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Lexical Borrowing in Malaysian English: Influences of Malay¹

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Abstract

During its evolution in the region that is today Malaysia, English has come into contact with a range of diverse, typologically-distinct languages. All these languages have influenced the lexicon of Malaysia English (ME), but it is Malay that has contributed to some of the most remarkable characteristics of this variety of English (see, for example, Lowenberg [1986 and 2000]; and Morais [2001]). This paper explores how the English-Malay contact has resulted in the incorporation of Malay features into the lexicon of ME. Using a corpus-based approach, the study analysed a comprehensive range of borrowed features extracted from the author's *Malaysian English Newspaper Corpus* (MEN Corpus) for the linguistic processes behind the borrowing phenomenon. Haugen's [1950] groundbreaking work on lexical borrowing provides the theoretical framework of this study. It is proposed that the underlying systematicity of the processes involved is reflected in the linguistic outcomes, and that there is much potential for corpus-based lexicography where ME is concerned. To highlight the non-arbitrariness of the borrowing phenomenon, the social and linguistic factors that motivate ME users to incorporate Malay lexical features into their variety of English are examined.

Keywords: language contact – new Englishes – lexical borrowing – loanwords – compound blends – loan translations – corpus-based lexicography

¹ This paper is based on a part of my PhD research, which was completed at the University of Hong Kong's School of English.

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1. Introduction

Contact between the English and Malay languages in the region that is today Malaysia has a fascinating historical background that spans a period of more than 200 years (see Tan [2006: 4-12] for details). From the establishment of the British trading port in Penang in 1786 to the early interactions between Malay-speaking³ and English-speaking traders, and from the politically-charged relationships between the British colonial officers and the Malay ruling class in the 19th century to the present-day communications among different groups of English-speaking and Malay-speaking bilinguals in Malaysia, the contact between the two languages has been intense and continuing.

The influences of the Malay language contribute to some of the most remarkable characteristics of Malaysian English (henceforth ME) today as these features distinguish this variety of English from, not only native varieties, but also other Asian varieties such as Philippine English, Hong Kong English, Indian English and, to a lesser degree, Singapore English. “The overriding influence of Malay” (Morais [2001: 35]) has been the focus of many inquiries into ME (see, in particular, Lowenberg [1986 and 2000]). The presence of features borrowed from Malay as well as the ancestral languages of the local Chinese and Indian communities is popularly interpreted as the outcome of linguistic acculturation, a process “by which English is equipped to function effectively in non-Western, multilingual speech communities” (Lowenberg [1986: 72]). Although influential, these studies (Lowenberg [1984, 1986 and 1992]; and Baskaran [1988]) have disregarded some of the more pertinent processes behind the phenomenon whereby borrowed features are incorporated into ME.

This paper goes beyond linguistic acculturation; rather it describes the linguistic processes behind the borrowing phenomenon, in other words, the mechanisms that ME users adopt, intentionally or subconsciously, in their efforts to improve the communicative and expressive functions of ME. More crucially, the study exploits a corpus-based approach in order to draw attention to the regularity and stability of these processes. It is proposed that the underlying systematicity of the processes involved is reflected in the linguistic outcomes, and that there is much potential for corpus-based lexicography where ME is concerned. To highlight the non-arbitrariness of the borrowing phenomenon, the social and linguistic factors that drive ME users to incorporate Malay lexical features into their variety of English are examined.

Haugen’s [1950] groundbreaking work on lexical borrowing is used as a framework for analysing the diverse processes behind the adoption of Malay words and phrases in ME. The source of these features is the *Malaysian English Newspaper Corpus* (or the *MEN Corpus*),⁴ a 5-million word corpus of newspaper articles published in the two most authoritative English-language dailies in Malaysia – *The STAR* and the *New Straits Times* – over a six-month period from August 2001 to January 2002.

2. Lexical borrowing in the context of new Englishes

In the context of ME, and indeed of most varieties of English that have emerged in former British colonies, the interpretation of lexical borrowing must be premised on the understanding that borrowing does not have to be, and is in fact often not, *initiated by native*

³ The Malay-speaking communities in and around the Malay Peninsula comprised not only the Malays but also the Arabs, Persians, Chinese, Tamils, Bengalis, Thais and so on. Because Malay was the *lingua franca* for trade in maritime Southeast Asia (see Reid [1988: 7]), traders needed to have, either themselves or through an interpreter, a working knowledge of the language.

⁴ I compiled the Malaysian English Newspaper Corpus during the initial period of my PhD candidacy at the University of Hong Kong.

speakers of English. This is in direct contradiction with the commonly-held perception that only native speakers of the recipient language can be agents of borrowing (see Thomason and Kaufman [1988: 37], and Winford [2003: 11]).

It cannot be denied that, as suggested by Schneider [2003a: 244-247], the early English-speaking settlers – traders and colonial officers from different regional backgrounds – played an important role in introducing some of the earliest borrowings from the languages spoken locally into their English language. In the case of ME, many of these features – toponyms, flora and fauna, especially – continue to be used today. However, with the departure of the colonial power and as the language they left behind became more widespread within the local community, borrowing was often undertaken by those within the community who speak English concurrently with other languages – persons who are bilingual or multilingual in English.

This observation is consistent with Thomason's revised view [2001: 68] that “borrowers do not have to be native speakers,” and that *fluent* speakers are as capable as native speakers of engaging in lexical borrowing. Fluency is crucial because one needs to be reasonably familiar with the linguistic structure of a language to be able to introduce novel features into it without disrupting the original system of the language. Features that are introduced into the recipient language may then be transmitted to other members of the community. Features that are sustainable – that are particularly relevant to the needs of the community, for example – may go on to become permanent additions to the vocabulary of other speakers of the recipient language, whether or not they are fluent. It is this interpretation of the phenomenon of borrowing that will be the theoretical basis for the present study.

In his oft-quoted model of lexical borrowing, Haugen [1950: 212-213] defines the linguistic changes resulting from this phenomenon using two key terms – *importation* and *substitution*. The former is understood to have occurred when the original form and pronunciation of a particular feature are retained as part of the transfer process from the source language to the recipient language, while the latter is said to have occurred when the borrowed feature changes in form or pronunciation. Using degrees of morphemic and phonemic substitution – that is, the degree to which the form and pronunciation of the original feature have been adapted – as criteria, Haugen distinguishes eight distinct types of borrowings: loanwords, blended stems, derivational blends, compound blends, loan homonyms, loan synonyms due to semantic displacements, loan synonyms due to semantic confusions, and loan translations (see Winford [2003: 43-46] for a concise but clear summary of these categories of borrowing). Three of these – loanwords, compound blends and loan translations – form the vast majority of borrowed features observed in the MEN Corpus and they will be the focus of the present study.

3. The corpus-based approach

The corpus-based approach is “a way of investigating language by observing large amounts of naturally-occurring, electronically-stored discourse, using software which selects, sorts, matches, counts and calculates” (Hunston and Francis [2000: 15]). The present study utilises this approach in order to examine how words and phrases of Malay origin are used in ME. The data for the study were extracted from the MEN Corpus using *WordSmith Tools*, a software package which generates, most crucially for my needs, lists of all the words that occur in the corpus, and concordance displays of specific search words. The word lists revealed a wide range of Malay borrowings, many of which had not been identified in previous studies of ME, while the concordance displays allowed me to examine these features in context.

By analysing the concordance display of a particular feature, I was able to establish the following: (1) the meaning(s) of the feature as used in ME; (2) the word class(es) ME users assign to it; (3) derived and inflected forms of the feature and their meanings; and (4) citations which illustrate the different usages of the feature. Using this information, I have constructed dictionary entries for the features identified. This procedure will become clearer when we come to the section on the codification of the ME lexicon.

In total, 264 lexical features of Malay origin were identified and examined. Table 1 provides an overview of the distribution of these features across different semantic fields. The corresponding dictionary entries are presented in the appendix. In the next three sections, I shall describe the diverse processes involved in the incorporation of loanwords, compound blends and loan translations into ME.

Semantic fields	Loanwords (n=222)	Compound blends (n=34)	Loan translations (n=8)
Food (n=79)			
Food items	asam pedas ayam pongteh bubur lambuk/lambok gulai tempoyak kacang kerabu kerisik ketupat lontong mee goreng mee rebus nasi briyani nasi kerabu nasi lemak nasi ulam rendang rojak "spicy salad"* roti roti canai roti jala roti kaya sambal sambal belacan sambal ikan bilis sambal petai sambal tempoyak sambal udang petai soto ulam	beef rending briyani rice chicken rendang naan bread pongteh chicken/ chicken pongteh	
Sweets and beverages	ais kacang bubur bubur cha cha bubur kacang bubur pulut hitam kaya kuih kuih bahulu kuih bangkit	ice kacang pandan jelly	

	kuih kapit putu beras putu kacang tapai tapai pulut tapai ubi teh tarik		
Fruit, vegetables, herbs and spices	bunga kantan ciku daun kesum daun mambu daun salam duku langsung kangkung kunyit langsung pandan	pandan leaf wet rempah	
	petai rempah serai		
Dried, fermented or preserved foodstuffs	belacan budu cincalok ikan bilis “dried anchovies” tempe tempoyak		
Fish and poultry	bawal hitam bawal putih ikan kembung ikan tenggiri ikan terubok	kampung chicken	
Social and recreational activities (n=37)			
Games and sports	congkak gasing gasing pangkah gasing uri sepak takraw silat silat olahraga wau wau bulan		
Music, song and dance	dikir barat gamelan joget keroncong/kroncong ronggeng zapin		
Weddings	bunga manggar bunga telur pelamin	bersanding ceremony	
Feasting	kenduri makan makan kecil	thanksgiving kenduri	

Musical instruments	kompanyang rebab rebana rebana ubi		
Theatre	wayang wayang kulit wayang peranakan		
Poetry	pantun sajak syair		
Performers	dalang	kompanyang troupe	
Others		batik art batik painting	
Islam (n=29)			
Practices and events	(ber)buka puasa Hari Raya/Hari Raya Puasa/Hari Raya Aidilfitri umrah	Isyak prayer Subuh prayer terawih prayer	Friday prayer
Officials	imam kadi ulama/ulamak ustaz ustazah wali		
Islamic principles	halal non-halal haram khalwat syariah zina		
Places	(sekolah) pondok “Islamic school” madrasah surau	pondok school	
Utterances	Alhamdulillah/ alhamdulillah/ Alhamdulillah Insyaallah/InsyaAllah/ Insya-Allah/insyallah		God willing
Calendar	Ramadan/Ramadhan Syawal		
Titles	Hajah/Hajjah Haji		
People and titles (n=25)			
Formal and informal categories	baba bumiput(e)ra Muslim bumiput(e)ra non-bumiput(e)ra non-Muslim bumiput(e)ra mamak		

	nyonya orang asli orang putih Orang Ulu peranakan peranakan Arab rakyat		
Persons	Datin “person with title” Datuk “person with title” Datukship ikan bilis “small fry” makcik “middle-aged Malay lady” Mat Salleh pakcik “middle-aged Malay man”	batik painter	
Conferred titles	Datin “title” Datin Seri Datuk “title” Datuk Seri Puan Sri Tan Sri		
Terms of respect	Makcik “title” Pakcik “title”		
Toponyms and derivatives (n= 19)			
Name of states and derivatives	Johor/Johore Johorean Kedah Kedahan Kelantan Kelantanese Malacca/Melaka Malaccan Neg(e)ri Sembilan Pahang Pahangite Penang/Pulau Pinang Penangite Perak Perlis Sabah Sabahan Sarawak Sarawakian Selangor Selangorian Terengganu		
Cities and towns	Ipoh Kota Kinabalu Kuala Lumpur/KL KL-ites Kuantan Kuching		

	Muar		
Government, administration and the monarchy (n=18)			
Bodies	(Lembaga) Tabung Haji Dewan Negara Dewan Rakyat	Orang Asli Affairs Department/ Department of Orang Asli Affairs Tabung Haji Board	Islamic Affairs Council/ Islamic Council/ Islamic Religious Council Islamic Affairs Department Islamic Religious Department Malaysian Islamic Economic Development Foundation
Positions	Datuk Bandar Menteri Besar Raja Raja Permaisuri Agong Sultan wakil rakyat Yang di-Pertua Neg(e)ri Yang di-Pertuan Agong Yang di-Pertuan Besar		
Clothing (n=15)			
Attire	(baju) kebaya baju Kedah baju kurung baju Melayu batik sarong sarong/sarung		
Accessories	ibu kerongsang kerongsang selendang songkok tudung		
Textiles	(kain) songket batik	batik cloth saree cloth	
Folk religion (n=10)			
Evil spirits	hantu jembalang orang minyak pontianak		
Spiritual treatments	air jampi jampi kemenyan		
Spiritual healers	bomoh dukun pawang		
Miscellaneous (n=32)			
Spaces	kampung	kampung house	night market

	pasar malam pasar tani pondok “hut” pondok polis ulu	Malay kampung mamak stall nasi lemak stall	
Behavioural terms	gatal jaguh kampung muhibbah tidak apa	Malaysia boleh spirit Merdeka spirit tidak apa attitude	
Tools and objects in the house	parang rotan “cane”	pandan mat mengkuang mat	
Law	rotan “cane used to carry out caning sentence,” “judicially- sanctioned caning”		outrage ... modesty outraging the modesty (of)
Others	adat balik kampung dadah gotong-royong Jawi rojak “hodgepodge” rotan “climbing plant”		rice bowl

Table 1. Distribution of features borrowed from Malay

* Some lexical items (*datin*, *datuk*, *ikan bilis*, *makcik*, *pakcik*, *pondok*, *rojak* and *rotan*) appear in more than one semantic field as they have more than one sense. These items are glossed to avoid confusion.

4. Loanwords

In ME, the most common forms of Malay borrowings are loanwords – simple and compound loanwords account for approximately 84 per cent of the features identified in this study (see Table 1). This figure does not necessarily reflect the actual percentage of loanwords as a proportion of total Malay borrowings in ME, but it does indicate that importation of simple and compound words is by far the most productive way through which the lexicon of ME has been enriched as a result of its contact with Malay.

At the outset, it is essential to specify that although all of the features listed in Table 1 came into ME from Malay, some of them actually have non-Malay roots. The list of loanwords in Table 1 includes a number of features that contain distinctly Arabic morphemes. Several other loanwords have components that originated in languages such as Hindustani, Tamil, Javanese and Baba Malay. For the purpose of this study, we shall treat these features as Malay borrowings. This is because these loanwords were not imported directly into ME from either Arabic or Tamil or Javanese. Instead, they were borrowed first into Malay, before entering the lexicon of ME. To illustrate, Arabic words like *حلال* (*halal* or *halaal*), *حرام* (*haram*), *إمام* (*imam*), *قاضي* (*qadi*), *شريعة* (*syaria* or *sari'ah*), and *عمرة* (*umrah*) were transferred into the Malay language where they gained currency before they were borrowed into ME. The indirect route that these features took is obvious, not only because Arabic does not come into

direct contact with English in Malaysia but also because these words have a longer history in Malay compared to in ME.

For the most part, the reproduction of Malay words in ME involves complete morphemic importation with little phonemic substitution. It is recognised that the present study is not designed to detect possible phonemic substitution of Malay loanwords given that the MEN Corpus comprises only written text and no phonological information about these loanwords can be derived. However, based on my informal observations of spoken ME and the fact that there is little orthographic adaptation in these loanwords, I would suggest that phonemic substitution in Malay loanwords is uncommon. Hence, simple words like *baba*, *bubur*, *hantu*, *madrasah*, *pawang* and *zina*; and compound words like *ikan bilis*, *Mat Salleh*, *teh tarik*, *sepak takraw* and *wakil rakyat* are reproduced in ME in their original Malay spelling.

The lack of phonemic substitution in Malay loanwords is not particularly unusual, especially if one considers the fact that ME speakers, on the whole, are fluent in Malay, whether or not they speak it as their first language. Malaysians born since the 1960s are especially proficient in the language as they were required to learn it in school, at the very least as one of the subjects of the curriculum. Many would have gone to Malay-medium primary and secondary schools, and for these people, the national language would have been acquired in childhood and be one of the languages in which they are most proficient as adults. In short, ME speakers' familiarity with the Malay language is such that they are generally able to reproduce Malay loanwords without modifying any of the original phonological sequences. Such "phonemic importation" is characteristic of bilingual speech communities in which knowledge of the source language is attained in childhood (see Haugen [1950: 216-217] and McMahon [1994: 205-206] for a review of other contact conditions where borrowers' familiarity with the source language has been found to reduce the likelihood of their modifying words borrowed from it).

The few occurrences of orthographic adaptation and phonemic substitution in Malay loanwords involve toponyms, such as *Johore* <Malay *Johor*>, *Malacca* <Malay *Melaka*>, *Negeri Sembilan* <Malay *Negeri Sembilan*>, and *Penang* <Malay *Pulau Pinang*>.⁵ In his analysis of ME, Schneider [2003b: 52] suggests that toponyms such as these are "the earliest and most persistent foreign elements that entered English." He attributes these earliest borrowings to the settlers – the earlier groups of English-speaking traders, missionaries, colonial officers and civil servants who resided in the Malay Peninsula during the initial phases of contact between English and the local languages. This explanation accounts for the phonological adaptations, or in Tan's [2001: 165] words, "the anglicising tendency" seen in these toponyms. Not many members of Schneider's [2003a and 2003b] settler strand were familiar with Malay. It is therefore likely that their pronunciation of these place names was influenced by the English phonological system. Their versions of these toponyms were transmitted through their interaction with (the English-speaking members of) the local communities. Because the settlers occupied positions of power, it is likely that their version of local place names became the norm – at least for administrative purposes. Today, half a century after the departure of the colonial government, toponyms such as *Johore*, *Malacca* and *Penang* are still widely-used although scholars like Tan [2001: 165] have noted that the pronunciations of these words have changed as a result of the nativisation of these words to the phonological patterns of ME. He illustrates these phases of change using the following examples⁶ (Tan [2001: 165-166]):

(*Pulau*) *Pinang*/*Penang*: Malay /'pinaŋ/ → RP /pi'næn/ → SME /pi'nɛŋ/
Melaka/*Malacca*: Malay /mə'lakə/ → RP /mə'lækə/ → SME /mə'lekə/

⁵ In all these cases, the original Malay toponyms are also in currency in ME (see these entries in the appendix).

⁶ In Tan's [2001: 165-166] examples, SME stands for Singaporean and Malaysian English.

Selangor: Malay /s(ə)'lanɔ(r)/ → RP /s(ə)'læŋɔ:(r)/ → SME /s(ə)'lɛŋɔ(r)/

In addition to the toponyms listed above, there are a few other Malay loanwords that have more than one spelling in the MEN Corpus. These include *Alhamdulillah* (*alhamdullilah*, *Alhamdullillah*) <Malay *alhamdulillah*>; *bubur lambok* (*lambuk*) <Malay *bubur lambuk*>; *Insyallah* (*InsyAllah*, *Insyah-Allah*, *insyallah*) <Malay *insyah-Allah*>; *keroncong* (*kroncong*) <Malay *keroncong*>; *Ramadan* (*Ramadhan*) <Malay *Ramadan*>; and *ulama* (*ulamak*) <Malay *ulama*>. Some of these variants are related to the difficulty in representing words of Arabic origin in Roman letters (e.g., *alhamdulillah*, *insyah-Allah* and *Ramadan*). This is due to the spelling assimilation that occurs when the source language is not represented using the Roman alphabet. Other variants are the results of changes in Malay orthography over the years and the introduction of the *Sistem Ejaan Baru* “New Spelling System”⁷ in the 1970s (e.g., *bubur lambuk* and *keroncong*). Variants like these exist not only in ME but also in the Malay language, and therefore cannot be regarded as evidence of nativisation.

Another characteristic of the process of borrowing in ME is the “semantic modification”⁸ that accompanies the incorporation of certain Malay words into this variety of English. This is to say, a Malay word that is imported into ME does not always retain all of its original meanings: often only a single sense is transferred, and sometimes the meaning in ME conveys a cultural specificity that is absent in the original range of meanings.

Table 2 compares the meanings of several words in Malay and ME. In the borrowing of the words *dadah*, *gatal*, *kacang*, *roti* and *ulu*, semantic restriction occurs. For example, the word *gatal* in Malay can mean both “itchy” (a sensation) and “mischievous and flirtatious” (commonly associated with lecherous men), but in ME it appears to be used only to express the latter meaning. Similarly, the Malay word *kacang* has several senses – “peas,” “beans,” “lentils” and “nuts” – but in ME the word most often refers to “roasted nuts, usually eaten as a snack.” In the borrowing of these words, only one specific sense seems to have been transferred, usually a sense that cannot be concisely expressed using existing English words.

Lexical item	Meaning(s) in Malay	Meaning(s) in ME
<i>dadah</i>	<i>n.</i> 1 A substance used as a component of a medication. 2 A chemical substance, such as a narcotic or hallucinogen, that affects the central nervous system.	<i>n.</i> A chemical substance, such as a narcotic or hallucinogen, that affects the central nervous system.
<i>gatal</i>	<i>a.</i> 1 Itchy. 2 Mischievous and flirtatious, usually of lecherous men.	<i>a.</i> Mischievous and flirtatious, usually of lecherous men.
<i>kacang</i>	<i>n.</i> Peas, beans, lentils or nuts.	<i>n.</i> Roasted nuts, usually eaten as a snack.
<i>rakyat</i>	<i>n.</i> 1 The citizens of a state or country. 2 The common people (as opposed to the government or the aristocracy).	<i>n.</i> The common people (as opposed to the government or the aristocracy) of Malaysia.

⁷ The *Sistem Ejaan Baru* was one of the results of the attempt by the Malaysian and Indonesian governments to create a standardised spelling system for the official languages of Malaysia and Indonesia.

⁸ This phenomenon is also observed in Malay loanwords in colloquial English (see Arfah [1998]), and in Hokkien and Teochew as spoken in Singapore (see Ng and Tan [2009]).

<i>rotan</i>	<i>n.</i> 1 Any of various climbing plants of tropical Asia, having long, tough, slender stems. 2 The stems of any of these plants, used to make wickerwork, canes, and furniture. 3 A cane made from these plants. 4 Judicially-sanctioned caning in Malaysia.	<i>n.</i> 1 A rattan cane used for inflicting judicially-sanctioned corporal punishment in Malaysia. 2 Any of various climbing plants of tropical Asia, having long, tough, slender stems. 3 (<i>rare</i>) A cane. 4 (<i>rare</i>) Judicially-sanctioned caning in Malaysia.
<i>roti</i>	<i>n.</i> Bread	<i>n.</i> Bread, usually the local version of a white loaf, which is slightly sweet and has a very soft texture.
<i>ulu</i> <Malay <i>hulu</i> >	<i>n.</i> 1 The source of a river. 2 Inland area. 3 The handle of a tool, knife, etc.	<i>n.</i> A provincial place, back country.

Table 2. Semantic modification of Malay loanwords

In some cases, the transfer from Malay to ME gives the loanwords involved a novel cultural specificity that is missing in the meanings of these words in the original language. I shall illustrate this point using the loanword *rotan*. Figure 1 is the edited⁹ concordance display of *rotan* from the MEN Corpus. There are four main senses of *rotan* in Malay (see *rotan* in Table 2) and three of these appear in the MEN Corpus. The reference to “any of various climbing plants of tropical Asia, having long, tough, slender stems” is seen in lines 2 and 3 of the concordance display, the reference to “a cane” in line 1, and the reference to “judicially-sanctioned caning” in line 12. The primary sense of *rotan* in ME, however, is “a rattan cane used for inflicting judicially-sanctioned corporal punishment in Malaysia,” and this sense occurs nineteen times in the MEN Corpus (see lines 4-11 and lines 13-23 in Figure 1). This sense of *rotan* in ME has a cultural-specificity – not just any cane but one that is used to carry out court-ordered canings – and it is this specificity that is not in evidence in the range of meanings of *rotan* in Malay. The reference to this meaning is encapsulated in the phrase “stroke(s) of the *rotan*” (see Figure 1), which is a nativised version of the English phrase “stroke(s) of the cane” – the English phrase is retained but for the substitution of *rotan* for *cane*.

1	nine-year-old Teoh Lee Sean by using	<i>rotan</i>	between Oct 2000 and July 10 last
	a		year
2	that <i>rotan</i> manau (<i>Calamus manan</i>)	<i>rotan</i>	<i>sega</i> (<i>Calamus caesius</i>) grew better
	and		
3	Bhd in Negri Sembilan found that	<i>rotan</i>	manau (<i>Calamus manan</i>) and <i>rotan</i>
			<i>sega</i>
4	12 months and given one stroke of the	<i>rotan</i>	for possessing a parang. On a third
5	him to 15 years' jail and 10 strokes of	<i>rotan</i>	for dadah possession after hearing
	the		
6	and ordered to be given 10 strokes of	<i>rotan</i>	for outraging the modesty of a
	the		woman.
7	him to 15 years' jail and 10 strokes of	<i>rotan</i>	for dadah possession. The court
	the		allowed
8	Court today imposed five strokes of	<i>rotan</i>	on a 27-year-old odd-job worker
	the		who

⁹ In several concordance lines, the word *rotan* appears as part of a proper noun. These lines were deleted.

9	to nine years' jail and nine strokes of the	rotan	after he pleaded guilty to nine charges of
10	30 to 12 years' jail and six strokes of the	rotan	for rape and two months' jail for causing
11	to five years' jail and three strokes of the	rotan	after he pleaded guilty to sodomising a
12	sentenced to a maximum 20 years jail and	rotan	for the offence. Investigating officer
13	or jailed and given six strokes of the	rotan,"	he said when debating amendments to
14	to five years' jail and three strokes of the	rotan,	the court found it difficult to decide the
15	of 14 years and no less than six strokes of	rotan.	Mohd Salleh and Sait also face another
16	with three years' jail and strokes of the	rotan.	Meanwhile, offences under Firearms Act
17	with 14 years' jail and six strokes of the	rotan.	Wan Afrah fixed three days beginning
18	with 14 years' jail and six strokes of the	rotan.	Zainuri, who was believed to have been
19	and no less than six strokes of the	rotan.	Sait is facing an alternative charge of
20	to six years' jail and six strokes of the	rotan.	Jujili @ Samrin Gali pleaded guilty
21	years and receiving six strokes of the	rotan.	"We are looking for several
22	jail and a minimum six strokes of the	rotan.	Both also face a second charge of illegal
23	in jail and no less than six strokes of the	rotan.	

Figure 1. Edited concordance display of *rotan* from the MEN Corpus

The same cultural specificity is observed in the meaning of *rakyat* in ME. In Malay, the word *rakyat* has two main senses: "the citizens of a state or country" and "the commoners (as opposed to the government or the aristocracy)." Neither of these senses is limited to the context of Malaysia, and so, in Malay, constructions like *rakyat Amerika* "American citizens" or *rakyat asing* "foreign citizens" are as acceptable as *rakyat Malaysia* "Malaysian citizens." However, if we examine the edited¹⁰ concordance display of *rakyat* from the MEN Corpus (see Figure 2), we see a very apparent restriction in the way that the word is used. In ME, *rakyat* denotes *the people of Malaysia* – either with reference to their citizenship or their place of residence or to distinguish them from the government or the aristocrats.

1	with the welfare of the staff and	rakyat	in mind. Q: Your name came out of
2	together afterwards. The	rakyat	cannot be influenced into not
3	it creates an impression among the	rakyat	on who is right and who is wrong,
4	are simply to serve the party and the	rakyat	to the best of our abilities," he said.
5	help foster better ties between the	rakyat	and their elected representatives.
6	This must be understood by the	rakyat	and we are aware of the existence

¹⁰ The concordance lines of *wakil rakyat*, *Dewan Rakyat* and proper nouns that include the word *rakyat* are removed.

7	“What is being scrutinised by the rakyat	is the quality of service concerning
8	from MPs, the people elected by rakyat	to give voice to their aspirations and
9	“What is being scrutinised by the rakyat	is the quality of service concerning
1	centres in their constituencies. rakyat	can also reach State Executive
0	The	
1	reads: “This is an opportunity for rakyat	to express their gratitude to these
1	the	
1	a top shopping destination, it is rakyat	(people) who will determine the
2	the	
1	the jihad required was making the rakyat	aware that only Islam could solve
3		
1	time back, some segments of the rakyat	were prepared to ask the US to
4		
1	of the country and the tenacity of rakyat	to rise above the trials of life, and to
5	the	
1	personal interest in the welfare of rakyat	saw him venturing into the
6	the	
1	understanding and co-operation, rakyat	must have faith and confidence in
7	the	
1	doing well. If the consumer or the rakyat	at large have enough confidence in
8		
1	elected by the people to serve the rakyat	and the Government. A
9		
2	Government does have to teach rakyat	that smoking is supposedly bad for
0	the	
2	to combat it. At the same time, rakyat	also ask that the US provides
1	the	
2	and scary. We need to explain to rakyat	what it really is. What we want is a
2	the	
2	leeway afforded them by turning rakyat	against the Government. This
3	the	
2	in the back.” Later, speaking at meet-the-	session at Stadium Perpaduan
4	the rakyat	
2	Azizah Wan Ismail: The Budget rakyat’s	budget. PAS president Datuk Fadzil
5	is a	
2	opposed the move as the rakyat’s	money shouldn’t be risked in stock
6		
2	think nothing of throwing sand in rakyat’s	rice bowl. The second is religious
7	the	
2	authorities to be more sensitive to rakyat’s	problem when approving any
8	the	
2	as a mother uniting her children (rakyat)	who each has their own personality.
9		
3	for real. It’s quite sad. As the rakyat,	all we can do now is offer our
0		
3	are they (Pas) going to convince rakyat,	especially us (Umno) on the issue
1	the	
3	out” to improve efficiency for the rakyat,	implementation by local authorities
2		
3	to duty and his empathy for the rakyat,	some of which gained expression
3		

3	of his people, especially the rakyat.	He always reminded us how
4	Selangor	
3	governmental organisations and rakyat.	Dennis J. Parker of Middlesex
5	the	
3	one that was not going to benefit rakyat.	"If they rule this country, the
6	the	people
3	should be utilised to benefit the rakyat.	When undertaking mega or big
7		
3	was generally lauded by the rakyat.	Dr Mohd Khir's latest decision
8		to
3	had been felt most keenly by the rakyat.	"It's hoped that with new
9		measures
4	of educational opportunities for rakyat.	Doubtless, this package helps the
0	the	
4	that look up to the aspirations of rakyat.	And also to promote forward
1	the	
4	way against the wishes of the rakyat.	"The 19 had gone to the extend
2		of
4	the MPs were representing the rakyat.	"If we Yang Berhormat find it
3		
4	Sultan, he was always close to rakyat.	When he was appointed King, he
4	the	
4	party will explain its concept to rakyat.	"Often, the image is one that is
5	the	

Figure 2. Edited concordance display of *rakyat* from the MEN Corpus

In addition to semantic adaptations, certain Malay loanwords are also subject to morphosyntactic integration. ME users sometimes create new grammatical categories and novel word forms by adding English inflectional and derivational morphemes to words of Malay origin. By far the most productive inflectional morpheme in ME is the plural *-s* suffix, which is regularly utilised to indicate plurality in count nouns. Examples of Malay loanwords that have been given a plural form are *bomoh* (plural *bomohs*), *bumiputera/bumiputra* (plural *bumiputeras/bumiputras*), *datuk* (plural *datuks*), *kerongsang* (plural *kerongsangs*), *nyonya* (plural *nyonys*), *pondok* (plural *pondoks*), and *ulama/ulamak* (plural *ulamas/ulamaks*). The use of some of these plural forms in ME can be seen in the appendix.

Besides inflecting Malay loanwords to generate plural word forms, ME users also employ several derivational morphemes to create new words. The most common derivational morphemes used include: (1) the prefix *non-* indicating "not" (e.g., *non-halal* "not *hahal*," and *non-bumiputera/non-bumiputra* "not *bumiputera/bumiputra*"); (2) the suffixes *-ean*, *-an*, *-ese*, *-ite* and *-ian* indicating "residents of a state" (e.g., *Johorean* "resident of *Johor/Johore*," *Kedahan* "resident of *Kedah*," *Kelantanese* "resident of *Kelantan*," *Penangite* "resident of *Penang*," and *Sarawakian* "resident of *Sarawak*"); and less commonly, (3) the suffix *-ship* indicating "a state or condition" (e.g., *Datukship* "the state of having been awarded the title of *Datuk*"). The results of these inflectional and derivational processes are hybridized forms which, according to Winford [2003: 44], are not technically the immediate outcomes of borrowing but "are really due to the more general process of integrating loan items into the morphology of the recipient language." To put it differently, borrowers apply recipient language morphosyntactic processes to previously imported words so that these words behave more like original recipient language words. In the same vein, Tan [2001] postulates that such inflectional and derivational processes are indications that the loanwords have become nativised to the linguistic system of the recipient language. Following these scholars, I have

categorised these hybrid lexical items, not as individual borrowings, but as inflected and derived forms based on Malay loanwords. As such, they are not accorded a separate entry in the appendix (see also Table 1) but are placed under the particular loanword out of which they evolved.

5. Compound blends

Compound blends form about 13 per cent of the total number of borrowed features identified in this study (see Table 1). These borrowings are exclusively nominal compounds: *beef rendang* <Malay *rendang daging*> “spicy beef dish,” *batik cloth* <Malay *kain batik*> “traditional textile,” *pondok school* <Malay *sekolah pondok*> “Islamic school,” *bersanding ceremony* <Malay *majlis persandingan*> “Malay wedding ceremony,” *mamak stall* <Malay *gerai* (or *warung*) *mamak*> “stall run by an Indian Muslim,” *kampung chicken* <Malay *ayam kampung*> “a local breed of chicken,” and *mengkuang mat* <Malay *tikar mengkuang*> “mat made using a type of screw pine.” In each of these cases, the ME user appears to have borrowed and broken down a Malay compound form into its component morphemes, imported one of them and replaced the other with an English equivalent. This process closely resembles the partial morphemic substitution that Haugen [1950: 219] describes.

The only apparent adaptation in the process involves the reversal of word order in the nominal phrase. The structure of a basic Malay nominal phrase is [head + modifier], as in *ayam kampung* (“chicken” + “village”) “a local breed of chicken.” In the process of borrowing, this structure is typically reversed to suit the [modifier + head] structure of a basic English nominal phrase. Hence, *ayam kampung* is borrowed as *kampung chicken* (“village” + “chicken”). In short, although these compound blends are modelled after Malay terms, they are often structurally adapted in order to nativise them to the structure of the English language.

Just as with some of the loanwords that we have seen, compound blends too can reflect the influences of languages other than Malay. The influence of Arabic can be seen in features such as *Ishak prayer* (Malay *sembahyang Isyak*, originally Arabic *عشاء isha*) and *terawih prayer* (Malay *sembahyang terawih*, originally Arabic *تراويح terawih*), while the influence of Indic languages is reflected in features such as *biryani rice* (Malay *nasi biryani*, originally Hindustani *biryani*), *naan bread* (Malay *roti naan*, originally Hindustani *naan*) and *saree cloth* (Malay *kain sari*, originally Sanskrit, Hindi, Urdu *sari*, *saree*).

The simultaneous contact between several languages can sometimes yield unexpected linguistic outcomes which reveal possible routes that the terms have taken in the process of being borrowed into ME. This will be demonstrated using the compound blend *biryani rice*. The Hindustani word, *biryani*, means “a spicy meat and rice dish.” When this word was borrowed into the Malay language, it took on a few new forms – *beriyani*, *nasi beriyani*, *biryani*, and more commonly, *nasi biryani*. *Biryani* was phonemically adapted from *biryani*, while the Malay morpheme *nasi* “rice” was added to the name of the dish, most likely because names of rice dishes in the Malay language typically begin with the word *nasi*: for example, *nasi tomato* “tomato rice,” *nasi lemak* “rice cooked in coconut milk,” *nasi ulam* “rice with herbs,” and so on. As the sense of “rice” is already included in the term *biryani*, *nasi biryani* is essentially a tautology, but this nativised form of *biryani* gained currency in Malay and was subsequently borrowed into ME. In contemporary ME, *nasi biryani* (loan word) and *biryani rice* (compound blend) are used interchangeably. Interestingly, the Hindustani loanword *biryani* is not as widespread – it appears only once in the MEN Corpus. So, although the ultimate source of *biryani rice* is the Hindustani word *biryani*, this study considers *biryani rice* to be a borrowing from Malay because the structure of this nominal

compound suggests that at the initial stage of its metamorphosis, it had been nativised to the structure of the Malay language, and it is this nativised form that was borrowed into ME. Similarly, *naan bread*, *saree cloth*, *Isyak prayer* and *terawih prayer* are regarded as Malay borrowings despite the presence of non-Malay morphemes in these constructions.

6. Loan translations

Loan translations account for only 3 per cent of the total number of features of Malay origin identified in this study (see Table 1). As posited by Haugen [1950: 214], this group of lexical items shows total morphemic substitution in that the borrowers import the “structural pattern” of the compound form but replace each constituent morpheme with a corresponding English word. *Friday prayer* is therefore based on the Malay lexical item *sembahyang Jumaat* which has its roots in Arabic *جمعة Jum'ah*. As with compound blends, the [head + modifier] word order is reversed in the process of borrowing. There are, however, some inherent problems associated with the identification of loan translations in ME that should be highlighted.

First, it would be misleading to suggest that all the loan translations listed in Table 1 have forms that correspond perfectly to them in Malay. *Rice bowl* is an example of a loan translation whose Malay model does not quite match. Morphemically, the term *rice bowl* is closer to Mandarin 饭碗 *fan wan* (literally “rice bowl”) than it is to Malay *periuk nasi* (literally “rice pot”). Semantically, however, *rice bowl* has more in common with Malay *periuk nasi* than it has with Mandarin 饭碗 *fan wan*. All three terms share a common meaning – “means of livelihood.” In the MEN Corpus, however, *rice bowl* is also used as a metonymy for Kedah, the most important rice-producing state in Malaysia – as *periuk nasi* is used in Malay – and it is this sense of *rice bowl* that gives a hint of the influence of Malay. So although this paper considers *rice bowl* as a Malay borrowing, in reality, all that can be asserted in support of this claim is that this feature reflects possible influence from the Malay language.

The lexical item *night market* also poses some difficulty. Although there is a Malay model for this feature – *pasar malam* – the concept of a night market is prevalent in numerous other languages in many parts of Asia. In fact, *night market* occurs in many Asian varieties of English, primarily Singapore English and Hong Kong English. Although this study includes the feature as a Malay borrowing, it is entirely possible that it was created in other contact situations and was subsequently transmitted across Asia by merchants, traders, colonial officers and missionaries. In short, it is possible that the exact origin of this feature may never be ascertained.

Another controversy is related to the exact source of the expression *God willing* in ME. This paper classifies *God willing* as a loan translation of the Malay (originally Arabic) expression *insyaallah*. This is deduced primarily from the way that this expression is used in ME. The sentences below capture the contexts of the three occurrences of this term in the MEN Corpus:

1. “God willing, we will win the individual event. But we can only win two medals as the rules say each nation can only win two even if the third rider scores enough to win the bronze.” (Quzandria Nur, Malaysian rider, commenting on her team members’ chances of winning the individual equestrian event at the 2001 SEA Games in Kuala Lumpur) (*The New Straits Times*, 11 September 2001)
2. “His Majesty also said that with the prayers of everyone, God willing, he will be returning home soon.” (Datuk Zubir Ali, the Grand Chamberlain of the Istana Negara)

on Sultan Salahuddin Abdul Aziz Shah's state of health after a surgery) (*The Star*, 10 October 2001)

3. "God willing, we will complete the negotiations by October. We have formed a task force (to look into this matter). We are supposed to complete (the talks) within the next two months." (Datuk Fuad Jaffar, president and chief executive officer of Tenaga Nasional Bhd on on-going negotiations between his company and Kapar Energy Ventures Sdn Bhd) (*The Star*, 3 August 2001)

As can be seen, *God willing* is generally used by Malays (who are constitutionally required to be Muslims).¹¹ Furthermore, the term is usually used to prefix a statement of positive intent or aspiration – the same way that *insyaallah* is used in various Islamic contexts. I have therefore concluded that *God willing* in ME was modelled on *insyaallah*. The fact, however, is that the expression *God willing* can commonly be found in archaic or pious English. Whether this is just an example of an old English phrase that has been retained in ME despite having generally gone out of fashion in native varieties of English is a question to which I have not been able to give a conclusive answer. Perhaps all that can be said with regard to this feature is that while the form of the expression reflects its origin in archaic or pious English, the prevalence of its use in ME clearly reflects an Islamic context.

Clearly, the actual origin of loan translations in ME is not as easily determined as that of loanwords or even compound blends. For most of these features, it is not the presence of a corresponding Malay term that is most suggestive of the influence of the Malay language. Rather, it is the way that these features are used in ME.

7. Codifying the lexicon of Malaysian English

This is not by any means the first attempt at codifying the vocabulary of ME. In 1984, the SEAMEO Regional Language Centre based in Singapore produced a volume comprising four "mini-dictionaries" of Asian Englishes, one of which was ME. These dictionaries were ground-breaking, not least because they emphasised the independence of these new Englishes – the need to "sever those lexical origin bonds that too closely bind a language to daughter status of British English" (Johnson [1984: vii]). However, as these dictionaries were based on randomly collected citations, it is felt that there is a real need to reassess, this time with the assistance of a corpus, the potential for the codification of the lexicon of ME.

In exploiting the MEN corpus for lexicographic evidence, the focus of this study has been on extracting and highlighting *recurrent* lexical items whose origin can be traced to Malay.¹² The concordance display of each item was studied for basic semantic and grammatical information, while its etymology was derived from various dictionaries.¹³ Based on these data, a dictionary entry was created. I shall demonstrate this procedure with the analysis of a well-known Malay loanword *kampung*. In order to obtain an overall understanding of how *kampung* is used in ME, it was necessary to examine the contexts of all the forms of the lexeme *kampung*. This was achieved by performing a wildcard search in Concord using the

¹¹ The Malaysian Constitution defines a Malay as a person who speaks the Malay language, practices Malay cultural traditions, and crucially, is a Muslim.

¹² See Tan [2008] for the codification of ME features borrowed from Chinese.

¹³ In the course of this study, I have referred to the following dictionaries: *Hobson-Jobson* [Yule and Burnell], *A Malay-English Dictionary (Romanised)* [Wilkinson], *Kamus Lanjutan Bahasa Malaysia-Bahasa Inggeris* (Advanced Malay-English Dictionary) [Abd. Aziz Rahman], *Kamus Dewan Edisi Ketiga* (Dewan Dictionary, Third Edition) [Hajah Noresah bt. Baharom et al.], *Dwibahasa Kamus Delta* (Delta Bilingual Dictionary) [Lufti Abas and Awang Sariyan], *Kamus Melayu Global* (Global Malay Dictionary) [Hasan Hamzah], and *OED Online* [Simpson and Weiner].

search word *kampung**. The asterisk instructs Concord to disregard the end of the word and to locate all instances of words that begin with *kampung*. This search yielded 944 entries, the vast majority of which were proper nouns, specifically names of villages. These were deemed not very interesting and were deleted from the concordance display. A few collocations of *kampung* (e.g., *balik kampung* and *jaguh kampung*) were found to be distinctive enough to warrant separate analyses, and were thus excluded from this set of data. The remaining lines, 128 in total, can be viewed in Figure 3.

1	the young with better wages and a higher	kampung	ambience remains undisturbed – at least
2	standard of living. Yet the		for now. Tucked in the
3	legend and myth of the kampung's	kampung	and its friendly residents engender a
4	history and warriors while the		feeling of reliving the past
5	That was a key issue at that time. "I mean	kampung	and then suddenly people come and say
6	when you stay in a		you are a squatter, you can
7	who deserves mention is one called only	kampung	artist to his peers, Halim enjoys painting
8	Halim. Known as the		ducks, geese and all sorts
9	flooding in parts of the Bongawan	kampung	at nearby Membakut were submerged
10	township while roads to four		under nearly one metre of
11	when I was young. I spent a few years of	kampung	before father decided to relocate the entire
12	my life in that		family to Kampar, Ipoh
13	way for me. It's as if I've had a charmed	kampung	boy, he was surprised to be counted
14	life." Looks like it. As a		among the few handpicked to
15	juicy, and as satisfying as the rest of the	kampung	chicken and vegetables. After dinner, we
16	simple dinner of tender		went for a walk.
17	on the cob, suffice to say that a juicy	kampung	chicken leaves ravenous journalists
18	half-portion of scrumptious		craving for more. Another
19	overdone. TCRS offers customers a	kampung	chicken with a slight difference in prices.
20	choice of ordinary chicken or		Don't worry if you are
21	another housing estate in the Santubong	kampung	concept. "The development will create
22	area under the organised		spin-off activities to benefi
23	adding fried freshwater prawns, said the	kampung	cooking. Chef Choong Pak Siong
24	aroma reminded him of		prepares the spaghetti marinara
25	Your arms and hands. Pumpong	kampung	delicacies such as ulam (traditional salad),
26	Restaurant – a place to try out		pucuk paku (fern
27	as gangster drivers, Indians as drunk	kampung	drivers," he said. Revealing that accidents
28	drivers and Malays as typical		cost RM6bil a year in
29	to bring along the serikaya she had made	kampung	eggs from Malacca. "My maid forgot!"
30	with specially ordered		she said in that exuberant
31	to take you to kampung Peruang. Located	kampung	evolves around the production of gula
32	22 km from Benta, the		kabung (wild palm sugar).
33	towards the Muslim Refugees Fund. It	kampung	favourites like sup ekor, ulam with
34	offers a tempting array of		sambal, sambal udang galah
35	started this home within my kampung.	kampung	folk here give us so much support. "We
36	We are appreciative that the		even get invited to kenduri
37	vacation time! Townees head for the rural	kampung	folk make an excursion to the bright lights
38	village idylls, the		of the city. Resorts are
39	were many creative innovations produced	kampung	folk, that were not patented due to their
40	by the locals, including		ignorance about the matter.
41	S-76B, Eurocopter AS 350, Dauphin AS	kampung	folk, we never celebrated the birthdays of
42	365 and Bell 206. As		family members; so mine
43	the VIPs, corporate figures, MPs and	kampung	folk. Some guests from other states,
44	assemblymen to the ordinary		mostly Umno members, had
45	such designs or products when in reality,	kampung	folk." He said this when debating the
46	it is the innovations of the		Intellectual Property
47	to see floating obstacles up ahead. For	kampung	folks (yes, the kampung is right next to
48	just a few kupang (10 sen),		downtown!) can avail
49	ENJOY	kampung	food in the cool comfort of Toppot Cafe
50			at Kuala Lumpur
51	are included in the buffet spread to add	kampung	food places a lot of emphasis on ulam and

27	variety. "Traditional and his team. The Bistro will be transformed into a typical	kampung	kerabu. That is why we for the promotion. The buffet spread includes a selection of ulam
28	society runs in Azizul's family. "My father was the president of our	kampung	gotong-royong. I was brought up in an environment where we were
29	and help by housing the soldiers for more than one month at their	kampung	homes. "My men feel happy for the children," he added. The
30	foot, the number of vehicles was a surprise. The house was a typical	kampung	house but the host had set up zinc tents and long tables for dining.
31	residence at Bukit Megawati, Section 7, Shah Alam, or at his	kampung	house in Sekinchan where he was born. "He still wears a singlet
32	include a palm garden with many species, a lookout tower, a Malay	kampung	house, boat rides and fishing. Four Nile hippopotami which were
33	petrol was open, of course, but they managed to get a quart from a	kampung	house. That got them as far as Balok. I didn't dress; I just got in
34	350cc capacities. Many are still around; quite a few rotting under	kampung	houses all over the country. Owner profile, based on the club's
35	with a gradient of more than 25 degrees. "However, longhouses and	kampung	houses in Sarawak are being constructed without the need of
36	other insects. Balik Pulau houses The traditional Malay	kampung	houses of Balik Pulau feature elaborate carvings, traditional roofs,
37	colourful butterflies, frogs, scorpions and other insects. Balik Pulau	kampung	houses The traditional Malay kampung houses of Balik Pulau
38	"Undi orang kita," read another Barisan banner hung at a Malay	kampung	in the constituency of Demak Luat fringing the city. When the
39	Bidayuh are reputed to be the best makers of tuak or rice wine. The	kampung	is divided into two by Sungai Sarawak Kanan, one of the tributaries
40	up ahead. For just a few kupang (10 sen), kampung folks (yes, the	kampung	is right next to downtown!) can avail themselves of this regular
41	Zainul Abidin Abdullah has started visiting district offices and	"kampung	chiefs" to promote the scheme.
42	director Zainol Abidin Din. Abdul Halil said the proposed	"kampung	kastam" would be implemented immediately. Each "kampung
43	single-storey houses. Three places have been earmarked for the	"kampung	kastam" project. They are Bukit Gelugor (100 units), Larkin, Johor
44	Sat. - The Royal Customs and Excise Department will develop	"kampung	kastam" (customs villages) on its own following the failure of the
45	"kampung kastam" would be implemented immediately. Each	"kampung	kastam", he said, would consist of at least one block of four-storey
46	is certain. The struggle must continue for the sake of the students.	"kampung	kids don't have ample opportunities to realise their dream." Thanks
47	for the purpose. "We have engaged the private sector to build a	kampung	kastam in Bukit Gelugor, but to no avail. "The project did not get
48	proud of the fact that his students have evolved from self-conscious	kampung	kids into confident, independent and responsible citizens. Having
49	Rustic scenes of	kampung	life and fishermen at sea catch one's eye, evoking a sense of
50	operations manager Rupert Christie said visitors liked the laidback	kampung	life within the 6, 000ha resort area. "People who visit the resort
51	arawana, horses, "flowers of fortune", orchids and scenes of	kampung	life, among others. The special focus at the exhibition will be the
52	my parents, my appointment was a surprise. Once they led a quiet	kampung	lifestyle, now they are the focus of public attention. My siblings
53	Malay dishes. I have spent close to 10 years talking with the	kampung	'makciks' and other sources to unlock the secrets of Malay food,
54	cock? It was a first day cover. They were featuring stamps ayam	kampung	or something? W: How do you deal with rude callers? LK
55	middle-class came into being. Hitherto, the Malays only evoked the	kampung	people and their attitudes. At the top, there were Sultans and their
56	Every year, he always made it a point to	kampung	people in Morib. I also spent many

57	spend time with the		holidays with Opa. When I was
58	also where the Gen-X urban culture and	kampung	setting come into contact - and
59	the traditional values in the		inadvertently clash. Add in a gatal
60	facilities in villages, including new	kampung	to ensure the people living in these areas
61	villages and traditional Malay		also enjoy a good quality
62	boost in the tourism industry has allowed	kampung	to prosper, but there is nothing much that
63	the locals as well as the		can be offered by these
64	Malacca. Villagers from Kg Permatang	kampung	toil in the fields or cast their nets over the
65	Rawa and the other nearby		ocean for their
66	forests as would be expected, but also	kampung	(village frogs) – species more common in
67	what he calls katak		human settlements rather
68	But other than these “minor” differences,	kampung	(village) folk who live very katak di
69	they’re your average		bawah tempurung (secluded)
70	owner in their midst. According to the	kampung	was enveloped in a foul smell due to an
71	news report, the entire		illegal discharge of
72	time. Then it was a common sight to see	kampung	with sores all over their bodies, with
73	kids roaming around the		rotten teeth and various health
74	Lanjut to be specific is a perfect sojourn	kampung	with warm hospitality and services.
75	in a setting of a tranquil		
76	fast). This practice is known as pakatan.	kampung	would get together to form a pakatan.
77	A group of neighbours in a		The move is usually initiated
78	centre to Pangsoon Dam takes about 45	“kampung”	houses make up the scenery. Those who
79	minutes. Small shops and		prefer a bus ride can take
80	a tea kiosk and a pottery corner.	‘kampung’	or village which is ‘open’ to visitors who
81	Kampung Seronok, Bayan Lepas A		are free to observe and
82	Bidayuh people. Let the guide narrate the	kampung’s	history and warriors while the kampung
83	legend and myth of the		and its friendly residents
84	Kampung Parit Bugis village chief	kampung’s	Rela patrol unit spotted a motorcycle
85	Mahmud Maarof, 50, said the		parked at the house at about 2.
86	on MYC’s monitoring into several	kampung,	mamak, veteran, klsex and sexmelayu,
87	popular chat rooms such as		there were several nick
88	between urban and rural areas, and	kampung,	new villages and estate schools. Others
89	improving facilities in the		who followed them were to
90	it shouldn’t be the case – even if the	kampung,	she deserves to know what’s happening
91	patient is someone from the		to her health and doctors
92	wooden houses are unmistakably Malay	kampung,	you’ll meet artisans of various art and
93	and if you seek in the		craft: batik, silverware,
94	figure-types of Datuk Chuah Teng	kampung-based	maidens are so earthy and warm.
95	Teng, the batik pioneer whose		“Though my art has been linked
96	the Central Market, the eatery promises	kampung-style	ambience, in line with its buffet themed
97	kampung-style dishes in a		Kampungku. The
98	Jaya, Selangor has lined up an	kampung-style	buka puasa treats for patrons. The menu
99	extravagant array of citarasa ala		is served buffet-style
100	SMI Ipoh on Dec 12, 1912, with 39	kampung-style	bungalow at the site of the present school.
101	boys who began schooling in a		It grew to become
102	Petaling Street and the Central Market,	kampung-style	dishes in a kampung-style ambience, in
103	the eatery promises		line with its buffet
104	family had lived in a semi-detached	kampung-style	garden. They moved into the
105	house that boasted a beautiful		condominium almost two years ago
106	most preserved villages. The people still	kampung-style	homes and lead the life like their ancestors
107	live in their traditional		did almost six
108	Following this, society members were	kampung-style	restaurant called The Gulai House.
109	ushered into a Malay		Special guests for the even
110		KAMPUNG-	dishes are being served at Abdul &
111		styled	Charlie’s Aneka Citarasa
112	heard you did odd jobs, went house to	kampung.	A: I used to cycle and sell ice-cream,
113	house selling things in the		tapioca chips and kueh sagu
114	they go to the pondok school, then they	kampung.	And that’s when the problem starts,” said
115	become the imam in the		Alwi. In fact, the schools
116	would hide in the jungle each time	kampung.	Since her family owned some land, they

87	Japanese soldiers raided the		were able to plant some
88	and to hide everytime they heard an	kampung.	Sometimes in hushed tones, she would
89	aircraft hovering over their		speaking about the times when
90	who go off to spend a weekend at their	kampung.	The children's grandmother offers
91	grandparents' home in the		wisdom through the age-old
92	That is the other reason why I started	kampung.	We are appreciative that the kampung
93	this home within my		folk here give us so much
94	us? Which State will go first? Can	kampung?	It's so embarrassing when these banners
95	somebody just buy a whole		are flying nationwide!
96	of villagers were also facing difficulties	kampungs	after the floods as the roads leading to
97	getting in and out of their		these areas had been
98	as the Cradle of Malay Culture. Rustic	kampungs	amidst padi fields give insights into a way
99	settings of picturesque		of life that has endured
100	colour and history. "It's like the old	kampungs	and Chinatown which were colourful,
101	days where people lived in		surprising and untidy too.
102	parties took the pros and cons of the	kampungs	and longhouses. The Malay-Muslim
103	Malaysia proposal to the		communities (Malays and
104	Nasional. In recent months Umno flags	kampungs	and one house in Bako near here had
105	have been hoisted in several		even banners claiming to be a
106	including 17 women, were arrested in	kampungs	and rented rooms in Plentong, Masai,
107	kongsi, shophouses,		Larkin, Pandan and the city,"
108	Junior League, while a few raw gems	kampungs	and thrown into Lissek's cooking pot
109	were winched from their cosy		where he added some spice
110	even though civil servants get the	kampungs	and traders will also get more income,"
111	money, their parents in the		he said. He said Budget
112	"We want to see significant things	kampungs	as well. This is a priority," he said when
113	being done in smaller towns and		launching the new tamu
114	been launched in six States with talks	kampungs	by various women's groups. "On our
115	being given in towns and		part, we have succeeded in
116	that there were two plantation headmen	kampungs	contained an additional 160 people. They
	at Sungai Chuan, and their		had already cleared and
	generally higher," he said. Mustapa said	kampungs	had someone working in the civil service
	nearly every household in		and they depended on this
	between Beaufort and Tenom	kampungs	have also been cut. In Tenghilan near
	temporarily. Road links to several		Kota Belud, villagers of Kg
	frequent tea parties for the poor folk	kampungs	in Selangor. Every year, he always made
	and enjoyed visiting obscure		it a point to spend time
	in her library in a middle-class enclave	kampungs	in Selayang, Selangor, and she is talking
	surrounded by Malay		animatedly about her
	four major towns. Good road networks	kampungs	in the area as well as to Belaga have been
	linking the town to most		constructed. With the
	a landslip at Kampung Rumindahu in	kampungs	in the area while a family living nearby
	Kiulu cut off links to several		had been advised to move
	to take pictures of the highways, the big	kampungs	instead," relates Peris. Like Chinese
	buildings; we went to the		brushworks, it is the
	three road collapses and at least three	kampungs	just off the Beaufort-Sipitang road have
	bridges being damaged near		been reported. Some 40
	claimed were causing environmental	kampungs	near the area claimed that clear-felling by
	problems. Villagers from six		a logging company since
	park, Eco-park, Skycycle and guided	kampungs	of Kuala Setapang and Kampung
	tours to the traditional Malay		Selamat. The guided tour package
	and PAS as well as Umno flags have	kampungs	since last general election to garner
	been flying in several		Malay and Muslim support.
	purposes," he said. Earlier this week,	kampungs	—Tangao, Mempait, Lagkau,
	villagers from six		Silimpangan, Randagong Lama and
	Pas was and is shrewd. While it tells	kampungs	that their special rights and privileges
	the Malays in towns and		have diminished under
	bird lovers, visitors and tourists now	kampungs	to observe the many birds which fly
	converge on the tranquil		thousands of kilometres from
	just round the corner and many of you	kampungs	to spend it with your loved ones. In the

	will be heading back to your		meantime, your homes will
117	facts by telling voters that the	kampungs	(villages) as squatter areas, which was
118	government wanted to declare certain		untrue. "We had no time to
119	to the children of well-off city people	kampungs	(villages). My stay in London can be
	and the poor children from		summed up by my close
120	the district 12 days ago. Neighbouring	kampungs	were also reported to be under 0.7m of
	Bongowan town and nearby		water. In Tuaran, a
121	they were not sure if the logging	kampungs	were being carried out legally. The group
	activities about 7km from their		hoped that the state
122	offers excellent views of the Astana,	kampungs	which line the north bank of the river but
	Fort Margherita and the Malay		it is at night that the
123	as their house sat precariously on a	kampungs	with about 2,000 people who were still
	slope. In Penampang, eight		recovering from Tuesday's
124	area at the Bandar Ramai Ramai	kampungs,	Bandar Ramai Ramai, Gelama and
	seafront, which grouped three		Kombo. More than 5,000 people
125	said forest ranger Sulaiman Salleh. The	kampungs,	inhabited by 10,000 people. Home to
	forest is surrounded by 10		jungle fowl, wildboars,
126	Airport via the meandering roads	kampungs,	rubber plantations and the scenic
	through the padi fields,		limestone hills. With the
127	safety and prevention was lacking in the	kampungs,	rural settlements and longhouses. He said
	country, particularly in the		despite repeated
128	do not even put on their crash helmets,	kampungs,	you even see young girls and boys riding
	and in housing estates and		their bikes and carrying
	that there were adequate buses for the	kampungs.	However, the JPJ would ensure that the
	people to return to their		buses were in good

Figure 3. Edited concordance display of *kampung from the MEN Corpus**

From these concordance lines, it was concluded that *kampung* is typically used as a noun to denote "a small village" (lines 2, 3, 6, 16). In addition to this, it is often used as an attributive adjective to refer to characteristics associated with a (Malay) village. For instance, *kampung house* means "traditional (Malay) house – usually on stilts, made of wood, etc." (lines 30 to 37) while *kampung chicken* is a "local breed of chicken usually bred in the backyard by rural folks" (lines 8 to 10). The word *kampung* is used to modify the noun (*house* or *chicken*) and as befitting of a simple noun phrase in English, the adjective precedes the noun. These two constructions are modelled after existing Malay features – *rumah kampung* and *ayam kampung* – and are therefore regarded as compound blends. Besides these attributive uses, we also see *kampung* used as the head of certain nominal phrases. For example, the compound blend *Malay kampung* (modelled after *kampung Melayu*) can refer to anything from a cluster of traditional Malay houses to a small town of a few thousand mostly ethnically Malay people (lines 39, 58, 105, 111 and 121). The noun *kampung* is typically treated as a count noun in ME. It takes the plural *-s* morpheme (lines 91 to 128), and in its singular form it takes the indefinite article *a* (lines 3, 38, 66). It can be modified by numerals (lines 113, 122 to 124) and the quantifier *several* (line 95, 103 and 107).

It must be emphasised that there are exceptions to these patterns, and so we do see, for example, the occurrence of an uninflected *kampung* preceded by a numeral (line 5). We also see instances where *kampung* implies 'Malayness' (for example, in line 17, what constitutes *kampung favourites* is clearly rural *Malay* cuisine) and instances where this association is not as overt (the occurrence of *Malay kampung* must surely imply that the sense of 'Malayness' does not have to be built into the meaning of *kampung*). On the whole, however, a great deal of systematicity and stability can be observed in the ways that the loanword *kampung* and its corresponding compound blends are used in ME, and it is this that makes these features such ideal candidates for codification. The dictionary entry in Figure 4 provides a summary of the

semantic and morphosyntactic information discussed above. Citations sourced from the MEN Corpus are included to illustrate the use of these features where necessary.

kampung *n.* Pl. -s. [Malay] A small village.

Attrib.: **kampung house** [Malay *rumah kampung*] traditional (Malay) house on stilts, usually made of wood and with a thatched roof; **kampung chicken** [Malay *ayam kampung*] local breed of chicken usually raised in the backyard by rural folk using traditional methods and therefore regarded as having better meat quality.

2001 *The Star* 22 Sept. According to Sundram, British bikes were extensively used in the estates by management staff to get around. In addition, the police, army and postal services owned many too, especially BSAs of 250cc and 350cc capacities. Many are still around; quite a few rotting under kampung houses all over the country. **2001** *New Straits Times* 26 Aug. TCRS offers customers a choice of ordinary chicken or kampung chicken with a slight difference in prices.

Comb.: **Malay kampung** [Malay *kampung Melayu*] a Malay village.

2001 *New Straits Times* 11 Sept. We are sitting in her library in a middle-class enclave surrounded by Malay kampungs in Selayang, Selangor, and she is talking animatedly about her latest project: implementing a community transport service in the Klang Valley for those unable to use, or who have difficulty in using, public transport.

Figure 4. Entry for *kampung*

As can be seen, this process of codification involved more than putting together words, definitions and citations. It was a labour-intensive process whereby hundreds of distinctive features were examined in context for evidence that their presence in the MEN Corpus is not arbitrary, and is in fact characterised by systematicity and stability. I was therefore not merely interested in the fact that some lexical or semantic or morphosyntactic change or integration had been identified. I was more concerned with finding out whether this change *recurred* (meaning that it is stable) and whether there appeared to be a *motive* behind the change (meaning that if the same motive occurs in other contexts, a similar change can be expected). So in coming to the conclusion that the loanword *kampung* is regarded as a count noun in ME, I had noted that there are recurring examples of *kampungs* being used to denote “small villages,” and that *kampung* takes the indefinite article *a* as well as a few numerals and the quantifier *several*. Since *kampung* is semantically similar to *village*, it is logical that ME users should apply the property of countability to this Malay loanword. ME users are presumably motivated, not only by the need to make this loanword behave more like an English word, but also by the need to make it more versatile.

The appendix provides a better demonstration of the potential for codifying the lexicon of ME. It is obvious that there is a need for more research which analyses the entire range of contact-induced linguistic changes and takes into account the whole spectrum of source languages that have influenced ME. This is crucial if the vocabulary of ME is to be codified. The importance of codifying the lexicon of new varieties of English such as ME is best represented using Bolton and Butler's [2004: 92] summation of Quirk's [1990] opinion:

[...] it is only when a world variety of English is supported by codification (chiefly expressed through national dictionaries) that one can make the claim that a variety is 'institutionalised.'

The present attempt at codification, though preliminary, opens doors to the possibility of utilising an endonormative model for pedagogical purposes in the context of Malaysia. As it is now widely-accepted that “the advantages of choosing a local model in outer-circle countries in which the local variety has already gained widespread social acceptance outweigh

the advantages of choosing a native speaker model” (Kirkpatrick [2007: 193]), more effort should be put into codifying and therefore legitimising ME and other new varieties of English.

8. Motivations for borrowing

The non-arbitrariness of lexical borrowing in ME is most apparent when we reflect on the factors that motivate ME users to use Malay words and phrases in their variety of English.

The vast majority of borrowed features in ME derive from the need to refer to local objects and cultural constructs for which there are no pre-existing English words. Most of the items listed under the semantic fields of food, social and recreational activities, clothing and folk religion (see Table 1) in particular, do not have equivalents in English. The prolific borrowing of such Malay terms can be explained in terms of the retention of Malay culture and tradition by many Malaysians regardless of ethnicity. Malay dishes and indigenous foodstuffs (e.g., *asam pedas*, *cincalok* and *rendang*) are ubiquitous elements of the local gastronomic scene; traditional social and recreational activities (e.g., *silat*, *congkak*, *gasing* and *wau*) are still enjoyed by various segments of the society despite the pervasiveness of western games and sports; traditional attire (e.g., *baju kurung* and *baju Melayu*), accessories (e.g., *kerongsang* and *songkok*) and textiles (e.g., *batik* and *songket*) co-exist with jeans, T-shirts, dresses, suits and jackets; and spirits (e.g., *hantu*, *jembalang* and *pontianak*) and traditional healers (e.g., *bomoh*, *dukun* and *pawang*) continue to be important parts of the belief systems of the society. The continuing relevance of indigenous objects and cultural concepts means that there is an ongoing need to talk about them, especially within the everyday domains of family, friendship and transactions. ME users who find the need to refer to them naturally make use of the original Malay words because they are widely understood. Furthermore, as Weinreich [1953: 57] puts it, “lexical borrowing of this type can be described as a result of the fact that using ready-made designations is more economical than describing things afresh. Few users of language are poets.”

Sometimes, ME users adopt local words in order to make finer distinctions of meaning. For instance, *gasing* “giant top” and *wau* “large kite” are used to distinguish these giant toys from their smaller cousins – the *top* “small conical plaything tapering to a steel point on which it can be made to spin” and the *kite* “light framework covered with cloth, plastic or paper, designed to be flown in the wind at the end of a long string” respectively. *Menteri Besar* “chief minister of any of the Malay states – Johor, Perlis, Perak, Pahang, Kedah, Selangor, Negeri Sembilan, Terengganu and Kelantan” is differentiated from *Chief Minister* “chief minister of Penang, Melaka, Sabah and Sarawak.” A *pelamin* is not just any ordinary dais but one which is used during a Malay wedding ceremony. Other Malay borrowings thus motivated are: *baju kebaya*, *baju Kedah* and *baju kurung* (diverse styles of the traditional attire worn by Malay women); *bomoh*, *dukun* and *pawang* (different kinds of traditional healers); and *hantu*, *jembalang*, *orang minyak* and *pontianak* (various forms of evil spirits).

Certain Malay words also convey specific undertones that are difficult to replicate using existing English word. These words are prime candidates for borrowing. The expressions, *gatal* “flirtatious,” *ulu* “back-country,” *jaguh kampung* “an athlete who can only win on the home turf,” and *tidak apa* or *tidak apa attitude* “lackadaisical” are a few examples of such features. To illustrate this point, we can examine the borrowing of *tidak apa*. The root of *tidak apa* or *tidak apa attitude* is the conciliatory Malay expression *tidak mengapa* (formal) or *tidak/tak apa* (colloquial). Both expressions can be loosely translated as “it doesn’t matter.” In Malay, these expressions are used in a variety of situations. Among other things, they are used as a rejoinder to an apology or a remark intended to pacify. For instance, if a builder hired by

a house-owner is a little late in completing his work, he might apologise to the house-owner, who in turn might respond by saying *tak apa* (sometimes sincerely, but often in spite of feeling a little put out). If the house-owner, annoyed by the delay, grumbles to his wife that the builder is unreliable, she might attempt to pacify him by saying *tak apa*. In the second instance of *tak apa*, the wife might be advising her husband not to get upset over the issue, that it is just a slight delay, and that it does not matter. The use of *tak apa* above might not sound very different from the use of “it doesn’t matter” in English, except that in Malay, the meaning of *tidak apa* has been extended to include a disparaging label for someone who is highly tolerant of procrastination and inefficiency, someone who says *tak apa* to everything, in short, someone who is habitually lackadaisical or apathetic. The ME terms *tidak apa* and *tidak apa attitude* convey an undertone of derision (sometimes self-derision) which is probably more marked than in either “lackadaisical” or “apathetic.”

There are instances when a Malay word is borrowed despite the fact that the referent of this word is already adequately represented in the English language. In such cases, the motivation for adopting the Malay word is less overt, and must be studied with a stronger emphasis on the sociolinguistic perspective.

Certain Malay borrowings, especially those listed under the semantic field of government, administration and the monarchy, appear to be motivated by nationalism. The use of loanwords like *Dewan Negara* “Senate,” *Dewan Rakyat* “House of Representatives,” *Datuk Bandar* “mayor,” *Menteri Besar* “Chief Minister,” and *wakil rakyat* “representative” not only emphasises the singularity of the Malaysian system of government, but also creates an illusion of distance from the system put in place by the former British colonial government. The incorporation of these terms into ME highlights the status of the national language and its role as the language of government and administration of Malaysia.

Another class of borrowed features is associated with social protocol, in particular with proper terms of address that one should use when referring to the elite of society. The Malaysian head of state and his consort are generally referred to as the *Yang di-Pertuan Agong* and the *Raja Permaisuri Agong*. The hereditary rulers of the nine Malay states are known as *Sultans* (or *Raja* and *Yang di-Pertuan Besar* in Perlis and Negeri Sembilan respectively) while the appointed governors of Melaka, Penang, Sabah and Sarawak are known as the *Yang di-Pertua Neg(e)ri*. Besides royal titles, there are also several conferred titles that are used in ME. Some of the more commonly-used titles are *Datuk*, *Datin*, *Datuk Seri*, *Datin Seri*, *Tan Sri* and *Puan Sri* (see the lexical set of conferred titles under the semantic field of people and titles in Table 1). Therefore, although we might see the current Prime Minister of Malaysia referred to by the foreign media as (His Excellency) Mr Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, in Malaysian newspapers he is often referred to, at least in the initial reference, by his designated title *Datuk Seri* Abdullah Ahmad Badawi. In addition to the titles for the elite, ME has also borrowed several terms of respect as well as some Islamic titles. The informal terms of respect, *Pakcik* and *Makcik* (see the lexical set of terms of respect under the semantic field of people and titles in Table 1), are sometimes used in reference to middle-aged Malay males and females respectively, while the Islamic titles *Haji* and *Hajjah/Hajah* (see the lexical set of titles under the semantic field of Islam in Table 1) often prefix the names of Muslim men and women who have performed the Haj. The incorporation of these Malay titles into the lexicon of ME allows ME users to maintain the appropriate modicum of decorum expected by society.

The borrowing of Islamic terms into ME, either directly from Malay or from Arabic through Malay, suggests yet another motivation – one related to the assertion of the user’s Islamic identity. Islam is the official religion of the country, and the religion professed by the Malays who form the largest ethnic group. The relevance of Islam to the Muslim community in general, and to Muslims who are bilingual in English in particular, has given rise to the

need to incorporate a whole range of Islamic terms (refer to the semantic field of Islam in Table 1) into ME. It can of course be argued that for the most part, these features are borrowed because there are no pre-existing English words that can adequately describe the events, practices and principles that are so important to the Muslim community. There are however certain Islamic expressions (e.g., *Alhamdulillah*, *Inshaallah* and *God willing*) that are used by Muslims when speaking in English to emphasise their religious affiliation. This is especially important within the socio-political dynamics of Malaysia, where there exist pro-Malay economic policies, and there is a close association between Islam and the ruling elite.

We can thus see from the above that lexical borrowing in ME is *not* a random process of reproducing Malay words in English-language discourse. It is motivated by very specific linguistic and social needs of the multilingual speech community that uses English to communicate aspects of their sociocultural milieu. As these needs are consistent and ongoing, they induce predictable contact-induced linguistic changes in ME, some of which have been examined in this paper.

9. Conclusion

Speakers of other varieties of English are often confounded by the presence, in ME, of words and phrases from Malay, Hokkien, Cantonese, Mandarin, Tamil, Hindi, Iban, Kadazan and a myriad of other local languages. What must appear like wholesale transfer of lexical items from one language to another is in reality a highly-structured, hugely-complex phenomenon. This paper is a corpus-based examination of aspects of this contact phenomenon.

In her attempt at formally distinguishing code-switching from lexical borrowing, Poplack [2001: 3] makes the following conclusion about the latter:

Despite etymological identity with the donor language, established loanwords assume the morphological, syntactic, and often, phonological, identity of the recipient language. They tend to be recurrent in the speech of the individual and widespread across the community.

The veracity of her observation is reflected in the data – not just the loanwords, but also the compound blends and loan translations – discussed in this paper.¹⁴ We have seen how numerous Malay borrowings can be made more ‘English-like’ via the means morphosyntactic (and to a lesser extent, phonological) processes. The pervasiveness of Malay borrowings is reflected in the spread of these features across diverse semantic fields. It is clear that ME users incorporate these features in their variety of English because they have a need to enrich its lexicon. Because ME is maintained intranationally, it has to have the capacity to express – not just functionally but creatively as well – the sociocultural constructs that are relevant to the vast majority of Malaysians, irrespective of ethnic backgrounds.

The presence of a “critical mass” (Myers-Scotton [2002: 238]) of English- and Malay-speaking bilinguals in Malaysia, and the continuing relevance of Malay culture and tradition mean that once initiated, borrowings have ample opportunity to be transmitted to other members of the community. Many of the features we have seen started out as innovations but went on to become permanent additions to the ME vocabulary precisely because they fulfil

¹⁴ See Bakaran [2005: 37-43] for more extreme forms of morphological adaptations which tend to be restricted to informal or colloquial ME.

specific linguistic and social needs of society. Once these features enter the lexicon of ME, they are generally acquired along with core English words. The transmission, hence, continues.

That we have been able to take a large body of authentic texts and reduce it to specific patterns of contact-induced linguistic changes is largely attributable to the corpus-based approach. The fact that the linguistic outcomes of lexical borrowing are on the whole systematic and stable means that there is great potential for the codification of the lexicon of ME. As features borrowed from Malay form only a component of possible contact-induced changes, more research has to be done in order to assess the feasibility of codifying other types of linguistic changes in ME.

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Appendix: Malay borrowings in Malaysian English

adat *n.* [Malay] **1** Traditional practices and customs of a particular group. **2** Customary law and dispute resolution practices.

1 **2001** *New Straits Times* 26 Aug. "We have lost our identity and sense of belonging when it comes to adat (customs) for the Malays and the same applies to the Chinese, Indians and Eurasians here." **2** **2001** *New Straits Times* 18 Aug. Customs or adat are not only peculiar to the Malay Muslims, but also in other nations. Adat, in the Middle East, represents the unwritten customary laws and practices that have the force of social laws and the syariah. As long as the customs do not contradict the syariah, it is acceptable.

Alhamdulillah *int.* Also **alhamdullilah**, **Alhamdullillah**. [Malay, orig. Arabic] Praise be to Allah, an interjection that expresses gratitude.

2001 *New Straits Times* 16 Aug. The 33-year-old mother of 14-month-old Mohd Aiman Armin, said: "I had a terrible flu. Alhamdulillah, it didn't affect my voice that much during the show."

asam pedas *n.* [Malay] A sour and spicy soup.

baba *n. & a.* [Malay] **A** *n.* Pl. same, **-s**. **1** The Straits Chinese community. **2** The men folk of the Straits Chinese community. **B** *a.* Of language, culture, etc.: pertaining to the Straits Chinese community.

A **1** **2001** *The Star* 1 Nov. The Penang Babas speak the Hokkien dialect incorporating Malay words (the Babas of Malacca and Singapore – the other two cities that comprised the Straits Settlements – speak a type of Creole Malay with Hokkien words). **B** **2001** *The Star* 1 Nov. Clubs such as the Chinese Amateur Dramatic Association were not only famous for promoting Baba bangsawan in the 1920s and 1930s but also for presenting their own plays which centred around the stereotypical Baba household in which rich husbands squandered money, stepmothers were strict and mothers-in-law ill-treated their daughters-in-law.

baju Kedah *n.* [Malay] A short blouse with three-quarter length sleeves that is thought to have originated in Kedah. Also a suit comprising the blouse and a long skirt.

2001 *New Straits Times* 24 Nov. Key pieces in the collection include the classical baju kurung and elegant baju Kedah as well as the more contemporary curvy baju kebaya.

baju kurung *n.* [Malay] A loose knee-length blouse with sleeves that end at the wrists, typically worn by Malay women. Also a suit comprising such a blouse and an ankle-length skirt with folds on the left side.

2001 *The Star* 6 Sept. Sri Lumandeng, who was clad in a green baju kurung, looked calm throughout the proceedings yesterday and nodded her head as the court interpreter read out the facts of the case.

baju Melayu *n.* [Malay] A long-sleeve shirt with either a round neckline or a Mandarin collar that is worn by Malay men. Also a suit comprising such a shirt and a loose pair of pants.

2001 *The Star* 14 Oct. Clad in the same white baju melayu that he wore on his wedding day, Mohd Sufian said he regretted what had happened.

balik kampung *v.* [Malay] To visit the (usually rural) home of one's parents, in-laws, siblings or close relatives, during long weekends, festive seasons, etc.

2001 *New Straits Times* 20 Aug. He would keep repeating the same story everytime we balik kampung. We used to joke among us that he sounded like a broken record.

batik *n.* Also **batik cloth**. [Malay *kain batik*] Traditional Southeast Asian wax-resist dyed textile.

2001 *The Star* 30 Sept. With this encouragement, she started making and selling her batik from a small hut 13 years ago. **2001** *New Straits Times* 31 Oct. I usually buy scarfs (sic.), batik cloth, clothes for my grandchildren, etc.

Attrib.: **batik art** [Malay *seni batik*] the art of drawing and painting using the wax-resist batik method; **batik painter** [Malay *pelukis batik*] an artist who paints on fabric employing techniques and tools used for making batik; **batik painting** [Malay *lukisan batik*] the art of painting on fabric employing techniques and tools used for making batik.

2001 *New Straits Times* 29 Oct. "I spent time observing a commercial batik painter so as to learn how to paint batik. However, when I later tried it out myself, nothing worked," said this renowned batik artist.

bawal hitam *n.* [Malay] A marine fish (*Parastromateus niger*). Also called black pomfret.

2001 *The Star* 5 Dec. Its chairman Senator Zainal Rampak had said that there were drastic increase in the prices of essential items like chicken, chicken eggs, coconut, cooking oil, prawns, potatoes, long beans, kangkung, cabbage, red chillies, ikan kembung, tenggiri, bawal putih, bawal hitam, cencaru, ikan merah, local beef, imported beef and mutton.

bawal putih *n.* [Malay] A marine fish (*Pampus argenteus*). Also called white pomfret.

belacan *n.* [Malay, orig. Minangkabau Malay] Dried shrimp paste.

Comb.: **sambal belacan** a condiment of blended chillies and belacan.

2001 *The Star* 20 Oct. Finally, cuttlefish strips are added for the flavour and slight crunch. It is served with sambal belacan and green leaf lettuce.

bersanding ceremony *n.* [Malay *majlis persandingan*] A Malay wedding ceremony where the bride and the groom sit side by side on a dais awaiting the blessings of the guests.

2001 *New Straits Times* 2 Nov. The pelamin is an integral part of the Malay wedding ceremony. It is a decorated platform on which newlyweds sit for the bersanding ceremony.

bomoh *n.* Pl. -s. [Malay] A shaman and traditional healer of Malay culture.

2001 *New Straits Times* 24 Aug. A bomoh from Sabak Bernam, Selangor, claims he has caught what he believes is a langsuir or vampire near a cotton tree two days ago.

briyani rice (tautology) *n.* Also **nasi briyani**. [Malay, orig. Hindustani *biryani*] An Indian meat and rice dish.

2001 *New Straits Times* 7 Sept. The buffet line is filled with assorted Malaysian cuisine, from kurma chicken to spicy lamb, tender beef curry, steamed fish and briyani rice. **2001** *New Straits Times* 28 Nov. The hampers comprised rice and packets of seasoning for nasi briyani, nasi tomato and chicken.

bubur *n.* [Malay] Porridge or gruel made from rice, beans, lentils or other grains; may be sweet or savoury.

2001 *New Straits Times* 3 Oct. Although found in other States like Terengganu, Perak or Malacca, locals insist Benta's gula kabung is the best in quality and taste. It enhances the flavour of bubur, local kuih or cendol, they say.

Comb.: **bubur cha cha** porridge made by boiling pieces of yam, sweet potato, etc. in a broth of coconut milk and sugar; **bubur kacang** gruel made of various types of beans; **bubur lambok/lambuk** savoury porridge with meat and spices, traditionally served during the month of Ramadan; **bubur pulut hitam** sweet porridge made of black glutinous rice.

budu *n.* [Malay, orig. Kelantan Malay] A condiment made by pickling anchovies in brine; popular in the east coast states of Peninsular Malaysia.

2001 *New Straits Times* 22 Nov. Among the fare served for the hotel's Ramadan buffet dinner are various types of kerabu, ulam-ulaman, sambal belacan, budu and tempoyak.

buka puasa *n.* Also **berbuka puasa**. [Malay] The breaking of fast: during the month of Ramadan, Muslims fast during the day and break the fast at dusk.

2001 *New Straits Times* 24 Nov. If you are not one of those “busy bees” who only have time to grab a murtabak or kuih for berbuka puasa, then stay tuned. Starting today, this page will provide some interesting recipes, both sweet and savoury, Asian and Western, for the aspiring chef.

bumiputera *n. & a.* Also **bumiputra**. [Malay, orig. Sanskrit *bumi* earth + *putra* son] **A** *n.* Pl. -s. A category created by the Malaysian state to designate those citizens it considers indigenous to Malaysia. **B** *a.* Of or pertaining to the bumiputeras.

A **2001** *The Star* 24 Sept. According to the latest electoral roll, Kidurong has 22,001 registered voters, with 51.3% Chinese and 48.7% bumiputras (70% Ibans and 30% Malays). **B** **2001** *The Star* 20 Oct. Amin said he was confident that the budget measures would go a long way towards assisting bumiputra businessmen, especially the medium- and small-scale businessmen now trying to cope with the challenges of globalisation.

non-bumiputera/non-bumiputra a citizen who is considered non-indigenous to Malaysia, usually of Chinese or Indian ethnicity.

Comb.: **Muslim bumiputera/Muslim bumiputra** a bumiputra of the Muslim faith, usually a Malay or a person belonging to one of the many indigenous tribes of Malaysia; **non-Muslim bumiputera/non-Muslim bumiputra** a bumiputra who is not a Muslim, usually of Christian or traditional faith.

2001 *The Star* 3 Aug. At the conclusion of the Upko congress on Wednesday, the party's 315 delegates adopted a resolution asking the state to adopt a 4:4:2 formula in all appointments and promotions in the civil service. This meant that for every 10 civil servants hired or promoted, four should be Muslim bumiputras, another four be non-Muslim bumiputras and two be non-bumiputras.

bunga kantan *n.* [Malay] The pink bud of a ginger plant (*Etlingera elatior*) that is used to flavour many Malay dishes.

bunga manggar *n.* [Malay] A palm-like structure comprising a pole and plumes of glittery tinsels that it used to decorate the venue during a wedding.

2001 *New Straits Times* 20 Aug. Besides the beat of the kompang and the glittering bunga manggar, no traditional Malay wedding is complete without a silat performance.

bunga telur *n.* [Malay *bunga* flower + *telur* egg] A gift of a boiled egg tied to a paper flower that is given to the guests at Malay weddings.

2001 *New Straits Times* 17 Sept. As the big day approaches, the neighbours congregate at the house to help make bunga telur, set up the wedding dais and build the balai.

ciku *n.* [Malay] An oval fruit about the size of a large kiwifruit with pale brown thin skin and yellowish, sweet flesh.

2001 *New Straits Times* 14 Aug. Ciku is a sweet-smelling brown coloured fruit, popular in Asean countries such as Thailand, Vietnam, Indonesia and Malaysia.

cincalok *n.* [Malay] A relish made from small shrimps.

2001 *New Straits Times* 10 Aug. For the main course, chef Chew recommends the special deep-fried chicken, which was marinated with cincalok.

congkak *n.* [Malay] A traditional Malay game played by moving counters from one base to another on a boat-shaped board.

2001 *New Straits Times* 30 Aug. Traditional games such as sepak raga bulatan and congkak were also held.

dadah *n.* [Malay] A generic name for chemical substances, such as narcotics or hallucinogens, that affect the central nervous system.

2001 *New Straits Times* 24 Aug. He said initial investigation showed that the man could have been involved in a spate of armed robberies, motorcycle thefts, tampering of motorcycle chassis numbers, and peddling dadah and pornographic VCDs.

dalang *n.* [Malay] The puppet-master of the wayang kulit or the shadow play.

2001 *New Straits Times* 23 Oct. I'm a writer; worse, I'm a poet. I'm a dalang, I learn Jawi, and half the time I live in Kelantan. For most parents, it'd be bizarre!

Datin *n.* [Malay] **1** A title reserved for the wife of a man who has been awarded the title of Datuk. **2** The wife of a man who has been awarded the title of Datuk.

1 2002 *The Star* 30 Jan. Dr Jeffrey was represented by Datin Marina Tiu **2 2001** *The Star* 24 Sept. An odd-job labourer, arrested on suspicion of murdering a Datin last year, told a Sessions Court yesterday he admitted to police that he received stolen jewellery after they started beating him.

Datin Seri *n.* [Malay] The title reserved for the wife of a person who has been awarded the title of Datuk Seri.

2001 *The Star* 23 Dec. Also present were the Tunku Mahkota Tunku Ibrahim Ismail, his consort Raja Zarith Sofiah Sultan Idris Shah, members of the Johor royal family, Deputy Prime Minister Datuk Seri Abdullah Ahmad Badawi and his wife Datin Seri Endon Mahmood.

Datuk *n.* Pl. -s. [Malay] **1** An honorary and non-hereditary title awarded either by the federal government or the state rulers. **2** A person who has been awarded the title of Datuk.

1 2001 *The Star* 21 Nov. The Malaysian embassy in the Republic of Ireland will open soon with Datuk Ali Abdullah appointed as its first ambassador. **2 2001** *The Star* 27 Nov. The Datuk, she claimed, had told her that the police would not dare take action on any report lodged against him and his family members.

Datukship *n.* the state of having been awarded the title of Datuk.

2001 *New Straits Times* 3 Sept. A casual perusal of the lists reveal that the Datukship recipients range from the royals, party stalwarts, exco members, civil servants, towkays and corporate figures, police and military personnel, entertainers and even unheard-of foreign dignitaries.

Datuk Bandar *n.* [Malay]. A mayor.

2001 *New Straits Times* 20 Nov. The ceremony was officiated by Kuala Lumpur Datuk Bandar Tan Sri Kamaruzzaman Shariff.

Datuk Seri *n.* [Malay] A honorary title awarded by the state rulers of Malaysia.

2002 *The Star* 2 Jan. Puteri Umno pro-tem chief Azalina Othman Said said issues associated with Datuk Seri Anwar Ibrahim have become stale and would not influence the Indera Kayangan by-election.

daun kesum *n.* [Malay] A pungent herb (*Polygonum hydropiper*) with long pointed green leaves tinged with purple.

daun mambu *n.* [Malay] A bitter herb that is often used to treat measles and chicken pox.

2001 *The Star* 14 Oct. Neem grows well in Malaysia and is common to all the races. The Malays call it daun mambu, while the Chinese and Indians call it chin sou chin and veepelai respectively.

daun salam *n.* [Malay] An aromatic leaf used in Malay cooking which has a similar flavour to curry leaves.

2001 *New Straits Times* 23 Sept. What makes the nasi lemak so unusual is the addition of fenugreek (halba) that lends a certain aroma to the rice. Not to mention the slight hint of daun salam.

Dewan Negara *n.* [Malay *Dewan* Hall, Assembly + *Negara* Nation] The national Senate.

2001 *New Straits Times* 8 Aug. Six syndicates were busted and 22 people arrested from January to March this year in connection with forged Malaysian identity cards, the Dewan Negara was told yesterday.

Dewan Rakyat *n.* [Malay *Dewan* Hall, Assembly + *Rakyat* “the people”] The national House of Representatives.

2001 *New Straits Times* 27 Oct. Abdullah reportedly advised MPs to raise any dissatisfaction with the Prime Minister first, instead of turning the Dewan Rakyat into a bashing ground.

dikir barat *n.* [Malay] A style of call-and-response singing originating in Kelantan.

2001 *New Straits Times* 3 Oct. You'll get to see groups bantering in dikir barat, hitting traditional drums, playing and dancing to traditional music.

dukun *n.* [Malay, orig. Javanese Malay] A medicine man, healer.

2001 *The Star* 20 Oct. The virtues of jamu were later introduced to the “common people” by native healers known as dukun (witch-doctor).

Friday prayers *n.* [Malay *sembahyang Jumaat*, orig. Arabic *Jum'ah*] Congregational prayer performed by Muslims every Friday afternoon.

2001 *New Straits Times* 25 Oct. A witness told the High Court today that he did not perform the Friday prayers on Dec 18, 1998,

gamelan *n.* [Malay, orig. Javanese Malay] A type of Javanese orchestra that has become an important part of the music culture of Malaysia.

2001 *New Straits Times* 27 Oct. The gamelan is a sound from our past, unique to this region and its people, its melodies a record of our forefathers' lives.

gasing *n.* [Malay] A giant top that weighs approximately 5kg. Top spinning competitions are held annually, especially in the east coast of Peninsular Malaysia, with the participants being adults rather than children.

2001 *New Straits Times* 19 Sept. A typical gasing is about the size of a dinner plate and may weigh about 5.5kg. Spinning gasing is hardly child's play as it requires strength, great dexterity and precise timing.

Comb.: **gasing pangkah** a top-spinning competition whereby a participant hurls his top at his opponent's in order to break or destabilise the latter; **gasing uri** a top-spinning competition whereby the participant tries to keep his top spinning for as long as possible.

2001 *New Straits Times* 18 Aug. Among the other events to be held are a chess tournament from Aug 30 to Sept 2 at the Putra World Trade Centre, a gasing pangkah competition from Sept 7 to 9 in Labuan,

gatal *a.* [Malay] Mischievous and flirtatious, usually of lecherous men.

2001 *New Straits Times* 13 Oct. Add in a gatal (lecherous) rich man (essential in ALL local movies) and a love triangle between Harry, Yati and Chantal, and there you have it: 90 minutes of entertainment.

God willing [Malay *insyaallah*, orig. Arabic] If God wills it. Many Muslims consider any expression of certainty about the future to be arrogant, and very often use this term to prefix any statement of positive intent or prediction, or agreement to do something. It is this suggestion of humility and knowledge that everything is in the hands of God that distinguishes the use of this term in ME. See also **Insyaallah**.

2001 *The Star* 10 Oct. “His Majesty also said that with the prayers of everyone, God willing, he will be returning home soon.”

gotong-royong *n.* [Malay] The traditional Malay practice of helping one another in communal projects, preparation for festivals, etc.

2001 *New Straits Times* 28 Nov. ... revive traditional practices like gotong-royong, visiting neighbours during festivals and helping neighbours who face problems.

Hajah *n.* Also **Hajjah**. [Malay] The title used by a woman who has performed the Haj pilgrimage to Mecca.

2001 *The Star* 16 Sept. The others are Mej-Jen Datuk Pahlawan Mohd Azumi Mohamed, Hajjah Salbiah Mohd Painah, Shell Companies in North-East Asia chairman Tan Eik Kia, former assemblyman and educationist Temenggong Tan Meng Chong, businessman and philanthropist Lee Chi Min and Reverend Made Katib.

Haji *n.* [Malay] The title used by a man who has performed the Haj pilgrimage to Mecca.

2001 *The Star* 23 Nov. "I had known the King since I was a little girl because my grandfather, Haji Kassim, was the imam of Istana Alam Shah (in Klang). He was very fond of children even then," she said.

halal *a.* [Malay, orig. Arabic] Permitted under Islamic law, usually in reference to food.

2001 *New Straits Times* 4 Nov. Of the switch to halal Chinese cuisine, he says that he and his kitchen team have been preparing for it for months, testing various ways to get similar or almost similar flavours and textures.

non-halal not permitted under Islamic law, usually in reference to food and restaurants.

2001 *The Star* 15 Aug. Shops that do not have a Chinese restaurant permit, even though they are Chinese-owned and have been selling other non-halal food like pork, cannot legally sell beer without the permit.

hantu *n.* [Malay] A spirit, ghost or demon.

2001 *New Straits Times* 26 Aug. I think most Malaysians believe in one kind of hantu or another.

haram *a.* [Malay, orig. Arabic] Forbidden by Islamic law.

2001 *New Straits Times* 2 Aug. Hassan said all 12 State Muftis at the meeting unanimously agreed that the council should decree black metal music as haram.

Hari Raya *n.* Also **Hari Raya Puasa**, **Hari Raya Aidilfitri**. [Malay *hari* day + *raya* celebration] The celebration marking the end of the fasting month.

2001 *The Star* 15 Dec. The Sultan of Selangor, Sultan Sharafuddin Idris Shah, will hold an open house at Istana Bukit Kayangan here on the first day of Hari Raya from noon to 3pm.

ikan bilis *n.* [Malay] **1** Dried anchovies. **2** Insignificant people, small fry.

1 **2001** *New Straits Times* 17 Sept. Another Penang favourite is loh bak, which is an assortment of deep-fried fish balls, fish cake, crab sticks, tau hoo, cucur udang and other items cut into bite-size pieces and eaten with a special sauce, which is made from ikan bilis stock, seasoning and eggs.

2 **2001** *The Star* 7 Nov. "We don't act only against the ikan bilis. Our action is against all, whether they are ikan bilis or king of illegal loggers," Rahim said during a highly spirited question hour that focused on issues of illegal logging, illegal immigrants and illegal fish bombings.

Comb.: **sambal ikan bilis** condiment made by cooking ikan bilis in chilli paste.

2001 *The Star* 20 Sept. "If the choice is nasi lemak, taken with a small serving of sambal ikan bilis, a slice of boiled egg, some slices of cucumber or fried kangkung, and a cup of coffee, hot chocolate or tea, that should be fine. ..."

ikan kembung *n.* [Malay] A local species of mackerel (*Rastrelliger kanagurta*).

2001 *The Star* 17 Nov. Sabariah Ismail, 43, said ikan kembung, normally costing RM5 a kilo, was sold between RM6 and RM8 per kilo.

ikan tenggiri *n.* [Malay] Spanish mackerel (*Scomberomorus commerson*).

2001 *The Star* 5 Dec. "The standard price for other items which are not under the controlled list like ikan selar and ikan tenggiri were also not exorbitant."

ikan terubok *n.* [Malay] A sequential hermaphrodite fish from the herring family (*Clupeidae*) found mainly in Sarawak. Ikan terubok is sought after not only for its flesh but also for its roe.

2001 *New Straits Times* 16 Nov. To ensure that the ikan terubok continue to exist on a sustainable basis, we need to put in place some form of licensing for terubok catchers.

imam *n.* [Malay, orig. Arabic] The man who leads prayers in a mosque.

2001 *New Straits Times* 5 Oct. They allegedly performed the prayers in a congregation separate from the one led by the imam appointed by the Federal Territory Islamic Religious Council, in contravention of a directive dated Aug 14 issued by the council.

Insyallah Also **Insyallah, InsyaAllah, Insya-Allah, insyallah.** [Malay, orig. Arabic] If God wills it. Many Muslims consider any expression of certainty about the future to be arrogant, and very often use this term to prefix any statement of positive intent or prediction, or agreement to do something. See also **God willing**.

2001 *New Straits Times* 1 Oct. We are waiting for the time to sign the Articles of Agreement with the founding members that include Sudan, Indonesia, Bahrain, Brunei and the Islamic Development Bank, to effectively launch the IIFM project, Insyaallah this year.

Ipoh [Malay] Capital city of the Malaysian state of Perak.

2001 *The Star* 9 Dec. Like a treasure hunt, it takes a while to uncover Ipoh's culinary secrets, tucked as the food establishments are in little squatter settlements, wet markets and corner shops.

Islamic Affairs Council *n.* Also **Islamic Council, Islamic Religious Council.** [Malay *Majlis* Council + *Agama* Religion + *Islam* Islam] A state-level council responsible for formulating policies aimed at the advancement of Islam.

2001 *The Star* 3 Aug. All the state Islamic affairs council presidents were present at the meeting.

Islamic Affairs Department *n.* [Malay *Jabatan* Department + Hal Ehwal Affairs + *Agama* Religion + *Islam* Islam] A state-level department in charge of implementing policies and programmes formulated by the Islamic Affairs Council. Each state has either an Islamic Religious Department or an Islamic Affairs Department.

2001 *The Star* 30 Sept. Mentri Besar Datuk Seri Dr Mohd Khir Toyo said the students, all studying in universities in the Middle East, had been informed of the decision by the state Islamic Affairs Department.

Islamic Religious Department *n.* [Malay *Jabatan* Department + *Agama* Religion + *Islam* Islam] A state-level department in charge of implementing policies and programmes formulated by the Islamic Affairs Council. Each state has either an Islamic Religious Department or an Islamic Affairs Department.

2001 *The Star* 1 Aug. Dr Hilmi, who is the State Islamic Religious Council chairman said yesterday the Islamic Religious Department will be writing the sermons.

Isyak prayer (tautology) *n.* Pl. **Isyak prayers.** [Malay *sembahyang Isyak*, orig. Arabic *Isha*] The evening prayer – the last of the five daily prayers performed by Muslims.

2001 *The Star* 21 Nov. Strengthening neighbourhood ties can also be seen during the performance of the optional terawih and witr prayers at night after the compulsory Isyak prayer.

jaguh kampung *n.* Pl. **jaguh kampungs.** [Malay] An uncomplimentary term for an athlete who is only able to win when he or she plays on the home turf.

2002 *The Star* 4 Jan. He has been in the national team for a long time and he has to break out of the shell in international tournaments ... we don't want to breed jaguh kampungs," said Zolkples.

jampi *n.* [Malay, orig. Sanskrit] Spell or charm.

2001 *New Straits Times* 4 Nov. Information Minister Tan Sri Khalil Yaakob, who took to the rostrum, must have sensed the politically charged atmosphere when he said: "If I can work some jampi (charm), I will try to bring about unity in MCA."

Comb.: **air jampi** water which has been subjected to an incantation.

Jawi *n.* [Malay] An adapted Arabic alphabet for writing the Malay language. It is used as one of two official scripts in Brunei, and is employed to a limited extent in Malaysia, Indonesia and Singapore as well, particularly in religious contexts.

2001 *The Star* 22 Oct. A UNIQUE attraction in the fishing village of Kuala Sepetang, about 17km from Taiping, Perak, is a concrete signboard along Jalan Tepi Sungai with the name "Port Weld" rendered in four languages: English, Bahasa Malaysia (in Jawi script), Chinese and Tamil.

jembalang *n.* [Malay] An evil spirit.

2001 *New Straits Times* 10 Nov. After all, the air jampi will not lift a gypsy curse in Oxford. Neither will the Holy Water send the Malay jembalang (evil spirits) scurrying.

joget *n.* [Malay] Malay folk dance characterised by quick rhythmic movements.

2001 *The Star* 11 Nov. The Actors Studio Academy's traditional dance programme offers a choice of classical Malay dances such as Asyik and Trinai or folk dances like joget, zapin, endang and layang mas.

Johor *n.* Also **Johore**. [Malay] A state situated in the south of Peninsular Malaysia.

Johorean *n.* Pl. -s. A native or inhabitant of the state of Johor.

2001 *The Star* 5 Aug. The 23-year-old Johorean feels that he should be picked based on his victory in the men's 100m event at the MAAU Open in Malacca last week.

kacang *n.* [Malay *kacang* peas, beans, lentils or nuts; orig. Tamil *kaccaan*] Roasted nuts, usually eaten as a snack.

2001 *New Straits Times* 23 Oct. I've rediscovered a passion for those films, now - I have quite a collection of James Bond movies! Not out of any fondness for the hero, but for the memories he evokes. Of me and my father, the Majestic and Sentosa cinemas in Petaling Jaya, Coke and kacang.

Comb.: **ais/ice kacang** local dessert of shaved ice, syrup, kidney beans, cream corn, sago, etc.; **bubur kacang** gruel made of various types of beans; **putu kacang** local biscuit made of mung bean meal and sugar.

2001 *New Straits Times* 23 Oct. For dessert, there is ais kacang with pastries and cakes.

kadi *n.* [Malay, orig. Arabic *qadi*] A judge in Islamic affairs.

2001 *New Straits Times* 31 Oct. Under the ruling, couples wanting to get married have to undergo the HIV test, the results of which must be handed to the kadi before the wedding.

kampung *n.* Pl. -s. [Malay] A small village.

Attrib.: **kampung house** [Malay *rumah kampung*] traditional (Malay) house on stilts, usually made of wood and with a thatched roof; **kampung chicken** [Malay *ayam kampung*] local breed of chicken usually raised in the backyard by rural folk using traditional methods and therefore regarded as having better meat quality.

2001 *The Star* 22 Sept. According to Sundram, British bikes were extensively used in the estates by management staff to get around. In addition, the police, army and postal services owned many too, especially BSAs of 250cc and 350cc capacities. Many are still around; quite a few rotting under kampung houses all over the country. 2001 *New Straits Times* 26 Aug. TCRS offers customers a choice of ordinary chicken or kampung chicken with a slight difference in prices.

Comb.: **Malay kampung** [Malay *kampung Melayu*] a Malay village.

2001 *New Straits Times* 11 Sept. We are sitting in her library in a middle-class enclave surrounded by Malay kampungs in Selayang, Selangor, and she is talking animatedly about her latest project: implementing a community transport service in the Klang Valley for those unable to use, or who have difficulty in using, public transport.

kangkung *n.* [Malay] A semi-aquatic tropical plant (*Ipomoea aquatica*) grown as a leaf vegetable. Sometimes called water convolvulus.

kaya *n.* [Malay *serikaya*] Custard-like spread for bread made of coconut milk, sugar and eggs and flavoured with pandanus juice.

2001 *The Star* 20 Sept. Wholemeal bread toast with a thin spread of butter or kaya, could also be your breakfast.

kebaya *n.* Also **baju kebaya**. [Malay] A form-fitting blouse with frontal opening and long sleeves, traditionally worn by Peranakan and Malay women. Also a suit comprising such a blouse and a sarong or a form-fitting long skirt.

2001 *New Straits Times* 12 Aug. Dressed in black baju kebaya with a beige and blue floral motif, the mother of four was accompanied to accept her award by State Executive Councillor Datuk Kee Phaik Cheen and Penang Council of Datuks council member Datuk Saleena Yahaya-Isa.

Kedah *n.* [Malay] A state situated in the northwest region of Peninsular Malaysia.

Kedah *n. & a. A n. Pl. -s.* A native or inhabitant of the state of Kedah. **B a.** Of or relating to or characteristic of the state of Kedah or its people or language or culture.

A 2001 *The Star* 13 Dec. Next year will be Kedah-born Zahir's 20th as the Speaker. He is an inspiring figure to many Kedahans. **B 2001** *The Star* 11 Nov. The venue is Rumah Penghulu Abu Seman bin Nayan located in Jalan Stonor (near the KLCC), a beautifully restored Kedahan Malay house that was "transplanted" to KL and now hosts Badan Warisan.

Kelantan *n.* [Malay] A state situated in the northeast region of Peninsular Malaysia.

Kelantanese *n.* Pl. same. A native or inhabitant of the state of Kelantan.

2001 *New Straits Times* 19 Sept. Kelantanese are renowned for their warmth and friendliness.

kemenyan *n.* [Malay] A type of incense made from the resin of a tree of the same name.

2001 *New Straits Times* 26 Aug. It is said that close to every Umno supreme council election, Dewan Merdeka at the Putra World Trade Centre in Kuala Lumpur would be filled with the smell of kemenyan (incense) and lilin (candle) as some candidates sought the help of their trusted bomoh and pawang to influence voting.

kenduri *n.* Pl. same, **-s.** [Malay, orig. Persian, Hindustani] A traditional Malay feast, often religious.

2001 *New Straits Times* 17 Sept. In addition, the expenses are high because the host has to feed the volunteers days before the kenduri

kerabu *n.* [Malay] Malay salad.

2001 *New Straits Times* 26 Nov. Break fast with dates and whet your appetite with kerabu, ulam and sambal

Comb.: **nasi kerabu** salad of rice, herbs and other greens.

kerisik *n.* [Malay] Lightly-roasted grated coconut. Not to be confused with desiccated coconut.

2001 *New Straits Times* 22 Aug. "City folk especially do not use stuff like kerisik, hand-squeezed coconut milk, rempah-rempah (spices), real pandan leaf extracts for colouring and taste, ..."

keroncong *n.* Also **kroncong**. [Malay, orig. Javanese Malay] A type of Javanese music and song performance that has some Portuguese influence.

2001 *New Straits Times* 27 Oct. My personal favourite for the evening was definitely Suasana, a piece that used a range of musical styles such as the Terengganu gamelan, keroncong, asli singing style, kompong/rebana drums, the rebab and vocals.

kerongsang *n.* Pl. -s. [Malay] A set of three decorative brooches worn on the lapel of a baju kebaya, traditionally used in place of buttons.

Comb.: **ibu kerongsang** the biggest of the three brooches that make up a kerongsang.

2001 *New Straits Times* 26 Nov. Traditional jewellery is actually an amalgamation of our diversified cultures, Tan reveals. For instance, a ruby-studded ibu kerongsang in his collection shows Sri Lankan influence.

ketupat *n.* [Malay] Rice cakes made by cooking rice in small casings made of palm leaves.

2001 *The Star* 11 Dec. The island's assistant resort manager ... also used the opportunity to learn to make ketupat.

khalwat *a.* [Malay, orig. Arabic] Related to the offence, under the Syariah law of Malaysia, of being in an isolated place and in close proximity with a person of the opposite sex who is not one's spouse.

2001 *The Star* 19 Aug. A gotong-royong turned into a khalwat raid when Chief Minister Datuk Wira Mohd Ali Rustam, suspecting human presence in an abandoned house in Kampung Morten, instructed those involved in the cleanliness campaign to check the place.

kompong *n.* [Malay] Shallow-frame hand-held Malay drum, usually played in processions.

kompong troupe [Malay *kumpulan kompong*] kompong ensemble.

2001 *New Straits Times* 18 Aug. We arrived at the resort at 6pm, and were welcomed by a kompong troupe, Azwan and several artistes who had arrived earlier.

Kota Kinabalu *n.* Capital town of the Malaysian state of Sabah.

2001 *The Star* 26 Sept. KOTA KINABALU: National bowler Ng Yiew Hup defeated United States's Purvis Granger over two games in the step-ladder grand finals of the inaugural Kota Kinabalu International Open Championships at the CPS Bowl here on Monday night.

Kuala Lumpur *n.* [Malay] Also **KL**. (Abbrev.) Capital city of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur.

KL-ites *n.* Usu. in pl. Natives or inhabitants of KL.

2001 *The Star* 25 Aug. Originally from Kuala Lumpur, he's been here for the last seven years. **2002** *The Star* 18 Jan. And in their bid to become the first team to win back-to-back world titles, the Dutch realise that they need all the help in getting used to the conditions in KL. **2001** *New Straits Times* 4 Nov. Rainy days and Monday, Oct 29, really got KL-ites down. Another day that will go into the records as one of Kuala Lumpur's "worst" flash floods. The way it's going, it promises to be worse when the next big one strikes.

Kuantan *n.* [Malay] The capital town of the Malaysian state of Pahang.

2002 *The Star* 4 Jan. Kapten Nazri cheated death on Wednesday when the Pilatus aircraft he was piloting crashed off the Kuantan coastline.

Kuching *n.* [Malay] Capital city of the Malaysian state of Sarawak.

2001 *The Star* 3 Aug. KUCHING: The fate of the five Sarawak Premier League players, suspended over allegations of drug abuse, will be known when the FA of Sarawak's (FAS) disciplinary board meet today.

kuih *n.* Pl. same, **kuih-muih**, **kuih-kuih**. [Malay, orig. Batavia Malay, Penang Malay] Any type of local cakes, puddings, biscuits, pastries and fritters, made variously from glutinous rice flour, rice flour, wheat flour, cane sugar, palm sugar, coconut milk, grated coconut and eggs.

2001 *New Straits Times* 6 Nov. For dessert, check out ais kacang, assorted ice cream, bread and butter pudding, iced longan and jelly, kuih, French pastries and fresh fruits

Comb.: **kuih bahulu** small cupcake, traditionally baked over charcoal fire in cast iron moulds; **kuih bangkit** light biscuit made of coconut milk, sugar and rice flour; **kuih kapit** thin wafer made from wheat flour, coconut milk, sugar and eggs.

kunyit *n.* [Malay] Turmeric.

2001 *New Straits Times* 23 Sept. Chew it slowly and enjoy the release of aroma from the serai, daun kadok, daun limau purut, daun kunyit, shallots, kunyit, dried prawns, salted fish and kerisik.

langsai *n.* [Malay] The oval, greyish-yellow edible fruit of a tree native to Malaysia and Indonesia (*Lansium domesticum*).

2001 *New Straits Times* 28 Nov. ... visitors are offered such local fruits as durian, langsai, dokong, rambutan and cempedak, among others.

Comb.: **duku langsai** a sweeter variety of langsai, this fruit has a slightly thicker skin.

Lembaga Tabung Haji *n.* Also **Tabung Haji**, **Tabung Haji Board** [Malay *Lembaga Tabung Haji*]. Pilgrims Fund Board, a fund management board that helps Muslims in Malaysia to invest in ways accepted under Islamic principles so that they may have the financial means to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca.

2001 *New Straits Times* 16 Aug. The Government will restructure Lembaga Tabung Haji to address the organisation's weaknesses and enable it to perform better.

lontong *n.* [Malay] A dish of rice cakes in a gravy of coconut milk, vegetables and spices.

2001 *The Star* 20 Sept. "... Sometimes I take lontong or a bowl of vermicelli soup. ..."

madrasah *n.* Pl. same, -s. [Malay, orig. Arabic] An Islamic school.

2001 *New Straits Times* 10 Nov. Speaking to reporters later, Dr Mahathir said misinterpretation of Islamic teaching was rampant, especially among Muslim countries. "The Government has to correct the wrong teaching of Islam because children in the madrasahs and pondoks are taught to hate and fight the Government."

makan *n.* [Malay] **1** A meal or feast. **2** Eating or feasting, usually with family or friends.

1 **2001** *New Straits Times* 26 Aug. The coming weekend will be a long holiday for most people Naturally, Malaysians will celebrate the way they know best – with a good makan. **2** **2001** *The Star* 10 Sept. This activity is for seniors especially the widowed, divorced, single or separated to get together for fellowship, to share, learn and also take part in group activities like learning computer skills, dancing, exercising, sightseeing and, of course, makan.

Comb.: **makan kecil** a party where snacks and drinks are served.

2001 *New Straits Times* 21 Oct. There was a makan kecil at school, handled by the Student Council members, then a trip out to the beach ("Malaysia's Waikiki"), and finally a call on Vic and Jane Buzdon, where there was much reminiscing about Hilo days.

makcik *n.* [Malay] **1** A title of respect for a middle-aged Malay woman. The title (usually with an initial capital) often precedes the name. **2** Pl. -s. A middle-aged Malay woman.

1 **2001** *The Star* 15 Dec. Makcik Siah, 60, is one of the very few people who still labour over the hot stove to churn out traditional delicacies for Hari Raya. **2** **2001** *New Straits Times* 22 Aug. I have spent close to 10 years talking with the kampung 'makciks' and other sources to unlock the secrets of Malay food, especially preparing them traditionally like how our forefathers did.

Malacca *n.* Also **Melaka**. [Malay] **1** A state situated on the west coast of Peninsular Malaysia, noted for its historic sites. **2** The capital city of the state of Malacca.

Malaccan *n.* & *a.* **A n.** A native of inhabitant of the state of Malacca. **B a.** Of or relating to or characteristic of the state of Malacca or its people or language or culture.

2001 *The Star* 30 Oct. A true-blue Malaccan Straits Chinese, Tan teaches us to distinguish between the cooking styles of Penang and Malacca Nyonya.

Malaysia Boleh spirit *n.* [Malay *semangat Malaysia Boleh*] “Malaysia Boleh” (lit. “Malaysia can”) is a slogan used to promote national pride. The can-do attitude encapsulated in this slogan became known as the Malaysia Boleh spirit.

2001 *The Star* 16 Oct. I’ve read of the biggest mooncake, the longest teh tarik, the biggest roti canai, the longest chain of diners, etc, all of which did nothing to strengthen the Malaysia Boleh spirit.

Malaysian Islamic Economic Development Foundation *n.* [Malay *Yayasan* Foundation + *Pembangunan* Development + *Ekonomi* Economy/Economic + *Islam* Islam/Islamic + *Malaysia* Malaysia, also *YPEIM*] Established in 1976 by the Federal Government, the foundation oversees the economic development of the Muslim community in Malaysia.

2001 *New Straits Times* 6 Aug. Seventeen years after its re-birth, Malaysian Islamic Economic Development Foundation (YPEIM) can be proud of its achievement in helping the hardore poor and supporting petty traders.

mamak *n.* [Malay, orig. Tamil] An Indian Muslim.

2001 *New Straits Times* 4 Nov. It does not matter whether one is a Javanese, a Mamak, a *peranakan Arab* or an *Orang Asli*. The question is: what does it mean to be a Malay?

mamak stall [Malay *gerai mamak*, *warung mamak*] stall run by an Indian Muslim, usually selling humble fare like *roti canai*, local *kuihs*, noodles, *teh tarik*, etc.

2001 *New Straits Times* 29 Sept. “Sometimes, it can be really tiring as I hate putting on make-up. I’m a jeans and T-shirt girl who loves sitting at mamak stalls but I can’t do that too often now,” she says.

Mat Salleh *n. & a. Malay slang.* [Malay] **A** *n.* A Caucasian person. **B** *a.* Of or pertaining to a Caucasian.

1 2001 *The Star* 14 Sept. The mat salleh might not look very intimidating now but some of them do appear rather imperious in the pages of this volume, especially when they were our colonial rulers. 2 2001 *New Straits Times* 1 Oct. I think because Brian is Mat Salleh and I’m local, the comedic elements come in when the two cultures meet.

mee goreng *n.* [Malay, orig. Hokkien *mee* noodles + Malay *goreng* fried] Fried wheat noodles, usually spicy.

2001 *The Star* 15 Dec. For those who enjoy *roti canai*, *mee goreng*, *nasi goreng* or *kuey teow goreng*, there are various stalls offering these along the Pasir Bogak stretch.

mee rebus *n.* [Malay, orig. Hokkien *mee* noodles + Malay *rebus* boiled] Wheat noodles in a spicy sauce.

mengkuang mat *n.* [Malay *tikar mengkuang*] A mat woven from the leaves of the *mengkuang*, a type of screw pine with long and broad leaves.

2001 *New Straits Times* 5 Sept. Malaysia’s traditional crafts like the *batik sarong*, rattan products and *mengkuang* mats are being elevated to new heights thanks to the creative women in the industry as shown in the “Women in Craft” event held at the Kuala Lumpur Craft Complex recently to celebrate and appreciate their work.

Menteri Besar *n.* Pl. **Menteris Besar.** [Malay *Menteri* Minister + *Besar* Big] Chief Minister for any of the nine former Federated and non-Federated Malay states.

2001 *The Star* 19 Aug. The Menteri Besar has been so pleased with Yee’s book that the state government purchased over 600 copies to be distributed to students in Sabak Bernam.

Merdeka spirit *n.* [Malay *semangat Merdeka*] Spirit of independence.

2001 *New Straits Times* 30 Aug. Menteri Besar Datuk Seri Tajol Rosli Ghazali has urged the people to show their Merdeka spirit by flying the national flag at their premises.

Muar *n.* [Malay] An old town in Johor on the west coast of Peninsular Malaysia.

2001 *The Star* 7 Nov. "I am truly overwhelmed by their generosity," says the Muar-born beauty who is pursuing a degree in Science and Psychology at the University of North British Columbia in Canada.

muhibbah *a.* [Malay *muhibah*] Harmonious, associated with good will and friendship among different groups of the society.

2001 *New Straits Times* 19 Oct. The five kids in the band incidentally are a muhibbah bunch - Harry (the delicious Craig Fong) is the Chinese deejay who formed the band; Yati (Ellie Suriaty Omar) is a Malay girl who plays the bass; Chantal (Corinne Adri) is the Eurasian vocalist; Ariff (Edwin R Sumun) adds flavour to the group as the flamboyantly gay keyboardist, and JJ (Sanjeet Jarnail) is the Indian drummer.

naan bread (tautology) *n.* [Malay *roti naan*, orig. Hindustani *naan*] Naan, a type of unleavened bread baked in a tandoor.

2001 *New Straits Times* 5 Sept. Ask for the minced beef tandoori and naan bread

nasi lemak *n.* [Malay *nasi* rice + *lemak* rich, oily] Rice cooked in coconut milk, usually served with sambal, and traditionally wrapped in a banana leaf.

nasi lemak stall *n.* [Malay *gerai nasi lemak*, *warung nasi lemak*] stall selling nasi lemak, snacks and drinks.

2001 *New Straits Times* 15 Oct. In the not-too-distant past, the phrase woman entrepreneur would more likely than not conjure the picture of a makcik minding her nasi lemak stall in the morning, a preoccupation that takes part of her day, before she goes home to mind the husband and her family.

Negeri Sembilan *n.* Also **Negeri Sembilan**. [Malay] A state situated on the west coast of Peninsular Malaysia.

2001 *The Star* 19 Aug. Kolej Tunku Kurshiah in Negeri Sembilan bagged two major awards for best SPM academic performance and for best overall academic achievement last year.

night market *n.* Pl. **night markets**. [Malay *pasar* market + *malam* night] A market place where itinerant traders gather at night to sell fresh produce, food, clothing, flowers, trinkets, CDs, DVDs, etc.

2001 *The Star* 25 Dec. Church members sold pastries and cakes in a night market to collect the money for the refugees, he said after handing the money to The Star's Afghan Refugees Fund during a Christmas high tea at the centre on Sunday.

nyonya *n. & a.* [Malay] **A** *n.* Pl. **-s**. The women folk of the Straits Chinese community. **B** *a.* Of cuisine, food, culture, fashion, cooking, restaurant, etc.: pertaining to the Straits Chinese.

2001 *The Star* 30 Oct. The Malaccan Nyonyas add fragrant leaves, flowers and herbs to enhance their cooking. **2001** *The Star* 30 Oct. Nyonya cuisine is synonymous with sumptuous food by fastidious and meticulous cooks who take pride in their cooking.

orang asli *n. & a.* [Malay *orang* people + *asli* original] **A** *n.* Pl. same. The aboriginal peoples of the Malay Peninsula, Sabah and Sarawak, comprising various nomadic and sedentary groups and tribes. **B** *a.* Of or pertaining to the aboriginal peoples of Malaysia.

A **2001** *New Straits Times* 3 Sept. To date, 24 Orang Asli had been trained as excavator operators and 40 others were working in various positions at the worksite, he said. **B** **2001** *The Star* 23 Aug. Since both nomadic and sedentarised orang asli groups are facing a demographic crisis, the theory that resettlement has helped to develop them economically and socially is possibly untrue except under conditions where economic development is designed to benefit them directly.

Orang Asli Affairs Department *n.* Also **Department of Orang Asli Affairs**. [Malay *Jabatan Hal Ehwal Orang Asli*] A government department that oversees the economic development of the Orang Asli community.

2001 *The Star* 30 Oct. The project, a joint venture between Risda and the Pahang Orang Asli Affairs Department, is intended to benefit about 100 orang asli families living nearby.

orang minyak *n.* [Malay *orang* people + *minyak* oil] A demon whose skin is believed to be shiny, black and oily. Of Malay folklore.

2001 *New Straits Times* 13 Oct. Last month, on Sept 22, a bomoh, witnessed by villagers in Kuala Kedah, purportedly trapped an orang minyak, an oily, or rather, a slippery bogey man who, in Malay myth, is believed to prey on virgins.

orang putih *n.* [Malay *orang* people + *putih* white] A Caucasian.

1 2001 *The Star* 23 Aug. He said the commission seemed disinclined to make an independent decision based on Malaysian values, fearing that it would not be praised by the orang putih (whites).

Orang Ulu *n. & a.* [Malay *orang* people + *ulu* upriver] **A** *n.* A catch-all phrase used to describe a large number of upriver tribes in Sarawak, including the Kayan, Kenyah, Kajang, Kejaman, Punan, Ukit and Penan tribes. **B** *a.* Of or pertaining to any of the upriver tribes of Sarawak.

2001 *The Star* 26 Sept. Several Orang Ulu leaders such as Senator Joseph Balan Seling, a former Telang Usan assemblyman, have been campaigning there to convince the Orang Ulu to close ranks and vote for the party.

outrage ... modesty *v.* [Malay *mencabul* to violate + *kehormatan* self-respect] To molest; to abuse sexually.

2001 *New Straits Times* 28 Aug. He was commenting on a newspaper report today which said a doctor had allegedly outraged the modesty of a 25-year-old woman on the pretext of carrying out a "thorough body check".

outraging the modesty (of) *n.* the action of molesting someone.

2001 *New Straits Times* 23 Oct. In August 2001, Iwabuchi was sentenced by the Sessions Court to eight years' jail and ordered to be given 10 strokes of the rotan for outraging the modesty of a woman.

Pahang *n.* [Malay] A state situated on the east coast of Peninsular Malaysia.

Pahangite *n.* Pl. -s. A native or inhabitant of the state of Pahang.

2001 *New Straits Times* 24 Aug. The VSPD said in the Bentong district – the place where Genting Highlands is located – such units currently command a median price of RM175,000, while in Cameron Highlands, it is RM142,750 and in Kuantan, RM165,000. Needless to say, such units are not intended to appeal to the majority of Pahangites. Instead, they are aimed at purchasers from other states as well as foreigners who can afford a getaway home in one of the state's natural attractions.

pakcik *n.* [Malay] **1** A title of respect for a middle-aged Malay man. The tile (usually with an initial capital) often precedes the name. **2** Pl. -s. A middle-aged Malay man.

1 2001 *The Star* 2 Sept. At the shop set up by the middleman, Pakcik Zin is busy sorting out the bananas that have been brought in by the farmers.

pandan *n.* [Malay] Pandanus, a type of screw pine. The pandan leaves can be woven into baskets and mats while the juice extracted from the leaves is used to flavour savoury as well as sweet dishes.

2001 *New Straits Times* 29 Oct. ... she felt that pandan was underexploited as a raw material for handicraft.

Attrib. & Comb.: **pandan leaf** [Malay *daun pandan*] the leaf of the pandanus from which pandan juice is extracted; **pandan mat** [Malay *tikar pandan*] mat woven from pandan leaves; **pandan jelly** [Malay *agar-agar pandan*] pandan-flavoured jelly.

2001 *New Straits Times* 29 Oct. Bajau women in Sabah, for instance, weave exquisite pandan mats, incorporating intricate designs which reflected their historical and cultural bonds with the Philippines.

pantun *n.* [Malay] A type of didactic verse that can be recited or sung.

2001 *The Star* 19 Aug. Despite a cold morning drizzle, the children eagerly assembled in the assembly ground, where they sang They also presented a pantun and dance

parang *n.* Pl. -s, same. [Malay] A short, heavy, straight-edged knife used in Malaysia and Indonesia as a tool and weapon.

2001 *New Straits Times* 10 Nov. Two men armed with parangs robbed a MBf Finance branch in Taman Maluri, Cheras of RM72,000 today.

pasar malam *n.* Pl. same. [Malay] A night market.

2001 *The Star* 13 Aug. In Shah Alam, the Selangor Government's ban on VCD and videotape sales at pasar malam and five-foot ways has forced traders to operate their businesses from the boots of their cars, reports Elan Perumal.

pasar tani *n.* Pl. same. [Malay] A farmers' market.

2001 *New Straits Times* 12 Nov. "Farmers who have been marketing their produce at farmers' markets or pasar tani managed by Fama will have a more comfortable place to carry out their business when terminals are completed," he said

pawang *n.* [Malay] A traditional Malay medicine man believed to be capable of exorcising illnesses, driving out bad luck, etc.

2001 *New Straits Times* 26 Aug. It is said that close to every Umno supreme council election, Dewan Merdeka at the Putra World Trade Centre in Kuala Lumpur would be filled with the smell of kemenyan (incense) and lilin (candle) as some candidates sought the help of their trusted bomoh and pawang to influence voting.

pelamin *n.* [Malay] A Malay bridal dais where the bride and the groom sit during the bersanding ceremony.

2001 *New Straits Times* 2 Nov. The pelamin is an integral part of the Malay wedding ceremony. It is a decorated platform on which newlyweds sit for the bersanding ceremony.

Penang *n.* Also **Pulau Pinang**. [Malay] A state on the west coast of Peninsular Malaysia, comprising an island and a thin strip of land on the Peninsula.

Penangite *n.* Pl. -s. A native or inhabitant of the state of Penang.

2001 *The Star* 22 Oct. The decision by Malaysia Airlines to discontinue its Penang-Phuket-Penang service effective end of this month came as a shock to many as it is a popular destination among Penangites and other northerners.

Perak *n.* [Malay] A state situated on the west coast of Peninsular Malaysia.

2001 *The Star* 10 Oct. The 19 Al-Ma'unah members have been ordered to enter their defence on a charge of waging war against the Yang di-Pertuan Agong at three places in Perak, from June to July 6. The charge, under Section 121 of the Penal Code, carries the death sentence or life imprisonment if convicted.

Peranakan *a.* [Malay] Of cuisine, culture, etc.: pertaining to the Peranakan community – the descendants of the 17th- and 18th-Century Chinese seafarers and their local wives. Also **Baba**, **Nyonya**.

2001 *The Star* 29 Dec. ... Seri Nyonya also serves up hard-to-find Peranakan dishes such as Hee Peow Soup and Ikan Goreng Cili Garam.

Comb.: **peranakan Arab** (*rare*) descendants of early Arab traders and their local wives.

2001 *New Straits Times* 4 Nov. It does not matter whether one is a Javanese, a Mamak, a peranakan Arab or an Orang Asli. The question is: what does it mean to be a Malay?

Perlis *n.* [Malay] The smallest state in Malaysia, situated in the northwest region of the Peninsula.

2001 *The Star* 25 Dec. MCA leaders yesterday pledged to set aside their differences to work together and ensure victory for the Barisan Nasional in the Indera Kayangan by-election in Perlis.

petai *n.* [Malay] The strong-smelling green seeds of a long, flat bean (*Parkia speciosa*), used in Malay cooking. The seeds can be cooked or eaten raw dipped in a spicy sambal.

2001 *New Straits Times* 18 Nov. ... the sambal has the right touch of pedas to bring out the best of the prawns and petai.

Comb.: **sambal petai** petai cooked in a chilli paste; **sambal udang petai** a spicy dish of petai and prawns in a chilli paste.

2001 *New Straits Times* 25 Sept. Another thing about Gerald is that he consumes sambal petai like ice-cream. **2001** *New Straits Times* 18 Nov. Another item to look out for is the sambal udang petai.

pondok *n.* Pl. -s. [Malay] **1** An Islamic school, usually in small villages. Also **sekolah pondok**, **pondok school** [Malay *sekolah pondok*]. **2** Small hut.

1 **2002** *The Star* 28 Jan. "The sekolah pondok is not a fossil. If you want your children to have an Islamic education, the pondok still offers the best option ...," said Zaidi. **2** **2001** *New Straits Times* 30 Aug. Earlier, Ibrahim told the court that at 10am on April 1, last year, Azhar, Mohd Rais and Abdul Aziz had asked him to meet them at a pondok (hut) near his (Ibrahim's) house where Azhar was also staying.

Comb.: **pondok polis** a hut that houses a small police station, usually found in small villages.

2001 *The Star* 25 Aug. There used to be a pondok polis nearby. When it was here, the crime rate was low.

pongteh chicken *n.* Also **chicken pongteh**, **ayam pongteh**. [Baba Malay *ayam pongteh*] A chicken stew with preserved soy bean paste, a traditional Peranakan dish.

2001 *New Straits Times* 23 Sept. I had never really thought much of pongteh chicken but I must admit Queenie has given it a new perspective.

pontianak *n.* [Malay] A female vampire.

2001 *The Star* 2 Sept. Many would be able to remember how their grandmothers would scare them with ghost stories about the beautiful pontianak (female vampire) who lived in the heart of banana trees and led young men astray, with often fatal consequences.

Puan Sri *n.* [Malay] The title reserved for the wife of a person who has been awarded the title of Tan Sri.

2001 *The Star* 15 Nov. In Seremban, Negri Sembilan Menteri Besar Tan Sri Mohamed Isa Abdul Samad and his wife Puan Sri Hazizah Tumin went to the open house of several Hindu leaders, including that of former state executive councillor Datuk Muthu Palaniappan in Jalan Labu Lama.

putu beras *n.* [Malay] A type of Malay biscuit made of rice meal and sugar.

putu kacang *n.* [Malay] A local biscuit made of mung bean meal and sugar.

Raja *n.* [Malay, orig. Indian] The sovereign of the state of Perlis.

2001 *The Star* 31 Dec. On Dec 13, the Raja of Perlis, Tuanku Syed Sirajuddin Syed Putra Jamalullail, is elected the 12th Yang di-Pertuan Agong by the Conference of Rulers during a special meeting at Istana Negara.

Raja Permaisuri Agong *n.* [Malay] **1** The official title of the consort of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, the head of state of Malaysia. **2** The consort of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong.

1 **2001** *The Star* 23 Nov. The Raja Permaisuri Agong Tuanku Siti Aishah, Malay Rulers and members of the royalty were present at the ceremony. **2** **2001** *New Straits Times* 22 Nov. "The

House records its profound sadness on the demise. On behalf of the House, we offer our condolences to the Raja Permaisuri Agong and the royal family.”

rakyat *n.* [Malay] The common people (as opposed to the government or the aristocracy) of Malaysia.

2001 *New Straits Times* 28 Aug. For Ayub, this statement reflects the capricious ideologies spread by certain quarters who take advantage of the leeway afforded them by turning the rakyat against the Government.

Ramadan *n.* Also **Ramadhan**. [Malay, orig. Arabic] The ninth month of the Islamic calendar, when Muslims fast during the day and break the fast in the evening.

2001 *The Star* 21 Nov. Ramadan is not just about fasting during the daytime. It goes beyond that. The holy month of Ramadan is also a training ground for Muslims to cultivate good character.

rebab [Malay, orig. Arabic] A two-stringed fiddle believed to have originated in Arabia or Persia, and closely associated with Islamic culture.

2001 *New Straits Times* 7 Sept. At the same time, traditional performers inserted another dimension into Antara Semangat by using ethnic instruments like the rebab, serunai and gendang.

rebana *n.* [Malay] A Malay single-headed drum.

Comb.: **rebana ubi** very large rebana that can be hung vertically or placed horizontally on the floor.

2001 *New Straits Times* 19 Sept. Thirty years ago men used their hands to beat the rebana ubi but players in their impetuous enthusiasm are oblivious to the fact that the palms of their hands were cut or bruised. This interfered with their work, thus padded drumsticks are now used interchangeably.

rempah *n.* [Malay] Spices.

Comb.: **wet rempah** [Malay *rempah basah*] A combination of spices ground or blended with a little water to form a paste.

2001 *New Straits Times* 18 Nov. So we marinate the deer the day before, using local herbs like daun ketumbar, kurma powder, ginger, serai and wet rempah...

rendang *n.* [Malay] A spicy meat dish with a rich and fragrant gravy.

2001 *The Star* 23 Dec. More than 100 food stalls offering local favourites such as laksa Johor, ketupat, rendang, soto, rojak, lontong and traditional cakes ensured a free flow of food for guests.

Comb.: **beef rendang** [Malay *rendang daging*] spicy beef dish with a rich coconut gravy; **chicken rendang** [Malay *rendang ayam*] spicy chicken dish with a rich coconut gravy.

2001 *The Star* 2 Sept. We naturally like to learn new things, and turning out a fragrant apple pie or dishing out a plate of mouth-watering beef rendang from your own kitchen can be very satisfying. **2001** *The Star* 27 Dec. In Malacca, Christmas joy was visible in the Portuguese settlements of Ujong Pasir and Bandar Hilir where guests were served with the special dish of “karisenko” (chicken rendang with long beans).

rice bowl *n.* [Malay *periuk* pot + *nasi* rice] **1** Pl. **rice bowls**. Means of livelihood. **2** A reference to Kedah, the most important rice-producing state in Malaysia.

1 2002 *The Star* 24 Jan. These people are truly selfish and think nothing of throwing sand in the rakyat’s rice bowl. **2 2001** *The Star* 15 Nov. ... Kedah is the “rice bowl” of Malaysia.

rojak *n.* [Malay] **1** A vegetable and fruit salad with a spicy dressing. **2** A confused collection or mixture – hodgepodge.

1 2001 *New Straits Times* 15 Oct. Spokesman for the buyers, Satiyawani Arumugan, said most of them were from the lower-income group and performed odd jobs like selling cendol and rojak. **2 2001** *The Star* 22 Sept. “The bike was in a bad state when I got it for RM2,500 eight years ago,” says Azahar who spent a further RM3,000 to get it all spruced-up and smartened. He sourced parts from all over – “Rojak,” Azahar says – scavenging used ones as well as ordering new parts.

ronggeng *n.* [Malay] Malay social dance in which couples dance and exchange verses to the accompaniment of a violin and drums.

2001 *The Star* 1 Nov. Believed to have developed during the post-Portuguese period in Malacca, ronggeng became a popular form of entertainment at Baba and Malay weddings and other festivities in Penang in pre-war days.

rotan *n.* [Malay] *n.* **1** A rattan cane used for inflicting judicially-sanctioned corporal punishment in Malaysia. **2** Any of various climbing plants of tropical Asia, having long, tough, slender stems. **3** (*rare*) A cane. **4** (*rare*) Judicially-sanctioned caning in Malaysia.

1 2001 *New Straits Times* 5 Sept. In allowing Tan's appeal, the court sentenced him to 15 years' jail and 10 strokes of the rotan for dadah possession. **3 2002** *The Star* 24 Jan. ... are jointly charged with voluntarily causing grievous hurt to nine-year-old Teoh Lee Sean by using a rotan between Oct 2000 and July 10 last year at Jalan Tiram in Cheras. **4 2001** *New Straits Times* 18 Aug. He also said he understood that he could be sentenced to a maximum 20 years jail and rotan for the offence.

roti *n.* [Malay, orig. Hindustani] Bread, usually the local version of a white loaf, which is slightly sweet and has a very soft texture.

Comb.: **roti canai** South-Indian fried bread usually eaten with curry; **roti jala** lacy pancake usually eaten with curry; **roti kaya** toast spread with kaya, often served as breakfast and morning tea fare in Chinese coffeeshops in Malaysia.

2001 *The Star* 20 Sept. Chef Wan seldom takes roti canai or nasi lemak because they are "nutritionally unbalanced."

Sabah *n.* [Malay] A Malaysian state situated on the northeast coast of the island of Borneo.

Sabahan *n.* & *a.* **A** *n.* Pl. **-s.** A native or inhabitant of the state of Sabah. **B** *a.* Of or relating to or characteristic of the state of Sabah or its people or language or culture.

A 2001 *The Star* 21 Nov. In another development, another Sabah player, striker Rizal Awang Jad, is set to play for Sarawak. If he seals the deal, he will be the second Sabahan in the Sarawak team. **B 2001** *The Star* 21 Nov. The competition rules required them to buy the fabrics for their designs for one formal/evening outfit, a haute couture piece and a casual creation, all under one theme. The required fabrics ranged from songket, kain tenun, tjanting batik, pua kumbu to dastar (an ethnic Sabahan fabric traditionally used for headgear) for the first two categories and cotton batik, pua and dastar for the casual wear.

sajak *n.* [Malay] Various types of modern Malay poems.

2001 *New Straits Times* Apart from being a member in her school's debating team, she represented it in elocution and sajak recitation contests and organised a fund-raising drive during Hari Pahlawan.

sambal *n.* [Malay, orig. Tamil *sambaar*] Spicy condiment made variously from chillies, tamarind, shrimp paste, etc.

2001 *New Straits Times* 28 Nov. "Over 70 per cent of our stay-in guests are local business travellers, thus even our food and beverage outlets cater for them. The coffee house serves mainly Malay food because locals tend to miss their sambal and 'warong' dishes."

Comb.: **sambal belacan** condiment of pounded chillies and dried shrimp paste; **sambal ikan bilis** condiment of chilli paste and dried anchovies; **sambal petai** condiment of chilli paste and petai.

Sarawak *n.* [Malay] The biggest state in Malaysia, situated on the north coast of Borneo.

Sarawakian *n.* & *a.* **A** *n.* Pl. **-s.** A native or inhabitant of the state of Sarawak. **B** *a.* Of or relating to or characteristic of the state of Sarawak or its people or language or culture.

A 2001 *The Star* 6 Sept. Ironman Wong Tee Kui's hopes of retaining the gold medal in the SEA Games men's hammer event took a severe jolt yesterday when the 37-year-old Sarawakian aggravated a hamstring injury while training in Bukit Jalil. **B 2001** *New Straits Times* 8 Aug.

Sharifah Kirana showcased a fusion of East and West eveningwear. Sarawakian designer Tom Abang Saufi put on a collection with Sarawakian motifs. Bill Keith's collection of dazzling designs added glitter to the occasion.

saree cloth (tautology) *n.* [Malay *kain sari*, orig. Sanskrit, Hindi, Urdu *sari*] A long piece of fabric that is worn over a petticoat by Indian women.

2001 New Straits Times 16 Aug. Materials used include songket, linen, Chinese brocade, saree cloth and casa rubie (Indonesia's finest cotton).

sarong *n.* Also **sarung**. Pl. -s. [Malay] A tubular garment that is worn by wrapping it around the waist and tying it in such a way that it stays in place without a belt.

2001 New Straits Times 12 Nov. This type of batik dates back to 1793 and was commonly worn as a sarong or as a shawl by women in the palace in Terengganu.

Comb.: **batik sarong** batik worn as a sarong

2001 New Straits Times 16 Aug. ... cheongsam tops that can be teamed with batik sarong, pareos, pants and even jeans and comfy three-quarter pants.

Selangor *n.* [Malay] A state situated on the west coast of Peninsular Malaysia.

Selangorian *n.* A native or inhabitant of the state of Selangor.

2001 New Straits Times 26 Aug. Being a transplanted Selangorian, who lived in Hulu Langat, Bandar Baru Bangi and Subang Jaya for more than 30 years, I think I can make a fairly accurate judgment of the State's deteriorating natural environment.

selendang *n.* [Malay] A shawl that is generally worn with baju kurung or baju kebaya.

2001 New Straits Times 23 Oct. The dancers from Perak were all clad in purple Putri costumes and selendang.

sepak takraw *n.* [Malay, orig. Malay *sepak* to kick + Thai *takraw* woven ball] A Southeast Asian game whereby two teams of three players each use their feet and heads to send a hard rattan or plastic ball back and forth over a net.

2001 New Straits Times 12 Nov. The games that were contested during the first phase of the sports carnival in Penang were soccer, netball, sepak takraw, swimming, hockey, tenpin bowling, tennis, badminton and table tennis.

serai *n.* [Malay] Lemongrass.

2001 New Straits Times 18 Nov. So we marinate the deer the day before, using local herbs like daun ketumbar, kurma powder, ginger, serai...

silat *n.* [Malay] A type of Malay martial art.

2001 New Straits Times 20 Aug. Silat has its roots as far back as 6 AD when it was formalised as a combative system.

Comb.: **silat olahraga** competitive silat, silat as a sport.

2001 New Straits Times 20 Aug. However, there are those who feel that silat olahraga will compromise its combative value.

songket *n.* Also **kain songket**. [Malay] A traditional Malay hand-woven fabric with gold and silver threads, usually worn during official functions and ceremonies.

2001 New Straits Times 5 Sept. Some of the great crafts produced were the award-winning kain songket which has broken away from the usual repetitive motif and instead has a flowing floral motif that runs boldly across the material by Habibah Zikri from Kuala Terengganu.

songkok *n.* [Malay] A velvet foldable oblong hat worn by Malay men.

2001 New Straits Times 30 Aug. "Some of the Chinese even resorted to wearing the songkok to deceive the Japanese soldiers into thinking that they were Malays."

soto *n.* [Malay, orig. Javanese Malay] A spicy chicken soup with noodles or rice cakes.

2001 *New Straits Times* 28 Nov. I'm a soto fan and the best soto is at a small shop by the seashore of Pasir Gudang, Johor.

Subuh prayer *n.* Pl. **subuh prayers**. [Malay *sembahyang Subuh*] Prayer performed at dawn by Muslims.

2001 *New Straits Times* 26 Aug. I leave my house just after Subuh prayers.

Sultan *n.* Pl. **-s**. [Malay, orig. Arabic] **1** The sovereign of a Muslim country. **2** A sovereign of any of the nine former Federated and non-Federated Malay states. **3** The title of the sovereign of a Muslim country or the nine former Federated and non-Federated Malay states.

1 **2001** *The Star* 4 Oct. The Sultan of Brunei was also conferred an honorary doctorate in Political Science by the International Islamic University (IIU) on Tuesday. **2** **2001** *New Straits Times* 1 Oct. The winners received their prizes from the Sultan of Pahang at the closing ceremony **3** **2001** *The Star* 2 Oct. Sultan Azlan Shah said although a conducive working environment and an effective administrative system were already in place a long time ago in the state, he hoped it could be enhanced from time to time.

suraui *n.* Pl. same, **-s**. [Malay] A small mosque.

2001 *New Straits Times* 26 Aug. I don't believe in having kindergartens in suraus and houses.

syair *n.* [Malay, orig. Arabic] A poem comprising successive verses of four rhyming lines.

2001 *New Straits Times* 7 Sept. ... they were encouraged to express themselves "the Malaysian way" – sing a patriotic number accompanied by a skit, which could also include some poetry – syair, gurindam, puisi, sajak or pantun – recitals.

syariah *n. & a.* [Malay, orig. Arabic] **A** *n.* Islamic principles. **B** *a.* That which is based on Islamic principles.

A **2001** *New Straits Times* 18 Aug. Adat, in the Middle East, represents the unwritten customary laws and practices that have the force of social laws and the syariah. As long as the customs do not contradict the syariah, it is acceptable. **B** **2001** *The Star* 17 Nov. He said Syariah laws constituted three main areas – qisas (discretion by bereaved families to either pardon an accused or allow the process of law to punish him), hudud (Allah's law) and ta'zir (enforcement of punishment).

Syawal *n.* [Malay, orig. Arabic] The tenth month of the Islamic calendar. The first day of Syawal signifies the end of the fasting month of Ramadan and is celebrated by Muslims all over the world.

2001 *New Straits Times* 27 Oct. "We will buy as many coconuts as we can so that we will have enough stock for Ramadan and Syawal," he told reporters...

Tan Sri *n.* [Malay] The second highest honorary, non-royal, non-hereditary title granted by the Yang di-Pertuan Agong.

2001 *The Star* 8 Oct. Mentri Besar Tan Sri Isa Abdul Samad said he had advised developers to drop prices to enable them to sell their properties.

tapai *n.* [Malay] **1** Fermented glutinous rice or tapioca, usually eaten as a sweet. **2** Sweet rice wine.

2001 *New Straits Times* 20 Nov. Appetisers include dates, pisang emas, tapai, pickles, cencaluk and tempoyak.

Comb.: **tapai pulut** fermented glutinous rice; **tapai ubi** fermented tapioca.

teh tarik *n.* [Malay] Hot tea which is aerated and made frothy by pouring it back and forth from one mug to another.

2001 *New Straits Times* 1 Sept. The informal chats, over a glass of teh tarik and mee goreng, have proven to be an invaluable source of information.

tempe *n.* [Malay] Fermented soy bean cakes.

2001 *New Straits Times* 19 Sept. The spread includes nasi minyak jawa timur, daging dendeng berlado, sotong Kalimantan, salad ayam jawa, rojak bandung, begedil tempe, mee goreng jawa, traditional desserts and complimentary teh or kopi tarik.

tempoyak *n.* [Malay] Fermented durian.

Comb.: **gulai tempoyak** tempoyak-flavoured gravy; **sambal tempoyak** condiment of chilli paste and tempoyak.

terawih prayer (tautology) *n.* Pl. **terawih prayers**. [Malay *sembahyang terawih*, orig. Arabic] Evening prayer performed by the Muslims during the fasting month.

2001 *The Star* 5 Dec. ... the Prime Minister told reporters after breaking fast and performing terawih prayers at the residence of Gua Musang MP Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah, who is also a former finance minister.

Terengganu *n.* [Malay] A state situated on the east coast of Peninsular Malaysia.

2001 *The Star* 20 Oct. Two years ago, a Singaporean female diver also lost her life under unclear circumstances in Terengganu.

thanksgiving kenduri *n.* [Malay *kenduri kesyukuran*] A feast held to give thanks to Allah, usually when one has recovered from a serious illness or when one has achieved success in an endeavour.

2001 *The Star* 13 Dec. "Sometimes he delivers it in person and sometimes a police personnel would deliver the cheque," she said, adding that she hoped to organise a thanksgiving kenduri for the Ruler.

tidak apa *a.* [Malay, lit. "does not matter"] Lackadaisical or apathetic. Often used in a disparaging sense.

2001 *New Straits Times* 16 Nov. I think there are two types – the ones who don't care (about their looks) and the ones who really DO. The vain ones and the tidak apa types.

Comb.: **tidak apa attitude** [Malay *sikap tidak apa*] an indifferent attitude.

2001 *The Star* 21 Nov. All I can assume is that, as Telekom Malaysia is monopolising fixed line services, it is too rich to bother about another subscriber, hence its tidak apa attitude.

tudung *n.* [Malay] A headscarf worn by Muslim women.

2001 *The Star* 23 Aug. Dr Lo'Lo' said a recent photograph in the Sunday Star, which depicted a woman scuba diver wearing the tudung, showed that she held to the Islamic requirement for women to cover their hair.

ulam *n.* [Malay] A selection of raw leaves and vegetables, usually eaten with sambal.

2001 *New Straits Times* 26 Nov. Break fast with dates and whet your appetite with kerabu, ulam and sambal such as gado-gado, ulam raja, pegaga, kacang botol, sambal mangga and sambal belacan.

Comb.: **nasi ulam** rice mixed with herbs, grated coconut, salted fish, etc.

ulama *n.* Also **ulamak**. Pl. same, -s. [Malay, orig. Arabic] A man or a group of men with Islamic education and Islam-related professions.

2001 *The Star* 13 Nov. He said the main cause of weaknesses among the Muslims was the misunderstanding perpetrated by the ulama, who misinterpret the Quran according to their own personal and political agenda, causing many to reject knowledge and education except for those pertaining to the religion.

ulu *n.* [Malay *ulu, hulu* hinterland] A rural back-country or up-country area which is associated with a lack of worldliness. Often used in a disparaging sense.

2002 *The Star* 20 Jan. When former Secretary of State Warren Christopher finally sat down, I remembered thinking to myself: "Life is strange. Here am I, a two-bit hack and lawyer from the ulu addressing a guy presidential hopeful Al Gore enlisted in his desperate battle to seize the Oval office."

umrah *n.* [Malay, orig. Arabic] A secondary Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca.

2001 *New Straits Times* 27 Sept. Abdullah said the special passport would enable the Saudi Government to differentiate between Malaysians in the kingdom to perform umrah and others who came for other reasons.

ustaz *n.* [Malay, orig. Arabic] **1** A male Islamic teacher. **2** Title of a male Islamic teacher (with an initial capital).

1 **2001** *New Straits Times* 20 Aug. Even mosque officials and ustaz are seen on the golf course now. **2** **2002** *The Star* 5 Dec. The other two party officials were Penang PAS deputy commissioner Khalid Man and Ustaz Othman Ibrahim from Kedah.

ustazah *n.* [Malay, orig. Arabic] **1** A female Islamic teacher. **2** Title of a female Islamic teacher (with an initial capital).

2 **2001** *The Star* 30 Oct. ... Training Division assistant director Ustazah Norliah Sajuri,

wakil rakyat *n.* [Malay] A member of Parliament or State Legislative Assembly.

2001 *New Straits Times* 25 Oct. As the designation of the job implies, the wakil rakyat represents all the people in his constituency whether they voted for him or not.

wali *n.* [Malay, orig. Arabic] In Islam, the mediator for women seeking marriage.

2001 *New Straits Times* 19 Oct. Although Semelai people are not Muslims, they still practise the nikah ceremony where a kadi marries the couple and the wali functions as a witness.

wau *n.* [Malay, orig. Dutch *wouw*]. A large local kite, usually flown (by adults) after the rice harvesting season, between May and July.

Comb.: **wau bulan** wau with a crescent-shaped tail.

2001 *New Straits Times* 19 Sept. Although “wau bulan” is the most popular, they come in all shapes and sizes – hence in a variety of names. Some are called wau katak, wau kucing, wau ikan, wau puyuh and wau bayan.

wayang *n.* [Malay, orig. Javanese Malay] A local theatrical performance.

Comb.: **wayang kulit** shadow play, theatrical performance where shadow images are projected before a backlit screen; **wayang peranakan** theatrical performance where the characters speak the Peranakan language.

2001 *The Star* 2 Oct. A cultural theatre showcasing Chinese operas, wayang kulit and traditional music is more appropriate and so much more tasteful.

Yang di-Pertua Negeri *n.* Also **Yang di-Pertua Negri**. [Malay, lit. “Ruler of State”] **1** The title of the State Governors of the Malaysian states of Penang, Malacca, Sabah and Sarawak. **2** One of the four largely symbolic heads of state or Governors of Penang, Malacca, Sabah and Sarawak.

1 **2001** *New Straits Times* 17 Sept. About 3,000 people thronged Padang Merdeka here today to watch a parade which was held to commemorate the 71st official birthday of Yang di-Pertua Negeri Tun Sakaran Dandai and Malaysia Day. **2** **2001** *The Star* 2 Sept. Once dissolution is consented to by the Yang di-Pertua Negri, he said a writ could be issued within four days and the required minimum of seven clear days given for campaigning immediately followed by a day’s polling during the two-week school holidays.

Yang di-Pertuan Agong *n.* [Malay, lit. “Supreme Ruler”] **1** The official title of the head of state of Malaysia. **2** The head of state of Malaysia: since Malaysia is a constitutional monarchy, the role of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong is largely ceremonial. The position is sometimes glossed as King in English.

1 **2001** *New Straits Times* 24 Nov. Sultan Sharafuddin was proclaimed the ninth Sultan of Selangor On Thursday following the demise of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong Sultan Salahuddin Abdul Aziz Shah on Wednesday. **2** **2001** *New Straits Times* 22 Nov. AS the nation mourns the

passing of Sultan Salahuddin Abdul Aziz Shah al-Haj Ibni Almarhum Sultan Hisamuddin Alam Shah al-Haj, his subjects will always remember him as “the Ruler with the soul of the people”. He was installed as the 11th Yang di-Pertuan Agong in 1999. The King, who celebrated his 75th birthday in June, performed his duties outstandingly with dignity and honour.

Yang di-Pertuan Besar *n.* [Malay, lit. “Great Ruler”] **1** The official title of the ruler of the state of Negeri Sembilan, Malaysia. **2** The ruler of the state of Negeri Sembilan, Malaysia.

1 2001 *The Star* 15 Nov. When asked why none of the assemblymen had taken part in debating the budget, Isa said it was because all of them had participated in debating the opening speech by Yang Di-Pertuan Besar Tuanku Ja’afar Tuanku Abdul Rahman, which covered many aspects. **3 Nov. 2 2001** *The Star* As eldest son of the Yang di-Pertuan Besar of Negeri Sembilan, he wears a number of hats with ease and flair.

zapin *n.* [Malay] Malay folk dance and music with Islamic influence.

2001 *New Straits Times* 9 Oct. The dance infuses elements of zapin, silat and modern and traditional elements that are quick and funny.

zina *n.* [Malay, orig. Arabic] Illicit sexual intercourse, an offence under the Syariah law of Malaysia.

2001 *New Straits Times* 23 Sept. Zina (unlawful sexual intercourse): punishable by stoning to death.