

BAHASA INDONESIA AVANT LA LETTRE IN THE 1920s

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Whereas the social function of the Indonesian language¹, especially in its historical perspective, has been the subject of many studies,² there are no linguistic descriptions of the main varieties of 20th century Malay which have directly contributed to the emergence of Indonesian, except for the many textbooks in which the 'classical' or 'Riau' Malay is presented. Nor is there any study of the processes of convergence that have been decisive for the development of modern Indonesian. The matter is not only of historical interest. Insight into the mechanisms of convergence between varieties of the same language is of paramount importance for understanding the present situation with regard to the norm of standard Indonesian as well as for recognising the true nature of diglossia in monolingual speakers of Indonesian, presently estimated at 17 per cent of the population.³

I do not attempt to give here a sketch of the existing literature and ongoing research in the field of linguistic convergence. I confine myself to mentioning, in the final part of this essay, a recent study by Jeff Siegel (1987) on koineisation that seems to me highly relevant for students of Indonesian. His approach leads us to a field somewhat separate from the study of borrowing, interference between languages, pidginisation and creolisation. It is a field that lies close to studies on *Umgangssprache* 'colloquial language' and *Dialekt und Einheitssprache* 'dialect and standard language'. There is a wealth of literature dealing with these topics with regard to most Western languages. We have in particular a great deal to learn from the linguistic situation in areas where German is spoken, not only from 'classics' such as Kloss (1952, 1967) or Ammon (1973), but also from German scholars who specialise in local situations, as represented in the two recent volumes on *Dialektologie* (Besch et al., eds 1982-83).

It is also beyond the scope of this essay to deal with the history of Malay prior to this century. However, much of what will be said about the convergence of varieties of 'modern Malay' is also applicable to earlier stages in the development of the Malay language. And a better understanding of the development of modern Indonesian seen as a process of koineisation may prove to be stimulating for the study of other, and older, varieties of Malay.

Looking upon Indonesian as a koine is not something entirely new. For example, as early as 1938 Soewandhie (1938:35) called modern Indonesian a 'koine', based, as he put it, on 'Middle

¹An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Sixth European Colloquium on Indonesian and Malay Studies, held in Passau, Germany, 22-27 June 1987.

²An extensive bibliography is given in Bodenstedt 1967. Later publications include: Alisjahbana 1970; Teeuw 1972; Swellengrebel 1974 (esp. pp. 173 ff.), 1978 (esp. pp. 3 ff., 103ff.); Bachtiar 1975; Abas 1987; Prentice 1978; Khaidir Anwar 1980; Steinhauer 1980, 1987; Van Randwijck 1981 (esp. pp. 432-444); Vikør 1983; Moeliono 1985, 1986.

³A.M. Moeliono, personal communication. For Moeliono's interpretation of diglossia in speakers of Indonesian see Moeliono 1986:52-53.

Indonesian': "Kami berpendapatan, bahwa *bahasa Indonesia modern* itoe, ja'ni *bahasa persatoean ra'jat Indonesia*, tidak lain tidak boekan ialah soeatoe 'KOINE' dari *bahasa Indonesia pertengahan*'. ("We are of the opinion that *modern Indonesian*, that is the *language of [national] unity of the Indonesian people*, is nothing else than a 'koine' originating from *Middle Indonesian*."*)¹ However, in this essay we shall not go back into history as far as Soewandhie's 'Middle Indonesian'.

The first step to be taken, if we wish to study convergence between varieties of 20th century Malay, is to isolate those varieties which play a leading part in the process from those which do not. Towards this end some theoretical considerations can be put forward, and we can also study the opinions and attitudes of people who are, or have been, responsible for language policy. Such preliminary explorations would precede an endeavour to describe the varieties in question and to study their interrelation.

In view of the wide scope of the subject I focus on one particular period in the history of Indonesian, namely the 1920s. This was a decisive period for the emergence of the idea of national unity, and one consequence was that during this period the term *bahasa Indonesia* came into use. A very readable introduction to the political situation of those years is to be found in the first part of Bernhard Dahm's thesis, especially in the American edition (Dahm 1969).

In making the attempt to distinguish between relevant and less relevant varieties of Malay I find I must first (section 1) deal with the central theme of *daerah* 'the region'. In this case 'the region' means primarily the areas outside Java and Madura. Then I examine the opinions of some of the Dutch authorities in the Netherlands Indies' Department of Education (section 2), the Dutch educationalist J. Kats (section 3), a responsible official in the Bureau for Popular Literature (*Volkslectuur*) in close cooperation with Indonesian translators (section 4), and, finally, a young Javanese official, functioning in the *priyayi* (Javanese officials of noble birth) tradition (section 5). In conclusion I deal with Siegel's approach and its relevance for the study of Indonesian (section 6).

I do not have any explicit answer to the question posed by A.M. Moeliono (1986:52), as to which variety of Malay the young Indonesians had in mind in 1928, when they proclaimed *bahasa Indonesia* as the language of national unity. At that time they themselves were obviously more concerned with the cause of political unity than with the problem of the variation in their usage of Malay. However, a few lines of the language as used by two of the most prominent leaders may serve as an implicit indication of the answer (see Appendix 5 and 6). Some other textual samples are used to illustrate official Malay usage of the period.

I. DIVERGING AND CONVERGING VARIETIES OF MALAY

Both divergence and convergence between linguistic varieties are determined to a great extent by ethnic or regional identity on the one hand and communicative needs on the other. If a variety typically symbolises social identity, as is normally the case with local dialects or other in-group speech, it tends to exclude outsiders by being 'intolerant': even minor deviations from the norm betray and discredit the foreigner. At the opposite end are varieties that serve as tools for wider communication. These tolerate more variation and are more apt to contribute to a process of convergence. For our purpose it seems necessary to make a distinction between the Malay varieties of both sorts. The local dialect in the originally Malay areas, as well as Malay vernaculars found elsewhere, such as Jakarta Malay (Betawi) or Manado Malay, fall into the category of divergent

¹In this essay all passages which are translated by the author – from Dutch, German or Indonesian (Malay) – are marked with an asterisk: *.

varieties as long as they strongly symbolise group identity. Nababan (1985:8-9, Table 3) reports a notably low percentage of speakers of Indonesian as a first language in Manado, and a very high percentage in Jakarta. This points to a strong position for vernacular Malay in Manado and probably indicates that, for the majority of inhabitants of Manado, their local Malay is an ethnically determined variety. The same holds good for the speakers of the original Jakarta Malay vernacular. But these presently form a very small minority of the inhabitants of Jakarta. The majority speak, rather unsystematically, a kind of *Umgangssprache* which they rightly identify as Indonesian. Manadonese Malay and Jakarta Malay belong to the diverging types of varieties, whereas the *Umgangssprache* is converging.

Convergent varieties of Malay function in most cases as second languages for their speakers, who often do not even master them fully. Second languages are by definition languages of wider communication and as such are automatically involved in processes of convergence. Even pidginised varieties fall into this category (a sample is given in Appendix 1). The same probably holds good for parts of the classical Malay literature, of which Hooykaas (1939:412) wrote, rather impressionistically, that the Malay manuscripts almost without exception use a restricted vocabulary and thus are accessible to people who have a limited knowledge of Malay. Another possibility suggested by Hooykaas (p.412) (also without giving solid arguments) is that the authors were *peranakans* (Indonesia-born Chinese) who were unable to do better. In that case as well there must have been convergence.

For any further linguistic study of Malay in the 1920s (and later) it seems to me essential to realise that Malay, as a language of wider communication, has always been bi-directional. On the one hand the norm lies in what has been taught as, or is intuitively felt to be, 'general Malay'; on the other hand there is accommodation towards the addressee's variety. This phenomenon can be observed in newspapers as well as in official documents. As early as 1858 the editor of the *Soerat Chabar Batawie* (The Batavia Newspaper) announced that this weekly would use a type of language "not too high, but not too low either, so that anybody who knew Malay would be able to understand it"* (see Appendix 2). For the sociolinguist there is still the task of selecting the criteria that determine whether or not a given text in a given period belongs to the diasystem of 'general' Malay. Local *vernacular* Malay such as Kelantan Malay, Trengganu Malay, Deli Malay, but also Manado Malay and Jakarta Malay would be excluded by definition from this diasystem, even in the case of close contacts and heavy mutual interference.

Clearly, in such an approach the *daerah* is not a linguistic category. Discrete, typically regional Malay vernaculars can be classified as *Abstandssprachen* 'distance languages', to use Kloss's term for varieties regarded as individual languages purely on the basis of their linguistic distance from all other varieties, even those closely related. In opposition to *Abstandssprachen* Kloss (1952:17) uses the term *Ausbausprachen* 'development languages' for languages that are in some way developing into *Kultursprachen* 'culture languages'. In the 1920s Indonesian *avant la lettre* 'general Malay' was already clearly an *Ausbausprache* (cf. also Kloss 1967:29ff. – "The term *Ausbausprache* may be defined as 'language by development'. Languages belonging in this category are recognized as such because of having been shaped or reshaped, moulded or remoulded – as the case may be – in order to become a standardized tool of literary expression..."). Here, then, the concept of the *daerah* is not very relevant for the theory.

From another point of view, however, the regional aspect has had a considerable influence on the development of Malay. Administratively, the Netherlands Indies were divided into Java and Madura, and the Outer Islands. In the Outer Islands as a whole there was no dominating vernacular such as

Javanese in Java. The use of Malay for administrative purposes was vital, and the number of speakers of most vernaculars was too small for teaching the vernacular as a subject in schools. Where Malay was the only Indonesian language to be taught, it was in a stronger position than it was in Java, where many hours were spent in teaching the vernacular, either Javanese, Sudanese or Madurese. Nevertheless, in Java the administration could not abandon the use of Malay either, because of the presence of millions of Sudanese and Madurese speakers. On the other hand, all varieties of colloquial Malay in Java were heavily penetrated by Javanese elements. The rank-and-file officials had developed a tradition of various kinds of *Melayu dines* '[civil] service Malay' based on this Javanese Malay. Such *Melayu dines* was used in writing, and some manuals for officials were even produced in this jargon, as we shall see later. In spite of the regional differences most Malay varieties of the convergent type were mutually intelligible. They all shared a common Dutch influence extending back over a long period of time, not to speak of emigrant Javanese influence in the Outer Islands and that of Arabic, Chinese, Portuguese and English.

Paradoxically, of all the regions where convergent Malay gradually developed into a modern culture language, it was Java that became the leading region. The reason for this is obvious. It was in the cities of Java that the leading intellectuals met. It was they who brought contributions by the other regions to Java, as the meeting point. Many of these intellectuals had lived in the Netherlands as students. Harsja Bachtier (1975) has pointed out that, as expatriates in Holland, they functioned as one social group, as a group of natives of the Netherlands Indies. In isolation from their respective regional backgrounds, a consciousness of a common identity developed. Endeavours to promote ethnic solidarity with the help of periodicals for regional groups were unsuccessful. Neither a Javanese monthly which appeared in Amsterdam nor an association of Sumatran students established in 1919 ever flourished, whereas the supra-ethnic *Perhimpunan Indonesia* 'the Indonesian Association' was fully supported by the students. The supra-ethnic function of the Malay language became manifest in their journal. Back in Indonesia these students, with others who had studied in Java, formed the core of the new national intelligentsia who adopted Malay as the tool and symbol of national unity (for a summary see Abas 1987:158-159). This development took place on Javanese soil, in surroundings where Javanese Malay was abundantly present in everyday speech, in the press and in the official jargon. Speakers and writers from the Outer Islands, especially from Sumatra with its native Malay background, became the pre-eminent preservers of the Malay warp thread in the multicoloured and often loose texture of the newly emerging *bahasa Indonesia*.

2. THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND RELIGION AND THE CONVERGENCE OF MALAY

In the 1920s Malay as taught in the schools was identified with Riau Malay, also called Van Ophuijsen Malay because of the great authority gained by Van Ophuijsen's (1910) grammar, based on Riau or Johor Malay (p.3). However, the leading officials at the Department of Education and Religion were well aware of the fact that considerable dissimilarities existed between 'school Malay' and modern 'cultivated Malay' *beschaafd Maleisch*. This appears from a letter by the Director of Education and Religion, J. Hardeman, to the Governor-General on 20 September 1927. He reported that circles of educated Chinese, for whom the Dutch-Chinese School had been established, had objections against Malay as a school subject, because "the Malay which is taught in the Native schools and which is used in all the textbooks, is of little or no value"* . The Director himself observed that there was "a yawning gap between the Riau Malay as it is officially prescribed for the

schools and the cultivated Malay as it is used here in Java rather generally in everyday contacts, albeit with local variations, at meetings and in the press”* (quoted in van der Wal, comp. 1963:417).

We can see that the Director was well informed about the feelings of at least part of the Chinese community with regard to the value of textbook Malay, by the following quotation from an article by Kwee Tek Hoay which appeared in 1928, in which he discussed the *bahasa Melajoe rendah* or *bahasa Betawi* (Low Malay or Batavian) as commended by Lie Kim Hok: “We believe that low Malay will finally completely overcome Riau Malay, also called Melajoe Ophuijsen, which at present is still countenanced by the government”* (*dan kita pertjaja achirnja bakal kalahken dan moesnakan sama sekali bahasa Melajoe Riouw atawa Melajoe Ophuijsen jang sekarang masih dilingdoengken oleh Goevernement*) (quoted in Salmon 1981:116).

On the other hand, some leading *peranakan* Chinese educationalists and journalists, including Kwee Tek Hoay himself and the autodidact Koo Liong Ing, realised very well that there was a need for a type of school where lower-class *peranakan* children could learn to read and write Malay in order to be able to assist their parents or to find a job. In view of Kwee Tek Hoay's above-mentioned comment they were probably thinking of low Malay as a subject to be taught at such schools (Salmon 1989).

Two years later B.J.O. Schrieke, in his well-known letter to the Governor-General on 14 September 1929, wrote that it was hard to know whether the Riau Malay in the schools should be replaced by some other sort of Malay. In Java this pure Malay was not used anywhere. The advocates of replacement argued in favour of instruction in the language of the Malay and Chinese-Malay press (*de Chinees-Maleise pers*) and the Malay of official correspondence. Schrieke pointed out that both kinds of Malay were “far from identical” and that even in the native newspapers a high degree of variation (“*sterk afwijkende nuances*”) occurred: “In the past decades...partly due to the growth of the various associations” (“*mede ten gevolge van het zich ontwikkelend verenigingsleven*”) a Malay trade language had been developing, “which is being cultivated by the Bureau for Popular Literature [*Volkslectuur*] and some of the native press and is being propagated by a few gifted speakers at meetings”. For practical reasons – no educational tools were available except those for teaching Riau Malay – and because the more modern language had “not yet been professionally studied” (“*nog geen beoefenaars heeft gevonden*”), Schrieke advised maintaining the Riau Malay: “This anyhow provides an adequate base for the understanding of any other sort of Malay”* (quoted in van der Wal, comp. 1963:491).

Thus there was recognition of the problem at the highest government level, but no solution. Nine years later this state of affairs remained unchanged. P.J.A. Idenburg, then Director of Education and Religion, wrote on 24 September 1938 to the Governor-General, in connection with the planned foundation of a Faculty of Arts, that at that time there was complete uncertainty about the development of the Malay language:

which is of such a crucial importance for the unity of our archipelago. *Volkslectuur*, with a highly commendable energy, is aiming at the development of a sort of cultural Malay, that on the one hand has to remain firmly embedded in the basic structure of the language, and on the other hand adapts itself to the needs of the modern age and offers opportunities for adopting the new developments in the language. However, the matter is far from being settled. On the part of certain linguists there is heavy criticism against the *Volkslectuur* Malay.* (quoted in van der Wal, comp. 1963:642)

This latter remark refers to the discussion between Esser and Voorhoeve in the journal *De Opwekker* of 1935 and 1936 (see Hooykaas 1939:430).

There was more than one reason for this uncertainty about the future of the Malay language among both government officials and linguists. Throughout the history of Western education in Indonesia, official policy with regard to the allocation of functions between Malay and Dutch (the only serious rival to Malay during the first decades of this century) had been a matter of dispute, and several times the pendulum of opinions caused a change in the scene. Malay in the 1920s had not yet sufficiently expanded to give full access to the Western world; this fact was realised by Indonesians and Dutch alike. But on the Dutch side most professional experts in the field of language and literature were not familiar with the linguistic implications of contact between languages and varieties, and the special position and potential of second languages. At the time linguistics concentrated less on variation in language than on structure. Traditionally the linguistic officers were trained for, and allotted, the study of vernaculars, the native languages of ethnic communities. Those of them who best understood that Malay was indeed developing into a fully fledged culture language had gained that insight from their work at Balai Pustaka or as teachers of Malay. The study of Malay grammar was primarily oriented towards educational needs and thus had a markedly prescriptive character. This holds also for the study of classical Malay (Teeuw 1959:154-155).

3. KATS AND SCHOOL MALAY

Recently Harry A. Poeze (1984) has written a biography of J. Kats, on the occasion of the republication of Kats' book of 1923 on the Javanese theatre (Kats 1984). In this he has brought to the fore an interesting piece of colonial educational policy that had fallen into oblivion, as he rightly states. Indonesianists know Kats best through his above-mentioned book and his writings on Javanese music, dance and theatre, mainly published in *Djawa*, and also through his edition of the Old Javanese *Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan*, which appeared in 1910.

Kats did not receive a university education, and in essence always remained the man he was when he arrived in Indonesia in 1897, an educator. Poeze (1984:xxii) observes that in the 1930s, after Kats' retirement, the younger and professionally trained university graduates rather looked down on the self-taught man.¹ Much later Teeuw (1961:22) judges that, from a linguistic point of view, Kats' (1919-21) Malay textbooks (*Spraakunst en Taaleigen van het Maleisch*) "are without any scientific merit". Dealing with Kats' (1921-27) Javanese textbook Uhlenbeck (1964:75) writes: "Kats employed a terminology of his own which, however, only acted as a kind of disguise for the more familiar traditional terminology, without reflecting a really different approach". As the grammatical study on which Kats had been working until 1941 never appeared (Poeze 1984:xxi), it is unknown whether Kats developed more original insights later.²

¹Professor Drewes disagrees with Poeze's view. He recalls that most of the specialists only knew Kats by name.

²Poeze has composed a bibliography of Kats' works which is included in the same volume as the biography (Poeze 1984). As far as the books intended for use in education are concerned this task was far from easy. Kats frequently revised and reorganised his textbooks. Several of the revised editions are not found in the collections and catalogues available in Indonesia and The Netherlands. Of Kats' Malay anthology *Warna Sari Melajoe I* the first edition is not relevant for our purpose as it does not contain the samples of text to be discussed in this article. It appeared in 1922. From the second edition on (Kats 1928) the non-standard Malay texts are included, with changes in the third edition (1930) and again in the fourth edition (1934). The fifth (1939) and sixth (1940, not mentioned by Poeze) editions are both unchanged. For reference I use the fourth edition (Kats 1934) which contains the text in its finally revised form. The last known edition of the Malay grammar (Kats 1919-1921) is of 1942. The Javanese grammar (Kats 1921-1927) was revised and reprinted until 1930.

What matters here is that Kats was keenly aware of the importance of variation. In 1928 he published a second edition of the first volume of his Malay anthology *Warna sari Melajoe* (Kats 1928b). It is a 200-page collection of Malay texts, for the greater part consisting of samples of non-standard Malay. Each text is followed by a translation into 'cultivated' (*beschaafd*) Malay. The texts are arranged according to three main types of social setting: (a) the 'group type', (b) the 'rank-difference type' and (c) the 'regional type'. The term 'type' is a free rendering of Kats' term *schakeering* 'variegation, gradation, shade'.

(a) The 'group type' comprises four kinds of social circles, each of which has its own characteristic language use. Kats calls these 'language circles' (*taalkringen*).

The first circle bears the Malay heading *Kaoem keloearga-Sahabat* ('Relatives and Friends'). Here children's language, the speech of young people between themselves, the speech of women, of elderly people and of children at school and at play are used.

The second circle is the wider social circle of outside contacts (*pergaolan diloear roemah*) in the context of trade and commerce, of the office, of education, of industry, agriculture, various professions and kinds of business, but also of people meeting or visiting each other who know each other only superficially or not at all. Here Kats includes also the language of the press, of advertisements, and even of *pantuns* (traditional verses) and proverbial wisdom.

The third circle is called the 'official circle', related to the office and to the use of high Malay (*bahasa kantor – bahasa Melajoe tinggi*). This is the circle where formal, public or official varieties are used, as in speeches, during meetings, in official correspondence, in legal texts and formal documents such as letters of authority, but also in letters between relatives. The classical and modern literature is placed here too. It is this third circle, Kats says, in which the language has already taken its most definite shape and conventions.

The fourth circle comprises the 'foreigner Malay', *bahasa Melajoe tjampoeran* (mixed Malay). This is the Malay used as daily speech between the indigenous population and foreigners, and between different groups among the population who do not have the same mother tongue. Some of these mixed varieties have already gained a considerable degree of stability and "lead a vigorous life of their own", for example 'Dutch Malay' (*bahasa Melajoe Belanda*, of which samples are given from each of the three first circles), Chinese Malay (in the press and in letters), Batavia Malay (only as spoken language), Java Malay (as spoken language and in the press), Malay of the Moluccas (spoken and in the press) and Arabic Malay (used for religious subjects).

(b) Kats' second type of social setting is the contact between persons of different rank or social class (*perbedaan pangkat*). Here belongs the use of honorifics and terms of respect such as *baginda*, *daulat tuanku* (terms of address to the ruler and to royalty), *patih* 'I', *ayahanda* 'father' and several others.

(c) The third type is the regional one, comprised under the heading *berdjenisjenis logat* (several kinds of local dialects). Samples of speech are given (some very short) from Deli, Sambas, Pulau Pinang, Lubuk Bedil (in Kedah), Perak, Patani, Serawai-Besemah, Palembang and, in the Minangkabau language, from Bukit Tinggi and Payakumbuh. There are also samples of *bahasa Melajoe Malaka* 'Malacca Malay' (for which see Kats 1934:36ff.).

The majority of the samples presented by Kats have been selected from existing publications and could with a little detective work be extended. For the first circle, relatives and friends, Kats had his

students, Indonesian teachers of language, devise the dialogues. Thus these cannot be considered fully authentic registrations of natural speech.

Of course modern sociolinguists would make a different classification of the social parameters which determine the use of particular varieties. The criterion for distinguishing between the three first 'social circles' would be the situation rather than the social group to which the speakers belong. And the 'rank-difference type' is in fact also situationally determined. The fourth circle, 'mixed Malay', includes rather stable social dialects or even vernaculars which developed among groups for whom Malay as a second language became their first language, within a complicated pattern of both diglossia and bilingualism. We now also would distinguish more systematically between spoken and written language as different mediums.

In spite of such objections Kats deserves credit for compiling this survey of varieties of spoken and written Malay. In fact I do not know of any attempt to do the same for a later period. Kats' (1934) almost forgotten *Warna Sari Melajoe I* (it is not included in Teeuw's (1961) bibliography of studies on Malay and Indonesian) remains a valuable tool for the study of Malay varieties in the 1920s.

Kats was not only interested in variation in Malay. He also had a unique experience of the total linguistic situation in Java, where Javanese, Sundanese and Madurese were in contact with each other and were equally exposed to the influence of Malay and Dutch. After a ten-year period as the director of the teachers college at Mojowarno, in the service of the *Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap* (a Dutch Protestant missionary society), he became a government official committed to the Department of Education and Religion from 1913 on. For some time he was involved in the work of *Volkslectuur* where, for about one year from late 1916, he assessed and judged the Javanese, Sundanese and Madurese manuscripts submitted to the Committee for publication (Poeze 1984: xviii). In 1918 he was appointed a member of the Educational Council (*de Onderwijsraad*), and in the same year he was put in charge of the supplementary courses for European teachers destined for the teachers' colleges in which Indonesian teachers were trained.

The courses resulted in the establishment of the *Instituut Kats* (Institute for the furtherance of the knowledge of native languages and of the geography and ethnology of the Netherlands Indies). At the institute also the future teachers of the OSVIAs (the training colleges for native civil servants) and the future school inspectors were trained (G.W.J. Drewes 1987 pers. comm.) In addition the institute organised courses for certain officials and small groups of Indonesian teachers. Kats was its director from 1920 until 1931, the year of his retirement. In this position he was influential in the modernising of school Malay, in particular through the publication of his many textbooks. Some of these he supplied with notes indicating variants in common use in Java.

Kats' influence on government language policy can be seen from the above-mentioned (section 2) letter from the Director of Education and Religion (Hardeman) in September 1927. To support his statement to the effect that Riau Malay should be replaced as soon as possible, Hardeman referred to Kats and the *Handleiding-adviseur* 'the advisor for the manuals for native civil servants' (discussed in section 4) (G. Boswinkel). He wrote that Kats "considers it quite workable to devise a school Malay that is rooted in the living language" and that the existing textbooks should be rendered into that Malay. It was a problem, however, that "the so-called general, cultivated Malay of the school books, in [the development of] which Chinese journalists take a considerable part, as yet shows little uniformity in the way it is written and spoken"* (It is interesting to note this explicit official

recognition of the contribution made by the Chinese Malay press to the development of a general, cultivated Malay.)

Kats, together with Boswinkel and “Indigenous and Chinese collaborators” was commissioned with the task of drafting a wordlist, a grammar and further rules, to be submitted to a “committee of Indigenous (and also Chinese) intellectuals (linguists, journalists and school-teachers) for evaluation” (quoted in van der Wal, comp. 1963:417-418).

The planned wordlist was realised, but Kats' textbooks were probably never widely used. In the third, revised edition of vol.I of his *Malay grammar* (Kats 1928a), Kats reported that more attention was given to the distinction between the language of literature (*literatuurtaal*) and that of the general, cultivated Malay (*het algemeen beschaafd Maleis*). In the ninth edition of vol.I of the *Malay grammar* (Kats 1942) the “*algemeen beschaafd Maleis*” was, according to Kats consistently used (see Poeze 1984:xxxviii).

Teeuw (1972:119) has observed that the contribution of *Balai Pustaka* (*Volkslectuur*) to the standardisation and normalisation of Malay and the dissemination of this language:

might have been much more important yet, had it been permitted to occupy itself with the publishing of schoolbooks and textbooks. However, the joint power of Dutch publishing houses has effectively blocked the entering of *Balai Pustaka* into this field.*¹

Kats' textbooks had always been published by commercial publishers, mainly by Visser. Poeze (1984:xxi) records that Kats became a wealthy man as a result of the large numbers of copies of his books that were sold. But at the same time Kats made an important contribution to the development of new norms of modern Malay.

4. VOLKSLECTUUR AND CONVERGENCE IN OFFICIAL MALAY

Teeuw (1972) has studied the impact of *Volkslectuur* (*Balai Pustaka*) ‘the Bureau for Popular Literature’ on modern Indonesian literature, and its general influence on the growth of modern Malay is mentioned in numerous publications. Here I wish to recall an effort by the Department of the Interior in Batavia to provide the Indonesian officials in Java and Madura with practical manuals for their many tasks, the series being entitled *Handleidingen ten dienste van de Inlandse Bestuursambtenaren op Java en Madoera*, (in Malay *Pemimpin bagi Prijaji (-prijaji) Boemipoetera di Tanah Djawa dan Madoera*). These manuals appeared between 1918 and about 1926 as small booklets, at least 47 in all. There are copies of nos 1-13, 15-47 and 49 in the University Library in Leiden, with the catalogue number 2534 A 2-4; nos 14 and 48 were probably never published. The titles of the separate booklets do not occur in the catalogue. They are filed in three portfolios, in which two wordlists, *Tweede lijst van woorden* ‘second wordlist’ and *Derde lijst van woorden* ‘third wordlist’ (both without year), and a circular letter (*Nieuwenhuys 1919*) are also kept. There is also a second, revised edition of some volumes. The price varied from f 0.20 to f 0.65 in later years.

Each volume consists of a text in Dutch with a translation in Malay. The texts are legal or otherwise official regulations, often followed by an official explanation. The following is a selection of the Malay titles:

¹This matter deserves further study. When Kats first published his schoolbooks, the publishing houses in Batavia certainly did not form a cartel, as Professor Drewes pointed out to me. However, in any context of language planning a balanced cooperation between government and the commercial publishers is essential (see Moeliono 1986:56).

<i>Pemilihan Kepala-désa</i>	The election of village heads
<i>Ordonansi Padjak-Kepala dan rodi...</i>	Ordinance regarding capitation and forced labour
<i>Pengoeasaan-désa</i>	Maintaining law and order in the village
<i>Pak toeroen-temoeroen (Erfpacht)</i>	Hereditary land lease (long lease)
<i>Pekerdjaan pindjaman ra'jat</i>	The people's credit system
<i>Izin masoek dan bertempat doedoek kepada orang Asing di Hindia Belanda</i>	Entry permits and residence permits for foreigners in the Netherlands Indies
<i>Pengawasan atas Perkara mentjétak</i>	Supervision of the press
<i>Padjak atas pentjaharian</i>	Income tax
<i>Pemoengoetan Tjoekai Barang Koekoesan (arak) Hindia</i>	The levying of excise on locally distilled spirits
<i>Resi Tjandoe</i>	The State opium monopoly
<i>Ordonansi-waba dan reglemén memboewangkan toelar</i>	Ordinance regarding epidemics; regulation regarding contagious diseases
<i>Oeroesan orang gila di Hindia-Belanda</i>	Mental-health care in the Netherlands Indies
<i>Perkara agama Islam Boemipoetera</i>	Religious affairs regarding native Muslims
<i>Pengawasan atas laloe-lintas didjalan-djalan:</i>	Supervision of road traffic:
(a) 'Reglemén Keréta-angin',	(a) traffic rules for bicyclists,
(b) 'Reglemén Motor'	(b) traffic rules for motorcyclists

See Appendix 3 for the complete list. In the titles alone we discover some (then) newly-coined terms which are still in use in modern Indonesian, for example *pengawasan* 'supervision' and *lalu lintas* 'traffic'.

At the request of the Director of the Interior, *Volkslectuur* took care of the Malay translations. From the circular letter mentioned above (Nieuwenhuys 1919) we can get a clear insight into the principles of *Volkslectuur* with regard to the development of modern written Malay. The letter was an enclosure with No.9 of the manuals which appeared in 1919. The headings were "*Rondschrifven*" ('Circular Letter') for the original Dutch text and the Malay equivalent "*Soerat Édaran*" for the parallel Malay text, which was obviously translated from the Dutch.

The letter was signed by "The Assistant Resident at the disposal of the Director of the Interior, Nieuwenhuys". (This was probably J.H. Nieuwenhuys, 1872-1941, who somewhat later, from 1920-1922, was the Resident of Semarang, not to be confused with the educational specialist Dr G.J. Nieuwenhuis.) In this circular letter the author wrote that one of the Regents of Central Java had expressed the wish that, for the translation of the manuals, a more general use be made of what was known as *dienst-Maleisch* (*Melajoe-dines*). (The Malay form *dines* (from Dutch *dienst*) means 'office, duty, job'; the *Melajoe-dines* was a strongly Javanised official Malay used at the lower administrative levels, for example in police reports.)

In reply, Nieuwenhuys justified the language used by *Volkslectuur*. He argued that the *dienst-Maleisch* nowhere had a uniform quality ("*draagt nergens een uniform karakter*", "*tidak tetap bangoennja dan sifatnja*"). One has to bear in mind the general level of knowledge of Malay in Java and Madura, but it was impossible, in view of the purpose of the manuals:

...to allow for *local* deviations in the use of that language, because those deviations differ from region to region, all over Java, whereas the manuals have to serve the whole island. Thus, in continuation of the Malay that is taught at the native primary schools, and is

therefore known to the native administrative officials, the rather general Malay such as is presently used at meetings, at congresses and in the newspapers is used. This Malay is growing from day to day and refining itself in order to put into words the new concepts which the developing native society is getting acquainted with, and in order to be able to express the ideas which are taking shape with the proper differentiation.

In this process, generally speaking, the public, though partly unconsciously, is aiming at using cultivated and pure Malay as much as possible, without falling into an exaggerated purism. Therefore one cannot object to the use of that developing language, and to adding to it as far as possible those words which are already being used here and there, and which are of proven viability. Of course, when seeking for appropriate terms for partly abstract, or partly still unknown western concepts and words, one has to consult the so-called 'dienst-Maleisch', not of a particular region, however, but from all over Java, and choose such words as have already gained some public favour.*

The Malay text of the above gives an idea of the language the author had in mind:

Dalam hal menjalinkan pemimpin itoe kepada bahasa Melajoe tentoe sadja tijadalah boléh diloepekan oentoe sijapa boekoe-boekoe itoe dikarangkan dan haroes diingati pengetahoean kebanjakan orang tentang bahasa Melajoe ditanah Djawa dan Madoera; akan tetapi dalam itoe tentoe sadja tidak dapat diindahkan kelainan memakai bahasa Melajoe pada tijap-tijap tempat, sebab kelainan itoe berbédá-bédá pada tijap-tijap daérah ditanah Djawa, sedang boekoe Pemimpin itoe haroes dipergoenakan di seloeroeh poelau ini. Oléh sebab itoe bahasa Melajoe jang dipakai dalam menjalinkan pemimpin itoe ijalah bahasa Melajoe jang seolah-olah samboengan dari jang diadjarkan pada sekolah rendah Boemipoetera, ja'ni bahasa Melajoe jang bijasa terpakai sekarang dalam perkoempoelan, Congres dan dalam soerat-soerat kabar Melajoe. Bahasa itoe masih selaloe bertambah kembang dan sempoema, tijap-tijap hari ia menerima dan mengambil kata-kata jang menggambarkan arti dan maksoed jang baharoe, jang terpakai sekarang oléh Boemipoetera jang terpeladjar, serta menjoesoen pengertian jang baharoe-baharoe itoe menoeroet sebagaimana patoetnja.

Dengan tijada selamanja diketahoei dan disengadja orang, maka rata-rata boléhlah dikatakan, bahwa haloewan ra'ijat roepa-roepanja ijalah hendak memakai bahasa Melajoe jang sehaloes-haloesnja dan sebaik-baiknja, dengan tijada berlebih-lebihan dalam hal itoe. Sebab itoe tentoe sadja tida' ada keberatan akan memakai bahasa itoe serta menambahkan kepadanya kata-kata jang telah terpakai disana sini dan roepa-roepanja akan tinggal dalam bahasa itoe. Tentoe sadja dalam mentjari kata-kata jang baik akan menggambarkan pengertian- dan perkataan Barat, jang setengahnya tijada berwoedjoed (abstract) dan setengahnya beloem diketahoei orang disini, atjap-kali dipakai kata-kata bahasa 'Melajoe dines', akan tetapi boekannja jang terpakai pada satoe daérah sadja, melainkan jang diketahoei orang diseantéro tanah Djawa dan seboléh-boléhnya dipilih jang soedah oemoem.

From the above it is apparent that in 1919 *bahasa Indonesia avant la lettre* was already expanding fast and that it was possible to trace out the main lines the further growth of the language was to follow. The process was twice dramatically accelerated: in about 1928, when *bahasa Indonesia* was proclaimed as the language of national unity; and during the Japanese occupation, when there was an abrupt disappearance of Dutch from the scene. But as far as the *norm* of the language is concerned

the trend was definitely set for a long time to come. Essentially there is no difference between Nieuwenhuys' observations in 1919, those of Schrieke in 1929, of Idenburg in 1938 and, decades later, of Moeliono (1986:54) in 1981 when he wrote:

Tentatively we may say that in Indonesian today there are two sets of competing norms. One set are those norms codified in school grammar text books and taught to the students. The other set are norms of usage which are not yet formally codified and which are used by, among others, the mass media and young writers. They are in competition because although they share many elements, there are school norms which are not followed by the media, and vice-versa.

From the heading of this section it is clear that I am not speaking here of modern Indonesian literature. Literature, in the perspective of linguistic *norm*, is often instrumental in the creation of innovations and renewal; on the other hand, as a *marked* use of the linguistic system it is based on its general norm.¹ The study of the Malay language is clearly lagging behind the study of Indonesian literature. Illustrative of a one-sided emphasis on literature – for which the linguists are to blame, not the students of literature – is Ricklefs' (1981:176) phrasing:

A new literature was growing, based upon the Malay language...As this literature developed, Indonesian intellectuals stopped calling the language Malay and instead referred to it as the Indonesian language (Bahasa Indonesia). The linguistic vehicle of national unity was thereby born.

It is often assumed that in the moulding of *Volkslectuur* Malay, translators and authors from the Minangkabau area (in West Sumatra) took an almost monopolistic position. This assumption is incorrect as far as the manuals and thus the development of the official jargon are concerned, as we can see from the final part of Nieuwenhuys' circular letter:

The translations were made in cooperation between: (a) a Javanese former civil servant who is an *H.B.S.* [the Dutch five-year high school] graduate, who has completed one year of studies for the *groot-ambtenaar* examination [which gave access to the higher ranks of the Civil Service] and who has been employed by the government during 12 years in various places in Java; and (b) an educated Malay who has been working for several years in Java and thus is familiar with the kind of Malay used here in Java. The translations also are checked, first by a former Assistant Resident and a Native Assistant School-inspector – both men are experts on Malay – and finally, very critically and accurately by the undersigned [Nieuwenhuys himself].*

The *Regeringsalmanak* (the government's official yearbook) of 1917 and those of the succeeding years do not show, under the paragraphs dealing with *Volkslectuur*, who these translators were. In 1917, one of the two general editors for Malay, St. Moh. Zain, was from the Minangkabau, and the other, R. Soemarsono, from Java. In 1918 both general editors, H. Agoes Salim and St. Moh. Zain, were from the Minangkabau. In 1919 one was probably from Manado, this was J. Worontikan.

The publication of at least three wordlists (the first of which I have been unable to trace) indicates that there was a systematic interest in the development of vocabulary. In the second edition of some of the manuals there are shifts in terminology. For example, the meaning of the term *firman* was

¹ "...die Prosa, und...vor allem die Zweckprosa ist für den soziologischen Rang einer Sprache heute wichtiger...als die Dichtung" ("prose...particularly prose used for practical purposes, is now of greater importance for the sociological position of a language than poetry") (Kloss 1952:5).

restricted. Originally it was used to indicate a decree or order from any government authority. Later *firman* was reserved for the central government, whereas a decree of the Resident was called *besluit* (from Dutch), soon also found as *beslit*. The term *disahkan* with the meaning 'officially acknowledged' is replaced by *diakoe*. The term for 'manual' is *penoentoen* (present-day use), which replaces *pemimpin* (though *pemimpin* is still in use in Indonesian with this meaning!). In the wordlists alternatives are sometimes given side by side: 'income tax' is *padjak peroléhan* or *padjak pendapatan* (the present Indonesian term); the 'defendant' or 'accused' is *jang tertoeoeh* (present-day use) besides the older *pesakitan*, which, at least in Java, was in common use in official jargon; 'circular letter' is *pekeliling* or *soerat édarán* (present-day use), 'stamp' is *prangko* (present-day use) or *kepala radja*, ('the monarch's head'); 'the board' (of an association) is *pengerooes* (present-day use) or *pemimpin* (which now in Indonesian means 'leader', 'guide', 'manual'); 'the Navy' is *Angkatan Laoet* (present-day use), but 'Department of Naval Affairs' is *Departement* (present-day use) – or *Departemén – Balatentara Laoet* ('Department of the Naval Forces'). Many terms are still circumscriptions, sometimes quite clumsy: the 'Immigration Service' is *Pekerdjaan pengawasan orang masoek* ('Service for the supervision of arriving persons'), 'autonomy' is *koeasa memelihara roemah tangga sendiri* ('the authority to take care of one's own household or economy'), 'personal record' is *daftar kelakoean dan ketjakapan* ('list of record of behaviour and abilities'). It is interesting to compare the wordlists with the third edition of Klinkert's (1926) Dutch-Malay dictionary, revised and updated by Spat. Many of the more technical terms are not included in Klinkert, but in some cases he comes closer to modern Indonesian: *pesakitan* and *pekeliling* do not occur.

In 1918 *Volkslectuur* had already produced the Malay translation of the Penal Code. The earliest edition available of the Malay text available to me is *Wetboek van Strafrecht* (1921), of which new editions regularly appeared. From 1920 on *Volkslectuur* was commissioned with the translation of the *Staatsblad Hindia-Belanda*, The Netherlands Indies Statute Book in which all the laws and governmental regulations were published. (A few passages taken from *Staatsblad* 1919 are shown in Appendix 4; for a report of the director of *Volkslectuur* on tasks carried out in the field of legislation see *Resultaten* 1925: 9,13,139.)

For our purpose a particularly interesting project in this field was the translation and ensuing revision of the *Inlandsch Reglement (Reglemén Boemipoetera)* 'Regulations for Natives'. The *Inlandsch Reglement* comprised the regulations in force in Java and Madura which were applicable to the native inhabitants of the Indies or persons having equal status. These were the regulations pertaining to the maintenance of law and order, the civil procedures and the criminal proceedings.

The *Inlandsch Reglement* had been enacted in 1848 and through the years had been frequently revised and supplemented. Here the regulations, laid down in sometimes obsolete Dutch terms, had to be implemented on the level of the village and the district with Malay as the medium of communication. As a consequence of that necessity the *Melayu dines* mentioned above was born.

Appendices 8 to 11 show how the same Dutch text was translated (with various adaptations) in 1888, in 1911, about 1919 and in 1922. The last two texts were published by *Volkslectuur*, and the text of 1922 is clearly closer (*Inlandsch Reglement/Reglemén Boemipoetera* 1922) to present-day Indonesian than the one taken from the *Volksalmanak* of a few years earlier. It was the Dutch judge F.H. Poser, in collaboration with Mas Wirasapoetra (a former public prosecutor of Sundanese origin) who made the 1922 translation of the *Inlandsch Reglement*. As appears from the introduction the type of Malay he was aiming at was very similar to what Nieuwenhuys had in mind for the manuals:

The translation was made into the Malay of modern social life (*het moderne verkeers Maleisch*), such as *Volkslectuur* has been using for some years in its publications. So Bazar Malay was not used, nor Riau Malay or any language mixed with specifically Sundanese, Javanese or Madurese words. Thus the text is equally understandable for all native educated people [*intellectueelen*].*

The 1922 edition contains a useful Malay index not found in the later reprints. At least until the end of the 1920s Poser's text was not (or only little) changed. See for example *Reglemén Boemipoetera* 1930. In what is probably the last published edition, *Reglemen Bumiputera jang dibarui* 1950 'The revised regulations for natives', we find the Malay text as it had developed up to 1941.

Although its author was not employed by *Volkslectuur*, I mention here the *Kamoes Kemadjoean* by Adi Negoro (1928), a well-known journalist who also studied for some time in Munich. The preface was written in Utrecht in 1927. In a rather reserved introduction Spat writes that the book (which is in fact a small explanatory dictionary) can be useful for the readers of Malay newspapers, and that the language deviates somewhat from that of the Malay publications of *Volkslectuur*; it is similar to the Malay of the well-known monthly *Oedaja*. Adi Negoro lists Dutch words referring to modern concepts not originally known in Indonesia; the majority of these words are Dutch borrowings from French, Latin or English. For example Dutch *abortus* 'abortion' is explained as *keloeloesan anak* 'coming off of the child' and Dutch *absentie* 'absence' as *ketidakan* 'not-being'; in present-day Indonesian *kelulusan* means 'having a miscarriage' and *ketidakan* does not exist – one says *ketidakhadiran* 'not being present (*hadir*)'.

Adi Negoro explains the meaning of the (Dutch) entry *ontwikkeling* '(general) education, development' contrasting it with Dutch *beschaving* 'civilization, culture':

Ontwikkeling: ketjerdasan, kemadjoean, djangan disamakan sadja dengan beschaving, karena beschaving jaitoe kesopanan meski poen biasanja orang jang ada beschaving djoega ada ontwikkeling. Ontwikkeling hanya mengenai intellect atau pikiran, tetapi beschaving mengenai pikiran dan baik hati (boedi bahasa). (Ontwikkeling means intelligence, progress, not to be taken as synonymous with beschaving, because beschaving means civilized behaviour, though in most cases people who have beschaving also have ontwikkeling. Ontwikkeling only refers to the intellect or thought, whereas beschaving refers to thought and goodness (good manners).)

Apart from the spelling, this entry, written about 1927, could today count as fairly acceptable Indonesian.

5. AN ACADEMIC TREATISE IN HOL-MAL-VAANSCH

On 17 April 1927 a young and still unknown Javanese civil servant gave a lecture during the third congress of the *Inlandsche Politie Bond* (the Native Police Union) held in Bandung. His audience included, besides the Resident of Central Priangan, mainly rank-and-file police and administrative personnel, namely plain-clothed detectives, constables, superintendents, assistant district heads etc. The speaker was a *mantri politie* (superintendent) himself, a rank in the administrative hierarchy next to assistant district head. The title of the lecture was *Riwajat kepolisèn di Hindia Ollanda dengan ringkas* (A short history of the police in The Netherlands Indies).

The treatise was published in the same year by the central board of the Bond, and printed by Khouw Beng Wan in Semarang. It took up 39 pages and was followed by a short statement (p.40) in which the author explained why he had chosen his unusual presentation (“*Tjara tjaranja pengarang mengatoer ‘lezingnja’ ini boeat beberapa pematja pematja tentoe ada adjaib...*” ‘The way I have drawn up this lecture will be rather astonishing for some readers...’*). He wanted to make his talk accessible to all those present: (“*pendengar pendengar jang beroepa dari beberapa djenis toean toean jang pengertiannja banjak berbeda*” ‘the audience consisting of various kinds of gentlemen of different levels of education’*). Although he did not refer directly to the language of his talk he hinted at the particular variety of Malay he had been using which very much deviated from school Malay or from the ‘general, cultivated Malay’ mentioned above. Eight pages of extensive notes on the text followed and, finally, a diagram of the organisation of the police force at that time, on the last page.

The treatise begins (pp.1-3) with a somewhat traditional introduction:

The police exist for the sake of the citizen, and not the reverse. The fact that in all *desas* naughty children are frightened by saying that the *Motor Pèl* ‘mounted constabulary’ will come, shows how arbitrarily the police were able to proceed in former times. The work of the police is often felt as an infringement of one’s personal freedom. On the other hand, from *nabi Moesa* (Moses) on, the law, as set down in the *Kitab Torèt* [a holy scripture revealed to Musa and containing the Law of God], has been necessary in order to limit freedom. In Paradise there was no crime, but after Adam and Eve had eaten of the forbidden fruit, Cain and Abel drew apart and the first manslaughter occurred. After the Flood, the dispute between Abraham and Lot and the execution of the judgement on Sodom and Gomorrah, the ban of crime followed, as worded in the Ten Commandments (*Firman ajat sepoeleoh*).

This introduction, based on religious tradition, reminds us of what Teeuw (1972:113) has observed:

It would be wrong to state that the Javanese were not interested in things current and modern – but if these were presented in a literary form, they expected such matters to be dressed in a traditional garb.

This condition being fulfilled, the author continues the narrative in a modern and academic way.

After dealing with the popular belief and customs of the Indonesian people (*bangsa Indonesia*, a term already used in Crawford (1820), Bastian (1884) and Colenbrander (1925) as is pointed out in a note), the information drawn from ancient Chinese sources and the *Nagarakertagama*, and the arrival of Islam (pp.3-13), the author discusses the VOC (Dutch East India Company) period and the *Koninkrijk Holland* (the period of Governor-General Daendels – 1807-1811). During all those centuries it remained difficult, if not impossible, for the common man to defend his rights successfully. This was particularly because of the methods used in judicial inquiries (pp.13-23).

Then the author comes (pp.24-27) to the period of the English administration (1811-1816). During that period the code for the police in Java and Madura was drawn up. This code became the basis of the *Inlandsch Reglement*, as the author points out. Corporal punishment was abolished; customary law was maintained when not in contradiction to the code. Raffles was quoted as observing that, finally, the roads in Java were as safe again as they were in ‘Old England’.

Next (pp.28-39) follows an enumeration of a long series of amendments carried out after the return of the Dutch administration. In 1911 the police force came under central direction, which was

worked out further in 1914, first of all in the three large cities of Semarang, Batavia and Surabaya, the *tiga iboe kota di Djawa* ‘three principal towns in Java’. The lecture concludes with a reference to the *Onderzoek naar de mindere welvaart* (a large-scale official investigation of the economic situation of the native inhabitants in Java and Madura, started in 1904), from which it is apparent that legal security and the quality of the police organisation left much to be desired, although they were now on the right track. Finally a plea is made for the common policemen of the ‘*Veldpolitie*’ and the villagers, who were charged with the primary task of guarding others in dead of night.

The notes that follow the text give quotations from well-known Dutch textbooks and writings, such as those by G.A. van Hamel, Ph. Kleintjes, A.F. de Savornin Lohman, G.A. Wilken, C. van Vollenhoven, B. ter Haar, C. Snouck Hurgronje, J.T. Colenbrander, J.K.J. de Jonge, François Valentijn and the *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch Oost-Indië*. They show the author as a widely read man who had prepared his material thoroughly.

The name of the 23-year-old *mantri politie* who wrote this remarkable text is Radèn Abdulkadir Widjoatmodjo from Semarang. It was under the name Abdulkadir that he was to become a famous politician. From about 1949 on, after he had resigned and settled in The Netherlands, he used the second part of his name, Widjoatmodjo. (It is not uncommon for Javanese to change their names after a critical stage in life.) I use the names Abdulkadir or Widjoatmodjo according to the relevant period. His father was an irrigation supervisor (*mantri ulu-ulu*). As a *radèn* (male of royal ancestry) he belonged to the class of Javanese aristocracy (the *priyayi*) from which, at the time, the native civil servants were recruited. As a lower ranking officer, however, he was not entitled to send his sons to the European primary school, the ELS (*Europeesche Lagere School*). However, because Abdulkadir was interested in medical training, and at the time there were too few applicants for the STOVIA (*School tot Opleiding van Indische artsen*), the medical college for native students – the medical profession being considered by the Javanese as rather unsavoury – he was accepted at the ELS. Before finishing his studies there, he took the *klein ambtenaarsexamen* in 1916, the examination which gave access to the lower administrative ranks. His grade was “very good”. But instead of entering the STOVIA he went to the OSVIA (*Opleidingsschool voor Inlandsche Ambtenaren*), the college for the training of native civil servants, at Madiun. He graduated from there in 1922.

After his years at the European school Abdulkadir had a great advantage, as far as knowledge of Dutch was concerned, compared to the students who came from the primary schools for native children with Dutch as language of instruction, HISs (*Hollandsch Inlandsche School*). However, Malay and Javanese were not taught at the ELS, and he had private lessons in these subjects for a period of three years in order to catch up. We should not overestimate the knowledge of Malay the pupils acquired at the HIS, though. For instance, there are the rather clumsy Malay letters the gifted Poerbatjaraka, who had attended the HIS at Solo, sent to the Resident of Surakarta in 1911, and later to G.A.J. Hazeu as the chairman of *Volkslectuur*: “...menerangkan jang ia ada kebisaan bag(a) bahasa Kawi” “notifying you that I am able to read Old Javanese”, and “*Bersama ini hamba hoendjoek bertaoe jang soerat A...soedah saja salin di bahasa djawabaroe (Nieuw-Jav.) dengan saja tambahi sedikit (eenigszins omgewerkt)...*” “Herewith I let you respectfully know that I have translated the A...text into Javanese in a somewhat reworded form...”*. At the time Poerbatjaraka clearly knew Dutch better than Malay, as can be seen also from a letter of 24 February 1912 (Drewes 1973:483,486,489 respectively). At the HISs Malay was taught only from the fourth year, whereas Javanese lessons were given from the beginning; also later on more hours were reserved for Javanese than for Malay (see Kats 1915:133-138).

At the OSVIAs Malay and Javanese (or some other regional language) were scheduled for the first five years of the seven-year course. The subject matter for Malay comprised, among other things, the composition of letters and official reports. For Malay grammar, Sasrasoeganda's (1910) Malay adaptation of Gerth van Wijk's (1890) grammar-book was used, at Magelang, so it may be that other OSVIAs also used it. Van Ophuijsen's (1910) authoritative grammar would not have been appropriate, as it was written in Dutch and was primarily intended to be used for the training of Dutch civil servants (see p.v). Sasrasoeganda published a Malay-Javanese dictionary (*Baoesastra Mlajoe-Djawa*), in 1910 which, together with his grammar, gives an idea of the kind of Malay the OSVIA students were taught.

The problem of the norm was most acute in the production of written Malay. After many years of intensive training with Dutch both as the language of instruction and as a subject, and with most of the textbooks being written in Dutch, the influence of this language was very strong. Moreover, the idiomatically very rich Javanese, being the native language of most of the students was another source upon which was drawn in the process of moulding a modern normative language for official use. The OSVIA staff used to speak of the '*Hol-Mal-Vaansch*' (from *Hollandsch-Maleisch-Javaansch*, a mixture of Dutch, Malay and Javanese) of their students.

Many years later, in a letter to R. Roolvink, 6 April 1977, from his place of residence, Rijswijk near The Hague, Widjoatmodjo typified the language of his lecture with the same term and as "Dutch ideas presented in a Javanese-Malay version. It was the language we used in official letters, and also when making a police report". As he stated, he chose this type of speech because he wanted his talk to be as comprehensible as possible for the audience. In the same letter he wrote that after the OSVIA he "picked up Malay in practical use, from Malay-Chinese newspapers and from the Manuals of Balai Pustaka [*Volkslectuur*] for civil servants, and other Balai Pustaka publications".

I suspect that we need more insight into the social context if we wish to understand fully the implications of Abdulkadir's choice of code for his message in 1927. H. Sutherland (1979:74), in her book *The making of a bureaucratic elite* (for which Mr Widjoatmodjo provided some data – see p.x), describes the "growing cleavage in the corps (of Native Officials) between the educated elite and the under-qualified". As an OSVIA graduate, Abdulkadir belonged to that elite. The under-qualified had normally only taken the above-mentioned exam (the *klein-ambtenaarsexamen*) that, maximally and exceptionally, gave access to the rank of *assistent-wedana* 'assistant district head', a rank which Abdulkadir reached in 1927, the year in which he gave his lecture in *Hol-Mal-Vaansch*. He stood on the threshold of a brilliant administrative and diplomatic career, which would lead him – via the consulate in Jiddah (for all pilgrims from The Indies the entrance gate to the Holy Land), administrative posts in Central Java, the Faculty of Administrative Studies (*Bestuursacademie*), diplomatic and very special intelligence assignments abroad during the war – to the position of "the most prominent Indonesian advisor of the (Lieutenant) Governor-General", who "while being a nationalist, has remained faithful to the Crown"*; as he was characterised by Jonkman in the meeting of the Dutch Cabinet of 25 November 1946 (quoted in van der Wal, comp. 1976:375-376). At the end of his career he was appointed State Councillor for General Affairs (*Secretaris van Staat voor Algemene Zaken*) and in that capacity was the deputy for the Lieutenant Governor-General. His record could serve as a model for the *priyayi* tradition, of which van der Plas wrote in 1943:

The majority [of the *prijaji* class], even if they have nationalist aspirations and tendencies, are through their own important contribution to the building of the nation and to the advancement of the progress and the prosperity of the people, deeply convinced that the greatness of Indonesia and the Indonesians has to be realized through a peaceful

evolution, and they have confidence in the sincerity of the objectives of the government.*
(quoted in de Jong 1986:31-32)

During the Indonesian struggle for independence, Abdulkadir dedicated himself to the cause of bringing and keeping the parties together. His 'conflict avoidance' strategy contrasted with the strategy already chosen by Soekarno in the 1920s and ultimately adopted by both the Dutch and the Republic.

This look at later developments may help us to a better understanding of the situation in 1927. Abdulkadir was very well capable of using the 'general, cultivated' type of Malay, as Soekarno and other leaders of the new elite of politicians were doing. Soekarno, himself the son of a *priyayi* who had been a teacher at a school for the training of native administrators (Dahm 1969:23), through his personal charisma always had a very direct contact with his audience. As a speaker he was more concerned with the impact his words made on the masses than with the question of whether they could fully understand the content of what he was saying. M. Hatta wrote in 1931, "The people...are regarded (by Sukarno) as the necessary audience, so there will be applause when a leader makes a brave speech" and *Daulat Rakjat*, the organ of Hatta's adherents, quoted Hatta as saying: "the people must become totally infused with the spirit of Ir. Sukarno. This cannot be achieved by agitation alone, (but by giving courses)" (both quotes from Dahm 1969:129-130). (The words between brackets appear on p.126 in the Dutch version of Dahm's (n.d.) book.) It is exactly where Hatta criticises Soekarno for not *educating* the people, that Abdulkadir chooses the other line. He wants to transfer knowledge, information, to his audience. For that purpose he chooses a type of *Melajoe dines* (see section 4). It is difficult to say how Soekarno, or for example Hadji Agus Salim, who was from West Sumatra and 10 years senior to Soekarno, would have expressed themselves under the same conditions. In Appendix 5 a short text written by Soekarno in 1926 is given; the text of Appendix 6 was written by H. Agus Salim in 1917. I do not believe that it would have been impossible to present the message in a much more general, cultivated Malay, and I rather guess that it was Abdulkadir's disposition that made him apply the greatest possible convergence, in order to avoid the feeling of cleavage (pointed out by H. Sutherland) and to create an atmosphere of solidarity and fellowship. The fact that as a police officer Abdulkadir spoke exclusively *krama* and never *ngoko* when holding an interrogation (as he has told me) fits very well in here (*krama* is the speech style of Javanese used when addressing people of higher social status or people one does not know well; the *ngoko* style is used when the addressee is of lower or equal status or is known more intimately).

At all events, the publication of his lecture gives us a rare opportunity to study the process of convergence. As the analysis of the text and comparison with some other samples of text reveal, the language does not show a complete accommodation to the *Melaju dines*, nor is it independent of the norm of 'general, cultivated Malay'. It is a type of situation and speech form Hagen (1983:11) has called *ambiglossie* 'ambiglossia' when speaking of the contact between dialect and standard language:

...dialect on the one hand and standard language on the other are mutually linked via a continuum of gradual, transitional forms, so that one register is created with a high degree of variability so to say. Viewed from the poles of this continuum, ambiglossia usually means that dialect and standard language are used with mutual overlapping, and are mixed...With such a mixed language use, in which the sharpest contrasts of bilingualism are neutralized, the speaker indicates, without risking any communication gap, his convergent behaviour both towards his own group or community as well as towards the

outside society. With ambiglossia he bridges the gap between dialect and standard language, and also between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* [community and society]*.

A short sample of Abdulkadir's text, dealing with the discovery of a corpse, is given in Appendix 7. Four more texts on the same gloomy topic – I apologise for the choice – occur in Appendices 8-11. I have added one rather technical example (dealing with the telephone service) as Appendix 12.

Abdulkadir's text shows much greater similarity to the three *Volkslectuur* texts (Appendices 10-12) than to the typical Javanese Malay text of the *Boekoe Policie* of 1888 (Appendix 8) and to Wigger's text published in 1911 (Appendix 9) (in which the consistent use of the Jakarta Malay (Betawi) suffix *-in* is noticeable). The text of Appendices 7-11 all are based on the same official regulation in Dutch. In the case of Abdulkadir's text the regulation is probably rendered in his own wording. Apart from the stereotype term *peperiksa'an* 'interrogation' (school Malay: *pemeriksaan*) there is, in word formation, little that deviates from school Malay (sM). In the narrative sections of his text the language becomes less regular, as the following list of peculiarities and inconsistencies shows.

Spelling items include alternating *e* (schwa) and *a* in the open antepenult and in the closed final syllable, for example *kepolisén/kapolisén* 'police' (sM *kepolisian*), *dengen/dengan* 'with' (sM *dengan*) and *-ken/-kan* (a suffix) (sM *-kan*). For 'Dutch' is found *Ollanda/Wolanda/Blanda* (sM *Belanda*). Contraction of vowels occurs in *pemeliharaan* 'keeping' (sM *pemeliharaan*), *depan* (from *depa*) 'measuring' (sM *depaan*) and *kepolisén* (see above). Compared with present-day Indonesian (Ind) the following derived forms are noticeable: *terdakwa/dakwa* 'accused' (Ind *terdakwa*); *tidak terbatas* 'unlimited' (Ind *tidak terbatas*); *bertinggal* 'reside' (Ind *tinggal*); *berdapat/berpendapatan* 'to be of the opinion' (Ind *berpendapat*); *pendapatan* 1. 'opinion' 2. 'result' (Ind 1. *pendapat* 'opinion', 2. *pendapatan* 'income', 'invention'); *berpencurian* 'robbed' (Ind *kecurian*); *berkantoran* 'having offices' (Ind *berkantor*); *papriksaan/peperiksa'an* 'interrogation' (Ind *pemeriksaan*); *pepintahan* 'government' (Ind *pemerintah*); *paresidénan* 'Residency' (Ind *keresidenan*); *kemilikan* 'property' (Ind *milik*); *orang djahat perampokan* 'robber' (Ind *perampok*); *memadjakkan* 'levy taxes on s.o.' (Ind *memajaki*); *sidangan* 'session' (Ind *sidang*); *péndékan* 'in short' (Ind *pendeknya*); *merobahkan/memperobahkan/dirobah* 'change/changed' (Ind *merobah/mengubah/dirobah/diubah*); *memperlindoengi* 'protect' (Ind *melindungi*); *akan asingkan* 'will remove' (Ind *akan mengasingkan*); *jang periksa* 'interrogator' (Ind *yang memeriksa*); *merintah* 'rule, govern' (Ind *memerintah*); *milih* 'choose' (Ind *memilih*); *mimpin* 'lead, guide' (Ind *memimpin*). In some loanwords from Dutch the Dutch plural ending retains its function: *korpsen* 'corpses, forces' (from Dutch singular *korps*); *rechercheurs* 'plain-clothes detectives' (from singular *rechercheur*); *agenten* 'constables' (from singular *agent*).

With regard to syntax, *ini* and *itoe* are sometimes (not always) placed before the word they qualify: *Ini Congres* (Ind *Congres ini*) *adalah congres boeat Pegawai Politie* 'this is a congress for police officers'. The word *ada* is sometimes used as a copula: *kedjahatan ada* (Ind *adalah*) *barang jang toea* 'crime is already old'. The word *dari* is often the direct rendering of Dutch *van*: *ontwerpbeegroting dari* (Ind zero or *untuk*) *tahoen 1896* 'the Budget Bill for 1896'; *formatie baroe dari adanya pegawai politie* (Ind doesn't have *dari adanya*) 'the new composition of the police forces'. Very frequent is *-nja* as a ligature (Ind has no *-nya*; compare Javanese *-é*): *riwayatnja kepolisén* 'history of the police'; *pengadoeannja kepalanja* 'charges brought by his village head'; *di Tomo dekatnja Karangsabung* 'at Tomo near Karangsabung'; *kekoerangannja perlindoengan* 'inadequate protection'. The word *sesudahnja* 'after' is regularly used as a conjunction (compare Javanese *sawisé* 'after'; Ind *sesudah*). The now obsolete *bahasa* 'that' used as a conjunction occurs together with *jang*: *bahasa jang* 'that'

(compare Minangkabau *bahaso* 'that'; Ind *bahwa*). Also *kalau* is used where Indonesian now has *bahwa*: *mengakoe kalau* 'admit that' and *berpendapatan kalau* 'being of the opinion that' (compare Javanese *yèn* 1. 'if', 2. '[to say, etc.] that').

There are some striking cases of loan translations based on Dutch: *perbaikan politie tidaklah ditjari dalam perobahan oemoem dari keadaan jang telah ada* (compare Dutch *de verbetering van het politie-apparaat werd niet gezocht in een algehele wijziging van de bestaande toestand*) 'the improvement of the police organisation was not undertaken on the basis of a change in the general situation'; *begitoe mengherankan tidak ini keadaan, sebab politie dinegri Blanda poen di itoe waktoe tidak lebih baiklah*, (compare Dutch *zo verwonderlijk is deze toestand niet, want de politie in Nederland was in die tijd niet beter*) 'this situation is not surprising, because even the police in Holland was not better at that time'; *disinilah kita datang pada achiran lezing* (compare Dutch *hiermede zijn wij gekomen aan het einde van deze lezing*) 'now we have arrived at the end of this lecture'.

6. KOINEISATION

Some 35 years have passed since Weinreich's famous book on languages in contact gave a new impetus to the study of variation in language (Weinreich 1953). In the field of non-Western languages, many of which have been in contact with a dominant European language in the course of colonial history, much research has been carried out on the phenomenon of pidginisation and creolisation. From Mühlhäusler's (1986) survey of those studies it is apparent that there is as yet no satisfactory and generally accepted definition of the concept of 'pidgin'. With regard to creoles everybody seems to agree that these are pidgins, or at least some sort of incipient languages, that have developed into the first language of a speech community. We know much less about the processes which led to the development of trade languages or lingua francas. Characteristically a lingua franca is used over a wide area, where it is in most cases a second (if not a third etc.) language for its speakers, and though it may have many local varieties it is intuitively considered to be one and the same language. These conditions apply perfectly to Malay as a lingua franca. Hooykaas' (1939:408,417) approach was correct when he used the term 'Maleisch' "for everything that is trying to pass for Malay or pretend to be Malay"* and when he rejected the distinction between 'High' and 'Low' Malay as being one between two different languages. Whereas pidgins result from the contact between at least two different languages, one of which is often very dominant, this is not normally the case with lingua francas. When lingua francas grow into culture languages or even national languages, as has been the case with Malay, their uniformity, standardisation and expansion evolve from a process of contact between varieties of the same language. Recent and ongoing research into the history of Western standard languages focusses a great deal on the same type of processes. Sociolects, regional standard varieties, *Umgangssprache* as a variety between local dialect and the national standard language, are current topics. Studies that deal with the access that different social groups have to an active command of the standard language, and the processes of convergence involved in it (such as Ammon 1973, and Hagen 1981, both with extensive bibliographies) are very pertinent to the problem of the development of Indonesian. At the same time they make us aware of the fact that the history of Malay as a lingua franca is still largely unknown territory.

This is why the publication of Siegel's (1987) book *Language contact in a plantation environment: a sociolinguistic history of Fiji* is a welcome surprise. The complex history of immigration in Fiji induces the author to study the 'life cycle' of some individual pidgins and to elaborate on the characteristics of pidginisation and creolisation. For the study of Malay, although neither Malay nor

Indonesian are referred to in the book, Chapter 9 is of particular interest. It deals with the development of Fiji Hindustani in terms of a process of koineisation. Here follows a brief summary of the ideas set forth in Siegel (1987).

A koine is defined as: "a stable linguistic variety which results from contact between varieties which are subsystems of the same linguistic system. Linguistically it is characterized by a mixture of features of the contributing varieties, and most often by comparative formal simplicity. Functionally, it originally serves as a lingua franca among speakers of the contributing varieties, but may later become a primary language" (p.187). Siegel assumes that koineisation involves the emergence of a new compromise dialect as a result of dialect mixing. The new dialect is used as a new lingua franca among speakers of the original varieties (p.187). At the initial stage of koineisation dialect levelling may occur (p.188), that is, "the original dialects in contact remain and become more and more like one another" (p.187). It is increased interaction and the need for unification which cause koineisation (p.188). "A pidgin is a possible participant in the koineization process" as it "can be considered a subsystem of its principal lexifier language" (p.196). Koines (unlike pidgins) "are never structurally discontinuous from their linguistic parents and are mutually intelligible with them" (p.200). There is also a difference in the social contexts: "Koineization requires free social interaction...whereas pidginization results from restricted social interaction. Another difference is the time factor. Pidginization is most often considered a rapid process, in response to a need for immediate and practical communication. In contrast, koineization is usually a process which occurs during prolonged contact between speakers who can almost always understand each other to some extent" (p.200).

There are four possible stages in the development of a koine: the pre-koine stage (various forms of the subsystems in contact are used concurrently); stable koine; expanded koine, for example, as a literary or a standard language; nativised koine (as the first language for a group of speakers). "Nativization...can occur after any of the first three stages of development" (p.201). When it occurs immediately after the pre-koine stage, stabilisation and expansion are part of it (p.201). Siegel points out that continued contact with the original varieties, or contact with different varieties, can result at any stage in 'rekoineisation'. Furthermore, different groups of speakers may use the same koine in different stages of its development, as may be the case in urban centres, where "recent immigrants may speak varieties at the pre-koine stage, while the majority of the long-term immigrants speak a stabilized version and their children a nativized one" (p.202).

It seems to me that Siegel's book provides us with a very good frame of reference for studying Indonesian, and 20th century Malay as Indonesian *avant la lettre*, as the result of a process of koineisation, rather than of creolisation (in Mühlhäusler 1986:88, though only in passing, Indonesian is still listed among the pidgins or creoles). A preliminary condition for such a study is, of course, that we must carefully study every Malay 'subsystem' involved in the process of koineisation. Written sources are sufficiently available and in some cases include relatively natural dialogues. The few samples of text given in the appendices give some idea of the variation in official language; much more varied material can be found in the press.

Tentatively, the following parallels between the emergence of modern Indonesian and the koineisation process described by Siegel for Fiji Hindustani can be suggested: except for the 'diverging' local Malay vernaculars as discussed in section 1, all sorts of Malay, written and oral, should be considered as varieties ('subsystems') of one Malay diasystem which is involved in the process of koineisation; since the 1920s, at least one relatively stable and already somewhat expanded variety of non-narrative prose has been gaining recognition as 'general, cultivated' Malay;

contributing varieties were minimally the school Malay, the Malay of the Chinese and Indonesian press, the Malay used by *Volkslectuur*, official Malay and Malay used at meetings, classical and modern Malay literature of various traditions and styles (cf. Teeuw 1967:9-29); religious Malay (Muslim and Christian); Malay used in letter writing; several varieties of spoken Malay, including bazaar Malay.

The criterion of 'relative formal simplicity' is not easy to apply. In any case it would require a language-specific definition of 'simplicity'. Compared with Hindustani, for example, Malay in *all* varieties has a simple set of affixes. However, there is a type of simplification which is realised by overgeneralisation, that is, by applying rules too generally. Such cases as *bertinggal* 'reside', *mempertobahkan* 'change', *mempertolindoengi* 'protect' in Abdulkadir's lecture (see section 5), and *pelukaan* 'injury' in Appendix 10 seem to me to be examples of that phenomenon. Parallel cases can be observed when uneducated speakers try to use the standard forms, or when foreigners are learning Indonesian (see Richards 1978 for an interesting self-analysis by a professional linguist).

Both dialect mixing and dialect levelling (the latter probably especially in the Chinese press) can be found. The new variety is indeed used as a lingua franca all over Indonesia, and increased interaction as well as the need for unification are characteristic for the period. If we consider the sample of *Javaansch-Maleisch* 'Javanised Malay' of 1897 (Appendix 1) as pidginised Malay, the affixation at least seems to point to contact with 'standard' Malay and to participation in the process of convergence. None of the varieties mentioned above is structurally discontinuous from any other variety we include in the diasystem. In the 1920s the general social context of written (not always of spoken) communication is free social interaction. In terms of the time factor, the process is one of centuries rather than of decades. Throughout some three centuries at least there has existed a high degree of mutual intelligibility between the major varieties of Malay. The question of nativisation must, for modern Indonesian, be studied together with the phenomenon of diglossia (cf. Moeliono 1986:49-53). In the 1920s there were *peranakan* 'Indonesia-born' Chinese whose primary language was Malay. Did the variety they spoke participate in the process of koineisation? And what about Malay-speaking Indonesians (apart from those speaking a Malay vernacular)? That rekoineisation in Java had already occurred by 1928 seems not very probable, but it may have happened in an area like the Minahasa. In her recent PhD thesis Geraldine Manoppo (1983) describes a process of convergence between two varieties of Malay: the literary variety used in school and in church by the Protestant missionaries in the interior mountain areas, and therefore called *Melayu Gunung* 'Mountain Malay', and the colloquial variety used as a contact language in the coastal areas. In the contact between these varieties a third variety came into being, which she found in the newspaper *Tjahaja Sijang* (1869-1900). If this indeed became a stable local koine, it may have become involved in a further process of koineisation in contact with the 'general, cultivated' Malay of the 1920s. Finally, what Siegel observes about possible developments in urban centres deserves our full attention. Is there any chance that, for example, 'Jakartanese' will become sufficiently stable and generally accepted as a spoken variety of Indonesian to make a major contribution to a generally spoken 'low' variety all over Indonesia, in terms of a diglossia situation? Fortunately that question had not yet been raised in the period discussed in this paper.¹

¹I wish to express my sincere thanks to Mr R. Abdulkadir Widjoatmodjo for the privilege of discussing with him the linguistic and social situation at the time he gave his lecture. For the interrelations given I alone am responsible. I also thank Dr R. Roolvink for bringing Mr Widjoatmodjo's text to my attention. Professor Drewes has kindly read a draft of this essay. I owe to him several valuable additions and corrections.

APPENDIX 1. *Contrôle op de repartitie...* 1897:241.

The following is a sample of Javanese Malay containing regulations for determining the amount of land revenues and for collecting various taxes to be paid by the peasants in a particular district.

Papriksaan di desa hal pembagian padjeg boemi dan pembajaran roepa-roepa padjeg.

1e. *Kapan legger padjeg boemi soedah di tetep, Wedono mendapet bertaoe dari Controleur bakoenja padjeg satoe bersatoe desa. Wedono lantah bertahoeken itoe bakoe padjeg pada loerah-loerah bersama kassi prentah bakoe padjeg di bagi di dalem desa bersama remboegnja orang tani dalem 14 ari.*

2e. *Kapan remboegan bagi padjeg itoe soedah slesih tjarik desa membikin register pembagian, dan sasoedahnja loerah rapport pada Wedono atawa Assistent-Wedononja.*

3e. *Wedono atawa assistent-Wedono menetep satoe ari orang tani di koempaelken dalam desa dan dateng pada ari itoe di desa boewat bertahoeken pembagian padjeg pada orang-orang tani dan tanjak apa dia orang soedah moefakat bersama pembagijan itoe. Kapan orang tani beloem moefakat Wedono atawa Assistent-Wedono remboeggi pembagian padjeg bersama dia orang sampee mendjadi senengja dia orang.*

APPENDIX 2. Kenangan [1958]:140-141. (Text: 1858). (“Tiga koran tertua...”)

“Bahoewa kita Toewan Lange dan sekoctoc-nja, jang memegang toko boekoe di Batawie, memberi chabar kepada segala orang di Batawie dan di koeliliengan tanah Djawa dan poeloe-poeloe bilangan tanah Hindia Nederland, jang kita nantie kasih kloewar satoe soerat chabar, ternama Soerat Chabar Batawie, tiap-tiapharie Saptoe”

“Ini soerat chabar nantie di tjitaq saparo dengan hoeroef Walanda, saparo dengan hoeroef Malajoe. Maka bahasanja inie soerat chabar tiada terlaloe tinggi, tetapi tiada lagi terlaloe rindah, soepaija segala orang boleh mengarti, siapa djoega jang mengarti bahasa Malajoe, adanja. Maka barang kali kita masoq-kan soerat pengadjaran, maka di sitoe kita nantie membahasa Malajoe tinggi, tetapi kita harap nantie menjatakan artienja di dalam bahasa Malajoe rindah...”

APPENDIX 3. SERIE “PEMIMPIN BAGI PRIJAJI BOEMIPOETERA DI TANAH DJAWA DAN MADOERA” (= *Handleiding*)

Nomor:		Harganja
1/B.B.	Pemilihan Kepala-désa	f 0.20
2/B.B.	Ordonansi-Padjak-Kepala dan Rodi di tanah Djawa dan Madoera	" 0.20
3/F.	Padjak atas Pentjaharian	" 0.20
4/B.B.	Pengoewasaan-désa	" 0.20
5/B.B.	Permoelaan-kata tentang Hoekoem-tanah dan Ordonansi Pemboekaan Tanah	" 0.30
6/F.	Padjak-potong:	
	a. Pemotongan ternak-besar (héwan-besar),	
	b. Pemotongan babi	" 0.20
7/B.B.	Pak toeroen-temoeroen (Erfpacht):	
	a. Pertanian-besar,	
	b. Pertanian-kejtjil dan	
	c. Taman-perdijaman dan Roemah-taman	" 0.30
8/B.B.	Ketentoeantentang mendirikan Paberik-paberik dan Tempat bernijaga di daérah Hindia-Belanda dan Reglemén-Keselamatan	" 0.30

9/B.B.	Dari hal Pajak-tanah dan empang (tebat ikan) di tanah Djawa dan Madoera	"	0.30
10/J.	Izin masoek dan bertempat doedoek kepada orang Asing di Hindia-Belanda	"	0.35
11/L.N.H.	Ketentoean tentang Pekerdjaan-kehoetanan	"	0.40
12/J.	Memasoeakkan kerdja dan memindahkan Boemipoetera ke negeri lain	"	0.40
13/O.E.	Ordonansi-waba dan reglemén memboewangkan toelar	"	0.50
[14]	[Probably never appeared.]		
15/B.B.	Pemberian tanah Negeri: a. sebagai tanah eigendom; b. dengan hak-opstal; c. dengan hak-opstal atau hak-pakai akan mensahkan pemakaian tanah tidak dengan salah soewatoe hak oléh orang jang tidak masoek bangsa Boemipoetera jang koerang mampoe dan jang tidak mampoe; d. dengan hak lain-lain jang koerang loewas koewasanja daripada hak-eigendom	"	0.35
16/B.B.	Ordonansi Penjéwaan-tanah	"	0.40
17/B.B.	Ordonansi sereh (serai) Ordonansi paberik dan beberapa ketentoean jang bersangoetan dengan oesaha pekerdjaan-tanah parti-koelir	"	0.40
18/B.B.	Beberapa perkara-désa	"	0.50
19/L.N.H.	Pengoewasan Negeri atas pengobatan héwan	"	0.35
20/O.E.	Oeroesan orang gila di Hindia-Belanda	"	0.30
21/L.N.H.	Ordonansi penjakit gila-andjing: Instituut-Pasteur di Weltevreden; Pajak-andjing	"	0.45
22/F.	Pemoengoetan Tjoekai Barang Koekoesan (arak) Hindia	"	0.25
23/G.B.	Ordonansi-minjak-tanah	"	0.40
25/B.B.	Barang-barang peletoeop	"	0.20
26/B.O.W.	Pengawasan atas laloe-lintas di djalan-djalan a. Reglemén Keréta-angin; b. Reglemén Motor	"	0.50
31/J.	Pengawasan atas Perkara mentjéak	"	0.25
32/M.	Dari hal palajaran kapal	"	0.35
33/F.	Resi Tjandoc	"	0.65
34/L.N.H.	Peratoeran tentang menternakkan héwan <i>dan</i> koeda sertaketentoean-ketentoean jang berhoeboeng dengan itoe	"	0.50
35/B.B.	Pekerdjaan pindjaman ra'jat	"	0.70
36/O.E.	Pengadjaran oentoek Boemipoetra	"	
37/O.E.	Perkara agama Islam Boemipoetera	"	0.65
38/F.	Pekerdjaan Roemah Gadai	"	0.30
39/G.B.	Ketentoean-ketentoean <i>tentang pekerdjaan</i> Pos, Kawat <i>dan</i> Talipon	"	0.55
40/G.B.	Oendang-oendang tambang ditanah Hindia Belanda	"	0.25
41/G.B.	Postspaarbank di Hindia Belanda	"	0.45
42/F.	Bia ségel d.l.l.	"	0.25

43/J.	Ta'loek dengan soeka hati sendiri kepada hoekoem sipil dan hoekoem perniagaan bangsa Eropah dan beberapa ketentocan lain tentang Hoekoem sipil dan Hoekoem Negeri	
44/B.B.	I. Mengoebahkan milik désa menjadi milik poesaka sendiri-sendiri II. Mengganti milik poesaka sendiri-sendiri dengan eigendom III. Mendaftarkan dan memindahkan hak eigendom serta mendaftarkan hijpotheek tanah, jang diperoléh oléh Boemipoetera menjadi tanah eigendom	" 0.40
45/B.B.	Ketentoean tentang mengoehoerkan majat di Hindia Belanda dan peratoeran lain-lain jang berhoehoengan dengan itoe	
46/F.	Perponding	" 0.65
47/F.	Padjak Roemah Tangga	
[48]	[Probably never appeared.]	
49/B.O.W.	Perboeatan Negeri	

Barang siapa hendak membeli atau memesan kitab-kitab jang terseboet itoe, hendaklah soerat pesanan bersama dengan oeang harga kitab itoe, di'alamatkan kekantor *Commissie voor de Volkslectuur ("Balai-Poestaka") di Weltevreden*. Memesan seboeah atau tiga boeah sama sekali, haroeslah ditambahi harga 5 sên lagi, goenanja oentoek memboengoes dan oentoek ongkos mengirimkannya.

APPENDIX 4. Kats 1934:96-97.

Staatsblad Hindia-Belanda. 1919 No. 560. Persediaan Makanan. Oepaja goena persediaan makanan diperoesahaan (Kontrakan) tempatkoeli-koeli bekerdja menoeroet boenji soeatoe ordonansi koeli.

Pasal 1. Kepala daérah berkoeasa akan menetapkan banjakkja beras (ditambah atau tidak dengan barang makanan lain-lain) jang pada timbangannya boléh dipandang tjoekoep akan memberi makanan pada orang-orang jang lagi bekerdja pada seorang toean Keboen (pemberi kerdja) dalam satoe témpoh jang tentoe, jaïtoe oentoek orang-orang jang bekerdja menoeroet boenji soeatoe ordonansi koeli.

Pasal 2. (1) Toean Keboen wadajib mendjaga socpaja kepada koeli-koelinja djangan diberi beras banjakkja lebih dari banjak jang terseboet pada pasal 1, baik dengan tiada bajaran, baik dengan dibajar atau dengan didjelaskan dengan oepah oeang jang telah didjandjikan, baik selakoe oepah.

(2) Kewadajiban itoe ditanggoengkan djoega atas pengoeasa atau toean besar keboen.

Pasal 6. Ordonansi ini moelai berlakoe pada keésokan hari mengoendangkannya. Dan soepaja djangan seorangpoen dapat berdalih tiada mengetahoei ordonansi ini, maka ia akan dimoetkan dalam Staatsblad tanah Hindia-Belanda dan sekadar perloe salinnja dalam bahasa anak negeri dan bahasa Tjina akan ditémpélkan pada sebarang tempat djoega.

APPENDIX 5. Sukarno 1963:30. (Suluh Indonesia Muda 1926).

Riwayat emigrasi mengadjarkan pada kita, bahwa cmigrasi itu hanjalah bisa terdjadi dengan sungguh-sungguh, djikalau segala sumber penghidupan dinegeri sendiri memang sudah tertutup sama sekali adanja. Akan tetapi, bilamana emigrasi itu sudah terdjadi; bilamana pada sesuatu masa beratus-ratus ribu atau berdjuta-djuta rakjat sudah sama meninggalkan negerinja untuk mentjari penghidupan dinegeri lain, maka riwayat-dunia menundjukkan, bahwa aliran rakjat-pindah itu pada suatu ketika berhenti pula. Sebab dalam pada itu, negeri sendiri lalu berubah pula. Dalam pada itu, negeri sendiri lalu

mengadakan perubahan dalam tjaranja mentjari rezeki: mengadakan perbaikan tjara bertani, mengadakan perbaikan pertukangan (*nijverheid*); dan mulailah dalam negeri sendiri itu timbul suatu kepabrikaan (*industri*), jang memberi kerdja dan penghidupan pada bagian rakjat jang masih "lebih", sehingga "kelebihan" rakjat ini seolah-olah diisap lagi oleh pergaulan hidup dinegeri sendiri tahadi adanja. Kita mengambil pelajaran dari riwayat-dunia, bahwa semua emigrasi itu terdjadinja ialah dalam masa, jang mendahului suburnja tjara pentjaharian rezeki atau suburnja kepabrikaan dalam negeri dari rakjat jang beremigrasi itu.

APPENDIX 6. Djedjak Langkah 1954:28. (Neratja 1917). (Author: Hadji Agoes Salim).

Adakah kebadjikannya djika dipisahkan anak perempuan dari pada anak laki-laki untuk bersekolah? Dalam sekolah anak-anak harus diberi pendidikan badan, hati dan akal budi, jaitu badannya supaja bertambah subur, kuat dan elok, hatinja supaja bertambah baik, janki bertambah baik budipekerti dan bertambah sopan-santun laku-budinja, akal supaja bertambah banjak kepandaian dan pengetahuannya. Dalam tiga perkara ini tentu sekali tak ada perbedaan antara perempuan dan laki-laki, melainkan samalah perlunya bagi kedua-duanja. Adapun tiga perkara itu harus diusahakan supaja sianak jang diadjar itu menjadi tjapak dan pandai melakukan kewajibannya sebagai manusia didalam dunia kelak. Maka baik bagi laki-laki maupun perempuan amat perlu sekali keutamaan dalam tiga perkara itu dan sekali-kali tidak berbedaan. Apabila gadis sudah besar dan sudah meninggalkan sekolah, maka pada pendapat orang banjak, ia harus bersuami, jaitu tidak perlu mentjari penghidupan seperti orang laki-laki. Oleh sebab itu perempuan tak perlu diberi pengadjaran sama banjak dengan laki-laki. Akan tetapi pada pendapat kita pikiran itu sesat semata-mata. Sekalipun kita umpamakan sekalian perempuan mendapat djodoh tidak djuga kurang perlu baginja ketjerdasan, kepandaian dan ketjakaan. Sisuami harus bekerdja akan mentjari penghidupan bagi anak isterinja, akan tetapi siisterilah jang harus memegang belandja, mengemudikan rumah tangga dan mendidik serta mengadjar anak.

APPENDIX 7. Abdulkadir Widjoatmodjo 1927:25-26.

Djikalau ada kepala merapportkan majit terdapat, maka kepala divisie menoenjoekkan satoe komissie dari tiga kepala desa, jang dengan satoe ambtenaar memboeat peperiksa'an jang selesih, sedang rappornja haroes dengan sigera dikirimkan kepada Boepati. Kalau ada orang jang terdakwa, dengan radjin kepala divisie haroes berichtiar tjari keterangan dan tangkap pada pendjahat. Tiap-tiap hari Senen Boepati merapportkan keada'an district kepada resident, sedang saban 6 boelan sekali di [a] atoerkannya rapport pandjang. Boepati haroes menjelidiki kelakoean kepala divisie, desadan lain-lain pegawai, apa bila lalai kepada pekerdja'annya atau bersalah haroes mengatoerkan rapport kepada resident. Apa bila regent terima soerat peperiksa'an, maka Boepati melandjoetkan peperiksa'an pada djaksa dan pengoele oentoek pertimbangan. Kita lihat ketentoean ini kita bertemoek kembali maepoen dengan perubahan dalam *Inlandsch Reglement* jang masih berlakoe, boekan?

APPENDIX 8. Boekoe Policie 1888:7-9.

11.17 Kaloe orang dapet bangkenja orang dan tiada taoe sebabnja mati atawa kaloe bersangka itoe perkara nanti tida trang maka Kepala dessa di itoe tempat misti lantas dateng di tempatnja itoe bangke dan kaloe dia soeda priksa ka'ada'annya itoe bangke dia misti lantas soeroean kasi taoe pendapettannya kapada Kepala district dan lagi dia misti soeroe djaga itoe bangke sampe datengnja Kepala district soepaia djangan ada ljjang berobah dan misih sama sadja seperti temponja bangke baroe terdapat, ja itoe selainnja jang di perentahken di dalam Fatsal 19.

Kaloe tiada ada orang tahoe itoe bangkenja siapa. Kepala dessa di itoe tempat misti lantas soeroe kabarken kapada kapala kepala [sic] dessa jang deket deket di sitoe dari perkara dapetnja itoe bangke dan tanda tandanja.

13.19 Kaloe itoe orang jang roepanja soeda mati di kira kira misih idoeop maka misti di boeat segala akal jang baik dan perloeaken mengidoepken dialagi dan brapa bolih misti lantas minta pertoeoengannya dokter.

14.20 Kaloe ada orang teranjoet atawa tenggelem di dalem aer maka misti dengan lekas di angkat dari dalem aer dan kaloe ada tanda beloen mati maka misti di bocat begimana jang soeda terseboet di atas, maski Kepala dessa atawa lain prijaji polisie beloen dateng di itoe tempat maka misti di boeat dengan lekas apa jang terseboet di atas kaloe ada tanda itoe orang beloen mati.

APPENDIX 9. Wiggers, comp. 1911:11-14.

17 Apa bila ada orang dapetin mait orang, maka kepala-kepala dessa di tempat itoe, djikaloe tida ketaoewan sebabnja kematian itoe, atawa ada orang jang di terka, lantas misti ia dateng katempat itoe bangke dan kaloe soedah dia priksa ka-ada-annja itoe mait lantas dia misti kabarin segala pendapatannya kepada kepala district, sedang ia kasi kabar itoe, dia misti soeroeh djaga itoe mait sampc pada datengnja kepala district, socpaja segala ka-ada-annja mait itoe di dapetin tida brobah seperti tadi, adapoen dengan mengingat djocga prentah jang terseboet dalam fatsal 19. (Sv. 36; Inl. R. 2,8,14,21,33,41,42). (2). Djikaloc mait jang terdapt itoe tida di kenalin orang maka itoe kepala desa misti kasi kabar kepada kepala dessa jang dekat-dekat di sitoe dari hal kedapatan itoe mait dengan semoewa tanda jang bisa bikin itoe mait dikenalin orang. (I.R. 2,8,14,21,33,41 d.b. Tabel 242).

19 Djikaloe kira misih bole bikin idoeop lagi orang itoe jang di sangka soeda tida ada lagi njawahnja maka menoeroet bagimana ka-ada-annja hal di sitoe orang misti tjari akal jang pantes dan jang baik dan misti di djaga, dan sebrapa bole misti lantas panggil dokter boewat kasi toeloengannya (I.R. 2,17,42; Tabel 244 Sv. 35).

APPENDIX 10. Kats 1929a:223. (Maleische Volksalmanak 1918) (?).

6. Djikalau kedapatan majit jang tidak tentoc sebab matinja atau menerbitkan sjak, segeralah kepala perkampoengan pergi ke tempat majit itoe, dan memeriksa dahoele hal keadaannya, laloe ia segera memberitakan pendapatannya kepada kepala distrik; sementara menantikan kedatangan kepala distrik itoe, disoeroehnja djagai majit itoe; dalam pada itoe ia haroes berdaja-oepaja dengan sepatoeinja, dan meminta pertolongan doktor (tabib) djika ada, akan menghidoepkan kembali akan badan jang seroepea mati itoe, kalau-kalau barangkali masih ada bernjawa. Djikalau kedapatan orang lemas didalam air, hendaklah ditjari daja-oepaja akan menghidoepkan kembali orang itoe, kalau-kalau masih ada bernjawa, dan djanganlah dinantikan kedatangan kepala perkampoengan atau pendjawat poelisi jang lain. Djika terdjadi pemboenohan jang disengadja, atau pemboenohan jang tiba-tiba, peloeakan parah, api (baik disebabkan kedjahatan atau tidak), reboet-rampas, pentjoerian dengan membongkar atau petjah-pintoe, dan lain-lain perboeatan djahat, jang meninggalkan bekas, hendaklah kepala kampoeng pergi ke tempat kedjadian itoe, dan melakockan segala daja-oepaja dan oekoer-alit jang perloe, laloe memberitakan hal itoe kepada kepala distrik.

APPENDIX 11. Handleiding 45/BB 1922:42-47. Published by Volkslectuur.

Art.17 Wanneer een lijk gevonden wordt, zal het betrokken dorpshoofd, indien de oorzaak van den dood onbekend is of verdacht voorkomt, zich terstond begeven naar de plaats waar zoodanig lijk zich bevindt, en na den staat van [het] hetzelfde voorlopig onderzocht te hebben, dadelijk van zijne bevinding kennis doen geven aan het districtshoofd, terwijl hij tot aan diens komst het lijk zal doen bewaken, opdat alles zoo lang onveranderd blijve in

Djika terdapat orang mati dan tidak ketahoean atau ada sjak hati tentang sebab kematian orang itoe, maka haroeslah kepala désa jang bersangkoetan dengan sergera pergi ketempat adanja majat itoe, dan sesoedah diperiksanya dahoele keadaan majat itoe haroeslah ia dengan segera memberi tahoean pendapatannya kepada kepala distrik, serta menjoeeroeh mendjaga majat itoe sampai datangnja kepala distrik, soepaja segala hal ihwal jang terdapat

den staat waarin het gevonden is; behoudens evenwel het bepaalde bij artikel 19.

Indien het gevonden lijkt dat van eenen onbekende is, zal hij de hoofden der naburige dorpen dadelijk doen kennis dragen van de plaats gehad hebbende ontdekking en van de kenteekenen van het lijk.

Art. 19 Indien de mogelijkheid schijnt te bestaan, dat er nog leven is in het zich als levenloos voordoende ligchaam, zullen de naar den aard der omstandigheden meest gepaste middelen en voorzorgen worden aangewend en zoo mogelijk de hulp van eenen geneeskundige dadelijk worden ingeroepen.

sementara itoe tiada beroebah, ketjoeali dalam hal jang terseboet dalam pasal 19.

Djika majat jang terdapat itoe majat orang tiada terkenal, maka kepala désa haroes dengan segera memberi tahoeakan hal pendapatan itoe dan tanda-tanda majat itoe kepada kepala-kepala désa jang dekat.

Djika roepanja masih ada njawa dalam badan jang seroeпа tidak bernjawa lagi itoe, maka haroeslah didjalankan daja oepaja serta pendjagaan jang sepatoe-t-patoetnja menoeroet keadaan dan haroeslah, kalau dapat, diminta pertolo[lo]ngandoktor.

APPENDIX 11. (Translation of the Dutch text).

When a corpse is found and the cause of death is not known, or if there is reason for suspicion, the village head shall at once go to the place where the corpse lies. After a provisional inspection of the situation he shall immediately have his findings reported to the head of the district. In the meanwhile, until the head arrives, he shall have the corpse guarded, so that for the moment everything remains unchanged as it was found, except for what is laid down in article 19.

If the corpse is of an unknown person the village head shall immediately inform the heads of the neighbouring villages of the discovery and of the distinguishing marks of the corpse.

Article 19. If there seems to be any possibility that there is still life in the seemingly lifeless body, the most appropriate means and precautions shall be applied, according to circumstances, and if possible the aid of a physician shall be immediately summoned.

APPENDIX 12. Handleiding 39/GB 1921:76-77. Published by Volkslectuur.

art. 18 Iedere aangeslotene is verplicht de voorgeschreven en in de telefoongidsen bekend gestelde wijze van telefoonbehandeling op te volgen.

In het bijzonder zijn de aangesloten, bij wie wisselborden zijn geplaatst, gehouden zich wat betreft de wijze van bediening daarvan uitsluitend te gedragen naar de aanwijzingen daartoe vanwege den telefoondienst te geven.

Laatstebedoelde aangeslotenen kunnen worden verplicht, het personeel, dat door hem voor de bediening van het wisselbord wordt aangewezen, op hunne kosten door de Gouvernements Telefoondienst voor hun taak te doen opleiden.

Tijap-tijap orang jang diperhoeboengkan wadjib menoeroet peratoeran-peratoeran dan tjara menalipon, jang diberitahoeakan dalam talipon.

Orang-orang jang diperhoeboengkan, jang ada padanja ditempatkan papan-pertoekaran, teroetama diwadjibkan, akan menoeroet hanja penoendjoekan jang diberikan oléh pekerdjaan-talipon, tentang tjaranja memakai talipon itoe.

Orang-orang jang diperhoeboengkan jang baharoe diseboetkan itoe boléh diwadjibkan menjoeroeh mengadjari orang, jang ditoendjoekannja boewat mendjaga papan-pertoekaran, pada Pekerdjaan-talipon Goebememén, atas belandjanja sendiri.

De aangeslotene draagt zorg, dat van uit zijne aansluiting met het dienstdoende personeel van den telefoondienst alleen gesprekken worden gevoerd, welke op den dienst betrekking hebben en dat daarbij geen onvoegzame, ongepaste of ruwe uitdrukkingen worden gebezigd.

Het voeren van gesprekken kan worden gestuit wanneer die in strijd worden geacht met de veiligheid van den Staat, de openbare orde of de goede zeden.

Ten einde het publiek in de gelegenheid te stellen, telefoongesprekken tegen betaling per gesprek te kunnen voeren, wordt op een door den Chef van den dienst aangewezen plaats een telefoontoestel aangebracht, dat "publiektelefoonstation" genoemd wordt.

Orang jang diperhoeboengkan haroes mendjaga, soepaja pada perhoeboengannja dengan orang jang mendjaga Pekerdjaan-talipon dilakoekan hanja bitjara jang bersangkoetan dengan pekerdjaan itoe, dan dalamnja itoe tidak boléh dipakai perkataan-perkataan jang tjada patoet jang tjada lajak atauboen jang kasar.

Meneroeskan pembijtaraan boléh dihentikan, kalau ditimbang pembijtaraan itoe berbahaya akan kesentosaan Negeri, tertib 'oemoem atau dengan kesopanan jang baik.

Akan memberikan kesempatan kepada orang banjak, boewat melakoekan pembijtaraan dengan talipon dengan bajaran tjap-tjap kali pembijtaraan, akan ditempatkan seboewah perkakas talipon pada tempat jang ditoendjoekkan oléh Kepala Pekerdjaan ini; talipon itoe dinamai: "Publiektelefoonstation" (Stasiun-talipon orang-banjak).

APPENDIX 12. (Translation of the Dutch text). Instructions for telephone subscribers.

Article 18.

Every subscriber is bound to follow the prescribed procedures, published in the directories, for handling the telephone.

Especially those subscribers who have switchboards installed are placed are obliged with regard to the operating of those switchboards to strictly follow the instructions given by the telephone service.

The subscribers referred to in the preceding paragraph may be obliged, at their own expenses, to train the personnel assigned by the Government's Telephone Service to operate the switchboard.

The subscriber sees to it that calls made from his connection with the staff in charge of the telephone service will exclusively pertain to the service, and that no improper, impertinent or coarse expressions will be used. Calls may be interrupted if they are considered to be conflicting with the security of the State, or to offend against public order or common decency. In order to enable the general public to make telephone calls at a charge for each call, a telephone will be installed at a place to be indicated by the Head of the service; this will be called a 'public telephone station'.

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