I N D O N E S I A N :

Problems of Development and Use of a National Language

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by

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A B S T R A C T

In this thesis we deal with the problems involved in the a-
doption of Malay as the language of national unity in Indonesia
and its later development and use as the official state language
of the Republic. In order to tackle the issues in a socio-linguistic
perspective, we also undertake a brief survey of the study of
language in general with a special emphasis on discussions of the
problems of language in society.

Indonesian is not the mother tongue of the great majority of
the population. As a matter of fact, the number of those who speak
it as their native language is very small. However, the nationalist
elite groups took drastic and revolutionary action to impose it on
the entire Indonesian people.

Although Malay had been in use as a lingua franca, especially
in nationalist circles, it was the Japanese Military Government
during the occupation period that decreed its wider employment
and functions as a medium of official communication. Since Inde-
pendence the language has been used as a medium of instruction
not only in schools but also at the universities.

The adoption of Indonesian as the sole official state language
is characterised by apparent absence of linguistic conflicts, but
language planners have been confronted with great problems.

The relationship between Indonesian and the many regional
languages has been clearly defined by government regulations.
However, problems relating to this official arrangement are compli-
cated and have not yet been solved. We have discussed here some
aspects of the interaction of language, politics, religion, and
ethnic affiliations. A great number of extra-linguistic factors
have been instrumental in transforming linguistic situations in
the archipelago. The historic adoption of Malay as the language
of unity has had far-reaching implications.

وَمِنْ اٰيٰتِهٖ خَلْقُ السَّمٰوٰتِ
وَالْاَرْضِ وَاخْتِلَافُ اَلْسِنَتِكُمْ وَاَلْوَانِكُمْ
اِنَّ فِيْ ذٰلِكَ لَاٰيٰتٍ لِّلْعٰلِمِيْنَ
الرُّوم ٢٢

Of His Signs is the creation of the heavens and the earth, and the
diversity of your tongues and colours. In that surely are Signs
for those who possess knowledge. Al Rum, 22.

C O N T E N T S

INTRODUCTION

Indonesian or Bahasa Indonesia as it is called in Indonesian is the official language of the Republic of Indonesia, a country with a multilingual population numbering over 125 million people. It is a language based on and developed from Malay, and the present-day Indonesian still resembles modern Malay, the national language of Malaysia. Indonesian-Malay is one of the most important modern languages in the countries of Southeast Asia and perhaps the most westernised. Since 1973 the language has been written in an agreed, common reformed spelling in both Indonesia and Malaysia so that, apart from the problems of terminology, readers in either country should have no difficulty in reading published materials in both countries.

Indonesian is not the mother tongue of the great majority of the Indonesian people, who normally speak regional languages in their everyday life. Many Indonesians do not use or do not have the opportunity of using Indonesian as it is mainly a language of special communication. "Even today there are only 30 million speakers of Bahasa Indonesia, of whom perhaps not more than 3-4 million speak it as their mother tongue. In view of the presence of Javanese, which is spoken by some sixty million people, it is in a sense surprising that Bahasa Indonesia was chosen as the language of unity." [1]

Javanese is a highly developed and sophisticated medium with a highly developed and well-preserved literature and the Javanese have an enormous influence in the socio-cultural as well political life of Indonesia. If they insisted on the official acceptance of their undisputed superior language throughout the country, they

would undoubtedly be in a strong position to do so. But they do not and this has been explained in passing by some as having to do with the fact that Javanese is a language which emphasizes class distinction or that Indonesian is a politically neutral medium or that it is not the language of the majority group. Wilfred T. Neil speaks of the complexity of Javanese and this "complexity and extreme emphasis on class distinction led to its rejection as the official language of modern Indonesia." [2] Joseph Fischer suggests that the "adoption of Bahasa Indonesia as the first language of the new state met no resistance largely because the language so established was not the language of the majority ethnic group — the Javanese." [3] However, Malay had been the language of the nationalist movement and the new state was created by the nationalist leaders.

The fact that the Javanese do not seek to impose their language to be the national medium testifies to their linguistic tolerance on the one hand and to the preponderant prestige of Malay in the eyes of the Indonesian elite group on the other as well as to the extreme complexity of the relationships between language and other social institutions. That Javanese is a very complicated system of code is of course well-known to many, but any living language can be subject to language planning activities if their speakers want to introduce systematic changes into it.

The adoption of Bahasa Indonesia as the official language of the Republic in the first twenty years of Indepencence as well as afterwards poses enormous problems of socio-linguistic significance

as well as those of purely linguistic interests. Serious attempts
to account for this phenomenon of using Bahasa Indonesia as the
official language in the life of the Indonesian people have not been
undertaken except by one or two scholars. That is to say to explain,
to establish some relation of dependence between the superficially
unrelated sociolinguistic phenomena, to exhibit connections between
the apparäntlay miscellaneous items of information in regard to
the employment of Bahasa Indonesia particularly by the Indonesian
elites in their capacities as educators, politicians, administrators,
etc. as well as in their daily life. Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana, a
wellknown promotor of the national language, commented on this
aspect of Bahasa Indonesia thus : "Because it is a language which
has undergone great changes in a very short time it has ceased to be
the expression of a traditional culture and become the instrument of
a new way of life, the Indonesian language is a fascinating subject
for study, and may eventually tell a great deal about the foundation
of different intellectual and cultural structures. It is a great
pity only a few people till now have had the enterprise to explore
this field."[4] An Indonesian with sufficient linguistic training back-
ground who is personally involved in the problems faced by Bahasa
Indonesia which has been instrumental in his educational development,
should make an attempt to account for the phenomenon as he objective-
ly sees it. "There is more to language than social concerns, but
man's involvement with personal and local identity, with the issues
of national politics, with the whole complex web of society, bites
deep into language and at the same time conditions in large measures

the extent to which one is personally conscious of language at all.[5]

The adoption of Malay as the language of unity by the Indonesian nationalist movement was not done without regard to the historical development of the language. Long before the arrival of the earliest European travellers in the archipelago there was evidence that Malay had been in use over a fairly large area of the present-day Indonesia and Malaysia. It was an important language of trade used by merchants carrying out their business in the main ports of the Indies. Islamic traders, who combined trade with religious propagation, made use of Malay in dealing with the native rulers and inhabitants. According to Alisjahbana, "there was even evidence that the use of the Malay language was not only limited to South East Asia but even to the Centre of Commerce in India and South China."[6]

When the Portuguese sailors arrived in the Indies, they found that Malay had spread as far as Tidore in the Moluccas and the Dutch navigator Jan Huygen van Linschoten, who came to the archipelago some sixty years later, spoke of low Malay as the language of the Orient.[7] The Europeans — the Portuguese, the British, and particularly the Dutch — who finally settled down in the Indies helped the spread of the lingua franca in a significant way.

The development of Indonesian during the first twenty years of Independence was rapid, revolutionary and highly experimentative. However, the elites, especially the politicians who were responsible for this development, tended to cultivate the language and employ it in a way in which political expedience and interests were paramount and linguistic clarity and economy were of secondary importance.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Politicians of various persuasions as well as religious leaders talked and wrote in Indonesian in order to propagate their ideas by appealing mostly to the sentiments of the semi-illiterate and lite-rate people, by pandering to public opinion, and employed language, creating phraseology, terminology, acronyms, etc. suitable for that purpose. Now this type of using and manipulating language has its risks not only for the political climate and social harmony in the country but also for the healthy development of the language. Even such a well-established language as German for example suffered in this respect in the hands of the ruthless, irresponsible politicians during the Nazi period. Siegfrid Bork, a German scholar who under-took the study of the condition of language in Nazi Germany wrote: "Die Mobilisierung unreflektierter innerer Regungen und der Appel an die unmittelbare, unkontrolierte Eingebung musz daher — mit Misztrauen beobachtet werden. Denn die Anwendung dieser sprachlichen Möglichkeiten wirft den Menschen auf eine primitive Stufe zurück und verhindert seine geistige Höherentwickelung." [8] The Indonesian political leaders should not of course be compared to the Nazi bosses and propaganda makers. However, a significant number of them did employ a kind of Indonesian characteristic of totalitarian political leaders and among them should be included the late Pre-sident Sukarno, who was at one stage greatly concerned with the accumulation of poltical power. [9]

Writing before Indonesia gained its Independence, the Dutch scho-lar M.G. Emeis commented on the condition of Malay to the effect that it "is not a language of the people (volkstaal) and never will become one. It is an acquired language, the product of

study and practice." [10] The spoken Malay was then said to be no more than a suitable vehicle for official gatherings, speeches and so on. After Independence this Dutch scholar's pronouncement, although it may still contain a certain amount of truth, is no longer a valid judgment about the condition and state of Bahasa Indonesia. Now a person who has a good command of Bahasa Indonesia is in a position to express himself in the language with a high degree of accuracy and subtlety. Anthony H. Johns, an Australian scholar, wrote: "The area of thought, experience, and expression that present-day Bahasa Indonesia can serve to communicate with subtlety, grace, and exactness—— not to mention pungency if required—— is remarkable. It is adequate for the expression of Christian, Moslem, and Hindu beliefs, and the needs of administration, scholarship, law, and commerce."[11] Another scholar, M.J. Murphy observed : "Speakers of Bahasa Indonesia are proud of their language and they have a right to be for it is strong, vigorous, versatile and adventurous and has proved its worth as the national language of a nation of over one hundred million people." [12] "Modern Indonesian.....is everywhere in Indonesia a most satisfactory medium of scientific approach. So that in fact it is nowadays unthinkable that a foreign researcher in the field of Indonesian cultures and languages should not be acquainted with Indonesian." [13]

A variety of complicated factors have been instrumental in bringing about great changes in Bahasa Indonesia and its use and function during the Independence period. Concerning its adoption as the national language, Ben Anderson has observed a certain kind of attitude among some groups of Indonesians, particularly the Javanese.

He wrote : "It has often been said (mainly by the Javanese of a later day) that the adoption of Indonesian as the national language was a magnanimous concession on the part of the Javanese near majority.[14] This study, however, will not attempt to account for all the complicated factors in regard to the growth and development of Bahasa Indonesia because that would be too ambitious a project for a student like the author. Nevertheless, efforts will be made to explain some of them and to study the interaction between the use and development of Bahasa Indonesia, particularly since the time of the Japanese invasion until the end of Sukarno's period of "Guided Democracy," and the socio-religious political settings in which this use and development was taking place. The impact of Bahasa Indonesia on some regional languages and the mutual influence between the two (limited mainly to Minangkabau and Sundanese) will also be touched upon.

Some pertinent speeches and writings of Indonesian political elites and others will be looked into and analysed with special reference to their socio-religious and intellectual significance as well as their general influence on the vocabulary and grammatical patterns of Bahasa Indonesia. As to the method to be employed, besides relying on the empirical study of the printed materials, the participant-observer technique will also be resorted to.[15] Because of the nature of the aspects of the language investigated, an absolutely detached analysis cannot be attempted here, although, needless to say, strict objectivity will be maintained throughout this study. A Vietnamese scholar who undertook to study his own

language commented on the so-called absolutely scientific method

of language study that some writers have used as follows: "Sous

couleur d'objectivité et même de scientisme, certaines persones

ont écrit que l'étude de la langue consiste d'une part à décrire les

faits plutôt qu'à prescrire des règles, et d'une part, à savoir

le comment et non le pourquoi de la langue. Nous ne partageons pas

ce point de vue." [16] His attitude is justifiable and is also adopted

in this study.

Indonesia is a developing society and the national language

a developing language. Although the use of Indonesian is mainly an

urban phenomenon, many elites who were involved in the struggle for

Independence had originated from the villages or had rural background

and this had an effect on their use of Indonesian. In order to un-

derstand social phenomena in a developing country like Indonesia

of which the employment of the national language is one, a monoli-

thic approach in one limited field of study would probably less

fruitful. Siegfrid Pausewang warns research workers dealing with

problems encountered in developing societies not to create an arti-

ficial separation of their fields of study. "Interdisciplinary coope-

ration and multidisciplinary approaches are indeed one precondition

in the study of developing societies. In the rapid change that is

expected to take place in these countries, anthropological and eco-

nomic, political and geographic, historical and social factors are

so losely interwoven that an artificial separation must seriously

hamper any adequate understanding." [17] Consequently in this study

several approaches will be used to discuss our main topic.

My desire to write about the development of Indonesian and
to describe that development in terms drawn from the study of the
relationship between language and society has been prompted by the
special circumstances in which I have found myself. Being myself
an Indonesian — and also a Minangkabau (the significance of this
will become clear later in this study) — I have lived through a
large part of the period to be discussed and have thus been per-
sonally involved both as an actor and witness in the process of the
development. At another level I have been professionally involved
for a number of years, first as a student and then as a lecturer
in the study of language and linguistics. From this personal and pro-
fessional concern certain insights into the nature of the develop-
ment of Indonesian have arisen, but also an awareness of problems:
questions of analysis and description, as well as more straight-
forward problems requiring urgent solution. My interest in these prob-
lematic areas has been one of the factors which stimulated me to un-
dertake this study.

The other principal stimulus has been one which is familiar to
many of my fellow-students in other developing countries, where the
role of language plays a much more vital and significant part in
contemporary socio-political development than it does in most deve-
loped countries, where critical issues and problems of standardi-
zation, legitimacy, and uniformity have, for the most part, been
solved. In a country such as Indonesia with its wide diversity of

ethno-linguistic groups and the pressing problems involved in shaping and strengthening a language to fulfil the various functions of a modern medium of communication there is much for a student of language to observe and ponder. This observation of a stream of never-ending problems relating to society and language leads a student of language with a personal involvement in what is happening in his society to ask himself how he can best pursue his studies in order to contribute to a more profound understanding of the problems rather than be simply aware of them at a superficial level.

My initial interest in correlations between language and society in general, and secondly a desire to contribute in my own professional field to a systematic study of particular problematic areas, leading hopefully, to the practical application of potential solutions, have provided the impetus for this research.

I considered it my first task to immerse myself in the field of linguistics in general, in order to sift from the discipline those insights which could most assist me in my purpose. This process of immersion has lasted several years during which I have attempted to explore the various branches of language studies with as detached an eye as possible and always bearing in mind the original purpose.

As far as the subject matter of this thesis is concerned, it should be stressed that certain aspects of linguistics have been selected solely so as to provide a context into which my observations and conclusions about the development and use of Indonesian can be

put. Therefore, it is not my purpose to discuss the field in greater

detail, because it is only peripheral to much of this study. However,

for the benefit of those readers who are not familiar with contempo-

rary linguistic thought, I have prepared a brief survey which is

attached to this work as a Special Appendix. Bearing this in mind,

I intend to confine myself in this introduction to a few brief re-

marks about the discipline simply as a preliminary to what follows.

Linguistics is of course the scientific study of language. It

is an academic discipline which has been generally classified as

part of the behavioural or human sciences rather than the humanities.

As a scientific pursuit, it is basically concerned with discovering

and establishing general laws and principles with regard to

linguistic phenomena. This has been particularly the case since

Ferdinand de Saussure, an important founder of modern linguistics,

put forward his ideas about language and successfully established

his linguistic theory. Linguists have made much progress in deve-

loping and improving the methods and techniques in the study of

language since de Saussure's time. Many linguists have tended to

concentrate their investigation on the synchronic aspect of language,

the state of a language at a particular period of its history. Thinking

of himself as engaged in a scientific pursuit, a linguist makes use

of both inductive and deductive methods in his research. Some, such

as Bloomfield, Harris and their followers insist on applying largely

inductive approaches and are hostile to other less empirical methods

which they regard as unscientific or mentalistic. Others are less empirical, although they also insist on rigour and consistency. The well-known scholar Noam Chomsky for example regards empirical approaches as unsuitable and claims that a mentalistic method is better able to get to grips with what he sees as linguistic phenomena.

Although linguistic theories claim to be scientific, their explanatory power is of course less precise and useful than that of natural sciences and mathematics. In fact it has been argued by a noted scholar recently that "linguistic theory, apart from its traditional classificatory and comparative concern, just will not fit into any acceptable form for being scientific. " [18]

Linguists have explored, raised, and analysed issues relating to linguistic phenomena, but many, at least until quite recently, have tended to study language as if it existed apart from society. This is particularly true of American linguists but less so of European scholars. Nevertheless, even among European scholars preoccupation with the internal laws and principle of language viewed as an autonomous entity tended to dominate the field, although this did not apply to British linguists.

This manner of studying language is hardly relevant to this thesis because our concern is precisely with the interrelation between a language and the society in which it is used, and is not limited to the static aspect of language but extends also to its

dynamic aspect and its growth.

There are of course linguists — men such as Humboldt, Sapir and Whorf — who have something important to say in general terms about the relationship between language and society, and although such statements as they have made are by no means to be ignored, they are of such a general and imprecise nature that it is difficult to regard them as validated scientific truths according to the rigorous scientific premisses of modern linguistic theory. They should be treated rather as considered opinions, hypotheses. For our purpose, however, despite their lack of rigorous scientific formulation, such opinions and ideas will merit our consideration provided they fulfil the kind of requirements which one normally expects of academic discussion. It is, after all, this kind of statement which we meet in literary studies, historical analyses or other studies which involve value judgement: judiciously considered opinion rather than scientific statement and proof.

It is perhaps largely dissatisfaction with the results of linguistic studies employing a structural approach which has led a number of scholars to recall for us the linguistic ideas of Wilhelm von Humboldt. Humboldt's ideas on language and culture look attractive to us, because we can immediately perceive that they deal with matters of direct relevance. His view on language was also a major formative influence on ideas about the relationship of language to nationhood at a time when Germany also was struggling for political unity. Humboldt was the first Western scholar who undertook a scienti-

fic study of the Kawi language of Java. Humboldt is a great scholar who does not hesitate to pass judgment on fundamental issues. He regards each language as a human experiment, an idea which has immediate bearing on the subject of this thesis, because the launching of Indonesian was in many ways a palpable linguistic experiment. Humboldt's ideas on the whole look modern although they are of course not expressed in modern linguistic terminology.

Although couched in the academic style of a nineteenth century scholar, Humboldt's linguistic ideas largely coincide with what may be the popular view of language. He believes that there are superior languages and cultures as well as inferior ones, thus taking his stand against cultural relativism. He certainly regards German philosophy and Western thought in general and the languages in which this is originally expressed as the highest in the world, and this, he claims, is due to the "innate intellectual power" of the Europeans. The Hegelian influence in his thought is unmistakable.

According to von Humboldt each people is endowed with what he calls a specific innate intellectual power. He does not categorically maintain that language is always closely tied with culture because there is the possibility of cultural borrowing, but does imply that as a rule it is. Common sense too suggests to us that our language is the mirror and instrument of our thought; we have language first because we have thought and ideas to express. In his view speakers of a particular language are in a position to develop and refine their language as a communication medium by first of all

developing and improving their minds. This they can do to some extent by trying as much as possible to express concepts and ideas which have been carefully thought out. One thing of course they cannot do much about, that is change their "innate intellectual power". The Sundanese as a people for example are powerless to change their "innate intellectual power."

For a student who is not from a Western cultural tradition and who is thus not entirely ready to share Humboldt's view and assumption of the primacy of Western culture, thought and values, Humboldt's opinion is naturally-thought provoking, but it is also a challenge despite the fact that most modern scholars, of whatever cultural background, find the ethno-centrism of Humboldt's ideas unacceptable. By what criteria does one judge whether languages and cultures are superior or inferior, perfect or defective? Can one use such assertive terms without falling prey to the naturalistic fallacy? Furthermore some would argue that, whether one defines superiority or inferiority in terms of aesthetic, intellectual or moral canons, Eastern cultures are clearly superior to those deriving from the Graeco-Judaic traditions.

Although Humboldt believes in the evolutionary development of human culture and languages, he asserts that people possessing inferior languages will be hindered in their development. He wrote : "Une nation peut bien faire d'une langue imparfaite l'instrument qui sert à produire des idées pour lesquelles elle était dépourvue

de l'impulsion initiale, elle ne peut abolir les limitations in-
ternes qui sont inscrites au plus profond de cette langue même." [19]
This is a serious warning for those nationalist leaders who want
to develop their native languages and at least merits their consi-
deration.

According to Humboldt's assumption, any language of Indonesia
is undoubtedly inferior to a Western language, and no matter how
hard the Indonesians try to develop it they will be hampered by its
inherent limitations and defects, an opinion which, if true, would
bode ill for the potential development of Indonesian as a medium
for the communication of modern ideas. The phrase "innate intellect-
ual power" could also be disturbing — if one accepted the assumption
behind it. Are the Minangkabau or the Javanese for instance endowed
with sufficient innate intellectual power? If they were not, they
would not, in Humboldt's view, be able to improve their level of
intellectual development satisfactorily and by implication they
would for ever remain a second or third class people. That is why
Humboldt's view is also a challenge to the Indonesian people.

On the relationship between language and thought, Humboldt then
asserts that thought is prior to language. In other words, he be-
lieves that we have pre-established ideas, a view which neither de
Saussure nor a number of modern scholars share. However, the popular
and common sense view of the matter tends to agree with Humboldt.

A slightly different but closely related issue is what influence
our native language has on our thought, behaviour and personality.

The American scholar Edward Sapir wrote : "Human beings do not
live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social
activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the mercy
of the particular language which has become the medium of expression
for their society." [20] Emile Benveniste more or less shares this
view and so does the philosopher Ernst Cassirer, while not express-
ing his opinion in such strong terms. Benjamin Lee Whorf takes an
even more extreme view about the relationship between language, culture,
and thought in general. According to him our native language is
crucial in shaping and determining our ideas and Weltanschauung.
He believes in total linguistic relativity, a principle which still
finds a few adherents. He wrote : "We dissect nature along the
lines laid down by our native language. The categories and types
that we isolate from the world of phenomena we do not find there
because they stare every observer in the face ; on the contrary,
the world is presented in a kaleidoscopic flux of impressions which
has to be organized by our minds — and this means largely by the
linguistic systems in our minds." [21] He supplied no sociological
evidence for his assertion with regard to human groups in modern
society, but recently this has been attempted by Bernstein. I do not
suggest that Bernstein owed his ideas in any way to the Sapir-Whorf
hypothesis but his assumption that language is largely responsible
for the disadvantaged position of the lower classes in British so-
ciety agrees basically with the theme of the hypothesis. A German
scholar, Norbet Dittmar, has argued against Bernstein's theory which

he calls the Deficit Hypothesis. [22]

It is undeniable that our native language greatly influences
our manner of expressing our thought but it is open to doubt whether
it is crucial or even of prime significance. In this thesis for
example I assume that the fact that I speak Minangkabau and Malay
does have some influence on how I look at the position of Indone-
sian — however objective I may try to be. However, as far as cog-
nitive thought and knowledge is concerned, one's language acts most-
ly as an instrument rather than a shaper. Our Weltanschauung has
not much to do with our native language, and our considered opinion
of an issue having socio-political significance is not shaped by
our mother tongue. Hence I feel I am able to write dispassionately
on the subject of this dissertation, despite my personal involvement.
My primordial linguistic background and upbringing are therefore of
significance but they are by no means crucial in this matter.

Passing judgement on issues relating to language in general,
laymen often make fundamental mistakes without realizing it. It is
largely to avoid elementary conceptual errors that anyone who has
any concern with linguistic issues or language teaching, even though
he may not be a professional linguist, should study linguistics in
some depth. A realization of the importance of a number of funda-
mental ideas which have arisen from modern linguistic studies with
regard to Indonesian prompted me to embark on this thesis, although
perhaps underlying many of the emphases in the following discussion
there is also a wistful regret that the linguists who followed

Humboldt in his preoccupation with the correlations between language, culture and society have been relatively few.

Of more direct relevance to this study is the newly established discipline of language investigation called sociolinguistics. Sociolinguistics deals with any problem traceable to or having connection with issues of language use among members of a particular society. This at least is what is understood by sociolinguistics in this thesis, in which use is made of some of the insights which researches of others working in the field have brought out. Since, therefore, a more detailed discussion of sociolinguistics appears to be pertinent in the context of the intellectual assumptions of this study, although not apparently directly related to the content of this thesis, I have thought it advisable to set out my ideas in the brief survey of linguistic studies included in the Special Appendix mentioned earlier.

The domain of sociolinguistics is one over which there has been some wrangling between social scientists and linguists. For the purposes of this thesis the social scientists' approach has not proved to be very fruitful, and the thesis leans rather to the kind of description and analysis more peculiar to Indonesian nationalist-inspired scholars such as Alisjahbana and Armijn Pane, although it is hoped that both groups will also be able to read the thesis with profit. J.A. Fishman who has significantly contributed to the development of sociolinguistics as an academic discipline makes a distinction between sociolinguistics and sociology of language. In this

thesis we pay more attention to the discussion of those issues
which Fishman would perhaps rather regard as the subject matter of
the sociology of language. However, we also discuss some problems
relating to language variety and plurilingualism which obtain in
many Indonesian communities.

There are certainly some aspects of language problems in Indo-
nesia which relate specifically to the peculiar nature of the
national language, but by no means all these problems are unique.
A good number of other developing countries face similar problems,
and hence this thesis occasionally refers to the sociolinguistic
problems of other countries. Ultimately, however, whatever the me-
rit of the prescriptive measures which comparative studies may
suggest, these problems are socio-political as well as being simply
linguistic and can be solved by each country in its own way. This
is certainly the case in Indonesia.

Within Indonesia, the position of Indonesian as a national
language is supreme with regard to other indigenous languages.
Language loyalty, in the sense that Uriel Weinreich uses the term,
in the Indonesian context largely means loyalty to the whole nation.
The national language is widely regarded as crucial to the unity
of the Republic, —— a situation very different from that which
obtains in many other countries, for instance in India, according
to Das Gupta and Paul R. Brass.

Mention of India, does, however, put us in mind of the problem
of establishing a national language in a situation of so many local

languages competing for the linguistic loyalties of the population. Indonesian is only one —— albeit the most important —— among many of the languages spoken in Indonesia, and yet the question of its primacy seems not to evoke, or to have evoked, the same bitter reactions as the national language issues in India. This therefore is perhaps the principal question to be asked in any diachronic study of the development of modern Indonesian : How is it that, in such a relatively short space of time, one of the languages of the Archipelago could obtain such a preeminence over the other languages, some of which, such as Javanese for example had very strong rival claims to being adopted as the language of the nation? It is that question which this thesis sets out to discuss but the scope of a satisfactory answer is so broad that of necessity the thesis has to range over a number of subjects which at first sight appear only distantly related to the main topic of the thesis. They are, in fact, central to it, if we wish to obtain the correct perspective on the question posed. Thus we shall find in this thesis some discussion of the problems of dialects, language learning —— itself involving discussion of topics such as language interference and diglossia —— the socio-political ramifications of the choice of Indonesian as the national language of unity and other related subjects.

All these topics which come up for discussion arise in the course of what is a diachronic study which attempts to trace the

development of Indonesian as a language of national unity from its

origin up till the present day. Discussing the origin of its a-

doption as the national medium entails some preliminary analysis

of the linguistic community which by common agreement was largely

responsible for the development of Indonesian in the second quarter

of the century as an accepted medium for official communication:

the Minangkabau. It was from this community that most of the writers

who shaped the original literary form of Indonesian came. And here

we are immediately faced with a problem. Why was it this community

rather than any other which gave birth to the literary elite? This

problem has never been satisfactorily answered in the context of

the ideas of nationalist-inspired linguistic studies.

From the point of view of Minangkabau speech, it is in the

close linguistic relationship between Minangkabau and Indonesian

that we must search for part of our answer as much as in extraneous

circumstances. The first chapter therefore seeks to define this

relationship as closely as possible. My study of Minangkabau has

involved me in linguistic studies not only of the community in its

homeland, but also of Minangkabau speakers in emigre communities

in Java and elswhere. It is the fruit of these particular studies

and their applications to the analysis of the development of Indo-

nesian which is the subject matter of the first chapter of this

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nesian language is alien to Javanese. Both in its refined, elevated,
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ngoko, Javanese is a remarkably rich medium, beautifully molded to
express either the civilized pomp of the aristocrat or the earthy
resilience of the peasant. Bahasa Indonesia is a language, peculiar-
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CHAPTER ONE

MINANGKABAU BACKGROUND OF THE MAIN PIONEERS
OF MODERN MALAY IN INDONESIA

1. The Minangkabau Negari Community

The Introduction of western type education in Indonesia, parti-
cularly in Sumatra, by the Dutch colonial government was the most
important factor which made the creation of modern standard Malay
in Indonesia possible. The government's publishing house Balai Pustaka
was instrumental in making books written in indigenous languages such
as Javanese, Sundanese and Malay available for the small newly-emerging
reading public. The native school teachers and authors who contributed
significantly to the emergence of the standardized Malay language in
which most of the books were written were derived mainly from the
Minangkabau ethnic group.[1] Minangkabau is a variety of Malay and
modern Malay that these school teachers and authors helped to create
has been known as of Balai Pustaka Malay, the basis of the future
Bahasa Indonesia. It has been said that Minangkabau is a dialect of
Malay. However, it can also be argued that the so-called Balai Pustaka
Malay is just a variety of Minangkabau, a newly created variety.
I am inclined to subscribe to the latter view.

In order to obtain a complete understanding of how this new type
of language came into gradual existence, a detailed analysis of all
the linguistic as well as extra-linguistic factors involved in the
process will have to be undertaken, a full-fledged study in itself.
However, a discussion of background, especially rural linguistic
background, of Minangkabau school teachers and writers even on a
limited scale will shed some light to some of the problems involved,

because the speech of the Minangkabau people who are born and brought
up in their own socio-cultural environments is much influenced by
the way in which language is used and cultivated in the Western Su-
matran village communities, the Negari communities.

I come from West Sumatra and I think the Minangkabau as a people
are no better or worse than any other ethnic group in Indonesia but
let us hear what others have said about their image. According to
an American scholar, Elizabeth Graves, " the Minangkabau people are
acutely conscious of themselves as a distinct, and in their considered
opinions, highly superior ethnic group. The intrusion by the modern
world has not shaken this self-confidence nor basically altered their
fundamental assumtions about themselves as a people or their worth
as individuals. " [2] " Die Minangkabau sind einer der stolzesten und
angesehensten Volkstammen Indonesiens," wrote Erwin Schumacher, a
German writer.[3] It is to be expected that Dutch scholars should
know them better and according to some of them they are "obstinate,
stubborn, arrogant, vain, suspicious, meddlesome, and very frank and
free in their actions and speech." [4] Some Minangkabau have said in
public that they are becoming more and more like the kabau , (stupid)
water buffaloes, and this is uttered in reference to the idea that
they as a people have been left behind by some other ethnic groups
in Indonesia in achieving progress, influence and modernity.

The Minangkabau preserve traditional sayings which relate in a
symbolical language that their ancestors came down to the highlands
of Western Sumatra from the top of Mount Merapi, a revered mountain

situated at the heartland of Minangkabau. According to a saying

there was a time when Mount Merapi was so small that it was no bigger

than a hen's egg and this might well be true when seen from a great

distance. Here is the saying:

> Semaso bumi bersentak naiek
> Semaso langik bersentak turun
> Gunueng Merapi segadang talue ayam

/ When the earth is rising
  When the sky is descending
  Mount Merapi is no bigger than an egg /

Here is another :

> Dari mano titiek palito
> Dari baliek telong nan barapi
> Dari mano asa niniek kito
> Dari pucak Gunueng Merapi /

/ Where does the candle drop
  Behind the lit lantern
  Where do our ancestors originate
  From the top of Mount Merapi /

Concerning the name of the historical figue, Adityawarman, the

Hindu King of Minangkabau, the sayings say very little. The following

is supposed to be an allusion to him but no one can be sure about it.

> / Datanglah anggang dari lauik
> Ditembak datuek nan betigo
> Badie sedatak tigo dantamnyo
> Jatuehlah talue anggang nantun
> Di rumah Datuek Suri Dirajo
> Di Pariangan Padangpanjang
> Berisi kudo sembarani
> Berpelano ameh sendirinyo

Menyalak anjieng lari ka hutan

Membebek kambieng lari ka koto /

/ A horn-bill came from the sea

Shot at by the Tree Datuk

One shot but three reports

The egg of the bird fell down

At Datuk Suridirajo's home

In Pariangan Padangpanjang

Containing a horse called Sembarani

Equipped with a gold saddle

Dogs barked and headed to the woods

Goats bleated and ran to the <u>koto</u> (village) /

Although the Minangkabau people are conscious of belonging to a culturally united ethnic group, their loyalty is not normally directly tied to the homeland as a whole, the so-called <u>Alam</u>, but to their <u>Negari</u> , the small, semi autonomous village community. Nowadays a great number of them are to be found in almost every town throughout Indonesia. These <u>perantau</u> (emigrating) Minangkabau usually establish their own cultural associations where~ver they live outside the home country. In big cities they establish the All Minangkabau Association through which they try to promote their cultural identity as a people in line with the Indonesian motto of Unity in Diversity. However, it is not this large association which is important for many emigrating Minangkabau but small associations created at the <u>negari</u> level. In big towns such as Jakarta, Surabaya, Medan, etc. we find many associations of this kind.[5] I know for instance of the Sulit Air Association, the Banuhampu Association, etc. (Sulit Air, Banuhampu, etc. are names of <u>negari</u>

found in Western Sumatra and members of these associations come from those villages or their parents were born there). Some of the associations are organized on the basis of the _laras_ , a collection of several _negari_ sharing the same _adat_ system or customary law, such as the Lintau Association, the Situjueh Association, etc.

A _negari_ is a semi autonomous village community with a population ranging from about a thousand to about six thousand and it is a concept which is important for any discussion of Minangkabau life, but for our purpose we do not need to discuss it in detail. Each negari community has its own adat system which is not necessarily the same as the adat system of the adjacent negari. This diversity in adat system is recognized and approved by the Minangkabau adat. An adat maxim acknowledges that " different pond, different fish, different fields, different grasshopper." or in the original: lain lubuek lain ikannyo, lain padang lain bilalangnyo.

A village or negari needs to possess a recognized _balairung_ (council hall), a mosque, a road, and a _tapian_ (bathing place) in order to qualify as a full-fledged unit. A village lacking in one of these requirements is either called a _dusun_ or a _koto_ or even a _teratak_ . Every negari normally comprises several _jorong_ , sub-negari unit, and sometimes a jorong may possess its own balairung and mosque, road and tapian. The head of a negari is called _wali_ negari and the head of a jorong wali jorong. A wali negari is normally elected from among the traditional _penghulu_ , suku chiefs, in the negari and in the past he used to enjoy great power over his subjects conferred to him by the Dutch authorities.

In order to give a clearer picture of what life was like in
a small community in a negari, Professor G.B. Milner suggests that
I should describe in brief the one that I knew best as a child.

The area of Situjueh is situated on the foot of Mount Sago,
eight kilometres to the south of a small town called Payakumbuh in
Western Sumatra. Situjueh comprises four negari sharing the same
adat system and it used to be a laras. It had a population of about
six thousand many of whom were officially illiterate, which means
that they could not read the Roman alphabet. Most of them, however,
were able to read Malay written in the Arabic script and some of
the illiterate people were Islamic scholars in their own right.
Nevertheless, Situjueh people were much more educationally backward
than many other villages in West Sumatra. Situjueh had three-year
course village schools with a total of about three hundred pupils.
But it also had a few madrasah , Islamic schools, of which one was
quite good; most Situjueh people had studied for some time at one
of these madrasah. In addition there were many surau at Situjueh
where boys and sometimes also girls learned the Qur'an at night and
adults studied the Kitab , the traditional Islamic textbooks. The
surau also functioned as sleeping quarters for boys and unmarried
men. Even married men sometimes slept at a surau when they did not
visit their wives.

Situjueh had a market held every Thursday where most people
bought daily necessities sold by traders from Payakumbuh. The villagers
generally did not trade, they tilled their sawah (ricefields) once

a year, and sold rice in order to obtain money to buy anything
they needed. On the whole Situjueh farmers were prosperous by Minang-
kabau standards. On the slopes of the mountain they grew tobacco
by hiring 'immigrants' to do the job. They also had cinamon trees
which sometimes provided them with enough money to enable them
to make a pilgrimage to Mecca.

In order to look more closely at the way in which people lived
at Situjueh, I will now take a small unit of a negari, units which
comprised Situjueh as a unified area. Each unit was an autonomous
entity with its local adat-chiefs, its mosque and balairung, the
village hall.

The village of Padang Kuning was one such unit. It had a popu-
lation of about three hundred, headed by twelve hereditary datuk
or penghulu, adat chiefs, who were of equal rank. The village had
no headman; any decision about the village affairs had to be agreed
upon by the twelve adat-chiefs. The adat-chief was elected by his
maternal kinsman and his appointment had to be approved by the other
eleven adat-chiefs. The datuk is a hereditary title as mentioned
above and the name is never changed. So Datuk Marajo for instance
remained Datuk Marajo for ever. Some families had not appointed
their penghulu for two or even three generations: their datuk was
said to be folded , but could be opened again. Someone who had been
designated a datuk might not be addressed by mentioning his origi-
nal name. Anyone guilty of calling a datuk by using the pronoun
kamu , you (or tu in French), was fined one buffalo. He had to hold
a feast and apologized in public to the datuk he had thus 'insulted'.

Padang Kuning was divided into several suku each of which was normally headed by a datuk but not necessarily so, some suku having more than one datuk. The suku at Padang Kuning were : Piliang, Caniago, Payobada, Pitopang, Melayu, Tanjung, Sipisang. There were two Piliang , two Caniago , and two Melayu . The term suku was a territorial as well as familial concept. When a certain family belonging to Suku Caniago, for instance, builds a new house at a new site, although still in the same village, they are not allowed to call their site Caniago. They are not even allowed to build their house in the traditional style. A new traditional house has to be built exactly where its predecessor stood.

A friend of mine has recently been appointed as head of one of the suku Melayu carrying the title of Datuk Panjang, succéding the old Datuk Panjang who has died. This new Datuk Panjang, whose given name is Bachtarudin, is a university graduate having a dggree in economics, and worked as a banker for several years in Holland. Although he now lives at Banda Aceh in Northern Sumatra, he needs to maintain contact with his negari community because he is a suku chief. This is an indication how seriously the Minangkabau take their adat even now no matter where he resides.

As said above, the twelve suku heads were of equal status in theory but in practice one of them was regarded as a little higher than the rest. Nevertheless, village affairs were decided on the basis of consultation, musyawarah ; any decision had to be unanimous. Sometimes in order to achieve a unanimous decision a non-consenting chief had to be talked out by the majority or even bribed in one way

or another.

Padang Kuning had a balairung, a village hall, a mosque, and two or three surau. The balairung was not much in use, meetings usually taking place at the mosque. Like most Minangkabau, Padang Kuning people were very religious in the Minangkabau sense. Religion and adat for them were mixed and mutually supporting. They were proud of their adat as well as their religion. In fact they were proud of their village and their way of life which they regarded at least a little better than that of other villages. This is of course also true for other villages at Situjueh.

Although Situjueh cannot perhaps be said to be a typical negari in Minangkabau, for one thing because so few of the people there who had gone to other parts in order to make a living or seek knowledge, nevertheless it had all the essential characteristics of a negari community particularly in regard to its social settings in which the cultivation of language took place. Although it was a small community its members such as the Padang Kuning people were sensitized from childhood to the existence of several varieties of speech which were to be used for different purposes of communication. As a student of language and linguistics, and being bilingual, I feel I am in a good position to shed some light on matters relating to some aspect of bilingualism and to the rural linguistic background of the Minangkabau school teachers and authors who shaped the so-called Balai Pustaka Malay, and who subsequently fought a losing battle to maintain its purity when Indonesia became an independent state and Indonesian underwent great changes in almost all its aspects.

2. Varieties of Speech and Language Use

In August 1973, a British scholar, C.W. Watson, a lecturer in modern Indonesian literature at the National University of Malaysia in Kuala Lumpur, visited Jakarta where he had an opportunity of having an interview with the well-known former editor of the Balai Pustaka, Nur Sutan Iskandar. During the interview he raised several questions, including some relating to the Minangkabau linguistic background of the veteran Indonesian writer. He discovered that Nur Sutan Iskandar was throughly exposed to literary and linguistic activities of his Minangkabau negari where he had spent his formative years and about which he showed a certain amount of pride.[6] And because he had had little formal education, we can assume that the strong foundation which his linguistic and literary ability was built had been shaped in the socio-cultural environment of his negari community. Nur Sutan Iskandar is one of the main contributors to the creation of the Balai Pustaka Malay and according to him good Malay is that which follows the style and criteria of the Minangkabau speech.[7] Other writers of Minangkabau origin used to tacitly share this view and a few said so openly.

The negari community highly values its members' skill in using correct and appropriate speech, putting great emphasis on moderation of tone and restraint in content. It is a community which relies very much on oral skill and like many other communities which are rich in oral literature the position of the "orator" in the community is very high. I knew an illiterate old man, Datuk Panjang

(senior), who enjoyed a great influence in the community affairs mainly on account of his great traditional oratorical skill. He was a consumate speaker by the local stylistic standards, and although he was somewhat negligent as regards his religious devotional practice (which was a liability in the community), he succeeded in establishing and maintaining his high prestige not only at the jorong level but also at the negari level. He had the reputation of being especially good at adat rules and maxims and excellent in defeating an opponent in a debate, and on account of this he was chosen to lead a small delegation from Situjueh to see the Dutch Resident (Governor) at the provincial capital of Padang to express dissatisfaction about the appointment of the negari head. According to the information that I obtained, the appointment of the negari head on one particular occasion was made without due regard to the correct procedure as prescribed by adat which had been approved by the government. However, because the appointed man was a suku chief favourable to the Dutch government, the authorities at Payakumbuh approved and confirmed the appointment and most people just kept quiet about it. Not Datuk Panjang and one or two others, however. They took immediate action. Datuk Panjang led a small delegation and went to see the Dutch Governor in Padang for consultation, bypassing the authorities at Payakumbuh. His mission was regarded by the Situjueh people as a great success because the appointment of the negari head was annulled and the Assistant Resident at Payakumbuh was believed to have been transferred to another area in connection with this affair. Datuk

Panjang used to relate to us children in the mosque on many occasions how he hard argued with the great white man concerning the the procedure that had been applied in the appointment of the negari headman. He emphasized that the Dutchman listened to reason and could be defeated in an argument as long as one argued with him in the correct way. According to him, the <u>Tuan Besar</u>, the Great Master, appreciated the respect that the Minangkabau showed to their adat and was sympathetic when he heard Datuk Panjang pronounce the adat saying : Belando berbenteng besi, Minangkabau berbenteng adat (The Dutch have fortresses made of iron, but the Minangkabau have their own fortresses consisting of the adat). This traditional saying is usually understood to mean that the Minangkabau do affirm their loyalty to the Dutch government but on the condition that the Dutch respect their adat institutions.

Compared with some other ethnic groups in the archipelago, such as the Balinese, for instance, the Minangkabau are less artistic, their artistic inclination having been tempered by their strictly Islamic orientation. However, they do attach great importance to the concept of beauty and they regard beauty as something closely tied with beauty in language use. An adat <u>pantun</u> (four line stanza) declares :

> Nan merah iyolah sago
> Nan kuriek iyolah kundi
> Nan indah iyolah baso
> Nan baiek iyolah budi

/ It is <u>sago</u> that is red
And <u>kundi</u> that is spotty
It is speech which is beautiful
And <u>budi</u> (moral quality) which is good /

From Datuk Panjang as well as from other adults we learned a lot about the fundamental importance of correct language use as a means to maintain a civilized community (masyarakat beradat).

In order to lead a respectable life in the negari community, a Minangkabau needs to obsrve adat rules and regulations. As a rule, he has been made aware from early childhood that he lives in a community governed by the adat where the existence of social conflicts is in the nature of things. A noted Minangkabau scholar, Taufik Abdullah, wrote : " In Minangkabau, the concept of conflict is not only recognized but is institutionalized within the social system itself. Conflict is seen dialectally, as essential to achieving the integration of the society." [8] A Minangkabu is expected to stand up and speak out his mind in a public discussion and it is there that he will demonstrate his linguistic ability and skill. To the western people there is of course nothing unusual about this habit, but not necessarily so to many Indonesians. In Java in general people are encouraged to maintain social harmony and smooth operation of social interaction and not to offer opinions which might give offence to others, particularly to those enjoyng higher social status or greater power or wealth. As the well-known Javanese scholar, Professor Koentjaraningrat, observes : " This system of co-ordinating meetings is probably derived from a corresponding element in Javanese social behaviour, in which public controversy must be avoided at all costs." [9] The ideal upbringing of a Minangkabau is that which should prepare him in later life as the man

with a basic philosophy of life dedicated to achieving what has been called "the harmony of contradiction." [10] Many Minangkabau sayings and adat maxims as well as proverbs are concerned with this philosophy of contradiction and the very shape of the Minangkabau _keris_ (traditional ceremonial dagger) is geared to this, being crooked in its straightness. A wise man is supposed to be always in case something from _below_ falls down and hits him on the head, or as the adat saying formulates it, among other things : Hati-hati nan di bawah kok mahimpok.

At the empirical level, however, one finds a lot of _pekaro_, civil cases, in a Minangkabau negari and this is usually in regard to property ownership and the like. Sometimes I have the impression that the Minangkabau people enjoy being involved in the pekaro, despite the fact that there is an adat saying which should discourage people from involving themselves in a pekaro: " Kalah jadi abu, menang jadi arang ", which approximately means that both sides are in the end the losers in a pekaro. Adat maxims also give strong warning to people about the danger involved in accusing others of a wrong doing : Kaki terlanjue inai padanyo, muluik terlanjue ameh padanyo (If you accuse people wrongly you will pay for it).

Many adat sayings and maxims are concerned with traditional legal matters and as to their forms they also seem to fit the pattern that Milner has called the Quartered Shield. [11]

The negari community as a rule does not respect people having physical prowess but not much brain and particularly those who tend to use it as a threat to defeat their opponents. As a matter of fact,

a village champion is often referred to as a person having his truth
stored in his arm and his brains in his toes (bebana ka pangka
langan, beutak ka ampu kaki). A person who defeats his opponent
in a debate or discussion because he shouts the loudest also belong
to this category of the lowly lot. One is not ashamed to admit defeat
when debating with this type of individual because one's defeat is
called "kalah dek sorak" (defeated by loud shouts).

For the Minangkabau the term kato, meaning literally word, is
crucial. There are four types of kato : First kato pusako , inhe-
rited word, a concept related to the true adat or law of nature
such as the fact that fire burns. The adat maxim which says "Nan
bungkuek dimakan sarueng " which approximately means every crime
deserves punishment, belongs to this category of kato pusako. (The
literal meaning of the saying is : the crooked blade will be eaten
by the scabbard). Second, kato mupakat, decision based on general
agreement or consensus and this is normally reached at after a
lengthy debate or discussion. Third, kato daulu batapati, that is
to say the fulfilment of the promise made, which is regarded as
essential by adat. However, concerning promise in general an adat
maxim declares and warns the Minangkabau that "Titian biaso lapuek
janji biaso mungkie " (the bridge is usually rotten, the promise
is often broken). This adat saying tends to lead many Minangkabau
to be sceptical about any promise and be prepared for the worse.
Forth, kato kudian kato becari , adjustment or new agreement that
has to be made in view of changing circusmstances, which leads
to flexible attitude as regards change is general.

The word kato often carries a legal implication in Minangkabau. An adat saying declares : Permulaan kato kesudahan hukum, permulaan hukum kesudahan kato (The beginning of word is the ultimate law, the beginning of law is the ultimate word). The relationship between adat and religion is expressed as follows : Syarak _mengato_ (from kato) adat memakai (Religion gives the word and adat applies it).

According to its users, kato can be classified into four different categories :

1. <u>Kato manti</u> (words of the government's official) : Kato manti kato belabieh (official's words are exaggerated).

2. <u>Kato dubalang</u> (words of soldiers or watchman) : Kato dubalang kato mendareh (soldiers's words are rude).

3. <u>Kato rang banyak</u> (words of the crowd) : Kato rang banyak kato begalau (words of the crow are confused).

4. <u>Kato penghulu</u> (words of the suku chief) : Kato penghulu kato nan sebana kato (suku chief's words are the true words)

The speech of a Minangkabau gentleman should be modelled on the speech of the penghulu, using only words which are true words. The glorification of the penghulu does not mean that the Minangkabau are inclined towards an authoritarian system of government or that they believe in an aristocratic system. Adat sayings indicate to the ideal of social equality. The term penghulu above refers to an ideal suku chief or the institution of penghulu system. Adat maxims emphasize the importance of truth reached in a consensus and no agreement should be made if it is felt to impinge upon propriety.

Kemenakan berajo ka mamak
Mamak berajo ka penghulu

Penghulu berajo ka mufakat

Mufakat berajo kepado alur dan patut

(The nephew should obey the uncle (maternal uncle)

The uncle should obey the penghulu

The penghulu should obey the consensus

The consensus is subject to truth and propriety)

Penghulu berdagieng taba

Kemenakan berpisau tajam

(The penghulu has strong skin

But the subjects have sharp knives)

A kato becomes a perfect kato when it is the result of a una-
nimous decision in a deliberation : Bulek kato dek mufakat.

The Minangkabau youth obtained his knowledge of the village
wisdom or the kato discipline first from his mother in the home and
then in the surau, in the mosque, in the lapau (coffeeshop), in the
gelanggang (arena for cockfigting) as well as in the madrasah or
Islamic school. The surau was one of the most important social insti-
tutions in the negari.[12] A Minangkabau boy from the age of nine or
ten was not to sleep in his mother's home, because strictly speaking
the home was not the place for boys or unmarried men. He was sent
to the surau to learn the Quran and the fundamentals of religion and
he was obliged to sleep there during the night.

The teaching of the fundamentals of religion was given in a
variety of speech which was slightly different from everyday speech.
It was a variety of Malay which was much influenced syntactically
as well as lexically by Arabic. Literal translation from Arabic
characterises this particular variety. Here are some examples of the

Bermulo bersuci hukumnyo wajib sebelum sumbayang (Ablution is compulsory before performing the prayer); Bermulo si Zaid datang hal keadaannyo berkudo (Zaid came on horseback). The word bermulo is an attempt to translate the concept of mubtada (subject) which is included in the name Zaid. Sesungguhnyo Allah pengampun lagi pengasih (Verily, God is forgiving and loving). The ritual interaction between pupil and teacher by means of this unusual form of language adds to the solemnity of the learning situation. The religious teacher was provided by the pupil's parent with a piece of cane and this was handed to him in the presence of the child. The teacher was requested to employ the cane when necessary to make his pupil learn his lesson properly. In teaching Arabic pronunciation the teacher often used the cane and this method normally achieved outstanding results. Pronunciation exercise is largely mecanical and ruthless drill seems to be the best method of dealing with it.

In order to make the child a bright boy, sometimes the teacher would write some verses from the Qur'an in a plate and then poured water into it and this water mixed with ink the child had to drink.

The employment by the teacher of the special variety of speech while teaching brought realization to the pupils that they were involved with a particular kind of learning which should personally and intimately concern them. Note for instance that they were told to employ the intimate form of the singular first pronoun aku for I when reciting their niyat (ritual intention) for example before doing their ablution or prayer: Singajo aku mengambil wudhu' perlu di ateh aku kareno Allah (I intend to perform ablution for

the sake of Allah).

Speeches given from the pulpit on religious subjects were normally also in that variety of language but interspersed with phrases from everyday speech. The Minangkabau are followers of a Wahabi inspired variety of Islamic faith but manifest a materialistic outlook in life and this is expressed in the saying : Hidup berakal mati beriman which means something like : Live an atheist and die a Catholic.

As part of the teaching of religion, boys and girls were encouraged to take part in a speeech training activity called the muhada - rah . This is normally done in the madrasah but takes place also in the surau and in the mosque. A boy or a girl is assigned to deliver a prepared speech on a religious subject (which can be anything) to an audience consisting of adults as well as children who come to listen to a pengajian (religious exhortation). The speech is again delivered in Malay, but in a variety normally regarded as that used in school for learning secular subjects. The audience of the pengajian normally expects that the speaker would use harsh words against them reminding them of their shameful negligence in devotional practices and their lack of charity.

This kind of speech training was very hard for those who were naturally shy but certainly useful as a linguistic exercise for future members of the community who wanted to become leaders or other professions which require oratory skill. A speech contest was often held in the negari community in which bright boys and girls were encouraged to participate.

The Minangkabau youth also learned the traditional art of speech making in the surau. Adults sleeping there often discussed all sorts of subject among themselves such as religion and adat and they did this in the dialect of the negari. However, they also practiced delivering the traditional ritual speech which was done in another variety, the archaic sort of the Minangkabau language. Children were encouraged to learn this kind of speech-making and normally a boy of twelve or thirteen had learned a good deal of it which included the persembahan , ritual speech, adat pantun and maxims as well as proverbs (pepatah-petitih). This kind of learning took place during the night after the lesson in religion and it also served as entertainment which was allowed in the surau context. As to the learning of the kaba , the traditional literature, and the randai stories, which formed the most important component of literary education among the Minangkabau, this did not take place in the surau, perhaps because it was regarded as being too profane. Many ulama , religious teachers, used to frown upon the content of those stories and on the whole they regarded literary activities as such as frivolous and tending to distract the minds of the people away from the path of God. As a matter of fact, the opening pantun which is normally sung to accompany the salueng (pipe musical instrument) is in the form of an apology because the singer is going to read the book of Satan.

Ritual speeches connected with the adat play an important role in the life of a negari community. Few people are good at delivering them. but almost everyone brought up in the community is enchanted

by them, perhaps due to the fact that he has been exposed to them since early childhood. Nancy Tanner discovered that ritual speeches were also used to settle disputes and quarrels and according to her " ritual speech is distinguished from everyday usage by its flowery expressions, profuse use of proverbs, and measured rythmic presentation. It is poetic and formal. It is not the speech of passion, but of inner control and outer harmony." [13] Ritual speech is the speech of the penghulu and is delivered on many occasions such as the feast held to install a new datuk or penghulu, a wedding, the opening of gelanggang, etc. When a wedding is held, two spokesmen are selected from each side of the families of the bride and the bridegroom to exchange ritual speeches for the occasion on behalf of their maternal kinsmen respectively. The spokesmen chosen should be those who are really good at their art and if one of them is less talented than the other he will get into trouble and the whole audience will also suffer because his opponent will continue to "attack" him and the speech game may last very long. For instance the first spokesman on behalf of the hosts and hostesses ask the guests to commence eating because the food is already served. The spokesman from the other side on behalf of the guests is expected to decline the offer by giving excuses and it is the job of the first spokeman to corner him so that he has no more excuses to offer. However, if he is not clever and tactful the other side will continue to refuse eating or postponing it. It has to be borne in mind that in a strictly adat festivity eating the food is not the real thing but the ceremony of offering

it to the guests. [14] As a matter of fact, some specially prepared "meat" which looks delicious is not at all edible because in reality it is not meat but pieces of meat-looking wood which last for ages.

The Minangkabau enjoy making speeches and listening to them. Zahara Daulay refers to ritual speeches given in the gelanggang (arena) where among other things turtledove fight is held as a kind of entertainment for the worldly adat chiefs. "Before and after the fight, a ceremony is held. This includes the giving of adat speeches by a master of ceremonies. It is said in these speeches that/turtledove fighting is only an external deed, while internally it is a moral exercise among the chiefs." [15] In most ritual speeches the Minangkabau never fail to glorify their adat system as the most civilized of human society where the dominating theme is human propriety and justice which is the manifestation of adat ideals approved and supported by religion.

/the

The variety of language used in the kaba (tale) and other stories is basically similar to that of the ritual speeches, but the way in which words are pronounced is more relaxed. The recitation and singing of the kaba is held in the home on the occasion of a feast or simply a gathering for kaba entertainment. The randai (outdoor performance) is held in the gelanggang which is usually situated some distance away from the mosque.

The variety of speech used for everyday communication is normally the dialect of the negari and Minangkabau has a great number of mu-

tually intelligible dialects. However, the difference between one
dialect and another which is in use in the adjacent negari ⟨   ⟩ can
be phonologically great as for instance the sound /s/ in the one
may correspond to the sound /tʃ/ in another. Because of this it is
generally easy for a Minangkabau to discover where another comes
from, although in most cases he does not use his negari dialect
when speaking with someone not of his own negari.

A variety of Minangkabau which can be called the urban colloquial
speech is the language that one uses with people from other negari
or towns. The urban colloquial speech is characterized by its terse-
ness and familiarity of style as well as its profuse use of force-
full idiomatic expressions. The Minangkabau people tend to move
about much and have plenty of opportunities to use the urban collo-
quial style of speech. This variety originated probably from the
speech of the people living around the slopes of the mountains of
Merapi and Singgalang and the Bukittinggi areas. The acceptance of
this speech as a kind of standard colloquial Minangkabau is an indi-
cator of the social mobility and commercial dominance of these people
throughout West Sumatra and beyond.

One characteristic feature of the speech of the Minangkabau is
that he often uses proverbs, adat sayings as well as maxims even in
his everyday speech, in the family as well as in the shop and market
place. When he speaks in Malay this manner of speaking is also used
and it is this which was instrumental, among other things, in
bringing about the so-called Balai Pustaka Malay.

Minangkabau boys and girls who studied in the government school which used Malay as its medium of instruction were taught in a variety of language referred to as Riau Malay. Riau Malay was then regarded as standard Language and it was the same variety as that which was also in use in Johor state in Malaya. However, Minangkabau pupils who had been taught this variety of Malay did not produce that particular variety when later on they began to write in Malay, and many of them did turn out to be authors and teachers. They wrote in Malay not in accordance with the style of classical Malay but rather follow Minangkabau speech styles as well as idiomatic expressions. [16] The only Malay rules that they strictly followed were mainly related to the pronunciation of words or rather the official spelling, particularly when the language was written in Roman alphabet. Here are the main rules observed by a Minangkabau writer when he wrote in Malay on the basis of his underlying mother tongue :

1. Most of Minangkabau words ending in /o/ correspond to words ending in /a/, for examples : mato -- mata, kudo -- kuda, etc.

2. The prefix /ba/, /bar/ and /ta/, /tar/ are spelled as /ber/ and / ter /, for examples : batigo -- bertiga, barmulo --bermula; tamakan -- termakan, tabali, tarbali -- terbeli, etc.

3. Minangkabau words ending in /ie/ correspond to words ending in /ir/ or /ar/, for examples : hilie -- hilir, bayie --bayar, etc.

4. Minangkabau words ending in /eh/ correspond to words ending in /as/ , for examples : paneh -- panas, baleh -- balas, etc.

5. Minangkabau words ending in /uik/ correspond to words ending

in /ut/ and words ending in /uih/ correspond tó those ending in /us/, for examples : takuik -- takut; haluih -- halus, etc.

6. Minangkabau words ending in /a/ correspond to either those ending in /al/ or those ending in /ar/: jua -- jual; pasa-- pasar, etc.

7. Minangkabau words ending in /ih/ correspond to words ending in /is/, for examples : manih -- manis, habih -- habis, etc.

8. Minangkabau words ending in /ieng/ and ue/ueng/ are changed into those ending in /ing/ and /ung/ respectively : kambieng -- kambing, hidueng -- hidung, etc.

9. Minangkabau words ending in /ue/ correspond to those ending in /ur/, for examples : tidue -- tidur, sayue -- sayur, etc.

10. Minangkabau words ending in /ek/ correspond to those ending in /at/, for examples : buek -- buat, kuek -- kuat, etc.

These are the main rules observed by a Minangkabau writer when writing in Malay. He will of course not use colloquial or slangy words which are felt to of too Minangkabau-flavoured such as cakc , (seceah iko), baiko, iko and ciek and use instead other words, viz. tadi (some time ago), nati (later on), ini (this) respectively, unless he wants to address himself specifically to Minangkabau readers and needs a dialectical flavour for special effect.

Although the rules that he needs to observe may seem somewhat complicated to a non-Minangkabau speaker, to an Indonesian coming from Western Sumatra those sound changes are not difficult to master and as a matter of fact they are felt to be in the nature of re-

fined language. Even an illiterate peasant is aware of the existence

of such rules and understands the variety of language manifested

in the Malay form. After all it should not be linguistically or

phonologically difficult to change the pronunciation of such words

as mato and kudo into mata and kuda, etc. However, psychologically

speaking, it is a difficult matter. From the point of view of an

ordinary speaker, the refined language is still a "foreign" language

and to change from Minangkabau to Malay has highly sociolinguistic

significance and we will discuss it in more detail when we talk

about the use of Indonesian by the Minangkabau.

When an ordinary Minangkabau makes an attempt to express him-

self orally in Malay, he sometimes tends to make certain types of

pronunication peculiarity or choice of words. If he uses the language

to impress others with his projected social status or official ca-

pacity, he needs to be extremely careful in regard to his choice of

words because if he for instance uses such words as caka or baika,

from cako or baiko, he will normally receive a negative social

sanction and will be referred to as an unsuccessful linguistic snob.

In Minangkabau a person who behaves like this is said to be doing

the "bicara halas". The phrase bicara halas is derived from bicara

halus which means refined language, but bicara halas has come to

mean "an unsuccesful attempt to use the refined language ". The tea-

chers and authors just decided not to use certain words such as

cako, baiko and the like in their refined language. In modern Indo-

nesian such a Minangkabau word as nan , meaning yang (which) is

sometimes used for poetic effect such as Nan indah , the beautiful, etc.

Many a Minangkabau speaker would hesitate to use such a word when talking in Indonesian for fear of lapsing into Minangkabau or of being accused of bicara halas.

The Minangkabau, unlike many other ethnic groups, have generally opposed any attempts to introduce the use of Minangkabau as the medium of instruction in the school in their province. [17] From a strictly linguistic point of view, they certainly have disowned their language in favour of the national language to be used as a tool of written communication among themselves. [18] They regard Malay and now Indonesian as their language not only in a political sense as a national language but in a more intimate sense normally associated with people's attitude towards their mother tongue. During the period of the acceptance of the Balai Pustaka Malay, many of them came to believe that they were the lawful guardians of the purity of the language and very few people chalenged this presumption.

N O T E S

1. Professor A. Teeuw wrote : "One can go further and say that it was this very group of Minangkabau schoolteachers at Balai Pustaka who made a significant contribution to the standardization of Malay in the pre-war period -- so much so that this brand of Malay is often called Balai Pustaka Malay; it is the basis from which present-day Bahasa Indonesia is developed."
   Teeuw, A. : "The Impact of Balai Pustaka On Modern Indonesian Literature", in the BULLETIN OF S.O.A.S., volume XXXV, p. 119, 1972

2. Graves, Elizabeth E.: The Ever-victorious Buffalo - How the Minangkabau of Indonesia Solved their "Colonial Questions", a Ph.D Dissertation at the University of Wisconsin, 1971, p. 18 (unpublished)

3. Schumacher, Erwin : Indonesia Heute , Nest Verlag, Frankfurt am Main, 1960, p. 60

4. "Minangkabau", in Encyclopaedia van Nederlandsch Indie, 2nd Edition, volume II, Djakarta

5. See: Bachtiar, Harsja W.: The Indonesian Nation : Some Problems of Integration and Disintegration, Institute of South East Asian Studies, Singapore, 1974, p.14

6. I am indebted to Mr. C.W. Watson for this information.

7. Usman, Zuber : "Nur Sutan Iskandar", in Pekan Buku Indonesia , Gunung Agung, 1954, Djakarta, p. 89

8. Abdullah, Taufik : "Adat and Islam" - an Examination of Conflict in Minangkabau, in INDONESIA number II, October, 1966, p. 3, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.,

9. Koentjaraningrat : "Tjilegar : A Village in South Central Java", in Villages in Indonesia , Koentjaraningrat (Ed.), Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N.Y., 1967, p.274

10. Nasroen, M. : Dasar Falsafah Adat Minangkabau , Djakarta, 1957, p. 9

11. Milner, G.B. : "The Quartered Shield : Outline of A Semantic Taxonomy", in Social Anthropology and Language, Edwin Ardner (Ed.), London, 1971, pp.243269

12. Cf. Ma'ia'i, Fanaafi : Bilingualism in Western Samoa, - Its problems and Implications For Education, Ph.D. Dissertation at the University of London, 1960, p.54 (unpublished)

13. Tanner, Nancy : "Disputing and Dispute Settlement Among the Minangkabau People", in INDONESIA number 8, October, 1969, p. 32, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y., Modern Indonesia Project

14. Dr. Taufik Abdullah wrote: "The marriage ceremony is in fact a recognized battlefield of honor between the two families, both sides trying to enhance and to maintain their "honor" in the ceremony", Adat and Islam, in INDONESIA , op. cit. p. 7

15. Daulay, Zahara : Minangkabau : A Preliminary Study of the Culture and People, Cornell University, 1960 (unpublished thesis), p.40 , Ithaca, New York.

16. See : C.W. Watson : The Sociology of Indonesian Novel 1920 - 1955 , University of Hull, 1972.

17. Yogi, A. Rivai : MEDAN BAHASA, No. 4, Tahun III, 1953, p. 14

18. Cf. Brass, Paul R. : Language, Religion and Politics in North India , p. 288, Cambridge University Press, London, 1974.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NEW NAME INDONESIAN

1. The Youth Pledge

The name Bahasa Indonesia, Indonesian, for Malay came into
use as the recognized language of unity among the nationalistically
oriented Indonesian youth on 28th October, 1928. It was on that day
that the All Indonesian Youth Congress held in Jakarta decided to
adopt a historic resolution proclaiming the threefold ideals of one
country, one nation and one language. The resolution, known as the
Sumpah Pemuda, the Youth Pledge, reads (in translation) as follows:[1]

Firstly : We the sons and daughters of Indonesia declare that we

belong to one fatherland, Indonesia.

Secondaly: We the sons and daughters of Indonesia declare that we

belong to one nation, the Indonesian nation.

Thirdly : We the sons and daughters of Indonesia uphold as the

language of unity the Indonesian language.

Many things of national significance happened in or around the
year 1928 which marked the culmination of the Indonesian nationalist
movement in their struggle against the Dutch colonial government in
the Indonesian archipelago. It was in that year that Mohammad Hatta,
a prominent Indonesian students leader in Holland, read his plea
before the Court of Justice in The Hague, outlining and justifying
the stand taken by the Indonesian nationalist movements vis-a-vis
the Dutch colonialism in Indonesia. The year before Sukarno had estab-
lished his political party, the P.N.I., the Indonesian Nationalist
Association, in Bandung and in the same year he succeeded in bringing

about various nationalist associations into closer unity by estab-
lishing the All Indonesian Nationalist Movements, the P.P.P.K.I.

The change of the name from Malay into Indonesian, which some
linguistically conscious Indonesians who were concerned with the
improvement of Malay did not approve, had a strong political motive
and significance with sociolinguistic consequences that it entailed.
The word Indonesia, which the government allowed its official use
in the form of the Dutch words Indonesier and Indonesisch later on,
but not its Malay translation Indonesia , had a strong nationalistic
connotation.[2] The word was popularized in Holland by the Perhimpunan
Indonesia , the Indonesian Association, and particularly by its
one time chairman, Mohammad Hatta, who wrote an article to justify
its use. In one of his lectures he said : " The name 'Indonesia' for
us is a sacred symbol of a country which in the future will be free.
It is to achieve this ideal that today we are struggling against
Dutch imperialism and sacrificing our personal interests." [3]

Indonesian is, a by-product, and before long became a useful
tool, of the Indonesian nationalist movements. The close relationship
between language and nationalism of one kind or another is of course
often found in history although there are many exceptions. In Indo-
nesia all the leaders of the movements which asserted the rights of
the indigeneous population vis-a-vis the Dutch government which began
at the begining of this century can be regarded as the nationalist
as a general term. These people had received Western education and
well-acquainted with the Western concept of nationalism which many

of them wanted to apply in their own way to their country and people. Some prominent Indonesian nationalist leaders tended to speak glowingly about the virtue of nationalism but others did not, particularly those with strong Islamic background.

Nationalism as a political phenomenon has been praised and condemned alike, although unbiased efforts to describe it have also been made not always, however, with great success. According to A.D. Smith, "....nationalism is first and foremost a political doctrine".[4] "Fundamentally, nationalism fuses three ideals: collective self-determination of the people, the expression of nationals character and individuality, and finally the vertical division of the world into unique nations each contributing its special genius to the common fund of humanity."[5] E.Keduri does not see any good in nationalism because "it represented politics as a fight for principles, not the endless composition of claims in conflict."[6] The results of nationalism are largely negative : instead of peace, prosperity and freedom, "it has created new conflicts, exacerbated tensions, and brought catastrophe to numberless people innocent of all politics."[7] Nationalism is regarded as nothing else than " a passionate assertion of the will, but at the core of this passion is a void, and all its activity is the frenzy of despair; it is a search for the unattainable which, once attained, destroys and annihilates."[8] "Nationalism....begins as Sleeping Beauty and ends a Frankenstein's monster",[9] wrote K.R. Minogue. The prominent Indonesian Islamic leader, Haji Agus Salim, warned the Indonesian Muslims of the danger

that might arise if they exalted the <u>kebangsaan</u>, nationalism, in
their struggle against the Dutch rule, causing it to become a kind
of religion. "Thus we observe", he wrote, "how the religion (of ke-
bangsaan) which enslaves man to the fatherland-idol leads to compe-
tition and rivalry for the acquisition of wealth, honour and pride;
to the suppression, enslavement and danger to the fatherland of o-
thers without regard to right and justice. This is the danger if we
worship <u>ibu pertiwi</u>(literally:Mother Earth, i.e. fatherland) for the
reason that it is our fatherland..."[10] In Islamic circles the con-
cept of nationalism is often rferred to as <u>assabiyah</u>, which is for-
bidden (haram) because a <u>Hadith</u>, the Tradition of the Prophet, says:
Whoever dies in assabiyah, he dies as a non-Muslim.

Malay at first was not connected or consciously connected with
Indonesian nationalism as such, although it had been used by almost
all Indonesian newspapers, which numbered about two hundred in 1925.
The language was highly recommended for use as a common medium of
communication even by a Javanese cultural leader such as Ki Hadjar
Dewantara, founder of the <u>Taman Siswa School</u> movement, because of
its allegedly intrinsic good quality as a language and the fact that
it was easy to learn. "Contrary to Javanese, which few foreigners
can master, Malay is easy to learn. The proof of this is the fact
that almost throughout Indonesia the language is if not correctly
employed at least fairly well understood. Moreover, Malay is a langu-
age which—perhaps because of its brevity and terseness— contains

expressions of lively character, clear and to the point, and in addition to having a rich vocabulary is favourably disposed to accepting new ideas and situations." [11] The Budi Utomo (High Endeavour), the association of the educated Javanese established in 1908, a nationalist cultural movement aspiring to the promotion of the Javanese culture and the advancement of the people of the Indies, with the phenomenal rise of Indonesian nationalism decided before long to use Malay as its official language. It is to be noted that Dr. Wahidin as editor of the periodical Retnodhoemilah in his inaugural edition "announced that henceforth the periodical would be published not only in Javanese but also in bahasa Melaju sedang , or medium-range Malay rather than high Malay as in the past, so that the average Javanese reader could more easily understand its content." [12] However, the association, which had earlier demanded the establishment of more Dutch language medium schools for the benefit of the native inhabitants and approved of the government's policy of fostering the Javanese language, was not eager to take steps to promote Malay. As a matter of fact, in a congress held in the year of the Sumpah Pemuda of 1928 in which the problem of language in regard to education was also discussed, a proposal to extend the teaching of Malay was rejected. [13] The reason for this rejection was probably that the learning of Dutch and the advancement of Javanese would be hindered if the teaching of Malay was also to be intensified.

The Paguyuban Pasundan, the Sundanese counterpart of Budi Utomo, also felt the need for the use of Indonesian after 1928. In

1929 Soebrata, a Sundanese intellectual, declared that Indonesian was required as a bridge to connect the Sundanese people with other ethnic groups in the archipelago but added that the Dutch language could also fulfil that function. [14]

Also in 1928, the educated Batak group of North Sumatra, in a church conference in which the problem of language was also discussed came to a decision to drop the North Tapanuli Batak language for purposes of religion and education and to replace it not with Malay or Indonesian but with the Simalungun language. [15] It was the practice then to resort to the use of the vernacular languages as well as Dutch. "The young Sumatrans too, mostly the pupils of teachers colleges and other schools with Dutch as the medium of instruction, generally used Dutch in their writings, e.g. in their journal Jong Sumatra (Young Sumatra). Still, it is in this magazine that the first efforts to write modern Malay literature can be found, together with articles intended to bring products of old Malay literature to the attention of the young people." [16] It was in this journal that Muhammad Yamin, "the fiercest, intelligent and indefatigable fighter" [17] wrote his poem under the title of Bahasa, Bangsa (Language, Nation) in 1921 in which he categorically revealed his nationalism which was coupled with linguistic nationalism . However, it was not Indonesian nationalism which the author professed later on but Sumatran nationalism with the Malay language as its symbol.

LANGUAGE, NATION

When it is small and of tender years

The child sleeps in its mother's lap

Its mother sings songs and lullabies to it

Praising it as is right and proper,

Rocking it in love night and day,

In its cradle suspended over the land of its ancestors.

Born into a nation with its own language,

Surrounded by its family and relations,

It will grow up in wisdom in the Malay land,

In sorrow and in joy and in grief;

Its feeling of solidarity is consolidated

By its language, so beautiful and melodious.

We lament and wail, and also rejoice,

In times of good fortune, catastrophe and danger,

We breathe so that we can go on living

To continue to use the language which is an extension

Where Sumatra is, there is my nation   of our spirit

Where Pertja is, there is my language.

My beloved Andalas, land of my birth

From my childhood and youth

Until the grave envelopes me

I shall never forget my language

Remember, O youth, Sumatra is in distress

Without a language, the nation disappears.[18]

Five years later, at the first Congress of the Indonesian youth,
Muhammad Yamin delivered a speech, in Dutch, in which he emphasized
how important it was for everyone in Indonesia to have a knowledge
of Malay. "As for me", he said, "I am fully convinced that Malay
will gradually transform itself into the common language or the
language of unity for the Indonesian people, and that the future
Indonesian culture will find its expression in that language." [19]

Muhammad Yamin was one of the prime movers of the adoption of
Indonesian at the Youth Congress held some two years later. In the
meantime he had substituted Indonesia for Sumatra, his Sumatran
nationalism disappeared. In his more than thirty years of active po-
litical life as an Indonesian nationalist, Muhammad Yamin contribu-
ted greatly to the development of Indonesian by writing extensive-
ly in the language on a great variety of subjects. Before he died
he was officially honoured with the title of Mahaputera (Great Son)
by the Republic of Indonesia which he had helped create and defend
in his capacity as Ministers in various Cabinets of the republican
government.

The establishment of a new political party, the P.N.I., the
Indonesian National Association, in 1927, and the rising popularity
of its dynamic chairman, Sukarno, speeded up the realization of the
growing spirit of national unity among the nationalist movements,
and with it the general acceptance of Malay as the language of Indo-
nesian nationalism. Among nationalist leaders Malay had always
been used as a language to introduce new ideas and as "an infallible

means of distinguishing themselves from foreigners and of spreading their ideas from Java...to the surrounding islands." [20]

Now Sukarno was a particularly gifted rhetorical orator, and in his effort to carry out his machtsvorming, the mobilization of the strength of the masses, he toured the island of Java, making speeches in his characteristic Indonesian addressed to the Indonesian people, high and low, [21] so that the spread of the language was greatly intensified. Sukarno enriched Indonesian by introducing new words and turns of phrases into the language, and one of them was the word Marhaen and Marhaenism, " a word that dominated political discussion in Indonesia beginning from 1932." [22] Sukarno used this word Marhaen to designate the Indonesian wong cilik, little men. In his plea read to the Dutch Court in Bandung in 1930, which he apparently undertook in the manner that Mohammad Hatta had done two years earlier in Holland, Sukarno referred to Indonesian society as a society of little men: "It is a society made up largely of little men who are peasants, labourers, traders, seamen -- in short, they are all Kromos and Marhaens , they are all little people." [23]

Sukarno was an Indonesian secular nationalist who had a cordial relation with the leaders of the Islamic party, the Sarekat Islam, which other secular nationalist leaders such as Dr.Sutomo did not enjoy. He was preoccupied with the idea of national unity and was perturbed by the fact that the nationalist movements were divided. So he took the initiative in bringing about of some sort of unity. Through his understanding with the P.S.I. people, and receiving

support from some of them, such as Dr.Sukiman, Sukarno succeeded

in 1927 in creating a loose federation of the Indonesian nationa-

list movements with the "unwieldy name of Permufakatan Perhimpunan

Partai-Partai Kebangsaan Indonesia —— fortunately abbreviated to

P.P.P.K.I. " [24]

The P.P.P.K.I. comprised diverse groups and as Haji Agus Salim

put it : "The P.P.P.K.I. is a body comprising the Indonesian inde-

pendence movements, regardless of the great differences between the

parties of which it is composed in regard to the method to be

employed in achieving the aim. " "The desire of all of us is to be

free soon." [25] Mohammad Hatta, who also believed in national unity,

mentioned in passing the effort that had been made to connect this

with the propagation of Indonesian. "All the national movements of

this country have now adopted the symbol of unity. Propaganda for

the union has taken the form of educating the public into becoming

the people of Indonesia. In the people of every island in Indonesia

there was inculcated the basic idea that they would become part of

one nation, the Indonesian Nation. As a continuation of this idea,

propaganda was commenced in support of the Indonesian language, the

Malay language being chosen as the language of unity because it is

easy to learn and easy to develop." [26] Unlike Muhammad Yamin, al-

though of Sumatran origin, Hatta had never proclaimed himself a

nationalist whose nationalism was tied in any way to linguistic

factors, although his interest in contributing to the development

of Indonesian and in caring for its correct usage was as great as

any promotors of the language, as later events testified.

The activities of the nationalist movements after the coming

of Sukarno, despite quarrels and bickerings and the pulling out of

the Sarekat Islam Party (the P.S.I.) from the P.P.P.K.I., continued

to gain momentum to an extent that caused alarm in the colonial

government, so that it resorted to repressive measures by arresting

the militant nationalist leaders, exiling some of them to New Guinea,

for example Hatta, Sjahrir and many others. Sukarno was first put

in jail in Bandung and after released from jail was later on arrested

again and exiled to the island of Flores and from there later

transfered to Bengkulu in Sumatra, where he stayed on until the

coming of the Japanese. However, the effort to develop and spread

Indonesian, which in the hands of the nationalists had become a

useful weapon,[27] continued. In addition to the increasing number of

articles written in the language to express opposition to the Dutch

rule as well as disagreements with each other on political, religious

and other topics, the effort of promoting the language now conscious-

ly began to be tied with that of making Indonesian a means of lite-

rary medium as well. In 1933 Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana, Armijn Pane

and Amir Hamzah, all Sumatrans launched a new literary magazine

called the Pujangga Baru (New Poet), which opened a new phase in the

development of the national language.

2. Towards the First Congress of Indonesian

As a consequence of the Youth Pledge, many Indonesian nationa-

lists began to have the tendency of ascribing the use of the Dutch language, as a language to talk about public life, to the enemy camp, the Sana-Party , the other party. [28]

The change of the name Malay into Indonesian, an undertaking initiated by somewhat romantic and overenthusiastic youth, was motivated by a desire to minimize differences between the many ethnic groups that formed the population of the archipelago as well as to bring about a modern Indonesian society. The language has always been associated with new ideas while the regional languages are normally tied more closely to traditional ideas. [29] The new name Indonesian sounds very modern to many.

In independent Indonesia the Day of the Youth Pledge, October 28, has been celebrated every year as an important historical date in the effort to forge the unity of the Indonesian people. The declaration of the name Bahasa Indonesia was a political deed which created a basis for the language policy to be implemented latern on by the Indonesian leaders. H.B. Jassin, an eminent Indonesian literary critic wrote: " The Youth Pledge was a political manifesto which also involved language. The change of the nomenclature from Malay to Indonesian was not made on the basis of structural and lexical differences but entirely on its political significance." [30]

The proclamation of Indonesian as the national language of unity, however, did not change the fact that the upper class educated Indonesians, from which many nationalist leaders were recruited, continued to make use of the Dutch language as an important means of communication among themselves. Nevertheless, many now fully

realized that the Dutch language could never be used as a language
of wider communication and that they could hardly hope to master it
as native speakers. Of course there were notable exceptions. Sutan
Sjahrir, for instance, wrote his diaries in Dutch and a few Java-
nese intellectuals also expounded the beauty of Javanese culture
in that language. A noted Indonesian journalist Tabrani asserted
that the knowledge of Indonesian was not the only or decisive cri-
terion for Indonesian nationalism, and proposed that nationalist
newspapers issued in Dutch be employed to fight Dutch colonialism.[31]

In this connection it can be said that the relationship of Indo-
nesian nationalism and the Indonesian language was not made for
instance on the basis of Herder's legacy of identifying nation with
linguistic criteria. Indonesian was not the mother-tongue of most
of the Indonesian nationalists but they tended to regard it as such,
unlike the Indian nationalist leaders' attitude towards the English
language. The Indonesian nationalists wanted to use Indonesian
to create some sort of language homogeneity throughout the archipe-
lago in regard to the implementation of rules governing public
affairs and as a symbol of nation formation. A.D. Smith summarized
the significance of language to nationalism as follows : "....there
is no doubt that linguistic homogeneity and distinctiveness is an
invaluable vehicle and symbol of nationhood and nation formation;
but it would be misleading to consider it either a sufficient or
a necessary mark of the ethnic nation." [32]

Four years after the Youth Pledge, Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana,

commenting on the change of attitude among nationalistically inclined Indonesian intellectuals concerning the newly acquired position of Indonesian vis-a-vis the Dutch language wrote: " In the meantime the Dutch language has received a terrible blow. In the circles of educated Indonesians its position has been hard-pressed by Malay. In meetings, in the press, Dutch is no longer used. The Indonesians who in the past were crazy about the Dutch language have now changed their attitude and dropped it....for ever." [33] Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana was a fighter, and still is, for the promotion of the national language and no doubt he exaggerated somewhat his claim, if he intended that the word Indonesians should also include those who preferred not to have anything to do with Indonesian nationalism, who indeed keep away from it.

For many years after the launching of the magazine Pujangga Baru by Sutan Takdir and his colleagues, the effort of modernizing Indonesian was dominated by intellectuals associated with this magazine and particularly by Takdir himself.

The magazine Pujangga Baru was intended to provide inter alia the educated Indonesians with reading materials written in modern Indonesian on literary and cultural matters generally. So far, materials written in the language had mainly dealt with political and religious questions, and writings of literary character were to be found in the Balai Pustaka publications, which did not satisfy the demands for a more nationalistic literature.

The magazine from its third year onwards was given the subtitle

"Bearer of a New Spirit in Literature, Art, Culture and General Social Problems" and later on was changed into "Conveyor of a new, dynamic Spirit for the Formation of a new Culture of Indonesian Unity". Sutan Takdir was determined to develop the Malay language "to enable it to replace Dutch as a means of entry into modern culture." [34] This phrase "entry into modern world culture" was crucial in the philosophical outlook and literary preoccupation of Sutan Takdir, and as to the method to be employed to achieve that ideal he often came into conflict with other Indonesian leaders.

Sutan Takdir, in his effort to create a modern Indonesian culture, wanted to start from scratch and had no intention of reviving the old flourishing cultures of the population of the archipelago because that, according to him, would promote devisive regionalism and hinder the growth of the spirit of national unity. In creating modern Indonesian literature, and modern Indonesian as its means of expression, Sutan Takdir did not want to connect his effort with reviving the classical Malay literature either which he considered as dead and properly buried (mati semati-matinya). For him the concept of Indonesia was a totally new concept and had nothing to do with the historical past of the kingdoms and principalities which had existed in the archipelago. He wanted to develop and promote Malay as an instrument and expression of the new Indonesian spirit, which he defines as : "...the will which emerges in the twentieth century among these millions of population to unite into a single nation, and through that created unity to strive together to secure a right-

ful position beside other nations." [35]

Many other Indonesian leaders did not share Sutan Takdir's rational idea about the nature of Indonesian spirit, particularly his frank assertion about realizing it, which he said should draw its main inspiration from the dynamic and materialistic Western culture and civilization. Of course there were exceptions. Sutan Sjahrir was among the few other Indonesian intellectuals who found the Indonesian cultural past to be of little use for modern Indonesians, and perhaps he went even further than Takdir, as testified by his following statement : "Here for centuries there has been no intellectual, no cultural life, no progress any more. There are the much-praised art forms --- but what else are these than the rudiments of a feudal culture, which for us, the people of the twentieth century, are impossible to fall back on. The wayang , all the simple symbolism and mysticism --- which is parallel to the allegory and mediaeval Europe, what can they still offer us intellectually and culturally ? Almost nothing." [36]

Sutan Takdir was of course prepared to admit the fact that Indonesian was the continuation of Malay which originated from the Malay-speaking areas, particularly the Riau province of Central Sumatra, but he emphasized that it should be freed from its traditional syntactical and lexical forms. He dismissed his critics, who accused him of introducing lawlessness and unnecessary innovations into the language, by ridiculing their stupidity and shortsightedness. According to him, observing the strict rules of Malay

traditional grammar and phraseology in using Indonesian was , analogically, not unlike bringing a traditionalist Riau headman to Jakarta and appointing him Mayor of the city. He also dismissed the opinion of those who wanted to separate Malay from Indonesian, by saying that it was utterly unreasonable. According to this opinion Indonesian was the language used in meetings and in the newspapers, while Malay was the standardized language taught in schools and in the Balai Pustaka publications. "If anyone wants to distinguish between various types of Malay or Indonesian", Sutan Takdir wrote, "he would not be able to do it adequately by just separating high Malay from low Malay. Even four classifications of the language, such as Court language, the language of the nobility, trade language, and "kacukan" (slangy) language would not be sufficient to list the many varieties of the language. Even the distinction between written and spoken Malay is not acceptable in view of the fact that there are many types of both depending on the subjects whifor which the language was employed as a medium. The spoken language of the fishermen is different from that of the farmers, the schoolteachers or the coolies in the harbour." [37]

The controversy about the name of the language continued, and school teachers continued to teach Malay and not Indonesian and led their pupils to be contemptuous of the newspaper language. A pupil who dared to use such a common word as _bisa_ (be able to) rather than _dapat_ for instance in his composition was severely criticized and ridiculed. The word _bisa_ was supposed to have one and only one mea-

ning and that was the poison of a snake, and not to be able to .

Anyone who went to school before the war and had a Minangkabau

for his Malay teacher would confirm this and can supply more examples

of this type of linguistic rigidity and puritanism.

The schools were of course concerned with teaching a standard

language, and the materials for this purpose were available thanks

to the efforts made by the government's institute Balai Pustaka.

We mentioned earlier   the significant contribution that the

Minangkabau schoolteachers associated with Balai Pustaka gave with

regard to the creation of the standard Malay, and it was no wonder

that most criticisms about the implications of what Sutan Takdir

and people like him were doing to Malay came from that quarter. On

the other hand, Sutan Takdir, although acknowledging the laudable

works of the Minangkabau, [38] strongly attacked the methods and ma-

terials used in teaching Malay in the government schools which,

according to him were the worst thing imaginable in language instruct-

ion. He accused schools of killing the soul of the language and eli-

minating the pupils' interest in learning it. [39]

Seeing the controversy about the language of the national uni-

ty continue, Haji Agus Salim, who normally wrote the best . Malay,

interfered and reproached the Pujangga Baru group. He declared that

the development of any language did not depend on the termination

of the dispute about how the language should be called. "Hence we

are not going to argue against those who propagate the name "basa

Indonesia". First of all, because we see in this stream of thought

political passion running high among a certain group of young people,

who, when they were children still had the opportunity of witnessing the flourishing of political movements, but when they have grown up find political fields closed to them, their political steps are curbed. As the result, all their political feelings and will which were kindled by the spirit of nationalism have now piled up in their breasts and badly in need of an outlet. And when they find that all political activities such as making propaganda, organizing parties are impossible to take, they channel their nationalistic feelings into language reform and language struggle, which is spiritual in character. The ideals of independence and progress towards human dignity which they cannot achieve in real life, they divert into the realm of spirituality." [40]

The Pujangga Baru was not the only magazine which was instrumental in shaping the development of Indonesian in the thirties. "Several literary groups appeared during this period, and a rash of newspapers, periodicals and books were published by the various political, social and religious clubs, organizations and movements. The Persatuan Islam's efforts were a part of this greater activity, and while it produced no outstanding literary works, Persis developed a simplicity of style in its textbooks that facilitated the study of religion in schools by persons interested in religion. Moreover, the writing of Indonesian religious textbooks had some impact on the development of Bahasa Indonesia, by defining and using religious terms in Indonesian language works." [41] The Persatuan Islam (Persis - the Islamic Association) was only one of many similar asso-

ciations which published materials written in Indonesian dealing with religious topics.

As a result of the intensive repressive measures adopted by the Dutch government, most political parties now followed a cooperative line of policy, but this did not prevent them from expressing their views in opposing the government and in continuing their quarrels. Polemics between the secular nationalists and the Islamic groups, as well as debates between the Islamic groups themselves, were carried out in spoken as well as written Indonesian. Within the Islamic camp, the main division was between the traditionalists and the reformists, each proclaiming its authenticity of religious interpretation. The Sarekat Islam Party w-as split into two opposing parties because of their different attitudes towards the Hijrah, non-cooperation policy, as well as because of personal reasons involved in the top leadership of the party.

Polemics within the Islamic group popularized a lot of words of Arabic origin as the topics on which they disagreed were mostly of strictly religious character. The words such as usalli , taqlid, hijab, mazhab, wajib, sunnat, bid'ah, sahih, dhaif, kunud, ru'yah, fitrah, etc., which were formerly familiar only among limited santri circles, were brought into the open, written in Romanized Indonesian in various magazines and read by many Indonesians all over the country. Sukarno, who at this stage took a great interest in Islam and took part in the strictly religious polemics, also used a number of religious technical terms of this type.[42] Such was the

the influence of this kind of writing that the terms <u>nahwu</u>
(syntax), <u>saraf</u> (morphology) and <u>tajwid</u> (phonetics) were used in
an article in the Pujangga Baru when the grammar of Indonesian
was under discussion.[43] Nowadays the practice has given way to
borrowing such terms from a Western language and write them in
accordance with Indonesian spelling, such as <u>sintaksis, morfologi,
fonetik</u> , etc.

The secular nationalists introduced a lot of words of Dutch
origin. However, if the. key word among the traditionalist Isla-
mic group was the <u>mazhab</u> (the school of law), and among the re-
formist circles it was the <u>bid'ah</u> (innovation), which became the
target of their attack, among the secular nationalists it was
<u>kebangsaan</u> (nationalism). The secular nationalists suggested that
the other groups should put religion aside and strive together with
them to fight Dutch colonialism for the sake of kebangsaan. To
people unfamiliar with the attitude of the self-conscious Muslim,
this suggestion should sound quite reasonable. However, Muslims
believe that they are not prepared to fight for the sake of the
mere kebangsaan because in their eyes this is tantamount to <u>shirk,</u>
idolatry, which is the biggest of sins. It is in this light that
one must see the reaction of Muhammad Natsir, the then rising Is-
lamic leader, to the secular nationalist's suggestion when he
wrote: " If this is the case, let us from now on be frank and blunt
to each other. For our aims and purpose are not similar. You seek
independence for Indonesia on account of the Indonesian nation, on

account of Mother Indonesia. We struggle for independence because

of Allah, for the well-being of all the Inhabitants of the Indone-

sian arhipelago. You seek independence from a foreign government

because of the foreignness of its government. We struggle for inde-

pendence, from the government of foreigners, or even from our own

people because of the absence of Islam in the government. If that

is what you suggest, we go separate ways." [44] This divergence of

attitudes between independence movements has implications later

on in language planning activities.

Not all Islamic political parties, however, disapproved of the

kebangsaan idea unless . it was an Islamic kebangsaan. The PERMI,

the Indonesian Muslim Association, a Sumatran Islamic party which

had its headquarters in Bukittinggi declared that their party was

explicitly based on Islam and Kebangsaan. The leaders of this party,

most of whom had been to Egypt where they learned the idea of

nationalism, carried out activities and made statements which gave

support to Sukarno to the embarrassment of many Islamic leaders

in Java. [45] A venerated Minangkabau ulama, Haji Rasul, who did not

join any political party, however, declared that only those who

were not satisfied with Islam wanting to add kebangsaan or any

other ism to Islam. Islam and kebangsaan, according to this ulama,

contradicted each other and thence could not be united. [46]

In many nationalist as well as Islamic magazines the spelling

of Indonesian used followed that of Malay taught in schools. How-

ever, there were other publications such as the Organ of the Civil

Servants Association based in Surakarta which used its own spelling
system as well as its highly Javanized Malay. Furthermore, although
the use of Indonesian was becoming more and more common, the po-
sitional strength of the language depended solely on the national
awareness of its users, i.e. on a subjective basis. As Bodenstedt
put it : "Dieses Bewusstsein ist ein subjektives Element, ein
Wunsch und Ziel-bild, ein das Verhalten leitender Wert, aber keine
historische Realitaet. Es ist die Konzeption einer 'in-group' der
'Sini-Partei', der 'braunen Front', der 'Marhaens', der Vater-
land...." [47] It was in this connection that the secular nationalist
leader Dr.Sutomo urged his countrymen to make a serious effort
to make Indonesian the official language of the country. As he
addressed the audience of the PARINDRA Party in 1937, he said :
"With all earnestness efforts must be made so that the interinsu-
lar language, the common language between the inhabitants of Indo-
nesia, that is Bahasa Indonesia, be recognized as the official
language. Then the foreigners living here would automatically
show more interest in our language and take pains to learn it." [48]
The upholding of Indonesian as the official language would also
encourage the Indonesian people themselves to use it because there
were people who hesitated to use it for fear of being brandished
as having sympathy with the cause of the nationalist movements". [49]

In 1936 a Congress of the Javanese language was held in Jogja-
karta, sponsored by the Java Instituut in which purely linguistic
matters should be discussed implying that no politics whatsoever

no matter how closely they were related to language problems should be dealt with. Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana commented on this Congress as hersengymnastiek , pure academic exercise, sterile and useless. "The time for holding the congress of the national language has arrived", he declared.[50]

It was some two years after that that the first Indonesian language Congress was held in Surakarta, ten years after the Youth Pledge, in which outstanding problems with regard to the use of Indonesian were discussed. A. Bodenstedt summarized the decisions of the Congress as follows :

1. Das indonesische Volk musz seine eigene Sprache benutzen.

2. Die Bahasa Indonesia ist die Einheitssprache.

3. Alle Indonesier sollen im täglichen Umgang und in Versamlungen die Bahasa Indonesia gebrauchen.

4. Volks-und Mittelschulen mit nationalem Character mussen die Bahasa Indonesia als Lehrsprache benutzen. [51]

Several papers on Indonesian, its use, grammar, spelling, etc. were read and discussed by enthusiastic participants at the Congress. Amir Sjarifoedin read a paper entitled "Adjusting foreign Words and Ideas into Indonesian " and the Congress approved of his proposal of incorporating familiar foreign terms into Indonesian. Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana read a paper on "Language Reform and How to Regulate it". K.Sutan Pamuntjak read a paper on the spelling of Indonesian and the Congress approved of continuing the use of the spelling initiated by Professor van Ophuyssen. The Congress

also recommended that 'international' spelling be taught in
schools. Adinegoro, a well-known journalist, read a paper on the
problems of Indonesian used in the press and Soekardjo Wirjopranoto
on Indonesian used in the <u>Volksraad</u> , the People's Council. The
Congress adopted a resolution urging on the establishment of an
Institute of the Indonesian language as well as a university where
the study of the national language could be pursued more satisfacto-
rily. The government was requested to recognize Indonesian as the
official language of the country. The Congress expressed its dis-
satisfaction with the existing grammatical textbooks of the language
which were regarded as outdated and urged a rewriting of the
grammar which should reflect the state and condition of Indonesian
as it was then. Participants at the Congress realized that the
school teachers had an important role to play in promoting the
national language and so they urged them to co-operate. [52]

With more and more people beginning to write in Indonesian,
many of them not having .studied the language properly, there was
evidence that in some writings basic syntactical and lexical
structures of the language were violated out of ignorance. Mohammad
Hatta shared the views of the conservative Malay teachers in this
respect and warned the Indonesian people of the grave consequences
of the practice of ignoring the rules of the language. He also
commented on the linguistic snobism of some Indonesian writers who
had no proper Dutch education, who tried to construct some Indonesian
sentence structures on the basis of Dutch grammatical patterns.[53]

Shortly before the coming of the Japanese, Indonesian had reached a certain state of maturity and was capable of being used as the language of some academic fields of Study. Mohammad Hata wrote, as an economist, that he could write anything on economic matters in Indonesian and he was convinced that anyone with a knowledge of economics and Indonesian could do the same. [54]

N O T E S

1. Pertama : Kami putera dan puteri Indonesia mengaku bertumpah
              darah yang satu, Tanah Indonesia.
   Kedua   : Kami putera dan puteri Indonesia mengaku berbangsa
              yang satu, Bangsa Indonesia.
   Ketiga   : Kami putera dan puteri Indonesia menjunjung bahasa
              persatuan, Bahasa Indonesia.
   cited in A.Teeuw, Modern Indonesian Literature, The Hague,
             1967, p. 22

2. Hatta, Mohammad : KumpulanKarangan, IV , Djakarta, 1954, p.74

3. ——————————— : Portrait of a Patriot , selected writings,
                   D.Noer (Ed.), Mouton, The Hague-Paris, 1972,
                   p.164; Cf. Verspreide Geschriften, Amsterdam,
                   1952, p.345.
                   On the origin of the name Indonesia, see:
                   R.Jones : "Earl, Logan and 'Indonesia', in
                   Archipel, no.6, 1973, pp.93-118

4. Smith, Anthony D. : Theories of Nationalism , Duckworth, London,
                       1971, p.19

5. ——————————— : ibid.   p.23

6. Kedurie, E. : Nationalism , London, 1960, p.18 , Hutchinson.

7. —————————— : ibid. p.138

8. —————————— : ibid. p.89

9. Minogue, K.R. : Nationalism , B.T. Batsford, London, 1967, p.7

10.Salim, Haji Agus, cited in Deliar Noer, The Modernist Muslim
               Movement in Indonesia , Oxford University Press,
               1973, p.254

11. Dewantara, K.H. , cit. in Alisjahbana, Sutan Takdir : Dari
                      Perdjuangan dan Pertumbuhan Bahasa Indonesia,
                      (From the Struggle and Growth of Bahasa Indone-
                      sia), Djakarta, 1957, p.32

12.A.Nagazumi, Akihira : The Dawn of Indonesian Nationalism - The
                         Early Years of the Budi Utomo 1908-1918,
                         Institute of Developing Economics, Tokyo,
                         1972, p.28

13. See : Blumberger, J.Th.Petrus : <u>De Nationalistische Beweging in Nederlandsch-Indie</u> , Harlem, 1931, p.285; see also : J.M. Pluvier, <u>Oversicht van de Ontwikkeling der Nationalistische Beweging ini Indonesie</u> in de Jaren 1930 tot 1942, The Hague, Bandung, 1953

14. ——————— : ibid. p.295

15. Liddle, R. William : <u>Ethnicity, Party, and National Integration</u> an Indonesian Case Study, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1970, p.42

16. Teeuw, A. :   op. cit. p.9

17. ——————— :   ibid. p.11

18. ——————— :   ibid. see appendix p.257

19. Yamin, Muhammad, cit. in Alisjahbana, S.T. , op. cit. p.37

20. Dahm, Bernhard : <u>Sukarno and the Struggle for Indonesian Independence</u> (tr. by Heidhues M.F.S.), Cornell University Press, Ithaca-London, 1969, p.37

21. Sukarno, <u>An Autobiography as Told to Cindy Adams</u> , Indianapolis, 1965, p.73

22. Dahm, Bernhard :   op. cit. p.143

23. Sukarno   : <u>Indonesia Menggugat</u> (Indonesia Accuses), Departe-men Penerangan, Djakarta, 1961, p.138

24. Legge, J.D. : <u>Sukarno</u> - A Political Biography, Penguin, 1972, p.93

25. Salim, Haji Agus, quoted by Mohammad Hatta in Portrait of a Patriot, Deliar Noer (Ed.), p.115

26. Hatta, Mohammad, <u>Portrait of a Patriot</u> , Deliar Noer (Ed.), p.118

27. Dahm, Bernhard :   op. cit. p.36

28. <u>Sana</u> means there and the opposite is <u>Sini</u>, here.

29. See : Slametmuljana : Politik Bahasa Nasional (National Language Policy), Djembatan, Djakarta, 1959, p.45; See also A.Teeuw, "The Impact of Balai Pustaka on Modern Indonesian Literature, in BULLETIN OF THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES, Volume XXXV, 1972, p.115, London

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32. Smith, Anthony D :   op. cit. p.185

33. Alisjahbana, Sutan Takdir :   op. cit. p. 9

34. ——————————— : "The Modernization of the Indonesian-Malay Language in the 19th and 20th Century", in The Modernization of Languages in Asia, Alisjahbana (Ed.), Kuala Lumpur, 1967? , p.190

35. ——————————— : Polemik Kebudajaan ,   A.Kartahadimadja (Ed.), p.26, Djakarta, 1954; Cf Nuseibeh,H.Z.: The Ideas of Arab Nationalism, Cornell University Press, 1956, pp. 68-77

36. Sjahrazad   : Indonesische Overpeinzingen , Amsterdam, 1945, pp.60-61; see also his (Sjahrir's) Pikiran dan (Though and Struggle), Djakarta, 1947, p.79

37. Alisjahbana, S.T.   : Dari Perdjuangan....p.47

38. ——————————— :   op. cit. 41

39. ——————————— :   ibid. pp.12-13

40. Salim, Haji Agus ; cit. in Alisjahbana, ibid. p.69

41. Federspiel, Horward M. : Persatuan Islam – Islamic Reform in Twentieth Century Indonesia, Cornell University Press, Ithaca- N.Y. 1970, p.24

42. See for instance his article in PANDJI ISLAM, no.13, 1 April, 1940

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43. Darmawidjaja : Book review in Pujangga Baru (Poedjangga Baroe),
                      Tahun V, number 9, Djakarta, 1938, p.209

44. Natsir, M.   : cit. in Deliar Noer, op cit.   p.263

45. On The PERMI, see Deliar Noer, op.cit. pp.153-157; for a more
                      detailed discussion, see Taufik Abdullah,
                      Schools and Politics - The Kaum Muda Movement in
                      The West Coast of Sumatra, Cornell University,
                      Ithaca, New York, 1971.

46. See : Hamka : Ayahku (My Father), Djakarta, 1967; see also
                      Deliar Noer, op. cit.   p.264

47. Bodenstedt, Adolf Andreas : Sprache und Politik in Indonesien -
                      Entwicklung und Funktionen einer neuen National-
                      Sprache, Hannover, 1966, p.187

48. Soepardi, Imam : Dr.Soetomo - riwayat hidup dan perjuangannya
                      (the life and struggle of Dr.Soetomo),
                      Djakarta, 1951, p.67

49. Most Indonesians have a tendency to attach great importance
    to the governmental power and authoity.

50. Alisjahbana, S.T.   : Dari Perdjuangan ....op. cit.   p.66

51. Bodenstedt, Adolf Andreas :   op.   cit. pp.185-186

52. See the magazine Pujangga Baru (Poedjangga Baroe), no.1, Tahun
                      VI, 1938, pp.22-24

53. Hatta, Mohammad   : Kumpulan Karangan, IV, Djakarta, 1954,
                      pp.67 - 68 and p.74

54. ——————————— :   ibid.   p.70

CHAPTER   THREE

THE JAPANESE OCCUPATION

1. General Remarks

The Japanese occupation of Indonesia, which began in March,
1942 and came to an end in August, 1945, brought about unprecedented
changes in Indonesian society and had far-reaching, although indi-
rect consequences. According to Professor A.Teeuw, "the Indonesian
revolution really started in 1942",[1] so not on August 17, 1945,
the day on which Sukarno and Mohammad Hatta proclaimed Indonesia's
independence. As the Indonesian attaches great importance to the
Proclamation Day, and rightly so, Teeuw's pronouncement would not
be palatable to many Indonesians. However, if one looks at the
issue from the sociolinguistic point of view, his opinion can be
substantially verified and defended. The Japanese prohibited the
use of Dutch overnight for all purposes of communication and Ja-
panese as well as Malay took its place. Professor Teeuw asserts
that "the change from Dutch to Bahasa Indonesia in 1942 or early
1943 marked the real change, a much greater revolution than the
proclamation of Bahasa Indonesia as the official national language
in the provisional Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia in
1945."[2] The Japanese occupation lasted only about three and a half
years; nevertheless, despite its brevity it was " a traumatic epi-
sode that profoundly affected many aspects of Indonesian life."[3]

The coming of the Japanese troops to Indonesia was hailed by
a great many Indonesians, who regarded them as heroes.[4] On the

other hand, the Dutch who failed to put up any semblance of meaningful resistance naturally lost their former prestige in the eyes of the Indonesian people. After all, one cannot say that the mass of the Indonesian population had a great sympathy for the Dutch troops so that when they were defeated a lot of people rejoiced. However, a more important factor which led to this state of affairs was the effectiveness of the Japanese propaganda broadcasts, which their agents spread out throughout the archipelago. The propaganda emphasized in simple Malay that the aim of the coming of the Japanese was simply to drive away the whiteman, the Christians, who had oppressed the <u>kulit berwarna</u>, the coloured fellow Asians. So it was not surprising that a great many simple-minded Indonesians welcomed the Japanese as their liberators, praised them for their courage and determination, and shouted <u>banzai</u>, the Japanese battle cry, at them. I knew a poor villager in a village in West Sumatra, an ox-cart driver, who, in order to commemorate the coming of the Japanese, christened his newly born son Si Nipun.

In the eyes of the sophisticated Indonesian political leaders, however, the coming of the Japanese posed difficult problems. They had requested the Dutch authorities to arm Indonesian youth in order to resist the Japanese, a request which was turned down by the Dutch. Nevertheless, they cannot be said to have deeply felt sorry for the Dutch defeat because they on the whole did not enjoy being ruled by the Dutch. On the other hand, they were all well-versed in Western textbooks on democracy and other types of ideology. They

knew very well that the Japanese were fascists and had little regard for human lives. As to the <u>ulama</u>, the Islamic scholars, they have been said not to be anti-Japanese at the beginning of the occupation. This might well be true. But even they soon learned that the Japanese were <u>musyrik</u>, idolators,[5] and in Islamic term the idolators or the polytheists are regarded as much worse than the Christians, the <u>Nasara</u>, who belong to the <u>Ahli al Kitab</u> , the people of the Book.

During the occupation period, however, most Indonesian leaders chose or were forced to cooperate with the Japanese authorities.[6] The Japanese did not allow the existence of non-cooperator nationalists as the Dutch had done previously. Both the secular nationalists and the Islamic political leaders saw that collaboration was the only safe way in which they could promote the cause of Indonesian nationalism. According to Sutan Sjahrir, the prominent nationalist leader who chose to remain underground most of the time during the occupation period, Sukarno regarded the Japanese as "pure fascists, and felt that we must use the most subtle methods to go round them, such as making an appearance of collaboration."[7] This was what he and others probably did, although there were probably some who collaborated out of conviction. In the West in those days, of course, those Indonesian nationalists who cooperated with the Japanese were labelled collaborators. Sukarno, Mohammad Hatta, Ki Hadjar Dewantara, three of the most respected Indonesian leaders were renounced as qusling Javanese politicians, although in fact

Hatta was not a Javanese but a Minangkabau.[8] The Japanese had an interest in winning the support of the Indonesian people. They needed manpower and internal peace as well as propaganda materials. They needed cheap labour to work for them, willing young men to be trained as auxiliary soldiers in the form of the Heiho and the Gyu Gun [9] as well as farmers to produce foodstuff for their soldiers. Concerning the Gyu Gun in Sumatra, the Japanese said that they "should defend Indonesian soil, if the Japanese army were otherwise occupied marching to London and Washington." [10] As a result of their policy of trying to win Indonesian support, they brought forward two elite groups, the neutrally religious nationalists or the secular nationalists and the Islamic politicians,[11] provided them with a limited amount of authority, and at the same time degraded the priyayi corps of administrator-rulers, "the cornerstone of the Dutch colonial system...." [12]

Politically speaking, the Japanese apparently favoured the Islamic political leaders over the secular nationalists, perhaps because they regarded them as the most anti western as well as the leaders having the greatest following at the grass-root level. On the other hand, the Islamic community suffered the most in their cherished ideals, the transformation of Indonesian society into a God-fearing Islamic ummat (community), because their educational system was well as their tablig (propaganda) activities were hampered by the Japanese. "The Japanese blue-print gave far less considerations to Islam on the socio-religious level...." [13]

At the political level they encouraged the Islamic organizations

to partcipate in the Japanese war propaganda by leading them to

believe that the aim of the Japanese war was in line with, or at

least conducive to, Islamic political ideals. Thanks to the Japa-

nese policy and the shrewdness of the Islamic politicians, "ulti-

mately, the Muslim organizations became a political force par

excellence...." [14]

The traditional enmity and open polemics between the secular

nationalists and the Islamic groups, thanks to the conditions pre-

vailing lessened considerably and this brought about a rapport

between them under the tutelage of the Japanese. They established

the _Putera_ , the Movement of the Total Mobilization of the people

of Java and the leaders of this Movement consisted of the Four-

Leaf Clover Sukarno, Mohammad Hatta, Ki Hadjar Dewantara, and Kiya-

hi Mas Mansur ,[15] all prominent nationalist leaders; and two, Hatta

and Mansur, were regarded by the Islamic community as their men.

In Sumatra the undisputed leader was Muhammad Sjafei, a Western-

trained, non-practicing Muslim, pioneer educator. That he was re-

puted to have proclaimed himself a free thinker, and yet was accept-

able to the strong Islamic Sumatran groups, testified to his out-

standing character and integrity. All these leaders were invited

by the Japanese military government to visit Tokyo, a visit which

greatly impressed Sukarno when they were shown the technological

advancement of Japan. Sukarno, unlike Hatta, Dewantara and Sjafei

who studied and spent many years in Europe, had never been outside

Indonesia before.

PUTERA was dissolved in February 1944 and a new Movement, the
Java HOkookai was established in its place on 1 March, 1944. This
new Movement, called in Indonesian the Himpunan Kebaktian Rakyat
Jawa (Java Service Association) was more involved with the recruit-
ment of manpower support for the Japanese war effort and there was
not much that it could do to promote the cause of Indonesian nationa-
lism. In Indonesia people tend to associate the name of HOKOOKAI
with the Romusha , the forced labour force that the Japanese recruited
from among the population of Java.

When the Japanese realised that the Pacific War was not going
as they had planned, they began to talk about giving a promise of
Indonesian independence in the near future.[16] As the military situ-
ation went from bad to worse for the Japanese, they proclaimed the
establishment of an Investigating Committee for the Preparation of
Indonesian Independence. A week before the Japanese surrendered to
the Allies they allowed the establishment of the Committee for the
Preparation of Independence of which Sukarno was appointed chair-
man and Mohammad Hatta vice-chairman. On the following morning,
Dr.Radjiman, Sukarno, and Hatta went to Saigon to consult with Mar-
shall Terauchi in order to finalize the preparations for Indonesian
independence.[17]

2. Japanese (Nihon Go) in Indonesian Society

The Japanese intended to diffuse Japanese culture among the
Indonesians as they had done with the Koreans and the Formosans.[18]

As soon as they assumed power in Indonesia, they immediately took
measures to reform Indonesian education according to their plan of
Nipponization. According to a military document, the Japanese
wanted to take advantage of their newly acquired prestige to impress
the inhabitants of their conqured territories with their superior
culture. "By taking advantage of the prestige resulting from our
military victories and the native hostility towards former colonial
powers, the European-type education previously provided the inha-
bitants shall be revised, and the dissemination of Japanese language
and culture shall be undertaken." [19] The dissemination of Japanese
culture and Nihon Go (Japanese language), would not, however, be
limited to the field of formal education but tied also to programs
of mass movements. Section 4, article 3 of the constitution of the
Movement for the Total Mobilization of the People of Java, the
PUTERA, stipulates "Betterment of the temperament of the people",
while section 7 speaks about "Encouragement of the study of the
Japanese language and the propagation of the Malay language." [20]
The PUTERA did not fail to carry out these programs particularly
with regard to the propagation of Malay among the Javanese and
Sundanese speaking peoples. When PUTERA was dissolved and Java
HOKOOKAI took its place, the constitution of the new Movement no
longer contained the clauses about the encouragement of language
studies, either Japanese or Malay. However, in another document
we find this clause : "As to the propagation of the Japanese
language among the natives, plans should be made for its prompt and

thorough cultivation",[21] and certainly the HOKOOKAI constitution
in no way annulled this injunction. As a matter of fact, the Japa-
nese programs for the thorough cultivation of Japanese by the
native inhabitants went smoothly. Posters announcing Manabe Nihon
Go, Learn Japanese ! were seen everywhere, and everywhere one could
see people learning and practicing Japanese. The Japanese wanted
to spread the use of their language in the archipelago to such an
extent that "it will outrival the Malay language "[22] as another
document testifies. The Japanese authorities commanded Indonesian
teachers to acquire a knowledge of Japanese as quickly as they
possibly could. In Western Sumatra they were told to wake up before
four o'clock in the morning and to be ready to attend a Japanese
lesson given by a native speaker of the language, usually an army
officer, and to master it as best they could, because they were
required to impart some of it to their pupils at half past seven
a.m. in the same day, the time when the school began. The school
officially began at eleven, but it was Tokyo Time, which was half
past seven Sumatra Time.

The Indonesians, who were and still are multilinguals, on the
whole found Japanese comparatively easy to learn, as compared for
instance with Dutch. The Katakana and Hiragana alphabets were
learned and mastered after a week or two, but the Kanji characters
in which Japanese is mostly written posed serious problems to most
Indonesian learners and only a few talented ones mastered them
completely.

The Japanese wanted to familiarize the Indonesian people with things Japanese as quickly as they could. They apparently reversed the Dutch policy of keeping the mass of the people in complete ignorance with things Dutch. They undertook to set up, or ordered the people to set up, what some times have been called "singing trees" or "singing towers" ——loud speakermasts in public places"[23] through which they poured out their propaganda. Even small and remote communities throughout the archipelago possessed their public radios, so that like the rest of the country, they were kept well-informed of what the Japanese wanted them to be well-informed of. "The characteristic devices of Japanese rule were relentless propaganda, indoctrination courses, ...and a sustained effort to destroy rust en orde (calm and order) and mobilize the people for the short-term needs of the war effort......" [24] "At prescribed hours the population was required to listen to.....official broadcasts, including frequent speeches of Sukarno." [25]

In a very short time, a great number of Japanese words and phrases entered the Indonesian language, understood however vaguely, and were even used by Indonesian speakers. On the whole, the people learned those words and phrases in the most direct way. The Japanese ordered every able-bodied Indonesian to take part in kyoren, military training, and through this kyoren , which was held in towns as well as in villages, the Indonesians learned a lot of Japanese military terms connected with the kyoren business. On the whole, these words and phrases were not translated into Indonesian. Here

are some of the most familiar ones :

Kiotsuke	Stand at attention !
Yasume	Stand at ease !
Bango	Number !
Mahe susume	Forward march !
Hochotore	Make goose steps !
Migi muke migi	Make a right turn !
Hidari muke hidari	Make a left turn !
Takeyari	Spear
Kyusu keiho	First air raid alarm
Kyushu keijo	Alarm over

There were many other words belonging to this category which became quite familiar to Indonesians. Concerning Japanese words used by the Indonesians, one has to remember that Indonesians sometimes used many of them not strictly in accordance with their original meaning or usage.

The ordinary people soon got to know a lot of Japanese words to which the Japanese attached great significance, such as Hinomaru, the Japanese flag, Dai Toa Senso, the Pacific War, Rikugun Kinembi, Army Day, Kaigun Kinembi, Navy Day, Fuji Yama (The Sacred) Mount Fuji, Tenno Heika, the Divine Emperor, Yasukuni Zinzasai, the Shinto War Shrine in Tokyo, harakiri, suicide, Nihon seizin, the Japanese spirit, heitaisan, Mr.Soldier, arigato, thank you, ohayo gozaimasu, good morning, sakura, the Japanese national flower, Kimigayo, the Japanese national anthem, keirei, a bow to show respect, etc.

Pupils in school were taught <u>Nihon Seizin</u>, <u>kyoren</u>, <u>Momotaro</u>
legend as well as a good number of Japanese songs, mostly war songs,
such as <u>Umi Yukaba</u>, <u>Taiheiyo</u>, <u>Myoto O Kaino</u>, etc. Indonesians also
produced songs in which Japanese words were inserted and treated as
Indonesian words. The song <u>Sumatera Baru</u>, the New Sumatra, contained
the following lines : Hiduplah Sumatera Baru dengan gembira. Dilin-
dungi Hinomaru dengan sentosa.(Live new Sumatra in happiness, under
the protection of the Hinomaru in peace and prosperity).

The man in the street very early in the occupation period
learned Japanese swear words, such as <u>bagero</u>, damn you, <u>baka</u>, idiot,
etc. and associated them with kicking and slapping, because when a
Japanese soldier slapped an Indonesian, which he often did, he would
invariably used those words. The Japanese word <u>onna</u>, woman, was
quite familiar, because when the Japanese were hunting for Indonesian
prostitutes they told Indonesian pimps to procure <u>onna</u> for them. The
Indonesians usually addressed a Japanese soldier as <u>Mista</u>, the Ja-
panese pronunciation of the English word Mister (I used to think
it was a Japanese word). So an Indonesian pimp would say to a passing
Japanese soldier: <u>Onna Mista</u> ? Do you want a woman? The Japanese
second person pronoun <u>anata</u>, <u>you</u>, which shows some respect, and
<u>omae</u>, a familiar term of address, were known to most Indonesians.
However, the Indonesians only used <u>anata</u> when speaking to any Japa-
nese soldier, while the Japanese often used <u>omae</u> when addressing
Indonesians, particularly those who served in the <u>Heiho</u> or <u>Romusha</u>.
The Japanese of course also learned some Indonesian, and most of
them was satisfied with a knowledge of broken Indonesian, Japanese

style. Phrases like <u>Omae kepara kosong</u>, instead of <u>kepalamu kosong</u>, your head is empty, <u>Kore wa banyak bagus ne</u> , instead of <u>Ini bagus sekali</u>, this is very good, and the like, were quite familiar to Indonesians. A few weeks after the Japanese landing took place in Northern Sumatra, the people of Medan learned of the following announcement from the new authority: "Sekarang tirak ara meting-meting, tirak ara poritik. Naiku bindera Hinomaru sadja, na. Raing-raing bindera tirak bore." (No more meetings, no more politics. Just hoist the Hinomaru flag. Other flags are forbidden.)[26] This is the kind of Indonesian used by many Japanese who were supposed to know the language.

At first Indonesians found the broken Indonesian spoken by the Japanese funny and bad. They could not pronounce certain Indonesian phonemes correctly, and they invariably used Japanese intonation when speaking Indonesian. But after some time, the Indonesian people became accustomed to it, and in fact some Indonesians who were particularly close to the Japanese began to imitate the Japanese way of speaking Indonesian in order to impress their fellow Indonesians that they had been Nipponized. So when slapping their subordinates they would insult them as well by saying <u>Kamu kepara kosong ne</u> (you empty-head), <u>Koe baka na</u> instead of <u>Koe goblok</u> (you idiot), etc. The Japanese did not stay long in Indonesia; nevertheless they succeeded in influencing the Indonesian youth thanks to their systematic indoctrination campaigns.

In the meantime, a good number of Japanese words were adopted

into Indonesian and treated as part of Indonesian vocabulary, mostly in spoken language, but some in written language as well. (For a list of Japanese words found in Indonesian and   often used in the spoken language, see Appendix)

Some of the Japanese words used in Indonesian are given Indonesian bound morpheme like the prefix ber , ter, me or di . Thus we have berjibaku from jibaku, meaning to carry out a suicide attack, bertaiso, from taisho, meaning to do gymnastics, berkinrohosi, from kinrohoshitai, unpaid labour recruited by the Japanese, dikarate, the prefix di showing passive, so dikarate means being beaten in a karate manner, dibagero, slapped and insulted by the Japanese, etc. Some Japanese words were used jokingly by the Indonesians. The word sonomama in the kyoren exercise means in the spot, don't leave the place, and the Indonesians sometimes speak of a project of which no progress has been made as in the state of sonomama. The Japanese word kore, meaning 'this' was jokingly misunderstood by the Minangkabau in whose language kore means hard. Thus when a Japanese said Kore ka to a galamai(food) vendor in Payakumbuh, the seller would answer back tidak, lembut Tuan (No Sir, it's soft). To the Minangkabau the Japanese word kodomo, child, sounds funny and was often associated with godomo, chubby face.

The Japanese introduced the institution of Tonari Gumi [27] to Indonesia, the neigbourhood association. This tonari gumi concept survives until today and has been called the R.T., Rukun Tetangga, the smallest administrative unit in Indonesian system of government.

The Japanese ordered the Indonesians to establish the _Kumiai_ in every _tonari gumi_ and village, a form of cooperative society but imposed from above. This kind of cooperative movement imposed from above was repeated during the Guided Democracy period and called _koperasi_ but hardly different from the _kumiai_ of the Japanese occupation period.

As has been said above, the Japanese followed a policy of seeking cooperation from the Islamic community and in doing so they drew the Indonesian attention to the alleged similarity or parallelness between aspects of the Japanese culture and the teachings of Islam. They proclaimed the near-identity of the Japanese _Hakkoichiu_ (World Brotherhood) ideal and Islamic concept of _Ukhuwah_ and urged the Muslims to understand the Japanese way of life.[28] However, they were not successful in convincing most of the Islamic leaders and Dr.Amrullah or Haji Rasul, "the venerated Minangkabau reformist"[29] "fearlessly exposed the irreconcilability of emperor worship and Islamic monotheism."

The Japanese knew of the Islamic concept of _Jihad_, holy war, and they hinted that the Muslims should regard _Dai Toa Senso_, the greater East Asia War, as equal to _Jihad_. The Japanese soldiers who fell in the battle-field did not die in vain but, on the contrary, their souls achieve eternal bliss as their ashes were stored in the _Yasukuni Zinzasai_, the Shinto Shrine in Tokyo. The Japanese knew that the Muslims also had somewhat similar idea or doctrine about soldiers who died on battle-fields. When the _Heiho_ and _Gyu Gun_

were created the Japanese authorities wanted the ulama to proclaim
that the members of the Heiho and Gyu Gun who fell in the war would
become syahid, martyrs, a word which is quite significant for the
Muslims. The Islamic leaders agreed and Kasman Singodimedjo, the
PETA [30] Dai Dancho (commander) proclaimed: "The religion of the
Indonesian people....orders them to become fighters....Remember
that Muslims who die through participation in this war will die in
a holy cause, who in the hereafter will for ever live by the side
of Allah, blessed with His favours." [31] But when it was reported
that an Indonesian Heiho, Amat Jottohei, a first class private, had
sacrificed himself by carrying out a suicide attack in the island
of Morotai, an action which all the newspapers praised and talked
about, the ulama did not proclaim that he would go straight to
Heaven. In private many ulama said that everything depended on the
niyat, the motive and intention. If private Amat had had a correct
niyat and did not act on the basis of a riya (in order to be seen
or praised) he might go straight to Heaven. Yet many did not agree
about the religious lawfulness of carying out a real suicide attack.

The Islamic leaders cooperated with the Japanese authorities
in order to promote the cause of Islam and were careful to use their
words in order not to commit sin or to offend the Japanese. They
proclaimed that "with Nippon we stand, with Nippon we fall, in the
path of Allah, to destroy a tyrannous enemy." [32] For the non-Muslim
the phrase in the path of Allah may not be significant, but for the
conscious Muslim it is. The phrase is a Quranic one which in Arabic

reads <u>fi sabilillah</u>, which is also used in Indonesian. One of the

biggest Islamic fighting organizations during the Independence

struggle was called <u>Barisan Sabilillah</u>. Bearing this in mind, it

would not be contrary to Islamic teaching as such when a declaration

such as "with Nippon we stand, with Nippon we fall, in the path of

Allah, to destroy a tyrannous enemy" was made. Nevertheless, the

Muslims did not accept the view that the <u>Dai Toa Senso</u> was syno-

nymous with <u>Jihad</u>, but as far as the Japanese was concerned this

was all right as long as the Muslims were prepared to fight in their

side.

One particular Japanese word which offended most Indonesian

Muslims, and which was dear to the Japanese so that it became one

of the sources of friction between the Indonesian and the Japanese,

was the <u>keirei</u>, the bow Japanese style. The Muslims associated it

with the <u>rukuk</u>, the bow used in Islamic prayer and not to be used

to anyone but God. The Japanese took pains to explain that <u>keirei</u>

was not <u>rukuk</u> [33] but the <u>ulama</u> still did not like it. The Indonesians

were told to perform <u>keirei</u> when they passed a Japanese sentry or

when introduced to a Japanese. Pupils in schools were told to bow

towards their teacher. Every morning and on any important occasions

government officials and school pupils had to perform the <u>Sei</u>

<u>Keirei</u> , the solemn bow directed towards the Imperial Palace in

Tokyo.[34] This ritual <u>Sei Keirei</u> was repulsive to orthodox Muslims

and led to the unpopularity of the Japanese in the <u>ulama</u>'s eye. I

was told that Mohammd Natsir, the former Prime Minister and Chairman

of the Masyumi Party, when working at Bandung Municipality always
managed to avoid performing the Sei Keirei by resorting to all sorts
of pretexts. The Japanese soon realized this and gave consessions
to Islamic leaders that they need not take part in Sei Keirei cere-
mony if they did not want to. But they warned them of the importance
of maintaining close cooperation between the Islamic community and
the Japanese military government. A Japanese spokesman gave this
warning: "In order to achieve final victory can the Muslim not aid
the Dai Nippon Army, even if there are certain points—— in them-
selves not touching the essence of the Islamic religion —— which,
because of the extraordinary conditions prevailing, cannot be con-
ceded." [35]

The Islamic leaders knew that they would, according to their
calculation, profit from cooperating with the Japanese. Nevertheless,
they were sensitive about what they regarded as of primary importance
for their community, they were jealous of their religion and feared
that Japanese custom and religion expressed in Japanese words such
as Sei Keirei, Ameterasu, Tenno Heika, Yasukuni, Harakiri, etc.
would harm the Indonesian Islamic faith. The ulama declared that
they would willingly cooperate with the Japanese Army, "but on con-
dition that a way be used which does not offend religion. If (their)
religion is, however, offended, then it should be realized that
Muslims believe in defending their religion, wherever this may
lead them." [36]

From a strictly Islamic point of view there seem to be no object-

ion on the part of the Muslims to cooperate with the Japanese provided this cooperation is intended to promote the cause of Islam. The Islamic leaders cooperated with the Japanese on the basis of an Islamic injunction, lakum dinukum wa liyadin , for you your religion, for me mine.[37] In this cooperation, Indonesian played an important role as the language of common communication.

The Japanese sought Indonesian cooperation and they accepted the fact that the most important means of communication was not Japanese, but Malay. As Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana put it : "Like all the people who had come to Indonesia before them, they (the Japanese) were forced to make use of Indonesian as the most practical language for the time being. Indonesian thus became not merely the language of the law and of official pronouncements, but also of official correspondence between government departments, and between the government and the people. Likewise Indonesian was used in all schools from primary schools up to the university level."[38]

As said above, the Japanese prohibited the use of Dutch overnight. They realized that the use of Indonesian would create problems because of the fact that Mareigo, the Malay language, lacked modern vocabulary to cope with various administrative as well as technical requirements, and it was in their interest to have something done about its perfection. It was in this connection that they agreed to establish the Komisi Bahasa , the Language Commission, whose task was to improve and develop Indonesian to such as extent that it would be capable and satisfactory of being used to express

modern ideas as well as technical terms. The Komisi Bahasa was established as early as 20th October, 1942 and was headed by a Mr.Mori, Mr. Ichiki, and Mr. Kagami, three Japanese officials and as secretary was appointed Mr. Soewandi, an Indonesian who became Minister of Education and Culture in one of the Cabinets of the Republic later on. Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana was appointed as "an expert secretary" of the Language Commission and prominent Indonesians such as Husein Djajadiningrat, Purbatjaraka, Haji Agus Salim, Mohammad Hatta, Sukarno, etc. all became members.

In carrying out its day-to-day work, the Commission was divided into three sections:

First Section dealing with grammar was headed by Professor Husein Djajadiningrat.

Second Section dealing with creating and selecting new words was headed by Mr. S. Mangunsarkoro.

Third Section dealing with terminology creation was headed by Mohammad Hatta, and this section split itself into smaller subsections each dealing with particular terms in a certain field.[39]

Although the Language Commission was established with the full agreement of the Japanese and headed by Japanese officials, the government was not interested in what the body was supposed to accomplish. They set up the Commission not out of sincerity to help the Indonesian to improve their language but just to please the Indonesian nationalists. It was only one year after the establishment of the Commission that they agreed to the setting up of a

language office, which would carry out the main body of work of the Language Commission.[40] This language office was headed by Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana.

The language office accomplished a magnificent job in spite of great difficulties that it had to overcome. The Japanese for instance did not want to send out what the language office had done as regards terminology creation to the Indonesian schools, which were completely under their control. They kept postponing giving their approval for the very name of Bahasa Indonesia, which they knew was closely related to Indonesian nationalism. And of course they did not want Indonesian to develop to such an extent that in the long run it would outrival the Japanese language. Nevertheless, work at the language office continued relatively smoothly due to the dedication of its staff. In the words of Sutan Takdir, "some members of his staff were prepared to arrive at the office half an hour earlier and to stay on half an hour longer merely in order to speed up work in preparing a dictionary for which work the office had no special staff. Particularly in the last few months of the year 1944, meetings of sub-sections dealing with terminology creation were frequently held as if it was felt that the Language Commission would soon be abolished."[41]

The work of developing the national language, however, was not done only by the Language Office. Every provincial office of education, which was in control of schools in its respective area, also carried out language development programmes. Textbooks in use in

school were "purified" from any word which might remind the pupils of the former colonial ruler. Dutch words which occurred in textbooks written in Malay were obliterated and replaced with Malay words. Even Dutch names were replaced by Indonesian names and the very word Belanda, Dutch or Holland, had to be replaced by the word Eropah, Europe or European. Teachers and pupils spent a great many hours during lesson periods carrying out this purification of textbooks. I remember asking our teacher about the name Adolf which was found in a textbook on arithmetic, because I was not sure whether it had to be replaced. Our teacher said no, as Adolf could be a good German name and not a Dutch one. [42]

Newspapers of course created a lot of new words and did not await the result of the work of the Language Office or anyone else when they wanted to write about things for which in the past they had used words borrowed from Dutch. Thus now they began to talk about kereta kebal, armoured cars, instead of panzer or tank, jentera, machine, instead of mesin, ketua negara , president, instead of presiden, kilang, factory, mill, instead of fabrik, pajak, tax instead of belasting, bersenam, gymnastics instead of gimnastik, and many many other words. The use of the word juru, craftsman which in the past was mainly confined to juru tulis, expert in writing, hence secretary and juru masak, expert in cooking, hence cook, was now extended and we found new words in newspaper pages such as juru - terbang, aeroplane pilot, jurubicara, spokesman, jurutera, expert in weight and measurements, etc. Nowadays in Indonesia the compound

words formed from the word <u>juru</u> as the head word is no longer po-
pular or hardly used at all. Even the well-established words like
juruterbang, pilot, juruwarta, newspaper correspondent, jurutulis,
secretary, jurumasak , cook have given way to penerbang, wartawan,
penulis, and tukang masak respectively. The word jurubicara, spokesman,
seems to be an exception and the reason is that the word pembicara
which also exists does not mean spokesman but speaker. The current
forms tend to be shorter but perhaps brevity is only part of the
reason for the change. The combination with <u>juru</u> is felt to be too
Malay by many and it is a fact that this type of word is still po-
pular or beginning to be popular in Malaysia today.

The intensive anti-western propaganda carried out during the
occupation period was an important factor which caused Indonesians
to resort to the vocabulary of non-western origin in coining new
words. In Indonesia the elite group of course still spoke Dutch in
private, but in those days they did not dare to do so in public for
fear of being accused of being pro Dutch. These people must have
found Malay, although a new language to many of them, to be a more
suitable medium of communication for certain topics than for instance
one of the many Indonesian languages such as Javanese, Sundanese,
etc. Anyway, they felt a need to speak a different language because
they felt different from the ordinary people.

Although a great number of words were created, most of the fa-
miliar ones were of course propaganda words and catch phrases. For
the first time in the history of Malay, the language was suddently

changed into a tool of violent hatred directed agaist the whiteman.
"Hancurkanlah, musuh kita, itulah Inggeris Amerika" (Destroy our
enemy, the British and the American) says an Indonesian song then
popular in Sumatra. Everywhere one saw posters saying among other
things : Inggeris dilinggis, Amerika distrika, Belanda diperkudaᵵ
(the British are to be chopped off, the Americans to be flattened out
by means of hot irons, and the Dutch to be made beasts of burden);
Nippon saudara tua kita (Nippon is our elder brother), Nippon pe-
lindung Asia (Nippon protector of Asia), etc., etc. Before the war,
stage-shows known as <u>komedi bangsawan</u> were popular in Indonesian
towns and during the Japanese period a new word, <u>sandiwara</u> was
created to replace this <u>komedi bangsawan</u> and it was made use of
extensively to propagate the idea of hatred against the whiteman.[43]
All these thundering slogans were addressed to the Indonesians most
of whom hardly understood the language. But then "in those days
not only school teachers, but also the government officials from
the lowest rank up to the top functionaries, most whom could hardly
use Indonesian, were suddenly forced to learn the language and use
it in their work. It was a period in which a great deal that had
never before been written or otherwise expressed in Indonesian had
to be communicated in the language with the inevitable result that
confusions sometimes occurred. The Japanese, who wanted to mobilize
the total energies of the Indonesian people for their war effort,
penetrated to the remotest villages, using Indonesian wherever they
went, and thus helped the wide spread of the language throughout the

archipelago.

The Indonesians became fluent in using the national language in due time and with this a new feeling of solidarity also grew more strongly. Indonesian soon became a symbol of national unity in opposing the Japanese effort to spread the Japanese language and culture among the Indonesian people.[44] The most fundamental change occurred in the field of education but "this radical change, which should normally have been baffling even to the foremost educators in the world, went fairly smoothly, mostly thanks to the enthusiasm of both teachers and pupils." [45]

On August 14, 1945 the war came to an end. The Japanese had to leave Indonesia. When they left, the position of Indonesian was totally different from what it was when they had come to the archipelago three and a half years previously.[46] On the whole it can be said that as far as the development of the national language is concerned the period of the Japanese occupation was not then a bad thing.

3.   The Piagam Jakarta   (The Jakarta Charter)

The Indonesian political leaders had always used Indonesian in their public pronouncements, but so far it was mainly limited to talking to the mass of the population, creating slogans for propaganda purposes in their effort at rousing national conscious- ness or religious solidarity. The elite groups had not come to serious discussions about establishing an endependent state in

respect of its administrative aspects as well as its philosophic
the
foundation until the Japanese authority gave   green light for such

a discussion to take place.

It was in March, 1945 that the Japanese announced their agreement

for the establishment of an Investigating Committee for Indonesian

Independence. The Committee came into being on 29 April, 1945 and

it had sixty two members representing a variety of Indonesian poli-

tical opinions. The chairman of the Committee was Dr.Radjiman, an

old physician to the Court of Surakarta, a staunch defender of the

Hindu-Javanese culture, former president of the Budi Utomo Asso-

ciation. [47] It was during sessions of this Committee that Indonesian

political leaders used the national language for the first time in

discussing matters of grave importance pertaining to the basic phi-

losophy and constitution of the future republic. On 29 May Mu-

hammad Yamin delivered a speech outlining his idea about five basic

principles, inter alia Peri Ketuhanan, belief in God, Peri Kemanu-

siaan, humanitarianism, Peri Kesusilaan, morality upon which the

independent republic should be founded. However, it was Sukarno's

speech delivered two days later that became an epoch-making oration

and a turning point in the controversy between the Islamic groups

and the secular nationalists in Indonesia.

It was Sukarno at his best and he had the most sympathetic of

audiences, political leaders who were all united in anticipating

the birth of the republic. The main theme of the speech was to com-

bat the idea of an Islamic state for Indonesia. Sukarno wanted to

establish a state based on secular nationalism, but he very well
knew that the word nationalism was not palatable to the Islamic
groups. When he mentioned the word he apologized to the Islamic
groups. "I ask Ki Bagus Hadikusumo and others of the Islamic group",
he said, "to excuse my using the word "Nationalism".[48] He empha-
sized that "an Indonesian National State does not mean a national
state in a narrow sense. Ki Bagus Hadikusumo said yesterday, he is
an Indonesian, his parents are Indonesians, his grandparents are
Indonesians, his ancestors were Indonesians. It is upon Indonesian
nationalism in the sense meant by Ki Bagus Hadikusumo that we shall
base the Indonesian state." [49]

Sukarno knew and the Islamic leaders no doubt also realized that
what nationalism meant to Sukarno was not what it meant to Ki Bagus
Hadikusumo and this was borne out by the fact that a small committee
was created afterwards in which the relationship between the Islamic
idea and nationalistic idea was discussed and formulated.

The other four basic principles put forward by Sukarno were
internationalism, the principle of deliberation among representa-
tives, the principle of social justice, and the fifth principle
"should be : to build Indonesia Merdeka in awe of the One, Supreme
God." [50] So Sukarno put forward five basic principles and he attached
great significance to the number five. "I like symbolism, the
symbolism of numbers also. The fundamental obligations of Islam
are five in number......"[51] Sukarno's speech on that June 1 st,
1945 has been known in Indonesia as the speech of the birth of

<u>Pancasila</u> (Five Principles).

Although Sukarno did not address a mass meeting when he deli-
vered the speech, he cleverly used some words in such a way that
would not fail to have effects on various sectors of Indonesian
society. He used the word <u>mufakat</u>, unanimity, a concept dear to
Indonesians. And not only that. He used <u>mufakat</u> and not <u>mupakat</u> as
most Indonesians use, preferring the "santri" pronunciation. He al-
so used the word <u>permusyawaratan</u> , a word borrowed from Islamic vo-
cabulary originating from the Qur'an. The verse containing <u>syura</u>
<u>bainahum</u> in conducting affairs is popular among Islamic Indonesians
and modern Muslims interpret it as the basis of democracy. The Isla-
mic party now banned in Indonesia, the <u>Masyumi</u>, is the abbreviation
from Majelis Syura Muslimin Indonesia, the Consultative Body of the
Indonesian Muslims. Sukarno deliberately pronounced words of Arabic
origin such as musyawarat, subhanahu wa ta'ala, etc. in their "santri"
pronunciation which many non-santri Indonesians do not. He wanted
to please his Islamic-oriented audience. In the Pancasila speech he
said : "....if you open up my breast and look at my heart, you will
find it none but a Muslim heart" [52], and also "let us work as hard as
possible so that most of the seats in the People's Representative Body
which we will create, are occupied by Muslim delegates." [53]

Although he emphasized the symbolic importance of the number
five, nevertheless, he had no objection if anyone wanted to reduce
them into three, and indeed even into one. "If I compress what was
five into three, and what was three into one, then I have a genuine

Indonesian term, gotong rojong, mutual cooperation. The state of Indonesia which we are to establish must be a gotong rojong state. Is that not something marvellous: a Gotong Rojong state." [54] Sukarno did not forget the great majority of Indonesians who spoke not Indonesian but Javanese and that was why he used such as gotong rojong, and he defined it as "Acts of service by all for the interest of all. Ho-lo-pis-kuntul-baris - One, two, three, heave ! "[55] Notice the words Tjondrodimuko, the name of the deepest and most dreadful level of hell, Ratu Adil, and even karyo and gawe which he used in the speech, all Javanese words having symbolistic significance in the context of the speech. Now the word gotong rojong has become universal in Indonesia, but it did not until late in the Japanese occupation period.

According to Sukarno, his speech received unanimous support from his audience and he was given a standing ovation. This was true; nevertheless, the content of his speech could not convert the influential Islamic leaders to become nationalists in Sukarno's terms. The small committee which formulated the draft of the declaration of Independence, although headed by Sukarno himself, produced on 22nd June a text which has been known in modern Indonesian history as the Piagam Jakarta, the Jakarta Charter. Members of the small committee argued mostly not on the content of the declaration but on the style and variety of language used. The Islamic leaders insisted on using the flagrantly Islamic terms throughout, which of course was not acceptable to others. The agreed text opened with the

translation of the familiar surah from the Qur'an: "In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful." [56] For the Islamic group, the inclusion of the Bismilah, the borrowed verse from the Holy Book, was regarded as a kind of victory over the secular nationalist.

The Pancasila text in the Piagam Jakarta also deviated from Sukarno's original order of the Sila (principle) in a fundamental way. Whereas Sukarno emphasized that the first Sila should be Nationalism, the text of the Piagam had Belief in One God as the first Sila. This is also significant. According to Professor Kahar Muzakir, one of the members who sat in the small committee, the Muslim understood the Sila Belief in One God as synonymous with the Tauhid, the most fundamental of the article of faith in Islamic religion, i.e. absolute monotheism. [57] The Islamic groups were not prepared to accept the principle of Tauhid put in lower order than any other Sila in the Pancasila nor for that matter it should be regarded as equal with other Sila . [58] In his Idul Fitri (Festivity after Ramadan) sermon at the Presidential Palace in 1969, the well-known ulama, Hamka, spoke of Pancasila as the figure 10.000, and the first Sila, Belief in One God represents the figure 1. Without this first Sila, he regarded that the other Sila would lose their values. In the republican Constitution the first Sila is expressed as Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa, emphasizing the absolute oneness of God, but in the Piagam only Ketuhanan, without the emphasis. However, the Ketuhanan in the Piagam is linked with the following words :"dengan kewajiban menjalankan syariat Islam bagi pemeluk-pemeluknya ", seven words

which became the most important source of heated debates in Indone-
sian politics from time to time. Those seven words mean : with an
obligation on the part of the Muslims to live in accordance with
the syariat - the Islamic way of life. These seven words were just
perhaps words because no one seems to know precisely what they
meant or should mean; [59] nevertheless, Islamic leaders attached
great importance to them and because of that the non-Islamic groups
were apprehensive about them.

The word Allah is of course characteristically Islamic, but
not necessarily so in Indonesian context unless it is pronounced
in its correct Arabic pronunciation. The church also employs the
word Allah but pronounces it Alah and not Allah. The word Tuhan,
God, seems to be neutral and the phrase Tuhan Allah also occurs.

Although the Piagam was produced during the Japanese period,
and cannot be said to be absolutely free from Japanese supervision,
it shows no trace of Japanese influence apart from the way in which
the date was written, which was Djakarta, 22-6-2605, using the Ja-
panese Showa year.

The Piagam was meant to be the preamble to the Constitution
of the projected independent republic and would also serve as the
text for the declaration of independence. The 1945 Constitution
of the Republic, which was provisionally adopted when the state was
one day old, originated from the document produced by the Committee
for Indonesian Independence. According to Mohammad Hatta there were
very few changes made from the original text and they were of un-

fundamental nature.[60]

As has been said above, all the discussions were held in Indonesian and this policy was taken for granted by everyone. No one disagreed when it was proposed that the Constitution should stipulate : Bahasa Negara ialah Bahasa Indonesia (the State language is the Indonesian language). This is contained in article 36, chapter XV of the 1945 Constitution. Although as Professor A.Teeuw has already stated that the proclamation of the official national language in the Constitution was no more than the statement of fact, it was still a very important event in the development of the national language. The pronouncement of the official language as a political statement is one thing and the incorporation of it in the Constitution is another. The drafters of the Constitution must have been aware, no matter how vaguely, that it would create a special linguistic problem for the majority of the Indonesian people who do not belong to the proper Malay speaking peoples, as for instance the Sundanese and the Javanese, who had well-developed, literary languages of their own. It has been pointed out that the choice of Malay as the official language was caused among other things by the fact that "the language was politically neutral". This might well be true but another important fact was , and emphatically is, that it has been the language of public communication of the Indonesian elite groups. But why have the elite groups chosen Malay as their common language cannot be dismissed as a simple question without taking into consideration socio-religious political aspects

of those who make use of it not only as a means of communication
but as an instrument of power.[61] And what is more, Malay cannot
be regarded as a strictly neutral language in political as well as
cultural sense. For the Malay speaking peoples, especially the
Sumatran elite groups, it was regarded as the language to maintain
and promote the unity of Malay culture. There is little doubt that
politicians of Sumatran origin were spiritually more committed
than some others in promoting Indonesian as the national language
of Indonesia. In their youth, leaders such as Muhammad Yamin,
Alisjahbana, and even Mohammad Hatta wrote poetry in Malay.

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29. Benda, Harry J. : op. cit. p.141

30. Kasman Singodimedjo was later on one of the main leaders of the Masyumi political party

31. Benda, Harry J. : op. cit. p.141

32. See for instance Soeara Moeslimin Indonesia, II, 20, p.2 under
      the title : "Berdjihad oentoek menegakkan agama Allah"
      (to carry out the jihad in order to establish God's reli-
      gion)

33. See Harry J. Benda, op. cit. p.124

34. See Hamka , Ajahku (My Father), p.155. Haka's father, Haji
      Rasul, defiantly refused to perform the Sei Keirei in
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      Savoy Homannn Hotel, in Bandung.

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C H A P T E R   F O U R

THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE AND THE REVOLUTION

1. The Establishment of the Republic

On August 14th, 1945, the Japanese government and supreme military commanders in Tokyo accepted the Allied ultimatum to surrender and thus the Second World War came to an end. In Jakarta, three days afterward, on August 17th, Sukarno and Mohammad Hatta, on behalf of the Indonesian people proclaimed the independence of Indonesia implying that the transfer of power from the Japanese military government would take place immediately but in an orderly manner. The text of the proclamation that Sukarno read to a crowd gathered in the courtyard of the house at number 56, Pegangsaan is as follows:

P R O K L A M A S I

Kami bangsa Indonesia dengan ini menyatakan kemerdekaan Indonesia. Hal-hal yang mengenai pemindahan kekuasaan dan lain-lain, diselenggarakan dengan cara saksama dan dalam tempo yang sesingkat-singkatnya. (We the Indonesian people herewith declare Indonesian Independence. Matters relating to the transfer of authority (will) be carried out in an orderly manner and in the shortest possible time).

Several other more revolutionary texts for the proclamation were proposed, but it was the text that Sukarno and Hatta produced that was accepted and only the two top leaders put their signatures to it. Both Sukarno and Hatta did not agree with the foolhardiness of the youth who had wanted to use stronger words in the proclamation and to condemn the Japanese as well as those who had collaborated with them. As a political realist Hatta clearly saw great danger

in that attitude in view of the fact that the intact Japanese military might was still in full control of Indonesia.[1]

The proclamation spread rapidly through the entire island of Java and in a very short while it was also known to the people in the outer islands. In Sumatra the text of the proclamation was "formally" reissued and countersigned by Muhammad Sjafei, who acted on behalf of the Indonesian people in the island. However, "the establishment of a Republican government in Sumatra, between August and October, 1945, was the result of an autonomous revolution, or series of revolutions, which echoed the revolutionary process in Java, but were quite distinct from it."[2] Series of revolutions also occurred in several other islands, although, on account of communication difficulties and other unfavourable factors, they were less coordinated and were soon suppressed by the Dutch military power. According to P.Kurt Pirkaty, "...in die kriegerisschen Auseinandersetzungen zwischen der holländischer Kolonialmacht und der indonesischer Republik 1945 - 1949 wurde Nusa Tenggara (Suedost Indonesien) kaum hineingerissen."[3]

The proclamation gave birth to the Republic of Indonesia and before long the new independent country had to undergo severe hardship in its confrontation with the Dutch government which was coming back to Indonesia to take possession of its former territories again, which the world recognized to be under the jurisdiction of Holland. Armed Republicans had clashes with the Dutch troops in many places and there were even clashes between the Indonesians and the British

troops. One of the major clashes with the British troops occurred
in the town of Surabaya which escalated on 10th November, 1945
and from that time on until now November 10 has been celebrated
in Indonesia every year as   Hero's Day. A young Indonesian
intellectual from Surabaya who was involved in the Surabaya
struggle, Ruslan Abdulgani, a man who played an important role as
ideologue of Sukarno's Guided Democracy later on, wrote in 1946
on the unavoidability of the fighting. As he put it, among others:
"Indeed, the spilling of blood could not be prevented in Surabaya.
Especially when we remember that this blood-letting was forced
upon us." [4]

In view of the fact that armed struggle seemed to be a legi-
timate means by which the Indonesians could secure their complete
independence and defend it against their enemy, the Islamic poli-
tical and religious leaders considered the problem from the point
of view of the teaching of Islam. They came to the conclusion that
it was incumbant upon the ummat, the Muslim community, to take up
arms to defend itself against the invading Dutch troops and proc-
laimed the jihad , the holy war, against them. Muslim youth res-
ponded to the call spontaneously and motivated perhaps by a variety
of reasons, secular as well as religious, voluntered in great
numbers to fight the enemy in which, on account of their inexperience
and poor weaponry, many became fodder to the enemy's guns. Many
of the pemuda, the revolutionary youth, had very little idea what
it meant to be fighting against a modern, well-equiped army with

old fashioned muskets, hand granades and even swords. General A.H.
Nasution who played an important role in organizing Republican
troops on Java wrote about some of the problems he encountered
among others as follows: "How many of our boys died in vain because
of the mistakes of our commanders who urged them to go on attacks,
to fight with bamboo-sticks against tanks, to fight with granades
against artillery, etc." [5]

Not only the Muslims were involved in the armed struggle, how-
ever, but also the Hindus, the Christians and others who were all
becoming warlike and patriotic in a high degree. Commenting on the
Christians, a German scholar, Wendelin Wawer, wrote among others :
" Aus nationaler Begeisterung und um hinter den Muslimen nicht
zurückzustehen beteiligten sich auch die Christen an diesem Kampf." [6]

Although the Indonesians fought many a bloody battle with the
Dutch troops in order first of all to obtain recognition for their
independence, it was in international diplomacy that their leaders
achieved outstanding results in which they succeeded in convincing
a number of world leaders on the rightness of their cause and even
converting some of them to their side. But having said this one
should not underestimate the role that the armed struggle played
in winning the independence. From the beginning of the revolution,
the Indonesian army had been under the control of the civilian
politicians and this enabled the latter without much hinrance to
make use of the military strength as a support in their diplomatic
battles. [7]

Early in the revolution, the Indonesian government which was

headed by Sukarno had to hand over power to Sutan Sjahrir and his
group, moderate politicians who believed in having talks with the
Dutch in order to find a peaceful solution to the Indonesia-Nether-
lands conflict. Sukarno did not in any way oppose this idea. On the
contrary, the President, who in the late fifties was uncompromising
in his attitude and speeches with regard to Holland and other Western
countries, during the physical revolution was much less revolutiona-
ry and put himself on the side of those who believed in diplomacy
rather on those who opposed it.[8] There was little doubt that he lost
much power to Sutan Sjahrir, but that he would soon disappear from
the political scene in 1946 as was reported by the Dutch Lieutenant-
Governor General Van Mook to his government in Holland was a mis-
calculation on the part of the Dutch.[9] And of course in those days
the name Sukarno was always mentioned in Indonesia in one breath
with that of Hatta and the two men were referred to as a Dwi-Tunggal,
a diumvirate.

Sutan Sjahrir was a social democrat and he was concerned about
the irrational tendencies that developed in Indonesian society on
account of the fervent nationalism that had gripped the pemuda since
the Japanese time. He came to the fore after he had denounced those
who had collaborated with the Dutch as well as Japanese colonial
governments for their own private gains at the expense of their own
people and he warned the country not to allow these people to lead
the revolution. He declared : "Our revolution must be led by revo-
lutionary, democratic groups, and not by nationalist groups, which

have let themselves be used as servants of the Fascists, whether Dutch-colonial Fascists, or Japanese military Fascists." [10]

He wanted the revolution not merely as an undertaking to establish a national state for the sake of nationalism but above all to create a democratic society. He declared : "Top priority must be given, not to nationalism, but to democracy." [11]

Perhaps some would say that it was not quite an opportune moment during the physical revolution to utter the statement about the top priority of the revolution as Sutan Sjahrir had done. Nevertheless, one has to remember that during the colonial period there was a section of the Indonesian society that was, because of interest, strongly opposed to any effort of democratising the society. The Dutch East Indies civil service was filled by native officials many of whom tended to be more colonial than Dutch men themselves in treating the rakyat, the subject people, as dirty natives. The Dutch scholar Snouck Hurgronje had written about the native officials of earlier time as follows : "They were rigidly organized in a hierarchy accustomed to iron discipline, filled with unlimited respect for the rule of whomever stood above them. Without a word of protest the highest among them transfered their traditional respect for their princes to their European masters; they willingly devoted themselves to introducing all the regulations which the Dutch wanted, provided that their personal interests were respected as much as possible." [12] This kind of mentality lingered on until the end of colonial governments and Sjahrir did not want to see

the revolution end up only in the creation of a national state
without first of all getting rid of the subservient habit which
even during the revolution could manifest in a variety of forms
depending on what kind of leadership that revolution had.

As Prime Minister, Sjahrir began to conduct a series of serious
negotiations with the Dutch government but unfortunately those ne-
gotiations failed to bring about a real solution despite the signing
of the Linggardjati Agreement. As a matter of fact, negotiations
seemed only to strengthen the Dutch military position in Indonesia
and to reduce the extent of the Republican territories because the
Republic had to give much concession in order to appease the aggre-
sive Dutch. The fact resulted in the increase of the prestige of
those leaders who were opposed to the policy of having negotiation
with the enemy. One of the most important leaders of this group
was Tan Malaka, a former communist leader who had a great following
among various laskar (fighting) organizations. Tan Malaka condemned
what he called the policy of capitulation and urged on the people
to continue the fight until the enemy had left the Indonesian soil.
He declared : "We are not willing to negotiate with anyone else be-
fore we obtained our 100 per cent freedom and before our enemy has
left our shores and our seas.in good order. We are not willing to
negotiate with a thief in our house. Let us not have the idea that
the public does not understand diplomacy." [13]

In the meantime there developed tension between the left group

and the government over various aspects of political and ideological problems and skirmishes occurred between loyal government troops and armed laskar having sympathy with the communists. On November 19, 1948, the communist in Medium took over power from the provincial authorities and established a communist-oriented government there. In order to suppress the rebellion, Mohammad Hatta, the then Prime Minister with the full backing of President Sukarno sent a crack division to Medium and took again the town on September 30th in the same year. It is incidently in connection with this date that the communist plotters of 1965 called themselves the 30th September Movement and carried out their coup on October 1st.

As the result of the rebellion and the military action that the government had to launch to suppress it, the Indonesian army became weaker and it was not before long that the Dutch took advantage of the critical situation. On December 19th, 1948, the Dutch government launched what they preferred to call the second Police action, which was a highly coordinated full scale military offensive to crush the Republic once and for all. They took the capital Jogjakarta, captured top level Republican leaders and prepared themselves for the mopping up operation realizing that the republican troops had taken to the hills.

The Dutch successful military operation, however, did not succeed in finishing the Republic. Before being captured by the Dutch, Vice President Hatta had broadcast on the radio that the government had issued a mandate to Sjafrudin Prawiranegara who was

then in Sumatra, urging him to form a Cabinet and contnue with the struggle. The Dutch never succeeded in destroying the emergency republican government which was operating in the interior of West Sumatra with its base at Kota Tinggi.

The military operation launched by the Dutch against the Republic caused considerable anger among republican supporters and friends abroad and even some Western political leaders did not approve of the employment of force which did not solve the Indonesian question as had been expected. The republican forces were not eliminated and now they began to conduct guerilla warfare against the Dutch and caused considerable damage to properties as well as inflicted some casualties on the Dutch troops. As time went on the guerilla attacks gained in intensity and world public opinion became more and more unsympathetic towards the Dutch. Finally the Dutch government decided to release the top level republican leaders and conducted talks again with some of them. After an agreement known as the Roem-Royen Accord, the republican leaders agreed to come to Holland to attend a Round Table Conference to find a peaceful solution. "On December 27, 1949, The Republic of the United States of Indonesia was formed, on the basis of the two-month Round Table Conference at The Hague. Considering its background — more than four years of intermittent warfare — it was a remarkable achievement of compromise." [14] We relate all this here because it is a matter of life and death for the Republic which is basic to the official status of Indonesian.

Although not the entire political groups in Indonesia were very satisfied with the outcome of the Round Table Conference concerning the establishment of the federal state, most of them gave support to the position adopted by the Indonesian delegation. One of the important member of the delegation, Mohammad Roem, who had initiated the first Accord in Jakarta, wrote about the guideline policy of the delegation as follows : "The guideline policy of the delegation which was led by Hatta was, among others, to be prepared to give concession in words if necessary provided that by doing so victory was achieved in actual fact." [15]

The Indonesian delegation had pressed for the recognition of the absolute sovereignty of the Indonesian state by Holland and that was what it succeeded in achieving. " All notions of an interim settlement had vanished: sovereignty rested completely with the Republic of the United States of Indonesia. This comprised sixteen states, of which the Republic was the most important." [16]

With the recognition of Indonesia as a sovereign state by the world, Indonesian as the official state language of the new state, came to play an important role more than ever before in Indonesian society, but at the same time began to face enormous problems which have not been completely solved today.

2. The Official Language of the Republic

As has been said earlier, Indonesian was declared to be the state official language of the newly proclaimed state as was sti-

pulated in the country's Constitution which was adopted the follo-
wing day of the proclamation of independence. The fact that Indo-
nesian was unanimously accepted as the sole state language was
quite an extraordinary phenomenon in view of the fact that tangible
power to enforce its use by the Indonesian officials was lacking
and that apart from one or two nationalist writers who had praised
the quality of the language, the attitude of many educated Indone-
sians towards the language as was manifested in their conversation
was far from encouraging. There had been virtually no significant
emotional attachment to · the language and its historical past which
is comparable for instance with the attitude of the Arabs towards
the Arabic language, an attachment and admiration for their tongue
which have been strong, "amounting to adulation, and and have
even given rise to a linguistic cult with great aesthetic, religous,
cultural, and national significance."[1] Nevertheless, we know that
the Arabs were not unanimous in accepting their language as the
sole medium of communication in their political as well as cultu-
ral affairs.

In the case of Indonesian, no eloquent speeches were delivered
to urge the adoption of the national language at the official
level. The determined nationalist leaders wanted to create the
Republic out of strong conviction in the absolute rightness of
their cause and they had cherished the ideals of the new state in
their hearts. And the most significant thing was that they could
impose their will on their fellow Indonesians. Those enthusiastic

nationalist leaders read books in Dutch as well as other Western languages and many could formulate their ideas and thoughts more clearly in Dutch although a few wrote articles and books in good Indonesian. It must have occurred to at least some of them that the adoption of Indonesian as the sole official language for the entire country would not be an easy matter to implement to say the least. However, they relied on their high prestige and if they decided that Indonesian was to be the national language of Indonesia everybody would just agree with them and gave them support by learning the language and using it. Nevertheless, it can be said that the way in which the national language was adopted in the Constitution was revolutionary. No wonder that the great Dutch scholar, C.C. Berg, later on remarked that an attempt to make Malay the language of Indonesian society was nothing else than an adventure in linguistic experimentation.[2] Politicians in many other developing countries have to be extremely careful in formulating policies with regard to the official adoption of a national or state language. Compare for instance the Indonesian situation with the problems of the national language of the Philippines where "administration after administration .....seem reluctant to decide once and for all the role the government has to take in the development and dissemination of our national language."[3] The role of legislation in determining in what language the people of a state to communicate with each other both orally and in writing can be crucial as has been proved for instance by the experience of Turkey.[4] The difficulties that

the government faces with regard to language problems in India are
enormous and politicians in that country have to be very circusmpect
in formulating government's policies regarding the adoption of
official language. As the Indian scholar Das Gupta wrote : "Consti-
tutional policy formulation was limited to a statement of choice of
the federal official language and its script, a phased time schedule
for the change over the official language, a declaration of freedom
to the constituent states of the federation to choose their own
state official language, and announcement of the federal govern-
ment's responsibility to promote the spread of Hindi." [5] It is not
suggested here that the problems of official language in Indonesia
are similar to those in India or even those in the Philippines but
it was a fact that Indonesian leaders at the beginning of the revo-
lution had thought and acted first of all in terms of the needs
of the elite-led revolution and they regarded Indonesian a fitting
tool. The Dutch writer S.Tas writes concerning this as follows :
" Java was the principal theatre during the struggle for indepen-
dence, but at no time did the nationalists consider elevating Java-
nese to the position of the national language. The principle rea-
sons for this were that the Javanese culture, more than that of any
other region, had become fossilized in a courtly form which was
hardly conducive to revolutionary activity." [6]

The Dutch government did all it could to undermine the Republic
and certainly did not like the idea of promoting Indonesian in its
controlled areas. However, the Dutch authorities found that the
prestige of the Republic was so high and with it the popularity of

Indonesian as the state official language was such that they had
to accept it as a fact of life. Thus "On 6th November, 1945,
the Dutch Lieutenant Governor-General proclaimed Bahasa Indonesia
to be the second official language beside Dutch".[7]

In the meantime, however, the colonial government began to be
actively engaged in a policy of divide and rule by approaching
some people who did not live in the republican-controlled territo-
ries to cooperate with them in a project of creating other states
in the archipelago. The Dutch succeeded in holding several confe-
rences for this purpose and the one held at Malino in Southern

/by

Sulawesi in 1946 was referred to/them as the "historic hour" for
the people of Indonesia.[8] "And on 4th May, 1947, the Dutch hatched
up the state of Western Java, exploiting a few conspiratorial
leaders and encouraging the growth of the Sundanese language in
that area."[9] This is certainly a clever move because it is well-
known in Indonesia that a movement for the development of the Sunda-
nese language had been relatively strong and had a following among
Sundanese intellectuals.

On 15th November, 1946, an agreement between the Dutch govern-
ment and the Republic was reached at Linggardjati, a small place
near the town of Cirebon in West Java. The concluding paragraph of
the Linggardjati Agreement reads as follows :

" Article XVIII : This agreement shall be drawn up in the Nether-
lands and Indonesian languages. Both texts shall have equal autho-
rity."[10] This agreement necessarily enhanced the prestige of Indo-

nesian in the eyes of the Indonesian officials who used to measure things according to the judgement of the Dutch. By the inclusion of this concluding paragraph in the agreement, Indonesian was significantly used as a language of international diplomacy. That was, at least, how many Indonesians looked at the matter.

Thanks to the prestige of the republican leaders, who made use of the national language for their formal communication, political leaders in other parts of Indonesia also demanded the use of Indonesian in their respective areas which were not under the control of the republican government. In West Java, the Pasundan State before long also substituted Indonesian for Sundanese and the Darul Islam proclaimed state also stipulates in its Constitution that the official language of that state is Indonesian.[11]

The use of Indonesian by the young soldiers of the Republic brought about a tremendous change in the bahavioural relationship of many Indonesian people and the coining of new words as well as the coming into being of a great number of new expressions during the revolution characterized Indonesian as a revolutionary language capable of serving the felt needs of enthusiastic youths involved in an excitingly adventurous undertaking. The well-known poet of the revolution, Chairil Anwar, experimented to his heart's content in the use of Indonesian, exploring every possibility of making the language capable of expressing powerful feeling and emotion as well as rational thought by consciously violating some

of the traditional arrangement of its structural patterns and lexis in a challenging way.[12] In the meantime, Indonesian political leaders toured republican territories making thundering speeches in Indonesian, which local leaders down to the village level tried to imitate both in content as well as in style.

It was during the period of guerilla warfare that the spread of Indonesian into the villages took place more significantly. The young soldiers particularly in Java consisted of people originating from several ethnic groups and because of this they tended to speak Indonesian among themselves as well as when they spoke to village inhabitants among whom they lived. At any rate they tended to show off their knowledge of Indonesian which provided them with additional prestige among girls and the local people. Now these soldiers were also taught that they were not only soldiers but also pioneers who were to lead the village people into believing in the national ideology. As General A.H.Nasution wrote : " Guerilla soldiers are not only required to carry arms as soldiers in an ordinary war, but they are soldiers carrying an ideology. They are not only pioneers in battle but above all pioneers of an ideology."[13] The Indonesian soldiers were to be pioneers in spreading the modern national ideology and this type of ideology in practice "shows a strong tendency towards a neglect, even an outright denial, of important variations in domestic cultural patterns and of internal social discontinuities."[14] The Indonesian soldiers, although many of them originating from rural areas, had experienced living in the towns and when

they took to the hills the village people regarded them as town people and as such more knowledgeable. It was of course not only the soldiers who took to the hills during the guerilla period but civilians also. All these town people who mingled with the villagers became agents in the integrative revolution that was taking place in Indonesia. The integrative revolution can be defined as a tendency towards "the aggregation of independently defined, specifically outlined traditional primordial groups into larger, more diffuse units whose implicit frame of reference is not the local scene but the new civil state." [15]

The knowledge of Indonesian was a sign that an Indonesian youth who spoke it had some idea of what was going on in the fighting that took place between the Indonesians and the Dutch. As a matter of fact, the Dutch commanders in West Java when arresting suspected Sundanese youths first of all tried to find out whether the arrested persons spoke Indonesian. An informant told me that he had been a soldier separated from his unit to the south of Bandung during an engagement with a Dutch patrol. He was hiding outside a village and the Dutch soldiers failed to capture him. Disguised as a poor villager he entered the village where he was immediately arrested by the Dutch and cross-examined. He pretended that he did not understand Indonesian in such a convincing way that the Dutch commander believed him and set him free.

3. Merdeka (Freedom) and Other Significant Words

As soon as Indonesia was proclaimed independent, the word Merde-

ka, meaning freedom, became the most frequently repeated word in Indonesia and achieved a new significance in the society affecting some aspect of the Indonesian speaking behaviour. The word had of course been in use to some extent among the militant nationalist circles before and during the war, but the people at large were rather afraid of its implication on account of measures that the government took to suppress the Merdeka movement. People tended to associate the word Merdeka with freedom from paying taxes as well as the notion of <u>sama rata sama rasa</u>, the egalitarian principle. During the Japanese occupation a great number of thundering slogans in connection with the Pacific War was created and those new slogans tended to push the Merdeka slogan to the background because there could be no Merdeka until the enemy was defeated first. The Indonesian national anthem, Indonesia Raya, which was composed in 1928, contains a two-line refrain in which the word Merdeka occurs four times, but the Japanese military authorities in Indonesia allowed the singing of the song for a brief period and that was at the beginning and at the end of the occupation.

When Merdeka finally did come, it is safe to assume that a lot of people still believed that Merdeka implied among other things freedom from paying taxes and the newly established republican government did not make haste to correct this misunderstanding. About two weeks after the establishment of the Republic, the government issued a promulgation containing among other things a directive to the people concerning the use of the word Merdeka in daily life

but no explanation was given as to the meaning of the word. According
to the directive from the day of the promulgation onwards every
Indonesian meeting another Indonesian anywhere at any time must
shout the word Merdeka in the way of greeting and the person so
greeted must shout back by way of returning the greeting.[1] The
manner in which the word to be uttered is that one must raise one's
hand up to the level of one's shoulder showing the palm of the hand
with all the fingers closely arranged symbolizing the Pancasila.
President Sukarno developed a habit of shouting the word Merdeka
several times, sometimes up to seventeen times, before addressing
a mass audience and the audience was to respond each time by shouting
Merdeka also. He chose the number seventeen to symbolize 17th August,
the day of the proclamation.

To change people's way of greeting each other cannot normally
be done overnight unless coercion is resorted to. President Sukarno
did not use force to make the Indonesian people use the word Merdeka
as a form of greeting, but he and many other republican leaders
created a situation in which the use of the new form of greeting was
a must for everybody. The enthusiastic Indonesian youths carried
out the government's regulation faithfully and as a result in a very
short time the word Merdeka came to be used as a form of greeting.
The Head Quarters of the various fighting organizations issued di-
rectives to their members to use the word Merdeka as a battle cry
and before long newspapers reported that dying Indonesian fighters
uttered the word Merdeka before they died.

It is of course understandable that older village people should

find it hard to change their habitual word of greeting. So in some

strictly Islamicized communities like the outskirts of Jakarta,

West Java, etc. some people greeted each other by saying "Assalamu

alaikum, Merdeka ". In parts of Jambi rural areas it is reported

that some people did not like to be greeted with the word Merdeka.

When one says Merdeka to them they will answer "Merdekolah kamu,

getah tak berhargo", meaning something like "go to hell with your

Merdeka, and what about our rubber that has become worthless". In

those parts there were many people who owned small-holding rubber

plantations and during the revolution they could not sell their

rubber.

When the Dutch came back to Indonesia and established the Ne-

therlands East Indies Civil Administration, abbreviated to N.I.C.A.,

the word NICA came into existence in the people's vocabulary and

it came to mean enemy, traitor and the like. An Indonesian accused

of being a sympathiser of NICA would find himself in a great danger

because people might simply kill him. He would be disikat , elimi-

nated as the enemy of the revolution. The word sikat originally

meant a rake, the farmer's implement used in the irrigated ricefield.

In West Sumatra, the phrase sikat saja often meant "just eliminate".

The Indonesian revolution, like many other revolutions, had little

regard for human lives when dealing with alleged traitors and this

is reflected in the words and phrases then commonly used.

The word pemuda, meaning youth, achieved a special significance

during the early stages of the revolution, during which time it meant "young revolutionary activist".[2] It was the pemuda who kidnapped Sukarno and Mohammad Hatta before the proclamation and it was also the pemuda who took over power from the Japanese authorities. The launching of the revolution was unthinkable without the active participation of the pemuda. The Indonesian slogan "pemuda harapan bangsa", the youth is the nation's hope, was not an empty slogan; on the contrary, even until today the word pemuda has always had a favourable connotation in Indonesian society. Another word which achieved a new significance was laskar, from Arabic askar, meaning soldier. During the early stage of the revolution, there arose a number of fighting organizations in addition to the republican army and those laskar organizations were often connected with political parties in one way or another. According to Kahin, laskar was "made up of loosely integrated, frequently almost autonomous, territorially based and raised units —— a sort of home guards..."[3] This is a good description of laskar, particularly as far as the laskar in Java was concerned. I was a member of Sabilillah laskar in West Sumatra and later on also joined the official army. The relationship between the laskar and the official army was not always good. I remember vividly how a fight between the Hizbullah laskar and the official army took place in May, 1946 at Bukittinggi in which one soldier was killed.[4]

The word laskar has remained to be associated with an organization of youth according to the military system and is fighting for

a cause. During the period of turmoil in the aftermath of the

Gestapu abortive coup, university students in Jakarta and Bandung

as well as in several other places created laskar organizations

with the purpose of opposing Sukarno's regime. Students of the Uni-

versitas Indonesia of Jakarta organized themselves into the famous

Laskar Arief Rahman Hakim, so named because the death of a student

by that name during a demonstration.

The words used as terms of address during the revolution were

bapak, saudara, bung and President Sukarno, Vice President Hatta

and Prime Minister Sjahrir were referred to as Bung Karno, Bung

Hatta and Bung Sjahrir respectively. The term bapak (father)

replaced such honorifics as juragan (Sundanese), ndara (Javanese),

engku (Malay). "Even in remote villages it became common practice

to address the young revolutionaries as bapak (father), an honori-

fic used to denote the higher status of the person being addressed."[5]

In all republican territories and even beyond all these new terms

of address became popular. The revolution was definitely in need

of a somewhat egalitarian term of address but in none of the

languages of the archipelago is to be found such a term which would

be acceptable throughout Indonesia. "Oriental forms of speech in

self depreciation are familiar.....They are universal with all the

nations of the East....." [6] The use of Indonesian has not complete-

ly solved this problem until to day perhaps because the majority

of the Indonesians do not see this as a real problem.

The word bapak as a term of address was not commonly used in

West Sumatra until the coming of the revolution. As a matter of fact, there was an expression "bapak-bapak urang Jawa" in some dialects, calling someone bapak Javanese style, implying that the person who did that was not honest. However, when independence came, the Minangkabau soon imitated the Javanese in this respect and addressed their leaders as bapak although few Minangkabau willingly call people younger than they as bapak no matter how high their positions are. The term bapakisme, bapakism, has been used to designate a special relationship that obtains between a local army commander and his troops and the territory under his command. [7] The volksfront leader, Tan Malaka, coined and popularized the word Murba. "By the word murba we mean the group of people who have nothing except brain and body. The word is approximately covered by "proletariat". However, the historical development and characterization of the Indonesian Murba are different from the Western proletariat. The Indonesian Murba is not yet completely separated from the family. Moreover, the struggle and the enemy of the Indonesian Murba are different from the struggle and the enemy of the Western proletariat, especially in matters concerning detail." [8] The word Murba has come to stay but it has been mainly associated with a political party using that name and with members of the Murba Party.

The foreign terms de facto and de jure were much used in the press as well as in conversation after the republican government was given de facto recognition over its territories of Java and Sumatra. The republicans were fighting for a de jure recognition

for the Indonesian state covering the former Dutch East Indies
territories. During the guerilla period in West Sumatra from De-
cember 1948 until about September 1949, the word de jure was often
used to designate a republican controlled territory in which a
somewhat normal condition of living such as running a school was
still possible. These areas were mainly isolated villages such as
Koto Tinggi, Halaban, Sumpur Kudus, etc. but inhabited then as well
by educated republican fighters originating from the towns.

The word daulat and several of its derivatives such as kedau-
latan, didaulat, etc. which basically means something like sove-
reign, sovereignty dominated public speeches and the press. Indone-
sia wanted 100 per cent independence, the Republic should be a
sovereign state, "berdaulat ke luar dan ke dalam", internally as well
as externally, and the republican delegation conducting negotiations
with the Dutch were urged to remember this daulat principle. As
many Indonesians began to employ this word daulat and had no clear
idea what it really meant, it came to be used for a variety of inte-
resting meanings in different areas of Indonesia. When a commander
of troops was replaced by his subordinate without his consent and
at no order from the authorities he was said to be didaulat by the
subordinate. In urban areas of West Java the early period of the
revolution was referred to as the bersiap, get ready, period; how-
ever, in rural areas the same period was referred to as the daulat
period. In parts of central Java another meaning of the word daulat

came into existence. As Soejatno wrote: " An important development in the rural areas was the formation there of autonomous local governments, a process which began at the start of 1946. In the villages there developed what was called daulat: village heads who had held their posts from before 1945 were elected again by the people." [9]

In the field of local government in West Sumatra several new words originating from Java were introduced and became generally known and used by the Minangkabau. Before independence, Tuan Luhak, Asisten Residen, was head of the Luhak (county?) and during independence has been called Bupati and his area Kabupaten. The head of a district has been called Wedana , replacing the old term Demang and the official one step lower than the Wedana is the Camat who was formerly called the Asisten Demang. Since independence, the Minangkabau people have spoken of Pak Wedana instead of Engku Demang when referring to a district officer, Pak Bupati instead of Tuan Luhak when referring to an Assistant Resident. Although these words sounded rather strange at first, people soon got used to them and have used them in their conversation both in Minangkabau as well as in Indonesian.

In a mass meeting held at Payakumbuh, West Sumatra, in 1946, President Sukarno in his speech used an English expression "All is running well" and the people were impressed with the words and some local speakers later on also used that expression in their speeches. I did not know what the expression meant then but my friends

and I, who were about sixteen years of age, liked it and we also used it often in our political discussions. The point is that even at the village level, the introduction of new words brought by speakers from the town was welcome^d by the villagers and whether they understood the words or not was not important. People tended to associate those words with something exciting and had some connection with the national revolution. It must be remembered that the Indonesian people are used to words and sentences which they do not understand (such as theological formulation^s in Arabic) and yet are significant to them in the sense that those words may bring luck or misfortune to them.

4. Care for the National Language

Although the general situation during the four and a half years of the national revolution was not a propitious time for a systematic language planning, there were enough teachers and writers who were concerned about maintaining a good standard in using the national language. These people warned about the danger involved in the careless use of language and urged that actions be taken to improve and develop the language as the sole means of communication in public life and for the purpose of education. The main obstacle in this regard was the fact that qualified people with sufficient experience in language planning was lacking. Madong Lubis, a language teacher and author of a textbook on grammar complained that in Sumatra there was not a single semi-academic expert in the national language let

alone a fully qualified scholar. [1]

Although Indonesian was not the mother tongue of the great majority of the people, the public at large did care about the kind of words used in the language particularly those connected with the traditional propriety and respect for the adat or customs. As can be expected some words felt to be associated with colonial society were soon replaced by new words. Such words as serdadu, soldier, kuli, coolie, jongos, house boy, opas, messenger, kerani, clerk, Tuan, master, belasting, tax, rodi, corvee, mandor, foreman, Demang, district officer, tangsi, barracks began to disappear from public use, although in private conversation they were still used by some people. I even overheard people use the name Betawi, Batavia, instead of Jakarta as late as 1960 in the context in which others would not have used it. The name Betawi is of course still in use now but only to refer to the original inhabitants of Jakarta area, as in the phrase anak Betawi, child of Betawi.

As can be expected new words or old words carrying new meanings began to appear in print as well as in public speeches. Such words as ksatriaan, place for the kesatria, the warrior, meaning barracks, perwira, meaning officer, penilik sekolah, meaning school inspector, wali negeri (west Sumatra), meaning village head, iyuran negara, meaning contribution paid to the state in the form of tax, etc. became common and were felt to be more suitable for use by free citizens of the Republic. The government's promulgation needed to contain words which should not give offence to the sensitivity of the

Muslim population. As an example of this, in a new regulation concerning the issue of National Bonds, an article was incorporated deleting the word <u>bunga</u> used in the previous regulation and replacing it with the word <u>hadiah</u>.[2] The word bunga means flower but it also means <u>interest</u> whereas the word hadiah means <u>gift</u>. Although the replacement of the word bunga by hadiah does not of course in any way alter. the ostensible referent it was felt that to the Muslim the word hadiah would be more acceptable since bunga had sometimes been associated with the idea of usury which was forbidden by Islamic religion.

When there was <u>truce</u> between the republican forces and the Dutch troops, the Ministry of Information gave a new translation of the word truce, which was <u>gencatan perang</u>, the cessation of fighting replacing the previous translation of <u>perletakan senjata</u>, the laying down of arms, because <u>perletakan senjata</u> "implies that one side has been defeated."[3]

All this shows that the government took the view that society at large was sensitive on the choice of Indonesian words used in public communication.

The language used in prayers also played a certain role in Indonesian community. On the occasion of the first anniversary of the Republic held in Jogjakarta, President Sukarno read prayers in Indonesian invoking God's blessings for the country and no one raised any objection, although traditionally the language of optional prayers was Arabic. However, the language used in Islamic <u>salat</u> or

ritual prayers has always been Arabic and not Indonesian or the regional languages. Since independence preaching in the mosque has often been done in Indonesian or in the regional languages, although I still saw a preacher delivering his sermon in Arabic in 1972 in a little mosque at Puncak not far away from the main road.

The position of Arabic in Indonesian society has always been significant and Arabic words have enriched the national language. During the revolution, such a revolutionary leader as Tan Malaka, who was perhaps not a practising Muslim, but originating from the Islamic area of Minangkabau, expressed his appreciation of the Arabic language and approved of borrowing from that language to enrich Indonesian vocabulary. As he put it : " I regard the Arabic language until today as sufficiently rich, pleasant in sound, precise and noble. Its influence on Bahasa Indonesia in the past was great and significant. I would like to see borrowing from that language continued provided that those words borrowed add new concepts which have not found expressions in either the Indonesian or regional languages." [4] On the other hand, Dr. Mohammad Amir, also a Minangkabau, and a well-known prose writer before the war, a psychiatric doctor by profession, suggested that Sanskrit and Kawi languages be regarded as the legitimate sources from which Indonesian should borrow for the enrichment of its vocabulary and this should not be associated with the desire to embrace the Hindu religion. [5]

A young Sundanese writer, Mh. Rustandi Kartakusuma, wrote an article on Indonesian in Pudjangga Baru, warning users of the national

language not to violate the principal characteristic of the language
which, according to him, was its ethical nature. "What is the
Totalgeist of our language? Our language is the soul of our nation
and we are people of the East....The Eastern people are characterized
by their ethical-mindedness." [6] He did not want to share the opinion
of the linguistic purist but he appealed to speakers of Indonesian
to maintain Indonesian identity and this should be reflected in the
way how we used the Indonesian language. Mh. Rustandi knew several
Western languages such as Dutch, French, German and English in addi-
tion to his Sundanese and Indonesian. What seemed uppermost in his
mind was that what was at stake was not the inability of the Indone-
sian language to cope with the concepts originating from modern
science and technology, but the possibility of its survival as a
language oriented towards preserving the traditional way of self-
expression. Many Indonesians seemed to ignore his warning and tacit-
ly assumed that our identity should be preserved not in Indonesian
but in the regional languages.

The Dutch scholar Emeis had written earlier passing judgment
on the kind of Malay used by many educated Indonesians. According to
him, many Dutch-educated Indonesians tended to use bad Malay when
expressing Western concepts and ideas in the Malay language.[7]

This is true but of course some educated Indonesians although
expressing Western concepts in Indonesian also took pains to write
in good Indonesian. That the Indonesian language was greatly influenced
on certain syntactical arrangements by Dutch was of course to be

expected. [8]

An important writer who had contributed greatly to   care-
fully-written Indonesian before the war and during the Japanese occu-
pation was Armijn Pane, brother of Sanusi Pane, who was also a major
writer. During the revolution Armijn Pane who lived in Jogjakarta
undertook a study of the Indonesian language in an ambitious manner
investigating the nature of the language from the point of view
of a nationalist and yet treating his subject in a scientific spirit.
In spite of lack of books for reference purposes, he succeeded in
producing a thick volume of grammar `   in which he also discusses
points of pronunciation basing his analysis of the speech of Indone-
sians originating from various ethnic background. The title of the
book is "Mentjari Sendi Baru Tata Bahasa Indonesia " —— Looking

/however   for a New Basis of Indonesian Grammar —— a unique book which has
not influenced later writers of book on Indonesian grammar. Armijn
Pane expressed his well-controlled nationalist feeling when he
wrote : " I am becoming more convinced that our language has not
been studied in the way it should be studied. As a matter of fact,
on the question of pronunciation I realize that they (Dutch scholars)
have led our grammar into a path which is not its right path, so
that it has resulted not only *in* a wrong conclusion about the nature
of the language but also that it has created an impression as if
our language were imperfect and poor." [9]   Later on in an artcle in
the Madjalah Kebudayaan he also wrote :   "Formerly, and also now
our language was studied by foreign scholars through manuscripts

or books. They did not study it in its spoken form, they ignored

its real life. They did not look into the language as it was used

in public meetings, on the radio, in everyday conversation with the

consequence that they did not understand the significance of the

language which had come out of the nationalist movement. In looking

at the language, they never, or hardly⌡took into account the crea-

/ ever,

tive spirit, the powerful constructive energy which underlay the

principle and goal of the nationalist movement." [10] Armijn Pane

was a Sumatran and like many other Sumatrans he seemed to have a native

pride in the supposedly good intrinsic quality of Indonesian, a

pride which not all other Indonesians have shared.

During the national revolution, as can be expected, there was

a marked dissimilarity between the kind of Indonesian in use in

Sumatra and that which was common in Java especially in regard to

the choice of lexical items. On the whole, the press in Java tended

to use more words and expressions originating from Western languages

particularly Dutch in describing modern objects and ideas, while

Sumatra tended to resort to loan translation to designate them. [11]

Such words as advertensi , advertisement, propaganda, propaganda,

pers, the press, panser, armoured car, kanon, guns, indekos, board

and lodging, pelopor, pioneer, militer, the military, sender radio,

radio transmitter, buku, book, fabrik, factory, etc. were commonly

in use in the press in Java whereas the press in Sumatra tended to

use such words as iklan, advertisement, saranan, propaganda, tetuang

udara, radio transmitter, kilang, factory, kereta berlapis baja,

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armoured car, meriam, gun, kitab, book, etc. Whether the fact that
many Sumatrans are native speakers of Malay is responsible for this
tendecy needs further investigation before any conclusion can
be drawn, although it must be mentioned that Malay in Malaysia at
present is behaving like Indonesian during the revolutionary struggle
in the sense that it prefers loan translation to English terms.

Very early in the revolution, the government took steps to do
something about improving the standardization of the language. In
1946 it established the Institute for Research in Language and
Culture, the Lembaga Penyelidikan Bahasa dan Kebudayaan and in 1948
the Balai Bahasa, the House of Language, was created and became
part of the Lembaga. On 19th March, 1947, Mr. Soewandi, the then
Minister of Education and Culture promulgated the change in the
Romanized spelling of the national language, which until then had
been spelt in accordance with the spelling system devised by a
famous Dutch scholar van Ophuysen.[12] The change in the orthography
did not bring about great modification in the Indonesian spelling
system because the most important change was limited to a chnge from
oe into u for instance the words boekoe, book, soesoe, milk, are
now spelt buku and susu respectively. In giving reasons · for the
spelling reform, the Minister's promulgation states, among other
things : "…..there is a need to bring about modifications which are
. aimed at making the spelling much simpler and more suitable to
be used for our present as well as future needs." [13]

As can be expected, some people opposed the introduction of the
spelling changes especially the change from oe to u , but the

government defended its action in terms of the demand of the national

interest insisting that the change was progressive although the

Dutch did not like it. Controversies / the new spelling system

flared up again and again in the early fifties when efforts to de-

velop and improve the national language were undertaken in a more

comprehensive manner.

As has been said, political leaders of the Republic popula-

rized Indonesian by making speeches and touring republican territo-

ries in Java and Sumatra. There is no doubt that the most wellknown

figure in this regard was that spell-binder of the people, President

Sukarno. He often made speeches using Indonesian sentence construct-

ions and lexical items which were peculiarly his own about which

schoolteachers and professional writers were often unhappy because

they sometimes violated the basic structures of the language. As

an example, we give here a construction used in the President's

speech delivered on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the Re-

public, August 17, 1950, viz : kwaliteitnja dan kwantiteitnja ia

punja kemauan — the quality and quantity of his will. In normal

Indonesian this construction should read : kwaliteit dan kwantiteit

kemauannja.[14] However, very few Indonesians criticized Sukarno's

style in public and many assume that the President was the pioneer

of the Indonesian language also. Nevertheless, some who were con-

cerned with the orderliness of Indonesian discouraged others from

imitating the styles of prominent politicians. An Indonesian writer,

a former Minister of Education and Culture, Dr. Abu Hanifah, in his

/ over

book <u>Tales of a Revolution</u> has ^{written}/ unfavourably of Sukarno and dis-
approves of Sukarno's claim of having proclaimed the national
language. As he put it : "He claimed in his own words to have "proc-
laimed" Bahasa Indonesia, whatever that means. Personally I think
to this day his use of the Indonesian language has never been the
purest or the best." [15]

It is true that Sukarno's Indonesian cannot be said to be the
best Bahasa Indonesia either in style or in content. He sometimes
made simple and yet significant grammatical mistakes as for instance
confusing the use of the suffix <u>kan</u> and <u>i</u> which results in different
meaning altogether. In his speech on the occasion of the second
anniversary of the Republic, August 17, 1946, for instance Sukarno
among other things said : "Bertambah pula persoalan kita dengan
Serikat. Ini kita sayangi." [16] (So our problems with regard to the
Allies have been increased. We feel sorry about this). However, he
should have used <u>sayangkan</u> instead of <u>sayangi</u>. <u>Ini kita sayangi</u>
means : we like this.

When the Dutch launched their second military offensive against
the Republic, and took the republican capital of Jogjakarta and
most other towns in Java and Sumatra, many republican leaders took
to the hills and could not be expected to be concerned with the de-
velopment and progress of Indonesian. However, even in remote places
in republican controlled territories there were schools in which
teachers continued to give lessons in Indonesian. Fortunately, some
prominent Indonesian language promotors stayed on in Jakarta and

continued the work of creating terminologies by translating Dutch

scientific terminologies into Indonesian. One of these people was

none other than Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana, who led the group and

succeeded in coining thousands of acceptable scientific terms in

Indonesian. He also continued with the publication of his famous

Pudjangga Baru cultural magazine in which articles on problems re-

lating to Indonesian as a national language also appeared regular-

ly. He had also launched a new journal specially devoted to the

discussion of language problems generally, Pembina Bahasa Indonesia.

The fact the he stayed on in Jakarta and did not take to the hills,

however, put him in a slightly unfavourable position vis-a-vis

those who did in the context of the struggle for independence to

which the cause of the national language was closely tied.

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE TREATMENT OF LANGUAGE PROBLEMS

1. Language Planning

The French scholar Claude Lévi-Strauss observes that "language....
lives and develops as a collective construct; and even the scholar's
linguistic knowledge always remains dissociated from his experience
as a talking agent." [1] This statement is basically sound as far as
it goes. However, it does not of course mean that the life and deve-
lopment of a particular language cannot be influenced or even modi-
fied by conscious efforts on the part of the language users. As a
matter of fact, in such countries as Norway, Turkey, Japan, etc.
organized efforts to influence the development and even the shape
of language have been undertaken over a fairly long period of time and
in many developing countries language planning activities have also
been carried out with various kinds of success. These activities
have now provided students of language with data from which an un-
derstanding of this linguistic phenomenon can be arrived at through
a systematic investigation.

The study of language planning activities owes much to the Ame-
rican scholar Einar Haugen, who undertook research on language stan-
dardization process in Norway. He also stimulated others to do work
on language planning activities in other countries as well and wrote
articles on the theoretical framework of language planning in gene-
ral. According to Haugen, language planning can be defined as "the

normative work of language academies and committees, all forms of what is commonly known as language cultivation (Germ. Sprachpflege,..), and all proposals for language reform or standardization." [2]

Perhaps because his main work on language planning deals with Norwegian — a Western language, he came to a conclusion that "the heart of language planning....is the exercise of the judgment in the form of the choices among available linguistic forms." [3]

As is generally known among linguists, language planners dealing with a Non-western language are sometimes compelled to create entirely new forms in the language they are dealing with in order to bring that language up to the level required of a modern means of communication. In other words, they are sometimes required to experiment with a great deal of linguistic innovation and as can be expected this kind of innovation normally creates heated controversies among speakers of the language. It is in this connection that one must see why the Indian scholar Punya Sloka Ray defines the kind of linguistic study most relevant to language planning activities, prescriptive linguistics, as "the search for reasonableness in the discrimination of linguistic innovation." [4] Anyone who has had some experience in language planning activities would immediately agree how much reasonableness is required in carrying out work connected with linguistic innovation.

A theory of language planning is still at its infancy, it is scanty and has not much been talked about let alone been applied to

a particular language. In brief we can say that the main concern
of such a theory is how to find out a method which can be used to
turn a natural language into a perfect means of communication. In
other words, it is concerned with the effort to create an ideal
language, a language which "permet de transmettre la pensée avec
un maximum de précision et un minimum d'effort pour le parleur et
pour l'entendeur." [5] Valter Tauli has developed such a theory of
language planning which he defines as " a science which methodi-
cally investigates the ends, principles, methods and tactics of
Language Planning." [6]

Although the aim of language planning in general is the creation
of an ideal language in a particular speech community, in many deve-
loping countries in which most   . language planning activities are
taking place, the main concern of the language planner is how to
bring the language he is dealing with up to the level and adequacy
required of a language used as a modern means of communication.
Language planners in a developing society are faced with the task
of coping with the traditional language used in a society which is
being transformed into a new type as the result of the impact of
Western civilization. Language planning activities in this kind of
society should be viwed in terms of the framework of the process
of modernization in general. Regarding this Karl Heidt wrote :
"The modernization of language (of any language) will be part of
the modernization process of that particular society. In other words,

it would be desirable that both processes, the modernization of language as well as the modernization of society were synchronized.[7]"

A Non-Western society which has achieved a marked success in the process of modernization is   Japanese society, and the Japanese language has also been modernized. Judging from the types of information that can be and are habitually exchanged in the Japanese language, particularly those pertaining to various aspects of life and institutions found in an industrialized society, the Japanese language is as modern as their technology is.[8] The creation of the modern Japanese language has been the result of a series of language planning activities of various types since the Japanese had an intensive contact with Western civilization.

A Japanese scholar, K. Moriguchi, defines the modernization of a national language as "a rebuilding process of the national language which should be more suitable and efficient for the acquisition and communication of new desirable values." [9] In many countries of which perhaps Turkey would serve as a good example, language planning activities were prompted by, and viewed in terms of, a nationalistic framework in which the theme of language development efforts is the liberation of the national language from the yoke of foreign tongue domination. [10] However, in practice this nationalistic orientation is not always strictly adhered to by language planners and for obvious reasons.

/ them   Language planning activities are of various types, but in all of / efforts to create a standardized form of language play an important

role. Language planners want to create an efficient means of communication and this is hard to achieve unless users of the language abide by certain prescribed rules of the language particularly in regard to meaning as well as function of lexical items. Language planners are said to regard language mainly in terms of its use as a means of communication. In other words, language for them is first and foremost a tool. As Punya Sloka Ray wrote: "When we apply the concept of standardization to languages, we stress their tool-like character. From this point of view, a language is only an instrument of communication; a means, not an end." [10] This statement is a valid proposition as far as a theory of language planning is concerned. However, as is generally known to students of language, language planners, at least in their capacity as language users, do not regard and use language as if it were just a mere tool. Language planners on the whole are a different species of animals, they are different for instance from some reformers or political leaders who sometimes do regard language merely as a tool. Thus Mr. Nehru for instance could urge his fellow countrymen to retain English as a tool for obtaining Western knowledge and technology. He said : "It is absolutely clear to me, and it is not an arguable matter, that the scientific and technological training has to be given in English. You will not get through your plan if you do not do it. It is an absolute necessity." [11]

On the whole, in creating a standardized form of language,

language planners are concerned with language viewed as a tool of communication as well as a repository of cultural identity. In other words, even in speeding up the process of standardization, language planners also conceive language as an end by itself.

From one point of view, the main aim of language standardization is the creation of fixed rules in regard to the vocabulary and its arrangements for creating phrases and sentences as well as to the meaning attached to individual words. The work of a language planner

∠ were to

would be a great success if every language user/abide by those prescribed rules and uses only the standardized form of language. However, as is generally known, language users in many developing societies often experiment with linguistic innovations of their own and deviate from the prescribed norms. Concerning a standard language Gilbert Ansre wrote : "Any variety of language that we refer to as standard, if it is living, is always changing. Language standardization is a process and is therefore essentially dynamic."[12] In many developing countries this dynamic character of the process of standardization sometimes goes unchecked or difficult to control. In this case good management in channelling the creative contributions of language users to language development is required of language planners. How appropriate it is to define language planning as "the management of linguistic innovation."[13]

Language planning activities were originally unconsciously undertaken by those speakers of a language who had become acquainted

with a more developed and sophisticated language, usually a Western language such as English or French, etc. through which they had acquired new ideas. When these people tried to express these new ideas in their native language for the benefit of their countrymen who had no knowledge of the foreign language they were often forced to invent new forms of expression or even new words and way of speaking. In other words, linguistic innovation in its modern form was born and with the increased literacy in the indigenous language the practice of resorting to linguistic innovation also increased.

Language planning activities in Indonesia started very early as contact with Western civilization already occurred in the beginning of the seventeenth century. However, we will limit our discussion to those conscious activities which have taken place largely since independence, especially since 1950.

Following the signing of the Round Table Conference, Indonesia and Holland decided to pursue a policy of close cooperation in various fields of activities, which, however, lasted only a brief period. Indonesia employed Dutch experts as advisors in some government departments and Dutch professors continued to teach at the University of Indonesia in Jakarta using the Dutch language as the medium of instruction. At this time serious suggestions began to be put forward that the Dutch language should be taught again in schools. A number of Indonesian academics supported this view and a number of private institutions taught Dutch to a large number of interested

students.

However, this idea was rejected by the government. The government did not approve of Dutch even being introduced as a subject taught in schools let alone alowing it to be used as a medium of instruction. On the contrary, Dutch professors were now required to learn Indonesian and had to lecture in the language when they had mastered it. All Indonesian lecturers had to teach in Indonesian and they generally did so by translating their lectures from Dutch textbooks as they went along. In 1951, Mr. Wongsonegoro, who was then Minister of Education and Culture, categorically declared that Indonesian was to be "the primary tool for the Indonesian people ....to obtain knowledge and skills, to improve the standard of living, and to promote and develop Indonesian culture." [14] It was certainly thought that Bahasa Indonesia which had served the Indonesian people during the revolutionary struggle could also be made to serve the need for communication in carrying out work in the process of national development and progress.

The year 1952 was particularly significant because in that year several secondary schools which still used Dutch .as the only medium of instruction were taken over by the government and Indonesian was made the sole medium of instruction in those schools. [15] It was also in that year that the Minister of Education and Culture issued a special directive concerning the function. and tasks of the language section at the Ministry which are, among others, as follows :

I. FUNCTION : To foster and develop Indonesian language and lite-
rature, including regional languages and literatures.

II.TASKS : In order to realize that function, it is assigned the
following tasks :

a. To keep an eye on, to investigate, and to study Indonesian as
a language of unity as well as the regional languages, both the
oral and the written languages.

b. To endeavour to bring about closer relationship between Indone-
sian and the regional languages in regard to their rules and
lexical items.

c. To foster the development of national literatures both in Indo-
nesian and in the regional languages. [16]

As can be seen, the government was committed to develop not only
the Indonesian language but also the regional languages. The govern-
ment realized the importance of such regional languages as Sundanese,
Javanese and even Madurese. At this time promotors of Sundanese
as well as Javanese and Madurese responded favourably to the govern-
ment's policy in language matters and took steps to develop and mo-
dernize the regional languages also.

Meanwhile, even before 1952 the Indonesian Language Commission
which had existed since 1946,had been particularly active since
1950 coining new terms as well as directing language planning acti-
vities in general. The Language Commission was made   part of the
Linguistic and Cultural Institute of the University of Indonesia

in 1952 under the directorship of Professor Prijana. By 1952 three

important language journals, Pembina Bahasa Indonesia (Builder of

Indonesian), Medan Bahasa (Language Arena), and Bahasa dan Budaja

(Language and Culture) had contained valuable articles on Indonesian

and its problems regarding its use in higher education, in broad-

casting, etc. These three journals which continued publications

until the late fifties provide students of language planning with

invaluable primary data on linguistic problems in Indonesia.

In 1954 the Minister of Education and Culture was Muhammad Ya-

min. He undertook to sponsor a Bahasa Indonesia Congress which was

held in Medan and lasted a week. The Kongres Bahasa Indonesia started

on 28th October, the 26th anniversary of the Youth Pledge and it was

opened with much fanfare and celebration. Foreign observers as well

as delegates from Malaya also attended the Kongres. [17] The Kongres

was a great success and achieved notable results as well as promoted

more organized efforts to develop the national language.

In 1959, a friendship agreement was signed between Indonesia

and Malaya by Premier Djuanda of Indonesia and Tun Abdul Razak of

Malaya in which close cooperation in language development was also

spelt out. [18] An attempt to implement this agreed language policy

was made in the form of a series of discussions between experts

from both countries to work out a new spelling system for the Melin-

do (Melayu-Indonesian) language. However, due to the confrontation

policy that Indonesia launched subsequently against Malaysia

this cooperation was dropped and both countries carried out language planning activities in their own separate ways. Nevertheless, when the confrontation was over and the New Order prevailed in Indonesia the joint efforts of language development between the two countries were resumed. One concrete result of this joint effort has been the acceptance of a newly created spelling system and since 1972 this new spelling system known as the Improved New Spelling has been in use in both countries without creating insurmountable difficulties.

Language planning activities in Indonesia as in many other countries are not called language planning, and in Indonesian it is referred to as the Pembinaan Bahasa Indonesia, the rebuilding of the Indonesian language. The word bina and its derivatives have had favourable connotation in the Indonesian context and basically bina means to build. President Suharto's modern office building in Jakarta is called Bina-Graha and when a group of us visited it in 1972 we were told that the name had great significance in relation to the development efforts undertaken by the government.

More than twenty years have elapsed since the inception of the first launching of Pembinaan Bahasa Indonesia by the republican government and a lot of progress has been made both in the field of terminology and in other linguistic matters. This accomplishment has been achieved despite lack of specially trained personel to carry out the job. As a matter of fact, in 1974 an Indonesian linguist, Harimurti Kridalaksana, still wrote : "...now, more than ever before

it is being realized how short we are of experts on the Indonesian

language who can be entrusted with the implementation of basic pro-

jects to develop the Indonesian language." [19] It is a fact that

studies on Bahasa Indonesia have attracted much fewer scholars that

one would have thought considering the importance of the language

as a modern means of communication. Concerning this, the Dutch scho-

lar E.M. Uhlenbeck wrote in 1971: "There are several Indonesian

languages of less social importance which have received a much larger

share of attention from qualified scholars. The study of Malay and

of Bahasa Indonesia was a neglected field." [20]

2. Problems of Spelling

Many linguists used to and perhaps still do regard the spoken

language to be more important than the written language as the object

of scientific study on the assumption that the so-called written

language is nothing more than a graphic representation of the spoken

language. On the other hand, some have argued that the written

language cannot simply be said to be a mere copy of the spoken language

because it has its own life-patterns as well as characteristic fea-

tures. For students trying to get an understanding of the processes

involved in the activities of language standardization and moderni-

zation in a developing society, the written language will need to

receive as much close examination as, if not more than, the spoken

language. The main reason for this is that most problems and methods of

dealing with them are connected with the written language. For one thing,

already

the very choice of the script to be used to write a language *having

the script of its own such as Arabic is still a matter for contro-

versy. Concerning this choice of script with regard to languages not

written in Roman alphabet in general, Geoffrey Wheeler wrote: "The

real point at issue, and which tends to be ignored, is whether mo-

dernization on Western lines can be achieved without the convenience

characteristic of every modern industrial society in the world ex-

cept Japan, namely, a national language using a script which permits

of the ready assimilation of the ever-growing international vocabu-

lary." [1]

In Indonesia disagreement with regard to the choice of script

did not arise, which was remarkable, and the government decided from

the beginning to adopt the Roman alphabet as the official script

for the national language. However, the use of the Arabic script

(Jawi) for private purposes was not prohibited and in some areas

such as the island of Sumatra its teaching in state schools was

still extensive.

The Indonesian government has always regarded ·.   spelling stan-

dardization to be the basis for language standardization in general.

Most Indonesian linguists and writers also take the view that spelling

is crucial for the national language. Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana even

wrote that when Indonesia and Malaysia had used the same spelling

system differences that existed between the two varieties of the ba-

sically the same language —— Indonesian and Malay —— would dis-

appear overnight. [2]

From 1950 until the acceptance of the new spelling known as
Ejaan Baru Yang Disempurnakan, the improved new spelling, more than
twenty years later, controversies, polemics and debates on Indone-
sian spelling . added complexities to the problems of language
standardization in Indonesia. The spelling reform introduced in 1947
which had created a modified spelling system known as the Soewandi
spelling did not satisfy language users and bring about spelling
standardization. Many writers pointed out the inadequacy and incon-
sistency of the new spelling. R. Satjadibrata for instance insisted
that the new spelling had been damaging to Indonesian and . more
damaging still to Sundanese which also had to use it.[3] He was parti-
cularly concerned about the abandonment of the use of some diacritics
in the new spelling. On the other hand, there were also many who
argued about the practicality and adequateness of the Soewandi
spelling. Tardjan Hadidjaja for instance emphasized that the new
spelling was more scientific, more practical and easir to learn than
the old spelling and he denied in strong terms that the new spelling
had anything to do with the manifestation of efforts to get rid
of the remnants of Dutch colonialism as some people had implied.[4]
Professor Prijana and others reminded language users that the new
spelling was based on the analysis of the Indonesian phonological
system by excluding of course those sounds that were foreign to the
language. Thus borrowed words originating from Arabic such as 'amal
(deed), 'alim (pious, knowledgeable), 'ilmu (knowledge), 'umur
(age), etc. were now to be spelled as amal, alim, ilmu, umur, res-

pectively because nasalized vowels did not occur in Indonesian. In the follwing list we provide a few examples for comparisøn of words spelt in the old spelling and in the new:

Old Spelling	New Spelling	Meaning
koekoe	kuku	nail
maoe	mau	to want
harimau	harimau	tiger
béres	beres	all right
perang	perang	war
pérang	perang	blond
gulai	gulai	stew
gulai'	gulai	to sugar
Koran	koran	newspaper
Kor'an	Koran	the Qur'an
chabar	kabar	news
maksoed	maksud	intention
ma'moer	makmur	prosperous
ta'djoeb	takdjub	fascinated

As can be seen from the above examples, the Soewandi spelling system is much simpler than the old system and this would necessarily facilitate the teaching and learning of the national language. However, it did not solve spelling problems. In the first place, many writers did not abide by the prescribed rules and spelled many words in their own fashion. There were of course a few individuals who introduced their own idiosyncratic spelling systems which they adhered to consistently. Thus Muhammad Yamin for instance always spelled such words as béres and beras as given and thus making a distinction between the sound /e/ and that of /ə/. He also wrote

meredakan instead of the usual merelakan with the meaning of to accept the consequence of in a resigned manner while most Indonesians would understand it to mean to pacify.[5] Others spelled the same word as meredhakan, meredlakan, merilakan, meridlakan but none of these would create ambiguity. Hadji Agus Salim, another prominent writer also had the habit of spelling some words in his own way and he even spelled kebudajan (culture) instead of the usual kebudajaan and suggested that others should do the same argueing that it would sound better when pronounced and more in keeping with the Javanese pronunciation.[6] This is interesting in view of the fact that Salim was not a Javanese but a Minangkabau who was said to speak only Dutch at home.

There were a good number of Indonesian words which many people did not spell in the same way. In the following list we provide some examples of these words:

astana	istana	palace
apik	apek	neat
banteras	berantas	stamp out
bea	bia	duty (tax)
berengsek	brengsek	falling apart
deretan	leretan	row, line
dabus	debus	a kind of dance
damprat	dempret	scold
dermabakti	darmabakti	contribution
gedjulak	gedjolak	flame
gosok	gusuk	rub
gendang	gendrang, kendang	drum
gelitik, gitik	geletek, getek	tickle

hutang	utang	debt
hantar	antar	accompany
hiba	iba	pity, sad
hasil	hatsil	result
ingkar	engkar	defying
ibadat	ibadah	worship
intjar	intjer	plan to catch
jalah, ijalah	ialah	namely
kursi, kerosi	korsi	chair
ketimun	mentimun	cucumber
kelewatan	keliwatan	too much
kelenteng	kelenting	Chinese temple
keblinger	keblingar	go astray
lempiaskan	lampiaskan	satisfy one's lust
luhur, zuhur	lohor, zohor	after-midday prayer time
lezat	lazat	delicious
lembik	lembek	indolent, slow
dobrak	labrak	open by force
mentrapkan	menerapkan	apply
maksiat	mesiat	evil deed
musjawarah	musjawarat	deliberation
menggait	menggaet	snatch, to hook
mendjambret	mendjambrat	snatch
naluri	neluri	instinct
nistapa	nestapa	sadness
onggokan	unggukan	piling
peluru	pelor	bullet
pendek, pandak	pendek	short
ruwat	ruwet	complicated
resmi	rasmi	official

rezeki, rezki, rizki, redjeki, reseki			(lawful) earnings
risiko,	resiko		risk
saleh	salih	soleh	pious
sorga, suwarga		surga, syorga	paradise [7]

Admittedly, the problems involved in those words are not only about their correct spelling but also the correct pronunciation. A few of them gave rise to differences of opinion with regard to their correct official spelling. The word berdjuang, to struggle, for instance was sometimes spelt bedjoang perhaps in order to achieve a "stronger effect". Sukarno often preferred berdjoang to berdjuang as did General Nasution. According to M.I. Kelano, a careful writer would spell berdjuang although he might prefer to pronounce it as berdjoang. [8]

It was felt that Soewandi spelling system created more spelling problems rather than solving them because of its insistence on the narrow interpretation of the modern Indonesian phonological system. To put it in other words, the number of listed Indonesian phonemes did not agree with the reality of the speech of better educated Indonesians, who after all wrote in the language. Most of these people still spelled a lot of words borrowed from foreign languages, especially Western languages, in a fashion not in accordance with the prescribed spelling rules. Thus such words as filsafat, fiskal, zat, valuta, fakulteit, vak, etc. were not spelled as pilsapat, piskal, djat, paluta, pakultet respectively as they should be spelled. Concerning this practice, M.Poerbohadiwidjojo wrote in Budaja Djaja deploring

the wrong attitude of those writers towards the Indonesianization

of borrowed terms. He saw no reason why the Indonesian should be

ashamed to write Cacium as Kalsium because the German did not feel

ashamed to write it as Kalzium .[9] And it is also a fact that the Japa-

nese also wrote terms borrowed from Western languages in accordance

with the phonological system of their language. Here are a few

examples :

garasu	glass
arukoro	alcohol
randoseru	(ransel) cloth knapsack
akusento	accent
furusaizu	full size
buruto	Blut

etc. etc. [10]

However, to insist that educated Indonesians should follow this

Japanese example was not realistic and did not work because the Indo-

nesian elite groups used to speak Dutch or had the knowledge of

Arabic and Malay had always been receptive to foreign influences

even as regards its phonological system.

Many writers nevertheless did get used to writing such words as

pikir, pasal, pilem, pelopor, pakansi, etc. spelling them strictly

in accordance with the prescribed rules, but by this time the influx

of new words borrowed from Western languages increased tremendously

and this created serious spelling problems. M.J. Murphy was not

exaggerating when he commented : "The main influence of Western

languages has been to sow confusion in Indonesian spelling."[11]

(For examples of the spelling of borrowed words, see Appendix III [2]).

The spelling problems became more complicated as the number of words borrowed from English increased at a rapid speed. Thus some people wrote imoril, others wrote imoral, and similarly with operasionil, operasional, etc.

According to the Soewandi spelling system, the letter e should be inserted in writing such words as kelas (class), gelas (glass), sepeda(bicycle), keramat(miraculous), etc. and this had been in keeping with the practice of good Indonesian writers. The new spelling also prescribed that words that had just recently entered the language such as gledek (thunder), goblok (stupid), glandangan (urban poor) should not be written as geledek, gobelok, gelandangan respectively. However, it was not always easy to decide the status of a good number of words, that is to say whether they should be regarded as new words or old words in the language. Some writers preferred to write sastera (literature), kelinik (clinic), putera (son), etc. while others wrote sastra, klinik, and putra respectively. D.W. Eisenring (now Professor Eisenring) of Makasar suggested that writers as well as schoolteachers should write klas, speda, glas, etc. leaving out the letter e and if they did that they were assisting the Ministry of Education and Culture in standardizing the spelling of Indonesian. [12]

Realizing the difficulties encountered in the field of spelling standardization, participants of the Kongres Bahasa Indonesia held in Medan in 1954 set up a special committee to look into the matter more closely and make recommendation to the authorities. In order to

implement the Kongres's decision in regard to spelling, the Minister
of Education and Culture appointed a special committee to take steps
to improve the spelling system. The first chairman of the committee
was Professor Prijana and when he became Minister of Education he
handed over his job to E.Katopo.

This committee devised a new spelling system for the national
language based on the principle of using one symbol to represent
one phoneme. However, it refused to give a broader interpretation
of the Indonesian phonological system. In other words, the committee
was interested only in creating new symbols to replace some of those
which had been used in the Soewandi system. Known as Edjaan Pemba-
haruan — the reformed spelling — the new system used phonemic script
to write Indonesian and if that system had been accepted, Indonesia
would have had to import new letters for the printing machines as well
as phonetic typewriters to type ordinary letters and composition
generally. Fortunately, the proposed reformed spelling was not
adopted.

After the signing of the friendship agreement between Indone-
sia and Malaya, a new joint-spelling system based on the work of the
Indonesian spelling committee was agreed upon. The joint spelling
was called the Melindo spelling and was to be declared as the offi-
cial spelling in both Indonesia and in Malaysia in January, 1962 at
the latest. However, because of the launching of the confrontation
policy, this project was dropped in Indonesia and no spelling modi-
fication was introduced.

In 1960, an Indonesian linguist, Samsuri, wrote an article in Medan Ilmu Pengetahuan proposing yet another spelling system but on account of the unfavourable political situation that developed out of the confrontation policy, the government did not undertake to introduce a new spelling system.

In 1966, Indonesian linguists began to increase their activities again. The Lembaga Bahasa dan Kebudajaan (LBK), the Institute of Language and Culture, set up a new committee to carry out work dealing with spelling reform. Members of this committee were trained specialists and were associated with the University of Indonesia. The committee produced a new spelling system and proposed to the government that it be adopted as the official spelling. The Minister of Education and Culture gave official status to the committee in 1967 and instructed it to discuss the proposed spelling with various other persons and functionaries.

The LBK spelling committee had looked into the spelling problems with an open mind and devised a new spelling system ; taking into consideration several relevant factors. They created a spelling system on the basis of using one letter to represent a single phoneme but at the same time they did not want to cause unnecessary difficulties to the printers. They were also aiming at achieving simplicity and economy. But the most important thing was that they did not want to limit the number of Indonesian phonemes to the strictly Malay system of the Indonesian phonological system. In other words,

they were willing to accept borrowed sounds from foreign languages, particularly Western languages. Being acquainted with modern sociolinguistics, they also wanted to study people's attitudes and reactions towards the proposed new spelling as well as towards the problems of spelling in general. [13]

According to the new spelling, Indonesian has the following phonemic arrangements :

1.	V	for example	:	anak, ibu
2.	CV	for example	:	di, fasal
3.	VC	for example	:	arti, abdi
4.	CVC	for example	:	bunda, fungsi
5.	CVCC	for example	:	teks, pers
6.	CCV	for example	:	kredit, granat
7.	CCVC	for example	:	trampil, prangko
8.	CCCV	for example	:	strategi, instrument
9.	CCVC	for example	:	kompleks, matriks
10.	CCCVC	for example	:	struktur, instruksi
11.	VCC	for example	:	ons, eks
12.	VCCC	for example	:	arts,
13.	CVCCC	for example	:	korps

As can be seen from the above examples, the new spelling based on the acceptance of these phonemic arrangements would facilitate the adoption of a great number of borrowed words using consonant clusters which originated from Western languages.

With the establishment of the Suharto government, Indonesia soon ended the confrontation policy and before long diplomatic relationship resumed between the two Malay-speaking countries. When Malaysia wanted to implement the decision on the Melindo spelling, Indonesia

could not agree to it and instead offered the LBK spelling. After
the Malaysian experts looked into it they found it acceptable to
them and agreed that it would be adopted for use in Malaysia as
well.

In Indonesia, however, the acceptance was not so easy. As soon
as the new proposed spelling was made known to the public, some
writers as well as public figures including Mohammad Hatta expressed
their opinions arguing that there was no need for a new spelling sys-
tem of this kind. In the seminar on Bahasa Indonesia held in Jakarta
in October, 1968, on the occasion of the fourtieth anniversary of
the Youth Pledge, the LBK spelling was one of the topics hotly
debated. A. Latif in his paper entitled Ejaan dan Lafal, Spelling
and Pronunciation, enumerated seventeen points that had been raised
with regard to the new spelling system in several discussions as
well as in the newspapers and magazines. He reported that there
were people who had argued that the so-called spelling problem did
not exist at all. According to these people what gave rise to the
problem was the fact that Indonesian still lacked various terms
and that language users had no discipline in using the language.
There were even some who argued that the acceptance of the new
spelling was tantamount to the betrayal of the spirit of the Youth
Pledge of 1928, which was a grave charge.[14]

However, serious discussions that took place during the seminar
sessions led to the adoption of a resolution requesting the govern-

ment to make the LBK spelling the official spelling of the national
language. The resolution also proposed that the adoption of the new
spelling should be implemented by stages by allowing the use of
both types of spelling for a certain limited period of time. Parti-
cipants of the seminar pledged themselves to help popularize the
new spelling system by using it in their own writings.

However, the government did not want to make haste to announce
the official adoption of the proposed spelling because they believed
that the public was not yet ready for it. At the beginning of 1969,
another seminar was held in Jakarta in which notable personalities
from various occupations as well as functionaries participated.
From this seminar the following ideas emerged:

1. Further investigations and improvement of the LBK spelling were
   in order.

2. The new spelling as composed by the spelling committee at the Mi-
   nistry of Education and Culture which appeared in the book pub-
   lished by the P.T. Dian Rakjat needed correction and modification.

3. There was an urgent need for the establishment of a Language Insti-
   tute with a broader basis in order to facilitate the solution
   of language problems connected with standardization in general.[15]

The result of this seminar clearly showed that the public at
large was still hesitant to accept the LBK spelling in full but
there was no strong opposition to its basic principles. Nevertheless,
more discussions were to take place before the Ejaan Baru Yang Di-

sempurnakan (the Improved New Spelling) was to be made the official
spelling of the national language which happened in 1972.

Although there was a great deal of arguments and counter argu-
ments relating to spelling modification in general, the new spelling
was not actually very different from the old . one   . According to
the new system , the double letters tj and dj in such words as
tjatjar and djadjar were now replaced by the letters c and j res-
pectively: cacar and jajar. The sound /j/ represented by the letter
j in the old spelling was changed to the letter y. Thus jajasan,
bajar for instance were now spelt as yayasan and bayar respectively.
The prepositions such as di, meaning in or at, was now to be written
as a separate word and not attached to the noun which it governed
as before. Thus dirumah, disekolah for instance were now written
di rumah and di sekolah respectively.

In August, 1972, the Minister of Education and Culture, Mr. Mas-
huri, issued a booklet containing some explanation with regard to
the use of the new spelling system. In conclusion the Minister listed
seven points which the adoption of the new spelling had produced:
1. The spelling problems have been solved once and for all.
2. The new spelling will facilitate the standardization of the
   language, its grammar as well as the coining of terminology.
3. The new spelling has brought about economy both in terms of man-
   power and in terms of cost.
4. Funds and forces could now be mobilized to deal with other
   linguistic problems not directly connected with spelling but with

language development in general. Advantages of the fact that Indonesia was using Indonesian, rather than many languages, in the field of education as well as in government administration were also mentioned.

5. With a standardized language, Indonesia would be able to facilitate her socio-cultural development, stabilize her government, put the law and legislative processes in order and develop scientific knowledge.

6. With the existence of the standardized language, the position of Bahasa Indonesia was strengthened and this meant that the country was upholding the spirit of the Youth Pledge.

7. With its standardized form, Bahasa Indonesia would play an important part as a means of communication in international relations, especialy in South East Asian regions. [16]

The seven points mentioned above, needless to say, do not necessarily refer to facts but rather to the government's attitude with regard to the adoption of the new spelling system.

When the adoption of the new spelling was made official, all newly printed materials appeared in the new spelling and, as had been anticipated by Indonesian linguists, language users got used to it fairly quickly. It did not take more than three months at most for a lot of people to accustom themselves to reading and writing according to the new spelling rules.

However, the new spelling has not solved all spelling problems but this is of course understandable. With the adoption of the new

spelling the writing of a good number of words still remains a problem. In letters to newspaper editors one can read people asking questions concerning the correct spelling of such words as karir or karier, faria or varia, sebab or sebap, aksi, taksi, taxi, etc.[17] In addition to this kind of problem, some writers did not like to spell proyek, subyek, trayek, etc. in accordance with the new system but preferred to spell them projek, subjek and trajek respectively.[18]

With regard to the spelling of proper names, people concerned are free to spell their names according to the new or the old spelling system and as a result we are no longer able to tell whether someone is called Sudardja or Sudarya when we see a name spelt as Sudarja.

According to the new spelling, foreign words such as Coca Cola should still be spelt the same and pronounced the same, although people begin to joke about it by pronouncing it as tjotja tjola.

From the point of view of sociolinguistic studies, the most important thing about the adoption of the new spelling is the acceptance of the various non-indigenous foreign sounds into Indonesian which are to be reflected in the official spelling.

The spelling of words and terms borrowed from Arabic poses a special and interesting problem in Indonesian and probably will continue to cause some disagreement among Indonesian writers in general. Although most Indonesian people profess Islam, it is not, by the way, that only the Muslims who want to spell words of Arabic origin

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in their own way so as to reflect in the written language the
pronunciation of the words. The Christian churches have tended to
adopt more and more Islamic terms to express various religious con-
cepts and the Catholic Church uses even such word as khalwat, to
meditate, as a technical term which not many Muslims are familiar
with even when used not as a technical term. As for most Islamic-
oriented writers, the spelling of certain Arabic words having one
kind of religious significance or other is generally taken in a so-
lemn manner because the correct pronunciation of the words should
be reflected in the spelling. Whenever a discussion about spelling
takes place, it is almost certain that someone will raise questions
regarding the spelling of words borrowed from Arabic. Thus for
example in the seminar of 1966 held in Jakarta, A.Jasin gave warning
that in order to uphold religion great care must be taken concerning
the spelling of words borrowed from Arabic. [19] Sudarno in his paper
for the Bahasa Indonesia Seminar held in 1972 discussed the question
of writing words borrowed from Arabic in the Improved New Spelling
in which among other things he said : "The use of correctly pro-
nounced Arabic words (fasih) in Bahasa Indonesia or the regional
languages was regarded as a commendable exercise for the majority
of the Indonesian people." [20]

A possible method of writing those significant Arabic words
in Indonesian is of course to use the Arabic script just like the
practice in Arabic speaking countries of inserting words written

in Roman alphabet in their books written in Arabic. However, the
Indonesians will create difficulties for the printer as well as the
typist if they insist on adopting this method. It is, in fact, inva-
riably employed   in writing religious textbooks but the Arabic
words written in this way are not treated as words borrowed from
Arabic but rather as Arabic words pure and simple.

Words of Arabic origin which have completely been assimilated
into Indonesian (there are many) create no spelling difficulty what-
soever. Thus such words as maksud, takdir, terjemah, umur, asal,
usul, asli, iklan, etc. have been regarded as pure Indonesian voca-
bulary and most Indonesians do not know that they have been borrowed
from Arabic. However, there are a lot of words which people do know
that they come from Arabic, yet they are frequently used in daily
life and pronounced in accordance with Indonesian phonological sys-
tem. Nevertheless, when people write them they often take   special
care to write those words in such a way so that their approximate
Arabic pronunciation is reflected in the spelling. Here are a few
examples of them taken at random. Al fatihah, alhamdulillah, assala-
mu alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh, ahlil kitab, sunnat muakad,
lailatul kadar, qunut, musta'mal, amma ba'du, Qur'anul karim, hadis
dhaif, tasbih, istiqamah, astagfirullah, la'natullah, maksiat, tasa-
muh, etc., etc. The adoption of the new spelling has contributed
to solving some problems belong to this category of words. Perhaps
some would say that these words are rarely used but then they forget
that there are hundreds of thousands of Indonesian pupils and students

studying at various kinds of religious schools who use them regularly in their daily lessons as well as in their conversations. The medium of instruction in this type of schools is not Arabic but Indonesian which makes use a great number of words borrowed from Arabic.

For most ordinary newspaper-readers in Indonesia, spelling changes have not been a great problem mainly because they are used to reading words spelt in a variety of ways. Spelling is a great /for those problem for schoolteachers as well as/professional people who greatly need a standardized language such as lawyers, accountants, notaries public, etc. In order to facilitate the language standardization process in general it is right and praiseworthy that the government has been particularly concerned with the standardization of spelling. However, many Indonesians need to be reminde that what appear to be spelling problems in Indonesian are not purely problems of spelling but also related to problems of vocabulary in general.

3. Technical Vocabulary and Other Terms.

Like most other national languages in developing countries, Indonesian was not well-equiped to express new ideas and concepts which had been introduced into Indonesian society from outside, particularly those relating to professional activities and the pursuit of scientific knowledge. To cope with this problem, since the adoption of Indonesian as the official state language of the Republic, the creation of terminologies and various other professional vocabularies

has been undertaken in a systematic manner. Indonesian government officials, schoolteachers and other professional groups have always attached great importance to the efforts to produce Indonesian technical and scientific terminologies. As Professor A.Teeuw remarked : "The creation of <u>Istilah</u>, a body of technical, scientific and professional terms, has been one of the central problems in the development of Bahasa Indonesia into a really mature, modern language of culture." [1]

Indonesian teachers and university lecturers as well as writers and politicians have all contributed each in their own way to the ever-growing number of technical and professional vocabulary items in Indonesian. As the older generation of these people had received their training and education through the medium of the Dutch tongue, it stands to reason that they looked to Dutch technical terms for models in their coining of Indonesian technical terms. Through the process of what has been generally called loan-translation, tens of thousands of modern Indonesian terminologies have been created. Incidentally many Dutch technical and scientific terms are, like German ones, in the form of compounds and are not like English learned terms which rely a great deal on the formation of words originating from classical Greek and Latin. This linguistic characteristic is an advantage for translating Dutch terms into Indonesian, not only because the elements constituting the terms are familiar but also because Indonesian is a highly analytic language. The occurrence

of compound words is very common in Indonesian as well as in the
regional languages so that when technical terms consisting of com-
punds are introduced into Indonesian they do not upset the normal
morphological structure of the language.

Here is an example of a technical term in English. The word
perpendicular as used in geometry is a technical term having a
specific and exact meaning. An Indonesian who did not know Dutch
would find this term rather difficult to translate into Indonesian.
However, if he knows Dutch, in which language the term perpendicular
is expressed by the compound hoogtelijn, he will have no difficulty
in rendering it into Indonesian. The term hoogtelijn consists of
two elements, hoogte (height) and lijn (line) and can be easily
translated into Indonesian as garistinggi, garis meaning line and
tinggi meaning high. A great number of various technical terms as
well as other terminologies formed in this manner have come to stay
in Indonesian and here we provide only with a few examples:

Dutch Terms	Indonesian Terms	English Terms
brandweer	pemadam kebakaran	fire-brigade
bedrijfs-belasting	pajak perusahaan	trade tax
dagboek	buku harian	diary
enkelvoud	bentuk tunggal	singular
familie naam	nama keluarga	surname
grondwet	undang-undang dasar	constitution
Hoge Raad	Mahkamah Tinggi	High Court
hoogoven	dapurtinggi	blast-furnace
meetkunde	ilmu ukur	geometry
naamqoord	katabenda	noun

natuurkunde	ilmu alam	physics
taalkunde	ilmu bahasa	linguistics
tandarts	dokter gigi	dental surgeon
volkenkunde	ilmu bangsa-bangsa	ethnology
werkwoord	katakerja	verb
ziekenhuis	rumahsakit	hospital

In Indonesian, the morphological structure of a compound word or a phrase is that the headword comes before the modifier (HM) and not like the structure of a compound or a phrase in Dutch or English which is modifier and head (MH). Of course there are a few exceptions to this rule. Thus the terms <u>dalam negeri</u> and <u>luar nege-ri</u> are loan-translations from the Dutch terms <u>binnenlands</u> (interior) and <u>buitenland</u> (foreign country) respectively and not <u>negeri dalam</u> and <u>negeri luar</u> according to the M H rule. These two terms had been in general use particularly since the first world war and perhaps the original coiner of these terms did not care very much about observing the rules of Malay grammar.

A good number of Dutch terms using compounds have been taken over into Indonesian without translating them. These words have been Indonesianized in their spelling and pronunciation as well as in their morphological structure. Here are a few examples of them :

Dutch Terms	Indonesian Terms	English Terms
postkantoor	kantor pos	post office
postpakket	paket pos	parcel post
pomp-machine	mesin pompa	pumping engine
operatie-kamer	kamar operasi	operating room
film opname	opname filem	shot

kasboek	buku kas	cash-book
kantoor personeel	personalia kantor	office staff
fabrieks-instalatie	instalasi fabrik	factory plant
civiel ingenieur	insinyur sipil	civil engineer

The great majority of foreign terms, mainly Dutch and English, have been taken over into Indonesian by merely changing their spelling and pronunciation and educated Indonesians generally are in the habit of using them even when their Indonesian equivalents exist. [2] The number of terms adopted in this manner is indeed great and here we will give only a few examples :

abstrak		abstract
agitasi		agitation
abnormal		abnormal
bursa	beurs	Stock Exchange
bis		bus
data		data
estafet	estafette	relay race
efektif		effective
fakta		fact
fabrik	fabriek	factory
geologi		geology
grasi	gratie	reprieve
harmoni		harmony
historis		historical
inkaso	incasso	collection
justisi	justitie	judicature
kategori		category
karbon		carbon
legenda		legend
makelar	makelaar	broker

naif		naive
omzet	omzet	turnover
proyek	project	project
risiko	risico	risk
struktur		structure
traktat	traktaat	treaty
temperamen	temperament	temper
urgen		urgent
urbanisasi		urbanization
vak	vak	subject
waskom	waskom	wash-basin
wortel	wortel	carrot
zalf	zalf	ointment
zending	zending	(Christian) mission

As can be seen from the examples given above, English terms ending in the part of a word written as <u>tion</u> or <u>sion</u> such as urbanization, agitation, mission are transformed into Indonesian words urbanisasi, agitasi and misi respectively. Many of Western terms of this category were borrowed from the Dutch language but there have been many more that have been taken over from English. The ending <u>-si</u> in Indonesian was derived from the Dutch word-ending -tie (pronounced /si/) such as organisatie, operatie, etc. Nowadays a great number of English words ending in <u>-tion</u> can be transformed into Indonesian words without causing any confusion or embarrassement to a majority of educated Indonesians.

The English terms having the ending represented by the spelling <u>-ical</u> such as historical, political are transformed into Indonesian words ending in <u>-is</u>, such as <u>historis</u> and <u>politis</u>. This <u>-is</u> ending

originated from the Dutch word-ending -isch such historisch, symmetrisch, etc.

Despite the relative easiness of transforming Western terms into Indonesian and their general acceptance by language users, many people in their considered opinions express their belief that most of those terms should be translated into Indonesian. This has also been generally the guide-line policy of the Ministry of Education and Culture.

The translation of technical vocabulary from one language into another should not necessarily be difficult to carry out. The main reason for this is that technical and scientific terms exist in a particular language in a somewhat loose way, that is to say they are not as intimately related to the language as the rest of the lexical items. As a matter of fact, it has been pointed out that "scientific and technical terminologies do not belong to language, nor, in consequence, to lexical structurations in the same was as do 'common words' " [3] Because of this, as a rule they can be translated "without difficulty in any community which possesses the same sciences and techniques at the same level of development." [4]

Bearing this in mind, it is not in itself an exceptionally great linguistic feat that a great number of scientific and professional terms have been translated into national languages in many developing countries. In Indonesia the total of 74.240 technical and professional terms had been produced as early as 1952 and from that year onwards until the present day, a great many more have been coined.

In 1966 the national language possessed a total of 327.927 technical terms intended to be use in all fields of scientific activities and specialized professions of various types. [5]

The greatest majority of these technical terms had been the result of language planning activities undertaken by the <u>Komisi Istilah</u> (the Terminology Commission). This commission has always been engaged in research and work devoted to the coining of Indonesian terminologies either by translating from foreign languages or by other methods. The Komisi Istilah, being an official body, enjoys a certain amount of prestige and privilege and receives support from various government departments.

The first chairman of the Komisi Istilah was Dr.Prijana, who served from 1951 until 1957 when he retired and succeeded by the well-known scholar, Professor Hoesein Djajadiningrat. He acted as chairman until 1960. From 1960 until the present time the commission has had three successive women scholars as chairwomen, viz. Mrs.L. Gandasubrata, Mrs.Moliar Achmad, and Mrs.S.W. Rudjiati Muljadi, in that order. All those chairmen and chairwomen have been university trained scholars but the deputy chairman who served the Komisi Istilah from 1951 until his retirement in 1966 had no university education. He was appointed to the job in recognition of his achievement as an autodidact an able translator and a productive writer. He was Mr.Nur Sutan Iskandar, a Malay writer who was known for his conservatism with regard to the purity of the Indonesian language, without, however, being dogmatic about it.

The Komisi Istilah was a body consisting of a number of sections each dealing with a particular field of learning or group of subjects, such as language, law, chemistry, physics, social and economic sciences, etc. The members of each section consisted of specialists in the field concerned, a specialist in Bahasa Indonesia and a translator who was also responsible for the clerical work of his section. The Bahasa Indonesia specialist was there to give linguistic and stylistic advice with regard to the language used in the terminologies created. In order to co-ordinate activities undertaken by various sections, special bodies called <u>Dewan Pertimbangan Istilah</u> (the Authoritative Board on Terminology) were set up. There were four bodies established each dealing with a particular group of technical and scientific terminologies.

1. The Authoritative Board dealing with terminologies to be used in linguistics and philology, in literature, journalism, art, education, psychology, and home economics under the chairmanship of Dr. Prijana.

2. The Authoritative Board dealing with terminologies to be used in law, social and economic sciences, in finance and administration, under the chairmanship of Professor Tjan Tjoe Siem.

3. The Authoritative Board dealing with terminologies to be used in medicine, agriculture, forestry and fishery, zoology, chemistry and pharmacy under the chairmanship of Sutan Muhammad Said.

4. The Authoritative Board dealing with terminologies to be used in

technology, physics and natural sciences, in the military and aviation under the chairmanship of Nur Sutan Iskandar.

These four bodies were co-ordinated by a small committee of the Komisi Istilah whose members consisted of the four chairmen mentioned above and Professor Dr.Poerbatjaraka who acted as linguistic adviser. The chairman of this small committee was a well-known translator, R.A. Datuk Besar. [6]

The day-to-day work of translating and the coining of new terminologies were naturally done more at the section level than anywhere else. As has been said the translation of Dutch technical terms into Indonesian was not a very complicated affair, but the approval of the proposed terms particularly at the higher level was a different matter. As an illustration of this kind of difficulty, an unexpected difficulty at that, we are lucky to have been informed by Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana about an objection to the use of the term dalil as a loan-translation from the Dutch term stelling used in geometry. The Dutch term stelling is the equivalent of the English term theorem and many Indonesian experts agreed that it could be translated into Indonesian as dalil. However, at the higher level of discussion a member of the board raised an objection to the proposed adoption of the term for geometry on allegedly religious grounds. [8] The word dalil was supposed to be used as a technical term in religious education, meaning a proposition concerning the existence of God which did not need any demonstration for its absolute validity. [7] This claim is of course irrelevant and the member was

perhaps just being fastidious, still this kind of happening showed

how difficult it could be for a particular proposed term to re-

ceive approval from the Terminology Commission. The word dalil is

a borrowing from Arabic. Other words of Arabic origin adopted as

technical terms in this connection are hukum, to translate the Dutch

term wet (law), kaidah, to translate the Dutch term regel (rule),

and sifat to translate the Dutch term eigenschap (attribute).

Judging from the names of the scholars who were in charge of

the Komisi Istilah and the pains they took to examine and discuss

such terminology for acceptance, there is little doubt that the

adequateness and accuracy of the great majority of the terms pro-

duced is beyond question and that they would not by themselves bring

down the standard of scientific activities in Indonesia if they were

consistently used. However, it is a lamentable fact that they were not

consistently employed, and that there were specialists or other

experts who had not even heard of the existence of the terms produced

by the Komisi Istilah. [8] The task of the Commission was to create the

terminologies and it was up to the public or the specialists to

employ them in their works. Nevertheless, this gap between the ter-

minology producer and its potential consumer shows clearly the need

for an effective centralised agency to enforce acceptance and use

of the created terminologies.

In practice in Indonesian higher education practically every

lecturer produces and uses his own Indonesian terminologies for his

own field which are not necessarily acceptable to other professors
in the same field. Sometimes attempts are made to standardize termi-
nologies in use in one particular university but again these termi-
nologies are not necessarily acceptable to or even understood by
colleagues in other universities. It is only in secondary school
education that standardized Indonesian terminologies are used through-
out the country. This is made possible thanks to the control and
supervision of secondary school education by the Ministry of Edu-
cation and Culture.

Sometimes a specialist in a particular branch of science re-
fused to employ certain terminologies produced by the Komisi Isti-
lah, because he thought that they lacked scientific preciseness.
However, this attitude generally has something to do with the prob-
lem regarding the advantage or disadvantage of using a scientific
terminology which is derived from the common vocabulary. A German
friend of mine informed me that a German layman tended to think he
knew more about a partcular field than he actually did because he
believed he understood all the terms used in that particular field.
Concerning this, Uriel Heidt wrote : "There can be little doubt
that a more general term, such as Ehelosigkeit, is more easily un-
derstood and used by the average German than celibacy is by an Eng-
lishman who has had no classical education." [9] In Indonesia I knew
a colleague, a psychologist, who strongly objected to the use of
the Indonesian term ilmu jiwa for the English word psychology, be-

cause he said that _ilmu jiwa_ meant the study of the soul whereas modern psychology had nothing to do with that. The word _jiwa_ by itself does mean soul and it can also mean life or even mind. The term ilmu jiwa does not necessarily mean the study of the soul, and if used consistently by psychologists in Indonesia to mean psychology, it will do no harm to the science. As a matter of fact, many educational psychologists do use the term _ilmu jiwa anak_ for child psychology, _ilmu jiwa umum_ for general psychology, _ilmu jiwa sosial_ for social psychology, etc.

If many Indonesian university lecturers argue as the above-mentioned psychologist has argued about Indonesian scientific terms, there will be a very great number of terms which the Komisi Istilah has painstakingly produced which will not be acceptable.

The use of Indonesian terms in public administration, finance and higher education has been unsatisfactory but certainly not a failure. The problems often arise from the fact that many terms tend to be coined by those who know more about language than about the concepts used in a particular field or profession. An Indonesian linguist for instance tried to coin some terms for use in accountancy but professional accountants strongly opposed the use of those terms. [10] Sometimes people just translate Dutch terms into Indonesian literally such as _memegang buku_ for boekhouding (bookkeeping) and this is certainly worse or longer than _pembukuan_, which has also been used. At times the translation of foreign terms is misleading such as _tax paper_ which has been translated as _pembayar_

pajak. Dr. Awaloedin Djamin, a former cabinet minister, in his paper

entitled Penggunaan Bahasa dalam Komunikasi Resmi di Bidang Admi-

nistrasi (The Use of Language in official Communication in the Field

of Administration) discussed problems encountered in public admi-

nistration arising from the inconsistency of using technical voca-

bulary. He gave a summary of his paper among other things as follows:

a. The use of Indonesian in official communication, especially

   written communication, is still faced with difficult and compli-

   cated problems.

b. The use of language for this purpose is mainly concerned with the

   use of technical and specific terms.

He suggested among other things that difficult foreign terms

should be adopted by simply chaning their spelling and pronunciation

rather than by translating them into Indonesian. [11] This of course

has often/resorted to but not in a consistent manner. / been

The use of Indonesian technical terms for scientific activities

is still faced with difficult problems of all kinds, but most Indo-

nesian scholars are agreed that these problems are not insurmountable.

It is quite astonishing that in one seminar on Indonesian, the

leading grammarian of the language, Professor Slametmuljana, declared

that Indonesian should not be employed as a medium of scientific

discourse, although he has published practically all his books in

the national language. Naturally his view was then vigorously

opposed by other scholars, and it has remained a puzzle why he made

such a startling statement. When he pronounced that statement he

merely gave an unconvincing reason to support his view as follows:
" I studied Hegel not in Bahasa Indonesia but in German." [12]

Indonesia has created a lot of names of various institutions since Independence and some of thoose names have invited lively discussions among Indonesians both specialists and laymen. Which should be regarded as the more correct names, for instance in the following cases :

Sekolah negeri	Sekolah negara	state school
Pegawai negeri	Pegawai negara	government servant
Mahkamah Militer Tinggi	Mahkamah Tinggi Militer	higher military court
Darmawasita	Darmawisata	tourism
Akademi Penerbangan Nasional	Akademi Nasional Penerbangan	
Academy of National Aviation		

etc., etc.

The official term for prison now is Lembaga Pemasyarakatan (Institute of Socialization) but before this was adopted various terms had been used for this institution such as Rumah Penjara, Rumah Pendidikan Jiwa, etc. There have been many other names that have undergone changes also for no important reason apart from the fact that technical terms in the language have not yet become stable.

Such terms as Balai Kota (City Hall), Gelanggang Olah Raga (Sports Centre), Gedung Olah Raga (Sports Hall), etc. had been in use in Indonesian since the beginning of Independence, but after 1965 they gave way to their English equivalents. Particularly in Jakarta a great number of English terms were adopted by the public as well as by the government, but they soon realized their mistake. In Decem-

ber, 1973, the Governor of Jakarta, Leutenant General Ali Sadikin, ordered the replacement of those English terms again by Indonesian terms and from this time onwards more and more new names have been created, such as Gelanggang Remaja for Youth Centre, Pusat Perbelan- jaan for Shopping Centre, etc. [13] It is expected that a huge number of new names and terms will come out of this new method. It is a pity that the Government decided to stop the activities of the Komisi Istilah in 1967. [14]

It has been said above that the majority of Indonesian technical terms are made up of compound words formed from everyday vocabulary as well as from words of literary character either indigenous or of foreign origin. Some of those terms adopted or created at the earlier period were in the form of groups or phrases rather than compounds, such as for example memegang buku for book-keeping, ilmu menjual for salesmanship, ilmu mengenal barang for the science of goods identification, ilmu surat-menyurat perdagangan for busíiness correspondence, ilmu ukur melukis for geometry, etc. These terms were felt cumbersome and terms created at later dates tended to be shorter.

In order to have shorter terms, the affixes attached to verbs in forming compounds which occur in such words as memegang (tohold), menjual (to sell), etc. were got rid off and similarly affixes used to form nouns were reduced as much as possible. Thus Bahasa Indonesia now already possesses   such terms as ilmu hitung instead of ilmu

menghitung for arithmatic, senilukis instead of seni melukis for
fine art, urai kalimat instead of menguraikan kalimat for parsing,
jaraktembak instead of jarak penembakan for shooting range, kata-
kerja instead of kata nama pekerjaan for verb, etc., etc.

Compounds using the element ' ' tata, meaning arrangement or
system, have been common in modern Indonesian producing such terms
as tatabahasa for grammar, tatanegara for statecraft, tatausaha
for administration, tatakalimat for syntax, tatafonem for phonology,
tatatertib for rules or procedures, tatakerja for system of work, etc.
The use of the prefix ke- and suffix -an in such nouns as dokter
(doctor) and guru (teacher) has given us the technical terms of
kedokteran and keguruan meaning medical science and paedagogy res-
pectively. There are many other technical terms formed in this way
such as kehutanan (forestry), kepolisian (police force), kejaksaan
(magistrate), kepustakaan (bibliography), etc. The use of the prefix
pe- , pem, peng, peny and the suffix -an have also be resorted to
in order to create such terms as perbankan for banking affairs
(from Dutch bankwezen), perusahaan for enterprise, pendidikan for
education, perpustakaan for library, persuratkabaran for the press,
perundang-undangan for legislation, pembajakan for high-jacking,
penyitaan for confiscation, etc., etc.

The element pra as a translation of the English morpheme pre
has been used to create such terms as prasejarah for prehistory,
prasyarat for prerequisite, prasaran for the Dutch term referaat
(lecture), pramuka for scout movement, praduga assumption, etc.

The morpheme tuna meaning without has been used to coin such terms
as tunakarya for unemployed, tunanetra for blind, tunasulsila for
prostitute, tunawisma for homeless, etc. The word serba meaning
all has been used (sparingly) to create such terms as serbaroh
(animism), serbabenda (materialism), etc.

Indonesian language users have profitably made use of the rich
but complicated system of affixation in their efforts to coin modern
technical vocabulary. The Indonesian linguist Harimurti Kridalaksana
summarized the way in which a technical term could be coined in a
given language as follows :

a. by taking a common word or phrase and then give it a special
significance.

b. by creating a new word through the use and manipulation of affixes
from a word stem or root.

c. by creating new compound words out of everyday vocabulary.

d. by creating a new form through analogy.

e. by creating special abbreviations or acronyms.

f. by resorting to loan-translation.

g. by adopting foreign terms. [15]

According to him, Indonesian language users have taken advantage of
all these methods.

As has been said, the use of standardized technical terms in
Indonesian is still faced with some difficult problems of all kinds.
However, in classrooms, in conference halls, in seminars, etc. these

problems in practice are easily solved. It is in written communication involving scientific and technical terminologies used by specialists who insist on using only pure Indonesian technical terms that difficulties generally arise, especially if their subjects of discourse are highly technical. However, it is common practice among Indonesian scholars to supply the original Western terminologies beside their Indonesian equivalents.

Nevertheless, it is a fact that sometimes Indonesian terms borrowed from Western languages may create some misunderstanding among the younger generation who have no knowledge of the Dutch language. This is because some terms borrowed from the Dutch are thought to have been borrowed from English because they are cognate terms but they may not mean exactly the same.

In a few cases, Indonesian scholars regard Indonesian terminologies as better than their equivalents in Western languages. Thus the term kebudayaan for culture, for instance, which consists of two elements, viz. budi (spiritual quality or good conduct) and daya (power) is supposed to convey a more accurate meaning than the Western terms Kultur or culture. As Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana wrote: "Undeniably the fact is that, more than in English, even more than in German, the relationship between the notions of mind or Geist and culture is accentuated in the Indonesian language......" [16] S. Tasrif, a well-known lawyer and former editor of the daily Abadi also spoke about the superior quality of some Indonesian legal termino-

logies. [17] We are not especially concerned here whether linguistic claims of this type can be substantiated, but the considered opinions that those scholars express show appreciation and confidence in the potentials of Indonesian technical vocabulary. What is not less significant is the fact that negative attitudes taken with regard to the adequacy of Indonesian as a modern means of communication are not tolerated in Indonesia. From the point of view of of the promotor of the national language all this is encouraging for "ideas and opinions about language reflect, to a large extent, what a given society or cultural community regards as the most significant achievements of its epoch." [18] The opinions of linguists about language are of course important but when it comes to the question of national language policy they are often less so. Professor Le Page rightly observed : "Decisions about a national language policy are normally made by politicians, not by linguists; ...." [19]

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THE CULTIVATION OF INDONESIAN

1. Defeat of Linguistic Conservatism

The main issue confronting the language was one which was concerned with the conflicting ideas about how to develop it into a modern means of communication. It was a problem related to the choice of styles, the problem of language cultivation. "By the cultivation of good language we mean the conscious fostering of the standard language; this can be done by (1) theoretical linguistics work, (2) language education in the schools, and (3) literary practice."[1] Theoretical linguistic work dealing with language cultivation was practically non-existent in Indonesia but the other two factors in language cultivation, language education in schools and literary practice did exist and have contributed significantly to the creation of the present-day form of the national language.

Although Indonesian had always been under the influence of non-Malay languages such as Sundanese, Javanese, etc. and had received a great number of vocabulary items from foreign tongues such as Sanskrit, Arabic, and Dutch, most Indonesian grammarians in the early fifties were still strongly opposed to undermining the language at the levels of grammar and styles. School teachers and texbook writers were consciously trying to cultivate the language along the path of linguistic traditionalism, rejecting expressions and sentences formed on the basis of a model ultimately derived from the Dutch language. However, as has been said earlier, modern Indonesian

writers had tended to defy good usage prescribed by the school
teachers and developed modern styles of their own. Modern Indonesian
prose is a product of an "almost total revolution in the literary
field, an overthrow of traditional ideas about language, aesthetics and
culture in general..." [2] The writers who brought about this linguis-
tic revolution were not confined to the so-called 45 generation but
also included the earlier writers associated with the Pudjangga
Baru group. Although the 45 generation is regarded as more revo-
lutionary in its attitudes towards the use of language than the
Pudjangga Baru group the difference between the two groups of writers
is not very great. As Professor A.Teeuw remarked : "The contrast
between the Pudjangga Baru writers and those of the 45 generation
is not as great as many want us to believe." [3]

The conservative linguistic pundits generally known as the
Engku-Engku Balai Pustaka have been described by their opponents
as bigoted purists because of their refusal to accept the fact that
Malay-orientated grammar was no longer a suitable guide to be used
(as it was meant to be used) as a reference for determining good u-
sage in Bahasa Indonesia. [4] This accusation is on the whole justifiable
although not absolutely correct because what many conservative
teachers insisted on was that Indonesian writers should write in
accordance with the spirit of the Indonesian language and not just
translating literally from Dutch language by way of creating various
expressions. They admitted that Indonesian was not yet perfect and was

still lacking in modern vocabulary items and efficient expressions
but warned people not to be too hasty in resorting to the use of
foreign language. One of the most conservative textbook writers,
S. Zainuddin Penghulu Batuah, whose book Pohon Bahasa was in use in
most secondary schools, wrote : "When we look around us more attentive-
ly, we have to admit that there are words and expressions in a fo-
reign language dealing with even the most mundane daily matter that
have had no equivalents in our language or that these equivalents
are still not found so that in conversation we often have to pause
to look for words and expressions, or in the case of some people they
often   just 'cross to other people's courtyard', using foreign
words and expressions in order to say what they have in mind." [5]

The conservative were not opposed to linguistic borrowing as
such but they set rigid criteria for doing this. They insisted that
in translating from Dutch into Indonesian, the translator should ne-
ver let himself be linguistically influenced by the Dutch language.
Most conservative teachers would thus object to such expressions
as the following :

sebegitu jauh	voor zover	so far
sedemikian rupa	zodanig dat	in such a way
tidak begitu sukar	niet zo moelijk	not so difficult
pada akhirnya	op het laats	in the end
berjalan kaki	te voet gaan	to go on foot
pada umumnya	over het algemeen	in general
menembak mati	doodschieten	shoot someone dead
pada khususnya	het bijzonder	in particular

etc., etc. [6]

They insisted that one should not write <u>selekas mungkin</u> (as soon as possible) but <u>selekas-lekasnya</u> that one should not say or write <u>semurah mungkin</u> (as cheap as possible) but <u>semurah-murahnya,</u> etc. They believed that those expressions were corrupted Indonesian.

The conservative writers were by no means limited to people of Sumatran origin. As a matter of fact, Professor Sutomo Tjokronegoro and Amin Singgih, both carried on the cause of linguistic conservatism until quite recently, although the battle had been lost twenty five or so years ago. [7] Although the conservatives tended to be somewhat fastidious and very rigid in their criteria of what should be regarded as correct and incorrect usage, they were people who were concerned about simplicity, clarity and even euphony in the use of Indonesian.

With regard to the use of words to translate Dutch conjunctions used in a sentence such as <u>waar</u> (where), <u>waarvan</u> (of what), etc. Indonesian grammarians have expressed different opinions. The older conservative condemned the use of <u>di mana</u> (where) as a conjunction in an Indonesian complex sentence. Even the younger scholars tend to disapprove of too much use of such words in constructing sentences. J.S. Badudu, a lecturer at the Padjadjaran State University of Bandung, wrote in 1971 that such as the following should not be regarded as good or authentic Indonesian sentences :

Kantor di mana dia bekerja tak jauh dari sini (The office where he works is not far from here).

Orang dengan siapa ia harus berunding belum juga datang (The person

with whom he has to talk has not yet arrived).

Daerah dari mana sayur-mayur itu didatangkan terletak jauh di peda-
laman (The area where the vegetables come from is situated far in
the interior).

According to Badudu, the authentic Indonesian sentences for these
should read:

Kantor tempat dia bekerja jauh dari rumahnya.

Orang yang akan berunding dengan dia belum juga datang.

Daerah yang menghasilkan sayur-mayur itu terletak jauh di pedalaman.[8]

J.S. Badudu has never been regarded as a linguistic purist. However,
Professor Slametmuljana had stated much earlier that sentences
using di mana, yang mana, etc. in accordance with modern usage should
not be condemned.[9] S. T. Alisjahbana normally uses this type of
sentence construction in his writing and most modern writers have
also followed suit. Nevertheless, it is interesting to compare Ali-
sjahbana's attitude with regard to the way in which Dutch sentences
have to be translated into Indonesian. Let us say that we need to
translate into Indonesian such a sentence as : Amin will zich even
voorstellen aan lezers (Amin wants to introduce himself to the
readers). According to Alisjahbana, the literal translation of this
sentence reads : Amin mau memperkenalkan dirinya kepada pembaca,
and he recommended that a good translation should read : Amin mau
berkenalan dengan pembaca, which is simpler, more natural, and more
pleasant to the ear.[10] Most translators of today would probably
use what Takdir called the literal translation because it is easier

for them to do that way, although a language teacher would still insist that the second sentence is much better than the first. From the point of view of a reader who has no knowledge of a Western language, the second version is much easier to understand.

The younger generation tend to regard linguistic purism as preached by the Engku-Engku Balai Pustaka as an obstacle to the development of Indonesian because of its rigid Malay-orientated rules and hence they consciously rebelled agaisnt it. In the early fifties, Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI) carried a language programme called Rudjak Bahasa (linguistic miscellany) under the direction of a young Sumatra writer, Zuber Usman. The main aims of the programme were to give guidance concerning correct usage in Indonesian by denouncing what was called "Hollandism" on the one hand and rigid traditionalism on the other.[11]

The systematic attack on linguistic conservatism resulted in a conscious liberalization of usage and grammatical rules which speeded up language modernization and development. Linguistic conservatism now was limited to the four walls of classrooms while outside people used Indonesian in the light of their linguistic whims, paying very little attention to rules, idioms and good usage. The promotors of modern Indonesian prose were on the whole highly trained in the use of the Dutch language so that they knew how to write in an efficient manner. They wanted to liberalize Indonesian grammar not in order to introduce lawlessness into the language but to bring

about efficiency of expression by creating a new form of the language
which would be a fitting tool of communication. Dr. Prijana compared
the Malay language to Sarinah (a girl's name) at the age of six
and Indonesian to Sarinah who was already grown up. He wrote: "In
accordance with present-day fashion, Sarinah will sometimes wear
a Western clothing with a skirt, sometimes will put on Indonesian
dress for example by wearing a Javanese kain (sarong), Sundanese
footgear, a Balinese selendang (shawl), gold ornaments from Sumatra,
a Parisian silk blouse, and carrying a handbag made in Holland. And
despite her parent's grumbling, she will also put on lipstick ori-
ginating from the United States." [12] In other words, Dr. Prijana
would like to encourage Indonesian people to use the language in a
style which was fitting for an authentic modern Indonesian society,
absorbing all the good elements from various cultural linguistic
backgrounds. He certainly would not want to see Indonesian writers
write in a sloppy manner, developing a style which was clumsy and
in bad taste.

However, the attack on linguistic conservatism also resulted
in the production of much bad writing. A new generation of people
whose schooling had been interrupted by war and revolution lacked a
sound linguistic background and training and had mastered neither
the Dutch language nor Indonesian. When these people came to express
their ideas in written Indonesian they tended to use the language
as if it had no rules for determining good usage. They produced
vague and carelessly-constructed sentences, using a lot of their

regional vocabulary and expressions which readers who did not belong

to the same ethnic background found unintelligible or misleading

on account of the fact that similar words and expressions in Indo-

nesian did not mean the same thing. As early as 1952, M. Nasution had

given a warning about the serious danger involved in using this kind

of sloppy Indonesian. He wrote : "Bahasa Indonesia today is facing

enormous problems of various kinds. Each ethnic group has been giving

a certain characteristic to the unitary language. This is not li-

mited to the vocabulary but also involved the morphology, the phono-

logy as well as the syntax of Indonesian. As a result, the language

is becoming a confusing language. It is feared that there may come

a time when the language is no longer understood because of its

confused and chaotic state. By then it will be impossible to do any-

thing about its disintegration." [13] People who had had an imperfect

command of the Dutch language and had learned Bahasa Indonesia

half-heartedly introduced a new style into the language which

language teachers did not like. Mardjana for instance observed that

many modern writers tended to use too much the plural form of the

noun done by way of reduplicating it, and this was due to nega-

tive influence from the Dutch. [14]

Modern writers also tended to use a lot of words to express

simple ideas which the conservative writers as well as good modern

writers could say in fewer words. Thus they would for example write

melakukan pembukaan (to perform the opening) instead of membuka

(to open), melakukan pembunuhan (to commit murder) instead of mebu-
nuh (to murder), mengalami kebakaran (to experience burning) instead
of terbakar (to get burned, sepanjang pengetahuan saya (as far as
I know) instead of setahu saya, melaksanakan aksi penangkapan
(to perform the act of arrest) instead of menangkap (to arrest), dalam
keadaan terganggu kesehatan (in the state of being indisposed) instead
of sedang sakit (to be ill), menyatakan keadaan ketidak sanggupan-
nya (to declare his state of being unable) instead of simply tidak
sanggup (unable), etc., etc. The conservative writers regarded this
kind of use of Indonesian as a gross violation of the very spirit
of the language which was terseness and simplicity. [15] The concerva-
tives did not realise that there were occasions on which this kind
of style was appropriate or necessary. However, it is a fact that
some people who wrote in this type of cumbersome language normally
used it in inappropriate situations or on wrong occasions.

The conservatives were on the whole opposed to Western influence
and ideas both in language and in the field of culture generally,
believing that Indonesian people should try to maintain their adat
(customs) and traditions and not let their society be wrecked by
the evil process of westernization. For them the adoption of
Western expressions, translated into Indonesian contrary to the
spirit of the Malay language, was a danger not only to the so-called
purity of the language but to Indonesian culture as well. On the
other hand, there were those who did not share this opinion. When

an Indonesian writer used such an expression as <u>mengatasi kesuli-</u><u>tan</u> as a translation from the Dutch phrase <u>een moeilijkheid te</u> <u>boven komen</u>,for instance,he was not doing any harmful thing to the Indonesian language. A. Hamid in a radio talk warned that one should not accuse those who had translated Dutch expressions into Indonesian and used them in their writings or in their conversation of being <u>kebelnda-belandaan</u> (a̲ping the Dutch ways). [16]

Indonesian intellectuals in the early fifties,or at least some of them,were still enchanted by Western ideas and ways of life and this they said and defended in public. A writer who signed his name as Z. and who had often written articles about Bahasa Indonesia,praised Western ideas and ways of life skyhigh and recommended that Indonesians should try to imitate them. He wrote among other things : "Is it not an established fact that nearly all Indonesian intellectuals are influenced, have been influenced, and are very fortunate to have been influenced by elements of foreign culture"? [17] For these people the main issue concerning the development of Indonesian was one of intellectualization. Indonesian needed to be used also as a medium of intellectual discourse in the true sense of the word,and it is in this connection that it had to rely a great deal on linguistic borrowing of all kinds. By this time Indonesian was making use of several bound morphemes originating from English or Dutch such as -<u>ist</u> in such a word as <u>socialist</u>, -<u>isme</u> in such a word as <u>socialisme</u>, etc. Thus Indonesian had frequently used such words as <u>spesialis</u>, <u>kapitalis</u>, <u>idealis</u>, <u>rasialis</u>, <u>Marhaenis</u>, <u>nasionalis</u>,

, etc. Such words as nasionalisme, komunisme, kapitalisme, sukuisme (regionalism) from the word suku (ethnic group), etc. However, it was felt that there were still many adjective endings in Dutch such as -ing, -sel, -de, -te, -st, etc. which had not been taken over into Indonesian and for the sake of the intellectualization of the language some people suggested that Bahasa Indonesia should also create elements to form secondary adjectives. [18] The word knowledge or science is ilmu in Indonesian and scientific is

/ as to ilmiah but many people are still confused/which is which and often employ the one while intending to convey the meaning of the other. Recently the ending -wi has also been used to form an adjective from such a noun as manusia (man) in the form of manusiawi (human) through analogy with the noun dunia (the world) and its adjective duniawi (worldly or secular).

Although the intellectuals wanted to bring about the intellectualization of Indonesian to make it a fit medium for an intellectual discourse, they did not on the whole want to neglect their cultural heritage and adopt Western ways of life completely. Even those who spoke only Dutch failed to be completely westernized.

Those involved in language development activities were at the same time also involved in cultural activities in general. These people also wanted to create and develop a national Indonesian culture and organized several conferences for this purpose. In a conference on national culture held in August, 1950 in Djakarta, the edu-

cator Ki Hadjar Dewantara, talked about the basis on which this
national culture could be established and developed. He said : "Let
us take a basis for unity : The Indonesian national culture embraces
all the high points of the valuable cultural goods out of the archi-
pelago, old as well as new, on which our national spirit has been
living..." [19] Professor Soenario Kolopaking spoke of the need for
liberating Indonesian culture from foreign domination. "We must
struggle now to liberate ourselves in cultural fields (the economy,
the philosophy, the sciences and art)";[20] he emphasized. In ano-
ther conference held one year later in Bandung, Mohammad Hatta, how-
ever, warned the Indonesian people to guard themselves against

[the] any attempt by the government to impose official domination in/cul-
tural field. He said : " Indonesia is surely a democratic country
and the government should not be entitled to dictate what kind of
culture we should possess." [21] There were polemics between those
who insisted on relying a great deal on borrowing from elements
from the West and those who regarded this borrowing as disgraceful
for the national culture, between those who insisted on a unitary
culture and those who believed in diversity. The use of Indonesian
in those polemics helped the process of the intellectualization of
the national language and indirectly contributed to the unity of
approach with regard to the problems discussed.

When the conference on Bahasa Indonesia —the Kongres Bahasa
Indonesia — was held in Medan, Northern Sumatra, in October 54 verbal

battles were fought in the conference halls between the conserva-
tive on one side and all types of liberal on the other. The conserva-
tive tended to use very strong language in denouncing the practice
of many modern writers and journalists in violating the rules of In-
donesian grammar and the spirit of the language in general. They
complained bitterly that articles in the newspapers , magazines,
books, etc. that the modern writers had produced undermined and
wrecked all the teaching of Indonesian in schools. When the Kongres
came to adopting a resolution on what Bahasa Indonesia was the con-
servative insisted that it was nothing else but the Malay language
with a new name. When the other side did not agree they compromised by
saying : "The origin of Bahasa Indonesia is the Malay language."
However, this was not enough for the modern writers. The novelist
Achdiat Kartamihardja and his friends at the conference insisted that
another sentence should be added to this, viz: "The basis of Bahasa
Indonesia is the Malay language adapted and modified in accordance
with its growth and development in our society." [22] So the formu-
lation that the Kongress finally adopted concerning what Bahasa Indo-
nesia was reads : "The origin of Bahasa Indonesia is the Malay
language. The basis of the language is the Malay language adapted
and modified in accordance with its growth and development in the
society."

The conservative teachers and writers, however, were not real
fanatics and in no way similar to, for instance, the leaders of the
Hindi movement in India in their conservatism. One of the Hindi

leaders for instance declared that he would not mind that Hindi were not a national language if it had to be modified in order to become one. [23]

The main reason for the conservatives' acquiescence was perhaps the fact that many modern-oriented writers who insisted on reform were not limited to the Javanese or Sundanese ethnic group but also included Sumatrans. As a matter of fact, it was Alisjahbana who said the following in the Kongres : "We are fortunate because history has provided us with an opportunity in which we can consciously create a modern cultural language through all available modern means..." [24] And the poet Chairil Anwar had told Van Pernis much earlier that the latter should ignore the writings of all those outdated Sumatran writers. [25]

This needs to be emphasized because some scholars have come out with a rather hasty conclusion implying that it was Sumatrans who were opposed to language reform. Thus the Dutch scholar Professor C.C. Berg for instance declared : "The Sumatrans are in favour of sticking to the classical norms of Malay grammar, but the fifty million Javanese do not feel bound to the traditional form ofthe language." [26] Professor A. Teeuw also stated : "There is no doubt that the Javanese Malay will triumph." [27] He said this in connection with the outcome of the Kongres Bahasa Indonesia held in Medan in 1954.

The conservative teachers and writers were obviously and officially defeated in the conference and promotors of modern Indonesian

had a freer hand to develop as well as intellectualise the language.

Professor Fokker who also attended the Kongres had this to say :

"This Conference has made it clear not only to Indonesia but also

to foreign countries that Bahasa Indonesia has freed itself from

isolation and has taken its position in the midst of the modern

languages of the world." [28]

From now on the efforts to cultivate Indonesian entered a new

phase during which even the teaching of the language in schools

was no longer affected by the opinions and limited ideas of the

conservative school teachers and text-book writers. Literary

writers who had always used new varieties of linguistic style felt

more free to introduce new turns of phrase, and language users on

the whole began to experiment more and more with the creation of

neologisms of all kinds. People who knew the spirit of Malay grammar

exploited the structural and morphological devices of the language

in order to express entirely new ideas and concepts which in tra-

ditional Indonesian had often had to be expressed in a different way

which was now regarded as not up-to-date. The conservative writers

of course continued to voice their protests because, as they saw it,

the language written in the new style was becoming more and more

unintelligible to the ordinary readers. Thus Nur Sutan Iskandar for

instance wrote in Medan Bahasa in 1956 expressing his disappoint-

ment with the rapid development of the language: "As a matter of

fact there are many more peculiarities in the use of words and sen-

tence constructions which only Western-educated intellectuals can

grasp the meaning of. As for the public at large, for the ordinary readers, the language written in this new style is simply not understood." [29]

This is of course not surprising. The ordinary readers tended to have much simpler ideas than the sophisticated writers. As a matter of fact, men of letters regarded themselves as intellectuals in the true sense of the word. When they wrote they did not want to give the impression that they were not acquainted with the sophistication of modern Western ideas; they even regarded themselves as legitimate heirs of world culture. A group of writers associated with the Gelanggang (Arena) published their Surat Kepertjajaan (the Testimonial of Beliefs) as early as 1950, which among other things emphasized their break with the past. Part of the Testimonial of Beliefs reads as follows :

"We are true heirs of world culture and we must perpetuate this culture in our own way. We have risen from the masses, and the viewpoint of the masses is for us a medley from which healthy new worlds can be fashioned.

Our national character as Indonesians does not merely derive from our dark brown skins, our black hair or our protruding foreheads, but rather from what we emphasize in the expressions of our feelings and thoughts.

We are not going to give one word to sum up the culture of Indonesia. When we discuss Indonesian culture, we do not intend to polish up

the products of the old culture until they shine, so that we can

boast about them. But we intend to give birth to a sound new culture.

Indonesian culture is determined by the combination of all sorts of

stimulating voices which are caused by voices hurled from all

corners of the world, to be hurled back later in the form of our

own voice....." [30]

The medium of expression of this sound new culture was of course

to be Indonesian to which the modern young writers were struggling

to give a new form because they found the traditional variety un-

suitable and cumbersome. These modern writers by and large wrote

carefully-thought out Indonesian prose because they took pains

to do so relying mainly on a Western language as a model. It is

strange that hardly any of the major papers read before the Kongres

Bahasa Indonesia of 1954 was truly representative of this group of

writers. The major papers consisted of the following:

"The Grammar of Indonesian" delivered by Professor Prijana. The same

speaker also read a paper on the principle of Romanized spelling of

Indonesian. Dr. Prijohutomo dealt with Indonesian as a language of

science and knowledge and he also delivered a speech on the etymo-

logical dictionary of Indonesian. Kamarsjah read an interesting

paper on Indonesian used in broadcasting. Two speakers, Professor

A.G. Pringgodigdo and Kuntjoro Purbopranoto, dealt with Indonesian

used in legislation and public administration. Two papers on the

language used in the press were each read by the chairman of

the Indonesian journalist association and Adinegoro, a well-known

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Sumatran journalist. The Christian poet from Northern Celebes, J.E. Tatengkeng, spoke about Indonesian used in daily life. Madong Lubis, a veteran language teacher, also dwelt on the same subject. Inu Perbatasari addressed himself to the problems of language used in the film industries. Bachtiar Effendi also dwelt on the relationship between film and language. Finally Harun Aminurrashid as a representative from Malaya discussed the development and use of Malay in Malaya. [31]

In his paper on the grammar of Indonesian, Professor Prijana lamented the fact that there had been no original work produced by Indonesian authors but suggested that available textbooks should still be used in schools. He approached his subject in a scholarly manner in a conference whose participants mostly consisted of laymen and amateurs in linguistic matters. Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana was very disappointed with what Professor Prijana said with regard to the status of Indonesian textbooks on grammar. As was characteristic of Alisjahbana when having a polemic with Professor Prijana, which happened on a number of occasions, he did not confine himself to the objective criteria when criticising the controversial Indonesian scholar and tended to use strong language, too. Professor Prijana had said among other things that the time had not yet come for Indonesia to produce an authentic standard work on grammar because as everybody knew the language was still in a state of great instability. However, Alisjahbana regarded this statement as a deliberate attempt by Professor Prijana to avoid his responsibi -

lity as the highest official and authority on linguistic matters in the Republic. He accused Professor Prijana of completely failing to grasp the main issues in linguistic problems of Indonesia and emphasized that what the nation was urgently in need of was a prescribed grammar and not the ideal scholarly work that Professor Prijana had been trying to impress on the audience. [32]

The need for a prescribed grammar was felt in view of the fact that the old rules of the language, which the traditionalist school-teachers insisted should be observed, were no longer acceptable to the language users. As a result of this state of affairs there were those who believed that Indonesian had no rules or grammar at all and that everybody could write in the language in the way that was most natural and easiest for him. This kind of prevalent attitude could prove to be fatal for the survival of the language as a standard language, because what was natural for an Indonesian writer is using Indonesian depended a great deal on what his mother tongue was.

Commenting on the results of the Kongres Bahasa Indonesia, Rachmadi P.S. of Yogyakarta wrote that the notion that Indonesian had no fixed rules for good usage was very mistaken, and he emphasized that the language possessed definite rules but that these rules had not been sufficiently described and explained. He was pleased with the positive results achieved at the conference and he hoped that future conferences on the national language would be able to bring about more improvement to the unitary language. [33]

2. The Language of Politics under "Liberal Democracy"

a. General Remarks

The period from 1950 until 1957 has often been referred to in Indonesia as the period of "Demokrasi Liberal". It was the time when most political leaders of the country were more or less agreed in applying the principles of liberal or Western-style democracy in the system of government and politics and in upholding the principle of a complete freedom of the press and expression. All this was generally observed in practice and was guaranteed and protected by the provisional Constitution in which were incorporated all the articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In 1957 President Sukarno put an end to the application of democratic principles because, as he saw it, the liberal system had failed to serve the proclaimed ideals of the national revolution, and from that time onwards the phrase "demokrasi liberal" has had a negative connotation in the Indonesian language.

The period of liberal democracy was characterized among other things by recurrent cabinet crises, by the supremacy of the civilian politicians as well as by the manifestation of harsh ideological conflicts within the politically-conscious sector of the population. Two types of political leaders dominated the national political scene who were opposed to each other not so much on ideological basis as on individual or psychological outlook. The first type has been referred to as the administrator political leaders and the second as the solidarity makers.[1] The first type included such political leaders

as Mohammad Hatta, Wilopo and Muhammad Natsir and the second type
included top political leaders such as Sukarno, Dr.Sukiman and Ali
Sastroamidjojo. President Sukarno then did not head a government
because, according to the operational Constitution, the head of govern-
ment was the prime minister who was responsible to parliament. How-
ever, Sukarno was first and foremost an active politician and could not
be expected to be pleased with his position as a mere constitutional
head of state. He did not want to be a mere spectator of the ideolo-
gical controversies which excited the minds of many Indonesians, al-
though the Constitution required him to stand above all political
parties and to be on the side of the government of the day on poli-
tical matters and policies.

In September 1955 Indonesia held its first general election to
elect members of parliament, and in December polling was held to elect
members of a Constituent Assembly which was to draw up a permanent
constitution for the country. The holding of an election had been
talked about a great deal in previous years with a result that the
election campaign, which was conducted mainly on ideological basis,
lasted a long time. This of course created a situation which was not
conducive to political stability or economic development and impeded
the proper functioning of a democratic system of government. As could
be expected, the historically difficult question of the position of
Islam in the state came out persistently again during the election
campaign, and this led the President as the champion of the Pancasila
ideology to come forward and defend the principle of the virtual sepa-

ration of state and religion. In January 1953 he made a speech

to the people of the small town of Amuntai in South Kalimantan in

which he urged the Indonesian people to hold fast to the ideology

of Pancasila, in other words not to give support to those political

leaders who were not wholely committed to the maintenance and uphol-

ding of the Pancasila ideology. Many Islamic political leaders had

also begun their campaign of promoting an Islamic ideology and they

calculated that the President's speech would give their opponents

a political advantage in the election campaign. Kiyahi Isa Anshary

of the West Java chapter of the Masjumi Party sent a strong note of

protest to the President for making such a political speech. Kiyahi

Isa Anshary represented the fundamentalist opinion cherished by many

members of the Masjumi Party but not necessarily shared by the top

leadership of the party or not explicitly expressed by some of them.

However, several Masjumi politicians did emphasize that according

to the Constitution it was not the President who should determine

what kind of constitution the country was going to have but the

Constituent Assembly whose members the electorate were to choose

in the coming election.

In May of that year Sukarno gave a general lecture to the stu-

dents of the University of Indonesia in Jakarta in which he clari-

fied his position with regard to the position of Islam in the Repub-

lic in milder terms emphasizing that he did not want to dictate but

only to put suggestions. He was pleased to quote from a speech that

Muhammad Natsir, the Masjumi chairman had delivered in Karachi in which he stated that Pancasila was in no way opposed to Islam and in fact that it was a political manifestation of the Muslims of Indonesia.[2] Kiyahi Isa Anshary also said both in private and in public at a later date that he was not opposed to Pancasila as such but only to what he called Sukarno's abuse of the national ideology and its implication for the Islamic community.

President Sukarno was opposed to the ideology professed by the Islamic leaders as well as to the application of the principles of liberal democracy which the Masjumi leadership wanted to stick to, at least before a new Constitution was created.

The result of the general election did not bring the solution of the prolonged political crisis any nearer as many had expected but rather complicated matters still more. The most spectacular thing about the election result was that the communist party, the P.K.I., came out as one of the big four political parties which were winning the election, the P.N.I., the Masjumi, the N.U., and the P.K.I. in that order. The P.K.I. gave Sukarno strong political support and this made the Masjumi suspicious/what the President really wanted to do with the political structure of the country.

The most important thing for the President was the maintenance of what he called the spirit of national unity because the national revolution was far from being over yet. He was disappointed to see that other political leaders , especially those who insisted on the maintenance of the system of liberal democracy had a different idea

about the national revolution. As a matter of fact, Mohammad Hatta, the then Vice-President, declared that the national revolution was over many years previously. On receiving a degree of <u>Doctor Honoris Causa</u> from Gadjah Mada University at Jogjakarta on 27th November, 1956, he delivered a lecture in which among other things he said: "Those who say that our national revolution is not yet complete are wrong indeed. A revolution is a sudden explosion of society which brings with it an "Umwertung aller Werte". A revolution shakes the floor and the foundations, it loosens all hinges and boards. Therefore, a revolution should not last too long, not more than a few weeks or a few months. It should then be checked...." [3]

President Sukarno wanted to solve the national crisis once and for all and he came forward with his well-known <u>Konsepsi</u> , the main points of which can be summarised as follows :

(a) the unsuitability of liberal democracy for Indonesia

(b) the creation of a <u>gotong royong</u>(mutual help) cabinet

(c) the uselessness of the elected parliament

(d) the creation of a National Council under the leadership of the President.[4] The Indonesian statesman turned scholar Anak Agung Gde Agung wrote of. the significance of the <u>Konsepsi</u> as follows : "The publication of his <u>konsepsi</u> on February 27, 1957, marked the beginning of a time of transition to the era of "guided-democracy", which brought far-reaching consequences for Indonesia, especially in the field of foreign policy, and made Sukarno the absolute ruler of the

Republic, the arbiter of the destiny of the nation, its people, and its future."[5] It has been said that President Sukarno impeded a specific Indonesian development of an amalgamation of Western and Islamic concepts with regard to the position of Islam in the Republic.[6]

From the point of view of language development and cultivation, the period of liberal democracy offered the elite politicians an excellent opportunity to experiment in the use of Indonesian as the language of politics. Many made use of this opportunity and produced interesting texts which were aimed at clarifying their political and socio-cultural ideas. It was a period of great debate then and a political writer was required to argue his case in a convincing and persuasive manner. The administrator politicians and those who supported their ideas regarding the importance of maintaining democratic principles as prescribed by the Constitution on the whole wrote in Indonesian which was conventional, that is to say they did not break the rules of good usage deliberately. Some followers of the solidarity makers also used the language in a conventional way. After all, the linguistic conservative Nur Sutan Iskandar became a member of parliament from the P.N.I. party, and editor of the influential P.N.I. newspaper Suluh Indonesia (Torch of Indonesia) was Sabilal Rasjad, a journalist originating from Minangkabau. The spoken language used during the peak of the election campaign was indeed harsh and at times hysterical, but when the top political leaders

came to write their ideas many tended to use a moderate, argumentative language. Even the communist politicians who were inclined to employ powerful slogans on the whole wrote in decent Indonesian and did not want to violate good usage unnecessarily.

However, one man conspicuously distinguished himself in his unique style of Indonesian and he was President Sukarno. Realizing that he lacked formal political authority, he had to rely a great deal on his unique linguistic ability to put his political ideas across to the nation. Virtually all language teachers and cultivators took the view that Sukarno's language was bad, ungrammatical and verbose. To the conservative teachers his language was totally unacceptable because it violated the spirit of the language purposely. However, no one criticised it in public and many teachers only grumbled about it in private conversations. Sukarno's powerful language was conspicuously out of place in the prevailing political atmosphere of the greater part of the period of liberal democracy. The conservative language cultivators had been defeated once and for all and modern-orientated language users had a free hand to speed up the growth of modern styles. Unfortunately, these modern writers could not excite the majority of the Indonesian people with their type of controlled Indonesian. Sukarno's language was meant to be the language of the people, the language of emotion and not the language of reason, powerful language exploited by a powerful solidarity maker.

b. Sukarno's Language

Like most political leaders during the period of liberal democ-
racy, Sukarno used Indonesian mainly as a vehicle for his political
ideas which he tried to get across to the political public in an
attempt to achieve and maintain political control. However, it was
most characteristic of Sukarno's language that the content of his mes-
sage was dependent to a large extent on the form of the language that
he used to convey that message. Much of the content and significance
of that message would undoubtedly suffer if it were expressed in a
different type of language no matter how well-written the text was.
Sukarno's language is not unlike that of a poet whose effectiveness
depends a great deal on his unique style. Speaking about Sukarno's
style, the epigrammatic saying "le style, c'est l'homme même", would
be a sufficient description in an ordinary conversation. However, in
a linguistic discourse style needs to be talked about in a more ela-
borate manner. It has been the practice of many modern linguists to
analyse style on the basis of formal criteria, that is to say by a-
voiding as much as possible the inclusion of the lexical meaning of
the vocabulary used in a particular text under investigation. Charles
E.Osgood defines style as "an individual's deviation from norms
for the situation in which he is encoding, these deviations being
in the statistical properties of those structural features for which
there exists some degree of choice in his code." [1] This is a rigo-
rously scientific definition of style and a study of style on the
basis of this is hoped to give objective results, although some other

linguists do not subscribe to this view. As a matter of fact, J.M. Ellis argued that the concept of style being an idea derived from everyday usage be dropped in linguistic studies because it was vague and served no useful purpose. In order to study the language phenomena usually associated with the concept of style a new type of linguistics should be developed which he called synthetic linguistics and this should be used to study a particular text. [2]

The native speaker of a language usually has an intuitive judgement about the style of a particular text and sometimes the interpretation of statistical properties of a certain style is not basically different from the findings of the intuitive judgement. Sukarno is not known to have written poetry in Indonesian but his political ideas expressed in his unique style of the language is familiar to most Indonesians. However, it is very easy for an Indonesian to be biased about Sukarno's language since his attitude towards it may be greatly influenced by his political orientation and background. The best way to approach Sukarno's language is to make use of an objective description as well as the intuitive judgement of the native speaker. This method of looking at the problems of style is acceptable among linguists. John Spencer and Michael Gregory wrote : "A recognition of the dual and complimentary value of intuitive judgement of language use on the one hand, and the more objective techniques of description of language phenomena on the other, is necessary and indeed fundamental to the view

of stylistic study." [3]

Sukarno is regarded in Indonesia as having been a great orator, and his use of Indonesian as an important means of political control has not been surpassed. As an orator his effectiveness in getting his ideas across to the people did not of course consist only of his ability to handle words and use them in the right context and situations but also of his skills in making use of the non-verbal element of the communication. "Die Fähigkeit, nicht-verbale Elemente in der Kommunikation zu benutzen oder in sie einzubeziehen, musz als Komponente einer kommunikativen Kompetenz aufgefaszt werden." [4] Nevertheless, Sukarno was a great stylist, that is to say "someone who is conscious of his choices to such an extent that he makes, as it were, super choices. That is, he treats selectional choices, when he is presented with the need for them, with much greater care and discrimination than the average of writers or speakers." [5] We will consider only his use of Indonesian as it is manifested in its written form, the texts of his major speeches during the period of liberal democracy.

Sukarno used a great number of compound words, a practice which was not peculiarly his because other writers had also done the same. However, he often created his compounds in his own way which deviated from the accepted norms. It was his practice to write these words by using hyphens in order to remind his readers that those words should be read and understood as compounds. Without those hyphens most readers would undoubtedly regard them as phrases and

not as compounds. Here we give a few examples of them :

hal-yang-satu [6]	the one-particular-thing
jiwa-rakyat-umumnya [7]	the soul-of-the people-generally
jiwa-proklamasi [8]	the soul-of-the proclamation
jiwa-nasional [9]	the national soul
berkah-rahmat [10]	blessings and mercy
Kemauan-Nasional [11]	the National Will
tanah-kramat [12]	the sacred soil
perjoangan-politik [13]	the political struggle
Negara-kuat [14]	the powerful state
Negara-Mulia [15]	the Glorious State
Jiwa-revolusi [16]	the Soul of the revolution
suci-murni-jujur-ikhlas-api-jiwanya [17]	the purity of his soul
jiwa-dan-amal [18]	the soul and deed
faham-dan-praktek [19]	understanding and practice
jiwa-merdeka-nasional [20]	the national spirit of freedom
separoh-tambah-satu-pastilah-benar [21]	half-plus-one-always-right

Formal Indonesian generally uses the structural device known
as affixation according to more or less fixed rules, but Sukarno
often used prefix or suffix in his own way and at times he dropped
it in a particular word for no apparent reason apart from a consi-
deration of style. Thus for instance he wrote ratusan ribuan (hundreds
of thousands), instead of the usual ratusan ribu, ribuan milyunan
(thousands of millions), instead of ribuan miliun. [22] He wrote per-
hubungan dan perlalu-lintasan (communication and traffic), using the
combination of the prefix pe- and the suffix -.an in both words. [23]
The word perlalu-lintasan sounds quite all right but is rarely used
and lalu-lintas is certainly more common. However, he spoke of
penderitaan dan korbanan (suffering and sacrifice), using the combi-

nation of the prefix pe- and the suffix -an in the first word but dropping it in the second.[24] Again there is no doubt that other writers will use pengorbanan dan penderitaan. Sukarno wrote masyarakat keadilan (just society) instead of masyarakat adil.[25] The word keadilan is the abstract noun formed from the adjective adil (just).

Language teachers in Indonesia used to be worried by the use of the word dimengerti, meaning to be understood, because it contains the prefix di-, usually a signal for the passive construction as well as the prefix me-, normally a signal for the active voice. Sukarno did not care for this rule and went one step further by using the word dimengertikan, which hardly any other Indonesian is likely to use.[26] Instead of saying ditolak mentah-mentah (to be categorically refused) which is often used in Indonesian, Sukarno wrote ditolak mentah-mentahan , adding unnecesarily the suffix -an to the word mentah.[27] He wrote diperlindungi dan dipertegakkan (to be protected and established).[28] The use of the form dipertegakkan is totally unconventional, the accepted form being ditegakkan. He wrote menyebab-mengakibati (to cause to give rise to) instead of the usual menyebabkan dan mengakibatkan.[29] He used the Jakarta colloquial form măih kecampuran (still being mixed with) instead of the more formal form masih bercampur for no apparent reason. He spoke of mentajam-tajam (becoming acute) violating the basic principle of the system of phonology instead of using the usual form menjadi tajam.[30]

Sukarno of course also used the traditional set phrases, but characteristically he sometimes deliberately changed some element in a set phrase no doubt to give it a new form, to show originality. Thus he wrote menekuk-lutut (to capitulate) instead of the usual bertekuk-lutut, substituting the prefix me- for the prefix ber-.[31] He created the phrase bersuluh-akar[32] (deep-rooted) on the basis of the traditional one berurat-berakar, he wrote ibarat duri di dalam darah daging (like a thorn in the flesh) adding his favourite word darah (blood) to the common phrase. He wrote aneh bin aneh [33] (very strange) instead of the usual aneh bin ajaib; he even used aneh bin ajaib bin majnun,[34] though, adding bin majnun when he did use the phrase aneh bin ajaib. In standard Indonesian we say berdebar-debar darah kita (our blood throbs) but Sukarno chose to use the Minangkabau form berdebur-debur darah kita.[35] He wrote merana-rana[36] with the meaning of merajalela (to do what one likes) and not with the meaning of to suffer. To say that someone menjabat menteri, to have the rank of a Cabinet Minister or to become a Minister, is commonly used in Indonesian and one can also use berjabatan menteri , but Sukarno spoke of berjabat[37] with this meaning which is odd . The compound word intisari (the core) is very common in Indonesian and there is a magazine called by that name, but Sukarno wrote sari-inti[38] meaning the same thing, changing the place of the constituent element for no apparent reason apart from stylistic considerations.

Sukarno naturally often resorted to a lot of Javanese words

and expressions in his language which the majority of Indonesians
who do not come from the island of Java, were not familiar with.
However, as a rule, the President used those words and expressions
in the right contexts and it was his habit to explain what those
words and expressions meant by saying the same thing again in Indo-
nesian and sometimes also in Dutch or English as well. Thus when
he spoke of mboten wonten [389] for example he made it clear by giving
examples and the right context that the phrase meant tidak ada (non-
existent) in Indonesian. In this respect Sukarno was different
from some political leaders of Sumatran origin who sometimes employed
specifically Sumatran Malay idioms and sayings without explaining
what they meant to the population of Java, with the result that they
failed to get their message across to the majority of the Indone-
sian people. There are many examples of this which we do not need
to discuss.

Like many other writers, Sukarno also used a good number of
foreign words and expressions in his language. However, he tended
to employ those words and expressions not because he could not express
himself in Indonesian but simply to add to his linguistic style.
He spoke for instance about the opgave suatu perjuangan, the task
of a struggle, using the Dutch word opgave (task), [40] an unfamiliar word
to many, rather than the popular Indonesian word tugas, which he
also employed on many occasions in other contexts. He used the Dutch
expression als kapot geslagen [41] to refer to the material condition

of the Republic in facing the effective Dutch blockade. Sukarno

was fond of using the Dutch word zonder (without), and very rarely

used its Indonesian equivalent tanpa , a word of Javanese origin.

He once used the word five times in a single sentence : zonder

kecuali, - zonder mengecualikan daerah Kubu, zonder mengecualikan

daerah Dayak, zonder mengecualikan daerah Toraja, zonder mengecuali-

kan Irian [42] (without exception, -- without excluding the Kubu area,

without excluding the Dayak area, without excluding the Toraja area,

without excluding Irian). He spoke of vivere pericoloso[43] (to live

dangerously), and in later years he developed a major topic in his

speech on the basis of this particular foreign phrase. He used both

the Dutch word kompleet and its English equivalent complet as well as

the Indonesian word komplit.[44] He spoke of crescendo, of statusquo,

of sine qua non, of sovereign, of flexible, of reëel, of innerlijk

conflicten, of elan, of coûte que coûte, of claim, of gezaag, of

what men die for, of doel, of apotheose, of vacuum, of good offices,

of uit de grond stampen, of cultuur, of stamina, etc. Sukarno per-

haps more than any other Indonesian writers used foreign words and

expressions in his Indonesian very freely and he also employed Indo-

nesian structural devices liberally in adopting foreign words.

President Sukarno created and used a considerable number of live-

ly and memorable phrases in his writings which went quite well with

his type of Indonesian. He used the phrase upeti karakter[45]to refer

to a certain politician who had lost his self-respect during the armed

struggle against the Dutch. He used to be a Republican, a unitary
nationalist, but when the Dutch began to set up federal states
such as the State of Pasundan, the State of East Indonesia, etc.
he allowed himself to be used by the colonialists as a stoodge and
declared that he supported the idea of federalism and close coope-
ration with Holland. He was said to be a man who had paid upeti
karakter to the imperialist. The word upeti generally means tribute
and in the old days a prince had to send upeti to his king in order
to show his loyalty. He used words taken from everyday vocabulary
such as sifat-bagaimananya [46] to convey the meaning of the idea
of the nature of, secara toleh kebelakang [47] for the idea of in
retrospect, etc. He spoke of gigit menggigit [48], biting one another
(like dogs) to refer to politicians who accused one another of not
doing the right things. He referred to the island of Java as an
island which was already padat-penat [49], crowded and tired, and
the outer islands as tanah yang masih perawan [50], virgin soil. He
used an English sentence vacuums are the play-grounds of bandits
and then translated it into Indonesian : vacuum adalah tempat-jengke-
litannya bajingan-bajingan. [51] The word jengkelitan was unfamiliar
to a non-Javanese but most Indonesian could understand what it meant
when Sukarno used it in this collocation and anyway onomatopeically
it suggests something ugly. The word bajingan, meaning scoundrel,
is often used as a swear word in Indonesian, especially in Jakarta.
Sukarno spoke of "the dancing star of freedom" which was difficult

to catch and referred to it as <u>bintang yang menari berjingklak-jinklak</u>.[52] Nowadays when someone is said to be <u>berjingklak-jingklak</u> he is usually engaged in activities which upset one's plans, he is performing a dance which one does not like. The former Malaysian Prime Minister, Tunku Abdur Rahman, was often said to be <u>berjingklak-jingklak</u> or <u>bejingkrak-jingkrak</u> when he was engaged in setting up the federation of Malaysia which Sukarno did not approve of. Sukarno urged the Indonesian people to work hard in order to build and develop the country and not to sit back, not <u>berleha-leha di atas permadani</u>[53], to relax on a luxurious carpet. He referred to the dying colonialism as <u>kejat-sekaratnya kolonialisme</u>[54]. He was of course at his best (or at his worst) when referring to independence movement everywhere in the world, which was <u>satu mahabadai gerakan kemerdekaan, yang mengamuk, menghantam, memuting-beliungkan, menggempur, menggoncangkan benteng-benteng penjajahan.</u>[55] The meaning of this sentence is that freedom movement is defeating colonialism, but Sukarno expressed the idea in his powerful words, in his characteristic powerful collocations. He used the collocation <u>mahabadai gerakan kemerdekaan</u>, the huge storm of independence movement instead of simply <u>gerakan kemerdekaan</u> (independence movement), the word <u>maha</u>, meaning huge, being one of his favourite word which he used on many occasions. In this particular clause he used five powerful verbs, viz. <u>mengamuk</u> (to run amok), <u>menghantam</u> (to pound), <u>memuting-beliungkan</u> (to uproot), <u>menggempur</u> (to storm) and <u>menggoncangkan</u>

(to shake). The most characteristic feature of Sukarno's language is his continuous use of powerful words and collocations. On 17th August, 1955, for instance, President Sukarno delivered a speech which he called <u>Tetap Terbanglah Rajawali</u>(Keep Soaring, O Pwerful Eagle), on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of Independence. The style used in the language of this particular speech is not unique but similar to the kind of Indonesian he used during the period of liberal democracy. The speech consisted of 459 sentences all together and out of these he employed not less than 144 verbal groups and 153 nominal groups which can be regarded as powerful or emotionally loaded. And the most striking aspect of his verbal constructions is the fact that he employed active voice much more than any other Indonesian writers, who, on the whole, are in the habit of employing passive voice. Sukarno at times quoted from Hitler and in some ways he modelled his speech on Hitler's (he read German well) but not with regard to the employment of the active and passive voice. It is said that Hitler has a particular fear of using active voice in German.[56] Sukarno limited the use of passive sentences to only four out of his 144 verbal groups (see Appendix 3 for examples of Sukarno's powerful or emotionally loaded phrases).

As long as Sukarno remained a constitutional President and did not head a government, his influence on the type of Indonesian used for discussing matters of public concern was not absolute, because others were not compelled to use the same kind of language and were still free to express their ideas in a linguistically conventional

way. However, he seized all power effectively and officially in

1959 and made himself supreme ruler of the nation. From that time

onwards until more than six years later when General Suharto took

over, he brought about a great change in the use of the language

because for him words were the instrument of power par excellence.

He tried to solve all problems faced by the nation by resorting to

the employment of a great amount of ritual language which consisted

of all sorts of formulas of his own creation. It was the time in

modern Indonesian history when one had to put up with all sorts of

ridiculous statements. A friend of mine who was director of an aca-

demy refused to learn the new type of language use, but in his

capacity as a director of a state institution he was required to

make public speeches on several occasions. Realizing that he was

not able to compose an acceptable form of speech, he commissioned

someone to write one for him and used that particular piece, with

a little modification if necessary, on any occasion in which he had

to deliver a speech. It was the time when one encountered such a

statement as "horse racing is a tool for completing the revolution."[57]

Sukarno made a great number of speeches and, as two scholars who

are knowledgeable about Indonesian constitutional law observed,

"it was accepted that when Sukarno spoke, what he said was the

'law' ".[58] Herbert Luethy wrote : "It would be impossible to exagge-

rate the spiritual and magical efficacy attributed to these formu-

las, the constant renewal and exegesis of which are regarded as

essential contributions to the national wealth and power. 'How lucky

the Indonesian people are. Other nations have only a Proclamation

or a Declaration of Independence, we have both a Proclamation and

a Declaration.... Now, the mental conditions for our struggle are

really complete. This trinity (Re-So-Pim) is the law of all

nations. It is a universal law. Today we possess this trinity, a

R.I.L. trinity or a trinity of Re-So-Pim. We can be proud of these...

(speech of 17 August 1961). And needless to say, the young Indone-

sian intelligentsia now leaving school or university will have spent

the best part of their studies assimilating and elucidating these

formulas which are supposed to sum up the entire wisdom and knowledge

of the universe and, at the same time, constitute the Indonesian

Weltanschauung...." [59]

Educated Indonesians with liberal inclinations experienced the

hardship of mental torture during the period of guided democracy

and resorted to clandestine small-group discussions in order to main-

tain sanity. However, younger students in school and university

apparently did not feel this kind of this unbearable mental hardship

and adjusted to the use of all those formulas expressed in the new

type of Indonesian. Abe L. Kelabora from Eastern Indonesia described

his school experience of this period as follows : "This nationalist

sentiment was imparted to us through the study of Bahasa Indonesia,

Indonesian History and Geography. It was usually transmitted with

such a thunder and romanticism that it penetrated every mind in the

classroom, and indeed in the school." [60]

Sukarno and his followers created and used a great number of

abbreviations and acronyms to express their ideas and as a result Indonesian has been accustomed to coining new terms in this fashion until today. A Dutch scholar, A. Morzer Bruyns, has done a meritorious work by publishing a dictionary of abbreviations and acronyms used in Indonesian containing more than nine thousand items. In the preface he wrote : "Anyone who is familiar with the Indonesian language is confronted with a great many abbreviations and acronyms, the meaning of which one is expected to know, but often does not."[61]

During the period of the so-called Guided Democracy, the press and the radio were of course utilised to the maximum to indoctrinate the population to accept Sukarno's ideas expressed in so many formulas. From 1960 newspapers and magazines had to fulfil seven requirements aimed at making them subservient to the dictatorial regime before receiving a new licence. [62] The armed forces under the command of General Nasution gave their full support to Sukarno's ideas. General Nasution firmly declared: "Every writer must follow the path of our Great Leader, Bung Karno, to forge the Nasakom Unity and implement the Pantjasila, Political Manifesto / USDEK, if they want to carry on and safeguard our revolution." [63]

From the point of view of healthy language development, the period of Guided Democracy was a setback because it encouraged the use of language in an irresponsible manner especially in the field of education which naturally had far-reaching consequences. "Not only were students expected to master the details of the president's speech, but they were required to swear fealty to the doctrine." [64]

On the other hand, at the popular level —— which is what really matters in politics —— Sukarno's use of language during the period of Guided Democracy was undoubtedly instrumental in causing the majority of Indonesians to be fully aware of the crucial importance of the national language in their daily life. They would probably find themselves in trouble if they were not able to say a few slogans in Indonesian. Many found a lot of the acronyms and abbreviations that Sukarno had created easy to remember . The word banser has no meaning in Indonesian but it is close to panser (armoured car) and Sukarno used it as an acronym for banting stir, itself a strong expression for the idea of to take a sharp turn. Although the word Ganefo has no meaning many Indonesians said that it sounded great, expressive, and enhacing. But I suspect that these attributes derive solely from the fact that Sukarno used the word as an acronym for "Games of the New Emerging Forces".

Few Indonesians like Malay-oriented style of speakers and writers, but because that was the kind of language they learned at school they tended to agree that that was the best style. Sukarno destroyed that myth by delivering his speeches in his unique style, breaking many accepted rules of the language and introducing a great number of Sundanese, Javanese, and foreign words into his Indonesian. He learned a great deal from the style and vocabulary of the Dalang (Wayang Performer) which most people in the island of Java were very familiar with and quite fond of. This wayang element in Sukarno's style and language was perhaps the most important factor for its success among the majority of Indonesians.

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PROBLEMS OF LANGUAGE USE

1. Indonesian versus the Regional Languages

Although Indonesian is the only official language of the Repub-
lic, and although the government is fully committed to its wide-
spread use and development, this does not mean that in order to reach
that objective the State is allowed to interfere with the mainte-
nance and cultivation of the regional languages. It stands to rea-
son that the government tends to look at efforts to promote a re-
gional language in a too enthusiastic manner with a certain amount
of suspicion, because such efforts may create a situation which is
unfavourable for the promotion of the national language. There are
no doubt some people who fear that too much concern with the culti-
vation of any regional language might endanger the political stabi-
lity of the country. However, it has been asserted by some that the
central authorities have always had a tendency to take a too narrow
interpretation of the ideal of having one language for the entire
nation as enunciated in the Youth Pledge of 1928. In this connection
we can refer for example to the fact that in April 1956 a statement
was issued by the Ministry of Education and Culture with regard to
the use of the national language in the following terms :

(a) "Indonesian is the official state language and the only language
     to be employed in connection with the affairs of state."

(b) "Indonesian is the language of national culture and hence it is
     the only language to be used as the medium of communication in

scientific and cultural fields.

(c) "Indonesian is the language of national unity and in this re-
gard it must be used in everyday life."

(d) "All officials of the Ministry of Education and Culture are
required to carry out the task of promoting the cause of the
national language to the best of their ability."

(e) "The government appeals to every official in all government
departments, to the press as well as to linguistic scholars
to cooperate in the effort to promote the use of a perfect ge-
neral Indonesian." [1]

This statement clearly reflects the apprehension entertained
by higher ranking officials at the Ministry of Education and Cul-
ture in regard to the proper use of Indonesian in modern Indonesian
society. However, the maintenance and cultivation of the regional
languages should not be interpreted as in opposition to the effort
to promote the national language. As a matter of fact, according to
the official clarification of article 36 of the Constitution, the
State is under an obligation to give support to the maintenance of
regional languages, particularly in regard to the major languages
of the island of Java, Madura, and Bali as well as a few other re-
gional languages.[2] Most Indonesian leaders are naturally concerned
about the success and spread of the national language, but fortu-
nately they are at the same time not blind to the importance of re-
taining the regional languages as part of the living national cul-
ture. From the point of view of cultural preservation, in dealing

with even an isolated, less-developed minor language, the State

should not, in my opinion, introduce Indonesian to speakers of this

language with a view to obliterating the vernacular; the official

gideline with regard to language policy in this matter should be one

of addition and not one of deletion. [3] Furthermore, regional langu-

ages are used as the medium of instruction in the first two or three

years of primary school education in many parts of the country. Re-

gional languages are also employed in broadcasts from many government

radio stations, especially when they are directed towards the popu-

lation living in the rural areas. According to Daniel S.Lev, "the

language of the (Islamic) court is usually that of the region, ex-

cept in such cosmopolitan centres as Djakarta, Medan, and a few o-

thers, where the mixture of the population groups make it necessary

to use Indonesian. Records are often kept in the regional language." [4]

Realizing the importance of regional language maintenance, the govern-

ment established the Linguistic Institute, not only in order to

spread and develop the national language but also to develop and

improve the use of the regional languages. In the major universities

such Gadjahmada University at Yogyakarta, Padjadjaran University

and the Institute of Education in Bandung, are to be found separate

departments for teaching Javanese and Sundanese respectively.

In spite of all this, however, it is a fact that the role of

the regional language in the area of modern living is of little

importance compared with that of Indonesian. The government in prac-

tice has not been seen to take tangible steps to encourage the development and cultivation of the regional languages in a way which is satisfactory to those who are much concerned with regional language maintenance. The government's lack of action in this field is probably due to political considerations rather than to purely linguistic reasons. In political terms, if the government is seen to be involved with the effort to promote a particular regional language, it is feared that speakers of other regional languages will be jealous and demand that their languages should also be taken care of properly. Furthermore the government is perhaps afraid that the resurgence of regional language loyalty may lead to the loyalty of political regionalism, which the central government does not approve of. It is of course a well-known fact that "native speakers normally have an attitude of pride towards their mother tongue." [5] The Sundanese people for instance are rightly proud of their language. A Sundanese writer, Roesjan, once wrote an article in which he reminded his readers that Sundanese was the best language in the world, rich, beautiful, melodious and precise. [6] He wrote that article in Sundanese. Another writer, Markas Atmasasmita, also wrote in Sundanese in which he described his mother tongue as a language of exquisite beauty. "Sundanese is a language of immense beauty; it resembles a tall, comely gentleman, or a clear bright ray, whose light flashes majestically, like pure, unsullied dew clinging to the leaves. It is like a spring which gushes from

a rock of granite, breaking into drops as it falls, its sound pleasing to the ear. Or it is like the murmur of flowing streams, which descend from the hills, then pass over a level plain; its sound stirs the heart, like the voice of a maiden singing. It is alert and courageous, rivalling the rhythmic melody of the anklung (bamboo musical instrument). In mourning, it sings with the plaintive notes of the flute." [7]

Although the Republic rules over a very extensive area and although many of its provinces and territories are situated far away from Jakarta, the capital, the government is organized on the basis of centralization with a limited amount of autonomy being given to the local government. Political parties which gain their supporters only from a certain ethnic group are not allowed to operate in the country because this might lead to the resurgence of ethnic group political loyalty or, in Indonesian, kesukuan. Every Indonesian is obliged to uphold the unity of the nation above his loyalty to his suku or ethnic group affiliation. It is in this connection that a promotor of regional language has to be very careful because he may expose himself to the charge of promoting political regionalism. Because of this, dissatisfaction with the state of regional languages has often been expressed in an oblique manner. On the other hand, government officials as well as many others keep repeating that the government has no intention of imposing the national language at the expense of the regional languages. Never-

theless, the government has not appeared to be concerned over the fact that the regional languages have declined considerably. According to Benny Hoed, "la manière d'aborder le problème du côté officiel indonésien, est d'affirmer que les langues régionelles ne sont pas en voie d'extinction ce qui revient à dire que, devant l'indonésien, elles ne progressent plus." [8]

It is quite unfair to blame the government for the decline of the regional languages. As has been said, the government does provide sufficient facilities which can be made use of to develop and cultivate the regional languages. The fact is that the younger generation are not interested enough in promoting their regional languages as compared with their concern to master and cultivate Indonesian. When they come to write, they normally prefer to do so in the national language, perhaps in order to have a larger audience as much as to show their Indonesianized orientation. Most Indonesians are nowadays aware of being Indonesians and not just members of a particular ethnic group, and, according to P. Suparlan, even the gelandangan, the poorest people, of Jakarta know that they are Indonesian citizens.[9] As early as 1951, the government publishing house Balai Pustaka issued a circular in which it was said among other things that there were hardly any manuscripts written in a regional language submitted for publication. [10] It does not of course mean that there were no writers who wrote in regional languages but they produced no material which Balai Pustaka regarded as fit for

publication. From a purely linguistic point of view it is a regrettable fact that very few students want to undertake a serious study of a regional language. The Sundanese Department at the Institute of Education in Bandung, for example, was without a single first year student for a number of years, so that the teachers of that Department had to teach Indonesian in the Indonesian Department in order not to be idle. It needs to be emphasized here that graduates in Sundanese are assured of obtaining good employment in West Java, but this proves not to be a strong enough attraction to students to specialize in Sundanese studies.

As early as 1950, the Dutch scholar Professor A.A. Fokker gave a warning about the danger of the decline of the regional languages in the face of Indonesian if something positive was not done with regard to their maintenance and cultivation. He wrote : "The regional languages will suffer if we do not maintain them properly. Javanese and Sundanese which are spoken by millions of speakers in large areas are doomed to insignificance, to say nothing of Achenese, Batak, Toraja, and Balinese, which are used by fewer speakers and in more limited areas, if we do not pay enough attention to their maintenance and cultivation." [11] Professor Fokker urged that people should study the regional languages seriously not only with a view to making use of that study for the benefit of the development of the national language, but also for its own sake. However, Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana, who was not arbitrarily opposed to regional

language maintenance as such, gave a strong reaction to Fokker's suggestion, saying among other things that the Dutch professor should not involve himself with the political aspect of the linguistic problems of Indonesia. [12]

The majority of Indonesian scholars do not want to admit that there is any conflict/ between the national language on the one / of interests hand and the regional languages on the other. The linguist Anton Moeliono for instance wrote : " That vernacular language exists has never consciously or unconsciously been regarded as a problem."[13] Professor Slametmuljana emphasized that there has come about a situation in which the national language and the regional languages exist side by side in the most harmonious relation, and instead of there being any rivalry between them, the languages have come closer together. "There has occurred a socio-cultural contact between Indonesian and the regional languages and the spirits of both languages have met. The one begins to pay attention to the other and there has been mutual influence at work. This social contact has pulled the feelings of regionalism nearer to the feeling of national consciousness and encouraged people to use Indonesian. When it is felt that there are shortcomings in Indonesian, elements available in the regional languages are resorted to for help. Gradually people begin to feel that Indonesian is their own language beside their regional language. The strangeness of Indonesian for the regional population is disappearing...." [14] Profesor Slametmuljana has

described the relationship that obtains between the two languages quite adequately and wisely and many Indonesians will probably agree with him. However, another scholar, Umar Junus, interpretes the professor's pronouncement as giving too much importance to the role of the regional language. [15] It is worth mentioning in this connection that Slametmuljana also emphasized that the success story of Indonesian as a national language owed a great deal to the correct linguistic attitude of the Javanese and Sundanese who were prepared to make sacrifices for the sake of promoting the cause of the national language. [16]

Many promotors of the national language regard the importance of the regional languages mainly in terms of their potential usefulness for the development and enrichment of the national language. Indonesian borrows a great deal from the regional languages in order to enrich its vocabulary and to a limited extent its syntactical structures also. M.A. Affandi wrote in 1968 that the regional languages should be studied mainly for the sake of improving the teaching of the national language to students who speak their regional languages. [17] H.D. Mangemba from Souther" Sulawesi (Celebes) maintained that when Buginese and Makasarese are taught again in schools, they will contribute to the better development of Indonesian, mentioning, however, only one or two vocabulary items that the two languages might contribute to Indonesian vocabulary. [18] Zuber Usman, the Minangkabau writer, wrote : "In order to know the

characteristics of Indonesian well, we must study the regional

languages because they are the ever-ready sources of the national

language." [19] Henry Guntur Tarigan, a scholar from Tanah Karo of

Northern Sumatra, also believes in the importance of studying the

regional languages in order to develop Indonesian better, but in-

sists that if necessary the regional languages should be sacrificed

in the interest of the national language. [20] A well-known Christian

poet from Northern Sulawesi, Tatengkeng, urged all parents to teach

Indonesian to their children at home and to regard it as their ci-

vic duty.[21] Some people have suggested that Indonesian should be

used not only in daily life but also in the home, but most people

would regard this as an extreme attitude . A Batak scholar wrote

in May this year (1975) as follows : "The Indonesian language is

an instrument for acquiring Indonesian identity, but I think we

must give our ethnic group the opportunity to develop both its

tribal language and our national language. It is to be preferred

if the Batak people use the Batak language in their daily conver-

sation." [22] R. Satjadibrata in an article written in Sundanese

strongly disapproved the practice of those Sundanese who speak Indo-

nesian in their conversation and urged them to mend their ways

by talking in their mother tongue just like the Javanese and the

Minangkabau who always do.[23] K. Susilahadi stressed the importance

of the teaching of the regional language in schools and concluded

his statement by saying : long live the regional language, and long

live our national language of unity, Indonesian. [24] However, some

regard the teaching of a regional language, even Javanese, in the

secondary school as a set-back in cultural terms, perhaps because

they associate the regional language with backwardness or conserva-

tive traditionalism. [25]

A Western scholar, Edward M. Burner, asserted that non-Javanese

Indonesians are often suspicious of the idea of being Indonesianized

in cultural terms. "Being Indonesianized is equated with being

Javanized with the result that people hold firmly to their own eth-

nic cultures to avoid being submerged in what they perceive as a

Javanese mainstream." [26] This pronouncement needs further investi-

gation in order to prove whether it is valid or not, but when it is

related to the use of Indonesian, it is certainly not correct. To

speak Indonesian in everyday life or even in the home has nothing

to do with being Javanized. At any rate there is no indication that

the Javanese intend to Javanize all Indonesians.

Although the relationship between Indonesian and the regional

language has had no political implications whatsoever, and although

there is no rivalry between the two, its implication in the field

of education has always been a serious topic for discussion among

educationists and other interested people. There are those who

maintain that in order to achieve better educational results,

children should be taught in their mother tongues and not in Indo-

nesian, but there are others who take the opposite view. The fact

that in many areas the regional languages are used as the medium of instruction in the first two or three years of primary school education is the compromise solution to this problem. However, among those who insist that the mother tongue should be used as the medium of instruction, there must be some who are mainly motivated by their concern for the maintenance of the regional language. The educational argument put forward is that the use of the mother tongue will facilitate among other things the students' self-expression and their grasp of language in general and this will also facilitate their command of Indonesian at the later stages of their education. Nevertheless, it has to be remembered that in most cases it is not the real mother tongue which is suggested for use but a standardized regional language.

It is quite significant that the writer Ajip Rosidi recently put forward a suggestion that the regional language should be used as the medium of instruction not only in lower primary school education but also up to the senior secondary school level or even at university if necessary. He implied that the lowering of the standard of education since Independence was partly caused by the fact that Indonesian had been used as the language of instruction from the third year of primary school education. He does not agree with those who assert that the use of the mother tongue for acquiring knowledge in modern Indonesian would be an obstacle to the development of Indonesian as the national language, and dismisses

the idea that it would lead to a politically motivated regionalism.[27]

Ajip Rosidi is one of the most important contemporary writers and he writes in Indonesian as well as in Sundanese and no one doubts his unquestionably sincere loyalty to Indonesian as the national language for the country. Incidentally, Ajip Rosidi's suggestion came as a reaction to H.B. Jassin's allusion to the fact that literatures in the regional languages in Indonesia had long ceased to develop.[28] This shows how sensitive are some speakers of regional languages towards issues concerning the relationship between Indonesian on the one hand, and the regional languages on the other. As far as can be ascertained no real consensus has yet been reached between those who are happy to leave the regional languages as they are and concentrate on developing the national language and those who insist that both languages should be developed in a more formal way; in other words, the regional language should also be made use of as the language of instruction and communication in the fields of education, culture and other sectors of modern life.

As far as the authorities are concerned, however, Indonesian is the only language to be used as the medium of instruction in schools (with a little concession to the regional language) as well as in the universities.

A noted specialist in Indonesian language teaching, Jazir Burhan, is of the opinion that the use of Indonesian from the earliest

stage of school education is essential for the development of Indonesian as well as the improvement of education generally. He suggests that if a regional language needs to be taught in school, it should be taught only in the senior high school and as a subject offered at the university. He puts forward the following reasons to back his suggestion:

(a) From early childhood children have already used their mother tongues so that their command of the language is quite adequate.

(b) The spelling system used to write a regional language is the same as that used to write Indonesian, so that there is no fear that a child would not be able to write in his own mother tongue.

(c) A regional language does not play a role in the life of a community at the national level. Its teaching in the senior high school will be quite sufficient.

(d) By reducing the periods used for teaching of a regional language, the teaching of more important subjects can be increased.

(e) By starting the teaching of the regional language in the senior high school, pupils at the elementary and secondary schools are freed from the heavy burden of having to cope with more than one language.

(f) In practice the regional language is offered only as an optional subject. Hence it is advisable to allow older students to choose what particular regional language they want to study.

(g) Well-qualified teachers and suitable reading material in regional

languages are generally not available so that it is often a waste
to begin teaching it at the lower school, which involves a great
number of pupils and teachers. [29]

2. The Command of the National Language and How It is Used

It is difficult to say with any accuracy what percentage of the
Indonesian population can speak and understand Indonesian, but
it is fair to assume that a very great majority do know the language
and practically everyone has some knowledge of it. In big towns
everybody can be expected to understand Indonesian fairly well, but
even in isolated villages the national language is quite familiar.
There have been many factors responsible for this such as the spread
of education, the mass media, the tight government control of the
life of Indonesian communities down to the village level, etc. Indo-
nesian films also play an important role in spreading the national
language. In big towns American films with sub-titles in Indonesian
are popular, but in smaller towns the population generally prefer
to go to an Indonesian film, although foreign films are also popular.
The state-owned film industry, the PFN, used to produce six feature
films annually as well as a great number of cultural and documentary
films. In autumn of 1959 there were over eight thousand cinemas and
one hundred and twenty mobile units, which took films to remote
villages where the village people could see them free of charge. [1]
But even in the most remote villages not visited by the mobile units,
one normally finds that Indonesian is not unfamiliar to the villagers.

I have visited several such villages and one of them is a village called Tampang. It is a very small village with a population of about one hundred who live in a secluded and poor condition and hardly make use of money in their daily life, the nearest market being at Kota Agung, one day's journey by local sailing boat. The village is situated in the middle of a jungle on the southern tip of the island of Sumatra. In 1968, two German scholars, Bernhard Lang and Wendelin Wawer, and I, all from the Institute of Education in Bandung, visited the village and were quite surprised to find that Indonesian was well understood there. We had no difficulty whatsoever in communicating with the villagers who told us that their vernacular was called Abung, a language which is very different from Indonesian. To my inquiry how they came to know Indonesian, I was told by older villagers that they had learned it during the Japanese occupation. The Japanese built and maintained a small naval base not far from Tampang. The younger generation must have learned the national language from their elders and from a few who have travelled to Kota Agung and come back to their village. The point is that once an Indonesian community is exposed to Indonesian it apparently tends to retain the knowledge of the language.

It is hard to imagine a more remote place in Indonesia than the valley of Baliem in Irian Jaya (West Irian). A good friend of mind, S. Effendi, an official at the Ministry of Social Welfare in Jakarta, has visited the place on several occasions in connection

with his work. He informed me that as far as he knew Indonesian was quite familiar to the villagers there and in fact the only language used as a medium of inter-village communication.

A French scholar who has done much study of modern Indonesian, M. Pierre Labrousse, estimated that about two thirds of the Indonesian population knew the national language fairly well. He wrote : "On peut actuellement estimer, en l'absence de toute statistique, que les locuteurs indonésiens représentent environ les deux tiers de la population." [2] T.O. Ihrami, an Indonesian scholar, observed : "The Indonesian language, as a common language, is mastered if not actively, then at least in a passive way by most Indonesians..." [3]

Everyday or informal Indonesian of various types is of course different from formal or standardized Indonesian, and it is this informal variety which most Indonesians find it easy to acquire. Amran Halim, present-day director of the Institute of Language Development in Jakarta wrote : "Observation of Bahasa Indonesia reveals that written Bahasa Indonesia differs from spoken Bahasa Indonesia to such an extent that an attempt to account for both by a single unified approach would be extremely complex, if not impossible." [4] However, from the point of view of language use the differences in the varieties of Indonesian pose no difficult problems and it is a fact that written Indonesian is used in a limited way, it is used as a written language in the strict sense of the word and never employed otherwise. It stands to reason that the majority of speakers

use the national language with a trace of interference from their regional languages and this phenomenon is more pronounced among less-educated Indonesians who spend all their life in their villages or home towns. Non-educated speakers tend to use more words and grammatical elements borrowed from their regional languages when called upon to talk in Indonesian, but this practice in general is perfectly acceptable. It is also acceptable to talk in mixed languages using some sentences or part of a sentence in one language and others in another. As a matter of fact, even educated speakers, no matter from what ethnic background, are used to conversing among themselves in mixed languages.[5]

It is of course an almost impossible task for any one person to undertake an investigation of how Indonesian is used in so many speech communities throughout the country. However, some generalization can be made about it particularly in regard to the use of the language by educated speakers who have had their education mainly conducted in Indonesian.[6] In what parts of the country the national language is much in use in everyday life, apart from the big towns, can also be pointed out easily.

Indonesian is much used in the Lampung area of South Sumatra, where the local population has been greatly outnumbered by new-comers originating from other parts of Indonesia. There are several Javanese and Sundanese settlements in Lampung as the result of the government's policy of transmigration. Although the newly arrived

transmigrants almost invariably speak in their mother tongues among themselves, they soon get used to talking in Indonesian because they need the language for instance when they go to market to buy daily necessities and later on to sell their vegetables. Their children in independent Indonesia go to the same school as the local and other children where they are taught not in a regional language but in Indonesian from the very beginning.[7] Besides the transmigrant families, there are many more people originating from other places who have come to live in Lampung in order to make a living. Nowadays one hardly hears any vernacular spoken in the shops and market places. Many small traders, restaurant and bus owners come mostly from Minangkabau, Tapanuli and other places. I found out that Javanese speakers sometimes used several Minangkabau words when talking in Indonesian, no doubt assuming that they were good Indonesian words. In 1970, John de Fonblanque, an official at the British Embassy in Jakarta, carried out an extensive survey of the transmigration projects in Lampung and Bengkulu areas. Being a fluent speaker of Indonesian, he interviewed all sorts of people in the course of his survey and encountered no communication difficulty whatsoever. People he met took it for granted that everybody should talk in Indonesian on such an occasion, even an Englishman. When the Englishman delivered a speech in Indonesian without reading from a prepared text in the presence of local dignitaries at the Governor's residence in Bengkulu, however, he made a great impression

and I was asked how the foreigner had acquired his perfect Indonesian. I was present throughout the survey, which lasted twelve days during which I learned a great deal about how the national language was used by Indonesians living in various parts of Indonesia.

In the Bengkulu area and other places we talked to all sorts of people and exchanged information as well as jokes with them. I discovered that a number of words originating from English were in use in the Bengkulu area, such as belangkit (blanket), kabad (cupboard), duaro(door), stakin (stocking), etc. [8] However, when I talked with people living in the town of Bengkulu I was assured that those words were mainly used in rural areas and in the town people preferred to use proper Indonesian words which were considered modern. Bengkulu had of course been a British colony before it was handed over to the Dutch.

In a village near the small town of Curup, I talked with a Rejang boy about fifteen years of age. I soon discovered that he had hardly had any schooling judging from his use of Indonesian, although he understood my Indonesian perfectly. He addressed me using the pronoun kamu (you) unhesitatingly. The word kamu in Indonesian should not be employed in talking to an older person or even to someone of about the same age as one's own (except when he is a very close friend or relative), but is only to be employed to children or people very low in social status and rank when one wants to put them in their place. I later found out that the boy used the word kamu to

me not out of disrespect, but on the contrary, because he wanted to honour me. In many parts of Southern Sumatra, the word kamu is employed when speaking Indonesian in order to show respect and esteem. When the Rejang boy used the word betina to refer to my wife who was standing not far from us, I could not help wondering and smiling because the word, which means female, should be used only when one is referring to animals and not human beings, but this again is a perfectly acceptable word to use when referring to a woman in this area. Indonesia is a vast country and one does not know exactly how Indonesian is used in many parts of its territories.

The problem of using the correct personal pronouns, especially in addressing the person spoken to is of course delicate and complicated in many languages,[9] but particularly so in Indonesian and Indonesian languages. In modern Indonesian, despite language planning activities, many speakers of the language feel that the problem is quite real and needs urgent solution. An Indonesian called Sabirin invented the word Anda and suggested that it should be used as the second personal pronoun with a meaning similar to that of the English word You, which can be employed to address practically anybody.[10] His suggestion sparked off controversy and far from solving the problem, it has complicated it still more because now the word has been accepted and used as one of the many already existing in the language. The word Anda is much used in the language of the advertisement, but of late it has also been used on a certain kind of

formal occasion in public speeches and to a limited extent in conversation. It is also used by some novelists in the dialogues between their heroes and heroines.

I have used a variety of personal pronouns in conversing and making speeches in Indonesian. With my closest freinds and relatives, however, I tend not to use any, and as far as I know, others also behave like me in this respect. In choosing the right pronoun to use, both the first person and the second person pronouns, one has to take into consideration several relevant factors, such as the type of relationship that exists between oneself and one's interlocutor, the topic of the conversation, the place in which the conversation takes place, ethnic background, etc. Dr.Amran Halim observed : "There are occasions when this relation cannot be clearly defined, at least temporarily, as is the case, with, say, new acquaintances, so that no one form can comfortably be chosen and used by either speaker-hearer." [11]

Not everyone feels that there is something wrong or cumbersome about Indonesian system of personal pronoun as far as its use is concerned. Umar Junus for instance categorically opposed any attempt to create a word which has similar meaning as the word you in English and was quite happy with the existing pronouns. [12]

R. Macdonald in collaboration with the Indonesian linguist Soenjono Darjowidjojo wrote : "An Indonesian may also, in talking to another Indonesian, confer upon the person to whom he is speaking

some honorary- family relationship, addressing an older man as father or uncle, a slightly older man as older brother, and a much younger man as son. Corresponding forms would be used in addressing women." [13] As far as I knw this practice is very common in all the ethnic groups comprising the Indonesian nation.

The word Tuan is still used , mainly in business correspondence between firms and their customers, and in spoken language shop-keepers also use the word to their customers. In public speeches Tuan-Tuan dan Nyonya-Nyonya is sometimes also used to mean something like Ladies and Gentlemen in English. When teaching a group of Army officers in Bandung, I addressed my class as Tuan-Tuan. In parts of West Sumatra, Tuan is used to address one's own brother or some slightly older man or anyone that one wants to address as brother. Women there use also the form Tuan hambo (my Tuan) to speak to older men to show respect. Foreigners everywhere in Indonesia are likely to be spoken to as Tuan by many people. When one does not like the opinion of another on a particular topic in a discussion, one can address him as Tuan to show one's disapproval.

When talking with Javanese friends and acquaintances, I sometimes use the word Mas, also meaning brother, as a form of address but to older Sumatrans I often use the word Abang or Uda meaning the same thing. Some people say that the use of the word saudara, meaning also brother, tend to bring the speakers closer together [14], but I am not convinced of this. When I use saudara

without mentioning the name of the person I am addressing, I feel
I am slightly formal, but less so when I do mention his name after
the word saudara. I notice that some people who have some knowledge
of English or are good at the language, sometimes use the English
word You while conversing in Indonesian in a natural way. Among the
Menadonese, the word Ngana, meaning You, is usually used among
relatives and close friends. The Ambonese tend to use the word
Beta, and not Saya or Aku as the first person singular pronoun
when talking among themselves. The word Aku is felt to be more in-
timate than the word Saya and is generally used by novelists and
poets in their writings. Sukarno often used it in his public
addresses. I have never used it in my conversation with anyone
and I am sure that there are many others like me in this regard.

Indonesian is of course mainly a language of special communi-
cation which is used to talk about politics, commerce, education,
culture, etc. all topics related to the modern sector of Indone-
sian life. The government-sponsored seminar on national language
policy held in Jakarta, in February this year (1975), clarified
again the position and function of the national language. "In its
position as the national language, Indonesian has the following
functions :
(1) the symbol of national dignity
(2) the symbol of national identity
(3) the instrument of national unity, which unites the diverse
    ethnic and cultural groups

(4) the medium of communication between the provinces and the cultural groups

In its position as the state language, Indonesian has the following functions to perform :

(1) the official language in state affairs
(2) the official medium of instruction in educational institutions
(3) the official language at the national level, which is to be employed in carrying out the functions of government, preparing and executing planning
(4) the official language to be employed in the fields of culture, science and technology " [15]

Practically all my colleagues, friends, and acquaintances invariably use Indonesian when they discuss important matters in a serious manner and some assert that they cannot do it satisfactorily in any other language. I am a teacher of English and linguistics at the university level in Indonesia and so are many of my associates and friends. I attended a working conference of university teachers of English held at Puncak in 1971 to which foreign scholars were were— also invited. Although everyone present could speak English fairly well and had had some experience of studying in English-speaking countries, the proceedings were conducted in Indonesian and not in English. This was done not for any specifically nationalistic reason but because we were acustomed to using Indonesian in discussing educational problems and it is much easier that way. When we use Indonesian, we feel that the language helps facilitate our

thinking, and this is of course nothing unusual. Gustaf Stern made

a revealing remark when he wrote : "We sometimes even learn our

thought from our words, when the impulse preceding speech is so

vague so that it is differentiated and recognized only through its

effect; — the sentence which is pronounced." [16] The new generation

of educated Indonesians have depended on Indonesian as a tool for

formulating and expressing their thoughts for the simple reason

that they are educated in a system of education which uses Indone-

sian as the medium of instruction. It stands to reason that those

who specialize in fields of study other than English or foreign

languages in general depend a great deal more on the use of Indo-

nesian both for acquiring knowledge and for expressing ideas and

concepts.

Although Indonesian is the medium of instruction in educational

institutions, many complaints have been made, with good reason ,

about the lack of command and mastery of the language at the advanced

level of use especially in regard to precision of expression. The

noted scholar Harsja W. Bachtiar for instance wrote : " It is a

lamentable fact that our students as well as their teachers and

other graduates at our institutions of higher learning do not have

sufficient mastery and command of our national language." [17] A fo-

reign scholar, Peter Mc-Cawley, also observed : "...a reading of

student or even staff papers from many university faculties in Indo-

nesia shows that there is still a casual attitude towards precise

expression." [18] I entirely agree with Mc Cawley's observation, al-

though I would like to add that in many cases those who write in unprecise terms have generally only unprecise ideas to express, or worse still have only muddled ideas. A good many graduates students in the humanities and the social sciences are very weak academically, and they would not have been accepted as students if a higher standard of admission had been applied. In my experience as a teacher I have discovered that in most cases it is not mainly the command and mastery of Indonesian which is lacking but the very ability to carry out analytical thinking, which is manifested in poorly constructed sentences. Any graduate student who is good at his own field of specialization is generally able to write in precise Indonesian. I may be wrong but I find that those who write academically acceptable Indonesian tend to have a good command of a foreign language, especially a Western language (not necessarily an active command).

Speakers of Indonesian normally use English words a lot in their spoken language, and a little bit less in written language. Those who use more foreign words are not necessarily those who have a good command of a foreign language. Sometimes people do not hesitate to use foreign terms without apparently having the slightest idea what they mean. Many pompous government officials use big words in their speeches and communication in order to impress the village people. Thus quite recently the Mayor of Yogyakarta for instance ordered the setting up of signs in public places bearing such words

as Nova Orienta and Proyek Parameter. We are informed that Nova

Orienta is supposed to mean "the method to overcome nine problems"

and Proyek Parameter simply means the attempt to repair village

lanes. The improvement of Malioboro Street which was also undertaken

was referred to as the the project of the Renovasi Malioboro.[19] This

kind of playing with high-sounding words or words borrowed from fo-

reign languages has been strongly resisted during the past year and

there has also been a reaction against too much use of English. The

Governor of Jakarta, Ali Sadikin, issued a special directive to his

subordinates and the population of the capital to the effect that

such words as Town Hall, Shopping Centre, etc. should be replaced

with their equivalents which exist in Indonesian.

With the emergence of a reaction against the employment of fo-

reign terms, specialists as well as amateurs are busily engaged

again in coining terms in Indonesian, and the public tend to coope-

rate by accepting and using the created terms. With the launching

of the American-assisted project for the development of social scien-

ces in Indonesian universities, Indonesia is going to be used more

intensively in discussing social issues without too much dependence

on borrowed foreign terminologies. It is encouraging now that termino-

logies are not only coined and recommended for use, but really used

in spoken as well as in written language.

Many educated Indonesians prefer to use words of Sanskrit ori-

gin to express new ideas and concepts although they could easily

be said in ordinary, plain Indonesian words, or words borrowed

from Western languages that have already been well-established in Indonesian and quite familiar to everybody. On this issue Alisjahbana observed : "In general we can say that for a great number of Indonesians Sanskrit words still have a certain emotional force which enhances self-confidence." [20] Thus people use the words purnawirawan instead of veteran, pirsawan TV instead of penonton TV (TV viewer), tunakarya instead of penganggur (unemployed), wisatawan instead of turis (tourist), lokakarya instead of seminar, tunanetra instead of buta (the blind), etc. Alisjahbana tends to disapprove of this practice. Strict Muslims too no doubt prefer Arabic words to Sanskrit, although words of Sanskrit origin have been used /ideas to express/connected with Islamic religion such as neraka (Hell), durhaka (rebellious), puasa (fasting), etc. Some Muslims suspect that the use of Sanskrit words to express modern ideas and concepts is part of the attempt to draw away the spirit of Islam from Indonesian society. At any rate they refuse to acknowledge that the use of those Kawi or Sanskrit words has anything to do with progress and development or with the promotion of national pride. On the other hand, Indonesian Muslims are not generally opposed to the use of words borrowed from Western languages when this is felt to be necessary.

The use of Indonesian by educated people living in big towns such as Jakarta, Bandung, Medan, etc. has brought about the establishment of modern colloquial prestige Indonesian. The "standard"

variety of this colloquial Indonesian is undoubtedly connected with the speech prevalent in the capital, but this should not be confused with what has been generally called Bahasa Djakarta, Jakarta Indonesian. The real Jakarta speech which uses the ending form /e/ instead of /a/ in such words as kota (town), mana (where), apa (what), etc. is now regarded as rural speech and not a prestigious colloquial Indonesian. [21]

Sumatrans who come to Java for the first time lack fluency in using the modern colloquial Indonesian and tend to converse in a more bookish style. When they hear such a sentence as " Ali anaknya Ahmad"spoken for instance they understand it to mean "Ali has a son called Ahmad", but in Java the sentence means that it is "Ali who is the son of Ahmad". This has something to do with the different meaning attached to the particle nya . When a Sumatran is asked "Di mana rumahnya?" he understands the question to mean : Where is his or her house ? but in Java it means : Where is your house ? A Javanese usually says "Saya tidak mengerti " which to a Sumatran means "I don't understand" but to the Javanese it means "I don't know".

In speaking Indonesian in some areas one needs to watch out for taboo words. There are several good Indonesian words which are taboo words in some regional languages. Thus the word butuh which means to need in Indonesian should not be used for instance in part of Northern Sumatra because it is a taboo word there.

The use of Indonesian by the Javanese has been of great significance to Javanese society much more so perhaps than to other communities outside the island of Java. Professor Selosoemardjan, a well-known Javanese sociologist, observed : "Like any other rapid social change, the change from the stratified Javanese language to the unstratified Indonesian developed tensions among those involved." [22] However, the Javanese seem to be more successful in adjusting themselves to the use of the national language as compared for instance with the Minangkabau who live in Sumatra. The use of Indonesian has a "levelling effect on the social stratification of the Javanese society in Jogjakarta. The Javanese language remained in use only in informal relations among people of Javanese origin.." [23] The use of Indonesian among the population of Chinese ancestry in Java is still more common, however. Peter Weldon who has done research on the use of Indonesian wrote : "Chinese were found to be more fluent and literate in Bahasa Indonesia than Indonesians, most of whom have greater competence in and make use of regional languages; this phenomenon was more pronounced in Jogjakarta, Surabaya and Bandung than in Jakarta." [24]

3. The Use of Indonesian by the Minangkabau

The Minangkabau do not normally use Indonesian in the home no matter what the topic of the conversation is, but speak in Minangkabau throughout because that is the proper language to be used at

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home. An educated Minangkabau does not even use Indonesian to talk
about politics, religion, education, etc. with his Minangkabau
speaking friends as long as the conversation is carried out informal-
ly, that is to say they have not agreed beforehand that they are
going to discuss those things properly. However, as soon as the
discussion assumes some sort of formality, the proper language to
be employed is Indonesian and not Minangkabau. The use of words
and phrases which are felt to be specifically Minangkabau is of
course taken for granted as long as they are used appropriately, that
is to say not in order to wreck the conversation but to bring home
some points more effectively. A public speaker usually addresses
his audience in the national language when the gathering is not or-
ganized for the purpose of adat or customary function, for which
only Minangkabau is the appropriate language. If any member of the
audience wants to ask a question or volunteer a comment he is ex-
pected to speak in Indonesian. If one goes to speak to an official
and discusses business with him one is also expected to use Indone-
sian. However, if after some preliminaries the official in question
for one reason or another changes to Minangkabau one is expected
to follow suit. The switch to Minangkabau by the official often
means an invitation to dispense with rigidity or formality, but
this is not always a favourable sign, for he can also resort to Mi-
nangkabau in order to remind his visitor that he will take no non-
sense. It is certainly more convenient and natural for him to use
"stronger" Miangkabau words than their Indonesian equivalents.

A Minangkabau who tries to use Indonesian all the time when speaking to other Minangkabau is normally regarded as a crank or even crazy. Someone who has lived most of his life outside West Sumatra, but was born and brought up in the homeland, is expected to talk in Minangkabau with his Minangkabau-speaking interlocutors. The unwritten rules about the use of the mother tongue are very strict and only few want or dare to violate them. When one is angry or annoyed one can resort to Indonesian during a conversation which is carried out in Minangkabau or vice versa. The Minangkabau regard themselves as promotors and defenders of the national language, but on the whole this largely remains only their subjective attitude and not their talking behaviour. However, they do not feel that by talking in Minangkabau their loyalty to the national language is in any way less intense. Their attitude to the standardized national language is comparable in many ways for instance to the attitude of most Arabs towards their standardized language. In everyday life the Egyptians speak the colloquial variety (the ammyah) and for a more formal occasion they use the standardized form (the fushah) which is markedly different from the former. For a Minangkabau the change in such a sound as /o/ into /a/ in such a word as kato (Minangkabau) and kata (Indonesian) for instance is of course quite easy to do but it has very great psychological as well as social significance. Even a slip of the tongue on the part of the speaker involving this kind of sound change can invite unfavourable comment from others. That is why when one is annoyed one can change from one language to the other in a conversation. [1]

A great number of Minangkabau have emigrated to other parts of Indonesia in order to make a living or seek knowledge and experience and they normally live in urban areas. Nowadays about a half of the Minangkabau population live outside their homeland and a a great many may come to visit their relatives and friends who live in the rantau, which is a term given to all the "foreign parts". The "immigrant" Minangkabau continue to speak the vernacular among themselves but their children tend not to. Children who are born in the rantau are not expected to speak Minangkabau but Indonesian and sometimes a local language as well. Their parents tend to speak to them in Indonesian at home and so does everyone else who knows that they were born in the rantau. The parents generally speak Indonesian among themselves in the presence of their children and this practice is approved and even encouraged by the relatives who stay in the homeland, who gain a certain amount of social status by having relations living in the rantau. Although many Minangkabau go to the rantau in order to try to improve their standard of living, to leave the homeland itself normally enhances one's social status to a certain degree, no matter what one's position is in the rantau. When the Indonesian-speaking members of the family come home in order to pay their respects to their relatives in the villages, the latter are generally flattered to hear them speaking in the high language and are spoken to by some in that language.

The Minangkabau in the _rantau_ naturally has more occasion to speak Indonesian than the one who stays in the homeland. He normally integrates himself quickly with members of the community in which he lives and becomes an active member of the mosque circle or of an Islamic association having a reformist attitude towards religion such as the Muhammadiah Movement. According to Donald K. Emerson the Minangkabau (and the Batak) are "over-represented in the political public....., but underrepresented in the political elite."[3] Many Minangkabau do not make much distinction between a religious activity and a political activity and they tend to feel very close to other Indonesians with an Islamic orientation and often choose to associate with them, especially in the island of Java. All of this naturally leads them to use Indonesian considerably and causes their variety of Indonesian to be familiar and acceptable to others.

The Minangkabau always use Indonesian when writing to their relatives and friends and insert only a few specifically Minangkabau words and expressions just to remind them that they are Minangkabau. In this respect they are different for example from the Javanese who normally use Javanese when writing to their relatives and close friends.

Many Minangkabau intellectuals are ardent conversationalists who enjoy arguments and debates which are carried out among themselves both in Minangkabau and Indonesian usually mixed together. Young people do not normally hesitate to argue with their elders in the home on all sorts of topics using both Minangkabau and Indo-

nesian. In an animated conversation code-switching from one language
to the other often takes place without much significance, although
it can be said that the use of Indonesian words rather than Minang-
kabau tends to create an impression that what is being said is defi-
nitely right and in accordance with accepted modern ideas.

Among themselves, the Minangkabau often employ Indonesianized
proverbs and set phrases to vary their speech when talking in Indo-
nesian, but when speaking with others they lessen the use of this
form of speech, except the older generation. The Minangkabau natu-
rally speak Indonesian with their own specific pronunciation and into-
nation and this is more noticeable when they talk among themselves.
The more linguistically conscious speakers who have lived outside
the homeland are inclined to feel slightly uncomfortable when their
fellow Minangkabau speak with a marked Minangkabau pronunciation
in ethnically mixed company. However, the majority of speakers
regard their pronunciation as quite all right, if not slightly better
than that of non-Sumatran speakers, especially that of Javanese.
To improve the pronunciation of a Minangkabau student, a Javanese
teacher for instance will need a psychological approach as much as
a purely linguistic one in order not to rouse the student's re-
sistance. It is encouraging that Indonesian language teachers have
now all agreed that the best pronunciation is one which does not
reveal the speaker's ethnic background.

The Minangkabau who live in Sumatra tend to speak bookish Indo-
nesian,[4] but those who live in big cities in Java speak colloquial

Indonesian with great fluency and confidence. For most Minangkabau

talking properly in Indonesian is regarded as a kind of enhanced

mental activity, Indonesian being the standardized modern language

and Minangkabau mainly the colloquial everyday speech. There is

no tension involved in the change from one to the other as far as

the society is concerned. For a Minangkabau the change from the

vernacular to Indonesian is analogous to the change from casual

everyday dress to a neat suit, both useful and correct at the

appropriate time and place. When conversing in Indonesian one tends

to be more intellectually alert, business-like and precise as

well as "modern". However, it does not mean that in using Minang-

kabau one pays more attention to feeling and emotion rather than

reason because Minangkabau is not an emotive language as compared

with Indonesian.

Among educated Minangkabau, Indonesian is also used in order

to maintain some sort of social distance between those who feel

they need to observe this type of social relationship. This practice

is more true of course among those who have lived outside West

Sumatra for a long time, although those who stay in the homeland

also do this to a limited extent. However, there is usually a

feeling that the presence of a non-Minangkabau speaker helps to

bring the relationship of the Minangkabau closer together and ne-

gates the function of Indonesian as an instrument of social distance.

Some people say that when they have developed a habit of using

Indonesian with their friends, they find it very difficult to change into Minangkabau even when they have become close friends. This is again more true among those who have lived in the rantau.

Some young men in the homeland at times talk in Indonesian among themselves in public places such as railway stations, bus stops, etc. just in order to show off, and they apparently draw satisfaction from knowing that others are annoyed to hear them conversing in the high language. They do this, however, only when they are convinced that people who know them are not present during the conversation.

A few Minangkabau intellectuals insist on the use of Indonesian in all public places. One such person was the late Professor Muhammad Yamin. One day he overheard a friend of mine conversing in Minangkabau at a university campus in Bandung. He became angry and warned her on the spot in strong terms not to use "that rural language" again, but the girl defied him, saying in Minangkabau that it was not his business to tell her in what language she should converse with her friends. Few Indonesians would dare to answer Muhammad Yamin back, he being a great man and a national hero and reputed to be rather rude. The same professor criticised another friend of mine during a public discussion for using the word bahasa as a relative pronoun instead of bahwa, which means that or which in English. He said that the form bahasa was Minangkabau and not acceptable in polite Indonesian and he did not want to hear

Minangkabau spoken on such an occasion. In fact, the form bahasa is

acceptable or at least used in Indonesian, good Indonesian, but

it is generally used by the Minangkabau speakers, especially when

they talk fast, which they often tend to do. As a matter of fact,

Professor Muhammad Yamin himself was sometimes heard using it even

during the course of delivering lectures to his students at Bandung

Institute of Education. People like Muhammad Yamin went to the

extreme in trying to set an example of how one should promote the

national language for the sake of national unity by neglecting the

mother tongue. It is doubtful, however, if he would have reproached

a non-Minangkabau for having used a form originating from his mother

tongue when speaking Indonesian.

No one has said that Muhammad Yamin is anti-Minangkabau because

it is known that he is not. Just before he died he wrote a will in

which he requested that he should be buried in Minangkabau, his

homeland, when he died. President Sukarno granted the fulfilment

of the will and arranged that the remain of the Maha Putera, the

Great Son of the Republic, should not be buried at the Hero's Cemetery

in Kalibata but taken from Jakarta to West Sumatra by a special

aeroplane.

Islamic leaders of Minangkabau origin at the national level,

and even at the international level, such as Mhd. Natsir, who has

been vice president of the World Federation of Islamic Association

based in Saudi Arabia, have no objection whatsoever to conversing

in Minangkabau with their Minangkabau guests. I have had the oppor-
tunity of having conversations in Minangkabau for instance with
the late Kiyahi Isa Anshary, Buya Hamka, and Muhammad Natsir, on
several occasions. With Bapak Mohammad Hatta, however, I have had
no chance of having a conversation in the vernacular but then I
met him only once and that was when he came to my university in
Bandung where I was then in charge of academic affairs. However,
I was informed that he had been heard conversing in Minangkabau in
public places.

I know best of course what language I use with members of my
immediate family. I speak Minangkabau with my wife who, like me, was
born and brought up in West Sumatra, but when our children are pre-
sent we tend to use more Indonesian for no particular reason. I speak
Indonesian with my eldest daughter but my wife tends to use Minangka-
bau with her because she was brought up in my wife's village. All
my three daughters two of whom were brought up in West Java speak
Indonesian among themselves, although they all understand Minangka-
bau because they often hear their parents and others use the language.

Although I feel I know quite well how and under what particu-
lar circumstances Indonesian is used by the Minangkabau, it would
be wrong for me at this stage to formulate a law of it because as
is generally known sociolinguistics is still predominantly an empi-
rical study.

4. The Use of Indonesian by the Sundanese

The native language of the population of West Java province is

mainly Sundanese whose speakers number twenty million approximate-
ly and form Indonesia's second largest regional language community.
Sundanese is an important language in Indonesia because, among other
things, of the fact that it is spoken in the areas close to the ca-
pital of the Republic. The language has received much influence from
the national language but it has also contributed significantly to
the enrichment of the Indonesian vocabulary.

Sundanese is markedly different from Indonesian in terms of vo-
cabulary and to some extent also syntactical arrangements, but the
two languages are close phonologically. In phonological terms Sunda-
nese is closer to Indonesian than Minangkabau. There are a number of
words spelt and pronounced alike in both languages, however, which
do not carry the same meaning. Thus the words bumi, pasir, angkat,
tuang, ganas for instance in Sundanese mean house, hill, to go, to
eat, pine apple repectively but in Indonesian they mean earth, sand
to lift, to pour, cruel respectively. Sundanese is a language which
uses different types of words to express the same things or ideas
depending on what level or situational context one speaks. To give
just a few examples, let us take the word or the idea to eat which
in Sundanese can be expressed by the words dahar, tuang, neda, nya-
tu , and ngalebo each of which has its own contextual use which
we do not intend to go into here because they are not relevant in
our discussion. The singular first person pronoun I in Sundanese
is expressed by more than one word, viz. dewe, aing, kuring , sim
kuring , urang, abdi, and pribados. All my Sundanese friends and
informants have told me that sometimes they do not find even

these words quite sufficient to express their concept of I

and in that case they borrow the Indonesian word saya (I) while

conversing in Sundanese, which is now acceptable.

The Sundanese use as much Indonesian nowadays as everyone else

in Indonesia and a number of educated Sundanese claim that they

are more at home in the national language than in Sundanese. How-

ever, they normally write letters to their parents and relatives

in Sundanese and not in Indonesian, for to do so would be regarded

as impertinent. Correspondence between friends of about the same

age and social status is carried out also in Sundanese and very

rarely in Indonesian.

In the rural areas Indonesian is understood virtually by every-

body but used very little. It is used for instance by the teacher

in the classroom with his pupils during a lesson period but outside

it he normally speaks Sundanese with both his colleagues and pupils.

Even if there is a formal meeting held for instance between the

teachers and the pupils' parents the language used is mainly Sun-

danese and very little Indonesian. In 1970 I.S. Judibrata carried

out an investigation of language use by pupils at a junior secon-

dary school at Sukarasa, Bandung and discovered that 60.02 % use In-

donesian in the classroom and 39.09 % use Sundanese. Outside the class

only only 5.01 % use Indonesian and 94.08 % use Sundanese.[1]

When a non-Sundanese visitor comes to a village, the people

to whom he tries to speak will generally respond automatically in

Indonesian if he has initiated with the use of Indonesian. However,

after some preliminaries they often ask him whether he speaks

Sundanese. If he answers in the affirmative, his interlocutors

will normally switch to Sundanese. The visitor's poor or even broken

Sundanese is usually tolerated. If he insists on sticking to the

use of Indonesian, however, others do not have any objection pro-

vided they are convinced that the visitor is not a Sundanese. This

shows how neutral Indonesian is when used as an instrument of commu-

nication between people of different ethnic backgrounds for we

know that "there is no occasion of talk so trivial as not to re-

quire each participant to show serious concern with the way in which

he handles himself and others present." [2]

On official occasions or in a public meeting, the village

headman will normally address his audience in Indonesian in a so-

lemn manner. His use of the national language adds greatly to the

official solemnity of the occasion. He will repeat what the im-

portant people have said regarding for instance the importance of

national unity, the need for sacrifice, etc., etc. using a few big

words derived mainly from Western languages, such as akselerasi,

urbanisasi, modernisasi, etc. In order to bring home some points

he will insert words and phrases in Sundanese. Non-Sundanese

speakers generally gain extra appreciation if they also insert

a few words in Sundanese. I had some experience in making speeches

to a gathering held in villages and I always spoke in Indonesian

and rarely used Sundanese phrases. On one occasion, in the middle

of my speech I was requested in writing to change from Indonesian to Sundanese not because the audience did not understand my Indonesian but because they just wanted to hear me address them in Sundanese. I was urging the audience then to oppose Sukarno's regime of guided democracy. I felt that my audience wanted to show me their sympathy by asking me to speak in Sundanese and they did not show disappointment at my poor performance in speaking in Sundanese.

When Indonesian is used in the rural areas, interference from Sundanese is great and those who do not know Sundanese may have some difficulty in understanding it completely.[3]

Like other speakers, the Sundanese prefer to use the sound /p/ to say such Indonesian words of foreign origin which many educated Indonesians no matter from which ethnic background pronounce as /f/ such as veto, vulpen(fountain-pen), folio, etc. Thus ordinary Sundanese say /peto/, /pulpen/, /polio/, etc. However, a certain group of Islamic-oriented Sundanese tend to use the Arabic sound /f/ in the words that contain /p/, such as /folitik/ for politik, /kafal/ for kapal(boat), etc. in order to create a certain desired effect.[4]

The Sundanese are as strongly Islamic generally as the Minangkabau and not more so despite the fact that the Darul Islam rebel movement took place in West Java. However, it is true that the Sundanese tend to use more Arabic words to refer to things having

religious significance such as <u>saum</u> for fasting, <u>ba'da maghrib</u>

for saying after <u>six o'clock p.m.</u>, etc. Among the most Islamic-o-

riented groups such words as <u>bismillah</u>, <u>alhamdulillah</u>, etc. are

often used in everyday conversation both in Sundanese and Indone-

sian. Thus before the meal when the host wants his guest to start

eating, he will say <u>bismillah</u> (in the name of Allah) instead of

<u>mangga tuang</u> or <u>silakan makan</u> (please start eating). In some

villages the teaching of religion used to be conducted in Javanese

(Islam came to West Java from Central Java) or using a Javanese

text rather than in Sundanese but recently I found in many places

that Indonesian was much used. At the mosque of Uswatun Hasanah

near a place called Cicalengka for instance the language of instruct-

ion for teaching religion was mainly Indonesian perhaps because

most of the teachers come from Bandung.

In the town of Bandung, the problems of bilingualism among the

Sundanese is very complicated and depends a great deal on the type

of speaker, level of education, trade or profession, etc. University

people use both Sundanese and Indonesian on various sorts of occa-

sions but during a formal meeting or discussion of course only Indone-

sian is employed. Educated Sundanese converse in Sundanese freely in

their places of work even if non-Sundanese are present, if it is

known that they understand the gist of what is being talked about. How-

ever, non-Sundanese are normally spoken to in Indonesian and not ex-

pected to speak in Sundanese. A non-Sundanese who tries to express

himself in Sundanese but speaks the language imperfectly will receive a

response not in the same language but in impeccable Indonesian.
On the whole, urban Sundanese do not like to hear bad Sundanese
spoken and at any rate prefer to speak Indonesian with their non-
Sundanese friends and acquaintances. They also disapprove of the
use of a certain type of "refined" Sundanese by non-Sundanese speakers
which is done by replacing such words as ka mana (where to), jadi
by ka manten and janten.

The Sundanese believe that, whether speaking in Sundanese or
Indonesian, one must strictly control not only the voice but also
the bodily movements, which must accompany the speech in an approp-
riate way. In order to show one's appreciation of another's speech,
it is regarded as quite proper to say the word sumuhun, meaning yes,
or leres, meaning correct, in a singsong way in response to prac-
tically every sentence uttered. The Indonesian word for yes is ya
and because this is felt to be too short, many people prefer to use
the word saya (I) instead of ya for this purpose. The word sumuhun
is of course much longer and can be melodiously spoken. An American
professor working at Bogor Institute of Agricultural sciences commen-
ted on the speech of Indonesians as follows : "The speech of Indone-
sian, whether in their own language or English, showed deference
to valued persons : friends, guests, superiors. Forms of speech
convey respect. Slow speech, soft speech, subtle speech, and the
use of special words made up a communicative art rather than simply
efficient interaction." [5] This description of language use is

undoubtedly more true with regard to the speech of the Sundanese than for instance the speech of Sumatrans or that of the population of the outer islands generally.

Urban as well as urbane speakers insert Indonesian words and phrases frequently when they converse in Sundanese and sometimes in the middle of a conversation they change completely into Indonesian. Code-switching to the national language is often determined by the topic of the conversation. Such non-traditional or less-traditional subjects as education, politics and economics are often discussed in Indonesian and in this respect the Sundanese are somewhat different from the Minangkabau. Speakers also tend to change into Indonesian when they find out that they hold too different or opposing opinions on a certain topic in the course of the conversation. Apparently many people prefer to argue or to discuss modern topics in the national language, because it is felt to be less personal as compared with the mother tongue.

Urban Sundanese tend to open a conversation with new acquaintances in a very refined Sundanese, but there are others who prefer to employ formal Indonesian on such an occasion. When a person initiates a conversation in Sundanese but receives a response in Indonesian, no matter how polite, he apparently tends to feel snubbed if he knows that his interlocutor is Sundanese, but generally not otherwise. For that reason many people seem to begin to realise that it is safer to employ the national language when talking

to unsympathetic-looking new acquaintances. Most Sundanese friends
of mine informed me that in such circumstances they normally felt
relaxed when using Indonesian as compared with talking in Sundanese.

When a superior speaks Indonesian to his subordinate, which
many tend to do in their official capacity, the latter responds
not in Indonesian but in a refined and polite Sundanese. The sub-
ordinate apparently feels that in this way he has shown deference to
his superior. An informant told me that it was very difficult for
him to use Indonesian to his superior even when a non-Sundanese
was present in the course of the conversation. The superior normally
also expects that his subordinate should respond to his utterances
in a refined Sundanese rather than in good formal Indonesian. A sub-
ordinate addresses his superior as <u>bapak</u> (literally father) or <u>ibu</u>
(mother) but the superior himself or herself often refers to him-
self or herself as bapak or ibu and this is apparently done in order
to remind everyone present who the boss is. However, when an older
person refers to himself as bapak in a certain situation, it can
also be a favourable sign to the hearer, who is thus being invited
to treat the speaker as his own kinsman.

When a superior wants to be very friendly with his subordinate,
he will generally speak in Sundanese and when a subordinate wants
to show some sort of defiant attitude he will employ Indonesian.

As regards the language used for the purposes of religion, Sun-
danese is felt to be more appropriate than good Indonesian even

in such a big town as Bandung, although there are exceptions. Friday khotbah (sermons) in the mosque with a few exceptions are given in Sundanese and not in Indonesian. Some friends of mine who are not Sundanese but frequently give speeches on religious subjects have learned Sundanese in a thorough way and use it effectively on many religious occasions. Sermons in church are usually given in Indonesian and not in Sundanese, but only a few Sundanese are Christians.

Sundanese is not the only indigenous language in the province of West Java. In Ceribon and Banten areas for instance people do not speak real Sundanese but a language which is supposed to be a "mixture" between Javanese, Sundanese and even Malay. In the border areas between Ciamis and Banjar, Indonesian is often used as a means of daily communication among speakers of Sundanese and Javanese. In some villages both Sundanese and Javanese speakers each tend to stick to their respective mother tongue but this does not disturb the effective flow of communication because they understand each other's language perfectly. This state of affairs for instance is very common in the village of Tambak Sari and other surrounding villages. Dr. Syahrul Syarif of Bandung Institute of Education, who is a scholar of Indonesian and Sundanese, informed me that his parents who lived in Ceribon areas, spoke different languages at table quite naturally .

Educated Sundanese speak Indonesian with great fluency and confiedence and their pronunciation of the language is pleasing not only

to the Sundanese but also to others. Most of my Sundanese friends, however, told me that they often found Indonesian insufficient to express their ideas satisfactorily especially with regard to everyday activities. That is why they always insert Sundanese words and phrases in their Indonesian. They believe that Sundanese is much richer than Indonesian and that there are many Sundanese words which they claim to be untranslatable into Indonesian. Sumatrans as a rule, however, tend to take the view that many Sundanese have not mastered the national language sufficiently and this is due to their strong attachment to their regional language. A Javanese colleague of mine, Ahmad Hinduan, of the Institute of Education, Bandung, informed me that he had met several Sundanese teachers who were not able to talk about their schools and pupils properly in clear Indonesian which he could understand. My own impression, however, is that on the whole the Sundanese are as good or as bad as anyone else in using the national language, and it is only unconscious ethnic prejudice which often leads one to believe that another ethnic group's Indonesian is not as good as that of one's own group.

However, the Indonesian spoken by Sundanese does show interference from their mother tongue, for example, they tend to use the Indonesian prefix di before some verbs when producing a sentence in the active voice in Indonesian such as Dia diajar, meaning He studies. A non-Sundanese who does not know Sundanese will undoubtedly misunderstand this sentence because in Indonesian it means He is taught. The prefix di before a transitive verb is a signal for a passive

construction but this is not always the case in Sundanese which also makes use of the prefix di-. What I cannot explain is the fact that a Sundanese usually says ditaikkan instead of dinaikkan, meaning to be raised in Indonesian. This form ditaikkan is not acceptable in standardized Indonesian but much used in West Java even by highly educated speakers. [6]

The Sundanese generally say that they are fond of making jokes and their skill to make use of language for the purpose of joke creation is acknowledged by non-Sundanese who have lived in West Java for a long time. Unlike the Minangkabau, the Sundanese are at the opposite extreme end of being free from linguistic inhibition with regard to telling jokes in their own language. So much so that some people now use cognate Sundanese words in telling jokes in the national language. For example, the sentence Saya keberatan in Indonesian means I have an objection, but when the Sundanese word kabeuratan, instead of keberatan (objection) is used, the sentence means in Sundanese: I need a toilet. Tentera suka ganas means either The soldiers are fond of pine apples (in Sundanese) or The soldiers are cruel (in Indonesian). The Sundanese have a strong reluctance usually to mentioning the name of their fathers, fathers-in-law, etc. just like most other Indonesians. It is said that once a Sundanese, whose father-in-law was named Amin, was praying in the mosque, where one is expected to join in pronouncing the word AMIN after the Imam has completed reading the opening chapter of the Qur'an, the Al Fatihah.

The gentleman in question found it hard to say AMIN so instead he loudly said MITOHA, which in Sundanese means father-in-law — to the astonishment of everyone else, needless to say. Again, a Batak Muslim once had his sandals stolen in a mosque in Bandung during a Friday service. When he was searching for his sandals, which he had left outside the entrance, he could not find them. Then someone said to him in what he must have thought was Indonesian: Barangkali pahili. He understood this to mean: Perhaps it was Pak Hili who inadvertently took them away. So he asked : Di mana rumah Pak Hili ? (Where is the house of Pak Hili?). Nobody knew where Pak Hili lived. However, it turned out that no one had mentioned the name of Pak Hili, only the Sundanese word pahili, which means to be exchanged by mistake.

It is doubtful whether this incident did take place. I suspect that the story is just a joke that someone has invented aimed at showing that those who live in West Java without knowing Sundanese will get into trouble.

During the period of Guided Democracy many jokes were created in West Java. As has been said, the acronym MANIPOL, Manifesto Politik, was very important for everybody to know and repeat. I overheard many Sundanese say in a solemn fashion that buses were then manipol, trains were manipol, hospitals were manipol, everything had to be manipol as the Great Leader of the Revolution had taught. Manipol in Sundanese can mean very full or crowded.

N O T E S

1. Indonesian versus the Regional Language

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CHAPTER   EIGHT
CONCLUSION

1. Summary

In the Introduction we include a brief discussion of some
aspects of the study of language in general with a special emphasis
on the discussions of the problems of language in society as a
starting point for our discussions of the problems of the adoption,
development and use of Indonesian in modern Indonesian society.

In chapter one we start with an inquiry and discussion of the
cultural-linguistic background of the main pioneers of modern Malay
in Indonesia, who were Minangkabau school-teachers and writers.
Although these people received a certain amount of Western-type
education, their linguistic skill and styles of expression were
largely determined by the way in which these were cultivated in the
settings of their traditional community. Compared with some other
ethnic groups in the archipelago such as, for instance, the Balinese
the Minangkabau are not well-known for their artistic inclination.
However, they do attach great importance to the achievement of
linguistic skill and ability, not perhaps so much for the sake of
artistic beauty as for its usefulness in day-to-day living. A Minang-
kabau is expected to stand up and speak out his mind in a public
discussion and it is there that he will demonstrate his mastery of
language. If he is successful, this will raise his status as a mem-
ber of his community.

When those people went to school and were taught classical Ma-

lay, they acquired a new medium for self-expression which they made
use of profitably. They began to write in Malay but adapted it to the
genius of Minangkabau, and so they created a new style of Malay. It
can be argued that this is just a new variety of Minangkabau, but
it passed as good Malay. The language was used in books published by
Balai Pustaka, the government publishing house, as well as a medium
of instruction in many state schools. At this early stage in the
history of modern Malay, the Minangkabau school-teachers and writers
set the norms for what was to be regarded as good or bad style and
they acted as if they were guardians of the "purity" of the language.
They succeeded in bringing about a degree of standardization of the
language which gained acceptance in a wide circle. Without their
efforts, it is hard to imagine that the language would have been
readily accepted later as a means of achieving national unity.

In chapter two we discuss the development and transformation
of the language as well as the activities of the nationalist leaders
and writers who made use of it as their most important tool of commu-
nication.

Malay had always been used by the indigenous newspapers and ma-
gazines, but it was not at first consciously related to nationalist
movements. When the spirit of national unity came to dominate the
political scene, the language soon played an important role. In 1928,
the All Indonesian Youth Congress held in Jakarta decided among o-
ther things to adopt Malay as the language of national unity. A new

name, Bahasa Indonesia, the Indonesian language, was conferred on the language. This had great national significance and far-reaching consequences in linguistic as well as other fields. Opposition to the use of the new name came from the more conservative Minangkabau school-teachers and writers. The Dutch colonial government did not approve of the use of the word "Indonesia" either.

With the rising popularity of Sukarno, Mohammad Hatta and other nationalist leaders who made speeches and wrote in Indonesian, the language began to spread more widely among the small literate public. However, the fact remained that members of the elite groups spoke mainly in Dutch among themselves. Indonesian became the language of political speeches, public meetings and the like, but not of conversation. One or two nationalist leaders wanted to make use of Dutch as a tool of communication in nationalist circles.

The launching of a literary magazine, the Pudjangga Baru, in 1932 by Alisjahbana and his associates added some more prestige to the national language. Modern writers began to make use of it to express modern ideas and this fact brought about a process of modernization. In the meantime, the conservative school-teachers and writers also developed the language in their own way, rejecting the tendency of the modern writers in borrowing profusely from Dutch.

In 1938, ten years after the adoption of Indonesian as a common language, the first Kongres Bahasa Indonesia was held at Surakarta in which outstanding issues relating to language use were

discussed by intellectuals, teachers, newspaper editors and others.

The adoption of Malay as the language of unity was opposed by no₁ one, although the nationalist leaders were divided on a number of issues. Polemics were carried out by secular nationalist writers and Islamic-oriented leaders and this resulted in a more intensive use of the language. Choice of vocabulary and styles of expression were much reflected on the basis of the writers' attitude towards Indonesian nationalist movements. The secular nationalist writers introduced a lot of words borrowed from Western languages and Islamic writers popularized many others of Arabic origin. On the whole writers from Sumatra showed much care about preserving the spirit of Malay. The conscious use of Indonesian as the language of the nationalist movements succeeded in threatening the supreme position of Dutch in Indonesia.

By this time events outside Indonesia were threatening the position of the Dutch colonial government in the archipelago. The Second World War broke out and in 1942 the Japanese invaded Java.

In chapter three we discuss the condition and role of Indonesian during the Japanese occupation which began in March 1942 and lasted about three and a half years. We also mention the political situation in general because it had direct implications in linguistic field.

The Japanese military government was instrumental in causing Indonesian to be used more widely as an official language of admi-

nistration and education. They prohibited the use of Dutch overnight
and intended to replace it with their own language. However, in
view of the fact that hardly any Indonesian knew Japanese they were
compelled to adopt Indonesian as the most convenient language as
a means of communication between the government and the population.
They had a few Malay scholars but not of other Indonesian languages.
They of course knew that Indonesian was closely assimilated with
the nationalist movements and for this reason refused to use the
term Bahasa Indonesia and employed the word "Mareigo", the Malay
language, instead.

The prohibition of the use of Dutch in education and admi-
nistration compelled Indonesian teachers and administrators to
translate a lot of school books and other materials into Indonesian
and in doing so they had to coin a great number of terms. The use
of vocabulary of Dutch origin was discouraged and very soon a number
of Japanese words entered Indonesian and were used extensively in
various fields. The contact between Indonesian and Japanese brought
about linguistic phenomena which had sociolinguistic significance.

The period of the Japanese occupation saw the mobilization of
Indonesian political forces sponsored by the military authorities
intended to contribute to the Japanese war efforts. The Japanese
wanted Indonesian nationalist leaders to collaborate with them to
propagate their proclaimed ideals of the Pacific War. The Indone-
sians had no choice but to accept the offer. A few of them coope-

rated willingly with the Japanese and all made the best use of the cooperation to promote the cause of Indonesian nationalism.

An active propaganda campaign was soon launched and this resulted in, among other things, a more intensive use of Indonesian which in turn helped to a considerable extent the growth and development of the language. The Japanese even reached isolated villages with their propaganda campaign and brought Indonesian to the villagers. The elite groups did not dare to speak Dutch in public and even in private people were hesitant to use the language out of fear. The Japanese military government tended to be cruelly repressive and they did not like Western-oriented intellectuals. For those who used to speak a language which was not the language of the common people, Indonesian was a natural choice. Many people began to study Indonesian seriously during the Japanese occupation.

The Pacific War was not leading to victory as the Japanese had expected. On the contrary, they gradually realised that they were going to lose it. Near the end of the occupation, they promised Indonesian nationalist leaders Independence and told them to make preparations for it. The Indonesian leaders gladly began to prepare themselves for the coming Independence. They drafted a Constitution and the philosophical basis for this Constitution was a compromise formula between the secular nationalists and the Islamic - oriented leaders. This compromise is known in Indonesian history as the Piagam Djakarta or Jakarta Charter. In the Constitution they

incorporated an article stipulating that the official state language of the country was to be Indonesian. When the war ended and Japan was defeated, Sukarno and Mohammad Hatta proclaimed Indonesia's Independence and the newly-established Republic took over the Constitution drafted during the Japanese occupation.

When the Japanese left Indonesia, the position of Indonesian in society was very different from what it was when they first arrived three and a half years previously. The occupation had brought about a great transformation of the language in form as well as in function and status. But this would not have had much significance if the Indonesian leaders had not established the Republic.

In chapter four we discuss not only the development and role of Indonesian during the revolution which happened subsequent to the Japanese occupation but the struggle for Independence as well. The establishment of the Republic and the struggle of the Indonesian people to defend the new state against the Dutch attempt to reconquer their former colony were crucial in raising Indonesian to the status of the only official state language.

The Republican leaders strove to unify the entire nation and made use of Indonesian as a common medium of national unity in the true sense of the word. At first the Dutch underestimated its strong appeal as a national tool of communication. They attempted to set up a number of pro-Dutch regional states and encouraged the use of regional languages. They did not fully realise the tremen-

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dous change that had taken place during the Japanese occupation period. Very soon, however, they realised their mistake and proclaimed Indonesian as the second official language beside Dutch.

When the Dutch troops succeeded in seizing Jogjakarta and many other towns in Java and Sumatra, Republican soldiers and civilian administrators took to the hills. There they mingled with villagers who helped them launch guerilla warfare against the Dutch troops who controlled the towns and the main roads. Those people coming from the cities often used Indonesian among themselves and also used it when speaking to the villagers.

Dutch military commanders tended to associate the knowledge of Indonesian as a sign of support for the guerillas. When they arrested a suspected youth they first tried to find out whether he knew Indonesian well. If they were convinced that he did not they tended to let him free. Because of this, arrested people often pretended ignorance of the national language.

During the revolution, as could be expected in view of communication difficulties, there was a marked dissimilarity between Indonesian as used in Sumatra and that which was in use in Java, especially with regard to the choice of vocabulary and the employment of idiomatic expressions.

The Republican government realised from the very beginning the importance of language standardization, and in order to achieve this established the Institute for Linguistic Research. Not much that could be systematically done during the struggle for Independence for

obvious reason. In May, 1947, the Minister of Education and Culture introduced a spelling reform.

Although the prevailing situation was not propitious for language planning activities, school-teachers and writers did show concern for the improvement of the national language as a means of communication. Any words that were associated with colonialism were dropped and new words and expressions came into common use. Although for obvious reasons the use of Dutch was discouraged, the elite groups tended to use it more than they did during the Japanese occupation.

The war of independence came to an end at the end of 1949 when the Netherlands officially transferred sovereignty to the Indonesian government.

In chapter five we discuss at some length some aspects of language planning and the interaction of language, politics and religion.

The period from 1950 until 1957 has often been referred to in Indonesia as the period of "Liberal Democracy". It was the time when most political leaders more or less agreed to apply the principles of Western-style democracy in government and politics. Intense ideological conflicts dominated political scene particularly during the years before the holding of the first general election. This was held in 1955.

During the period of liberal democracy, Indonesian writers had

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the chance to experiment with the use of the national language in a sophisticated manner. Many made speeches and wrote articles to further their political ideas as well as put forward their ideas about Indonesian culture generally.

Following the transfer of sovereignty, Indonesia tried to co-operate with Holland. Dutch professors taught in the University of Indonesia and some people suggested that Dutch should be taught again in school. However, the government did not agree and emphasized that Indonesian was to be the only language used for the purpose of cultural as well as political activities. Some Dutch professors gave warning about the risk that regional languages would suffer if care was not taken to support them. The government were not in practice interested in fostering regional languages but took positive measures to ensure the development and use of the national language.

In 1952, all schools using Dutch as their medium of instruction were taken over by the government. From that year the use of Dutch was discouraged again.

Language planning activities were undertaken by the government-sponsored bodies as well as by private individuals. The main concern was how to develop and modernize the language further in order to make it more efficient as a vehicle of learning. By this time more Indonesians were becoming interested in modern ideas as a result of their interest in applying Western-style democratic principles in government. Writers tried to promote modern literary genre

and outlook which was remote from the life of ordinary people.

In 1954, the government sponsored a big Kongres Bahasa Indonesia which was held in Medan, Northern Sumatra. The date chosen for the opening of the Kongres was October 28th, the day of the Youth Pledge. On that day twenty eight years previously Malay had been adopted as the language of national unity.

Promoters of Indonesian were not very familiar with theories of language planning. In the course of these activities there were few references to similar activities undertaken in other countries. To many of them spelling was regarded as crucial in their works. Because of the increased borrowing from Dutch and other Western languages, people were confused about how to spell the loan words. The prevailing attitude then was that foreign words should be written according to the phonological system of Indonesian. Unfortunately, what was regarded as the Indonesian phonological system was too rigid to be accepted by many educated speakers. As a result, few writers followed the rules of Indonesian orthography when writing borrowed words.

As time went on, several scholars suggested that another spelling reform should be introduced. The government, however, did not want to take hasty action on this matter. It was in fact only in 1972 that the Minister of Education and Culture promulgated the adoption of a new spelling system.

As could be expected, the bulk of Indonesian language planning

activities were devoted to the creation of technical terms. The

official terminology commission worked very hard and succeeded in

producing more than three hundred thousand terms in a comparatively

short period of time. Members of the commission knew what they were

doing and took pains to produce precise terms. The job was natural-

ly not easy. However, to get the terms acceptable to people who

needed them proved to be more difficult. As a matter of fact, many

specialists did not want to use the terms produced and preferred

to use their own created words. Some had never even heard of the

existence of the terminology commission or of their produced terms.

During the period of liberal democracy, one or two academics

still complained about the inadequacy of Indonesian as a language

of instruction in the universities. However, others would tend to

accuse them for their lack of knowledge and control of the national

language.

In chapter six we discuss the cultivation of Indonesian by

language teachers in the school as well as by various writers in

their handling of the national language.

Although writers had written Indonesian without paying much

attention to Malay grammar, until the Kongres of 1954 the conserva-

tive school-teachers still set the norms for what was to be consi-

dered good Indonesian. In the Kongres representatives of the con-

servative were defeated once and for all. From that time onwards

no one listened to their opinions seriously any more. Promoters of

the national language took the view that the conservative teachers
and writers were in the way in their efforts to modernize and de-
velop the language.

The defeat of the conservative teachers and writers freed more
liberal teachers to handle the language with their pupils in a more
natural way. However, some people began to have a wrong idea about
Indonesian. They came to believe that it had no rules at all and
used it in a careless manner. They were people who had had in-
terrupted education because of the Japanese occupation and the re-
volution. They had mastered no medium of expression in the true
sense of the word.

On the whole politicians did not want to observe the rigid Ma-
lay rules when writing in Indonesian. One man had a tremedous sway
not only politically but also linguistically. He was of course
President Sukarno. Sukarno made a great number of speeches in order
to dominate political opinions during this period. His influence,
however, was not absolute because he did not head a government and
because there was complete freedom of the press and expression.
Many of his political opponents had a Sumatran background and tended
to write in a more conventional Indonesian style. At the popular
level, however, Sukarno's style was regarded as the best style.

In 1959, Sukarno seized all political power into his own hands
and made himself supreme ruler of Indonesia. From that time onwards
until his downfall, he set the norms for the acceptable use of the

national language. It was during this period that a great number

of abbreviations, acronyms, and neologism dominated the vocabulary.

It was a difficult time then for a man with liberal inclinations

to live. Sukarno's language upset a great number of people and made

even more analytical thinking difficult.

In chapter seven we discuss the problems of language use in

general. First of all we talk about the relationship between the

national language and the regional languages. We consider people's

attitudes towards this relationship.

The policies carried out by the government are crucial in

determining the functions and roles of languages in Indonesia. In

practice the authorities discouraged too great an interest in the

maintenance of regional languages. They reminded people from time

to time of the great importance of promoting the cause of the

national language. On the other hand, some regional language promo-

ters were concerned about the plight of regional languages. These

people were , however, in no way opposed to the promotion of Indo-

nesian.

In this chapter we also discuss problems relating to the mas-

tery of Indonesian by the population generally. There is little

doubt that the majority of Indonesians understand the national

language. As regards to its use in daily life, we draw our examples

from the Minangkabau and the Sundanese. Neither group community

uses much Indonesian in its daily life. Most other communities would

not be very different in this respect. Indonesian is, in a sense, nobody's mother tongue and yet by far the most important language of all in terms of its functions in modern Indonesian society. This has come about thanks to the strong sense of national unity and to the efforts to maintain that unity. Although the language is one which is imposed from above to the people, it is acceptable to all and cherished by all.

In chapter eight(this chapter) we provide the conclusion which contains the summary of the previous chapters as well as some concluding remarks. The concluding remarks are given below.

2. Concluding Remarks

This study has been carried out in a department of languages and literatures and not in a department of linguistics or sociology. The separation of the various departments dealing with the study of language is partly justified on the basis of different approaches used to deal with language problems. However, linguistics as a scientific discipline is too important a study for anyone dealing with language study to dispense with if he wants to increase his awareness of the problems involved. A student of language needs to acquaint himself with the main principles and ideas of modern linguistics at least in order to be able to exchange ideas with broad-minded linguists and argue that he is studying a different aspect of linguistic problems. A survey of linguistic studies provided in the first chapter of this work should be sufficient to bring one

to a realization that linguists have generally grappled with the problems of language in a rigorously scientific manner which is characteristic of modern (Western) civilization. It will also bring us to a realization that most linguists are interested in those aspects of language that many laymen are not necessarily interested in or aware of. The problems of language in society are complicated indeed and these have given rise during the last sixteen years or so to the coming into being of the new discipline of sociolinguistics. Sociolinguistic studies have begun to flourish and have provided us with more understanding and insight as to the nature of some linguistic problems in society, as well as some techniques for dealing with them in order to increase our control of language as a means of communication.

For our purpose, however, it is in a sense a pity that sociolinguistics is almost monopolised by social scientists and especially sociologists and anthropologists. A student of language needs of course to study his chosen aspect of language in a scientific manner but it would be too narrow if we were to confine our notion of what is scientific for instance to the sense in which sociology or anthropology is scientific. The study of language and language use carried out in departments of languages and literatures at universities has generally been done in a scientific manner, it is a scientific discipline having its own methodology and techniques. In dealing with the problems of language use, we should not confine

ourselves to the study of the strictly literary use of language because other types of language use and function can also be dealt with in a scholarly manner.

In this study we have been concerned mainly with the rapid development and increased use of a state language in a developing country. We have discussed the problems relating to the interaction of language, politics, religion as well as ethnic groupings in the context of nationalistic aspirations, taking into consideration largely the subjective attitudes and revolutionary actions of the Indonesian elite groups. Nowadays Indonesia has a number of trained linguists and some of these completed their studies in various universities in the United States. Well-acquainted with the modern linguistics they acquired in America, these scholars have begun to apply what they have learned to linguistic problems they find in Indonesia, and they have contributed significantly to more systematic language planning activities. Indonesia with its innumerable regional languages is in fact an ideal place for a linguist in which to carry out his research.

Although Indonesia has had its noted language scholars, it is a fact that hardly any work has been done to try to grasp and to achieve a kind of intellectual understanding of what has been taking place relating to the phenomenon of the adoption and the creation of Indonesian as a common language for the country. The

Indonesian elite groups and scholars have not yet been stimulated to take a detached view of what has been going on in their own society, and their involvement in the promotion and use of the national language has probably hampered the birth of an intellectual awareness of the problems involved in these pragmatic activities.

Since the acceptance of Malay as the language of national unity in 1928, the language has developed and undergone great transformations in form as well as in function, status and political legitimacy. The high status of Indonesian in modern Indonesian society derives mainly from the high status and great authority of the elite groups who make much use of that language in their capacities as administrators, functionaries, etc.

Indonesian has functioned primarily as a rallying tool in the hands of the nationalist leaders, it has become the language of power struggle. It has been used as an important tool to fight Dutch colonialism and cultural domination on the one hand, and to attempt to forge a new nation, to create an Indonesian identity on the other. The Japanese occupation of Indonesia and the subsequent establishment of the Republic were the most crucial factors responsible for the official adoption overnight of Indonesian as the sole medium of official communication in the fields of administration and education in the new Republic. Indonesian is essentially a language imposed from above by the elite groups (who, by the way,

used to speak Dutch among themselves) on the vast majority of the
population, although it must be said that the language is not en-
tirely without root in some sectors of Indonesian society.

As has been said, the Minangkabau school-teachers and writers
contributed significantly to the standardization of Malay and to
giving it some sort of modern literary respectability at the early
stages of Indonesian letters. Those school-teachers and writers un-
derstandably had a limited, conventional view towards the language
they were trying to cultivate. For one thing, many of them were
opposed to the very idea of calling the language Indonesian, a new
name that the nationalist youth had given to the language, because
in their view this would result in the corruption of the language.
The nationalist-inspired writers had little regard for these efforts
to maintain the so-called purity of Malay and were more preoccupied
with the idea of trying to come to terms with the modern world
and with the creation of an indigenous medium of communication which
was capable of being used to express modern ideas. Many promoters
of Indonesian at this stage also came from Sumatra, thus sharing
more or less the same cultural background as the Malay school-tea-
chers and writers, but they tended to look to the West for their
inspiration and to think in Dutch rather than in Malay. They were
impatient with the conservative and traditionalist attitudes of
their countrymen but apparently they also underestimated the great
value attached to their cultural heritage by the population of Java.

It hardly occurred to them that a modernised version of Malay could also be easily employed to promote and perpetuate a particular value and orientation in Indonesian society such as the opposition to analytical thinking generally that they were determined to get rid of.

It was the founders of the Republic and the elite groups gathered at Pegangsaan in Jakarta to draft the Constitution of the newly proclaimed state who decided once and for all that Indonesian, and only Indonesian, should become the official state language. Those leaders who operated from Java made use of Indonesian as their sole medium of communication then, not necessarily because it was the most practical and widely understood language but because of its symbolical significance and potentialities. It is also worthy of note that many influential leaders during and immediately after the revolution also came from Sumatra and they were in total agreement with their Javanese and other colleagues on the use of Indonesian as a tool to extend the rule of the Republic from Java to the outer islands. However, all Indonesian leaders have always made great efforts not to create an impression among the populations of the outer islands that they want to make use of the state to further the cultural domination of the archipelago by the Javanese. As a matter of fact, the use of Indonesian is generally interpreted as a sign that the state does not favour any particular ethnic groups or culture. The national language has become the most accept-

able manifestation of national unity as well as modernity and prog-
ress, and has been an effective means of establishing an Indonesian
identity.

The Javanese as an ethnic group and a distinctive culture,
and the island of Java as the main centre of Indonesian population,
naturally form the main backbone of modern Indonesia. The language
and culture of the island have strong foundations and roots and
are felt to be in no danger whatsoever from the imposition of the
national language on the population of the island. Nevertheless,
the Sundanese do show some mild concern about the plight of their
language, and the culture which is closely associated with it, while
the Javanese are quite happy with the present arrangement in re-
gard to the official relationship between the national language
and the regional languages. Part of the explanation of this state
of affairs is perhaps related to the prevalent Sundanese view that
they have not played as great a role as the Javanese at the top
national level of leadership and decision making in proportion to
their number and importance. As to the influence of the leaders of
Sumatran background, it eventually came to an end, but the Indone-
sian population from Malay-speaking areas throughout Indonesia
draws some vague psychological satisfaction from the fact that mo-
dern Indonesian, no matter how much the national language may have
deviated from its source, did originate from Malay and is officially
acknowledged as having done so. The truth about Indonesian, however,

is that it has been greatly influenced by Sundanese and Javanese and to a lesser extent by other regional languages also. This factor has been instrumental in making the national language the possession of all Indonesians and practically all Indonesian citizens have been proud of their national language.

Indonesian is of course no longer used as a tool to fight Dutch colonialism, but it is still used as a means of strengthening national unity as well as of maintaining the unitary structure of the state which is viewed as the essence of national unity and integrity. The government is naturally suspicious of any attempt to change the official status and function of a regional language because they fear that this might lead to the idea of promoting political regionalism which might endanger national unity. The Indonesian elite groups of course realise that there are modern states in the world which recognize several official state languages within their boundaries such as for instance the Soviet Union, but they believe that this state of affairs is neither necessary nor desirable in Indonesia. This rigid attitude on the part of the authorities has made the task of the promoters of a regional language very hard. As a consequence of educational and administrative policies, legislation can in a developing country change not only the status and functions of a language but also its very survival as a developing and living entity. Because of legislation, the important languages of the island of Java for instance have to be

classified and treated as <u>Bahasa Daerah</u> (regional language), and
usually referred to in the same breath as all the others. However,
the speakers of Sundanese and Javanese comprise more than half of
the Indonesian population with their considerable amount of inhe-
rited written literatures. Common sense tells us that special
attention should be officially and actively given to the preserva-
tion and, if necessary, cultivation of these languages along the
lines of the great traditions of the island of Java. This has not
been adequately done because of the rigid interpretation given to
the idea of having only one official state language for the whole
country. Politically acceptable ways in which the state can offi-
cially assist in promoting the preservation, cultivation and raising
of the official status of Sundanese and Javanese have not been
found or even sought. The prevailing idea at the top level of go-
vernment circles is that to legislate for special treatment for the
languages of Java would result in the diminishing of the psycholo-
gical equilibrium of the power structure of the unitary Republic
or even the spirit of national unity. At the same time a suggestion
has even been made, for instance by the well-known scholar Pro-
fessor Slametmuljana, that the adoption of Indonesian as the language
of national unity is a linguistic concession given by the popu-
lations of Java to the populations of the outer islands in the in-
terest of national unity, and not for economic reasons of one kind
or another. This is said apparently in reference to the fact that

a great amount of Indonesia's national wealth originates from the riches found in the outer islands whose populations do not necessarily speak Malay as their native language. It is interesting that Indonesian, the national language that has been acceptable to all Indonesians of various ethnic backgrounds, can still be used as a language whose acceptance indicates one kind of cultural-political orientation or another. In other words, the way in which the adoption of the national language is viewed has socio-cultural implications.

National unity has never been stronger than it is now, indeed it is far stronger now than it was twenty or so years ago when the central government had to put down regional rebellions of one kind or another. If positive action is to be taken to do something about the plight of regional languages, and especially those of Java, the right time has come for the exploration of possible changes in the relationship between the national language and the regional languages with regard to official legitimacy in the fields of administration and education. The promotion of a regional language should not be arbitrarily regarded as an attempt to promote divisive regional orientation but as a genuine linguistic and cultural exercise. It needs to be fully realised that many speakers of regional languages are concerned about the plight of their cherished mother tongues but feel powerless to do anything significant about them. If their efforts to promote their regional languages resulted

in some kind of official and actual recognition they would be more motivated to carry out the job. Of course it needs to be borne in mind that any effort to promote a particular regional language should not be undertaken in a way which would be detrimental to the promotion and spread of Indonesian, if the state still insists on maintaining only one state language for the whole country.

In the past, the nationalist leaders chose Malay as the language of national unity without much difficulty because in doing so they felt that they were acting in the true nationalistic spirit since they themselves were people who often spoke and thought in Dutch. From their point of view, Malay was their native language in opposition to Dutch. The younger generation looks at Indonesian in a slightly different manner because they are educated not in Dutch but in the regional language and mostly of course in Indonesian. For them the use of the national language is mainly associated with the modern aspects of Indonesian life. It would be a pity from a certain point of view if the regional languages were totally neglected for the sake of modernization and national unity or uniformity. The present official arrangement between Indonesian and the regional languages has in practice resulted in the neglect of the latter without apparent additional benefit to the development and improvement of the former. It reflects a vague and ambivalent attitude towards the two types of medium. Everybody enthusiastically approves of the promotion and development of the national

language and many also favour the advancement of the regional
languages as well, but what sort of development the latter should
undergo is not very clear. The most important aspect of the preser-
vation of the regional languages is probably that which is related
to the maintenance and preservation of the traditional culture and
attitudes to life generally. If champions of the regional languages
also want to develop and modernise them, as many tend to do, their
effort will not achieve its main aim, because then the regional
languages will also be used to communicate modern ideas and thus
necessarily rival the national medium. It is this aspect of re-
gional language development effort which is sometimes opposed by
the champions of Indonesian without necessarily realising it. Perhaps
the best way in which the preservation of the purity of the re-
gional languages should be conducted is to concentrate on the cul-
tivation of the traditional literatures, involving both oral and
written literatures. With regard to the language to be used as a
means of communication in the modern sectors of Indonesian life,
Indonesian seems to be the most efficient and the state would only
be squandering its limited resources if each community were to
undertake the modernization of its own language also.

The use of Indonesian as a vehicle of modern ideas and acade-
mic pursuits has led to the increase of borrowing from Western
languages such as Dutch, English and German, but as the modern

sector of Indonesian life is gradually expanding thanks to education and the media people are getting more used to these loan-words so that the language has been enriched to a considerable extent. In the past, Indonesians who had no knowledge of a Western language had practically no access to the modern world and new ideas but this state of affairs has now changed considerably. Although books and other publications are still few, some basic books on science and general knowledge are readily available from bookshops. Thanks to the use of Indonesian the general public of today is much better informed about modern ideas and the sheer size of the Republic than it was twenty five or so years ago.

Although Indonesian has been used as a medium of instruction and learning quite significantly since Independence, it is still felt by some that the language is not quite adequate to express precise scientific ideas. This might well be true in some highly technical field of inquiry, but on the whole the felt inadequacy of the language is not at the centre of the problems. The direct source of this predicament lies in the fact that the standard of Indonesian education is still low. Closer examination of students' papers at the university for instance generally reveals that apparently linguistic errors that students make tend to be related not to the language as such but to faulty logic or inability to carry out analytical argumentation. This is also the root of the problems encountered by the teacher of a foreign language in making his

students understand completely a passage written for example in good English. His students are not yet sufficiently accustomed to reading a well-written passage in Indonesian or in any other language.

Precise ideas and concepts can generally be expressed in Indonesian but it has to be admitted that the employment of Indonesian to write about a particular topic may have an unfavourable effect on the preciseness of one's argument or exposition. This is because the use of the language in a "relaxed" manner seems now to be the rule rather than the exception. In other words, it is still customary to express imprecise or simplified ideas in the language and the readers are not generally used to analysing what they read or asking questions about it. This may be partly the result of dispensing with the strict rules that the Malay school-teachers used to insist on. There is little doubt that one of the most serious problems faced by the language is related to the attitudes of the language users concerning use and abuse of the national language.

For professional reasons, the Indonesian elite groups still depend to a large extent on foreign languages, not as a means of expression but as a model of precise exposition, if they want to write in a sophisticated style. Exercise in translating from a Western language into Indonesian is very useful for students in this regard. A champion of the national language still needs to have a good (passive) knowledge of a Western language, such for instance as English, in order to have a clear idea of what is meant by a

highly developed language, to which state he is trying to bring

Indonesian. It is fortunate that Indonesian is receptive to foreign

influences not only in vocabulary but also to some extent in morpho-

logy and syntax. In this respect the language is different from

most regional languages which tend to be more conservative.

Although the modernization of Indonesian in the interest of

the advancement of the acquisition of knowledge and the spread of

modern acceptable ideas among the population has been generally

beneficial to the growth and development of the language and accept-

able to the linguistic community, the flooding of Western words

and expressions of all kinds may if unchecked result in the dimi-

nishing of its usefulness for Indonesians who have no knowledge of

the foreign languages. Language planners in Indonesia are of course

aware of the implications of this problem, but there is a strong

tendency among many in the country to use as many foreign words as

possible in their Indonesian even when they are communicating

their simple ideas to the general public. There is little doubt

that many people draw some unjustified satisfaction from the fact

that this kind of style adds to their already high prestige in

society in the eyes of the common people. Worse than this perhaps,

however, is the introduction and use of many high-sounding words

of Sanskrit or Kawi origin to express various ideas and concepts

which are generally unintelligible to people who do not share the

religious or cultural orientation of users of Indonesian of this

type, and who tend to be embarrassed when called upon to use some
for one reason or another. The Islamic elite also have the tendency
to employ words of Arabic origin to express modern ideas not strict-
ly connected with religion, and this is naturally unintelligible
to those who have no knowledge of Arabic. The race to introduce
new words and expressions also reflects the division of Indonesian
society along the lines of religious, political, and ethnic affi-
liations and orientations. Indonesian is still in a state of great
flexibility and receptive to all sorts of innovations and experi-
mentations. The younger generation who have received their higher
education in the national language have generally had little opportu-
nity to realise the function of language in the formation of
intellectual make-up and orientation. They have had little opportu-
nity to undergo the training of using language to express compli-
cated ideas and nuances in a logical manner which is customary
in the academic circles. Many have come to take the view that
language is a mere instrument to be used to express ideas but tend
to forget that the way in which the instrument is used may result
in the vagueness of the ideas expressed. As far as the study of
mathematics and natural sciences is concerned, the use of Indone-
sian has not had negative results but in the pursuit of the huma-
nities and the social sciences it is a different matter. The use
of Indonesian in higher education has created an impression among
many graduates in the social sciences generally that they have

participated fully in the academic world because they are already able to make some generalizations regarding various issues in their fields of study in Indonesian which is acceptable in national academic circles.

I do not for a moment suggest that Indonesian should not be used as the medium of communication in Indonesian higher education. On the contrary, I would suggest that it should be used more intensively; but it should also be used more carefully, otherwise the standard of academic achievement of many Indonesian graduates will remain low and this in turn will diminish confidence in the adequacy of the national language as a vehicle of learning.

The use of Indonesian as a medium of scholarship and academic pursuit is of course important but certainly not the most important thing as far as its functions are concerned. The language has generally served quite satisfactorily as a common language for inter-ethnic communication in the Republic, not just as a mere *lingua franca* but as a full-fledged modern language. Modern Indonesian has come into being as a result of conscious and unconscious planning activities but more significantly as a result of intensive contact among Indonesians who come from different ethnic backgrounds. Speakers of Indonesian naturally contribute some features of their mother tongues to the national language but on the whole they realise that in order to be easily understood by their listeners they must make some adjustment in their speech, often trying to meet their

interlocutors half-way, using forms and words which are familiar generally. In this way modern Indonesian has come to take a new shape, fairly distinctive from the language of thirty or so years ago.

Nowadays the speech of educated Indonesians in the capital city of Jakarta and other big towns has generally become the accepted model of the language which people in the provinces try to imitate. Whether this tendency will continue forever, we cannot be certain. What the future form of "standard" colloquial Indonesian will be like, we are not in a position to predict. However, we can of course speculate. Indonesia is beginning to increase the installation of its television networks. Judging from the great influence of the mass media generally and television particularly on the behaviour of population, we can prophesy that more and more Indonesians living in the provinces will imitate the speech of the educated speakers in the capital but that they will not be very successful in doing so. As regards the state and condition of the regional languages, we can be optimistic that they will not be much worse than they are at present. Regional languages will continue to be used by their respective speakers in the homes as well as under certain circumstances. Indonesian has never been intended to replace regional languages but only to add to them.

APPENDIX 1. A list of Japanese words found in Indonesian during the period of the Japanese occupation.

Romaji	Katakana	Meaning
Arimasen	アリマセン	not available
Arigato	アリガト	thank you
Anata	アナタ	you
Ano	アノ	that
Ame	アメ	rain
Ashita	アシタ	tomorrow
Akai	アカイ	red
Butai	ブタイ	battalion
Benzo	ベンジョ	latrine
Bagero	バケロ	a swear word
Baka	バカ	stupid
Bunshucho	ブンシュチョ	district officer
Bushido	ブッド	a Japanese virtue
Banzai	バンザイ	Japanese battle cry
Chugakko	チュガッコ	secondary school
Chuo Sangi In		peoples' representatives
Doreba	ドレバ	driver
Dai Toa	ダイトーア	Greater East Asia
Dokuritsu	ドクリツ	Independence
Dai Toa Senso	ダイトーアセンソ	the Pacific War
Dai Nippon	ダイニッポン	Greater Japan
Dai Gaku	ダイガク	university
Dai Dancho	ダイダンチョ	commander
Donata	ドナタ	who
Fusimban	フシンバン	duty vigil
Fujinkai	フジンカイ	women association
Gakko	ガッコ	school
Ginko	ギンコ	Bank
Gunseikan	グンセイカン	Military Governor General

Gunseikanbu	グンセイカンブ	the Military Government
Gunseirei	グンセイレイ	Regulations
Genki desu	ゲンキ デス	quite well
Harakiri	ハラキリ	suicide
Heitaisan	ヘイタイ サン	Mr. Soldier
Itadakimasu	イタダキマス	bon appetit
Ichi	イチ	one
Ima	イマ	now
Inu	イヌ	dog
Ikura	イクラ	how much
Ijo	イッジョ	alarm
Ichiban	イチバン	number one, first class
Jujitsu	ジュ ジツ	jujitsu
Judo	ジュ ド	judo
Jotto	ジョット	excellent
Kakiyasu	カキヤス	jog
Kumiai	クミ アイ	union, cooperative movement
Kumicho	クミ チョ	head of Tonary Gumi
Kempeitai	ケンペイタイ	secret police
Konnichiwa	コンニチワ	good day
Konbanwa	コンバンワ	good evening
Kane	カネ	money
Keibodan	ケイ ボ ダン	Civil Defence
Kore	コレ	this
Kodomo	コ ド モ	children
Kohibito	コ ヒ ビト	lover
Mareigo	マ レイ ゴ	Malay
Mashi mashi	マシ マシ	hallo(in telephone conversation)
Neko	ネコ	cat
Naore	ナヲレ	back to position
Nanda kura	ナンダ クラ	damn you!

Otosan	オトウサン	father
Oranda	オランダ	the Dutch
Oyasumi nasai	オヤスミナサイ	good night
Romusha	ロムシャ	(forced) labour
Sumubu	スムブ	Religious Affairs
Shu chokan	シュチョカン	Governor
Soruja	ソルジャ	soldier
Saiko Sikikan	サイコ シキカン	Commander-in-chief
Sanyo	サンヨ	advisor
Sendenbu	センデンブ	propaganda office
Seinendan	セイネンダン	youth movement
Sayonara	サヨナラ	good bye
Toban	トバン	cook, servant
Taisho	タンショ	gymnastics
Tenko	テンコ	roll call
Taicho	タンチョ	chief
Tekidanto	テキダント	mortar (weapon)
Takeyari	タケヤリ	spear
Tokubetsu	トクベツ	special
Taisha	タイシャ	Colonel
Tonari Gumi	トナリ グミ	Neighbourhood Unit
Uchi	ウチ	house
Uta	ウタ	song
Wakarimasu	ワカリマス	understand
Ware ware	ワレワレ	we

A list of examples of words of Western origin and how they are spelt in Indonesian.

Anemer	aannemer		contractor
Abstrak	abstrakt		abstract
agitasi			agitation
abnormal			abnormal
afsender	afzender		sender
bursa	beurs		Stock Exchange
bis	bus		bus
dikte			dictation
estafet	estaffette		relay race
efektif	efektiv	efektip	effective
fakta			fact
fabrik	pabrik		factory
geologi			geology
grasi	gratie		reprieve
harmoni			harmony
historis			historical
inkaso	incasso		collection
justisi	yustisi		judicature
kategori			category
karbon	carbon		carbon
legenda	legende		legend
makelar	makelaar		broker
naif			naive
omzet	omset		turnover
projek	projekt		project
risiko	resiko	risico	risk
struktur			structure
traktat	traktaat		treaty
telefon	telepon	tilpon	telephone

tekor	tekort	shortage
truf	troef	trump-card
urbanisasi		urbanization
urgensi		unrgency
universitas		university
universil		universal
vak		subject
waskom		wash-basin
wortel		carrot
zalf		ointment
zending		(Christian) mission

APPENDIX 3 Examples of Sukarno's use of Indonesian "loaded phrases".

1. terbang menempuh angkasa yang mendung dan taufan dan geledek
2. masih terbang di angkasa
3. mengalami pahit getirnya
4. air-bah yang mengalir menggelombang
5. mengalir menggelombang
6. didurhakai oleh Belanda
7. melalui api-api dahananya pertempuran
8. bom meledak, rumah terbakar, darah mengalir
9. menggunakan bom dan meriam
10. makin meluas, makin menghebat, makin menyala-nyala
11. bergemalah suara segala patriot
12. bernaunglah kembali hampir seluruh wilayah
13. kata Pembangunan digema-gemakan
14. bangunlah, bangunlah lagi
15. seruan yang digunturkan di mana-mana
16. bangunlah lagi untuk membangun
17. membangun di dalam negeri
18. membangun di luar negeri
19. imperialisme yang bercakrawarti ratusan tahun

20. Irian Barat masih meringkuk

21. masih jenggeleok-jenggelok sia-sisa ekonomi kolonial

22. masih adanya sisa-sisa dan reruntuh-reruntuh kolonialisme

23. menyapu bersih sistem politik ekonomi yang bersimaharajalela

24. harus membanting tulang

25. harus menarik urat

26. harus memeras keringat habis-habisan

27. berjoang, membangun, berjoang

28. kesulitan besar mengadang di tengah jalan

29. membangun full time dan full force

30. menjeritlah jiwa kita

31. membangun Republik Indonesia

32. rakyat Priangan cinta kemerdekaan

33. saya ingin dikubur di pangkuan bumi Parahiangan

34. cinta Proklamasi

35. cinta Sang Merah Putih, cinta Republik

36. berjajal-jajallah ratusan ribu manusia

37. bergegar udara dengan pekik Merdeka

38. mengadakan terror dan pengacauan

39. menjadi satu neraka jahanam

40. cinta kepada Republik

41. kolonialismepun pasti akan lenyap-bersih

42. harus mematahkan reruntuh-reruntuh kolonialisme

43. mematahkan tulang-punggung kolonialisme

44. hantam dia dengan palu godam

45. menghantam kolonialisme

46. menentang imperialisme

47. menentang imperialisme

48. mempergunakan tenaga kolossaal

49. menggembleng satu bangsa

50. mempergunakan tempaannya palu godam

51. menumpahkan darah

52. main mata dengan kegagalan
53. hendak kita tumbangkah

54. main mata dengan bencana dan malapetaka
55. berdiri di padang perjuangan
56. menghantam ....meremuk-redamkan imperialisme
57. kita sapu bersih
58. jangan merampok, menggedor, membakar, membunuh
59. hantam mereka dengan palu godam
60. hantam mereka dengan sekeras-kerasnya
61. bergeger-gegap-gempitalah
62. pembangunan memanggil-manggil
63. membangun untuk Negara
64. dengan Negara kita membangun
65. memfi'ilkan pembangunan
66. menghintai di cakrawala
67. memberantakkan tujuan
68. memainkan sentimen kepartaian
69. terpecah-belah terobek-robek dadanya
70. negara-negara bagian ambyuk ke dalam Negara kesatuan
71. hangus terbakar dalam api saling mendengki
72. yang terus makan, terus menggrotes, terus membaji
73. meledak sedahsyat-dahsyatnya
74. kehilangan darah
75. aku rela meninggalkan Istana Merdeka ini
76. orang yang tenggelam dalam ektremiteit
77. melanjutkan Revolusi Nasional
78. Irian Barat masih merintih-rintih
79. menghantam partai orang lain
80. menghantam remuk-redamkan imperialisme
81. masih bercokol di Irian Barat
82. melebur feodalisme hancur luluh
83. berjuang mati-matian

84. kita memenuhi panggilan
85. menghantam remuk-redamkan imperialisme
86. memeras keringat
87. kita hantam hancur lebur
88. perjoangan menyapu bersih
89. kita gegap-gempitakan
90. Panca Darma kulihat melambai-lambai
91. menyegarkan jiwa pahlawan
92. menentang sisa-sia kolonialisme
93. membanting tulang
94. menyapu bersih
95. melompat ke kanan dan melompat ke kiri
96. hatiku merasa sedih
97. berkembang biak dan berkembang biak
98. engkaulah menjadi hakim
99. engkaulah menjadi hakim
100. menjerat leher kita sendiri
101. kita telanjangi bulat-bulat
102. samudera masih bergolak-golak dan mendidih
103. dilahirkan di dalam api
104. membakar habis
105. makin menggatutkaca "otot kawat balung wesi"
106. menyala-nyala berkobar-kobar
107. menaik angkasa, menginjak geledek
108. mengarungi samudera
109. membanting tulang
110. menggunjingkan bawana

A BRIEF SURVEY OF LINGUISTIC STUDIES

1. Towards Structuralism

"Language", wrote von Humboldt, "wells from a depth of human existence which prohibits regarding it generally as a labour and as a creation of peoples. It possesses an evident spontaneity — even if in its inherent nature it is simultaneously inexplicable. Considered from this approach, it is no product born of activity..., but an involuntary emanation of the intellect; hence it is not a labour of nations, but rather a gift fallen to them as a result of their innate destiny." [1] "La production du langage répond à un besoin intérieur de l'humanité. Bien loin de se réduire à un simple besoin extérieur destiné à la communication sociale, il est immanent à la nature humaine, il est la condition indispensable pour qu'elle déploie les forces spirituelles qui l'habitent et pour qu'elle accède à une vision du monde....." [2]

The study of language which flourished in the first half of the twentieth century did not follow in the footsteps of von Humboldt nor was it modelled on the pattern set up by the nineteenth century historical linguists. Besides linguists everyone is concerned with language and may think they know a lot about it. Everyone involved in one kind of study or another is interested in problems of language. As Tatiana-Cazacu put it: "Tous s'intéressent: spécialistes et profanes, philosophes et physiologues, neurologues, laryngologues ou logopèdes, psychologues et linguistes, physiciens, ingénieurs des télécommunications, mathématiciens, cybernéticiens, acteurs et régisseurs, orateurs et logiciens, pédagogues et ethnographes. " [3]

As far as the professional linguists are concerned, the study of language had been mainly undertaken along the line usually referred to as the structural approach. The coming and establishment of what has been called structural linguistics began with the appearance of Brøndal's article under the title of "Linguistique structurale" in Acta Linguistica in 1939.[4] However, the principle of structure as object of study had been agreed upon before 1930 and that was when Jakobson, Trubetzkoj, and Karcevskij drew up a phonological programme which was developed and applied within the famous Prague Circle. The scholars associated with the Circle talk about "une méthode propre à permettre de découvrir les lois de structure des systèmes linguistiques......"[5] They propose to characterize "le système phonologique....en spécifiant obligatoirement les relations existant entre lesdits phonèmes, c'est-à-dire en traçant le schéma de structure de la langue considérée."[6]

Structural linguistics has been described as an effort to establish simple patterns of language by reducing the number of entities in each pattern to the minimum by observing the so-called principle of relevance.[7] Put succinctly, a "structural description is a description of grammar in terms of grammar,"[8] in other words, those supposedly irrelevant extra-linguistic factors should be excluded. On the whole, generalizations made about linguistic phenomena are those derived from and based upon observations and inferences. There are a number of schools of structural linguistics, but all of them tend to agree that they all deal with "l'étude des langues en tant que

systèmes donnés." [9]

In the twentieth century the study of language has been con-
ducted in a rigorously scientific approach by observing the so-called
three Canons of science, viz. consistency, exhaustiveness, and simpli-
city. If science is defined as the complete and consistent descrip-
tion of the facts of experience in the simplest possible terms, the
linguist then deals with the linguistic phenomena as the human
experience. However, modern linguists not only insist on rigour;
most importantly they insist on "d'un changement d'attitude envers
l'objet, qui se définirait pour un effort le formaliser." [10] This
is the key concept in structural linguistics, formaliser, they
want to regard language as form , an autonomous universe having
structures of its own. The modern emphasis is that it insists on
studying language at its certain state at a particular period of
time. "Modern linguists are insisting on the priority of synchronic
analysis and in rejecting introspection in its entirety. This apart,
methods and approaches differ widely from one school to another." [11]

2. Ferdinand de Saussure

The great scholar who was a pioneer at this structural approach
in the study of language was Ferdinand de Saussure, although he never
employed the word structure as such. However, he did emphasize that
language was form and not substance. He insisted that linguists stu-
dy "la langue envisagée en elle-même et pour elle-même." [1] He saw
language in terms of specific sign systems and said that "la tâche
du linguiste est de définir ce qui fait de la langue un système spé-

cial dans l'ensemble des faits sémiologiques." [2] According to de

Saussure, the linguist should regard language as a semiological

system par excellence. "Pour nous le problème linguistique est avant

tout sémiologique." [3]

It is also de Saussure who initiated in proposing that a linguist

should give priority to the static aspect of linguistic phenomena

which he called the synchronic aspect. As to the study of "tout .ce

qui a trait aux évolutions", he said, it had to be distinguished

from the synchronic study and to be called the diachronic study

of language. [4]

The synchronic facts of linguistic phenomena "présentent une

certaine regularité, mais ils n'ont aucun caractère impératif."

That is why generalizations can be made out of them, generaliza-

tions which are, however, valid only in a linguistic universe.

In studying the synchronic facts we are dealing with signs, linguis-

tic signs whose entities do not exist but in the combination bet-

ween what Saussure calls the "signifiant" and the "signifié", the

verbal sign and the concept. [5] A linguistic sign is described as

an item possessing a double face and it is constituted of a concept

and a sound image. So that one does not think that there is a rela-

tionship between a thing and its name, Saussure emphasized that

" le signe linguistique unit non une chose et un nom, mais un concept

et une image .acoustique." [6] These linguistic signs are not an

abstraction, but real things which have their seat in the brain

and can be represented in writing or otherwise in an exhaustive

way. [7] Linguistic signs are concrete entities. [8]

De Saussure gave the definition of the _signifiant_ as "une tranche de sonorité qui est, a l'exclusion de ce qui précède et de ce qui suit dans la chaîne parlée." [9] A linguistic sign has two main characteristics, that is that it is arbitrary[10] and its signifiant is linear.[11] "Le lien unissant le signifiant au signifié est arbitraire...."[12] In other words, there is no natural reason why for instance a tree is called a tree, "le signe linguistique est immotivé....."[13]

The relation between thought and language, between ideas and their significations have led both linguists as well as non-linguists to a variety of conclusions. Von Humboldt reminds us that the word is not the thing and that our understanding of nature is possible only through the gate of language. Language puts on us so to speak spectacles through which we perceive and understand nature. Just as the particular sound mediates between the object and the man, so the whole language mediates between him and the nature that works upon him from within and without.[14] "For", as Cassirer puts it, "What language designates is neither exclusively subjective nor exclusively objective, it effects a mediation." [15] This way of regarding this problem, with various modifications, is shared by many linguists of different persuasions but also rejected by others. Emile Benveniste more or less agrees with Cassirer when he writes that "la forme de la pensée est configurée par la structure de la langue." [16] With regard to Humboldt's idea, although it looks modern, one has to bear in mind that modern linguists differ from him in a fundamental way.

" Von Humboldt reste fidèle à l'idée traditionelle selon laquelle la langue est ....un miroir de la pensée" [17] an idea which many professional linguists would not accept.

Ferdinad de Saussure asserts that the fact that we have clear ideas at all is made possible only because we possess language. "Il n'y a pas d'idées préétablies, et rien n'est distinct avant l'apparition de la langue." [18] "Prise en elle-même, la pensée est comme une nébuleuse où rien n'est nécessairement délimité." [19] In language we simply cannot isolate sound from thought, nor thought from sound.[20] The characteristic role played by language in relation to thought is to mediate between the two, that is to say between sound and thought.[21]

Not all linguists accept the conclusion that we do not have pre-established ideas. It has been argued that we must have some sort of ideas about the thing to which we later provide with a name. As Buysens put it: "...l'enfant ne peut apprendre le mot arbre qu'après avoir acquis la notion de l'arbre."[22]

An extreme position taken by linguists in regard to the relathinship between language and thought assumes that the very Weltanschauung that we have is determined by the structure of our language. The so-called Sapir-Whorf hypothesis maintains that our language itslef is the "shaper of ideas." [23] The mentality of the so-called primitive people is markedly different from that of the civilized people and this difference can be explained in terms of linguistics differences. According to Whorf, we should be able

"to analyse some, if not all, of the differences, real or assumed,
between the mentality of the so-called primitive peoples and modern
civilized man, by analysing various languages."[23] "We dissect
nature along lines laid down by our native language. The categories
and types that we isolate from the world of phenomena we do not
find there because they stare every observer in the face; on the
contrary, the world is presented in a kaleidoscopic flux of impressions
which has to be organized by our minds —— and this means largely
by the linguistic systems in our minds."[24]

Although very few would agree with Whorf, his thesis remains
an interesting topic for serious discussions among some linguists.
According to Lévi-Strauss, Whorf came to his conclusion on account
of the fact that he tried to correlate the finding of a sophistica-
ted linguistic analysis with a "crude, superficial, empirical view
of the culture itself."[25]

What is meant by language which is the object of linguistic
study is something on which linguists also differ. Ferdinand de
Saussure makes a distinction between language and speech, between
la langue and la parole. According to him, what concerns the
linguist is language, la langue and not speech, la parole or le
langage , because speech is heterogeneous and impossible to be
exhaustively classified. However, many other linguists find it
difficult to determine the value of this distinction. In fact, aome
argue that it is wrong to oppose the one to the other. As Tatiana
Slama-Cazacu put it: "Langage et langue ne sont que deux aspects

différents—— mais nullement opposés—— du même phénomène complexe, celui de la communication." [26]

~~De~~ Saussure's idea of distinguishing between substance and form, of which only the latter should be the linguist's concern, is developed and carried further by a later linguist, Louis Hjelmslev. He proposes to study language in a purely formal way. Structure for him is not the observable relations of a particular language, but a "purely formal relational fact." [27] He undertakes the study of language by using a "....structural approach, considered merely as a pattern of mutual relation....."[28] According to him, language should be "studied and conceived as a mere form, as a pattern independently of usage......"[29] As to linguistic units, they are "not sounds, or written character, or meanings", but "the relata which these sounds or written characters, and meanings represent." The main thing is "....their mutual relations within the chain of speech...." [30] Hjelmslev is different from many other followers of Saussure who conceive la langue as a form within the substance and not independent of it. He calls his purely structural type of linguistic research Glossematics. [31] He develops his method along this line more fully in his famous book which, in English translation, is entitled "Prologomena to a Theory of Language" in which he criticizes attempts that have been made to find universal linguistic categories inductively, i.e. by making generalizations from observed facts in actual languages. "The concept thus obtained", he says, " are not general and therefore not generalizable beyond

a single language in an individual stage." [32] Perhaps that is the
main reason why so many European linguists were sceptical about
inductive approach and preferred a kind of theretical deductive
methodology. They tend to go to the underlying factor which lies
behind the linguistic phenomena by using a consciously constructed
linguistic theory and not by relying on the behaviouristic approach.
They keep in mind that language forms a set of relation, that "Alle
Elemente eines Sprachbildes stehen in einem Netz von Relationen..." [33]

André Martinet, the French linguist, although not strictly a
follower of Saussure, is still close in his view to the pioneer.
He uses an approach in his methodology by putting as much emphasis
on the <u>function</u> of linguistic units as on the structure which they
constitute. [34] His method, because of its equal emphasis on both
function and structure at the levels of phonology, morphology as
well as syntax has been called the functional approach or functional
linguistics. Functional linguistics can perhaps be regarded as the
significant heir in international linguistics thought to the theo-
ries of the Prague Circle. Martinet defines language as "an instru-
ment of communication in virtue of which human experience is analysed
differently in each community into units, the <u>monèmes</u>, each endowed
with a semantic content and a phonic expression. [35] In phonology
Martinet draws a distinction between what he calls primary articu-
lation and secondary articulation which we do not need to go into
here.

3. <u>The Study of Language in England</u>

In England we find modern linguistic trends which originated

which originated from the writings of the late professor J.R. Firth

of the School of Oriental and African Studies. His investigation

is particularly significant in regard to the study of the problems

of meaning. He proposed "to split up meaning or function into a

series of component functions. Each function will be defined as the

use of some language form or element in relation to some content."

Meaning is "....a complex of contextual relations...." [1] Context

of situation is defined as "patterned process conceived as a complete

activity with internal relations between its various factors." [2] Mea-

ning can be regarded as "a property of mutually relevant people,

things, events in the situations....." [3] We use language in order to

be in control of things and people, ourselves included, and by doing

so we are better able to adjust ourselves to our surroundings and

situations. [4]

One of Firth's pupils, M.A.K. Halliday, develops and modifies

his teacher's theoretical approach but basically retains its essen-

tials, particularly the view in respect of language as patterned pro-

cess. Halliday has contributed to the creation of a trend known as

"Neo-Firthian" linguistics. A linguistic theory developed by Halli-

day has also been called "Systemic Linguistics" and according to

one of Halliday's followers, Margaret Berry, "perhaps the most impor-

tant distinguishing feature of systemic linguistics is the very high

priority it gives to the sociological aspects of language." [5]

Halliday proposes to account for language, that is how language

works, by setting up four basic theoretical categories and three

scales of abstraction. The four basic theoretical categories are
Unit , Structure , Class, and System and the three scales consist
of RankScale, Scale of Delicacy, and Scale of Exponence.[6] Language
events should be accounted for both at the level of substance as
well as at the level of form. Noise that we make in producing speech
is substance while"form is the organization of the substance into
meaningful form." [7] "Grammar is that level of linguistic form at
which operates closed systems." [8] "Any part of linguistics which
is not concerned with the operation of closed system belongs to the
level of lexis." [9] In practice pronouns, conjunctions etc. belong
to closed systems. One of the characteristics of the closed system
is that the number of its terms is limited.

Now let us consider Unit as one of the four basic theoretical
categories as an illustration of Halliday's theory. Unit is defined
as the category set up to account for the stretches of language
that carries patterns.[10] Every language has Units but we do not
know how many descriptive Units each language has. In Bahasa Indo-
nesia a sentence is stretches of language that certainly carry
patterns, and so it is an example of the theoretical category Unit,
it is an Exponent of it.

Now let us consider an English phrase, or as Halliday usually
calls it Group, for instance a nominal group the sun . This is a
form or a formal item and it is also an Exponent of Unit but also
and Exponent of form. Out of innumerable occurrences of the sun we
have only one formal item abstracted from them. "The ultimate expo-
nent in form is the formal item."[11]

The second basic theoretical category set up is the Structure. "Structure is an arrangement of elements ordered in places." [12]

structure is always a structure of a given unit. Applied to English, the stretches of language such as <u>Peter is ill</u> consists of three elements, the element S, subject, the element P, predicator, and the element C, complement. The Structure of these stretches (an Exponent of a Unit) is the arrangement of the elements S, P, and C in certain places. The clause <u>Peter is ill</u> as a descriptive unit (when applied to a particular language, the category becomes a descriptive category, not a theoretical one) has the Structure S P C and the Structure of the clause <u>Is Peter ill?</u> is P S C. The nominal groups <u>the sun</u> and <u>the heir apparent</u> have the Structures of M H and M H Q respectively (M=modifier, H= head, and Q=qualifier). Items that can operate in the same place in Structure belong to the same Class, the third basic theoretical category. Items such as <u>She</u>, <u>My brother</u>, <u>The Treasurer</u>, etc. can operate at the element S in the clause Structure S P C, so they all belong to the same Class of group called nominal group. Class is the grouping of items according to their likeness of operation in the Unit next above on the Rank Scale. A Class is always a class of (members) of a given Unit. In Bahasa Indonesia or English we have three Classes of group, the nominal group, the verbal group, and the adverbial group.

In descriptive category, Bahasa Indonesia has five (descriptive) Units arranged on the Rank Scale from the biggest to the smallest as given below:

Sentence	)	
Clause	)	
Group	)	Rank Scale
Word	)	
Morpheme	)	

Halliday's theoretical categories, being abstraction in the highest degree, is applicable to any human language. Every language has Units and each Unit consists of the member of the Unit next below on the Rank Scale. Thus every sentence consists of a clause or clauses, every clause consists of a group or groups and so on. The English sentence Stop (consists of the clause stop and it also consists of the group stop, which in turn also consists of the word stop and the word stop consists of the free morpheme stop.

As has been said, Halliday gives a high priority to the consideration of the sociological aspects of language in his linguistic studies but he does not see anything new in the new discipline of "socio-linguistics". As he put it: "We tend nowadays to refer to socio-linguistics as if this was something very different from the study of language as practised in linguistics tout court; but actually new 'socio-linguistics' is but old 'linguistics' writ large, and the linguist's interests have always extended to language as social behaviour.

Professor Halliday has also been interested in the problems involved in language teaching and has contributed significantly to their theoretical solution.

4. Edward Sapir and Leonard Bloomfield

In the United States, two names of linguistic scholars, Edward Sapir and Leonard Bloomfield, which dominated linguistic studies in the first half of the twentieth century.

In his book Language Sapir insists from the start on "the unconscious and unrationalized nature of linguistic structure" [1] and underlies the "purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions, and desires by means of a system of voluntary produced symbols," [2] that is language. There are "properly speaking, no organs of speech; there are only organs that are incidentally useful in the production of speech sounds." [3] Sapir draws our attention to the fact that, unlike walking or eating for instance, "speech is a non-instinctive, acquired cultural function." [4] Of course speech is made up of vocal sounds, but Sapir reminds us that they are not essential. The essential fact about language lies rather in the "classification", in the formal patterning, and in the relating of concepts." [5] Language has both form and function which are, according to Sapir, relatively independent of each other." [6] Linguistic form should be studied as "types of patterning, apart from the associated functions." [7] Language "consists of a peculiar symbolic relation....between all possible elements of consciousness on the one hand certain selected elements localized in the auditory, motor, and other cerebral and nervous tracts on the other."[8]

Sapir started his career as an anthropologist and he had profound knowledge of several American Indian languages. His description of Takelma gave a penetrating insight into the question of a morpho-

logical classification of languages. His classification has been regarded as the best morphological classification, "la classification la plus elaborée qui ait été proposée jusqu'ici..."[9]

As both anthropologist and linguist of the first order, Sapir is better able to see and describe language as "primarily a cultural product and must be understood as such."[10] He was the first to claim that "linguistics is of strategic importance for the methodology of social science."[11] As a social scientist, Sapir, unlike some other scholars that came after him, never allowed himself to analyse social phenomena without regards to human values. He treated linguistic problems in a scientific manner, of course, but in such a way "qui permettrait d'analyser l'homme comme sujet"[12] as Michel Foucault would have said. As a linguistic scientist he naturally employs technical terms in talking about language and makes analyses on phonology, morphology as well as syntax but his presentation reveals the humanistic aspect of the author's thought. Sapir regards language as "strictly socialized a type of human behaviour and yet betrays in its outlines and tendencies such regularities as only the natural scientist is in habit of formulating...."[13]

Leonard Bloomfield, who wrote his major book also called Language, which now has become a classic, brought about a sharp turn in the development of linguistic studies, particularly in the United States, in the first half of the twentieth century. This great book which has been described as "...die Bibel der Amerikanischen Deskriptivisten"[14] sticks uncompromisingly to the precept

of the principles of natural science and describes language in the most objective manner. Bloomfield insists on the irrelevance of the theoretical consideration regarding the nature of the linguistic science itself in its attempt to grapple with linguistic phenomena. In fact, he is of the opinion that even historical knowledge about the background of a certain language to be described should be regarded as irrelevant.[15] He claims that "when one wants to make generalizations about language the only useful generalization is inductive generalization.[16] As a behaviourist Bloomfield naturally rejects any approach which is in any way susceptible to being regarded as mentalistic and he wants to look into the problems of language only in terms of stimulus and response and the like. He says that what some people call "mental images, feelings and the like are merely popular terms for various bodily movements."[17]

In describing language, Bloomfield starts from the smallest entity, a "minimum unit of distinctive sound feature, a phoneme."[18] The combination of phonemes in a certain manner results in a morpheme. A morpheme is defined as a "linguistic form which bears no partial phonetic semantic resemblance to any other form."[19] Above the morpheme, Bloomfield discusses bigger linguistic forms such as phrases, compounds, simple sentences, etc. not in the traditional way but strictly on the basis of the modern immediate constituent analysis.

As to the problems of meaning, Bloomfield admits that it is the weak point in the scientific linguistic study of his time.[20]

However, he does talk about meaning which he regards as important also. In fact, he asserts that "phonology involves the consideration of meaning."[21] Nevertheless, he insists that the meaning of speech-form could not be scientifically defined until all branches of science were close to perfection. The definition of meaning that he gives in Language is strictly behaviouristic or mechanistic and is meant only as a working definition. Meaning in this definition is "the situation in which the speaker utters it (the speech-form) and the response which it calls forth in the hearer."[22] In a paper called Linguistic Aspect of Science (1939) he reiterates the almost impossible task of explaining meaning in a scientific way. "The term meaning which is used by all linguists is necessarily inclusive since it embraces all aspects of semiosis that may be distinguished by a philosophical or logical analysis:....relation, on various levels, of speech-forms to other speech-forms, relation of speech-form to non-verbal situation...."[23]

One of the most rigorously scientific of Bloomfield's pupils, Z.S. Harris, developes and refines the methodology that the master has established. As the central place for Harris's structural approach is the concept of distribution of linguistic forms so that sometimes his linguistics has been labelled as distributional linguistics. He speaks of distribution of elements as "the totals of all environments in which it occurs, i. e. the sum of all the (different) positions (or occurences) of an element relative to the occurrence of other elements."[24] Harris is at his best in

dealing with phonological description and less so in morphology
and rather weak in syntax. Concerning the problem of meaning, he
asserts that at present time we have no method at our disposal
to measure social situations accurately through which meaning could
be accounted for in a satisfactory manner.[25]

Another important behaviourist linguist in America is Kenneth
Pike, a brilliant phonologist, who insists that language should be
studied as "behaviour, i.e. a phase of human activity which must
not be treated in essence as structurally divorced from the structure
of non-verbal human activity." [26] He assumes that "verbal and non-
verbal activity is a unified whole, and theory and methodology
should be organized or created to treat it as such."[27] It is this
scholar who initially discusses at length the distinction between
what he calls the etic and the emic , two terms borrowed from the
endings of phonetics and phonemics, and apply them not only to
lunguistics but also to other social or behavioural phenomena.

There are a good number of linguists who apply Bloomfieldian
methodology in describing languages not only in the United States
but also in other countries as well. Practically all Indonesian
linguists used to subscribe to this method and apply it in their
works of describing Indonesian languages.

Although this method is scientifically sound, since the early
fifties it has been criticized and even rejected by some on the
ground that it, among other things, does not satisfactorily deal
with the urgent problems of meaning. Some even assert that this

professedly scientific and mechanistic study lacks empirical content. As the Dutch scholar Botha has put it : "...no linguist considering classification as a fundamental aim of linguistics has yet provided an acceptable methodological basis for testing the claims resulting from this type of classification. These classifications therefore lack empirical import or empirical content." [28] And although Bloomfield does include meaning in his dealing with linguistic phenomena, " a general characteristic of the methodology of descriptive linguistics ....is the effort to analyse linguistic structure without reference to meaning."[29] It is not surprising that such an eminent scholar as J.R. Firth comments that "certain leading linguists especially in America find it possible to exclude the study of what they call _meaning_ from scientific linguistics, but only by deliberately excluding anything, in the nature of mind, thought, idea, concept." [30] In the Soviet Union this type of structural linguistics has been pronounced as a form of anti-humanism, as "Linguistik im luftleeren Raum." [31]

5. Opposition to Inductive Approach

There is no doubt that the most important scholar whose criticism of Bloomfieldian linguistics (which he terms taxonomic linguistics), the most revolutionary and cogent one is Noam Chomsky, the pioneer in Transformational Generative Grammar. He creates a totally new type of linguistics and uses an entirely different and new approach, and in fact deals with a different aspect of language. While Bloomfield excludes everything which he

regards as mentalistic from his approach, Chomsky insists that linguistic theory should be mentalistic, "since it is concerned with discovering a mental reality underlying actual behaviour."[1] For him, grammar which he calls transformational generative grammar is a theory, and more specifically a deductive theory, not an inductive one. In analysing syntax he rejects the model used by most structuralists which he calls the taxonomic model and introduces the transformational model which is in certain respects closer to the traditional grammar. "The fundamental aim in the linguistic analysis of a language L is to separate the grammatical sequences which are sentences of L from the ungrammatical sequences which are not sentences of L and to study the structure of the grammatical sequences. The grammar of L will thus be a device that generates all the grammatical sequences of L and none of the ungrammatical ones."[2] Chomsky assumes that the fundamental aspect of our linguistic behaviour can be explained by finding out grammatical structure of the language we use and he vigorously repudiates the behaviouristic approach and all its implications. He sees language as the product of the mind and it is innate in the sense that we have la faculté du langage and that is exactly with this faculty of language that he is dealing with.

Chomsky makes a distinction between our competence and performance in regard to our native language and this distinction is to some extent at least paralell to the distinction between la langue and la parole but looked at from a different point of view. Accor-

ding to Chomsky, linguistics should deal with our linguistic competence and not with our linguistic performance. Every native speaker of a language is supposed to have this linguistic competence in regard to his language. " A grammar of a particular language is a theory about the intrinsic competence or tacit knowledge of the native speaker of a particular language." [3]

In constructing his linguistic theory, Chomsky acknowledges his indebtedness not to the linguistic scientists primarily but rather to the rationalist thinkers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He declares : "....I believe that the most appropriate general framework for the study of problems of language and mind is the system of ideas developed as part of the rationalist psychology of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, elaborated in important respects by the romantics and then largely forgotten as attention shifted to other matters." [4] For Chomsky language is primarily " a means of thought and self-expression" an opinion he undoubtedly shares with many laymen as well as the traditionalist language teachers.

Chomsky's approach causes him to rely on the linguistic intuitions of the native speaker and this reliance on the intuition has been criticized by a number of scholars. Halliday says that the native speaker will be unable to "develop linguistic intuitions without having been subjected to schooling of some sort and that these intuitions are, therefore, coloured by his cultural training." [5] However, most criticisms about Chomsky's linguistic theory are

irrelevant because of the fact that Chomsky deals with the aspect of language which does not concern other linguists. "The difference between transformationalists and other linguists is so fundamental, that hardly any profound statement about the one can have any relevance to the others, and it is so great that no comparison is possible, except on the most general level."[6]

The Russian linguist S.K. Saumjan works along the line that Chomsky has greatly contributed to create but he criticizes him for not being abstract enough in going deeper into linguistic structures. He calls his linguistics Structural Linguistics, but it is very different from what structural linguistics means to most people, which, according to Saumjan, so far has not risen above the level of a descriptive science."[7] "It has failed in becoming a genuinely explanatory linguistic discipline."[8] He talks about structure, which is a construct and defines constructs as "objects, properties and relations which are not directly observable. Constructs are linked with the level of observation by means of so-called rule of correspondence."[9] He insists that "...synchronic study....includes both statics and dynamics. Synchronic statics and dynamics form so to speak two levels in language: statics includes the network of taxonomic relations in language...and dynamics...the network of inner relations in language, connected with the law for generating linguistic units....."[10] Linguistic structure is defined as "the network of linguistic relations relating to the dynamics of synchrony, and quasi-structure the network of linguistic relations relating to the statics of synchrony."[11]

He opposes conventional structural linguistics because it confines its investigation to the analysis of the static aspect of synchrony only.[12] The subject matter of proper linguistic research should be the dynamic aspect of synchrony.[13] In order to achieve this, grammar must be represented as a "hypothetical-generative device"[14] and structural linguistics accordingly should deal only generative grammar [15] and not with taxonomic classifications. The hypothetico-deductive method that should be used consists of "constructing and using for cognitive purposes a deductive system of hypothesis from which assertion about empirical facts may be deduced." [16] He then proposes to make two levels of abstruction in language, the physical and the semiotic levels.[17] He distinguishes between the outward appearance of linguistic form, the phenotypes, from the genetic constitution of the form, the genotypes.[18] According to Saumjan, Chomsky's transformational generative grammar deals with phenotypes and not with genotypes. Saumjan insists that in developing a transformational grammar we must deal with genotypes and not with observable strings which are the observable linear order of succession of linguistic elements. Chomsky as Samjan sees it confuses elements of two fundamentally different levels of abstraction in language— the genotype and the phenotype.[19] To deal with the problems of grammar Saumjan construts and uses a model which he calls the Applicational Generative Model and it deals not with strings but with complexes. He defines a complex as "a set of ordered elements whose notational order is unimportant. The structure of complexes and the

and the structure of strings are related to each other as geno-types and phenotypes." [20]

Saumjan's theory has been a useful contribution to the develop-ment of non-inductive reseaches in linguistic studies. Since the appearance of Chomsky's significant book <u>Syntactic Structures</u> some linguists have been in the habit of dissociating themselves from structuralism in the study of language. On the other hand, they sometimes have the tendency to attribute others' works to this appellation. [21] Conventional linguists who criticise Chomsky's theory have some times been described as lacking in philosophical sophistication and that is said to be responsible for their per-sistence in advancing methodologically primitive arguments against the new approach. [22]

However, criticism against the effort to establish a scienti-fic theory about language as developed by Chomsky and his followers does not come only from conventional linguists, structuralists or otherwise. Thinkers who are interested in establishing the founda-tion theory for language study also deny the validity of Chomsky's claim. Yoriick Wilks recently wrote : "...any view of language as a set of sentences requiring production, in <u>the sense that</u> a mathe-matical theory explains, by producing a set of theorems, must rest upon a false analogy, because natural language sentences do not constitute a set in the required sense."[23] And he concluded that "the fact of the matter is that linguistic theory, apart from its traditional classificatory and comparative concern, just will not

fit into any acceptable form for being <u>scientific</u> ." [24] This is

perhaps one of the most significant pronouncement regarding a

linguistic theory as far as the study of language as a form, as

an autonomous entity, is concerned. It is therefore no wonder that

during the last fifteen years or so a number of linguists have

shifted their investigation into another field, that is the field

of language use or language in society. The pure linguists in gene-

ral, particularly those who can be classified as structuralists,

want to study language as an autonomous entity as objectively as

possible as if language were not a human fact which is determined

by man living in society. [25]

6. <u>Language in Society</u>

a. Sociolinguistic Studies

Since Ferdinand de Saussure made a distinction between <u>la langue</u>

and <u>la parole</u>, the tendency in the study of language had been

concentrated mainly on the analysing of the problems of the language,

<u>la langue</u> at the expense of the study of the speech, <u>la parole</u>. We

have seen how structural linguistics deals with language phenomena,

how it tends to neglect or pospone the discussion of meaning, and

how it ignores the problems of language function and use. Chomsky

rejects the name structural linguistics for his works, but in actual

fact, looked at from a social standpoint, "transformational grammar

might equally well be seen as the culmination of the leading theme

of structural linguistics." [1] He treats language as a sphere of

wholly autonomous form and he is not interested in the problems of

of the practical use of language. He says that "the practical use

of language is characteristic of no real human language, but only

of invented parasited system." Thus he, in Bernstein's words, can

be regarded as a linguist who "neatly severs the study of of the

rule system of language from the study of the social rules which

determines their contextual use."[3]

Before structural linguistics gained eminence, Antoine Meillet

had written that language should not be viewed as something indepen-

dent of the society in which it was used, " la langue est éminemment

un fait social "[4], in the sense of Durkheim's definition of the

term, which was : "...every way of acting, fixed or not, capable of

exercising on the individual an external constraint ", or "every

way of acting which is general throughout a given society, which at

the same time existing in its own right independent of its individual

manifestation." [5]

Language is fundamental to and the most important medium of all

human interactions, and it is "in many ways the quintessential

social phenomenon." [6] "It is the prerequisite for the accumulation

and transmission of other cultural traits. Such fundamental aspects

of human society as organized political life, legal system, religion

and science are inconceivable without that most basic and human tools,

a linguistic system of communication." [7] As a matter of fact, without

language," gäbe es keine Gruppenbildung und keine menschlische Akti-

vität jenseits einer blosz instinktgeleiteten Orientierung." [8]

"Language is the "one institution that every human being must master

in order to function in any of the institutionalized areas of social life."[9] Language serves as an important medium of communication, but it is more than just a mere medium. "Sprache ist auch Medium kollektiver Gefühlserlebnissses."[10] And more than that is that talking is the one characteristic of human beings that markedly distinguishes them from animals, although probably present-day scholars can no longer agree with Max Mueller, who says : "....it becomes our duty to warn the valiant disciple of Mr.Darwin that before they can claim a real victory, before they can call man the descendant of a mute animal, they must lay regular siege to a fortress which is not to be frightened into submission by a few random shots; the fortress of language, which as yet stands untaken on the very frontier between the animal kingdom and man."[11] Man creates culture and civilization and this is made possible by the fact that he possesses and uses language. Nevertheless, language should not of course be confused with culture, "it is only a constituent of culture, ...in the ensemble of cultural phenomena it functions as their sub-structure, groundwork, and universal medium."[12]

A particular culture is undoubtedly related in one sense or another to the language which the people of that culture speak and make use of, but this type of relationship should not be made absolute. Edward Sapir once wrote: "Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their

society." [13] Mention has been made above that this idea of Sapir's

has been elaborated and carried further to its extreme conclusion

by Benjamin Lee Whorf, an idea which has brought about a great

controversy in linguistic studies. Dell Hymes, in a seminar, re-

futes "some implications that have been drawn from whorfian

writings." [14] He wrote : "...if anyone thinks that the simple pre-

sense of a pattern in a language and culture permits us automatical-

ly to make a certain inference as to the behaviour of any speaker

of that language, this I deny." [15] He gave a warning regarding the

danger involved in taking a monolithic position with regard to the

study of either language structure or language use. The danger is

undoubtedly greater when a monolithic position is resorted to when

one is dealing with the problems of language use and functions,

with poeple's attitudes towards language, etc.

Language is a social phenomenon, but strangely enough, for a

considerable period of time this obvious fact tended to be over-

looked as far as linguistic studies are concerned. As Alf Sommer-

felt put it : "La langue elle-même est un phénomène social, vérité

banale, mais très souvent oubliée, et comme telle ne s'explique

que par des phénomènes sociaux." [16] It is encouraging that recent-

ly more and more scholars have been drawn towards this new line

of language study and have directed their inquiries into the prob-

lems of the relationship between language and society. Certain

linguists have become concerned with linguistic phenomena which

are societally conditioned and some social scientists have become

more aware of the social nature of language. This mutual convergence

of interest has resulted in the birth of a new discipline known

/ a   generally as sociolinguistics."[17] It is/very broad field of inquiry

and , at the moment, is still rather vague, and the methodology

used by its practitioners varies considerably. There is no doubt

that scholars like Fishman and Einar Haugen are engaged in socio-

linguistic research, and yet, in a conference, Fishman, in a written

comment on Haugen's paper still says: "Linguists are invited to

join, if they are willing to become more than disciplinary apologists.[18]"

To this remark Haugen retorted using the same language : " They are

invited to join, if they are willing to become more than disciplina-

ry apologists." [19] Here the linguist Haugen reproaches Fishman the

sociologist. W.P. Robinson speaks of "...my own vision in this

fragile new world of sociolinguistics is too blurred as yet for me

to discern even the proper universe of discourse for the discipline.[20]"

As to the very name of the discipline such terms as sociology of

language, ethnolinguistics, anthropolinguistics, institutional

linguistics, sociolinguistics and ethnography of speaking have been

used. Greenberg speaks of social linguistics, which, he says,

"involves in its synchronic aspect, a whole series of significant

problems regarding correlations between population groupings as

determined by linguistic criteria and those based on biologic, eco-

nomic, political, geographical, and other non-linguistic factors."[21]

The earliest use of the term sociolinguistics occurs in an

article by Haver C. Curie entitled "A Projection of Sociolinguistics : the relationship of speech to social status." [22] As the title suggests the writer deals mainly with the problems of speech with regard to the social status of its speakers. As is generally known, people of different social status or occupation tend to employ different types or varieties of speech. As John Gumperz put it : "...the distribution of linguistic variants is a reflection of social facts."[23] Much earlier Antoine Meillet had expressed a similar idea when he wrote :"....chaque différenciation sociale a chance de se traduire par une différenciation linguistique." [24] In a every society the use of a particular type of language can create a variety of interpretation in the hearer as well as in the speaker. It can be taken as a "status symbol or a badge of pretentiousness; it may emphasize intimacy with the respondent or stress social distance." [25] Research dealing with this kind of sociolinguistic problems has flourished and atracted a number of scholars. Nevertheless, some tend to regard it useless and futile. R.W. Fasol asserts that this kind of research "tells us things we already know about society",[26] it does not add to our knowledge, it only confirms it. In fact he goes even further by saying that to undertake a linguistic study along this line "represents a dead end." [27] But perhaps he is too hasty in drawing this conclusion. Are there not many researches carried out concerning problems about which we already "know" the answer?

One of the prominent sociolinguistic scholars is J. Fishman,

who has written a considerable number of articles and also books on sociolinguistics. He defines sociolinguistics as "the study of the characteristics of language varieties, the characteristics of their functions, and the characteristics of their speakers as these three constantly interact, change, and change one another within a speech community." [28]

Although this definition of sociolinguistics is broad enough, it does not yet encompass all problems of language in society. Fishman recognizes this but he proposes to make a distinction between sociolinguistics and what he calls the sociology of language. He views linguistics as "one of many methodological laboratories into which the sociologist of language must have ready access." [29] But he regards social history as "one of the many crucial conceptual laboratories into which he must not only have ready access but from which he must ultimately derive his worthiest hypotheses, his most fundamental substantive problems, his basic orientation towards society." [30] Thus sociology of language is closer to sociology than linguistics, it must be "more rigorously in touch with social and comparative history, with social geography and with political science than with linguistics." [31]

However, in view of the fact that the term sociolinguistics is a very broad term, there should be no objection if it also covers the field designated as the sociology of language. In fact it can be argued that research dealing with the problems of the sociology

of language should be regarded as one of the most important task

of sociolinguistics. There is not much doubt that the language

we use to some extent and in a certain sense preconditions and

in that sense determines our way of experiencing social life. Never-

theless, "it is change in social system that <u>primarily</u> precedes

and predetermines change in the corresponding semantic system."[32]

of our language. Sociolinguistics should try to establish a corre-

lation between changes reflected in social and political history

and changes in linguistic matters. Paul Friederich regards the

main thrust of responsibility of sociolinguistics to be the spelling

out of the "process whereby a complex change in parts of the social

system determines a complex of changes in corresponding parts of

the linguistic system." [33] In one particular sense at least language

is a means and not an end as far as the human society is concerned,

and although a scientific study of the means is legitimate, the

study of the causal relationship between society and language

should prove more fruitful. The choice of the term sociolinguistics

which covers all sorts of problems relating to language in society

is justifiable and it is a field which is open to linguistically

inclined social scientists or historians or to sociologically

inclined trained linguists.

Sociolinguistics in interested in the individual use of

language but does not propose to account for it in terms of a

single dialect.[34] No matter how peculiar a person's dialect is

it still follows a certain societally determined pattern and this

should be accounted for in sociolinguistic terms. Linguists do not favour one type of speech over another, they do not pronounce judgements as regards good or bad speech. However, people living in society do make judgements abot it, even illiterate people.[35] According to Bloomfield, "the nearest approach to an explanation of 'good' and 'bad' language seems to be this, then, that, by accumulation of obvious superiorities, both of character and standing, as well as of language, some persons are felt to be better models of conduct of speech than others." [36] Yet these examplary people do not always employ examplary speech, they also at times switch from one type of speech to another when they feel this code switching is required. The relevant question to be asked here is why certain domains are marked by the use of one particular type of speech or language rather than another."[37]

People's attitude towards language particularly in a diglossia situation or in a multilingual community offers interesting topics for sociolinguistic discussions. As an example, Haugen reports that in a community which employs various dialects the speaker of a particular dialect often claim that their dialect is understood by others but they on the other hand do not understand those others' dialects. [38] Haugen also talks of what he terms "semi-communication", which is "the trickle of messages through a rather high level of code noise." [39] All of this and many other linguistic problems are dealt with in sociolinguistic studies. And long be-

fore the term sociolinguistics was in use, the scholar J.R. Firth

had suggested the significance of the study of what he called

"tact", "that complex manners which determine the use of fitting

forms of language as functional elements of a social situation."[40]

Sociolinguistic studies are not merely of academic interest and use,

but they can be applied to the seeking of solution of linguistic

and social problems of a given society. Language planners and edu-

cators as well as students of social structure will derive benefits

from sociolinguistic findings, and as an academic discipline socio-

linguistics can contribute to the study of historical linguistic

use in a given society.[41]

b. Linguistic Variations

It is to be expected that linguists discuss linguistic pheno-

mena in terms of purely linguistic criteria, but with the coming of

sociolinguistic studies this practice should no longer be considered

adequate or even acceptable. On the other hand, it has been suggested

that "non-linguistic criteria may.....be used to rate languages,

e.g. the use of writing, kind of religion, economic structure, etc."[1]

But the best way of delimiting a language is surely to take into

account both linguistic as well as non-linguistic matters as they

are usually closely inter-related. As Joseph H. Greenberg put it:

"...linguistic and extra-linguistic segments of culture are intimate-

ly connected..."[2]

In every community people interact by means of speech or

language, and "we may assume that every community has shared beliefs

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about language and attitudes towards language." [3] It is common
knowledge that in most communities , a group of people may despise
one type of speech or prefer another. In order to study the prob-
lems related to linguistic varieties in a community it is best to
start with a clear idea about what is meant by a speech or linguis-
tic community. The linguist Bloomfield, whose main interest is of
purely linguistic nature, gives more space to the discussion of
linguistic community than most of his followers who tend to ignore
it. He defines a speech community as "a group of people who inter-
act by means of speech." [4] John Gumperz, a sociolinguist, defines
a linguistic community as "a social group which may be either mono-
lingual or multilingual held together by frequency of interaction
patterns and set off from the surrounding areas by the weakness
in the lines of communication." [5] But he also gives a definition of
the speech communities as follows : "Any aggregate characterized
by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of
verbal sign and set off from similar aggregates by significant
differences in language use." [6] If we compare these two definitions
we see some differences but substantially they convey the same idea.
However, it is perhaps regrettable that in one he uses the word
linguistic and in the other speech, because the difference in the
two definitions does not reflect the Saussurean distinction between
speech and language. Joshua Fishman defines a speech community as
"one whose members share at least a single speech variety and the
norms for its appropriate use." [7] In a way this is perhaps a better

and certainly simpler definition. The phrase "the norms for its appropriate use" is significant there, because "an inescapable aspect of language use is that it is more than a communication code; it also serves, among other things, to mar ethos identification and prestige." [8] The inappropriate use of a speech form may result in an unpleasant or even disatrous effect on the speaker. But on the whole, the appropriate use of a speech variant in a linguistic community is generally known to members of the community. They know that a particular variety is appropriate to be used in familiar circles but not in others such as the court or the church. "What characterized a speech community is a heterogeneity of linguistic means organized by rules of speaking and interpretation shared by members of the community." [9]

The term register has been used to designate a functional variant of language use. [10] This term should prove useful because there are other language variants which can be accounted for not in terms of their use but of the characteristics of their speakers. " A variant can be considered as contextual constraints upon grammatical-lexical choice." [11] When a speaker speaks, his language is not constrained by consideration of grammatical matter alone but also by non-linguistic factors which hardly have anything to do with the clarity of his message. [12] As Fishman put it : "Proper u-sage dictates that only one of the theretically co-available languages or varieties will be chosen by particular classes of interlocutors on particular kinds of occasions to discuss particular

kinds of topics."[13] He used the term verbal repertoire to designate " a speech community that has available to it several varieties of language." [14] John Gumperz defines the verbal repertoire as "the totality of linguistic forms regularly employed in the course of socially significant interaction." [15] According to Dell Hymes, one always finds more than one speech variety in a linguistic community. "No normal person", he wrote, "and no normal community is limited in repertoire to a single variety of code, to an unchanging monotony, which would preclude the possibility of indicating respect, insolence, mock-seriousness, humour, role-distance, etc. by switching from one code to another." [16]

In some communities two or more linguistic forms are used by some speakers under different circumstances, a fact which has socio-linguistic significance. Charles Ferguson calls that kind of situation diglossia, which he defines as " a relatively stable language situation, in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards) there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex), superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes, but is not used by any section of the community for ordinary conversation." [17] Fishman simplifies the definition of diglossia by saying that "it is the existence of complimentary varieties for inter-group purposes"[18]

in a speech community. The separation between the varieties is u-
sually along the line of the so called low language used for every-
day conversation and the high language employed for the purposes of
religious worship, education and other aspects of high culture.[19]
Although Fishman gives a simpler definition, he does not in any way
simplify the implication and concept of diglossia. On the contrary,
he elaborates on the idea, distinguishing between diglossia with
and without blingualism, etc.

In a diglossia situation a speaker uses a certain linguistic
variant in one particular domain such as the family or the church
and another in another domain. The use of the term domain facili-
tates our discussion of linguistic varieties. Fishman defines domain
as a "socio-cultural construct abstracted from topics of communi-
cation, relationship between communication, and locales of communi-
cation, in accord with the institutions of society and the spheres
of activity of a speech community, in such a way that individual
behaviour and social patterns can be distinguished from each other
and yet related to each other."[20] Using the concept of domain,
Fishman defines a diglossia situation as a single society "which re-
cognizes two or more languages as its own, with each having its
own functionally exclusive domains." [21]

André Martinet, whose main interest is purely linguistic, when
dealing with a situation similar to the diglossia situation, looks
at the problem from a different angle. In some rural communities
such in some parts of France today "two different languages exist

concurrently rather than varieties of the same language. In such a case the linguistic form which is learned first is normally that employed within the family circle and is called patois." [22] Martinet believes that in view of the fact that education has had a great influence in shaping the language of the people and the mass media have spread far and wide, the patois are doomed to disappear.

Multilingualism in some communities is such that some speakers undergo a certain amount of linguistic confusion. Einar Haugen speaks about a linguistic situation which he calls schizoglossia. It is said that some people are confused about the choice of their language because they have been exposed to too many. Schizologsia is the term used to designate this kind of linguistic confusion. This situation is a "linguistic malady which may arise in speakers and writers who are exposed to more than one variety of their own language." [23] However Meillet had maintained that although speakers might switch from one language to another, nevertheless at any given moment they were using only one, even when they resorted to the other for help. [24]

One of the most important of speech variants is the dialect, a language variety which is usually related to the regional origins of its speakers. A dialect understood in this sense is the most stable of language, the most conservative, and the most resistant to change. Valter Tauli asserts that "...in a normal dialect, in general, except in mixed border areas, where two or more dialects meet, no phonemic or morphemic variants occur. [25] But there is another

type of dialect, known as the social dialect. " A social dialect...
is an habitual subvariety of the speech of a given community,
restricted by the operation of social forces to representatives of
a particular ethnic, religious, economic or educational group." [26]
Thus the word dialect used in sociolinguistic studies usually refers
to the language variety which relates to distinction in geographi-
cal origin and social background.[27]

The speakers of a dialect may regard their dialect as a very
important means for keeping solidarity between them and they may
have a very strong sense of linguistic unity.[28] As Einar Haugen put
it : " The dialect became more than an instrument of practical utili-
ty. It constituted an inner bond between its users. It marked them
as members of a group and helped to establish their position within
it."[29] How does a dialect arise ? Brian Newton says that dialects
"arise because many sound changes fail to diffuse over a whole speech
community."[30]This view is certainly concerned with mainly phonolo-
gical interest. According to W. Bright "dialects arise through re-
gional or social barriers in the communication system..." [31] This
is a more satisfactory explanation as far as sociolinguistics is
concerned.

When scholars use the term dialect they normally use it in a
neutral way, freeing it from its derogatory or other connotation.
In its everyday use the word dialect is often loaded with value
judgement. As Haugen observed : "Dialect is .... a term that
suggests informal or lower class or rural speech." [32] People's atti-

tudes to dialects vary considerably from those who are proud of their dialects to those who despise them as being the lowest form of speech.

A dialect is a variety of language that is often closely tied with the emotional involvement of its speakers. Some speakers are so ashamed of their dialects that sometimes they pretend not to speak them or are embarrassed when they hear others use them. On the other hand, others regard their dialects as better than the standard language. "Every Swiss is proud of his dialect, proud of its distinctiveness from standard German, and no one in Switzerland simply stigmatizes the Swiss dialects as inferior or debased." [33] On the other hand, speakers of standard English in America so consistently despise various Negro dialects that the Negro speakers have been prevented from developing any pride in their dialects.[34]

Ferguson and Gumperz use the word dialect as a technical term and defines it as " any set of one or more varieties of a language which share at least one feature or combination of features setting them apart from other varieties of the language, and which may appropriately be treated as a unit on linguistic or non-linguistic grounds." [35] An a language then is composed of all the varieties which share at least a single superposed variety such as a literary standard. C. R. Bawden in his article on Mongol dialect studies wrote: " The tongue of a group of the population of a territory within which no linguistic differences can be found other than individual peculiarities in pronunciation, syntax or vocabulary, is here

called a dialect." [36]

By studying the varieties of language in a given community
we are exposed to the various interests and concerns of the people
living in the community. " In a very real sense a language variety
is an inventory of the concerns and interests of those who employ
it at any given time." [37] A dialect may not be as rich in terms of
the number of the vocabulary items of the standardized language,
but it can surpass the standardized language in a particular field
of language use even in terms of its vocabulary.

The terms restricted code and elaborated code have also been
used to discuss certain aspects of linguistic problems. But these
terms do not refer to the variety of language as such but the beha-
viour of their speakers. [38] Bernstein who introduced these terms
described elaborated codes as those "which orient their users
towards universalistic meanings, whereas restricted codes orient,
sensitize their users to particularistic meaning." [39] According to
Robinson, "declarative statements and associated questions are
the core of the elaborated code." As to the restricted code, it is
concerned "with control rather than information, prescription rather
than descriptions, commands and exclamation rather than statements."[40]
As is wellknown, language used in school is more concerned with the
elaborated code so that those who are used only to restricted code
will encounter a certain aspect of linguistic problem. However,
it can be argued that the so-called elaborated code is also connected
with a certain type of ideological orientation.

Many people tend to infer that the employment of a restricted code is confined to the uneducated speaker, but this idea is not correct. Every speaker uses both restricted as well as elaborated codes at one time or another. A speaker of a regional dialect, if he speaks it well, will be able to use it for discussing a topic which normally requires the employment of an elaborated code. As Whiteley rightly observed : "Each language should be accounted capable of occurring in both restricted and elaborated codes."[41] The difference between restricted and elaborated codes should rather be accounted for in terms of language behaviour than language structure or properties. Restricted code is not the property of a language structure but the characteristic of its speakers' behaviour.

In some communities, linguistic variation is largely determined by the social status of the interlocutors. In Javanese and Sundanese a superior when speaking to his subordinate uses one variety of language and his subordinate is expected to reply in another variety. The differences between those varieties are so great that one who understands only one variety will not necessarily understands another. Clifford Geertz discusses at some length the uses of Javanese and the significance of the language varieties in a Javanese community.[42] In most communities this kind of language varieties also exist albeit not so markedly. But at least pronouns for the second person, tu versus vous in French, du versus Sie in German represent this type of variety. In Javanese and Sundanese almost every word in one variety is different from its equivalent in another variety.

In Sundanese for example one's house is called <u>rorompok</u> but another's is <u>bumi</u>. Thus it is my <u>rorompok</u> and your or his <u>bumi</u>.

It can be said that on the whole people's choice of language is determined by social pressure operating on the individuals. According to Labov, social forces exerting upon linguistic forms are of two distinct types, pressures from above and pressures from below. " By below is meant below the level of consciousness... Social pressures from above.... represent the overt process of social correction applied to individual linguistic forms. " [43] Gumperz did not speak about pressures from above and pressures from below but talked about "the existence of compelling patterns of speech behaviour which may not be realized by the speaker at all." [44] Einer Haugen said that "linguistic pressure is a special type of social pressure which operates to produce linguistic conformity." [45]

When a person rises in social ladder, he often tries to change the variety of language that he uses, he imitates the speech of the higher class. But the higher classes, conscious of their social status, often change their language in order to "maintain a prestige-marking difference from the lower strata." [46] Fischer speaks of this type of situation in language as a "protracted pursuit of an elite by an envious mass, and consequent flight of the elite." [47] Thus according to this view, it is the higher classes that initiate change in language and that they introduce new forms. However, it has also been asserted that linguistic innovations in

general come not from the upper classes but from the lower social
levels. According to Schogt "la langue populaire, riche en innova-
tions, qui a pour elle le grand nombre, et la langue des classes
aisées, qui est plus conservatrice." [48] As a general rule, the most
important factor which brings about linguistic change and innovations,
at least as far as the lexical item is concerned, is change in
cultural field. [49]

The term lingua franca for a language of communication between
peoples speaking different languages had been in use for a long
time. The name itself originally meant the language of the Franks,
a trade and communication language employed by seamen and merchants
from Genoa and Venice in the Levant.[50] A lingua franca as defined
by UNESCO is " a language which is used habitually by people whose
mother tongues are different in order to facilitate communication
between them." [51] English nowadays is undoubtedly the most important
lingua franca of the world. But for a language in order to be able to
serve as a lingua franca does not require that it should be a highly
cultivated language like English. As a matter of fact, one of the
most important means of communication between peoples who speak
different languages is what has been called a pidgin, traditionally
said of a broken type of a standardized European language. "A pidgin
can arise——on occasion, even in the space of only a few hours——
whenever an emergency situation calls for communication on a minimal
level of comprehension." [52] Another type of this variety of language

is called creoles, but now linguists tend to regard pidgin and creoles as "two phases, or perhaps even as only two aspects, of the same linguistic process." [53] The main difference between a pidgin and a creole is that, unlike a pidgin, "which functions only as a auxiliary contact language, a creole is the native language of most of its speakers." [54] Although most pidgins and creoles have European connections, there are a few which are not derived from standardized Western languages. [55]

In some communities, a creole has been so highly developed and cultivated that public figures such as politicians need to be fluent in it if they want to have a large audience. In Mauritius for instance open air political meetings are conducted in Mauritian creole since this is "the only language everybody understands". [56] Pidgins and creoles are naturally not as rich in terms of their vocabulary and syntax as highly developed and cultivated standardized languages, but when a creole has achieved a certain stage of maturity it has been shown to be a completely satisfactory medium for conveying complicated thought such as technical information. [57] The main reason for this state of affairs is that a flow of communication does not depend entirely on linguistic factor. According to Hans Wolf, "it became obvious that more than linguistic similarity was involved in ensuring a flow of communication between two dialects." [58]

In literate societies, the cultivated written language plays a very important role particularly in regard to matters connected with

the running of government and affairs of state. A written language
is not a mere copy of the spoken language and should be regarded
as a variety of language in its own right, because it "frequently
develop s characteristics not found in the corresponding spoken
language." [59] Most American descriptivists do not to subscribe to
this view and they regard a written language as only a codified
form of the spoken language, standard or non-standard.

A written language is usually associated with the standard
language but this is not necessarily so and not every written language
is a standardized language and vice versa. There are several defini-
tions for the standard or standardized language and they all point
out to the fact that the standard language is normally employed
for a higher type of cultural activities such as education, religion,
the government, etc. Gavin and Mathiot define a standard language
as " a codified form of a language accepted by and serving as a
model to a larger speech community." [60] A standard language is usual-
ly employed to express well-thought out messages and people do not
normally use a standard language when chatting among intimate friends.
When one learns a foreign language one is usually taught the standard
language unless one asks specifically for a lesson in a certain
dialect.

Ferguson views a standard language as a result of a linguistic
process, "the process of one variety of language becoming widely
accepted throughout the speech community as a supra-dialectical

form— the "best" form of the language— rated above regional and social dialects...."[61] Language standardization is concerned with "the codification and acceptance, within a community of users, of a formal set of norms defining "correct usage".[62] A standard language is in one sense an artificial language and two different standard languages can be created out of one language as is the case of Hindi and Urdu. [63] To this day, it remains a fact that colloquial Hindi and Urdu are nearly identical languages, which diverge in fact only in script and in the vocabulary of the educated elite."[64] Government 's intervention or political consideration often plays a decisive role in bringing about, and determining the type of, language standardization. In Norway, efforts to create a standardized Norwegian have met with marked success after long periods of political conflicts which were, at least partially, caused by or having to do with linguistic conflict. Einar Haugen, the linguist who studied the case of modern Norwegian, wrote how a government could contribute through its schools and departments in directing the stylistic sense of the people. He spoke about "planned stylistic reorientation" in which the political authorities were enlisted to help reorient the stylistic sense of a people through its schools and government offices."[65] How far a government can influence its people how to talk in their daily life is difficult to determine, because the language of the people is often not the language of the elite. According to Meillet "toutes les langues communes ....

sont des langues traditionelles créées par des élites pour des é-lites." [66]

In discussing a standard language, three topics should be dealt with systematically, viz. : the properties of the standard language, the attitudes towards the standard language, and the functions of the standard language in a given community.[67]

In talking about linguistic variations, scholars sometimes employ the terms code and message , referring approximately to la langue and la parole respectively. D. G. Boyle, using psychological criteria, discusses the distinction between restricted and elaborated codes,[68] a topic which Bernstein has dealt with in a more scholarly manner. The introduction of the term code into linguistic discussion was encouraged by the linguist's acquaintance with the popularized version of information theory. Some scholars regard language as a code; "..le discours apparaît comme un message et la langue comme un code; cette analogie est si évidente et si riche que certains linguistes n'hésitent pas à l'introduire dans leur terminologie." [69] The term its self, when used analogically, is all right, provided the analogy is not carried too far. Human language is very different from code, it is not, strictly speaking a code. As Mounin rightly observes : "...les langues naturelles humaines sont profondément différentes des codes stricts ou proprement dits: en ce que dans les codes, on part toujours d'un message déjà formé pour aboutir à un message exprimé par des symboles différents, tandis

que, dans les langues, c'est au point d'arrivée seulement qu'on

constate la présence d'un message, sur le point de départ duquel

on ne sait à peu près rien." [70]

Language varieties should be regarded not only as different

codes employed in a community. However, it must not be assumed that

the type of variety a speaker ƒuses automatically influences his

social behaviour. As a matter of fact, it is his social position

that exerts powerful influence on his linguistic behaviour.[71] Some-

times certain speakers, for one reason or another change their ha-

bitual use of language and this has been called language shift.[72]

The change from the habitual use of one language to that of another

would be too simple to be called just as a change of code.

c. Context and Situation

Speech, the concretised form of language, normally occurs not

in a vacuum but in a certain context or situation even if the speaker

is talking to himself. The meaning for instance of a word or a sen-

tence is often made clear or even determined by the context in which

it occurs. To quote a statement outside its proper context is often

misleading or even meaningless. The study of speech context and si-

tuation is part of sociolinguistics and has been recognized as such

by certain scholars, particularly social anthropologists. B. Mali-

nowski urged linguists to undertake it, pleading that they should

employ "empirical approach to linguistics, placing living speech

in its actual context of situation as the main object of linguistic

study. " [1] According to him, speech does not exist at all outside its

context or situation.[2] He takes the view that as regards linguistic structures it is the pragmatic use of speech within the context of action which has shaped them.[3]

Since about 1960, concern with dealing with context and situation has taken a new significant turn. Systematic works devoted to this study have appeared and brought about changes of attitudes towards the place and role of context and situation in relation to linguistic communication. However, certain scholars/Katz and his /such as associates have also put forward a view, arguing that the inclusion of the discussion of context and situation in linguistic study is not legitimate. According to Antal, one should ignore context and situation in dealing with linguistic meaning, because in his opinion meaning is independent of context.[4]

To a great many scholars, however, the study of context and situation is crucial in any linguistic research. For Halliday, context is regarded as an inter-level which serves to designate the relation between linguistic forms, grammar and lexis, and relevant non-linguistic facts, i.e. the situation.[5] According to André Martinet, "un élément linguistique n'a réellement de sens que dans un contexte et une situation donnés; en sois, un monème ou un signe plus complexe ne comporte que des virtualités sémantiques dont certaines seulement se réalisent effectivement dans un acte de parole determiné."[6] Words outside their context are sometimes ambiguous, but on the whole this ambiguity is not realised in speech thanks to the existence of context. As Martinet put it : " le contexte (et la situation font)

apparaître dans chaque cas certaines virtualités et rejettent les autres dans l'ombre."[7] No matter what stands one takes with regard to context and its role, there is no doubt that it contributes to prevent ambiguity in verbal communication. In dealing with context and situation, Germain proposes to study " le mécanisme grâce auquel le contexte et la situation évitent que ne s'actualisent dans la parole les ambiguités virtuelles du signifié."[8] However, it needs to be borne in mind that the elimination of ambiguity as a result of the role played by context of situation or otherwise, should not be understood in absolute terms. A little ambiguity does not generally hamper linguistic communication, because, as Denise and Frédéric François put it, "la langue...tolère une certaine dose d'ambiguité."[9]

What is exactly the role of context and situation in speech? The answer to this is not very simple, but, according to Germain, it helps to "favorise un signifié parmi une classe de signifiés possibles, favorise un sens parmi une classe de sens admis par une phonie et du même coup determine un signifié (indeterminé par nature), transforme un sens, et precise un sens."[10] In other words, extra-linguistic factors play an important role in linguistic messages and it is just appropriate that these factors be dealt with in a systematic manner. The situation is an extra-linguistic factor which can be legitimately regarded as "une unité d'analyse de l'énoncé linguistique .....(qui) a une valeur fonctionelle, à côté des autres unités du code."[11]

As to the exact meaning of the two terms context and situation,
scholars tend to differ one from another. For Slama-Cazacu, the two
names refer to the same thing. As she put it : " Le contexte est
constitué . par tous les moyens — linguistiques ou extralinguistiques
d'expression (mots, gestes, ect.), mais aussi par la situation tout
entière qui entoure un mot et qui...en determine le sens." [12] But
elsewhere she had already remarked before : " La notion de contexte
a eu et continue d'avoir différentes acceptations : les plus importants,
soit séparent la notion de'situation' dans le terme général de con-
texte (verbal), soit incorporent la notion de 'situation' dans le
terme général de contexte." [13] Context can be found both outside as
well as inside the language. Context inside the language can be
distinguished into two forms,"extra-verbal et intra-verbal".[14]
Charles Osgood distinguishes four types of context : internal, non-
verbal context, internal verbal context, situation or external, non-
verbal context, and external, verbal context. [15]

Other scholars want to distinguish between context and situa-
tion. According to Paul Garde, context consists of "une realité
formelle, materielle, directement perceptible par l'usager." [16] For
Claude Germain, "le terme contexte desgnera toujours...un entourage
linguistique, et le terme situation , un entourage non-linguistique." [17]
This entourage non-linguistique , or situation, consists of "l'en-
semble des faits connus par le locuteur et l'auditeur au moment où
l'acte de parole a lieu." [18] Fishman looks at the idea of situation

from a different angle and suggests that a situation should be defined "by the co-occurrence of two (or more) interlocutors related to each other in a particular way, communicating about a particular topic, in a particular setting." [19] For E. Goffman, a situation (a social situation) is " an environment of mutual monitoring possibilities, anywhere within which an individual will find himself accessible to the naked senses of all others who are 'present' and similarly find them accessible to him." [20] He asserts that " a social situation arises whenever two or more individuals find themselves in one another's immediate presence, and it lasts until the next-to-last person leaves." [21] Prieto, who considers that all speech acts depend on situation, takes the view that in studying the role of situation in linguistic communication, in what manner a particular situation arises is irrelevant. As he put it : " ce qui compte, c'est la situation elle-même et non comment on y arrive." [22] And what he exactly understands by situation boils down to " qu'elle est constituée par ce dont il faut être au courant pour comprendre ce que dit quelqu'un." [23]

The concept of situation, whether separated from context or not, cannot be dispensed with in a sociolinguistic reseach. J. R. Firth warns us of the possible elusiveness of the idea of situation in relation to speech when he writes : " ... language behaviour may not only be observed in the actual context of situation on any specific accasion, but may be regarded also as manifestation of the 'set'

which the speakers bring to the 'situation' ".[24]

d. Languages in Contact

According to Uriel Weinreich, "two or more languages can be said to be <u>in contact</u> if they are used alternately by the same persons." [1] And the persons who alternately use two languages can be called bilinguals, the practice of doing so bilingualism. Some speakers use more than two languages alternately and they can be called multilinguals, their practice of doing so multilingualism. "Language contact studies deal with the influence of languages on each other."[2]

We have seen that in a diglossia situation bilingualism of one kind or another is involved, but the two terms should not be confused. According to Fishman, "bilingualism is essentially a characterization of individual linguistic versatility, whereas diglossia a characterization of the societal allocation of functions to different languages or varieties." [3]

Scholars usually study languages in contact mainly in order to find out and describe how in linguistic terms one language has some influence on another, i. e. to study the manifestation of a phenomenon generally called interference. Interference as defined by Mackey is " the use of elements of one language or dialect while speaking or writing another. " [4] When a bilingual speaks, he tends to produce sounds which " lie, as it were, in the structural no man's land between two phonemic systems ." [5] This would be particularly true if the two phonemic systems involved have a diaphonic relationship with

each other.

Many bilingual speakers do not particularly care about inter-
ference in their speech and use elements of one language while speak-
ing another liberally. According to Weinreich, " the realization
that one's mother-tongue is not a standardized language ....often
make people indifferent to interference in it." [6] But this cannot
be the only valid reason why people do not mind interference in their
speech.

There is a certain group of bilinguals who should mind about
linguistic interference. The translator should consciously try to
avoid interference as best as he possibly could, and many of course
do with varying degrees of success. According to Georges Mounin,
translation should be studied as a manifestation of languages in con-
tact, because in the true sense of the word, it is. " La traduction
...est un contact de langues, est un fait de bilingualisme." [7] That
linguistics has almost ignored translation as a field of inquiry
in the study of bilingualism is beyond his comprehension. As he put
it : " On pourrait presque dire que l'existence de la traduction
constitue le scandale de la linguistique contemporaine." [8] There is
little doubt that bilingualism has many relevant aspects, linguistic
as well as non-linguistic, which should be of interest to students
of sociolinguistics. According to Dell Hymes, as far as sociolinguis-
tic studies are concerned, " bilingual education is the sociolinguis-
tic subject par excellence." [9]

Are there complete bilinguals, those persons who can use each

of the two languages, in whatever situation, with the same facility,
at the same correctness? Probably there are, but their number must
be small. Halliday employs the term ambilingual to designate the
complete bilingual.[10] The existence of ambilinguals, or even the
bilinguals for that matter, poses difficult problems to many linguists,
because if one accepts their theses concerning the structures of
lexis, morphology, and syntax, one has to arrive at a conclusion that
translation is an impossibility.[11]

Although the number of ambilinguals is small, ~~the size~~ that of strict-
ly monolinguals in many parts of the world, thanks to education and
the extensive use of mass media, is also becoming smaller. The teach-
ing of a second language is the normal practice nowadays in many
parts of the world. The aim of the teaching and learning of foreign
languages in many countries is often related to a desire to introduce
one's own culture to others of different cultures.[12]

The teaching and learning of the foreign language often results
in the creating of a habit of borrowing from another language, i. e.
" the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously
found in another." [13] Bilingual speakers, for various reasons, tend
to use their languages in a way that monolingual speakers do not.
Linguistic borrowing is closely related with the phenomenon of bi-
lingualism, and so its analysis must start with an analysis of the
behaviour of bilingual speakers.

To the extent that language we use, in one way or another, pre-

determines our view of things, bilingual speakers then are able to look at things in more than one way, they can have, so to speak, two different points of view. If one starts from the assumption that language structures reality in its own manner, then bilinguals live in more than one world. According to Bodenstedt, " bilinguale Personen sind auch bikulturel¼ d. h. sie nehmen Teil an zwei verschiedenen Kulturen. " [14] On the other hand, J. B. Pride maintains that " bilingualism.....and biculturalism need not occur together." [15]

The speaking habits of bilingual persons differ from community to community and from person to person. However, in many multilingual communities, a bilingual chooses his language for a given purpose in a significant way, not unlike the selection of lexical alternates in a monolingual community.[16] In some communities, bilinguals may pretend at times not to know a certain language, which can be their own mother-tongues, for reason of social advancement.[17] Some bilinguals prefer to speak a foreign language in their own community, no matter how imperfectly, but when they go to the foreign country in which the language is spoken they tend to speak in their own language among themselves. In multilingual communities, some bilinguals often alternate unconsciously from one language to another, because they are used to having bilinguals before them. [18] The indians of the Amazon take their multilingualism for granted. They seem not to be aware that they are multilinguals.[19]

Languages in contact usually create social, political as well

as linguistic problems and some of them can be serious both for the individuals concerned as well as for the community in which they live. " Compared with other types of social conflict, those concerning language are of special order. They are painful and harsh in the most intimate sense." [20]

Speakers of a particular language in a multilingual community often organize themselves to promote the acceptance of their language as the official language of their country. Like most social institutions, language also commands loyalty. According to Weinreich, language loyalty is " a principle.......in the name of which people will rally themselves and their fellow speakers consciously and explicitly to resist changes in either the functions of their language (as a result of a language shift) or in the structure or vocabulary (as a consequence of interference) ".[21] William Gumperz speaks of language loyalty " when a literary variety acquires prestige as a symbol of a particular nationality group or social movement." [22] These two scholars discuss language loyalty in relation to loyalty to a standardized language and forget that a dialect can also excite an equally strong loyalty. [23]

In India language loyalty often results in street fightings and serious quarrels in the chamber of deputies. " Multilingualism in India is an all-pervading element.....affecting every aspect of the country's life." [24] According to Ambedkar, " at the time of the drafting of the Constitution of India, Hindi was made a national language,

but it won its place as national language by only one vote."[25]
On the continent of Europe, and perhaps in other countries as well,
linguistic conflicts sometimes result in an odd situation. Simpfon
reports that railway stations in mixed language areas stood without
names because no agreement could be arrived at as to which language
was to come first on the signs.[26]

Languages in contact exert influence on the development of
languages involved in the contact situation. Two languages which
are originally different may develop similarities when they are
brought into contact with each other. On the other hand, two origi-
nally identical languages may develop different characteristics
if they have been separated from each other.[27] However, although
contact languages exert influence on each other, according to Antoine
Meillet " les systèmes grammaticaux ..... sont impénétrables l'un
à l'autre."[28]

When borrowing takes place in language the borrowed words often
change their meaning in the new language. As to their pronunciation,
it is usually in accordance with the sound system of the borrower's
language, because on the whole people are more concervative phonolo-
gically than lexically or even morphologically.[29]

The study of languages in contact in relation to the languages
of the developing countries deal mostly with the problems of language
borrowing, which has not only linguistic significance but also,
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