

LANGUAGES AND LANGUAGE SITUATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIA

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Introduction

In terms of origin the languages of Southeast Asia can be divided into two categories indigenous and non-indigenous. Indigenous languages are those which have been in the area for a long time, as compared to the non-indigenous ones which have the origins outside such as Chinese, Indian and European languages. A widely accepted theory, that of H. Kern, posits the original homeland of the Austronesian languages of Peninsular Malaysia and the islands of Southeast Asia as the Province of Yunnan in Southeast China.

Indigenous Languages

The indigenous languages of the whole of Southeast Asia belong to a number of different stocks. These are Austronesian, Papuan, Tai-Kadai, Austroasiatic and Tibeto-Burman. The Austronesian stock is most widely spread all over the Southeast Asian islands, Peninsular Malaysia, the hills of Hainan and Taiwan (Formosa). A few of these languages are also found in Kampuchea. The Papuan family of languages is only located in New Guinea.

The Austroasiatic family consists of the Mon-khmer and Munda groups of languages. The aboriginal languages of Peninsular Malaysia (with the exception of Jakun and Temuan which are dialects of Malay) and Vietnamese belong to, the Mon-Khmer group. In the Tai-Kadai group are Thai, Lao and various other languages found in Thailand and Laos. The members of Tibeto-Burman are Burmese and various other languages of Burma.

In terms of typology, one can point to particular linguistic features that serves to differentiate the Austronesian languages apart from the Austroasiatic, Tai-Kadai and Tibeto-Burman languages; and this is the tonal feature which is absent in the former, but forms a distinctive trait in most of the languages in the latter three groups.

This paper henceforth will be devoted to a discussion on the languages and language situation of the Austronesian region of Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei and the Philippines. Most of the indigenous languages of these countries belong to the Austronesian language stock. This stock has an area of spread which

runs from Taiwan in the north to New Zealand in the south, and from Easter Island in the east to Madagascar in the west.

The Austronesian stock is divided into four main families, and these are Indonesian, Melanesian, Polynesian and Micronesian. The languages of the latter three are also known as Oceanic languages.

The Austronesian languages of Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, the Philippines and Indonesia are mostly those of the Indonesian family. However, Indonesia being the largest and most widespread of all these countries also encompasses the Melanesian family of languages, specifically in Irian.

Malaysia is the only one of the five countries which has languages of both the Austronesian and Austroasiatic stocks. The former stock comprises Malay (with its various dialects), and the languages of Sabah and Sarawak, while the latter consists of the aboriginal or *orang asli* languages of Peninsular Malaysia, with the exception of Jakun and Temuan, which, as already mentioned, are dialects of Malay.

Origin of Homeland of the Austronesian Languages

There are many theories on the subject of origins of the Austronesian languages. Isidore Dyen seemed to think that it was the island of Borneo. However, as said earlier, the theory most widely accepted is the one expounded by H. Kern, which says that the homeland of the Austronesian languages was Yunnan in Southeast China. This theory was based on archaeological findings of artefacts, animal remains and vegetation.

Specialists on the Austroasiatic languages also seem to be of the opinion that the homeland of the Austroasiatic peoples is around the same area as that of the Austronesian languages. This area is now a region of spread of the Chinese language.

Austronesian Languages

It is not known how many languages there are altogether in the countries under consideration. A rough guess is that there are 400 in Indonesia, 250 in the Philippines, and 100 in Malaysia and Brunei. These languages vary in terms of the size of their speech communities. Following Ferguson's model (Ferguson, 1971), those with at least a million speakers may be termed major languages, while those with less than this number may be termed minor languages. At the same time, there may be languages with only a few hundred speakers and are facing the danger of

being extinct; these are the moribund languages.

Each of the countries under consideration have a *lingua franca*, which is used by people of various linguistic backgrounds in socialising with each other or in carrying out their trades. In Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore and Brunei, the *lingua franca* is Malay, while in the Philippines it is Tagalog.

The local languages are fully developed in the sense that they are well-formed tools of their communities service not only communication, but also cognitive and The discussion below revolves around certain language features and systems pertaining to certain concepts, which help in formulating the world view of the Austronesian people of Southeast Asia.

Morphological Types

The languages of the Austronesian stock are agglutinative in nature. This means that they make use of affixes to derive words from roots or base forms. These affixes may consist of prefixes, suffixes and infixes. Of these three subcategories the first seems to be the most dominant, in terms of inventory as well frequency in usage. Next comes the subcategory of infix, followed by the subcategory of suffix. Besides these affixes, there also exist the discontinuous affixes, viz. those which reflect a combination of a prefix and a suffix, or an infix and a suffix.

To illustrate, consider for example at Malay which has only three indigenous affixes as opposed to about 12 prefixes, and three discontinuous affixes. An almost similar pattern showing the dominance of the prefixes over the other types of affixes occurs in Iban and Kadazan.

The affixes may have a grammatical or a lexical function. With the former function, it indicates the modulation of the category it occupies. For example, in the case of the verb in Malay, the prefix *me-* as in *membuka* (to open), *menari* (to dance), *melihat* (to see), etc. may indicate the active voice, and with it various aspects like the beginning or continuity of action, and so on.

On the other hand, the affixes can derive new lexical items by adding in new meanings to the base form to which they are attached. For example, from the root *tari* (to dance), one can derive *penari* (dancer) by using the prefix *pe-*; and *tarian* (a dance) by using the suffix *-an*.

Another morphological feature which is a characteristic of the Austronesian languages is reduplication. This feature may consist of the reduplication of the whole word (for example, *orang* "person"; *orang-orang* "people"), the root of a complex word (for example, *menulis* "to write"; *menulis-nulis* "to keep on writing"), or the first syllable of the root (for example, *laki* "husband"; *lelaki* "male", "man").

All the examples above are taken from Malay.

Reduplication has a lexical function; that is to say it derives new words from the root-forms, as seen in the examples already given.

Numbers and Counting

Most of these languages have numerals up to the thousand. A few, for example Malay, Javanese and Tagalog, have numerals up to a million. However, the numerals above the thousand are borrowed from Sanskrit and English.

On the other hand, there are also languages which have numerals. That run only up to ten. A case in point is the Rundum Murut of Sabah.

A great number of the languages use numeral classifiers in counting, while others do not. The classifiers are categorised according to the noun objects they modify. Generally, they fall into two main categories, animate and inanimate.

Most of the languages which have the animate numeral classifiers divide this category into two subcategories: human and non-human. The non-human numeral classifiers modify nouns referring to animals. For example, Malay makes a distinction between human and non-humans noun by using the classifier *orang* for the former and *ekor* for the latter, as in the following examples: *dua orang anak* (two children), *tiga orang kawan* (three friends); as opposed to *dua ekor ayam* (two chickens), and *tiga ekor kambing* (three goats).

Not all languages make this human versus non-human distinction. For example, Iban uses only one classifier, and that is *iko*, (a cognate of the Malay *ekor*), for both human and non-human nouns, for example, *pat iko jani* (four pigs); *lima iko anembiak* (five children).

Classifiers for inanimate notions are generally determined by the shape and size of the noun objects concerned. Malay and Iban are among those languages which have a rich store of such classifiers.

The separation between the singular and the plural number does not form a significant system in these languages. That is to say, a noun, a verb or, an adjective may be used in the singular or the plural; it does not have to have a particular form by using various affixes to show that it denotes the plural as opposed to the singular. In Malay, the noun may be reduplicated to convey the plural meaning, such as *orang* (person); *orang-orang* (people). However, this device is optional and indicates a preference for the type of style which shows definiteness rather than a rule that has to be followed.

In contradistinction with the above, the separation between the singular and the plural occurs in the system of personal pronouns as will be discussed below.

Personal Pronouns and the Concept of Intimacy, Neutrality and Distance

The Austronesian languages have a three-person system: first, second and third persons. Most of the languages have definite forms to indicate the plural of the first and third persons, for example:

As seen from the above examples, the first person plural may or may not have the division between the exclusive and the inclusive subcategories. Iban and Malay belong to the type that have such categories while Bintulu does not. In the Austronesian languages of Malaysia, it can be said that as far as this aspect of the language is concerned there are more languages which fall into the same type as Malay and Iban compared to those which are of the Bintulu type.

Most of the languages do not have special words to denote the second person plural. This concept is conveyed by phrases which consist of the pronoun of the second person and a pluralising word. For example, the word *semua* and *sekalian* may be used as pluralisers in formations such as *engkau semua*, *awak sekalian*, etc. which may be translated as "you all".

The usage of personal pronouns in most of these languages reflect a democratic or neutral attitude in person-to-person relationship. That is to say, a pronoun whether it is for the first, second or third person, may be used by anyone speaking to anyone else about anyone at all. For instance, most of the languages have *aku*, *ako* or the like which the speaker uses to refer to himself. This pronoun may be used when he speaks to anyone older or younger than himself or even those higher in rank than himself. The same rule applies when he uses the second person pronoun (*engkau*, *ikaw*, *itakaw*, etc.) when addressing the person he is talking to, or when he uses the third person pronoun (*ia*, *iya*, *iyu*, etc.) to refer to someone he is talking about.

However, there are a few languages which have rules that differentiate between the democratic or the neutral usage from one which is marked by respect as well as one which is marked by intimacy. In a language of this nature there is a list of pronouns for the first, second and third persons from which the speaker has to go through to select the appropriate form for use when he speaks to and about someone else, especially one who is older and higher in rank than himself. Examples of languages which have such rules are Malay, Javanese, Sundanese, Balinese and Madurese. The latter four are spoken in Indonesia.

Such languages are said to have levels of speech or sociolinguistic levels which are determined by the distance in relationship between one person and another. This brings about two distinct categories: intimacy and closeness on the one side, and power and distance on the other. In between these two extremes is the neutral category.

The category of power and distance reflects a clear distinction in society in terms of rank. The term 'rank' here is used to refer to the level a speaker occupies in relation to the other party in terms of age, position in the community and position in kinship hierarchy.

In present-day Malay, for example, the first person 'saya' (I) may be considered as reflecting the neutral category. This pronoun is an intermediate between 'aku' on the one hand, and 'patik' or 'beta' on the other. 'Patik' is used when one is speaking to a member of the royalty, and beta when the ruler (Sultan or King) or his consort refers to himself or herself in formal speech or writing. In a social situation, the ruler or his consort uses the neutral 'saya'.

Pronouns which are marked by ranks may be seen in terms of the process of movement from the speaker to the person addressed. 'Saya' shows a horizontal movement. That is to say, the speakers reflect a neutral attitude in their speech even though they may occupy different ranks. On the other hand, 'patik' and 'beta' show a vertical movement: the former upward, and the latter downward. When such pronouns are used, there is a clear indication that the parties are very much conscious of their social relationship with one another.

Brunei Malay does not differentiate intimacy from neutrality. There is only one pronoun for both situations, and that is 'aku'. However, in a situation where power and distance forms the backdrop, two pronouns are used in the upward movement, that is, 'hamba' when speaking to a 'pangeran' (member of the aristocracy), and 'kaula' when speaking to one who holds the title 'pehin', the highest ranking title awarded by the Sultan to a commoner.

The languages which show complexity in the sociolinguistic use of the personal pronouns are also those which belong to communities which are characterised by a complexity of sociocultural levels. The presence of such sociocultural levels also generates nomenclatures of titles and ranks which are inherited by birth or awarded by the rulers. In Malaysia, the first category is exemplified by 'Tunku', 'Tengku' and 'Raja', while the second by 'Tun', 'Tan Sri' and 'Dato' or 'Datuk'. Accompanying such titles are honorifics such as 'Duli Yang Maha Mulia' (for rulers and their consorts), 'Yang Mulia' (for members of the royalty), 'Yang Berhormat' (for members of Parliament, the Senate, and the Legislative Assemblies), and 'Yang Berbahagia' (for commoners with the titles of Tun, Tan Sri and Dato' or Datuk).

Various communities in Indonesia also have their sociocultural levels characterised by titles and honorifics. A good example is the Javanese community. However, in a speech event where Bahasa Indonesia is used, the issue of titles and honorifics do not arise. The Indonesians have levelled up all the sociolinguistic

differences by using 'bapa' for men and 'ibu' for women in their terms of address. Such levelling up is not possible in Malaysia and Brunei.

Multilingualism in Southeast Asia

As has been shown in the previous section, the Southeast Asian region is a highly multilingual. This feature has been made more intensified with various processes that had taken place in history, particularly trade, immigration, expansion of regional hegemony, missionary activities and imperialism. All these had brought the Southeast Asian peoples into contact with one another and with those from outside the region.

Trade and immigration form the earliest of all these activities which had led to contact between the different languages, and had been responsible for the introduction of certain languages in the localities which they had never occupied previously. The introduction of the Malay language which is deemed to have its main area of spread in Peninsular Malaysia, Brunei and Sumatra to other parts of Southeast Asia may be attributed to these processes as well as to the expansion of regional hegemonies such as those of the Srivijaya and the Majapahit empires.

Immigration within the region had taken place from time immemorial. And this process is carried on even to this day. This accounts for the settling down of the Javanese, the Minangkabau, the Achehnese and the Mandailing in various parts of Peninsular Malaysia, or of the Illanun (originally from the Philippines) in Sabah.

Immigration from outside the region had taken place prior to the nineteenth century, but this did not contribute much for the emergence of new speech communities. The Baba language, which is a creolised form of Malay, may be said to have resulted from the immigration of the Chinese in the fifteenth century. However, in this case, these people did not develop a totally Chinese (of whatever dialect) speaking community. Rather, from the beginning, they had adopted the local language, Malay, and had brought about a process of accommodation between this language and their mother tongue. It was through this process that a creole, which is now known as 'Baba Malay', had come into being.

Immigration in large numbers in the nineteenth century had been responsible for the emergence new speech communities, such as the Chinese speech community in various countries of Southeast Asia. Chinese itself is highly diversified, and this adds to the intensity of multilingualism in its adopted homelands.

Immigration from India and Ceylon in the nineteenth century was linked to British imperialism, has left a distinct mark on the linguistic scenery of Malaysia with the introduction of various languages from these two areas.

Portuguese imperialism in Malaysia and Indonesia, French imperialism in Indo-China, Dutch imperialism in Indonesia, Spanish and American imperialisms in the Philippines, and British imperialism in Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei have also left long lasting marks on the multilingual situation in these countries. This means that five European languages have made an impact on the speech communities of Southeast Asia; and four of these languages, that is English, French, Spanish and Portuguese are among the world's major languages and languages of wider diffusion. The fifth language, Dutch, may not be a language of wider diffusion like the other four, nevertheless left an impact as a language in which topics pertaining to the history and life of the Southeast Asians were written. Although communities speaking these European languages have sprouted in the region, they are small in terms of the number of first-language speakers, compared to the Chinese and the Indian speech communities. The discussion above clearly shows that imperialism had an important role to contributing multilingualism in Southeast Asia.

The spread of Portuguese in Melaka began with Portuguese imperialism in the area in the sixteenth century. However, the Portuguese language of Melaka as it is spoken today is not similar with the Portuguese spoken in Portugal or Brazil. It is a creole with sixteenth century Portuguese as its base.

Although the spread of the European languages has not resulted in major European first-language communities, these languages have charted a success as second languages or second most important languages in the countries concerned, particularly during the days when these European powers ruled the land. Dutch was a second language among the educated Indonesian elites, as was French among the elites of the countries of Indo-China, Spanish, among those of the Philippines, and English among those in the former British protectorates and settlements in Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei as well in the Philippines after the colonisation of this country by the United States at the beginning of the twentieth century. The second language status of these European languages had undergone a change in these countries after the Second World War, specifically after the independence of these countries from colonial rule, as will be discussed later.

Christian missionary activities came in together with Western imperialism. Although it did not introduce new languages apart from the ones already mentioned, it had assisted in the spread of these languages through missionary schools, and strengthened their position among the Southeast Asian Christians. Arising from this are the first-language European speech communities previously mentioned.

This however does not mean that the spread of Christianity has through the language of the imperial powers. The spread of this religion was also done through

the use of local languages, including Malay. What is apparent here is that first-language speakers of the European languages are Christians and these people are mainly represented by the Eurasians. One may hasten to add that not all Southeast Asian Christians are first-language speakers of the European languages under discussion.

In contradistinction with their Christian counterparts, the Muslim missionary activities have not created first-language speech communities of Arabic, however small it may be. This is due to the fact that Islam was spread entirely in the local languages and had not had the advantage of using the channel of elite schools of the various countries. Educational institutions which provided the channel for the spread of Islam were religious schools run by individuals, where the students lived in a campus-like setting but in their privately built huts. The organisers, teachers and students in such set-ups were the natives, and teaching was done in the local languages except for the teaching of the Arabic language. In such a context, Arabic was only spoken as a second or a foreign language. In Malaysia such religious schools are known as 'pondok', while in Indonesia the term used is 'pesantren'

First-language speakers of Arabic may be found among Arab immigrants in various parts of Southeast Asia. However, there has not been known to exist a sizeable community of first-language speakers of Arabic in the region. Most of the Arab immigrants had had an inclination to be absorbed into the Muslim community through intermarriage, and their offsprings are likely to adopt the local language.

National Language Situation in Southeast Asia

The Southeast Asian countries, except for Thailand, were once colonised by Western powers. As said earlier, imperialism had brought about the imposition of the colonial languages on the local peoples, particularly in administration, trade and business, and education. This had given the colonial languages the position of high status language (H-language), and in the process the local languages were downgraded to low status language (L-language).

Certain L-languages of Southeast Asia were once H-languages within the confines of their own communities or even within the whole Southeast Asian region. Javanese, Acheneese, Tagalog, Vietnamese, Lao and Burmese were H-languages used in administration, philosophy, religion and high literature in their various communities. Malay was not only an H-language in the Malay Peninsula, but also in a greater part of insular Southeast Asia.

The use of the languages of the colonial masters had in a way suppressed the use of the H-languages of the region in important domains such as school education, administration, business and trade. The colonial languages came to be identified

with high education, wealth and power, as well as an urban and sophisticated life style. The advantages that one could get from these languages were sufficient motivation for the people to acquire them.

The struggle for independence and the establishment of national sovereignty among the Southeast Asian countries generated a need for symbols for the purpose of identity. Such symbols take the form of the national flag, the national anthem and the national language. The national language is usually the language in which the national anthem is sung.

The national language also serves as a symbol of unity. This means that it is the common tool in communication between people of different backgrounds. The selection of the national languages fell on local languages which could carry out the above functions. In all these countries, the indigenous languages that were once H-languages were chosen to be their national languages. Hence, Tagalog, now known as Filipino, became the national language for the Philippines; Burmese for Burma; and Malay for Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore and Brunei. In Indonesia, Malay has assumed a different name and that is 'bahasa Indonesia'. In Malaysia, this language is known by two nomenclatures, bahasa Melayu and 'bahasa Malaysia', while Brunei and Singapore have decided to stick to the old name of 'bahasa-Melayu'.

In terms of language policy, some countries make a distinction between 'national language' and 'official-language'. In Indonesia and Thailand, the term 'national language' serves to mean the national and the official language. That is to say, in these countries a differentiation between the two has never been deemed necessary. To them, the 'national language' has always functioned as official language.

On the other hand in Singapore, Brunei, Malaysia and the Philippines, such a differentiation has been considered necessary. Except for Malaysia, these countries have a bilingual policy in the use of language for official and administrative purposes as well as for education.

Singapore has four official languages: English, Mandarin, Malay and Tamil. In theory any of these languages can be used in any official situation. In reality, it has always been English across the board. The other three official languages are used in official situation in functions that involve their own speech communities.

Singapore's language policy in education places English as the most important language which has to be acquired by every school child. In addition, school children are taught their own mother tongues and are required to choose one other language from the list of official languages, that is one which is not their mother tongue. For example, a Malay child at school has to learn English and Malay as well as Mandarin or Tamil.

A different model of bilingualism at the official and educational level exists in the Philippines and Brunei. In administration and official function, there are two possibilities. The first one is the use of the national language together with English. In the second possibility, one language may be used to the exclusion of the other. For example, in government departments in Brunei letters may be written in Malay or English. However, there also exist departments, such as the Language and Literacy Agency (Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka) where letters are written only in Malay.

For teaching in schools in Brunei and the Philippines, some subjects, are taught in the national language and others in English, and is a choice of policy makers.

In each of the countries which have a bilingual or multilingual policy, there is only one national language (which is also one of the official languages). This language is also the language of the national anthem. It would not have been feasible to have more than one. This language is Malay in Singapore and Brunei, and Filipino in the Philippines.

The situation in Malaysia is different from the monolingual policy of Thailand and Indonesia as well as from the bilingual and multilingual policies of Brunei, Singapore and the Philippines. From the time of independence until ten years after, Malaya (the predecessor of Malaysia) had a national language and two official languages, as provided for in the Constitution of the country. Malay was the national language, and it was also designated as an official language side by side with English. This means that it was not only government bodies that could use both or either of these languages, but also the Legislative Assemblies of the various states, the Parliament and the Senate, as well as the law courts. Come September 1967, English ceased to be used in official and administrative functions in the country. It remained in use as the primary language of the courts of law until 1990 when Malay took over this function; however, even in this context there is a provision that English may be used if the need arises, in the interest of justice.

When Sabah and Sarawak joined Malaya to form Malaysia in 1963, they were also allowed to have Malay and English as the official languages, and were given a ten-year period to prepare themselves where Malay becomes the official language. While Sabah managed to implement the monolingual official language policy in record time, Sarawak succeeded in doing so only in 1985. This is because the power to decide on the date of the implementation of the policy was with the State's Legislative Assembly, and this body had seen it fit not to rush into the implementation of the use of Malay.

Following the conversion of the bilingual policy at the official level to one which is monolingual was still in process, the terms national language and official language were very much in use in Malaysia. Now that the process is completed

with one language doing both functions, one only hears the term national language. In this aspect, Malaysia draws close to Thailand and Indonesia. But the similarity ends there. Other aspects of the use of the national language and English have set Malaysia apart from these two neighbors. This is due to Malaysia's policy which gives English the status of 'second most important language'.

Although Malaysia no longer gives English the status of official language, the importance of this language is emphasised particularly with regards achieving the goals of developing a progressive, intelligent society. The Prime Minister, Dato' Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, in his vision for the Malaysia of the twenty-first century, better known as Vision 2020, wants to see Malaysians reaching for the dizzy heights in all aspect of life, as reflected in the following excerpt:

We cannot but aspire to the highest standards with regard to the skills of our people, to their devotion to know how and knowledge up-grading and self-improvement, to their language competence, to their work attitudes and discipline, to their managerial abilities, to their achievement motivation, their attitude towards excellence and to the fostering of the entrepreneurial spirit. (Mahathir bin Mohamad, 1991)

'Language competence' in the quotation above means competence in both Malay and English. This was made explicit by the Prime Minister himself when he met senior academicians from all the seven universities in the country on 9th July 1992, at Pusat Islam, Kuala Lumpur, to explain his Vision 2020. From this one can see that the status of English in Malaysia is become similar, though not identical, to that in Singapore, Brunei and the Philippines.

Conclusion

The Southeast Asian region is indeed linguistically diverse. This is clearly seen in the member of indigenous languages. In terms of language policy adopted by the various countries in modern times, there are points of similarity as well as divergence brought about by historical processes as well as the philosophies adopted by them for the good of their own peoples.

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