INDONESIAN AS A UNIFYING LANGUAGE OF WIDER COMMUNICATION: A HISTORICAL AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE

by

Husen Abas

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PREFACE

This study is a return to the subject of the historical development of Malay, renamed Indonesian by the All Indonesian Youth Congress of 1928. At least six scholars have taken up the subject as the theme of their books: Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana (1956), Umar Junus (1969), Zuber Usman (1970), S. Effendi (1972), A. Teeuw (1959), and J.E. Tatengkeng (1953). But most of these publications look at the historical development of Indonesian only up to the year 1954, the year when the second Congress on Indonesian was held in Medan. It is of course true that Indonesian experienced progressive development prior to that year through the literary and cultural movement of the *Pudjangga Baru* (The New Writers) group, through the first Congress on Indonesian of 1938 in Solo, through the rapid growth during the Japanese occupation of Indonesia, and through the consolidation of the language as the only official language of the Republic of Indonesia as stipulated by the Constitution of 1945. Nevertheless, a much more accelerated rate of development was experienced by the language during the sixties and seventies. It was during this time period that the shaping and the emergence of the language as a language of wider communication took place. Indonesian can now be called one of the modern languages of the twentieth century. As such Indonesian has undergone a series of standardisation phases including revision and refinement of its system of spelling, integration of new foreign words into its vocabulary and the coining of modern technical terminology for daily and scientific use.

As a corollary to the bilateral agreement between Indonesia and Malaysia concerning the unification of the language of the two countries, the standardised system of spelling and terminology developed for Indonesian was also accepted by Malaysia. Implementation of the 'Language Agreement' between the two countries as well as other unilateral developments of Indonesian form part of the substance of the language planning process. For such a topic as language planning, the treatment given to language in most of the publications mentioned earlier would be questionable in terms of both its validity and its applicability. The situation, therefore, calls for a new work on the historical development of the language.

An important aspect of language planning that seems to have escaped the attention of most contemporary language scholars in Indonesia is language projection. This lapse might be attributed to a lack of statistical data on Indonesian; nevertheless, it is one aspect of the language planning process that needs delving into.

My first inkling concerning the lack of systematic sociolinguistic data available on Indonesian was given me by Professor Andrew B. Gonzalez, F.S.C., who has a special interest in the subject. After giving the subject serious consideration and discussing the matter with friends who are active in the field of language planning, I accepted the challenge, though not without some reservations; for before I could begin my work I needed the endorsement of Indonesian authorities in the field of language development.

Since the creation of the *Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa* (Center for Language Development) of the Department of Education and Culture in 1974, the thrust of language planning in Indonesia has been the formulation of a national language policy to regulate development of the national language and the many vernaculars of the archipelago. Seminars, workshops, and conferences held under the auspices of the Center have been designed to achieve that goal. The Conference on Indonesian Language and Literature held in Jakarta in 1978 is exemplary of the Center's course towards that goal. There, for the first time, young scholars came to the fore to present their ideas concerning the development of the national language and its literature in a forum which had long been dominated by such prominent predecessors as Alisjahbana, Usman and H.B. Jassin.

In accordance with the new impetus of language planning in Indonesia as it was formulated by the Center, the work of updating and systematising the account of the historical development of Indonesian was a primary aim. The study that follows is devoted to that goal. This study also attempts to present some projections for Indonesian for the year 2000.

The study divides the historical development of Malay (later, Indonesian) into four main divisions: (1) the shaping of a lingua franca, (2) the shaping of a national language, (3) the creation of a national language, and (4) the shaping of a language of wider communication. In terms of time, the first division covers a period of approximately a thousand years, from the era of the Kingdom of Sriwijaya (seventh to eleventh century) up to 1865, the year when the language was made the second official language of the Dutch colonial administration. The second division starts in 1865 and ends in 1928 when the language was renamed Indonesian, the national language of Indonesia. The third division covers a period of approximately fifty years from 1928 to 1972 and the fourth division begins when the 'Language Agreement' between Indonesia and Malaysia was first implemented in the form of a unified system of spelling.

Except for the official separation of the two varieties of the language (Malay-Riau and Malay-Johore) in 1824 (London Treaty), which marked the beginning of the development of the varieties in their separate ways, no other event which took place within the first division can compare with those that took place during the other three periods for it was within these divisions that the substance of development of Malay took place. This includes the introduction of a spelling system for Malay using the Latin alphabet by Charles van Ophuijsen in 1901; the creation of *Balai Pustaka* (government publishing house) in 1920 which published reading materials in the form of popular literature and whose wide distribution boosted the spread of the language; the adoption of Malay as the national language of Indonesia in 1928; and the unification of the system of spelling of Indonesia and Malaysia in 1972.

The language planning process in Indonesia is discussed under four sub-headings: (1) standardisation of the orthography of Indonesian, (2) standardisation of the grammar of Indonesian, (3) standardisation of the vocabulary of Indonesian, and (4) evaluation and feedback on the processes of standardisation. Included under the first sub-heading are discussions of (a) the van Ophuijsen system of writing, (b) the R. Soewandi orthography, (c) the reformation orthography (Prijono-Katoppo), (d) the Melindo writing system, (e) the new orthography, and (f) the revised new orthography. Dealt with under the second sub-

heading is the standardisation process of Indonesian grammar. This discussion centres around three topics: (a) the Arabic influence exemplified by the work of Raja Ali Haji, (b) the Latin influence represented by the work of van Ophuijsen, and (c) the linguistic influence as reflected by the work of Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana. The third sub-heading presents an in-depth discussion of modernisation and intellectualisation of the vocabulary of Indonesian. In the fourth sub-heading an evaluation of the processes of the three preceding sub-headings is given.

A discussion of the sociolinguistic aspects of the development and the spread of Indonesian is also included in this study. Sentimental and instrumental attachment to the national language is also touched upon. In this respect, Indonesian, as a supraethnic norm, is a common language which helps to unify the multiethnic population of the archipelago; it strengthens both sentimental and instrumental attachment to the system and, moreover, contributes to the mutual reinforcement of the two. Thus, there is a continuous and cyclical process of reinforcement between sentimental and instrumental attachment which a common language helps to maintain.

The sociolinguistic aspects of the development and the spread of Malay are discussed along the lines of its 'transformation' from its status as a lingua franca of Indonesia to its status as the national language of the country. There are, at least, three favourable factors which helped facilitate this 'transformation': the geographical location of the area where Malay is spoken natively, the migrational habits of the Malays, and the simplicity and flexibility of the language. Another positive factor behind the acceptance of Malay as a lingua franca, and, later, as the national language, was that the Malays, who inhabit the Riau area and the islands near by on the eastern shore of Sumatra, do not constitute a majority ethnic group; other ethnic groups did not have the 'fear' of being dominated by the native speakers of Malay.

As a corollary to the implementation of the 'Language Agreement' between Indonesia and Malaysia, the term 'Supranational norm' is introduced for Malay (Indonesian in Indonesia and Malay language in Malaysia). In assuming the new role of a language of wider communication, the language entered the intermediary stage, to become one of the modern world languages. As such Malay possesses the necessary attributes to be named the ASEAN language.

Census figures published by the *Biro Pusat Statistik* (Central Bureau of Statistics) in Jakarta show that in 1971, 40.78%, or 48,275,879 persons out of Indonesia's total population of 118,367,850 were speakers of Indonesian. It is projected that the percentage of speakers of Indonesian will be 49.66%, 59.47%, and 69.01% by the years 1981, 1991, and 2001 respectively. It has been further projected that by the year 2041 at the latest Indonesia will have a 100% Indonesian-speaking population. Taking into consideration factors conducive to the dissemination of the language, such as the PALAPA satellite communications system, Indonesia should have a 100% Indonesian-speaking population much earlier than the projected year 2041.

The fact that nearly 60% of the total population of Indonesia reside on the island of Java, where a number of local vernaculars (Sundanese, Javanese, and Madurese) are used which

have strong literary traditions and are written in their own systems of spelling is, to some extent, unfavourable to the development and the spread of Indonesian. Furthermore, the majority of the Sundanese, Javanese and Madurese live in traditional homogeneous societies, a factor which further slows the process of the dissemination of the national language.

This challenge however, has been met by the *Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa* (Center for Language Development) with the formulation of a National Language Policy by the Pre-seminar of 1974 and the Seminar of 1975.

ABBREVIATION

IN   Indonesian

LBN   Lembaga Bahasa Nasional (The Institute of national language)

Mal   Malaya Language

ML   Melayu Language

PB   Pudjangga Baru (The New Writers)

Chapter I

OVERVIEW

1.1 INTRODUCTION

On October 28, 1928 the delegates of the Indonesian Youth Congress[1] in Jakarta made the following pledge:

> We, the sons and daughters of Indonesia, declare that we belong to one nation, Indonesia;
>
> We, the sons and daughters of Indonesia, declare that we belong to one people, the Indonesian people;
>
> We, the sons and daughters of Indonesia, vow to uphold the nation's language of unity, Indonesian (Reksodipuro and Soebagijo 1974:69)[2].

This pledge, so solemnly made, encompassed three ideals: one nation, one people and one language. The focus of this study is the final one, the ideal of a nation with one language, the Indonesian language, (hereinafter IN).[3]

When Indonesia achieved its independence in 1945, the legal status of IN as the national language and the official language of the new republic was confirmed by the Constitution of 1945, article 36 of which states that:

> The language of the state shall be Indonesian[4]

As such, with the exception of the first three grades of elementary school in some districts where local vernaculars must still be used, IN is the only medium of instruction in schools and universities. IN is the official language of business, and is widely used in meetings, ceremonies, seminars and conferences, as well as for most books, journals, magazines, newspapers, and other forms of publication. Radio and television programs, stage performances and films and religious sermons as well all utilise IN.

The motto of the Republic of Indonesia "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika" (Unity in Diversity), is recognition of the fact that the nation comprises diverse ethnolinguistic groups. The linguistic wealth of Indonesia is marked by the hundreds of vernaculars spoken throughout

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the archipelago, ranging from Javanese and Sundanese, spoken by tens of millions of people in Java, to smaller vernaculars spoken by only a few hundred thousand people, such as Kerinci and Rejang in Sumatra, Duri in Sulawesi, Buton on Buton Island and so on. The speech communities often coincide with ethnic groupings so that socio-cultural differences are added to the linguistic differences (Isman 1977).

Realising that ethno-linguistic differences among the population of Indonesia could be a serious obstacle to a united independent nation, the leaders of the Indonesian independence movement at the beginning of this century made a special effort to bring the different groups closer together by making use of the then widely-used lingua franca of the archipelago, the Malay language, (hereinafter ML). This marked the beginning of the adoption of ML for inter-ethnic communication purposes; with this, a national language was in the making.

The 1954 Congress on IN, convened by the Ministry of Education and Culture in Medan, North Sumatra[5], recognised that IN is an outgrowth of ML and that ethnic or local vernaculars have enriched its growth and development. In doing so, the Congress admitted that IN was basically a more developed ML, the lingua franca which for centuries had been used in the Indonesian archipelago as the medium of communication between foreigners and natives and among the indigenous peoples of different linguistic and socio-cultural backgrounds. The status of ML as the appropriate lingua franca for the archipelago was recognised as early as the sixteenth century (Alisjahbana 1956, 1957).

In Malaysia, Malaysia language (hereinafter Mal) is the country's national language. Mal too is an offspring of ML. IN and Mal are actually two dialects sharing one common source, Riau-Johore Malay (Asmah Haji Omar 1975:5).

Both dialects, however, being faced with the challenge of new functions, through the years have undergone tremendous change and can no longer be considered to be Riau-Johore Malay. Both languages differ significantly from their original form.

Differences between IN and Mal are in large part the result of different political conditions. Colonisation of the Indonesian archipelago by the Dutch greatly affected the development of IN. Likewise, as a result of British rule Mal absorbed many English words into its vocabulary. In addition, Sanskrit, Arabic, Tamil and Chinese have also enriched the Mal list of loan vocabulary.

The pledge to make Mal (called Malay at the time) the sole official and national language was made only in the 1950s, more than two decades after the Indonesian youth pledge. When a constitution was drawn up for independent Malays in 1957 one of its clauses, which was to take effect in 1967, stipulated that ML (Johore-Riau Malay) would be the official and national language of the country (Asmah Haji Omar 1975:46).

As Alisjahbana once noted (in Fishman 1974:391) the most remarkable development in the history of the Malayo-Polynesian or Austronesian languages has been the growth of ML (IN + Mal) as one of the modern languages of the twentieth century. It is the national and official language of Indonesia, Malaysia and Brunei. It is also one of the national languages of Singapore, sharing this position with English, Mandarin and Tamil.

The emergence of ML as the lingua franca of Indonesia and peninsular Malaysia and later its transformation into the national language of the countries just mentioned was facilitated by a number of factors. First, because native speakers of ML were to be found on both sides of the Strait of Malacca, the European and West and South Asian traders, sailors and missionaries who entered the Indonesian archipelago through this route were exposed to and began to learn ML. Second, the Malay people themselves often travelled and migrated to other parts of the archipelago, and other ethnic groups coming into contact with them were exposed to and began to learn their language too. Third, ML is a language of relative simplicity and flexibility both of which are favourable characteristics in the making of a language as an acceptable national or international language (Garvin and Mathiot 1956) (see also Isman 1977, Alisjahbana in Fishman, ed. 1974).

Dutch, and English after World War II, played an important role in the expansion of science and technology in Indonesia. Nevertheless, even in this field these two languages could not prevail over IN and the latter is now used almost exclusively for science and technology and in other academic fields as well. In Indonesia Dutch has almost vanished entirely and English is limited to reading materials used in institutions of higher education.

Arabic played a very important role in the expansion of Islam in the archipelago, but it could not dominate ML either. Through time ML, and later IN, gained wider use in the religious life of the Indonesian Muslim so that today almost all religious sermons and lessons are given in IN. The use of Arabic is limited to recitation of Koranic verses, which must be translated into IN for most people to understand, and to books on Islamic studies used in schools and institutes specialising in this field. The success of ML and IN even in areas where Dutch, English, and Arabic once played important roles is partly due to the simplicity and flexibility of the Indonesian language (Isman 1977).

ML or the Indonesian language as such is the main theme of this study. Can ML take over the role of a language of wider communication that English has been playing up to this time in South-East Asia? Further, can ML unify its speakers and give them a regional identity as it does with the multi-ethnic population of Indonesia? These are two of the questions this study will try to answer.

1.2 AIM OF STUDY

Aside from trying to answer the questions noted above this study also has as its goal giving a descriptive and comprehensive analysis of the process whereby ML came to be adopted as the *lengua nacional* of Indonesia as it is defined by Garvin (1974). The analysis will be carried out with reference to theories of language modernisation and language planning. The descriptive section of this analysis will include a discussion of the historical development the language has undergone, beginning with its status as a local language, up to its status as the lingua franca of the Indonesian archipelago, through its adoption as the national language of Indonesia in 1928, and on up to its present intermediary stage as a language of wider communication in which it has become one of the modern world languages.

More specifically, this study will delve into (1) the unifying function of IN as a language of supraethnic norm, (2) the process of graphic representation, modernisation,

intellectualisation and standardisation the language has undergone, and (3) the spread of IN throughout South-East Asia, particularly in the Indonesian archipelago.

1.3 METHODOLOGY

Basically, this study is a historical one using documentation from legislation, census figures, seminar and workshop reports, congress and conference publications, and other related secondary sources. Research for this study employed three kinds of data collecting for three different purposes.

The first was fact-gathering for the purpose of describing the processes of graphic representation, modernisation, intellectualisation, and standardisation, that IN has undergone.

The second was compiling data from censuses conducted by the government (central as well as provincial), for the purposes of determining the quantitative growth and the spread of the number of speakers of IN.

The third was gathering articles and excerpts on and in IN from each important period of its development, for the purpose of comparing elements of style, its lexicon and its grammar.

This study also made use of research reports published by *Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa* (Center for Language Development) of the Department of Education and Culture in Jakarta which were based on Center-sponsored questionnaires and interviews undertaken to determine the degree of attitudinal changes towards IN within the older and younger elites and by the layman, of different ethnic groups.

1.4 DEFINITION OF TERMS

Some of the following terms appear often in this study. Clarification of their meanings should help avoid misunderstandings.

National language

Garvin (Garvin in Fishman, ed. 1974:71) uses this term in two senses. The first, the emotionally more neutral one, indicates that a given language serves the entire territory of a nation rather than only a regional or an ethnic subdivision. This is the sense in which, for instance, the term *lengua nacional* is commonly used in Latin America and in other developing countries; in this sense it is often contrasted with *lengua indigena*. For example IN is the *lengua nacional* of Indonesia while Javanese is only a *lengua indigena*, just as Tagalog is the *lengua nacional* of the Philippines and Cebuano, one of a number of *lengua indigena* found in the country[6].

The second sense of the term is emotionally more powerful than the first one and indicates that the language functions as a national symbol. This is how the term is commonly used in emergent nations where it is often contrasted with the language of the former colonial overlord. A good example of this would be IN versus Dutch.

Official language

An official language is a language officially recognised by the governmental authority as a language for governmental communication. The choice of an official language is not based on linguistic considerations. An example of this would be ML in the Republic of Singapore, which shares the role of official language with three other languages, English, Chinese, and Tamil.

Local language, vernacular, dialect

The terms local language and (local) vernacular comply with the meaning given by Garvin to *lengua indigena*, that being an indigenous language employing a body of words and methods of combining the use of these words in a way that is understood by a considerable number of the members of a given community. Local languages and local vernaculars or indigenous languages are considered to be full-fledged languages.

Within the context of this study, however 'dialect' or 'local dialect' differs from local language or local vernacular. A dialect is a local or provincial form of a language, differing from other forms, and from the standard or literary form in particular. IN has many local varieties, including the Jakarta dialect, the Menado dialect, the Ambon dialect, and many others.

Standardisation

Standardisation is defined as the process whereby one variety of a language becomes widely accepted throughout the speech community as a supradialect norm–the best form of the language–above other regional and social dialects, which nevertheless may still be considered appropriate in some domains (cf. Karam in Fishman, ed. 1974:114).

In discussing the standardisation process, Ray (1963:70) writes that the process consists basically of creating a model for imitation and then of promoting this model over rival models. His model of imitation includes in it a body of spoken and written discourse directed to listeners and speakers of the language. The body of spoken discourse will depend upon the availability of model speakers, while the body of written discourse is based upon the availability of literature in prose. For either the spoken or written form of the language, a model of imitation may come into being through organised (planned) or unorganised effort (Karam in Fishman, ed. 1974).

Graphisation

The most accepted definition of this term is given by Ferguson as follows: graphisation involves the devising of graphic symbols to represent the spoken form, the settling of orthographical problems and the production of textbooks, newspapers, and other kinds of literature. In short, graphisation refers to the development of a writing system for a hitherto unwritten language.

Modernisation, intellectualisation

Modernisation mainly involves the creating or borrowing of new lexical items and their incorporation into the basic standard vocabulary. The task of modernisation is to make available the lexicon and forms of discourse that are required for communicating about contemporary civilisation in order to enable the supra-dialectal norm to be used in all functions that may be required of it (cf. Karam in Fishman, ed. 1974).

Following the Prague School of thought, Paul L. Garvin defines intellectualisation as follows:

> Intellectualisation is a tendency towards increasingly more definite and accurate expression ... In the lexicon, intellectualisation manifests itself by increased terminological precision achieved by the development of more clearly differentiated terms... In grammar, intellectualisation manifests itself by the development of word formation techniques and of syntactic devices allowing for the construction of elaborate, yet tightly knit, compound sentences, as well as the tendency to eliminate elliptic modes of expression by requiring complete constructions (Garvin in Fishman, ed. 1974:72)

In this study, Karam's 'modernisation' and Garvin's 'intellectualisation' are treated slightly differently, even though many linguists treat both terms as the same concept. Standardisation, graphic representation, modernisation, and intellectualisation can be seen as intermediate goals of language development. These auxiliary concepts summarise sets of ultimate goals that are attained by means of solutions characterised by the features of graphic representation, modernisation, intellectualisation, and standardisation respectively (cf. Jernudd and Das Gupta in Rubin and Jernudd, eds 1971).

Furthermore, standardisation as an intermediate goal may itself be motivated by modernisation. It is not language-specific but is directed towards language in one of its applications.

Ferguson's definition of graphisation may be interpreted as a special case of standardisation resulting from successive application of such efforts. It is obvious that standardisation of language means benefits by uniformity, but it is also obvious that the optimal point of no further gain may be sociolinguistically complex.

This understanding of standardisation makes it possible to also apply the concept to cases of orthographical and terminological supranational standardisation, which raises issues of coordination beyond any single standard language.

Social emphasis on written language makes standardisation relatively easier and may explain the greater saliency of written-language problems, such as orthography and vocabulary in literate domain usage.

Orthographical reform, such as the one experienced by Indonesia, and change of written discourse may also be functions of modernisation. Orthographies are reviewed successively during development of the modern society (cf. Jernudd and Das Gupta in Rubin and Jernudd, eds 1971).

Orthography, spelling system, system of writing, alphabet

The four terms above have the same concept and meaning, i.e. the symbols used to represent a language in written form. As such, the symbols are under constant review in order to make the necessary reforms as required by the language which, in turn, has undergone constant changes as the result of the process of standardisation.

Bilingualism, balanced bilingual, interlocutor

Bilingualism is defined as versatility in two or more languages. A bilingual person must at least possess a minimal skill in a second language. Accordingly, a balanced bilingual is a person equally skilled in the use of two or more languages. By this definition, almost all Indonesians are balanced bilinguals; most master IN and their own ethnic language equally well. Interlocutor is defined as speaker or hearer in a communication situation.

1.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

As was stated in 1.2, the aim of this study is to be both descriptive and analytical. While the descriptive side of the study will emphasise the process or processes of the adoption of ML-Riau as the *lengua nacional* of Indonesia (and of Malaysia, Brunei, and Singapore), the analytical side of the study will be devoted mainly to the discussion of language planning or language engineering within the scope of the three problems stated earlier in 1.2. Thus, the study will avoid such fields as the history of Indonesia in the wider sense of the word, Indonesian culture in general, and IN literature in depth.

The study will also limit itself to the discussion of IN and its origin and base ML-Riau. Neither a discussion nor a description of the many indigenous vernaculars of the Indonesian archipelago will be given.

Novels, essays, poems, and literary articles written between 1928 and 1958 will serve as comparative materials. The comparison made will cover stylistics, lexical items, and grammatical arrangements. No literary evaluation or criticism will be given for these are not the foci of the study. These works have been chosen to show changes in style, vocabulary, and structural arrangements that have occurred in IN within the period of time just mentioned. The changes, if there are any, may be attributed to the process of standardisation, modernisation or intellectualisation of the language.

Changes in language attitude of a sociolinguistic nature will be looked at, especially those exhibited by the elites of various ethnic groups. The discussion of the same problem will also be centred around some selective groups of people whose language attitude also changes and whose language preference varies according to the existing stimuli around them.

As the area of culture is so vast, it would be impossible to give any extensive analysis of it. Therefore, facets of Malay culture, of which ML is a part, will be discussed only when it is deemed necessary.

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study will be significant in its description of the three processes mentioned earlier in 1.2, and its analysis and evaluation of the language engineering which has been carried out in Indonesia.

This study will also attempt to determine the growth trends and spread of ML speakers in the Indonesian archipelago and to use these trends as the basis of a language projection for IN for the year 2000.

1.6.1 Regarding the unifying force of IN

1.6.1.1 The study will look closely into the fact that IN is considered to be the *Bahasa Persatuan Bangsa Indonesia* (The Unifying Language of the Indonesian People) (Usman 1970, Junus, 1969, Singgih 1973).

1.6.1.2 The study will investigate sentimental and instrumental attachment to IN (Kelman in Rubin and Jernudd, eds 1971), and how these two attachments reinforce each other to make an Indonesian citizen feel 'he is an Indonesian first' rather than 'he is a member of one of the ethnic groups first'.

1.6.2 Regarding the process of standardisation

1.6.2.1 The study will scrutinise the processes of graphic representation modernisation and intellectualisation, and standardisation which IN has undergone in the past, which it is now undergoing and which it will undergo in the future.

1.6.2.2 It will, as far as the available materials permit, determine the contribution of other languages (foreign as well as indigenous) to the enrichment of IN vocabulary.

1.6.2.3 Regarding the process of graphic representation, the study will trace the development of the IN writing system up to its present stage as a 'unified alphabet' shared with Malaysia.

1.6.2.4 Regarding the process of standardisation, the study will evaluate the on-going process and make an attempt to offer feedback for the purpose of a more improved and effective planning.

1.6.3 Regarding the trends of growth and spread of ML speakers

1.6.3.1 The growth and spread of ML speakers can be divided into four major periods of time: ML before 1824 (the shaping of a lingua franca), ML between 1825 and 1927 (the shaping of a national language), ML-IN between 1928 and 1971 (IN as a national language), ML-IN from 1972 to the present time (the shaping of a language of wider communication).

1.6.3.1.1 Concerning ML pre 1824, the study will look into the development and the spread of ML on both sides of the Strait of Malacca. Raffles established Singapore in 1819. After its establishment a conflict of interests arose between the British and the Dutch that continued until a settlement was reached in London in 1824. The Malay Peninsula and Singapore were placed under British rule, while Sumatra on the other side of the Strait and most of the rest of what is now Indonesia was placed under Dutch administration. From that year onwards the spread and the development of ML on both sides of the Strait went their own separate ways.

1.6.3.1.2 Between 1825 and 1927, the role played by ML changed from that of a lingua franca to an official language, sitting side by side with Dutch, in the 'Dutch East Indies'. Its adoption as the second official language by the Dutch colonial administration took place in 1865.

1.6.3.1.3 The third period, from 1928 to 1971, historically as well as developmentally, is a very important one. The period witnessed the emergence of nationalist movements which used IN as a tool to unite the multi-ethnic population of Indonesia. At this point IN became a symbol of national identity and national pride.

1.6.3.1.4 A further change in the role of IN took place after 1972, the year in which a 'language agreement' was signed by the Governments of Indonesia and Malaysia, IN and Mal became united once more, at least orthographically.

1.6.3.2 With the aid of census data this study will try to determine the number of IN speakers there are today.

This study is a comprehensive one and in terms of completeness and futurity goes beyond any descriptions given by other linguist-writers thus far of the development of ML/IN and the process of 'language engineering' the language has undergone.

This study supports the proposal forwarded to the ASEAN Committee on Culture calling for the official use of an ASEAN-identified language[7] in ASEAN affairs. ML, which has become IN in Indonesia, Mal in Malaysia, and Bahasa Kebangsaan (national language) in Singapore, is thought to be capable of fulfilling this role. As such it would play the role of a language of wider communication and at least in the context of South-East Asia, replace English.

1.7 PLAN OF THE STUDY

The main purpose of Chapter I is to give an overview of the subject matter to be discussed in this study, including the problems for which this study hopes to find answers, the aims this study hopes to achieve, and the significance of the study itself.

Chapter II gives a full account of the historical development of ML−from its pre-lingua franca status to its status as the second official language of the Dutch administration and up to its transformation into the national language of Indonesia.

Language planning theory and its implementation in Indonesia is dealt with in Chapter III. Standardisation of the writing system is discussed in depth in this chapter as are the process of standardisation of IN grammar, and the process of modernisation and intellectualisation of IN vocabulary.

Attitudinal changes towards language use are discussed in the first half of Chapter IV. This section also contains a discussion on sentimental and instrumental attachment to a language. As a unifying factor among the people of Indonesia a strong attachment is felt towards IN. This chapter makes use of reports of research projects published on this subject by the Center for Language Development in Jakarta.

The second half of Chapter IV presents predictions and projections for the year 2000 based on available census figures. The chapter also contains a discussion of the possibility of ML as a language of wider communication.

Chapter V presents a summary of the information provided in the preceding chapters and, at the same time, offers some conclusions and recommendations that could be drawn from the study.

Notes

[1]According to Hooykaas, the first scholar who suggested the usage of the name **Indonesia** was an Englishman by the name of J.R. Logan in 1850. The word consists of two Greek words: **Indos** *India,* or influenced by India and **nesos** *land, island.* The word **Indonesia** was used by Logan to refer to the islands south-east of India which according to his research were more or less influenced by India. Another orientalist by the name of Adolf Bastian applied the word in 1884 in one of his scholarly writings, and since then the name **Indonesia** has gained currency. Other scholars too used it in their scientific literature about the Netherlands East Indies (cf. Ruzui 1968:32).

[2]The original text in Indonesian reads as follows:

Pertama: Kami putra dan putri Indonesia mengaku bertumpah darah yang satu, tanah tumpah darah Indonesia

Kedua: Kami, putra dan putri Indonesia mengaku berbangsa yang satu, bangsa Indonesia

Ketiga: Kami, putra dan putri Indonesia menjunjung tinggi bahasa persatuan, bahasa Indonesia

[3]At this point, it is worth paying attention to a footnote in one of Alisjahbana's articles, which reads:"There is a lot of confusion in the use of the terms Malay and Indonesian: In the English language the word Malay is used to denote the Malay proper people in Malaysia and Indonesia, and also all the languages in Indonesia, the Philippines and Malaysia, including even some in Madagascar and Formosa. For these languages is also used the term Indonesian in continental scholarly writing, while at the same time Indonesia is the name of the Republic of Indonesia and its national language, which is the same as Malay. More confusion is added by the use of the word Malaysia for the new state combining Malaya, Serawak, and North Borneo (Sabah). The word Malaysia itself has been used also as a synonym for Indonesia in the broader sense" (cf. Alisjahbana in Fishman, ed. 1974:391).

[4]The original text in IN reads as follows: "Bahasa Negara ialah Bahasa Indonesia". (Undang-Undang Dasar 1945, Bab XV, Pasal 36).

[5]The Congress' decision which concerns the point under discussion here is as follows: "Bahwa asal bahasa Indonesia ialah bahasa Melayu. Dasar bahasa Indonesia ialah bahasa Melayu yang disesuaikan dengan pertumbuhannya dalam masyarakat Indonesia sekarang".

[6]At this point, it is worth mentioning that UNESCO has its own definition for a national language which is slightly different from Garvin's. In the Russian context, the definition of a national language is also different from the one given here in this study.

[7]ASEAN: Association of South-East Asian Nations established in Kuala Lumpur in 1967.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF INDONESIAN

2.1 INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of the previous chapter the development of ML was touched upon to give an overview of the problem to be dealt with in this study. In this chapter, however, a complete and comprehensive account of it will be presented.

Alisjahbana (in Fishman, ed. 1974) writes that ML has dominated the southern part of South-East Asia since the seventh century A.D. Its dominant position within this part of the world is the result of a combination of geographical, historical, social, and cultural factors.

A map of South-East Asia (see Map 1) shows that the Indonesian archipelago and the Malay peninsula occupy a very large area of South-East Asia. Overlaid on a map of Europe, the area stretches from Ireland to the Caspian Sea, and on a map of the United States, from Los Angeles to Boston. The area is made up of thousands of islands, and the larger islands are divided by high mountain ranges into hundreds of small isolated districts. Over the centuries, hundreds of languages and dialects have developed, and while almost all of them are members of the Austronesian or Malayo-Polynesian language family, the differences between them are so great that they are mutually unintelligible.

It is for this reason that there arose the need for a single common language, understandable not only to the natives of the archipelago but also to the waves of foreigners coming to what is now Indonesia and Malaysia. During periods when the archipelago was dominated politically and culturally by foreign powers there was a tendency for the language of that culture or power to serve as the language of official intercourse. Examples of this are Sanskrit during the Buddhist period, Arabic during the age of Islam, Dutch and English during the Dutch and British colonial periods, and Japanese during the Japanese occupation.

Nonetheless because the structure of these foreign languages differed so greatly from those of the native languages of Indonesia and Malaysia, and because they were comprehensible only to a thin stratum of society, there had to be a second lingua franca, one that was less alien to the native peoples of South-East Asia. ML was widely accepted for this purpose.

It is worth mentioning here that the acceptance of ML as a lingua franca was also facilitated by the fact that the Malay people do not constitute a majority ethnic group as do the Javanese, for instance. Other ethnic groups have little 'fear' of being dominated by the native speakers of ML.[1] The use of ML among the different ethnic groups was voluntary (Isman 1977).

Map1: Indonesian archipelago in the context of South-East Asia

Thus, the attitude of the Indonesian people towards ML and later towards IN has been a favourable one. In regards to this, the proceedings of the Seminar on National Language Policy held in Jakarta in February 1975 best summarise the current view of the Indonesian people on the status and functions of IN. The seminar concluded that IN does enjoy the status of a national language (and has ever since the Youth Pledge of 1928) and the official language of Indonesia (as was stipulated in the Constitution of 1945).

As the national language of Indonesia, IN functions as:

1. a symbol of national pride

2. a symbol of national identity

3. an instrument for uniting the diverse ethnolinguistic groups, and

4. a means of inter-cultural communication among the ethnic groups.

As the state language of the Republic of Indonesia, IN functions as (Halim 1976):

1. the official language of the state

2. the official medium of instruction in educational institutions

3. the official means of communication at the national level for planning, development, and government activities, and

4. the official language in the development of culture, science, and technology.

2.1.1 A brief survey of earlier studies on ML and IN

Of the Indonesian scholars who have written books on IN grammar and articles on the development of IN it is Alisjahbana who heads the list.

In one of his articles on language planning, Alisjahbana postulated that new nations such as Indonesia have the opportunity to develop and mould their languages in a more purposeful and systematical fashion, one that is based on findings in the field of linguistics and its related sciences, and further, by using what he calls a 'language engineering' approach a linguist can direct the growth of the language very much in accord with his own ideas (Alisjahbana 1971 and 1974).

In another article, Alisjahbana calls the emergence of ML, through IN and Mal, as one of the modern languages of the world a most remarkable occurrence (Alisjahbana in Fishman, ed. 1974:391). Furthermore he states that from the point of view of its development the decision to make ML the official language of Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei was clearly the end result of a long historical and social process during which there occurred numerous political and sociological conflicts. ML had been the lingua franca of this geographic area for over a millenium: the topography of this area determined the emergence of some 250 separate but related languages; however, the development of trade and political and cultural contacts brought about the necessity of a lingua franca (Alisjahbana in Rubin and Jernudd, eds 1971:180).

Alisjahbana cites four reasons for the rise of ML as a lingua franca of South-East Asia. First, geographically, ML was favoured as a lingua franca because it was used on both sides of the Strait of Malacca. Second, for centuries the fact that this area formed the political centre of South-East Asia and that Sriwijaya, Malacca, and Aceh were also great centres of trade, only helped to accentuate the already favourable position of ML in this area. Third, it was the Malays, a seafaring people, who populated the coastal areas of Sumatra, Borneo, the Malay peninsula, and other islands. Fourth, the very simplicity of ML itself enhanced its use as a lingua franca (Alisjahbana in Fishman, ed. 1974).

In the article published in Rubin and Jernudd, eds (1971), Alisjahbana admits that the first effort towards putting language planning theories into practice was made during the Japanese occupation (1942-1945). He wrote:

> Although it was clear from the outset that the Japanese view on the language problem in Indonesia was quite different from that of the Indonesian national movement (i.e., the Japanese wanted to make the Japanese language the official language of Indonesia as they had in Formosa and in Korea), the exigencies of war forced the Japanese occupation forces to carry out the Indonesian national goals for their language. Almost immediately the Dutch language was forbidden. All legal pronouncements for Indonesians took place in the Indonesian language, and Indonesian became the sole medium of instruction in the schools (Alisjahbana in Rubin and Jernudd, eds 1971:181).

Since Indonesian high-school and university instruction during the Dutch regime was given almost entirely in Dutch, naturally there were neither enough teachers competent in IN nor the necessary textbooks and reading materials. To produce high-school textbooks, a translation committee was set up within the *Balai Pustaka* (government publishing house) and given the responsibility of translating Dutch textbooks into IN. However, it soon became clear to this committee that in order to do its work a great number of equivalent IN terms would have to be found or be created. These translators, together with other interested persons, organised meetings to discuss and codify new terms. Lists of new terms were subsequently published in *Pandji Pustaka* (Banner of Literature), a magazine of the *Balai Pustaka*.

The Japanese authorities too soon became aware of the lack of necessary terminology and, after some hesitation, established an Indonesian language committee, whose task was to standardise the language and to equip it with the modern vocabulary necessary for administrative, educational, and other uses. At its first meeting the committee decided to divide its work into three sections: (1) coining terminology for scientific and technological purposes (2) composing a modern grammar, and (3) selecting which everyday words were to be incorporated into the standard language.

Slametmuljana is another leading scholar of modern IN and author of several books on the subject, two of which are concerned with the development of IN and the national language policy (Slametmuljana 1959 and 1964). His other books are on IN grammar and literature (see Bibliography).

In his introductory remarks made at the opening ceremony of the seminar on IN held in Jakarta in 1968[2], he said:

> Among the emerging nations of South-East Asia Indonesia is blessed to possess a national language. Many factors, psychological, sociological and political as well, have helped to enhance the development of IN for that purpose. The third ideal of the Youth Pledge of 1928 has been realised since independence was proclaimed in 1945.

> Forty years have passed since the Youth Pledge was first made and during that time IN has developed very significantly, vertically as well as horizontally,

especially so after the proclamation of independence. Horizontal development includes the expansion of that area in which IN is spoken. IN is now used throughout the archipelago from Sabang (in northernmost Sumatra), to Merauke (in easternmost Irian Jaya). Vertical development coversd the addition of new domains of social interaction in which IN is used, and now consists of all strata of society from the market place to the national parliament, from elementary schools to universities, from becak drivers to the president of the Republic of Indonesia (Slametmuljana 1971)

Slametmuljana also looked into the origins of the Indonesian people and their languages and concluded that there is a linguistic link between the South-East Asian continent, in particular with peninsular Malaysia, Cambodia and Vietnam (including the mountain ranges inhabited by Champa and Jarai peoples) and Austronesia (Slametmuljana 1975:31).

H.B. Jassin is more a literary critic and essayist than a linguist. However, he has written articles on the development of IN and IN literature. One of his works, entitled *Bangkitnya generasi baru* deals with the emergence of a new generation of Indonesian writers: *Angkatan 66* (Generation 66) (Jassin 1968).

In his opinion the events of the mid-60s in Indonesia including the virtual destruction of the country's administrative structure by major abuses which would eventually bring the country to the brink of catastrophe led to the sudden rise of a new generation of poets, writers, and intellectuals.

As a literary critic Jassin has been praised by internationally acknowledged authors. Among his other works he published a timely analysis of Armijn Pane's *Belenggu* (Fetters). After the revolution he conducted a survey of the literature written during the Japanese period, and published a comprehensive survey thereof. He has carried out the invaluable work of preserving and recording literature and his collection of Indonesian literature is one of the best in the world.

Even now he contributes regularly to journals and his books on Amir Hamzah, Chairil Anwar and most recently on *Pudjangga Baru* are excellent examples of meticulous documentation. In a country where there has been such wide-scale loss of documents and data necessary for historical research, his work must be considered all the more valuable. Teeuw has called Jassin 'the custodian of modern Indonesian literature' (Teeuw 1967). Zuber Usman, another contemporary of Alisjahbana has written at least two books on the historical development of IN (Usman 1960 and 1970). Most of his other books are readers for high-school students learning to read IN written in Arabic script (Jawi)[3].

In his book *Bahasa persatuan, kedudukan, sejarah dan persoalan-persoalannya* (The unifying language; its status, history and problems) Zuber Usman presents an historical account of the growth of ML as the unifying language of Indonesia. The account is fragmented however, and it is therefore difficult to get an overall picture of the historical process whereby ML became IN. Furthermore, his treatment stops at 1945, the year marking the end of the Japanese occupation of Indonesia. Nevertheless, he does remark on some of the more interesting highlights of the development of ML and recounts how Haji Agus Salim delivered a speech in ML at the Volksraad (People's Council) in 1918 in order

to demonstrate that ML was capable of standing beside Dutch as an official language. Later, the Dutch government by Royal Decree of June 25, 1918 permitted members of the council to use ML side by side with Dutch in the Volksraad (Usman 1970).

Among the younger generation of authors the name of Umar Junus has to be mentioned first. He is well known for his book *Sedjarah dan perkembangan kearah Bahasa Indonesia dan Bahasa Indonesia* (ML and the history and development towards IN), wherein he purposefully makes a distinction between 'towards IN' and 'IN', in order to facilitate his discussion of IN and the language which is its source, ML. According to Umar Junus if only the term 'IN' is used, it would be impossible to discuss elements present in the language before it became IN, that is, when it was still ML. His notion of 'towards IN' can be replaced by ML and the distinction he makes is basically one of ML versus IN.

Junus systematises his old opinion and his new one concerning the origin of IN as follows:

   a) IN came into existence on October 28, 1928, at the All Indonesian Youth Congress.

   b) Before that time the language was not called IN, but rather, ML.

His reasons for changing his opinion are as follows:

   c) IN officially came into existence on October 28, 1928.

   d) While IN did exist prior to this time, its existence had not been made manifest. This term IN was used by a group of Indonesian nationalists.

   e) The IN which existed before 1928 cannot be said to be the same as ML, which also existed at that time.

Concerning the date when IN came into existence other opinions are that:

   1. IN came into existence in 1920.

   2. IN came into existence in 1945.

   3. IN is the same as ML.

Junus's opinion, however, that IN came into existence in 1928 is more prevalent than the other three.

Most of Junus's other publications are on IN grammar. He has written articles on IN syntax, grammatical problems and literature, and published a number of essays on the Minangkabau language and culture.

Samsuri, a linguist by profession whose Ph.D. dissertation (1965) was entitled *Introduction to Rappang Buginese grammar*, has also published books and articles on Indonesian linguistics. He has been an active participant in seminars and workshops sponsored by the Center for Language Development on the topic of standardisation of IN. With Yus Rusyana he co-edited *Pedoman penulisan tatabahasa Indonesia* (Handbook of correct IN grammar). His other works include a discussion of IN prosody, IN phonology, the structure of IN, Verbal prefix di in IN, etc.

Following is a list of other contemporary linguists, language planners and writers who have published studies dealing with the development of IN, the standardisation of IN and or aspects of IN grammatical structure. The list includes the names of Amran Halim (1971, 1972a, 1972b, 1974, 1976, and Halim, ed. 1976), Harimurti Kridalaksana (1968, 1968a, 1972), Anton M. Moeliono (1973, 1975), S. Effendi (1972, 1976), Lukman Ali (1966), A. Latief (1971), Siti Baroroh Baried (1970), I Wayan Bawa (1973, 1974), J.W.M. Verhaar (1970), J.S. Badudu (1970, 1971, 1974), M. Ramlan (1964, 1967, 1971), Gorys Keraf (1970, 1971), M. Silitonga, Daulat Tampubolon (1978), Maruli Butar-Butar (1978), Septy Ruzui (1968), U.U. Hamidy (1971), Ajip Rosidi (1965, 1976), Yus Rusyana (1976), B.M. Hoed (1978), Jakob Isman (1977), Asis Safioeddin (1974), Djoko Kentjono (1971), Ukun Suryaman (1978), Soepomo (1978), Syahruddin Kaseng (1975), Affandi (1971), Retmono (1976), Giri Kartono (1976), S. Wojowasito (1961, 1970a, 1970b, 1973, 1976), etc. Some of these writers have been much more productive than others. Collectively, however, they have all made positive contributions to the standardisation of IN.

At the top of the list of foreign scholars who have written books or articles about ML grammar or the development of IN is the name of A. Teeuw. His book, *Modern Indonesian literature* (Teeuw 1967) is considered by many to be the first book in any western language to tell the story of the emergence of modern Indonesian man as reflected in his literature.

According to Teeuw (1967) by 1928 the ideal of unity, and that of one national language, had fully matured. It was in that year that the regional youth organisations decided to merge into one general, all-Indonesian association *Indonesia Muda* (Young Indonesia) and, in October of that same year, at the All Indonesian Youth Congress in Jakarta, the historic resolution referred to above was made. Since that time many people have come to regard the Youth Pledge as the starting point of IN as both the medium and symbol of national freedom.

Another highly praised work of Teeuw's is *Pokok dan tokoh dalam kesusastraan Indonesia baru* (Topics and figures in Modern Indonesian literature), the third edition of which was published in Jakarta in two volumes in 1955.

His other famous work is his *Critical survey of studies on Malay and Bahasa Indonesia*, which contains all publications known to him which are wholly or partly devoted to Malay and IN, or are important for the study of these languages, up to the year 1960. It also contains all articles published in the four post-War, semi-scholarly periodicals in Malay and Indonesia, *Dewan Bahasa*, *Pembina Bahasa Indonesia*, *Medan Bahasa*, and *Bahasa dan Budaya*, which pertain to the Malay language (Teeuw 1961).

A list of western scholars who have worked on ML or IN would also include Brandstetter (1916, 1956, 1957, 1957b), Cense and Uhlenbeck (1958), Coolhaas (1971), Emeis (1945, 1946, 1949, 1952), Fokker (1951, 1968, 1972), Ophuijsen (1902, 1929), Hooykaas (1939), Rubin (1971), Kähler (1956), Tanner (1967), Wolff (1971), etc.

Special mention should be made here of the work carried out by Joan Rubin and her colleagues. In 1971 she worked in Indonesia as the country coordinator of the study of

language planning processes. The research was carried out under a three-year research grant awarded by the Ford Foundation to Drs Fishman and Ferguson to study language-planning processes in four to five countries, one of which was Indonesia (Rubin and Jernudd, eds 1971). When the full report of this research is published, it will be an interesting source of information.

Malaysian scholars who have written books and articles on the development of ML into Mal include Syed Nasir bin Ismail, Asmah binte Haji Omar, Ismail Hussein, A. Siswa Sukaryaditisna (1962), etc.

In an article by Asmah binte Haji Omar, the most productive of the Malaysian linguist-writers, (Asmah bt. Haji Omar 1967) the author gives an account of the efforts made to standardise the spelling systems of ML in Malaysia and Indonesia. She sees great differences between Mal and IN, not only in their vocabularies but also in their spelling systems. Items of vocabulary from IN are easily absorbed into Mal and vice versa, thus helping to reduce the gap between the two. But one factor that keeps the two languages separate is their different spelling systems. When mention is made of unification or standardisation of Mal and IN, what is really meant is unification or standardisation of the spelling systems used in the two countries. In fact an agreement for such a unification was reached in 1972.

2.1.2 The position of ML (and later) IN among various indigenous vernaculars of the Indonesian archipelago

At the Congress on IN held in Medan from October 28 to November 2, 1954 a resolution was adopted proclaiming ML to be the origin and base of IN. The resolution reads:

> The origin of IN is ML. IN is based on ML which has developed and been enriched through the inclusion of items from other vernaculars of the Indonesian archipelago (Singgih 1973:10)[4].

The Congress, however, did not clarify which variant of ML is the origin and base of IN. Many were in existence at that time and included ML-Riau, ML-Deli, ML-Jakarta, ML-Ambon, ML-Malaya, ML-Makassar, and ML-Ambon, etc.

2.1.2.1 The area where ML is spoken natively

The problem of ML and ML-variants or dialects is a particularly complicated one, and at present we have neither the necessary data nor the clear-cut criteria with which to reach any satisfactory conclusions. For many centuries ML has been used throughout a great geographic expanse. It has spread, through dispersion and colonisation, the intensive contact of many ML speakers with the local populations, by mixing and influencing in various ways and at very different periods and with differing intensity. An extremely intricate complex of ML, ML-like and ML-influenced languages and dialects has come into existence over a very extensive area, some examples of which are given above.

In terms of written materials, the term **Melayu** was first found in one of the chronicles of the old Kingdom of Jambi (Hamidy 1973). The word was used to denote one of the vernaculars spoken in that kingdom (Mees 1954, Iskandar 1957). Years later, however, the

term **Bahasa Melayu** was used not only to refer to that particular vernacular, but also to other languages as well. Western scholars, especially those of the Netherlands and Great Britain, have used ML as a cover term for IN and Mal. Emeis uses the term Classic Malay for ML of the pre-*Pudjangga Baru* era and Modern Malay for ML of the post-*Pudjangga Baru* period. Dutch scholars cite no difference between IN and ML and omit the term IN altogether.

Looking at the opinions of the Indonesian scholars for a moment Jassin (1954) and Nursinah Supardo (1956) treat ML of *Balai Pustaka* as the same as IN, with IN prior to the *Balai Pustaka* being called ML. Umar Junus (1965) makes a clear-cut distinction between ML and IN and in his opinion IN came into existence only on 28 October 1928. Moeliono (1968) considers that ML-Riau, the vernacular spoken by the people inhabiting Riau proper and the islands near-by, is the origin and base of IN as was intended by the resolution passed by the Congress of 1954 on IN in Medan.

If we look closely at the deliberations of the Congress on IN in Medan, it is in fact ML-Riau that is implicitely referred to as the origin and base of IN.

2.1.2.2 Other vernaculars of the Indonesian archipelago

The Republic of Indonesia, made up of more than 3000 islands, is extremely rich in languages. According to Esser (1951), Alisjahbana (1954), Hadidjaja (1861), Iskandar (1957), and Adinegoro (1954), about 200 languages are spoken in Indonesia. Salzner (1960), however, is of the opinion that there are only 69 languages to be found in the Indonesian archipelago.

Lembaga Bahasa Nasional (LBN), the Institute of National Language, and the forerunner of the Center for Language Development, made an inventory of the languages of Indonesia between 1969-1971, and its report, published in 1972, cited 418. This number can not be considered to be final however and will probably increase if another survey on the languages of Indonesia is undertaken.

Of the three figures above, the LBN figure can be considered to be reliable. The methodology LBN employed in carrying out its language inventory is convincing enough. The project leader prepared a list of languages of every province and sent it to a person residing in each of the provinces to check and to then recheck its accuracy. In due time the project leader received feedback from the informants on the actual linguistic situation of each of the provinces and this information was entered into the national compilation of languages in Jakarta, the accumulation of which was the report published in 1972 (LBN 1972).

The Republic of Indonesia is made up of 27 provinces,[5] including Aceh, North Sumatra, West Sumatra, Riau and the islands near by, Jambi, Bengkulu, South Sumatra, Lampung; Metropolitan Jakarta, West Java, Central Java, Jogyakarta, East Java; Bali; West Nusa Tenggara, East Nusa Tenggara and East Timor which comprises the Greater and Lesser Sundas; West Kalimantan, Central Kalimantan, South Kalimantan, East Kalimantan; South Sulawesi, South-East Sulawesi, Central Sulawesi, North Sulawesi; Moluccas; and Irian Jaya or West New Guinea (see Map 2).

Map2: Areas where ML-Riau is spoken natively

The languages found on the Island of Sumatra are: Aceh, Gayo, Alas, Anak Jame, Kluet, Singkel, Melayu Tamiang, Pulo Simeulue Timur, and Simeulue Barat in Aceh; Melayu Deli,

Batak Simalungun, Batak Toba, Nias, Batak Angkola (Mandailing), Batak Karo, Batak Dairi, Minangkabau Tapanuli, Lubu and Uli in North Sumatra; Minangkabau Limo Pulueh Koto, Minangkabau Agam dan Batipoh X Koto, Minangkabau Ranah Paisisie, Minangkabau Tanah Data and Mentawai in West Sumatra; Melayu Riau, Minang Riau-Rokan, Minang Riau-Banai, Minang Riau-Pasir, Pangiraian, Sakai, Minang Riau-Kampar, Minang Riau-Taluek Kuantan, Talang Mamak, Orang Hutan, Akek, Orang Laut and Banjar-Tembilahan in Riau and the islands near by; Melayu-Jambi, Minangkabau-Jambi and Kerinci in Jambi; Muko-Muko, Pekal, Rejang, Lembak, Melayu-Bengkulu, Serawai, Pasemah, Mulak and Enggano in Bengkulu; Palembang, Kubu, Musi, Rawas, Pasemah, Enim, Ogan, Komering, Melayu-Bangka, Melayu-Belitung, Semenso, Sekak and Orang Lom in South Sumatra; Lampung, Melayu-Lampung, Melayu-Pertengahan, Jawa-Lampung and Sunda-Lampung in Lampung.

The languages of the islands of Java and Madura are: Javanese, Sundanese, and Madurese.

The languages of Bali are: Bali, Bali-Aga, Bali-Jawa, Bali-Sasak, Melayu-Kampung, and Bugis Bali.

The languages spoken on the islands of Nusa Tenggara are: Sasak Pejanggik, Sasak Salaparang, Sasak Bayan, Sasak Tanjung, Sasak Pujuk, Sasak Sembalun, Sasak Tebango, Sasak Pengantep, Sasak Bali, Semawa, Semawa Baturotok, Semawa Taliwang, Bima-Komodo, Bima-Donggo and Bima-Sangiang in West Nusa Tenggara; Tetun, Buna, Kemak, Dawan, Kupang, Amarasi, Roti, Sawu, Sumba, Alor, Kedang, Lamahalot, Sika, Ende, Ngada and Manggarai in East Nusa Tenggara.

The languages found on the Island of Kalimantan are: Melayu-Kalimantan, Kendayan, Iban, Kantuk and Punan in West Kalimantan; Banjar-Kuala, Rantau-Kandangan, Birajang-Labuhan, Amuntai-Tanjung and Melayu-Bugis in South Kalimantan; Bekumpai-Dayak in the Province of Central Kalimantan; Berau, Kutai, Pasir, Bulongan, Tidung, Kenyah, Tanjung, Benua, Bahau, Kayan, Putuk, Punan, Basap, Penihing, Lebbu and Bajau in East Kalimantan.

The languages of the Island of Sulawesi are: Buginese, Makassarese, Mandarese, and Torajanese in South Sulawesi; Tolaki Mekongga, Tolaki Konawe, Moromene, Wawonii, Kulisusu, Muna, Kabaena, Mawasangka, Laporo, Mandati, Wanci, Lia, Gu, Wolio, Kapota, Takimpo, Kondawa, Wabula, Holimombo, Kaledupa, Kadatua, Sioumpu, Cia-Cia, Tomia, Binongko, Wali and Menui in South-east Sulawesi; Buol, Toli-Toli, Dondo, Dampal, Tialo, Dampelas, Tajio, Balaesang, Rai-Kaili, Laujo, Tara-Kaili. Ledo, Ija, Daa, Moma, Uma-Pipikoro, Unde-kaili, Napu, Bada, Pamona-Bare'e, Wana, Mori, Bungku, Bajo, Menui, Saluan, Balantak and Banggai in Central Sulawesi; Talaud, Bolaang Mangondow, Bulaang Uki, Gorontalo, Limboto, Tilamuta, Kewandang, Sumalata and Bunne in North Sulawesi.

The languages found in the Province of Maluku are: Loda, Tobelo, Dodingga, Ka'u, Isam, Waioli, Sahu'u, Galela, Ibu, Ternate, Tidore, Buli, Sawai, Patani, Maba, Weda, Makian Timur, Makian Barat, Kayoa, Wange'e, Kadai, Seboyo, Talo, Seho, Biha, Samada, (M)bono, Mangole, Sanana, O(m)bi, Bacan, Masarete, Waesama, Kayeli, Lisela, Ambelu, Seram Barat, Seram Timur, and Goram.

Sumatra: 1 Aceh
2 North Sumatra
3 West Sumatra
4 Riau
5 Jambi
6 South Sumatra
7 Bengkulu
8 Lampung

Java: 9 Metropolitan Jakarta
10 West Java
11 Central Java
12 Jogyakarta
13 East Java

Kalimantan: 14 West Kalimantan
15 Central Kalimantan
16 South Calimantan
17 East Kalimantan

Sulawesi: 18 North Sulawesi
19 Central Sulawesi
20 South Sulawesi
21 Southeast Sulawesi

Nusa Tenggara: 22 West Nusa Tenggara
23 East Nusa Tenggara
24 East Timor

Other Islands:
25 Bali
26 Mollucas
27 West Irian

Map 3: The Republic of Indonesia by Provinces

The languages spoken in the Province of Irian Jaya are: Lakahia, Kowiai, Kaniran, Karas, Faur, Patimuni, Kapaur, Onin, Baham, Irartu, Modan, Yaban Arandai, Yaban Weriagar, Samalek, Mogao, Barau, Sumeri, Niriga, Konda, Kaibus, Moraid, Kalabra, Matbar, Laganyan, Salawati, Misol, Waigeo, Batanta, Raja Ampat, Saparan, Sakabu, Amber, Maibar, Mintamani, Madik, Karon, Amberbaken, Meyach, Mansin, Maro, Hattam, Manikam, Mapia, Biak Numfor, Wandama, Tandia, Goni, Your, Nagara Madu, Iresim, Tarunggara, Mor, Waropen, Pentanden, Pom, Ansus, Natobui, Basami, Serui laut, Turu, Ambai, Wabo, Warabori, Pouwi, Komboi-Ramboi, Kauweraweti, Monau, Tori, Tamaya, Saberi, Tor, Kwesten, Umma, Anus, Sarmi, Mawas, Bonggo, Sufrai, Mremgi, Saweh, Nimboran, Kantuk, Mungge, Wemenggong, Kwangsu, Muris, Nafri, Sentani, Tanah Merah, Humboldt Baai, Urmu, Sko, Sangke, Taikat, Awye, Ampas, Skofro, Tabu, Waris, Waina, Yeti, Wargarindem, Kiamerop, Dera, Wada, Pekekhem, Dani, Ibele, Timorini, Wauwa, Dem, Uhun Duni, Enggipulu, Moni-Mon, Awemblink, Wolani, Ekari, Simori, Yabi, Mimika, Yanur, Sempan, Nafaripi, Asmat, Awyu-Syagha, Yaqai, Kati, Boaji, Yei, Kanum, Moraori, Marina, Oser, Maklew, Yelmek, Mombum, Kimaghama, Dom and Riantana.[6]

2.2 THE SHAPING OF A LINGUA FRANCA

Earlier it was mentioned that the word *Melayu* was first found in one of the chronicles of the old Kingdom of Jambi and that while the word originally referred to a particular language spoken in that kingdom, it came to be used as a cover term for IN and Mal or any other language structurally close to them. The language referred to as Melayu—ML—for many centuries had been the medium of contact for the entire archipelago. It served not only as a lingua franca for the Indonesian peoples but also as the contact language for Indonesians and foreigners (Teeuw 1967).

Ancient Chinese chronicles appear to give evidence of this. At the beginning of the Christian era, Chinese travellers coming to Indonesia found there to be a sort of Indonesian lingua franca in the archipelago, which they called *Kw'en lun*. Although the name *Kw'en lun* also denoted a number of other native languages in South-East Asia, that it was used to refer to a form of ML is clear from the notes of *Itsing*, who commented that Sriwijaya was a great centre of learning, where translations were made from the native language into Chinese[7] (Alisjahbana in Fishman, ed. 1974, Teeuw 1967).

The peoples inhabiting the islands of the Indonesian archipelago belong to the Austronesian family and the languages spoken by them belong to the Austronesian language family (Kern 1957, Mees 1967, Wojowasito 1961). ML is one the of Austronesian languages and is native to Riau, the islands near by and the western coast of the Malay peninsula.

Being a member of the Austronesian family of languages, and thus sharing many similarities with other Austronesian languages, ML was readily acceptable as a lingua franca to peoples from outside its area of origin.

Though genealogical and historical factors did exist that were favourable to the spread of ML to the other regions of South-East Asia, the language would never be in the position it now enjoys without political and cultural support. Several political powers were involved in fostering the spread of ML: the Kingdom of Sriwijaya, the Malay Kingdoms, and the Kingdom of Riau and Lingga and the islands near by. These kingdoms cover a time period

stretching from the seventh to the nineteenth centuries A.D. during which time ML developed and spread progressively from its status as merely a native tongue to that of a language of contact among the peoples of the Indonesian archipelago and on to its more prestigious status as the second official language of the Dutch colonial administration.

2.2.1 The era of the Kingdom of Sriwijaya (7th - 11th centuries A.D.)

As a maritime kingdom, Sriwijaya flourished within a relatively short period of time and this was made possible by its strategic location on the Strait of Malacca, an important centre of commerce for centuries where travellers from East and West and from the Indonesian archipelago as well met each other and exchanged their goods as is shown clearly by chronicles from this period. ML, or an older form of it, ML-kuno, was the official language of this kingdom (Hamidy 1973, Alisjahbana in Fishman, ed. 1974).

Sriwijaya was the centre of all aspects of life within the kingdom and was the administrative centre of the territories under its control. It was the center of learning and of cultural and religious activity. In referring to Sriwijaya, Usman (1970) cites Gregorio F. Zaide, a Philippine historian:

> The Empire of Sriwijaya (Sri-Vishaya) emerged from the ashes of Pallawa's maritime colonialism and dominated Malaysia from the eighth century to 1377 A.D. Founded by Hindunized Malays, it was basically Malayan in might, Hinduistic in culture, and Buddhistic in religion. The empire was so named after its capital, Sri-Vishaya, Sumatra. At the height of its power under the Sailendra dynasty, it included Malaya, Ceylon, Borneo, Celebes, the Philippines, and part of Formosa, and probably exercised sovereignty over Cambodia and Champa (Annam) (Zaide 1950:36).

According to Mees (1954) Sriwijaya founded a Buddhist university whose students came from throughout the region it controlled. Some of the students even came from the neighbouring Kingdoms of Champa and Cambodia. The medium of instruction of that university and other centres of learning was ML-kuno (Hamidy 1973) or the *Kw'en lun* language (Alisjahbana in Fishman, ed. 1974).

Facts about *Kw'en lun* are limited and knowledge of it derives only from allusions made to it by travellers. A more solid basis was gained from discoveries of Malay or Malay-like inscriptions at Kedukan Bukit (685), Talang Tuwo (684), Kota Kapur (686), Karang Brahi (686), Gandasuli (832), Bogor (942) and, from a much later date, Pagarruyung (1356). Although there still remain uncertainties about the details of these inscriptions, it is a commonly held opinion that they are closest in language to Malay (Usman 1970 and Alisjahbana in Fishman, ed. 1974).

The Kedukan Bukit inscription found on the banks of the Tatang River in South Sumatra, dated 683 A.D. or 605 Caka, is considered to be the oldest inscription bearing the name of Sriwijaya. Its language is a mixture of ML-kuno and Sanskrit.

The Talang Tuwo inscription, dated 684 A.D., describes the construction of the *Criksetra* Park built on the order of His Highness Hyang Cri-Jayanaca for the well-being of all the

people and also contains sacred chants and hopes. In all, the inscription has the characteristics of Buddhist-Mahayana.

The Kota Kapur inscription found on the Island of Bangka, and the Karang Brahi inscription found in Jambi are, with the exception of the last sentence, the same in content. The last sentence of the Kota Kapur inscription is absent from the Karang Brahi inscription. Both inscriptions are dated 686 A.D. and both contain appeals to the gods guarding the Kingdom of Sriwijaya to punish the insincere and those who rebel against the sovereignty of Sriwijaya, and also to safeguard the well-being of those who are obedient and loyal to the king of Sriwijaya.

Given that the inscriptions just mentioned date from the time of Sriwijaya, it would be reasonable to assume that ML, or at least a ML-like language, played an important role as the lingua franca and official language of that time. Moreover, Itsing's description of the language indicates that it, alongside Sanskrit, played an important role in the political and religious life of the kingdom.

2.2.2. The era of Malay kingdoms (12th - 19th centuries A.D.)

A Sanskrit-influenced ML was dominant throughout the era of Sriwijaya. This is clearly shown by the inscriptions found in various locations in Sumatra. In the following era, however, that of the Malay Kingdoms stretching from the twelfth to the nineteenth centuries A.D., the language in use was virtually free from Sanskrit influence; the ruling kings were Malay descendants. This era can be divided into two major sub-eras: that of the Kingdoms of Bintan and Tumasik and that of the Malay Kingdoms of Riau. The latter sub-era is further divided into three periods: that of the Kingdom of Malacca, that of the Kingdom of Johore and that of the Kingdom of Riau and Lingga.

Within this era the spread of ML was extensive and its use went beyond the area of Malay proper. The arrival of the Europeans, and their subsequent use of ML, helped not only to spread its use but gave the language a status greater than that of the other Indonesian languages. Pigafetta, who accompanied Magellan on his first tour around the world, wrote the first glossary of ML while his ship waited at harbour in Tidore in 1521. His simple glossary is of great significance for it clearly shows that ML, which originated in western Indonesia, had already spread to the easternmost parts of the archipelago by that time. Sixty years later, Jan Huygen van Linschoten, a Dutch navigator who sailed to Indonesia, wrote in his *Itinerarium Schipvaert naar Oost ofte Portugaels Indien* that Malay (ML) was the language of the Orient, and that he who did not understand it was in somewhat the same position as Dutchmen of the period who did not understand French (Alisjahbana in Fishman, ed. 1974:393).

2.2.2.1 The sub-era of the Malay Kingdom of Bintan and Tumasik (12th - 13th centuries A.D.)

From the point of view of the development and the spread of ML, this period is not as important as the one that followed. Soon after the Kingdom of Bintan was established on the island of Bintan circumstances forced the King to move his capital to the island of Tumasik, the present site of Singapore. Later on, Tumasik was attacked by forces from the

Javanese kingdom of Majapahit and, once again, the centre of the kingdom was moved, this time to Malacca on the Malay peninsula. One should take note that these moves were made within the area of Riau, where ML is spoken natively.

It is estimated that these moves took place between 1100 and 1250. It is unfortunate that there remains no written record of the role of ML during the sub-era of the Bintan-Tumasik kingdoms. But, considering the fact that the area under these kingdoms' control was within the sphere of influence of Sriwijaya, this does help to shed some light on the relation of ML used during the Sriwijaya era and the ML used during the era of the Malay kingdoms.

Many linguists and orientalists consider ML-Sriwijaya to be a form of ML-kuno (classic Malay) and this is shown by the inscriptions of the seventh century. Junus (1969) is skeptical of the relation between ML-kuno and ML-Riau, but considering that between ML-Sriwijaya and ML-Riau there was ML-Bintan-Tumasik which would form an intermediary language, the link is established and Junus' reservations should be put to rest. Furthermore, if it is considered that any language is but the development of a previous language, the assumption that there is a relation between ML-Sriwijaya and ML-kuno is justified.

2.2.2.2 The sub-era of the Malay kingdoms of Riau (14th - 19th centuries A.D.)

At this point, for the sake of clarity, a distinction should be made between ML of the era of Sriwijaya and ML of the sub-era of the Malay kingdoms of Riau. As was mentioned earlier ML of the Sriwijaya era was heavily influenced by Sanskrit. Because of its antiquity some linguists refer to this language as ML-kuno (classic Malay). The language of the sub-era of the Malay Kingdoms of Riau was free from Sanskrit influence and had its own identity, that of Riau, and is therefore called ML-Riau.

2.2.2.2.1 The period of the Kingdom of Malacca (14th - 15th centuries A.D.)

At the beginning of the 14th century Majapahit forces attacked the kingdom of Tumasik, forcing it to move its administrative centre to Malacca on the Malay peninsula. The customs and the language of the kingdom followed and from that time onwards ML-Riau developed and spread to practically all of the Malay peninsula.[8]

Malacca flourished for more than 100 years. Strategically locationed at the gate to the Strait of Malacca, the most important sea route communication between East Asia and West Asia and Europe, between the Indian Ocean, the South China Sea and further the Pacific Ocean it was the busiest harbour in all of South-East Asia.

At the turn of the fifteenth century, the city also became the centre for the propagation of Islam; on its conversion Winstedt reports (Winstedt 1917:92):

> Perlak and Pasai in the north of Sumatra were the first Malay centres for the propagation of the Muhammadan faith and culture. At Pasai, in 1407 was buried Abdul'llah ibn Muhammad ibn Abdul'l-Kadir ibn Abdul'l-Aziz ibn Al-Mansur Abu Ja'far al-Abbasi al-Muntasir, a missionary from Delhi of the house of the

Abbasides who furnished with Caliphs from the time of Prophet till it was destroyed by the Turks in 1258. Pasai converted Malacca, a centre greater than itself.

Malacca was now the center of two activities: the development and the spread of ML-Malacca and the spread of the teaching of Islam. In fact, these two activities were carried out in unison, for the Muslim proselytisers, following in the wake of the sailors and traders, made use of ML.

In 1511, Portuguese mercenaries attacked and conquered Malacca and with that the centre of activities for both the development and the spread of ML and the teaching of Islam moved to Johore where a new phase in the development and spread of ML began.

Even as centre of the propagation of Christianity and under the domination of the Portuguese, Malacca did continue to play a central role in the spread and the development of ML. Thanks to the Portuguese, the use of ML was not limited only to South-Est Asia, but spread even further to centres of commerce in India and South China. It would be almost impossible to explain how Raniri, the great Islamic theologian and writer, who was born and raised in India, could have had such good command of ML on his arrival in Aceh in 1637, without first accepting that ML must have already been a much used language in Gujarat at the time (Alisjahbana in Fishman, ed. 1974:394).

ML found its way to Europe for, in the sixteenth century, it was ML that the princes of the Moluccas used when communicating with the king of Portugal. At the same time, when St Francis Xavier was fighting Islam in the Moluccas, it was ML he used in his expositions of the Christian faith, in order to induce the native inhabitants to embrace Christianity. He himself said that ML was the language everyone understood.

2.2.2.2.2 The period of the kingdom of Johore (16th - 17th centuries A.D.)

With the taking of Malacca by the Portugese in 1511, the centre of activity of the kingdom was moved to Johore, an area south of Malacca on the Malay peninsula. Its location, however, was not so strategic as that of Malacca in terms of the development and spread of ML and the teaching of Islam.

Nonetheless, the kingdom did contribute significantly to the maintenance of ML as it was during the period of the kingdom of Malacca. In Malacca, the name of ML-Malacca was retained, but to the language Portuguese elements were added and the language took on a somewhat 'pidgin' character. ML-Malacca before the Portuguese conquest was very much different from ML-Malacca under Portuguese domination. It was Johore that upheld the use of ML-Malacca, though under the name of ML-Johore, and acted as the new centre for the spread of Islam. To some extent, ML-Johore played the key role in the dissemination of Islamic teaching to various areas in the eastern part of the Indonesian archipelago.

The comprehensive and sophisticated Malay literature of the 16th and, even more so, the 17th century, so heavily influenced by Islamic thought bears witness to the role of ML-Johore in the spread of Islam. The role of ML in the Moluccas at the time, as was reported by St Francis Xavier, justifies the truth of the statement.

2.2.2.2.3 The Period of the kingdom of Riau and Lingga (18th - 19th centuries)

In 1719 Raja Kecil, the king of Johore, was forced to transfer the capital of his Kingdom to Ulu Riau, on the Island of Bintan, one of the Islands of the Riau group (Hamidy 1973). This transfer marked the beginning of another period in the development and spread of ML, that of the kingdom of Riau and Lingga. It was during this period that ML gained its Riau character and it is ML-Riau that is the ancestor of the language adopted as the national language of Indonesia on 28 October 1928.

The period of the kingdom of Riau and Lingga stretched from 1719, when it was established by Raja Kecil, to 1913, when the kingdom was officially liquidated by the Dutch colonial government.

During the almost 200 years of this kingdom's existence three years stand out as being significant to the development and the spread of ML-Riau: 1808, the year in which Raja Ali Haji was born, 1857, the year in which Raja Ali Haji completed his book *Bustanul Katibin*, a normative grammar of ML-Riau, and 1894, the year in which the printing office *Mathba'atul Riauwiyah* or *Mathba'atul Ahmadiyah* was established.

The establishment of the printing office *Mathba'atul Riauwiyah* was very important, and through the books and pamphlets it published, ML-Riau spread to other parts of the archipelago. No less in importance was the fact that the standardisation process of ML-Riau had now been started.[9]

2.2.3 The big split of 1824: the London Treaty

The wealth of the Indonesian archipelago and the Malay peninsula brought Europeans and, eventually, European domination and colonisation to this part of South-East Asia. The Dutch first came to Indonesia for business purposes, and on March 20, 1602, established the V.O.C. (*Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* = East India Company) to handle trading operations. This company operated in Indonesia for almost 200 years until 1799 when it was reorganised as a colonial administration.

Given the name *Nederlandsch Oost-Indië* by the Dutch (Netherlands East Indies), the Indonesian archipelago began to be colonised, a development which brought misery and oppression to most of the indigenous populations. In 1830, for instance, the Dutch colonial government introduced the so-called *cultuurstelsel* (system of obligatory cultivation) of sugar cane, coffee, indigo, and other commercial commodities very much in demand in the European markets; cultivation of these crops was enforced by the colonial military power.[10]

On the other side of the Strait of Malacca—on the Malay peninsula—the British colonial power was tightening its grasp. After Malacca fell to the Portuguese, the city became an important centre of commerce. Attracted by the wealth this port brought to the throne of Portugal, the British East India Company, at that time operating in the sub-continent of India, extended its operations to South-East Asia. Conflicts of interests soon arose among the three colonial powers, the British, the Dutch, and the Portuguese. From the point of view of the development and the spread of ML, the Dutch-English conflict was very

significant because the confrontation between the two powers eventually divided the region in which ML-Johore and ML-Riau were spoken after which the two branches began to develop seperately.

On 2 February 1819, about three centuries after the arrival of the Europeans in the Indonesian archipelago, Raffles, on behalf of the British colonial government, established the city of Singapore, on one of the islands of the Riau group. After that time, the Dutch and the British were in constant conflict with each other, which every once in a while resulted in armed clashes.[11]

In 1824 a settlement was reached in London to terminate the hostilities between the two colonial powers. This settlement, known as the London Treaty, included the division of the region into two parts with the Indonesian archipelago to be controlled by the Dutch, and the Malay peninsula, including Singapore, to be controlled by the British. The kingdom of Riau and Lingga fell under the Dutch colonial administration and, with that, the split between ML-Riau and ML-Johore was legally realised.

ML-Riau, spoken natively in the kingdom of Riau and Lingga and the islands nearby, developed and spread progressively in response to the needs of the communities which used the language as a means of oral communication.

From the time of the Treaty on, ML-Riau gained status in the world of literature. Literary works of high standard written by native speakers of ML-Riau began to be published. In 1857 Raja Ali Haji brought out his *Bustanul katibin*, a normative grammar book of ML-Riau. This grammar book was for many years used by schools in the kingdom of Riau and Lingga and in Singapore. Another book of Raja Ali Haji, a kind of encyclopaedic dictionary, was published in 1859.

Another well-known writer was Raja Ali Tengku Kelana, who wrote *Bukhiatul aini fi hurufil maani*, the sub-title of which reads: *Cita-cita bagi yang berkehendak mengenal huruf-huruf yang berarti* (Ideals for those who want to know the meaning of letters of the alphabet). The sub-title reveals that Raja Ali Tengku discusses what linguists now call 'phonemics'.

Abu Muhammad Adnan also figured prominently in the development and the enrichment of ML-Riau and is the author of *Kitab penolong bagi yang menuntut akan pengetahuan yang patut* (A book to assist those who strive for proper knowledge).

There were still other writers and men of letters who will not be discussed here but who contributed much to the enrichment, versatility and development of ML-Riau.[12]

The publications of Raja Ali Haji and the others were the first attempts to standardise ML-Riau; later on, at the beginning of the twentieth century these were used as references by Dutch scholars. ML-Riau, as it developed and became enriched, came to be identified by many linguists as High-Malay (ML-Tinggi).[13]

If the two variants of ML (ML-Riau on the Indonesian side and ML-Johore on the Malay peninsular side) are compared in terms of the literary works produced within the same period of time, the result will reveal some interesting points.[14] Both strains of literature were heavily influenced by Arabic. Islam and the palace life also figured significantly in literary works of the time that Raja Ali Haji and Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munsji were writing (Teeuw 1957, Junus 1969, Hamidy 1973, Rosidi 1964). The three characteristics went together hand in hand for, prior to the period, the two important centres, Pasai in Aceh, Malacca and later Johor on the Malay peninsula, which were strong political powers, supported the spread of the faith. The effective medium of communication to perform the job was ML.

One might note here that the literary works of Raja Ali Haji are equal, if not superior, to those of Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munsji, yet the name of Abdullah is much more dominant in ML literature than that of Raja Ali Haji (Hamidy 1973). Dutch and British scholars are responsible for this, for in discussions of the literature produced after 1824, the focus was always Abdullah's works, and little, if any, mention was made of the works of Raja Ali Haji. The motives behind this discrimination were political in nature.

Raja Ali Haji was an intellectual and close to the court of Riau and Lingga. Whenever there was a conflict with the Dutch colonial administration he stood by his king. In doing so he established himself as a man of principle who condemned the injustices of colonisation, and whose sympathies were reflected in his writing. Therefore, the Dutch viewed him as their enemy and many of the contributions he made to the development and enrichment of ML-Riau, and more importantly, the efforts he made to standardise the language, were not acknowledged properly by the Dutch, and even less so by the British.

The works of Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munsji, however, enjoyed the endorsement of the British and the Dutch and he is considered by many to be not only one of the men of letters of peninsular Malaya, but of Indonesia as well (Supardo 1956 and Gunadi 1962).

From the nationalistic point of view the decision to consider Abdullah as one of the men of letters of Indonesia is debatable. Abdullah resided in Singapore for most of his life. Moreover, he wrote under British colonial rule and consequently, never wrote anything that was related to Indonesian aspirations for independence. Even the aspiration of the people of peninsular Malaya to be free from British domination seemed to escape his observation. Unlike Raja Ali Haji's works, which protested European domination, Abdullah's works reflect an agreement with that domination and sometimes even praise it (Hamidy 1973).

As they developed and became richer, both variants of ML gained currency in their respective areas. ML-Riau became ML-Tinggi in the area of Riau and its immediate surroundings, and ML-Johore became ML-Malaya in the Malay peninsula. They are the seeds and the origins of the national languages of independent Malaysia and Indonesia.

2.3 THE SHAPING OF A NATIONAL LANGUAGE

2.3.1 ML-Riau as a second official language of the Dutch colonial administration in 1865

As was stated earlier, the V.O.C. (*Dutch East India Company*) first began its operations in Indonesia in the seventeenth century. Although the company was primarily a trading organisation, it did make attempts to propagate Christianity in Indonesia just as the Portuguese had done in peninsular Malaya. For this purpose, and as early as the seventeenth century, the V.O.C set up a number of schools whereupon it was immediately faced with the problem of what language to use for the instruction of the native inhabitants.

The transformation of the V.O.C. into a colonial government in the nineteenth century highlighted the need for a common language. The colonial administration needed to communicate with the Indonesian masses, and Dutch was unsuitable for this purpose.

It was true that the role of Dutch became increasingly strong and pervasive but it was used only at the higher levels of administration and could not be used in dealing with the masses. The colonial administration came up with at least three alternative solutions to the languge problem:

1. to propagate the use of Dutch

2. to use the different vernaculars of the peoples of the archipelago, or

3. to use ML-Riau.

Efforts to introduce Dutch presented a number of difficulties, and the local languages and vernaculars were so great in number that of the three alternatives only the third choice was deemed feasible by the colonial administration. ML-Riau's importance as a lingua franca and language of trade between foreigners (Indians, Chinese, Arabs, Europeans) and Indonesians as well as between Indonesians of different native tongues could not be overlooked. Moreover, it was the language used by foreign missionaries to spread their religious teachings, whether Islamic or Christian.

After a tour of Java in 1850, the Dutch Governor-General suggested that ML-Riau be made the ordinary medium of instruction in elementary and secondary schools for native Indonesians. He based his suggestion on the grounds that the language was the lingua franca of the entire archipelago and was used equally by all kinds of ethnic groups (Teeuw 1959).

Based on the endorsement of Governor-General Rochussen, the Dutch colonial government adopted ML-Riau as the second official language of its administration in 1865.

Other considerations were taken into account by the Dutch when deciding to make ML-Riau the second official language, three of which were that:

1. Historically, ML-Riau originated from ML of the seventh century (from the era of Sriwijaya) and from the different political centres had spread through almost the entire archipelago.

2. ML-Riau was much more developed and much richer than other vernaculars and, to some extent, had been standardised by Raja Ali Haji and other writers.

3. Many publications in many different fields, such as literature, history, theology, were already available in ML-Riau.

2.3.2 As an instrument for striving for independence

2.3.2.1 Dutch versus ML

As the second official language since 1865, ML functioned as a medium for communication between the higher strata of the governmental apparatus and the Indonesian population. In this position ML stood side by side with Dutch, because of which a kind of rivalry soon appeared between the two languages.

In the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the rivalry between Dutch and ML became increasingly keen and the Dutch colonial government's policy on the question of the language of instruction in elementary and secondary schools was repeatedly changed. Whereas Governor-General Rochussen felt that ML-Riau should be made the ordinary medium of instruction on the grounds that it was used equally well by all kinds of ethnic groups in ordinary social intercourse, the influence in the middle of the nineteenth century of Van der Chijs, who favoured the use of Dutch, was not without effect. Van der Chijs maintained that it was not enough for Indonesians to attend European schools; special schools for Indonesians had to be set up where they could learn to speak Dutch. With this end in view he proposed to establish a system of secondary schools and institutes of learning.

The turn of the century saw the rise of what was called an ethical trend in colonial policy, whereby attempts were made to impart to the Indonesians some understanding of European culture through teaching them something of the knowledge and the methodology of Western civilisation. J.H. Abendanon, as Director of the Department of Education in 1900, made strenuous efforts to foster and spread the use of Dutch throughout Indonesia for he was convinced that a knowledge of Dutch would be the shortest way for the Indonesian people to absorb Western culture.

Towards this goal, he instituted courses in Dutch in the People's Schools, which provided six years of education, and later made Dutch a compulsory subject in these schools from the third to the sixth grades. As a result Dutch became an extremely important subject of study not only in those schools but also, and in particular, in the Teachers' Colleges.

In 1901, C.A. van Ophuijsen published his *Kitab logat Melajoe* whose subtitle reads: *Woordenlijst voor de spelling der Maleische taal* (A book on the grammar of Malay: wordlist for spelling the Malay language). In the book he introduced the so-called 'Van Ophuijsen spelling system' which made use of the Roman alphabet.[15] A few years later, in 1908, the Dutch colonial administration set up a committee whose main task was to provide suitable reading materials for native Indonesians who were able to read and write in the 'Van Ophuijsen spelling system'. This committee, the *Commissie voor de Inlandsche School- en Volkslectuur* (Commission for the literature of native schools and popular literature) was soon publishing folktales and other literary works available in ML-Riau. The Commission also sponsored the translation of a number of Dutch literary works into ML.

Because of its success, the Commission was reorganised and in 1920 made into a more permanent office. It was given the name *Balai Pustaka*, the governmental bureau for popular literature.

Before its reorganisation, the Commission's primary task had been to collect and publish traditional popular literature. As a permanent office however its duties were expanded and within the framework of serving the need for good as well as inexpensive reading materials for the growing number of literate Indonesians, this Bureau began to stimulate the writing of original books by Indonesian authors and translating such Western pieces of literature into ML as were considered good and useful reading according to the standards of the officers in charge of the Bureau (Teeuw 1967:14).

The romanisation of ML-Riau and the establishment of the *Balai Pustaka* boosted the development and the spread of ML beyond all expectations and the Dutch colonial administration began to realise that the use of ML might 'boomerang' against their language policy. For not only had ML-Riau become the second official language of the administration, it was now being used as a symbol of the independence movement by nationalists who were striving for freedom from foreign domination. The time had come for a review of the language policy and changes in policy were soon seen.

Special schools were established for Indonesian children who wanted to study Dutch at a higher than elementary school level, and when Hazeu became Director of the Department of Education, Dutch began to be taught in the primary schools from the first grade upwards. In 1914 the Dutch colonial government set up the Dutch-Native Schools, where Dutch was used for seven years, as the medium of instruction. Children who graduated from these schools could then continue their education up to the most advanced level.

As a consequence of the new language policy Dutch assumed an increasingly important position in Indonesian society. It became not merely a precondition for furthering one's Western education but also for acquiring highly paid jobs. Apart from this, fluency in Dutch gradually came to be the mark of belonging to the new upper class of Indonesian society. Therefore, it was hardly surprising that every year thousands of parents struggled to enrol their children in the Dutch-Native Schools. However, the number of available spaces was far smaller that the number of applicants. People tried to learn the language in other ways, by enrolling in courses instituted by the *Algemeen Nederlandsch Verbond* (General Dutch Association) for example. A number of Dutch educational experts made great efforts to promote the use of Dutch in Indonesia and the most important of these people was G.J. Nieuwenhuis. With a conscious plan in mind he fought for the preeminence of Dutch for he saw it as an instrument of cultural and economic expansion. His stand on the language policy of the colonial administration was as follows:

> Anyone with the courage to look calmly into the future and yet with concern enough for his children and grand-children and enough feeling for reality and justice not to dream of eternal domination, should not expect a permanent relationship between the mother-country and the colony, but rather make every effort to ensure that some portion of what we have gained and created with so much toil and trouble be preserved for as long as possible. There is no more appropriate means to this end than the dissemination of our language. As with

every communication of intellectual substance, we shall have gained personal satisfaction for ourselves, and have laid the ground-work for an abiding unity of interests (Alisjahbana in Fishman, ed. 1974:188-189).

It was thus Nieuwenhuis's intention to make Dutch a unifying force in Indonesia. On this point he said that if the Dutch colonial government wanted to promote Indonesian unity, it should begin first with the highest social classes, and then, as the British did in India and the French in Annam, institute the use of a language acceptable for socio-cultural intercourse. Rejecting ML-Riau, Nieuwenhuis decided that this language would have to be Dutch.

In 1930 a strong sentiment arose against Nieuwenhuis's viewpoint on the language policy from two separate quarters. First of all a great many Dutchmen were dismayed and alarmed to see that steadily increasing numbers of Indonesians, admitted to secondary schools and the higher levels of education, were coming to occupy increasingly important government positions and were now clamouring for greater privileges. J.W. Meyer Ranneft and others opposed the imparting of Western education to the Indonesians on the grounds that it would have serious economic and cultural consequences.

Second, Indonesians themselves, in particular the Indonesian intelligentsia, reacted strongly against Nieuwenhuis's viewpoint. They had struggled to create organisations that would stir the consciousness of the common people and encourage their development and progress, but slowly had come to realise that they would never be able to create close ties with the masses by using Dutch as the medium of communication. Dutch was understood by no more than a tiny minority of Indonesians. On the premise that only by uniting the entire Indonesian people could they generate a force strong enough to challenge the colonial power, they began to look for a language which could be understood by the majority of the people. Their attention was drawn to ML-Riau.

This was the language situation in Indonesia at the outbreak of the Second World War.

2.3.2.2 ML-Riau as a symbol of the independence movement

The establishment of *Budi Utomo* (Beautiful Endeavour) on 20 May, 1908 is generally assumed to mark the beginning of the Indonesian nationalist movement. Initially this organisation 'sought the stimulation and advancement of the Javanese people towards a more harmonious development. It sought to strengthen them to face modern life by rejuvenating Javanese culture' (Van Niel 1960:56, 58).

But the establishment of this organisation was significant in that it epitomised the severing of traditional relationships, and from its founding, even the Javanese aristocracy made use of ML-Riau rather than of Javanese.[16]

In 1911 the first purely political party was founded, the *Indische Partij* (Indies Party) and was followed in 1912 by the establishment of *Sarekat Islam* (Islamic Union), the first modern mass-movement in Indonesia. During the next few years, the Indonesian intelligentsia and semi-intelligentsia who had arisen as a consequence of their Western or Western-oriented education, became more active and began to develop ideas and to organise themselves.

In this context young people played an important role; they organised themselves into various youth movements, including the youth branch of *Budi Utomo, Tri Koro Dharmo* (Three Noble Goals), founded in 1915 and soon reorganised as *Jong Java* (Young Java) after the establishment of the *Jong Sumatranen Bond* (Young Sumatran Union) in 1917. These youth organisations were essentially of a non-political character, but the young people active in them, mostly students at teachers' colleges, were unmistakably influenced by nationalistic aspirations.

Around 1920 the liberal Dutch Government was replaced by a conservative one and the new administration began to institute a stifling colonial policy. As a reaction to these measures, the ideal of an independent Indonesia began to take shape and the older concept of forming some kind of 'association' gave way to a struggle for complete independence (Teeuw 1967:3-4).

The first step towards making ML-Riau a symbol of the struggle for independence was probably taken by the *Jong Sumatranen Bond*. The program of its second congress reads as follows:

> The first day will be devoted to the discussion of social phenomena in Sumatra (geography, ethnology, history, customs, social conditions, etc.). Malay and Dutch languages both admitted. The second day will be used for discussion of the Malay language and literature. Only High (Riau) Malay admitted (Teeuw 1967:9).

From that time on, ML-Riau played an ever important role as the medium of communication within the nationalist movement. The native press, active since 1900, prepared the language for this role. It is worthwhile to note that it was primarily the journalists who became the political leaders and the opinion makers in the course of the struggle for independence.

Aware of the importance of the native press in disseminating the ideal of an independent Indonesia made the Dutch colonial administration set up a special office, the Bureau for Popular Literature, for the purpose of keeping as complete documentation as possible of the native newspapers. In 1918 the agency subscribed to 40 newspapers, but by the end of 1925 this number had grown to nearly 200 almost all of which used ML-Riau, the language which the nationalist movement in all its manifestations utilised, the language in which the leaders of the independence movements could reach the masses, the language in which the masses expected to hear new things which lay outside their daily local sphere of interest.

In 1926 the first Indonesian Youth Congress was held in Jakarta. Its main purpose was to unify the various youth organisations, which at that time were differentiated along regional and religious lines.[17] This congress is an indication of the growing feelings of unity within the nationalist movement as a whole and the rising tension between the nationalists and the colonial government.

One of the speeches at the Youth Congress of 1926 was given by Muhammad Yamin, and it dealt with the future possibilities of Indonesian languages and literature. The speaker stressed the practical advantages of spreading knowledge of ML-Riau amongst the Indonesians as the easiest and most obvious medium for inter-insular contact. He also put

forward his conviction that ML-Riau would become the obvious choice for Indonesians as a language for conversation and unity, and that the future Indonesian culture would find its expression in that language (Teeuw 1967).

In the same year, 1926, *Jong Java*, by far the largest youth organisation at that time, acknowledged ML as the medium of communication in its meetings, although its main asset at the time appeared to be that it was a *bahasa gampang*, an easy language.[18] One year later, however, during its 10th congress at Semarang, held from 26 to 31 December, 1927, this organisation too spoke of *persatuan Indonesia*, Indonesian unity, and of the national language, *Bahasa Indonesia*.

Thus far, ML-Riau had three roles or functions:

1. A traditional function: as the mother tongue of the people inhabiting Riau proper and the islands nearby,

2. An ad hoc function: as the second official language of the Dutch colonial administration,

3. A national function: as the language of the nationalist movements advocating Indonesia's independence.

2.3.3 ML as the language of *Balai Pustaka*

As was mentioned earlier the romanisation of ML-Riau and the setting up of *Balai Pustaka* (hereinafter BP) at the turn of the twentieth century accelerated the development and the spread of the language. From that time on, not only did ML-Riau function as the second official language of the colonial administration but it began to play the role of a literary language as well (Junus 1969).

BP contributed much to the development and the spread of ML-Riau. It gave the language the added role of a language of literature and provided people who were able to read ML-Riau with reading materials on popular science and literature. More importantly, it stimulated the writing of original books by Indonesian authors in many subjects, including novels and dramas.

BP took a strictly neutral stand on religious issues but political views contrary to government policy were unacceptable, and 'immoral' literary works were not considered for publication. Even with these restrictions BP did play a positive and stimulating role in the development of modern Indonesian literature. BP not only offered Indonesian writers publishing facilities unavailable to them anywhere else at the time but, because of its public libraries and local selling branches and the low prices as a non-profit making, government-supported institution, the low prices of its publications assured them of a large reading public.

It would be no exaggeration to say that the coming into being and the popularity of the modern Indonesian novel was largely made possible through the existence of BP. Most of the writers who produced nationalist-oriented literature were employed, for shorter or longer period by BP or at least had some of their work published there. This list would

include the leading men of the *Pudjangga Baru* group (Sanusi Pane, Amir Hamzah, Armijn Pane, Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana, etc.).

It is but proper to state that modern Indonesian literature was born together with the creation of BP around 1920. The writing of novels in pre-war times, as was manifested mainly through the channels of BP was facilitated by the existence of a lingua franca, that being ML-Riau, which was the language of BP from the time of its inception up to the time when that language was adopted as the national language of Indonesia.[19]

2.4 IN AS A NATIONAL LANGUAGE

2.4.1 The All Indonesian Youth Congress of October 28, 1928 in Jakarta: ML to become IN.

The Indonesian youth held their first congress was held from 30 April to May 1926 in Jakarta. The congress, under the leadership of M. Tabrani, had a two fold program: to spread nationalism and to foster unity among youth organisations. One of the speeches at the congress was given by Muhammad Yamin, and it dealt with the future of ML-Riau and its literature.

The congress contributed significantly to the development of a consciousness of Indonesian nationality, and the rapid advances made by those movements striving for Indonesian unity were stimulated by this new consciousness. One effect of the congress was that use of ML became increasingly widespread.

Two other important events took place in 1926: the recognition by *Jong Java* of ML-Riau as the medium of communication in its meetings and the establishment of *Perhimpunan Pelajar-Pelajar Indonesia* (Federation of student movements of Indonesia) in September in Jakarta, one of whose programs was to create a united youth organisation with which to challenge Dutch colonialism effectively. In propagating its objectives this new and more militant youth organisation made intensive use of ML-Riau (Reksodipuro and Soebagijo 1974).

Politically significant and linguistically decisive, the establishment of *Partai Nasional Indonesia* (The Indonesian Nationalist Party) on 4 July, 1927 in Bandung by Sukarno and his friends, in the hope of creating a united national movement, meant that the ideal of unity and of one national language had finally matured.

At the end of the same year, on 17 December, under the leadership of *Partai Nasional Indonesia* a federation of nationalist movements was established. Included in this federation, given the name *Permufakatan Perhimpunan-Perhimpunan Politik Kebangsaan Indonesia* (Federation of Indonesian Nationalist Movement), were Partai Nasional Indonesia, Partai Sarekat Islam (Islamic Union Party), Budi Utomo, Pasundan, Kaum Betawi, Sumatranen Bond, and various Study Clubs.

Pre-war nationalism reached its peak in 1928. Indonesian nationalism, the ultimate goal of the Federation of Indonesian Nationalist Movements, had fully matured, surpassing ethnic-group loyalties. Under the auspices of the Federation, a Committee was set up with the

task of convening the second congress of Indonesian youth organisations. In June 1928 the composition of the Committee was officially announced.[20]

A number of historical decisions were made at this two-day congress held on 27-28 October, 1928, which helped determine the course of history of the Indonesian people. At this congress the young delegates pledged that they were of one nation, one people and had one language, the Indonesian language. It was here that the word **Melayu** was replaced by **Indonesia** to describe the language. The decision not only settled the nomenclature of the language, but also its place in Indonesian society. The competition between Dutch and ML (now IN) was now at an end. The decision, of course, also meant acceptance of the task to develop IN further to enable it to replace Dutch as a means of entry into modern world culture (Alisjahbana in Fishman, ed. 1974).

2.4.2 IN as the language of Angkatan *Pudjangga Baru*

The proclamation of ML as the language of unity on 28 October, 1928 is regarded by the people of Indonesia as the real beginning of **Bahasa Indonesia** as both the medium and symbol of national freedom. Nonetheless at the time of the proclamation, a number of factors did exist which made it seem very doubtful whether ML would really be able to fulfill the role for which it had been cast by the youth of Indonesia. It is also true that some experts, including Hooykaas and Berg, were of the opinion that ML was unfit to become a modern civilised language (Hooykaas 1939 and Berg 1939).

In practice many Indonesians did in fact fail to live up to their ideal on many occasions after 1928. But whatever doubts once existed it cannot now be denied that the ideal has become reality and IN is the nation's medium of political unity, and modern literature.

The proclamation did not mean the immediate flowering of an impressive literature. Circumstances were against it. First of all, the number of writers skilled in the language at the time was very limited. Of those who did write in the pre-war years, most were Sumatrans with at least a partial Western education which made them receptive to literature in the modern sense of the word. Furthermore, potential literati were especially persons who had undergone teacher training, the number of whom was small. Second, political and social circumstances after 1928 were far from conducive to the flourishing of an Indonesian literature. The colonial government was suspicious of anything connected with the name Indonesia. It is true that BP strongly urged the production of reading material in this period and did not refrain even from publishing books which were of importance within the framework of nationalism; the term **Indonesia** was freely used. But active encouragement of all that the ideal of IN implied in the cultural field could hardly be expected in this period.

Despite the small number of people interested in literature during this period, there was a strongly felt need for an independent literary magazine. Until this time poems and literary essays had been published sporadically in journals, newspapers and other publications not purely devoted to literature. In 1932 *Panji Pustaka* (Banner of letters), a general weekly published by BP, started a literary column, which included poetry, but this hardly satisfied the aspirations of the nationalistically minded young authors. A year later, in July of 1933, the first issue of a new magazine *Pudjangga Baru* (New writers) appeared, whose editors

included Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana, Armijn Pane and Amir Hamzah. This was a magazine designed to promote IN and its literature. Indonesian political and cultural leaders of Indonesia rallied to its support.

Pudjangga Baru, with its sub-title *Majalah bulanan kesusasteraan dan bahasa serta seni dan kebudayaan* (Monthly magazine for literature, language, art and culture), was destined to play an important role in furthering the development and spread of IN and its literature. Though in the strict meaning of the term, it was a literary magazine only to a limited degree, it dominated the pre-war literary scene from 1933 onwards. In its third year, *Pudjangga Baru* changed its sub-title to *Pembawa semangat baru dalam kesusastraan, seni, kebudayaan dan soal masyarakat umum* (Bearer of a new spirit in literature, art, culture, and general social problems), and then later still to *Pembimbing semangat baru yang dinamis untuk membentuk kebudayaan baru, kebudayaan persatuan Indonesia* (Conveyer of a new, dynamic spirit for the formation of a new culture, a culture of Indonesian unity).

It is not surprising that so much attention was paid to the language problem, especially during the first years of *Pudjangga Baru*'s existence. The issue of IN as the national language of the country was a burning question, one that elicited lyrical glorifications as well as a growing critical awareness of a number of questions which arose from the historic decision of the Youth Congress of 1928. S. Yudho's song of dedication to the language is worth quoting here:

BAHASAKU

Bahasaku,
Pengantar jiwa-ragaku,
Penggambar sukma bersendu
Pengikat kehendak satu,
Penyebar semangat baru.

Bahasaku,
Bersinar kilau-kilau
Bagai embun ditinjau,
Dicahyai matahari silau,
Kujunjung tinggi, Engkau.

Bahasaku,
Kamu pengobar semangat,
Kamu pendengung nan kuat
Gemuruh dentammu pesat,
Menggempar sebagai kilat.

Bahasaku,
Lemah lembut suaranya,
Mericik air mengalir laksana,
Mengembus sepoi-sepoi basa,
Bergelak orang tertawa.

Bahasaku,
Ngandung rasa kehalusan
Penuh dengan kaindahan,
Tanda seni-kebudayaan,
Dari bangsaku sekalian.

Bahasaku,
Dalammu tersembunyi,
Segala kekuatan ta' terperi
Bagai penawar penyakit rohani,
Menghaluskan budi pekerti.

Bahasaku,
Pusaka moyangku luhur,
Jika lenyap, bila luntur,
Berarti bangsaku mundur,
Aku sedia turut mengatur.[21]

As one of the editors and founders of *Pudjangga Baru*, Alisjahbana did his utmost, during the pre-war years of the magazine, to give shape to the ideal of IN as the medium of a new literature. His *Tebaran Mega* (Scattering of clouds), a small collection of poems, first appeared in a 1936 issue of *Pudjangga Baru*. It is occasional poetry, written around the time of the death of the author's first wife, not ambitious poetry, but honest and straightforward, and very characteristic of the power and personal validity of the poet's ideals.[22]

Alisjahbana did not restrict himself to creative work. In fact his main contribution probably lies in his critical works and essays, a good example of which is found in his series of articles *Puisi Indonesia baru* (new Indonesian poetry), in which he deals with various aspects of contemporary poetry. This is not literary criticism in the strict sense of the word. Alisjahbana was interested in literature as an expression and reflection of social conditions and in this new poetry he is looking for the new Indonesian, as he gives shade to the national and social struggle an admiration for nature, religious convictions the ideal IN and the emancipation of women.

Alisjahbana had very definite ideas about the shape of the new Indonesian culture and about the role of the artist whom he saw as being responsible for the creation of this culture. His ideas were far from generally accepted at the time and lengthy discussions took place that revolved around aspects of the problem of the new culture. Many of these, set down in essay form, were published after the war in a separate book edited by Achdiat Kartamihardja, under the title *Polemik kebudayaan* (polemics on culture). This book

contains contributions by Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana, Sanusi Pane, Dr Purbatjaraka, Dr Sutomo, Tjindarbumi, Adinegoro, Dr M. Amir, and Ki Hadjar Dewantara (Teeuw 1967:35-36).

There can be no doubt that Amir Hamzah is the most important pre-war Indonesian author. It is true that he had neither the outgoing, infectious activism of a Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana, nor the progressive modernism of an Armijn Pane, nor the lofty aspirations to a synthesis between East and West of a Sanusi Pane. His single but outstanding contribution to pre-war literature is the creation of a few score poems of such a penetrating power that they fully entitle their author to the title of 'Prince of the Poets of *Pudjangga Baru*'.[23]

In the case of Amir Hamzah, there seems at least one factor which was propitious to him in making him a great poet: he was a Malay par excellence. Not only was his native tongue ML (ML-Langkat of North Sumatra), but as the son of the *Bendahara Paduka Raja*, the prime-minister of the sultanate of Langkat, in North Sumatra, he was *nourri dans le serail* of Malay literature and culture (Teeuw 1967:85). To him ML was an asset rather than a liability. Furthermore, he was not a pure Malay in the sense that his life and culture were never touched by foreign influences. On the contrary, nearly all his poems were written in Java, where he lived and studied for a number of years. As a young Indonesian rather than as a Malay, he took an active part in the *Pudjangga Baru* group and though he was never prominent in the organisation he was one of the founders of the journal.

The majority of his poems were published in two volumes, both separate issues of *Pudjangga Baru*. His first collection, *Nyanyi sunyi* (song of solitude), was published in 1937 and his second, *Buah rindu* (longing), appeared in 1941.[24]

The literature produced by the *Pudjangga Baru*, with the sole exception of Amir Hamzah's work, did not survive the revolution of 1945. Even the judgment imposed on them by later generations tends to underline the similarity between the *Tachtigers*[25] and the *Pudjangga Baru*. Nevertheless, these 'new writers' gave what they had to give, they believed in and worked for the ideal of a new Indonesian literature, and by their work stirred up Indonesian consciousness of this ideal. The fact that this ideal was not fully realised until later does not detract from the importance and merit of the *Pudjangga Baru*. Moreover, the fact that Amir Hamzah, the greatest pre-war poet of Indonesia, was inspired by this group, and took the opportunity to publish his main collections in its magazine, has given it a lasting glory (Teeuw 1967:45-46).

2.4.3 The 1938 Congress on IN in Solo

Earlier it was mentioned that leaders of political and cultural movements of Indonesia rallied to support the mission of the journal *Pujangga Baru*. It was this same group of leaders that took the initiative of holding the First Congress on IN at Surakarta (Solo), from 25 to 28 June, 1938.

Notable among the resolutions passed by this Congress was the affirmation of the need to create an institute and a faculty for the study of IN, to decide on technical terminology, to create a new orthography, and to codify a new grammar in accordance with the changes

taking place in the structure of the language. In addition, the Congress advanced the demand that IN be made the language of law and the medium of exchange in the various reprsentative bodies.

All of these resolution were to remain on paper for there was no organisation behind the Congress which could put its twelve-point resolution into effect (Alisjahbana in Fishman, ed. 1974:191).[26]

2.4.4 The Japanese occupation of 1942-1945: language planning theories in practice

Four years after the First Congress on IN, in early 1942, the Japanese Imperial Armed Forces landed in Indonesia. Shortly after seizing the colonial governmental apparatus, one of their acts was to abolish the use of Dutch, hitherto the official language, and the only means of entry into the world of modern culture for the Indonesian intelligentsia.

The fundamental nature of this change can be demonstrated most clearly and convincingly in the field of language as stated above. Until 1942 Dutch was undisputedly the main language, not only in politics and administration, but also culturally and socially. Even leading Indonesians, fervently devoted to the cause of nationalism, and in theory subscribing to the ideal of IN as the national language of the country, in practice found the use of Dutch obligatory and customary in many situations. Dutch, after all, was the language of their education, the language which they used for the discussion of intellectual, cultural, even political issues, and the language in which they wrote and thought as a modern people. Now it suddenly had to disappear. The Japanese soon abolished it as the official language and forbade its public use.

Even then it was clear that the Japanese intended to replace Dutch by Japanese, but, although Japanese was taught in every department and school, this goal could only have been reached after a period of many years, however great Indonesian enthusiasm might have been for studying the Japanese language. The Japanese could not afford to wait so long and they, like all the people who came to Indonesia before them, were forced to make use of IN. IN was the only language apart from Dutch suitable for use in all functions. IN thus became not merely the language of the law and official pronouncements, but also of official correspondence between government departments, and between the government and the people. Likewise IN was used in all schools from primary schools up to university level.

The superseding of the Dutch language by IN was a fulfilment of political aspirations; nonetheless it was a shock to many Indonesians, to whom Dutch had been so familiar for such a long time. This change from Dutch to IN in 1942 or early 1943 marked the real change, a much greater revolution than the later proclamation of IN as the official national language in the provisional Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945 (Teeuw 1967:106).

The period of 1942-1945 was one in which ideas and information never before conveyed in IN had to be communicated in the language. The result was that it suddenly began to grow at a tremendous pace. One might call this flowering of IN forced growth, designed to enable it to exercise the functions of a modern language in the shortest possible time.

The Japanese forces were so fully bent on mobilising the total energies and manpower of the Indonesian people for the Greater East Asian War that they penetrated to the most remote villages, using IN wherever they went. Consequently, the language spread rapidly in all directions and the Indonesians experienced a sensation they had never known before. As the war continued, and the number of Indonesians speaking IN rose, a feeling of mutual solidarity took deeper and stronger roots. IN became a symbol of Indonesian unity in the real sense of the word.

It became clear to the Japanese military administration that they could not arrest the development of IN and therefore had to provide a means by which the Indonesians could pefect and amplify their language. On 20 October, 1942 the Japanese military government in Indonesia inaugurated a Commission on IN made up of many Indonesian leaders, including Sukarno and Hatta.[27]

For reasons of efficiency, the Commission divided itself into three working sections:

1. The first, in charge of the writing of a normative grammar, was headed by Professor Dr P.A. Hoesein Djajadiningrat.

2. The second, in charge of the selection of new words for daily use, was chaired by S. Mangoensarkoro.

3. The third, in charge of the coining of new terminology for science and technology, was led by Mohammad Hatta. This section was further divided into several sub-sections, each of which was in charge of a particular discipline (Alisjahbana 1945).

The task of writing a standard modern grammar posed a difficult problem to the first section for it first had to decide just what IN was and what it should be. First, IN was defined as a modern language comparable to Dutch or English, based sociologically on the lingua franca and linguistically on ML-Riau. Second, while the job of a modern linguist usually consists of describing the rules of grammar of a group of people, the task of the Indonesian language planners in writing such a grammar was a creative one for it was necessary not only to examine the existing IN varieties but also to decide what the new standard language should be.

In deciding on a standard language, members of the Commission belonging to this section faced many problems. First of all, it was necessary to find the best samples of IN as defined above, upon which to base the new grammar. These examples were thought to be in the writing of those persons who had a command of the rules of ML-Riau or ML-Tinggi (High-Malay) and who, at the same time, had a good modern education. Examples were taken from the written works of such pesons as H. Agus Salim, Sanusi Pane, Mohammad Hatta, M.R. Dajoh, Imam Supardi, and others. It was felt that the standard grammar should be a normative one, one which reflected the most disciplined, sophisticated, and polished language.

Though the challenge was great it was not one impossible to overcome. Standardisation had in fact already begun. Ch. van Ophuijsen had already written an acceptable ML grammar, *Kitab logat bahasa Melayu*, and created an efficient orthography in 1901. There

were other supportive factors as well, including the establishment of the BP during the Dutch colonial period, and the systematic use of ML in the primary schools and teacher-training colleges.

In many instances, the rules of traditional ML could be accepted without modification; IN was, after all, a continuation of ML but, because of the influence of local vernaculars as well as of Dutch and English, there were differences in the use of affixes, word-formation, and word-usage.

The question was how to cope with these differences. Leaning too heavily on traditional ML would have meant producing a very traditional ML grammar, one not only awkward in modern usage but also strange to its users. On the other hand, an eagerness to accept influences from other local vernaculars might have resulted in grammatical inconsistency. Furthermore, a too liberal acceptance of forms deriving from other languages could mean the loss of great deal of the language's Malay or Malayo-Polynesian character. Moreover, this would present difficulties in arriving at a consistent set of rules.

Thus, the task of the grammar-writers was a delicate, complex one and to a certain extent a creative one as well. In addition to a thorough command of the modern language at all levels of usage, they had to have an open mind so as to be able to understand the tendencies and possibilities of the language and tensions posed by its rapid change. At the same time, they had to be aware that a well-formulated and a well integrated language should achieve a balance between old potentialities and the exigencies of the new realities.

The task of the second section was to determine which, among the thousands of new words used in the newspapers, books, speeches, and other materials, could readily be incorporated into IN. The need for this working section was apparent because the common belief was that ML was restricted to those words found only in Van Ophuijsen's work and the other dictionaries of the time.

It was obvious enough that the problem this working section faced was the writing of an up-to-date dictionary. This task was accomplished by W.J.S. Poerwadarminta in his excellent *Kamus umum Bahasa Indonesia* (general dictionary of IN) which was published by Balai Pustaka for the first time in 1953.

To expedite the task of the working section on terminology, the third section, offices and institutions were urged to send in lists of terms either in use by them or needed by them. At the Office of the Commission, these terms were put on cards with one or more tentative equivalents in IN. Terms defined within a special subject such as botany, physics, economics or mathematics were given on one set of cards. On another, larger, set of cards all of the terms of the various special areas were pooled together.

The terms were then submitted to a meeting of a sub-section on a special subject. The results of the meeting were then sent to a larger section on terminology. At the meeting of the larger section, representatives of the other sub-sections had the opportunity to compare the terms with their own and to express their criticisms. As a result of these deliberations, some changes were made in the list. Later, this list of terms was again discussed in the

plenary session of the Commission on IN. The decision of this session was final. The terms were then published in the official Government Gazette. Lists were also published by the Office of the Commission on IN and distributed to the public.

Some guidelines for the coining of modern terms were established and the order of preference for terms was as follows: IN words, if possible; if not, then Asian words; and if not, then international terms. These guidelines, however, were never literally applied. In most cases, the decision regarding a new term depended upon the composition of the members present at a particular meeting. Those of Javanese origin usually preferred Sanskrit or Old Javanese words, devout Muslims tended to prefer words of Arabic origin and a third group preferred international terms.

Referring to the process by which new terms were coined , Alisjahbana (in Rubin and Jernudd, eds 1971) had the following to say:

> In quick transition from Dutch to IN during the Japanese occupation, everybody not only felt the need for the codification of the new terms but also was eager to contribute to the task. Since the scientific, technological, and other modern concepts were already available and easily accessible in the existing modern languages, the process of the codification of modern IN terms could proceed steadily without too much difficulty.

Things, however, did not roll smoothly in the beginning. From the start it was felt that the Japanese, who initially set up the Commission on IN, were not sincere in their desire to assist the development of IN. The Japanese occupation forces had been welcomed by many Indonesians as liberators from colonial domination, but they soon turned out to be much more restrictive than the Dutch colonial administration had ever been. While they were aware that the progress of IN was inevitable they seemed to hamper rather than promote its growth. For example, a full year went by before they provided office space where the Commission could carry out its daily activities. This language Office was headed by Sutan Takdir Alilsjahbana, assisted by Ida Nasution in the section in charge of the writing of a normative grammar. Other officers were Mohammad Halil and Soebadio, who were in charge of the selection of new words for daily use, H. Agus Salim and Mirjam Mangoendiningrat, who were in charge of the coining of new modern terminology.

Official recognition of the term **Bahasa** Indonesia was not made public by the Japanese occupation force until 29 April, 1945, when the war situation was at its worst level for them. Prior to that time, the Japanese used the term **Bahasa Melayu**.

The Office of Education of the Japanese war administration never forwarded any of the terms coined by the Commission to schools and to other offices concerned with language problem.

Decisions made by the Commission were not made public, except for the first set which was published in *Ken Poo* Nos. 37, 38, and 39.

The Japanese did not fulfill their promise to appoint officers to work for the Commission in the Government Offices.

Japanese personnel who were members of the Commission or worked at the Office of Education, paid little or no attention to the Commission's work.

Despite all these restrictions and obstructions, the Commission did succeed in compiling a dictionary of terminology which was published in 1945. This success was the result of the hard work of the Indonesian members of the Commission, especially those of the section responsible for the coining of new terminology.

The Dictionary of Terminology contained all the terms which, after passing through three levels of discussion, had been given the Commission's approval. When the dictionary was first published it included 493 legal terms, 3132 medical terms, 867 terms on chemistry, 164 terms on administration, 521 terms on algebra, and 990 terms on physics.[28] In the field of literature, the impact of the events of 1942 is clear and one of the effects was the voluntary cessation of the publication of *Pujangga Baru* by its editors. Though this monthly was nationalistic in spirit and, as such, had been opposed to the colonial government, it was also so strongly in favour of Western ideas like democracy, etc. that Alisjahbana and his colleagues realised that the journal would not be able to survive very long under the fascistic Japanese domination (Teeuw 1967:106).

Nevertheless, Alisjahbana and his followers did continue their work in the field of language planning without let-up.

2.4.5 IN as an official national language according to the 1945 Constitution: the language of 'Angkatan 45'

The Indonesian Revolution broke out after the Declaration of Independence on 17 August, 1945. The new nation's Constitution stipulated that IN would be the official language as well as the national language of the country. This was in effect only a confirmation of what had long been the practice. After the Second World War, when the Dutch government attempted to establish the Federal States of East Indonesia and Pasundan (in West Java), it had no choice in the matter of language. The two Federal States accepted IN as their official language. Earlier, on November 6, 1945, the Dutch Lieutenant Governor-General had proclaimed IN as the second official language besides Dutch. When the Federal States were reintegrated into the United States of Indonesia in 1950, IN automatically became the official language of the Union and was used in all government departments and on all official occasions.

Meanwhile, the work of establishing a scientific and technical vocabulary that had been started during the Japanese occupation was carried on even more intensively. Van Ophuijsen's writing system which had been in use since the turn of the twentieth century was improved by R. Soewandi, who introduced a new writing system which is called after his name.

R. Soewandi, then Minister of Education and Culture, in his Letter of Decision of March 19, 1937, No. 264/Bhg. A, followed by another Letter of Decision of April 15, 1947, made public the new writing system that was to replace the Van Ophuijsen orthography.

In June 1947, the Minister of Education and Culture issued another Letter of Decision No.

700/Bhg. A, which stressed the need to develop IN further to enable it to play its role as the official language of the Republic of Indonesia.

A new Working Committee on IN was set up, with Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana appointed to chair the Committee made up of Adinegoro, W.J.S. Poerwadarminta, K. St. Pamoentjak, R. Satjadibrata, and R.T. Amin Singgih Tjitrosoma.

The duties of this Working Committee were similar to those of the Japanese-established commission, and were:

1. To coin terminology for science and technology, and for daily activities in society.

2. To write a normative grammmar of IN for use at all levels of the educational system.

3. To compile a new dictionary or to perfect one of the existing ones.

This Working Committee was short-lived. About a month after its establishment, Jakarta was reoccupied by the Dutch military forces, causing key personnel of the Republic to evacuate to Jogyakarta, the new capital city of the Republic of Indonesia. Some of the members of the Working Committee, however, stayed on in Jakarta and continued the activities of the Committee on an unofficial basis. Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana was one of them.[29]

A few months after the Central Government of the Republic of Indonesia had settled itself in the new capital city, the Minister of Education and Culture issued a Letter of Decision of 26 February, 1948, No. 1532/A authorising the establishment of the *Balai Bahasa*, a Language Centre, as one of the offices of the Department of Education and Culture in Jogyakarta. The New Language Centre was inaugurated by Ali Sastroamidjojo, the new Minister of Education and Culture, in March 1948. The Advisory Board of the new office was made up of Dr Poerbatjaraka, Dr Prijana, Dr Priohutomo, Dr Soemadi, Ki Hadjar Dewantara, and Ki Mangunsarkoro.

Organisational heads of the Language Centre were:

Director: P.F. Dahler, followed a few months later, by Professor Dr Prijana
Secretary: I.P. Simandjuntak
Head of the IN Section: St. Moh. Zain
Head of the Javanese Section: Tardjan Hadidjaja
Head of the Sundanese Section: Iskak Adiwidjaja
Head of the Madurese Section: Surowidjojo

The Language Centre had the following tasks:

1. To observe and to study the development of the national language of Indonesia and all other vernaculars of the archipelago in their spoken as well as written forms.

2. To advise the public and to establish guidelines concerning the national language and the vernaculars.

3. To promote unity in matters of national language and local languages.

After the transfer of sovereignty from the Dutch colonial administration to the United States of Indonesia, in early 1950, the centre of language planning activities returned to Jakarta. The work of *Balai Bahasa* was continued by *Lembaga Bahasa dan Budaya* (Institute of Language and Culture), established in August, 1952 and affiliated with the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy of the University of Indonesia, under the leadership of Professor Dr Prijana. A larger Committee on Terminology was set up on 28 May, 1951 (see Appendix B).

At the beginning of the Japanese occupation the journal *Pudjangga Baru* ceased publication. The Pudjangga Baru as a literary movement came to a sudden stop as well. The ideals of this movement, essentially romantic and sentimental and even provincial in nature, had no appeal to the new and younger generation who had come of age in a time of upheaval. The time called for deeds rather than dreams and the generation that arose after the proclamation of independence on 17 August, 1945, called itself *Angkatan 45* (Generation of 45). Chairil Anwar spear-headed this new generation.

According to Jassin (1953a:189) the term *Angkatan 45* was first launched by Rosihan Anwar in the 9 January, 1949 issue of *Siasat*. He further indicates that the group of writers who first began to introduce themselves during the years after the proclamation had been known by various other designations before the term *Angkatan 45* gained currency.

Sitor Situmorang defended the use of the term *Angkatan 45*, and the generation denoted by this term, and very much opposed Armijn Pane's view that the differences between *Pudjangga Baru* and *Angkatan 45* were insubstantial. On the difference between *Angkatan 45* and *Pudjangga Baru*, personified by Chairil Anwar and Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana, Situmorang wrote the following:

> Chairil has elan minus the assurance of a scholarly background, and on the other hand Takdir has the assurance of scholarly backgrounds, without the elan ... Chairil's generation has no history, it produces the revolution and is born out of it. They have no philosophy of life, only an attitude of life ... the culture of Chairil Anwar is an explosive one, which turns everything topsy turvy and only then begins to fashion anew. But I admit that this creative phase is only the beginning of a beginning (Teeuw 1967:132-133).

Situmorang recognised that the fundamental lack of the *Angkatan 45* was knowledge—a possibly temporary one perhaps but one that does explain the impasse that did occur. Sitor clearly recognised the danger of that impasse remaining, but nevertheless continued to defend the notion of the generation of the revolution as a valid classification. The characteristics of this generation were universality and human dignity.[30] In the years following the transfer of sovereignty in 1950, *Angkatan 45* conducted meetings, congresses and symposia, in which the subjects of culture and literature were taken up an discussed in depth.

It was on the initiative of Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana that informal meetings were held in Pasar Minggu (near Jakarta) and in Tugu (near Puncak Pass, south of Jakarta), in which

most of the discussions were centred on the relationship of *Pudjangga Baru* to the post-war literature.

Literature also came under discussion at congresses arranged by more or less official cultural organisations. The first of these was the Cultural Congress in Magelang organised in 1948 by the Republican authorities. In 1950, the Cultural Congress was held in Jakarta, under the auspices of the *Lembaga Kebudayaan Indonesia* (Indonesian Foundation for Culture). This was followed by the second Indonesian Cultural Congress held in Bandung, from 6 to 11 October, 1951. The third Cultural Congress, organised by the *Badan Musyawarah Kebudayaan Nasional* (National Cultural Council), was held in Solo from 18 to 23 September, 1954. The Language Congress held in Medan from 28 October to 2 November, 1954 was convened mainly to discuss IN and to identify and offer solutions for the problems it faced, and so was therefore only indirectly concerned with literature.

Symposia were also held, the first of which was held in Amsterdam on 26 June 1953, and was attended by a number of prominent Indonesian writers who, by chance, were in the city at the time. The first literary symposium of the students of the Faculty of Letters in Jakarta was held at the end of 1953. In this symposium, which was to become an annual event, strictly literary problems were discussed. Since that time, symposia devoted to Indonesian literary problems have been held on numerous other occasions.[31]

2.4.6 The 1954 Congress on IN in Medan

Sixteen years after the first Congress on IN in Solo, another Congress, bigger and more prestigious, was convened in Medan from 28 October to 2 November, 1954 by the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia. This Congress was attended by at least 279 linguists, writers, language planners, and journalists who came from all over Indonesia, plus 23 observers from the Malay Peninsula and Europe.[32] Because the Congress was organised by the Ministry of Education and Culture, which was headed by Mohammad Yamin at the time, the Congress commanded much more prestige than the one convened in Solo. In addition, President Soekarno himself officially opened the Congress.

The six-day Congress studied five aspects of the nature of problems faced by IN: (1) The grammar of IN and the romanised spelling system it used, (2) IN in law and administration, (3) IN in science and technology and the compilation of an etymological dictionary, (4) IN as a language of daily intercourse, and (5) IN in the press and radio. These topics were discussed seperately by special sections.

Eleven papers were presented at the Congress and were given by Dr Prijana who discussed 'the grammar of IN and the spelling system of IN using the Latin alphabet'; A.G. Pringgodigdo whose paper was entitled 'IN in law and administration'; Kuntjoro Purbopranoto with a paper of the same title as Pringgodigdo's but one emphasising different aspects; Dr Prijohutomo who presented two related papers, 'IN in science and technology' and 'the compilation of an etymology dictionary of IN; Inu Perbatasari enlightened the Congress with his paper 'IN in films'; J.E. Tatengkeng and Madong Lubis, both with papers on 'IN as a language of daily intercourse' but emphasising different foci; Bahrum Rangkuti with a paper entitled 'IN in prose writing and poetry'; T. Sjahril whose paper was entitled 'the function of IN in press'; Adinegoro who presented a paper on the

theme covered by Sjahril entitled 'IN in the press'; and Kamarsjah whose paper was on 'IN in radio'.

The most important and well-known result of this Congress was its recognition of ML as the origin of IN and that IN is ML which has developed from, and been enriched by, the local languages of the Indonesian archipelago[32](Pembinaan Bahasa Indonesia 1954:1-6, Jawatan Kebudayaan Kem. P.P. dan K. Bahagian Bahasa 1955).

2.4.7 The birth of a new generation in 1966: *Angkatan 66*

In a paper given by Ajip Rosidi at a literary symposium held during the University students' art week in August, 1960, entitled *Sumbangan angkatan terbaru sastrawan Indonesia kepada perkembangan kesusasteraan Indonesia* (the contribution of the latest generation of Indonesian writers to the development of Indonesian literature) he attempted to find differences between the generation which he called *Angkatan Terbaru* (the latest generation) and the previous *Angkatan 45*. According to Ajip Rosidi, in or around 1953 members of *Angkatan 45* began to lose their vigour. At the same time a new group of writers emerged whose orientation was not outwards, toward foreign literature, but towards Indonesia's own authors such as Yamin, Sanusi Pane, Alisjahbana, Amir Hamzah, Chairil Anwar, Idrus and others. This outward orientation had very much characterised *Angkatan 45* and produced in that generation an alienation from its native earth even greater than that of *Pudjangga Baru*. Both generations, *Angkatan Pudjangga Baru* and *Angkatan 45*, were fundamentally the same in their approach, which was universal and international; what marked the new generation that Ajip Rosidi called *Angkatan Terbaru* was its search for new values in provincial cultures that were utterly ignored by *Pudjangga Baru* and *Angkatan 45* (Rosidi 1964).

Launched in 1960, the name *Angkatan Terbaru*, met with little response, just as had happened with the name *Angkatan 50* (Generation of 50) before it, given in Jogyakarta towards the end of 1953 by W.S. Rendra and his friends. *Pudjangga Baru* was able to survive because of the journal of the same name. Rendra and his friends chose the name *Angkatan 50* merely out of group sentiment, that is, for those writers who began to produce work in 1950. However, because the year 1950 was too close to 1945 and the former group offered no concepts that were essentially different from those of *Angkatan 45*, and as there was no outstanding historical event that took place in that year, the name perished at its embryo stage.[33]

The year 1966 saw the rise of a new generation of authors, *Angkatan 66* (Generation of 66) whose appearance was stimulated by the tumult that marked this period of Indonesian history. Just as in 1943 when Chairil Anwar rebelled against the oppression of Japanese imperial rule with his *Aku ini binatang jalang dari kumpulannya terbuang* (I am a wild beast thrown out of its pack), 1966 saw an uprising of poets, writers, and intellectuals against the grand scale abuse of the nation's structure.

The main concept espoused by *Angkatan 66* was that of *Pancasila*, the nation's five-point ideology.[34] As an ideal, a nation based on *Pancasila* is an admirable one but in the years preceding 1966 the nation's leaders paid but mere lip service to this ideal. Religion no longer had a role to play in national life. Indonesian Socialism was now just a figment of

the imagination; democracy, renamed guided democracy, was a euphemism for dictatorship and timocracy; and humanism, a principle favouring the unity of all peoples, brought Indonesia into confrontation with the whole world. All of this was done in the name of the Indonesian people. Relations with foreign countries were broken off, and in 1963 the nation withdrew from the United Nations Organisation and afterwards formed the Jakarta - Pnom Penh - Beijing - Pyongyang alliance, which opened the way for Communism to play a free hand in national life. The hapless course of the nation left its economy in ruins. The people, poorer than they had ever been before were pushed to the limits of their endurance.

On September 30, 1965 an attempted coup was launched by the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) known as *Gerakan 30 September* (The 30 September Movement)[35]. This movement was immediately crushed by the people who considered the PKI to be behind the catastrophic situation the nation was in.

In unison the students, artists, writers, and intellectuals, demanded that PKI be abolished, that the Cabinet be replaced, and that the prices of commodities be lowered.

This tumultuous times, forged a unity of spirit among the writers who comprised the *Angkatan 66* and was the impetus behind the publication of a number of interesting collections of poems, including *Tirani* (tyranny) and *Benteng* (fortress), both by Taufiq Ismail; *Mereka telah bangkit* (they have risen) by Bur Rasuanto; *Perlawanan* (struggle) by Mansur Samin; *Pembebasan* (setting free) by Abd. Wahid Situmeang; and *Kebangkitan* (the rising) an anthology of poems by five students from the Faculty of Letters of the University of Indonesia. As these collections of poems were meant for immediate communication to the masses, they were merely stencilled and read at large gatherings. Newspapers collected and published the poems in their cultural columns and it soon became evident that the public had been thirsting for such reading matter. The poems expressed what was then on the public's mind and the poets used their creative ability to fight against injustice. As important as the pamphlets circulating in great numbers and the scrawls that were postered on the walls throughout the city, literature became a tool of the struggle.

Taufiq Ismail's collections of poems, *Tirani* and *Benteng*, were published by *Gema Psychologi* (the echo of psychology) in March 1966 and were dedicated to the KAMI/KAPPI[36] students who had been killed in demonstrations. *Perlawanan* by Mansur Samin, published by Sanggar Ibukota, was also dedicated to the students from schools and universities, who died in the struggle; and *Mereka telah bangkit* by Bur Rasuanto, put out by the same publisher in February 1966, was dedicated to the generation which had risen to fight and take over responsibility for the future.

The IN used by *Angkatan 66* to express their protests against tyranny and injustice showed itself to be evocative and very communicative, proof of its potential richness.[37]

2.4.8 1968 Seminar on IN in Jakarta

In 1968 a seminar on IN was held in Jakarta, probably the first seminar in which institutes of higher education took part. Participation in the seminar by the Faculty of Letters of the University of Indonesia, and by the Institute of Teacher Training and Educational Sciences signalled active involvement of the University and the Institute in the language planning processes. With the exception of various symposia on IN literature, the University and Institute had not previously taken part in language seminars and congresses.

Convened within the framework of the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the *Sumpah Pemuda* (Youth Pledge), the seminar was held from 26 to 28 October, 1968 at the Faculty of Letters of the University of Indonesia. Three workshops were set up, one on standardisation, one on grammar, and one on language usage. Three to five papers were presented in each workshop, including: (1) 'Fungsi standardisasi dalam pertumbuhan Bahasa Indonesia menjadi bahasa kebangsaan dan bahasa resmi modern' (the function of standardisation in developing IN as a national language and a modern official language) by Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana; (2) 'Bahasa Indonesia dan pembakuannya - suatu tinjauan sosiolinguistik' (IN and its standardisation–a sociolinguistic perspective) by Anton M. Moeliono; (3) 'Lafal dan ejaan' (pronunciation and the writing system) by Abdul Latief; (4) 'Ciri-ciri prosodi kalimat Bahasa Indonesia' (the characteristics of sentential prosody of IN) by Samsuri; (5) 'Partikel-partikel Bahasa Indonesia' (particles in IN) by M. Ramlan; (6) 'Gatra dalam tatabahasa Indonesia' (the concept of *gatra* in IN grammar) by Djoko Kentjono; (7) 'Kalimat dan strategi ilmu bahasa' (sentence and linguistic strategy) by Umar Junus; (8) 'Pengajaran Bahasa Indonesia diperguruan tinggi' (the teaching of IN at university level) by A.M. Affandi; (9) 'Proses pemodernan Bahasa Melayu di Malaysia' (the process of modernisation of Malay in Malaysia) by Hasan Ahmad; (10) 'Bahasa Indonesia dalam kesusasteraan' (IN in literature) by M.S. Hutagalung; (11) 'Beberapa persoalan yang dihadapi Bahasa Indonesia sebagai bahasa ilmu pengetahuan (laporan ringkas)' (some problems faced by IN as a scientific language (a brief report)) by Harimurti Kridalaksana; (12) 'Bahasa dalam sanjak' (language in verse) by Umar Junus.

A number of recommendations were made as a result of the three day Seminar: (1) That the Directorate of Language and Literature, of the Directorate General of Culture, Department of Education and Culture, should, as soon as possible, be elevated in status to the level of a national institute with full powers and authority; (2) that the new orthography of 1966 be made public as soon as possible as the standardised writing system to replace the orthography of 1947, which would be phased out within five years time; and (3) as the mastery of IN by university students is far from satisfactory, that the study of IN be introduced as one of the required courses for a whole academic year at the university level.[38]

2.4.9 1972 Seminar on IN in Puncak Pass

By 1970 the post-*Gestapu* situation in Indonesia had improved significantly. The three basic demands of the students who took to the streets in 1966 had been fulfilled by the Government: the PKI (Communist Party of Indonesia) was abolished and the teaching of Communism banned forever; the *Dwikora* Cabinet was revamped; and the prices of basic commodities has been lowered.

During the second half of the 1960s world opinion of Indonesia was at its lowest level but by 1970, it had regained its former level. The domestic political situation was under control. University students were off the streets and back in the classrooms. The confrontation policy of Indonesian against Malaysia was ended in 1965 and Indonesia and Malaysia, two countries whose language and peoples are of the same Malay origin, shared friendly relations once more.

In December 1970 Mashuri, then the Minister of Education and Culture, invited some prominent staff members of the Faculty of Letters, University of Indonesia, to discuss the possibility of implementing two of the resolutions passed by the Seminar on IN of 1968. The Government felt that the time had come to pay more attention to the development of the national language. Present at the meeting were Harsja W. Bachtiar, Lukman Ali, Samsuri, Affandi, Anton M. Moeliono, Kartomo, and others.[39] Bachtiar, Ali, Affandi, Samsuri, and Moeliono were assigned by the Minister to draw up plans for the establishment of a Centre for Language Development to replace LBN, which had little authority and was, as an organisation, extremely inefficient.

In conjunction with this task, the Consortium of Social Sciences, Department of Education and Culture, with Harsja W. Bachtiar as its Executive Secretary, convened a Seminar on IN at Puncak Pass, West Java, from 2 to 3 March, 1972. Two significant contributions were made by this seminar: (1) a writing system of IN, later proclaimed by President Soeharto as the new writing system for IN on 16 August, 1972; and (2) endorsement of the plan to establish a Center for Language Development to replace LBN.[40]

Nine papers were presented at the Seminar: (1) 'Peranan Bahasa Indonesia dalam pendidikan' (the role of IN in education) by Prof. I.P. Simandjuntak; (2) 'Penggunaan bahasa dalam ilmu pengetahuan' (the use of language in science) by Andi Hakim Nasution; (3) 'Penggunaan bahasa dalam komunikasi resmi dan dibidang administrasi' (the use of language in official communication and administration) by Awaluddin Djamin; (4) 'Penggunaan bahasa dalam pers' (the use of language in the press) by Mochtar Lubis; (5) 'Masalah penulisan kata-kata Arab dengan huruf Latin di Indonesia' (the problems of romanising Arabic words in Indonesia) by H. Bahrum Rangkuti; (6) 'Ejaan yang disempurnakan dalam penulisan kata-kata bahasa Arab' (the revised orthography and the writing of Arabic words) by Sudarno; (7) 'Ejaan yang disempurnakan dan pengembangan istilah-istilah ilmiah' (the revised orthography and the coining of scientific terms) by Prof. H. Johannes; (8) 'Ejaan yang disempurnakan dalam hubungan dengan pendidikan' (The revised orthograhy and education) by H. Gazali Dunia; and (9) 'Ejaan yang disempurnakan dan perkembangan ilmu bahasa' (The revised orthography and the development of linguistics) by Amran Halim.

Four sections were set up to discuss these nine papers: Section one, under the leadership of HAMKA (Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah), to discuss the problems concerning the revised orthography and the spelling of Arabic words; Section two, chaired by S.W. Rudjiati Muljadi, to deliberate on the problems of the revised orthography and the coining of scientific terminology; Section three, under the direction of Samsuri to discuss the problems of the revised orthography in conjunction with education; and Section four, chaired by Asrul Sani, to discuss the problems of the revised orthography and the development of linguistics.[41]

2.5 THE SHAPING OF A LANGUAGE OF WIDER COMMUNICATION

Language agreement between Indonesia and Malaysia

The colonisation of Indonesia and Malaysia by two different powers was in a way responsible for the emergence of ML into two national languages: IN and Mal. The early national movement in Indonesia widened the dialectal gap between the varieties concerned. With Indonesia's recognition of ML as IN, the nation's official language grew into one which in terms of its vocabulary was fully able to cope with the diverse functions it had to perform.

ML became the national language of Malaya, or Malaysia as it is now called, only in 1957 when the country gained its independence from British rule. Indonesia's successful struggle against colonialism and the success IN enjoyed in its role as the national language and the language of education had a great impact in Malaysia.

The two most glaring differences between IN and Mal were their spelling systems and new vocabulary, specifically the scientific terms. In 1959-1960, efforts were made to come up with a standardised spelling system for the two countries but circumstances did not allow the creation of such a system until August 1972.

On 18 August, 1972, the long awaited system was announced simultaneously in Jakarta and Kuala Lumpur as the official system of spelling of both countries. A grace period of five years was allowed for complete adoption of the new system (Asmah Haji Omar 1975:84-85).

At the end of that period almost no more traces of the old spelling systems used by the two countries remained. This was due in great part to the willingness of both Governments to finally implement the Indonesia-Malaysia Cultural Agreement of 1957, which had been ignored during the 'confrontation era' of the Soekarno administration.

An even greater share of the tribute for the successful implementation of the spelling system must of course go to the people of both nations, members of one family, long separated by political divisions. The detente that was achieved in the form of the spelling agreement marked the beginning of further cooperation between the two nations in the fields of language and culture. A pemanent body *Majelis Bahasa Indonesia-Malaysia* (language Council of Indonesia-Malaysia) was set up by the two Governments in 1972 to plan and to implement cooperative measures in the field of language.

The creation of this 'Majelis Bahasa Indonesia-Malaysia' marked a new phase in the historical development of ML, which is IN in Indonesia and Mal in Malaysia. The language was now being shaped as a language of wider communication.

2.5.2 Seminar on the National Language Policy of 1975

Prior to the holding of the Seminar on National Language Policy of 1975, a Pre-seminar on National Language Policy was held from 29 to 31 October in 1974. This Pre-seminar was convened by the newly established Centre for Language Development in Jakarta for the purpose of formulating the basic strategy for the nation's language policy. As the matter of language must be seen as part of a larger social-cultural phenomenon not only linguists and

language planners but also prominent figures in other fields presented papers at the Pre-seminar.[42] Papers were given by scholars who had distinguished themselves in their respective fields and whose interests also encompassed the development of the national language as well.

The titles of these papers reflected an array of interests and included: (1) 'Fungsi politik Bahasa Nasional' (the function of National Language policy) by Amran Halim, (2) 'Lembaga Bahasa Nasional dan pengembangan bahasa' (the Institute of National Language and the development of languages) by S. Effendi, (3) 'Politik Bahasa Nasional dan pembinaan Bahasa Indonesia' (The National Language Policy and the development of IN) by Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana, (4) 'Pengembangan Bahasa Nasional sebagai Unsur Kebudayaan Nasional' (the development of national language as one of the elements of the national culture) by Kuntjaraningrat, (5) 'Politik Bahasa Nasional dan pengajaran bahasa' (The National Language Policy and language teaching) by Jazir Burhan, (6) 'Politik Bahasa Nasional dan ketahanan nasional' (The National Language Policy and national endurance) by Imam Sukarsono, (7) 'Politik Bahasa Nasional dan pengembangan pendidikan' (The National Language Policy and the development of educational by Basjuni Suriamihardja, (8) 'Politik Bahasa Nasional dan pengembangan kesusasteraan' (The National Language policy and the development of literature) by Ajip Rosidi, and (9) 'Persoalan Bahasa Indonesia untuk pers' (IN as the language of the press and its problems) by Goenawan Mohammad (Halim 1976).

The Pre-seminar accomplished its goal of formulating the basic strategy of the national language policy. The strategy that evolved states that national language policy is integral to the development of the language as a whole and that it involves three main language areas: (1) maintenance, development, standardisation, and the teaching of IN, (2) maintenance, development, standardisation, and the teaching of local vernaculars currently used by the different ethnic groups in Indonesia, and (3) the use and the development of teaching of foreign languages (Halim 1976).

The Seminar on National Language Policy convened by the Centre for Language Development from 25 to 28 February, 1975 in Jakarta was a continuation of the Pre-seminar held in 1974. A large number of participants joined in the activities of the Seminar[43] the aim of which was to categorically develop plans based on the basic strategy of the national language policy as it had been formulated by the Pre-seminar. The Seminar, therefore, dealt with the following questions: (1) the planning and the formulation of the contents of the basic strategy of the national language policy, (2) the formulation and establishment of procedures and guidelines for a general policy on research, development, standardisation, and the teaching of language and literature, and (3) the establishment of a general plan for the development of national language policy.

Ten papers were presented at the Seminar, including: (1) 'Fungsi dan kedudukan Bahasa Indonesia' (the function and status of IN) by Amran Halim, (2) 'Ciri-ciri Bahasa Indonesia baku' (the characteristics of standardised IN) by Anton M. Moeliono, (3) 'Tata cara pembakuan dan pengembangan Bahasa Indonesia' (procedures of standardising and developing IN) by Harimurti Kridalaksana, (4) 'Pengajaran Bahasa Indonesia (the teaching of IN) by I Gusti Ngurah Oka, (5) 'Fungsi dan kedudukan bahasa daerah' (the function and

status of local vernaculars) by S. Wojowasito, (6) 'Pengembangan bahasa daerah' (the development of the vernaculars) by Ajip Rosidi, (7) 'Pengajaran bahasa daerah' (the teaching of local vernaculars) by Tarwotjo, (8) 'Inventarisasi bahasa daerah' (the inventory of local vernaculars) by S. Effendi, (9) 'Fungsi dan kedudukan bahasa asing' (the function and status of foreign languages) by Giri Kartono, and (10) 'Pengajaran bahasa asing' (the teaching of foreign languages) by Retmono.

After four days of deliberations and discussions the Seminar arrived at a number of conclusions, and came up with a list of recommendations, the most important of which were the formulation of the roles and functions of the national language, local vernaculars, and foreign languages.

Earlier it was mentioned that in its capacity as a national language, IN has functions as (1) a symbol of national pride, (2) a symbol of national identity, (3) an instrument for uniting the diverse ethnolinguistic groups, and (4) a means of inter-cultural and inter-regional communication.

As the state language, IN functions as (1) the official language of the state, (2) the official medium of instruction in educational institutions, (3) the official means of communication at the national level for planning, development, and government activities, and (4) the official language for cultural development and science and technology.

The local vernaculars, on the other hand, function as (1) symbols of regional pride, (2) symbols of regional identity, and (3) a means of communication for intra-regional activities.

In relation to the function of IN, vernaculars act as (1) supporting elements of the national language, (2) media of instruction in the lower levels of elementary schools in certain regions in order to facilitate the teaching of IN and other subjects, and (3) a means of developing and supporting the regional cultures.

In relation to IN, languages such as English, French, German, Dutch have the role of foreign languages. These languages are taught as foreign languages at certain levels of education institutions and, as such, are not rivals of IN as a national language.

In their capacities as foreign languages, languages such as English, French, etc. function as (1) a means of international communication, (2) supporting instruments in making IN a modern language, and (3) instruments for the utilisation of modern science and technology to further national development (Halim 1976).[44]

2.5.3 Conference on IN and IN Literature of 1978

A Conference on IN and IN literature was convened by the Center for Language Development from 13 to 18 February, 1978 in Jakarta. Attended by prominent linguists, men of letters, journalists, and writers from all over Indonesia and some representatives from 'Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka' and the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Federation of Malaysia, the Conference had two main goals: to assess the development of IN literature and to evaluate the on going process of standardisation of IN.

During the six day conference 40 papers were read, most of which were concerned with structural problems of IN and sociolinguistic aspects of IN in relation to the standardisation process. Sixteen papers dealt with IN literature, and were off with a paper by A. Teeuw entitled 'Sastra dalam ketegangan antara tradisi dan pembaruan' (The tension between traditional and modern literature).

The twenty-four papers which dealt with the process of standardisation of IN can be grouped into four topics; namely, methodologies for teaching IN effectively, sociolinguistic aspects of the use of IN in Indonesia's multi-ethnic society, theoretical treatments of grammatical aspects of IN, and IN lexicography.

Six papers were concerned with methodologies for the effective teaching of IN. They were: (1) 'Penerapan asas-asas ilmu bahasa untuk menyusun metodologi pengajaran di sekolah menengah' (The application of linguistic principles in formulating teaching methodology for secondary schools) by Sunardji, (2) 'Tinjauan kebahasaan karangan murid sekolah menengah dan yang sederadjat' (The linguistic aspects of the compositions of the students of secondary schools) by Dirgo Sabariyanto, (3) 'Peranan pengajaran kemampuan bahasa dalam pengembangan sastra Indonesia' (The teaching of language proficiency and the development of IN literature) by S. Suharianto, (4) 'Fonologi kontrastif Makassar-Indonesia' (Contrastive phonology of Makassarese and IN) by Indiyah Imran. (5) 'Penangkapan kata-kata asing dalam Bahasa Indonesia oleh lulusan sekolah lanjutan tingkat atas' (The understanding of foreign words used in IN by senior High School graduates) by A. Marzuki, and (6) 'Bahasa pengantar dan pelajaran bahasa di sekolah luar biasa bisu tuli' (The medium of instruction and language teaching at special schools for the deaf and dumb) by Epe Syafei Adisastra.

Papers dealing with socio-linguistic aspects of the use of IN in Indonesia's multi-ethnic society, were: (1) 'Graffiti dan pemakaian Bahasa Indonesia oleh remaja: menolak kerutan dahi' (Graffiti and the use of IN by the adolescents) by Boen S. Oemarjati, (2) 'Fungsi Bahasa Indonesia bagi penutur suku Madura perantauan' (The function of IN for migrated speakers of Madurese) by I.L. Marsoedi, (3) 'Beberapa homonim yang menarik dalam bahasa Malaysia dan Bahasa Indonesia' (Some interesting homonyms in Mal and IN) by Ukun Suryaman, (4) 'Kata mubazir dalam berita surat kabar harian berbahasa Indonesia' (Redundant words in news items in IN newspapers) by B.H. Hoed, (5) 'Sikap kebahasaan orang tua dan efeknya terhadap pembinaan Bahasa Indonesia di lingkungan keluarga' (Parental attitudes towards language and their impact on the development of IN at home) by Muhammad Anwar Yahya, (6) 'Tutur ringkas Bahasa Indonesia' (Reduced forms of discourse in IN) by Soepomo Poedjosoedarmo, and (7) 'Keutuhan wacana' (The completeness of a discourse) by Harimurti Kridalaksana.

The theoretical treatment of grammatical aspects of IN was discussed in the following papers: (1) 'Hambatan-hambatan semantik atas terjadinya afiksasi meN-' (Semantic constraints on the formation of affix meN-) by Daulat Purnama Tampubolon, (2) 'Kata majemuk Bahasa Indonesia' (IN compound words) by Sarjana Hadiatmaja, (3) 'Gatra dan kemungkinan pemutasinya dalam kalimat Bahasa Indonesia' (*Gatra* and its possible permutations in IN sentences) by Daliman Edi Subroto, (4) 'Kategorisasi morfologis kata benda dalam Bahasa Indonesia' (Morphological categorisation of the nouns in IN) by

K. Karno Ekowardono, (5) 'Awalan pe- (per-) dalam Bahasa Indonesia' (The prefix *pe-*
(per) in IN) by Sudjarwo, (6) 'Beberapa catatan mengenai kata pemisah dalam Bahasa
Indonesia (Some notes on copulative words in IN) by Florentina Sudarti, (7) 'Suatu
pengamatan tentang kalimat *cleft* dalam Bahasa Indonesia' (Cleft sentences in IN: an
observation) by Maruli Butar-Butar, (8) 'Fokus dan alat-alat pembentukannya dalam
Bahasa Indonesia' (Focus and its construction in IN) by Samsuri, (9) 'Patokan makin
singkat makin baik dan terjemahan sebelum alih ejaan dalam pembentukan istilah' (The
assumption of the shorter the better, and translation before transliteration in coining
terminology) by Liek Wilardjo and (10) 'Pengelaborasian Bahasa Indonesia dan masalah-
masalah kodifikasinya' (The elaboration of IN and its codification problems) by Tallei.

Only one paper dealt with the problem of IN lexicography. This was 'Entri dan
pemasalahannya dalam penyusunan kamus Ekabasa Bahasa Indonesia' (The entries and
their problems in compiling a mono langual dictionary of IN) presented by Adi Sunaryo.

Judging from the array of language problems covered at the Conference it could be said
that the Centre for Language Development has succeeded in arousing the interests of
scholars in the field of language standardisation. Furthermore, the majority of speakers
were young scholars, a healthy sign for the development of IN.

2.6 SUMMARY

This chapter discussed the historical development of ML which can be divided into four
main stages: (1) the shaping of a lingua franca, (2) the shaping of a national language, (3)
IN as a national language, and (4) the shaping of a language of wider communication. The
first stage included discussion of the Kingdom of Sriwijaya (7th - 11th centuries) with its
two sub-eras, namely, the Kingdoms of Bintan and Tumasik and the Malay Kingdoms of
Riau. Historically, the sub-era of the Kingdoms of Riau (14th - 19th centuries) is a very
important one for it was within this sub-era that the "Big Split of 1824" occurred.

In terms of the development of ML, when the Dutch colonial administration adopted ML as
a second official language of its administration in 1865, the language entered its second
stage, the shaping of a national language. This stage ended when the language was
proclaimed as the national language of Indonesia on 28 October, 1928 whereupon it entered
its third stage. The fourth stage began when the Governments of Indonesia and Malaysia
publicly announced the unified system of spelling for IN and ML on August 16, 1972. The
substantive development of ML/IN occurred during the second and the third stages, which
covered a time span from 1865 to 1972. The important developments that took place
during this time, and during the history of ML as a whole are shown in Figure 1.

In terms of the functional development of ML, this chapter discussed the role of ML as a
lingua franca of the Indonesian archipelago, its role as a second official language of the
Dutch colonial administration and of the Japanese occupying forces, and its role as the
national language of Indonesia. The functional development of ML is shown in Figure 2.

Figure 1

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ML

7th-11th centuries	ML of the Era of Sriwijaya
12th-19th centuries	ML of the Era of Malay Kingdoms
12th-13th centuries	ML of the Sub-Era of the Kingdoms of Bintan and Tumasik
14th-19th centuries	ML of the Sub-Era of the Kingdoms of Riau
14th-15th centuries	ML of the period of the Kingdoms of Malacca
16th-17th centuries	ML of the period of the Kingdom of Johore
18th century-1913	ML of the period of the Kingdom of Riau and Lingga
1819	The founding of Singapore
1824	The big split (London Treaty)

ML-Riau in the Indonesian Archipelago

Efforts of standardisation by Raja Ali Haji

1865 ML-Riau as the second official language

1901 Kitab Logat ML by Van Ophuijsen

1918 ML entered the Volksraad

1920 ML became the language of *Balai Pustaka*

ML became the language of the nationalist movements

1928 The Youth Pledge, ML became IN

1933 IN became the language of *Pudjangga Baru*

1938 The first Congress on In at Solo

1942 to 1945
The Japanese occupation of Indonesia: IN as the sole medium of instruction

1945 Proclamation of Independence: IN became the national and state language

IN became the language of *Angkatan 45*

1954 The second Congress at Medan

1966 IN became the language of *Angkatan 66*

1972 Language Agreement between Indonesia and Malaysia

Majelis Bahasa Indonesia-Malaysia

ML-Johore in the Malay Peninsula and Singapore

1956
ML became the language of Malay and Singapore

1869
ML became the language of Federation Malaysia

1972
Language Agreement
Majelis Bahasa Indonesia-Malaysia

August 16, 1972	Unified Orthography
August 30, 1975	Unified Terminology
2000	Language of wider communication
	Language of ASEAN
	International Language

Figure 2

FUNCTIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF ML

INDONESIAN LANGUAGES
|
ML-Riau

ML as the language of the nationalist movements	ML as a vernacular	ML as the second official language of the Dutch colonial administration 1865
Youth Pledge of 1928 IN became IN		
IN as the unifying language of multi-ethnic Indonesia		
Proclamation of independence of 1945; IN as the national language		ML/IN as the second official language of the Japanese occupying forces April 29, 1945
Constitution of 1945; IN as the national and official language of the state		ML/IN as the second official language of the NICA* November 6, 1945
IN as the language of supra-ethnic norm		
IN as a symbol of national pride and unity	The vernacular of the people of the Province of Riau and the islands near-by	(terminated here)
(still going on)	(still going on)	

*Note: NICA = Netherlands Indies Care-taker Administration. This Administration was supposed to take over Indonesia from the Japanese.

Notes

[1]Indonesia was fortunate in that when the time came to adopt a national language, there was no problem. This was not true in India or in the Philippines. India experienced a 'language war', while the Philippines experienced a 'war of concepts' between those who advocated Tagalog as the national language and those who preferred their vernacular as the national language. There are fewer native speakers of Tagalog than of the other vernaculars.

[2]The 1968 Seminar on IN was convened by the Faculty of Letters, University of Indonesia, from 26-28 October in Jakarta. At the time Professor Dr Slametmuljana was the Dean of that Faculty.

[3]Before the Second World War the Jawi script and the Roman alphabet were both used. With minor variations the Jawi script is the same as the Arabic script introduced into the archipelago together with Islam.

[4]The original text in IN reads as follows:

> Asal Bahasa Indonesia ialah bahasa Melayu. Dasar Bahasa Indonesia ialah bahasa Melayu yang disesuaikan dengan pertumbuhannya dalam masyarakat Indonesia sekarang.

[5]Timor Timur (East Timor) was integrated into the Republic of Indonesia as its twenty-seventh province only in 1976. Because of lack of data, the language situation of this province is not presented here.

[6]No research has been done on the majority of these languages. It is, therefore, difficult to state the exact number of languages found in the Indonesian archipelago. The 418 figure of LBN is only an approximation.

[7]*Kw'en lun* or *Kw'un lun* is used for the indigenous language of different areas (Cambodia, Burma, Madagascar). It would not seem necessary to assume that it always indicated the same language. Alisjahbana and Teeuw use the term to indicate that an old form of ML was in use at that time.

[8]The language is heavily influenced by the Portuguese language and, therefore, linguists and language scholars often refer to it as ML-Malacca.

[9]The following is a list of important events that took place during the Kingdom of Riau and Lingga which are relevant to the spread and development of ML-Riau:

1699 - Bendahara Abdul Jalil became Sultan, the last Sultan who reigned from Johore.

1719 - Raja Kecil transferred the centre of his kingdom to Ulu Riau, built his palace at Ulu Riau, and was crowned as the King of Riau.

1788 - Sultan Mahmud moved his court to Lingga.

1790 - The Dutch built a fort at Tanjungpinang, one of the islands of the Riau group.

1795 - The British conquered Malacca and recognised Riau as being free from the Dutch domination.

1801 - Tin ore was found on the island of Singkep (one of the islands of the Riau group).

1805 - The island of Panyengat was open for the palace of Engku Puteri, and then became the official palace of all Yang Dipertuan Muda Riau.

1808 - Raja Ali Haji was born.

1818 - Malacca was transferred from British to Dutch administration. The first Dutch administrator resided in Riau.

1819 - The Sultanate of Singapore was established and seceded from the Kingdom of Riau.

1824 - The London Treaty between the British and the Dutch. The territory of the Kingdom of Riau was re-mapped and became smaller.

1825 - The Kingdom of Riau sent a mission to Batavia.

1845 - Tin ore was found on the Island of Karimun.

1857 - Raja Ali Haji completed his book *Bustanul Katibin*.

1894 - The establishment of the printing office *Mathba'atul Riauwiyah* or *Mathba'atul Ahmadiyah* at Panyengat.

1896 - Raja Ali Tengku Kelana made a tour of various islands within the Kingdom of Riau to see for himself the well-being of his subjects.

1899 - Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Muhammad Yusuf Al-Ahmadi, the viceroy, died.

1900 - Sultan Abdurrachman transferred his court from Lingga to the island of Panyengat.

1902 - Members of the King's household who were against the Dutch started to influence the Sultan.

1903 - On 1 January the royal flag of the Kingdom of Riau was hoisted instead of the Dutch flag and the Dutch administration sent a very strict warning.

1911 - Sultan Abdurrachman was dethroned and Tengku Besar (the Prime Minister) was dismissed.

The name **Riau** has its origin in the following legend:

Some boats which originally were to sail to Tauhid (the capital city of the Kingdom of Johore) were ordered to take their cargoes to the river of Carang, on the island of Bintan, where people were building a new village. At the mouth of the river they lost their way. Whenever they asked the crews of other boats

sailing down the stream where the subjects of the king were building a new village, they were always given the answer: **disana, ditempat yang rioh** *there, in that noisy place*, and were directed up stream. When they approached the noisy place, whenever other people asked them where they wanted to go, they answered: **mau ke rioh** *to the noisy place*. The word **riau** originated from the word **rioh** which had undergone assimilation processes: from **rioh–riouw–riaw** to **riau**.

[10]Implementation of the *cultuurstelsel* was enforced very strictly on the island of Java, in areas of West Sumatra, and in areas of Menado. The reason behind the *cultuurstelsel* was the fact that the Dutch colonial administration was in dire need of funds as the Royal Dutch Government in Europe was on the brink of bankruptcy because of the long Napoleonic wars.

[11]During the Napoleonic era, the Netherlands was occupied by the French. The British who were at war against the French, attacked and occupied the Island of Java, which, at that time, was colonised by the Dutch.

[12]This would include Raja Aisyah, Raja Khlid Hitam, and Abu Muhammad Adnan.

[13]ML-Tinggi should be distinguished from ML-pasar, or Bazaar Malay. The latter kind of Malay is also referred to as ML-Gampang (Easy Malay)

[14]The following two literary pieces were written at about the same time. One is by Raja Ali Hahi (born in 1796) and the other by Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munsji (born in 1808):

<div align="center">

Mukaddimah Hikayat Abdullah
(karangan Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munsji)

</div>

Bahwa, maka adalah kepada tatkala hijrat senat 1256 tahun kepada lima likur hari bulan sya'ban al Mukarram, yaitu kepada dua likur hari bulan Oktober tarikh Mesihi sanat 1840 tahun, bahwa dewasa itu adalah seorang sahabatku, yaitu orang putih yang kukasihi akan dia, maka ialah meminta sangat[2] kepadaku, yaitu hendak mengetahui akan asal usulku dan peri hikayat segala kehidupan diriku, maka ia meminta karangan suatu kitab dengan bahasa Melayu. (Ejaan kutipan disesuaikan dengan Ejaan Yang Disempurnakan).

<div align="center">

Mukaddimah Gurindam 12
(karangan Raja Ali Haji)

</div>

Segala puji bagi Tuhan Seru Sekalian Alam, serta selawat bagi Nabi Akhirul Zaman, serta keluarganya dan sekaliannya adanya.

Amma ba'du dari pada itu, maka tatkala sampailah hajaratin Nabi 1262 sanat kepada 23 hari bulan Rajab, hari Selasa, maka diilhamkan Tuhan Lillahi Taala kepada kita, yaitu Raja Ali Haji, mangarang suatu gurindam cara Melayu yaitu yang boleh juga jadi diambil faedah sedikit[2] daripada perkataannya kepada orang yang menaruh akal. Maka adalah banyaknya gurindam itu dua belas fasal didalamnya. (Ejaan kutipan disesuaikan dengan Ejaan Yang Disempurnakan) (Hamidy 1973:32)

[15]At that time the Jawi script was also in use.

[16]It is possible that their choice of ML had a positive reason behind it, namely, the desire to reach as broad a group as possible, especially people from Java who spoke Sundanese or Madurese as their native tongue, rather than the negative reason of wanting to avoid the complications of Javanese ceremonial language which is not at all egalitarian in nature.

[17]These organisations included Jong Batak, Jong Minahasa, Jong Celebes, Jong Ambon, Sakar Rukun, Pemuda Kaum Betawi which were regional in nature, and Jong Islamieten Bond, whose memberships was based on religion.

[18]See note 16.

[19]As early as 1922 BP had already published a number of novels in ML-Riau including *Azab dan sengsara* by Merari Siregar, *Muda teruna* by M. Kasim, *Siti Nurbaya* by Marah Rusli, *Pertemuan* by Abas Soetan Pamoentjak, *Salah pilih* by Nur Sutan Iskandar, *Tak putus dirundung malang* by Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana, *Salah asuhan* by Abdul Muis, plus others.

[20]The composition of the Committee was as follows:

Chairman: Sugondo Joyopuspito, representing PPI
Vice Chairman: Djoko Marsaid, representing Jong Java
Secretary: Muhammad Yamin, reprsenting Jong Sumatra
Treasurer: Amir Syarifuddin, representing Jong Batak
Members: Djohan Muh. Tjai, representing Jong Islamieten Bond; Kotjosungkono, representing Pemuda Indonesia; Senduk, representing Jong Celebes; J. Leimena, representing Jong Ambon; Rohyani, representing Pemuda Kaum Betawi.

The program of the second Indonesian Youth Congress read as follows:

Indonesian Youth Congress in Weltevreden (Jakarta).

First session: (27 October, 1928, Saturday evening, from 7:30 p.m. until 11.30 p.m., at Katholieke Jongelingen Bond Building, on Waterlooplein)
1. Opening remarks by Mr Soegondo Joyopuspito
2. The reading of congratulatory messages
3. The Ideal of Unity and Indonesian Nationalism by Muhammad Yamin

Second session: (October 28, 1928, Sunday morning, from 8 a.m. until 12 noon, at Oost Java Bioscoop, in Koningsplein Noord)

Discussions on education by a panel consisting of:

Miss Poernomowoelan
Mr S. Mangunsarkoro
Mr Djokosarwono
Mr Ki Hadjar Dewantoro

Third session: (28 October, 1928, Sunday evening, from 5.30 p.m. until 11.30 p.m., at the Indonesisch Clubhuis Building, at No. 106 Kramat Street)

1. Parade by boy-scouts and girl-guides (Padvinderij), 17.30-19.30.
2. The boy-scouts and girl-guides movements by Mr T. Ramelan.
3. The Indonesian Youth Movements and Youth Movements abroad by Mr Soenario.
4. Conclusions.
5. Closing remarks.

All youth organisations, student organisations, mass organisations, and political parties were invited to participate in the Congress. About 750 persons attended the Congress.

Present were representatives from PPI (Perhimpunan Pelajar-Pelajar Indonesia = Indonesian Student Association) under the leadership of Mr Sugondo Joyopuspito, representatives from Jong Islamieten Bond under the leadership of Mr Djohan Muh. Tjai, representatives from Jong Sumatranen Bond under the leadership of Mr Muhamaad Yamin, representatives from Jong Batak under the leadership of Mr Amir Syarifuddin, representatives from Pemuda Indonesia under the leadership of Mr Kotjosungkono, representatives from Jong Celebes under the leadership of Mr Senduk, representatives of Jong Ambon led by Mr J. Leimena, and representatives from Pemuda Kaum Betawi led by Mr Rohyani.

Representing mass-organisations and political parties at the Congress were Mr Sartono from PNI, Abdulrachman from Budi Utomo, Mr Soenarion from PAPI (Persaudaraan Antara Pandu Indonesia = Indonesian Scouts Association), Mr Kartosuwirjo from Partai Sarekat Islam (Islamic Union Party), Mr Sigit from Indonesche Club, Mr Muhidin from Pasundan, Mr A.I.Z. Mononutu from Persatuan Minahasa (Minahasa Union), etc.

Also present at the Congress were some prominent figures and leaders such as Mr S. Mangunsarkoro, Miss Purnomowoelan, Mr Mohammad Nazif, Miss Siti Sundari, Mr E. Puradiredja, Mr Kuntjoro Purbo Pranoto, Mr Sukmono, Mr Surjadi, Mr Djaksodipuro (Wongsonegoro), Mr Muhammad Rum, Miss Dien Pantouw, Mr Suwirjo, Mr Sumanang, Mr Dali, Mr Syahbuddin Latif, Mr Sulaiman, Mr A.K. Gani, Mr J. Tambunan, Mr Pangemanan, Mr Halim, Mr Antapermana, Mr Suwarni, Mr Kasman Singodimedjo, etc.

Dewan Rakyat (Volksraad) was represented by two of its members, Mr Suryono and Mr Sukowati. Dr Pyper and Mr Van der Plas were present at the Congress as representatives of the Dutch colonial administration. The native press was represented by members of the editorial boards of various newspapers and magazines, two of whom were Mr Saerun and Mr. Supratman. The Dutch press did not send any representatives.

Ir Sukarno, Mr Mohammad Hatta, and Mr Tan Malaka were not personally present at the Congress, but letters from them were read before the Congress (Reksodipuro and Soebagijo 1974).

[21]Translation of the poem reads as follows:

MY LANGUAGE

My language
Conductor of the impulses of my soul,
Which portrays the trials of my spirit,
Which binds us together in our desire for unity
Which disseminates the new spirit.

My language,
Gleaming and glittering
Like the dew visible in the morning,
When the blinding sun shines upon it
I hold You in high esteem.

My language,
You arouse my enthusiasm,
You have a strong sound
The boom of your thunder is swift,
With an impact like lightning.

My language,
So soft and gentle of sound
Rippling like flowing water
Wafting like a breath of air
Or bursting forth with laughter.

My language,
There is refinement in You,
You are full of beauty
The mark of the culture
Of our whole nation.

My language,
In You lies hidden
An indescribable power
As medicine for a sickness of the spirit
Ennobling the character.

My language,
A noble ancestral heritage,
If you disappear or lose your lustre
This means the decline of my people,
I stand prepared to put you in order.

(S. Yudho)
Translated by Teeuw (Teeuw 1967:260)

[22]The following is one of Alisjahbana's poems taken from *Tebaran Mega:*

MENUJU KE LAUT

Kami telah meninggalkan engkau,
tasik yang tenang, tiada beriak
diteduhi gunung yang rimbun
dari angin dan topan.
Sebab sekali kami terbangun
dari mimpi yang ni'mat:
....

Sejak itu jiwa gelisah,
Setelah berjuang, tiada reda.
Ketenangan lama rasa beku,
gunung pelindung rasa pengalang.
Berontak hati hendak bebas,
menyerang segala apa mengadang.

Gemuruh berderu kami jatuh,
terhempas berderai mutiara bercahaya.
Gagap gempita suara mengerang,
dahsyat bahna suara menang.
Keluh dan gelak silih berganti
pekik dan tempik sambut menyambut.

Tetapi betapa sukarnya jalan
badan terhempas, kepala tertumbuk
hati hancur, pikiran kusut,
namun kembali tiadalah ingin,
ketenangan lama tiada diratap.
....

(Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana)

Its English translation reads as follows:

HEADING FOR THE SEA

We have left you behind,
Lake, tranquil without a ripple
Sheltered by wooded mountains
From wind and hurricane.
For once we are awakened
From a pleasant dream:
....

From that time on our souls are restless
Once they have striven they can no longer rest
The former tranquility palls
The sheltering mountain appears now as an obstacle
The heart revolts and wants to be free
Attacking everything that bars the way.

With a thunderous din we fall
A glittering string of pearls dashed down.
Our voices cry out in tumult
Terrible is the roar of our voices in victory.
Sighs and laughter alternate
Cries and shouts sound and resound.

But however difficult the road may be
Even though our bodies be felled, our heads smashed
Our hearts crushed, our minds confused,
We still will not draw back,
And we do not lament our former tranquility.

....

(Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana)
Translated by Teeuw (Teeuw 1967:261).

[23]In 1962, Jassin published a book entitled *Amir Hamzah: Raja penyair Pudjangga Baru* (Amir Hamzah: the prince of the poets of *Pudjangga Baru*) which he dedicated to Amir Hamzah.

[24]The following is one of Amir Hamzah's poems:

TURUN KEMBALI

Kalau aku dalam engkau
Dan engkau dalam aku
Adakah begini jadinya
Aku hamba engkau penghulu?

Aku dan engkau berlainan
Engkau raja, maha raya
Cahaya halus tinggi mengawang
Pohon rindang menaung dunia

Dibawah teduh engkau kembangkan
Aku berhenti memati hari
Pada bayang engkau mainkan
Aku melipur meriang hati

Diterangi cahaya engkau sinarkan
Aku menaiki tangga mengawan
Kecapi firdusi melena telinga
Menyentuh gambuh dalam hatiku

Terlihat kebawah,
Kandil kemerlap
Melambai cempaka ramai tertawa
Hati duniawi melambung tinggi
Berpaling aku turun kembali.

(Amir Hamzah)

Its English translation is as follows:

DOWN TO EARTH AGAIN

If I am in You
and you in me,
Will it then be,
That I am the slave and You the master?

You and I are very different
You are the king, very great,
A refined lustre floating high in the air,
A shady tree sheltering the world.

Under the shield which you spread out
I stand still, killing the day,
In the shadow where you play
I console and refresh my heart.

Lighted by the lustre which you radiate
I climb the stairs which lead to the clouds,
The celestial lute intoxicates my ears,
Making the lute in my own heart resound.

Then I chance to look down,
A candle flickers,
Frangipanis beckon laughing gaily
Then my earthly heart blazes high again
I turn round and descend to earth.

(Amir Hamzah)
Translated by Teeuw (Teeuw 1967:266)

[25]The *Tachtigers* (generation of 1880) was a group of radical young Dutch poets and writers in the 1880s. Before the Tachtigers came on the scene, Dutch literature of the mid-

nineteenth century had degenerated into a kind of 'sermon' literature in which poetic inspiration had been replaced by moralising, without any contact with temporary European literature. J.E. Tatengkeng was influenced by the Tachtigers as is shown by his collection of poems *Rindu dendam* (longing) published in 1934.

The following is a small sample of Tatengkeng's verse to show its 'moralising' value:

> Gerakan sukma
> Yang berpancaran dalam mata
> Terus menjelma
> ke-Indah Kata.
>
> A movement of the soul
> Deriving its inspiration from the eye
> And translated directly
> Into the Beautiful Word.
>
> (J.E. Tatengkeng)
> Translated by Teeuw (Teeuw 1967:45)

[26]See Appendix A

[27]The membership of the Commission on IN established by the Japanese occupying government within the Office of Education, was as follows:

Chairman:	Mr Maori (Head of the Office of Education)
Vice Chairman:	Mr Ichki
Secretary:	Mr R. Soewandi
Expert-Secretary:	Mr Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana
Members:	Mr Abas St. Pamoentjak, Mr Amir Sjarifuddin, Mr Armijn Pane, Dr Aulia, Mr St. P. Boestami, Prof. Dr P.A. Hoesein Djajadiningrat, Mr Mohammad Hatta, Mr S. Mangunsarkoro, Mr Minami, Mr K. St. Pamoentjak, Dr R. Ngabei Poebatjaraka, Mr R.P. Prawiradinata, Dr R. Prijana, Mr H. Agus Salim, Mr Sanoesi Pane, Ir S. Tjokronolo, Mr R. Soedjono, Ir N. Soetardjo, Prof. Uchara.

There were some changes in the membership of the Commission. Some names were added to the membership. They were: Mr Moh. Halil, Mr R. Soenario, Ir Johannes, Ir Sakirman, Dr Soetarman, Mr Adam Bachtiar, Mr Soetan Sanif, Mr Adiwidjaja, and Miss E. Djajadiningrat (Alisjahbana 1946). See also Appendix B for more detailed information.

[28]Members of the various sub-sections who helped compile this dictionary included:

Sub-section on finance: Soedarisman, Moekti, Moetalib, R. Rem, Noegraha, and L. Hakimi.

Sub-section on law: R. Soenario, Thaib Dalimoente, Oerip Adiwidjaja, Katjasoenkana, Samjono and Salijah.

Sub-section on medicine: Dr Aulia, Dr Bahder Djohan, Dr Ramali, and Pamoentjak.

Sub-section on mathematics and physics: Tjokronolo, Sakirman, and teachers of the High
    Schools in Jakarta. See also Appendix B.

[29]In 1949 Alisjahbana published Volumes I and II of his *Tatabahasa baru Bahasa Indonesia* (the new grammar of IN). Over a period of 20 years, this book was re-published 37 times. Had Alisjahbana not stayed on in Jakarta, he might not have published the book.

[30]For comparative purposes, the following is one of Chairil Anwar's poems. For Chairil the sombre drizzle of the twilight symbolises loneliness and lack of prospects—there is scarcely hope of comfort even in the last sob. Particularly in the second strophe, this poem shows a masterly control of the language and its possibilities.

SENJA DI PELABUHAN KECIL

Buat Sri Ajati 134

Ini kali tidak ada yang mencari cinta
diantara gudang, rumah tua, pada cerita
tiang serta temali. Kapal, perahu tiada berlaut
menghembus diri dalam mempercaya mau berpaut,

Gerimis mempercepat kelam. Ada juga kelepak elang
menyinggung muram, desir hari lari berenang
menemu bujuk pangkal akanan. Tidak bergerak
dan kini tanah dan air tidur hilang ombak.

Tiada lagi. Aku sendiri. Berjalan
menyisir semenanjung, masih pengap harap
sekali tiba diujung dan sekalian selamat jalan
dari pantai keempat, sedu penghabisan bisa terdekap.

(Chairil Anwar)

The English translation of the above poem of Chairil Anwar is as follows:

TWILIGHT AT A LITTLE HARBOUR

This time no one's looking for love
Between the sheds, the old houses, in the stories
Of poles and rope. A boat, a *prau* without water,
Puffs and blows, thinking there's something it can catch.

The drizzle quickens the darkness. There is an eagle still flapping
Touching the sulkiness, with a rustle the day swims swiftly away,
To meet the seductions of things to come. Nothings moves
And now the sand and the sea are asleep, the waves are gone.

There's nothing else. I am alone. Walking
Skirting the peninsula, still a muffled hope
of just once reaching the end, and saying goodbye to everything
From the fourth beach, where the last sob could be hugged.

(Chairil Anwar)
Translation based on Raffel 1964
(Teeuw 1967:268)

[31]The following is a list of speakers and their papers from the first three symposia held in Jakarta.

In 1953: (1) 'Aspects of religion and the function of religion in the development of modern Indonesian literature' by Bahrum Rangkuti, (2) 'The social background to Indonesian literature' by Bujung Saleh.

In 1954: (1) 'Balance sheet of Indonesian literature at the end of 1954' by H.B. Jassin, (2) 'Foreign influences on the most recent Indonesian literature' by Sitor Situmorang.

In 1955: (1) 'Norms of Indonesian literary criticism' by A.S. Dharta, (2) 'Indonesian poetry after Chairil Anwar' by Harijadi S. Hartowardojo, (3) 'The function of literary education in the development of modern Indonesian literature' by A.T. Effendy.

[32]For detailed information, see Appendix C.

[33]There is a tendency among the observers of Indonesian literature, like Jassin and Usman, to identify an *angkatan* (generation) with the *year* when the generation started to produce literary works. Thus, there were *Angkatan 20*, *Angkatan 33*, *Angkatan 45*, and *Angkatan 66*. Out of these *angkatan*, only *Angkatan 45* and *Angkatan 66* gained wide currency among Indonesian writers, because of their significant social and political background, respectively the revolution and Gestapu.

[34]The five principles of Pancasila are as follows: (1) *Ke-Tuhanan Yang Maha Esa* (Belief in the One, Supreme God), (2) *Kemanusiaan yang adil dan beradab* (Just and civilised humanity), (3) *Persatuan Indonesia* (The unity of Indonesia), (4) *Kerakyatan yang dipimpin oleh hikmat kebijaksanaan dalam permusyawaratan/perwakilan* (Democracy which is guided by the inner wisdom in the unanimity arising out of deliberation amongst representatives), and (5) *Keadilan sosial bagi seluruh rakyat Indonesia* (Social justice for all the people of Indonesia).

[35]The movement is also known as GESTAPU, an acronym for *GErakan September TigA PUluh*.

[36]KAMI stands for *Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Indonesia* (Action Fronts for the Indonesian Students). KAPPI stands for *Kesatuan Aksi Pemuda Pelajar Indonesia* (Action Fronts for the Indonesian Youth and High-school Pupils).

[37]The following poem by Mansur Samin is typical of the poetry published during this period:

Demi amanat dan beban rakyat
kami nyatakan ke seluruh dunia
telah bangkit di tanah air
sebuah aksi perlawanan
terhadap kepalsuan dan kebohongan
yang bersarang dalam kekuasaan
orang-orang pemimpin gadungan

(dari *Pernyataan*)

By the burden of the people I trust
we declare to all the world,
in our land has arisen
an action of combat
against falsehood and lies
webbed in the power
of insincere leaders.

(from *Declaration*)

[38]The complete list of conclusions and recommendations produced by each of the workshops of the Seminar were as follows:

The workshop on Standardisation offered the following conclusions: (1) Since 40 years ago when the Indonesian youth pledged their oath: one fatherland, one nation, and one national language, the Indonesians have one unifying language, IN, which has developed flexibly to facilitate the needs for communication in all fields, social as well as cultural. The time to standardise the language anew has come in order to make it more efficient in fulfilling its task in the rapid process of development and modernisation of the society which is taking place. (2) For standardisation purposes, a body is needed which has the authority, the expertise, and the necessary equipment in order to collect data, to analyse them, to draw conclusions and to make decisions, and to disseminate the standardised IN. Aspects of the language which need standardisation urgently are the writing system, grammar and vocabulary.

Based on the above conclusions, the Workshop recommended that: (1) The Directorate of Language and Literature, which is under the Directorate General of Culture, is to be elevated in its status, as soon as possible, to the level of a national Institute which has the full authority as, for instance, the Institute of Science and Technology of Indonesia has. (2) The new orthography of 1966 be made public as soon as possible as the standardised writing system, to replace the orthography of 1947, which will be phased out within five years.

The Workshop on Grammar, after listening to the presentation of the papers which was followed by discussions and elaborations, drew the following conclusions: (1) The paper entitled *Ciri-ciri prosodi kalimat bahasa Indonesia* (Characteristics of sentential prosody of IN) presented by Samsuri attracted the attention of the participants, due to the fact that

this kind of research was quite new in Indonesia. The workshop, therefore, suggested that a further intensive and full-scale research into the subject be taken up in order to explain fully the prosody of IN. (2) The concept of *gatra* as discussed by Djoko Kentjono in his paper *Gatra dalam tatabahasa Indonesia* (Gatra in the structure of IN) is important and should be developed further into a functional element which is able to make a distinction between vertical and horizontal structural relationships. (3) The paper *Partikel-partikel bahasa Indonesia* (Particles of IN) presented by M. Ramlan is important in the sense that the concept of *gatra* and its elaboration should be understood fully in order to be able to classify the particles. The workshop, therefore, felt the urgent need for further research on this subject.

The Workshop on Language Use made the following conclusions and recommendations: (1) The mastery of IN by university students is far from being satisfactory. The teaching of IN, should therefore be introduced at the university level as one of the required courses for a whole academic year. This is necessary for the ability to think creatively which is very much related to the good mastery of the language. (2) What is needed in the teaching of IN is a lot of writing exercises. (3) The translation of scientific books into IN can help make IN a scientific language, and, at the same time, can promote the use of the language in science by the students. (4) Encouragement should be given to the writing of scientific articles in IN. (5) It is necessary to reactivate the Commission on Terminology. (6) The plan to have a unified terminology of Indonesia and Malaysia should be realised. (7) Language and literature have a reciprocal relationship. (8) In developing IN, cooperation among writers, linguists, men of letters, and publishers is indispensable. (9) Differences of opinion among those mentioned in point 8 should not hinder literary creativity and the development of IN. (10) Linguistics can help in literary research. (11) The formulations of concepts should be uniform to avoid misunderstanding. (12) The problems of standardisation and literary language are two questions which need clarification. (13) The progress and regress of language and literature are related to the other problems of society. (14) The spread of language and literature is influenced by teaching methodology and publication facilities. (15) The local vernaculars still need to be studied and developed in order to be more useful in the framework of the progress achieved by the Indonesian people. (16) Areas which seem to have a direct relation with literature such as the lyrics of songs, translation work, and creative writings of youth in the newspapers should be studied and encouraged. (17) A committee on translation to translate university textbooks should be set up by the Government. The committee should have enough funds to carry out its task, which should be accomplished within 15 to 20 years. (18) Upgrading and refresher courses should be set up periodically by the Government for teachers of IN. (19) The Government should appropriate a proper amount of the budget for education, which is 25% of the annual budget. (20) The status of the Directorate of Language and Literature should be elevated to national level, directly under the Office of the President, with offices in the provinces. (21) To urge the Government to hold a conference on how to use IN in various disciplines.

[39]Present at that meeting was Mr Bresnan from the Ford Foundation, who pledged the foundation's financial support the national language development.

[40]By Presidential Decree No. 45 of 1974 the Centre for Language Development was established to replace LBN. Dr Amran Halim was appointed as the Center's director.

[41]The following were the complete conclusions, recommendations, and resolutions decided upon by the four groups of the Seminar:

Group I discussed the problems concerning the revised writing system and the spelling of Arabic loan-words, and reached the following consensus: (I.a.) Words from Arabic which have been considered as IN words should be spelled according to the existing spelling system of IN and should be pronounced according to the existing pronunciation rules of IN in accordance with the decision made by the Congress on IN of 1954 at Medan, which acknowledged that IN is based on ML. (I.b.) Arabic words with religious connotations should be treated differently. (II.a.) The Ministry of Religious Affairs and the Ministry of Education and Culture, the latter, in this case, to be represented by the Centre for Language Development, should set up a committee to formulate the way to write Arabic words using the Latin alphabet in Indonesia. This task should be completed before the People's Consultative Council holds its general meetings (another deadline may be submitted). (ll.b.) To suggest to the above-mentioned committee to pay special attention to the need of diacritics for differentiating that pronunciation of words which have two different meanings.

Group II discussed the problems of the coining of scientific terminology and came to the following resolutions: (1) To suggest to the Government to activate again the compilation and standardisation of terminology in all disciplines through the cooperation of universities, institutes, armed forces, and professional organisations. (2) To suggest to the Government to set up a Centre to coordinate all efforts of coining scientific terminology which will encourage the authority to enforce its use. (3) To suggest to the Government to make available the necessary funds so that all the above-mentioned efforts can be carried out effectively for the sake of the development of all sciences.

Group III deliberated on the problems of revising the writing system in conjunction with education and succeeded in reaching a consensus as follows: (1) It is suggested that the revised writing system be made effective on 1 January, 1973. (2) It is suggested that all Government publications, new as well as reprinting, be printed using the revised writing system. (3) For the sake of saving money, it is suggested that all textbooks which are in use and printed in the old orthography be replaced gradually, within a period of five years. (4) It is suggested that all educational institutions and organisations be involved in using and disseminating the revised writing system. (5) It is suggested that the so-called Center for Language Development be instituted at once, so that all the problems concerning language such as the use and the dissemination of the revised writing system can receive special attention within the framework of the development of the national language.

Group IV deliberated and discussed the problems of the revised writing system and the development of linguistics and arrived at the following consensus: (I.a.) The standardisation of IN needs to be realised in order to overcome the language confusion caused by the absence of standardised norms and to remedy the shortcomings of IN in its development to be a language of culture, science and technology. (I.b.) The standardisation of the writing system is a first step towards the standardisation of IN. (I.c.) The standardisation of the writing system can expand the area of spread of IN and regional communication and to open the road for Indonesians to understand inter-cultural perspectives easily.

In revising the writing system, it is necessary to consider a linguistic factor as well as a non-linguistic one. The linguistic factor requires a one-to-one correspondence between symbol and phoneme. The non-linguistic factor requires that difficulty should not arise for the society in making adjustments using the new writing system, and the society should be ready to accommodate the new writing system.

The materials for revising the writing system disseminated by the Institute of Language and Literature in 1966 can be considered adequate. Only letters ch and c constitute a problem in representing the phoneme /č/.

Reasons for choosing ch and not c, among other things, are as follows: (1) ch is more international in character; (2) ch enables Indonesians to understand the pronunciation of foreign languages more easily; (3) c generally represents s or k rather than tj.

Reasons for choosing c and not ch, among other things, are as follows: (1) c consists of one letter and not two letters, hence, it is more economical; (2) c is, linguistically speaking, more international (it is used by IPA); (3) c as one of the new concepts of Indonesia has been accepted by Malaysia; (4) ch in international languages represents more than one sound (such as č, š, k, x).

The group reached a consensus to choose ch. The choice of ch raises the problem of sy to become sh, but the group concluded that the parallelism need not be there. The group also considered the need to differentiate the symbol for /e/ from /ə/.

The recommendations of the group were as follows: (1) It is suggested that the committee to study and to consider the problems of word spelling, punctuation, and how to read the letters of the revised alphabet be enlarged. (2) It is suggested that a committee be set up to plan and to implement the dissemination of the revised writing system in society. It is suggested also that the Government be ready to take up all the problems caused by the change. (3) It is suggested that a special committee to compile spelling and pronunciation manuals be set up as soon as possible.

[42]The following persons participated in the Pre-seminar on National Language Policy: Ajip Rosidi, Anton M. Moeliono, A.S. Broto, Basjuni Suriamihardja, B.H. Hoed, B. Soehardi, Djoko Kentjono, Fuad M. Salim, Goenawan Mohammad, Harimurti Kridalaksana, Harsja W. Bachtiar, Imam Sukarsono, Koentjaraningrat, Muljanto Sumardi, S. Effendi, Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana, Suprapto, Sudijarto, Taufiq Ismail, Andi Hakim Nasution, Jazir Burhan, Liek Wilardjo, Samsuri, S. Wojowasito, Th. Kundjana, Ukun Surjaman, Amran Halim, Sjahruddin Kaseng, Suwardi M.S., and Suwedi Montana.

[43]Participants in the Seminar on National Language Policy were: Abdullah Mustapha, Achmaddin Dalip, Ajip Rosidi, Alan M. Stevens, Alfons Taryadi, Amran Halim, Andi Hakim Nasution, Anton M. Moeliono, Asmah Haji Omar, Astuti Hendrato, A.D. Donggo, A. Rachman, A.S. Broto, A.S.M. Tambunan, Bakran Jacob, Basjuni Surjamihardja, Basuki Suhardi, Benny H. Hoed, Bistok Sirait, Brian D. Smith, B.A. Siahaan, David Napitulu, Djamalul Abidin, Djoko Kentjono, D.H. Assegaff, Emil H. Hampp, E.K.M. Masinambow, Fachruddin A.E., Fachrurrozi Holip, Gazali Dunia, Giri Kartono, Goenawan

Mohammad, Hari Mulyono, Harimurti Kridalaksana, Husein Widjajakusumah, H.A. Latief Mukhtar, I Gusti Ngurah Bagus, I Gusti Ngurah Oka, llen Surianegara, Imam Samudra, Imam Sukarsono, Ismail Dahanan, Jazir Burhan, J.F. Pattiasina, Kejat Hartoyo, Ki Soeratman, Kuntamadi, Koentjaraningrat, La Side, Leo Apituley, Liek Wilardjo, Livain Lubis, Lukman Ali, Maman Sumantri, Mariana Karim, Mattulada, Mudasir, Mudjanattistomo, Muhadjir, Muh. Rustadi Kartakusuma, Muljanto Sumardi, M. Hutauruk, M. Silitonga, M. Wonohitu, Noertoegiman, Retmono, M.M. Purbo Hadiwidjojo, Sabaruddin Ahmad, Samsuri, Siti Sundari Tjitrosubono, Satyagraha Hoerip, Surono Martohardjo, Sri Sukesi Adiwarta, Sjahrul Sjarif, Supomo Poedjosoedarmo, Suratman Markasan, Suripan Sadi Hutomo, Sutoko, Susilomurti, Suwardi M.S., Suwesi Montana, Suyoto Suryodipuro, S. Effendi, Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana, S. Wojowasito, Syahdan Manurung, Ny. S.D. Syah, S.W. Rujiati Mulyadi, Tarwotjo, Taufiq Ismail, Tasrir Ismail, Th. Kundjana S.J., Ulrich Krats, Ukun Surjaman, Wahab Ismail, Wayan Bawa, Wayan Jenda, Yodia Adikara, Yus Rusyana, Zainuddin Iljas.

[44]The other important conclusions, opinions, and recommendations of the Seminar were as follows:

On national policy: National Language Policy is a national policy which is aimed at planning, directing, and defining a strategy which can be used as the basis for overcoming all language problems. The language problems in Indonesia involve (1) the national language, (2) the local vernaculars, and (3) the use and the utilisation of certain foreign languages. The overall solution of these language problems needs a national policy which is formulated in such a way that it can plan, direct, and settle once and for all the problems satisfactorily.

On national language: The national language is IN which was pledged as such in the Youth Pledge of 28 October, 1928, and which, in the Constitution of 1945 Chapter XV, Article 36, is stated as the language of the state, and which is further reformulated as such in the Congress on IN of 1954 at Medan.

On local vernaculars: Local vernaculars are languages used as means of intra-regional communication within the Republic of Indonesia. Local vernaculars are part of the Indonesian culture, in accordance with the By-Laws of the Constitution of 1945, Chapter XV, Article 36.

On foreign languages: Aside from IN and the local languages of Indonesia all other languages are foreign. Certain foreign languages are taught at certain levels of education institutions, and they are not rivals of IN as a national language nor as a state language, nor of the vernaculars as symbols of the regional socio-cultural values as well as means of intra-regional communication.

On maintenance and development of IN: Considering the status and function of IN, its maintenance and development is absolutely needed in the Republic of Indonesia. For that purpose the following efforts of standardisation should be made: (a) Standardisation of a language aims at accuracy, correctness, and efficiency in communication; in conjunction with this, it is necesary to formulate regulations in the form of suitable rules and guidelines

for orthography, vocabulary, grammar, and terminology; (b) In standardising IN, it is necessary to standardise the written form first, for its style is more permanent and its areas of usage are clearer; besides that, the pronunciation of IN needs standardisation for use by teachers, TV and radio announcers, and the general public; (c) In standardising, the following should be implemented: (1) codification based on the idiolects of the speakers will yield a various jargons, such as jargon of government administration, law, education, mass media, and science; (2) codification based on the structure of the language as a system of communication will yield standardised grammar, vocabulary, and terminology; (3) to make available the necessary instruments for standardisation such as a pronunciation manual, a general unabridged dictionary, a grammar book, general guidelines on spelling, general guidelines on terminology, and general guidelines on stylistics; and (4) to cooperate with linguists, teachers, journalists, TV and radio announcers, poets, intellectuals, educational institutions, government as well as private bodies, and the general public.

Conclusions drawn up by the Seminar were as follows: (1) The National Language Policy is the elaboration of the By-Laws of Article 36, Chapter XV of the Constitution of 1945; (2) The current IN, from the point of view of its form, its usage, its teaching as well as from the point of view of its studies, is far from being satisfactory; (3) Local languages and literary works in local languages, so far, have not received proper attention; (4) Personnel for working on language problems are still scarce; (5) Linguistic facilities are still lacking; (6) Motivation for learning a language, especially IN and the local languages, is very low; (7) The teaching of local languages from the first grade of elementary level to high school is useful for the development of the language skills of the children. Some of the participants, however, were in doubt about this usefulness; and (8) The result of foreign language teaching will be more satisfactory (according to some of the participants) if only English is taught.

The recommendations of the Seminar were as follows: (1) The Seminar on National Language Policy recommends that the Government get involved in the efforts of Indonesianising foreign names which are still in use for Government bodies, Government institutions, and private enterprises such as hotels, banks, and places for meeting; (2) The Seminar on National Language Policy suggests that a planned translation project be carried out soon; and (3) The Seminar on National Language Policy requests the officials concerned to think of sanctions against misuse of the standardised language in a situation which calls for the proper use of the language.

For more information on the National Language Policy of Indonesia please see the pamphlet on the subject issued and distributed by the *Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa*, Jakarta.

Chapter III

LANGUAGE PLANNING PROCESSES IN INDONESIA

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Many definitions have been given for language planning. The following one, given by Rubin and Jernudd (1971) is one that might best fit the situation in Indonesia:

> Language planning is deliberate language change, that is, changes in the system of language code or speaking or both that are planned by organizations that are established for such purposes or given mandate to fulfill such purposes. As such, language planning is focused on problem-solving and is characterized by the formulation and evaluation of alternatives for solving language problems to find the best, or optimal, most efficient, decision. In all cases it is future-oriented, that is, the outcomes of policies and strategies must be specified in advance of action taken (Rubin and Jernudd 1971:xvi).

It should be clear that real planning – the determination of a particular course of action to achieve a specified goal – is only possible and effective within certain boundaries. It is only feasible where the planners and later the executors of the plan have the power to affect the behaviour of the people for whom they are drawing up a plan and if the plan is to succeed, consideration must be given to certain psychological, social, and cultural factors.

Language is one of the most essential and most widespread activities of man. As such, language planning is a very difficult, if not almost impossible task. Thus, when speaking of language planning we must use the term in a very limited sense and for a very special goal. Language planning, in the sense of completely regulating the language behaviour of all members of a nation, is not the goal, for such rigid regimentation would mean the end of man as a thinking and free being (Alisjahbana 1971:179)

For this reason almost all efforts at language planning in Indonesia have been concentrated on the language of the schools. Van Ophuijsen's *Logat Bahasa Melajoe*, for instance, published in 1901 and in which the author presented a new writing system for ML using Latin script, was conceived for use in the educational system. It is, after all, the language of education that really lends itself to planning and regulation. These planners may effectively control the kinds of textbooks used and the methods of teaching. It is in the classroom that some measure of regulation can be placed on the originality and the freedom of the language of the individual students.

By the time ML-Riau was adopted as the national language of Indonesia in 1928, it had already undergone some measure of standardisation. Had it not, it is doubtful whether Governor General Rochussen, after his tour of Java in 1850, would have recommended that ML be made the ordinary medium of instruction in schools. Moreover, the Dutch colonial government would not have promoted ML as the second official language of its administration in 1865, had the language not had the status it did at the time. ML had already been used as the lingua franca of the region for at least a thousand years. It had some strengths, including its adaptability and the ease with which it could be learned. Conversational ability in the language required only a minimum of vocabulary and a minimum knowledge of its rules of grammar.

These particular aspects of the language, admirable ones in the relatively unsophisticated situations in which it was use—in the market, at the harbour and between new or casual acquaintances—turned out to be disadvantages when the language was given the role of national and official language of Indonesia, and made the medium of instruction in schools, the language of law, the language of the administration and official correspondence.

With this as a background, the problem of paramount importance in language planning was how to transform a more or less pidginlike lingua franca into a stable, sophisticated national and official modern language, which could be used as the vehicles of modern Indonesian thought and culture. From the outset it was clear that standardised rules for the language were a must.

It was also clear that the procedures of language description which had been used for static languages or dialects, such as Javanese and Sundanese, could not be applied for the description of such a fast growing language as IN. Another procedure had to be followed, one attuned to the expected characteristics of a dynamic national language.

Participants at the Congresses on IN of 1938 and of 1954, and the Seminars on IN 1968 and 1972 agreed that the procedure to follow in the standardisation of IN was to standardise its orthography first, then its grammar and following this, its vocabulary. Standardisation of IN orthography was to be carried out first because a written language is much more permanent in its usage than is a spoken one. In addition, a written language is less influenced by local vernaculars and foreign languages.

In terms of an analytical schema for language planning this study has followed the theoretical framework of Einar Haugen, whose schema is as shown in Figure 3.

Square 1 focuses on the determination of language policy. In the case of Indonesia, IN was proclaimed as the national language of Indonesia in 1928, hence, the norm has been selected. Square 2 deals with the systematisation of the preferred phonological, orthographic, grammatical, and lexical model. In terms of IN work has been done on each of those aspects. Square 3 emphasises the expansion of the domains, styles, and registers of the language; these too are being implemented and a more intellectual and modern IN is being formed through the addition of vocabulary items and the coining of modern terminology. Square 4 focuses on propagation of the language which in terms of ML, and later IN, has been carried out by various agencies, from the time of the Dutch colonial government up to the present administration.

Figure 3

	Initiation	Implementation
Linguistic form	Selection of Norm	Codification of Norm
Linguistic function	Elaboration of function	Acceptance by intended population

Only recently, further refinement of the schema has been introduced and has made explicit what was originally simply assumed—a component for evaluation. Evaluation has to be built into the process because it can illumine and improve language planning (Bautista and Gonzalez 1977).

3.2 STANDARDISATION PROCESS OF INDONESIAN ORTHOGRAPHY

3.2.1 Arabic script versus Roman alphabet

The Kedukan Bukit, and the Kota Kapur inscriptions, dated 683 A.D. and 686 A.D. respectively, used a mixture of ML-kuno and Sanskrit, and were written in an old Sanskrit writing system. The empire to which the inscriptions were dedicated was Sriwijaya which controlled the two sides of the Strait of Malacca from the seventh to the fourteenth century A.D. This empire was founded by Hinduised Malays and was Hinduistic in culture and Buddhistic in religion. For seven centuries the Sanskrit-influenced ML-kuno developed and spread throughout the archipelago, far beyond of the area of Malay proper.

When the Islamic faith came to the Indonesian archipelago at the end of the thirteenth century A.D., the proselytisers of the faith, made use of this language but rid it of many of its Sanskrit elements and imbued the language with an Islamic flavour through the borrowing of Arabic words and, more importantly, utilisation of the Arabic script. It is true that the Europeans, the Portuguese and the Dutch who arrived in Indonesia after the coming of Islam, did bring along their own languages and the Latin alphabet but they never had the influence on ML that Sanskrit and Arabic did. The Latin alphabet was known only to members of an elite stratum of society made up of those persons who were connected with the Europeans and who had embraced the Christian faith. For the majority of the people the Roman alphabet remained alien until Van Ophuijsen introduced his spelling system at the beginning of the twentieth century.

ML-Riau experienced significant development under the influence of Arabic. In 1857 Raja Ali Haji published a grammar entitled *Bustanul Katibin*, which was an elaborated spelling textbook written in Arabic script and containing some syntactical rules of Arabic applied to ML. Another of his books, *Kitab pengetahuan bahasa*, published in Singapore in 1859, was

an encyclopaedic dictionary of ML-Riau. These and all other publications by Raja Ali Haji were written in Arabic or *Jawi* script. European writers of this time also made use of the script.

Robinson's book, entitled *Proeve tot opheldering van de gronden der Maleische spelling* (An attempt to elucidate the principles of Malayan orthography) and published in 1855, marked the first attempt by a European to design a rational spelling system for Malay using Arabic letters. This attempt, however, was not supported by other Dutch scholars. Pijnappel, for instance, suggested in an article written in 1860, that the Arabic-malay script be abolished. Charles van Ophuijsen, however, took a neutral position (van Ophuijsen 1882). Throughout the 19th century no official spelling for Malay written in Arabic script in the Netherlands East Indies.[1] Gradually, towards the beginning of the twentieth century, some unity was established in the spelling system through the wide spread use of certain textbooks. In addition to books dealing with spelling, numerous books on methods for learning Arabic script were published. The most popular books dealing with this subject were written by Hollander (1847), Klinkert (1885), Spat (1893), van Ophuijsen (1902), van Ronkel (1904), and more recently, Mulder (1949), Zuber Usman (1951), and Oemar Sastradiwirya (1954).

In the later years of the nineteenth century, the writing of ML in Roman alphabet became the subject of many textbooks but caused much dissension as well. Apart from opinions on the subject found in grammars published in the Netherlands East Indies, a spirited discussion took place between Fokker, who argued for the introduction of a complicated phonetic-based spelling system (1895), and Spat (1895), who argued for a more conventional system. Finally, in 1901, based on the results of special research conducted by Van Ophuijsen, a uniform spelling system was introduced (Teeuw 1961). This was the first standardised orthography of ML in Roman alphabet.

The introduction of the van ophuijsen, a uniform spelling system brought the rivalry between the Arabic script and the Roman alphabet to an end. In 1908, *Balai Pustaka*, was established for the purpose of collecting and publishing popular traditional literature. All of these publications utilised the Van Ophuijsen orthography, affecting an accelerated dissemination of the system throughout the archipelago.

Adoption of the Van Ophuijsen orthography by native writers was also made possible by the fact that the Roman alphabet, a phonemic system, is more suitable for ML than the Arabic script, a syllabic script. Furthermore, the system of phonemic representation of the Roman alphabet is much simpler than that of the Arabic script. Its use meant that many ambiguities could be avoided. The following example is an illustration of this point.

A ML word written in Arabic script such as كمبڠ can be read as (1) /kəmbaŋ/ *flower*, (2) /kumbaŋ/ *bettle*, or (3) /kambiŋ/ *goat*. If the same word is written in Roman alphabet it will yield only one reading at one time, i.e., either **kembang** or **kumbang** or **kambing**.

3.2.2 Use of Roman script and orthographies for ML and (later) for IN

3.2.2.1 The Van Ophuijsen spelling system

Prior to 1901 ML was, in general, written in Arabic script.[2] In some places, especially in big cities, due to the influence of Dutch, ML was written in Roman alphabet. However, there was no uniformity in the use of the script. Therefore, in 1896, the Dutch colonial administration commissioned Charles Adrian van Ophuijsen, a noted language scholar and educationist, to conduct research on the matter. Five years later, in 1901, he published his book *Kitab logat Melajoe* which contained a grammar of the language and a writing system for it using the Roman alphabet. The system became known as the Van Ophuijsen orthography, and can be summarised as follows:

A

The following are all the letters and diacritics given in the book *Kitab logat Melajoe*, with their phonemic equivalents and words that exemplify these letters:

a	/a/	koeda *horse*, fana *mortal*, bantoe senang *happy*, bahasa *language*, majat *corpse*;
ai	/ai/	pakai *to wear*, pakaian *clothes*
au	/aw/	poelau *island*, saudagar *merchant*
b	/b/	baroe *new*, sebab *cause*, lembah *valley*, kewadjiban *task, responsibility*
ch	/x/	chabar *news*, sjech Arab.: *a kind of title*, tachta *crown*
d	/d/	dari *from*, maksoed *intention*, da'if *humble*, dimaksoedi *which is intended*
dj	/ǰ/	djari *finger*, djoeadah *snack*
e	/ə/	emas *gold*, beri *to give*, lebih *more*
é	/e/	élok *beautiful*, ténggér *to land on something*, lémpar *to throw*
f	/f/	fasal *article of a law*, ma'af *to apologise*, mafhoem *to understand*
g	/g/	gantoeng *to hang*, megah *luxurious*, galib *usual*, balig *adolescent*
h	/h/	hari *day*, haoes *thirsty*, roemah *house*
i	/i/	ikan *fish*, timbang *to weigh*, wadjib *compulsory*
j	/y/	joe *shark*, jakin *to be sure*, sahaja *slave*
k	/k/	kami *we, us*, koeboer *grave*, roesak *out of order*, takdir *destiny*
l	/l/	lari *to run*, tinggal *to stay*, kenalan *acquaintance*
m	/m/	mari *come here*, minoem *to drink*, penjamoen *highwayman*
n	/n/	nenas *pineapple*, pandjang *long, length*, pantjang *to stick (a pole in the ground)*

ng	/ŋ/	**nganga** *to open the mouth*, **angkat** *to lift up*, **benang** *thread*
nj	/ñ/	**njawa** *soul*, **minjak** *oil*
o	/o/	**oleh** *by*, **bohong** *to lie*, **onggok** *to pile up*
oe	/u/	**oetang** *debt*, **oetoes** *to send someone as a representative*, **djatoeh** *to fall down*, **tahoe** *to know*
p	/p/	**padi** *rice (still in the fields)*, **tetap** *constant*, **kelengkapan** *equipment*
r	/r/	**ramai** *crowded*, **bersih** *clean*, **atoeran** *regulation*
s	/s/	**soerat** *letter*, **poetoes** *to break, to stop (a process)*, **Selasa** *Tuesday*
sj	/š/	**sjarat** *condition (of an agreement)*, **masjhoer** *well known*
t	/t/	**tali** *rope*, **angkat** *to lift up*, **kelihatan** *can be seen, in view*
tj	/č/	**tjari** *look for*, **tjatjing** *worm*
w	/w/	**wang** *money*, **wali** *guardian*, **sawah** *rice field*
z	/z/	**zaman** *era, period*, **izin** *permission*, **zikir** *chant to praise God*

<div align="center">

B

</div>

(1) The glide [w] which usually occurs between **oe**, **au** or **o** and **a**, **e**, **i**, **au**, **ai** is not represented (written down by any letter). Examples: **doea** [duwa] *two*, **koee** [kuwe] *cake*, **doeit** [duwɪt] *money*, **koeau** [kuwau] *sauce*, **doeai** [duwaɪ] *one against two (in a fight)*, **goerauan** [gurauwan] *tease*, **melampaui** [melampauɪwɪ] *to overtake*, **mendahoeloei** [mendahuɪuwɪ] *to go ahead*.

(2) The glide [y] which occurs between **i**, **ai** or **e** and **a**, **oe**, **o**, **au**, **ai** is not represented (written down) by any letter. Examples: **ia** [ɪya] *he*, **rioeh** [rɪyuh] *noisy*, **Riau** [rɪyawu] *Riau*, **mengeong** [meŋeyoŋ] *to mew (a cat)*, **pakaian** [pakaɪyan] *clothes*, **poedjian** [puɟɪyan] *commendation*.

(3) The particles **koe**, **kau**, **se**, **ke** and **di** are attached to the words following them. Examples: **koelihat** *I see*, **kaudengar** *you hear*, **dibawa** *being carried*, **seorang** *one person*, **keroemah** *to the house, to go home*, **didalam** *inside*. However, if the following words begin with a capital letter, a hyphen (-) is used between the particles and the capitalised words. Examples: **ke-Padang** *to Padang*, **di-Betawi** *in Batavia*, **se-Liter** *one litre*.

(4) Possessive, persuasive, and interrogative particles **koe**, **moe**, **nja**, **kah**, **lah** and **tah** are attached to the words preceding them. Examples: **roemahkoe** *my house*, **koedanya** *his horse*, **adakah** *is there?*, **lihatlah** *please look!*, **apatah** *why is it?*.

(5) The emphatic particle **poen** is sometimes attached to the preceding word and is sometimes not. If it functions as an emphatic particle, **poen** is attached to the word preceding it. Example: **Adapoen radja itu hendak berangkat** *The king wants to go*. **Ada poen radja, tiada kami indahkan** *The presence of any king, we do not care*.

C

(1) The prefixes **ke** and **se** are used instead of **ka** and **sa**. Examples: **ketiga** *the third*, **kedatangan** *arrival*, **sebenarnja** *as a matter of fact*. Not *katiga, *kadatangan, *sabenarnja.

(2) The prefixes **ber** and **per** become **be** and **pe** if the following words begin with an **r**. Examples: **beroemah** *to have a home*, **peroemahan** *a lot for housing*.

(3) The letter **h** which occurs initially in a word is retained when the word gets a prefix **peng** or **meng**. Examples: **penghoeloe** *religious leader*, **menghadap** *to face something, to pay a courtesy call*.

(4) The suffixes **an**, **kan** and **i** are attached to the words. Examples: **makan** *to eat*, **makanan** *food*; **doedoek** *to sit*, **kedoedoekan** *a place to sit on, seat*, **mendoedoekkan** *to sit something, to place something*, **mendoedoeki** *to occupy a seat*; **banjak** *many, a lot of*, **kebanjakan** *too many, too much*, **memperbanjakkan** *to multiply*.

However, the suffix **i** is given the diacritic /¨/, when it is attached to a word ending with **a**. Examples: **nama** *name*, **menamaï** *to name something*; **kata** *word*, **mengataï** *to call names to somebody*; **tanja** *to ask*, **menanjaï** *to interrogate somebody*.

D

All compound words are written as one word. Examples: **matahari** *the sun* not *mata hari, **adakala** *sometimes* not *ada kala, **apabila** *whenever* not *apa bila.

All compound words are listed in *Kitab logat Melajoe*.

E

A hyphen (-) is used:

(1) When a word is reduplicated; examples: **laki-laki** *men*, **koeda-koeda** *horses*, **berlari-lari** *to run slowly and intermittently*, **tanam-tanaman** *various plants*.

(2) between particles **ke**, **se** and **di** if they are followed by words which begin with a capital letter. Examples: **ke Bogor** *to Bogor*, **se-Meter** *one metre*, **di-Bandung** *in Bandung*.

The diacritic /¨/ is used:

(1) to differentiate **ai** (a diphthong) from **a-i** (final **a** and suffix **i**) of a word. Examples: **ramai** (a diphthong) *crowded*, **lain** (a diphthong) *other*, **dinamaïnja** (di+nama+i+nja) *it is named by him*, **jaïtoe** (ja+itoe) *therefore*.

(2) to show that the letter which gets that diacritic is the initial letter of a word. Examples: **alUmlaut'a'swad** (al+aswad) Arab.:*the black*, **Rabi'oe'läwal** (Rabi'oe'l+awal) Arab.: *the first month of the lunar system*.

The following are the syllabification rules:

(1) The intervocalic consonant will attach to the second vowel, that is, to the vowel following it. Examples: `alas` - `a-las` *basis, foundation,* `moedah` - `moe-dah` *easy.*

Suffixes `an` and `i` and the letter `r` of prefixes `ber` and `per` are exceptions. Examples: `atoeran` - `a-toer-an` *rules,* `makanan` - `ma-kan-an` *food,* `doedoeki` - `doe-doek-i` *occupation,* `kedoedoekan` - `ke-doe-doek-an` *seat, occupation,* `beristeri` - `ber-is-te-ri` *to wed,* `peratoeran` - `per-a-toer-an` *regulations.*

(2) When two consonants occur between two vowels, the two consonants may be separated. Examples: `pantai` - `pan-tai` *beach,* `ramboet` - `ram-boet` *hair.*

Letters `ch`, `dj`, `ng`, `nj` and `sj` form a single unit and are, therefore, treated as an ordinary single letter. Examples: `pandjang` - `pan-djang` *long, length,* `ichlas` - `ich-las` *sincere,* `tjintjin` - `tjin-tjin` *ring,* `tangan` - `ta-ngan` *hand,* `tanja` - `ta-nja` *question,* `masjhoer` - `masj-hoer` *well-known,* `penghoeloe` - `peng-hoe-loe` *religious leader.*[3]

3.2.2.2 The R. Soewandi spelling system

After several years of use, the inadequacies of the Van Ophuijsen writing system became apparent, especially in relation to the spelling of loan words from foreign languages, such as the Arabic `ain` and `hamzah`.

In 1938, a resolution was passed by the Congress on IN held in Solo to perfect and to reformulate the Van Ophuijsen orthography. The Congress suggested that the writing system which was to replace the Van Ophuijsen system should be one that was based on a combination of the various orthographies of the local vernaculars[4] and the Van Ophuijsen system. Due to the outbreak of the second World War, the implementation of this suggestion was delayed for quite some time.

Based on the Letter of Decision of the Minister of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia of March 19, 1947, No. 264/Bhg. A, a new spelling system was made public for use by all government departments and offices. The new system was basically the same as the Van Ophuijsen system, with two main changes in the symbols used: the `oe` became `u` and the use of diacritic *accent aigu* /´/ and *accent grave* /`/ was done away with. Rules of pronunciation for foreign loan words were also improved, that is, much more in line with the IN sound system.

Another Letter of Decision of the Minister of Education and Culture of April 15, 1947, No. 345/Bhg. A, mandated that the official writing system, more popularly known as the R. Soewandi orthography, take effect on August 1, 1947 and thereafter be used in all the educational institutions throughout the country.

The following is a summary of the R. Soewandi spelling system:

Old New

1. a   a   /a/   ha *ha*, ah *oh*, nah *there you are!*, Ahmad *Ahmad (name of a person)*, hawa *climate*, naskah *manuscript*

2. ai   ai   /ay/   hai *hi*, air *water*, kail *hook*, pakai *to wear*, pakaian *clothes*, mulai *to start*, disukai *being liked*, mengenai *being hit*. In the words mulai, disukai, mengenai, (mula, suka, kena, plus suffix i) no need to put the diacritic /¨/ on top of suffix i.

3. au   au   /aw/   kau *you*, engkau *you*, tembakau *tobacco*, gurau *tease*, lampau *past*. In connection with point 19, au is also used to replace aoe, e.g. kaum *clan*, laut *sea*, mau *wish*, bau *odour* (also no need to put diacritic /¨/ on top of the letter u, see point 2 above).

4. b   b   /b/   batu *stone*, babu *maid*, sebab *cause*, nasib *destiny*, lembab *moisture*

5. d   d   /d/   di *at*, dik *little sister or brother*, dari *from*, Ahad *Sunday*, tekad *will power*, Ahmad *Ahmad (a name)*

6. dj   dj   /j/   djuga *also*, hudjan *rain*, djandji *promise*

7. e,é   e   /ə,e/   emas *gold*, sumber *source*, sate *satay*, tauge *bean sprout*, heran *surprise*. The diacritic /´/ over the letter e, in practice, has long been abandoned.

8. g   g   /g/   gelang *bracelet*, gampang *easy*, balig *adolescent*

9. h   h   /h/   ha *ha*, ah *ah*, tahun *year*, tahan *to arrest*

10. i   i   /i/   ia *he*, ilmu *knowledge*, kail *hook*, hasil *product*

11. j   j   /y/   ja *yes*, saja *I, me*, jakin *to be sure*, sajang *pity*

12. k   k   /k/   kami *we*, anak *child*, sukar *difficult*

13. l   l   /l/   lama *old*, hal *concerning, about*, lalu *past, to pass*

14. m   m   /m/   mu *your*, kamu *you*, mau *wish, want*, mandi *to take a bath*, kolam *pool*

15. n   n   /n/   tani *peasant*, nikmat *delicious*, nenas *pineapple*, teman *friend*

16. ng   ng   /ŋ/   telinga *ear*, lubang *hole*, lengang *deserted*

17. nj   nj   /ñ/   njaman *comfortable*, mengenjam *to enjoy*

18. o   o   /o/   oleh *by*, bohong *lie*

19. oe   u   /u/   guru *teacher*, mau *wish, want*, laut *sea*, see point 3 above.

20. p   p   /p/   lupa *to forget*, asap *smoke*, pasir *sand*

21. r   r   /r/   baru *new*, rasa *taste*, pasar *market place*

22.	s	s	/s/	bisa *poison*, sudah *already, finished*, basah *wet*, belas *pity*
23.	t	t	/t/	satu *one*, tuan *master, Sir*, patah *broken*, kuat *strong*
24.	tj	tj	/č/	tjertja *to scorn*, tjemburu *jealous*, tjukur *to shave*, katjang *peanut*
25.	w	w	/w/	sewa *rent*, wakil *representative*, kawan *friend*

26. The glottalised sound at the end of a syllable is represented by the letter k, e.g., tak *not*, rakjat *people*, tidak *no, not*, makna *meaning*.

27. The reduplication of a word can be signaled by the number 2, however, attention should be given to the part of the word which is being reduplicated. Examples: buku^2 *books*, sekali^2 *once in a while*, tidak se-kali^2 *not in any manner, not at all*, mudah^2-an *hopefully*, ber-hubung^2-an *to be connected each other*, lukisan^2 *paintings*, lukis^2-an *painting-like*

28. For borrowed words from foreign languages which do not have the *pepet* sound, there is no need to insert the *pepet* sound, e.g. praktek (not *peraktek) *practice*, administrasi (not *administerasi) *administration*, gledek (not *geledek) *thunderstorm*, stang (not *setang) *handle bar*.

29. These changes of the spelling system are not applicable to the personal names, or names of legally established bodies whose names have been recorded as such.[5]

3.2.2.3 The Reformation orthography

At the Congress on IN held in Medan in 1954, a paper was presented by Dr Prijono entitled *Dasar-dasar edjaan Bahasa Indonesia dengan huruf Latin* (Bases for IN spelling system using the Latin alphabet). This paper was accepted by the Congress as the basis for reformation of the existing IN orthography, the R. Soewandi writing system. This action was necessary for there were some elements of the orthography under discussion which needed revision according to the principles of orthography. Furthermore, the nature of IN —its phonological, morphological, and syntactical systems—which so far had been neglected, had to be taken into consideration. The projected writing system also had to be soundly based on the linguistic principle which requires the representation of one sound by one symbol.

In order to implement the resolution of the Congress concerning the revision of the writing system, the Government, through a Letter of Decision of the Minister of Education and Culture of July 19, 1956 No. 44876/S, appointed Dr Prijono, Dean of the Faculty of Letters of the University of Indonesia at the time, to head a Committee[6] for reforming the IN spelling system. Later, when he was appointed as Minister of Education and Culture, he was replaced by E. Katoppo.

The Reformation orthography, or the Prijono-Katoppo writing system as it was also called, was never to be made public. Its implementation would have placed a great financial burden on the state, and the government and private institutions as well simply did not have the funds necessary to purchase new typewriters, to reprint books etc.

The following is a summary of the orthography proposed by the Prijono-Katoppo Committee of 1957 for IN:

I.   Phoneme and symbol

(1) Principle: one phoneme is represented by one symbol.
(2) Besides the international alphabet there is also the national alphabet.
(3) **f**, **z**, **v** and **ś** are included as additional phonemes of the Indonesian alphabet.
(4) The Indonesian alphabet is as follows:

(a) vowels: e, a, i, u, é, o
diphthongs: ay, aw, oy
consonants:

	front	mid	nasal
velar	k	g	ŋ
palatal	ṯ	j	n
dental	t	-	-
supradental	-	d	n
labial	p	b	m
semivowel	y	w	-
liquid	r	l	-
sibilant	s	-	-
glottal	h	-	-
additional	f,ś	v,z	

The new letters: ṯ Ṯ, ñ Ñ, ŋ Ŋ

Diphthongs **ai**, **oi**, **au** become **ay**, **oy**, **aw**
The symbol **ng** becomes ŋ
The symbol **dj** becomes **j**
The symbol **tj** becomes **ṯ** (t cedilla)
The symbol **nj** becomes **ñ** (n tilde)
The symbol **sj** becomes **ś**
(b) **e** (without diacritic): e *pepet*
    e (with diacritic): é or è

(c) The pronunciation of the national alphabet is based on the pronunciation of the alphabet of the local vernaculars: **ka**, **ga**, **sa**, etc.

(d) The pronunciation of the international alphabet is based on the pronunciation of the Dutch alphabet with some modifications: **g** = **gé**, **j** = **yé**, **q** = **ku**, **u** = **u**, **y** = **jé**, **x** = **éks** etc.

(e) The Indonesian pronunciation of the letters of the international alphabet is as follows:

a (a), b (bé), c (cé), d (dé), e (é), f (éf), g (gé), h (ha), i (I), j (Jé), k (ka), l (él), m (ém), n (ém), n (én), o (o), p (pé), q (ku), r (ér), s (és), t (té), u (u), v (vé), w (wé), x éks), y (yé), z (zét).

Words containing the phonemes above:

Old New

1. e	e	/ə/	emas *gold*, berat *weight*, ke *to*
2. a	a	/a/	api *fire*, bekas *trace*, pula *also*
3. i	i	/i/	ikan *fish*, manis *sweet*, hati *heart*
4. u	u	/u/	ular *snake*, balut *to wrap, bandage*, palu *hammer*
5. e	é	/e/	ékor *tail*, karét *rubber*, témpé *a kind of food made of soya beans*
6. o	o	/o/	obat *medicine*, balok *log*, toko *store*
7. ai	ay	/ay/	gulay *stew*
8. au	aw	/aw/	pulaw *island*
9. oi	oy	/oy/	sepoy *breeze*
10. k	k	/k/	kayu *wood*, anak *child*
11. g	g	/g/	gaya *power*, gudeg *a kind of vegetable*
12. ng	ŋ	/ŋ/	ŋaŋa *to open the mouth*, senaŋ *happy*
13. tj	ṯ	/č/	ṯium *to kiss*
14. dj	j	/j/	jadi *ready made, finished*
15. nj	ṇ	/n/	ŋaṇi *to sing*
16. t	t	/t/	tali *rope*, sakit *sick*
17. d	d	/d/	dataŋ *to arrive*, maksud *intention*
18. n	n	/n/	nasi *rice*, makan *to eat*
19. p	p	/p/	padi *rice as vegetation*, sedap *delicious*
20. b	b	/b/	boleh *may, to be allowed*, lembab *moisture*
21. m	m	/m/	mabuk *to be drunk*, selam *to dive*
22. j	y	/y/	yaŋ *which*
23. w	w	/w/	wahai *an exclamation word*
24. r	r	/r/	ratu *queen*, ular *snake*
25. l	l	/l/	lari *to run*, gatal *itchy*
26. s	s	/s/	sapu *sweeper*, panas *hot*
27. h	h	/h/	hari *day*, salah *wrong, mistake*
28.	f	/f/	fakultas *faculty*, maaf *apology*

29. sj   ś   /š/   śarikat *union*

30.   v   /v/   vokal *vocal*

31.   z   /z/   zakat *alms*

II. Borrowed words from foreign languages are written according to IN pronunciation.

    (1) **ac-** is spelled as **ak-**, e.g. **aktif**; **-age** is spelled as **asi**, e.g. **bagasi**; **-aire** is spelled as **-er**, e.g. **sanitér**; **ca-** is spelled as **ka-**, e.g. **kambium**; **ce-**, **-ce** are spelled as **se-**, **-se**, e.g. **sél**, **persén**; **ch-** is spelled as **k-**, **-s-**, **ʧ-**, e.g. **kristen**, **mesin**, **toklat**; **f-** is spelled as **p-**, **f-**, e.g. **pabrik**, **faktur**; **ie** is spelled as **i**, e.g. **datif**, **positif**; **-teit** is spelled as **ta**, **tas**, e.g. **universitas**, **fakultas**, **kwalitas**; **-et** is spelled as **it**, e.g. **konkrit**, **planit**; **-eur**, **-uur** are spelled as **-ir**, **-ur**, e.g. **montir**, **sopir**, **inspektur**, **faktur**, **setir**; **v** is spelled as **p**, **v**, e.g. **répolusi**, **révolusi**, **universitas**, **vokal**; **x** between vowels is spelled as **ks**, e.g. **éksamen**; **x** followed by a consonant is spelled as **s**, e.g. **éspedisi**; **x** in initial position is spelled as **s-**, e.g. **sénograf**; **x** in final position is spelled as **-k**, e.g. **laték**; **tie** is spelled as **si**, e.g. **polisi**, **posisi**, **inféksi**, **koreksi**; **z** is spelled as **j**, **z**, **s**, e.g. **jaman** *period of time in history*, **zeman**, **zakat** *alms*, **jakat**, **musik**

    (2) **e** *pepet* in final position of a word originating from foreign languages or local vernaculars is spelled as **a**, e.g. **sosialisma**, **komunisma**, **metoda**, **koda**

        e *pepet* in the final closed-syllable of a word originating from foreign languages or local vernaculars is retained, e.g. **ruwet** *complicated*, **Désémber**, **lemper** *a kind of food made of glutinative rice*, **barter**, **seret** *to drag*

    (3) (a) Borrowed words originating from foreign languages and local vernaculars which contain word-initial consonant clusters in which one of the consonants is one of the liquids (**l** or **r**) or one of the semivowels (**w** or **y**) keep the original spelling of the clusters, except in those words which consist of one syllable. Examples: **platina**, **klise**, **blanko**, **blokada**, **gladiator**, **tradisi**, **brosur**, **drama**, **grafik**, **kredit**, **srimpi** *a Javanese kind of dance*, **swapradja** *district government*, **kwitansi** *receipt*, **kyai** *a title for a religious leader* Exceptions: **stop** is spelled as **setop**, **stem** is spelled as **setem**

        (b) Borrowed words having consonant clusters in final position: (i) the second consonant is *not* retained, e.g. president - **presidén**, consonant - **konsonan**, etc.; (ii) either **e** or **a** is inserted between the two consonants, e.g. Mart - **Maret**, palm - **palem**, diens - **dinas**, etc.; (iii) **a** is added to the end of the word, e.g. dans - **dansa**, burs - **bursa**, etc.

        (c) For borrowed words which have a consonant cluster in the initial position, other than those mentioned in 3a, original spellings are retained, except in those words which consist of only one syllable, e.g. **stadion** *stadium*, **studio**, **skala**, **spasi**, **skandal**, **skripsi**, etc. Exceptions are: stem - **setem** (see 3a above)

        (d) in consonant clusters consisting of 3 or 4 consonants which occur medially,

original spellings are retained, e.g. **inspéksi**, **komplot** *gang*, **kamprét** *a kind of bat*, **administrasi**, **abstrak**, **instruksi**, **démonstrasi**, etc.

III. On compound words, particles, clitics, syllabification, and reduplication.

(1) How to write compound words, clitics and particles

(a) Compound words whose elements are related very closely to each other are spelled as one word, e.g. **pemberitahuan** (pemberi+tahuan) *announcement*, **dukaʈita** (duka+ʈita) *sorrow*, **ketidakpuasan** (ke+tidak+puas+an) *unsatisfactory*, **dipertaŋguŋjawab** (di+per+taŋguŋ+jawab+kan) *to be accounted for*, etc.

(b) A hyphen is used between the elements of a compound word both of which are of the same status or quality, e.g. **laki-bini** *husband and wife*, **ibu-bapa** *mother and father*, etc.

(c) Clitics **ku**, **kau**, **mu**, **di—ña**, **ña** are treated as prefixes or suffixes and are attached to the word following or preceding it, e.g. **kuberi** *I give*, **kauberi** *you give*, **diberiña** *it is given to him or her*, **milikku** *my possession*, **milikña** *his or her possession*, etc.

Exceptions: the words **Si**, **Saŋ**, **Haŋ**, **Daŋ**, **Sri** are to be separated from personal names following, e.g. **Si Ali**, **Saŋ Nila Utama**, **Haŋ Jebat**, **Daŋ Merdu**, **Sri Sultan**, etc.

(d) Prepositions **di** and **ke** which are attached to another preposition are written as one word, e.g. **diatas** *on top*, **diluar** *outside*, **keluar** *to go out*, etc.

If the following words are names of places or directions, the prepositions **di** and **ke** are spelled separately from those words, examples: **di pasar** *at the market*, **ke sekolah** *to go to school*, **ke Utara** *to the North*, etc.

(e) The particles **lah**, **kah**, **tah**, and **pun** are attached to the preceding words and are spelled as one word, e.g. **sabarlah** *be patient!*, **berapakah** *how many?*, **apakah** *what*, **adapun** *as for*, etc. Pun having the meaning of **juga** *also* and **saja** *only* is written separately from the word following it, e.g. **sekali pun** *only once*, etc.

(2) On syllabification

(a) The intervocalic consonant must follow the vowel in front of it, e.g. **ma-las** *lazy*, **ma-sa-lah** *problem*, etc.

(b) Consonant clusters in medial position should be separated in syllabifying a word, e.g. **tum-buh** *grow*, **bén-téŋ** *fortress*, etc.

But if one element of the consonant cluster is one of the following liquid-semivowel group (**r**, **l**, **w**, **y**), the consonants are not separated, e.g. **pu-tri** *princess*, **ga-plék** *tapioca*, **sa-twa** *fauna*, **ka-hayaŋan** *paradise*

(c) In medial consonant clusters consisting of three or four consonants, the first consonant is attached to its preceding vowel, and the rest to the following vowel, e.g. **in-sta-la-si** *installation*, **in-spék-si**, **kon-struk-si**, **ab-strak**, etc.

(d) Prefixes **ber-**, **be-**, **ter-**, **me-**, and suffix **-kan** are separated from the words to which they are attached, e.g. **ber-i-bu** *to call a woman mother*, **be-ri-bu** *thousands*, **ter-an-tuk** *collided*, **men-du-duk-kan** *to make somebody sit down*, etc.

For the initial sound of a word which changes because of the attachment of a prefix (assimilation process), the new sound is considered as a part of the word, e.g. **me+karaŋ > me-ŋa-raŋ** *to compose*, **pe+u+kur > pe-ŋu-kur** *measurement*.

In suffixes **an** and **i** attached to a word ending with a closed syllable, the suffixes and the final consonant form a syllable, e.g. **makan+an > ma+ka+nan** *food*, **ke+du+duk+an > ke+du+du+kan** *seat, occupation*, **me+nu+tup+i > me+nu+tu+pi** *to be covered*, etc.

(3) On reduplication

If the reduplicated word has a singular meaning, it is spelled as a single word, e.g. **alunalun** *park*, **kurakura** *turtle*, **paruparu** *lung*, etc.

The reduplicated word is spelled with a hyphen in between:

(a) if it has a plural meaning, e.g. **anak-anak** *children*, **ibu-ibu** *mothers*, etc.

(b) if there is either prefix or suffix attached to the reduplicated word, e.g. **tanam-tanaman** *plants*, **berkejar-kejaran** *to run after each other intermittently*, etc.

Reduplication can be symbolised by the number 2, e.g. **anak²** *children*, **oraŋ²** *people*, etc.

If the word has a prefix, the reduplicated word is separated from the prefix by a hyphen, e.g. **se-kali²** *at all*, **ber-lari²** *running intermittently*, etc.

If the word, however, has a suffix **an** or **i**, reduplication *may not* be symbolised by number 2, e.g. **memata-matai** *to observe very carefully*, and *not* ****me-mata²-i**, **berkejar-kejaran** *to run after each other intermittently* and *not* ****ber-kejar²-an**, etc.[7]

3.2.2.4 The Melindo writing system

In meetings held from December 4 to 7, 1959 in Jakarta, the Implementation Committee for the Unification of IN and Mal writing systems, headed by Dr Slametmuljana, and the Committee on Writing Systems of the Confederated Kingdoms of Malaya, headed by Syed Nasir bin Ismail, came to an agreement on a unified writing system for Indonesia and Malaysia. This system was called the **Melindo** writing system.[8]

The two parties also agreed that the above-mentioned writing system would be made effective within the territories of the two countries at the latest in January 1962. Similar to the Reformation spelling system, the Melindo system was based on the principle that one sound was to be represented by one symbol.

Due to the political situation in Indonesia during the 1960s and the worsening of rekations between Indonesia and Malaysia,[9] the Melindo writing system was never made public and, consequently, never took effect in either of the two countries.

The folllowing is the summary of the agreement reached by the two parties concerning the Melindo writing system:

(1) The vowel phonemes

a as the symbol for phoneme /a/ as found in the following words: lagu *song*, batu *stone*, adil *just*, etc.

é as the symbol for phoneme /e/ as found in the following words: élok *pretty*, bélok *to turn*, molék *charming*, solék *make-up*, etc.

e as the symbol for phoneme /ə/ (*pepet*) in the words: kelak *in the future*, lemah *weak*, emas *gold*, etc.

i as the symbol for phoneme /i/ in words: ikan *fish*, lidah *tongue*, putih *white*, baik *good*, etc.

o as the symbol for phoneme /o/ in words such as: bola *ball*, roda *wheel*, potoŋ *to cut*, somboŋ *proud*, etc.

u as the symbol for phoneme /u/ in words like: lubaŋ *man-hole*, gula *sugar*, udaŋ *shrimp*, duduk *to sit down*,etc.

The diphthongs:

ay as the symbol for diphthong /ay/ in words such as: sampay *arrival, to arrive*, pantay *beach*, balay *council, building*, etc.

aw as the symbol for diphthong /aw/ in words such as: kerbaw *buffalo*, sawdara *sister or brother*, tinjaw *on the spot observation*, etc.

oy as the symbol for diphthong /oy/ in words like: amboy *exclamation word: my goodness*, sepoy *breeze*, etc.

(2) The consonant phonemes:

In this Melindo writing system there are 18 symbols for the 18 main consonant phonemes and three symbols for the three additional phonemes. They are:

	front	mid	nasal
velar	k	g	ŋ
palatal	k	j	ɲ
dental	c	-	-
supradental	-	d	n
labial	p	b	m
semivowel	y	w	-
liquid	r	l	-
sibilant	s	-	-
glottal	h	-	-
additional phonemes	f, š	z	

The symbols which are different in the IN and ML writing systems and their unified symbol in the Melindo writing system are:

	IN		Mal		Melindo
tj	Tj	ch	Ch	c	C
dj	Dj	j	J	j	J
ng	Ng	ng	Ng	ŋ	N
nj	Nj	ny	Ny	ɲ	Ɲ

(3) Names of the international phonemes

a (a), b (bⅰ), c (tʃⅰ), d (dⅰ), ê (e), e (e), f (ef), g (gⅰ), h (ha), i (ⅰ), j (dʒa), k (ka), l (el), m (êm), n (ên), o (o), p (pⅰ), q (ku), r (êr), s (ês), t (tⅰ), u (u), v (vⅰ), w (wa), x (êks), y (ʃa), z (zêt)

(4) Notes on some Melindo phonemes:

(a) The additional phonemes **f, s, z**

The symbol **f** is used to represent a voiceless labio-dental fricative originating from foreign languages or local vernaculars found in words such as: **fikiran** *thought*, **fajar** *dawn*, **fonem** *phoneme*, **filsafat** *philosophy*, etc.

The symbol **š** is used to represent a voiceless sibilant fricative originating from foreign languages found in words like: **šair** *poem*, **šarat** *condition*, etc.

The symbol **z** is used to represent a voiced sibilant fricative originating from foreign languages found in words like: **lazim** *common*, **zakat** *alms*, **zaman** *period in history*, etc.

(b) The glide-sounds [y] and [w] are not represented by any symbol. Neither is the [ə] *pepet* sound occurring between a consonant and one of the semivowel and liquid sounds [y, w, r, l], e.g. **Presiden, Republik, swatantra** *locality*, **swasta** *private*, **panitya** *committee*, etc.[10]

3.2.2.5 The new orthography

On May 7, 1966 a Crash-Program Committee on the IN Spelling System was set up by the *Lembaga Bahasa dan Kesusasteraan* (Institute of Language and Literature) of the Department of Education and Culture under the chairmanship of Anton M. Moeliono.[11] The task of this Crash-Program Committee was to prepare a memorandum to be submitted to the Ministry of Education and Culture concerning the need of improving the Melindo spelling system before it was made effective in Indonesia and Malaysia.

The Committee completed its task by the end of August 1966 and the Minister of Education and Culture in his Letter of Decision of September 19, 1967 No. 062/67, appointed this Committee as the official Committee on the IN Writing System of the Ministry of Education and Culture, to replace the one headed by Dr Slametmuljana.

It was hoped that the writing system formulated by this Committtee would be widely accepted by the IN speech community.[12]

Initially it was intended for use in Indonesia only, but as a result of a meeting between this Committee and a number of prominent language planners from Malaysia in September 1966 in Jakarta, the Malaysian government became interested in the newly proposed

orthography. On June 27, 1967 an agreement was reached between the two parties and was signed by the Malaysian Committee for Language and Spelling and the Indonesian Committee on the Writing System. Details on the implementation of the new spelling system, however, were not announced.[13]

Except for a few changes, the New Orthography agreed upon by the two parties was pretty much the same as the Melindo spelling system. The more important points mentioned in the agreement were as follows.

The desire to improve the IN and Mal systems of spelling currently in use is based on the following factors: (1) the development of knowledge and the development of scientific insight, especially in linguistics, require the formulation of a good system of spelling, (2) the shortcomings of the present systems of spelling do not help to reveal the nature of IN and Mal, (3) account must be taken of the role which will be assumed by IN and Mal in Southeast Asia and the world.

What is meant by spelling in this context is the symbolisation of phonemes on the basis of: (1) the technical consideration which requires every phoneme to be symbolised by one alphabetic sign, (2) the relation of this consideration to practical applications such as printing and typewriting, (3) the scientific consideration which requires the symbolisation to reflect the linguistic and social reality of the language.

On the basis of the above considerations, the Spelling Committee of Indonesia and the Spelling and Language Committee of Malaysia[14] were able to reach full and complete agreement on the establishment of a common spelling system for IN that was at once practical, economical, and scientific.

Both sides also agreed that the relationship between IN and Mal should be further promoted through both spoken and written channels, for the purpose of achieving the mutual goals of the people of Indonesia and Malaysia.

The principles of the spelling system that were agreed to by the two parties are as follows:

(1) Vowels:

    (i)   It was agreed that in IN and Mal there are six pure vowels which are indicated by i, e, o, u, a, and e.

    (ii)   The half-closed back vowel in a closed final syllable which in IN is usually spelled with u, is similar to the closed back vowel in a closed final syllable.

    (iii)   The half-closed front vowel in a closed final syllable which in IN is usually spelled with e (*taling*), will be spelled with i, similar to the closed front vowel in closed final syllables.

    (iv)   e (*pepet*) and e (*taling*) will be written without a diacritical mark, except for purposes of teaching etc., when such a differentiation may be made.

(2) Diphthongs:

The spellings are similar to those being used at present, i.e. **au**, **ai**, and **oi** of the R. Soewandi spelling system.

(3) Consonants:

The consonantal phonemes will be symbolised as follows:

Phoneme	Present symbol		Agreed symbol
	IN	Mal	
/p/	p	p	p
/b/	b	b	b
/t/	t	t	t
/k/	k	k	k
/d/	d	d	d
/g/	g	g	g
/c/	tj	ch	c
/j/	dj	j	j
/s/	s	s	s
/f/	f	f	f
/v/	v	v	v
/z/	z	z	z
/š/	sj	sh	sy
/x/	ch	kh	kh
/γ/	gh	g	gh
/h/	h	h	h
/m/	m	m	m
/n/	n	n	n
/ñ/	nj	ny	ny
/ŋ/	ng	ng	ng
/l/	l	l	l
/r/	r	r	r
/w/	w	w	w
/y/	y	y	y

(4) The alphabet:

a (a), **b** (ba), **c** (ca, cha, tja), **d** (da), **e** (e), **f** (ef), **g** (ga), **h** (ha), **i** (i), **j** (ja), **k** (ka), **l** (el), **m** (em), **n** (en), **o** (o), **p** (pa), **q** (ki), **r** (er), **s** (es), **t** (ta), **u** (u), **v** (vi, fi), **w** (wa), **x** (eks), **y** (ya), **z** (za)

(5) Syllabification

Every syllable is marked by a vowel which forms the peak of sonority of the syllable. The vowel can be preceded by one, two, or three consonants, and can be followed by one, two, or three consonants.

There are 13 basic patterns of the syllable in IN and Mal. (V and C symbolise vowel and consonant respectively).

1. V (<u>a</u>-nak *child*) 2. CV (<u>ra</u>-kit *raft*) 3. VC (<u>ar</u>-ti *meaning*) 4. CVC (<u>tam</u>-pak *visible*) 5. CVCC (<u>teks</u> *text*) 6. CCV (<u>kre</u>-dit *credit*) 7. CCVC (<u>prang</u>-ko *stamp*) 8. CCCV (<u>stra</u>-tegi *strategy*) 9. CCVCC (kom-<u>pleks</u>) 10. CCCVC (<u>struk</u>-tur *structure*) 11. VCC (<u>ons</u> *ounce*) 12. VCCC (<u>arts</u> *arts*), and 13. CVCC (<u>korps</u> *corps*).

Stops/plosives which are followed by /l/, /r/, /w/ and /y/ are spelled as in the following examples: Followed by r or l: **putra** *son*, **komplot** *gang*. Followed by **y** or **w**: **kyai** *religious leader*, **kwalitet** *quality*. Sibilant and stop followed by r: **istri** *wife* and <u>not</u> *isteri

(6) Derivatives

All affixes in derivatives are spelled together with the base words. The prefix **se** which is spelled as **sa** in Mal, will be changed to **se**, affixed to the base word which it precedes.

(7) Particles

All particles will be separated from the base words in writing with the exception of **ialah** *that is*, **adalah** *there is*, **adapun** *as for*, **kepada** *to, towards*, **daripada** *from*.

(8) Clitics

(i) **ku, kau, mu** will be written separate from base words following or preceding (**mu** does not precede base words).

(ii) **nya** is to be written together with the base words on condition that it will be mentioned in the teaching of grammar that there are two types of **nya**: (a) **nya** pronouns, (2) **nya** other than pronouns as in **kiranya** *it seems*, **tidak sepertinya** *it is not like it*, etc.

(9) Reduplication

Reduplicated words are written in full with a hyphen. The sign <u>2</u> can be used for speed, for example in newspapers, etc.

(10) Compound words

(i) Compound words are combinations of words which show the following characteristics: (a) in reduplication both words are repeated in full, (b) they have the ability to function as a base for expansion (receiving affixes).

(ii) Compound-words as defined above are written in combination.

(11) Punctuation

The following punctuation marks will be used as at present: (a) capital letter, (b) italics, (c) full-stop (.), (d) comma (,) but full-stop in place of comma in marking decimals, (e) semi-colon (;), (f) colon (:), (g) hyphen (-), (h) separation mark (−), (i) question mark (?), exclamation mark (!), (k) round brackets (), (l) square bracket [], (m) quotation marks ("...") ('...'), (n) slanted lines (//).

This spelling system was to be called *Ejaan Baru Bahasa Indonesia* for IN and *Ejaan Baru Bahasa Malaysia* for Mal. *Ejaan Baru Bahasa Indonesia* was scheduled to take

effect on the fortieth anniversary of the Indonesian Youth Pledge, October 28, 1968, but circumstances in Indonesia, in particular the nation economic condition, did not permit this and implementation of the system was put aside for four years.[15]

3.2.2.6 The Revised New Orthography

The 1960s witnessed the intensive spread of IN. Its development resulted in calls for a more suitable and a more linguistically based orthography. In response to this demand, the Department of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia made public a new orthography called *Ejaan Bahasa Indonesia Yang Disempurnakan* (the revised new orthography) on July 17, 1972. This revised new orthography was proclaimed by President Soeharto to be effective for the whole country on August 17, 1972.

The new system of spelling was basically the same as the orthography agreed upon by Indonesia and Malaysia in 1967. Some revisions, however, were introduced, based on the following considerations: (1) to make the system of spelling more adaptable to the spread and development of IN, (2) to maintain a unified codification in writing the letters and in using the punctuation, (3) to start an overall standardisation of IN, and (4) to encourage the furtherance of the development of IN.

The following are some important points of the revised new system of spelling of IN:

(1) The alphabet

a (a), b (be), c (ce), d (de), e (e), f (ef), g (ge), h (ha), i (I), j (Je), k (ka), l (el), m (em), n (en), o (o), p (pe), q (kI), r (er), s (es), t (te), u (u), v (fe), w (we), x (eks), y (ye), z (zet)

(2) Vowels

Old   New

Old	New		
a	a	/a/	api *fire*, padi *rice as vegetation*, lusa *the day after tomorrow*
e,é	e	/e,ə/	enak *delicious*, petak *lot for housing*, turne *going around for inspection*; emas *gold*, kena *hit*, metode *methodology*. (Note: for teaching purposes, a diacritic mark of accent can be employed, e.g. Rambutnya pérang *His hair is golden*, Bahaya perang berkurang *The danger of the war is reducing*).
i	i	/i/	itu *that*, simpan *to save*, murni *pure*
o	o	/o/	oleh *by*, kota *city*, toko *store*
u	u	/u/	ulang *repeat*, bumi *the earth*, ibu *mother*

(3) Diphthongs

Old   New

Old	New		
ai	ai	/ay/	pandai *clever*
au	au	/aw/	aula *hall*, saudara *brother or sister*, harimau *tiger*

oi	oi	/oy/	amboi *exclamation word: gee!*

(4) Consonants

Old   New

b	b	/b/	bahasa *language*, sebut *to mention*, adab *culture*
tj	c	/č/	cakap *clever*, kaca *glass*
d	d	/d/	dua *two*, ada *exist, there is*, abad *century*
f	f	/f/	fakir *poor*, kafan *wrapping-sheet for a corpse*, maaf *apology*
g	g	/g/	guna *use*, tiga *three*, jajag *investigation*
h	h	/h/	hari *day*, saham *share*, tuah *fortune*
dj	j	/j/	jalan *road*, manja *spoiled*
k	k	/k/	kami *we, us*, paksa *compulsory*, politik, rakyat *people*, bapak *father* (Note: in the last two examples the symbol **k** represents a glottalised sound)
-	kh	/x/	khusus *special*, akhir *final, end*, tarikh Arab.:*history*
l	l	/l/	lekas *hurry*, alas *basis, foundation*, kesal *restless*
m	m	/m/	maka *therefore*, kami *we, us*, diam *silent*
n	n	/n/	nama *name*, anak *child*, daun *leaf*
ng	ng	/ŋ/	ngilu *a kind of pain*, angin *wind*, pening *dizzy*
nj	ny	/ñ/	nyata *clear, obvious*, hanya *only*
p	p	/p/	pasang *tide, to install*, apa *what*, siap *ready*
-	q	/ky/	Quran Arab.: *the holy book.* Furqan Arab.: *a kind of a bird* (Note: this sound is only found in personal names and scientific usage)
r	r	/r/	raih *obtain*, bara *glowing coal*, putar *twist*
s	s	/s/	sampai *to arrive*, asli *original*, lemas *suffocated*
sj	sy	/š/	syarat *condition*, isyarat *signal*, arasy Arab.: *word for a part of heaven*
t	t	/t/	tali *rope*, mata *eye*, rapat *session, tightly close together*
-	v	/v/	varia *variety*, lava *lava*
w	w	/w/	wanita *woman*, hawa *climate*
-	x	/Ks/	Xenon *a Greek name of the period of antiquity* (Note: this sound is only found in personal names, scientific writings on the period of the Greek antiquity)

| j | y | /y/ | yakin *sure*, payung *umbrella* |
| z | z | /z/ | Zeni *a part of the army in charge of construction*, lazim *usual* |

(5) Syllabification

Every syllable of IN is marked by a vowel. The vowel can be preceded or followed by a consonant.

(a) IN has four kinds of syllable patterns:

    (i)   V = a-nak *child*, i-tu *that*, ba-u *odour*

    (ii)   VC = ar-ti *meaning*, ma-in *to play*, om-bak *wave*

    (iii)   CV = ra-kit *raft*, ma-in *to play*, i-bu *mother*

    (iv)   CVC = pin-tu *door*, hi-lang *disappear*, ma-kan *to eat*

(b) Aside from the above patterns, IN also has the following patterns of syllabification:

    (i)   CCV = pra-ja *government*, sas-tra *literature*

    (ii)   CCVC = blok *block*, trak-tor *tractor*, prak-tis *practical*

    (iii)   VCC = eks *ex*, ons *ounce*

    (iv)   CVCC = teks *text*, pers *press*, kon-teks *context*

    (v)   CCVCC = komp-pleks *complex*

    (vi)   CCCV = stra-te-gi *strategy*, in-stru-men *instrument*

    (vii)   CCCVC = struk-tur *structure*, in-struk-tur *instructor*

(c) Syllabification of base words is as follows:

    (i)   When there are two vowels between two consonants, syllabification is done by separating the two vowels, e.g. ma-in *to play*, sa-at *time, period*, bu-ah *fruit*

    (ii)   When there is one consonant between two vowels, syllabification should be done before the consonant involved, e.g. a-nak *child*, ba-rang *goods*, su-lit *difficult*

    ng, ny, sy, and kh are each a symbol of one sound; the two letters are never separated, and syllabification falls before or after the two letters involved, e.g. sa-ngat *very*, nyo-nya *wife, Mrs*, i-sya-rat *signal*, a-khir *end, termination* ang-ka *number, figure*, akh-lak *behaviour*

    (iii)   When there are two consonants between two vowels, syllabification falls between the two consonants, i.e. the first consonant (including ng-group symbols) is separated from the second vowel, e.g. man-di *to have a bath*, seng-sa-ra *miserable*, swas-ta *private*

    (iv)   If there are three consonants or more between two vowels, syllabification falls between the first consonant (including ng-group symbols) and the

second consonant, e.g. **in-stru-men** *instrument*, **ul-tra** *ultra*, **bang-krut** *bankruptcy*, **ben-trok** *clash*

(d) Affixes, including those which undertake changes, and particles which are usually spelled together with the base words, in syllabification form a separate unit, e.g. **ma-kan-an** *food*, **me-me-nuh-i** *to be fulfilled*, **mem-ban-tu** *to help*, **per-gi-lah** *please go!*

(6) Personal names

The spelling of names of rivers, mountains, streets, etc., should be written according to the system of spelling of the Revised New Orthography. Personal names of bodies instituted legally, and other personal names should be written according to this new system of spelling unless there is special consideration concerning them.

(7) Derivatives

(a) All affixes (prefixes, infixes, suffixes) are written together with the base words, e.g. **bergeletar** *trembling, being financed by*, **diperlebar** *being widened*, **mempermainkan** *to play with*, **menengok** *to have a look*

(b) Prefixes or suffixes are spelled together with the words following or preceding them directly if the base words are compound words, e.g. **bertepuk tangan** *clapping hands*, **garis bawahi** *to underline* **sebar luaskan** *to spread over*

(c) If the base words are compound words which are spelled as one word, the prefixes or suffixes are spelled together with the compound words, e.g **memberitahukan** *to announce*, **mempertanggungjawabkan** *to account for*, **dilipatgandakan** *being multiplied*, **menghancurleburkan** *to crash into pieces*

(d) Compound words of mixed elements, as exemplified, are spelled together, e.g. **amoral** *amoral*, **antarkota** *intercity*, **entikomunis** *anticommunism*, **ekstrakurikuler** *extracurricular*, etc.

(8) Compound words

(a) Combination of two words forming a compound word, including special terminology: the elements are spelled separately, e.g. **duta besar** *ambassador*, **kambing hitam** *scapegoat*, **kereta api cepat luar biasa** *special express train*, **mata pelajaran** *subjects, courses*, etc.

(b) Combination of words, including special terminology, which might be read wrongly, can be given a hyphen between the elements to show their relation, e.g. **alat pandang-dengar** *instrument to see and to listen*, **anak-isteri** *family*, **buku sejarah-baru** *new history book*, etc.

(c) Combination of words which are considered to have formed one unit are spelled together, e.g. **akhirulkalam** *finally*, **apabila** *whenever*, **bumiputra** *indigenous*, **matahari** *the sun*, etc.

(9) Reduplication

Reduplication is spelled by repeating the word using a hyphen in between, e.g. **anak-anakan** *doll*, **berjalan-jalan** *to take a walk*, **buku-buku** *books*, **hati-hati** *very careful*, **huru-hara** *uprising*, etc.

(10) Clitics **ku, kau, mu,** and **nya**

Clitics **ku** and **kau** are spelled together with the following words; **ku, mu,** and **nya** are written together with the preceding words, e.g. **Apa yang kumiliki boleh kauambil** *What is in my possession you may take*, **Bukuku, bukumu, dan bukunya tersimpan di perpustakaan** *My books, your books, and his (her) books are kept in the library.*

(11) Prepositions **di, ke,** and **dari**

Prepositions **di, ke,** and **dari** are written separate from the words following them, except in cases where the combination of two words is considered to form one unit, such as the words **kepada** *to* and **daripada** *from*, e.g. **Adiknya ke luar negeri** *His brother (sister) went abroad,* **Bermalam saja di sini** *Please spend the night here,* **Ia datang dari Surabaya** *He came from Surabaya,* etc.)

(12) Particles

Particles **lah, kah, tah** are written together with the preceding words, e.g. **Apakah yang tersirat dalam surat itu?,** *What was said in that letter?,* **Bacalah buku itu baik-baik!** *Please read that book very carefully!,* **Siapakah gerangan dia?** *Who is he really?,* etc.

The particle **pun** is written separate from the word preceding it, e.g. **Apa pun yang dimakannya, ia tetap kurus** *Whatever he eats, he remains thin,* **Jika ayah pergi, adik pun ingin pergi** *If father goes, our little brother wants to go also,* etc.

The particle **per** which means *to start, for the sake of* and *every* is written separate from the words around it, e.g. **Harga kain itu Rp.2000.00 per (helai)** *The price of the material is two thousand rupiahs per (one) piece,* **Mereka masuk ke dalam ruangan satu per satu** *They entered into the room one by one,* **Pegawai negeri mendapat kenaikan gaji per 1 April** *The government officials will get a raise starting from April 1.*[16]

The main differences between the new and the revised orthographies were pronunciation of the letters of the alphabet, the treatment of compound words, and the use of punctuation marks in forming abbreviations (cf. 3.5.1.3).

On May 23, 1972 a communique was signed by Hussein Onn, the Minister of Education of Malaysia, and Mashuri, the Minister of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia, making public the agreement reached by the two Governments to implement the principles of the unified system of spelling for IN and Mal as were agreed upon by the two parties on June 27, 1967 in Kuala Lumpur, and announcing that a revised system of spelling based on the above-mentioned principles called the Revised New Orthography would officially take effect on August 17, 1972 following its simultaneous proclamation on August 16, 1972 in Jakarta and Kuala Lumpur. Many other revisions following the concepts of the unified system of spelling which, subsequently, came to be known as the *Ejaan Bahasa Indonesia Yang Disempurnakan*[17] were made at the Seminar on IN of 1972 held at Puncak Pass in West Java. Figure 4 presents an overall picture of the historical development of IN orthography up to the present time. Figure 5 presents a comparision of the symbols used by all systems of writing discussed herein.

Figure 4

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF INDONESIAN ORTHOGRAPHY

```
┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
│              1901                    │
│   Van Ophuijsen spelling system      │
└─────────────────────────────────────┘
                  ↓
┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
│              1938                    │
│      Congress on IN in Solo          │
└─────────────────────────────────────┘
                  ↓
┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
│              1947                    │
│     R. Soewandi spelling system      │
└─────────────────────────────────────┘
                  ↓
┌─────────────────────────────────────┐                    inspires
│              1954                    │
│      Congress on IN in Medan         │──────────────────→
└─────────────────────────────────────┘         ┌──────────────────────┐
                  ↓                              │        1956          │
┌─────────────────────────────────────┐         │   Congress on Mal    │
│              1957                    │         │   & IN Literature    │
│    Reformation spelling system       │         │      in Johore       │
└─────────────────────────────────────┘         └──────────────────────┘
                  ↓
┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
│              1959                    │←─────────────────→
│     Malindo spelling system          │
└─────────────────────────────────────┘
Confrontation                                          Confrontation
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
                  ↓
┌──────────────────┐    ┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
│      1966        │    │              1966                    │
│  Crash-Program   │───→│     New Orthography (LBK)            │←────────→
│ Committe of LEK  │    └─────────────────────────────────────┘
└──────────────────┘                  ↓
┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
│              1966                    │
│       Symposium on IN by             │
│     FSUI-IKIP-KASI Jakarta           │
└─────────────────────────────────────┘
                  ↓
┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
│              1967                    │
│   Discussions on IN orthography by   │
│ IN teachers and journalists in Jakarta│
└─────────────────────────────────────┘
                  ↓
┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
│              1968                    │
│  Seminar on IN by FSUI-IKIP-ILI-LBK  │
│            in Jakarta                │
└─────────────────────────────────────┘
                  ↓
┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
│              1969                    │
│   Discussions on orthography by      │
│       KAGI Pusat in Jakarta          │
└─────────────────────────────────────┘
                  ↓
┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
│              1969                    │
│  Symposium on IN system of spelling  │
│   by FS-UNHAS Ujung Pandang          │
└─────────────────────────────────────┘
                  ↓
┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
│              1972                    │
│    Seminar on IN in Puncak Pass      │
└─────────────────────────────────────┘
                  ↓
┌─────────────────────────────────────┐      ┌──────────────────┐
│              1972                    │      │      1972        │
│  The Revised New Orthography for IN  │      │ The Revised New  │
└─────────────────────────────────────┘      │ Orthography for  │
                  ↓                            │       Mal        │
            Implementation                     └──────────────────┘
            Dissemination                              ↓
             Evaluation                          Implementation
                                                 Dissemination
                                                  Evaluation
```
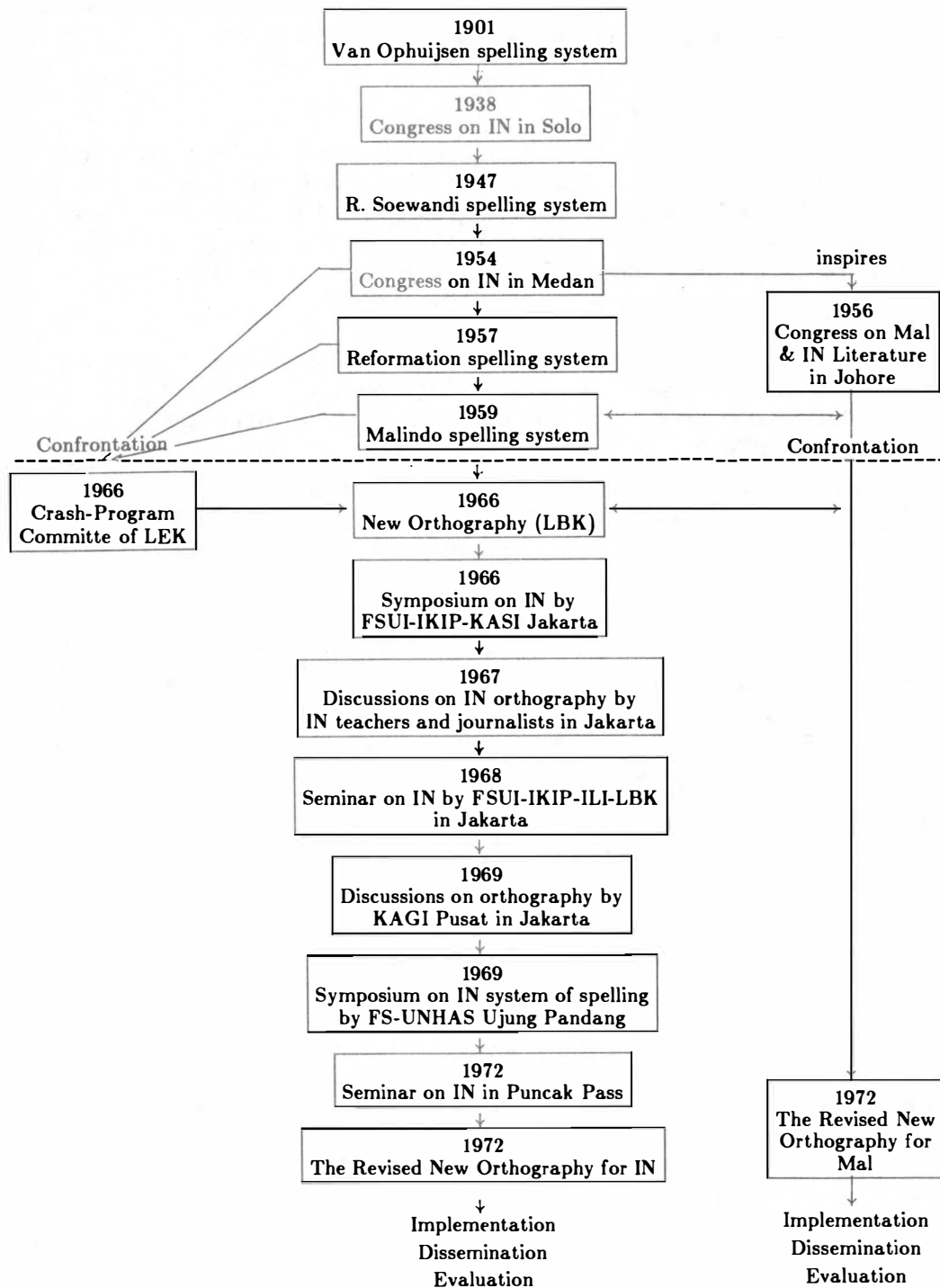
Figure 5

COMPARISON OF THE SYMBOLS USED BY VAN OPHUIJSEN,
R. SOEWANDI, REFORMATION, MELINDO AND
LBK/EYD ORTHOGRAPHIES

IN Phoneme	Orthographies				
	Ophuijsen 1901	Soewandi 1947	Reform. 1956	Melindo 1959	LBK/EYD 1966 1972
/p/	p	p	p	p	p
/b/	b	b	b	b	b
/t/	t	t	t	b	t
/p/	d	d	d	d	d
/k/	k	k	k	k	k
/g/	g	g	g	g	g
/ʔ/*	'	(k)	(k)	(k)	(k)
/č/	tj	tj	t	c	c
/ǰ/	dj	dj	j	j	j
/f/	f	-	f,v	f	f,v
/z/	z	z	z	z	z
/š/	sj	sj	ś	š,s̄	sj
/x/	ch	-	-	-	kh
/h/	h	h	h	h	h
/m/	m	m	m	m	m
/n/	n	n	n	n	n
/ň/	nj	nj	iñ	ɳ	ny
/ŋ/	ng	ng	ŋ	ŋ	ng
/l/	l	l	l	l	l
/r/	r	r	r	r	r
/w/	w	w	w	w	w
/y/	j	j	y	y	y
/i/	i	i	i	i	i
/e/	é	e	é	é	e
/ə/	e	e	e	e	e
/ay/	ai	ai	ay	ay	ai
/aw/	au	au	au	au	au
/oy/	oi	oi	oy	oy	oi
/a/	a	a	a	a	a
/u/	oe	u	u	u	u
/o/	o	o	o	o	o

Notes : /ʔ/ was represented by the symbol ' in Van Ophuijsen's orthography. In other
orthographies that particular sound is not represented by a special symbol. Symbol **k**
is usually used for that purpose (Halim 1972).

LBK = Lembaga Bahasa dan Kesusasteraan (Institute of Language and Literature)

EYD = Ejaan Yang Disempurnakan (The Revised New Orthography)

Reform. = Reformation Orthography

3.3 STANDARDISATION PROCESS OF INDONESIAN GRAMMAR

Pre-war grammarians were influenced by either Arabic concepts of grammatical rules or the Dutch-Latin taxonomic grammar. It was the latter influence, however, that was more prevalent. It was not until after World War II that linguisticalle oriented grammarians came to the fore. The grammar books they produced were basically traditional in treatment but here and there they did provide the reader with new insights that were gained from linguistic science pertaining to the nature of language.

P.P. Roorda van Eysinga was the first Dutch author to publish textbooks and reference books on ML on a large scale. Most of his books, however, like *Maleisch en Nederduitsch woordenboek*, and *Uittreksel uit Maleische geschiedenissen* (Malay and Dutch dictionary, and Extracts from Malay stories) (1825), soon became obsolete and were superseded by the works of J.J. de Hollander (Teeuw 1961). In addition to a number of widely used, simpler textbooks, de Hollander also wrote a detailed and more scholarly introduction to the Malay language and literature. His book *Handleiding tot de kennis der Maleische taal* (A manual for the knowledge of the Malay language) (1845) was very influential. Other Dutch grammarians of the second half of the nineteenth century are Pijnappel (1862, 1888), Van Eck (1879), Klinkert (1882), J. de Bode (1884) and Gerth van Wijk (1889). Various books on, and grammars of ML were written by these grammarians, some of which were elementary and, for the most part, there improvements on previous works.

In terms of theory, ML grammars written by Dutch scholars appeared in the early years of the twentieth century were, more advanced than those of the nineteenth century. Fokker and, to an even greater extent, Tendeloo (1901), brought new life into Malay studies which in the second half of the nineteenth century had been very much dominated by the linguistic theories of the Javanese linguists.

The majority of the grammar books written in the first half of the nineteenth century were in the form of manuals intended for use by persons interested in travelling in the Indonesian archipelago and were far from scientific in nature. The model utilised in these grammar books was that of the early Dutch grammatical model deductively applied to ML.

The second half of the nineteenth century saw the rigid application of the Latin grammatical model to ML. Tendeloo, for instance, designed a whole new classification of verbal forms, based on a contrast between what were called aorist and durative forms. He saw this contrast in the active voice between the basic form and that form using the prefix **me-**, and in the passive voice between the **ter-** and **di-** forms. It was characteristic of his treatment of the verb that the so-called conjugated forms occupy no special place in his system. Although his theories have been proved untenable, he did set things moving both by his systematic criticism of the work of his predecessors and by his own research; this in itself was a great contribution.

Spat, a follower of Tendeloo, developed these ideas further by distinguishing as the two main categories of the ML verbal forms the imperfect, the **me-** and **ber-** forms, and the perfect, the remainder. The merit of Spat's work (1899) especially as evidenced by the later editions of his book, lay in the fact that he was receptive to the development of ML after 1900.

Van Ophuijsen, who wrote the first pedagogical grammar of ML in 1901, firmly rejected Tendeloo's theories (1910), and limited the term 'verb' to words which could be conjugated, i.e., words which could be joined inseparably with personal pronouns, such as the kulihat type of word, which was not recognised by Tendeloo as a special type, and to the imperatives which are closely connected with this type. He called the me- and ber- derivations verbal nouns, and words like tidur *to sleep* and datang *to arrive*, adjectives of action. Without a doubt, Van Ophuijsen did have a good factual knowledge of ML and his opinions carried great authority in Indonesia especially in educational circles in Indonesia. The influence of his theories can still be seen in many grammar books written by the native scholars, of the twentieth century.

Fokker, whose dissertation was entitled *Malay phonetics* (1895), was another Dutch linguist who published a number of books dealing with ML grammar, two of which were as influential as Van Ophuijsen's *Kitab logat Melajoe, Woordenlijst voor de spelling der Maleische taal* (1901) and *Maleische spraakkunst* (1910), those being *Beknopte grammatica van de Bahasa Indonesia* (1914) and *Inleiding tot de studie van de Indonesische syntaxis* (1951).

To complete the list of Dutch grammarians who, in one way or another, contributed something to standardisation process of the ML grammar and, later, IN grammar, the name Mees should be mentioned here for he is the author of two books on ML/IN grammar: *Beknopte Maleische grammatica* (1927) and *Tatabahasa Indonesia* (1951).

In the twentieth century, the need for ML grammars for use in the schools became very pressing and Van Ophuijsen spearheaded the list of subsequent publications with his *Kitab logat Melajoe* in 1901. In 1910 Sasrasoegondo re-edited Gerth van Wijk's *Spraakleer der Maleische taal* (Grammar of the Malay language) (1889) and Marzoeki wrote his *Kitab ilmoe Bahasa Melajoe dan hoekoem menoelis* (A book on ML and how to write it). In 1924, Soripada published his *Maleische grammatica (ilmoe bahasa) bagi kweek-, opleidings-, en normaalschool* (ML grammar for teacher training schools) which came to be widely used in teacher training schools throughout the archipelago.

3.3.1 Arabic influence

The influence of Arabic concepts of grammar and syntax on ML is best exemplified by the work of Raja Ali Haji. His *Bustanul katibin* which appeared in 1857, contains not only an elaborated spelling system for ML using the Arabic script, but it also introduces some Arabic grammatical and syntactical rules applied to ML.

Arabic influence on ML is characterised by the excessive use of Arabic words and phrases at the beginning of a book or an article such as Segala puji bagi Tuhan Seru Sekalian Alam, serta selawat bagi Nabi Akhirul Zaman, serta keluarganya dan sekalian adanya (All praises are for God Almighty, and all happiness is for the last Prophet and for the members of his family, and for others as well) and the start of each paragraph with Amma ba'du dari pada itu ... *after that, here it is* ... or another similar phrase.

The following paragraph taken from Raja Ali Haji's *Gurindam 12* (The twelve poems) shows clearly the excessive use of Arabic words and expressions (given in italics):

Amma ba'du dari pada itu, maka tatkala sampailah *hajaratin Nabi 1262 sanat* kepada 23 hari bulan *Rajab*, hari Selasa, maka *diilhamkan Tuhan Lillahi Taala* kepada kita, Raja Ali Haji, mengarang satu gurindam cara Melayu, yaitu yang boleh juga diambil faedah sedikit-sedikit daripada perkataannya kepada orang yang menaruh *akal*. Maka adalah banyaknya gurindam itu dua belas *fasal* didalamnya.[18]

Arabic influence is also very noticeable in official communications between the King of Riau and Lingga and *De Resident van Riouw en Onderhoorigheden* (The administrator of Riau and the islands near-by). The following two letters are examples of this.

A letter from the Viceroy of the kingdom of Riau and Lingga:

Kaulul haq.

Bahwa ini *warkatul ikhlas watahfatul ajnas* yang terbit daripada *fawatul zikir* yaitu daripada kita Raja Mahmud Yusuf Sri Paduka Yang Dipertuan Muda Riau dan Lingga serta daerah takluknya sekalian. Mudah²an barang disampaikan oleh *Tuhan Seru Sekalian Alam* datang kepada *fihak majelis Sri Sahabat* kita Tuan A.M. Buks Residen Riau dan Lingga serta daerah takluknya sekalian. Kita harapkan *Sri sahabat* kita serta *akhli²nya* sekalian didalam *selamat sejahtera alal dawam.*

Waba'du, maka adalah kita menyatakan kepada *Sri Sahabat* kita yang kita harapkan pertolongan *Sri Sahabat* kita supaya *Sri Sahabat* kita mengabarkan kepada Cina-Cina. Barangsiapa yang hendak membicarakan hal pajak memajak hasil² kerajaan, maka hendaklah mereka itu datang menghadap di *Mahkamah* kita di pulau Penyengat. Janganlah sekali-sekali terus membicarakan segala *hal-ikhwal* yang demikian itu dengan *Sri Sahabat* kita terlebih *maklum* menurut adat pemerintahan, tiadalah hajat kita menerangkan lagi adanya.

Lain tiada, *henyalah tabik dan hormat serta selamat jua yang diperbanyakkan.*

> *Termaktub* di negeri Riau Pulau
> Penyengat pada 23 hari bulan *Syakban*
> hari Selasa sanat 1316 H.[19]
>
> The excerpt above is rewritten
> in EYD (Hamidy 1973)

A letter from De Resident van Riouw en Onderhoorigheden:

Kaulul haq.

Bahwa ini *warkatul ikhlas tahfatul ajnas* yang terbit daripada fawazakirin, yaitu daripada kita W.Y. Radir *Sri Paduka* Tuan Residen Riouw dan daerah takluknya sekalian. Barang disampaikan oleh *Tuhan Seru Sekalian Alam* datang kehadapan *fihak majelis Sri Paduka Sahabat* kita Sultan Abdulrahman Muazam kerajaan Lingga dan Riouw serta daerah takluknya sekalian yang telah beroleh bintang *bahaduri* Singa Nederlan. Harap *Sri Paduka sahabat* kita dan *akhli²nya* sekalian didalam *sehat wal afiat alal dawam.*

Waba'du, maka adalah kita *maklumkan*, bahwa *warkah* kita yang *termaktub* pada 11 hari bulan Agustus ini angka 1964/73 maka bersama ini kita kirimkan lagi kepada *Sri Paduka Sahabat* kita tiga helai salinan surat[2] yang *disembahkan* oleh Said Usman *bin* Muhammad Barkiah kepada kita, yaitu satu salinan surat *wasiat*, dan satu salinan surat *hibah*. Maka ketiga salinan surat itu telah diperiksa dengan *sah* menurut bunyi surat[2] asal serta ditaruh cap dan tanda tangan oleh *Paduka* Tuan Controllieur Tanjungpinang adanya.

Lain tiada apa, hanyalah *tabik* dan selamat diperbanyak-banyak, *intaha tamin*.[20]

The excerpt above is rewritten
in EYD (Hamidy 1973)

Aside from its influence on lexicon, Arabic also influenced ML syntax. This was noted by Van Ronkel (1941) in his article 'Over de invloed der Arabische syntaxis op de Maleische' (On the influence of Arabic syntax over that of Malay). According to Van Ronkel, this influence is observable in many of the grammar books written by both Malay and by Dutch scholars. The use of the word **yang** in front of a preposition which is followed by a pronominal suffix in an adjective sentence construction is an example of the Arabic influence on ML syntax. Note the following phrase: **Orang yang atasnya dikaruniai kebahagiaan** *The person upon whom happiness is bestowed.*

Use of the preposition **pada** *at* is used instead of the preposition **mengenai** *concerning* or **tentang** *about* in a sentence construction in ML is also clear proof of the influence of Arabic syntax. The Arabic word **fi** meaning *at*, is also translatable into the ML as **tentang** or **mengenai**. However the meaning of these two ML prepositions are not prcisely the same as that of **pada**.

While Arabic influence at the syntactical level of ML was very strong during the second half of the nineteenth century it gradually lessened during the first half of the twentieth century, especially after Van Ophuijsen introduced his spelling system of ML using the Latin alphabet in 1901. The lexical influence, on the other hand, has remained strong to the present time, and is particularly apparent in the use of words related to the Islamic faith.

3.3.2 Latin influence: traditional grammars

When reviewing the history of the standardisation of ML grammar and, indirectly, IN grammar, the name of Charles A. van Ophuijsen is always at the top of the list of scholars who have worked on this problem, for it was Van Ophuijsen who not only produced a standardised ML grammar but, more importantly introduced a spelling system for ML using the Roman alphabet (see 3.2.2.1). His book, *Kitab Logat Melajoe* containing both the spelling system and his grammar on ML is a classic in the history of the Indonesian language.

Following the treatment of the verb of the Indo-Germanic languages, Van Ophuijsen defined the ML verb as words which could be conjugated. Defined as such verbs are inseparably joined with personal pronouns, there exists a kind of inseparability of pronominal and verbal element in certain verbal forms. The following examples are illustrations of this point.

kulihat *I see* — telah kulihat *I have seen* — *ku telah lihat

kau lihat *you see* — telah kau lihat *you have seen* *kau telah lihat

kami lihat *we see* — telah kami lihat *we have seen* kami telah lihat

Van Ophuijsen's concept of the inseparability of conjugated forms was used as the shibboleth of correct ML for many Indonesian schoolmasters before World War II. It was only after the war that grammarians, Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana in particular, began to question its validity (see 3.3.3).

Van Ophuijsen, following the traditional treatment of the parts of speech, differentiated ten kinds of words in ML, i.e., the noun, the pronoun, the verb, the adjective, the numeral, the article, the adverb, the preposition, the conjunction, and the interjection.

Although Van Ophuijsen must have had a good factual knowledge of ML, he sometimes forced the application of Latin grammatical rules onto ML, without considering that ML is, genealogically, quite different from languages of the Indo-Germanic family.

All grammars of ML published before the war, including Sasrasoeganda's, Marzoeki's and Soripada's, fall into this category: traditional in nature and Latin-influenced in treatment.

3.3.3 Linguistic oriented: traditional, structural, eclectic

As mentioned earlier, linguistic-oriented grammarians of IN came to the fore after the second World War. In 1941 Fokker published his grammar, *Beknopte grammatica van de Bahasa Indonesia.* In 1946, two more grammar books of IN written in Dutch appeared: *Inleiding tot de Bahasa Indonesia* by Emeis and *Maleische spraakkunst* by Mees. These three books were, more or less, continuations of old Dutch textbooks on ML with the addition of some innovations based on new linguistic insights. De Boer's grammar book, published in 1951, *Beknopte Indonesische grammatica, van klassiek naar modern Maleis*, contained nothing new; it was a restatement of the classic grammar of ML, written in a contemporary style but using a traditional approach. The books *Bahasa Indonesia: Eenvoudig leerboek voor practijk en schoolgebruik* by Croes, Duin and Van Dyck and *Bahasa Indonesia: Eenvoudige leergang voor de Indonesische taal* by Rambitan both appeared in 1949 and were useful, practical textbooks.

Grammars and textbooks on IN also appeared in English, German, and Czech. Pino's book *Bahasa Indonesia, the national language of Indonesia: A course for English-speaking students* appeared in 1950. Van der Molen's *Bahasa Indonesia: An elementary textbook of the Indonesian language* was published in 1949 and Schmidgall Tellings' *Indonesian for today: A practical course for English speaking people* appeared in 1957; these were three practical textbooks published for English speaking students of Indonesian.

An elementary textbook for German students of IN, entitled *Indonesisch* by Hilgers-Hesse, appeared in 1956. Kähler's German grammar of IN, *Grammatik der bahasa Indonesia mit Chrestomathie und Wörterverzeichnis* was published in 1956 but was scientifically unsatisfactory, because the author treated the language on the basis of western categories and concepts. Oplt, a Czech scholar, published an Indonesian textbook in Czech and

English entitled *Bahasa Indonésia - Učebnice indonéštiny - Indonesian language* in 1960. This book opened up no new linguistic prospects but was noteworthy for its numerous and well-chosen practical exercises.

The most widely used and authoritative grammars and textbooks written in IN after World War II are *Djalan bahasa Indonesia* (The way of the Indonesian language) by S. Muhammad Zain (1942), *Tatabahasa baru Bahasa Indonesia* (A new grammar of IN) by Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana (1949-1950), *Pramasastera landjut* (Advanced grammar) by Madong Lubis (1946), *Tatabahasa Indonesia* (Indonesian grammar) by Mees (1951), *Tatabahasa Indonesia untuk Sekolah Lanjutan Atas* (Indonesian grammar for Senior High Schools) by Poedjawijatna and Zoetmulder (1955), *Tatabahasa Indonesia* (Indonesian grammar) by Husain Munaf (1946), *Pohon Bahasa* (The language tree) and *Dasar[2] Tatabahasa Indonesia* (The grammatical foundations of IN) by Zainuddin (1950-1952 and 1956), *Bahasa persatuan* (The unifying language) by St. Abdul Gani (1956). For the most part these grammar books used a traditional approach in the sense that the treatment of IN was carried out on the basis of Western categories and Latin concepts. A discussion of Alisjahbana's book on IN grammar is given below.

Early in his career Alisjahbana became aware of the paramount importance a standardised grammar of IN could have in changing what was more or less a pidginlike lingua franca into a stable and sophisticated national and official language of Indonesia, capable of acting as a vehicle for the transmission of modern thought and culture. He saw that standardised rules would have to be determined for use in the schools, the government and in society in general but that to create a standardised grammar of IN one would have to choose from among the various existing rules or create new ones. Which of the various existing rules would be most suitable to the language's new task as a bearer or contemporary Indonesian thought and culture was the question to be asked. It was clear that the new grammar would have to be prescriptive, rather than a descriptive grammar, one to be used as an indicator of correct usage of the language. In determining the rules of the grammar of the modern IN various factors had to be considered.

First, the new standardised language would not be an entirely new language such as Esperanto, because, in one way or another, it would be related to an existing language, ML. A knowledge of the essential characteristics of ML was an inescapable pre-condition. For this purpose a comparison of existing descriptive grammars of ML Riau would be of great help, although not entirely decisive.

Second, a knowledge of the general characteristics of the related languages of the Indonesian archipelago would also be necessary. Where ambiguity existed in the usage of ML, the general or predominant rules in the other languages would be of great help in determining a uniform rule.

Third, while knowledge of the characteristics of ML and other languages of the archipelago was a prerequisite, that knowledge alone would be insufficient for the writing of a normative grammar, for modern IN was to have another important characteristic, one that was expressed by the word *modern*. IN had to be a modern language, comparable to English, French or German, capable of expressing modern thought and culture. In this

respect ML-Riau, the most pure Malay, would neither be able to yield the necessary vocabulary nor the rules of grammar required for Modern IN. Therefore it was necessary to look at other sources as well for other criteria.

Based on the three points given above, Alisjahbana took his research materials from the language of individuals who could be considered to represent the best users of Modern IN. These indivuduals had to have a good command of the rules of ML-Riau and, at the same time, a certain skill in the use of the language for modern subjects and topics. These people had to be intellectuals and, in Indonesia, around the second World War, H.A. Salim, Mohammad Yamin, Sanusi Pane, Armijn Pane, M.R. Dayoh, Imam Supardi, Mohammad Hatta, and others fulfilled these criteria.

It is important to note that a standardised language is always nearer to its written form than the daily spoken form. Standardised language is more sophisticated, more polished, and more disciplined than the spoken language. Therefore, in writing the grammar of IN, Alisjahbana decided to use the written language of about twenty selected Indonesian intellectuals, some of whom were mentioned above.

Even in the process of formulating rules of grammar out of analysed materials, the grammarian will have certain decisions to make if the rules he formulates are to be clearly understood. In writing the grammar for IN many of the rules of traditional ML could be accepted without modification; IN is after all a continuation of ML. Nonetheless, because the language had been heavily influenced by local vernaculars and by foreign languages such as English and Dutch, research materials revealed differences in the use of affixes, in syntax and in word formation and word usage as well. So as to come up with a balanced grammar attuned to the requisites of modern thought and culture, it was often necessary to decide from among a number of contradictory possibilities which would be the best rule. Leaning too heavily on traditional ML grammar would have resulted in a very traditional grammar, one not only inappropriate to modern needs, but one that would appear strange and awkward to non-ML users of the language. On the other hand an over-eagerness to accept the influences from other local vernaculars would have diminished the possibility of arriving at a structured totality of rules of grammar. Furthermore a liberal acceptance of modern forms, deriving from modern languages and modern thought, would have rid the language of a great deal of its ML character and, in doing so, made it alien not only to the Indonesian people but also to other people who knew the language as the lingua franca of the Indonesian archipelago.

Aside from the possession of a thorough command of modern language at all levels of usage, the grammarian had to have a liberal mind, in order to be able to understand the multifarious tendencies, possibilities, and tensions posed by the situation of rapid change of the language. He also had to have an open eye for the abstractness, rationality, efficiency, and dynamism of modern social and cultural behaviour, thus also of language behaviour; this could be achieved only by the subjection of the new language to well formulated and integrated rules and norms. A new balance had to be found between old potentialities and the exigencies of the new realities.

Prior to the writing of his grammar, Alisjahbana prepared his materials and, most

importantly, arrived at an understanding of the concept of the modern grammar. A greater part of his *Tatabahasa baru Bahasa Indonesia* was first published in instalments in the periodical *Pembina Bahasa Indonesia*[21] (The builder of IN) (1949-1950). The most important principle applied to this new grammar was the necessity of keeping a certain balance between the old concept of grammatical rules and the new ones derived from linguistic science. Alisjahbana's grammar, therefore, was an eclectic one in the sense that he followed the old concept, if it were applicable to the new modern grammar, but introduced new insights in the treatment of the structural arrangements based on a structuralist approach. His treatment of compounds, for instance, in which he introduced *Hukum D.M.*[22] (the law that says the determinate precedes the determinant) into IN followed this approach. Note the following examples:

> **rumah batu** literally: *house stone = stone house*, the word **rumah** is the determinate, and the word **batu** is the determinant;

> **batu rumah** literally: *stone house = a stone of the house*, the word **batu** is the determinate, and the word **rumah** is the determinant.

> **panjang tangan** literally: *long hand = a thief*; this compound word forms an idiom which means a thief.

> **tangan panjang** literally: *hand long = long hand/sleeve*; the word **tangan** which means either *hand* or *sleeve* is the determinate, and the word **panjang** is a determinant.

> It is worth noting that Alisjahbana's *Hukum D.M.* was not applicable to compound idiomatic words such as **panjang tangan** above.

S. Muhammad Zain and Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana shared a parallel opinion on IN verbs. Zain in his *Djalan Bahasa Indonesia* wrote that:

> A word is a verb if it can be the answer of the question: What is somebody or something doing? Or, What is happening to somebody or something? The last words in the following sentences: **Ali makan** *Ali is eating*, **Dia berjalan** *He is walking*, **Adik melompat** *My little brother is jumping*, **Anjing itu dipukul** *The dog is beaten* are all verbs.

> Furthermore, according to Zain, a verb can always be used to construct a command sentence such as: **Makan!** *Eat!*, **Berjalan!** *Walk!*, **Melompat** *Jump!*, **Pukul!** *Beat!*, etc. (Zain 1942)

Given Zain's definition of a verb, we can conclude that all words that can be used to form an imperative sentence are verbs.

Alisjahbana amended Zain's definition with the following statement:

> Conjugation which characterises the Indo-Germanic and Semitic languages is non-existent in IN. If conjugation alone is the characteristic of a verb of all languages, then, IN has no verbs.

> Furthermore, an IN sentence is not determined by the presence of a verb, but rather, by the rhythm of the expression. It is quite common for a complete sentence in IN to consist of only one word, with that word being a noun.

Based on these facts, there are two possibilities: (1) the verb is non-existent in IN, (2) the verb is a kind of an adverb in IN.

If we believe that the verb is a kind of an adverb, we must then define a verb as a word of action, and not a word pertaining to a noun nor to a situation.

A verb has the function of relating the subject to the object.

As such, given the above definition of IN verb, verbs consist only of **me-** prefix words and passivised words (Alisjahbana 1949).

Alisjahbana was in doubt whether to classify **ber-** prefixed words and **me-** intransitive prefixed words as verbs. For the sake of simplicity of the system, Alisjahbana decided that all **me-** prefixed words should be classified as verbs, and that all **ber-** prefixed words are adverbs. As such, **menyanyi** *to sing* is a verb while **bernyanyi** is an adverb.

Alisjahbana's *Tatabahasa baru Bahasa Indonesia* (2 volumes) has been the dominant grammar of IN in use since its publication in 1949 up to the present time. In 1973 the grammar was reprinted for the twenty-sixth time. It has been used at both the secondary and tertiary levels of education.

A two volume grammar book by Slametmuljana entitled *Kaidah bahasa Indonesia* appeared in 1965-1967. This detailed textbook shows a novel and independent approach to grammar and a considerable depth of thought. The book is not widely used, however, for it is difficult to read.

Fokker and Armijn Pane authored two monographs with more scientific aims: *Inleiding tot de studie van de Indonesische syntaxis* (1951) (Introduction to the study of IN syntax) and *Mentjari sendi baru tata bahasa Indonesia* (1950) (In search of a new grammar of IN) respectively. Fokker's detailed book on syntax,[23] with its large number of well chosen examples, marked a very praiseworthy start in this field. Armijn Pane's voluminous study on the grammatical foundations of IN is lacking clarity and, therefore, is difficult to read.

More recently, Gorys Keraf published his *Tatabahasa Indonesia* (1970), which is more advanced in its application of linguistic theory than the other grammar books are. This book is used widely by high school students.

3.4 STANDARDISATION PROCESS OF INDONESIAN VOCABULARY

The standardisation process of ML and later IN was a smooth one because of Dutch policies on ML, the work of a number of Dutch scholars, and besides the clear stand the Indonesian people themselves took on the national language issue. The transformation of ML into the national language of Indonesia which, in a sense, was a rebellion against the old vocabulary, style and rules of grammar of the language, was carried out with an awareness of the necessity of creating a well-structured language (Alisjahbana in Fishman, ed. 1974).

From the time of the Japanese occupation the only official medium of instruction in the schools, from the primary grades through the university level, has been IN. A whole generation of Indonesians therefore has studied and used the language in schools, which, in large part, accounts for the satisfactory standardisation the language has undergone during

the last few decades, and this has taken place in a nation where the great majority of the population are not native speakers of the national language.

3.4.1 The modernisation process of IN vocabulary

Modernisation of the vocabulary of a language mainly involves the creating or the borrowing of new lexical items and the incorporation of these items into the basic standard vocabulary. It is the task of modernisation to provide the lexicon and forms of discourse necessary for communicating about contemporary civilisation, to enable the supra-dialectal norm to be used in all the functions that may be required from it (Karam in Fishman, ed. 1974)

Based on the above frame of reference and given the great number of modern terms that have been incorporated into IN, it is apparent that great strides have been taken towards the modernisation of IN in general and its vocabulary in particular. With the use of the language at higher and more sophisticated levels of learning the style and the feeling of the language itself has undergone much transformation. Comparison of a piece of work written in ML at the turn of the century and one written in IN in recent years would reveal a great amount of change in the language. In many respects IN of today is very much comparable to the other modern languages of the world (Alisjahbana in Fishman, ed. 1974).

Accordingly, great changes are taking place in the vocabulary and symbolise the different concepts and ways of thinking now found within Indonesian culture. It is not merely that within a very short period of time tens of thousands of words of daily use and terms originating from modern culture have invaded IN, enlarging the horizon and enriching the thought of Indonesian culture with new concepts and ideas, but also countless old IN words have been pushed into the background or have been eliminated altogether, because the concept and the ways of thought they represent no longer correspond to any substantial reality in the contemporary life of Indonesia.

Furthermore, within the context of modern life a vast number of IN words have been given new meanings because of radical change in concepts and ways of thinking. This change is clearly shown by the use of noun substitutes or pronouns which is due to a change in social relationships. In traditional village society pronouns were generally used to describe blood relations, such as **bapak** *father*, **ibu** *mother*, **kakak** or **kak** *older brother* or *sister*, **adik** or **dik** *little brother* or *sister*, **paman** or **oom** *uncle*, **bibi** or **bi** or **tante** *aunt*, etc. Nowadays, it is quite common for a person to address an older male as **bapak** without regard to blood relation.

Due to the influence of modern society and culture a need was felt for neutral terms of address, not having connotations of family connection, social status, or official rank. For this purpose, the word **anda** *you* was introduced to replace the multiplicity of terms of address found in traditional Indonesian society. It is hoped that **anda** will eventually have a function analogous to that of the word *you* in English, which can be used to address anyone whether that person be older or younger or of a higher or lower social position.

Another conspicuous change has been in the use of numerals. In traditional ML numerals were often used together with numerical coefficients to indicate certain classes of noun. For

example, **buah** literally: *fruit* was used for inanimate objects, **ekor** literally: *tail* for living things, **batang** literally: *trunk (of a tree)* for elongated inanimate objects. Today, people say or write **tiga telur** not **tiga buah telur** *three eggs*, **tiga ayam** not **tiga ekor ayam** *three chickens*, and **empat rokok** not **empat batang rokok** *four cigarettes*. This change reveals that an abstract way of thinking has replaced a more concrete one.

The general tendency of using abstract nouns, formed by using a prefix and a suffix rather than the traditional modes of expression has gained currency. For example, the sentence:

> **Kalau engkau hendak sembuh, minumlah obatmu**
> *If you want to get well, take your medicine*

is today paraphrased by using the word **kesehatan (ke+sehat+an)** *health*, and the sentence will read:

> **Demi kesehatan, minumlah obatmu**
> *For health, take your medicine*

In this way, under the influence of the modern way of thinking as expressed in European languages, a great number of new abstract terms have come into common usage, e.g. **kebangsaan (ke+bangsa+an)** *nationality*, **kesosialan (ke+sosial+an)** *sociality, readiness to help or to contribute*, **pertimbangan (per+timbang+an)** *consideration*, and so on.

The thrust of the modernisation of IN vocabulary took place shortly after the Japanese landed in the Indonesian archipelago. One of the first acts of the Japanese occupation administration was to abolish the use of Dutch, hitherto the official language, and the only means of entry into the world of modern culture for the Indonesian intelligentsia. All legal pronouncements were henceforth to be made in IN, and IN became the sole medium of instruction at all levels of educational institutions.

Since the medium of instruction during the Dutch colonial regime was Dutch, naturally, there was a very serious shortage of textbooks and reading materials in IN for high schools at that time. To overcome this situation, a translation committee was created whose task was to translate Dutch textbooks into IN. It was clear to this committee from the beginning that, before a translation of a particular textbook could be completed, equivalents for Dutch terms in IN would have to be created. Thus, the process of modernising the IN vocabulary came into full swing.

By the end of the Japanese occupation of Indonesia, almost all the Dutch high school textbooks on various scientific and cultural subjects had been translated into IN. The fact that any textbook on any scientific subject written in a modern language can be translated into IN, establishes the veracity of the claim that IN can be considered as one of the modern languages of the world.

Translation activities in Indonesia began as early as 1920 with the founding of *Balai Pustaka* by the Dutch colonial administration. Soon after its establishment Western novels which were deemed fit for the Indonesian public were made available in ML translation. A list of foreign authors whose novels were translated into ML during that period would

include A. Dumas, W.F. Oltmans, Mark Twain, H. Malot, Baroness Orczy, R. Kipling, Jules Verne, Pierre Loti, R.L. Stevenson, H. Sienkiewicz, H.C. Andersen, A. Conan Doyle, Grant Allen and others. By the time of the second World War 72 foreign novels had been translated into IN. After the War, up to the year 1977, 108 foreign novels had been translated into the national language.

The following table will give a breakdown of the novels that have been translated into IN by time period and country of origin:

Table 1

**TRANSLATION OF NOVELS BEFORE AND AFTER
THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN**

Country of Origin	Before the War 1920-1942	After the War 1945-1977	Total
1. USA	8	36	44
2. England	26	17	43
3. Holland	19	9	28
4. Russia	3	23	26
5. France	11	8	19
6. Japan	-	5	5
7. Arab countries	1	4	5
8. Other countries*	4	6	10
Total	72	108	180

Note: *Spain, Poland, Austria, Sweden, India, Hungary, Turkey, the Philippines, and Italy.

(Data are taken from Sumardjo 1977)

3.4.2 The intellectualisation process of IN vocabulary

The creation of terminology, a body of technical, scientific and professional terms, has been one of the main challenges in the development of IN as a modern language of science and culture. With the proclamation of IN as the national language the need for specialised and technical vocabularies in every field became a reality. Before looking at the history of work that has been done in this field let us consider the definition of intellectualisation of the vocabulary of a language that was given by Paul L. Garvin (Garvin in Fishman, ed. 1974):

> Intellectualization (of the vocabulary of a language) is a tendency towards increasingly more definite and accurate expression ... In the lexicon, intellectualization manifests itself by increased terminological precision achieved by the development of more clearly differentiated terms ...

Before the second World War, attention had been paid to technical terms, but on a limited scale, both in quality and quantity. On the other hand, terms restricted to special fields had been collected much earlier, ranging from lists of military orders and nautical terms to medical and technical dictionaries. In addition, many new terms were coined and were already in use prior to the War in dozens of ML textbooks on all sorts of subjects as well as in technical and practical pamphlets published mainly by *Balai Pustaka.*

During the Japanese occupation the demand for the creation of terminology assumed a different nature. As early as 1942 the Japanese authorities in Sumatra and in Java appointed two *Komisi Bahasa Indonesia* (Commissions on IN). Except for a pamphlet entitled *Istilah Bahasa Indonesia* (1944) no other publications of this committee in Medan (Sumatra) have come to light. The committee in Java, initially directed by Mohammad Hatta, was charged with the creation of technical terms but, because of prevailing circumstances and obstruction of its work by the Japanese authorities its job was a difficult one. Nevertheless it did produce a *Kamoes istilah*, in two volumes *Asing-Indonesia* and *Indonesia-Asing* (Terminology dictionary, Foreign-Indonesian and Indonesian-Foreign) which continued to be used as a reference book for many years after the Japanese capitulation. Its publication was under the direction of Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana (cf. 2.4.4).

On June 18, 1947, the Minister of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia appointed a Working Committee for IN. One of its tasks was to coin new terms. The results of its activities, presided over by Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana, were published in *Pembina Bahasa* (The builder of IN),[24] and in a new book which was in fact a second, enlarged edition of the older *Kamoes istilah*. Political developments impeded the continuation of the Jakarta committee's work and on February 26, 1948 a *Balai Bahasa* (Language Centre) was founded in Jogyakarta. However, due to the difficult circumstances under which it had to work, this committee did not produce any publications. Later, the *Balai Bahasa* was moved back to Jakarta and on June 1, 1951 the *Komisi Istilah* consisted of sixteen panels, presided over by Dr Prijono, Professor of IN at the University of Indonesia in Jakarta at the time.[25]

Subsequently, on August 11, 1952, this body was incorporated further into the *Lembaga Bahasa dan Budaja* (Institute of Language and Culture) of the University of Indonesia.[26] In 1955, however, the status of the Komisi Istilah was elevated to that of an interdepartmental committee under the administrative supervision of the Prime Minister's Office. In the meantime, the *Lembaga Bahasa dan Budaja* was separated from the University of Indonesia and put under the Directorate of Language and Literature of the Directorate-General of Culture and its name was changed from *Lembaga Bahasa dan Budaja* to *lembaga Bahasa dan Kesusasteraan* (Institute of Language and Literature). The Institute was to see two more name changes: in 1966 to *Lembaga Bahasa Nasional* (Institute of National Language) and subsequently in 1974 to *Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa* (Center for Language Development).

By 1966, the number of the panels of the *Komisi Istilah* had grown from 16 to 19. The panels were: Language and Literature, presided over by A.M.Moeliono; Psychology presided over by Mrs Jusuf Nusjirwan; Education presided over by B.H. Simandjuntak; Home

Economics presided over by Mrs S. Moerdono; Fine Arts presided over by A.A. Rivai; Religion presided over by St. Muh. Sa'id; Law presided over by Rasjad St. Suleman; Administration presided over by R.K. Wirija Mihardja; Economics presided over by Arif Djanin; Sociology presided over by Soeprijono; History, Civics and Politics presided over by Mashudi; Medicine presided over by T. Karimun; Agriculture, Forestry, and Fishery presided over by A. Sofjan; Zoology presided over by R. Roosheroe; Chemistry and Pharmacy presided over by Muhd. Arief; Geography presided over by Dr Achsan Soemartadirdja; Mathematics and Physics presided over by Soedjito Danusaputro; Technology presided over by A.N. Tabrani; and Navigation presided over by S. Pattinama.

The overall chair-person of the *Komisi Istilah* (1966-1975) was Mrs S.W. Rudjiati Muljadi, who was succeeded by Dr Amran Halim, who was also the Director of the *Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa*.

Although, on the one hand, it cannot be denied that an impressive amount of work has been done by the committee, it must be recognised that the results it has produced are not commensurate with the work that has gone into them. The methods and abilities of the members of the committee have also been criticised for their point of departure was most often Dutch, and later English, and lists of terms have been arranged as Dutch-Indonesian and English-Indonesian wordlists respectively. Moreover, the method of publication used has done little to encourage their use. To remedy this defect, however, *Kamus istilah* of the different panels are gradually being published. As of 1977 170 titles of *Kamus istilah* covering 30 fields had been published by the Government agencies and various publishing houses in the private sector. A breakdown by field and number of titles in the respective fields is follows: (1) Administration: 5 titles, (2) Religion: 5 titles, (3) Language and Linguistics: 5 titles, (4) Economics and Commerce: 5 titles, (5) Geology: 1 title, (6) Graphics: 2 titles, (7) Law: 7 titles, (8) Geography: 3 titles, (9) Philately: 1 title, (10) Industry: 2 titles, (11) Medicine: 9 titles, (12) Botany and Fishery: 7 titles, (13) Handicraft: 2 titles, (14) Arts: 4 titles, (15) Military: 6 titles, (16) Chemistry and Pharmacy: 9 titles, (17) Mathematics and Physics: 8 titles, (18) Tourism: 2 titles, (19) Navigation: 8 titles, (20) Education: 4 titles, (21) Aviation: 3 titles, (22) Irrigation: 1 title, (25) Agriculture: 17 titles, (26) Home Economics: 2 titles, (27) Sociology and Politics: 18 titles, (28) Statisticis: 2 titles, (29) Technology: 8 titles, and (30) General: 20 titles (*Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa* 1978).

By the time *Komisi Istilah* ceased its activities at the end of 1966, it had coined 321,710 terms, a breakdown of which is as follows: (1) Medicine: 19,067 terms, (2) Agriculture, Forestry, and Fishery: 19,009 terms, (3) Zoology: 36,009 terms, (4) Technology: 27,293 terms, (5) Mathematics and Physics: 25,014 terms, (6) Chemistry and Pharmacy: 24,054 terms, (7) Linguistics and Literature: 7,644 terms, (8) Law: 6,081 terms, (9) Arts: 14,054 terms, (10) Economics: 9,366 terms, (11) Educatio and Psychology: 19,848 terms, (12) Administration: 17,927 terms, (13) Military: 11,287 terms, (14) Navigation: 20,965 terms, (15) Home Economics: 12,281 terms, (16) Aviation: 29,229 terms, (17) Geography and Sociology: 9,008 terms, (18) Entomology: 6,522 terms, (19) Philosophy: 918 terms, (20) Religion: 4,707 terms, (21) Psychology: 743 terms, (22) Sociology: 572 terms, and (23) History and Politics: 112 terms (S.W. Rujiati Muljadi 1975).

As in the case of the unified spelling system, Indonesia and Malaysia (cf. 3.2.2.6) also agreed to unify the terminology of the two countries. On August 30, 1975 a Manual for Coining Terminology was made public in Jakarta and in Kuala Lumpur at the same time. The manual was formulated by the *Majelis Bahasa Indonesia-Malaysia* (Language Council of Indonesia and Malaysia) chaired jointly by Amran Halim of Indonesia and Haji Sujak bin Rahiman of Malaysia through a series of deliberations between the two parties.[27] The manual allows for certain phonological innovations, thereby the growth of a set of technical terms with a greater chance of finding wide public acceptance (Asmah hj. Omar 1974:106).

The main points of the manual are as follows:

I. Some basic concepts.

1.1. Definition of a term

A term is a word or a group of words which gives a meaningful concept, process, situation, or a special characteristic in a particular field.

1.2. Term-structure and name-structure

A term-structure is a set of rules for coining terms and the terminology it produces. A name-structure is a set of rules for naming in some disciplines and the names it produces.

1.3. Special term and general term

A special term is a term whose usage and/or its connotation are confined within a particular discipline, whereas a general term is a term which constitutes a part of the language.

1.4. Morpheme of terminology

A morpheme of terminology is a root-word or affixes used in coining a term.

1.5. Basic form or root

A basic form or root is a morpheme of terminology which can be used directly as a term, or which is used as the basis for coining an expanded term, e.g., **impor** (root), **pengimpor** (expanded form); **kasasi** (root), **dikasasi** (expanded form); **ion** (root), **pengionan** (expanded form).

1.6. Affixes

An affix is a morpheme of terminology which is usually used only as an affix of the base form or root-word. An affix can be a prefix, an infix, and a suffix, e.g., **ber-sistem**, **g-el-igi**, **pen-cacahan**, **meng-klorin-i**, etc.

1.6.1. Affix of verb and adjective

Prefix:	**meng-**	**mengimpor** *to import*
	di-	**diimpor** *being imported*
	ber-	**bersistem** *having a system*

	ter-	terlarut *dissolvable*
	se-	serumpun *being in a group*
Infix:	-em-	temaram *soft illumination*
Suffix:	-kan	ionkan *to ionise*
	-i	klorini *being chlorided*
	-wi	kimiawi *under the process of chemistry*
	-iah	ilmiah *scientifically*
	-ani	rohani *psychologically*
	-aniah	jasmaniah *physically*

Combination of prefix and suffix:

ke-..-an	kejenuhan *saturated*
ber-..-an	berlawanan *opposite*

1.6.2. Affix of noun

Prefix:	peng-	penghasil *producer*
	ke-	ketua *chairman*
	per-	pertapa *hermit*
Infix:	-el-	telunjuk *index finger*
	-er-	serabut *fibre*
Suffix:	-an	larutan *solution*
	-wan	peragawan *male model*
	-wati	peragawati *female model*

Combination of prefix and suffix:

ke-..-an	kesatuan *unity*
per-..-an	percepatan *acceleration*

1.7. Word

A word is a form of terminology which is able to constitute a part of a sentence and consisting of either base form, root form, or a combination of the base form or the root form and the one or more affixes. Orthographically, a word is a form of terminology which, in text, is written between two spaces.

1.8. Affixed-word

An affixed-word is a word with an affix (or affixes) forming one or more of its parts, e.g., **pendakwaan** *accusation*, **bersistem** *having a system*, **tersinar-X** *having been X-rayed*, etc.

1.9. Word-grouping

A group of words is a form of terminology consisting of several words, e.g., **daya angkut** *loading capacity*, **komisaris utama** *first commissioner or president commissioner*, **angkatan bersenjata** *armed forces*, etc.

1.10. Prototyped-form

A prototyped-form is a form which is the standard or the base in coining terms. In words consisting of Greco-Latin morphemes, the prototyped-form is the part of the word which is still pure, i.e., has not undergone any process of Indonesianisation, such as, the *pepet* insertion, addition of affixes, reduplication of base word, etc. Example:

```
radi+a+t+or
```
radiator (IN, German, English)
radiateur (French)
radiator (Italian)
radiator (Spanish)

1.11. Set of words

A set of words or a paradigm of words is a group of words which is formulated from the same root, either through the process of affixation or the process of dropping or the process of combining words. Examples:

-sorp-	`-erap-`
absorb	`serap`
absorbate	`zat terserap, absorbat`
absorbent	`zat penyerap, absorben`
absorber	`penyerap`
absorptivity	`kedayaserapan, daya serap jenis,`
	`keabsortifan`
absortive, absorbent	`absortif, berdaya serap`
absorbance, absorbency	`daya serap, absorbans`
absorbable	`terserapkan`
absorbability	`keserapan, absorbabilitas`
absorption	`penyerapan, serapan, absorpsi`

II. Source of terminology

2.1. General vocabulary of IN

The general vocabulary of IN can be used as the source of terminology if it fulfills one or more of the following conditions:

(a) the word is the most suitable and its meaning is the most exact if there are two or more words giving the same meaning;

(b) the word is the shortest if there are two or more giving the same concept;

(c) the word has the best connotation and the best euphonics; and

(d) the word is assigned a new or a special meaning by means of narrowing down or widening its original meaning.

Examples: **gaya** *velocity*, **hari jatuh** *expire date*, **garis bapak** *patriarchal*, etc.

2.2. Vocabulary of related languages

If in IN a term cannot be found to describe exactly the intended concept of meaning, process, situation or characteristic, the said term should be taken from one of the related language which has the intended concept. Examples:

timbel (Javanese)	*lead*
gambut (Banjarese)	*peat*
nyeri (Sundanese)	*pain*

2.3. Vocabulary of foreign languages

For the sake of uniformity, priority is given to English terms which have international currency, and are used by experts in their respective fields. The spelling of the terms should be in accordance with their original written forms in the source language with adjusted pronunciation. Examples:

atom	**atom**
electron	**elektron**
logistics	**logistik**
system	**sistem**
fundamental	**fundamental**

2.3.1. Inclusion of foreign terms

The inclusion of a foreign term can be considered if it fulfills one or more of the following conditions:

(a) the selected foreign term is more suitable for its better connotation;

(b) the selected foreign term is shorter than its IN equivalent;

(c) the selected foreign term, for its international currency and its international translatability, is preferable for future needs; and

(d) the selected foreign term can accommodate understanding easily if its IN equivalent has various synonyms.

2.3.2. Borrowed forms

The term taken from a foreign language can be either in base or root form, or its derivative form. In principle, the singular form is used, unless its context tends to be plural. The selection of form based on the above alternatives should be made by taking into consideration (1) the context of situation and the sentence unity, (2) the facilitation of language learning, and (3) its practicability.

2.3.3. The use of common foreign terms

If a foreign term has been commonly used as an IN term, its usage can be continued even though it contradicts one of the rules of coining terminology. Examples:

schakelaar (Dutch)	**sakelar** (IN)
zekering	**sekering**
winkel	**bengkel**
dommekracht	**dongkrak**

2.3.4. The unchanged spelling of a foreign term

A foreign term whose spelling is unchanged in all other languages is also used in IN with the following conditions: it should be properly underlined or it should be printed in italics.

Examples:

> *allegro moderato, ceteris paribus,*
> *in vitro, status quo,*
> *curriculum vitae,*
> *l'esprit de corps,*
> *sine qua non.*

2.4. Procedure of forming terminology

See Figure 6.

III. Grammatical aspect of terminology

3.1. Use of a base word.

Examples: gaya *velocity.* sudut *angle*, asam *acid*, rumpun *related*, *group*, watt, volt

Note: A term which is not a derivative form is preferable to a term which is a derivative.

Example: gulma is preferable to tumbuhan pengganggu *nuisance plant*

3.2. Affixation process

Examples: pendakwaan *accusation*, bersistem *having a system*, mengorganisasi *to be organised into*, etc.

3.3. Reduplication process

Examples: kacang-kacangan *beans*, jejari *fingers*, etc.

3.4. Combination process

A term which consists of a combination of words should be short, as in the following examples: meja tulis *desk*, kerja sama *cooperation*, kapal angkut *freighter*, and should not deviate from the original meaning.

Examples: laju inflasi *inflation rate*, angkatan bersenjata *armed forces*, daya angkut *loading capacity*, garis lintang *latitude*, etc.

A combination of words which forms a term can be spelled according to the following three ways:

3.4.1. The group of words is separated, e.g., model linear *linear model*, perwira menengah *an officer whose rank falls between lieutenant and colonel*, etc.

3.4.2. The group of words uses a hyphen between its elements, e.g., dua-sendi *double based*, mesin-hitung tangan *manual calculator*, etc.

3.4.3. The group of words is written as one word, e.g., tegaklurus *vertical*, segitiga *triangle*, etc.
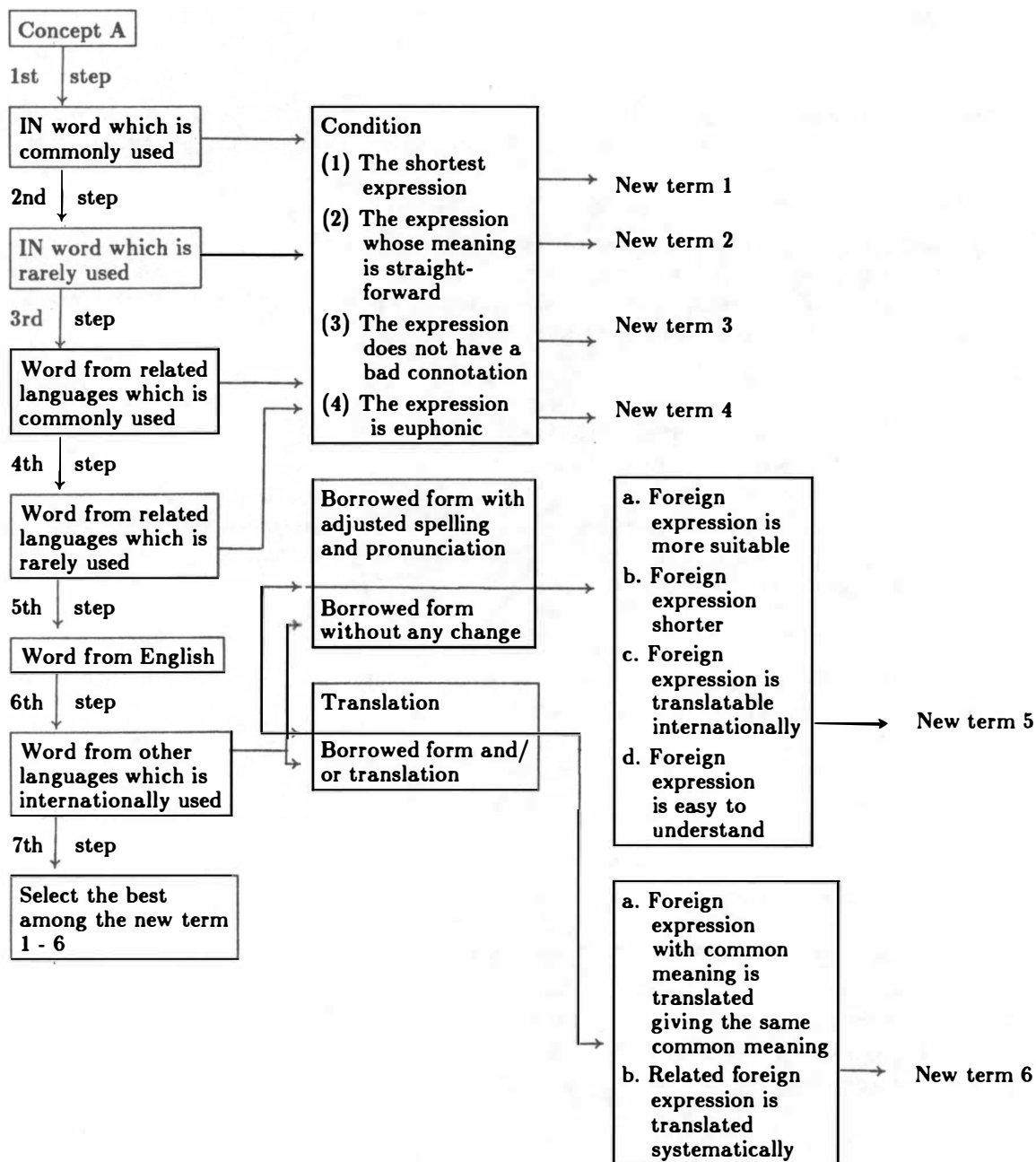
3.5. Assimilation process of the same phoneme

Examples: serbaneka (serba+aneka) *various forms*, koperasi (ko+operasi) *cooperative*.

Figure 6

PROCEDURE FOR COINING TERMINOLOGY

Concept A

1st step

IN word which is commonly used

2nd step

IN word which is rarely used

3rd step

Word from related languages which is commonly used

4th step

Word from related languages which is rarely used

5th step

Word from English

6th step

Word from other languages which is internationally used

7th step

Select the best among the new term 1 - 6

Condition

(1) The shortest expression

(2) The expression whose meaning is straight-forward

(3) The expression does not have a bad connotation

(4) The expression is euphonic

→ New term 1

→ New term 2

→ New term 3

→ New term 4

Borrowed form with adjusted spelling and pronunciation

Borrowed form without any change

Translation

Borrowed form and/or translation

a. Foreign expression is more suitable

b. Foreign expression shorter

c. Foreign expression is translatable internationally

d. Foreign expression is easy to understand

→ New term 5

a. Foreign expression with common meaning is translated giving the same common meaning

b. Related foreign expression is translated systematically

→ New term 6

3.6. Analogy of form process

A new term can be coined on the principle of analogy. The pattern of, for instance, **prasangka** *bias* can be used to form **prasaran** *preliminary report*, **prasarana** *infrastructure*, **prarasa** *predilection*. Furthermore, a pattern such as **monoteisme** can be used as the basis for coining terms such as **marhaenisme** *marhaenism (marhaen = common people)*, **sukuisme** *clanism*, etc.

IV. Semantic aspects of terminology

4.1. Translation

A new term can be coined by translating a foreign term, e.g., samenwerking (Dutch)−**kerja sama** *cooperation*, *balanced budget* (English)−**anggaran berimbang**, etc.

4.2. Principles of translation

In translating a foreign term, it is not always necessary to find an equivalent that forms a one-to-one correspondence. The most important thing to do is to produce semantically the same concept. In this case attention must be given to the semantic field and the semantic characteristics of the term in the source languages.

Examples: network−**jaringan**
           medical treatment−**pengobatan**
           brother-in-law−**abang/adik ipar**
           (begrotings) post−**mata anggaran**
           dry well−**rumah pompa**

A term which is in positive form is not to be translated into its negative form, and vice versa. Example: a bound morpheme should be translated into **morfem terikat** and not into **morfem tak bebas**.

4.3. Systematic set of terminology

Within a given field, a group of related concepts is represented by a terminological set whose structure is marked by a shared related form.

(a)	phoneme	**fonem**	
	morpheme	**morfem**	
	taxeme	**taksem**	
	sememe	**semem**	
(b)	kiesrecht	**hak pilih**	*the right to vote*
	eigendomsrecht	**hak milik**	*propriety rights*
	monopolie	**hak monopoli**	*monopoly*
	stakingsrecht	**hak mogok**	*the right to strike*
(c)	power	**daya**	
	horse power	**daya kuda**	
(d)	*force*	**gaya**	
	torque	**momen gaya**	

(e)	system	sistem
	systematics	sistematika
(f)	linear momentum	momentum lurus, momentum linear
	angular momentum	momentum sudut
	moment of momentum	momen momentum
(g)	energy	tenaga, enersi
	electric energy	tenaga listrik
(h)	aphotheek	apotek	*pharmacy*
	apotheker	apoteker	*pharmacist*

4.4. Synonym and synonymy

Two or more words whose meanings are the same, but which are spelled differently, are called synonyms. If there is synonymy, the actual use of terminology should be carefully selected. In relation to this synonymy, there are four kinds of terminology. They are:

4.4.1. First priority terminology is a term deemed to be the most suitable according to the principles underlying their coinage and which is recommended to be used as a standardised term.

4.4.2. Permitted terminology is a term which comes to the fore because of the presence of an accredited foreign term and an IN term together. Both the foreign term and the IN term can be classified as permitted terminology and are considered to be synonymous.

Examples:
absorb	serap, absorb
frequency	frekwensi, kekerapan
relative	relatif, nisbi
temperature	suhu, temperatur
diameter	garistengah, diameter

4.4.3. Alternated terminology is a permitted terminology which is to be avoided as much as possible. Its usage should be gradually abandoned.

Examples:
micro-	mikro which is much better than renik
acceleration	percepatan which is much better than akselerasi
particle	partikel which is much better than zarah

4.4.4. An avoided term is a term which is a synonym of the first priority terminology, but whose form conflicts with the principles underlying the coining of terminology. Therefore, it is advisable to drop such terms.

Examples: nitrogen is much better than zat lemas
autosugesti is much better than saran diri
kimia is much better than ilmu pisah
valensi is much better than martabat
matematika is much better than ilmu pasti

Foreign synonyms whose meanings are not precisely the same should be translated into IN using different terms, e.g., *rule*–kaidah, *law*–hukum, *axiom*–aksioma, *postulate*–postulat.

4.5. Homonyms and homonymy

Words which have the same spelling and/or pronunciation, but have different meaning because they originate from different sources, are called homonyms. Depending on the identity of their spelling or their pronunciation, a homonym can be a homograph or a homophone.

4.5.1. Homograph

A homograph is a term which is spelled in the same way as another term, but which is pronounced differently.

Examples: **teras** (**teras kayu** = *pith of wood*)
teras (**teras rumah** = *porch*)
pedologi *paedology*
pedologi *pedology*

4.5.2. Homophone

A homophone is a term whose pronunciation is the same as that of another term, but which is spelled differently.

Examples: **bank**   **bang**   *bank*
sanksi   **sangsi**   *sanction*
massa   **masa**   *mass*

4.6. Hyponyms and Hyponymy

A hyponym is a term whose meaning is included within the wider meaning of another iterm which is ts super-ordinate. The words **mawar, melati, cempaka**, for instance, are hyponyms of the word **bunga**, which is the super-ordinate.

4.6.1. In a translation the super-ordinate term is usually not translated by one of its hyponyms unless there is no Indonesian equivalelnt of the super-ordinate. The English word *poultry*, for instance is translated by the word **unggas**, and not by the word **ayam** *chicken* or **bebek** *duck*.

4.6.2. If there is no superordinate equivalent in IN, the context situation or the sentence unity of the foreign superordinate will decide which IN hyponym is to be selected. The English word *rice*, for instance, can be translated by the words **padi, gabah, beras,** or **nasi**, depending upon its context.

4.7. Polysemy

A term with different but related meanings shows the phenomenon of polysemy. The various meanings exist due to the different interpretations. Examples: **kepala (orang)** *head (of a person)*, **kepala (jawatan)** *head (of an office or bureau)*, etc.

A polysemous foreign term must be translated into IN according to its meaning in particular contect. Due to its different semantic field, a foreign word does not always have a precise IN equivalent. Examples:

a. *cushion head*   **topi tiang-pancang**
   head gate   **pintu air atas**
   velocity head   **tinggi tenaga kecepatan**

b. *fuse*   sekering
   detonating fuse   sumbu detonasi
   to fuse   melebur, berpadu

V. Abbreviated terms and symbols

5.1. Abbreviation

An abbreviated term is a term which is formed by means of dropping one or more of its parts. Examples:

lab (oratorium) *laboratory*
(surat) kawat *telegram*
(kereta api) ekspress *express train*
(surat kabar) harian *daily (newspaper)*

5.2. Letter-symbol

A letter-symbol is an abbreviated word, and is pronounced as its full form. Examples:

l   liter *litre*
sin   sinus *sinus*
cm   sentimeter *centimetre*
cos   kosinus *cosine*

There are also abbreviation symbols which are pronounced according to their spellings (letter by letter). Examples:

kVa   *kilovolt-ampere*
TL   *tube luminescent* (French)
dk   daya kuda *horse power*
ca   kalsium *calcium*

5.3. Acronym

An acronym is an abbreviation consisting of a combination of initial letters, a combination of syllables, or a combination of letters and syllables from a sequence of words which are spelled and pronounced naturally. Acronyms can be classified as follows:

5.3.1.Acronyms consisting of the first letters of the words as the abbreviations, are spelled in capital letters. Examples: UNO, UNESCO, ABRI (*Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia* = The armed forces of the Republic of Indonesia), ALRI (*Angkatan Laut Republik Indonesia* = The navy of the Republic of Indonesia), etc.

5.3.2. Acronyms consisting of a combination of letters and syllables are written in ordinary letters; if the acronym is personal name, it is written in capital letters, unless its inventor decides differently. A proper name should at least start with an initial capital letter. Examples:

rapim (rapat pimpinan = staff meeting),
tapol (tahanan politik = political detainee),
Depkes (Departemen Kesehatan = *Department of Health*),
Deppen (Departemen Penerangan = *Department of Information*), etc.

VI. Spelling of terms

6.l. Phonemic spelling

The writing of terms is, in general, based on phonemic spelling, that is, only the functional sound is represented by a letter in IN. Examples:

> **presiden** and not **president**
> **obyek** and not **object**

6.2. Etymological spelling

To show difference in meaning, two terms can be written by taking their etymological spellings into consideration, so that their forms are different but, perhaps, their pronunciation is the same. Examples:

> **bank** versus **bang**
> **sanksi** versus **sangsi**
> **autobiografi** versus (otologi)

6.3. Transliteration

The spelling of a term can also be based on the rules of transliteration, i.e., the replacement of a letter of one alphabet by a corresponding letter of another alphabet. This may be, for instance, applied to the letters of the Arabic, the Dewanagari, the Greek, and the Cyrillic alphabets which are to be transliterated into the letters of the Latin alphabet. Examples:

> yaum ul-adha (Arabic) **hari kurban**
> sukma (Dewanagari) **sukma**
> psyche (Greek)   **jiwa, batin**
> Moskva (Cyrillic)   **Moskwa, Moskou**

6.4. Transcription

Changing a text from one spelling system to another with the aim of facilitating the correct pronunciation of the sounds of the language involved, is called transcription. This process involves phonetic spelling. Examples:

> *coup d'etat* **kudeta**
> *structure*   **struktur**
> *psychology* **psikologi**

6.5. Spelling of names

The spelling of a personal name which is written in the Latin alphabet in the original language, does not change. A personal name written in another alphabet is to be spelled according to the English writing system with some adjustments based on the IN alphabet. Examples: Baekelund, Cannizzaro, Aquadag, Dacron, Keops, Anton Chekhov, Mao Tse Tung, etc.

6.6. Spelling adjustments

In its development, IN borrowed elements from various other languages, from local vernaculars as well as from foreign languages such as Sanskrit, Arabic, Portuguese, Dutch, English, etc.

Based on their integratability, borrowed elements in IN are divided into two major classes.

First, foreign elements which are not fully absorbed by IN, such as *team, shuttlecock, l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme.* These elements are used in IN, but their pronunciations are not changed—they are pronounced according to their original pronunciations.

Second, foreign elements whose pronunciations and spellings are adjusted to the IN systems of phonology and writing. In this case, the foreign spelling undergoes only a slight change so that its IN equivalent is still comparable to its original form.

Spelling rules applicable to the borrowed elements are as follows:

> **aa** (Dutch) to become **a** (IN): *paal* - **pal**, *baal* - **bal**, *octaaf* - **oktaf**, etc.
>
> **ae**, if it is not a variant of **e**, remains as **ae**: *aerobe* - **aerob**, *aerodynamics* - **aerodinamika**, etc.
>
> **ae**, if it is a variant of **e**, becomes **e**: *haemoglobin* - **hemoglobin**, *haematite* - **hematit**, etc.
>
> **ai** remains as **ai**: *trailer* - **trailer**, *caisson* - **kaison**, etc.
>
> **au** remains **au**: *audiogram* - **audiogram**, *autitrophe* - **autitrof**, *tautomer* - **tautomer**, *hydraulic* - **hidraulik**, *caustic* - **kaustik**, etc.
>
> **c**, in front of **a**, **u**, **o**, and a consonant, becomes **k**: *calomel* - **kalomel**, *construction* - **konstruksi**, *cubic* - **kubik**, *crystal* - **kristal**, *classification* - **klasifikasi**, *coup* - **kup**, etc.
>
> **c** in front of **e**, **i**, **oe**, and **y**, becomes **s**: *central* - **sentral**, *cent* - **sen**, *cybernetics* - **sibernetika**, *circulation* - **sirkulasi**, *cylinder* - **silinder**, *coelom* - **selom**, etc.
>
> **cc**, in front of **o**, **u**, and a consonant, becomes **k**: *accommodation* - **akomodasi**, *acculturation* - **akulturasi**, *acclamation* - **aklamasi**, *acclimatisation* - **aklimatisasi**, etc.
>
> **cc**, in front of **e** and **i**, becomes **ks**: *accent* - **aksen**, *vaccine* - **vaksin**, etc.
>
> **cch** and **ch**, in front of **a**, **o**, and a consonant, becomes **k**: *saccharin* - **sakarin**, *charisma* - **karisma**, *cholera* - **kolera**, *chromosome* - **kromosom**, *technique* - **teknik**, etc.
>
> **ch**, which is pronounced as **c**, becomes **c**: *check* - **cek**, *China* - **Cina**, etc.
>
> **ch**, which is pronounced as **s** or **sy**, becomes **s**: *echelon* - **eselon**, *machine* - **mesin**, etc.
>
> **ç** (Sanskrit) becomes **s**: *çabda* - **sabda**, *çastra* - **sastra**, etc.
>
> **e** remains **e**: *effective* - **efektif**, *description* - **deskripsi**, *synthesis* - **sintesis**, *system* - **sistem**, etc.
>
> **ea** remains **ea**: *idealis*, *habeas* - **habeas**, etc.
>
> **ee** (Dutch) becomes **e**: *systeem* - **sistem**, *stratosfeer* - **stratosfer**, etc.
>
> **ei** remains **ei**: *aicosane* - **eikosan**, *eidetic* - **eidetik**, *einsteinium* - **einsteinium**, etc.

eo remains eo: *stereo* - stereo, *geometry* - geometri, *zeolite* - zeolit, etc.

eu remains eu: *neutron* - neutron *eugenol* - eugenol, *europium* - europium, etc.

f remains f: *fanatic, fanatiek* - fanatik, *factor* - faktor, *fossil* - fosil, etc.

gh becomes g: *sorghum* - sorgum, etc.

gue becomes ge: *igue* - ige, *gigue* - gige, etc.

i, in initial position in front of a vowel, remains as i: iambe, *ion* - ion, *iota* - iota, etc.

ie, if it is pronounced as i, becomes i: *politiek* - politik, *riem* - rim, etc.

ie, if it is not pronounced as i but as ie, remains as ie: *variety* - varietas, *patient* - pasien, *efficient* - efisien, etc.

kh (Arabic remains as kh: *khusus* - khusus, *akhir* - akhir, etc.

ng remains ng: *contingent* - kontingen, *congres* - kongres, *linguistics* - linguistik, etc.

oe (Greek oi) becomes e: *oestrogen* - estrogen, *oenology* - enologi, *foetus* - fetus, etc.

oo (Dutch) becomes o: *komfoor* - kompor, *provoost* - provos etc.

oo (English) becomes u: *cartoon* - kartun, *proof* - pruf, *pool* - pul, etc.

oo (double vowels) remains as oo: *zoology* - zoologi, *coordination* - koordinasi, etc.

ou, if it is pronounced as au, becomes au: *bout* - baut, *counter* - kaunter, etc.

ou, if it is pronounced as u, becomes u: *gouverneur* - gubernur, *coupon* - kupon, *contour* - kontur, etc.

ph becomes f: phase - fase, *physiology* - fisiologi, *spectograph* - spektograf, etc.

ps remains ps: *pseudo* - pseudo, *psychiatry* - psikiatri, *psychosomatic* - psikosomatik, etc.

pt remains pt: *pterosaur* - pterosaur, *pteridology* - pteridologi, *ptyalin* - ptialin, etc.

q becomes k: *aquarium* - akuarium, *frequency* - frekwensi, *equator* - ekwator, etc.

rh becomes r: *rhapsody* - rapsodi, *rhombus* - rombus, *rhythm* - ritme, *rhetoric* - retorika, etc.

sc, in front of a, o, u, and a consonant, becomes sk: *scandium* - skandium, *scotopia* - skotopia, *scutella* - skutela, *scelerosis* - skelorosis, *scriptie* - skripsi, etc.

sc, in front of e, i, and y, becomes s: *scenography* - senografi *scintillation* - sintilasi, *scyphistoma* - sifistoma, etc.

sch, in front of a vowel, becomes sk: *schema* - skema, *schizophrenia* - skizofrenia, *scholasticism* - skolastisisma, etc.

t, in front of i, if it is pronounced as s, becomes s: *ratio* - rasio, *aktie* - aksi, *patient* - pasien, etc.

th becomes **t**: *theocracy* - **teokrasi**, *orthography* - **ortografi**, *thiopental* - **tiopental**, *thrombosis* - **trombosis**, *methode* _ **metode**, etc.

u remains **u**: *unit* - **unit**, *nucleolus* - **nukleolus**, *structure* - **struktur**, *institute* - **institut**, etc.

ua remains **ua**: *dualism* - **dualisme**, *aquarium* - **akuarium**, etc.

ue remains **ue**: *suede* - **sued**, *duet* - **duet**, etc.

ui remains **ui**: *equinox* - **ekuinoks**, *conduite* - **konduite**, *duit* - **duit**, etc.

uo remains **uo**: *fluorescein* - **fluoresein**, *quorum* - **kuorum**, *quota* - **kuota**, etc.

uu becomes **u**: *prematuur* - **prematur**, *vacuum* - **vakum**, etc.

v remains **v**: *vitamin* - **vitamin**, *television* - **televisi**, *cavalry* - **kavaleri**, etc.

x, in initial position, remains as **x**: *xanthate* - **xantat**, *xenon* - **xenon**, *xylophone* - **xilofon**, etc.

x, in other positions, becomes **ks**: *executif* - **eksekutif**, *taxi* - **taksi**, *extra* - **ekstra**, *exudatie* - **eksudasi**, *latex* - **lateks**, etc.

xc, in front of **e** and **i**, becomes **ks**: *exceptie* - **eksepsi**, *excess* - **ekses**, *excitation* - **eksitasi**, *excision* - **eksisi**, etc.

y, if it is pronounced as **y**, remains as **y**: *yangonin* **yangonin**, *yen* - **yen**, *yuccaganin* - **yukaganin**, etc.

y, if it is pronounced as **i**, becomes **i**: *yttrium* - **itrium**, *dynamo* - **dinamo**, *propyl* - **propil**, *psychology* - **psikologi**, etc.

z remains **z**: *zenith* - **zenit**, *zirconium* - **zirkonium**, *zodiac* - **zodiak**, *zygote* - **zigot**, etc.

Double consonants become a single consonant: *gabbro* - **gabro**, *accu* - **aki**, *effect* - **efek**, *commission* - **komisi**, *ferrum* - **ferum**, *solfeggio* - **solfegio**, etc.

Notes:

(1) For lexical elements which have been absorbed into IN and are usually spelled according to the IN writing system, there is no need of changing their spellings. Examples: **kabar, sirsak, iklan, perlu, hadir**, etc.

(2) Even though the letters **q** and **x** are included as elements of the IN alphabet, lexemes which contain the two letters are Indonesianised according to the guidelines above. Both letters are retained though they are used only in very special terms.

6.7. Final consonant clusters

Final consonant clusters of foreign terms are Indonesianised as follows:

6.7.1. A cluster of a liquid and a stop can be retained: -lt: **kobalt, basalt**; -ld: **kobold**; -lk: **talk, elk**; -rp: **skizokarp, vibraharp**; -rb: **rubarb**; -rt: **introvert, sport**; -rd: **fyord, tetrakord**; -rk: **patriark, Denmark**, -rg: **erg, Viborg**.

6.7.2. A cluster of a liquid and a nasal can be retained: -lm: **film, helm**; -rm: **kloroform, isoterm**; -rn: **modern, intern)**

6.7.3. A cluster of a liquid and a fricative can be retained: -lf: golf; -ls: wals; -rf: geomorf, alomorf; -rs: Mars

6.7.4. A cluster of a liquid, a stop, and the fricative s can be retained: -rps: korps; -rts: kuarts

6.7.5. A cluster of a stop and a fricative can be retained: -ps: elips, prolaps; -ks: kompleks, matriks

6.7.6. A cluster of the stop k, the fricative s, and the stop t becomes consonant cluster ks: *text* - teks, *context* - konteks, etc.

6.7.7. The second consonant of the cluster of a stop and the stop t is dropped: *concept* - konsep, *accept* - aksep, *traject* - trayek, *project* - proyek, etc.

6.7.8. A cluster of a nasal and a fricative can be retained: -mf: kariolimf; -ns: ambulans, ons, etc.

6.7.9. A cluster of a nasal and a consonant can be retained: -nk: bank, tank, etc.

6.7.10. The second consonant of the cluster of a nasal and a stop can be dropped: *president* - presiden, *document* - dokumen, *dividend* - dividen, etc.

6.7.11. The second consonant of the cluster of a fricative and a stop is dropped: *pessimist* - pesimis, *contrast* - kontrast, etc.

6.7.12. A cluster of the fricative s and the stop k can be retained: -sk: molusk, obelisk, etc.

6.7.13. A final consonant cluster of a foreign term which consists of one syllable can be Indonesianised by means of adding a vowel a: *norm* - norma, *fact* - fakta, etc.

6.3. Adjustment of foreign suffixes

In addition to the guidelines for adjusting foreign letters and sounds given above, the following is a list of the foreign suffixes and their adjustments in IN. These affixes are taken over as inseparable parts of the words in IN. Words such as standardisasi, implementasi, and objektif are taken over as wholes, besides the words standar, implemen, and objek.

-aat becomes -at: *advocaat* - advokat

-age becomes -ase: *percentage* - persentase, *etalage* - etalase

-air, -ary become -er: *complementair, complementary* - komplementer, *primair, primary* - primer, *secundair, secondary* - sekunder

-ant becomes -an: *accountant* - akuntan, *informant* - informan

-archie, -archy become -arki: *anarchie, anarchy* - anarki, *oligarchie, oligarchy* - oligarki

-(a)tie, -(a)tion become -asi, -si: *actie, action* - aksi, *publicatie, publication* - publikasi

-eel, -aal, -al become -al: *structureel, structural* - struktural, *formeel, formal* - formal, *rationeel, rational* - rasional, *ideaal, ideal* - ideal, *normaal, normal* - normal

-ein is retained as -ein: *cystein* - sistein, *casein* - kasein, *protein* - protein

-eur, -or become -ur: *directeur, director* - direktur, *inspecteur, inspector* - inspektur, *conducteur, conductor* - kondektur

-or is retained as -or: *dictator* - diktator, *corrector* - korektor

-ief, -ive become -if: *descriptive, descriptief* - deskriptif, *demonstratief, demonstrative* - demonstratif

-iek, -ica, -ic, -ics, -ique (nominal) become -ik, -ika: *phonetiek, phonetics* - fonetik, *physica, physics* - fisika, *logica, logic* - logika, *dialectica, dialectics* - dialektika, *techniek, technique* - teknik

-iel, -ile become -il: *percentiel, percentile* - persentil, *mobiel, mobile* - mobil, *stabiel, stable* - stabil

-isch, -ic (adjective) become -ik: *electronisch, electronic* - elektronik, *mechanisch, mechanic* - mekanik, *ballistisch, ballistic* - balistik

-isch, -ical become -is: *economisch, economical* - ekonomis, *praktisch, practical* - praktis, *logisch, logical* - logis

-isme, -ism become -isme: *modernisme, modernism* - modernisme, *communisme, communism* - komunisme

-ist becomes -is: *publicist* - publisis, *egoist* - egois

-logie, -logy become -logi: *technologie, technology* - teknologi, *physiologie, physiology* - fisiologi, *analogie, analogy* - analogi

-logue becomes -log: *catalogue* - katalog, *dialogue* - dialog

-loog (Dutch) becomes -log: *analoog* - analog, *epiloog* - epilog

-oide, -oid become -oid: *hominoide, hominoid* - hominoid *anthropoide,* anthropoid

-oir(e) becomes -oar: *trottoir* - trotoar, *repertoire* - repertoar

-teit, -ty become -tas: *universiteit, university* - universitas, *qualiteit, quality* - kualitas

-uur, -ure become -ur: *factuur* - -faktur, *structuur, structure* - struktur.[28]

3.4.3 IN as a modern language of science and technology, culture, and the mass media (dissemination)

As was noted earlier, the rise of IN as one of the modern languages of the twentieth century is indeed a most remarkable fact (Alisjahbana in Fishman 1974). Of all the languages of the Malayo-Polynesian family, it can be said that only IN has become a modern language. It is used not only in administration, law, commerce, and other fields, but also in educational instruction from the primary level up to the tertiary level. An increasing number of publications, books as well as articles on scholarly and other socially and culturally related subjects, have appeared in IN, especially during the seventies.

Until 1942, Dutch was undisputedly the main language in the Indonesian archipelago, not only in politics and administration, but also in the socio-cultural life of the nation. Until 1945, when the Japanese occupation government recognised IN as the official language of its administration,[29] many still believed that IN was only a market tongue, lacking in the capability of performing the functions of a modern language. At that time, the language lacked the necessary vocabulary to express concepts of modern life, as well as the technical terminology necessary for use in scientific publications and discussions (Johannes 1972).

The diligent standardisation of IN in general and the modernisation of its grammar and intellectualisation of its vocabulary in particular, have, in a systematic fashion, made it receptive to modern concepts and thought and made it one of the most simple and efficient languages of the modern world (cf. Section 3.2, 3.3, 3.4.1 and 3.4.2 above).

The use of ML (later IN) by the mass media began in the middle of the nineteenth century. The oldest of the newspapers to use ML were: *Bromartani* (Solo, 1855), *Soerat Chabar Betawie* (Batavia, 1858), *Bientang Timoer* (Surabaya, 1862), *Djoeroe Martani* (Solo, 1864), *Bianglala* (Batavia, 1867), *Bintang Djohar* (Betawi, 1873), and *Retno Dhoemilah* (Yogyakarta, 1895). Although the language used was ML and some of the issues were in Javanese script, the editors of these papers were generally Dutch.

Between 1902 and 1930, the number of newspapers published by native Indonesians increased steadily. IN 1908, with the founding of *Boedi Oetomo* by the Indonesian students, the Indonesian press became a medium to express the feelings of a colonialised nation. Little control was placed on the Dutch press, however and often times articles appeared in them that were offensive to the indigenous people, causing relations between the coloniser and the colonised people to deteriorate. Nationalistic and radically oriented newspapers in IN published in Java included: *Darmo-kondo* (Solo, 1904), *Oetoesan Hindia* (Surabaya, 1914), *Neratja* (Batavia, 1917), *Boedi Oetomo* (Yogyakarta, 1920), *Sri-Djojobojo* (Kediri, 1920), *Sinar Hindia* (Semarang, 1921). Those published outside of Java included: *Tjaja Soematra* (Padang, 1914), *Benih Mardika* (Medan, 1919), *Hindia Sepakat* (Sibolga, 1920), *Oetoesan Islam* (Gorontalo, 1927), and *Oetoesan Borneo* (Pontianak, 1927).

During the Japanese military occupation of Indonesia, the Japanese war administration published newspapers in Japanese and in IN. Among these newspapers were: *Djawa Shinbun* (Japanese, Jakarta), *Asia Raya* (Djakarta), *Madioen Sjuu* (Japanese, Madiun), *Sinar Matahari* (Yogyakarta), *Sinar Baroe* (Semarang), *Soeara Asia* (Surabaya), and *Tjahaja* (Bandung).

Today, there are well over 100 newspapers published in Indonesian or in regional languages (Musium Pusat 1973). A large number of magazines (weekly, biweekly, monthly) containing articles of general interest, are also available as well as a score of periodicals published by various professional associations on new inventions and modern ideas. All these publications use standardised IN.

3.5 EVALUATION AND FEEDBACK

The evaluation and feedback component in the language planning process is as important as the other components but, relative to the amount of time, money, and effort that has been devoted to planning, little has been spent on evaluation or feedback for the purpose of improved planning. In this respect, language planning has been particularly unfortunate.

Awareness of the importance of evaluation and feedback in language planning has led those Indonesian scholars involved in the standardisation of IN and in particular the IN spelling system, to try to right the shortcomings of the incumbent system. The two Congresses on IN of 1938 and 1954 were, to some extent, forums of evaluation and feedback.

3.5.1 Evaluation of the process of standardisation of IN writing systems

3.5.1.1 The Van Ophuijsen spelling system

Positive contributions (Safioeddin 1974):

(1) Van Ophuijsen succeeded in overcoming the problems raised by the use of the Arabic syllabic script for ML by replacing it with the Latin phonemic script.

(2) The use of Latin script for IN orthography boosted the spread and development of ML throughout the Indonesian archipelago, especially during the early years of the twentieth century, throughout the era of the *Commissie voor Volkslectuur* (Committee on folk literature), which was established on September 14, 1908.

(3) The Dutch colonial administration used the Van Ophuijsen orthography to great advantage.

(4) The development and spread of local vernaculars by publishing texts and grammar books in these vernaculars was greatly stimulated by the use of the Van Ophuijsen orthography.

Shortcomings (Safioeddin 1974):

(1) The Van Ophuijsen orthography was heavily influenced by Dutch orthography and therefire neglected the nature of ML and the principles of the science of orthography.

(2) This system included in it some foreign phonemes which ML phonology did not have, such as. `ain`, `hamzah`, `z`, `f`, `ch`, `sj`, `dl`, `ts`. The inclusion of these foreign phonemes caused confusion in the writing and reading of them.

> Examples: `hadir` *to be present* is sometimes spelled as `hadlir` (Arabic: حاضر), and, therefore. is sometimes pronounced as /had-lir/.
>
> `hasil` *product* is sometimes written as `hatsil` (Arabic: حاصل), and is pronounced as /hat-sil/.

This situation was caused by the influence of the Arabic script: **dl** = ضٌ and **ts** = صٌ.

(3) The diacritic umlaut (¨) was used by Van Ophuijsen to separate a word whose final syllable ending with vowel **a** from the suffix -**i**, e.g., **dimula+i—dimulaï** *being started*. This was considered to be impractical.

Scholars who gathered in Solo for the first Congress on IN in 1938 felt that the Van Ophuijsen spelling system would be unable to cope with the problems of orthography caused by the rapid development of IN and proposed that a new spelling system be introduced. The outbreak of World War II, however, prevented any change.

Two years after the war ended, on March 19, 1947, the newly formed government of the Republic of Indonesia made public the Republic Spelling System to replace the Van Ophuijsen orthography for IN. The new spelling system was popularly known as the R. Soewandi orthography.

3.5.1.2 The R. Soewandi orthography

Positive features (Safioeddin 1974, Abas 1975)

(1) The symbol **oe** of the Van Ophuijsen system was replaced by the symbol **u** which was more acceptable because it was more economical.

(2) The spelling system was able to accommodate the pronunciation of foreign words in the IN system of phonology. Examples: *opzichter* - **opseter**; *officer* - **opsir**; *hadlir* - **hadir**; *fatsal* - **pasal**: *tammat* - **tamat**; *directeur* - **direktur**; *fractie* - **fraksi**; *actief* - **aktif, aktip**; *psychologie* - **psikologi**; *export* - **ekspor**, etc.

(3) The system allowed the nominalisation of practically all foreign words; the prefix **me-** could be used to transform these words into verbs. However, if the nominalised foreign words had one of the phonemes /**k, p, b, s**/ in initial position, a homorganic nasal phoneme had to be inserted.

Examples: *proclameren* (Dutch) - **proklamasi** (nominalised form) - **memproklamasikan** *to proclaim* and not *memroklamasikan.

But, **putus** *a cut* - **memutuskan** *to cut* and not *memputuskan, etc.

(4) Words borrowed from foreign languages need not use e-*pepet* (accent grave) insertion if, in their original forms, there was not such an e-*pepet* to be found.

Examples: **praktek**, and not *peraktek; **administrasi**, and not *t(administerasi); **gledek** *thunderstorm*, and not *geledek: **grasi**, and not *gerasi; **stir**, and not *setir, etc.

Shortcomings (Safioeddin 1974, Abas 1975)

(1) The system did not differentiate e-*taling* (accent aigu) from e-*pepet* (accent grave), resulting in much confusion in the pronunciation of words such as: **seri** [sərі] *draw (in the score of a game)*, **seri** [serі *series:* **peta**, should be pronounced as [peta] *map*, **petak**, should be pronounced as ¡petak *square (of a lot for housing)*, etc.

(2) The system treated **k**-*velar* and *laryngeal velar* as the same and represented both sounds by the symbol **k**, whereas they need to be represented differently. The laryngeal velar should be represented by the symbol **q**.

Examples: **katak** *frog* should be written as **kataq**; **sepak** *to kick* should be spelled as **sepaq**, etc.[30]

(3) The trema symbol was not included in the system; however the use of this particular symbol could be retained by giving it a new role, i.e. to distinguish a diphthong from an ordinary -VV- sequence in a word.

Examples: **laut** *sea*, **la-ut**; **sais** *driver of a horse-drawn cart*, **sa-is**, etc.

(4) The number 2 was used as a symbol of reduplication, overlooking the fact that there are reduplicated words which do not have the meaning of plurality.

Examples: **mata²** **musuh** *spy*; the reduplicated **mata** here does not have a plural meaning; **kuda²** **papan** **tulis** *easel for blackboard*, the reduplicated form **kuda²** does not have a plural meaning, etc. So, the correct spelling of these words is: **mata-mata**, **kuda-kuda**.

(5) The concept included 'double consonant' representation of a single sound, whereas a single symbol would have been preferable.

Examples: the sound [c is represented by **tj**, as in **tjerdas** *clever*, and the sound [ɟ] is represented by **dj** as found in the word **djalan** *street*, etc.]

3.5.1.3 The revised New Orthography

Between the R. Soewandi Spelling System and the Revised New Orthography in use today, three separate reforms of IN orthography were planned, the Reformation Orthography of 1957, the Melindo Writing System of 1959, and the New Orthography (LBK) of 1966, but none of the three were made public.

The Reformation Orthography, authored by Prijono-Katoppo was basically a refinement of the R. Soewandi Spelling System. The Congress on IN of 1954 at Medan passed the resolution to reformulate the R. Soewandi Spelling System in such a way that the new revised orthography would be able to fulfill the scientific requirements and the technical considerations imposed by the science of orthography.

The Melindo System of Writing, in turn, was a further refinement of the Reformation Orthography. This system of spelling was authored jointly by the Committees on Spelling of Indonesia chaired by Dr Slametmuljono, and of Malaysia chaired by Syed Nasir bin Ismail.

The New Orthography or the LBK Orthography authored by a Crash-Program Committee chaired by Anton M. Moeliono was another revision of the Melindo System of Spelling and was more practical than preceding concepts of orthography. This is the concept on which the present system of spelling is based. The symbols used by the New Orthography and the Revised New Orthography are the same and the two systems differ only in three respects (Badudu 1976). These are:

	New Orthography	Revised New Orthography
(1)	The alphabet reads as:	The alphabet reads as:
	a, ba, tja, da, e, ef, ga, ha, i, dja, ka, el, em, en, nga, o, pa, ki, er, es, ta, u, yi, (fi), wa, eks, ya, za.	a, be, tje, de, e, ef, ge, ha, i, dje, ka, el, em, en, o, pe, ki, er, es, te, u, fe, we, eks, je, zet.
(2)	Compound words are always written as one word: orangtua *parents* keretaapi *train* tandatangan *signature* etc.	Compound words are written separately: orang tua kereta api tanda tangan etc.
(3)	There is a period after each letter which represents an abbreviated word: M.P.R., U.U.D., S.M.P., etc.	There is no need to use a period in such position: MPR, UUD, SMP, etc. (Badudu 1976).

Positive features of the Revised New Orthography: (Safioeddin 1974, Abas 1975).

(1) Compared to the Van Ophuijsen and R. Soewandi systems of writing, the Revised New Orthographic is more advanced linguistically and orthographically. In the Revised New Orthography only two symbols, f and v represent the same phoneme (/f/); four phonemes, i.e., /s, ñ, ŋ, x/ are represented by a combination of two symbols, respectively (sy, ny, ng, kh); and one symbol, e, represents two phonemes (/e/ and /ə/). Each of the rest of the symbols constantly represents one phoneme.

(2) The rules for writing words and letters, and the rules for punctuation are stricter and more consistent than those of the two systems of spelling preceding it. This will help shape a unified written form of IN.

(3) Critics of the Revised New Orthography feared that the Government would go bankrupt in making the new concept of orthography effective for the whole country. However no financial difficulty was suffered and the public accepted the new system readily.

(4) The Revised New Orthography differentiates the words di and ke as particles and prefixes by the way they are spelled. Examples: diperkenalkan *to be introduced*, di-here functions as a prefix, where as in di rumah *at home*, di functions as a particle.

Shortcomings:

(1) The concept does not differentiate between the k-velar and the k-hamzah in the written form of IN.

(2) The concept allows the use of number 2 as the symbol for reduplication, even though its use is limited only to the print-media.

3.5.2 Evaluation of the process of standardisation of IN grammar

The majority of the grammar books on IN written by both native Indonesian grammarians and by foreign scholars were published in the fifties, when IN, as a national language, first began to be used intensively in national life. It was also in the fifties that the Republic of Indonesia, as a fully independent state, joined the world community of nations and that Indonesian scholars from each and every discipline, but especially linguistics, began to fully participate in international scientific activities, initially introduced by Dutch scholars.

Grammar books on IN produced during this period were heavily influenced by the Graeco-Latin grammatical treatments introduced by the Dutch scholars, especially through their works with local vernaculars.

The Dutch scholars' pre-occupation with local vernaculars during the last half of the 19th century resulted in a scarcity of written materials on ML which was emerging as the national language at the time and developing into Modern IN. It was also for this reason that Dr Fokker, for example, failed in his effort to write a grammar of Modern IN. Given the unstable condition of IN at the time, he was at a loss for an acceptable criterion of what was correct and what was incorrect language usage. At the Congress on IN held in 1954 in Medan, Dr Prijono, an Indonesian scholar, recognised that it was not yet possible to write a grammar of Modern IN, for the same reason as given above.

This was the situation in the fifties with respect to the writing of a scientific grammar of modern IN. At the same time, the writing of pedagogical grammars and textbooks at different levels, devoted to IN did go on but these books introduced very few scientific innovations, if any at all, and could be called mere continuations of the old Dutch grammars and textbooks on ML.

While the linguistic situation in the seventies showed remarkable improvement compared to that of the fifties, the publication of a scientific grammar of Modern IN was still very much a dream (Rusyana and Samsuri 1976). The reasons behind the absence of such a scientific grammar are as follows:

(1) IN has developed rapidly to become one of the modern languages of the world; therefore new body of data is needed as a basis for the writing of a scientific grammar. The body of data used as the basis for the grammar books written in the fifties no longer reflects the present use of the language.

(2) The linguistic theory on which the scientific grammar is to be based is still under investigation. As yet unanswered is which grammatical model can best explain the syntax of IN, i.e. which grammatical theory is the most suitable one for Modern IN. Furthermore, grammatical theories such as the transformational-generative, case grammar, generative-semantic, etc., have yet to be used, in the broader sense of the word, by any IN grammarian.

(3) Publications on IN based on intensive research are very scarce. A number of dissertations on particular aspects of IN are available,[31] but their presence has given little enlightenment to the problem.

3.5.3 Evaluation of the process of standardisation of IN vocabulary

The modernisation and the intellectualisation of IN vocabulary have taken place quite smoothly and great progress has been made in terms of IN vocabulary with the incorporation of a large number of new words used in newspapers, books, magazines, speeches, and other materials, into IN. With the use of IN at higher and more scholarly levels of discussion and deliberation, the use and the style of the language itself has undergone a distinct transformation.

Large numbers of dictionaries, in various forms and for different uses have been published. In 1976, 43 Indonesian-Indonesian dictionaries, 101 Indonesian-foreign language dictionaries, and 137 foreign language-Indonesian dictionaries were available. In addition, 14 encyclopaedias and 9 dictionaries of abbreviations were to be found (*Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa* 1976).

Tremendous progress in the intellectualisation of IN vocabulary has been made with the coining of thousands of modern terms. In 1974 when one talked of the standardisation of IN in the context of the coining of technical terminology one could no longer avoid the question of standardisation of both IN and Mal. After the unification of the spelling system for IN and Mal in 1972, the coining of technical terms was no longer the sole business of Indonesia alone; Malaysia was also involved. It was also in 1972 that the first meeting between both countries was held in Kuala Lumpur. This meeting was followed by other meetings held alternately in Indonesia and Malaysia,[32] as a natural follow-up of the agreement on orthography reached in August 1972 (Asmah Hj. Omar 1975).

On August 30, 1975 a manual for coining terms, based on a UNESCO pamphlet on *Vocabulary of terminology*, was published simultaneously by the *Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa* of Indonesia and *Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka* of Malaysia. This manual is used as the basis for regulating the coining of any new terms for use in both countries (cf. 3.4.2).

3.5.4 Feedback: seminars and workshops

Since the transformation of the *Lembaga Bahasa Nasional* (Institute of National Language) into the *Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa* (Center for Language Development), quite a number of seminars and workshops have been held under the auspices of the new Centre, nationally as well as locally. The main objective of these seminars has been to reformulate current policies on and policy strategies for language in general, and the national language in particular. At these seminars feedback has been given on policy and strategy implementation at the national and regional levels by representatives from agencies involved in the language planning effort.

The thrust of workshops held at the national and regional levels has been the training of personnel who are involved in the implementation of the language policy and strategy. Workshops on such topics as lexicography, sociolinguistics, and grammar-writing have been also conducted.

By February 1978, the *Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa* had conducted a number of language seminars and workshops, the most important of which were as follows:

1. Pre-Seminar on National Language Policy, 29-31 October 1974 in Jakarta.

2. Seminar on National Language Policy, 25-28 February 1975 in Jakarta.

3. Seminar on Development on IN Literature, 1-4 September 1975 in Jakarta.

4. Seminar on Development of Literature of Local Languages, 13-16 October 1975 in Yogyakarta.

5. Workshop on IN Grammar, 11-16 November 1975 in Bandung.

6. Seminar on Local Languages, 19-22 January 1976 in Yogyakarta.

7. Conference on Indonesian Language and Literature, 18-23 February 1978 in Jakarta.

3.6 SUMMARY

This chapter dealt with standardisation processes of IN and the evaluation and feedback on these processes.

Standardisation of IN has involved three processes: standardisation of IN orthography, standardisation of IN grammar, and standardisation of IN vocabulary. In standardising the IN system of writing six concepts of orthography were developed in Indonesia, three of which were put into effect, namely, the Van Ophuijsen orthography, the R. Soewandi system of writing, and the Revised New Orthography which is shared with Malaysia as the official unified orthography of the two countries. The other three concepts were the Reformation, the Melindo, and the New Orthography. These however were never made public.

Discussion of the standardisation process of IN grammar is presented under three sub-headings: the Arabic influence, the Latin influence, and the linguistic orientation. Under the first sub-heading this process is exemplified by Raja Ali Haji's *Bustanul Katibin*; under the second by Van Ophuijsen's *Kitab logat Melajoe*; and under the third by Alisjahbana's *Tatabahasa baru bahasa Indonesia*.

The process of standardisation of IN vocabulary is discussed in two parts: the modernisation of and the intellectualisation of IN vocabulary. The results of the first process are seen in the form of dictionaries and encyclopaedias, and of the second in the form of terminological dictionaries. In 1975 a manual for coining terminology was published simultaneously by *Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa* of Indonesia and *Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka* of Malaysia. This manual regulates the coining of any terminology for use in both countries.

Notes

[1]The Jawi (Arabic-Malay) script was officially in use, however, in the Malay Peninsula.

[2]The Latin alphabet was also used in particular by the Dutch colonial administration. Arabic script was used in the kingdoms located in Sumatra, while Javanese script was used in kingdoms in Java. The Buginese and Makassarese Kings in Sulawesi made use of the Buginese writing system.

[3]For more information see *Bahasa dan Kesusasteraan*, Seri chusus, No. 9, 1972, LBN, Jakarta.

[4]Buginese, Javanese, Batak, Balinese, Lampung, and other local vernaculars have their own systems of writing.

[5]For more information see *Bahasa dan Kesusasteraan*, Seri Chusus, No. 9, 1972, LBN, Jakarta.

[6]The Committee was composed of the following members: (1) Professor Dr Prijono (Chairman), (2) Professor Dr R.Ng. Purbotjaroko, (3) Amin Singgih, (4) Sergius Hutagalung, (5) Raihul Amar Gelar Datuk Besar, (6) Salmun, (7) E. Katoppo, (8) Abdul Rachim, (9) Putu Selamet, (10) Dr Ida Bagus Mantra, (11) Atmamihardja, (12) St. Iskandar, (13) Mangatas Nasution, (14) Markas Atmasasmita, (15) Soemidi, (16) Sagimun, (17) St. Said.

[7]*Bahasa dan Kesusasteraan*, Seri Chusus, No. 9, 1972, LBN, Jakarta, contains the complete text.

[8]MELINDO is an acronym for Melayu-Indonesia.

[9]Under the Sukarno regime there existed a period of confrontation between Indonesia and Malaysia. This state was established by the British Government as a Federation of the Kingdoms of the Malay Peninsula, Singapore, Serawak, and Sabah to which the Indonesian Government was opposed. This period ended in 1965.

[10]For the complete text see *Bahasa dan Kesusasteraan*, Seri Chusus, No. 9, 1972, LBN, Jakarta.

[11]The members of the Crash-Program Committee were: (1) Anton M. Moeliono (Chairman), (2) Mrs. S.W. Rudjiati Muljadi, (3) Basuki Suhardi, (4) Sri Timoer Soeratman, (5) Djoko Kentjono, (6) Lukman Ali, (7) Sardanto Tjokrowinoto, (8) Ridwan Manaf. The last two members were later replaced by H.E. Harimurti Kridalaksana, and S. Effendi.

[12]In the meantime the R. Soewandi Orthography was still the official system of spelling.

[13]This spelling system was never made public and never took effect.

[14]The Indonesian Committee consisted of (1) Mrs. S.W. Rudjiati Muljadi (Chairman), (2) Anton M. Moeliono, (3) B. Suhardi, (4) Lukman Ali, and (5) Djoko Kentjono. The Malaysian Committee consisted of (1) Syed Nasir bin Ismail (Chairman), (2) Yunus Maris, (3) Abdul Samad, (4) Hassan Ahmad, and (5) Kamaluddin Muhammad.

[15]The complete text is contained in *Bahasa dan Kesusasteraan*, Seri Chusus, no.9 1972, LBN, Jakarta.

[16]Other dimensions of this concept were the same as those of the concept of New Orthography of 1967.

[17]See the pamphlet issued by PPPB for a complete text.

[18]This paragraph announces the intention of Raja Ali Haji to compose a *gurindam* consisting of twelve parts on Tuesday, the twenty-third day of the month of Rajab in the year 1262 Hijriah (lunar year). The gurindam (poem) is written in ML.

[19]The letter is from the Viceroy of the Kingdom of Riau and Lingga, Raja Mahmud Yusuf, to Mr A.M. Buks, the Resident (Administrator) of Riau and Lingga and the islands near by, in which the Viceroy asks the Resident to inform the Chinese traders to go directly to the office of the Viceroy on the island of Penyengat whenever they want to settle their taxes. They need not to go to the office of the Sultan (King).

[20]The letter is from the Resident of Riau and the islands near by, Mr W.Y. Radir, to Sultan Abdulrahman Muazam Syah, the King of Riau and Lingga and the islands near by. The letter included three enclosures which were duplicates of three important documents possessed by Mr Said Usman bin Muhammad Barkiah. According to the letter, the three duplicates had been validated by the office of the controleur (district officer) of Tanjungpinang.

[21]Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana, a law graduate, founded and maintained the first periodical devoted entirely to IN: the *Pembina Bahasa Indonesia*, which appeared regularly from July 1948 onwards, with some 350-400 pages a year. This periodical was widely read and presented information on diverse questions of practical linguistic usage, grammatical and other language teaching, spelling and terminological problems, the relationship of IN with regional languages, comparable language situations in other countries, and more general questions of linguistics, language sociology and language policy. Although it cannot be said that this periodical was of great scientific merit, or that it contained many new original articles, it was undeniably significant in the rise and development of IN. This was perhaps best reflected in its column *Tanja-djawab* (Question and answer), included in virtually every number, in which questions from readers were often entered into in great detail. Discussion of *soal-soal hangat* (burning questions), and the opinions of Alisjahbana and his associates were also included in this column.

[22]*Hukum D.M.* (Hukum Diterangkan - Menerangkan)

[23]This book was translated into IN by Djonhar Gelar Sutan Penduko Sati.

[24]*Pembina Bahasa Indonesia* Numbers I and II (1948-1950). See also footnote 22 for information about the periodical.

[25]For a complete history of the Commission see Appendix B.

[26]The incorporation of the Komisi Istilah into the *Lembaga Bahasa dan Budaja* of the University of Indonesia was understandable because Dr Prijono was at that time the Dean of the Faculty of Letters of the same University of which the *Lembaga Bahasa dan Budaja* was a part.

[27]To some extent, this manual was also based on Pamphlet of UNESCO: ISO/TC 37, International Organisation for Standardisation, Draft ISO Recommendation, no. 781, Vocabulary of Terminology.

[28]For a complete text see the pamphlet issued by the PPPB.

[29]The Japanese occupation government recognised IN as *bahasa resmi* (official language) on April 29, 1945, a few months before it surrendered to the Allied Forces. Before that time, the Japanese war administration considered IN to be an ordinary lingua franca.

[30]At this point it should be noted that not all words ending with phoneme /k/ should be realised as k-*hamzah*, for example: salak with a final k-velar sound means a kind of fruit; salak with a final k-hamzah means the barking of a dog.

[31]Amran Halim, Soenjono Dardjowidjojo, James H. Rose, Maruli Butar-Butar, Soemarmo, Daulat Tampubolon, etc.

[32]By March 1978, eleven meetings had taken place. This binational committee on the standardisation of technical terminology was chaired jointly by Amran Halim of Indonesia and Haji Hasan bin Ahmad of Malaysia.

Chapter IV

INDONESIAN LANGUAGE AND INDONESIAN SOCIETY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is threefold: to assess the sociological and psychological impact of IN on Indonesian society in its role as a unifying language, to review some recent sociolinguistic, attitudinal and motivational studies on IN, and to offer some projections for the future of IN in terms of the number of its speakers and its geographic spread. A critical analysis of the studies described herein along with a summary will be presented at the end of the chapter.

4.2 RECENT SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDIES ON INDONESIAN

The fact that IN, the national language of some 135 million people of many different ethnic groups, has a very strong unifying force, has drawn the attention of many sociolinguists and language planners. Observations have shown that this force has been generated by three sociological factors:

First, the transformation of ML into IN was interwoven with the Indonesian struggle for independence and later Indonesia's development as a free country. As early as 1908 ML was already being utilised by nationalists to stir up the consciousness of the common people and to encourage their development and progress. Mass political parties, for example the *Sarekat Islam* (Islamic Association), used ML from the earliest days of their emergence in 1911. To some extent, the pre-War nationalists were identified by their ability to deliver speeches in ML.

Second, simplicity and flexibility, two characteristics inherent in ML, and the strategic location of its native speakers and the propensity of ML speakers to travel and settle in other places within the Indonesian archipelago have contributed to its wide use as well as enhanced the character of ML as a lingua franca. Other factors, inherent in other ethnic vernaculars also have contributed to the generation of the strong unifying force of IN. Many other ethnic languages are equally simple but, in terms of the number of native speakers, are very small and their use is isolated. Because these languages could not meet the requirements of a lingua franca, their speakers were forced to use another language for inter-ethnic communication and this language was ML and, later, IN. Furthermore, the

languages of large ethnic groups, such as the Javanese and Sundanese, have the disadvantage of having a complex system of language levels.[1] Mastering a language such as Javanese lies not only in mastering different linguistic codes but also in determining the sociocultural context of any speech event and the social status or background of the speakers. This is a serious drawback for any language to be used as a lingua franca. In addition, language levels may also be indicative of feudalistic or undemocratic attitudes among speakers of the language, most definitely a serious obstacle to the adoption of such a language as the national language of a democratic state. Even *Jong Java* (Young Javanese), the largest youth organisation in the twenties, acknowledged ML as the medium of communication in its meetings, because of the language's main asset as a *bahasa gampang* (easy language).

Third, the native speakers of ML do not constitute a majority ethnic group as do the Javanese. This too was a facilitating factor for the acceptance of ML as a lingua franca because other ethnic groups, did not have the 'fear' of being dominated by this minority group. The use of ML and, later, IN by different ethnic groups in the archipelago was never forced. Its acceptance as a lingua franca and, later, as a national language, was completely voluntary.[2]

The studies which are reviewed below are some which have dealt with, directly or indirectly, in full or in part, the impact of the sociological factors which have helped strengthen the unifying force of the national language.

4.2.1 The Isman study

This study consists of two parts: a critical description of the transformation of ML, an ethnic cultural feature, into IN, a national cultural feature, and an investigation of the force of IN as a unifying language of supra-ethnic norm in written communication in the language.

Indonesia's motto, *bhinneka tunggal ika* (unity in diversity) reflects the existence of various diverse ethnolinguistic groups within its territory. The hundreds of speech communities very often coincide with ethnic groupings thus adding socio-cultural differences to the linguistic differences that already exist.

However, *Pancasila*, the nation's ideology, prescribes tolerance and change on the part of the individual ethnic groups so as to form a strong cultural unity.

The national culture, within which IN forms an important feature, should provide a national identity for the Indonesian people so that on the one hand, they can be distinguished from other peoples, and on the other, they can be tied together by a common bond. At the same time, the advancement of a national culture does not necessarily mean the loss of the ethnic sub-cultures. If cultural features of a certain ethnic group are adopted as features of the national culture, they still belong to that group while at the same time they are shared by other ethnic groups. If new features are added to the national culture, they are, in fact, added to the ethnic cultures, because the national culture belongs to all the people.

The 'identity diagram' of Isman shown below can best present the socio-cultural and political spheres of the Indonesian people.

Figure 7

IDENTITY DIAGRAM
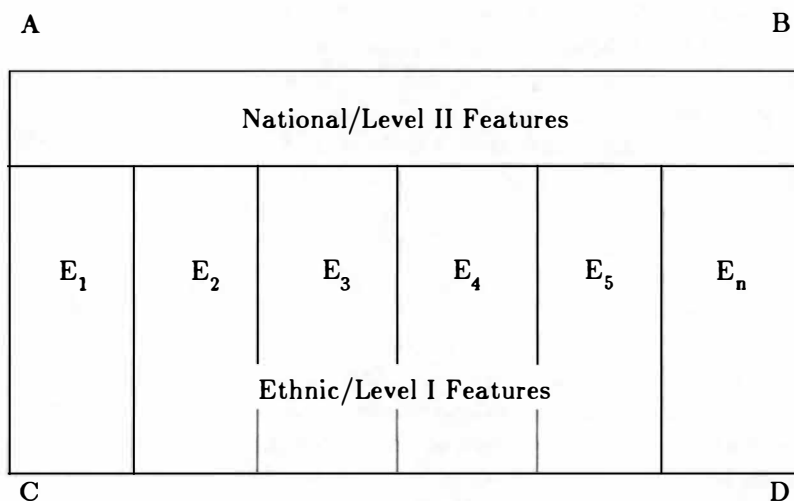
The rectangle ABCD encloses all features that comprise national as well as ethnic identities and identify them as a socio-cultural and political unity embracing all ethnic groups included in the scheme but, at the same time, distinguishing them from other nations. In the above diagram these features are symbolised as level II features and level I features. Level II features and level I features. Level II features are national identity features, including such things as IN, IN literature, the national political system, etc. Level I features, which are found in rectangles E_1 to E_n, identify the different ethnic groups. They bind together people belonging to the same ethnic group and, at the same time, distinguish them from other ethnic groups. These features include things such as ethnic languages and local literature, customs, music, and dress.

Some level I features have a potential to arouse interethnic conflict, avoidance of which requires tolerance. Without tolerance a nation risks trouble resulting from excessive ethnic pride and a sense of solidarity that places ethnic interests above national ones.

Indonesian leaders have been aware of the potential danger of ethnic conflicts, since the beginning of the independence movement in 1908 and, for that reason, have given considerable attention to the problem of unity among the different ethnic groups. One of the more important and successful efforts towards this goal was the voluntary acceptance of IN by all ethnic groups as the national language. From the time of its adoption, active social and cultural contacts have taken place between IN and the local languages and the spirits of the national language and the local vernaculars have merged. Both sides have exhibited interest in each other and have influenced each other. The socio-cultural contacts have brought the ethnic identities closer to a national identity, the manifestation of which

is the acceptance of IN as the national language. For this purpose, the different ethnic groups have been willing to sacrifice their ethno-linguistic pride for the sake of national unity and IN has assumed the role of a symbol of national pride and unity.

The number of national cultural features can be added to in two ways. First, a certain ethnic feature may become a source of pride for Indonesians of other ethnic groups and ultimately come to be accepted by most, if not all, of the people. In the 'identity diagram', this feature will be lifted from level I to level II. The acceptance of ML as the basis for IN and the acceptance of the *kebaya* (a type of Javanese woman's dress) as a national dress for women are two good examples of how ethnic cultural features have become national cultural features. Today, ML identifies not only the Malay ethnic group of the Riau Province in Sumatra but all Indonesians. Likewise, the *kebaya* is no longer only a Javanese piece of apparel; it is Indonesian as well. Secondly, new features can be added to the national culture by creating them for the nation as a whole. Examples would include the national anthem, the national flag, novels and dramas written in the national language, etc.

In his research Isman attempted to measure the strength of written IN as a unifying language of supraethnic norm. He interviewed 22 people with the following composition of ethnic origins: 3 Javanese, 10 Minangkabau, 5 Kerinci, 2 Sundanese, and 2 Toba Batak. When asked what languages the interviewees use in speaking and writing to their parents, Isman discovered that: (1) all interviewees always use their respective ethnic languages when speaking to their parents, (2) when writing to them, some of the interviewees use either IN or their ethnic language all the time, while others mix the two. The Kerinci speakers who were interviewed use IN all the time when writing letters to their parents, while the Batak interviewees use their ethnic language all the time. Of the Javanese interviewees, 50% use IN and 50% their own language. Of the Sundanese interviewees 85% use Sundanese and 15% IN whole 90% of the Minangkabau speakers interviewed use IN and 10% their own language. In terms of total percentage of the people interviewed 51% use IN and 49% use their own respective languages.

Because of the limitation on the number of individuals and ethnic groups included in the study just cited the findings are far from conclusive. However, they do show a significant trend in the development for IN. IN is no longer being used only in formal encounters but has started to be used in intimate and in intra-ethnic encounters as exemplified by the language medium used in letters sent to parents. Many parents would be offended if their children spoke to them in IN but at the same time they feel at ease when receiving letters from their children written in IN. Two of the Kerinci informants reported that even illiterate parents who do not speak fluent IN ask the help of other people either to read letters received from their children or to write back to them in IN. Another important finding from the interviews above is the fact that when writing letters to nonrelatives, all interviewees use IN almost all the time.

Some assumptions can be made as to the reasons why some ethnic groups such as the Minangkabau and Kerinci speakers seem to prefer the use of IN in writing letters even to their parents. First, the languages of the two ethnic groups are relatively close to IN and, secondly, their initial experience in reading and writing is gained through IN for they do not have their own writing system. The languages of the other three ethnic groups—the

Javanese, the Sundanese, and the Batak—are not very close to IN. In addition, these latter groups have their own writing systems.

4.2.2 South Sulawesi study[3]

This study, carried out by a team of research-workers consisting of Zainuddin Thaha (Chairman), M. Ide Said D.M., Mrs Hawang Hanafi, and Amiruddin, listed three goals, namely (1) to collect data on the role and function of IN in the multi-ethnic society of the Province of South Sulawesi, (2) to collect data on the attitudes of the people of the Province of South Sulawesi towards language usage, and (3) to try to explain and determine the patterns of 'social diglossia' existing in the Province.

The study is a problem-oriented one and, as such, when the field work was conducted intensive rather than extensive methods were applied. Further, the study made use of a questionnaire and non-directive guided interview techniques of research.

The study included in its samples of population: (1) government officials, (2) civic leaders, (3) religious leaders and prominent figures in the field of ethnic tradition, (4) writers, poets, and journalists, (5) traders and businessmen, (6) pupils of secondary schools and students of universities and colleges, and (7) heads of households who were peasants, fishermen, and workers by profession. The samples were taken from the following districts: the Municipalities of Ujung Pandang and Pare-Pare, and the Regencies of Tana Toraja, Soppeng, Polewali-Mamasa, and Bantaeng.

In the survey 1000 persons were interviewed, including 200 teachers and lecturers, 200 pupils and students, 200 traders and businessmen, 200 government officials and members of the Armed Forces, and 200 heads of households. Of the 200 teachers and lecturers, 55, 20, 35, 30, 40 and 20 were, respectively, from the districts of Ujung Pandang, Pare-Pare, Tana Toraja, Soppeng, Polewali-Mamasa, and Bantaeng; of the 200 pupils and students, 55, 20, 35, 40, 30 and 20 were from the above mentioned districts in that same order; of the 200 traders and businessmen, 55, 30, 20, 40, 20 and 35 were from the districts in the same order as that of the preceding groups; of the 200 government officials and members of the Armed Forces, 55, 20, 35, 30, 40 and 20 were from the districts mentioned in that same order; and of the 200 heads of households, 55, 20, 35, 30, 40 and 20 were from those same districts, also following the above order.

Among the one thousand respondents, when asked what language they use in letters sent to relatives and friends in the same ethnic group, 712 persons or 71.2% answered that they use IN, 21 persons or 2.1% answered that they use *Bahasa Daerah* (local vernacular), 263 persons or 26.3% answered that they used a mixed language, and 4 persons or 0.4% did not give any answer.

Of the 712 persons who answered that they use IN in letters sent to relatives or friends in the same ethnic group, 53 were teachers and lecturers, 167 were students, 178 were government officials and members of the Armed Forces, 159 were businessmen, and 155 were heads of households. Of the 21 persons who answered that they use the local vernacular in letters sent to relatives or friends of the same ethnic origin, 5 were teachers

and lecturers, 3 persons were students, 6 persons were businessmen, and 7 persons were heads of households. Of the 200 government officials and members of the Armed Forces none used the ethnic language in writing letters to relatives and friends in the same ethnic group. Of the 263 persons who answered that they use a mixed language in the letters sent to their relatives and friends of the same origin, 22 persons were government officials and members of the Armed Forces, 34 persons were businessmen, 142 persons were teachers and lecturers, 29 persons were students, and 36 persons were heads of households.

Of the 712 respondents who answered that they use IN in their letters, 211 persons were from the Municipality of Ujung Pandang, 69 persons were from the Municipality of Pare-Pare, 120 persons were from the Regency of Soppeng, 76 persons were from the Regency of Bantaeng and 126 persons were from the Regency of Polewali-Mamasa. All of these people are bilingual, and speak IN as well as their ethnic language. Some are even trilingual or multilingual. In general the population of the Municipality of Ujung Pandang speaks *Bahasa Makassar* (the Makassarese language); the people of the Municipality of Pare-pare and the Regencies of Soppeng and Bantaeng speak *Bahasa Bugis* (the Buginese language); the people of the Regency of Tana Toraja speak *Bahasa Toraja* (the Toraja language), and the people of the Regency of Polewali-Mamasa speak *Bahasa Mandar* (the Mandarese language).

The following are results of the study concerning the role of IN in conversations between two or more persons who are strangers to each or one other, even though all the interlocutors are of the same ethnic origin.

Out of 1000 respondents, 613 persons or 61.3% answered that they *always* use IN when carrying on a conversation with a stranger or new acquaintance of the same ethnic origin; 346 persons or 34.6% answered that they *sometimes* use IN in such a situation only 37 persons or 3.7% answered that they *never* use IN; and 4 persons or 0.4% did not give any answers. The breakdown of the 613 persons who answered that they always use IN when carrying on a conversation with new acquaintances of the same ethnic origin is as follows: 139 respondents or 13.9% were teachers and lecturers, 117 or 11.7% were students, 141 persons or 14.1% were government officials and members of the Armed Forces, 93 persons or 9.3% were heads of households. Of the 346 respondents who answered that they sometimes use IN in conversing with new acquaintances the breakdown is as follows: 57 were teachers and lecturers, 70 were students, 49 were government officials and members of the Armed Forces, 100 were traders and businessmen, and 70 were heads of households. The breakdown of the 37 respondents who answered that they never use IN when carrying on a conversation for that purpose in such a situation is as follows: 4 persons were teachers or lecturers, 11 persons were students, 9 respondents were government officials and members of the Armed Forces, 7 persons were traders and businessmen, and 6 persons were heads of households.

The above figures of 61.3% and 3.7%, showing respectively what percentage of the total number of respondents always use IN in conversing with new acquaintances of the same ethnic origin and what percentage never use IN in such a situation point out the increasing role of IN as a unifying language with a supra-ethnic norm. The majority of the 613 respondents, or a total of 255 persons, who answered that they always use IN in

conversations were from the Municipality of Ujung Pandang. The remaining 388 persons were from the Municipality of Pare-Pare with 64 persons, and the Regencies of Tana Toraja with 88 persons, Soppeng with 59 persons, Polewali-Mamasa with 121 persons, and Bantaeng with 56 persons.

When the same respondents were asked about the level of mastery of IN which should be acquired by Indonesians, 823 persons or 82.3% gave the opinion that all Indonesians should master IN well for IN is the language of national identity. Of this group, most were teachers and lecturers and government officials and members of the Armed Forces, accounting for 184 and 183 persons respectively. Of the five groups of respondents, traders and businessmen were least in number with only 136 persons. Among the traders and businessmen, 63 persons felt that even a broken mastery of IN can reflect national identity.

As to the translation of high quality pieces of local literature into IN as an effort to promote national unity 347 persons out of the 400 teachers and students who were asked this question, or 86.75% of the total were fully in favour of such efforts; 36 respondents or 9% were *partially* in favour and 17 persons, or 4.25%, were *against* this idea.

When the same group of respondents was asked about their sentiment towards foreigners who speak IN fluently in interactions with Indonesians, 263 persons or 65.75% responded that they were very proud, and 128 persons or 32% answered that they were somewhat proud; 9 persons or 2.25% answered that they were not proud of this at all.

This study also shows some interesting facts about bilingualism and trilingualism in the Municipality of Ujung Pandang, among those residents who live in the urban centre, those who live on the edge the urban centre, and those who live in the surrounding areas. Of the 150 respondents, 125 or 83.33% speak IN in addition to their respective mother tongues and, of these, 45 persons or 30% live in the urban centre, 43 persons or 28.66% live on the edge of the urban centre, and 37 persons or 24.66% live in surrounding areas. Given that 10 persons did not answer the questionnaire, only 15 persons from the total of 150 had not mastered IN well enough to consider it as their second language and considered either *Bahasa Makassar*, *Bahasa Bugis* or another local vernacular to be their second language.

The study also investigated the degree of bilingualism of two groups of respondents, the traders and businessmen and the heads of households consisting of 200 persons each. Of the 200 traders and businessmen, 174 felt that they had a good mastery of the national language while 24 felt that their mastery of the language was 'broken' but was, nevertheless, still intelligible to others. None had a zero mastery of the language. The 174 traders and businessmen with a good mastery of IN came from 6 different districts within the Province of South Sulawesi: 52 persons from the Municipality of Ujung Pandang, 23 from the Municipality of Pare-Pare, 9 from the Regency of Tana Toraja, 39 from the Regency of Soppeng, 19 from the Regency of Polewali-Mamasa, and 32 from the Regency of Bantaeng. Of the 24 persons with a broken mastery of IN 2 were from the Municipality of Ujung Pandang, 6 were from the Municipality of Pare-Pare, 11 were from the Regency of Tana Toraja, 1 was from the Regency of Soppeng, 1 was from the Regency of Polewali-Mamasa, and 3 were from the Regency of Bantaeng. It is interesting to note that the majority of the 20 traders and businessmen from the Regency of Tana Toraja, located

about 300 km north of Ujung Pandang, have a broken mastery of IN. The ratio of those with a good mastery of IN to those without is 9 to 11.

Of the 200 heads of households, 158 persons had a good mastery of IN, while 39 felt they have only a broken mastery of the national language. As is the case with the traders and businessmen, none of these 200 people had a zero mastery of the language. The breakdown by district of the 158 persons with a good mastery of IN is as follows: 52 persons were from the Municipality of Ujung Pandang, 17 were from the Municipality of Pare-Pare, 21 were from the Regency of Tana Toraja, 25 were from the Regency of Soppeng, 31 were from the Regency of Polewali-Mamasa, and 12 were from the Regency of Bantaeng. Those with only a broken mastery of the national language, following the above order of locations, numbered 2, 3, 14, 4, 9 and 7 persons, respectively. Again, the Regency of Tana Toraja was the area with the largest number of people having only a broken mastery of IN (14 persons).

The investigation of bilingualism among 400 traders, businessmen and heads of households originating from six different districts within the Province of South Sulawesi showed that 332 persons considered themselves to be bilingual and 63 persons considered themselves monolingual with only a very limited knowledge of the second language under question, in this case, IN. In terms of percentage, 83% of the respondents are bilinguals and 15.75% of the respondents are 'defective' bilinguals.[4]

Another aspect investigated by the study was the frequency of usage of IN by the heads of households in official functions or family gatherings in six districts within the Province of South Sulawesi. Of the 200 respondents, 86 persons answered that they *always* use IN, 87 that they *sometimes* use the national language, and 24 persons that they *never* use IN on such occasions. Of the 86 persons who always use IN, 30 were from the Municipality of Ujung Pandang, 6 were from the Municipality of Pare-Pare, 9 were from the Regency of Tana Toraja, 5 were from the Regency of Soppeng, 23 were from the Regency of Polewali-Mamasa, and 13 were from the Regency of Bantaeng. The composition of respondents who sometimes use IN, by order of districts given above, was: 23, 14, 6, 23, 16 and 5 persons respectively.

Again, it is interesting to note that 20 persons out of the 35 people from the Regencies of Tana Toraja never used IN in official functions and family gatherings. The reason for this might be the distance of this Regency from Ujung Pandang, the capital city of the province.

At customary functions and family gatherings and in culturally related discussions the heads of households had a tendency to use *Bahasa Daerah* (local vernacular) and only sometimes used the national language. In the Municipality of Ujung Pandang, however, the number of people who always use IN is still larger than the number of people who use *Bahasa Daerah* (never use IN): the proportion of the two groups is 3 to 1.

Of the 103 respondents who answered that they sometimes use IN in discussing matters related to culture, 26 were from the Municipality of Ujung Pandang, 1 was from the Municipality of Pare-Pare, 9 were from the Regency of Tana Toraja, 25 were from the Regency of Soppeng, 15 were from the Regency of Polewali-Mamasa, and 12 were from the

Regency of Bantaeng. The 103 heads of households mentioned that most of the time they use *Bahasa Daerah* in conversation with guests at customary functions. This does not mean that they never talk in IN. They do in fact use IN in conversation but with less frequency than they use *Bahasa Daerah*. The study also revealed that, with regard to this particular aspect two districts, namely the Municipality of Pare-Pare and the Regency of Soppeng, had no respondents who always use IN. Both these districts are noted for their strong Buginese culture.

As for the language preference of the heads of households in the six districts in conversing with their wives, children, other family members and servants, the study reveals that the majority of respondents use both IN and *Bahasa Daerah*. Use of both IN and *Bahasa Daerah* meant that heads of the households communicate either in IN or *Bahasa Daerah* at a given time and do not mix the two languages in the same discourse.[5]

The study shows that of the 40 heads of households who use IN in intrafamiliar conversations 26 were from the Municipality of Ujung Pandang. The same trend is seen in the usage of IN in communicating with servants or household helpers: out of 45 using IN, 29 were from the same Municipality. This district is an urban centre, the melting pot of the local vernaculars found in the Province of South Sulawesi.

Respondents from the Municipality of Pare-Pare showed much more 'provincial' characteristics: aside from being more traditional in terms of preserving local customs, the society is also somewhat feudalistic, or at least, very conservative. The study reveals that none of them used IN to communicate with family members, and household helpers. Almost all used *Bahasa Daerah* in oral communication.

The final aspect of language attitudes investigated by this study was the sentiment felt towards people who mix IN with foreign words and expressions in conversations. Out of the 800 respondents, 259 persons gave the opinion that this practice is a good one, 347 persons considered it fair and 9 persons gave no opinion.

Of the 259 respondents who responded favourably to mixing IN with foreign elements 36 persons were teachers and lecturers, 171 were students, 28 were government officials and members of the Armed Forces, and 24 were traders and businessmen. This breakdown shows that there is a tendency among the youth to approve mixing IN with foreign elements, something which the older people disapprove of. This tendency might be attributed to the inclination of young people to show off or to impress other people through the use of foreign words and expressions. The tendency is, therefore, temporary in nature. The older they get, the wiser they become, and most importantly, the more nationalistic they turn out to be.

The 347 respondents who were of the opinion that mixing IN with foreign elements is not good consisted of 92 teachers and lecturers, 23 students, 117 government officials and members of the Armed Forces, and 115 traders and businessmen. Looking at these figures it would appear that older people are much more nationalistic in their use of language.

Those who considered mixing IN with foreign elements to be fair consisted of 72 teachers

and lecturers, 6 students, 54 government officials and members of the Armed Forces, and 53 traders and businessmen, a total of 185 persons. This group of respondents would appear to be somewhat indifferent towards development of the national language in general and standardisation of the language in particular.

4.2.3 East Java study

This study was carried out by a team of researchers made up of faculty members from the Department of Language and Literature of the *Institut Keguruan Ilmu Pengetahuan* (Institute of Teacher Training and Education), Malang, under the direction of I.L. Marsoedi. The general aim of this study was to acquire data on the function of IN as the national language within the domain of verbal communication in the rural areas of the Province of East Java. The collected data were to be used as input for the Center for Language Development in its implemention of the national language policy as formulated by the Seminar on National Language Policy of 1975 which covered (1) standardisation of the national language, (2) development and the spread of IN, and (3) intensification of the teaching of IN in educational institutions.

Furthermore, the study listed the following as its specific goals: (1) acquiring sociolinguistic data on the frequency of the use of IN in government agencies in the rural areas of the Province of East Java, using topics of conversation, situation (formal and informal), location (office or elsewhere), and status of participants (officers or ordinary people) as variables (2) based on the acquired sociolinguistic data answering the question 'Has IN fulfilled its function as the language of the state in the domain of verbal communication within government agencies in the rural area of the Province of East Java?', and (3) making available the sociolinguistic data for future studies on these or other related topics.

Prior to the actual field work, the study posited a four-point assumption concerning the topic under investigation: (1) that the rural population of the Province of East Java is bilingual, i.e., the people have mastered both IN and the local vernacular (Javanese), (2) that IN is used as a 'lingua franca' in the Province of East Java, especially in extra-ethnic verbal interaction, (3) that encounters between two persons from different ethnic groups who are strangers to each other can promote the practice of using IN by both interlocutors. The greater the frequency of these encounters the stronger the practice will become, and (4) that IN is used more frequently in areas where the population is heterogeneous, than in areas where the population is homogeneous.

Some of the more interesting findings of the study are as follows:

(1) In formal meetings conducted by the rural governmental administration, IN was used by 68.35% of the respondents in their discussions and deliberations.

(2) In meetings conducted by parties outside the rural governmental administration, IN was used by only 31.67% of the respondents.

(3) In verbal encounters when rendering services to the rural population 16.67% of the government officials use IN, while only 6.95% of the rural population respondents use IN when attending to their needs at rural government offices.

(4) In an encounter between two persons who are familiar with each other, location

influences the choice of the language used in the encounter. If the encounter takes place in an office of the rural governmental administration, 37.50% of the respondents use IN, whereas in encounters which take place elsewhere, only 34.17% of the respondents use IN.

(5) If, however, the interlocutors are officers of the rural administration and persons of the rural population and the encounters take place outside an office of the rural administration, 34.17% of the rural officers use IN and only 10% of the rural population respondents use IN.

The study concludes that, except for formal meetings conducted by the rural governmental administration, IN does not yet function as the national language of the country.

4.2.4 Aceh study

The main purpose of this study was, like that of the East Java study, to assess the function of IN as the national language of Indonesia in the Province of Aceh. The number of respondents of the study was 2,968 made up of 956 members of the general population, 1784 students and teachers and 228 government officials. These respondents came from various districts within the region which can be divided into three distinct categories: rural, rurban, and urban.

The study was carried out by a team made up of faculty members from Syiah Kuala University, Darussalam and staff members of the Provincial Office of the Department of Education and Culture under the leadership of Ibrahim Makam. Some of the findings of the study are as follows:

(1) In the Province of Aceh IN functions as a second language. Of the 2968 respondents, only 608 persons or 20.48% use IN as a first language, the reasons for which might be attributed to: (a) the number of local vernaculars still in use by a large percentage of the population, (b) the linguistic homogeneity of the region which acts as a buffer to outside influence, including IN, (c) the lack of mobility of the rural population especially in areas distant from urban centres which inhibits the use of IN as a 'lingua franca' for inter-ethnic group communication, and (d) the use of IN only in very formal situations, such as meetings attended by government officials in the urban centres.

(2) Groups using IN quite often as a medium of interaction include: (a) Government officials, in their offices during office hours, (b) students and teachers in the schools, especially during classes, and (c) traders and businessmen, especially in carrying out business transactions with foreign counterparts (mostly Chinese) and with traders and businessmen originating from different ethnic groups.

(3) As for the locations where IN is used, the study shows high frequency of use in: (a) government offices during office hours, (b) schools, especially during classes, (c) formal meetings and functions, especially those held by government agencies, and (d) market places and stores, especially during business transactions between persons from different ethnic groups, and between local traders and businessmen and their foreign counterparts. In terms of percentage, the use of IN in government offices was above 50%, the use of IN in other locations was far below 50%.

The general conclusion of this study was that the national language has not fully assumed its function as the language of the country and merely plays the role of a second language, to fill in the gaps left by the many local languages of the province.[6]

4.3 ATTITUDINAL AND MOTIVATIONAL STUDIES

According to Kellman (1971), from the point of view of individual citizens, the existence of a common language is most desirable. In the case of Indonesia, this statement can be said to be true. The use of a common language, such as ML and later IN, in Indonesia is quite advantageous, for familiarity with a dominant supra-ethnic norm is a key to genuine participation in the system, to social mobility and to the assumption of a variety of social and economic roles. A single common language provides greater opportunity for integration of individuals within the system. Without systematic barriers to participation on the basis of linguistic grouping there is also likely to be less discrimination on the basis of ethnic and social class differences.

The following two studies, but more specifically the first one, demonstrate the truth of Kellman's assertion.

4.3.1 The Bachtiar study

This study is interesting from the point of view of the character of IN as a supra-ethnic norm among the Indonesian students in the Netherlands in the 1920s.[7] Following the end of World War I, indigenous Indonesian students were given the opportunity to continue their studies at university level in the Netherlands. There, these students were clearly distinguished from the native inhabitants by their physical features, their skin colour, language, mannerisms, and, in some cases, also their apparel. To most of the Dutch they came in contact with, they were not seen as individuals from different ethnic groups but simply as natives of the nation's colony, the Netherlands East Indies.

Among the students, a number of factors promoted the development of a consciousness of common identity and a sense of mutual solidarity, the most general ones being that they all originated from the same archipelago and were natives of a colony under the authority of the same colonial government. In addition, being far away from home, they all shared, in various degrees, a sense of social isolation.

This mutual sentiment of solidarity that cut across ethnic boundaries was intensified by common professional interests. Students of medicine inevitably had many interests in common, especially when having received their academic training from the same professors. This applied also to students in the other fields of study. In addition, students studying for the same profession shared a common concern for the kind of work that awaited them in their home country upon their return from the Netherlands. All these factors tended to minimise ethnic solidarity and to promote a mutual loyalty among all the Indonesian students, whatever their own ethnic background.

Endeavours to promote ethnic solidarity among students studying in the Netherlands met with little success. When a Javanese language periodical, *Serat pantjangkaman para prajitna*, appeared in Amsterdam with the intention of becoming a monthly for the

progressive Javanese, the journal received little support. In 1919, a group of students of Sumatran origin established their own association, *Soematra Sepakat* (Sumatra Consensus). The association pledged to unify the Sumatran peoples and to promote education, trade, small industry and agriculture; it joined its counterpart in Indonesia, the *Jong Soematranenbond* (Young Sumatran Union) and was regarded as the latter's outpost in the Netherlands. It too received little support and failed to become an effective organisation.

Much more successful were student associations with more general criteria for membership, not limited to ethnic or island boundaries. In 1923 the ethnically diverse students who were natives of the Indonesian archipelago took action to clearly indicate their own identity as one people by changing the name of their association, from *Indische Vereeniging* (Indian Association)[8] to *Indonesische Vereeniging* (Indonesian Association) and the name of its journal from *Hindia Pœtra* (The Sons of the Indies) to *Indonesia Merdeka* (Free Indonesia).

The supra-ethnic character of the association was clearly emphasised by the ethnic composition of its executive board which in 1923, for example, consisted of Sundanese law student Iwa Koesoema Soemantri as chairman, Ambonese medical student J.B. Sitanala as secretry, Menadonese law student A.A. Maramis as secretary, Javanese law student R.M. Sartono as secretary, Minangkabau economics students Mohammad Hatta as treasurer, Javanese student R. Sastromoeljono as commissioner, and Javanese technology student Darmawan Mangoenkoesoemo as archivist. The executive board of the association was always ethnically heterogeneous in composition, consisting of members from a diversity of ethnic groups in the archipelago.

Perhimpoenan Indonesia (Indonesian Association), the name of the association in IN, declared in its statutes that every Indonesian should strive towards the establishment of a government in Indonesia which is fully responsible to the Indonesian people itself. Through its journal, ideas affirming the unity of the various indigenous ethnic groups in Indonesia were disseminated among the many other people native to Indonesia who were living in the Netherlands. The organisation succeeded in establishing itself as the core of a genuine Indonesian intelligentsia.

The set of basic values which became the focus of orientation of the emerging Indonesian intelligentsia had been internalised by students studying in the Netherlands to such an extent that the formation of what seemed to be a serious cleavage between politically oriented and non-politically oriented students did not resule in the disruption of commitment to these newly adopted values, the values of the emerging supra-ethnic societal community of Indonesia and supra-ethnic linguistic norm of IN (Bachtiar 1976)[9].

Efforts to promote ethnic solidarity among the students always failed; on the other hand, endeavours to promote supra-ethnic identity gained full support from the students: hence, the phenomenon of the supra-ethnic norm character of ML came to the fore which facilitated, among other things, the adoption of the language as the national language of Indonesia in 1928.

4.3.2 The Jakarta study

In 1976 Yayah B. Lumintaintang conducted a study on the language preference of high school pupils and teachers in Jakarta for the Center for Language Development of the Department of Education and Culture. This study involved approximately 4,300 respondents consisting of 4,000 high school pupils and 300 teachers.

The study made use of the questionnaire research technique, and taking situation (formal or informal), location (in the classroom or outside the classroom), participants (teacher and teacher or teacher and student or student and student), and relationship (role-relationship or familiarity-relationship) as variables of the investigation, attempted to find out the attitudinal as well as the motivational force which determined the choice of language use of the respondents.

Some of the important findings put forth from the study were:

(1) Language preference of the teachers: in formal situations, i.e., in the classroom, 277 persons or 98.6% preferred to use IN (rather than any other language), and only 4 persons or 1.4% preferred to use the Jakarta Dialect. In non-formal situations, i.e., outside the classroom, the preference of language use of the teachers was 77.1% for IN and 22.9% for the Jakarta Dialect.

(2) The language preference of the high school pupils in Jakarta was as follows: 3734 persons or 94% for IN and 235 persons or 6% for the Jakarta Dialect in formal situations, that is, in the classroom; 2701 persons or 68.2% for IN and 1259 persons or 31.8% for the Jakarta Dialect in non-formal situations (outside the classroom).

(3) Language use by teachers and students of high schools in Jakarta based on role-relationship:

(a) In formal situations, teacher to teacher: all respondents or 100% used IN; in teacher to pupil-interactions the same trend prevailed, i.e., 100% or all the respondents resorted to the use of IN.

(b) In non-formal situations, teacher to teacher: all respondents or 100% used IN; teacher to pupil: 96.2% of the respondents used IN and only 3.8% used the Jakarta Dialect. The location of a. and b. above was in the classroom. If the location of the encounter was outside the classroom, the following was found:

(c) In formal situations, teacher to teacher: 88.5% used IN and 11.5% used the local vernacular; teacher to pupil: 92.4% of the respondents used IN and 7.6% used the local vernacular.

(d) In non-formal situations: teacher to teacher: 15.4% of the respondents used IN, 73.1% used the local vernacular, and 11.5% of the respondents resorted to the use of a mixed language (IN and local vernacular); teacher to pupil: 88.6% of the respondents used IN, 3.8% used the Jakarta Dialect, and 7.6% used the local vernacular.

(4) Language preference by pupils and teachers of high schools in Jakarta based on role-relationship:

(a) In the classroom, formal situations, pupil to pupil: none of the respondents used IN; and all of them or 100% used the Jakarta Dialect; pupil to teacher: 23.1% of the respondents used IN, and 76.9% used the Jakarta Dialect.

(b) In the classroom, non-formal situations, pupil to pupil: none or 0% used IN, and all of the respondents or 100% used the Jakarta Dialect; pupil to teacher: 19.2% of the respondents used IN, and 80.8% used the Jakarta Dialect.

(c) Outside the classroom, in formal situations, pupil to pupil: none or 0% of the respondents used IN, and 100% of the respondents used the Jakarta Dialect; pupil to teacher: 19.2% used IN and 80.8% of the respondents used the Jakarta Dialect.

(d) Outside the classroom, in non-formal situations, pupil to pupil: all the respondents or 100% used the Jakarta Dialect; pupil to teacher: 7.7% of the respondents used IN, 80.8% used the Jakarta Dialect, and 11.5% used the local vernacular.

(5) Language preference by teachers and pupils of high schools in Jakarta based on familiarity-relationship:

(a) In the classroom, friend from Jakarta: teacher to teacher: 68.7% of the respondents used IN, 12.4% used the Jakarta Dialect, 3.6% used the local vernacular, and 15.3% used a mixed language.

(b) In the classroom, friend from outside Jakarta, teacher to teacher: 69.6% used IN, 3.6% used the Jakarta Dialect, 12% used the local vernacular, and 14.8% used a mixed language.

(c) In the classroom, friend, teacher to teacher: 64% used IN, 4.3% used the Jakarta Dialect, 13.5% used the local vernacular, and 18.2% used a mixed language.

(d) In the classroom, new friend, teacher to teacher: 82.5% used IN, 3% used the Jakarta Dialect, 3% used the local language, and 11.5% used a mixed language.

(e) In the classroom, teacher to pupil: 98.6% of the resspondents used IN, 1.4% used the Jakarta Dialect.

(f) Outside the classroom, friend from Jakarta: teacher to teacher: 68.7% used IN, 12.4% used the Jakarta Dialect, 3.6% used the local vernacular, and 15.3% used a mixed-language.

(g) Outside the classroom, friend from outside Jakarta, teacher to teacher: 69.6% used IN, 3.6% used the Jakarta Dialect, 12% used the local language, and 14.8% used a mixed language.

(h) Outside the classroom, friend, teacher to teacher: 64% used IN, 4.3% used the Jakarta Dialect, 13.5% used the local vernacular, and 18.2% used a mixed language.

(i) Outside the classroom, new friend, teacher to teacher: 82.5% used IN, 3% used the Jakarta Dialect, 3% used the local vernacular, and 11.5% used a mixed language.

(j) Outside the classroom, teacher to pupil: 95.5% used IN, and 4.5% used the Jakarta Dialect.

(6) Language preference by pupils and teachers of high schools based on familiarity-relationship:

(a) In the classroom, friend from Jakarta, pupil to pupil: 44% used IN, 42.2% used the Jakarta Dialect, 3.5% used the local vernacular, and 10.3% used a mixed language.

(b) In the classroom, friend from outside Jakarta, pupil to pupil: 67% used IN, 16% used the Jakarta Dialect, 8.1% used the local vernacular, and 8.9% used a mixed language.

(c) In the classroom, friend, pupil to pupil: 62.1% used IN, 34.6% used the Jakarta Dialect, 4.6% used the local vernacular, and 8.7% used a mixed language.

(d) In the classroom, new friend, pupil to pupil: 76.2% used IN, 16.8% used the Jakarta Dialect, 2.5% used the local vernacular, and 4.5% used a mixed language.

(e) In the classroom, pupil to teacher: 82.6% used IN, 7.03% used the Jakarta Dialect, 5.07% used the local vernacular, and 5.3% used a mixed-language.

(f) Outside the classroom, friend from Jakarta, pupil to pupil: 46.5% used IN, 39.77% used the Jakarta Dialect, 3.5% used the local vernacular, and 10.3% used a mixed language.

(g) Outside the classroom, friend from outside Jakarta, pupil to pupil: 72.2% used IN, 11.8% used the Jakarta Dialect, 8.1% used the local language, and 8.9% used a mixed language.

(h) Outside the classroom, friend, pupil to pupil: 52.1% used IN, 34.6% used the Jakarta Dialect, 4.6% used the local vernacular, and 8.7% used a mixed language.

(i) Outside the classroom, new friend, pupil to pupil: 74.4% used IN, 18.1% used the Jakarta Dialect, 2.5% used the local vernacular, and 4.5% used a mixed language.

(j) Outside the classroom, pupil to teacher: 81.5% used IN, 8.5% used the Jakarta Dialect, 3.6% used the local language, and 6.4% used a mixed language.

The study concludes, among other things, that the number of students and teachers who prefer to communicate in IN in non-formal situations, i.e., outside the classroom, is above 60% - 68.2% and 77.1% respectively. This situation, consequently, decreases significantly the number of those who prefer to talk in the local language.

Another significant conclusion of the study is the fact that both in and out of the classroom in teacher to teacher communications, the patterns of usage are precisely identical. In teacher to student relationship, however, there is a slight difference. The number of teachers who resorted to the use of the Jakarta Dialect outside the classroom situation is greater than that in the classroom situation.

Use of the Jakarta Dialect, especially among the youth, is popular. Students at all levels of education use the language in formal situations, side by side with IN.

4.4 Projections for the future

4.4.1 IN in the year 1971

Tables 2 to 6 gives figures on the number of speakers of IN by island group and province. The tables also contain figures on IN speakers by locality of residence, i.e., urban and rural.

Table 2 shows that in terms of, percentage, the Province of Riau has the largest number of speakers of IN with 78.29% while the Province of Lampung has the smallest number of IN speakers with 48.73%. Between the two extremes are the Provinces of South Sumatra with 71.90%, Jambi with 70.82%, North Sumatra with 66.43%, Bengkulu with 62.79%, West Sumatra with 57.85%, and Aceh with 49.28%. The percentage of IN speakers for the whole of Sumatra is 63.22%.

Table 3 depicts the situation of the speakers of IN on the island of Java. In Metropolitan Jakarta 89.87% of the population are speakers of IN, an understandable situation considering that Jakarta is the capital city of the country and as such, the 'melting-pot' of all vernaculars of the archipelago. The following percentages of speakers of IN were found in the other provinces in Java: Central Java with 28.06%, East Java with 29.666%, West Java with 30.99%, and Jogyakarta with 32.67%. The overall pecentage for the island of Java is 33.28%.[10]

Table 4 shows the numbers of speakers of IN in the four provinces on the island of Kalimantan. In terms of percentage, the Province of East Kalimantan has the highest percentage of speakers of IN with 61.05% followed by West Kalimantan with 53.12%, South Kalimantan with 51.27%, and Central Kalimantan with 47.56%. Of the total population, 52.88% are speakers of IN.

Table 5 shows the number of IN speakers on the island of Sulawesi. With a total population of 8,525,364 persons, 3,923,455 or 46.02% are speakers of IN. By province, 71.69% of the population of North Sulawesi are speakers of IN followed by Central Sulawesi with 62.19%, Southeast Sulawesi with 39.68%, and South Sulawesi with 39.53%.

Table 6 shows the numbers of speakers of IN on the other islands of Indonesia outside the four already mentioned. Of the total population of West Irian, numbering some 150,786 persons and all of whom are urban residents, 148,340 persons or 98.38% are speakers of IN.[11] In the Province of the Moluccas 78.04% of the population speaks IN, 46.50% of the population of East Nusa Tenggara are speakers of IN; whereas the figures for West Nusa Tenggara and Bali are 23.23% and 28.17% respectively.

Table 7 is a summary of the five preceding tables and gives the percentages of the numbers of speakers of IN on the four major islands and on the group of the other islands of Indonesia, which are as follows: Sumatra with 63.22%, Java with 33.28%, Kalimantan with 52.88%, Sulawesi with 46.02%, and the other islands of Indonesia with 40.40%. The total population of Indonesia in 1971 was 118,367,850%. At that time 40.78% of the population or 48,275,879 persons were speakers of IN and of this number, the majority, i.e., 33,570,033 persons, lived in rural areas.

As of 1971, more than 50% of the total population of fourteen of the twenty six[12] provinces of the Republic of Indonesia were speakers of IN, the highest of which was West Irian with 98.38%. As for the other twelve provinces less than 50% of their respective population were speakers of IN, the lowest of which was the province of West Nusa Tenggara with 23.23%.

Table 2

IN SPEAKERS ON THE ISLAND OF SUMATRA IN 1971 BY PROVINCE

| Province | Indonesian language speakers | | | TP | % |
	Urban	Rural	Total		
Aceh	153,355	836,389	989,744	2,008,341	49.28
North Sumatra	1,035,104	3,365,050	4,398,154	6,620,811	66.43
West Sumatra	360,935	1,254,513	1,615,448	2,792,221	57.85
Riau	202,883	1,081,921	1,284,804	1,641,074	78.29
Jambi	239,585	472,636	712,221	1,005,658	70,82
South Sumatra	783,125	1,688,897	2,472,022	3,438,061	71.90
Bengkulu	50,036	276,024	326,060	519,316	62.79
Lampung	231,721	1,121,063	1,352,784	2,775,695	48.73
T o t a l	3,056,744	10,094,493	13,151,237	20,801,177	63.22

Table 3

IN SPEAKERS ON THE ISLAND OF JAVA IN 1971 BY PROVINCE

| Province | Indonesian language speakers | | | TP | % |
	Urban	Rural	Total		
Metropolitan Jakarta	4,086,152	-	4,086,152	4,546,492	89.87
West Java	1,481,642	5,218,841	6,700,483	21,620,950	30.99
Central Java	1,306,701	4,830,017	6,136,088	21,865,263	28.06
Jogyakarta	233,716	579,299	813,015	2,488,544	32.67
East Java	2,218,015	5,347,375	7,565,390	25,508,387	29.66
T o t a l	9,325,596	15,975,532	25,301,128	76,029,636	33.28

Table 4

IN SPEAKERS ON THE ISLAND OF KALIMANTAN IN 1971 BY PROVINCE

| Province | Indonesian language speakers | | | TP | % |
	Urban	Rural	Total		
West Kalimantan	201,091	872,005	1,073,096	2,019,924	53.12
Central Kalimantan	52,966	280,869	333,835	701,936	47.56
South Kalimantan	297,413	573,764	871,177	1,699,105	51.27
East Kalimantan	222,539	224,124	446,663	731,606	61.05
T o t a l	774,009	1,950,762	2,724,771	5,152,571	52.88

TP = Total Population

(Data from *Biro Pusat Statistik*, Series E, Jakarta)

Table 5

IN SPEAKERS ON THE ISLAND OF SULAWESI IN 1971 BY PROVINCE

Province	Indonesian language speakers			TP	%
	Urban	Rural	Total		
North Sulawesi	278,785	952,694	1,231,479	1,717,671	71.69
Central Sulawesi	43,061	525,145	568,206	913,662	62.19
South Sulawesi	573,168	1,267,260	1,840,428	5,179,911	39.53
Southeast Sulawesi	30,277	253,065	283,342	714,120	39.68
T o t a l	925,291	2,998,164	3,923,455	8,525,364	46.02

Table 6

IN SPEAKERS ON THE OTHER ISLANDS OF INDONESIA IN 1971 BY PROVINCE

Province	Indonesian language speakers			TP	%
	Urban	Rural	Total		
Bali	126,417	470,818	597,235	2,120,091	28.17
West Nusa Tenggara	104,115	407,831	511,946	2,203,435	23.23
East Nusa Tenggara	105,727	961,705	1,067,432	2,295,279	46.50
Moluccas	139,607	710,728	850,335	1,089,511	78.04
West Irian	148,340	-	148,340	150,786	98.38
T o t a l	624,206	2,551,082	3,175,288	7,859,102	40.40

Table 7

IN SPEAKERS IN 1971 BY ISLAND AND GROUP OF ISLANDS

Island/Group of Islands	Indonesian language speakers			TP	%
	Urban	Rural	Total		
Sumatra	3,056,744	10,094,493	13,151,237	20,801,177	63.22
Java	9,325,596	15,975,532	25,301,128	76,029,636	33.28
Kalimantan	774,009	1,950,762	2,724,771	5,152,571	52.88
Sulawesi	925,291	2,998,164	3,923,455	8,525,364	46.02
Other Islands	624,206	2,551,082	3,175,288	7,859,102	40.40
T o t a l	14,705,846	33,570,033	48,275,879	118,367,850	40.78

TP = Total Population
Other Islands: Bali, West and East Nusa Tenggara, Moluccas, and West Irian.

(Data from *Biro Pusat Statistik*,
Series E, Jakarta)

4.4.2 IN in the years 1981, 1991 and 2001

An IN-speaking population of 165,540,614 (69.01%) out of the nation's total population of 239,851,645 (100%) is projected by the year 2001. Table 8 shows that by the years 1981 and 1991 the projected percentages for the IN-speaking population are, respectively, 49.66% (74,308,946 out of 149,633,710) and 59.47% (112,621,128 out of 189,348,603).[13]

Two provinces, namely West Irian and Metropolitan Jakarta, will have a 100% IN-speaking population by the year 1981. By 1991, 100% of the population of five other provinces, Riau, Jambi, South Sumatra, North Sulawesi and the Moluccas will be speakers of IN. And, 2001 five more provinces will have a population of 100% speakers of IN: North Sumatra, West Sumatra, Bengkulu, East Kalimantan, and Central Sulawesi. The other fourteen provinces will have a 100% IN-speaking population some time after 2001. Table 9 shows the situation under discussion.

By the year 2001 96.79% of the total population of the island of Sumatra will be speakers of IN; of the island of Java 57.10%, of the island of Kalimantan 92.89%, of the island of Sulawesi 75.25%, and of the other islands combined 65.51%. The island of Java will have the lowest percentage (57.10%) of speakers of IN by the year 2001 yet 59.82% (143,502,162 out of 239,851,645) of the total population of the Republic of Indonesia reside on this island. This fact influences the result of the projection significantly, for, excluding Java with its four provinces, the percentage of IN-speaking population is projected at 87.84% for the same year (the number of IN speakers in the rest of Indonesia is 92,173,304 out of a total population of 104,930,759).

Table 8

PROJECTED NUMBER OF IN SPEAKERS BY ISLANDS AND PROVINCES FOR THE YEARS 1981, 1991 AND 2001

Island/Province		1971	1981	1991	2001
Sumatra					
Aceh	INS	989,744	1,595,958	2,573,475	4,149,717
	TP	2,008,341	2,683,360	3,585,259	4,790,293
	%	49.28	59.47	71.77	86.62
North Sumatra	INS	4,398,154	7,092,004	11,435,826	15,791,959
	TP	6,620,811	8,846,119	11,819,372	15,791,959
	%	66.43	80.17	96.75	100
West Sumatra	INS	1,615,448	2,604,903	4,200,395	6,660,005
	TP	2,792,221	3,730,709	4,984,630	6,660,005
	%	57.85	69.82	84.26	100
Riau	INS	1,284,804	2,071,741	2,929,620	3,914,280
	TP	1,641,074	2,192,652	2,929,620	3,914,289
	%	78.29	94.48	100	100

Jambi	INS	712,221	1,148,453	1,795,284	2,398,693
	TP	1,005,658	1,343,667	1,795,284	2,398,693
	%	70.82	85.47	100	100
South Sumatra	INS	2,472,022	3,986,125	6,137,574	8,200,462
	TP	3,438,061	4,593,621	6,137,574	8,200,462
	%	71.90	86.77	100	100
Bengkulu	INS	326,060	525,770	874,801	1,238,671
	TP	519,316	693,862	927,074	1,238,671
	%	62.79	75.77	91.44	100
Lampung	INS	1,352,784	2,181,358	3,517,430	5, 71,841
	TP	2,775,695	3,708,628	4,955,128	6,620,587
	%	48.73	58.81	70.98	85.66
T o t a l for Sumatra	INIS	13,151,237	21,206,312	33,437,405	48,025,637
	TP	20,801,177	27,792,618	37,133,941	49,614,959
	%	63.22	76.32	90.04	96.79
Java Metropolitan Jakarta	INS	4,086,152	5,618,688	6,943,739	8,581,276
	TP	4,546,492	5,618,688	6,934,739	8,581,276
	%	89.87	100	100	100
West Java	INS	6,700,483	10,132,584	15,322,665	23,171,194
	TP	21,620,950	26,719,805	33,021,120	40,808,470
	%	30.99	37.92	46.40	56.78
Central Java	INS	6,136,088	9,279,096	14,032,006	21,219,437
	TP	21,865,263	27,021,734	33,394,253	41,269,599
	%	28.06	34.33	42.01	51.41
Jogyakarta	INS	813,015	1,229,455	1,859,202	2,811,516
	TP	2,488,544	3,075,415	3,800,688	4,697,001
	%	32.67	39.97	48.91	59.85
East Java	INS	7,565,390	11,440,511	17,300,535	26,162,163
	TP	25,508,387	31,524,014	38,958,303	48,145,816
	%	29.66	36.29	44.40	54.33
T o t a l for Java	INS	25,301,128	37,700,334	55,458,147	81,945,586
	TP	76,029,636	93,959,656	116,118,103	143,502,162
	%	33.27	40.12	47.76	57.10
Kalimantan West Kalimantan	INS	1,073,096	1,693,197	2,671,631	4,215,465
	TP	2,019,924	2,628,879	3,421,418	4,452,887
	%	53.12	64.40	78.08	94.66

Central	INS	333,835	526,745	831,130	1,311,408
Kalimantan	TP	701,936	913,551	1,188,962	1,547,404
	%	47.56	57.65	69.90	84.74
South	INS	871,177	1,374,597	2,168,927	3,422,262
Kalimantan	TP	1,699,105	2,211,341	2,878,003	3,745,647
	%	51.27	62.16	75.36	91.36
East Kalimantan	INS	446,663	704,722	1,112,032	1,612,811
	TP	731,606	952,166	1,239,219	1,162,811
	%	61.05	74.01	89.73	100
T o t a l	INS	2,724,771	4,299,312	6,783,717	10,561,946
for Kalimantan	TP	5,152,571	6,705,937	8,727,603	11,358,749
	%	52.88	64.11	77.72	92.98
Sulawesi					
North	INS	1,231,479	1,943,103	2,909,451	3,786,575
Sulawesi	TP	1,717,671	2,235,504	2,909,451	3,786,575
	%	71.69	86.92	100	100
Central	INS	568,206	896,550	1,414,632	2,014,151
Sulawesi	TP	913,662	1,189,107	1,547,592	2,014,151
	%	62.19	75.39	91.40	100
South	INS	1,840,428	2,903,941	4,582,018	7,229,792
Sulawesi	TP	5,179,911	6,741,521	8,773,916	11,419,027
	%	39.53	43.07	52.22	63.31
South-east	INS	283,342	447,074	705,421	1,113,056
Sulawesi	TP	714,120	929,408	1,209,600	1,574,263
	%	39.67	48.10	58.31	70.70
T o t a l	INS	3,923,455	6,190,668	9,611,522	14,143,574
for Sulawesi	TP	8,525,364	11,095,540	14,440,559	18,794,016
	%	46.02	55.79	66.55	75.25
Other Islands					
Bali	INS	597,235	931,072	1,451,515	2,262,871
	TP	2,120,091	2,719,195	3,487,597	4,473,137
	%	28.17	34.24	41.61	50.58
West	INS	511,946	798,109	1,244,229	1,939,718
Nusa Tenggara	TP	2,203,435	2,826,091	3,624,700	4,648,984
	%	23.23	28.24	34.32	41.72
East	INS	1,067,432	1,664,096	2,594,279	4,044,408
Nusa Tenggara	TP	2,295,279	2,943,889	3,775,786	4,842,764
	%	46.50	56.52	68.70	83.51

Moluccas	INS	850,335	1,325,648	1,792,269	2,298,736
	TP	1,089,511	1,397,389	1,792,269	2,298,736
	%	78.04	94.86	100	100
West*) Irian	INS	148,340	193,395	248,045	318,138
	TP	150,786	193,395	248,045	318,138
	%	98.38	100	100	100
T o t a l	INS	3,185,288	4,912,320	7,330,337	10,863,871
	TP	7,859,102	10,079,959	12,928,397	16,581,759
	%	40.40	48.73	56.69	65.51
Grand Total	INS	48,275,879	74,308,946	112,621,128	165,540,614
for the whole	%	118,367,850	149,633,710	189,348,603	239,851,645
of Indonesia	%	40.78	49.66	59.47	69.01

*)Excluding rural population
INS = Indonesian Language Speakers
TP = Total Population

(Data are taken from
Biro Pusat Pusat Statistik,
Series E., Jakarta)

Table 9

THE YEAR WHEN A PROVINCE WILL HAVE A 100% INDONESIAN LANGUAGE
SPEAKING POPULATION

P r o v i n c e	Year
Metropolitan Jakarta	1981
West Irian	1981
Riau	1991
Jambi	1991
South Sumatra	1991
North Sulawesi	1991
Moluccas	1991
North Sumatra	2001
West Sumatra	2001
Bengkulu	2001
East Kalimantan	2001
Central Sulawesi	2001
Aceh	2011

Province	Year
Lampung	2011
West Kalimantan	2011
Central Kalimantan	2011
South Kalimantan	2011
East Nusa Tenggara	2011
South-east Sulawesi	2021
West Java	2031
Yogyakarta	2031
South Sulawesi	2031
Central Java	2041
East Java	2041
Bali	2041
West Nusa Tenggara	2041

(Data taken from
Biro Pusat Statistik,
Series E, Jakarta)

4.5 CRITICAL ANALYSIS AND SUMMARY

The selection of the six studies discussed above was based on several reasons, one of which was their relevance to the subject matter of the present study. The Isman study is highly relevant to the development of IN as a symbol of national pride and national unity, whereas the Bachtiar study is closely related to the emergence of IN as a language of supra-ethnic norm among the Indonesian intelligentsia studying in the Netherlands in the twenties.

The other four studies, namely the South Sulawesi, East Java, Aceh, and Jakarta studies, are related to the recent development and spread of IN, and the extent to which the national language has fulfilled its function as the language of the state. The studies also provide reliable and up-to-date sociolinguistic data on each of the provinces which will be useful for future comparative studies.

The findings of the Isman study are far from being conclusive because of the limited number of individuals and ethnic groups included in the samples. However, they do show a significant trend in the development of IN: IN usage is no longer restricted to formal encounters only but has begun to be used in intimate and in intra-ethnic encounters as exemplified by the language medium used in the letters sent to parents.

The South Sulawesi study which investigated the same aspect of the use of IN reveals that 71.2% of the respondents use IN in letters sent to relatives and friends of the same ethnic group a much higher rate than the 51% noted in the Isman study for respondents who used IN in letters to relatives and friends of the same ethnic origin. It is true, however, that the sample populations of both studies are quite different; the Isman study involved 3 Javanese, 10 Minangkabau, 5 Kerinci, 2 Sundanese, and 2 Toba Batak, and the South Sulawesi study

involved 1000 respondents from the Province of South Sulawesi (students, teachers and lecturers, traders and businessmen, government officials and members of the Armed Forces, and heads of households from five Districts), but the trend they reveal is conclusive and does reflect the actual situation.

Census figures for 1971 show that 39.53% of the population of the Province of South Sulawesi are IN speakers, 29.66% of the Province of East Java are IN speakers, 29.66% of the Province of East Java are IN speakers, 40.28% of the Province of Aceh are IN speakers, and 89.87% of the population of Metropolitan Jakarta are IN speakers. The findings of the four studies show that in 1977 the percentage figures for IN speakers in South Sulawesi, East Java, Aceh and Metropolitan Jakarta were 61.3%, 31.67%, above 50% and 98.6%, respectively. In this census all provinces showed an increase in numbers of the IN speaking population.

The four area studies did however show a number of weaknesses. Almost all of the studies failed to complete their original research plan. Failure to account for the actual number of IN speakers of the respondents, for instance, is intolerable. The same can be said of the failure of the studies to posit reasons why the national language is used by a given group of people in certain situations and not the local vernacular, and why in other situations the local vernacular is utilised and not the national language.

Projections made for the future of IN call for further scrutiny. The growth of the number of speakers of IN noted for the Provinces of West Java, Central Java, East Java, Jogyakarta, West Nusa Tenggara and South Sulawesi, for instance, is very low compared to the growth of the number of speakers of IN in other provinces.

This might be attributed to at least two factors, the first being that these provinces are populated by ethnic groups which have their own languages and which enjoy a high standard of written literature recorded in their own systems of spelling. Furthermore, these people live in societies with strong traditions and customs, traceable to ancient times. The second is the homogeneity of the societies in which these people live. The Provinces of Central Java, East Java, and Jogyakarta are inhabited by Javanese whose society, in terms of its cultural tradition, is very honogenous in nature. West Java is populated by the Sundanese whose society is as homogeneous as that of the Javanese. The Province of Bali is inhabited by the Balinese who also live in a very homogeneous society; Bali's neighbour, the Province of West Nusa Tenggara, is populated by the Sasaks who also live in a strong society. Buginese and Makassarese ethnic groups inhabit the southern part of the island of Sulawesi and these people too are well-known for their traditional attitudes, especially in the domains of language and culture.

Leaving out of consideration other factors, such as the existence of facilities for TV broadcasting provided by the PALAPA Communication Satellite[14], it is estimated that the dissemination and development of IN up to the point that the whole of Indonesia's population is IN speaking, will take at least 100 years, starting from the time IN was first adopted as the national language in 1928. This is a relatively long period of time. It is estimated that only 60 years will be required for the dissemination of Tagalog, the national language of the Philippines. A Pilipino-speaking population of 76,778,663 (97.1%) out of a total population of 79,109,419 (100%) is projected for the year 2000 (Gonzalez 1977).[15]

At least three general conclusions can be drawn from the discussion of the six studies and the projections that were given on the future of IN: (1) In the rural areas, IN fulfills its function as the language of the state in only one domain, i.e., in formal meetings held by the governmental administration. In all other domains, the national language has yet to function smoothly, (2) There has been a progressive development and spread of IN throughout the nation's urban centres, However, development and the spread of the language is slow in the rural areas, especially in isolated villages. This is due to the fact mobility of the populations in isolated areas very low, which minimises opportunities for interactions. The opportunity to use In as a lingua franca therefore, very limited, and (3) The projection for the future of IN which reveals that by 2041 Indonesia will have a 100% IN-speaking population is most likely inaccurate. The existence of the modern facilities such as the PALAPA Communication Satellite will accelerate the development and the spread of IN. The time when Indonesia will have a 100% IN-speaking population should be much earlier than 2041—pehaps by the turn of the twenty-first century.

Notes

[1]There are three main levels of speech in Javanese, namely, *krama* (high), *madya* (middle), and *ngoko* (low). The selection of the level to be used in a certain language encounter is determined by the status of the speaker and the listener and/or by the degree of familiarity of their relationship.

[2]Indonesia is fortunate that ML was voluntarily accepted as the national language. There are many instances where the National Language of a country was created by means of a law rather than by voluntary acceptance of the people. The Philippines, for instance, falls within the latter category. On 31 December, 1937, President Quezon proclaimed the language based on Tagalog as the National Language of the Philippines and since that time there has been constant controversy on the decision.

[3]As the follow-up of the Seminar on National Language Policy of 1976, *Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa* (Center for Language Development) was assigned to conduct various research projects on the national language and the local vernaculars of the country. Research on the national language deals mainly with its status and function within a province. Consequently, the Center is to conduct research in 27 provinces. The Center is also to conduct at least 400 research projects on the various indigenous vernaculars of the archipelago, a gigantic task which will require a great number of trained personnel and large amounts of funds which, unfortunately, the country does not have at present. Despite this unfavourable situation, the Center has started the work with existing trained personnel and a modest budget. The Center has published a number of reports on the research that has been undertaken, especially that which has dealt with the national language. The reports were very useful in the preparation of this study.

[4]The concept of bilingualism in Indonesia is completely different from that in the Philippines. In Indonesia bilingualism is not recognised by the educational system as is the

case in the Philippines where educational policy stresses both Pilipino and English. The goal of this educational policy is to enable the Filipino to be proficient in both Pilipino and English, for competence in both languages will enable him to function in either language within its cultural frame of reference whenever he chooses. For more information about this, cf. Pascasio 1977.

[5]Mixing two languages in the Indonesian setting is different from that in the Philippine setting. Indonesians who resort to the use of two languages, e.g., the national language and their native tongues, will not mix the two languages in the same discourse. So sentences are either IN or the local language. The mix-mix language of the Philippines, especially that of Metro Manila, consists of English words or expressions and Pilipino words and expressions which are used in a discourse resulting in sentences that have words and expressions from both languages.

[6]The Center for Language Development has set 60% as the lowest percentage for IN to be considered as functioning as the language of the state.

[7]The Indonesian students who studied in the Netherlands at that time were as follows. Law Students: the Menadonese A.A. Maramis, the Javanese R. Ali Sastroamidjojo, R.M. Abdoel Gafar Pringgodigdo, R.M. Abdoel Karim Pringgodigdo, R.M. Soeripto, and R.T. Soekamto Notonegoro, the Ambonese J. Latuharhary, and the Batak Todoeng Soetan Goenoeng Moelia. In the field of literature among the acknowledged leaders were the Sundanese R. Hoesein Djajadiningrat, the Javanese Lesya Poerbotjaroko, and Prijono. In the field of medicine some of the leaders were: the Ambonese J.B. Sitanala, the Menadonese B.A.S. Gerungan, J.A.J. Kawilarang, and A.B. Andu, the Sundanese R. Djenal Asikin Widjaja Koesoema, the Minangkabau M. Sjaaf, and Aulia, the Javanese Mas Sardjito, and R. Boentaran Martoatmodjo. In the field of agriculture they were: the Javanese R. Iso Reksohadiprodjo, R. Goenoeng Iskandar, and Teko Soemodiwirjo, and the Minangkabau Zainoeddin Razad; in the field of veterinary science they were: the Menadonese J.A. Kaligis, and F.K. Wawo Runtu, the Javanese R.M.P. Soerachman Tjokroadisoerjo, and Darmawan Mangoenkoesoemo. In the field of economics they were: the Javanese Samsi Sastrawidagda and the Minangkabau Mohammad Hatta. All of these people, upon their return to Indonesia, became leaders in their respective fields. Some even became the leaders of the newly-born country, the Republic of Indonesia, by filling very important positions such as the Vice-Precidency and various Ministries of the country.

[8]The change of the name from *Indische Vereeniging* into *Indonesische Vereeniging* was very important step towards the emergence of Indonesian nationalism in the Netherland. By 1923 various youth associations and political parties had been set up in Indonesia within which Indonesian nationalism took strong root and soon flourished.

[9]*Perhimpoenan Indonesia*, never exceeding 50 members, became a very integrated group of intellectuals, maintaining close relationships with one other.

[10]The percentages include only those people able to communicate fluently in IN. Thus, people who could only communicate in basic IN were excluded form the percentages. A large number of people fell within the second category. Had these people been included in the computation, the percentages would be much higher.

[11]According to the Population Census of 1961, the total population of the Province of West Irian was 758,396. For unknown reasons, the Population Census of 1971 gave the figure of 148,340 as the population of the Province of West Irian, excluding the rural residents.

[12]In 1976 Timor Timur (East Timor) was integrated into the Republic of Indonesia as the twenty-seventh province of the country. For lack of data concerning the population of this new province, this study only deals with the other provinces.

[13]The major source of information used in projecting increased dissemination and growth of the number of speakers of IN werw the publications of *Biro Pusat Statistik, Republik Indonesia* (Central Bureau of Statistics, Republic of Indonesia), Series D, Series E (26 vols), and Series K, which contain the population census of 1971. *Indonesia: facts and figures* which contains the population census data of Indonesia, 1961, by province was also used.

No problem was encountered in projecting the population of Indonesia by province for the years 1981, 1991 and 2001. Series K. No. 1 of the publications of the Central Bureau of Statistics contains the yearly rate of growth of the population of the islands and group of islands of Indonesia, which is as follows: Java and Madura: 0.0214, Sumatra: 0.0294, Kalimantan: 0.0267, Sulawesi: 0.0267 and the group of the other islands: 0.0252.

However, there is one problem in projecting the number of speakers of IN by province for the years 1991 and 2001. For there is only one census, i.e. the population census of 1971, which contains tables of population by urban/rural residence, age, language, and sex. The population census of 1961 and the censuses of the preceding years contain no such tables and a projection based on the application of standard procedures is, impossible to make. A 'workable procedure' should, therefore, be established.

The first step in establishing a 'workable procedure' is to determine the 'growth rate discriminant' of the number of IN speakers of the four islands and one group of islands, following the pattern of the yearly rate of growth of the population of each island and group of islands. Based on the assumption that the yearly rate of growth of the number of IN speakers is somewhat higher than the yearly growth rate of the population, that 'growth rate discriminant' can be determined, i.e., for Java and Madura it is $(1+0.0214)^{10}+x$, for Sumatra $(1+0.0294)^{4}+x$, for Kalimantan and Sulawesi $(1+0.0267)^{10}+x$, and for the other islands of Indonesia $(1+0.052)^{10}+x$. The value of x is the same for the five islands and group of islands. Based on a quite complicated computation the value of x is 0.276387593.

The value of x is computed as follows:

(1) The total number of IN speakers of all provinces of the Republic of Indonesia based on the population census of 1971 was 48,275,879.

(2) The population census of 1971 of the twenty six provinces of Indonesia contains Tables of population by language, age, sex, and urban/rural residence for each of the 26 provinces. Considering their age and residence between the time interval of ten years (1971-1981), the total number of IN speakers will increase by the inclusion of: (i) urban residents of the age-brackets of 0-9, 10-19, 20-29, and 30-39 who were entered in the 1971 census as speakers of local languages, and (ii) rural residents of the age-bracket of

10-19 who were entered in the census as speakers of local languages. By virtue of their age, these people will very likely become speakers of IN in 1981. It should be noted that these people by 1981 will speak IN, though they may speak other languages as well. The total sum of (i) and (ii) was 13,342,854.

From these two figures the value of $\underline{x}$ is generated: $\dfrac{13,342,854}{48,275,879} = \underline{0.276387593}$.

The 'growth rate discriminant' of the four islands and a group of islands can further be generated:

For Sumatra: $(1+0.0294)^{10}+0.276387593 = \underline{1.612495793}$

For Java: $(1+0.0214)^{10}+0.276387593 = \underline{1.512216993}$

For Kalimantan and Sulawesi: $(1+0.0267)^{10}+0.276387593 = \underline{1.577861993}$

For the group of islands: $(1+0.0252)^{10}+0.276387593 = \underline{1.558972093}$

The value of $\underline{x}$ as given above is the medium one, for it can be smaller if (ii) is not included in the computation, and can be bigger if more age-brackets are included in (i) and (ii).

[14]*Gajahmada*, the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of *Majapahit* once expressed his firm determination to unite the whole *Nusantara* (Indonesian archipelago). The pledge he made became known as the 'Sumpah PALAPA' (the PALAPA oath). The domestic satellite communication system of Indonesia which was launched in 1976 was named after that oath, with the hope that the 'PALAPA' satellite will unite the archipelago, not only in spirit, but also in reality.

[15]According to Gonzalez (1977) by the year 2000 the Philippines wil be a Pilipino-speaking nation, an achievement wrought within a time-span of 63 years (1937-2000) a period of less than a century and just slightly more than half a century, no mean achievement in a country that in 1939 had no more than 25.4% of its population speaking Tagalog.

Chapter V

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. The historical development of IN covers almost fourteen centuries and started during the era of the maritime kingdom of Sriwijaya (seventh century A.D.) as *Kw'en lun*, the official language of communication among the various ethnic groups subdued under the influence and the rule of the Kingdom and the medium of intellectual exchange at institutions of higher learning.

During the era of the Malay Kingdoms, from the twelfth to the nineteenth century A.D., the language assumed the role of a lingua franca, used not only by the multiethnic population of the Indonesian archipelago, but also by foreign traders, Europeans as well as Asians, in their transactions. The language was known as *Bahasa Melayu.*

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the language started to split into two varieties: ML-Riau in the Riau and Lingga group of islands, and ML-Johore in the Malay Peninsula. This split was a natural development, for two political powers divided this once unified area and became the respective guardians of the two varieties. In 1824 the split was completed, this time by legal separation of the two sister languages.   The London Treaty, an agreement between the two colonial powers (Dutch and British) in the South-east Asia region, placed the Riau and Lingga group of islands under Dutch colonial rule and the Malay Peninsula in the hands of the British colonial rulers.   Thereafter, the two varieties developed separately, the one influenced by the Dutch language, and the other influenced by English.

Four hundred years earlier, around the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth century, Islam was introduced into the archipelago.   This, too, had an influence on the development of ML which culminated in the second half of the nineteenth century with the division of ML-Riau into two varieties: *ML-Tinggi* used in the palaces and *ML-Gampang* used in the market places and ports.

In 1865 ML was made the second official language of the Dutch colonial administration and was to be used side by side with the first official language, Dutch.   This designation accelerated the development of ML from its stage as a mere lingua franca into its stage as a second official language used not only within the administration but in the educational institutions as well. This situation, in turn, generated the necessity of standardising the

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language, a process in which many Dutch scholars and linguists took interest. One of them was Charles van Ophuijsen who, in 1901, introduced his system of spelling of ML using the Latin alphabet. The introduction of this spelling system brought about an explosion of the spread of ML throughout the archipelago.

The year 1928 was very important to the development of ML for, in that year, the language was renamed IN, the national language of Indonesia, by members of youth organisations who had gathered in Jakarta to attend the first All Indonesian Youth Congress held from October 27 to 28, 1928. At the Congress the youth leaders pledged their determination to develop the language further in order to make it one of the modern languages of the world. Efforts towards such an end were undertaken by many groups, the most influential and successful one being the *Pudjangga Baru* group which published its own journal, *Pudjangga Baru*, under the editorship of Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana.

The Japanese occupation of Indonesia during the Second World War brought not only changes in the administration of the nation, but also changes in the role of ML. The language took over the role of the Dutch language, the use of which was completely forbidden. The language, then, played the role of the language of the administration, the language of all levels of education, and most importantly, the language of wider communication.[1]

Spear-headed by the 'Language Agreement' between Indonesia and Malaysia of 1972, a new chapter was opened in the development and spread of ML which was, from the point of view of 'language universals', the natural consequence of the development and the spread of a language such as ML. The language, therefore, entered its last intermediary stage, that of being a language of wider communication, before arriving at its final goal as one of the modern languages of the world.

Denzel Carr's assertion, made in 1958, will likely materialise within less than two generations[2] for, at the latest by 2041, Indonesia will have a 100% IN-speaking population.[3] While IN is in the process of reaching that point, ML will develop and spread all over South-east Asia and, possibly, beyond.

5.2 The efforts of standardising ML were first undertaken by Charles van Ophuijsen, a Dutch language scholar, at the turn of the twentieth century. His spelling system of ML using the Latin alphabet boosted the development and the spread of the language. However, the most astonishing development of the language occurred during the Japanese occupation of Indonesia. IN was designated to take over the role of the Dutch language the use of which was forbidden by the Japanese. IN's new designation required enriching the language with words for everyday use, and coining modern terminology for scientific use. These two requirements were fulfilled by the Indonesian language planners in the Commission on IN, which was set up especially for these purposes.

In terms of vocabulary, IN experienced an amazing progress which Mal in Malaysia missed. The language planners of Malaysia were, therefore, very eager to pool resources together with Indonesia in order to formulate a unified standardised system of writing, terminology, vocabulary, and grammar. The offer for cooperation was warmly accepted by Indonesia,

the manifestation of which was the 'Language Agreement' between the two countries. A unified system of spelling was made effective in August 1972 in Indonesia and in Malaysia. This was followed by the creation of a binational committee on language called 'Majelis Bahasa Indonesia-Malaysia' (Language Council of Indonesia-Malaysia). This permanent committee is in charge of planning development and the standardisation of all aspects of ML which have not been unified, such as grammar books, textbooks for teaching purposes, teaching methodology, etc. This undertaking is a logical consequence of the desire of both countries to have a unified standardised language.

5.3 Not only did the Youth Pledge of 1928 make ML the national language of Indonesia, but it also promoted it to the level of a *supra-ethnic norm* for the multiethnic society of the archipelago. The 'supra-ethnic norm' character of IN, in turn, generated a very strong binding force among the nation's multiethnic population which, in 1975, was formulated by the Seminar on National Language Policy as (1) a symbol of national pride, (2) a symbol of national identity, (3) an instrument for uniting the diverse ethnolinguistic groups, and (4) a means of inter-cultural communication among the ethnic groups.

As was mentioned earlier, the implementation of the 'Language Agreement' between Indonesia and Malaysia in 1972 opened a new phase in the development and the spread of ML. From the point of view of the sociology of language, the new phase caused a further promotion of the language from the level of a *supra-ethnic norm* to the level of a *supra-national norm*. The sentiment towards the language as such, which likewise has generated a very strong binding force between the peoples of the two countries, is that it serves as (1) a symbol of regional[4] pride, (2) a symbol of regional identity, (3) an instrument for uniting the diverse ethnolinguistic groups of the region, and (4) a means of inter-cultural communication among the ethnic groups of the region. This sentiment is the expected outcome of the transformation of the language from a 'supra-ethnic norm' to a 'supra-national norm'. It has been recommended that a special study of this subject be conducted under the auspices of 'Majelis Bahasa Indonesia-Malaysia'.

5.4 Projections for the use of IN the year 2001 reveal some intersting points, two of which are highly relevant to language planning: the rapid speed of the development of IN in terms of its standardisation which, in turn, will generate a very progressive dissemination of the language, and the regressive development of the vernaculars of the archipelago as the result of the first situation.

By the year 2001, approximately 60% of the population of Indonesia will be speakers of IN and, at the latest by 2041, Indonesia will have a 100% IN-speaking population. This projection does not take into consideration the progress achieved by the Indonesian Government in the field of electronic communication. In 1976 Indonesia's first communications satellite, PALAPA, was launched and its use inaugurated on August 17, 1976 when a 'state of the nation' address by President Soeharto was beamed by satellite to all parts of the country. This satellite should, no doubt, accelerate the spread of IN, especially in the island of Java, which is very densely populated.[5]

A possible drawback of the PALAPA communications satellite is that it will hinder the development and spread of the vernaculars. If the *Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan*

Bahasa is not able to implement the policy on national language formulated at the Seminar on National Language Policy in 1975 concerning local languages, there is a possibility that the local languages, especially those whose numbers of speakers are small, will cease to exist. The validity of this opinion requires further investigation.

5.5 ML (IN in Indonesia and Mal in Malaysia) is now in its intermediary stage, i.e. a language of wider communication. As such ML has the necessary attributes to be made the official language of ASEAN. Because of the facility of the language it quite possibly will go beyond its present stage and emerge as one of the modern world languages.

Notes

[1] Dutch enjoyed the status of a language of wider communication, especially in the context of inter-colonial government communication in the Far East, South and South-east Asia.

[2] Denzel Carr, a prominent American orientalist, was quoted by Johannes (1972) as follows:

> English and the Bahasa Indonesia are pre-eminently fitted to be world languages: English needs a good spelling system and Indonesian needs a generation or two for adequate stabilisation and differentiation. I am willing to wager that Indonesian will achieve its part of this goal earlier.

[3] The projection as such was made without considering other factors such as the existence of the PALAPA communications satellite, etc.

[4] The meaning of the word 'region' here is not the same as the meaning of the word used by the Philippine government in dividing its territory into several regions. 'Region' here means a geographical area covering a vast portion of the globe, which might include several countries.

[5] The island of Java is very densely populated. About 60% of the total population of Indonesia reside there.

Appendix A

KEPUTUSAN KONGGRES - I BAHASA INDONESIA DI SOLO 1938

1. Telah mendengar dan membitjarakan prasaran Mr Amir Sjarifuddin tentang kata-kata dan pengertian asing ("Menjesuaikan kata dan faham asing kedalam bahasa Indonesia"). Ternjata Konggres pada umumnja bersependapat dalam pengambilan kata-kata asing untuk ilmu pengetahuan. Untuk ilmu Pengetahuan, sekarang ini Konggres dapat menjetudjui bahwa kata-kata itu dipindjam dari Kosakata jang umum. Hal ini harus dilakukan dengan hati-hati sekali, oleh karenanja hendaklah hal ini diserahkan kepada sebuah Panitia.

2. Telah mendengar dan membitjarakan prasaran Tuan St. Takdir Alisjahbana tentang pembaharuan bahasa dan pengaturannja ("Pembaharuan bahasa dan usaha mengaturnja"). Menurut Konggres telah ada pembaharuan bahasa, jang terdjadi karena ada tjara pemikiran baru; karena ini maka terasalah adanja kebutuhan akan pengaturan pembaharuan bahasa.

3. Telah mendengar dan membitjarakan prasaran-prasaran St. Takdir Alisjahbana, Pasal VI dan prasaran Mr. Muh. Yamin, Konggres berpendapat, bahwa tatabahasa-tatabahasa jang ada sekarang ini tidak memuaskan lagi dan tidak tjotjok dengan sifat keadaan/kodrat bahasa Indonesia, oleh karenanja, haruslah disusun tatabahasa baru jang sesuai dengan sifat keadaan/kodrat bahasa Indonesia.

4. Mosi. Setelah mendengar dan membitjarakan prasaran Tuan K. St. Pamoentjak tentang edjaan bahasa Indonesia (Hal edjaan bahasa Indonesia) maka para hadirin jang datang dari bermatjam-matjam golongan, dari berbagai-bagai daerah dan berkumpul dalam konggres di Solo dari tanggal 25 - 28 Djuni 1938 berpendapat, bahwa:

   tidak perlu dibuat edjaan baru, sampai Konggres sendirilah jang membuat edjaan baru itu; edjaan Ophuijsen jang biasa dipakai untuk sementara dapat diterima mengingat akan penghematan dan penjederhanaan haruslah perubahan-perubahan didjadikan pemikiran para pemrasaran tersebut diatas; oleh karena itu Konggres mengharap, bahwa:
   1. Rakjat Indonesia akan selalu mengikuti edjaan tersebut diatas,
   2. fraksi Nasional dalam Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat ("Volksraad") hendaknja mendesak kepada Pemerintah untuk mengikuti edjaan itu, seperti jang dimaksudkan oleh Konggres,
   3. persatuan-pesatuan guru hendaknja menjokong keputusan-keputusan Konggres ini.

5. Telah mendengar prasaran Tuan Adi Negoro mengenai bahasa Indonesia dalam persuratkabaran ("Bahasa Indonesia dalam persuratkabaran"), maka Konggres berpendapat, bahwa sekarang inilah waktunja para wartawan untuk dengan sepenuh hati mentjari djalan kearah perbaikan bahasa dalam persuratkabaran.

   Oleh sebab itu Konggres berharap, bahwa PERDI (Persatuan Djurnalis Indonesia) hendaknja merundingkan hal ini dengan anggota-anggotanja dan membentuk panitia jang harus dilakukan oleh Pengurus Konggres jang baru dan Pengurus Pusat PERDI.

6. Setelah mendengar prasaran Ki Hadjar Dewantara Pasal X, jang disokong oleh R.M. Ng. Dr Poerbatjaraka, maka Konggres telah memutuskan, bahwa Konggres mengemukakan dan mengusulkan untuk mengadjarkan djuga edjaan internasional di-Sekolah^2 Menengah.

7. Setelah mendengar prasaran Tuan Sukardjo Wirjopranoto tentang bahasa Indonesia dalam badan-badan perwakilan ("Bahasa Indonesia dalam badan perwakilan") jang diutjapkan dan dipertahankan oleh R.P. Soeroso, Konggres berpendapat dan berharap, bahwa:

   1. mulai sekarang bahasa Indonesia hendaknja dipakai dalam semua badan-badan perwakilan sebagai bahasa pengantar

   2. hendaknja diberikan bantuan kepada usaha^2 untuk mengakui bahasa Indonesia sebagai bahasa jang sah dan sebagai bahasa dalam Peraturan^2 Pemerintah.

8. Setelah mendengar prasaran Tuan Sanoesi Pane tentang sebuah Institut Bahasa Indonesia dan setelah mendengar dibentuknja sebuah Panitia untuk keperluan tersebut, maka Konggres memutuskan untuk menetapkan sebuah Badan Komisi untuk mempeladjari persoalan pendirian sebuah Institut Bahasa Indonesia, dan Konggres mengharapkan, bahwa Badan Komisi ini akan mengumumkan keputusannja mengenai persoalan tersebut diatas.

9. Setelah mendengar prasaran-prasaran Tuan^2 St. Takdir Alisjahbana, Mr. Muh. Yamin dan Sanusi Pane, maka Konggres berpendapat, bahwa untuk kepentingan kemadjuan masjarakat Indonesia, penjelidikan bahasa dan sastra serta kemadjuan bangsa Indonesia, haruslah selekas mungkin didirikan sebuah fakultas Sastra.

10. Akan diterbitkan buku tentang segala sesuatu jang berhubungan dengan Konggres ini.

11. Konggres ke II akan diadakan disalah satu dari kota-kota tersebut ini: Semarang, Djokjakarta, Batavia, Medan, Fort de Kock, Makassar, Bandung, Surakarta.

12. Pengurus Baru terbentuk sebagai berikut:

    Prof. P.A. Hoesein Djajadiningrat - Ketua Kehormatan
    Dr R.M.Ng. Poerbatjaraka   - Ketua
    Mr Amir Sjarifoeddin   - Wakil Ketua
    Armijn Pane   - Penulis
    Soemanang   - Penulis
    Katja Soengkana   - Penulis
    Mr. Maria Ulfah Santosa   - Bendahara
    Soegiarti   - Bendahara

Appendix B

SEDJARAH KOMISI ISTILAH

A. Panitia pekerdja

1. Pembentukan Panitia Pekerdja

Menjadari bahwa bahasa Indonesia sebagai bahasa resmi Negara Republik Indonesia, begitu pula bahasa-bahasa daerah sebagai sumber utama bahasa Indonesia, perlu senantiasa dipelihara dan dibina dengan saksama, maka Menteri P.P. dan K. sebelum clash fisik dengan Belanda, jaitu Mr. Suwandi, menugaskan kepada R.T. Amin Singgih Tjitrosomo untuk menjusun lembaga negara bagi usaha tersebut. Oleh karena pada waktu itu (pertengahan tahun 1947) di Djakarta tidak banjak terdapat sardjana dan ahli bahasa Indonesia dan bahasa daerah, kebanjakan telah mengungsi ke "pedalaman", maka hanja dapat dibentuk Panitia Pekerdja dengan surat keputusan Menteri P.P. dan K. tanggal 18 Djuni 1947 No. 700/Bhg. A.

2. Personalia Panitia Pekerdja

Dalam Panitia Pekerdja itu diangkat sebagai

Ketua: St. Takdir Alisjahbana.
Anggota: Adinegoro
           W.J.S. Poerwadarminta
           K.St. Pamuntjak
           R. Satjadibrata
           R.T. Amin Singgih Tjitrosomo (merangkap Sekretaris).

Panitia Pekerdja tersebut baru dapat mengadakan rapat satu kali, ketika tentara Belanda merampas dan menduduki gedung-gedung pemerintah Republik Indonesia di Djakarta (21 Djuli 1947), sehingga dengan demikian panitia jang merupakan polopor lembaga bahasa kita itu terpaksa tidak dapat meneruskan pekerdjaannja.

3. Tugas Panitia Pekerdja

   a. Menetapkan kata-kata istilah, baik untuk ilmu maupun untuk berbagai pekerdjaan dalam masjarakat.

   b. Menetapkan tatabahasa, terutama untuk keperluan peladjaran bahasa Indonesia pada sekolah rendah, sekolah-sekolah menengah dan sekolah menengah bagian atas.

   c. Menjusun kamus baru atau menjempurnakan kamus jang ada, terutama untuk keperluan peladjaran bahasa Indonesia di sekolah.

B. Balai Bahasa

1. Pembentukan Balai Bahasa

Beberapa bulan kemudian setelah Pemerintah Pusat Republik Indonesia pindah ke Jogjakarta, oleh Sekretaris Djendral Kementerian P.P. dan K. Mr. Santoso, R.T. Amin Singgih Tjitrosomo diberi tugas menjusun lembaga bahasa, dan karena disekitar Jogjakarta/Surakarta terdapat tjukup banjak sardjana dan ahli bahasa Indonesia dan bahasa-bahasa daerah, susunan lembaga itu hendaknja selengkap-lengkapnja.

Maka keluarlah surat keputusan Menteri P.P. dan K. tanggal 26 Februari 1948 No. 1532/A., jang menetapkan pembentukan Balai Bahasa sebagai Djawatan dalam Kementerian P.P. dan K. jang berkedudukan di Jogjakarta.

Balai Bahasa dilantik pada bulan Maret 1948 di Jogjakarta oleh Menteri P.P. dan K. Mr. Ali Sastroamidjojo. Sebagai Penasehat Balai Bahasa jang hadir pada waktu itu diantaranja: Prof. Dr Poerbatjaraka, Prof. Dr Prijana, Dr Priohutomo, Dr Soemadi, Ki Hadjar Dewantara dan Ki Mangunsarkoro. Dari pembesar daerah hadir Sri Paku Alam. Oleh Menteri P.P. dan K. diterangkan djuga bahwa Balai Bahasa dimaksudkan mendjadi suatu lembaga nasional jang otonom.

2. Struktur organisasi dan personalia Balai Bahasa.

Para pedjabat Balai Bahasa jang telah ditetapkan ialah:

Pemimpin Umum	: P.F. Dahler
Penulis Umum	: I.P. Simandjuntak
Pemimpin Seksi Bahasa Indonesia	: St. Moh. Zain
Pemimpin Seksi Bahasa Indonesia	: Tardjan Hadidjaja
Pemimpin Seksi Bahasa Sunda	: Iskak Adiwidjaja
Pemimpin Seksi Bahasa Madura	: Surowidjojo

Dalam bulan Djuni 1948 P.F. Dahler djatuh sakit dan kemudian berpulang kerachmatullah. Sambil menunggu keputusan tentang pengganti almarhum Dahler, pimpinan Balai Bahasa untuk sementara diserahkan kepada R.T. Amin Singgih Tjitrosomo di Surakarta (S.K. Menteri P.P. dan K. tanggal 22 Djuli 1948, No. 6370/E). Beberapa bulan kemudian ditetapkan sebagai Pemimpin Umum Balai Bahasa: Prof. Dr Prijana di Jogjakarta.

3. Tugas Balai Bahasa

    a. Memperhatikan, meneliti dan mempeladjari bahasa persatuan Indonesia dan semua bahasa daerah di Indonesia, baik jang dipergunakan sehari-hari maupun jang tertulis, baik bahasa masa jang lampau maupun bahasa jang dipergunakan pada waktu sekarang.

    b. Memberi pertimbangan, petundjuk serta pimpinan kepada masjarakat tentang hal bahasa Indonesia maupun bahasa daerah.

c. Mengusahakan persatuan dalam segala soal bahasa Indonesia maupun bahasa daerah.

4. Balai Bahasa pindah ke Djakarta

Sebagai akibat pembentukan negara Republik Indonesia Serikat dan pindahnja Prof. Dr Prijana ke Djakarta sebagai Dekan Fakultas Sastra Universitas Indonesia, Balai Bahasa mendjadi persoalan, jaitu akan tetap diasuh oleh Negara (Bagian) Republik Indonesia, atau mendjadi badan pemerintah R.I.S. Achirnja diputuskan bahwa Bagian Penjelidikan Bahasa akan di- "bawa" Prof. Prijana ke Djakarta dan disatukan dengan Lembaga Penjelidikan Bahasa dan Kebudajaan pada Fakultas Sastra Universitas Indonesia, mendjadi Lembaga Bahasa dan Budaja. Bagian Pemeliharaan Bahasa Masjarakat tetap pada Negara Republik Indonesia dan didjadikan Bagian Bahasa dari Djawatan Kebudajaan. Dengan pembentukan Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia maka Bagian Bahasa dari Djawatan Kebudajaan itu ikut pindah ke Djakarta. Kepala Bagian Bahasa ialah Mangatas Nasution dan Nur St. Iskandar sebagai Sekretaris.

Dalam bidang publikasi Bagian Bahasa menerbitkan madjalah bulanan Medan Bahasa jang memuat hal-ihwal bahasa Indonesia dan daerah.

Pada tahun 1959 Bagian Bahasa itu disatukan pula dengan Lembaga Bahasa dan Budaja, jang kemudian mendjadi Lembaga Bahasa dan Kesusastraan jang lepas dari Fakultas Sastra Universitas Indonesia dan langsung berada dibawah Departemen P.P. dan K.

C. Komisi Istilah

Pembentukan Komisi Istilah:

Komisi Istilah dibentuk dengan S.K. Menteri P.P. dan K. tgl. 19 Djuli 1950 No. 14336/cI.

Setelah penggabungan Kementerian P.P. dan K.R.I. dan Kementerian P.P. dan K. RIS, dengan S.K. Menteri tgl. 28 Mei 1951 No. 12869/Kab., Balai Bahasa dipindahkan dari Jogjakarta ke Djakarta. Dengan terbentuknja Negara Kesatuan, Menteri P.P. dan K. mengeluarkan S.K. tgl. 28 Mei 1951 No. 12870/Kab. jang berisi keputusan tentang pemasukan Komisi Istilah Kementerian P.P. dan K. RIS kedalam Balai Bahasa dari Djawatan Kebudajaan, terhitung mulai tgl. 1 Djuni 1951. Dengan dimasukkannja Balai Bahasa kedalam Fakultas Sastra Universitas Indonesia dan disatukannja dengan Lembaga Penjelidikan Bahasa dan Kebudajaan (S.K. Menteri P.P. dan K. tgl. 11 Augustus 1952 No. 27440/Kab) jang namanja kemudian berubah mendjadi Lembaga Bahasa dan Budaja, maka Komisi Istilah mendjadi bagian dari Lembaga tersebut.

Dengan surat keputusan Menteri P.P. dan K. tanggal 28 Mei 1951 No. 12957/C.IV telah diangkat sebagai anggota-anggota Komisi Istilah sbb.:
1.   Prof. Dr Prijana, merangkap Ketua
       N. St. Iskandar, merangkap Wk. Ketua

II.   Seksi Ilmu Bahasa

     1. St. Muh. Sa'id
     2. St. Muh. Zain
     3. Prof. Dr Poerbatjaraka
     4. Prof. Dr Tjan Tjoe Siem
     5. Bermawi
     6. S. Zainuddin
     7. W.J.S. Poerwadarminta
     8. R.A. Datuk Besar
     9. Sja'ir
    10. Prof. Dr A.A. Fokker
    11. Rusli
    12. St. Abd. Hamid

III.   Seksi Kedokteran

    13. Prof. Dr Aulia
    14. Dr Ahmad Ramali
    15. Dr Gulam
    16. Anum Daha

IV.   Seksi Pertanian, Kehutanan dan Perikanan

    17. R. Kiswarin
    18. St. Sanif
    19. M.H. Sutisna
    20. Zahar
    21. R. Rusiat Mangun Wigata
    22. Pranjoto
    23. Hoedi

V.   Seksi Kehewanan

    24. Dr R. Sutisno
    25. Drs Muh. Idris
    26. Jusuf Kusuma
    27. Nn. Th. Sitompul

VI.   Seksi Ilmu Hukum

    28. Mr. Kuntjoro Purbopranoto
    29. Mr. M.H. Tirtaamidjaja
    30. Mr. Alwi St. Osman
    31. Prof. Mr. Hazairin
    32. Djamaludin Dt. Singomangkuto

VII.   Seksi Teknik

    33. Prof. Ir R. Rooseno
    34. A.N. Thabrani
    35. Danu
    36. Mohd. Arsjad
    37. Mohd. Nur
    38. Ir Sarengat Kartanegara
    39. Anwir
    40. Nn. Sukartiah

VIII. Seksi Ilmu Pasti dan Alam

    41. Mr Gunara
    42. Ir Gunarso
    43. Suparno
    44. Ir Oerip Djojosantoso
    45. Wahjudi
    46. Nn. Nursjamsi Djamain

IX.   Seksi Kimia

    47. Mohd. Arif
    48. Kamal Mahmud
    49. Aflus
    50. Mardjana

X.   Seksi Kesusastraan, Djurnalistik dan Kesenian

    51. M. Samud Sastrowardojo
    52. H. Hutagalung
    53. A.E. Schmidgall Tellings
    54. T.D. Situmorang
    55. Moh. Taib

XI.   Seksi Ilmu Sosial dan Ekonomi

    56. R.P. Prawiradinata
    57. H.S. Adam Bachtiar
    58. Panggabean
    59. M. Sudirman
    60. Prof. Dr Burger
    61. Drs C. Noor
    62. Hermanu Maulana

XII.   Seksi Pendidikan, Pengadjaran dan Ilmu Djiwa

     63. M. Sudjadi
     64. Sadarjun
     65. V. Lumban Tobing
     66. Uripan Notoamidjojo
     67. D. Situmorang
     68. J.C. Pangkerego

XIII. Seksi Keuangan dan Administrasi

     69. R.K. Wirijamihardja
     70. A.A. Rivai
     71. R. Kosim
     72. P. Sihombing
     73. R. Sunarjo
     74. Abd. Madjid
     75. Nj. Anisah Hamid

XIV. Seksi Kemiliteran

     76. Kapten Djailani
     77. Letn. Muda Sutanandika
     78. Djalius Djalil

XV.   Seksi Peladjaran

     79. M. Pardi
     80. J.P. Nieborg
     81. M.J. de Lange
     82. Wahlidar Wahid

XVI. Seksi Keradjinan Wanita

     83. Nn. E. Djajadiningrat
     84. Nj. Mahmun Alrasjid
     85. Nj. S. Murdono
     86. Nn. Z. Tamini
     87. Nn. Sumarlin Surjodipuro
     88. Nj. J.G. Limbat
     89. Bushar Muhammad

XVII. Seksi Penerbangan

     90. J. Salatun
     91. Mr C.A. Mochtar
     92. R.M. Kardono
     93. Ir Tohir Thajeb
     94. Ir Hoo Kian Lam
     95. Karibin

Pimpinan Komisi Istilah dipegang oleh Pemimpin Umum/Kepala Lembaga, jaitu berturut-turut sebagai berikut:

1. Prof. Dr Prijana (1951-1957)
2. Prof. Dr P.A. Hoesein Djajadiningrat (1957-1960)
3. Dra Nj. Lukijati Gandasubrata (Sekretaris Umum merangkap Pd. Pemimpin Umum Lembaga; 1960-1962)
4. Dra Moliar Achmad (1962-1966)
5. Dra Nj. S.W. Rudjiati Muljadi (1966-1974)

Sebagai Wakil Ketua Umum ialah:

1. Nur. St. Iskandar (1951-1966)
2. Drs A.M. Moeliono, M.A. (1966-1974)

Djabatan Sekretaris Umum Komisi Istilah dipegang oleh Kepala Bag. Komisi Istilah (Ketua Bidang Perkamusan dan Peristilahan), jaitu berturut-turut sebagai berikut:

1. St. Muh. Sa'id   (1951-1952)
2. A.W. Djumena   (1952-1953)
3. R.A. Datuk Besar   (1953-1954)
4. Dra Moliar Achmad   (1954-1962)
5. Dra Sri Timur Suratman   (1962-1966)

Tiap-tiap Seksi Komisi Istilah beranggotakan beberapa orang ahli dalam ilmu jang bersangkutan, seorang ahli bahasa Indonesia jang bertindak selaku penasihat bahasa dan seorang penterdjemah jang dalam Seksi tersebut djuga bertindak sebagai Sekretaris.

Dalam usaha mengadakan koordinasi jang baik antara Seksi-seksi telah dibentuk Dewan-dewan Pertimbangan Istilah, jang masing-asing diketuai oleh:

1. Prof. Dr Prijana, untuk DPI bag. A, jang meliputi Seksi-seksi ilmu Bahasa, Kesusastraan, Djurnalistik dan Kesenian, Pendidikan, Pengadjaran dan ilmu Djiwa, dan Keradjinan Wanita.

2. Prof. Dr Tjan Tjoe Siem, untuk DPI bag. B, jang meliputi Seksi-seksi ilmu Hukum, ilmu Sosial dan Ekonomi, Keuangan dan Administrasi.

3. St. Muh. Sa'id, untuk DPI bag. C, jang meliputi Seksi-seksi Kedokteran, Pertanian, Kehutanan dan Perikanan, Kehewanan, Kimia dan Farmasi.

4. Nur St. Iskandar, untuk DPI bag. D, jang meliputi Seksi-seksi Teknik, ilmu Pasti dan Alam, Kemiliteran, Peladjaran, dan Penerbangan.

Keempat bagian Dewan Pertimbangan Istilah tersebut dikoordinasikan oleh sebuah Panitia Ketjil Komisi Istilah, jang anggota-anggotanja terdiri dari para Ketua DPI (A, B, C, D) dan Prof. Dr Poerbatjaraka jang bertindak sebagai Penasihat Bahasa. Panitia ini diketuai oleh R.A. Datuk Besar.

Sedjak tahun 1955 Komisi Istilah ditingkatkan statusnja mendjadi Panitia Interdepartemental berdasarkan S.K. Perdana menteri R.I. No. 6481/55 tertanggal 14 Maret 1955. Djadi dengan demikian pembiajaan Komisi Istilah (uang sidang anggotanja dan biaja administrasi) mendjadi tanggungan anggaran Kabinet Perdana Menteri.

Lembaga Bahasa dan Budaja berdasar S.K. Menteri P.P. dan K., No. 69626/S,1 Djuni 1959 dipisahkan dari Fakultas Sastra U.I. dan berubah mendjadi Lembaga Bahasa dan Kesusasteraan hingga achir tahun 1966. Dengan S.K. Kabinet Perdana Menteri No. 75/U/KEP/ II/66, 3 November 1966 Lembaga Bahasa dan Kesusastraan mendjadi Direktorat Bahasa dan Kesusastraan, Direktorat Djenderal Kebudajaan, Departemen P. dan K.

S.K. perpandjangan masa kerdja Komisi Istilah selalu dikeluarkan setiap tahun. Jang terachir, dikeluarkan oleh Presidium Kabinet R.I. no. AA/G/81/1966, 13 Djuni 1966, dan berlaku sampai achir tahun 1966.

D. Susunan anggota komisi istilah pada tahun 1966

Pimpinan Umum

Ketua Umum	:	Dra Nj. S.W. Rudjiati Muljadi
Wk. Ketua Umum	:	Drs A.M. Moeliono, M.A.
Sekretaris Umum	:	Dra Sri Timur Suratman
Penasehat Umum	:	Nur St. Iskandar

Seksi Bahasa dan Kesusastraan

Drs A.M. Moeliono, M.A. (Ketua)
Soentari Soentoro (Sekretaris)
Djokokentjono, M.A.
Drs Saleh Saad
St. Muh. Sa'id
Drs Muhadjir
H.M. Salim Fachry
Roesli
Drs Lukman Ali

Seksi Psichologi

Dra Nj. Jusuf Nusjirwan (Ketua)
Achmad Fatoni (Sekretaris)
Dra Nj. S.W. Rudjiati Muljadi
Dra Rika Umar
Drs Aziz Achjadi
Drs Sukijat
Soedjadi

Seksi Pendidikan

Drs B.H. Simandjuntak (Ketua)
Soelastri Soerjoatmodjo (Sekretaris)
W.F. Hutadjulu
Nazar

Seksi Kesedjahteraan Keluarga

Nj. S. Moedono (Ketua)
Wagito Tabir (Sekretaris)
Dra Sri Sukesi Adiwimarta
Atikah
Kartini Prawirotanojo
Siti Rogajah
Moenarti
Oey Kiauw Nio

Seksi Kesenian

A.A. Rivai (Ketua)

Seksi Agama

St. Muh. Sa'id (Ketua)

M. Kodrat
M. Samoed Sastrowardojo
Jafaris Nasution
Dra Nj. Edi Sedyawati Hadimuljo

Dra Moliar Achmad
Muhammad Arif Lubis
H. Moehtar Nashir
Muh. Nur Idris
H. Muh. Amin Natsir
M. J. Oentoe
Ds. P.N. Harefa

Seksi Ilmu Hukum

Rasjad St. Suleman, S.H. (Ketua)
Sugeng Maulana (Sekretaris)
Dra Nj. Soebadio Noto Subagjo
E. Parengkuan, S.H.
Sardjono, S.H.
Hartono Prodjomarjodo, S.H.
Marah Ismail, S.H.
Nj. B. Besila, S.H.
P.C. Hadiprastowo, S.H.
Mardjono Reksodiputro, S.A., M.A.
Tjen Tjiauw Djin, S.H.

Seksi Administrasi

R.K. Wirija Mihardja (Ketua)
Djajanto Supra (Sekretaris)
R.P. Prawira di Nata
R. Kosim
Drs Buchari Zainun
Drs F.X. Soedjadi
Drs Sjukri Miwanto
Dr S.P. Siagian

Seksi Ekonomi

Drs Arif Djanin (Ketua)
Djaporman Saragih (Sekretaris)
Drs B. Suhardi
Drs Aminin
Drs Sarwohadi
Drs Sugito Sastroatmodjojo
Drs Roestam Didong

Seksi Sosiologi

Drs Soeprijono (Ketua)
L.M. Sitorus, S.H.
Drs. Sumarsidik
Drs Tjiptadi

Seksi Sedjarah, Civics dan Politik

Drs Mashudi (Ketua)
Adun Sjubarsa (Sekretaris)
Sutrisno Kutojo
Tatang Effendi
Drs Fuad Muslim Salim

Seksi Kedokteran

Dr T. Karimuddin (Ketua)
Sjamhudi Suparto (Sekretaris)
Anum Daha
Dr Soeharto Heerdjan
Dr Bonokamsi

Seksi Pertanian, Kehutanan dan Perikanan

A. Sofjan (Ketua)
Hasjmi Dini (Sekretaris)
Pranjoto
Djavid

Seksi Kehewanan

Drh. R. Roosheroe (Ketua)
Hermanoe Maulana (Sekretaris)
Dr Suratno
Drs Adi Sudono

Seksi Geografi

Letkol. Dr A. Soemartadirdja (Ketua)
Julius Habib (Sekretaris)
Firdaus Djajasupena
Drs P. Wajong
Drs Djenen
Drs Darmadju

Seksi Teknik

A.N. Tabrani (Ketua)
Abdul Mutalib (Sekretaris)
Drs Lukman Ali
Lumban Toruan, Dipl. Ing.
Muhammad Arsjad
I. Nengah Suda, Dipl. Ing.

Seksi Kimia dan Farmasi

Muhd. Arief (Ketua)
Munawar (Sekretaris)
Drs Harimurti Kridalaksana
Dra A.T. Pietersz
Dra Rochmijati Pudjianto

Seksi Ilmu Pasti dan Alam

Ir Soedjito Danusaputro (Ketua)
Hasjmi Dini (Sekretaris)
Abdul Fattah
Saleh Idris
T.H. Siahaan
Erman Nataadidjaja

Seksi Pelajaran

S. Pattinama (Ketua)
Nj. A. Ibrahim (Sekretaris)
Drs Kuntamadi

Sedjak achir tahun 1966 atau awal Djanuari 1967 Komisi Istilah praktis telah menghentikan kegiatannja, berhubung dengan belum dikeluarkannja surat perpandjangan masa tugasnja oleh Sekretariat Negara.

Sebagai hasil kerdja Komisi Istilah ini Lembaga Bahasa Nasional telah menerbitkan 15 buah Kamus Istilah. Disamping itu masih memiliki 14 buah naskah Kamus Istilah jang belum dapat diterbitkan berhubung dengan tiadanja biaja untuk itu.

Keterangan tjara kerdja Komisi Istilah

1. Seksi :   Seksi menghasilkan istilah sesuai dengan bidang masing-masing. Istilah jang terkumpul dibawa ke Dewan Pertimbangan Istilah (DPI) jang kemudian dinamakan Koordinator.

2. Koordinator : para anggota terdiri dari Ketua Seksi jang termasuk dalam kelompoknja.
   (A, B, C, D) Koordinator membitjarakan istilah jang dihasilkan oleh seksi-seksi jang termasuk dalam kelompoknja. Istilah jang telah dibitjarakan dan disahkan sebagai istilah baru, oleh Sekretariat Komisi Istilah (Sekarang Dinas Peristilahan dan Perkamusan Direktorat) dikartukan. Setiap istilah dibuat 2 kartu jaitu:

   a. Kartu putih: berisi istilah-istilah jang dipisah-pisahkan menurut Seksi Komisi Istilah jang ada.

Ini merupakan bahan Kamus Istilah jang disusun mendjadi buram Kamus.

Setelah buram Kamus selesai, buram dikirim ke Seksi jang bersangkutan. Sesudah tidak terdapat perubahan dan disetudjui oleh Seksi, baru buram bisa dikirim ke pertjetakan.

b. Kartu kuning: Istilah-istilah tidak dipisah-pisahkan berdasarkan seksi, melainkan digabungkan dan disusun menurut abdjad. Dari kartu kuning dapat dilihat, bahwa kadang-kadang beberapa Seksi tidak sama mengindonesiakan suatu istilah asing jang sama.

Para koordinator mengusahakan persamaan pengindonesian istilah asing jang sama itu.

Djumlah istilah jang dihasilkan:

I. Hasil Seksi-Seksi Ilmu Pengetahuan Eksakta

1. Kedokteran	9.067	istilah
2. Pertanian, Kehutanan dan Perikanan	19.009	istilah
3. Kehewanan	36.009	istilah
4. Teknik	27.293	istilah
5. Ilmu Pasti/alam	25.014	istilah
6. Kimia dan Farmasi	24.054	istilah

II. Hasil Seksi-Seksi non Eksakta

1. Ilmu Bahasa dan Kesusastraan	7.644	istilah
2. Ilmu Hukum	6.081	istilah
3. Kesenian	14.054	istilah
4. Ekonomi	9.366	istilah
5. Pendidikan dan Psychologi	19.848	istilah
6. Administrasi	17.927	istilah
7. Kemiliteran	11.287	istilah
8. Peladjaran	20.965	istilah
9. Kesedjahteraan Keluarga	12.281	istilah
10. Penerbangan	29.229	istilah
11. Geografi dan Sosiologi	9.008	istilah
12. Entomologi	6.522	istilah
13. Filsafat	918	istilah
14. Agama	4.707	istilah
15. Psychologi	743	istilah
16. Sosiologi	572	istilah
17. Sedjarah, Civics dan Politik	112	istilah
D j u m l a h :	321.710	istilah

E. Daftar Kamus Istilah

I.   Jang sudah diterbitkan

Nama Buku	Tjatatan	Penerbitan
1. Kamus Istilah Kedokteran	Asing-Indonesia	Djakarta, Balai Pustaka, 1954, tjet.I
2. Kamus Istilah Peladjaran	Asing-Indonesia	Djakarta, Balai Pustaka, 1956, tjet.l
3. Kamus Istilah Kehewanan	Asing-Indonesia	Djakarta, Balai Pustaka,1956, tjet.I
4. Intisari Tatanama Kimia Anorganik dan Kimia Organik beserta Kamus Istilah Kimia	Asing-Indonesia	Djakarta, Balai Pustaka, 1956, tjet.I
5. Kamus Istilah Teknik	Asing-Indonesia	Djakarta, Balai Pustaka, 1956, tjet.l
6. Kamus Istilah Keradjinan Wanita	Asing-Indonesia	Djakarta, Balai Pustaka, 1957, tjet.I
7. Kamus Istilah Pendidikan Pengadjaran dan Ilmu Djiwa	Asing-Indonesia Indonesia-Asing	Djakarta, Balai Pustaka, 1958, tjet.I
8. Pedoman Pembentukan Istilah Kimia	Komisi Istilah Seksi Kimia/Farmasi	Lampiran no.43 "Bahasa Budaya" Tahun VII. no.2, 1958
9. Kamus Istilah Ilmu Hukum	Asing-Indonesia	Djakarta, Balai Pustaka, 1960
10. Kamus Istilah Pertanian Kehutanan dan Perikanan	Asing-Indonesia	Djakarta, Balai Pustaka, 1960, tjet.l
11. Kamus Istilah Ekonomi dan Keuangan	Asing-Indonesia	Djakarta, Balai Pustaka, 1960, tjet.I
12. Kamus Istilah Kedokteran	Asing-Indonesia	Djakarta, Balai Pustaka, 1961, tjet.II
13. Kamus Ilmu Bahasa dan Kesusastraan	Asing-Indonesia (definisi)	Djakarta, Lembaga Bahasa dan Kesusastraan, 1966, tjet.l (stensilan)
14. Intisari Tatanama Kimia Anorganik dan Kimia Organik beserta Pedoman pembentukan Istilah Kimia	Komisi Istilah Seksi Kimia/ Farmasi 22 September 1962	Djakarta, Balai Pustaka, 1966 B.P. No. 1991,
15. Kamus Istilah Bahasa dan Kesusastraan	Asing-Indonesia	Djakarta, Balai Pustaka, 1967 B.P. No. 2211,

II.   Jang belum diterbitkan

1.	Kamus Istilah Tata Usaha	Asing-Indonesia	1959, tjet.I
2.	Kamus Istilah Kesenian	Asing-Indonesia	1962, tjet.I
3.	Kamus Istilah Pendidikan dan Psychologi	Asing-Indonesia	1962, tjet.II
4.	Kamus Istilah Penerbangan	Asing-Indonesia	1964, tjet.I
5.	Kamus Istilah Militer	Asing-Indonesia	1964, tjet.I
6.	Kamus Istilah Ilmu Bumi dan Sosiologi	Asing-Indonesia	1965, tjet.I
7.	Kamus Istilah Kimia Farmasi	Ing-Djer-Bel-Ind (empat bahasa)	1965, tjet.I
8.	Kamus Istilah Ilmu Hukum	Asing-Indonesia	1966, tjet.II
9.	Kamus Istilah Kehewanan	Asing-Indonesia	1967, tjet.II
10.	Kamus Istilah Teknik	Djerman-Indonesia	1969, tjet.I
11.	Kamus Istilah Agama (Islam)	Asing-Indonesia	1970, tjet.l
12.	Kamus Istilah Kedokteran	Asing-Indonesia	1970, tjet.III
13.	Kamus Istilah Kedokteran	Ing-Djer-Ind	1970, tjet.I
14.	Kamus Istilah Penjakit.	Inggris-Indonesia	1971, tjet.I

F. Panitia-Panitia Istilah Diluar Panitia Istilah Pusat:

1. Komisi Istilah Teknik swasta tahun 1950 terdiri dari: Baginda Sjarifoel Anwir, Soetan Basir Latif, B. Sjarif, R. Sumarto, M. Pamenan.

2. Komisi Istilah Ilmu Administrasi tahun 1967, terdiri dari: staf Dosen Balai Pembinaan Administrasi Universitas Gadjah Mada: Drs Sedijono, Drs Sutarto, Drs Made Pariata Westa, Drs Soehardiman Joewono, Drs Djaeni Slamet Widodo, Drs Soebakdi Soesilowidagdo, Drs R.I. Soetrisno, Drs The Liang Gie, Drs Ibnoe Sjamsi.

3. Komisi Istilah Kimia/Farmasi Ranting Bandung tahun 1968 terdiri dari: Dra S.A. Waworoentoe, Prof. Dr A. Amiruddin, Prof. Dr Isjrin Noedin, Prof. Dr Gruber, Prof. Dr C.R. Keyzer, Prof. Bizantz, Drs Muljono Purbohadiwidjojo, Drs Soetarto Mangunkawatja, Dr Sukemi Sudigdo, Dr N.M. Surdia, Dra I. Haryati, Dra I. Sianturi, Dra Pratiwi dan Ir Soegoto.

4. Panitia Isitilah Pekerdjaan Umum dan Tenaga Universitas Gadjah Mada tahun 1969 terdiri dari: Ketua: Prof. Ir. Achmad Antono, Anggota: Prof. Soewandi Notokusoemo (almarhum), Prof. Ir H. Johannes, Ir Soewarno, Drs. R. Soegondo, Drs R. Soegondo, Drs A. Wirono.

5. Panitia Istilah Pusat Penelitian Gama Badan Tenaga Atom Nasional, tahun 1971, terdiri dari: Ketua: Prof. Ir H. Johannes, Anggota: Prof. Dr A. Baiquni, Ir Prajoto, M.Sc., Mursid Djokolelomo, M.Sc., Drs Anwar Dani, Drs Sutrisno Puspodikoro, Ir Prijana, M.Sc.

Kamus-Kamus Istilah Jang Dihasilkan

1. Anwir dkk. Kamus Istilah Tehnik, Belanda - Indonesia. Djakarta, Penerbit Buku Tehnik Batang, 1950.

2. Anwir dkk. Kamus Istilah Tehnik, Inggris - Indonesia. Djakarta, Penerbit Buku Tehnik H. Stam, 1952.

3. Hasan Nata Permana: Kamus Istilah Ekonomi Asing - Indonesia, Bandung, Masa Baru, 1952.

4. Herman Busser: Penuntun Tatanama Senjawaan Karbon. Balai Penjelidikan Kimia, Bogor, 1957.

5. Muljono Purbohadiwidjojo: Kata-kata Istilah Geologi dan Ilmu-ilmu jang berhubungan. Durenas, 1965.

6. Kamus Istilah Ilmu Pengetahuan Alam. I.K.l.P. Bandung, 1965.

7. Dr Achmad Amiruddin. Kamus Istilah Pengetahuan Inti dan Pengetahuan jang Sehubungan. Badan Tenaga Atom Nasional, 1966.

8. Winardi. Kamus Ekonomi. Bandung, Akademica, 1966.

9. Anwir dan de Jager. Kamus Tehnik. Belanda, Inggris, Djerman, Indonesia, Djakarta, Pradnja Paramita, 1968.

10. Staf Dosen BPA. Kamus Administrasi. Gunung Agung, 1968.

11. G. Subroto: Istilah-istilah Dunia Penerbangan. Djakarta, Pradnja Paramita, 1969.

12. Prof. Subekti, S.H. dan Tjitrosoedibio. Kamus Hukum. Djakarta, Pradnja Paramita 1969.

13. Dr Ramali. Kamus Kedokteran. Djakarta, Djambatan.

14. Dr Garnadi Prawirosudirdjo. Kamus Anatomi dan Zoologi. Djakarta, Bharatara 1969.

15. Dr A. Hadyana Pudjatmaka dan Prof Dr A. Amirruddin: Kamus Istilah Kimia. Bandung, Jajasan Karyawan Kimia ITB, 1969.

16. The Liang Gie. Kamus Administrasi Perkantoran. Jogjakarta, Karya, 1971.

17. Panitia lstilah PUT-U.G.M. Kamus Istilah Teknik Sipil, 1971.

18. Panitia Istilah Puslit Gama. Kamus Istilah Ilmu Pengetahuan Nuklir, Jogjakarta, Puslit Gama Batan, 1972 (dalam penerbitan).

Source: *Seminiar Bahasa Indonesia 1972,*
Konsorsium Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial dan Budaja, 1972.

Appendix C

HASIL KONGGRES BAHASA INDONESIA II DI MEDAN TAHUN 1954

Seksi A

Tata Bahasa Indonesia dan Edjaan bahasa Indonesia dengan huruf Latin.

> Banjak Anggota: 125 orang
> Ketua: Mozasa (M.Z. Saidi)
> Wakil Ketua: Mangatas Nasution
> Pelapor I: Usman Effendi
> Pelapor II: Ismail

Panitia perumus Tatabahasa Indonesia

1. Sutan M. Said
2. Usman. Effendi
3. Ismail

Panitia perumus edjaan bahasa Indonesia dengan huruf Latin:

1. Kusuma St. Pamuntjak
2. Usman Effendi
3. Ismail

Preadvisur ialah Prof. Dr Prijono dalam:

1. Tatabahasa Indonesia
2. Edjaan bahasa Indonesia dengan huruf Latin

Jang telah membahas antara lain:

1. St. T. Alisjahbana
2. Sutan M. Zain
3. K. St. Pamuntjak
4. T.D. Situmorang
5. Sutirto

Konggres Bahasa Indonesia jang berlangsung dari t.gl. 28 Oktober - tgl. 2 Nopember 1954 di Medan, setelah membatja, menelaah dan membahas preadvis jang dikemukakan oleh Prof. Dr Prijana, memutuskan:

1. Mengusulkan kepada Pemerintah mengadakan suatu Badan Kompeten jang diakui oleh Pemerintah untuk:

   a. Dalam djangka pendek menjusun Tatabahasa Indonesia jang normatif bagi S.R., S.L.P., S.L.A.

   b. Dalam djangka pandjang menjusun suatu tatabahasa deskriptif jang lengkap.

2. Mengusulkan kepada Pemerintah, agar anggota-anggota Badan tersebut terdiri dari:

    a. Seorang sardjana bahasa, sebagai Ketua.

    b. Seorang dari Pers, sebagai Anggota.

    c. Seorang dari Radio sebagai Anggota.

    d. Beberapa orang ahli bahasa, sebagai Anggota.

    e. Beberapa orang ahli sardjana bahasa, sebagai penasihat.

    f. Dll. jang dianggap perlu.

3. Memberi tugas kepada Badan tersebut untuk menjiapkan rentjana dalam djangka waktu jang ditentukan.

4. Mengusulkan agar Badan tersebut dipimpin oleh seorang jang tjakap memimpin dan memang menundjukkan kegiatanja dalam perkembangan bahasa Indonesia.

5. Mengusulkan supaja badan tersebut selalu mengadakan koordinasi dengan badan-badan jang ada sangkut-pautnja dengan bahasa.

6. Mengusulkan agar Badan tersebut bekerdja dengan sistim diachronis dengan menentukan tanggal tertentu sebagai waktu titik permulaan penjelidikannja.

7. Mengusulkan agar Pemerintah berusaha supaja hasil Pekerdjaan Badan tersebut didjadikan suatu tatabahasa jang dilindungi dengan Undang-Undang.

8. Bahwa asal bahasa Indonesia ialah bahasa Melaju. Dasar bahasa Indonesia ialah bahasa Melaju jang disesuaikan dengan petumbuhannja dalam masjarakat Indonesia sekarang.

Konggres Bahasa Indonesia jang berlangsung dari tanggal 28 Oktober - tgl. 2 Nopember 1954 di Medan, setelah membatja, menelaah dan membahas preadvis jang dikemukakan oleh saudara Prof. Dr Prijana, memutuskan:

l. Menjetudjui sedapat-dapatnja menggambarkan 1 fonem dengan 1 tanda (huruf).

II. Menjetudjui menjerahkan penjelidikan dan penetapan dasar-dasar edjaan selandjutnja kepada suatu badan kompeten jang diakui oleh Pemerintah.

III. Mengusulkan agar Badan tersebut berusaha menjusun:

    a. Suatu aturan edjaan jang praktis untuk keperluan sehari-hari dengan sedapat mungkin mengingat pertimbangan ilmu.

    b. Suatu Logat Bahasa Indonesia jang halus, berdasarkan penjelidikan jang saksama dengan mempergunakan alat-alat modern.

IV. Menjetudjui agar edjaan untuk kata-kata asing jang terpakai dalam bahasa Indonesia, ditetapkan sesudah penjusunan edjaan bahasa Indonesia asli terlaksana, dengan pengertian bahwa untuk kata-kata Arab diadakan kerdja sama dengan Kementerian Agama.

V. Mengusulkan agar edjaan itu ditetapkan dengan Undang-undang.

Seksi B

Bahasa Indonesia dalam perundang-undangan dan administrasi.

Pelapor : Drs Soehardjo Soejobroto.

Panitia Perumus: Mr Mahadi, Drs Soehardjo Soejobroto. Kesimpulan-kesimpulan dari Seksi B. dalam Konggres Bahasa Indonesia di Medan.

Seksi B dalam Konggres Bahasa Indonesia, jang dilangsunkan di medan sedjak tanggal 28 Oktober 1954 - tgl. 2 Nopember 1954, setelah membatja preadvis saudara Prof. Mr. A.G. Pringgodigdo dan setelah membatja serta mempertimbangkan preadvis saudara Mr. Koentjoro Poerbopranoto mengambil kesimpulan-kesimpulan seperti teriring dibawah ini:

I. Supaja Pemerintah segera membentuk Panitia Negara, seperti jang dimaksudkan dalam pasal 145 U.U.D.S., dengan ketentuan bahwa, disamping tugas jang dimaksud dalam pasal tersebut, supaja kepada Panitia dibebankan djuga kewadjiban sebagai berikut:

A. Mengadakan pembetulan/penjempurnaan, jang dipandang perlu dalam bahasa Indonesia didalam Undang-undang, Undang-undang Darurat, Peraturan-peraturan Pemerintah dan Peraturan-peraturan Negara jang lain, misalnja:

1. Kata 'kebutuhan', sebab kata ini adalah kata tjabul dalam bahasa daerah. Umumnja, kata-kata tjabul dari bahasa daerah djanganlah dipergunakan.

2. Kata 'retributio' (lihat pasal 2 L.N. 1953 No.4). Demikian djuga seperti kata-kata 'rel', 'onderneming' dalam T.L.N. no.35 'diimporter', 'paberikasi rokok', dalam T.L.N. no. 350, 'Lescer', 'aparatur', T.L.N. no.351 'inrichting van het onderwijs', T.L.N. no.351.

Umumnja kata-kata asing jang mudah mendapat penggantinja djangan dipergunakan.

B. Memeriksa bahasa rantjangan Undang-undang Darurat, dan Peraturan-peraturan Negara jang lain, sebelum ditetapkan.

C. Mendjaga supaja istilah-istilah hukum bersifat tetap, terang dan djangan berubah sebelum mendapat persetudjuan Panitia tersebut.

II. Didalam Panitia tersebut di sub. I didudukkan sebagai anggota selain dari pada ahli-ahli Hukum dan Bahasa, djuga ahli-ahli Adat, ahli-ahli Agama dan ahli-ahli Hukum Agama.

III. Didalam Seksi Hukum dari Komisi Istilah hendaklah djuga didudukkan ahli-ahli Hukum Agama sebagai anggota.

IV. Untuk mentjapai KESERAGAMAN istilah Hukum jang dipakai dalam Dunia Perguruan Tinggi dan perundang-undangan hendaklah para Guru Besar dalam ilmu Hukum pada Peguruan Tinggi dan pada Sardjana Hukum pada waktu-waktu jang tertentu mengadakan pertemuan.

V. Supaja pihak Pemerintah tetap memakai istilah jang sama untuk satu pengertian hukum, misalnja: "Atas kuasa Undang-undang", (Undang-undang Dasar pasal 101 ajat 1) contra "berdasarkan" dalam L.N. 1953 no.4.

VI.   Supaja sesuatu istilah senantiasa ditulis dalam bentuk jang sama, misalnja: 'diubah', 'dirubah', 'dirobah' (L.N. 1954 No.39 L.N. 1953 no.4 pasal 1), 'Dewan Pemerintah Harian', (T.L.N. 353) contra 'Dewan Pemerintah Daerah', (U.U.R.I. 948 no.22).

VII.   Menjetudjui seluruhnja kesimpulan-kesimpulan dari no. 1-6, jang diperbuat oleh saudara Mr. Koentjoro Poerbopranoto pada achir preadvisnja, jang berbunji sebagai berikut:

1. Bahasa-Hukum Indonesia adalah bahagian dari bahasa umum Indonesia jang meliputi lapangan Hukum dalam masjarakat Indonesia dan pemeliharaan hukum serta penjelenggaraan pengadilan oleh instansi-instansi jang diakui oleh Undang-undang.

Instansi-instansi itu adalah instansi-instansi resmi Pengadilan, pun pula badan-badan atau petugas-petugas jang menurut Adat dan Agama diserahi penjelenggaraan Hukum Adat, dan Hukum Agama, termasuk Pengadilan Swapradja (dimana masih ada).

2. Bahasa Indonesia dalam perundang-undangan dan administrasi adalah bahagian bahasa-hukum Indonesia tertulis jang dipergunakan dalam perundang-undangan dan administrasi, jaitu oleh instansi-instansi resmi jang diserahi dengan penjelenggaraan administrasi dan pembuatan peraturan perundang-undangan, termasuk pengitaban hukum (codificatio) dan pentjatatan hukum (rechtsregistratie).

3. Persoalan-persoalan mengenai bahasa Indonesia pada umumnja berlaku pula terhadap dan berpengaruh pada bahasa Hukum (termasuk pula bahasa perundang-undangan dan bahasa administrasi) kita.

4. Dalam mentari, menggali, menghimpun dan membentuk istilah Hukum Indonesia sejogjanja dipakai dasar:

a. Bahan-bahan dari bahasa daerah jang meliputi seluruh daerah Hukum Indonesia;

b. Kata-kata istilah dari Bahasa Asing jang menurut sedjarah dan pemakaiannja sudah memperoleh kedudukan jang kuat dalam masjarakat Indonesia;

c. Kata-kata istilah bentukan baru jang menurut perhitungan baik berdasarkan isinja maupun pengutjapannja dapat diterima dan dipahami oleh masjarakat umum.

5. Dalam lapangan administrasi sangat besar gunanja kesamaan bentuk atau keseragaman guna melantjarkan penjelesaian surat menjurat dan memudahkan pemetjahan soal jang dihadapi. Berhubung dengan itu lazimlah dipakai dalam administrasi tjara penjelesaian soal jang disebut 'afdoening volgens antecedent/precedent'.

6. Adalah satu keuntungan besar dalam sedjarah Kebudajaan Bangsa kita, bahwa sebagai salah satu hasil revolusi Bangsa Indonesia telah dapat ditetapkan satu Bahasa kesatuan dan Bahasa Resmi, jaitu Bahasa Indonesia.

Medan, 1 Nopember 1954

Pelapor,   Ketua,
(Drs Soehardjo Soerjobroto)   (Achmad Bastari)

Disampaikan kepada Ketua Konggres Bahasa Indonesia di Medan.

Seksi C

Bahasa Indonesia sebagai bahasa ilmiah dan Kamus Etimologis Indonesia.

Ketua: Dr Med. Ahmad Ramali
Wakil Ketua: Dr A. Sahar
Pelapor: Bahrum Djamil
Preadvisur: Prof. Dr Prijohutomo

Telah mengutjapkan pendapat:

1. Dr Ahmad Sofjan
2. Dr Maas
3. Sdr. Muhammad Hidajat
4. Sdr. Abd. Manan
5. Sdr. Baheramsjah
6. Mat Dhelan
7. Bahrum Djamil
8. M. Zainuddin

Panitia Perumus Usul-usul:

1. Muhammad Hidajat
2. Hamka
3. Bahrum Djamil
4. Prof. Dr Prijohutomo
5. Abdul Manan
6. Baheramsjah St. Indra dan
7. Mar Dhelan

Perumusan keputusan Seksi C Konggres Bahasa Indonesia 1954.

Seksi C Konggres Bahasa Indonesia 1954, setelah dalam sidang-sidangnja memperbintjangkan preadvis Prof. Dr Prijohutomo tentang Bahasa Indonesia sebagai bahasa ilmiah dan Kamus Etimologis Indonesia, mengambil keputusan/kesimpulan untuk disarankan kepada sidang Pleno Konggres jang dapat dirumuskan demikian:

A. Mengenai Bahasa Indonesia sebagai ilmiah Konggres berpendapat:

1. Bahasa Indonesia dalam pertumbuhan dan perkembangannja kearah kesempurnaan pada dewasa ini, tidaklah mengalami banjak kesukaran dalam pemakaiannja sebagai bahasa ilmiah.

2. Maka untuk lebih menjempurnakan bahasa Indonesia mendjadi bahasa ilmiah dan kebudajaan didalam arti seluas-luas dan sedalam-dalamnja, perlu ditjiptakan iklim dan suasana sedemikian rupa, sehingga bahasa tersebut dapat berkembang setjara mulus sepurna.

3. Iklim dan suasana tersebut hanja mungkin ada djika ditetapkan dengan tegas politik bahasa sebagai tindakan organik terhadap pasal 4 U.U.D.S. jang berbunji "Bahasa resmi Negara Republik Indonesia ialah Bahasa Indonesia". Didalam politik itu sekurang-kurangnja haruslah ditetapkan usaha-usaha jang njata didalam rangka pembangunan nasional antara lain:

   a. Pendirian Djawatan Penterjemah Negara jang kompeten, dengan diberi perlengkapan personalia, peralatan dan keuangan jang tjukup.

   b. Sikap terhadap kedudukan bahasa daerah, sebagai sumber kebudajaan dan kekajaan bahasa nasional.

   c. Sikap tegas terhadap bahasa asing, misalnja penindjauan kembali pengadjaran bahasa Inggeris di Sekolah Landjutan jang sekarang dilakukan dengan setjara meluas dan merata, dengan kemungkinan menggantinja dengan sekolah-sekolah bahasa asing (Foreign Linguistic Schools) untuk kepentingan negara dalam hubungan Internasional.

   d. Adanja mimbar kuliah bahasa Indonesia, bahasa-bahasa daerah, antara lain Melaju, Djawa, Sunda, Madura, Bali, Bugis, Minangkabau, Bahasa-bahasa daerah Tapanuli, Atjeh dll.

   c. Adanja mimbar kuliah bahasa Indonesia, bahasa-bahasa tetangga, misalnja bahasa Arab, Sansekerta, Urdu, Tionghoa dll.

   f. Huruf Arab jang biasa disebut huruf Melaju supaja tetap diadjarkan disekolah-sekolah didaerah jang memakainja.

B. Mengenai ichtiar untuk memperlengkap kata-kata jang diperlukan didalam dunia ilmu pengetahuan dan kebudajaan, maka Konggres Bahasa Indonesia mengandjurkan:

   1. Istilah-istilah jang telah biasa biasa dipakai saat ini, diakui.

   2. Istilah jang telah disiarkan oleh Komisi Istilah, supaja disaring dengan djalan berpegang kepada pengertian keseluruhannja, dan tidak hanja merupakan penterdjemahan kata-kata bahagiannja.

   3. Semua istilah Internasional dalam lapangan ilmiah dan kebudajaan diterima dengan ketentuan diselaraskan dengan lisan Indonesia, apabila perlu dan tidak merusak pengertiannja.

   4. Untuk memperkaja perbendaharaan kata bahasa Indonesia, hendaklah terutama diambil kata-kata dari bahasa daerah dan bahasa jang serumpun.

C. Andjuran-andjuran:

   1. Menganjurkan supaja para sarjana Indonesia mengadakan pertemuan-pertemuan keahlian untuk membahas ilmu pengetahuan dalam lapangannja dengan memakai bahasa Indonesia sebagai bahasa pengantar.

2. Menganjurkan kepada para sardjana untuk mengarang buku tentang keahliannja dalam bahasa Indonesia.

3. Menganjurkan kepada Pemerintah untuk memberikan penghargaan dan honorarium jang tjukup menarik untuk setiap karangan dan hasil keahlian dan kesusasteraan jang diterima.

4. Mengadakan perpustakaan untuk semua sekolah masjarakat jang tjukup lengkap.

Mengenai preadvis tentang kamus Etimologis Indonesia, Konggres berpendapat supaja Pemerintah segera mendirikan sebuah Lembaga untuk menjusun Kamus Etimologis Indonesia.

Selandjutnja Panitia Perumus mengambil keputusan untuk mengusulkan supaja mengumumkan kepada masjarakat:

a. Pidato pembangkang utama saudara Hamka
b. Pidato Herman Busser
c. Pidato Prof. Dr A.A.Fokker

Panitia Perumus Seksi C

Muhammad Hidajat; Dr Prijohutomo; H. Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah; H. Bahrum Djamil; Abdul Manan; Baheramsjah St. Indera; Mat. Dhelan.

Seksi D

Bahasa Indonesia dalam pergaulan sehari-hari.

1. Didalam pergaulan sehari-hari, jaitu didalam perhubungan antara manusia jang bersifat lebar dilapangan hidup jang bebas hendaklah senantiasa diusahakan dan diutamakan pemakaian Bahasa Indonesia sebanjak-banjaknja didalam bentuk jang sebaik-baiknja.

2. Untuk mentjapai tudjuan ini, haruslah ada usaha pengembangan Bahasa Indonesia jang dilakukan dengan insaf dan menurut rentjana jang teratur, berdasarkan kesadaran dan kejakinan berbahasa satu, disertai usaha penjempurnaan atjara penting dalam rangka pembangunan nasional.

3. Politik bahasa jang tegas jang mampu menjuburkan rasa tjinta kepada bahasa Indonesia dan jang sanggup melenjapkan rasa kurang-harga diri, terhadap bahasa asing, hendaklah mengatur kedudukan Bahasa Indonesia dan hubungan bahasa ini dengan bahasa-bahasa daerah, baik disekolah, sedjak dari sekolah rendah sampai keperguruan tinggi maupun didalam masjarakat.

4. Sebagai dasar politik bahasa itu hendaklah ditetapkan:

a. Sesuai dengan politik bahasa U.U.D.S. R.I. bahasa resmi negara Indonesia ialah bahasa Indonesia.

b. Pengembangan Bahasa Indonesia tidak boleh bermaksud menahan perkembangan bahasa-bahasa daerah dan pengembangan bahasa-bahasa daerah tidak boleh pula bermaksud menolak Bahasa Indonesia.

5. Guna memudahkan dan melantjarkan perkembangan Bahasa Indonesia mendjadi bahasa pergaulan sehari-hari bagi seluruh bangsa Indonesia sebagai bahasa-ibunja, haruslah ada bimbingan jang njata pada pertumbuhan dan pembinaan Bahasa Indonesia itu.

6. Oleh karena itu Seksi mengandjurkan supaja dibentuk suatu Lembaga Bahasa Indonesia jang antara lain dapat diberi tugas sebagai berikut:

   a. Mengadakan usaha-usaha pemakaian Bahasa Indonesia jang meluas dan mendalam disegala lapangan hidup dan untuk segala lapisan masjarakat.

   b. Mengadakan usaha mempertinggi nilai dan mutu Bahasa Indonesia dengan memberikan bimbingan jang tegas dalam penggunaan Bahasa Indonesia.

   c. Dalam waktu sesingkat-singkatnja menjusun suatu tatabahasa Indonesia jang bersahadja dan normatif, terutama untuk dipakai disekolah-sekolah.

   d. Mengusahakan kesempurnaan edjaan Bahasa Indonesia.

   e. Mengusahakan adanja penghargaan jang sewadjarnja dari dunia luar.

Sekolah-sekolah rakjat jang merupakan pesamaian benih-benih bahasa pergaulan sehari-hari dalam bentuk jang semurni-murninja disamping usaha pemberantasan buta huruf jang didjalankan dengan mempergunakan sematjam basis Indonesia, dan radio, pilem serta pesurat-kabaran haruslah dengan insaf membantu sekuat-kuatnja perkembangan dan pembinaan Bahasa Indonesia itu.

Untuk mendjamin pemakaian Bahasa Indonesia jang baik dilapangan tersebut diatas, mestilah ada penelitian dan pengawasan jang saksama oleh Lembaga Bahasa Indonesia dan Pemerintah.

Diketahui:

Ketua Seksi D
(A.D. Rangkuti)

Wk. Ketua
(Jesuf A. Puar)

Panitia Perumus:

1. Abdullah Zahri
2. Nn. Wurjanti
3. Madong Lubis
4. J.E. Tatengkeng
5. Annas Adjuddin

Perumusan keputusan Seksi D Konggres Bahasa Indonesia 1954.

Seksi D

Konggres Bahasa Indonesia 1954, dengan menjesalkan tidak diundangnja para sastrawan Indonesia, setelah dalam sidangnja memperbintjangkan preadvis Bahrum Rangkuti tentang 'Bahasa Indonesia dalam prosa dan puisi', mengambil keputusan-keputusan jang dapat dirumuskan sbb:

1. Beda Bahasa Indonesia dari Bahasa Melaju njata sekali dalam prosa dan puisinja, djadi dalam kesusasteraanja. Dapatlah dikatakan bahwa Bahasa Indonesia dalam kesusasteraannja lebih banjak variasinja dari Bahasa Melaju dalam seni prosa dan puisinja. Meskipun begitu masih banjak djenis kesusasteraan Melaju klasik jang patut mendjadi perhatian, bahkan mungkin mendjadi perangsang bagi perkembangan kesusasteraan Bahasa Indonesia.

2. Perlu diadakan Balai Penterdjemah Sastra jang bertugas mengusahakan terjemahan hasil-hasil sastra dunia dan sastra daerah Indonesia.

3. Perlu dilakukan penjelidikan jang luas dan mendalam tentang kesusasteraan bahasa-bahasa Indonesia dan hasil kesusasteraan bahasa-bahasa tetangga (India, Parsi, Arab dsb.) jang zat-zatnja ada mengesakan pengaruh pada sastra Melaju klasik maupun Indonesia modern.

4. Perlu diterbitkan berbagai naskah kepustakaan Melaju klasik disamping hasil-hasil kesusasteraan Indonesia modern. Demikian djuga berbagai pendapat para sardjana dan sastrawan mengenai hasil kesusasteraan Melaju klasik dan bahasa Indonesia jang terbesar diberbagai, naskah dan buku.

5. Perlu diusahakan buku-buku jang menguraikan stilistik Bahasa Indonesia dengan memperhatikan sifat dan luasan kesusasteraan Indonesia dan penjelidikan jang luas tentang logat Bahasa Melaju diberbagai daerah Nusantara (termasuk tanah Melaju) untuk mengetahui inti-hakekat prosodi Bahasa Indonesia.

6. Perlu diwudjudkan perpustakaan kesusasteraan jang lengkap disekolah-sekolah, baik rendah, landjutan maupun seterusnja.

7. Perlu ada usaha menggiatkan tunas muda kesusasteraan Indonesia antaranja sekolah sandiwara, deklamasi dsb.

<div align="center">Mengetahui:</div>

Ketua	Wk. Ketua
(A.D. Rangkuti)	(Jusuf A. Puar)

Kesimpulan-kesimpulan sidang Seksi D

Bahasa Indonesia dalam pilem.

I. Jang dimaksud dengan bahasa pilem jaitu salah suatu alat pengutaraan fikiran, perasaan, kehendak dll. Jang dimaksud dengan bahasa dalam pilem jaitu salah suatu unsur dalam bahasa pilem disamping gambar dan bunji-bunjian lain.

II. Pilem diakui sebagai salah satu alat penting untuk menjebarkan dan mengembangkan Bahasa Indonesia serta membuat Bahasa Indonesia populer dikalangan segala lapisan masjarakat diseluruh tanah air.

III. Pilem dapat membantu proses pertumbuhan Bahasa Indonesia Umum a.l. dengan mentjernakan bahasa-bahasa daerah, baik dalam idiomnja, istilahnja, tjara pengutjapannja dll. kedalam Bahasa Indonesia.

IV. Tidaklah sewadjarnja diadakan suatu paksaan untuk mendapatkan Bahasa Indonesia

jang sedjenis (uniform) untuk pilem, karena dalam mentjiptakan sebuah pilem haruslah disesuaikan bahasanja dengan ragam tjeritera, jang berbeda-beda menurut suasana dan daerah. Djuga karena paksaan sematjam itu bertentangan dengan dasar pentjiptaan seni setjara bebas.

V. Mengandjurkan kepada pembuat-pembuat pilem untuk memakai Bahasa Indonesia jang baik, jang dapat dipertanggung djawabkan sebagai suatu hasil pentjiptaan seni jang sempurna.

VI. Karena fungsinja jang penting itu, sewadjarnjalah persoalan-persoalan pilem lebih banjak mendapat perhatian dari Pemerintah, terutama dari kem. P.P. dan K. dengan tjara mendjalankan politik pilem jang lebih aktif.

VII. Supaja teks terjemahan pilem luar negeri diperhatikan oleh Panitia Sensor Pilem.

VIII. Untuk mendjaga pemakaian Bahasa Indonesia jang baik dalam pilem supaja bahasa dalam pilem itu melalui Panitia Sensor Pilem Indonesia.

Diketahui:

Ketua Seksi D
(A.D. Rangkuti)

Wk. Ketua Seksi D
(Jusuf A. Puar)

Panitia Perumus:
1. Usmar Ismail
2. H.B. Angin
3. Anwar Dharma
4. S. Prawiraatmadja.

Seksi E

Bahasa Indonesia dalam Pers dan Radio

Ketua: T. Sjahril
Wakil Ketua: Ani Idrus
Pelapor: M. Said
Panitia Perumus:

1. Adi Negoro
2. Marbangun
3. Nugroho
4. Datuk Besar
5. M. Said
6. Kamarsjah

Resolusi Seksi E

Seksi E dari Konggres Bahasa Indonesia jang bersidang pada tanggal 30 dan 31 Oktober 1954 bertempat di balai Wartawan dan Balai Polisi di Medan, setelah menerima baik preadvis-preadvis tentang fungsi Bahasa Indonesia dalam Pers dan Bahasa Indonesia dalam penjiaran radio, dengan suara bulat telah memutuskan untuk mengandjurkan kepada sidang Konggres supaja mengambil resolusi tentang Bahasa Indonesia dalam Pers dan Radio sbb.:

Resolusi tentang Bahasa Indonesia dalam Pers dan Radio. Memperhatikan:

Tudjuan Konggres jang dimaksudkan menindjau kedudukan dan kegunaan Bahasa Indonesia dalam segenap lapangan hidup, baik sebagai bahasa pergaulan maupun sebagai

bahasa ilmu pengetahuan, agar mendjadi pegangan bagi penjelidikan selandjutnja dinegeri kita dan akan berharga pula bagi penjelidikan bahasa dinegara-negara tetangga.

Mengingat:

1. Pers dan Radio bertugas melaksanakan alat hubungan semesta (mass communication).

2. Bahasa itu merupakan alat dari pada Pers dan Radio.

3. Alat dari pada Pers dan Radio Indonesia adalah Bahasa Indonesia.

4. Bahasa Indonesia sebagai suatu bahasa selalu dalam pertumbuhan bahasa didalam masjarakat (deskriptif) dengan teliti.

Menimbang:

1. Pers dan Radio wadjib dan berhak melaksanakan tugasnja dengan sebaik-baiknja.

2. Bahasa sebagai alat Pers dan Radio harus dibuat seeffektif-effektifnja atau didjadikan sebaik-baiknja.

3. Kebaikan bahasa sebagai alat Pers dan Radio terletak pada sifat mudah dan djelas.

4. Sifat mudah dan djelas itu tertjapai djika mengikuti pertumbuhan bahasa dengan timbulnja kata-kata, langgam-langgam, gaja dan ungkapan-ungkapan baru didalam masjarakat.

Menjatakan pendapat sebagai berikut:

1. Bahasa Indonesia didalam Pers dan Radio tak dapat dianggap sebagai bahasa jang tak terpelihara dan rusak.

2. Bahasa Indonesia didalam Pers dan Radio adalah bahasa masjarakat umum jang langsung mengikuti pertumbuhan sebagai fungsi masjarakat.

3. Pers dan Radio hendaknja sedapat mungkin berusaha memperhatikan tatabahasa jang resmi.

4. Menganggap perlu supaja diandjurkan adanja kerdjasama jang lebih erat antara Pers dan Radio dengan Balai-Balai Bahasa.

Source: *Konggres Bahasa Indonesia*
Di Kota Medan 28 Oktober - 2 Nopember 1954,
Djawatan Kebudajaan Kem. P.P. dan K.,
Bahagian Bahasa, Djakarta, 1955.

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