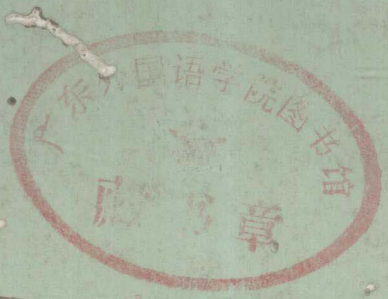
Indonesian Language and Literature: Two Essays

S. Takdir Alisjahbana



Cultural Report Series No. 11

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Preface

It is no exaggeration to say that the author of the two essays which together form this monograph is one of the greatest and most versatile figures in the Indonesian world of letters and culture. Teacher and lawyer by training, novelist and poet, linguist and grammarian, one of the pioneers who molded the modern Indonesian national language, editor of several journals devoted to his country's cultural renaissance--these were already S. Takdir Alisjahbana's achievements in colonial times. During the traumatic years of the Japanese interregnum, he occupied the crucial post of Director of the Office for the Development and Modernization of the Indonesian Language, a post which not only gave him the unique chance to further the phenomenal development of the national tongue during the war years, but also brought him (as he so well describes in the first essay) close to the intellectual and political groups opposed to Japanese rule. Little wonder that this inexhaustible Minangkabau found himself rewarded with teaching chairs in the Universitas Nasional at Djakarta and the Universitas Andalas at Padang once Indonesia became independent, and that he also became a member of his country's former Constituent Assembly. No less surprising that he soon became one of Indonesia's best-known cultural emissaries abroad, whether in conjunction with UNESCO activities or as delegate to various international conferences. Most recently, Mr. Alisjahbana spent two years in the United States, the first at the Center for the Advanced Study of Behavioral Sciences at Palo Alto, California, the other at the East-West Center in Hawaii.

The two essays need little by way of introduction. They present a vivid personal--at times autobiographical--analysis of the history and the problems of modern Indonesian language and literature. Indeed, their significance is by no means limited to these subjects, for the author raises a host of more general questions. He is, for one thing, fascinated by what he calls "language engineering," asserting that "New nations such as Indonesia have the opportunity to develop and mold their languages more purposefully and systematically, in accordance with the findings of linguistics and related sciences." (p. 12). For another, Alisjahbana's preference for Latin, rather than for Asian, grammatical models is only one aspect of a broad cultural orientation: Alisjahbana has always been a radical modernizer and, indeed, a Westernizer. A dedicated nationalist, he has yet always striven to build bridges between Indonesia and the modern, international world. His is, needless to say, not the only cultural and literary voice in present-day Indonesia; there are many who nowadays prefer to derive exclusive inspiration from traditional values and to seek other cultural models than those dear to the author of these essays. If for no other reason--and the brief biographical sketch above provides several such reasons--Mr. Alisjahbana deserves the widest English audience.

"The Development of the Indonesian Language and Literature" first appeared in French in Cahiers d'histoire mondiale, whose editor has placed us under an obligation by graciously consenting to the present re-publication in translation. "The Modernization of the Indonesian Language in Practice" was especially written for this

volume while Mr. Alisjahbana was in the United States, and I should like to express my profound appreciation to him for having so readily responded to my suggestion for a companion essay. Mrs. Elizabeth Pelzer has been kind enough to edit the manuscript with her usual devotion and skill.

Harry J. Benda
Southeast Asia Studies
Yale University

New Haven, Connecticut
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C O N T E N T S

THE MODERNIZATION OF THE INDONESIAN LANGUAGE IN PRACTICE

One of the characteristics of life in Indonesia, as in the other new nations, during the last decades has been the rapidity of the tempo of change in face of the immense dimensions of the problems which must be met. Problems which were solved gradually over the course of centuries in the older nations must be settled here in one or two decades. This phenomenon is indeed a source of unlimited excitement and adventure for creative minds; it is clear, however, that in this atmosphere of overwhelming haste a calm consideration of possibilities together with a thorough exploration and utilization of knowledge and experience from other parts of the world, as well as deliberate planning, are very difficult to attain. It goes without saying that an important obstacle has been the great dearth of experts. But even if experts were available, they would be handicapped by manifold controversies and struggles among the various political, economic, religious, and aesthetic forces which have been activated in the new atmosphere of progress and freedom.

It is in this context that we must observe the process of modernization of the Indonesian language in the last two decades. In a short span of time this language has been transformed from an unintegrated, pidgin-like lingua franca into the official language, the language of modern life and culture, in a country stretching as far as from Boston to Los Angeles and with a population of nearly 100 million speaking some 250 languages. This rapid growth of the Indonesian language is undeniably one of the most, and perhaps even the most, spectacular linguistic phenomenon of our age.

It is a pity that in this rapid transformation--we may even say this great experiment in language engineering--it was not possible to take full advantage of the knowledge and insight offered by the science of language and the related sciences of society and culture. No less regrettable is the fact that very few competent studies have thus far been made on this transformation, wherein the phonemic, morphologic, and semantic problems had to be faced in the complexity of political, educational, aesthetic, religious, and economic challenges of a fast-changing society and culture. It might be interesting to determine to what extent the relatively small contribution to and interest in the development of the Indonesian language on the part of the trained linguist is a result of political and other social and cultural factors, and to what extent it is a consequence of the present situation of the science of language itself. It is surprising how small was the interest of Dutch scholars in the Malay/Indonesian language during the 1920's and 1930's. Most of their studies were concentrated on the less known Indonesian languages. In the '30's, when the Indonesian language was going through its most decisive struggle, Professor C. C. Berg made the great mistake of characterizing the Malay language as a fossilized language without any life force. His attempts to encourage the Javanese people, whose language is spoken by nearly 50 per cent of the population of the archipelago, to insist on Javanese as the national language was opposed by the Javanese themselves. But even the few existing trained Indonesian linguists did not participate in the transformation of the Indonesian language. As late as 1955, ten years after Indonesian had served as the medium of instruction in all subjects from the primary school to the university, Professor Prijono, who had pursued his formal linguistic studies in Leiden, asserted that it was not yet possible to write an Indonesian grammar.

It is, however, clear that the Indonesian language, as a system of symbols manifesting the various notions, ideas, feelings, imagery, and aspirations of the Indonesian people, mirrors the total, conflicting life of the Indonesian mind, society, and culture over the last decades; and in this broad field of personal, social, and cultural life, which influences the growth of a language, only a small portion belongs to the competence of the linguist.

In another essay in the present volume I have attempted to describe the history of the development of the Malay language into the Indonesian language. There I focused my attention on the linguistic, social, and cultural problems which had to be overcome in the effort not only to transform the Indonesian language into the main medium of instruction in the Indonesian school system but also to make it the actual medium of communication and expression of modern Indonesian life in the broadest sense of the word: as the language of the daily newspaper, the radio, political meetings, the correspondent in government and business, and of modern science, law, and literature.

The most decisive period for this transformation was the capitulation of the Dutch to the Japanese army at the beginning of 1942. Dutch, the official language of the Netherlands colonial government and the language of modern culture in Indonesia, was suddenly forbidden. It was clear from the beginning that it was the intent of the Japanese conquerors to replace Dutch with their own language, even gradually to make Japanese the only recognized language in the country, as had been done in Korea and Formosa before the war. In contrast to the Dutch, who had limited the number of Indonesians who were taught the Dutch language, the Japanese made the most strenuous efforts directly after their arrival to spread the knowledge of their language as quickly and as widely as possible. In every school and in every office courses were started in Japanese, with examinations at regular intervals; moreover, persons who had taken these courses even for a couple of weeks were encouraged to teach other groups of Indonesians. The exigencies of the war, however, did not permit the Japanese authorities to wait for their efforts to bear fruit; instead they were forced to take the simplest and most practical way; namely, to employ the Malay (or Indonesian) language--which for centuries has been the lingua franca of the whole of the archipelago--to urge the Indonesians to support them in the war for the creation of the Great East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere. For Indonesians who were aware of the Japanese purposes, the exigencies of the war situation and the vacuum created by the banning of Dutch before Japanese could be learned created a ready opportunity for strengthening the position of Indonesian as the national language.

The most urgent problem at that time was the language of the Japanese laws and pronouncements, of the radio and the press, of official correspondence, and, last but not least, of the schools. The very first day after its arrival in Indonesia the Japanese army promulgated its laws and other pronouncements in Indonesian. When the schools were re-opened a few weeks later there was no other possibility than to use Indonesian as the medium of instruction. Japanese, however, became a very important subject. Since in some primary schools and in all junior and senior high schools the medium of instruction had been Dutch, and there were consequently no

textbooks available in Indonesian for the subjects taught in the junior and senior high schools, and since most of the Indonesian teachers in these schools did not have even an adequate command of Indonesian, this sudden change created complete chaos in the Indonesian school system. A committee was appointed for the translation of textbooks for junior and senior high schools, but very soon this committee discovered that it was not easy to find Indonesians able to translate books from a foreign language--at that time mostly from Dutch--into Indonesian. Furthermore, those who had a good command of both Dutch and Indonesian faced the difficult problem that Indonesian equivalents often did not exist for Dutch technical and scientific terms, so that at first each teacher coined his own terms. The same difficulties appeared, of course, in the various government and private offices. There was not only a need for a clear and stable system of terminology in the field of law; but for nearly every commodity, profession, tool, instrument, procedure--too many to sum up--a uniform term was necessary. This problem of uniform terminology was not merely a question of determining an adequate equivalent of modern terms. Very often it was difficult to arrive at a common usage of native Indonesian words derived from the various dialects or languages. The increasing complaints about language confusion in schools and in government and private offices created great tension and a feeling of insecurity in the country; the need for a competent committee able to make decisions and draw up guiding principles for the many language problems became greater and greater. Since the solution of these problems would also increase the efficiency of the Japanese war administration in Indonesia and its efforts to influence the Indonesian for war purposes, the Japanese occupation authorities eventually established a committee for the promotion of the Indonesian language, Komisi Bahasa Indonesia. The task of this committee was to provide the Indonesian language with an adequate, uniform technical and scientific terminology, to examine and make a selection from the words used in every-day life, and to write a modern normative grammar. To lend the committee high prestige, its membership included not only the most prominent Indonesian writers, linguists, and cultural leaders but also political celebrities such as Sukarno and Hatta. Hatta himself was for many years personally active as chairman of the section in charge of scientific and technical terminology. I functioned as the secretary of the committee and at the same time was the head of the Language Office, which prepared and acted upon the committee's decisions.

The committee was from the beginning divided into three sections for the tasks of: (1) determining a new technical and scientific terminology, (2) writing a new grammar, and (3) determining words in daily use.

The section for the determination of technical and scientific terminology was, of course, the most important and urgent; especially urgent was the determination of technical and scientific terms for use in the schools. This task was concrete and limited in scope. Several persons already engaged in translating Dutch textbooks were able to furnish lists of Dutch terms along with some tentative Indonesian equivalents. To complete these lists the committee asked the teachers who were teaching the various subjects in the schools to submit lists of terms they had used during the initial months following the re-opening of the schools. In this way the committee had at its disposal several lists of the terms of, let us say, botany

as they were provisionally being used in the schools. The task of the staff of the secretary at the Language Office was to compare the various Indonesian terms, to subject them to severe criticism, and to try to collect other relevant information from additional sources. As a rule the staff then made a choice from the terms in the various lists, but occasionally it introduced a new word which it considered more satisfactory. The new list of terms drawn up through this process was sent to teachers of botany in Djakarta. About a week later the committee invited them, along with others who, by virtue of their profession or for other reasons, were considered competent in botany, to a meeting for a preliminary decision on the terms. The group attending this first session was called the sub-section of botany; it consisted of persons of the same study-subject or interest. The decisions of this meeting were mimeographed and sent to the members of the section on terminology for a second decision at a higher level. As the section on terminology had to decide on all technical and scientific terms it was made up of members from different branches of learning and occupation. The words decided upon in a given sub-section were studied and coordinated with the terms decided upon in other sub-sections--for instance, in that of zoology, agriculture, and so on. After a certain number of lists dealing with various subjects had been decided upon in this section, the secretary would arrange a plenary meeting of the committee, at which the terms were formally confirmed. The first set of terms chosen in this way was published by the Japanese military authorities in the official Government Gazette, thus receiving the official sanction of the Japanese Government. As time went on, however, the interest of the Japanese members of the committee gradually decreased, and the Japanese authorities never again felt the necessity of publishing the decisions of the committee in the official magazine. On the other hand, this loss of interest on the part of the Japanese members of the committee and the Japanese authorities gave some of the Indonesian members, especially the Indonesian officials of the language offices, more and more freedom to develop their own initiative and policies. We may say that, amid the strenuous efforts of the Japanese army to Nipponize and to involve the whole Indonesian population in its war effort, the staff of the Language Office together with some of the members of the committee formed a consciously nationalistic group, fully aware that their efforts to promote the modernization of the Indonesian language were essential contributions to the development of Indonesian nationalism and would also influence other aspects of Indonesian aspiration and thought. As time went on the Language Office became a small center of literary, cultural, and political activities secretly opposing the Japanese efforts to create a new literary and artistic atmosphere directed at supporting Japan's war aims. In the daily meetings of the sections and sub-sections, which were now attended by Indonesian members only, daily news and events were very often commented upon and ridiculed in the context of Japanese war policy; frequently secret news about the war was exchanged among the persons attending the meetings. In 1943 these extra-linguistic activities increased, and in January, 1944, the head and another official of the Language Office were arrested by the Japanese authorities because of political activities. This was the intellectual atmosphere in which the multiple problems of the Indonesian language during the Japanese occupation were considered.

During its first session the committee discussed and decided upon principles for the determination of new terms. These official

stream of modern technical advance and to treat her economy as an organic whole, not as a mere theatre for specialised economic development ancillary to European needs.

Inappropriate Policies

The trouble was that the political concept applied to Malaya in 1945 ignored complex racial tensions and sprang too much from emotions that derived from the Anglo-American struggle with Japan. Superficially it seemed rational to set up a democratic Malayan Union in which all the races (Malays, Chinese and Indians alike) should have equal rights of citizenship. The old assumption that Chinese and Indian immigrants were 'birds of passage', mere money-makers on sufferance within Malay Sultanates, was to be felled at a blow. In a unified country the Malay petty kingdoms would be absorbed under a strong central government. This conception commended itself the more to Britain since it virtually rewarded the Chinese of Malaya who (including the Communists) had resisted the Japanese and shown sympathy to British prisoners in Japanese hands.

How unwise it was to oversimplify and base a policy for Malaya on emotions which were tied up with a British cause, and not with Malayan aspirations as a whole, was soon borne in on the British government. The Malays organised opposition to the Malayan Union, the idea had to be scrapped, and only after two years was it possible to get the agreement of the Malays to a compromise arrangement — a Federation in which the component States and their Malay Sultans retained considerable powers and in which the non-Malay races could only acquire Malayan citizenship slowly and under scrutiny. This second attempt at a constitution for Malaya aroused strong opposition among the Chinese. But it went into effect. The British government had learnt once again — India was the earlier experience — that it is not easy to launch a multi-racial State in Asia, particularly if, as in the case of Malaya, the two main races are almost numerically equal.

The 1948 compromise of the Malayan Federation set up a centralised superstructure around the nine Malay Sultanates (which had been British protectorates for many years) together with the two Straits Settlements of Penang and Malacca. Singapore remained a separate colony in deference to the fears of the Malay race that they would be dominated by the Malayan Chinese in the event of an accession to Malaya of Singapore's million Chinese. This 1948 constitution did not launch Malayan democracy. Not a single elected seat was provided for in the central Legislative Council. As for the Malay Sultanates, the component States, they retained important powers. And although the Sultans themselves became constitutional rulers their State legislatures were not democratised either. But, as an earnest of future intention to move towards universal suffrage, Malayan citizenship was made available to Chinese, Indians and other non-Malays, though under stiff qualifications, notably that both parents must have been born in Malaya, or applicants must prove eight years residence in the country and pass language, character and loyalty tests. This 'quarter-way house' constitution remained substantially the basis for the government of Malaya until 1955.

the combined utilization of the Indonesian prefix ke- and the suffix -an, or the prefix pe- and the suffix -an: ke-bangsa-an (bangsa--people, race, nation) for "nationality"; ke-warganegara-an (warga-negara--member of state, or citizen) for "citizenship": ke-tjepat-an (tjepat--speed) for "velocity"; pem-buah-an (buah--fruit) for "fertilization" or "fecundation"; pen-tjerna-an (tjerna--digest) for "digestion"; peng-indera-an (indera--sense organs) for "sensation." It is interesting to note how the suffix -man or -wan--borrowed from Sanskrit and originally found only in archaisms such as sastrawan, "a person versed in the sastra (literature)," hartawan, "a person owning harta (money and property)," "a man of property"; budiman, "a person with enlightenment," "an intellectual"--suddenly became valuable in the modernization process for the creation of new words for various occupations. The word warta-wan (warta--news) was coined for "journalist," seni-man (seni--art) for "artist," modal-wan (modal--capital) for "capitalist," and negara-wan (negara--state) for "statesman." Doublings are sometimes used in the Indonesian language as a plural form. They are also used in combination with the suffix -an to denote a group of the same variety or sort. This form became useful in forming botanical terms denoting a certain family comprising a plurality of genera: malvaceae becomes in the Indonesian language kapas^{2}an, "belonging to the cotton family"; myrtaceae djambu^{2}wan, "belonging to the djambu family."

The problem of borrowing words from foreign languages was much more complicated. Since Indonesian culture has been influenced by Indian, Islamic, and European cultures, words from these three cultural traditions competed with each other for acceptance in the Indonesian technical and scientific terminology. Very soon three more or less clearly marked preferences became manifest in the meetings of sections and sub-sections. If no Indonesian word or its derivative could be used for a particular meaning, there would be one group which wanted to introduce a Sanskrit word or its derivative; a second group, an Arabic word or its derivative; while a third group would favor a word of Greco-Latin origin.

Many compromises took place among these three different orientations. Since in the last analysis the majority of votes was decisive in the sessions of the sections and sub-sections, the decision on a term very often depended on pure accident. Moreover, some branches of science, technology, the professions, and so on, lend themselves more easily to the use of Greco-Latin words, whereas for others Arabic or Sanskrit words are more easily used. For example, Greco-Latin words were accepted by all for the names of the elements in chemistry because of the conviction that the Indonesian language should use the same initials and formulas as do the modern languages.

The choice of a term also frequently depended upon its category. There are terms which coincide with words of daily usage, and there are those which are used only by the specialist. Indonesian physicians among themselves, for example, will use many Latin words or their derivatives; but even in the medical vocabulary there are many terms which are also used in daily life. It is especially in terms which coincide with daily words that Arabic and Sanskrit loan-words--a source which for a long time has been accepted by the Indonesian language--have the greatest chance. The word used as the Indonesian equivalent for "state," for example, is negara, derived from

Sanskrit. The compound word warganegara was created for the concept of "citizen"; it means literally "member of state." Once a word is thus accepted as a term in the Indonesian language it supposedly can be used to make all necessary combinations and derivatives.

Many of the new Indonesian terms dealing with Indonesian national political life are derived from Sanskrit, because the zenith of Indonesia as a political power is regarded as coinciding with the Hindu period of Indonesian history: pantjasila denotes the five fundaments of the Indonesian state; dwiwarna is the Indonesian flag; sapta marga denotes the seven pledges of the Indonesian army. Also in the arts the new Indonesian terminology uses many words of Sanskrit origin: kesusasteraan (suśāstra) for "literature," kebudajaan (buddhi + dayā) for "culture," mentjipta (citta) for "to create," sutradara (sutradhara) for "film or play director," and so on. In general we can say that for a great number of Indonesians Sanskrit words still have a certain emotional force which enhances self-confidence and national pride.

Many words in Malay are of Arabic origin, because Malay more than any other language in the archipelago was the medium of the spread of Islam. The fact that 90 per cent of the population of Indonesia is Moslem has helped facilitate the introduction of additional Arabic words. The Indonesian word for "science" is ilmu, deriving from an Arabic word; the word for "term" is istilah, another Arabic word. Many other Arabic words were similarly introduced into the modern language, such as aldjabar, almanak, and nadir. In addition, many words of Greek origin became Indonesian words through the adoption of an Arabic word, such as filsafat for "philosophy."

It is interesting to see how new Indonesian affixes arose and how other new affixes were borrowed as the equivalents of certain Greco-Latin affixes or other grammatical forms. For example, the word "organic" has been adopted in Indonesian as organik, but instead of likewise accepting the word "inorganic," a combination was made between organik and the newly-coined Indonesian prefix tak, "not," to form takorganik. In the case of terms such as "materialism," "spiritualism," "nationalism," efforts have been made to substitute the prefix serba (Sanskrit sarva, meaning "all") for the Dutch suffix -isme, the English "-ism," the German -ismus. The term "materialism" accordingly becomes serbazat and "spiritualism," serbaroh. In the latter we have a combination of serba, adapted from Sanskrit, and roh, meaning "spirit," "soul," adopted from Arabic. The prefixes prae- and pre- in such words as "prehistory," is replaced in Indonesian by pra-, the Sanskrit equivalent. In prasedjarah, "prehistory," we have a hybrid of a Sanskrit prefix with an Arabic loan-word.

A special problem connected with the adoption of Sanskrit, Arabic, and Greco-Latin loan-words and affixes is the assimilation of the new words with the Indonesian phonemic system. Efforts were made to arrive at a formulation of certain principles in the transformation of the phonemes of Greco-Latin affixes for the Indonesian language, but by the time the Language Committee was dissolved, toward the end of the war, it had not yet determined an organized scheme of principles. One of the difficulties was that so many of the Latin words, with their various derivations, had already been more or less integrated in the Indonesian language in a Dutch form.

For instance, the words for "quality" and "quantity" in Indonesian were kwalitet and kwantitet, because of the Dutch words kwaliteit and kwantiteit. The controversy which arose over the words "university" and "faculty" is interesting. There was a time when at Gadjah Mada University in Djokjakarta (Central Java) the words universitit and facultit were in use, because the Dutch suffix teit had been adopted as tit in Javanese. At the University of Indonesia in Djakarta, however, the terms universitet and facultet were used. The disagreement between the two universities, each claiming to be the most important in the country, made a choice very difficult. During the last few years, however, a third alternative has gained more and more ground, namely, universitas, which sounds better to the Indonesian ear than either universitet or universitit. There is a possibility that this change will also bring about the replacement of kwalitet, kwantitet, solidaritet by kwalitas, kwantitas, solidaritas, and so on. A predominance of the Dutch pronunciation of Greco-Latin suffixes is discernible in such Indonesian words as rationalisasi for the English "rationalization," mosi for "motion." Under the influence of the Dutch words analyse and these, there was at first a tendency to use analisa and thesa in Indonesian, but recently there has been a change toward using analisis and thesis, thus more closely approaching English usage. The suffix "-ist," which is used in Dutch, English, and German to form substantives denoting a person with the characteristics of the stem-word, has been adopted in daily Indonesian not only in loan-words such as sosialis, nasionalis, empiris, but also in such derivatives from Indonesian words as marhaenis (marhaen, deriving from Umarchain, symbolizes the poor members of society, thus marhaenis=proletariat), partindis (members of the Partindo: Partai Rakjat Indonesia).

The determination of words of daily usage, which was the task of the third section of the Komisi Bahasa Indonesia, was an effort to establish a standardized vocabulary. The Malay language, as the lingua franca of most of Southeast Asia for over a millennium and as the source of Indonesian, has always been spoken with many local variations. There is a special Malay of Djakarta, influenced by Sundanese, Javanese, and other languages; there is a Malay of the Moluccas; there is even a Malay of Central Java, spoken in Solo and Djokjakarta, and so on. The many variations are very often strongly influenced in pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar by the local or adjacent languages. At the time when, throughout the whole archipelago, Indonesian suddenly became the only language of the press, school, public meetings, correspondence between government offices, and the business world, the many variations in vocabulary poured into daily usage. This chaotic situation was especially accentuated by the fact that during the Dutch era the great majority of Indonesian journalists, political leaders, and even teachers had never had any formal training in Indonesian, so that everybody tended to use his local variety of Indonesian in the absence of a standard language. The task of this section was to pick up the countless words which were making their debut in the press, in meetings, in correspondence, and the like. It had to decide whether these words were to be accepted or rejected as part of the growing standard Indonesian language. It goes without saying that among these new words were also many which had originated in European or other Asian languages. It is obvious that the task of the third section was very difficult; from the very first the efforts to regulate the vocabulary of daily usage were doomed to fail because

the decisions had to be more or less arbitrary. Even if this section decided that a certain word was acceptable as standard Indonesian, there was no guarantee that the public would actually use the word. In the dynamic condition of the language at the period of its most rapid growth, words sprang up overnight and disappeared, sometimes faster than they had come. The task of selecting words of daily use for a standard Indonesian vocabulary is better suited to a lexicographer, who can calmly survey the variations of the vocabularly of a language in all its manifestations and then put them down in an extensive dictionary. In this connection, very good work was done after the war by W. J. Purwadarminta, who has provided the Indonesian language with an excellent dictionary.

More subtle and complex was the task of the second section, which had the assignment of providing the language with a grammar. It is clear that in the more or less chaotic situation the grammar which was needed most of all was a normative one for school and general use. The central problem was how to arrive at principles which could be used for the determination of grammatical norms for standard Indonesian. A purely objective, descriptive attitude towards a language in a period of such rapid transformation could not result in a coherent grammar. Contradictions and inconsistencies in the use of grammatical forms had somehow to be brought into a more or less coherent system; but adherence to descriptive objectivity, even if it could be achieved, would ignore the dynamic role of the language in every phase of Indonesian society and culture. It is unavoidable that in the formulation of a normative grammar full attention must be given to the direction in which the language is moving as part of a changing cultural pattern.

Indonesian syntax, as a consequence of the lack of declension and conjugation, is dominated by word order and the accentuation of the sentence. The rule of Indonesian word order is that the following word determines the previous one. In conformity with this rule, the predicate comes after the subject; the adjective after the substantive, and so on.[1] Even in a compound word the second element determines the first. The meaning of a sentence, however, can change through a change in the accentuation of the sentence.

In the morphology the many prefixes, infixes, and suffixes change a word from a substantive to a verb, from an adjective to a substantive, from an adjective to a verb, from a concrete substantive to an abstract substantive, from a simple verb to a causative one, from the active form of a verb to the passive, and so on. These and even other changes are effected by the use of the prefixes ber-, me-, di-, ke-, ter-, and se-; the suffixes -i, -kan, -an, -lah, -kah, -tah, -pun, -nda, -wan, -man, and -wati; and the infixes -el-, -er-, and -em-.

In the determination of the new Indonesian word order we are faced with the problem, to what extent can the influence of the more dynamic European languages be accepted in the rather rigid system of Malay word order? Dutch, which had a strong influence on the educated younger generation, shows more freedom in the placing of

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[1] There are several exceptions to this rule, such as the place of numeral adjectives before substantives.

the adverb or the adverbial phrase than does Indonesian. The sudden increase in the use of Indonesian by the Dutch-educated intellectuals tended to make Indonesian sentences more variegated and flexible in their word order.

As in the vocabulary of every-day usage, the choice of affix also varied considerably in different parts of Indonesia in accordance with the local languages. Even the grammar of the Malay language used in some schools during the Dutch era often showed different and contradictory uses of some affixes. For instance, there is great confusion in the use of the prefixes ber- and me- for the forming of predicative words. The prefix ber- creates words denoting a situation of having (producing, working on) something: ber-sawah, having a rice field; ber-kembang, flowering, and so on. Derivatives with the prefix me- more clearly denote an act: me-nulis, to write; me-nangkap, to catch. The confusion in the use of both of these prefixes may be the combined result of the common origin and the different preferences of the many Indonesian languages. For example, in Minangkabau the prefix ber- and in other parts of the Malay-speaking area the prefix me- is used with the word rotan, meaning to gather rotan (rattan) in the jungle. On the other hand, me-rotan also means to beat with a rotan in good standard Indonesian. In the Malay-speaking area people say ajam ber-telur, "chickens lay eggs," whereas in Djakarta people say ajam me-nelor. Ber-njanji and me-njanji are also used with the same meaning, "to sing." The use of the suffixes -i and -kan also creates problems. In some areas me-nama-kan, whereas in other areas me-nama-i, is used for giving a name to a person (nama is name). There is also ambiguity in the use of the suffix -an in words such as timbang-an, saring-an--derivatives of timbang (to weigh) and saring (to filter). The derivatives with the suffix -an mean both the instrument of weighing/filtering as well as the result of the act of weighing/filtering. These examples, as well as many other uses of affixes, pose the question of a re-evaluation of the functions of the affixes in the context of the new normative Indonesian grammar.

The use of the pronoun also creates an important problem. In a country which in part is still living in feudalistically determined relations and in some respects in small communities based on kinship relationships, there exists an embarrassingly great variety of pronouns. Under feudal conditions, the pronouns used differ with the social status of the individual, whether speaker, addressee, or third person. As might be expected in small communities, the words for "I," "you," and "he" or "she" tend to be the same as those for the kinship relationships. Even now teachers are addressed in Indonesian primary and secondary schools as bapa (father) and ibu (mother). Officials of high rank are also usually addressed as "father." In the confusing multiplicity of pronouns, manifesting the traditional social relations between people, there was a tendency among the younger generation who had studied Dutch to use some of the Dutch pronouns in their conversation, since the Dutch words reflected the character of the newly arising Indonesian social structure and social attitudes better than did the old Indonesian pronouns. Chinese and Arabic pronouns are also used in some Indonesian circles. Especially difficult is the problem of the pronoun of the second person; a need was felt for a democratic, abstract pronoun, applicable to everyone. The introduction of anda, which,

like the English pronoun you, can be used for anybody, is an attempt in this direction. But up to the present anda is used only in advertisements, announcements, and the like, not in conversation. The kind of complication this intermingling of old and new uses of pronouns causes is illustrated by a widely told story about the late Indonesian Minister of Education, Mangunsarkoro, who once received a letter from his uncle with the address: ananda Bapak Mangunsarkoro, which means "my son Father Mangunsarkoro."

In relation to the cultural change resulting from modern education and from contact with Western culture, especially with Western languages, there are indications that a preference for new grammatical forms is arising in the Indonesian language. We have already spoken of an increase in the use of the prefix ke- and the suffix -an to form abstract words such as, for example, ke-bangsa-an, nationality; kesehatan, health; kemerdekaan, freedom; ketentuan, regulations. Another example is the decrease in auxiliary numerals, such as buah, meaning fruit, for inanimate objects; batang meaning tree, for long or extended things; and ekor, meaning tail, for animals. Instead of tiga buah telur, three fruit of eggs; tiga batang rokok, three tree of cigarettes; tiga ekor kera, three tail of monkeys, more and more people tend to use tiga telur, tiga rokok, tiga kera. How this tendency towards abstraction can change the structure of the Indonesian syntax is clear from the following example. The content of the sentence, "If you want to regain your health, take medicine," (Kalau kamu mau sehat, minumlah obat) is today very often paraphrased as: "For your healthiness sake, take medicine" (Untuk kesehatanmu, minumlah obat). It goes without saying that these changes have caused great controversies among Indonesians. For the older generation the last sentence does not sound Indonesian and it has tried to discredit it in the eyes of the younger generation by characterizing it as a literal translation of a Dutch sentence. In many cases they may have been right, but in many respects this preference for one or another construction is the manifestation of a different attitude, a different conception and way of thought. These younger groups accepted their language not as a deterioration of the traditional one but, on the contrary, consciously as the realization of a new spirit, a new attitude which the community needed in order to change itself from a static, backward state to a dynamic, rapidly progressing one. The controversy between the Western educated younger generation and the older one is particularly pronounced in the struggle for a new modern literature and culture of which this new concept of language is only one aspect.

Many problems of modern scientific and technical terminology, especially those of the construction of a new normative grammar, could be solved only as part of the modernization of the Indonesian language, which was in turn a phase of the whole cultural transformation taking place in Indonesia. We have already seen that the determination of modern scientific and technical terms evoked controversy among the various traditions which had influenced the development of Indonesian culture in the past. It is true that the system of modern terminology is already determined in modern science and technology, as is manifested in the modern languages. But this does not mean that any word could be used as a term on the basis of a simple voting in the sessions. There are good terms and terms not so good. In a good system of terminology the same ideas used in