.

METHODOLOGY

This study is based on an analysis of selected war poems mentioned earlier. The concept of ethnocentrism and *jihad fi sabilillah* serves as the starting point as well as the conceptual framework of this article. The analysis focuses on the various forms of ethnocentrism inherent in the text and the ways by which Malay authors of yesteryears apply the concept to reflect the spirit of ethnocentrism among the indigenous peoples of the Malay Archipelago.

Elements of ethnocentrism can also be traced in language use, which is a mechanism for the authors of yesteryears to relay their feelings and emotions with regards to the circumstances of war and occupation as recorded in the poems. Therefore, this article also deconstructs the elements of *jihad fi sabilillah* and Malay ethnocentrism in the war poems through the analysis of the use of language (based on the use of metaphors, symbols, rhetoric and diction), which reflects the nature and structure of ethnocentrism among ethnic Malays.

RESEARCH CONCEPT

The definition of 'ethnocentrism' by William Grahman Sumner (1911) and the concept of *jihad fi sabilillah* are used as the premise for this article to examine how both are utilised to highlight the concept of *jihad*, which constitutes the core of Malay ethnocentrism.

The sociologist Sumner defines ethnocentrism in his book entitled *Folkways: A Study of the Sociological Importance of Usages, Manners, Customs, Mores, and Morals* as follows:

> *Ethnocentrism is the technical name for this view of things in which one's own group is the centre of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it. Folkways correspond to it to cover both the inner and the outer relation. Each group nourishes its own pride and vanity, boasts itself superior, exalts its own divinities, and looks with contempt on outsiders. Each group thinks its own folkways the only right ones, and if it observes that other groups have other folkways, these excite its scorn.* (Sumner, 1911, p. 13)

Based on Summer's definition above, ethnocentrism refers to the position taken by a group of people for whom its own ideas, criteria and evaluations serve as the ultimate reference in its opinion and judgment of others. Ethnocentrism dictates that a group's own culture is superior to that of the others. Foreign culture is assessed through the eyes of their own culture and all aspects of culture that are dissimilar to or different from their own are considered as signs of weakness.

Anthony D. Smith (in Suntharalingam & Abdul Rahman, 1985, p. 10) gives a similar interpretation of ethnocentrism. According to him:

> *For people who adhere to ethnocentrism, both power and value are considered to be inherent in their cultural group and are measured to be the ultimate vehicle to achieve wisdom, beauty, purity, and culture, which therefore grant them the right to claim to power and to consider their nation as the centre of the world, and the only one important – whilst those surrounding it are nothing less than inferior.*

Smith comes to this conclusion during his attempt to distinguish between the definition of modern nationalism on one hand and the definition of nationalism based on the belief professed by the ancient Greeks on the other. In his book *Theories of Nationalism,* Smith (1971, p. 171) states, *"…on their basis, we may now define 'nationalism' as an ideological movement, for the attainment and maintenance of self-government and independence on behalf of a group, some of whose members conceive it to constitute an actual or potential 'nation' like others."* He (1971, p. 23) continues that *"...fundamentally, nationalism fuses three ideals: collective self-determination of the people, the expression of national character and individuality, and finally the vertical division of the world into unique nations each contributing its special genius to the common fund of humanity."*

According to Smith, the notion, held by the ancient Greek society, that sees itself as the ultimate focus, is a form of nationalism that may be termed as "ethnocentrism". It is far removed from the modern form of nationalism which he terms as "polycentric". A polycentric-oriented nationalist begins with the assumption that there are several centres of real power, just as there are groups of people who similarly have ideas and institutions that are valuable and noble. Thus. a polycentric-oriented nation desires to be a part of the family of nations and subsequently be at par with other countries (Suntharalingam & Abdul Rahman, 1985, p. 9-10).

Based on these views, it can be generally concluded that elements of ethnocentrism are inherent in all ethnic groups in the world. Ethnocentrism asserts that the natural sense of pride in all ethnic groups leads them to form a superior opinion of their own identity as opposed to others' outside their environment. This further explains how and why a strong sense of attachment, camaraderie and loyalty in a group could exist, contributing to the group's ability to preserve and guard their tradition and interests. It is this sense of pride that provides each ethnic group with the strength that they need to defend their rights from being violated, especially by external threats (foreign powers) (Zubir, 2010).

Moving on to *jihad*, it is well appreciated that according to the Islamic perspective,

jihad is the culmination of its policies as well as its guide. It also serves as the principle that regulates Muslim countries. Considered a golden rule of Islam, it dictates the way to preserve dignity, honour and sovereignty of the religion. Accordingly, *jihad* is inscribed as an obligation and a command which would last until the Day of Judgment. This means that people who turn away from performing the *jihad* would be damned by Allah SWT, overtaken by humiliation, and be enslaved by bad people and bad behaviour (al-Zuhayli, 1997, p. 448-449). There are many verses in the Holy Quran that reinforce the argument about the importance of *jihad*:

Surah al-Tawbah verse 111:
Allah hath purchased of the Believers their persons and their goods; for theirs (in return) is the Garden (of Paradise): they fight in His cause, and slay and are slain: a promise binding on Him in Truth, through the Law, the Gospel and the Qur'an: and who is more faithful to his covenant than Allah? Then rejoice in the bargain which ye have concluded: that is the achievement supreme.

Surah An-Nissa', verse 74:
Let those fight in the cause of—Allah who sell the life of this world for the Hereafter. To him who fights in the cause of Allah, — whether he is slain or gets victory, soon shall We give him a reward of great (value).

Surah Al-Anfaal, verse 60:
Against them make ready your strength to the utmost of your power, including steeds of war, to strike terror into (the hearts of) the enemies of Allah and your enemies and others besides whom ye may not know but whom Allah doth know. Whatever ye shall spend in the cause of Allah, shall be repaid unto you, and ye shall not be treated unjustly.

Based on the explanations above, it can be concluded that *jihad* constitutes the act of fighting whole-heartedly (*mujahadah*) against an enemy and engaging in a war to uphold the name of Allah. In brief, *jihad* constitutes one's determination to utilise one's power and abilities in the form of words or deeds, all of which are buttressed by sincerity and good faith in the name of Allah S.W.T.

Although this article addresses the struggle against enemies who attempt to dominate or conquer a certain people or country, it must be kept in mind that the struggle is viewed from a religious standpoint. This means that it is interpreted as *fi sabilillah* or fight in the name of God. With such an understanding, a war is thus reinforced by all the strength, determination and confidence associated with the abovementioned religious factor. A warrior who sacrifices himself in the name of God, in the interest of his fellow Muslims and for a noble cause will be rewarded with the highest honour and whose deed is forever etched in the history of humanity. In the presence of God, he will take his place beside the prophets and apostles. Therefore, it is on the strength of this confidence that the subject of defending one's homeland, as presented in the poems under review, must be understood. It is a

struggle that is underlined by the commands and prohibitions of the religion, with its own rewards and recompense. Apart from that, the religious standpoint sheds a whole new light on the meaning and interpretation of the concept of ethnocentrism.

In line with this fact, the concept of *jihad fi sabilillah* is clearly used as the basis in the narration of the struggle or battle depicted in the Malay war poems. Indeed, the use of the concept of *fi sabilillah* in the context of war is not surprising. A strong religious belief evidently reinforces the spirit of ethnocentrism that is already apparent in each member of the ethnic group or tribe in question. This in turn stimulates and instils in them the spirit and strength to do whatever is possible in order to protect their rights from being violated by foreigners. With the repeated calls for action, as seen in the above verses, the struggle is not merely interpreted at a political level but also at a more meaningful dimension, namely the religious and spiritual level. With this divine legitimacy, the struggle takes on a whole new meaning and strength, imbued, as it were by the religious call. The belief that Allah will grant victory to His *ummah* who take up arms to defend the sanctity of Islam is a most effective motivation, which explains why the believers were willing to defend their homeland and religion to the last breath.

RESEARCH ANALYSIS

A religion or belief system plays a prominent role in the construction of ethnocentrism in a society or ethnic group. A society's religious faith or belief system serves to bind together as well as underpin aspects of a nation's struggles.

In the context of the Malay Archipelago, the arrival of Islam changed not only the communal way of life in the region, but also – and more importantly – the worldview of its society. Islam shifted the axis of their life from belief in magic, spirits, gods, goddesses and the like, to an unflinching faith in the power of the Almighty One. It also marked the beginning of a way of thinking, one that was clearly based on an astute mind over the reliance on superstition. This transition had enormous implications on the society. The spirit of ethnocentrism also underwent an overhaul where it was now empowered with the understanding of *jihad*. It must be noted that throughout the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries, societies in the Archipelago had already embraced the presence of Islam, and during those extensive years the spirit of *jihad* had been steadily instilled among the indigenous communities. An example is the Acehnese who were well-known to be devout followers of Islam and various other spiritual teachings. In fact, the Acehnese were often associated with the Islamic religion and spirituality. Similarly, the Bugis-Makasar people and other ethnic Malays had also embraced Islam and accepted its influences with ease. These influences include the courage and confidence in facing one's enemy, the state of being mentally prepared and various aspects of war strategies, all of which are attributed to strong spiritual beliefs. Islam had in fact become central to every single

battle fought by the people. In this case, apart from ethnic and cultural bonds, the religious factor united the natives and indeed inspired them to strike back against foreign aggression, an act which was in line with the definition of ethnocentrism itself. Thus, when the West came to the region during the wave of colonialism, the natives were already prepared to face them with their spirit of ethnocentrism that was reinforced with the will of *jihad*.

The concept of *jihad* is clearly evident in the poems selected. Most of the poems reveal how Allah's promises in the Holy Quran had left a deep impression among the warriors of Makasar, Aceh and Palembang, and indirectly instilled in them a sense of determination, enthusiasm and commitment to fight whole-heartedly for their nation and homeland. In fact, raising it to a higher level, the fight was deemed to be no less than defending the purity of Islam itself. This can be observed in *Syair Perang Mengkasar* when the author clearly manifests among the warriors of Makasar a deep sense of religious obligation, as seen in the passages below, which are not only beautifully written, but are also deeply meaningful:

Keraeng Petene radja yang bisai
Baginda mengamuk menjusur pantai
Segala djuaknja berbadju rantai
Menempuh datang ke tepi sungai.
(r.102)

Dibedil oleh Kapitan Welanda
Kenalah badan dada baginda

Satu pun tidak tjajat binasa
Kebesaran Allah kepadanja njata.
(r.103)

Keraeng Petene radja jang 'akil
Segala ra'jat disuruhnja tampil
Tidaklah baginda gentarkan bedil
Niatnja sangat hendakkan sabil.
(r.104)   (Skinner, 1963)

The word "sabil" in verse 104 allows the author to align, or more accurately, to equate the struggle for the nation with the struggle to defend the religion of Islam. Thus, the use of the word "sabil" may be seen as a kind of "shortcut" to construct the concept of a strong and cohesive struggle. This is reinforced with an open reference to "the greatness of Allah" that is "njata" or clear. Clearly, direct statements such as these are used to avoid any kind of ambiguity in the meaning intended. The combination of these two items, that is the struggle for Islam and the struggle for homeland, under one rubric or *mauduk* of "sabil", which is rich with religious legitimacy, serves to show that there is a high price at stake. It means that if victory could bring multiple benefits, then a loss could also bring with it multiple consequences. The high price at stake was an immensely powerful inducement for the warriors to go to battle.

Through the characterisation of one of the main characters, Keraeng Petene, the text highlights the indomitable spirit of the concept of *jihad*. In this poem (verse 104), Keraeng Petene (*"raja yang bisai"*) – a highly praised Makasar warrior – is

depicted as one who aspires to attain *jihad fisabilillah*. Thus, fired by this burning desire and reinforced by a strong determination to uphold the sanctity of Islam, he fights whole-heartedly to defend his religion and country from the enemy. His bravery and valour find credence in the graphic depiction of his fearlessness in the face of his enemies. Indeed, the use of the word "*mengamuk*" (amuck) succinctly sums up the intrepid battle he wages.

By skilfully manipulating the narrative element of characterisation, the verses bring to light the heroism of the Makasar warriors, fuelled, as it were, with the spirit of *jihad*. Focusing on Keraeng Petene, the main character, the author deliberately allows him to take over the action and direction of the narrative – from his stroll along the beach, his encouragement to his people, his relentless battle to the end and his amuck – thereby making it possible for the readers to "see" him in the here and now, waging his battle without flagging. In other words, his heroism is dramatised.

Aside from the main character, the verses also show that the great commitment to "sabil" is extended to members of his army. This is depicted through their willingness to participate in the war when Keraeng Petene called to his soldiers "*Segala ra'jat disuruhnja tampil*" and urged them to fight against the enemy. Although he did not express any specific word about the importance of *jihad*, the text manipulates his remarkable character, his fiery actions and fighting spirit to raise the morale among his soldiers.

In like manner, the author of *Syair Peperangan Aceh* addresses the battle against the Dutch in the text. The text describes the people of Aceh as having a deep-rooted sense of obligation to fight the enemies of Allah. The text also describes that it is a priority for them to go into battle for the sake of Allah in order to reap the rewards that He promises for those who perform the *jihad*. With slight differences when compared with Petene Keraeng in *Syair Perang Mengkasar*, the Aceh leader, namely the Caliph at the time, openly and unambiguously called upon his people to oust the Dutch who came to invade Aceh, as depicted in the following verses:

> *Dengan manis bertitah khalifah*
> *Kepada menteri memberi titah*
> *Pergilah berperang sabilillah*
> *Dapatlah pahala syurga jannah.*
>
> (r.102)

> *Telah didengar Pendekarnya kiri*
> *Sukanya tidak lagi terperi*
> *"Ampun tuanku Mahkota Negeri*
> *Pahala inilah yang patik cari."*
>
> (r.104)

> *Telah didengar duli khalifah*
> *Sambil berkata "Alhamdulillah*
> *Kepada engkau aku qadaqlah*
> *Kepada Allah engkau berserahlah."*
>
> (r.111)

Orang Aceh lalu berjalan

Salawat dan zikir pula disebutkan

Serta dengan ratib Saman

Seorang suatu pedang di tangan.

(r.112)   (Jelani, 2003*)*

As the above verses show, the Caliph called upon his people at a time when Aceh faced a dire threat from the Dutch who wanted to claim Aceh for themselves, as promised by Minister Rampang. The text shows the Aceh warriors' high regard for their religion such that they responded to the Caliph's call for battle with willing hearts and high spirits. Their spirit was uplifted and reinforced time and time again due to the concept of *fi sabilillah*, similar to that in *Syair Perang Makasar.* This is apparent in the open statement "*pergilah berperang sabilillah*", which is reinforced with the promise of "*pahala syurga jannah*" and responded with "*pahala inilah yang patik cari*". This shows that the sultan and the people were well aware that the war was a battle of *fi sabilillah*, that there was no misunderstanding as to the nature of the battle, and that it was on this basis that they took up arms. Hence, the clear portrayal of Pendekar Kiri's courage and boldness in battle. Pendekar Kiri, whose real name was Abdul Rahman bin Mohammed Habib al-Zahir; 1832-1896, was entrusted to request for assistance from Istanbul/Turkey (Jelani, 2010). This action clearly shows the Acehnese's faith in Allah and in His promise of victory and abundant rewards for His *ummah* who fought to uphold the sanctity

of His religion. It is also this faith that gave them incredible courage and strength during their battle. The spirit of Pendekar Kiri is described in the following lines:

Telah didengar Pendekarnya Kiri:

Sukanya tidak lagi terperi

"Ampun tuanku Mahkota Negeri

Pahala inilah yang patik cari."

(r.104)   (Jelani, 2003)

In relation to this matter, T. Alibasyah Talsya (1969) in his writing, "*Bagaimana Mulanya Aceh Membentuk Negara Merdeka*", recorded the proclamation in Aceh, inter alia as follows:

And for the people of Aceh, the struggle for independence and the struggle against the Dutch is an obligation; because they believe that love (defending) the land is part of their faith and is a Holy War... (Hasjmy, 1976, p. 70)

It can thus be clearly observed how everything related to the teachings and commands of Islam are deeply rooted in the minds and lives of the Acehnese. This is explained by Melalatoa (2005, p. 31) as follows: "*Landasan acuan yang ideal atau sistem budaya dalam masyarakat Aceh dapat diselami misalnya dalam ungkapan-ungkapan adat (hadih maja) tertentu, misalnya: 'Hukum (Islam) dan adat seperti zat dengan sifatnya' (Hukom ngon adat*

lagee zat ngon sifeut)." Similarly, Hasjmy (1992) in Melalatoa (2005, p.31) also explains how the two are deeply intertwined:

> *Islam and the people of Aceh are like flesh and blood. It occurs in all aspects of their life: political, economic, financial, social, cultural, and ethics. All kinds of teachings and social systems cannot be contrary to the teachings of Islam.*

Hasjmy's statement gives a clear description of the strong relationship between Islam and the society that practises it. Separating blood from the flesh is unthinkable (because blood is part of the flesh); thus, it is difficult to separate religion from the people of Aceh who have made it an integral pillar in all aspects of their life.

Based on these views, it can be understood why the Aceh warriors are highly determined to go to war in the name of *jihad*, which is part of their faith. In *Syair Peperangan Aceh*, this deeply rooted determination is expressed through the character of a child. The child is used to draw attention to the fact that faith in Allah and His promises have been instilled in the Acehnese from a very young age. On the basis of this confidence, the child is depicted to have the same determination to take part in the war in the hope of reaping the ultimate reward – paradise. The following verses describe this:

> *"Saudara patik ada bertiga*
> *Itu pun hendak dibawa juga*
> *Melawan Belanda kafir celaka*
> *Mencari pahala di dalam syurga."*
>
> (r.162)

> *"Lalu berkata duli khalifah*
> *Ayuhai kanak-kanak paras yang indah*
> *Ini kedubang engkau pakailah*
> *Diberi baginda kedubang bertatah."*
>
> (r.163)   (Jelani, 2003)

The great determination to perform the *jihad* which is portrayed through the character of a child bears similarities to the spirit of *jihad* shown by the young Muslim warrior, Usamah bin Zaid, who was highly respected for his courage to enter into battle for the sake of Islam at a very young age. This is highlighted by the author to showcase the spirit of *jihad* among the young Acehnese people, who were just as determined as other Islamic warriors to reap the reward of paradise, as promised by Allah.

Apart from subscribing to the concept of *jihad*, the 'feeling' that Allah will always grant His mercy to those who fight to uphold His religion is refined and reinforced as the basis of the Acehnese warriors' formidability in battle. With such great faith, the warriors are depicted as 'not fighting on their own' for Allah is always with them every step of the way. This can be traced in the verse below:

Pendekar Kiri berdatang sembah

"Ampun tuanku duli khalifah

Patik semua dipeliharakan Allah

Orang kafir semua larilah."

(r.130)   (Jelani, 2003)

Based on the above, we see how Pendekar Kiri made a whole-hearted pledge to the Sultan with regards to battling the enemy. His confidence reflected the confidence and spirit of every warrior in Aceh, because all of them believed that their well-being was 'protected' by Allah, thus, driving them to battle it out in full force.

In this regard, it is interesting to note that a Dutch journalist, Zentgraaf, in his book *Aceh*, acknowledged the greatness and heroism of the people of Aceh who launched a Holy War against the Dutch. Among other things, he says:

De waarheid is en dat de Atjehers mannen vrouwen in het elgemeen schitteren gevochten hebben als voor hun wat Zij zaggen nationaal of religieus IDEAAL. Er is een Zeer strijders onder die Groot en aantal mannen vrouwen Elk die volk van den trots zouden uitmaken which means: the people of Aceh, whether a man or a woman, performs an extraordinary feat to defend their religion, race and region in a holy struggle. They were warriors, both men and women, who have pride on the truth of their struggle.

(Hasjmy, 1976, p. 43)

It must be emphasised that Zentgraaf also observed the fight for religion, race and region as a "holy struggle". It was on this basis that the people had struggled and fought.

A similar observation can be found in *Syair Perang Palembang*. As described in *Syair Perang Mengkasar* and *Syair Peperangan Aceh, Syair Perang Palembang* also depicts the community's fighting spirit. The text asserts that a struggle, embarked in the name of *jihad*, is effective in arousing a sense of ethnocentrism among the warriors of Palembang. The text narrates how the warriors of Palembang become strong-willed and high-spirited as a result of their great faith in Allah and His promise of paradise. They fought in the name of religion, which simultaneously meant defending the dignity and sovereignty of their homeland. The following verses clearly illustrate the spirit of the Palembang warriors in facing their enemy:

Pangeran membaca do'a selamat

Dengan berkat segala keramat

Syafa'at Nabi Sayyid al-ka'inat

Rakyat Menteng hancur dan lumat.

(r. 75)

Jika perang sabil di laut

Tidaklah lagi sangkut dan paut

Roh diambil malak al-maut

Lantas ke syurga bidadari maut.

(r. 120)

Inilah pahala orang sabil Allah

Segala dosa diampuni Allah

Tidak berpayah tidak berlelah

Ma' al-Kausar dirasailah.

(r. 121)

Di Tambakbaya perang besarlah

Tiada undur tiada kalah

Orang benteng hendak sabil Allah

Menantikan tolong kodrat Allah.

(r. 148)(ML.12 *Syair Perang Muntinghe*)

As explained, this poem conceptualises both religious and nationalistic struggles as one, and makes no distinction between the two. In fact, the verses above clearly define the war as a "holy war", aside from listing Allah's rewards for "a holy warrior" such as reward for good deeds, having sins forgiven, and assurance to enter paradise with heaven's houris for company. Similarly, the verses below make clear references to Islam, specifically the "syahada" (profession of faith). Likewise, there are references to "Allahu Akbar", "God Malik al-Jabar" and "martyrdom", all of which are linguistic registers often used in the context of Islam with the specific connotation of "Islamic martyrdom". The verses are as follows:

La ilaha illa Llahu dipalukan ke kiri

Kepada hati nama sanubari

Datanglah opsir meriksa berdiri

Haji berangkat opsir pun lari.

(r. 12)

Haji berteriak Allahu Akbar

Datang mengamuk tak lagi sabar

Dengan tolong Tuhan Malik al-Jabbar

Serdadu Menteng habislah bubar.

(r. 15)

Di sanalah haji lama terdiri

Dikerubungi serdadu Holanda pencuri

Lukanya tidak lagi terperi

Fanalah haji lupakan diri.

(r. 19)

Syahidlah haji dua dan tiga

Akan pengisi di dalam syurga

Bidadari pun banyak tiada berhingga

Datang menyambut haji berida.

(r. 21) (ML.12 *Syair Perang Muntinghe)*

Phrases such as "*Dengan berkat segala keramat…syafa'at Nabi Sayyid al-ka'inat*", "*Jika perang sabil di laut...tidaklah lagi sangkut dan paut*" and "*Inilah pahala orang sabil Allah...segala dosa diampuni Allah*" describe the spirit and desire of the Palembang warriors to defend their religion and homeland even if it means getting killed because their wish is to reap the ultimate rewards as promised by Allah. Accordingly, it can be safely assumed that the Acehnese, who were known to be highly religious, were well-aware of Allah's commands on this matter, as stated in Sura Al-Hajj verse 39, which says:

> *Permission (to fight) has been given to those (Muslims) who are being fought (by intruders), because they were wronged; and indeed Allah is the Almighty who will grant them victory.*

Based on the explanations and examples given above, it can be stated that a strong religious belief plays a prominent role in laying the foundation for the struggles of a certain race, which in turn reinforces the sense of ethnocentrism among its members.

CONCLUSION

A strong faith in religion, which has been the norm for the Malay community in this region since ancient times, has been recorded in *Syair Perang Mengkasar, Syair Peperangan Aceh* and *Syair Perang Menteng* as a potent force that contributed to societies' formidable strength in their struggle to defend their homeland. Such spiritual elements were prevailed upon to raise the spirits of the warriors of Makasar, Aceh and Palembang in facing the enemy. Almost all the texts showcase religious belief as an integral component in the formulation of an effective strategy to defeat the enemy. Accordingly, the concept of *jihad fi sabillilah* is used as the basis for the struggles and battles recounted, which, in turn, can leverage on its religious legitimacy. Indeed, this article has demonstrated how religion plays a prominent role in inspiring ethnocentrism (in this study, Malay ethnocentrism), which significantly changes the world-view of an ethnic group. It is thus, in this context, namely the presence of religious associations and connotations, that ethnocentrism in the selected poems should be studied, understood and appreciated.

This article shows how Malay authors, by skilfully using the power of language, brilliantly developed and presented ideas related to ethnocentrism, namely by positioning *jihad fi sabilillah* as the core of Malay ethnocentrism. Concomitant with this, this article also underlines the fact that literature such as the selected poems (as well as other forms of literary writings) truly reflect the reality of conviction and deeply-felt attachment that bind each ethnic group; and whether we realise it or not, such a powerful emotion, if channelled appropriately, can be used to nurture patriotism.

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SOCIAL SCIENCES & HUMANITIES

Attitude towards Bahasa Melayu among the Speakers in the East Coast of Peninsular Malaysia

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ABSTRACT

The study empirically analyses the attitude and acceptance of the urban and rural societies toward Bahasa Melayu (Malay Language). This study focuses on the speakers of Bahasa Melayu in the east coast of the Peninsular or more specifically in the state of Pahang Darul Makmur. Six districts in Pahang have been chosen as the area of study, namely Temerloh, Maran, Jerantut, Muadzam Shah, Kuala Lipis, and Kuantan. In this study, the attitude and view of the urban and rural communities on the capability and commercial value of Bahasa Melayu will be evaluated and compared to see if there have been any changes. The study observed closely the attitude towards the language while adopting a sociolinguistic approach as a theoretical framework. As many as 200 questionnaire forms had been distributed to respondents aged between 10 to 61 years old. Other than the questionnaires, data was also obtained using the interview and the observation methods. Data was analysed using SPSS. The findings indicate that the language attitude of the East Coast community varies according to the variables such as age, generation, religion, educational level and residential location which indicate significant differences in attitude. However, from the income level and marital status, the language attitude does not show significant difference. All in all, based on the tests of validity and reliability, the finding shows that the attitude and acceptance of Bahasa Melayu in the Malay community residing in the East Coast have been very positive.

INTRODUCTION

Malay language or Bahasa Melayu is acquired by Malaysian, either as the first

or second language. Bahasa Melayu as the first language normally refers to a person, usually of Malay origins, who acquires the language as his or her mother tongue while Bahasa Melayu as the second language applies to those who have learnt it, usually by the non-Malays. The mastery of Bahasa Melayu as a second language is found to be more difficult compared with the mastery of the language as the first language.

Normally, children acquire their first language sufficiently by the age of five with the help of a language acquisition device known as Universal Grammar. This language acquisition device is present in the children's minds since they are born, and it said to be genetically programmed (Elliot, 1987). Chomsky (1988) viewed the process of acquiring one's first language more of an adaptation process, that is, adapting the Universal Grammar with the grammar of the children's first language. Every normal child will acquire his/her first language sufficiently.

In the process of being proficient in Bahasa Melayu as the first or second language, the way the first knowledge language is mastered is different from the way the second language is mastered. Unlike the process of mastering the first language knowledge, the mastery of the second language requires more work and a more careful planning. In the process of acquiring second language knowledge, it is very much influenced by the affective factors, namely the attitude and motivation. Positive attitude and higher motivation will result in better achievements in the process

of acquiring a second language (Noels, 2001).

Attitude serves as one of the most important factors in language learning because if one has a negative attitude towards a language, no amount of exposure and teaching would help in the language learning process. Measuring one's attitude towards a language is not an easy task because attitude is a subjective matter. More often than not, an individual's attitude is influenced by some external factors such as family, peers, teachers, surroundings and others.

Bahasa Melayu has an important role as a language of national integration. This function is demonstrative in Bahasa Melayu's role as the medium of instruction in schools. However, the acceptance towards this language has gradually declined there may come a time that it needs to be preserved. This study seeks to discover the acceptance of Bahasa Melayu as a language by residents in the rural areas, the impact of the globalisation and the elevated status of the English Language as the 'great' language to speak at the moment.

PROBLEM STATEMENT AND THE OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The success of Bahasa Melayu, evident in its status as the national language and the official language of the country, does not mean that it can escape from diverse issues and challenges that confront it. Although Bahasa Melayu is enshrined in the Constitution as the official language, there are still some quarters who have neglected

it or have not placed enough emphasis on the language. There have also been doubtful voices expressed over the capability of the language, especially relating to its ability to fully replace English (Awang, 2007, p. 843). In raising the profile of Bahasa Melayu as the language of knowledge, some pressing issues such as attitude, interest and also the determination to instil self-awareness on the use of Bahasa Melayu need to be addressed. Such awareness cannot possibly be promoted if the language is not granted a high social status value. After more than 52 years since Bahasa Melayu has been hailed as the national and official language, the mastery and proficiency in the language is still not at the desired level even among the Malays (Zainal Abidin, 2007, p. 847).

A lot of studies have been conducted to examine the language attitude and the capability of Bahasa Melayu in fulfilling its multifarious functions. In this regard, Bahasa Melayu has often been placed next to English in comparison. Therefore, a comprehensive study needs to be carried out in order to see the language phenomenon especially among the societies in Pahang. In this study, researchers intend to examine the language attitude. The main objectives of this study are:

1. To identify the level of acquisition of the standardised Bahasa Melayu of the residents of the larger part of Pahang.
2. To identify the attitude and level of acceptance towards the standardised Bahasa Melayu of the residents of the larger part of Pahang.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Sociolinguistic experts investigate the relationship between language and society that links the two areas to be studied, the formal structure of language and sociological structure. This study was conducted according to a fixed platform. Researchers use the theory of Ralph Fasold as guidelines for the analysis. Fasold (1984, p. 180) in his book *The sociolinguistics of society* postulated that the sociolinguistic research is interesting because of the language selection phenomenon. Fasold illustrated the sociolinguistic aspects of language using the term *societal multilingualism* which shows that there are many languages in the community. Selection of a language according to Fasold (1984, p. 180) is not a simple task. Therefore, a person who acquires two or more languages must choose which language he would use to communicate.

Use of language in society relates to various factors whether linguistic or non-linguistic factors, such as factors related to socio-cultural factors. Thus, each community has uniqueness in terms of socio-cultural values and variations of language use in social interaction. Fasold (1984) mentioned that the phenomenon of variations in language use in society is controlled by social factors, culture, and situation. In the study of language choice, sociolinguistic work describes the relationship between social variables and language selection factors, social, culture, and situation in multilingual and bilingual communities. Sociolinguistic approach

involves the analysis of domain. Domains, in fact, are the relationship between social factors, location, topic, and participants (Fasold, 1984, p. 180).

METHODOLOGY

In this study, researchers have selected some methods regarded as suitable for the study, namely the questionnaire method, informant interviews and participatory observation method. The questionnaire form functions as a study tool to collect primary data in this language attitude study. The questionnaire encapsulates the questions which measure the level of mastery of Bahasa Melayu, the attitude and acceptance of Bahasa Melayu as well as the attitude and opinion on the capability of this language. As many as 200 questionnaire forms were prepared and distributed by the researchers to be distributed to six districts as aforementioned. The researchers also explained the language aspects contained in the questionnaire forms just in case they are not understood, as there is the inclusion of some linguistic terms that may not be understood by the respondents. The form is formulated to measure the language attitude among the East Coast societies. The first part of the questionnaire covers eight variables namely:

i. Age
ii. Gender
iii. Marital Status
iv. Race
v. Religion
vi. Income
vii. Education
viii. Residential Location

The questionnaire also contains 40 questions divided into three main parts: measuring the mastery level of Bahasa Melayu knowledge, the attitude and acceptance of Bahasa Melayu, and also the attitude and opinion on the capability of Bahasa Melayu.

In this study, the interview method was used on respondents who are illiterate, suffer from sight problem, and also those finding it difficult to understand the instructions of the questions. Thus, researchers are responsible to interview by way of reading and explaining every question posed in the questionnaire. The interviewees comprise four Masters Students majoring in Malay Language Studies at The National University of Malaysia. The study began in the district of Temerloh, next Maran, Jerantut, Muadzam Shah, Kuala Lipis and finally the district of Kuantan.

The participatory observation method is also chosen to enable the group to see for themselves how the actual language is spoken among the societies, other than witnessing the culture of the communities being studied. At this point, the purpose of the method lies in looking at the extent of truth reflected by data and the information compiled. In this study, the group had gone to visit the study areas to evaluate for themselves the level of mastery of the language, the attitude and acceptance as well as the attitude and opinion on the capability of Bahasa Melayu among the people in the East Coast.

Data obtained from the questionnaire will be analysed using SPSS method. The advantage of using this method is that it is

easy to handle and data or information can be processed quickly. Apart from that, this method is able to analyse data with various variables at one go. In this study, the Cross tabulation method, the percentage, the Anova, the validity and reliability methods which contained in the SPSS system have been used by the researchers to process data. The reliability test has used the Alpha *cronbach*, whereas to measure the validity, the *product moment* correlation method has been proven useful. In the Anova statistical test, the *post hoc test* has been adopted.

LITERATURE SURVEY

Awang Sariyan (1988) in his book entitled *Isu-isu Bahasa Malaysia* also touches on the attitude of the s towards Bahasa Melayu (BM). From Awang's points of view, the spirit of motivation together with the gratitude of gaining independence must also be accompanied by the responsibility to fulfil the meaning of independence itself. In the context of the National Language, everyone holding the Malaysian citizenship has the responsibility to preserve their national language, not only by carrying slogans and stating them with emotions, but also full-heartedly working to be proficient in the language

The book *Bahasa dan Alam Pemikiran Melayu* serves as the outcome of the research published by Asmah Haji Omar in 1986. Asmah sees the association of language and thought as an interesting aspect not only for linguists and psychologists, but also the general public. Although this aspect is very much debated by linguists and psychologists

in other countries, especially with regards to their language and the realm of thought of the speakers, research on the association of Bahasa Melayu and the realm of thought of the speakers is almost non-existent. Asmah in her book has explored the Malay thinking domain and the Malay experiences captured in their language, through a close look at the children's language, especially in the language spoken as their mother tongue.

The study conducted by Asmah (2006) who focuses on *Pertemuan antara Peradaban Melayu dengan Peradaban Luar: Tumpuan Khas Kepada Sikap Terhadap Bahasa dan Unsur-Unsur Budaya* (The relation between Malay and External Civilisation: A Special Focus On The Attitude Towards Language and Cultural Elements) is a substantial work that examines the Malay attitude towards language and culture of other communities as the outcome of the symbiosis with the external culture. Following Asmah, in any given civilisation, there has already existed societal members' behavioural control, which enables or disallows certain conducts or actions.

De Gaer, Pustjens, Van Damme and De Munter (2006) looked at the relationship between attitude towards language learning and school environment. Their finding shows that there is no significant relationship between the school environments with the attitude towards the language learning process faced by the students. The study also shows no significant relationship between the attitude towards language learning and student's intelligence level. Students categorised as smart students also

demonstrate less positive attitude and low motivation towards the language learning process especially if they are not happy with the school environment.

In her study on the language attitude, Norizah (1990) examined the language phenomenon among the second year students of Law Faculty at the University of Malaya. The 16 informants she chose were Malay and Chinese students forming an equal proportion (eight Malay and eight Chinese students. In this study, she divides every group into two groups, one represented by students from the city, and another group from the village. Norizah's findings suggest that there is a difference among the informants when it comes to choosing the language to be used. The Chinese informants are prone to using English instead of using their own mother tongue, and by contrast, the Malay informants are more comfortable using Bahasa Melayu than English.

A study by Bernaus, More and Azevedo (2007) illustrates that the affective factors, namely attitude and motivation, have a significant and important correlation with the background or the demography of the students. If we draw a comparison of the influence of two main factors, which is the student's background and the policy enforced by the administrators, it is apparent that the background factor influences the affective factor more. In other words, the policy formulated by the ruling authority must be set to match the aspirations of the people. If a policy is forced onto the people, it would have been difficult to be accepted by the public.

A study carried out by Csiger and Donyei (2005) sheds light on an interesting finding, whereby in the second language learning process, it is very much influenced by the integrational motivation of the students. The integrational motivation means the desire to be part of the speakers of a particular language. High integrational motivation is able to guarantee the success of language education process. This study by Csiger dan Donyei has clearly demonstrated to the second language education programmes' planners and implementers that the second language learning process can have a greater possibility of being more successful if the teachers and school can elevate the level of integrational motivation among students.

Attitude refers to the affective matters, which have a lot to do with the feelings or something felt in the soul. Attitude would normally be able to determine one's behaviour, for example, one with a positive attitude towards something may be inclined to do something more eagerly, and somehow avoids doing things which go against his or her feelings and inclinations.

Zamri Mahamod and Zarina Othman (2001) reported a decline in performance in the subject of Bahasa Melayu (BM) released by the Malaysia Board of Examination at SPM and PMR levels. In this context, attitude is said to be one of the contributing factors to the decline of the students' achievement in the BM paper. With this in mind, Zamri and Zarina (2001) have conducted a study entitled *The Attitude of Chinese Students towards the Learning of BM as the Second Language*. The study

outcome showed a lot of Chinese students are uncertain as to why they have to learn BM. Yet, almost half of the Chinese students still adopt a positive attitude towards the BM learning process as their second language, especially female Chinese students.

The work by Loewen, Li, Thompson, Nakatsukasa, Ahn and Chen (2009) among university students using the Likert Scale Questionnaire found that the assumption or belief on the importance of grammar varied among the university students who learnt English as the second language or foreign language. The finding also shows that the university students have varying assumptions on the grammatical exercises or drills in the language teaching and learning processes. Other than that, the respondents also have different assumptions on the importance of making corrections and the effect of grammatical error analysis.

Sa'adiah (1998) in her work titled *Language attitude: a case study among Malaysian students in Britain* has provided three assumptions on the importance of language attitude. These assumptions include:

i- Attitude demonstrates the assessment of one's natural belief value

ii- Understanding attitude makes it easier for someone to interact with the community,

iii- Various aspects of a person can be seen on the attitude that he or she adopts

Everyone has a different attitude towards something. Therefore, one's attitude can easily change, that is, it can be adjusted.

FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

Data was analysed using the SPSS system. The findings are presented based on the already-established variables, namely age, gender, marital status, race, religion, income level, level of education and residential location. The influence or effect of every variable has been analysed, and the findings given in the section below.

Age

Based on data obtained, it is found that there has been no difference in the mastery of Bahasa Melayu based on age. There are no significance differences on the level of the acquisition of Bahasa Melayu when compared between different age levels. This is statistically proven and displayed in Table 1.

Table 1
Level of Acquisition of Malay Based on Age

Source of Variation	JKD	DK	MKD	F	P
Between Group	385.211	4	96.303	1.379	0.243
In Group	13548.528	194			
Total	**13933.739**	**198**			

p>0.05

Attitude and acceptance of Bahasa Melayu based on age difference have well demonstrated a rather significant difference. The age group of 20 years and below has shown a low level of attitude and acceptance compared with those aged 21 years and above. The possible reason for this is that the people aged below 20 are still adolescents or teenagers and yet to understand the significant role of the language. At this age, they are more drawn to the outside culture than towards the local culture. Such a situation implies to us that maturity will make us more rational. Young people with various aspirations will assume that tradition is a barrier when they want to try new things. This means that a great influence is seen in the factor of adulthood, especially where the attitude and acceptance of Bahasa Melayu are concerned. From the aspect of social maturity at this early adulthood level, they are unable to relate to cultural components especially language with something that needs to be understood and internalised in their thoughts and emotions. Data in Table 2 shows the result.

Table 2
Level of Acquisition of Malay Based on Age

Age Level	N	Mean
20 years and below	72	70.19
21-30 years	63	75.46
31-40 years	22	76.09
41-50 years	21	73.28
51 years and above	22	76.63
Total	**200**	**73.53**

Same goes with the attitude and opinion on the capability of Bahasa Melayu that sampled the lowest mean which is 20 years of age and below, although statistically there is no significant difference among the existing groups. This issue is still directed at the social intelligence of teenagers aged 20 years and below, where they are more influenced by certain symbols. In a modernised world, it remains a fact that Bahasa Melayu is not a global language or known to all races. Science and technology uses the English medium, so much so that there emerges a sense of disbelief or lack of certainty among the teenagers on the ability of Bahasa Melayu to compete in the world of globalisation. In summary, those who are at this age level are still unable to think deeply over the potential of Bahasa Melayu in the world of science and technology. To add to this, the issue of teaching and learning of Science and Mathematics in English will become a *soft stimulus* that instils the thinking that the quality of Bahasa Melayu is deteriorating in the rat race of the globalised world. The middle and late adulthood groups appear to be able to accept that the teaching and learning of English only stand outs as

a brainstorm to enhance the learning of science and mathematics, not the reality of the poor status of Bahasa Melayu among other world languages.

Gender

In terms of gender, the level of acquisition, attitude and acceptance as well as attitude and opinion on the capability of Bahasa Melayu show that there is no significant difference between men and women. This is explained by the fact that either gender has equal opportunity to learn, gain information and facilities to know every dimension of knowledge that has advanced at the moment.

In terms of the mastery of Bahasa Melayu between the genders, they have possessed the same ability, because Bahasa Melayu is taught at every level of education - primary school, secondary school, and even in the tertiary level. In reality, between female and male there is observed to be the same behaviour in the learning and teaching processes so much so that it has left an impact on the attitude and acceptance of Bahasa Melayu as well as the attitude and opinion on the capability of the language.

Marital Status

In terms of the marital status, no difference was observed in terms of the mastery and acquisition of Bahasa Melayu. This is because the mastery of the language is acquired formally among the Malaysian communities in Malaysia - something that is very obvious that the language is important to be known and mastered by the communities. In terms of attitude and acceptance of Bahasa Melayu and opinion on the language's capability, both groups have shown a significant difference. This is because of the psychosocial maturity of the married ones where they are more stable and are broader minded as they treasure the cultural heritage that they possess. The marriage factor in extensive *literature* is known as an aspect that influences the way one thinks. People who are married are likely to look at something more abstract more than they would at concrete matters.

Race

For race or ethnicity, the mastery level, attitude and acceptance as well as opinion on the language's capability, a difference was noted between the Malay ethnic groups and their non-Malay counterparts. If we look at the level of mastery, for the non-Malays, it is understood that they have a lower level of mastery of Bahasa Melayu than the Malays. This is due to the fact that Bahasa Melayu is the mother tongue or first language of the Malays. Data from the research can be seen in Table 3 below.

Table 3
Level of Acquisition of Bahasa Melayu according to Race

Race	N	Mean	SP	DK	t	P
Malay	1781	46.15	7.98	195	3.549	0.00
Non-Malay	19	39.21	9.20			

The same applies for aspects such as attitude and acceptance and opinion on the ability of Bahasa Melayu. The non-Malays sampled in this study showed a lower level of mastery than their Malay counterparts, probably because of the sociocultural factor; humans are inclined to take language as part of their culture to create egocentricity. From the viewpoint of cognitive psychology, culture has been ingrained as early as one can remember and one that has become the schema in one's way of thinking. To put simply, there has already been the likelihood that the best culture is the culture of our own community. Everyone will try to show that their own culture is way better than the others. This finding is consistent with the outcome of a by Norizah (1990). Both studies found that attitudes and acceptance among native speakers of Malay are much better and more positive compared with non-native speakers, especially among Chinese speakers. Race had played an important role in determining the level of proficiency, language attitudes

and acceptance. Although the name Bahasa Melayu was changed to Bahasa Malaysia, it is clear from the findings of these two studies that the level of acquisition, attitude and acceptance of the Malay language has not changed much.

Religion

In terms of religion, the mastery of language, attitude and acceptance and opinion on the capability of Bahasa Melayu, it was found that the Muslims performed better compared with the non-Muslims. This is due to the belief that 'Islam is Malay and Malay is Islam'. As we speak of the Malays, whether in the social, culture or political contexts, they are synonymous with Islam - this makes it plausible that the non-Muslims have not shown the same level of acceptance as their Muslim counterparts. Religion is a very subjective issue and carries along a very strong emotional attachment. Everyone will be prone to reject anything that is not included in the religion he or she believes in. Table 4 shows this data.

Table 4
Attitude and Acceptance Based on Religion

Race	N	Mean	SP	DK	t	P
Malay	177	75.34	9.21	193	5.922	0.00
Non-Malay	18	60.94	14.80			

p < 0.05

Income Level

In terms of income, the mastery of knowledge, attitude and acceptance and opinion on the capability of the language, no significant difference was noted. This is due to the fact that the income variable does not

significantly influence the communication process in Bahasa Melayu, whether they have high or low income. Also, the attitude and opinion on the capability of Bahasa Melayu are not influenced by income. In many aspects, income is a variable that

influences one's life pattern, whereas it is less influential where the cultural pattern is concerned.

Educational level

Educational level has an impact on the attitude towards Bahasa Melayu. It is found that highly educated people show a higher level of mastery and acceptance compared with those whose had secondary and primary school education. This is explained by the influence of higher education in this country by way of raising the status of Bahasa Melayu as the language of knowledge, which sees the advancement of the language at the higher education level.

In terms of attitude and acceptance of Bahasa Melayu, the highly educated group showed a higher level compared with those from other educational backgrounds. This is due to the influence of the culture of the education that has stressed on the use of Bahasa Melayu, while the attitude and opinion on how able Bahasa Melayu is do not show any difference. To explain this, the capability of this particular language leans more towards the cultural pattern that Bahasa Melayu is acknowledged as the national language of the country. As the national and official language, the Malay language has many official roles. It is also the language of administration, formal language, unifying language and language of education among others. It is clear to us that the Malay language plays an important role in the lives of many Malaysians. As a result of various language policies, Malay language has been strengthened and has become central to the sustainability of the Malaysian community.

Psychologically, a group with higher educational level is more aware of the importance of Malay as a political mechanism to integrate the various races in Malaysia. This awareness will lead to the higher integration motivation among those with higher educational level. Studies conducted by Csiger and Donyei (2005) as discussed in the literature review section clearly shows that those who have a higher level of integration motivation will usually have a higher level of acquisition compared with those who have a low level of integration motivation.

Residential Location

In terms of location, there has been no difference in the mastery level of Bahasa Melayu between the urban and rural residents. A reason for this is the fact that societies, either living in the rural or urban areas, tend to use Bahasa Melayu as their official language. This means that both the urban and rural citizens have received the same education on Bahasa Melayu, whereas a striking difference was observed among the attitude and acceptance as well as the pinion on the capability of Bahasa Melayu between rural and urban areas. In this context, the rural residents tend to have a higher level of acceptance than those residing in the cities. This is because they are yet to be subjected to undue influence that may change their attitude towards Bahasa Melayu. Put simply, the influence of modernisation and globalisation have

an implication on the attitude adopted and opinion held on the capability of the language. The city dwellers are more likely to be affected by modernisation and globalisation. Other than that, it can be said that for the rural people, they still cling on firmly to culture, especially when the symbolisation of language mirrors this aspect.

There is a relationship between the mastery level of Bahasa Melayu with the attitude and acceptance of the language. It shows that one's knowledge can really influence his or her attitude. In the theory of cognitive development, knowledge is the policy capital for one to form a perception towards any object or something he or she faces. The perception varies according to the knowledge that he or she has.

There is also a correlation in the mastery level of Bahasa Melayu knowledge with the attitude and acceptance of the language. It is clear to us that the language policy of the Malaysian government had successfully empowered the Malay language on many aspects. This has given various positive effects on the level of acceptance among many Malay language users and directly increases the positive perception of Malay language among Malaysians. This shows that the knowledge relates to the assessment of an object. This means, the higher and the better the knowledge on a subject, the higher and the better the assessment given on that subject. Knowledge and attitude of a person can affect the assessment of a particular object. It is obvious to us that the best way to increase the level of acceptance of the

Malay language is to improve the level of knowledge and skills on this language among the people of Malaysia. We can also assume that the rejection of the Malay language is usually caused by the failure to acquire this language efficiently by certain sectors in our society, especially among the second language users of Bahasa Melayu.

Findings from this research illustrate that attitude has a significant and important correlation with the background or the demography of the respondents. It is apparent that the background factor influences the affective factor of respondents. The attitude refers to the affective matters, which have a lot to do with the feelings or something felt in the soul. Attitude would normally be able to determine one's behaviour, for example one with a positive attitude towards something may be inclined to do something more eagerly, and somehow avoid from doing things that run contrary to his or her feelings and inclinations.

CONCLUSION

Attitude can be defined as a behaviour shown towards something. The term Language Attitude partly refers to the assumption and evaluation given by society towards a particular language, or about other dialects in a language. From the definition and the presumption of the language attitude, it can be concluded that one's attitude towards a language is based on various factor such as psychological, geographical, cultural, education and others.

Based on the statistical analysis and discussion earlier, researchers have found

that the language attitude of the East Coast communities varies following variables that have been determined. Based on the SPSS analysis, the percentage calculation, the Anova statistical test and both the validity and reliability methods demonstrate that there is a significant difference between age, race, religion, educational level and residential location in terms of mastery of Bahasa Melayu. However, if we look at the level of income and the marital status, the analysis shows that the difference is not very significant.

Based on the data of this study, to look at it as a whole, the East Coast communities specifically in the state of Pahang have a positive view, especially the Malay ethnic group, towards Bahasa Melayu. In terms of the level of proficiency of Bahasa Melayu, attitude and acceptance of Bahasa Melayu, as well as the attitude and opinion held over the capability of the language, Malays show a higher level and more positive views in comparison with other ethnic groups.

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