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COMPARING CONFLICT RELATED TERMS
IN SWEDISH AND MALAY

1.   Introduction

In this paper I we will compare the semantic fields of conflict and non-conflict (conflict handling) in Swedish and Malay. For an introduction to concept of "semantic fields", cf Trier (1931), Weisgerber (1953-54), Lehrer (1974), Lyons (1977). The study covers words which may be used to refer to or describe conflict and non-conflict (conflict handling), rather than words by which conflict could be pursued or handled. This means that swear words, insults or various types of soothing and consoling phrases, in the main, have been excluded. The study continues work which has been presented in Asmah (1985, 1992, 1997) and Allwood (1993, 1995).

English will serve as the intermediary metalanguage. This procedure has advantages since it makes the text easily understandable to a non-Swedish and non-Malay speaking reader but it also has disadvantages since it makes the analysis dependent on the semantic restrictions of English. These restrictions will, thus, have an influence on the analysis besides the structure imposed by the Swedish and Malay linguistic material. It is important to realize that the English translations only provide rough equivalents of the Malay and Swedish words. It is also important to realize that the fact that several different Malay or Swedish words receive the same translation in English does not necessarily mean that they are synonyms, it only means that the three languages do not classify the world the same way. The presentation of the material will proceed as follows: First, there will be a discussion of conflict related terms, this will then be followed by a discussion of terms related to non-conflict/conflict handling. In each case both similarities and differences between Swedish and Malay will be taken into account.

2.   Similarities in conflict related terms

The overall impression is that there is more similarity than difference between the two languages. For all the main semantic categories that have been considered, there are relevant terms both in Swedish and Malay. Thus, out of 48 semantic categories related to conflict the following 42 categories are represented both in Swedish and Malay by one or more single words.

1.   Conflict seen holistically or generally
2.   Violent conflict seen holistically or generally
3.   Violent physical conflict seen holistically or generally
4.   Parts of or a particular type of violent physical conflict
5.   Uncontrolled physical conflict of agent against collective
6.   Unrestrained directed physical conflict of agent against   collective

7.   Holistic general physical conflict with weapons
8.   Physical conflict with hands or body
        Verbal Conflict
9.   Verbal Conflict - Holistic, General
        Evaluation of Verbal Conflict
10.   Pejorative
11.   Jocular
12.   Belittling
13.   Positive
14.   Attitudinal Conflict - Holistic, General
15.   Painful Result
        Conflict in Special Institutional Settings
16.   Religion
17.   Conflict in Political and Social Setting
18.   Academic
19.   Labor Market
20.   Competition/Sports
21.   Commercial
22.   Kinship
23.   General terms for conflictual action
        Manner of conflictual action
24.   Violent Physical Action Causing Pain
25.   Using parts of the body
26.   Using Instrument
27.   Action Against Property
28.   Verbal Conflictual Action
29.   Verbal Direct Attack
30.   Verbal Indirect Attack
31.   Deceit
        Hostile reactions to conflictual action
32.   Vengeance
33.   Action Against a More Powerful Person
34.   Enemies
         Selected Cultural Sources of Conflict
35.   Partiality or Lack of Justice
36.   Lack of Socialization and self restraint
37.   Lack of Socialization
38.   Lack of Self Restraint - Conceit
39.   Boasting
        Some Emotions which are compatible
        with or conducive to conflict
40.   Doubt and Lack of Confidence and Trust
41.   Envy, jealousy and discontent
42.   Anger and hate

The following 7 categories are only represented in Swedish.

1.   Physical conflict (holistic, general) w. two agents
2   Physical conflict w. two agents and weapons
3.   Physical conflict w. agents and weapons in a specific place
4.   Kinship conflict
5.   Conflict of long duration
6.   Commercial conflict
7.   Verbal conflict with noise

The following three are represented only through a translation using a compound phrase:

1.   Naval physical conflict
5.   Physical conflict w. swords
6.   Conflict in a religious setting

All categories that have a large number of words are represented in both languages. In fact, out of the 227 Swedish conflict words, 214 have Malay correspondents more or less. This means that similarities in meaning between the conflict related terms in the two languages clearly outnumber the differences. The differences between the two languages mostly seem to reside in the way the semantic categories are further subdivided.

In explaining why there could be so many similarities between two such unrelated languages as Swedish and Malay, we can basically choose between the following four types of explanation.

(1)   Universal facts about human biology, psychology, ecology, social organization, activity requirements and language

(2)   Similarities between Sweden and Malaysia which are not due to universal factors but to more locally bounded structural similarities with regard to the areas mentioned under (1). One intriguing question here is whether there are any phenomena which might be unique to Sweden and Malaysia.

(3)   Direct (or mediated) contacts between Sweden and Malaysia.

(4)   Influence on both Sweden and Malaysia from a third party.

I believe all these four types of explanation could play a role, even if the importance of direct contacts between Sweden and Malaysia must be marginal.

Through the influence of the European colonial powers Portugal, Holland and primarily England, Malay and Malaysia have been influenced by the same European heritage as Swedish and Sweden. Some similarities can, no doubt, be explained this way.

The extent to which we can point to biunique structural similarities between Sweden and Malaysia is unclear. However, it is interesting to note that the phenomenon of "going amuck" which seems fairly particular to Malay culture has a parallel in the Swedish and Nordic phenomenon of "going berserk". Here we have a mode of

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conflictual action which exists both in Sweden and Malaysia but might be more uncommon in other areas of the world.

Excepting the first type of explanation, none of the explanations (types 2,3 and 4, above) seems to be very generally applicable, so it is likely that most of the similarities can explained by reference to universal facts about human biology, psychology, ecology, social organization, activity requirements and language. For other attempts in the same direction, cf. Berlin & Kay (1969), Miller and Johnson-Laird (1976) and Wierzbicka(1992).

3 Differences in conflict related terms

3.1 General Remarks

Even if there are more similarities than differences when we compare the conflict related vocabulary of Swedish and Malay, there are quite a few differences which deserve comment. In principle, there will be 3 types of comments:

(i)   Comments on phenomena for which there are more words in Swedish

(ii)   Comments on phenomena for which there are more words in Malay

(ii)   Comments on polysemy differences and structural differences between Swedish and Malay conflict related vocabulary.

3.2 Violent physical conflict

An initial observation is that Malay seems to lack a superordinate term with the meaning of "conflict". There is, however, a term *sengketa* which is used only in high flown language. It is a loan from Sanskrit. Swedish has imported the pan-European word *konflikt,* (conflict) which originally comes from Latin *conflictus* but the word *konflikt* has not yet been linguistically as well integrated as the more traditional words *krig* (war) and *fred* (peace) which both have Germanic roots and were present in old Swedish. In Malay, the English word *conflict* has been taken in as *konflik* , but this is quite a recent phenomenon.

Swedish has more words on a holistic and general level for designating conflict, especially if this conflict is violent and physical. This semantic dominance carries over to words for particular types or parts of physical conflicts. The words *drabbning, fältslag, slag, batalj, skärmytsling* and *träffning* which mean "battle" with slight differences of meaning in Swedish, can all be rendered in Malay with the word *pertempuran* (battle).

If we look at types of physical conflict, Swedish has a single word for naval war *örlog* where Malay uses a phrase *perang laut* (war (of the) sea). In Malay, the location of a war is conveyed in words that are appended to the word *perang* (war). The language can be used to generate phrases showing various types of war based on location. To a certain extent this is also true of Swedish where compounds such as *sjökrig* (sea war) and *luftkrig* (air war) can be formed.

Swedish has words for conflict bringing out the number of agents, place of conflict and type of weapons used. Malay has such words to a much lesser extent. For example, the Swedish word *holmgång* means physical armed conflict between two people that is carried out on an island.

An explanation for this difference between Swedish and Malay must probably refer back to history and traditions. There has not been recorded in Malay history a case of fighting on an island which appeared to be more significant than fighting elsewhere.

Although one-to-one armed fighting (with the kris – a kind of sword) has been a practice among the Malays for centuries, the linguistic codification of such fighting seems to presuppose that it is done in an arena where it is witnessed by many people.

Why is there this difference? Sweden and Malaysia today are both peaceful countries. Sweden has not been engaged in a major war since the Napoleonic wars (1815). The Swedish language, however, carries with it collective experiences which go further back than 1815. The period between 1560 (the conquest of Estonia) and 1721 (the loss of the Baltic provinces) was an extremely war-like period in Swedish history. The Swedes were almost constantly engaged in various kinds of war, and this has clearly left an imprint on the language. In fact, some of the words like *holmgång* (duel on an island) or *bärsärkargång* (going berserk) are even older, from Viking times. Many of the words have an obsolete ring, which is connected with their lack of connection with present concerns in Sweden. Some of them like *skärmytsling* (small battle), *örlog* (naval war), *mensur* (sword duel) and *parera* (parry) are loans from German, Dutch or French; languages which were spoken by some of the mercenary soldiers in the Swedish armies. Another unusual term dating from this period of Swedish history is the term *defenestrera* (get rid of (in fact, killing) by throwing out of the window). An important part of the reason for why Swedish has a more differentiated vocabulary for talking about violent physical conflict is therefore that Swedes, historically, seem to have had a greater need for such a vocabulary.

Also the fact that literacy and the use of written language was fairly wide spread in Sweden during the period 1560 - 1721, has been important for the preservation of war-like terms in Swedish. In spite of the fact that for a long period there has been no war based need for these terms, their existence in written form (especially in dictionaries) has helped to reactivate and reinforce their presence in the minds of new generations of Swedes.

Possibly also going with Sweden's warlike past, is the fact that Swedish seems to have many more words for actions causing physical pain than Malay. The Swedish words *trakassera* (harass), and *pina, plåga, tortera, martera* which all mean to torture have to be rendered by the single Malay term *siksa*. (cf appendix). Does this mean that physical torture was less common among the Malays?

A curiosity, to note, is that Swedish, but not Malay, has a word *fejd* (feud) for a conflict over a long period often involving kinship and obligations of taking revenge.

Malay has more terms for cutting. In contrast to the Swedish *hugga* (cut), *skiva* (slice) and *skära* (cut, slice), *halshugga* (behead), Malay has at least 15 words for cutting. (Asmah Haji Omar, 1987, pp. 112-156). These words denote the types of cutting based on:

(i) instrument used
(ii) type of cleavage made
(iii) degree of force involved when cutting
(iv) size of the object that is cut
(v) size of the end result
(vi) part of the object that is cut

While the four Swedish words listed mainly focus on manner of cutting, type of cleavage made and part of the object that is cut , the Malay words involve six dimensions. The reason for this richness partly lies in the morphology of Malay and partly in a functional need for a differentiated vocabulary. The morphological possibility of forming words for cutting from nouns representing instruments is a factor which has inflated somewhat the size of the Malay vocabulary for cutting. What is meant here is that a noun denoting an instrument may be given the prefix *me-* to form verbs for cutting using such instruments. However, as it is, only a few such nouns have undergone this process; among them scissors, axes, and swords. A majority of the words for cutting fall into the categories (ii) - (vi) given above. The greater part of these refer to cutting in an agricultural and a vegetational setting. Malay civilization has been agriculture based.

Malay has a special word for cutting into two halves, and that is *belah*; *membelah.* This implies that there are two equal parts to a thing. This fits in with the Malay perception of things around people (personal communication, Asmah Haji Omar). Many phenomena are said to exist in pairs: the sky and the earth (*langit dan bumi)*, the sun and the moon (*matahari dan bulan*), man and woman (*laki-laki dan perempuan)*, and so on. This is of course also the case in Swedish and English, but perhaps what is experienced as a pair will differ between the three languages. So, for example, in Malay one can refer to someone that one loves as *belahan hati* (one half of the liver). Usually this is used to refer to one's own child.

Further in Malay, there are two words for cutting off someone's head: *sembelih* and *pancung*. The first may be freely translated as "slaughter" i.e. slaughtering an animal for food or a very crude and cruel way of killing humans. The latter refers to the cutting off of the head of an enemy.

Pancung means cutting all the way such that the head is separated from the body (decapitate), while *sembelih* means cutting the neck but not all the way. The meaning of *sembelih* is related to the Muslim way of slaughtering animals for food.

Sembelih is also used metaphorically to mean two things. The first meaning is to put down a rival or a foe. Why does Malay not use *pancung* (decapitate) for this? Perhaps this reflects a Malay cultural attitude which says that when you defeat a rival, you do not defeat him until there is nothing left. You still give him something to hold on to. *Sembelih* is also used as a metaphor in commerce. It refers to the action of a vendor who demands a higher price for something than it is worth.

Another word for cutting used metaphorically is *cantas* which literally means chopping off bushes. *Cantas* is used in the political arena. It refers to the action of a more powerful person or a party leader in handling a conflict between party members or between the party leader and party members, when he/she cuts off those he/she thinks are trouble makers from any opportunity to rise up in the party or government

hierarchy. There is no Swedish equivalent to this usage, possibly reflecting a difference in political practice.

The Swedish words for cutting of the head are *halsugga* (lit. neckcut) and *dekapitera* (decapitate). The first word is the normally used one and the second one is merely a learned term. The word for slaughter *slakta* is not used in the specific sense of decapitate nor does it exactly have the metaphorical uses of *sembelih* in Malay. Its metaphorical use is more confined to the area of vicious physical fighting.

3.3 Verbal conflict

General

Let us now turn to types of verbal conflict. The Swedish words *polemik* (polemics), *disputation* (thesis defence), *meningsbyte* (exchange of opinions), *ordbyte* (exchange of words), *ordväxling* (exchange of words), *debatt* (debate), *dispyt* (dispute), *palaver* (palaver), *diskussion* (discussion), *gnabb* (bickering), *gräl* (quarrel), *käbbel* (squabble), *kontrovers* (controversy), *munhuggas* (mouth cut = argue), *näbbas* (squabble), *gorm* (brawl), *käfta* (wrangle), *gurgel* (squabble) correspond to the Malay words: *berkelahi*, *bergaduh, bertengkar, berbalah, bertelagah, bertelingkah, berbabil, bersengketa*. All the Malay words refer to verbal quarrel, whereas eight of the Swedish words given above do (*gnabb* (bickering), *gräl* (quarrel), *käbbel* (squabble), *munhuggas* (mouth cut = argue), *näbbas* (squabble), *gorm* (brawl), *käfta* (wrangle), *gurgel* (squabble). The rest of the Swedish words refer to verbal disagreement of a more institutional kind. The first two Malay words, *berkelahi* and *bergaduh* may also involve fist-fighting, while the others do not.

The long list of mostly indigenous Malay words for argument, leads one to expect that the Malays are able to make fine distinctions between the various types of verbal conflict. This ability has perhaps evolved from their traditions of holding discussions on issues that crop up in everyday life, in order to arrive at a consensus. In traditional Malay life, a decision is not made by an individual, but by everyone that matters: members of the family including the extended family, close friends and neighbors. And consensus is expected to be reached after a discussion. The Swedish words are either evaluative or specialized for a particular setting and therefore do not allow for a corresponding conclusion about Swedish culture.

Noisiness and sophistication

Bertengkar and *berbalah* differ from each other slightly in the sense that *berbalah* is less connected with noise than *bertengkar*.   In contrast, the dimension of noisiness does not seem to lead to differentiation of vocabulary in Swedish in relation to verbal disagreement. As for *telagah*, this word gives the connotation that the issue that is being argued is quite a big one, and that the action may emit more tension, though not noise, compared to *bertengkar* and *berbalah*.

Similarly, verbs like *membangkang* (oppose) and *berhujah* (argue) refer to verbal argument which shows sophistication, as do a number of other verbs. As distinct from Malay, Swedish does not seem to focus on "sophistication" in its differentiation of verbs associated with verbal conflict. Perhaps , this , as will be suggested below, can be

connected with a general disdain of words in favor of deeds in Swedish culture and a greater appreciation of verbal skills in Malay culture.

Evaluation

In Swedish it is the opposite side which is highlighted, several words show that especially verbal conflict can be seen as unimportant or to be taken humorously; *gnabba* (bicker), *näbbas* (banter), *gurgla* (squabble), *käfta* (wrangle). In Malay, only *berbabil*, a dialect word which has been taken into standard Malay, has a meaning similar to the four just mentioned Swedish words . The issue which forms the subject of argument may not be of much significance, and the argument is imbued with humor.

In general, Swedish seems to have more terms for conflict which have an evaluative meaning. The Swedish terms, *käbbel* (squabble), *käfta* (wrangle) and *gurgla* (squabble) which all carry a pejorative evaluation of verbal conflict (with a sense of emotionality and gossiping) correspond to Malay *pergaduhan* and *perkelahian* which can both be used also in a general meaning of conflict. The Malay terms are here similar to the Swedish word *krångel* (bother) which can be used both in a general sense and in a negative belittling sense. The Swedish terms *gruff* (row) and *gorm* (brawl) and, to some extent, also *gurgel* (squabble) signify a jocular evaluation of verbal conflict. The Malay correspondents for these terms; *pertengkaran, pergaduhan* and *perkelahian* are again words which also have a more general meaning.

When it comes to belittling verbal disagreement Swedish has the terms *gnabb* (bicker) and *kiv* (strife) and Malay, as already noted, the word *berbabil*. It seems that in both Swedish and Malay there has been a need to joke about verbal conflict but there are more words for it in Swedish.

It is interesting to note, however, that with regard to terms carrying a positive evaluation, Malay has one more term than Swedish. The Swedish word *meningsutbyte* (exchange of views) corresponds to the Malay words *pertukaran* and *pendapat*.

A possible explanation for the preponderance of negative evaluative terms for verbal conflict in Swedish can perhaps be found in the already noted Swedish disdain for talk. Many of the negative evaluative words refer to verbal conflict. We may, in this connection also note that Swedish has less positive words for verbal conflict than Malay which points in the same direction. However, this explanation is not sufficient since some words carry a negative evaluation of conflicts that need not be verbal like *gruff, form, gurgel*. Another explanation might therefore be that in Swedish society (like in Malay) there is a preference for consensus and a negative attitude towards overt conflict.

Scolding

In relation to verbal conflict, Malay, generally, has a more differentiated vocabulary than Swedish, but in a few subareas of verbal conflict, Swedish has a more differentiated vocabulary. One such area is scolding. The Swedish words *reprimand* (reprimand), *tillrättavisning* (reprimand), *tillvitelse* (scolding), *bannor*(scolding), *utskällning* (scolding), *skrapa* (scolding), *snäsor* (snap), *snubbor* (snub), are rendered in Malay by the two words *teguran* and *marah*. *Marah* in addition to scold carries the meaning of "being angry with".

Marah , thus, corresponds to the Swedish expression *bli/vara arg på* (be/become angry with) which also in Swedish can mean "to scold". This means that the polysemy of the expressions corresponding to "be angry at/with" is the same in the two languages but that there, in addition, are other terms for the scolding sense in Swedish.

We may only speculate as to the reason for this difference. Possibly scolding is not as prevalent a part of Malay upbringing or not an acceptable way of handling the relations between master and servant or boss and worker, as it has been in the Swedish past. Another possibility is that Swedes have been more willing than Malays to scold in public. According to Malay culture, scolding and criticizing in front of another person might bring dishonor and shame to both the person being scolded and the person doing the scolding, which should make scolding less common or, at least, less apparent.

Teasing

Malay has a more differentiated vocabulary for teasing than Swedish. Swedish seems only to have the word *reta* (tease) to denote friendly teasing. Standard Malay has at least four roots *acah, gurau, olok-olok, senda* and nine derived verb forms.

Friendly teasing is one way of indirectly indicating your opinion in a conflict situation especially when that opinion is not in agreement with that of the other party.

Indirectness is common in Malay life. It is equated to being polite, refined and well brought up. This indirectness pervades most aspects of life, not just conflict situation.

Teasing is a verbal activity, and the fact that there are more words in Malay than in Swedish is, thus also in line with the fact that Malay generally seems to have more words for verbal arguments.
One may here speculate that perhaps Malay culture has formed a greater tolerance for teasing than Swedish culture where teasing perhaps more easily has led to physical conflict.

Indirect Verbal Attack

The following are words in Malay which express indirect verbal attack:

> (i) mengata (gossip)
> (ii) mengumpat (slander)
> (iii) menista (slander)
> (iv) menfitnah (slander)

These words convey various degrees of malice. All of them indicate that the malicious verbalization is done in the absence of the person talked about.

*Mengata (*gossip)from the word *kata* (to say) indicates a verbal activity in which a person talks about another person, usually about his or her personal life. Coarse words may not be used at all, but the narration about the other person has a negative purpose, that is, to inculcate a negative attitude among the listeners towards the person talked about.

Mengumpat (slander)is similar to *mengata* in most ways, except that in *mengumpat* coarse words are used.

Nista or *menista* (a loan from Sanskrit) represents a higher degree of malice compared to *mengumpat*. Words used in *menista* may be more coarse than *mengumpat*.

Fitnah (slander, a loan from Arabic) is the worst of all, not because there are coarse words used, but because in *fitnah* a person is said to have committed something which he has never committed at all. Slander is one of the greatest sins in Islam, and in the Quran it is said that slander is worse than killing. Slander causes a person to lead a life that is worse than death. However, it is not just the person's life that is affected. It is also the lives of his family and kin.

The Swedish words for verbal indirect attack are *skvaller* (gossip), *sprida rykte* (spread rumor), *förtala* (slander), *nedvärdera* (devalue), *skämma ut* (shame), *vanhedra* (dishonor. Only the three first words need involve language while the three last concepts can but need not. *Nedvärdera* (devalue) need not even involve people but is to devalue in a general sense.

Mengata seems similar to the Swedish *skvaller*, while *mengumpat*, *memfitnah* and *menista* can all be equated to *förtala*. As mentioned earlier, *nista* and *fitnah* are loan words, which were taken in at different periods in the history of the Malay language. The presence of these loan words has made it possible for speakers of Malay to differentiate more types of slander, compared to speakers of Swedish. A possible explanation for this might be that Malay culture is more oriented toward conflict avoidance and here gossip can be a convenient indirect form of attack which avoids direct confrontation. In Swedish culture, on the other hand, at least traditionally, action and confrontation have perhaps been more common, leading to a less differentiated vocabulary for slander

It is also interesting to speculate as to why both Swedish and Malay have expressions for "spreading rumors": *spride rykte* in Swedish, and *menyebarkan khabar angin* in Malay; the latter literally means "spreading windy news". In both languages, spreading rumor may or may not be malicious.

Grammatical derivations have added the expression *skämma ut* in Swedish from *skam* (shame), and *memalukan* (from *malu* "shy") in Malay, both meaning "to shame". Swedish also has *förnedra* (to bring down, i.e., dishonor) with more or less the same connotation as the above. The obsolete Swedish term *vanhedra* may be equated to the Malay expressions *mengaibkan* and *menjatuhkan air_muka*, all meaning "to bring dishonor".

Mengaibkan is formed from the root *aib* which is an Arabic loan. This word has a more serious connotation compared to *memalukan*. In fact, this is also true of Swedish *förnedra* which is slightly more serious than *skämma ut*.

The metaphor *menjatuh air muka* (literally: to let drop the water of one's face) is as serious as *mengaibkan*. *Air muka* (the water of the face) is what the Malays guard seriously, be it his own or other people's.

This comparison of the expressions for indirect verbal attack show, if nothing else, that speakers of both Malay and Swedish are able to differentiate the various degrees of seriousness of such actions, and of the effects they have on their targets.

Deceit

An interesting difference between Malay and Swedish concerns the areas of lying and misleading. Malay has more terms for lying than Swedish and Swedish has more terms for misleading than Malay. The Swedish words *vilseleda* (mislead), *förvirra* (confuse) and *förleda* (delude), *lura* (cheat), *skoja* (fool with humor), *svindla* (swindle), *sol och våra* (sun and spring = to falsely charm) correspond to the Malay word *mengelirukan,* while the Malay words *bohong,* and *dusta* correspond to Swedish *ljuga* (lie), the Malay words *menipu* and *memperdaya* correspond to Swedish *lura* (fool. cheat) and the Malay words *membelot* (betray)and *menderhaka* (betray, commit treason) correspond to Swedish *förråda* (betray) and *bedraga* (cheat/betray).

For lying, Malay vocabulary seems to exceed that of Swedish. The Swedish word *ljuga* (lie) has two counterparts in Malay, and these are *bohong,* and *dusta. Bohong* is a native word used in situations which are not marked by formality. On the other hand, *dusta* is a Sanskrit loan, and it occurs in formal language usage, that is, in royal, religious, literary and academic registers. *Dusta* also seems to connote a more serious type of lying.

Also in the pair *tipu* and *perdaya,* the first is a native Malay word, while the second is a loan from Sanskrit. Both *tipu* and *perdaya* may be used in formal as well as informal situations. However, *tipu* seems to refer to the more serious type of cheating, while *perdaya* to the less serious type. In Malaysia, people are charged in court for *tipu* but not for *perdaya,* while in Sweden, They are charged for *bedrägeri* (embezzlement) or *svindel* (embezzlement) but not for *att förvirra* (to confuse)or *att lura* (to fool).

It is interesting to note that in each pair there is a Sanskrit loan which has been in the language for centuries. The Malays borrowed those words even though they already had words expressing those concepts. The addition of new words for the concepts seems to have enabled the language users to refine their sociolinguistic usage of the words and their meanings. Thus, both the Malays and the Swedes are able to differentiate the types of lying and cheating in terms of their degree of seriousness.

If loan words from Sanskrit are part of the reason for why Malay has more words for lying than Swedish, let us now speculate as to why Swedish might have more terms for misleading.

A striking feature of Nordic protestant and perhaps also of older Viking culture is a strong condemnation of lying, cheating and treason. Maybe this condemnation has also had practical consequences (leading to less lying, cheating and treason) so that there has not been a strong need for a differentiated vocabulary of lying, cheating and betraying. However, given that there probably is a universal human need to prevent disclosure of information in certain circumstances and that this need would normally contradict the strong Swedish condemnation of direct lying, "lying by omission" and other types of misleading offer functionally viable alternatives to the unacceptable direct "lying by commission". In other words, there might be a preference for avoiding overt lying in favor of more indirect ways of deceit.

3.4   Attitudinal conflict

Both Swedish and Malay seem to have many terms for attitudinal conflict. The Swedish words *missämja* (dissension), *osämja* (disagreement), *tvedräkt* (disagreement),

mishällighet (disagreement) and *oenighet* (disagreement) which all signify lack of unity and agreement, in Malay, correspond to *bantahan*, *perselisihan*, *pertikaian*, *persengketaan* and *percanggahan.* Perhaps the richness of terms in both languages mean that attitudinal conflicts are fairly common in both cultures. Alternatively it could mean that states of lacking consensus are generally regarded as so undesirable in both Malay and Swedish culture, that several terms have been needed.

3.5   Hostile reactions to conflictual actions

Vengeance

Swedish has a slightly more differentiated vocabulary than Malay for taking revenge. Malay has *tuntut bela* (literally "claim return") and *balas balik* (give back). Swedish with the same meaning has *ge igen* (give back) and *återgälda* (pay back), *betala för* (pay for) or *få betalt för* (get paid for). In both languages, thus "giving back" or "returning action" is used as a basic metaphor for revenge. Swedish also provides money economy based variants on the same metaphorical theme, perhaps showing a slightly deeper penetration of money related thinking into Swedish culture. One of the reasons for this might be that monetary payment at least since Viking times has been one of the methods of atonement in Swedish culture.

In addition, Swedish has two expressions which have a specialized meaning of revenge *hämnas* (take revenge), *ta hämnd* (take revenge) and *ta revansch*(take revenge). Malay in a similar sense have *balas dendam* (literally "give revenge"). While *revansch* is a Romance loan word *hämnas* and *ta hämnd* are Germanic expressions, possibly going back to Viking days, where we also find the idea of *blodshämnd* (bloody revenge). Perhaps, we might therefore conclude that the idea of revenge is slightly more traditionally entrenched in Swedish culture than in Malay.

Defiance and rebellion

Some interesting differences between Malay and Swedish culture come to light when we study expressions which describe oppositional behavior against more powerful persons or institutions. Swedish has several expressions for the idea of defiance. Besides the word *trotsig*(defiant), there are the words *uppnosig* (insolent, "upnosy"), *uppkäftig* (insolent "upjawy") and *uppstudsig* (insolent "upbouncy") which all use the metaphor of turning upwards against a suppressing force.

Malay does not really seem to have this type of expressions but instead describes the same behavior by seeing it as being caused by lack of upbringing and socialization, using expressions like *biadab* (without good manner), *kurang ajar* (not being taught well), *tak tahu bahasa* (not know language and customs) and *tak tahu adat* (not knowing customs). This would also be possible in Swedish, as we will see below, but the point here is that Malay culture does not seem to recognize open defiance as an aware category to the same extent as Swedish.

Traditionally, in Swedish culture, "defiance" has mostly been viewed as something negative. The terms are, so to speak, coined from the perspective of tradition and power. But the negative attitudes have been mixed with a slightly positive admiration of the courage that might be involved. In present day Swedish, the positive side of defiance has been brought to light by the increasing use of the term *civilkurage* (civil

courage), i.e. the courage to speak out against power wielders or prevailing patterns supported by power wielders.

A possible conclusion from this is that in Malay culture the connection between good manners, following customs and submission to power has been less questioned than in Swedish culture, resulting in there being neither positive nor negative terms for behavior which might indicate a questioning of this connection.

The picture is a little different if we turn to the arena of social macro politics, there both Swedish and Malay have a number of terms to express the ideas of opposition, rebellion, riot and revolution. Presumably, this indicates a greater similarity between the two cultures in this type of setting.

3.6   Conflict in special settings

If we look at words which designate conflict in special settings, both languages have a vocabulary of this type covering the areas of religion, politics, academia, labor market, law, competition/sports and commerce. Below we will only comment on some of the differences.

Religion

Swedish has two words for conflict in a religious setting *schism* (schism) and *troskonflikt* (conflict of belief) where Malay has a phrase *pezbezaan akidah* (difference in belief). Possibly, the reason for this is that conflicts concerning religious beliefs have been more common and more tolerated in Sweden during this century. Earlier, this was very different, which is supported by the fairly large number of words for condemning people with a different religious belief such as *kättare* (heretic), *hädare* (blasphemer), *otrogen* (unfaithful), *hedning* (heathen), *trosavvikelse* (deviation in faith). Like many of the Swedish words for violent physical conflict, these words now are antiquated and have an obsolete ring but they give evidence of a historical past where religious deviations were not tolerated in Sweden.

Academia

Malay seems to have more terms (*perbezaan pendapat* (differences in opinion), *percanggahan pendapat* (conflicting opinions) for academic dispute than Swedish which only seems to have the term *disputation* which refers to the act of defending a doctoral thesis. Other Swedish terms like *seminarium* (seminar) and *symposium* (symposium) are more neutral and only imply academic discussion. A possible explanation for this might lie in the earlier mentioned greater Malay lexical recognition and appreciation of forms of verbal discussion and dispute.

Labor market

Concerning the special setting constituted by the labor market, both Malay and Swedish have words for *striking* as a term for refusing to work but only Swedish seems to actively use a word for "lockout". Swedish has three expressions for firing people *avskeda* (fire), *ge sparken* and *ge kicken* (give the boot, "give the kick") where the word *kick* probably is a loan from English. Malay, for firing has the expression *buang kerja* ("throw work") and *tendang kerja* ("kick work"). Perhaps this difference in

vocabulary differentiation is evidence that job and labor market conflicts are slightly more entrenched in Swedish culture than in Malay.

Judicial setting

The Swedish words *anklaga* (accuse), *åtala* (charge), *stämma* (charge/indict), *sakföra* (take to court), *komma i klammeri med rättvisan* (fall foul of the law) correspond to Malay *menuduh* (accuse) and the phrases *membawa ke mahkamah* (take to court) and *menyaman.* (summon). This comparative paucity of technical Malay legal terminology might be connected with the absence of an indigenous long standing formal legal system in Malay culture.

Commercial

Only Swedish has a word for commercial competition and conflict *konkurren*s which might mean that the spirit of capitalism has a slightly stronger hold of Swedish culture than of Malay.

This tendency can also be seen from the fact that Swedish has separate words for financial deceit (*svindla* (embezzle) and *bedra* (deceive)) and "ordinary" stealing (*stjäla* (steal)), whereas Malay uses the same terms *tipu* (cheat), *curi* (steal) in both cases. Swedish also has a special expression for a man who feigns an amorous relationship with a women in order to gain her money, *sol och vårare* (literally, "sun and springer")

Kinship and long duration

Swedish, but not Malay has a term (*fejd* (feud)) for a conflict of long duration often involving a conflict between kinship groups or other tightly organized social groups. Is this an indication that such conflicts have been less common in Malay society?

4. Selected causes of conflict - some differences

We will now take a look at some differences with regard to phenomena which either in Swedish or Malay culture , or possibly both cultures, are seen as possible causes of conflict

4.1 Lack of Justice and Partiality

Two such phenomena which traditionally have led to conflict both in Sweden and Malaysia are partiality (or favoritism) and injustice.
Concerning the two phenomena, there is a slight difference of focus between Swedish and Malay. Malay has more words for being partial and Swedish has more words for being unjust, i.e. Malay has *menyebelahi, pilih memilih, pihak memihak, membeza-bezakan, berpuak-puak, pilih kasih, berat sebelah* which all mean taking sides. Among the Malay words which convey to "take sides" or "to favor" are *menyebelah* (base word *sebelah* "one side", root: *belah* "half"), *berpihak* (root: *pihak* "group, party"), *berpuak* (root: *puak* "group"), *membeza-beza* (root: *beza* "different").

Apart from these words, there are set phrases and metaphors to denote this concept, for example at *pilih kasih* (literally: choosing based on affection), *berat sebelah* (heavy on one side).

Corresponding to the Malay words for partiality, we find the Swedish words *jävig* (partial), *favorisera* (favorize), *fjäska* (ingratiate), *ha ett fjäsk* (have (an ingratiating) favorite) and *oväldig* (not partial).

Connected with lack of justice, we find the Swedish words *orättvisa* (injustice, generally), *orättfärdighet* (injustice). These correspond to the personal qualities of *orättvis* (unjust), *orättfärdig* (unjust) and *orättrådig* (unjust in decision and judgment) which correspond to Malay *tidak adil* and *zalim* (judicial injustice).

The somewhat greater amount of words connected with justice in Swedish can possibly be connected with the Swedish protestant tradition of impartial government by rule, which in this century has been focussed on equal distribution of welfare to the people. A major goal of the Swedish bureaucratic system has been to secure equal and "millimeter just (correct)" (*millimeterättvisa*) treatment of all citizens. Probably the goal has not always been reached, so there has been a need for a vocabulary to express dissatisfaction with the degree of justice in different decisions.

The Malay lexical items above, connected with impartiality seem to be a reflection of the patron-client relationship in Malay society. The Malays are always looking for patrons, and these patrons are always those who are more superior and wealthier than themselves. They act as protectors to those they patronize. This phenomenon is very much related to the practice of giving significance to the power of authority, already discussed.

Such relations are to a lesser degree a feature of Swedish life, where instead the emphasis has been on following rules and regulations and being worried that rules and regulations are not being followed. The Swedes seem not so much to be looking for a patron as they are looking out for their rights and duties. This leads to an emphasis on justice and duty and to a fear of injustice as well as a fear of not being able to meet obligations rather than to a focus on partiality and impartiality as in the Malay case.

In present day Malay, *berpuak* or *berpuak-puak* is very much used in politics to refer to cliques in a particular party. If one looks at those cliques, each clique seems to have a patron.

The words for "just" and its antonym in Malay appear to be loans from Arabic *adil* (just), *zalim* (unjust") and Sanskrit *saksama* (just). All these three may be used in any context, but in judiciary only *adil* and its negation *tidak adil* (not just) are used.

There is no native word for "just" and "unjust" in Malay. Is it because the Malays had no idea of justice and injustice before the coming of foreign influence? The concepts of judicial justice came with Islam, and it is brought through the word *adil*. From a judicial setting, *adil* has extended its usage to other settings: social, political, military, and so on.

Although *zalim* is the antonym of *adil*, it is seldom used except only when the situation of injustice is too extreme.

Coming back to the question of whether the pre-Islamic Malay recognized the idea of justice and injustice, the proverbs seem to show that the Malays have for a long time had the idea of equitability in sharing out material wealth. This is evidenced by the proverb "*hati gajah sama dilapah, hati kuman sama dicecah*" (together we slice the elephant's liver and together we dip into the germ's liver).

4.2   Lack of Socialization

Both Malay and Swedish have several terms which refer to lack of socialization pointing to such phenomena as disobedience (Sw. *olydig* and Mal. *ingkar*), lack of upbringing (Sw. *ouppfostrad* and Mal. *kurang ajar),* lack of politeness (Sw. *ohövlig, oartig* and Mal. *tak sopan, biadab*) and roughness (Sw. *rå, råbarkad* and Mal. *kasar*)

A possible difference is that Swedish uses the metaphors *oborstad* (unbrushed) and *ohyfsad* (unsmoothened/not put in order) to express the idea that someone is not properly brought up or impolite. Another difference, already noted, is that the Malay terms seem to have a wider usage than the Swedish terms being used also to describe various types of opposition.

Negative traits in one's personality can spark off a conflict. Such traits not only portray one's character, as it were, but also one's attitude towards other people.

The traits in question are those that project oneself as having better qualities than others, and consequently those of others are belittled. Such personality traits may be said to have a "see-saw" configuration - that is, when one talks or thinks highly of oneself, one naturally talks and thinks lowly of others.

The vocabulary items and the idioms or metaphors concerned can be seen in the following columns.

(11)   **Conceit -   Condescension -**
        Talking/Thinking   Talking/Thinking
        Highly of Oneself   Lowly of Others

Conceit - Talking/Thinking Highly of Oneself	Condescension - Talking/Thinking Lowly of Others
sombong (proud)	pandang rendah (look down on)
bongkak (arrogant)	pandang remeh (regard as lowly)
	meremeh-temehkan (belittle)
tinggi diri(put oneself high)	merendah-rendahkan (belittle)
hidung tinggi (high nose)	memperkecil-kecilkan (belittle)
takbur (talk highly of oneself)	

All the items in column (A) means "conceited". However, they denote various degrees of conceitedness. The item *sombong* may be considered as the mildest of the lot. Next come *bongkak*, *tinggi diri* and *hidung tinggi*. **.** These three items may be considered as occupying the same level in the hierarchy of conceitedness. *Tinggi diri* (which roughly means "putting oneself on a high level") and *hidung tinggi* (which literally means "having a high nose") are metaphors.

The second of these two metaphors could have had its beginning with the arrival of any of those people who literally have "high noses", viz. the Arabs, the Indians and the

Europeans. However, judging from the usage of this metaphor in context, there is a greater likelihood that the "high nose" refers to the Europeans, rather than the Arabs or the Indians. Linked to this usage is the historical fact that the Europeans came as conquerors and rulers while the Arabs and the Indians came as missionaries and traders. Conceitedness, then, appears to be a marker for those who seek to hold an authority over oneself, rather than for those who teach or trade or interact on a lateral level with oneself.

Takbur is a loan from the Arabic word *takabbur*. This word projects the highest degree of conceitedness, although it literally means to think or talk highly of oneself, similar to the meanings of the items already discussed. An explanation for this is found in its usage in the Islamic religious register of language use. The Quran mentions in many places that *takbur* is a trait that should be shunned by all Muslims.

The items in column (B) are not the antonyms but rather the denotations of the consequences of those in column (A). They can be categorized into two levels. The first level, which projects a lesser degree of seriousness, is represented by *pandang rendah* (to look down on) and *pandang remeh* (to look upon someone as though he is lowly). The higher level consists of all the other items which all mean "belittle".

Swedish has as many words as Malay for the concept of "being conceited", and like their Malay counterpart the Swedish expressions indicate various degrees of conceitedness. Some of the Swedish words are: *stolt* (proud), *högmodig* (conceited), *överlägsen* (superior, conceited) *övermodig* (over confident), and the phrases *sitta på höga hästar* (sit on high horses) and *tro att man är något/någon* (believe that one is something/someone). Many of the expressions are, just like in Malay, based on a spatial metaphor of being higher or above others and are negatively evaluative. A special feature of Swedish culture is that merely "believing that one is something or someone" is evaluated negatively.

Swedish also has a number of terms for thinking or talking lowly of others; *nedlåtande* (condescending), *se ner på* (look down on) and *förnedra* (make low, shame), *nedsvärta* ("down black", slander).

Swedish has more words for boasting than Malay. The Swedish words *skryta, skrävla* and *skrymta* are all translated into Malay by *cakap besar* (talk big) and this expression is always used in a jocular manner. That is to say a person who does this is taken as a joke in Malay culture. In Swedish only *skrymta* and *skrävla* have a jocular/belittling meaning while *skryta* does not. Perhaps this indicates that boasting is seen as a more serious offense in Swedish culture than in Malay. Besides this expression Malay also has the metaphors *tembak* (shoot)and *pasang meriam*, (light the cannon), which are quite new.

In fact, the concept borne by the phrase *cakap besar*, especially in nominalized form *storpratare* (big talker) occurs also in Swedish. All the Swedish terms carry a negative evaluation concerning the activity of talking well of oneself. The reason why Swedish has so many terms for boasting in comparison with Malay remains unclear. Has boasting been more common in Sweden? Has there been a stronger negative evaluation of the activity of talking well of oneself in Sweden? There is some evidence for this latter type of explanation since talk on the whole tends to be given a low value in Swedish culture. This is testified by such proverbs as *stor i orden liten på jorden* (big in words small on earth), *bara prat* (only talk), *tala är silver tiga är guld* (speech is

silver, silence is gold), *tomma tannor skramla mest* (empty barrels rattle the most). Possibly there has been a cultural readiness and need for expressions to condemn "big" "aggrandizing" talk.

4.3 Some emotions which are compatible with or conducive to conflict

Doubt and lack of confidence and trust

Doubt and lack of confidence and trust are often conducive to conflict and even more often accompany its outbreak. Malay as well as Swedish offer several ways of expressing these attitudes but there are a few interesting differences. Swedish, but not Malay seems to distinguish between *inte tro på* (not believe in), having to do with confidence in factual information and *inte lita på* (nor trust) or *inte ha förtroende för* (not have trusting confidence in), having to do with more holistic confidence in character. In Malay all three are rendered as *tidak percaya* (not believe).

Perhaps having to do with Sweden having a more individualistic culture, concepts of trust are very important. Agreements and cooperation between people in business as well as in politics and everyday life, very often are motivated by referring to trust or lack of trust. The importance of these phenomena are also attested by the fairly large amount of linguistic expressions for them which are available.

Malay, instead of focusing on trust, seems to focus on an inner feeling of compatibility with another person, using the phrase *tidak sedap hati* (not feel happy about, literally "does not feel nice at the liver"). This fixes the attention more on resonance between people, than on expectations about the other persons future actions which is one of the things that is implicit in the notion of trust. Possibly , this might, in turn, be related to a greater need for personal predictability in Swedish society which combines individualism with a high need for security than in Malay society which is less individualistic.

Envy, jealousy, discontent and anger

With regard to all of these attitudes, there are several ways to express them both in Malay and Swedish, pointing to their importance in both cultures. Malay has slightly more expression for envy and Swedish slightly more expressions for anger which indicates a slight difference of focus in the two cultures.

5. Similarities in terms related to conflict handling

We may first note that the same categories of non-conflict and/or conflict handling are relevant in both Swedish and Malay, i.e. in the order we will discuss them:
(i)   States of non-conflict,, i.e. states characterized by an absence
         of disturbing features
(ii)   Dominance and subordination(winning or loosing)
(iii)   Avoidance of conflict
(iv)   Mutual adaption (Compromise)
(v)   Resolution off conflict
(vi)   Prevention of conflict

If we look at the more particular categories, just as with conflict terms, we find many similarities. In fact, all except two of the following 26 subcategories were common to

both languages and 150 out of 153 occurring expressions had corresponding terms in the other language. Each category includes both terms for processes leading to or creating a certain state and terms for the actual states themselves:

Absence of disturbing features

1. General absence of disturbance
2. Absence of acoustic disturbance
3. Absence of interpersonal conflict
4. Absence of negatively disturbing attitudes to other person
5. Dominance and suppression of conflict
6. Elimination of conflict
7. Containment or inhibition
8. Avoidance of conflict
9. Shyness, shame and guilt
10. Mutual adaption or acceptance
11. Changed state of cognition
12. Equitably (mutual) adjusted demands
13. Mutually adjusted commercial demands
14. Judicial obligations decided by 3:d party

Resolution
15. Absence of responsibility for, or the presence of acceptable grounds for seemingly negative or questionable activity
16. Absence of negative attitudes and absolution of obligation to compensate
17. Absolution of punishment

Conflict prevention
18. Presence of conflict preventing features
19. Interindividual similarity in attitude
20. Mutual obligations
21. Mutual obligations and positive attitudes
22.. State of joint purpose and activity under mutual consideration
23. Mutual positive attitudes
24. Friends

The following were different:
1. State of informality. Absence of social formal limitation
2. Negative evaluation of mutually adjusted demands

Let us now consider some of the differences a little more in detail

6.   Differences in terms related to conflict handling

6.1   States of non-conflict

In both Malay and Swedish, certain states of affairs are seen as the opposite of conflict. In Swedish such states are characterized by an absence of disturbances; compare *frid* (spiritual peace), *lugn* (calm), *ro* (tranquility), *harmoni* (harmony), *stillhet* (quiet), *fred* (peace). A characteristic of the Swedish conception of states devoid of conflict is the association between the four concepts peace-stillness-harmony-being free of influence (which is often associated with being alone.

The picture gained through Malay of these states is somewhat different. As in Swedish, the state of peace and quiet entails a total absence of conflict. One could describe the Malay vocabulary abstractly by saying that there are certain words which have either the feature [+peace] or the feature [+quiet] or both features [+peace, +quiet].

The words *sunyi*, *senyap*, *sepi* and *diam* all have the feature [+quiet], that is [-sound]. However, there are slight differences between the three. *Sunyi* is an attribute only to space. A place, a house, a country and so on is said to be *sunyi*.

As a contrast *diam* is attributable only to animate nouns, that is, human beings as well as animals. The features which are inherent in *sunyi* and *diam* are combined in *senyap* and *sepi*. which only differ in style.

    (1)   sunyi   [+quiet, +place]
           diam   [+quiet, +human]
           sepi   [+quiet, +place, +human]
           senyap   [+quiet, +place, +human]

All the above words are adjectives.

However, there is another set of words in Malay which have both the features [+peace] and [+quiet] and are attributable to space as well as to life in general, the "heart" and the mind. Such words are *aman*, *damai*, *tenang* and *tenteram*. The latter two may also refer to the stillness of water in the sea or the lake or the atmosphere.

In both Malay and Swedish absence of conflict is characterized by absence of disturbance, especially acoustic disturbance, and by "peace of mind". The only significant difference seems to reside in the expression *vara i fred* (be in peace. be left alone), which indicates a positive association between solitude and peace. No such association seems to exist in Malay.

The morphology of both Malay and Swedish allow us to construct words for processes leading to these states, in the majority of the cases:

Swedish		Malay	
Process	**State**	**Process**	**State**
No process morphologically derivable	frid (spiritual peace)	menenangkan	tenang
freda (protect)	fred (peace)	mengamankan	aman
lugna (to calm)	lugn (calm)	menenangkan	tenang
beroliga (to calm)	ro (calm)	menenangkan	tenang
harmonisera (harmonize)	harmoni (harmony)	mendamaikan	damai
stilla (to silence)	stillhet (silence)	mendiamkan	diam

6.2   Absence of interpersonal conflict

Both Malay and Swedish seem to have ample lists of words to denote the holistic general absence of interpersonal conflict.

For the general state of peace, Swedish has two words, *fred* and *pax*. Malay has more: *aman*, *damai*, *tenang*, *tenteram*, *sejahtera* and *sentosa*. A closer study of the meaning potential of these word show that there are subtle differences in the usage of one compared to the other. This indicates that Malay speakers are able to differentiate six different types of peace.

The different types of peace are seen in terms of the absence of the various types of disturbances: emotional, war, interpersonal antagonism and social unrest. This fine tuning has been made possible with the importation of words for Arabic (*aman*) and Sanskrit (*sejahtera*, *sentosa*).

The English loan *harmoni* (Swedish: *harmoni*) has already become part of the Malay vocabulary, and is very much used in the political register when referring to racial harmony. It has not been used in other contexts and has not yet been fully integrated by means of the Malay morphological processes. This is so because Malay has already been in possession of a number of words denoting harmony in general, especially in interpersonal relationships. All these words are derived by the prefixation of *se-* "one" to noun roots, (*seia sekata* (of one voice), *sehati sejiwa* (of one liver and soul), *setuju* (of one direction)).

All these "harmony" words in Malay are metaphors and interchangeable with one another in usage, and are very much in use outside the political register. When one talks of the people of Malaysia in general without referring to their differential racial groups, it is this set of words that become their reference.

One might speculate here that consciousness of racial differences in earlier times has not been a preoccupation in Malay culture. Racial differences and racial strife are something new. Because of this, the language had to adopt a new term *harmoni* to express the absence of such strife.

6.3   Dominance and subordination (winning or loosing)

Dominance

Sometimes the parties in a conflict handle the conflict by pursuing it until one party wins and the other party loses. If this is done non-violently with some mutual ethical consideration, we have "competition" . If is done violently without consideration of the other party, we get "war".

Concerning the exercise of power, the vocabulary seems to be more extensive in Malay than in Swedish. The Swedish word *tvinga* (force) may be equated to the Malay words *menekan* (root: *tekan*) and *memaksa* (root: *paksa*). The first is a native word meaning to press down, while the second is a loan from Sanskrit. What is interesting here is that even though the language already had a word *tekan*, a synonym was borrowed from another language. The word *paksa* can also mean "to make compulsory", i.e. for a person to carry out an obligation. Both *paksa* and *tekan* have a negative connotation.

In addition, Malay has a word for "forcing" or "making compulsory" which does not carry a negative connotation. This is *mewajibkan* (from Arabic *wajib* "obligatory"). To a Malay, when religion or a higher authority (an individual or an institution) makes something *wajib* (compulsory), it is for his own good or the good of the institution he is in. And he is obliged to obey (*patuh*). In Swedish *mewajibkan* corresponds to a phrase *göra obligatorisk* (make obligatory). However, the most common way for a higher authority to express that something is obligatory in Swedish is not to use *göra obligatorisk* but to use one of the many terms for laws and rules like *lag* (law) and *stifta lag* (make a law), *regel* (rule) and *reglera* (regulate), *förordning* (regulation) and (*förordna* (regulate), *direktiv* (directive) and *ge direktiv* (give directives*)*. None of these words have a religious connotation or the positive connotations of concern of the Malay term, rather they carry the sense of impersonal state related power.

The Swedish words for "command" are *befalla, beordra* and *kommendera.* These may be translated into Malay in three ways depending on the sociolinguistic situation in which it is used. The possible words in Malay are *menitah* (root: *titah)*, *memerintah* (root: *perintah)*, and *menyuruh* (root: *suruh*).

In both Malay and Swedish all the above words show the direction of movement in speaking from an agent higher in rank to a lower one. In Malay they may be placed in a sociolinguistic hierarchy of three levels based on the agent of action and the milieu.

Titah may only be used by a ruling monarch (the paramount ruler or sultan) or his consort to all others on anything at all. This word is also used in royal Malay for "to speak" or "to say". It is apparent here that when it involves a monarch or his consort saying or speaking, the action is synonymous with giving a command. In the old days, what the ruler said was law. The word in similar situations in Swedish is *befalla* which, however, also can have a wider usage.

Perintah is used by institutions, including the government or persons holding authority to those below, and it is used within the framework of official duties. It is also used in the military service for "command". The word for government is *pemerintah*, literally meaning one who governs, and the commanding officer in the military service in *pegawai pemerintah*, that is "officer who gives the command".

What can be deduced here is that, in the Malaysian context, the running of an office or an institution is seen as a microcosm of the government.

In present Swedish culture, the government does not "command" the citizens. rather it makes decisions (*bestämmer, beslutar*) or gives directives and regulates (*ge direktiv* or *reglera)* which the citizens have to follow. In a military context, however, all three verbs *befalla,, beordra* and *kommendera* are used, where especially the latter two have a distinct military flavor

The lowest type of command in the hierarchy is *menyuruh*. This word is used in social contexts, but the agent has to be somebody older than the one who is the target of the command. In the Swedish case both *befalla* and *beordra* could be used in both of these cases, but age would very rarely be a decisive factor. Instead, the right to service, independently of social rank (a guest in a hotel or a patient in a hospital), would sometimes be a crucial factor and then the phrase *säga till (om)* (affirmatively state, order) would be used

In the office milieu, there is another word, and that is *mengarah* (root: *arah*). This word may be equated with the Swedish *instruera* (instruct)

The original meaning of *arah* is "direction" hence, *mengarah* means giving directions to someone to carry out a certain task. The human noun *pengarah* (director) is derived from this same root. The difference between *mengarah* and *memerintah* is that in *memerintah* the command is brief and precise, where as in *mengarah* it contains more information and instruction. In Swedish the relation is different, *direktiv* which is also derived from direction involves less information and instruction than *instruera*

When it comes to requesting, Malay has two words *meminta* (root: *minta*) and *memohon* (root: *pohon*), against Swedish *uppmana* (request), *anhålla* (request), *bönfalla* (beg, beseech) and *begära* (request). The two words in Malay have a sociolinguistic division between them. *Meminta* indicates a lateral as well as a downward movement, that is, it is used by people of the same rank or age when talking to each other, or someone talking to somebody lower in rank or age. *Memohon* indicates the presence of two parameters in usage: one is the parameter of age and rank, and the other is that of officialdom. In terms of age and rank, *memohon* is used by those younger and lower in rank when talking to those older and higher in rank than themselves. In official situation in the work milieu, *memohon* is more frequently used than *meminta*.

Swedish, in addition, to words which presuppose a downward power relation has , at least, two words which presuppose an upward power relation - *anhålla* (request) and *bönfalla* (beseech). *Uppmana* is neutral and *begära* focuses on the dimension of right to service, irrespective of social status..

A comparison of the terms of exercise of power in Swedish and Malay shows that both languages indicate considerable consciousness of status. The Malays are, however, more conscious of degrees in social levels and of different types of downward relations. In fact, because of the fairly old roots of status consciousness, the Malays, instead of merely extending the meaning of already existing words with new concepts, have often imported words from other languages for the refinement of the social status dimension.

Another difference is that the Swedish terms *säga till om* and *begära* , rather than social status, seem to implicate the dimension of expectations and social rights (having "the right" to ask for a specific service irrespective of social status) .

Subordination

In Malay, acceptance and adjustment to external requirements may also imply acknowledging mistake or defeat which is a positive feature of one's character, as in:

(i)   beralah, mengalah   (acknowledging defeat)
(ii) menanggung   (bear or accept the burden of conflict)
(iii) terima   (accept what is offered by the opponent)
(iv) rela   (resign oneself to what is offered by the
                             opponent)

These expressions are specifically used when the adversary is somebody older or higher in rank than oneself. In this particular situation one is expected to be obedient (*ikut*, *turut*, *patuh*). The manifestation of this quality is in verbally agreeing with the adversary as illustrated in *setuju* (agree) and "*mengiakan*" (saying "yes"). In Swedish, there is also a verb derived from the word for "yes" - *ja,* namely *be-ja-ka,* but it has a different use than the Malay verb. It means to confirm without any implication of assenting to power.

Swedish also has expressions for acknowledging defeat *erkänna sig besegrad* (acknowledging defeat), *kapitulera* (capitulate)*, ge upp* (give up)*, ge sig* (give up)*, kasta in handsken* (throw in the glove) and acknowledging mistakes (*erkänna misstag*). Probably these expressions bear witness of a traditional trait in Swedish culture which strongly condemns weakness and giving up.

However, these expressions are not related to interaction with someone older or higher in rank, the crucial factor is rather that the other party has more power. One might even say, that, in Swedish culture. it is probably easier for those of higher rank and age to admit mistakes and defeat than for those of lower rank and age. Similarly, being *lydig* (obedient) is not very easily reconciled with present Swedish culture where insight and independence rather than obedience are stressed in education. There is even a negative term for being overly obedient *servil* (servile). The vocabulary differentiation of Malay here seems to show that respect, consideration and obedience to those of higher rank or age is a stronger feature of Malay than of Swedish culture.

There are several Swedish expressions which come closer to the Malay expressions *resignera* (resign oneself), *ge med sig* (yield), *medge* (consent to) and *gå med på* (accept, agree). *Resignera* is used for emotionally giving up in a situation one cannot master and, thus, seems a little more general than the corresponding Malay terms. *Ge med sig* means to yield in the light of a compelling argument or force. *Medge* and *gå med på* mean to consent to or agree. All three terns imply that one is yielding from a position of strength

Further there are also Swedish terms for obeying - *lyda* and *följa order* corresponding to the Malay terms *ikut* and *turut.*

6.4   Avoidance of Conflict

Avoidance

Both Swedish and Malay have key words to convey this type of conflict handling. The Swedish word *undvika* may be
literally translated as *elak* in Malay; both these words mean
"avoid". For example:

Malay		Swedish	
mengelak perselisihan/ pertikaian etc.	(avoid conflict)	undvika konflikt	(avoid conflict)
		konflikt undvikande	(conflict avoidance)

Both languages show the presence of lexical items which
denote the various modes of avoiding conflict, for example, co-existence, using diplomacy, and having consideration for one
another, as shown in the following sets of items:-

Malay		Swedish	
hidup bersama	coexistence	samexistence	coexistence
menggunakan diplomasi	using diplomasi	(använda) diplomati	(use) diplomacy
bertimbang rasa	(be) considerate	(vara) hänsynsfull	(be) considerate

The list of items for avoidance of conflict in Swedish corresponds quite nicely with Malay. Both languages use terms which literally mean to avoid: *undvikande* in Swedish, and *mengelak* in Malay. However, when it comes to ignoring (other people), three Malay terms (*menyisihkan, mengyingkir, mengenepikan*) correspond to two Swedish expressions *strunta i* (not notice) and *ignorera* (ignore).

But there are other ways of indicating avoidance in Swedish. Some common expressions are the following: *undvika bråk* (avoid trouble), *inte bråka* (not make trouble), *inte lägga sig i* (not "lay into" meddle with), *inte blanda sig i* (not mix into), *sköta sig själv* (take care of oneself).

Avoidance as a strategy to handle conflict, thus, certainly is very common in both Swedish and Malay culture but it might be slightly more appreciated in Swedish culture where it fits well with a doctrine of self reliance, minding one's own business and keeping silent about things which are not one's business.

The meaning "co-existence" in the Malay phrase *hidup bersama* which matches the Swedish term *samexistens* is an extension of the original and literal meaning of "living together". The term "co-existence" as used in the English newspapers in Malaysia focuses on the co-existence of the various racial groups in the country, and it has been translated into Malay as *hidup bersama*. In the political context this phrase is used together with *harmoni*, for example *hidup bersama dengan harmoni* (live together in harmony).

Diplomasi in Malay, which is an equivalent of the Swedish *diplomati* is a loan from English. It is always used in the context of institutional diplomacy. There is no word for "diplomacy" in general usage, such as one that involves interpersonal relationship. For this, the Malay speaker uses various terms which point to being soft, gentle and careful. In Swedish, however, *diplomati* can be used also for personal relationships.

For "consideration", Swedish has *hänsyn*. The Malay term *timbang rasa* is a metaphor which literally means "weigh the feelings of". This is an antithesis of "taking sides".

It should also be mentioned that, at least, in Swedish culture avoidance is also a cold way of pursuing a conflict. Many conflicts in present Swedish culture are pursued through a strategy of *strunta i* (not notice) and *ignorera* (ignore) your adversaries. Other expressions which are used in this connection are: *inte hälsa på* (not greet) and *inte vara på talefot med* (not be on speaking terms with), *inte vara kontant med* (having broken relations with) and *säga upp bekantskapen med* (terminate the acquaintance with)

These strategies combine avoidance of hot conflict, for which there is low tolerance in Swedish culture (man skall inte bråka och vara besvärlig (one should not make trouble and be a nuisance)), with a pursuit of cold conflict which is culturally more acceptable.

Self-Containment

In the face of external force or for other reasons, individuals sometimes suppress their own hostile reactions or inner conflicts by various forms of self-containment, self-control or self-restraint which enable them to avoid conflict. In Malay an individual whose mind and disposition of *tenang*, *damai*, *tenteram*, *sentosa* and *sejahtera* (which all mean having peace and quiet) is considered to be able to have more self-containment than the one without these characteristics. Likewise, a person who is *diam* (does not talk much) will be able to be more self-contained than the one who does.

People with self-containment are said to be able to bear (*tanggung*) the situation. Such people are *sabar* which is a quality demanded by Islam.

In the same way, in Swedish, people who are calm (*vara lugn*), aware of the situation (*vara sansad*), peaceful of mind (*vara fridsam*) and self-controlled (*behärskade*) are deemed to have better self-control and self-restraint than those who do not. The same is also true of people who are *tålmodiga* (patient) or *toleranta* (tolerant).

There are three words in Malay to match the Swedish *vara lugn*. Two of these are words which are also used to denote "peace". These are *tenang* and *tenteram*. The other is *sabar* which is an Arabic loan and which also means having "self control". This being the case, *sabar* is only used when referring to people, whereas the other two may be used for people, space and situation.

The Malay term *tahan* shows a polysemy of indicating both patience and tolerance. No Swedish term seems to share this polysemy. The term *lugn* (calm) instead, like the Malay terms *sabar* and *tahan* combines self-control with patience. Perhaps this means that self containment for a Malay person is less associated with passivity and more with openness than it is for a Swedish person

The state of contained conflictual features can imply sensibility on the person or persons involved. Swedish expresses this in *vara sansad* (being sensible and calm*)*. Malay has two ways of doing this. One is by using the native word *tabah* which merges the concept "sensible" and having "self control" which is very close to Swedish *vara sansad*. The other is by using the Sanskrit loan *bijaksana* which means "wise", and a wise and sensible person in Malay is always taken to be one with self control.

While *tabah* may be used in any context, formal as well as informal, *bijaksana* is only used in high flown language: academic, literary, political and journalistic.

The state of contained conflictual features may also result from inhibition on the part of the person or persons involved. The Swedish expression *vara hämmad* (be inhibited)has two corresponding items in Malay: *segan* (timid) and *takut* (afraid, frightened)**.** Both are native Malay words.

Segan refers to inhibition due to shyness, and *takut* due to fear. It is evident that to the Malays inhibition may be caused by shyness or by fear. If one is shy or fearful, it is better to remain calm and not poke the wasps' nest (*jolok sarang tebuan*). The Swedish correspondents might here be *förlägen* (embarrassed) and *rädd* (afraid).

Both the Swedish and the Malay traditional attitude favors inhibition but for slightly different reasons. In Malay culture, it is good to be inhibited because when one is inhibited, there is a lesser possibility of being *kasar* (rude). Inhibition also means that there is fear of God as taught in Islam, and this fear prevents one from doing things that might endanger oneself or other people.

In Swedish traditional culture it is good to be inhibited because it decreases the risk of doing something which might lead to one's making a fool of one self (*att göra bort sig*) or being shamed in the eyes of other people (*skämma ut sig*).

Shyness, embarrassment and shame

A high degree of inhibition or self containment is often connected with shyness, embarrassment or shame and having these qualities can lead to a lesser propensity for conflictual behavior and a higher degree of conflict avoidance.

To be embarrassed or ashamed because of something or someone is *malu* in Malay. However, *malu* also means "shy". Hence, "shy", "embarrassed" and "ashamed" are borne by one and the same lexical item in Malay. This goes to show that in the Malay mind there is no clear demarcation between being shy, being embarrassed and being ashamed. What exist are various degrees of *malu* based on the seriousness or otherwise of its cause.

According to traditional Malay culture a person is *malu* because it is his nature - he is withdrawn, diffident when facing other people, etc. He can also be *malu* when he finds himself not properly dressed for a certain occasion. The feeling of *malu* also besets him when his daughter elopes to marry someone not acceptable to the family.

From the word *malu*, one can derive *memalukan*. This word may mean "to cause to be embarrassed" or "to cause to be ashamed of". However, this word does not convey the meaning "to cause to be shy".

The action or activity which generates the feeling of *memalukan* may be verbal or otherwise. This action or activity may lead on to something more serious than being embarrassed or ashamed. It may lead to what is known as *menjatuhkan air muka* (to let drop the water of one's face) already discussed.

As said earlier, to the Malay, *air muka*, (water of the face) is something that cannot be let to fall off in disgrace. It is his reputation, good name, and honor that is supposed to

be reflected in his face or his appearance. Hence, to say or do something whether intentionally or unintentionally that *menjatuhkan air muka* someone is inviting a serious conflict.

In Swedish, the vocabulary of shyness and shame is more differentiated. "Shy" can be translated as either *blyg* or *förlägen*, where *blyg* (*blygas* (to be ashamed)) is slightly stronger and *förlägen* could perhaps be translated as "slightly embarrassed". The Swedish word for shame *skam (*from which can be derived *skämmas* (to be ashamed), *skamsen* (ashamed), *skämma ut* (lit. "shame out", i.e. to make ashamed), is linguistically unrelated to the word for shyness, even though , as in Malay, shame can be a cause of shyness. This comes out in the Swedish phrase *rädd att göra bort sig* (afraid of making a fool of oneself), which combines shyness with fear of being shamed.

Differentiated from but also conceptually related to shyness and shame are also words related to guilt, i.e. *skuld* (guilt), *skyldig* (guilty), *skuldmedveten* (guilty conscience), *beskylla* (accuse," put guilt on"), and *dåligt samvete* (bad conscience), all having to do with guilt, feeling guilt and causing to feel guilty.

In comparison with Malay, Swedish, thus, seems to have a more differentiated vocabulary of shame, shyness and guilt. The significance of this might be that , at least traditionally, a differentiation of these three concepts have played a more important role in Swedish life than in Malay life. Perhaps, we can here see a connection with individualism and Christianity. It has been important to differentiate *blyghet* (shyness), a possibly innate character trait, from *skam* (shame) and *förlägenhet* (embarrassment), which have to do with an expectation or fear of public evaluation. Both of these have then been differentiated from *skuld* (guilt) which is related to doing something morally wrong, whether this is publicly recognized or not.

6.5   Mutual adaption

Mutual adaption in a conflict situation, on the part of the individual implies readiness to concede to the other party in such a way that no overt conflict takes place. This means that the individual takes the initiative not only to accept, but also to adjust himself or herself to the adversary.

In Swedish and Malay, acceptance of and adjustment to the situation are represented as follows:

Swedish		**Malay**	
acceptera	accept	terima	accept
acceptans	acceptance	penerimaan	acceptance
anpassa sig	adjust to	menyesuaikan diri	adjust oneself to
anpassning	adjustment	penyesuaian diri	adjustment of oneself
assimilera	assimilate		
assimilering	assimilation		
no specific term		rela	ready to accept
kompromiss-villig	willing to compromise	kerelaan hati	readiness of the heart
kompromissa	compromise	tolak ansur	compromise, "gradual push"
jämka	modify, adjust	menyesuaikan	modify, adjust
gå en medelväg	take a middle course	tolak ansur	compromise, "gradual push"

As we see Malay has slightly less terms for adaptation and compromise than Swedish. Possibly this indicates a greater role for compromise in Swedish than Malay culture, while acceptance and avoidance might have a stronger position in Malay culture.

Giving and taking or compromising is also a means of avoiding conflict which perhaps is brought out by the Malay expression for compromise *tolak ansur*, which means gradual rather than abrupt pushing.

Again it seems that Swedish is slightly more influenced by needs related to market economy than Malay. The Swedish terms *köpslå* (bargain), *pruta* (bargain) and *ackordera* (compound) correspond to the Malay phrase *tawar menawar* (bargain) and English loan word *kompaun* (compound).

Swedish also has an expression which indicates a negative evaluation of the activity of compromising, especially in a political setting *kohandel* "cow commerce".

In both cultures, mutual adjustments, which are achieved by the parties getting together to settle their differences, is a preferred and frequent phenomenon. Some of the relevant Swedish terms for this are: *rådslå* (council), *samråda* (council), *prata sig samman* ("talk oneselves together"), *överlägga* (negotiate) and *förhandla* (negotiate). In addition terms which do not necessarily imply conflict are often used also in a conflict situation- *diskutera* (discuss), *möte* (meeting), *sammanträde* (meeting) and *träff* (appointment). Malay also has terms of this type *mesyuarah* (consensus oriented meeting), *mesyuarat* (formal meeting), *bincang* (discuss) and *runding* (discuss). Since

there are slightly more Swedish terms, one wonders if conflict handling of this type is even more characteristic of Swedish than Malay society.

Most of the terms in both languages are neutral as to whether adjustment between the parties is achieved by the parties themselves or with the help of a third party - a mediator. But there are some terms, roughly an equal amount in both languages, which specifically refer to mediation using a third party. A specific trait of Malay culture is that persuasion - *memujuk* , by the mediator or the party who has initiated the talk seems to have a more conventionally accepted role to play in Malay conflict handling than in Swedish.

6.6 Resolution of conflict

Resolution

By reconciliation, we mean a type of conflict handling which not only means that conflictual activities cease or that objective grounds for conflict are adjusted but that the parties themselves feel that there are no more grounds for conflict in an emotional and attitudinal sense.

For reconciliation, Swedish has *försoning*, *förlikning* and *rekonciliering* and Malay, *perdamaian*. The Malay word *perdamaian* is derived from *damai* (peace). The other words for peace do not undergo the affixation with *per-an* to derive words with the same meaning.

The Swedish words do not contain the root *fred* (peace). but rather focus on the attitudes and demands of the participants of the conflict. In the case of *försoning,* the meaning is deep emotional reconciliation and mutual forgiving, and in the case of *förlikning*, the meaning is an agreement to cease hostilities and demands. Possibly, this points to a stronger need in Swedish culture to be able to talk about the emotional causes of conflict in reconciliation.

Admitting one's fault

Mutual admission of faults is often an important element of conflict resolution. Often this can relieve what is known as a guilty conscience. However, there seems to be slight difference between the two cultures here. In Malay culture one bears a mental burden *penanggungan* subsequent to having admitted one's wrong doing- *mengaku*. In Swedish culture, the opposite sequence would be more common. First, one feels *dåligt samvete* (bad conscience) or *känna sig skyldig* (feel guilty) then one is ready to *bekänna* (confess) or *erkänna* (admit) one's wrong doing. Perhaps this difference is connected with a greater importance of public recognition of guilt in Malay than Swedish society, where instead the harmful nature of an inner feeling of guilt is stressed. To use traditional anthropological terms, both Malay and Swedish societies are "shame cultures" but Malay culture has more of this trait than Swedish culture which has modified the shame component by also being a "guilt culture"

Forgiving

In both Malay and Swedish culture conflict resolution, in the sense discussed above, frequently involves forgiving. The two languages contain terms for justifying, excusing,

forgiving and pardoning which all frequently can be part of the process of reconciliation. The Malay terms for forgiving have certain conditions regarding status differences attached to them. *Mengampunkan* (forgiving or pardoning) requires the person who forgives to be older or of higher status than the one who is forgiven, but this is not the case with the term *memaafkan* . An unusual feature of Malay culture is that the ruler or government can forgive or pardon - *mengampunkan* the people. This idea is not so easy to understand in Swedish culture where instead one of the frequently discussed concepts is *politikerförakt* (contempt of politicians).The Swedish terms for forgiving are: *förlåta* (forgive), *ursäkta* (excuse), *tillge* (forgive) and *benåda* (pardon).The following diagram illustrates the relationship between Swedish and Malay terms. In Malay the roots of the words concerned are used.

Diagram 1. Malay and Swedish terms for forgiving

Malay	Swedish
ampun	benåda
	förlåta
Maaf	utsäkta
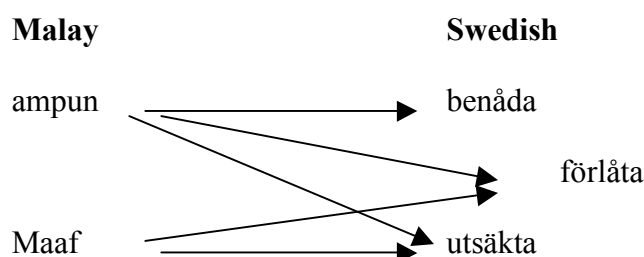
As we can see, the Malay root *ampun* corresponds, on the one hand, to Swedish *benåda* (pardon) or *amnesti* (amnesty) which can only be used in the sense of pardoning someone from an official punishment, and on the other hand, to *förlåta* (forgive) and *ursäkta* (excuse) which are used without any distinctions as to power or rank , a difference between the two often being that *ursäkta* is used for smaller more trivial matters.

Another difference concerns the nonverbal behavior going with forgiving someone. In Malay culture, it is customary to shake hands using both hands as a symbol of forgiving and forgetting. In Swedish culture a single handshake could be used with a slightly different meaning - that of having reached an agreement, alternatively, if the reconciliation was very emotional, an embrace between the parties might occur. Children sometimes use the gesture of touching thumbs - *tumma på något*, signifying that they agree.

Swedish seems to have a slightly more differentiated vocabulary of forgiving than Malay. Possibly, this can be connected to the strong role of the concept of guilt (cf. the word *ur-skuld-a* (forgive "to out of guilt") and the concomitant need to be relieved of guilt in both in the Christian religion and in Swedish culture. This can in both cases be done by asking and giving forgiveness

7.   Prevention of conflict

7.1   Creating social obligations

The creation of mutual social bonds is a very effective way of preventing conflict. In both Swedish and Malay, there are a great number of expressions referring to such

bonds and to activities creating such bonds involving notions like agreeing, cooperating or liking, appreciating and loving each other as well as expressions for becoming friends, companions or colleagues.

One way to create obligations is to do favors for other people - *göra tjänster*. In Swedish one speaks of *tjänster och gentjänster* (favors and counter favors)and *gåvor och gengåvor* (gifts and counter gifts). The concepts of being or not being in someone's debt - *stå i tacksamhetsskuld* (owing somebody thanks) play an important role when it comes to influencing the likelihood of a conflict between two parties. In Malay this concept seems to be of less importance because of the influence of the concept of *budi* (lit. deed) which means doing good deeds without expectation of reciprocation. A special case of doing favors is occupied by giving bribes, for which there are the following Swedish expressions *smörja* (grease), *muta* (bribe) and *besticka* (bribe). Malay has the expression *makan suap* (bribe), *mengampu* lit. support, ingratiate)**.**

Another way is to create more formal obligations by various forms of agreement. There seem to be slightly more terms for such agreements in Swedish. The following Malay and Swedish terms for mutual social obligations correspond to each other.

Swedish	English	Malay
överenskommelse	agreement	bersetuju
avtal	agreement	bersetuju
vidtala	arrange with	berpakat(lit. align with)
stipulera	stipulate	berpakat
bestämma	decide	buat keputusan
besluta	decide	
pakt	pact	pakat
uppgörelse	settlement	penyelesaian, keputusan

Perhaps the greater number of Swedish terms can be related to a greater need for clear statements of mutual social obligations in a more individualistic society where social loyalty is otherwise not so clear.

A noteworthy concept, in this connection in Swedish culture is the concept of "thanking". Swedish has very many phrases connected with this *tack* (thanks), *tack för senast* (thanks for the latest), *tack för idag* (thanks for today), *tack för maten* (thanks for the food), *tack för oss* (thanks for us). *tack för sällskapet* (thanks for the company), etc. Swedish also has a concept *otacksamhet* (ungratefulness). If we look at Malay, thanking does not seem to have the same central position. Both the expression for "thank you" *terima kasih* and the expression for "ungratefulness" *tak tahu berterima kasih* are phrases, which are less linguistically integrated than the word *tack* which could point to a lesser degree of integration of thanking in the culture. A more difficult question to answer is the question of why the fear "ungratefulness" is more integrated in Swedish than Malay. Is publicly noticeable ungratefulness more common or more strongly condemned in Swedish than in Malay culture? A fairly straight forward first explanation is simply that thanking gets you out of the situation of "owing someone thanks", i.e. being in someone's debt.

7.2　Absence of negative traits in interpersonal, interinstitutional and international relationships

Let us now look at some more terms which indicate that mutual social bonds have been established.

In both Swedish and Malay the absence of negative traits in the relationship between people, institutions and nations refer to the harmony and the congeniality between the subjects concerned.

Some of the relevant words in Swedish are *harmoni* (harmony), *endräkt* (concord), *enighet* (agreement, unity)and when a conflict has been resolved *rekonciliering* (reconciliation) and *förlikning* (reconciliation). These words indicate a reciprocity in the relationship between the parties concerned.

As in Swedish, the lexical items in Malay appear to show a reciprocity in the positive attitude between the parties involved.

The words *setuju, serasi, seia, sekata, sehati, sejiwa,* all mean "to be of one mind or objective", that is, to agree or be in harmony with one another. Except for *serasi* which is a loan from Sanskrit, the rest are metaphors referring to aspects of the mind and feeling, as shown below. In fact, Malay and Swedish show a surprisingly high degree of similarity with regard to the choice of metaphors departing from the notion of "oneness"; Swedish *en* (one) and Malay *se* (short form of *satu* (one)). Perhaps we are here seeing a universal source of metaphor for notions of agreement and consensus.

Malay		**Swedish**	
		en-ighet	unity, oneness
		en-iga	agreed
se-tuju	(of one intention)	en-se, över-en-s	agreed, ("over-oned")
se-ia	(of one voice, saying `yes')	en-stämmig	unanimous (univocality)
		en-hällig	unanimous (univocality)
se-kata	(of one utterance	en-dräkt	unity (of one breath)
se-hati	(of one liver)		
se-jiwa	(of one soul)		
		en-a	unify
		för-en-a	unify

In Swedish the concept of "sameness" can be used in a similar way.
This is not possible in Malay since "oneness" and "sameness" seem not to be distinguished.

samklang	accord, harmony (same sound)
samdräktighet	unity (of same breath)
sams	agreed "samed"

In Swedish the same roots and stems can also be used in inchoative constructions indicating coming into agreement *enas* (agree, be unified), *bli sams, samsas* (agree, "be samified"), *komma överens* (agree).

The concept of harmony and mutual respect for one another is also seen in the following; *hormat menghormati* (respect one another) and *berbaik-baik* (be good to one another). In Swedish, as in English, these expressions correspond to phrases; *respektera varandra* respect one another and *vara goda mot varandra* (be good to each other).

8. Summary

If we attempt to summarize the main differences between the Swedish and the Malay way of verbally conceptualizing conflict we find the following tendencies.

For historical reasons, Swedish has more words related to violent physical conflict. The fact that Malay has more words for cutting does not cange this impression since these words are not necessarily related to conflict. They exist in Malay for a combination of agricultural and linguistic morphological reasons.

Malay, instead, has more words related to verbal conflict than Swedish. Swedish words for verbal conflict show a more negative evaluation of this type of conflict than do the corresponding Malay words. In line with what has just been said, Malay, for example, has more words for teasing and indirect verbal attack (gossip),etc., than Swedish does. So it seems that relatively speaking Swedes have been more focussed on physical conflict than Malays who have been more concerned with verbal conflict. Another aspect of this can be seen in relation to deceit. There are more words for lying in Malay than in Swedish. Swedish, instead, has more words for other types of deceit. Swedish also has a more developed vocabulary for vengeance than Malay.

Swedish, but not Malay, allows for a rebelliousness which is not seen merely as bad manners. This difference is probably correlated with a greater role for respect of age and social status in Malay culture as compared with Swedish culture.

When it comes to causes of conflict, Swedish shows a greater preoccupation with justice and lack of justice than Malay, while Malay shows a greater focus on partiality and impartiality. This can perhaps be related to differences in regard to cultural traditions regarding rule of law (Sweden) and rule of persons (Malaysia).

Both Swedish and Malay show a negative evaluation of conceit but Swedish evaluates boasting more negatively than Malay. Swedish also focuses lack of trust more negatively than Malay where, instead, the focus seems to be on lack of personal compatibility.

Conflict Handling

Turning to conflict handling, Swedish and Malay are fairly similar in their conception of peace. An interesting difference is that Swedish, but not Malay, associates "peace" with being alone. Another difference is that Malay has imported the word *harmoni* in

the special sense of "racial harmony", a concept for which there has, so far, not been the same need in Swedish culture.

In both Swedish and Malay, dominance is one of the ways of handling conflict. The Malay words here, more strongly than the Swedish words, imply reference to authority while the Swedish words more point to legal rights and law. This difference of association also holds true when we turn to words related to subordination.

Avoidance of conflict is another a prevalent mode of conflict handling in both Sweden and Malaysia. There are slightly more expressions in Swedish for "avoidance". This might be related to the fact that "avoidance" in Sweden is often seen, not only as a way of handling a conflict, but also as a way of pursuing a conflict by not resolving it.

Both Swedish and Malay indicate positive evaluation of self containment but there is a slight difference in that Malay associates self containment with a lessening of the possibility of being kasar (rude, rough), while in Sweden self containment, to a greater degree, is associated with lessening of the risk of being "ashamed" or embarrassed.

In Swedish culture, in addition to "shame", there is also "guilt" which leads to a strong need for forgiveness., since being forgiven is a way of getting rid of guilt.

Mutual adaptation is a third type of conflict handling which is popular both in Sweden and Malaysia. Both languages have many terms associated with arranging meetings in order to reach agreement but since there are slightly more terms in Swedish, this type of conflict handling may be slightly more common in Sweden.

Turning to reconciliation and conflict resolution, one may first note that there are more relevant terms in Swedish than Malay and that these terms seem to be more associated with emotional needs in Swedish than Malay. One interesting aspect of this is that whereas admission of guilt in Swedish culture gives a type of relief, in Malay culture one bears a mental burden after admission of wrongdoing. In any case, in both cultures there is a notion of forgiveness but this notion is more sensitive to status differences in Malay culture than in Swedish culture.

Further, both cultures have notions for the creation of social obligations which can prevent conflicts from arising. A difference is the great value given in Swedish society to the expression of gratitude.

Finally, we note that in both Swedish and Malay there is a whole set of notions concerned with consensus and agreement linguistically expressed through derivation of words containing the root one (Malay *se* and Swedish *en*).

Acknowledgement

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