

BAHASA DAN PEMBANGUNAN BANGSA

AMRAN HALIM,
EDITOR

PUSAT PEMBINAAN DAN PENGEMBANGAN BAHASA
DEPARTEMEN PENDIDIKAN DAN KEBUDAYAAN
JAKARTA

1981

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PERPUSTAKAAN
PUSAT BAHASA
KEMENTERIAN PENDIDIKAN NASIONAL

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PERPUSTAKAAN
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KATA PENGANTAR

Buku *Bahasa dan Pembangunan Bangsa* ini adalah kumpulan kertas-kertas kerja yang disajikan pada Konferensi ASANAL yang ketiga mengenai bahasa-bahasa Asia, yang berlangsung di Jakarta pada tanggal 1–6 Desember 1975.

ASANAL, singkatan *Asian Association on National Languages*, adalah organisasi profesi ahli bahasa Asia. Konferensinya yang pertama bertema *Kebijaksanaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa Negara-negara Asia* dan berlangsung di Manila pada tanggal 18–22 Desember 1972. Konferensinya yang kedua, yang berlangsung di Manila pada tanggal 16–21 Desember 1974, bertema *Pembakuan Bahasa-bahasa Asia*. Konferensinya yang ketiga, yang diadakan di Jakarta ini, bertema *Bahasa dan Pembangunan Bangsa*.

Konferensi ASANAL yang ketiga diselenggarakan oleh Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan. Tujuan Konferensi ASANAL yang ketiga ini adalah :

1. mempelajari peranan masa kini yang dimainkan oleh bahasa, terutama bahasa nasional, dalam proses pembangunan bangsa di negara-negara Asia;
2. mencari jalan bagaimana bahasa, terutama bahasa nasional, dapat memberikan sumbangan yang lebih efektif sehingga pembangunan bangsa di negara-negara Asia dapat dilaksanakan dengan lancar ;
3. tukar-menukar pengalaman dan mengembangkan pengetahuan mengenai bahasa-bahasa Asia ;
4. membina hubungan antarbangsa, terutama di kalangan bangsa-bangsa Asia.

Bahasa pengantar yang dipakai di dalam Konferensi ASANAL adalah bahasa Inggris. Sejalan dengan itu, kertas-kertas kerja yang termuat di dalam buku *Bahasa dan Pembangunan Bangsa* ini disajikan dalam bentuknya yang asli, yaitu di dalam bahasa Inggris. Mudah-mudahan hal ini tidak mengurangi manfaat buku ini di Indonesia.

II

Naskah untuk buku ini diedit dengan bantuan Dr. dan Ny. Dale F. Walker. Penyelenggaraan Konferensi ASANAL yang ketiga dan penerbitan buku ini dimungkinkan oleh tersedianya dana dalam rangka kegiatan Proyek Pengembangan Bahasa dan Sastra Indonesia dan Daerah, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan. Penyelenggaraan konferensi itu dan penerbitan buku ini juga telah dimungkinkan oleh adanya bantuan tenaga dan pikiran dari berbagai pihak, baik perseorangan maupun lembaga. Untuk itu semua, dengan ini dinyatakan penghargaan yang setinggi-tingginya.

Editor

Jakarta, 7 Mei 1977.—

III

DAFTAR ISI

Kata Pengantar	I
Address by Dr. Amran Halim	1
Opening Address by Dr. Al. Q. Perez.	4
Address by Dr. Sjarif Thajeb	6
 1. <i>Transition to Functional Bilingual Education for the Masses in Davao City, Philippines</i>	 9
Esperanza T. Santos	
2. <i>Modern Indonesian Literature : A Potential Factor of Development</i>	33
Monique Lajoubert	
3. <i>Language Standardization and Nation Building : The Standardization of Bahasa Malaysia Syntax</i>	43
Nik Safiah Karim	
4. <i>Language Modernization and Nation Building</i>	55
S. Takdir Alisjahbana	
5. <i>Language and National Ideology</i>	73
Asmah Haji Omar	
6. <i>Speaker-Interlocutor Relationship</i>	85
I. Suharno	
7. <i>A Pedagogical Grammar in a Developing National Language</i>	115
Pablo E. Natividad	
8. <i>The Relationship of Languages of Ethnic Groups and National Languages to Nations</i>	129
Takuji Sasaki	
9. <i>Problems of Indonesian</i>	153
Soepomo Poedjosoedarmo	
10. <i>The Pilipino Language: Its Role in Bilingual Education in the Philippines</i>	169
Al, Q. Perez	

IV

11.	<i>The Role of the National Language in Fostering National Identity Indonesia</i>	185
	Jakub Isman	
12.	<i>Some Information on the Development and the Role of the National Language in Malaysia</i>	205
	Hassan Ahmad	
13.	<i>The Mass Media as Agent of National Language Development</i>	223
	E. Sadtono	
14.	<i>The Impact of Colonialism in National Language Development</i>	235
	Soenjono Dardjowidjojo	
15.	<i>Language and Nation Building: The Malaysian Case</i>	251
	Raja Mukhtaruddin R.M. Dain	
16.	<i>Bahasa Indonesia as an Indicator of National Development</i>	265
	Irene Hilgers-Hesse	
17.	<i>Pilipino and the Philippine Democratic Revolution</i>	273
	Ponciano B.P. Pineda	
18.	<i>Language Modernization in Iran</i>	287
	Fereydun Badre'i	
19.	<i>The National Language Movement in China</i>	293
	Paul Jen-Kuei Li	
20.	<i>Some Problems in the Compilation of an English Malay Dictionary</i>	309
	D.J. Prentice	
21.	<i>Tolerance and Concern</i>	319
	Siu-Kit Wong	
22.	<i>Language, Education and Nation Building.</i>	329
	Amran Halim	
23.	<i>Language Loyalty versus Linguistic Diversification</i>	339 ✓
	Anton M. Moeliono	
24.	<i>Ethnic Language Maintenance and Nationalism: a Research Problem</i>	347
	P.W.J. Nababan	
25.	<i>Bahasa Indonesia and the Indonesian Nation</i>	357
	Harsja W. Bachtiar	
	DAFTAR PESERTA	377

**ADDRESS BY DR. AMRAN HALIM, DIRECTOR,
THIRD ASANAL CONFERENCE ON ASIAN LANGUAGES,
AT ITS OPENING CEREMONY IN JAKARTA ON
DECEMBER 1, 1975**

Your Excellency Minister of Education and
Culture, Republic of Indonesia,
Distinguished guests,
Fellow conference participants,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

On behalf of the Organizing Committee of this Third ASANAL Conference on Asian Languages, I have the honor to welcome each one of you to Jakarta and to this important conference. I highly appreciate your presence here this morning, which clearly reflects your personal as well as professional interest in Asian languages, particularly in relation to nation building. I am convinced that your very presence and active participation in the conference will contribute greatly to our professional experience in and knowledge of Asian languages as well as to our respective governments and leaders in their highly motivated attempt to build our nations.

It is probably true that our experiences in and knowledge of Asian languages have tended to be limited to those Asian languages that are spoken in our own country. This is certainly not because we lack the necessary interest, personal or professional. Nor is it because of our lack of talents and technical know-how. The main reason is probably that each of us is so deeply involved in our immediate national linguistic problems or so seriously interested in the development of linguistic theories that we run out energy and time to deal with Asian languages other than those spoken in our own country. We do not even have time to sit down with our fellow linguists, particularly Asian linguists, in order to discuss Asian linguistic problems beyond our own national boundaries and to exchange professional experience and knowledge. One of the objectives of this conference is precisely to

provide these scholars with an opportunity to exchange information on and knowledge of Asian languages especially in relation to nation building.

The exchange of information on and knowledge of Asian languages and Asian linguistic problems as well as how these problems are overcome will inevitably lead to our better position to contribute to the attempt of our respective governments and leaders to build our nations. It is my conviction, as I am sure it is also your conviction, that language problems and nation building problems are indeed national problems in the sense that they involve the interest of the whole nation in question, and not just that of the government. Nor do they involve only the interest of the linguist and the language teacher. How these national problems are dealt with and to what extent they may be solved depend to a considerable degree on how the national effort to solve them is put together; that is, on the cooperation of the government, the linguist, the language teacher, the educator, other professionals, and the whole national community at large. To promote the necessary national cooperative atmosphere is another objective of the present conference.

The present conference is also aimed at fostering international understanding and cooperation in language matters, especially as these are related to national language development and to nation building. The advancement and the achievement of modern science and technology have indeed facilitated this mutual understanding and cooperation among nations so that no nation, either developed or developing, needs to brood over its own linguistic or other problems, trying to find solutions on its own without being able to learn from the experience of other nations in dealing with the same, similar or related problems. Your participation in this conference makes me feel optimistic that the present conference and other ASANAL conferences, in the past as well as in the future, will enable us to promote the growth of our international mutual understanding and cooperation.

This third ASANAL conference has been made possible by the assistance and cooperation extended to my colleagues and me by numerous individuals and institutions. Your willingness to come and participate in the conference is obviously an irreplaceable assistance, without which only my colleagues in the organizing committee and me would be here this morning. The encouragement and assistance given by Dr. Alejandrino Q. Perez, the President of ASANAL, have no doubt kept us going even at times when my colleagues

and I felt that the conference might collapse even before it got off the ground. My colleagues who without reserve serve as members of the organizing committee of the conference have worked so hard, far beyond the call of duty, that I honestly do not know how they have managed to do it. Without them and without their tremendous capacity for work, I would have had to cable a desperate message to Dr. Perez in Manila. Finally, I simply do not think that this important conference would be possible at all without the constant encouragement, the full assistance in the form of funding and others, and the heartening cooperation given by His Excellency, the Minister of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia, Dr. Syarif Thajeb, and by his staff. Support and assistance of various kinds have also been given by such institutions as the University of Indonesia, the Academy of Foreign Languages, which is being transformed into the School for Translators and Interpreters, and the Ford Foundation. I would like to take this opportunity to express my deepest gratitude for all of the assistance, encouragement, cooperation, and support given by these and other individuals and institutions.

You may be interested in knowing that the total number of the participants of the conference is 117, who come from 15 countries including 9 Asian countries. These are Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, The Philippines, Singapore, Taiwan, and Thailand. Of the 117 participants, 97 come from Asian countries, including 72 from Indonesia. The other 20 participants come from Australia, France, Germany, Iran, United Kingdom, and the United States of America.

Thank you.

**OPENING ADDRESS BY DR. AL Q. PEREZ,
PRESIDENT, ASIAN ASSOCIATION ON
NATIONAL LANGUAGES (ASANAL), THE REPUBLIC
OF THE PHILIPPINES AT THE OPENING CEREMONY
OF THE THIRD CONFERENCE ON ASIAN LANGUAGES,
JAKARTA, DECEMBER 1, 1975**

Distinguished guests, Hon. Dr. Thajeb, Minister of Education and Culture; Dr. Halim, Conference Director; professors of language and educationists of participating nations, linguists, fellow students of language, and friends:

This is the Third Conference on Asian Languages. And we would like to express our most sincere gratitude to the host country, the Republic of Indonesia through the Ministry of Education and Culture, in accepting the holding of this third international language forum on Asian languages.

For the information of our colleagues, may I recall that the First and the Second Conference on Asian Languages were held on December 18-22, 1972 and December 16-21, 1974, respectively, in Manila, Philippines.

The theme of the first conference was Language Policy and Language Development of Asian Countries. The second conference was focused on the Standardization of Asian Languages. And now we are here at the Third Conference in Jakarta Pusat, Indonesia to discuss LANGUAGE AND NATION BUILDING. We all know, I presume, that nation building through language is interesting and challenging but difficult to accomplish. Nevertheless, our task should be aimed at that direction. So we shall commence this language forum with the objectives listed by our Conference Director, no other than our indefatigable friend, Dr. Amran Halim:

1. To study the current role or roles played by languages, especially national languages, in the process of nation building in Asian countries;
2. To find ways in which languages, especially national languages, can contribute more effectively to the successful implementation of nation building in Asian countries;
3. To share experiences and to develop knowledge in relation to Asian languages;
4. To foster harmonious international relations, especially among the peoples of Asia.

In this connection, please allow me to add two more objectives, namely:

To continue the discussion of problems touching Asian languages which emerged during the First and the Second Conference.

To surmount language barriers so that Asians may be understood and accepted by other peoples as sharers of progress through language.

These are significant and relevant to the welfare of the Asian who is searching avidly for solutions to his varied problems related to nation building. And one of these problems is language, which plays a significant role in education.

So my friends, let us pool our minds and energies and come up with solutions to problems related to nation building, especially in the matter of language. Let us perform this task together with greater patience, understanding, efficiency and foresight.

I thank you.

**ADDRESS BY DR. SJARIF THAJEB, MINISTER OF
EDUCATION AND CULTURE, THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA
AT THE OPENING CEREMONY OF THE THIRD ASANAL
CONFERENCE ON ASIAN LANGUAGES,
JAKARTA, DECEMBER 1, 1975**

Distinguished delegates,
Honorable guests,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

It gives me a great pleasure to be with you here on this happy occasion. On behalf of the Government of Indonesia and on my own behalf I welcome all and every one of you. It is indeed an honor for Indonesia to host this important international conference.

This conference, of which the theme is LANGUAGE AND NATION BUILDING, comes at a very opportune moment. Its importance lies not only in its main objectives but also in the overall spirit upon which it is based. This spirit is the spirit of cooperation among distinguished linguists and other social scientists as individuals. It is also the spirit of cooperation among nations, particularly Asian nations. I sincerely believe that upon the basis of this spirit of cooperation this conference will succeed in accomplishing its objectives, which are highly relevant to our immediate needs in the process of developing our nations.

One of the requirements of successful nation building is the availability of effective means of communication whereby national development plans are formulated, implemented and evaluated. These means of communication must be so effective that nation building can really be based upon the full participation of the whole nation, and that in turn the whole nation can benefit from and enjoy the fruit of nation building and national development. This is precisely where language plays its crucial and indispensable role.

The effectiveness of a language, say a national language, in relation to nation building is highly dependent upon the degree to which it is considered and accepted as part and parcel of the social and cultural wealth of its community of users. Without this acceptance, the language in question cannot be expected to serve the interest of the nation, and as a result nation

building cannot be expected to achieve its goals efficiently. This overall acceptance of the national language by its national community of users, unrestricted by social, cultural, ethnic as well as linguistic boundaries within the nation, is especially important in multilingual countries like Indonesia. Fortunately, the overall acceptance of *Bahasa Indonesia* as the national language of Indonesia is no longer a problem. It has been not only accepted as the national and the official language of the country but also recognized as the only interethnic, intercultural and interregional means of communication within and throughout the Republic.

The effectiveness of a national language in relation to nation building is also dependent upon the degree to which it is equipped, in terms of both grammar and lexicon, to cope with the development of modern science and technology, without which nation building would be severely limited in scope, depth and efficiency. This is particularly true with the national language of a developing nation, as is the case with most of our Asian nations. Therefore, ways must be found to enrich our national language in such a way and to such an extent that it possesses the necessary capacity of coping with the product and the progress of modern science and technology for the benefit of nation building.

There are various ways of enriching our national language. One of these ways is to make effective use of our tremendous linguistic wealth. The national language can be enriched with features and items of the various languages, within as well as beyond our national boundaries, which belong to the same or related language group as the national language. Another way is enriching it with features and items borrowed, with or without modification of various sorts, from languages of wider communication such as English. Sufficient care must be taken, however, so that there will be no excessive borrowing of foreign linguistic features and items.

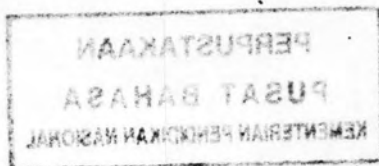
Each of our nations, especially Asian nations, has its own experience in relation to language and nation building. Each of you have come to this conference with your own personal experience and your own professional knowledge of Asian languages, which are part and parcel of our social and cultural wealth, and of which we are all very proud. I therefore wholeheartedly welcome this conference in the course of which you will be exchanging information, experience, and professional knowledge. Let us

continue building up this spirit of cooperation.

I do hope that while you are in this country you will not only get acquainted with the linguistic situation in relation to nation building in Indonesia but also have an opportunity to be familiar with other social and cultural aspects of the Republic. Personally I also hope that you will have an enjoyable stay here.

Ladies and gentlemen,

It is my great pleasure and honor to officially declare this Third ASANAL Conference on Asian Languages open. I thank you for your attention.



**TRANSITION TO FUNCTIONAL BILINGUAL EDUCATION
FOR THE MASSES IN DAVAO CITY, PHILIPPINES**

Esperanza T. Santos

Bilingual education as discussed in this paper means the use of two languages, English and Pilipino separately as media of instruction in definite subject areas in education, with the end in view of producing citizenry conversant if not proficient in these two languages.

This paper will limit its discussion to the need that motivated this early transition to bilingual education for the masses in Davao City, a non-Tagalog speaking division, far ahead of the national schedule to facilitate a meaningful fundamental and later continuing education for the masses, the essential ingredients for the nation's progress.

Davao City is considered one of the primary cities of the country. It is the business center of Southern Philippines with an airport which is being expanded for international use. It has two wharves, one at Sta. Ana for local shipping, and another at Sasa for international shipping. Davao City is the biggest city in the world in point of area with a large portion still unexplored. The latest survey (1970) give a population of 392,473. Davao City's one big asset is its location; it lies in an area outside the typhoon belt. Storms and typhoon are not known to Davaenos. Its population distribution, like many cities of the world, is highly urbanized with a greater per cent of its citizenry crowded in the poblacion for better chances to earn a living and at the same time to educate their children. This would be prohibitive if they reside in the rural area. The cost of living in Davao City is relatively high; it may be as high as if not higher than Manila, the queen city of the Philippines. The current increase in the price of oil is causing a socio-economic dislocation that is threatening.

In 1972, Dr. Robert Kackenburg, Professor of Economics and Demography, University of Colorado, under the joint sponsorship of the Davao Development Foundation and the Philippines Business for Local Progress conducted a study on the economic and demographic situation prevailing in the City. The study revealed the following:

- a. The population of Davao City increased from 225, 712 in 1960 to 392, 473 in 1970 (+ 116, 761). Within the 10-year period, statistics show that 12,873 families have migrated to Davao City from different parts of the country, showing that the increase in population is greatly affected by the inflow of immigrants. During the period, the net annual population increase was 5.5% per year. At this rate the city's

population will double in 12,5 years. From 392, 473 in 1970 it will reach 1,000,000 in 1988.

N.B.

The population Council considers that a growth rate of 3% a year is explosive. At this rate a population needs only 25 years to double its size. It is almost impossible for economic development to improve living standards under these conditions.

- b. A low population growth is taking place among the upper class (28.4%) whose monthly median income is \$ 558.00. The upper class household include people in private and top employees of government and semi-government institution. Living within the central city portion, they have plenty of chance for a big family income.
- c. The explosive population growth is happening among the lower class (34.3%) with a monthly median income of P269. The lower class household includes laborers and social workers earning fixed wages based on the P8.00 a day minimum wage. Living far from the city center, they have few if any opportunities to supplement their income either from business sidelines or part-time employment for other household members.
- d. Moderate population growth is occurring among the middle class (37.5%) with a monthly income of P343. The middle class household includes self-employed people in business and service occupations. Living within the city center, their income is bases on access to a dense population of consumers and on their business skills. Wives and other household members have access to part-time jobs wh ich supplement household income.

ANALYSIS OF THIS REPORT

This report disclosed a depressing economic picture. It even projected a lowering of the quality of live with the grim warning of "another Asian City on the road to Calcutta".

Language History

Eighty-seven (87) languages are used in the country with seven (7) major languages. The different official languages used in the country follow our political history. For almost four centuries of the Spanish regime, Filipinos had to learn to speak and use Spanish in order to survive. The Americans, during their era of half a century, introduced liberal education for the Filipinos in English. For some time, Filipinos tried to learn Japanese too. It was in 1935, after a thorough deliberation by a specially organized competent group, a Filipino national language was officially decided on, based on Tagalog, the language of Manila. Our national language now called Pilipino is not Tagalog, because Tagalog is the pure variety spoken in each of the six Tagalog provinces around Manila, each with its own variety of the language. Batangas Tagalog is different from Laguna Tagalog although they are mutually intelligible. Pilipino is differentiated from the Tagalog of these provinces, as it is the enriched variety with commonly borrowed terms and expressions from both English and Spanish and other Filipino languages, while avoiding the use of deep Tagalog words, thus making it intelligible to most Filipinos, Tagalogs or Non-Tagalogs. In a study conducted by Dr. Jose Villa Panganiban, the past director of the Institute of National Language, it was discovered that all the seven common languages of the country have close affinity with our national language, Filipino, in phonology, morphology and syntax.

One big problem confronting education in the country after gaining political independence is the medium of instruction to use in our school. Because of incidents in history, education in the country had to undergo shifts in language of instruction from Spanish up to 1898, to English up to the present, with the vernacular as medium of instruction for Grade I and II. We had to study Japanese too, for some time. For a meaningful education for the masses, the shift to the use of the home language of the child was started in 1947 but this was limited to the first two grades of the elementary education. All the rest of elementary, secondary and tertiary education continued to be in English. However, in Manila and the Tagalog provinces, the used Tagalog, which is often taken for our national language, as medium of instruction is now continued until the completion of elementary education.

Education In Davao City

Education in Davao City in the schoolyear 1971-72 followed the national pattern with English as the medium of instruction and Pilipino, our national language, taught only as a subject. After three quarter of a century of continuous use of English in our schools, it has failed to permeate the masses, although it has become the language of the elite. Our declared official languages are English and Pilipino but in actual practice only English is used as such, especially in non-Tagalog regions like Davao City. Those who can afford long years of schooling and are proficient in the use of English have all the chances for a good job, good living conditions, and are counted among the top in the community. Those who can't afford long years of schooling drop out, return to their barrios and revert to their old ways of life . . . remaining laborers if they're lucky enough or if suitable jobs are available, otherwise remaining jobless, to become social burdens, later turning into social delinquents. They remain untouched and unaffected by progress, unchanging and unchangeable.

This set-up of the elite on one end and the increasing bulk of dropouts on the other end is in this era of conflicting ideologies, not only socially unhealthy, it is explosive! This country has an extensive program of vocational education started two and a half decades ago. The Davao School of Arts and Trade is supplying the manpower need of the city and neighboring provinces. The Mindanao State University, another vocational institution, is now establishing a branch in Davao City. Vocational Education is expensive and can hardly be afforded by the poor, our main concern and the focus of attention these days. Our kind of education today unwittingly divides our people into two distinct social classes, when the urgent need for a people to survive is unity for the common good.

Education's humanizing effort should unite and bind us as a people, and united in effort and in spirit, progress for the masses will be possible for progress nowadays is imperative for survival. Education for the masses should be so premised. United in spirit, progress for the masses is possible. This unity for progress can be worked out in Davao City. The Hackenbergh Report typifies Davao City as "another Asian City on the road to Calcutta". No, definitely not! We are not heading to Calcutta. The local government, all civic organizations through the Confederation of Civic Organization of Davao City,

the national government, and all concerned citizens, were rattled to action by this report.

Shift in Medium of Instruction

The educational sector under the leadership of Superintendent Pedro Sanvicente (now the Regional Director of Region XI based in Davao City started a radical move with an eye towards an two-pronged approach to mass education: fundamental education first, in Pilipino not English, followed by a practical program of continuing education for people out of school. The Department of Education and Culture started this very move of teaching Pilipino in 1970. In answer to our official request for permission to shift to Pilipino as medium of instruction, our division was declared to be among the pilot centers in the Philippines for this project. Three conditions had to be met:

1. We should have enough materials for instruction, such as books and teaching guides;
2. Enough teachers who can teach in Pilipino should be available;
3. The pupils must be ready for instruction in Pilipino.

These three conditions set by the DEC are precise and exacting. They are very difficult if not impossible to obtain in a non-Tagalog division like Davao City. Should we wait until these conditions are satisfied, the wait will be too long, the need for it outlived.

In response to these conditions set by the DEC, practical steps were undertaken to satisfy these conditions at the least cost. To solve the need for materials for instruction, the Davao City School Board purchased text books for grade I in Pilipino for three major subjects-Social Studies, Math and Science. Teachers had to use their old teaching guides written in English supplemented with lists of terms and expressions with their equivalents in Pilipino. These vocabulary supplements were cooperatively produced by committees of teachers using the *English-Pilipino Dictionary* by Father Ingles and the "*Talasalitaan para sa Iba't-Ibang Awalin*" by Surian ng Wikang Pambansa. To solve the teacher problem, the DEC as early as 1970 started conducting regional seminars on how to train teachers in the use of Pilipino as medium of instruction. Davao City Division echoed these seminars in the form of zone seminars in the five demonstration centers of Davao City, three school districts per zone:

Training Center	District Participating
Zone 1 Paaralang Elem. ng Bangoy	Bunawan, Buhangin, Bangoy
Zone 2 Paaralang Elem. ng San Roque	Sta. Ana, Davao
Zone 3 Paaralang Elem. ng Piedad	Central, San Roque
Zone 4 Paaralang Elem. ng Matina	Magallanes, Piedad, Davao
Zone 5 Paaralang Elem. ng Calinan	Tugbok, Matina, Mintal
	Calinan, Baguio, Gen. Roxas

Nature of these seminars:

1. Delegates were all of the school administrators of the districts concerned and all of the grade one teachers;
2. There was a 3-day seminar for each zone;
3. Children had to stay home for their YCAP work, help with household chores. They are too young to be left in school under group leaders. No student leader is competent enough to handle such young ones.
4. Program of activities:
 - a. Lectures on -
 1. Ang Pilosopiya ng Giniwang Pagbabago, Pagtuturo sa Pilipino
 2. Ang Bagong Araling Panlipunan
 3. Ang Berdeng Rebolusyon
 4. Wastong Pagkain; Wastong Kalusugan
 5. Ang Pagtuturo ng Agham sa Pilipino
 - b. Demonstration classes in all subjects in Pilipino
 - c. Oral practice in oral Pilipino for each subject area using the prepared vocabulary lists
 - d. Practice in writing lesson plans in Pilipino for each subject
 - e. Practicum - teaching different subjects in Pilipino by the delegates using plans they prepared for each subject
 - f. The school campaign: Magsalita sa Pilipino
 - g. The school in-service education program in the use of Pilipino (for teachers)
5. Guidelines in conducting the zone seminars:
 - a. The primary objective of this seminar was to train teachers to speak Pilipino, prepare lesson plans in Pilipino, and to teach the

different subjects in Grade one in Pilipino. All effort was directed toward the attainment of this objective.

- b. To facilitate individual practice, teachers were grouped, five to a group under a principal. Each group was given a Pilipino helper, one who was proficient in Pilipino. During the practicum, each group was given 5 pupils to serve as their practice teaching-to approximate the real classroom situation.
 - c. The principals, with the help of the Pilipino helpers, guided teachers in the preparation of lesson plans and in practice teaching. They were made to write suggestions and comments in Pilipino.
 - d. Teachers were encouraged to ask questions and to get the actual training they needed during the seminar.
 - e. Lesson plans for each subject were corrected by the principals with the help of the Pilipino helpers.
 - f. At the close of the 3-day seminar, tests were administered to see the efficiency of the training done.
 - g. To encourage diligence among delegates, citations in the form of ribbons were given to the topnotchers in the test and the best performers of each group in the teaching demonstrations.
6. Handouts for the seminar:
- a. Objectives in Pilipino for each subject in Grade one.
 - b. List of terms and expressions used in English with their Pilipino equivalents. These words, terms and expressions were listed by the unit for any subject in Grade One.
 - c. Copies of each lecture given during the seminar.
 - d. Copies of the lesson plan for each teaching demonstration to serve as models to teachers.
 - e. Copies of the program of activities during the 3-day seminar.

At the close of the seminar, delegates in their written comments said that each day was a hard grind for them but that they learned much and that they now had the competence to teach in Pilipino.

Observation and Suggestion for Improvements:

The programs on the use of Pilipino as the medium of instruction were

started in all schools of the Division in June, 1972. Constant evaluation and corrections were undertaken in the course of the year under the supervision of the Division Research and Evaluation Supervisor, Mrs. Paulina Solana. Corrections undertaken were the following:

1. The vocabulary aids for math and science were not enough and could not meet the expressional needs of teachers and pupils for effective instruction. The consensus was to use English as an auxilliary medium to supplement instruction in Pilipino.
2. Another problem was how to write in Pilipino words borrowed from English, to borrow the word as is or borrow only the sound of word and write it phonemically. Pilipino is a perfect language for the masses, as it can be read and written very easily, because of the one to one correspondence between the spoken and the written language.

A speaker of the language can be made literate within three to four months. On the other hand, English is not easily learned because the one to one correspondence between the spoken and written symbols is not true with English. The word *night* for instance is written *night*. A Pilipino child will write it as *nayt*. This accounts for the fact that Americans are not good in writing; they are poor in spelling, because their language is not phonemic. English words borrowed from French, German and other languages carry their original spelling. This is a problem of the English language. It is a difficult language to read and to write because the writing follows the original spelling of borrowed words. If this is a problem in the use of the English language, why should we follow this system of borrowing and have the same language difficulty? The unique quality of Pilipino, the one to one correspondence between the spoken and the written language, should be preserved at all cost, only sounds of the foreign should be borrowed and these should be written in our own orthography.

Example: *calle (Sp) = kalye, boxing (Eg) = boksing.*

3. Children in Grade One begin to read and write independently after five to six months of schooling. They can even read

newspapers in English, but they sound every letter in each word as in *come here*.

4. Ability to read in Pilipino facilitates reading in the vernacular as well as in English.
5. Children should be taught special phonemic rules in English as:
 - $c = k$ when it precedes *a, o, u, l* or *r*;
 - $c = s$ when it precedes any other letter of the alphabet.
6. Children talk freely in Pilipino with less inhibitions than when they speak in English, because Pilipino is sister language to their vernacular which is Visayan/Cebuano for the majority of children in Davao City.
7. Many school teachers should have ready materials and should have regular exercises in the use of Pilipino to continually improve their use of this language.
8. Our old supply of books in Social Studies written in English should be read and comprehended in English classes. The content of the selection should be used for discussions in Pilipino during the period for Social Studies.

A National Change in Medium of Instruction.

Radical changes are sweeping the Philippines today because of equally radical changes in the environment. The world's population is fast exploding while food, oil and other resources are quickly getting exhausted. We of the third world, have to act fast "Innovate or perish".

The move towards a more meaningful education for the masses brought to focus the problem of what language to use as medium of instruction in this country of 87 languages. After consultations and conferences of lengthy deliberation, the National Board of Education issued the Department Order No.9, s 1973 - stating that it supports the policy of developing a bilingual education for the masses to develop a bilingual citizenry able to communicate in Pilipino as well as in English. In a meeting of the NBC on September 4, 1973, Public School Director Liceria B. Soriano was designated chairman of the committee to prepare the guidelines for the implementation of this policy to use Pilipino and English as the media of instruction.

In drawing up guidelines on a rational basis, the following questions

had to be answered:

- a. How widely used is Pilipino as medium of instruction in various areas and regions?
- b. What kinds of materials in Pilipino are available?
- c. How ready are our teachers to begin using Pilipino as a medium of instruction?
- d. What manpower resources are available in retraining teachers to use Pilipino as a medium of instruction?
- e. What kind of training programs for teachers should be instituted to enable them to use Pilipino as a medium of instruction ?

For an empirical basis from which to draw the answers, make decisions, and for the preparation of a timetable for implementation, a sub-committee, the survey Committee on Bilingual Education (SCOB) was created which was chaired by Andrew Gonzales, FSC.

The following are some important points taken up during the group conferences, meetings and consultations on the nature of the survey to be conducted in order for it to be the basis in drawing up the guidelines for the national implementation of this policy. These are reports from the research work done by English and Pilipino supervisors of the DEC and the country's educational leaders as Director Liceria Soriano and Ponciano Pineda of the Surian Ng Wikang Pambansa.

NOTES ON BILINGUAL EDUCATION

- 1) Every normal child has a built-in capacity, indeed what amounts to a biological imperative, to acquire language.
Each child, with very little direct instruction, works out and internalizes the system, or grammar, of the language which he learns around him. This is true in all societies, from the simplest to the technologically most advanced, whether literate or not. How the child does this is far from understood, but he accomplishes this seeming miracle largely between the ages of two and six. By the time he comes to school, then, he will have developed control over some 80 per cent of the grammar (and sound system) of his native language. What dialect he acquires will be largely determined by the region (and social class) in which he grows up.
- 2) Young children's innate capacity for language learning is greatly reduced when they get older. This capacity suggests that bilingual education will be most successful when it is implemented very early in the school program.
Native language habits become fixed by the time a child reaches puberty and are much likely to interfere with his recognition and production of other languages if he learns them after that age.
In addition, an adequate bilingual education program beginning at the kindergarden or first grade level should eliminate the need for later remedial language instruction.
- 3) Perhaps more critically than in any other type of educational enterprises, administrative and pedagogical decisions and procedures in bilingual education need to be based on a sound understanding of the linguistic, social, psychological, and cultural factors affecting students.
- 4) The linguistic factors which need to be considered are the nature of language, the structure of the native and target languages in the bilingual education program, the student's degree of competence in two language systems, and the systems interact.

- 5) Psychological factors to be considered are the processes of first and second language acquisition, the problems involved when an individual uses two sets of language skill (the switching process, the sometimes conflicting emotions and attitudes which the speaker associates with his two languages) and the reactions of the bilingual as an individual.
- 6) Sociological and anthropological factors are concerned with the socio-cultural settings of bilingualism-the role, of expectations involved, the social influences on bilingual behavior, and the access which bilingualism allows to two cultures.
- 7) Language is a highly complex form of symbolic activity, in which such elements as words (e.g. *dog*), affixes (e.g. *un-*, *-ed*), word form (e.g. *fill* vs. *full*), stress (e.g. *record* vs. *record* ; *English teacher* vs. *English teacher*), intonation (e.g. *They are coming.* vs. *They are coming?*), and word order (e.g. *house guest* vs. *guest house*) are fused in systematic ways to organize and communicate meaning. Because language is a primary vehicle for learning, a child's facility in language may affect to a great extent his acquisition of knowledge, his role in society, and his ability to respond to opportunities. It is vitally important, therefore, for anyone engaged in any aspect of bilingual education to possess some basic understanding of the nature of language.
- 8) Before dealing with these aspects in detail, we need to consider some fundamental facts about language.
Each individual, as a result of his unique linguistic experiences, speaks a slightly differentiated form of language, which linguists call an idiolect. As a result of parental and peer influences in the course of growing up, the idiolects of people who have been in frequent communication since childhood will tend to be very similar, and will differ from the idiolects of persons in other inter-communicating groups. A group of similar idiolects, differing from other comparable groups in features of pronunciation, grammar, or vocabulary, is known as a *dialect*. A collection of similar dialects (usually mutually intelligible) form a *language*. In this view, therefore, a dialect is any distinctly diffe-

rentiated variety of language. All languages have dialects (there is no "pure" form of a language as opposed to dialects).

- 9) **Language changes are cumulative, so that if groups originally speaking the same language remain isolated from one another long enough, their dialects will become mutually unintelligible languages. In this way, Latin as spoken in the several former Roman provinces has become modern Spanish, French, Italian, Portuguese, and Rumanian. Similarly, English, Dutch, German, Swedish, Danish and Norwegian are the latter-day dialects of an original Germanic language. And of course each of these languages has its own regional and social dialects today. Latin and Germanic were themselves ultimately dialects of yet an earlier language, usually called Indo-European, which was also ancestral to Slavic, Celtic, Greek, Sanskrit, Persian, and Hittite. A group of languages so related is often referred to as a "language family".**
- 10) **For a variety of social, economic, and political reasons, some groups of speakers in a country will enjoy higher social prestige than others, and because of this, their dialect(s) will often come to be considered "better" than others. The judgement of relative "values" of different dialects is a purely social one, however, and has nothing to do with the inherent qualities of the dialects themselves. No dialect is inherently better or more adequate or more logical than another, just as no language is inherently superior to any other.**
- 11) **In most literate societies, the dialect spoken by the upper classes of educated speakers in the most important urban center(s) becomes *de facto* the "standard" dialect, and is used as the basis for the written form of the language. Other dialects, lacking wider prestige and the support of the printed word, come to be considered "non-standard". It should be emphasized that they are just as complete and systematic as the standard dialect, and that it is only a matter of historical accident that one, rather than another, dialect becomes the "standard." Far from being corruptions of the standard dialect, they are in fact sister dialects, each with its own history. Many of the features of**

non-standard dialects represent usages which were once common to all, but which have passed out of fashion among upper class urban speakers, **while** remaine in the countryside and among the less economically advantaged. Examples from English would be the double negative (which goes back to King Alfred and is still standard in Spanish: cf. *I don't have nothing* and *No tengo nada*), and the pronunciation of *deaf* to rhyme with *leaf* (which was used by Noah Webster).

Examples from Spanish would include *asina* for *asi* 'thus' which is found in Old Spanish, *onde* for *donde* 'where' which is common in sixteenth century documents, and *vide* for *vi* 'I saw' which was used by Julius Caesar (*Vini, vide, vici* - I came, I saw, I conquered). The speaker of the non-standard dialect is not "confused" or "wrong" when his speech differs from the standard dialect, but he is actually using a different system.

- 12) Since each dialect is a system, any attempt to teach a standard dialect should employ a systematic approach if it is to succeed in helping the student acquire productive control over the new forms. At the same time, an approach which stigmatizes the student's own speech should be avoided, since this will simply serve to humiliate him and create an environment which is not conducive to learning. The recognition of the nature of dialect differences is important in any educational program, but it is doubly so in bilingual programs, since in addition to teaching students a second language, they must in many cases, at the same time be taught a second dialect of their own language. In addition, the student's own dialect may affect the nature of the problems he will have in learning the second language, so that teaching materials may have to be adjusted accordingly.
- 13) As a person develops his control over his own native language, the linguistic habits involved in the perception and production of the language gradually become increasingly fixed. Although all physiologically normal children are born with the capacity to produce any sound used in any language, as their practice with the sound of their own language proceeds, they lose the flexibility to produce other sounds.

- 14) _ Further, meaning is also deeply influenced by culture. It is important to realize that a word-for-word "literal" translation can never be complete, and may often be misleading. An example of this is the translation of English *hot dog* as Spanish *perro caliente* or in Filipino, *mainit na aso*. Of more serious nature, faulty translation between Navajo and English has lent to erroneously diagnosed physical ailments, the relinquishment of children for adoption by parents who thought they would be given foster care, and, at an earlier time in history, even bloody battles.
- 15) Verbal IQ tests are notorious for the distorted results they give when used with children lacking a full native command of English. What the test actually measures under these circumstances is knowledge of English rather than intelligence, as shown by the consequent dramatic rise in many non-English children's IQ scores after only a year of schooling. Yet every year, thousands of normative English speakers are placed in classes for the retarded because of a failure to recognize the reason for their low scores on such tests. Not only is this an affront to the self-esteem of the child, but teachers in these classes are not prepared to recognize the special needs of such children and lack the training to give them appropriate work in English.
- 16) The importance of home and family to growth in language fluency is readily recognized by educators, and many have worked for better understanding, respect, and cooperation between home and school. Bilingual education can hopefully succeed in bridging the linguistic gap which has often prevented such a relationship, and in addition may help to break down linguistic and social barriers between language groups in communities, reducing prejudices and increasing mutual understanding. Therefore, a bilingual program can contribute to the development of healthier and more cooperative community spirit.
- 17) The remarkable capacity for language learning which children bring to bear in learning their first language continues largely unabated until the onset of puberty, after which it declines sharply in most people,

apparently as a result of complex physical and chemical changes in the brain. A bilingual program, by beginning early, seeks to exploit this natural capacity in the child. But whereas the child has spent all of his waking hours for years in the task of mastering his native language, the school may not have more than a few hours each day to bring the child to the same level of competence in the second language. It is for this reason, therefore, that the presentation of sound structures and vocabulary must be made in a way which as efficiently as possible shortcuts the time required for learning the second language.

- 18) Equally important is motivation. From a child's point of view, the desire to communicate is one of the strongest motivations for learning a language. For this reason, there could be as much opportunity for inter-pupil communication as possible. Bilingual programs which assign English-speaking children to one classroom and non-English speaking children to another are failing to utilize one of the most powerful psychological factors in language learning.
- 19) Learning may also be affected by ideas concerning the appropriateness of becoming bilingual. In the United States, it is now usually assumed that a child will become bilingual if English is not his native language, but English-speaking children are often handicapped by lower expectations in this regard from the school and community. This view is likely to change with the widespread acceptance of bilingual education.

Educational considerations, which must take all of the preceding factors into account, include program design, teaching, and evaluation. Under program design are grouped such factors as program organization and the administrative tasks involved in preparing and implementing a bilingual program. Pedagogical factors include language teaching methodology, language as medium and as subject, scheduling, and the need for motivation and classroom control. Evaluation is concerned with procedures for evaluating the program as a whole, the instructional materials, and the achievement of the children.

IMPLEMENTATION OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Finally, the implementing guideline on the use of bilingual education was drawn up in Dept. Order No. 25 s. 1974 which was issued to the field on March 7, 1975, at about the close of school year 1974-1975. Features of this department order are the following:

- a. **Bilingual education is defined operationally as the separate use of Pilipino and English as media of instruction in definite subject area, provided that additionally Arabic shall be used in the area where it is necessary.**
- b. **The use of English and Pilipino as media of instruction shall begin in Grade I in all schools.**
In Grade I and II, the vernacular used in the locality or place where the school is located shall be the auxiliary medium of instruction; this use of the vernacular shall be resorted to only when necessary to facilitate understanding of the concepts being taught through the prescribed medium for the subject, English and Pilipino or Arabic, as the case may be.
- c. **English and Pilipino shall be taught as language subjects in all grades in the elementary and secondary schools to achieve the goals of bilingualism.**
- d. **Pilipino shall be used as medium of instruction in the following subject areas: social studies, social science, character education, health and physical education.**
- e. **New textbooks and other instructional materials shall be developed for English and Pilipino language courses/subjects aimed at developing competence in the use of these languages.**
- f. **New textbooks in the subjects mentioned in "d" shall be only in Pilipino.**
- g. **The following schedule shall be adopted for the implementation of the bilingual education program for all levels in the elementary and secondary schools.**

(1) Phase I: School year 1974-1975 through school year 1977-1978

This four-year period shall be a transition period in the use of Pilipino as medium of instruction for the following subjects: social studies, social science, work education, character education, health and physical education. Schools/school divisions in the Tagalaog areas may begin to use Pilipino during the school year 1974-75 in the subjects named above. Schools/school divisions in all areas shall develop plans for either an immediate or a gradual shift to Pilipino as medium of instruction in the subject named above, depending on the availability of teaching materials and teachers as means of instruction for all other courses.

(2) Phase II: School year 1978-1979 through school year 1981-82.

During this period, the use of Pilipino in the subject named in *d* shall be:

- a. Mandatory beginning in school year 1978-79 in the following :

Schools/school divisions in the Tagalog areas and all other schools/school divisions that made the shift to Pilipino during school year 1974-75 in accordance with *g* above.

- b. Mandatory in all other schools in accordance with the following schedule :

Primary : School year 1978-79

Intermediate : School year 1979-80

First and Second year high school: School year 1980-81

Third year and Fourth year high school: School year 1981-82

The use of English in all other subjects/courses in the elementary and secondary levels shall likewise be mandatory.

- 1) In-service training programs for the development of teacher competence in the use of Pilipino as medium of instruction shall be organized on the national, regional, and local levels under the direction of the appropriate

personnel of the Department of Education and Culture with the cooperation of teacher's colleges and universities.

- 2) All schools/school divisions shall prepare long-range plans for teacher in-service training and materials acquisition and/or preparation.
- 3) Tertiary institutions (collegiate and graduate levels) are given discretion to develop their own schedules of implementation, provided that in the school year 1974, all graduates of tertiary curricula should be able to pass examinations in English and/or Pilipino for the practice of any profession.

NATIONAL SEMINARS ON BILINGUAL EDUCATION

To launch the country-wide program of bilingual education, national conferences for supervisors of Pilipino and English were held in, first, Baguio City for the Northern Philippines, then in Naga City, for the Central Philippines, and finally in Silay City for the Southern Philippines, where Davao City participated. Director Soriano, Anderw Gonzales, Fe Dacanay and most persons instrumental in shaping the process and implementation of bilingualism were present in the seminars. The topics taken up and discussed during the seminars were:

- 1) The meaning of bilingual education
- 2) The key role of language supervisors
- 3) Manpower and infrastructures
- 4) Programs, syllabi and materials
- 5) Formative and summative evaluation of the program
- 6) Variation of programs to take care of local and regional differences
- 7) The problem of selling Pilipino to Non-Tagalogs
- 8) Integrated programs: Grades I to 4th Year High School
- 9) Nation-wide testing at various levels with regional norms
- 10) Material production
- 11) Integrated language skills in English and Pilipino
- 12) Strategies to use in a bilingual program

IMPLEMENTATION IN DAVAO CITY

The implementation of bilingual education in Davao is far ahead of the national schedule because of its project started in 1972 on the use of Pilipino as the medium of instruction from Grade I progressively. The only shift that had to be done was the return to the teaching of Math and Science in English, which was no problem at all for teachers here who had been educated in English, were proficient in the use of English, and were trained to teach Math and Science in English. This shift to English was in fact a great relief to them.

The national seminar on bilingualism held in Silay on May 28 - June 1, 1974 was echoed in the five zone seminars on bilingual education held in the five teaching centers of Davao City. The points given due emphasis in this seminar were:

- 1) The motives behind the use of bilingual education:
 - a. The masses will be specially benefited by this, as education will be more meaningful to them.
 - b. The two-pronged system of education, fundamental followed by continuing education can be easily implemented. This will mean free education for the masses if the government can give free leaflets and reading materials with illustrations on useful knowledge of technology and science.
 - c. Education using the vernacular tends to accent regionalism and the country's division instead of forging unity among its people.
 - d. We teachers have a great role to play in this two-pronged system of education. If we teach every child the fundamentals conscientiously internalising moral values and love for work, we're building the road to progress for teeming millions.
"Maosikap magture, kaunting sakripisyo sa ikabubuti ng kap a Pilipino".
- 2) Discussion on the school program on: "Magsalita sa Pilipino", a campaign on speaking in Pilipino for all, especially teachers.

- 3) Practice in the oral use of Pilipino using the vocabulary supplement for each subject area (by groups).
- 4) Practice in making lesson plans for each subject in Pilipino (by groups)
- 5) Practice in actual teaching of each subject by the delegates using the lesson plans prepared by each one. (Each will be given 5-6 pupils each in order to approximate an actual classroom situation so that responses will be very natural).

At the end of the 3-day seminar, teachers response to the questionnaire revealed that the seminar made them all work very hard but they learned a lot and that they are challenged to work harder.

"Mangikap tayo, kaunting sakripisyo sa ikabubuti ng kapa Pilipino" (Let's work hard, sacrifice a little if needed, for the good and progress of our fellow Filipinos)

This a return to the philosophy of teachers in the good old days of "Golden teachers performing golden roles".

In the course of the year, constant observations and evaluations were done by teachers and social leaders.

The observations and suggestions for improvement made during the first year of try-out in teaching Grade I (1972) had been adopted by all schools. This school year 1975 is a promising year in educational growth of Davao City Division because of the experiment on the in-school, out-of-school (Is-Os) approach to the education of the masses.

A curriculum section of 35 teachers, 7 teachers per subject, had been organized and trained to produce self-learning kits for every subject, each using its own language of instruction. These are for the use of the five Is-Os pilot classes in Grade IV. These five pilot classes were chosen from among the most populous school districts of the Division. Is-Os pilot classes have to start in Grade IV to avoid any difficulty in the use of self-learning kits for children's independent self-instruction. The results observed in our Is-Os pilot classes are very encouraging. The same is true with the progress of work by the Curriculum Division.

This constant struggle to teach an increasing bulk of ideas to an exploding population at an escalating cost continues to plague human existence. Gradual advances brought about by innovations will not entirely eliminate this struggle, but they give hope to the world that this very elusive but imperative progress is possible for us all.

**MODERN INDONESIAN LITERATURE : A POTENTIAL
FACTOR OF DEVELOPMENT**

Monique Lajoubert

In Indonesia the notion of literature (*kesusastraan*) does not seem to play the central educational role it has in Occident.

If we consider modern Indonesian literature from the point of view of its public, we should be tempted to say that it is only a marginal phenomenon. In fact, far from concerning the whole of the population, it affects only a small portion, a sort of "elite" who grew up in the urban centres and particularly in the capital, Jakarta. Chiefly constituted, in the beginning, of Europeans, Eurasians and Chinese, the latter two communities being closer to the former due to the functions they assumed, this "elite" became more and more composed of original Indonesians. This change occurred with the "ethic" policy (1900 - 1920) practised by the Government of the Dutch East-Indies, which put the Occidental educational system within the reach of a greater number of Indonesians, even though restricted to the aristocratic class only.

A literary and cultural revue, such as *Poedjangga Baroe* for instance, had never obtained more than one hundred and fifty subscribers¹ a number which demonstrates the small interest it aroused in the population. At that time (1933-1942)² this lack of popularity was easily understandable. Actually modern Indonesian literature was then still very young; few people only could have access to education. Further more, the revue was exclusively written in the Indonesian language, which was not so widely known as it is now, neither among the common people nor even among the intellectuals, who used their respective regional languages for their familiar and friendly relationships and the Dutch language in more formal occasions. Consequently the number of people who could read *Poedjangga Baroe* was limited.³

Today *Poedjangga Baroe* has disappeared and is replaced by other cultural and literary revues but their public has relatively (if we consider the growth of the population) not changed in quantity⁴ and the literature is

1. Heather Sutherland, *Pudjangga Baru: Aspect of Indonesian Intellectual Life in the 1930s, Indonesia*, New York, Cornell University, No.6, October 1968, p.108.
2. It is however proper to note here that *Poedjangga Baroe* prohibited under the Japanese occupation, was republished after the Indonesian independence (1949-1954). In this article, the only period to be taken into account is the first one, because of its decisive role for the Indonesian literature.

still that of an "elite", a sort of "modern urban intelligentsia". In this connection, *Horison*, an exclusively literary revue, which was founded in 1966, publishes only 4000 exemplars, *Budaja Djaja*, a cultural and literary revue founded in 1968, only 3000 (a minimum number for the existence of such a revue) and among them numerous exemplars are unsold. As for books of literature (novels, poems and so on), the editions do not surpass 5000 exemplars. All these numbers show that the number of person who read Indonesian literature is extremely small, if we remember that the population of Indonesia reaches 120 millions⁵

In fact, the very small number of people who are interested in Indonesian literature is not an isolated phenomenon. We can say that, in general, the Indonesian people read few things. They are perhaps among the peoples of the world who read the least (each inhabitant reads less than ten pages a year)⁶

If we come back to the more particular problem of literature, its small public must be explained by different reasons than at the time of the *Poedjangga Baroe*. Nowadays the majority of the Indonesian people speak the Indonesian language and education is far more widely expanded, although a part of the population is still illiterate. We can explain the small interest in literature first by the fact that the teaching of literature is very little developed both in the schools and in the universities. The text-books are not revised and don't very much follow the evolution of the contemporary

3. Heather Sutherland, loc. cit.

4. We must note, therefore that in 1955, *Kisah* (1953-1956), the first completely literary revue, published 20.000 exemplars (cf. H. Chambert-Loir, "Horison: six années d'une revue littéraire indonesienne", *Archipel* 4, 1972, p.82). This can perhaps be explained by the fact that at the time, the literary production was almost exclusively done by way of the revues, to the effect that people were speaking about "a literature of revues".

5. There is however a kind of literature which is far more popular and cheaper, which can be hired in the *Taman Bacaan* (public libraries), like the *komik* (kartoons) (around 20.000 exemplars), pocket novels, and translation (detective novels, stories of cowboys and so on) (cf. Marcel Bonneff, "les bandes dessinées en indonesie: diffusion et public", *Archipel* 4, 1972, p.169-171.) In this article, we don't take into account this kind of literature.

6. Ajip Rosidi, "Tentang Kegairahan Menulis dan Mutu Tulisan Kita Dewasa ini", *Budaja, Djaja*, No. 57, 6th year, February 1973, p.96.

Indonesian literature. This argument cannot, however, entirely convince us, for it is not particular to Indonesia. France, for example, knows the same tendency, as Joseph Majault, essayist and novelist, Vice-Director of the National Institute of Pedagogic Research and Documentation (Institut National de Recherche et de Documentation Pédagogique) has stated: "Eventhough literature in France has always been taken into consideration, up to now, people have too much a tendency to make a distinction between *fixed literature*, the kind of literature which is honoured in the school programs, and the *literature information* which is a reflection of the thinking and the preoccupation of the time in which we are living".⁷ A reason more specific to Indonesia is the poverty of the libraries due to lack of funds.⁸ Furthermore, the habit of learning by heart does not motivate people to think and to read. Few things are done to make people interested in reading in general and in reading literature in particular. Nevertheless, in declaring 1972 as "International Book Year" on the national level in conformity with the recommendations of UNESCO, Indonesia shows its willingness to promote reading.⁹

To these reason can be added the fact that, in the Universities the number of students of the "Indonesian languages and literature" section is very small. Actually, the young people think that it will be easier to find a job, that they will earn more money and will be more respected if they learn English for instance. Each university has an English section, but not always an Indonesian section.¹⁰ So a student who is very much interested in Indonesian literature must turn elsewhere than to the University, but here

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7. "Si la littérature, en France, a toujours eu droit de cite, on a garde jusqu'ici trop tendance a distinguer entre la celle qui est a l'honneur dans les programmes scolaires et la littérature qui se fait, celle-la meme qui remlete les pensees et les preoccupations de l'epoque ou nous vivons" (in the preface of the book he writes in collaboration with Jean Maurice, Nivat, Charles Geromini and Rene Wintzen entitled *Litterature de notre temps, etude generale sur la litterature francaise du siecle*, Casterman, 1966, 4 th ed 355 pp.
 8. Ajib Rosidi thinks that the reason in fact is that people consider that not a single book deserves to be bought, and is not due to the lack of funds (cf. "Tentang kegairahan . . .", *op. cit.*, p. 97.
 9. It is the novel of Putu Widjaja Telegram which received the first price of the Committee of the International Book Year 1972 of the DKI of Jakarta.
 10. Sapardi Djoko Damono, "Jurusan Indonesia dan Jurusan Inggris, misalnya di Indonesia", *Horison*, no.4, 8th year, April 1973, p.99

also, the means which are given to him are not meaningful. There are few specialised libraries which contain literary works, papers and revues, clippings, and so on. There is only one library which contains complete documentation about modern Indonesian literature, that is the H.B. Jassin's library in the *Lembaga Bahasa Nasional* "National Language Institute". He can also find documents in the library of the *Museum Pusat* (Museum of Jakarta), several in the library of the publisher house *Balai Pustaka*, while other libraries are mainly full of cartoons, popular novels, detective novels and so on.

We can also find an economic reason for this lack of interest in literature and in reading in general on the part of the Indonesian people. Actually, in this country where the per capita income is very low, reading is a luxury that one can hardly afford. Furthermore, when can people find the time to read? Generally people have to do another job after their everyday work. However, even for the rich and for those who can have a certain influence in making the common people fond of reading, reading is not felt to be a necessity. They prefer traditional entertainments (*wayang* and so on) or easier modern entertainments like cinema,¹¹ television, radio.¹² The economic reason does not explain everything; other elements must be taken into consideration. At the first place is the lack of the teaching of literature as we explained before.

Another explanation which seems finally to be the decisive argument is that modern Indonesian literature does not find its legitimacy in the tradition or, in other words, that it has still not become a tradition.

Actually, even the concepts of writing literature, thus "individual", and everything in connection with literature (writers, critics of literature, literary revues) are Occidental ones. Traditionally, in Indonesia, literature is an oral one and is practised collectively. The teller tells a story to a small public,¹³ and nowadays, this practice is still alive. The presentation of *wayang*, which the Javanese public is so fond of, in which the *dalang* tells in the Javanese language the story of *Mahabrata* and of *Ramayana* as he

11. Its public is estimated to be 17 million persons.

12. Goenawan Mohamad, "Ilusi-ilusi Seni Modern Indonesia", *Budaja, Djaja*, No. 57, 6th year, February 1973, p.79.

13. Arief Budiman, "Quelques problemes de la litteratures indonesienne moderne", *Archipel* 7, 1974, p.8.

plays the *wayang* figures on the screen, are undoubtedly among the most efficient "competitors" of modern literature.

If we observe the history of modern Indonesian literature we can see that it is partly born under the influence of the Occident. Actually, since the 19th century, there have appeared series of translations and adaptations of Chinese and European novels (a majority of them French novels of adventures), then of creative novels whose authors were Chinese, Dutch and also Indonesian (like the Menadonese F.D.J. Pangemanan). As for poetry, it is from 1920 that a new form of literature with an Occidental origin was introduced by the generation of Dutch writers of 1880, the *Tachtigers*. This new form in the sonnet which appears for the first time in the Indonesian literature under the pen of Mohammad Yamin, was quickly followed by Sanusi Pane and Rustam Effendi. The same writers were also the precursors of another form, which concerns the theatre, that is, the drama with several acts. But the Occident does not manifest itself only in the form, the content was also influenced and this Occidental origin up to now is preserved in the Indonesian literature. However, this aspect of Occidental influence was discussed in "Polemic on Culture" (*Polemik Kebudayaan*) at the time of the *Pudjangga Baru* during which we saw the appearance of another tendency, "traditionalism", which was looking for a return to sources (to Hinduism, Islam in the past, or to the regional traditions), anxious to conserve its "national identity". From that time these two tendencies would be in conflict, with the complete defeat of "Occidentalism" when President Soekarno forbade by decree the Cultural Manifesto (*Manikebu* = *Manifest Kebudayaan*). In 1964 but Occidentalism would reappear after 1965 in modern Indonesian literature in particular and in all other branches of arts in general, and would not fight against "traditionalism", but live in "peaceful coexistence" with it.

So before that literature with its partly occidental origin can become really "popular" and integrated into Indonesian culture, a great number of years will have passed. This change is parallel to the transformation of the mentalities and the traditions which, outside of the urban centres, are still deeply planted and difficult to uproot.

After having exposed the reasons of the lack of popularity of literature, we would like now to broach the problem of the literary language,

an essential problem because thanks to it, the public can have access to this literature. The language in question is certainly the Indonesian language, but it is different from the Indonesian language spoken by the people every day. It is the "written Indonesian language".

Obviously the written form of the Indonesian language does not only appear in the literature. It can be found in the "popular literature" in the newspaper, in certain journals and so on, but there, although it is in written form, its aspect is more that of a spoken one. Thus, the Indonesian literature in question would be almost the only instrument of conversation of a truly written language.

And it is important to preserve this written language and not to let it be invaded by the spoken language. Actually, it represents linguistic reflexion, in the sense that the writer of this literature takes time to write it, chooses its words, pays attention to the grammatical forms. On the contrary, if he used the language he speaks every day, he would only have to let his pen run without asking himself particular problems, forgetting perhaps what the grammatical point of view is, the chief point of the Indonesian language.

At the same time, the reader of such a literature is like its author, brought to reflexion. He can compare, for instance, the language of this literature to the language he uses to speak every day. This would be for him a good intellectual exercise. He could learn that the Indonesian language has its rules and that it is not a language that one can use to one's heart's content and his respect for it would be strengthened. Furthermore, he can discover this fact in a pleasant way, thanks to the narration of a story he is fond of.

Finally, the ideal would be that these two sorts of languages can be used with the same facility by a majority of the people. In this connection, Indonesian literature could become a very precious assistant since it could help the written language to have a level equal to the spoken language in the country. Unfortunately, a long and difficult task must be done to reach this goal. The first work to be undertaken is to make the literature popular. As we stated before, for the time being, it is absolutely not a popular literature.

So we can see that Indonesian literature could play a role in the development of the Indonesian language and consequently in national development. The language which is the "spirit of a nation" is intimately connected with its nation. Nevertheless, its actual position demonstrates that

it does not fully assume its role. At present it is not a "real factor" of development, but merely a "potential" one.

**LANGUAGE STANDARDIZATION AND NATION BUILDING :
THE STANDARDIZATION OF BAHASA MALAYSIA SYNTAX**

Nik Safiah Karim

1. Introduction

This paper approaches the question of nation building from the view of language standardization, in particular the standardization of the standard language, taking the Malaysian standard language, *Bahasa Malaysia*, as a specific case.

Ferguson writes, "Language standardization is the process of one variety of a language becoming widely accepted throughout the speech community as a supradialectal norm - the "best" form of the language - rated above regional and social dialects . . . ¹ , and emphasizes the fact that the concept of standardization also includes the nations of increasing uniformity of the norm itself and explicit codification of the norm.

It is the intention of this paper to relate the role of the process of standardization to nation building, and to provide an example of the manner in which some aspects of the standardization of syntax can be achieved.

2. The Standard Language, Standardization, and the Nation

To Garvin and Mathiot the standard language is "a codified form of a language, accepted by and serving as a model to, a larger speech community"², while Haugan defines it as that variety of speech which reflects uniformity in form and function.³

A standard language is necessarily related to a specific society, and in today's context, a nation. In very simple terms, a nation is the effective unit of political action, and a political unit it will be more effective if it is a cohesive social unit as well. One widely acclaimed means of arriving at a cohesive state of affairs is through a single linguistic code by means of which effective communication can take place, especially if the society is heterogeneous rather than homogeneous. Language issues, then, become political issues, relating to questions of nationalism and nation building.

A standard language not only acts as a unifying symbol, but when related to the concept of nationalism, tends to encourage external distinction. Garvin and Mathiot describe these as two of the three functions of a standard language, viz. the unifying function and the separatist function.⁴

In the context of most of the countries in the Third World today, the establishment of a national language and/or the implementation of its standardization is an essential part of achieving stability. Fishman writes, "A

widespread of new nations is that their political boundaries correspond rather imperfectly to any pre-existing ethnic-cultural unity."⁵ Most of these nations achieve political independence far in advance of the establishment of a set cultural and national symbols. In the absence of a common, nationwide, ethnic and cultural identity new nations proceed to plan and create an identity through national symbols that will act as unifying factors. For this reason we see in almost all newly independent nations acts symbolizing these attempts, one of which is the establishment of a national language to become a symbol of "supra-local and ethnic-cultural identification".⁶

The establishment of a national language in this context, whereby a local language is elevated to a position of a national, unifying symbol will eventually lead to a stage in its development where it becomes a fitting instrument of government, knowledge, and High Culture. The process that the language has to undergo has been described as 'codification' by Haugan.⁷

To Haugan the term 'codification' means "the explicit statement of the code, in the form of an orthography, a grammar, and a lexicon".⁸ In other words, it deals with the "normalization of regional, social, and other variation in usage via preparation of recommended (or "official") grammars, dictionaries, orthographic guides, etc."⁹ The codification of the language accepted as the standard language of a country is important because it has to function as the main language of communication and instrument of learning of its people. It has to be an adequate yet efficient and precise means of communication. The language should be capable of meeting the needs of its users as an instrument of referential meaning; it should also be capable of expressing the emotional aspects of communication; and the language should be efficient in the sense that it could be easily learned and understood.

Standardization as a process is aimed at bringing a language that is being used as the main means of communication to a stage where it is utilized with maximum result and satisfaction. In the context of nation building, particularly within Asia and the Third World, its importance lies in the fact that language is looked upon as a unifying factor and in societies comprised of several heterogeneous groups, speaking different languages or dialects, possessing different religions and ways of life, the achievement of unity and nationality is through a common language.

For the language to play such a prominent role its internal structure

must be adequate and efficient, for only then can the language successfully achieve the aims of its country.

It is for this reason that the concept and process of standardization is said to be closely related to nation building. When the expressed aim of the people is to achieve unity and stability through the role of the language, the language has to equip itself into a state where it is capable of playing the expected role.

The process of standardization, according to P.S. Ray, consists basically of creating a model for imitation and of promoting this model over rival models.¹⁰ His model of imitation is twofold, including a body of spoken and of written discourse directed to listeners and speakers respectively.

Garvin and Mathiot describe two differential properties of a standard language: 'flexible stability', originally stated by Vilem Mathesius, and 'intellectualization', by Havranek, both from the Prague.¹¹

In order to function efficiently, Mathesius maintained that a standard language must be stabilized by appropriate codification. However, it must at the same time, be flexible enough in its codification to allow for modification in line with cultural change. Garvin and Mathiot discuss two related concepts involved in the codification of a language :

- (a) the construction of a codified norm, through formal grammars and dictionaries, normally carried out by a codifying agency (or agencies),
- (b) the enforcement of the norm by control over speech and writing habits through orthoepy and orthography, through schools and other educational institutions. The achievement of flexibility of the language is done by including in the normative code the necessary apparatus for modification and expansion which "includes provisions both for a systematic expansions of the lexicon, and equally systematic expansion of stylistic and syntactic possibilities." This is the responsibility of the codifying agency or agencies.¹²

The intellectualization of a standard language, as defined by Havranek, is the adaptation to the goal of making possible precise and rigorous, if necessary, abstract statements, capable of expressing the continuity and complexity of thought,"¹³ in other words, a tendency towards increasing more definite and accurate expression. According to Havranek, the intellec-

tualization of the standard language affects primarily "the lexical and in part, the grammatical structure."¹⁴

In terms of the lexicon, intellectualization manifests itself by increased terminological precision achieved by the development of more clearly differentiated terms, as well as an increase in abstract and generic terms. The manifestation of intellectualization in terms of grammar is the development of word formation techniques and of syntactic devices allowing for the construction of elaborate, yet tightly knit, compound sentences, as well as the tendency to eliminate elliptic modes of expression by requiring complete constructions.

3. Bahasa Malaysia, the National Language of Malaysia

Upon achieving its independence in 1957 Malaysia (the Federation of Malaya) adopted *Bahasa Melayu* (Malay, now renamed *Bahasa Malaysia*, the language of Malaysia) as the national language. In this instance, as in the case of Indonesia, the selection of a national language arose out of a need for a unifying symbol, a feature cultivated in the hope that it will provide a common basis for national identification, in the absence of more tangible links. The role of the language as a unifying factor was to be channelled through a national education system, as is clearly indicated in the preamble of Education Act of 1961 :

The education policy of the Federation originally declared in the Education Ordinance 1957, is to establish a national system of education which will satisfy the needs of the nation and promote its cultural, social, economic and political development and for the progressive development of an educational system in which the national language is the main medium of instruction.

Besides fulfilling the need for a unifying symbol, the establishment of a national language was inspired by a nationalistic fervour to replace a colonial language with an indigenous one. In the words of the first Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman,

It is only right that as a developing nation we would want to have a language of our own. If the national language is not introduced our country will be devoid of a unified character and personality—as I could put it, a nation without a soul, without life.

As early as 1956 a national language planning agency, the *Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka*, was established to look into all aspects relating to the modernization and standardization of the national language. A survey of its work within the past thirteen years shows great success, particularly in the field of lexical expansion, orthographic modernization, publication of reading materials, and research and dissemination of literary and language materials. For example, since 1957, approximately 138,019 new terms have been coined by the Terminology Division of the agency, four regular monthly journals are being published, and in 1972 an agreement on a common spelling system was reached with Indonesia.

The *Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka* is constantly increasing its activities, and there is every indication that it will continue to play its contributive role in the modernization and development of the national language.

3.1 Bahasa Malaysia Syntax

Relatively speaking, the field of Bahasa Malaysia syntax has been little explored. In his book, "A Critical Survey of Malay and Bahasa Indonesia", A. Teeuw remarked on the absence of a systematic research on syntax.¹⁵ and R. Roolvink confirmed his findings when he wrote, "Although there are many grammars available, a satisfactory grammatical description both of Malay (and Bahasa Indonesia) and Classical Malay is still lacking."¹⁶ S.T. Alisjahbana also regrets the absence of a satisfactory grammatical account of standard Bahasa Indonesia or Malay, saying, "I would like to emphasize the importance of well formulated and integrated rules and norms for the modern language, not only for its efficiency but also for its fuller development as one of the modern languages of the world"¹⁷

What is clear from the above discussion is that in the field of Bahasa Malaysia (henceforth BM) syntax the emphasis is not so much of standardization in terms of upholding one varieties, but rather, of providing a complete, satisfactory syntactic account of the accepted variety (the standard variety) with the view of establishing norms to be used by all speakers, taking into consideration the developmental aspects of the language. This is especially true for BM. While all speakers of the language speak their various dialects, e.g. the Kelantan, Perak, Kedah, Negeri Sembilan etc. dialects, there are

specific occasions where the standard language is used, such as in schools and other institutions of learning, in meetings and conferences where speakers come from different geographical, and hence dialectal areas, in public speeches, and over Radio and TV Malaysia. Similarly, almost all forms of written Malay use the standard variety.

There is, thus, an accepted standard BM. The problem lies in the fact that in using standard BM speakers are influenced by their dialects, and the result is a standard language that is far from standard, displaying aspects of colloquialism and dialectalism. The standardization of BM, in this context, then, is to be taken as a description of the standard language in its most accepted and efficient form, including the establishment of norms that would automatically determine and reject acceptable and unacceptable structures respectively.

The philosophy behind this is already discussed earlier. A common standard language is regarded as an effective tool for achieving national identity and unity. Hence, standardizing the language to ensure that more efficient and acceptable forms are being used is an essential feature in the achievement of this important goal. In the Malaysian context, standardization (along with modernization) has been recognized as essential for the development of the national language, and much has been achieved in the fields of orthography and lexicalization. It is now the time for more attention to be focussed on grammar.

3.2 The Standardization of BM Syntax

It is the intention of this paper to suggest that standardization could be effectively implemented through the introduction of standardization rules. This is achieved by making such rules part of the grammatical rules of the language, to be internalized by its speakers.

According to the generative-transformational theory, a speaker of a language, i.e. who has acquired knowledge of that language, has internalized all the rules of his language. A grammatical description of a language is an attempt to list the rules involved in the production of the grammatical sentences in the language (without producing any ungrammatical ones). In this paper, it is proposed that besides these rules, standardization rules be included as well into the grammatical description, which will then be

internalized by the speakers. The result: with regard to the structure to be standardized: speakers will produce uniform constructions, as determined by the standardization rules.

As an example, let us look at the passive construction in BM. Traditional grammar books such as *Pelita Bahasa Melayu I* by Zainal Abidin bin Ahmad (Za'aba)¹⁸, and scholars of Malay such as Asraf¹⁹ and S.T. Alisyahbana,²⁰ have recognized only the following constructions as the passive :

- (a) *di + VB + oleh + NP* (when the surface object is the third person)
 - (b) *pronoun + VB* (When the surface object is either the first or second pronouns).
- e.g. (1) *Roti dimakan oleh Ali.* (The bread was eaten by Ali)
 (2) *Roti kumakan* (The bread was eaten by me.)
 (3) *Roti kaumakan* (The bread was eaten by you)

For them sentences such as :

- (4) *Roti dimakan oleh aku.* (same as (2).)
- (5) *Roti dimakan oleh engkau.* (same as (3).)

are ungrammatical. However, (4) and (5) are perfectly acceptable for some speakers of BM today, who may use them instead of (2) and (3); and there are still others who use all of the five constructions interchangeably. There is, then, no standardization in the use of the passive in BM, and this has caused much confusion among some speakers and unhappiness among scholars of the language.

It is not the intention of this paper to determine which of the alternatives should be adopted as the standard norm; that is the function of a language planning body. But choice is made, its implementation can be achieved by including the rules involved in the production of that particular construction as part of the syntactic rules of BM. For example, it can be seen that speakers who adopted sentences (1) – (3) as the passive construction possess a set of rules which, among others, contain specification determining when *di + VB + oleh + NP* is derived, and when to derive *pronoun+VB*; in this case the contributing factors are the feature specifications contained in the

deep structure subject. If the deep structure subject is a third person, the derived passive form would be the former; if it is the first or second person, the derived passive would be *pronoun + VB*. On the other hand, for speakers who employ sentences (1), (4) and (5), their grammatical rules do not contain such specifications; they use a general passive rule which derive the surface passive in the form of *di + VB + oleh + NP*. And for the small number of speakers who use all constructions, they are assumed to possess both sets of rules for deriving the passive, but whose application are not constrained.

A standardization rule for the passive construction in BM would be in the form of selecting one of the above passive forms as a norm and including the rules involved in its production as part of BM grammar. Thus, if the sentences of (1) – (3) are taken as the norm, then the rules for deriving such constructions are introduced into the grammar as passive rules, i.e. the obligatory inclusion of these rules and the rejection of other rules for deriving the passive. This will result in the production of only one surface passive form – that represented in (1) – (3).

4. Conclusion

This paper has attempted to relate the process of standardization with language policies, in particular policies relating to nation building. It is suggested that as a national language is expected to play the role of a symbol, it can only successfully achieve this aim if it is coded in the most efficient and accepted form. This is achieved through the process of standardization.

It is proposed in this paper that standardization of syntax be carried out through the inclusion of standardization rules into the total sum of the syntactic rules of a language, to be internalized by its speakers. An example of the passive construction in Bahasa Malaysia is discussed.

FOOTNOTES

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2. Paul Garvin and Madeline Mathiot, "The Urbanization of Guerani Language, in *Man and Culture: Selected Papers of the Fifth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Science*, Ed. by A.F.C. Wallace, (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1969).
3. Einar Haugan, "Language Planning, Theory and Practice," in the *Ecology of Language*. Ed. by Anwar S. Dñl, (Stanford University Press, 1972).
4. Garvin and Mathiot, *ibid*.
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LANGUAGE MODERNIZATION AND NATION BUILDING

S. Takdir Alisjahbana

One of the most salient and unexpected results of the Second World War was the liberation of so many Asian and African countries which for centuries had been colonized by European nations, the USA and Japan. With this, the colonial period which started in the 15th and 16th century and experienced its heyday in the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, came to an end. Looking back at modern history during the last four or five centuries in the context of the arising unity of the world and mankind, we realize that the colonial period with its suppression and exploitation was an important epoch in the shaping of the global society and culture of the future.

In order, however, to have a clear insight into the relation between modernism and nationalism and, in the context of this paper, between language modernization and nation building, and the implication of their interplay in the further development of the new Asian and African countries, we need to free ourselves from the usual political, economic and other cultural slogans. The real meaning and dimension of the present process of modernization and nation building which takes place in an accelerating tempo in these countries must be looked at from a long range historical view if we want to understand it and arrive at ideas for the promotion of its further development.

Our modern world has its starting point in the Renaissance when European man started to liberate himself from sacerdotal and feudal authority, and gradually depended more and more on his capacity to think and to investigate the laws of nature. Our progressively secular world gradually emerged; rational thought played a more and more important role in human endeavor. Man gradually exploited nature on the basis of his newly acquired knowledge, for the satisfaction of his needs. We know that this dynamic secular attitude not only motivated European man to expand his knowledge about his surrounding nature, but also a new curiosity, adventurousness and an urge for economic gain conquered his heart. This resulted in the discovery and exploitation of the Asian, African and American countries. Parallel with the scientific, technological and industrial developments in Europe during the 17th, 18th and 19th century, the commercial relation with the newly discovered countries gradually changed into a relation of domination: the Asian, African and American countries became colonies.

In the controversies between the conquered territories and the colonial powers during the last century, the term colonialism has always had, especially for the subjected people, a bad connotation, i.e. a relation of suppression and exploitation. But once the colonial period belongs to the past, we should be able to look at it as one of cultural exchange and mutual influence between cultures: the static traditional cultures of the countries of Asia, Africa and America, dominated by the religious, aesthetic and solidarity values became fecundated by a dynamic modern culture, which is dominated by theoretical and economic values, which together produce modern technology. The influence was in the beginning limited to casual contacts in the harbor and the market place and through the religious schools of the missionaries. In the 19th century, because of the need for schooled natives to help in the execution of the fast expanding task in the colonies, the colonial powers established schools to extend modern knowledge and skill to certain groups of the native population. Later through the liberalizing influence of the French Revolution and especially of the ethical movements during the 19th century, these efforts were increased on ethical grounds. Thus in the 19th century and especially during the first half of the 20th century, in all the countries of Asia, Africa and America, a group of intelligentsia developed which later took the leadership in the nationalistic movements for the liberation of their countries from the colonial masters.

I have to emphasize here that the nationalistic movements which started in the last century and continued with great force in the 20th century, should not be confused with the resistance or the rebellion of the old traditional and feudalistic societies against the incursion of foreign power in the earlier centuries. This modern nationalism, led by Western educated intelligentsia, is, as colonialism itself, a product of modern culture. As has been said, the modern national state had its starting point in the Renaissance, when after the collapse of the universal Christian state of the Middle Ages in Europe many national states arose, each with its own sovereign and very often also with its own religion and its own language. In the 18th century, during the Enlightenment, the structure and character of the national state changed because of the growing importance of the people vis-a-vis the nobility and the religious authorities. This process reached its culmination point in the American and French Revolutions and became stabilized in the

liberal and democratic movements in the 19th century until, in our age, nationalism has become a universal idee-force, in democracy, in fascism as well as in communism. All modern states are after all, national states. Nationalism and the nation-state form undoubtedly the recognized foundation of all the international organizations in our time.

Thus nationalism and the nation-state also derived from the liberation of the human mind, out of which emerged the ideas of human dignity and human rights. Under the influence of colonial contact and education, the idea of nationalism spread to the natives of the Asian and African colonies as is evidenced by the emergence of the National congress in India, the Kuomintang in China, the national movements in Indonesia, the Philippines, etc. The ideals of nationalism in the colonized countries were the liberation from the colonial power and the establishment of an independent national state with modern education and law, with equality among its citizens and, of course, a national state which also enjoys modern prosperity.

We know that among the modern European and American states, although they have many characteristics in common, there are great variations in political, economic, legal and educational aims and structures. It goes without saying that there also exists a great variation between the structures and ambitions of the new national states of Asia and Africa, not only because of the various ideologies of the modern world such as democracy, socialism, communism, fascism, etc., but also because of the great differences in socio-cultural structures as well as value systems of the traditional societies of these new nations. There is India, which consists of a whole sub-continent with a population of 500 million, speaking various languages, against the background of Indian culture, thousand of years old, with its sophisticated philosophical and religious systems. Another large and old country is China, with a population of 800 million, speaking different languages and dialects which for millennia have been unified by the same ideographic script. The Philippines experienced already in the 16th century Spanish Catholic influence. At the end of the 19th century it became an American colony and a blending of Spanish American influences took place against the background of the Malay-Polynesian culture, which is divided into various sub-cultures, each with its own language, customs, etc. The Indonesian case shows the Dutch influence on another Malay-Polynesian race with hundred of sub-cul-

tures, each with its own language.

In general it can be said that although nationalism in the new states of Asia and Africa has a dominant western character, led by an elite which had a western education, the native traditional culture is not without influence on the structure and character as well as the national ambitions and movements in these states. On the contrary it is very often just the ideas, ideals, mores and folkways of the traditional native cultures which give a certain characteristic to the various nationalism. They give to the nation a uniqueness, a special identity of which it is proud, and through which it gains a certain self-confidence in facing the advanced modern states of the West. As newly independent states they do not want to be only copies of the modern national states, be it the Netherlands, Great Britain, the United States, or France. We discover everywhere a search for valuable ideas and expressions of a people's own past, be it in the arts, in the religious beliefs and rites, or in the traditional solidarity institution. It is clear, however, that in the nation building of these countries, the dominant aspiration is to build a modern nation-state in which scientific and technological progress go hand in hand with modern prosperity.

After the description of the character of nationalism, the development of the new national states in Asia and Africa, and after the characterization of what is usually called nation building in these countries, we can turn our attention to their language problems. For a good understanding of these language problems, we have to characterize first the important place of language in the totality of the life of society and culture. It is so often said that the language represents the soul of the people, the essence of its culture. Indeed there is no other cultural element which expresses the totality of a culture more comprehensively and exactly than the language. The vocabulary of a language, for example, represents the whole spiritual and material richness of a culture. Everything which has been thought and created, which has been experienced and perceived consciously in a society becomes concepts in its life, realized in words which together form the vocabulary of the language of that society. These thousands of words which seemingly exist separately, besides each other in fact form a structure, expressing the total system of meanings of the culture, because there is no other tool or symbol which expresses the human mind and the human culture so clearly, so

completely and in such a sophisticated way as the language. Because of the close relationship between language and culture, the present mental and cultural crisis of these nations is expressed most completely and exactly in the crisis of their languages.

In the colonial period, the educated elite of the population received their modern education in the language of their colonial masters. It was Dutch in Indonesia, English in India, Malaysia and Singapore. In the Philippines Spanish was first the language of modern education, which later was replaced by English, while in the countries of Indo-China the medium of instruction was French. Many of the intelligentsia even had their education in the countries of their colonial masters. It is however clear that after liberation, in the self confidence of the newly acquired independence, a certain resentment existed towards the language of the former colonial powers. Everywhere great efforts were exerted to replace the European modern languages by native ones. In Indonesia where the Dutch language was not very widely spread, and because that language is a relatively small language compared to English in the world community, the replacement went rather easily. This was especially due to the existence of the Malay language, which for centuries had played the role of *lingua franca* in the Indonesian archipelago.

In India, with a population of 500 million, where for centuries various languages had existed side by side, each with a rich cultural tradition, the replacement was not as smooth as in Indonesia. A rivalry came into being between not less than fifteen regional languages, so that Hindi, the accepted national language could not grow and spread as fast and unchallenged as might have been expected.

Parts of India even prefer the maintenance of the English language, the language of modern cultural life since the last century. Another example is the Philippines where the position of the English language is so strong that we can say that the majority of the population already understand English. It goes without saying that the full development of the Tagalog or Pipilino language into a full fledged modern language faces many difficulties. The multi racial population of Singapore forced the Government to the acceptance of four official languages, i.e. English, Chinese, Malay and Tamil, although the English language has a very strong position because of the importance of

Singapore as an international commercial center.

Since the newly emergent nations aspire to become modern states like the developed countries and since modern culture has a different value orientation than traditional culture, the languages of these new countries have to adjust to the structure and vocabulary of modern culture in order to be able to function adequately in the newly created modern social and cultural atmosphere. This does not mean that the traditional languages are qualitatively less valuable than the modern languages. Every language is in the last analysis the best medium for and in its own culture. As the modern language is the best medium of expression in modern culture, so is the traditional language the best medium of expression in traditional culture. The English language, for example, which is an adequate vehicle for modern science and technology, is hopelessly lacking in vocabulary and symbolic flexibility if it must be used to deliver a ceremonial speech at a wedding party in Minangkabau. On the other hand, the Minangkabau language lacks the vocabulary to discuss adequately the complicated machinery of an atomic reactor.

Thus the acceptance of modern culture, which is dominated by the theoretical and economic values which together produce modern technology, unavoidably implies the modernization of the native traditional languages. First, all the concepts related to science, economics and technology, besides other aspects of modern life, must acquire adequate words in the languages of the newly liberated countries. Whoever has seen specialized dictionaries such as for technology, for psychology, for biology, etc. in modern languages will realize that there is a tremendous number of modern terms. In order to have some idea of the comprehensiveness of the task, I would like to mention here that a normal Indonesian dictionary has about fifteen thousand words. Until now the various committees for the determination of modern Indonesian terminology have already coined about four hundred thousand new Indonesian terms related to the various specialized science and other modern activities. It is clear that the Indonesian language is still far from having the terms to express the great number of scientific, technological, economic, etc. concepts of modern culture.

In the coining of these thousands of new terms in the national languages, many problems have to be faced. For example, how does one

arrive at an adequate system of terminology, since these terms are related to each other. In the determination of the new terms controversies arise as consequences of the various social and cultural trends in the nation, mostly as the result of its own history. In the coining of Indonesian modern terminology, for example, very early three trends were discernible. In general, if there already existed a known Indonesian word for the new concept, an agreement on that word could be easily reached. But if there was not a known Indonesian word available, on the basis of Indonesian cultural history three tendencies competed with each other. For the Javanese, for whom the Sanskrit language has a familiar, elegant and dignified sound because of the strong Hindu influence on Javanese Moslem culture, very often a Sanskrit word was the most preferable. Other groups preferred an Arabic word, since Indonesian is after all a Moslem country where the language of the Koran, that is Arabic, is the great language. Some others preferred a word of Greco-Latin derivation because of the easiness of its adaptation and its wide international use.

by about one hundred million people) and of which Hindi is the federal language, the problem of the determination of the modern terminology is even more complicated, since all these languages have to be modernized, and at the same time the modernization process must be coordinated as far as possible. In the coining of new words there was, of course, a strong tendency to fall back on the Sanskrit language, which was the classical language of philosophy, religion and art in Indian culture, and which has greatly influenced the various languages of India. Mahatma Gandhi "developed new meanings in traditional words and word-combinations which revealed a dynamic interpretation of the past, e.g. 'Satyagraha' was particularised to mean a non-violent deliberate disobedience of the prevalent repugnant laws, 'Rama-Rajya' now denoted a non-violent co-operative social order, 'Charka' in an economic context designed a Swadeshi economy, and 'Tiranga' conveyed to people the flag adopted by Indian National Congress. Any student of semantics can easily discern the pronounced ethical and idealistic undertone in the whole politico-economic vocabulary of this period in India."¹ But it was especially Dr. Raghuwira, who had envisaged a revival of the glorious past of India through Sanskrit when the country presented an integrated picture, and Indian culture, religion and thought had spread far beyond her geographical boundaries. In his lexicon of Indian Terminology he translated

all international words into Sanskrit by the etymological method. Although this Sanskrit revival did not succeed, it was not without influence.

The great drawback in falling back on Sanskrit terms is that Sanskrit words or words derived from Sanskrit have during the centuries acquired different meanings in the various Indian languages. For example, the Sanskrit word *Kalyana* (happiness) which Dr. Raghuvira adopts in the modern sense of welfare means in the Tamil language wedding.² "In Hindi and other areas the Sanskrit form *siksa* stands for education, while in the Marathi and Kannada regions it implies "punishment" and in particular "(sentence of) imprisonment".³ In the period of free India the influence of Jawaharlal Nehru was discernible with his science-oriented idealism. In consultation with eminent scientists of India, he suggested a new dimension to the vocabulary of the national language which consisted of what are known as 'International terms'. Some interpreted it to mean a large scale introduction of words, including acid, nerve, blood, line, liquid, etc. This was generally disapproved. However, the concept of international terms has been interpreted and re-interpreted ever since it was suggested and now certain specific principles have been formulated to delimit the scope of this category of words.

As is well known English continues to be in use in India for official purposes. To a certain extent it is still an impediment for the full growth of Hindi as the national language. How complex the controversy between Hindi and English is, is evident from the following quotation from D.P. Pattanayak: "the claims of Hindi and English are so polarised by its protagonists that it would appear as though the acceptance of Hindi would mean an automatic banishment of English. It is agreed by the professors of doom that a common language is a necessary evil as it threatens to destroy the regional languages. The Anglophills take this argument a step further and claim that English is a lesser evil than Hindi as it is a foreign language and thus more distant and less interfering. From the point of view of a sheer number of people speaking and understanding Hindi, the argument in favour of Hindi should be conclusive. The fact that it is one of the Indian languages and thus can rapidly and more easily assimilate features from other Indian languages to enrich itself should add weight to its claim. But the Indian elite, which has enjoyed the advantages of a minority privileged class during the British rule by performing a relay function, wants to preserve the same rights and privileges by barring

the mass of population from effectively sharing the governance of the country with them.”⁴

In accepting international terms other problems arise. In which form should the international terms be accepted in the national language? Should it be in the Greco-Latin form, or in its derivation in the English language? Since in the latter language the written image is not the same as the phonetic pronunciation, a second decision must be taken. Should it be according to the pronunciation or according to the orthography. This problem is solved in Malaysia in the direction of the pronunciation. The international term *ton* (1000 kg) is in the Malaysian language written *tan*, the international word *bus* is written *bas*, station *steshen*, etc. Indonesia has developed its modern terms from the Dutch language by adjusting Dutch words to the structure of Indonesian word structure. Thus the Dutch word *kamer* has become *kamar*, the Dutch *stuur* has become *setir*. Since the influence of the Dutch language is decreasing and the influence of the English language increasing, there is a tendency to shift from the Dutch wordform to the English form. For example, there is a tendency that words derived from the Dutch language such as *personil* (Dutch: personeel), *formil* (Dutch: formeel) become *personal*, and *formal*. This kind of problem is faced in the coining of new words in Pilipino, in the Thai language and elsewhere.

In the acceptance of a new word for a modern concept, be it a foreign word, or a word of native origin, or an entirely newly coined word, of paramount importance is that the same word is accepted in the same oral and written form for the whole country. We discover here that an inherent element in the process of language modernization is standardization. And it is obvious that the standardization of the national language, which is in most cases also the official language, the language of the school, the law, the press, etc. does not only include the standardization of the vocabulary but is extended to the whole language, i.e. its orthography, morphology and other grammatical rules.

Already the standardization of the spelling poses a great variety of problems; which differ in the various emerging national states. We have witnessed how for various countries prior to the choice of the spelling is the determination of the script. As we know, the languages of India choose for their script the old Indian Dewanagari, though not without a considerable

resistance from other groups which prefer the Roman script because of its international character. In Malaysia for a long time the Arabic script, usually called *Jawi*, played an important role in the publications in the Malaysian language. But during the last decade the Roman alphabet has gained more ground. Indonesia was in the lucky position that it directly could start with the acceptance of the international Roman script. The same happened in the Philippines.

Interesting is the case of China where the thousands of years old Chinese script is an ideographic one, that is, the concepts are represented by picture-symbols, instead of by sound structures. Although the speakers of the various Chinese languages or dialects are not able to understand each other, they are able to communicate with each other through the ideographic script. Since the number of the ideographic symbol is tremendous (it is estimated at about 50.000), a good command of the Chinese script is difficult to achieve. Many efforts have been made to arrive at a more phonetic script. Missionaries had begun it already in the 16th century for the regional languages. In the nation building of modern China, the creation of a national language for the whole population is of course very important. In order to be able to read a common Chinese writing, you have to know about 7.000 picture-symbols. We know that the Chinese government has decided that the national language should be *Mandarin*, the dialect of Peking. Although the Mandarin language has been taught for a long time, the writing of it in the Roman script has not made great progress, although already from the last century many efforts have been made from Chinese side for the phonetization of the writing of the language, related to names such as Lu Ch'uang-Chang, Ts'ai Hsi-yung, Wang Chao and others. "In 1951 Mao Tse-tung ordered a purely Chinese script to be devised, from the basic strokes of Chinese characters and adaptable to running script. In five years 655 alphabets were submitted from all parts of China. These alphabets were studied by a Phoneticization subcommittee of twelve, established in February, 1955 by the Chinese Written Language Reform Committee. In drawing up their draft phonetic proposals they considered the experience of Vietnam, Korea and Japan. Six draft systems were drawn up, and these were presented for consideration at a National Conference on Written Language Reform held in Peking in October, 1955. Four of these systems were based on symbols derived from Chinese

characters, one was based on the Cyrillic alphabet, and one on the Latin alphabet. The Latin one was finally chosen because it has had a long history in China and is more easily and scientifically adaptable to Chinese than Cyrillic. Technically speaking, the Latin letters are simple to read and write. They can be made to distinguish between homophones, and diacritical tone and accent marks can easily be added. In February, 1956 the first draft scheme of the Chinese Phonetic Alphabet based on the Latin alphabet was published, and opinions were invited from the public. Many suggestions were received by the CWLRC and in August, 1956 revisions to this draft scheme were proposed and submitted to the State Council for examination. In October, 1956 a Committee for Examining and Revising the Scheme for a Chinese Phonetic Alphabet was set up by the State Council to examine and discuss these revisions. After repeated discussions, consultations, and revisions the scheme was later approved and passed by the First National People's Congress at its fifth session on February 11, 1958." ⁵

In the context of the choice of the script and the standardization of the spelling, an interesting and promising linguistic event is the cooperation between Indonesia and Malaysia for a common spelling in the Roman script in 1973. As is known, the Bahasa Malaysia as well as the Bahasa Indonesia derive from the same Malay language. In Indonesia, the Malay language has been influenced by the various regional languages, such as Sundanese, Minangkabau, Javanese, etc. and the Dutch language, while in Malaysia it has been influenced by the Chinese and the Tamil language and, of course, especially by English. The signing of an agreement for a unified spelling between these two neighbouring national states marked the beginning of cooperation between the two countries for the further coordination of the modernization and standardization of their common language in the future.

The standardization of the morphology of the national languages poses quite different problems. In Indonesia for example the morphology of the national language has been strongly influenced by the various regional languages and dialects so that great efforts must be exerted in order to arrive at a standardized morphology for the Bahasa Indonesia for the use in schools, in law, etc. Moreover a few affixes from Sanskrit and Arabic have been incorporated into the Indonesian language. During the last decades a few affixes from European languages are used not only in loanwords but also

the formation of derivatives from native words.

In various cases also a standardization of the syntactical system could be necessary. Prof. Antonio Isidoro gave an example of the change of the sentence structure of the Pilipino language. "The usual pattern in English is subject-predicate order and in Tagalog it is the reverse. Hence, we say in English *"The boy is running"* and in Tagalog *"Tumatakbo ang bata"*. In present usage, we now admit *"Ang bata ay tumatakbo"* or *"Tumatakbo ang bata"*.⁶

This change in the syntax is already clearly an expression of the change of the way of thinking in a language. That there is a great difference in the way of thinking between the traditional languages in comparison to modern languages has been well-known since the publications of the French sociological school of Levy Bruhl and of the culturologist Whorff. The traditional language is very often concrete, while modern thought as expressed in science is more abstract. Thus in the Indonesian language the sentence: *kalau engkau hendak sehat, minumlah obat*, *If you want to be healthy, take medicine*, is in recent decades under the influence of more abstract modern thought very often formulated as *Untuk kesehatanmu, minumlah obat*, *For the sake of your health take medicine*.

With the last example, we arrive at the phenomenon of language change as expression of the change of the way of thinking as part of cultural change. Traditional culture in general represents an emotional, collective and concrete way of thinking, while modern thought is more rational, individualistic and abstract. A good example of language change in relation to the change of social relations and the way of thinking is the use of the Indonesian auxiliary numerals. It is in the Indonesian languages very common to use an auxiliary word to denote the number of people, animals and things. Thus we say in Indonesia *Tiga orang* gadis, *tiga ekor* kera, *tiga buah* batu, *tiga batang* rokok, i.e. three (*person*) girls, three (*tail*) monkeys, three (*fruit*) stones and three (*stem*) cigarettes. Under modern influence it is already very common to say *tiga gadis*, *tiga kera*, *tiga batu*, *tiga sigaret*, thus discarding the auxiliary words. The auxiliary word for round things is fruits (*buah*) and for elongated things stem (*batang*). The use of auxiliary numerals is the expression of the concrete way of thinking of an earlier cultural stage in contrast to the abstract use of numerals in modern culture. Another example is the changing and often

confused use of pronouns in the Indonesian language, since they are related to the changing position and relation between individuals in the social group. In the traditional Indonesian village community everybody is related to everybody. And the whole community is divided into social layers on the basis of generation. A child uses the word *ibu* (mother) not only to his mother but to all women in the village who are of the same age group as his mother. Likewise he calls all the members of the community of the age and generation of his father with the word *bapa* (father). Even now Indonesian pupils address their female teachers with *ibu*, and their male teachers with *bapa*. Today *bapak* is commonly used to address an official or a person with a high rank. Under the influence of democratic and socialistic movements, there is introduced in the Indonesian language the term of address *saudara*, i.e. brother. Interesting is the coinage of the pronoun of the second person *anda* about a decade or two ago in order to escape the use of the very often embarrassing family or feudalistic pronouns in daily use. The word *anda* should then, like *you* in English, be used to address a person irrespective of his sex, age, or social status.

I have attempted to give a succinct survey of the many complicated problems of language modernization in the process of nation building in the new emerging nations. In doing so I had to jump from one country to another and unavoidably I had to pass many interesting and characteristic traits in some other countries. I did not mention the modernization of the language of Turkey, of the Arab Republics, of Pakistan, of Ceylon and others. However, I hope that we have an inkling of how comprehensive, many sided and complicated the various changes are which have taken place and still are taking place in the various languages of the young countries in the process of their nation building. Moreover, it is not enough that a nation has a modern vocabulary and a modern grammar at its disposal if it lacks books and other publications in the national language. The words, sentences, the pronunciation and the orthography must be the expression of the thought, of the *Weltanschauung*, of the rich totality of modern culture.

It is about ten years ago that I spoke in Kuala Lumpur about *The Failure of Modern Linguistics in the Face of Linguistic Problems of the Twentieth Century*.⁷ The science of linguistics like many of the other social sciences has during the last century become thoroughly specialized in a

positivistic sense that it is seldom interested in the real problems of society and culture. The linguist speaks about phonemes, morphemes, structures, etc. and forgets that languages are only meaningful as expressions of human thought and culture, of the human mind. To a certain extent this esoteric linguistics is understandable since it has developed in Europe and the USA after the establishment and stabilization of the European languages as modern standardized language due to the process of more than a century of compulsory education. It is clear, however, that the developing countries have to develop themselves the linguistics which is needed for a national reconstruction. In our age of planning, when man takes the responsibility in his own hand to build up consciously and calculatedly his own future, i.e. the future of his political, economic life, etc. the science of language planning, which takes the concept of language as broadly and so deeply as possible in its social and cultural implications, is not only an urgent necessity for our national reconstruction, but it should be also a valuable contribution to science of our time. Who knows that maybe with this new science of language planning or language engineering we will be able to build up our modern national languages more efficiently, more exactly and with more flexibility than the existing modern languages such as English, French, German, etc. which have grown haphazardly through the centuries. Who knows that maybe this new science which we develop out of necessity will also be a contribution to the improvement of the growing international languages like English. There will come a time when this international language will not only be a concern and a responsibility of the nations from which the language originated, but also of all the nations which participate in its use.

The tragedy of our language planning as part of the planning for the reconstruction of our nation is that our nationalism is a belated nationalism, when the heyday of the national state is past history, when through the speed and density of transportation and communication, the social and cultural entities, thus also the nation states, gradually lose more and more of their independence. It could be that in this context, the nations which have accepted a mature, modern foreign language as the language of their modern culture have a great advantage, compared to the nations, which have built up their modern languages from the very beginning by developing their own native traditional languages. Very often I have asked myself, is there

for example a necessity for the Philippines to built up the Pilipino language as the national language even though the great majority of the people understand English, the most wide spread modern language, which besides its scientific, technological content, already has translated the works of the most important cultural tradition of mankind. For the Indonesian, who was colonized by the Dutch, and for whom the national movement has decided to accept Bahasa Indonesia as the national language, there is no way of return. But, in some pessimistic moods, in the face of the slowness of the process of translation and publication of the great books of human history, of science, technology, etc. in the face of the great lack of reading material in the Indonesian language for our students and general readers sometimes I envy the small nations which did not need to suffer as consequence of inner proudness and which accepted modern foreign languages as their own modern languages in catching up with the modern world.

In concluding this paper, it may be adequate, that I add a few words of moderation to the exalted enthusiasm for language and nation building.

We live in a time in which our culture is no longer the culture which has grown within the boundaries of our national states. On the contrary all cultures of the human race, past as well as present, belong to everyone of us. And we stand in the face of the great dangers which envelop mankind in the form of the threats of the atomic bomb, of pollution, of the exhaustion of food and other economic resources, of over-population, etc. which since the reports of the Club of Rome have become common knowledge and worries the world over. In the modernization of our languages, as well as our nation building, we have to look for elements of human thought and culture, which bring mankind into a new equilibrium and integration in its fragile balloon which so helplessly floats in a limitless space. The nations have to look for factors which integrate them better in the world community. In this respect the Unesco could be of great service, for example by a coordination and, where possible, a unification of the scientific and technological terminology of the modern world, which after all has a universal character. But in any case this conference must be able to formulate some suggestions for a closer cooperation of their languages in the framework of their nation building. In our time it is clear that the nations will not be the perfect unit of human society and culture. The call for more comprehensive cooperation, coordi-

nation and integration goes further with the continuous progress of transport and communication, and consequently of increasing intertwining of common interest among peoples on our small planet.

FOOTNOTES

- 1) P. Gopal Sharma, *Modernization of Hindi, the Federal Language of India* in "The Modernization of Languages in Asia," edited by S. Takdir Alisjahbana, p. 277.
- 2) D.H. Killingley, *The Role of Sanskrit in the Modernization of The Languages of India* in "The Modernization of Languages in Asia," edited by S. Takdir Alisjahbana, p. 305.
- 3) S.M. Katre, *Some Problems of Modernization in Indian Languages*, in "The Modernization of Languages in Asia," edited by S. Takdir Alisjahbana, p. 323.
- 4) D.P. Pattanayak, *Modernization of Languages in India*, in "The Modernization of Languages in Asia," edited by S. Takdir Alisjahbana, p. 315.
- 5) W. Tsang, *The Modernization of the Chinese Language*, in "The Modernization of Languages in Asia," edited by S. Takdir Alisjahbana, p. 78.
- 6) Antonio Isidoro, *The Modernization of the Philippine National Language; Pilipino*, in "The Modernization of Languages in Asia," edited by S. Takdir Alisjahbana, p. 118.
- 7) Inaugural speech delivered the University of Malaya in 1965, published by the University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur.

LANGUAGE AND NATIONAL IDEOLOGY

Asmah Haji Omar

An ideology is a set of ideas which forms the basis for some political or economic theory or system. Nation-building has to have as its basis an ideology which is both economic and political in nature. This means that the process of building a nation needs a sound policy which ensures economic prosperity and political strength for the nation as a whole. Where does language come into nation building?

Language forms part and parcel of the political aspect of ideology adopted by a nation in the process of building itself. The first step taken in nation building is the unification of the people who form the citizenry of the country concerned. The success of the effort may not be difficult if the country is homogeneous in terms of ethnic membership, linguistic and cultural heritage, religious denomination, economic prosperity and such like factors. On the other hand, if the country indicates in some way the presence of heterogeneity in some or all of the factors mentioned above, then nation building in its road to success has to overcome the obstacles which take the form of strife and dissatisfaction which arises from the heterogeneous characteristics. This strife and dissatisfaction is seen to be more emphasized when imbalance in economic prosperity points to the economic well-being of a particular ethnic group as a whole compared to another or others. In such a situation, economic prosperity is equated to a particular ethnic group and economic poverty to another. The task bridging the economic gap is a long and difficult one, although economic equality for all can form a sure means to the peace and prosperity of the nation concerned. In a situation where economic strength or depravity is not identified with any particular ethnic group, social strife may be more often strife between social classes rather than between ethnic groups.

When social strife proves to be the manifestation of the struggles for economic equity, the only antidote to such struggles lies in the measures taken to remedy the economic disparity between the classes. On the other hand, if social strife tends to reflect ethnic antagonism, with or without class struggles, then economic equity alone will not solve the problem. In this latter context, other factors will have to be found which can be utilized as means to bind the heterogeneous groups together.

Many factors can be cited for the purpose of moulding a unified citizenry, such as religion, culture and language. Of the three, language is and

has proven to be the most feasible unificatory factor. This is due to the role each of the three plays in society. Whilst religion and culture are ways of life, in which are manifested the relationship between man and God and between man and man, language, besides having many other functions, is primarily an instrument, or to be more specific, the basic instrument in human communication.

A nation with diverse ethnic and linguistic groups cannot hope to function well in its day to day affairs if her people are not able to establish a relationship that is mutually intelligible. A relationship that reflects the existence of a mutually intelligible system of communication requires a language that is common to all.

Furthermore, language forms the basis of culture. If a common culture were to be made the unificatory factor of a nation, then it cannot bypass language. A common culture which is to be made the national culture must have a common language, the national language, as its basis. The national language is then the basis of the identification of the nation as one which is defined by linguistic and cultural characteristics peculiar to itself and which sets it apart from others.

As mentioned above, language has a number of other functions viz. in forming and expressing thoughts and feelings, in cognition, denotation, etc. Nevertheless, all those functions can be summed up in the linguistic dualism : informative and emotive. In communication or in the expression of thoughts these two functions are bound to project themselves simultaneously or singularly. The informative functions may or may not be accompanied by the emotive function, but the emotive function cannot exist by itself as it has to complement the informative function.

When a language exercises its informative function it means that it is used in expressing thoughts and ideas which are scientific, descriptive, referential, denotive, cognitive etc. On the other hand, when the language functions emotively, then the feelings, emotions, affections etc. with their various degrees of finesse or coarseness are projected. Except in the academic register of language usage where the informative function can exercise by itself, all other language registers do show a blending of informative and emotive functions of language. Hence it is quite important that the citizenry of a nation share a common means of verbal communication in which are

conveyed both the informative and emotive aspects of thoughts, feelings and life's experiences. This sharing of a verbal code provides the citizenry with the feeling of oneness and a sense of belonging. A common language when given the status of national language becomes the symbol of unity for the nation. In this symbolic function, the national language also exercises another function, that is the participatory function. In this latter function, the national language gives equal opportunity to each and every one of the national and even the non-national inhabitants of a particular nation the opportunity for maximal participation in the country's affairs.

Compared to religion and other aspects of culture, language as a symbol of unity touches on the people's inner sensitivities least of all. Whatever function it plays, be it communicative, expressive, esthetic, participatory or what have you, language remains a means to those ends it sets out to achieve. Language in general can be learned and unlearned without affecting in any way the emotional, religious, cultural and physical life of the family, neighbourhood or of the society as a whole. This is not so with religion or any other aspect of culture. An adoption of a new religion or the abandonment of an old one, or outright defiance towards religion in general, may cause disruption in a family life. Innovation in religion, in contrast to innovation in language, may also give rise to similar effects. This does not mean that innovation in language can be carried out without arousing any protestation from society, but the subduing of such protestations can sooner be realised with regular usages of such innovations, compared to the subduing of protestations arising from religious innovations, divergence or defiance.

Another important point which enables language to be taken as part of national ideology is that language can penetrate the various boundaries that place people in separate compartments. We have seen how languages, specially those languages of wider diffusion like English and French, have transcended geographical, ethnic, political, ideological, cultural and even linguistic boundaries.

The Malay language, encompassing Bahasa Malaysia, Bahasa Indonesia and the national languages of Singapore and Brunei has, at its present stage of development, transcended political and ethnic boundaries. In the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, that is before the rise of a Malayan nation which sought to integrate the various races of Malaya, the

Malays of the peninsula and Singapore were making an effort to consolidate themselves into a unified group. In this we see that the instrument for identification was language. Of this, William R. Roff has this to say in his book, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism*.¹

"It is not surprising that in Malaya, as elsewhere, one of the first sign of a conscious ethnicism ignoring local political boundaries was a concern for the nurture of the language as symbol and expression of the group."

The choice of Malay as the language of unity, *bahasa persatuan*, for Indonesia was not incidental. It was deliberately and purposely done by the leaders of the Indonesian reform movement, who had the firm conviction that the unity of Indonesia, which was greatly needed in their struggle against colonialism, could only be achieved if they could readily be to institute via the Dutch language. With this conviction, Malay, being the language known by a great majority of the Indonesian population, was chosen to be the language of unity.²

In this connection, it is useful to note that religion has also been used in group identification. The most obvious example is the Malaysian example of identifying the Malay race of Malaysia with religion, apart from the Malay language. As is spelt out in the Constitution of the Federation of Malaysia, a Malay is defined as one who speak Malay as mother tongue, habitually lives the Malay way of life and professes the religion of Islam. As such, one who ethnically is a Malay but who is not a Muslim is, politically speaking, not a Malay, though he is still a Malaysian.

The use of religion as a symbol of identity is possible if it is localised to a particular group which is homogenous both ethnically and religiously, but when religion is used as an identification of a society or of a nation consisting of a number of heterogenous groups, then the disintegration of the society or of the nation will be realized much sooner than if it were to cause by language opposition. Fortunately with Malaysia, religion (and specifically Islam) has gone no further than being the symbol of identity of the Malays, even to the exclusion of the other indigenous groups such as the Ibans, the Kadazans, the Muruts etc. which, anthropologically speaking are Malay groups.

It is indeed interesting to note the effect that the re-naming of a certain language has on the attitude of the people, specifically in the context of the

institution or the fortification of a national language. In Indonesia, we see that the re-naming of the language (which was later to become the national language) was done at the early stages of the institution of the language of unity in 1928. This was timely because acceptance of the language as symbol of unity by people of diverse linguistic and ethnic groups was urgently needed. The identification of the chosen language with the population as a whole rather than with a particular group was crucial to the unity of Indonesia as it with any nation at all that seeks to unify its people or to fortify the unity of its people by way of a chosen language.

The Malaysian example in the re-naming of the national language from Bahasa Melayu to Bahasa Malaysia in 1969 goes to support the statement made above on the importance of the identification of the chosen language to the population as a whole. This point can be further justified if we take into account the sociolinguistic situation, specifically the attitude of the Malaysians in general towards the national language before and after the change of the name of the national language.

Before the name-change, acceptance of the national language did not reflect an overall acceptance by the national population. Dissenters of the national language had a lot to say against the choice, but there was one point harped on by them which was relevant to the present study, and that point was that the national language, the Malay language, was not the language of the Malaysians but only the language of the Malays. A narrowing down of the identification of the national language to one particular group was a sure way of aborting the unity that was being nurtured. The importance of and the urgency in the naming of the national language was realized by the Malaysian leaders only after the racial clashes which broke out on 13 May 1969. Indeed the new name, Bahasa Malaysia, had had a positive effect on the national language attitude of the people and, Bahasa Malaysia, the language of the Malaysians, has remained within its given status, undisturbed and unquestioned ever since.

It may be argued that in the Malaysian situation, there were factors, overriding the re-naming of the national language, that caused the unanimous or near-unanimous acceptance of the national language. Such factors were to be found in the Sedition Act 1969 which guarded sensitive issues, among which was the language issue, from being discussed in public and in a manner

which might spark off racial prejudices. I do concede that the Sedition Act 1969 did and still does play a part in the reinforcing of the status of the national language, but there is no denying that the new name *Bahasa Malaysia* has also greatly contributed to the general acceptance of the national language by the Malaysian population.

As part of the national ideology, the choice of the national language and the use of the language in official functions and the system of education has to be legislated. In other words, language planning, being a political consideration in itself, requires more than mere propagation for its implementation. Short of legislation, the national language will remain a password and a mere symbol, and will never have the opportunity to occupy its proper place as *the* language of the nation. Legislation of the national language does not mean the loss of freedom of the individual to use other languages, but it requires, by the law of the country, that the language be used in official functions, day-to-day administration and in the system of education. Such a legislation is necessitated by consideration for that essential element in nation-building: the nurturing of a citizenry that goes through a common system of education which uses the same language medium. A society that is compartmentalized into separate system of education using different language media cannot hope to be an integrated society or to be one that is trouble-free. Different systems of education using different language media produce different sets of people who have different national orientations and who are suspicious of one another. Such a situation is detrimental to nation-building.

The situation in Malaysia before Independence and even until a few years ago can be taken to exemplify the point made above. In the period concerned, education in Malaysia was characterised by four system using four different language media. It was partly this compartmentalization of the Malaysians into the various groups based on separate systems of education, that nurtured racial and group prejudices as well as economic and intellectual disparities between the groups.⁽³⁾ Steps have been taken to remedy this shortcoming in education in Malaysia since 1956, when the *Razak Report 1956* recommended that the school system be streamlined to adopt common content syllabuses and that steps be taken to use Bahasa Malaysia as the medium of instruction in the national schools. Though the adoption of the

common content syllabuses could be implemented right away, the process of making Bahasa Malaysia the medium of instruction in schools and ultimately in the colleges and the universities was indeed a very long one. The phasing out of English as the medium of instruction in favour of Bahasa Malaysia from 1956 will take a total of 22 years at the school level. At the end of 1982, all school subjects except English or any other language will have been taught in Bahasa Malaysia. That is to say, that all students who sit for their Higher Certificate examinations at the end of 1982, to be considered for admission into the university at the beginning of 1983, will have undergone school education via the Bahasa Malaysia medium.

A national ideology that aims for a just society which provides equal opportunity for everybody cannot hope to succeed if education in the national language is allowed to have competition from education in other languages. A country that has been decolonized from a foreign power and is in the process of building itself up is likely to fall into the danger of a competition between the well-established colonial language and the developing national language in its education system. The transitional period in the gradual transfer of the education system from one whose medium was formerly a colonial language to one whose medium is the national language, is most crucial. This is due to the fact that nostalgia for and confidence in the already established colonial language can neutralize loyalty to the national language. The fact that the national language may not be equipped for use in science and technology, which got introduced into the country concerned by the colonialists, may bring about lack of confidence among the people in the national language, and with this an outright rejection of the use of the language in the fields concerned. It is then imperative that the highest economic value should be given to education via the medium of the national language over and above any other system of education that may be in existence. If planning is hasty, then there is the danger of sacrificing academic standards, but if care is taken in the phasing out of the colonial language as medium of education, then the standard of academic achievement can be maintained. Opponents of the national language always clinch on to the question of academic standard and wail over the possible drop in the standard. Whatever it is, the concept of "standards" in academic context is relative. To be sure when standards are said to drop due to use of the national

language in education, then what is actually happening in the minds of proponents of such a thought is comparison between achievement in the system of education in their own country with that of the home country of their former masters.

In a country which is endeavouring to establish its own identity within the framework of its national ideology, academic standards should be considered within the borders of the country concerned. In the early stages of nation-building the issues that is most crucial, in the sense that it can abort the rising nation, is the unity of the people who need self-identification and a sense of belonging, and not so much academic standards. This is far from saying that academic standards are not important at all in nation-building, but that if need be, and if all other means prove to be failures, then academic standards can be sacrificed, to be taken up again later on when the nation is politically well on its feet.

The colonial language, however, can still participate in the building of a new nation in academic fields and for purposes of international relations, and this is more so if the colonial language is also a language of wider communication. In this context the people have to be made to understand the function of the colonial language or a language of wider communication. It is clear that no language even if it is a language of a very wide communication can be allowed to usurp the status of or to override the national language, unless the nation decides otherwise. The case of exoglossic countries (to use Heinz Kloss' term) indicates cases where a high status is given to a former colonial or a foreign language which is also a language of wider communication, in the sense that this language occupies the place of an indigenous language which could have been elevated in status as national language.

Still on the subject of the role of the foreign language in nation-building, the point that should also be considered is the extent of the teaching of that language in terms of the population. Certain questions will have to be asked. Is the language needed for everybody? From what level of education should the teaching of the language commence? Which are the language skills that are necessary and at which level? Whilst it is useful to acquire a second language especially when the language is an international language, it must also be realised that most probably only

one-third of the educated population pyramid from the top downward may really need the language, as this one-third comprises people who are in high academic pursuits and who are, or one aspiring to be at the top rungs of the professional ladder. Of the other two-thirds, maybe only a small fraction requires it as necessitated by their professions and trades, such as the tourist and travel trades, various types of business ventures, etc. For the rest of the population, the foreign language may not be of any use at all. Perhaps compelling them to learn the language is a waste of effort, time and money, which could be channelled to some other useful purposes. Knowing a foreign language or acquiring bilingualism should not be considered as the key to survival, for the real key to survival is the economic and social well being of the people.

members in every aspect of life. It is very difficult to determine at the school level the pupils who will need the foreign language as against those who will be able to do without the language. Hence, the principle of equity requires that every school child be taught the chosen foreign language. Ignoring such a principle naturally violates national ideology.

Vernaculars also have their specific roles in nation building. Definitely they cannot be placed on a par with the national language, but nevertheless they form part and parcel of the everyday and emotional life of their small variegated communities. Their roles should be clearly defined such that, while being confined to their own communities, they can still develop and flourish in the geographical and ethnic contexts in which they function. The linguistic, literary and cultural treasures of the vernaculars can certainly make a positive and refreshing contribution to the development of the national language. Nation building needs the support of each and every one of its citizens as well as their acceptance of the national ideology which includes language policy. Defiance of the language policy can mean defiance of the national ideology.

FOOTNOTES

1. Published by University of Malaya Press and Yale University Press, 1967, p. 46.
2. Cf. S. Takdir Alisyahbana, *Revolusi Masyarakat Dan Kebudayaan Di Indonesia*, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1966, p 67-68.
3. Cf. Asmah Haji Omar, "Education System and Language Planning in Malaysia: An Account of Efforts to Make Malay the Medium of Education," paper written for VIIIth. World Congress of Sociology, Language Planning Section, Toronto, August 1974.

SPEAKER—INTERLOCUTOR RELATIONSHIP

**Some Notes on the Communicative Aspects of Language
with Reference to Javanese**

I. Suharno

1. Introduction

Communicative aspects of language are, among others, those properties that pertain to the propriety of language use. They have to do with the native speaker's capacity to cope with such questions as when to say what to whom. It is this kind of capacity that, in the words of Hymes, prevents a child from becoming a social monster (1974:75), whose all and only grammatical sentences, as specified by the rules of transformational - generative (TG) grammar have equal likelihood in his language. Those different styles of usage in English recognized by Joos (1967) bear out the view that one of the functions of language is to convey status, social and individual attitudes, assessments, judgments, and the like; of the speaker to his addressee in social and linguistic interactions (Halliday, 1970: 159).

Communicative aspects of language are apparently not identical with linguistic performance of TG grammar (Chomsky, 1954:4), which is concerned with the actual use of language. The competence in them is neither the same as the TG linguistic competence, which excludes concern for the attitude of the speaker to his interlocutor (vide Katz and Fodor, 1963:171-174; Katz, 1964:4, N.1), and deals with syntax only. This competence is now generally known as communicative competence, and complements the TG grammatical competence to constitute the total linguistic competence of the speaker (Cf. Hymes, 1967). Evidently, speech propriety hinges upon such extra-linguistic factors as social tradition and history, which differ from one speech community to another. One of the linguistic indicators of speech propriety is the use of certain lexical items, and not others, in an utterance spoken in a certain context, and not in any other.

Examples are copious to show that societal realities are responsible for the different language usages for different purposes. For instance, it would be a mistake to say that such real English utterances as 'Good bye', 'Have a nice trip', 'Take care', and 'See ya later' are used for exactly the same purpose. We know that the first two may be proper parting shots in a formal situation, whereas the latter two may not. We may argue, semantically, that all of these have the same referent, and that only the meanings, suppositions, beliefs, and so forth are different. But more

relevant is perhaps that there is no reason to believe that a competent speaker of English will haphazardly interchange them in any situation.

In some European languages such as Dutch, French, and German, the propriety of addressing one's interlocutor as 'U' or 'je' 'vous or tu' or 'Sie' or 'du' is under strict constraints inherited and respected by the members of the speech community concerned. A native speaker of a natural language knows that he has to heed the grammatical as well as the communication constraints of his language so that his speech is not only recognizable but also acceptable to his interlocutor. As is now already known, the choice of a particular second-person pronoun has to do with the type of relationship that obtains between a speaker and his interlocutor at the time when a speech act takes place (Brown and Gilman, 1968:253-276).

2. Speech Propriety in Javanese

Javanese speech propriety, which has come under the attention of linguistic scholars for centuries, is manifested by its complex system of address references, lexical options, and affixations. It is generally known that the history of the complexity of the Javanese vocabulary usage is quite recent. Not until the sixteenth century did Javanese speech propriety develop from a complex pronoun system and word-ending variation into a more elaborate system of lexical choices whereby the present language is characterized (Gonda, 1947:363).

As an illustration of the complexity of the Javanese pronoun system and vocabulary usage, such an equative statement as:

- (1) I am sick

may be represented by at least three Javanese sentences by virtue of the fact that 'I' is *aku*, *kula*, or *dalem*, and 'sick' is *lara*, *sakit*, or *gerah* (Javanese does not employ any equivalent of the copula *be*).

A Javanese speaker is likely to know that the following sentences are acceptable:

- (2) *Aku lara* 'I am sick'
 (3) *Kula sakit* 'I am sick'
 (4) *Dalem sakit* 'I am sick'

and he may also be able to point out that

- (5) *Dalem lara* 'I am sick'

is acceptable and actually used in certain situations.

However, the Javanese speaker will react to the following sentences as unacceptable:

- (6) * *Aku sakit*
 (7) * *Kula gerah*
 (8) * *Dalem gerah*
 (9) * *Aku gerah*

A general explanation that may be given is that *sakit* 'sick' is related to *kula* 'I' or *dalem* 'I', but not to *aku* 'I', and that *gerah* is not to be related to 'first person'. *Gerah* 'sick' is to be related to a pronoun that refers to someone whom the speaker respects and calls *panjenengan* 'you', but not to *kowe* 'you' or *sampeyan* 'you', where respect is not as predominant as in *panjenengan* 'you'. Therefore, where *gerah* 'sick' is used for *aku* 'I', *kula* 'I', or *dalem* 'I', a speech propriety violation takes place, since the situation manifests an overt self-esteem or conceit.

Another example at hand is a statement such as:

- (10) I see you

for the purpose of expressing which a Javanese speaker will know that (11) – (14) are acceptable, and that (15) may also be used in certain contexts:

- | | | |
|------|----------------------------------|-------------|
| (11) | <i>Aku weruh kowe</i> | 'I see you' |
| (12) | <i>Kula sumerep sampeyan</i> | 'I see you' |
| (13) | <i>Kula sumerep panjenengan</i> | 'I see you' |
| (14) | <i>Dalem sumerep panjenengan</i> | 'I see you' |
| (15) | <i>Aku weruh panjenengan</i> | 'I see you' |

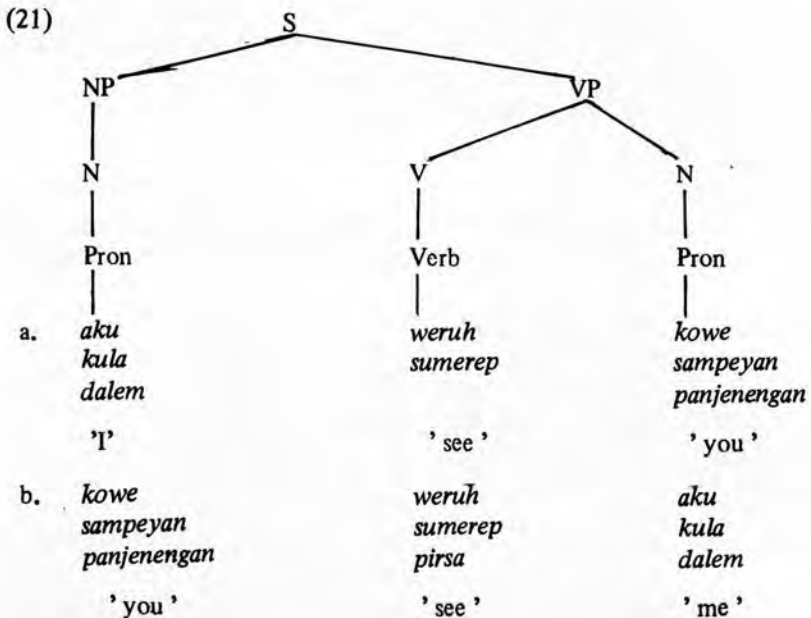
If the subject is 'you' and the object is 'I', (16) – (19) are acceptable,

and (20) may also be used in certain situations:

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------------|--------------|
| (16) | <i>Kowe weruh aku</i> | 'You see me' |
| (17) | <i>Sampeyan sumerep kula</i> | 'You see me' |
| (18) | <i>Panjenengan pirs dalem</i> | 'You see me' |
| (19) | <i>Panjenengan pirs kula</i> | 'You see me' |
| (20) | <i>Panjenengan pirs aku</i> | 'You see me' |

The fact that some logical equivalence prevails among either of the two sets of sentences does not provide any clarification as to when and to whom a Javanese speaker may use one of (11) – (15) or (16) – (20).

In the most oversimplified TG terms, the structural description (SD) of (11)–(15) and also (16)–(20) may be presented in the following tree diagram:



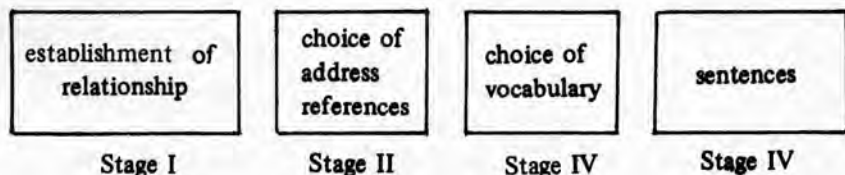
Evidently, a clarification must be provided concerning the use of *pirsa* 'see' in (21b) but not in (21a). This classification, along with the clarification of the other options, is determined by a set of selectional rules quite different in nature from those suggested in TG grammar, where such social factors as differences of age, status, rank, are obviously left out of account.

Despite the translatability of (11)–(15) into 'I see you' and the translatability of (16)–(20) into 'You see me', the constraints that make one sentence more appropriate than another have to be heeded.

The non-interchangeability of the sentences above seems to make it tenable to maintain that (11)–(15) and also (16)–(20) are different sentences having different meanings. The meaning differences are determined by the different types of relationships which a speaker chooses to establish with his interlocutor, and which are accordingly reflected in the different surface representations. The relationship may be said to be Horizontal, i.e. where it obtains between equals, or Downward, i.e. where it is directed toward an interlocutor of inferior status, or Upward, i.e. where it is directed toward an interlocutor of superior status.

It also seems correct to assume that the use of Javanese utterances involves the following process:

(22)



Stages I-IV are obviously communicative stages, which are depicted as being sequential just for the sake of convenience. Stage I is concomitant with such processes as semantic formation, selectional specification, inflectional specification, and perhaps also derivational specification (Chafe, 1970). Under the constraints that originate in stage 1, stages II-IV are governed by rules of the lexical specification processes that are responsible

for the distinction between the Javanese courteous words and the non-courteous words, as well as those words where courtesy is irrelevant.

3. Traditional Terminologies of Javanese Speech Propriety

The notion that the stock of the Javanese lexicon consists of courteous words and non-courteous words has been known not only in the grammars of Javanese known to us, but also among speakers of the language.

In the tradition of Javanese grammar writing, the Javanese lexicon has been subject to classification from two to ten types in terms of the degree of courtesy. The modern trend seems to be in favor of the classification into two classes: *Ngoko* (non-courteous) words and *Krama* (courteous) words (Purbatjaraka, 1958; Horne, 1964). More detailed classifications and terms other than *Ngoko* and *Krama*, however, still persist in some places (Poedjosoedarmo, 1968; Sumukti, 1971). A typical example is a textbook for Teacher Training Schools written by Padmōsoekotjo, who, apparently borrowing freely from earlier works, presented eight classes of Javanese words as follows (1958: 13-17):

1. *Ngoko*, used by children among themselves, by older persons to younger persons, by masters to their servants, where respect is absent.
2. *Ngoko andap*:
 - a. *Antya basa*, used by older persons to high-ranking younger persons, and by members of the privileged class who are intimate with each other.
 - b. *Basa antya*, used by older persons to high-ranking younger persons.
3. *Basa Madya*:
 - a. *Madya ngoko*, used by small traders among themselves.
 - b. *Madyantara*, used by members of the lower middle class among themselves, and by a member of the privileged class to another and to his lower-ranking kin.
 - c. *Madyakrama*, used by a wife to her husband, in the event that the husband is a member of the privileged class.

4. *Basa Krama*:

- a. *Krama lugu*, used by common people among themselves, and by older persons to young strangers who have no rank.
 - b. *Muda Krama*, used by younger persons to older persons, by students to their teacher, and by members of the privileged class among themselves.
 - c. *Wreda krama*, used by older persons to younger persons.
5. *Krama Inggil*, similar to *Muda Krama* except for the use of *adalem*, *'abdi dalem*', *'kawula* . or *abdi-dalem-kawula* in lieu of *'kula*' for *'I'*'; it is used by members of the lower classes to members of the higher class.
6. *Krama Desa*, used by peasants and illiterates.
7. *Basa Kasar*, rude language, used by angry persons.
8. *Basa Kadaton (Basa Bagongan)*, used within a palace by members of the royal family and the king's subjects among themselves.

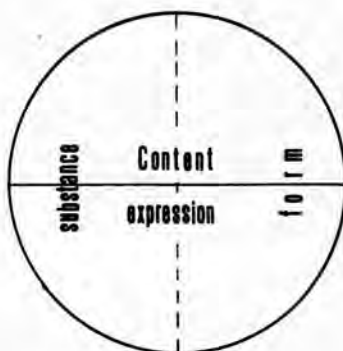
This kind of classification, which keeps appearing in many works on the Javanese grammar, is subject to serious criticisms. Not only is the description of the social strata misleading, but also no information is given about the extent of the knowledge of a native speaker, and the extent of the actual use of the levels. It has been observed that *Basa Kadaton (Basa Bagongan)* is still currently used in Surakarta and Yogyakarta (Hendrato, 1975:45-57). Yet in serious want of scrutiny is the basis of the different usages, which seem to follow a set of regular rules that bear on the different types of relationships a speaker selects to use with his interlocutor.

Address References as Parameters

The tenability of the view that *aku* 'I', *kula* 'I' , and *dalem* 'I' are words of different meanings as are *kowe* 'you', *sampeyan* 'you', and

panjenengan 'you' rather than mere morphological variants is borne out by the fact that the variations are determined by some deep and not merely surface constraints. The view also seems to parallel Hjelmslev's notion of *sign*, which developed from de Saussure's. Accepting de Saussure's concept of sign as an associative combination of Concept and Acoustic Image (de Saussure, 1969:66), which Hjelmslev called *content* and *expression* respectively, Hjelmslev made a further distinction between *form* and *substance* in both the levels of content and expression, thus:

(23)



On the expression plane, there is a distinction between the *form of expression*, i.e. the so-called *-emics* of the system in which the sign is a component, and the *substance of expression*, i.e. the *-etics* or the *substance of content*, i.e. the *semantic usage* (Hjelmslev, 1969:106). In this framework, there seems to be enough room to accommodate different semantic usages underlying the use of different words such as *aku*, 'I', *kula* 'I', *dalem* 'I', and so forth. These different usages constitute the substance of content, which, on the form side of the content, reflects a concept that refers to 'first person'.

The initial process of language use, where a relationship bridge is established by the speaker to cover a certain distance, let us say psychological as well as social, between him and his interlocutor, is responsible for the distinctions of the degrees of courtesy. The number and types of distances, and accordingly the degrees of courtesy, are obviously fluid. But it seems correct to believe that formalization of a

sort can be made of the relationships that occur between a speaker and his interlocutor, particularly since these relationships are reflected in the interlocutor, particularly since these relationships are reflected in the surface representation in a quite regularized pattern. In the extra-linguistic area, such questions as respect, politeness, kinship relationship, education, wealth, facial appearance as well as clothing are involved.

The relationship is shown by the obligatory choice of a certain address reference for one's interlocutor, which simultaneously implies the choice of address reference for oneself. Since the relationship and the choice of the word for 'you' entails the choice of the word for 'I', to a certain degree the relationship system seems to follow the law of implication:

(24) A $\longleftrightarrow$ B

that is, if A, then B, where A is a word for 'you' and B is a word for 'I', both of which apply under a constraint that is responsible for the correctness of (25)–(29), but not for (30)–(32):

- | | | |
|------|--------------------|--------------|
| (25) | <i>kowe</i> | <i>aku</i> |
| (26) | <i>sampeyan</i> | <i>kula</i> |
| (27) | <i>panjenengan</i> | <i>kula</i> |
| (28) | <i>panjenengan</i> | <i>dalem</i> |
| (29) | <i>panjenengan</i> | <i>aku</i> |
| (30) | <i>kowe</i> | <i>dalem</i> |
| (31) | <i>kowe</i> | <i>kula</i> |
| (32) | <i>sampeyan</i> | <i>dalem</i> |

The unacceptability of (30)–(32) is due to the inconsistency of the implication. That is, once it is determined that the relationship is devoid of formality and deference on the part of the speaker, the word *kowe*, 'you' is selected. The choice of *dalem* 'I', however, is contradictory to the first choice, since *dalem* indicates humbleness of paramount importance on the part of the speaker. The use of *kula* 'I', where a deference of a lesser degree than *dalem* is involved, will still raise a conflict with the choice of *kowe*. Similarly, the choice of *sampeyan* 'you' implies

the choice of *kula*, or, in some dialectal usage, *aku*. The use of *dalem* is contrary to the first choice of *sampeyan* 'you', which does not convey enough exaltation that will match the humbleness of *dalem*.

Simultaneous with the choice of address parameters, the constraint on the choice of appropriate lexical items and affixes takes place. Thus, for example, the choice of *panjenengan* 'you' implies not only the use of *kula* 'I' or *dalem* 'I', but also *panjenengan dahar* 'you eat' and *kula neda* or *dalem neda* 'I eat', but not vice versa.

The speaker-interlocutor relationship may be reciprocal or non-reciprocal. Non-reciprocal relationship is quite limited. It can be found, for example, in the language used in Javanese classical plays or plays depicting court stories, and also in praying.

There are three basic types which may be used reciprocally:

- (33) *kowe* *aku* relationship (K)
- (34) *sampeyan* *kula* relationship (M)
- (35) *panjenengan* *dalem* relationship (P)

The classification, which is by no means exhaustive, is manifested in the linguistic data by the obligatory choice of a particular network of address references, vocabularies, and affixes.

5. K Relationship

One of the significant features characterizing the relationship between a speaker and his interlocutor is the presence of *formality or informality* but not both. Formality in Javanese is generally associated with *respect, genuine* or ceremonial. Standard kinesics such as head and torso bowing are generally involved in a formal relationship but not in an informal one.

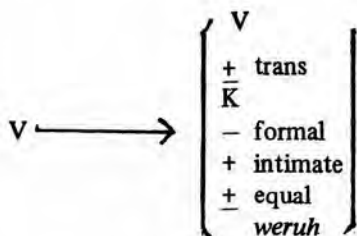
K relationship is characterized by informality. K relationship is also characterized by intimacy. Intimacy alone, however, does not always dictate the privilege of using K relationship. Parents normally speak in K relationship to the children. In many families, the children are taught and required to speak in P relationship, which is most courteous, to their parents. The use of P relationship in this kind of situation is apparently not so much due to any lack of intimacy on the part of the children toward

their parents, but rather to a manifestation of good conduct, i.e. *respect*, a feature that is inherent in the propriety of speech toward elders and a reflection of ideal upbringing.

Being subject to reciprocization, K relationship may also be characterized by the feature *equality*. Equality does not necessarily imply any situation where equal status or rank, age, or wealth is involved. It is merely a reflection of the speaker's psychological disposition to neutralize status differences that are likely to be overtly marked by means of anon-reciprocal relationship. As such equality is obligatory only when K relationship is used reciprocally.

Thus in a given context of linguistic communication where there develop informality and intimacy in the mind of the speaker toward his interlocutor, the speaker will select K relationship to carry out the communication. The semantic structure of a verb that may be characterized as either transitive or intransitive such as *weruh* 'see' may be presented as follows:

(36)

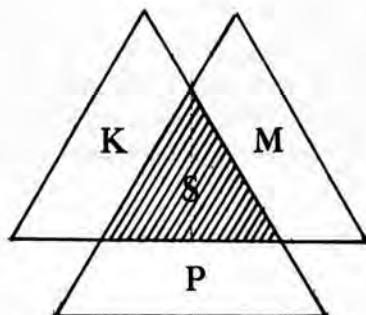


6. The Lexicon of K Relationship

The Javanese lexicon may be classified into the relationship-free words and affixes (X class) and the relationship-sensitive words (Y class). The number of words belonging to X class is larger than the Y class words, but the number of the X class affixes is smaller than the number of the Y

class affixes. The so-called *Ngoko* words are merely the lexicon of the relationship-sensitive stock of K relationship. In traditional accounts of Javanese, however, there has been a tendency to consider the *Ngoko* words as the basis for the bulk of the Javanese lexicon (Poedjosoedarmo, 1968). Logically, it would seem consistent to state that the X class lexicon is shared in all relationships, whereas the Y lexicon is mutually exclusive in all relationships. The situation may be summarized in the following intersecting triangles:

(37)



The triangle S refers to the domain of X lexicon, whereas the trapezoids K, M, and P refer to the domain of the words and affixes used in the K, M, and P relationships respectively, i.e. those that belong to Y class.

There does not seem to be any feasible way to predict or make a generalized classification as to what ideas or meanings are susceptible to further differentiation by the relationship, which filters them out before they are represented in the surface. For example, the words for 'tree', 'branch', 'roof', 'floor' belong to X lexicon, but 'leaf', 'flower', 'house', 'door' belong to Y lexicon; and also, the words for 'six', 'seven', 'eight', 'nine' belong to X lexicon, but the words for 'one', 'two', 'three', 'four', and 'five' belong to Y class. Thus *uwit* 'tree' is used irrespective of any relationship, whereas *godong* 'leaf' is used in K relationship and *ron* 'leaf' is used in M and P

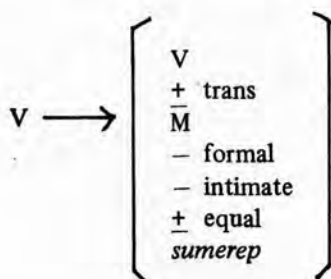
relationships. Also, for example, *pitu* 'seven' is used in any relationship, whereas *siji* 'one' is used in K relationship and *setunggal* 'one' is used in M relationship, and *satunggal* 'one' in P relationship. To a Javanese speaker, the only way to acquire the different usages is by learning them from his society, and not through intuition as TG grammar would claim.

In terms of speech propriety, communicative competence can be complete only insofar as it implies the capacity of manipulating the three relationships appropriately. Generally, the ability to speak in K relationship is taken for granted. Less so is the ability to speak in M relationship. The ability to speak in P relationship, however, always implies good manners which may be acquired only through learning in a good milieu.

7. M Relationship

M relationship, like K relationship, is characterized as-formal. But whereas K relationship is also characterized as + Intimate, M relationship is characterized as-Intimate. The semantic structure of an M verb that may be characterized as either transitive or intransitive such as *sumerep* 'see' may be presented as follows:

(38)



The lack of intimacy, i.e. the less direct nature, of M relationship, which is traceable in the use of *sampeyan*, literally, '(your) leg, foot' instead of *kowe* 'you', is responsible for its being more courteous than K relationship. Thus, for instance, an adult speaker of superior status, e.g. a high-ranking government official, when intending to be courteous, is more likely to speak in M relationship to an adult interlocutor of a lower status, e.g. a janitor, whom the former barely knows, than in K relationship. To his subaltern whom he knows well, however, the high-ranking speaker is more likely to speak in K relationship, which is more direct than M relationship, and consequently the feature + Intimate is more relevantly a mere label for the directness than for intimacy in its real sense. In such a situation, M relationship is also likely to be the relationship that obtains between the two subalterns, who will in turn speak in P relationship to the high-ranking speaker.

The situation, however, is not to be identified with what is known as a situation where a distinction between the so-called Public Language-Usage and Formal Language-Usage takes place (vide Bernstein, 1968:223-239). According to Bernstein, public usage characterizes the speech of the English working class, whereas formal usage characterizes the speech of the middle class (op. cit. 228-229). Although the speech of the less privileged Javanese is characterized predominantly by the use of K and M relationships with their respective vocabularies, this kind of speech usage is not their monopoly. Also, that in certain situations a high-ranking speaker speaks in K relationship does not mean that K relationship characterizes the speech of his class, but rather that it is his privilege to speak in such a relationship in such situations. Accordingly, the subalterns speak in P relationship to their superior as an obligation, not as a characteristic feature of the speech of their class. Nevertheless, in Bernstein's sense, it is true that the lack of proficiency on the part of the lower class in P relationship is due to the lesser need for elaborate formalities in their in-group interaction.

8. The Lexicon of M Relationship

The number of words that belong exclusively to M relationship is small. Much of the lexicon of M relationship is derived, or, perhaps more appropriately corrupted, from the lexicon of P relationship,

where courtesy is of highest degree. The derivation may involve a reduction of the number of syllables of a P word, a process very similar to what Joos (1967) observed in English intimate usages, where a reduction of redundancies takes place. For example: *menapa* 'what' > *napa* 'what', the counterpart of which is *apa* 'what' in K relationship; *menika* 'that' > *nika* 'that' the counterpart of which is *kae* 'yonder', or *iku* $\rightarrow$ *kuwi* 'that' in K relationship; *kemawon* 'only' > *mawon* 'only', the counterpart of which is *wae* 'only' in K relationship.

The derivation may also involve a deletion of an initial consonant with or without a change of the initial vowel. For example; *sampun* 'already' > *empun* 'already', the counterpart of which is *uwis* 'already' in K relationship; *wonten* 'exist' > *onteten* $\rightarrow$ *enten* 'exist', the counterpart of which is *ana* 'exist' in K relationship.

Other M words are *ajeng* 'will' (*arep* 'will' in K and *bade* 'will' in P); *primpun* 'how' (*priye* 'how' in K and *kados pundi* 'how' in P); *sanjang* 'tell' (*kanda* 'tell' in K and *matur* '(I) tell' and *ngandika* '(you) tell' in P).

9. P Relationship

The most predominant semantic feature that characterizes P relationship is *formality*. On the linguistic surface, formality is characterized by deliberate pronunciation and intonation, while the non-linguistic surface is reflected by the more ostentatious kinesics. Informality can normally do without these. Underlying formality is respect, which is of less degree in M relationship, and even less so in K relationship.

The feature *intimacy* is also apparently less obvious in P relationship, where formality and respect override it and any other feature. This relationship may be used horizontally, i.e. toward an interlocutor whom the speaker considers equal, in communicative status if not in anything else, and upward, i.e. toward an addressee of higher status, but not downward, i.e. toward an addressee of lower status. The following semantic configurations compare, in general terms, the K, M, and P relationships:

(39)

K	M	P
$\left[\begin{array}{l} - \text{ formal} \\ + \text{ intimate} \\ - \text{ respect} \\ \pm \text{ equal} \end{array} \right]$	$\left[\begin{array}{l} - \text{ formal} \\ - \text{ intimate} \\ + \text{ respect} \\ \pm \text{ equal} \end{array} \right]$	$\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ formal} \\ - \text{ intimate} \\ + \text{ respect} \\ \pm \text{ equal} \end{array} \right]$

The use of speech in P relationship by a speaker of a higher status to an interlocutor of a much lower status, especially one who is not capable to reciprocate in the P relationship, is absurd. Nevertheless, the absurdity of this downward use of P relationship, being characterized as *+ respect*, is less undesirable than the upward use of K relationship, where respect is of little, if any, significance. The downward use of P relationship may, as known in anecdotal cases of the speech of non-Javanese speakers, many of them clergymen, result in even greater deference on the part of the addressee. To learners of Javanese, advice is frequently given to use the so-called *Krama* words, which in our view here belong to the lexicon of P relationship (vide Horne, 1961:4).

In certain situations, the use of speech in P relationship is mandatory that the success of the speaker's enterprise is subject to the reaction of his interlocutor. For example, if a food vendor, a waiter, or a restaurant owner asks his well-dressed customer, to whom his speech should be properly conducted in P relationship, in either (40) (K relationship) or (41) (M relationship), instead of (42) (P relationship), the customer, not necessarily status-conscious, may resent the way the question is asked and go away, not willing to be addressed in *basa kasar* 'rude language', although (40) and (41) may be accepted without fuss by some of the speaker's regular customers.

(40)

will-eat-what

"What do you want to eat?"

(41) *Ajeng neda napa?*

will-eat-what

"What do you want to eat?"

(42) *Daharipun mengapa?*

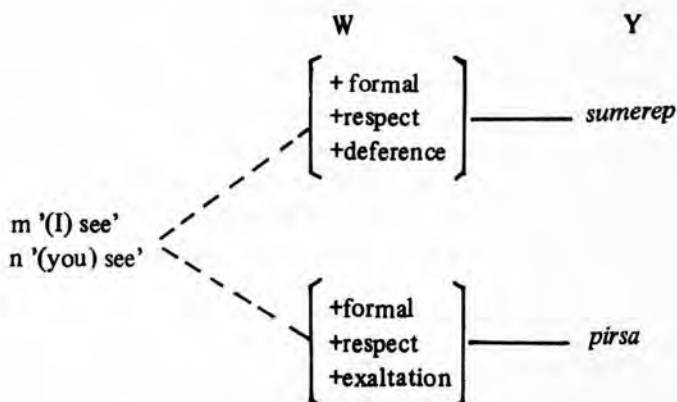
the food-what

'(Literally:) What would the meal be?'

As a matter of fact, (42) involves not only courteous vocabularies, but also a different structure. That is, (40) and (41) ask about what the addressee will do, whereas (42) asks what will the object (food) be. Thus, its being less direct than the other two makes it more courteous.

The indirect nature of P relationship is related to the fact that the exalting of an addressee is generally simultaneous with self-deference on the part of the speaker. Illustrative examples are those words that apply exclusively to the speaker, but not to his interlocutor, and vice versa. Thus such a notion as 'see' is differentiated by the P filter into two distinct meanings, i.e. one 'see' which implies the speaker's self-deference and another 'see' which implies the speaker's exaltation of his interlocutor. This situation evidently lends itself to such a semantic schematization one which reveals a distinction not only between the surface representations but also between the meanings and between the semantic structures (vide Chafe, 1971:12). The schema is as follows:

(43)



The number of words that are used exclusively in P relationship is small. In educated circles, the lower ranking addressee is not always willing to accept the speech of his superior in K relationship by responding in P relationship. A young army officer, a graduate of a military academy, for instance, will not automatically respond in P relationship to his commander, who, thinking that intimacy will facilitate communication with his subalterns, speaks to the young officer in K relationship. The response of the subaltern in this situation is likely to be in Bahasa Indonesia. The use of Bahasa Indonesia, which is more egalitarian than Javanese, is apparently to neutralize the marked gap of human statuses which the younger generation will not accept readily.

10. The Forms of Words of Civility

In some cases, the formal differences between the non-courteous words, i.e. those belonging to K relationship, and the courteous counterparts, i.e. those used in M and P relationships, seem to follow a regularized pattern. In some other cases, however, the formal differences are unpredictable and the only way to master them is by rote memorization.

In certain cases, the most courteous word in a meaning series is a loan word, e.g. Sanskrit. But in some other cases the reverse is true. For example, *banyu* 'water', a word of Javanese origin, is less courteous than *toya* 'water', a Sanskrit loan word. On the other hand, the word *geni* 'fire' < *agni* 'fire' (Sanskrit) is a non-courteous word, whereas *latu* 'fore' < *latu* (Old Javanese) 'spark' is a courteous word, and used in M and P relationships.

There are two types (*substitution* and *modification*) of surface differences between words of civility and their non-civil counterparts. The first type involves unpredictable phonological differences, the second type involves phonological similarities that are regularized in some way between words of civility and their non-civil counterparts.

10.1. Substitution

Substitution results not only from borrowing, but also from circumlocution, an essential characteristic of the indirect nature of civility. For example, the P words *rosan* 'sugar cane', *andapan* 'pig', *kambangan*

'duck', and *waja* 'tooth' are circumlocutory words, and derived, respectively, from *ros* 'node' + .. an 'collection of'; *andap* 'low' + .. -an 'characterized as'; *kambang* 'float' + .. -an 'capable of'; and *waja* 'steel'. The counterparts that are used in K relationship, and sometimes also in M relationship, are *tebu* 'sugar cane', which is characterized by its nodes, *celeng* 'boar' or *babi* 'pig', a small animal, *bebek* 'duck', characterized by its being able to float on water, and *untu* 'tooth', which is as hard as steel.

Other examples are shown in the following list:

Non-Civil		Civil	
K	M	P	
<i>iya</i>	<i>nggih</i>	<i>inggih</i>	'yes'
<i>disik</i>	<i>riyin</i>	<i>rumiyin</i>	'formerly'
<i>uwis</i>	<i>empun</i>	<i>sampun</i>	'already'
<i>adol</i>	<i>sade</i>	<i>sade</i>	'sell'
<i>tuku</i>	<i>tumbas</i>	<i>tumbas</i> /'I	'buy'
		<i>pundut</i> /'you.....'	'buy'
<i>urip</i>	<i>gesang</i>	<i>gesang</i> /'I	'live'
		<i>sugeng</i> /you.....'	'live'
<i>lara</i>	<i>sakit</i>	<i>sakit</i> /'I	'sick'
		<i>gerah</i> /'you.....'	'sick'
<i>cilik</i>	<i>alit</i>	<i>alit</i>	'small'
<i>watu</i>	<i>sela</i>	<i>sela</i>	'stone'
<i>(te)mbako</i>	<i>sata</i>	<i>sata</i>	'tobacco'
<i>temu</i>	<i>panggih</i>	<i>panggih</i>	'find'

10.2. Modification

Modification shows surface differences in terms of vowels, consonants, final syllables, or the number of syllables between the words of civility and

their non-civil counterparts. These differences are arrived at directly or through an intermediary stage, in which a word, normally only in its reconstructed form, functions as a basis of modification. For example, the word *awon* 'bad', used in M and P relationships, is related to the K word *ala* 'bad', showing modifications of the final syllable and the initial vowel. Assuming that *ala* 'bad' is the basis, the modification may be called a direct one. On the other hand, the word *segawon* 'dog', used in M and P relationships, results from an indirect process, which initiates not from the K word *asu* 'dog', but from a word no longer used in modern Javanese, i.e. **segala* < *srigala* (Sanskrit) 'jackal'. Obviously in analogy with *ala* vs. *awon* 'bad', there has developed *asu* **segala* vs. *segawon* 'dog'.

The vowel modification is shown in the following list (where C = consonant or a sequence of consonants; a = a as in *heart* i = i as in *key*, u = u as in *book*, e = e as in *egg*, e = sound between the English *bed* and *bad*, E = *schwa*, o = o as in *given*, o = the vowel in the English *dog*):

=====				
Type of				
Modification	Non-Civil	Civil		

....oCo >aCi	<i>tompo</i>	<i>tampi</i>		'receive'
	<i>utowo</i>	<i>utawi</i>		'or'
	<i>margo</i>	<i>margi</i>		'because'
CuCa _o ^a (C) > CiCa _o ^a (C)	<i>mulo</i>	<i>milo</i>		'therefore'
	<i>minggah</i>	<i>minggah</i>		'go up'
	<i>murah</i>	<i>mirah</i>		'cheap'
(CuCu _o ^u (C) > CEC _a ^o (C)	<i>tunggu</i>	<i>tEnggo</i>		'wait'
	<i>lunggoh</i>	<i>lEnggah</i>		'sit'
	<i>ruboh</i>	<i>rEbah</i>		'fall down'
(C)aCoC > (C)aCeC	<i>akon</i>	<i>aken</i>		'command'
	<i>takon</i>	<i>taken</i>		'inquire'
	<i>angon</i>	<i>angen</i>		'watch'

(C)oCaC > (C)eCaC	<i>owah</i>	<i>ewah</i>	'change'
	<i>somah</i>	<i>semah</i>	'spouse'
	<i>opah</i>	<i>epah</i>	'wage'

$(C)_i^E C_u^O (C) > (C)_i^E C_o^a (C) rEboot$	<i>rEbat</i>	'snatch'
	<i>lEmu</i>	'fat'
	<i>ingu</i>	'take care of'

=====

The consonant modification is less regular and less frequent than the vowel modification. The consonant modification is shown in the following list:

Non-Civil	Civil	
<i>bangEt</i>	<i>sangEt</i>	'excessive'
<i>barEng</i>	<i>sarEng</i>	'together'
<i>mau</i>	<i>wau</i>	'just now'
<i>bulan</i>	<i>wulan</i>	'moon'
<i>cEdak</i>	<i>cElak</i>	'near'
<i>dEmEn</i>	<i>rEmEn</i>	'fond of'
<i>waras</i>	<i>saras</i>	'recuperate'

=====

The final-syllable modification is more varied and copious than the vowel and consonant modifications. The final-syllable modification is shown in the following list (where X = the final syllable or part of the final syllable of a non-civil word):

Type of Modification	Non-Civil	Civil	
X > -Et	<i>mLEbu</i>	<i>mLEbEt</i>	'enter'
	<i>sambong</i>	<i>sambEt</i>	'connect'
	<i>ewoh</i>	<i>ewEt</i>	'busy'

X > -ntEn	<i>dino</i>	<i>dintEn</i>	'day'
	<i>nuli</i>	<i>nuntEn</i>	'then'
	<i>kori</i>	<i>kontEn</i>	'door'
X > -nton	<i>mari</i>	<i>manton</i>	'recover'
	<i>kirem</i>	<i>konton</i>	'send'
	<i>salen</i>	<i>santon</i>	'change'
X > -jEng	<i>kayu</i>	<i>kajEng</i>	'timber'
	<i>waluku</i>	<i>walujEng</i>	'plough'
	<i>barEp</i>	<i>bajEng</i>	'first-born'
X > -os	<i>dadı</i>	<i>dados</i>	'become'
	<i>mocc</i>	<i>maos</i>	'read'
	<i>ganti</i>	<i>gantos</i>	'alternate'
X > -on	<i>olo</i>	<i>awon</i>	'bad'
	<i>kalah</i>	<i>kawon</i>	'defeated'
	<i>wae ~ *kewolo</i>	<i>kemawon</i>	'only'
X > -wes	<i>arang</i>	<i>awes</i>	'sparse'
	<i>anyang</i>	<i>awes</i>	'bargain'
	<i>sawEtoro</i>	<i>sawEtawes</i>	'several'
X > -cal	<i>wulang</i>	<i>wucal</i>	'teach'
	<i>ilang</i>	<i>ical</i>	'lost'
	<i>buwang</i>	<i>bucal</i>	'throw away'
X > -dos	<i>koyo</i>	<i>kados</i>	'like as'
	<i>supoyo</i>	<i>supados</i>	'in order that'
	<i>pitoyo</i>	<i>pitados</i>	'believe'
X > -En	<i>sEpi</i>	<i>sEpEn</i>	'desolate'
	<i>kaku</i>	<i>kakEn</i>	'stiff'
	<i>pasar ~ pEkan</i>	<i>pEkEn</i>	'market'

X > -ngsol	<i>tali</i>	<i>tangsol</i>	'rope'
	<i>bali</i>	<i>wangsol</i>	'return'
	<i>kwali</i>	<i>kwangsol</i>	'earthen pot'
X > -bEn	<i>padu</i>	<i>pabEn</i>	'squabble'
	<i>maido</i>	<i>maibEn</i>	'disbelieve'
	<i>madu</i>	<i>mabEn</i>	'honey'

Type of Modification	Non-Civil	Civil	
X > -nde	<i>sarong</i>	<i>sande</i>	'sarong'
	<i>warong</i>	<i>wande</i>	'vending stand'
	<i>wurong</i>	<i>wande</i>	'abortive'

As in the vowel modification, there are some cases of variation in this final-syllable modification. This list, as the previous ones, is illustrative only and by no means exhaustive.

In a civil or formal relationship, which is characterized by elaboration of some sort, the question of rhythm is frequently essential and responsible for the more desirability of a long phonological representation than a short one. In written documents as well as in stilted speech usage, an additional syllable of *pun* is frequently involved, which in some words has become *men*. The following list shows the variations of the word lengths:

K	M	P	
<i>apa</i>	<i>napa</i>	<i>*punapa – menapa</i>	'what'
<i>iki</i>	<i>niki</i>	<i>*punika – menika</i>	'this'
<i>iku – kuwi</i>	<i>niku</i>	<i>*puniku – menika</i>	'that'
<i>kae</i>	<i>nika</i>	<i>*punika – menika</i>	'that yonder'
<i>endi</i>	<i>pundi</i>	<i>pundi</i>	'where'
<i>di -</i>	<i>di -</i>	<i>dipun</i>	'passive marker'
<i>tak -</i>	<i>kula</i>	<i>kula</i>	'passive marker'
<i>kok -</i>	<i>sampeyan</i>	<i>panjenengan</i>	'passive marker'
<i>..... - a</i>	<i>sampeyan</i>	<i>panjenengan</i>	'imperative marker'
<i>..... - en</i>	<i>sampeyan</i>	<i>panjenengan</i>	'imperative marker'
<i>..... - ake</i>	<i>..... - ake</i>	<i>..... - aken</i>	'benefactive marker'
<i>..... - (n)e</i>	<i>..... -(n)e</i>	<i>..... - (n)ipun</i>	'definite marker'
<i>..... -ku</i>	<i>..... kula</i>	<i>..... kula</i>	'possessive marker'
<i>..... -mu</i>	<i>..... sampeyan</i>	<i>..... panjenengan – kagunganipun</i>	'possessive marker'

11. Speaker-Interlocutor Relationship and the Child.

In the early stages of his development, the Javanese child communicates reciprocally by means of K relationship with his parents and other elder interlocutors, and also with his peer. In the meantime, the child has also to learn that there are subtle differences between talking to one's own group and talking to outsiders. He has to learn that there are more than just one way of talking between him and his interlocutors, and vice versa.

The child has to learn that the appropriate use of words of civility, despite their comparatively much smaller number than the words that he can use at ease in K relationship, requires a high degree of precision. The known and uncontested count of the words of civility in relation to the bulk of the

Javanese lexical stock is about 14% (Walbeehm, 1896:30-31). It is understandable that since the parents and the child share the K lexicon and also the relationship-free X class words, much greater in number than the words of civility, as their metalanguage, the efforts of the parents to teach the child words of civility and the efforts of the child to acquire them are made easy.

As long as the child is only capable of manipulating K relationship and its related lexicon, he is referred to as *durung bisa basa* 'not yet capable of speaking properly', an attribute that he will have to shed in order that he may be able to get on in the world.

Evidences abound that the acquisition of speech propriety is arrived at from some external influence. There are cases where house helpers who came from rural areas to the city with merely the ability to speak in K relationship, and normally also M relationship, are eventually able to master the courteous P relationship. There are also known cases where persons of similar circumstances, particularly those staying in households where K and M relationships are the only relationships used every day, will, after years in the city, still be in the stage of *ora bisa basa* 'not capable of speaking properly'.

some children may achieve the capacity of manipulating all the three relationships with dexterity at a younger age than other children. Thus in a certain way within Standard Javanese there is a vertical scale of social

Furthermore, also due to some external factors, particularly parents, some children may achieve the capacity of manipulating all the three relationships with dexterity at a younger age than other children. Thus in a certain way within Standard Javanese there is a vertical scale of social dialects, in which the paramount value in terms of speech propriety is ascribed to a communicative competent that enables a speaker to speak K, M, and P relationships in the appropriate contexts. The least valued is the capacity of using K relationship, a normal situation among children.

12. Concluding Remarks.

Speaker-addressee relationship is obviously a phenomenon shared in all languages of the world. The way it is manifested in the use of speech, however, is language specific. The complexity of the code of language usage in Javanese does not necessarily mean that the Javanese social strata system is

any more complex than any other system. Rather, it reveals that in almost any situation the linguistic data overtly mark the non-linguistic factors that underlie language use. These factors gravitate around the communicative attitude of the speaker toward his interlocutor. This language behavior, expected of the speaker vis-a-vis his addressee, has already been known to be prevalent in certain societies (Fishman, 1972:250-251). As a matter of fact, the use of language in Javanese reflects the communicative attitude of the speaker not only to his actual addressee, but also to any other person that he would communicate with.

In the face of the augmentative verbalization in Indonesian, which is inevitably involved in the process of modernization of the Indonesian society, the language behavior of the Javanese speaker toward his speech counterpart as well as his attitude toward the use and non-use of his language contingent upon such factors as *topic, locale, status differences* (vide Rubin, 1968:512-530), obviously fall within an area in great want of interdisciplinary scrutinies. The significance of the use of language data as indicators of social change has already been established (Labov, 1966). It seems correct to assume that the increasing use of Indonesian by Javanese speakers, especially in situations where relationship-related hindrances to smooth communication may develop, indicates a change that is deeper than the language switching phenomenon itself.

The complexity of speaker-interlocutor relationship in Javanese does not seem detrimental to within-group communication. If, however, we accept the view that native backgrounds, i.e. linguistic as well as non-linguistic, tend to be carried over to the use of another language (vide Weinreich, 1968), of great interest would be the question, whether in the framework of nation building the complexity is not detrimental for an efficient communication. The question seems to have justifiable validity in view of the fact that, despite its being more egalitarian than Javanese, Indonesian maintains a fairly complex system of address references (vide Kridalaksana, 1970:8-16).

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**A PEDAGOGICAL GRAMMAR IN A DEVELOPING
NATIONAL LANGUAGE**

Pablo E. Natividad

Recent research in language learning has emphasized increased consideration of the learner's potential, his characteristics and needs. Simultaneously, studies of the mental and social processes involved in Man's use of language have suggested changes in the techniques of teaching foreign languages. Interaction processes between teacher and student as a major factor in learning have become a subject of systematic analysis, improved method, and repeated evaluation and constant revision.

One important factor in language learning, the materials of instruction, could undergo such a process of scientific inquiry for the development of pedagogical materials which will facilitate language acquisition. The applied linguist has a special concern for a theoretical statement which accounts for second language acquisition in a formal or structured learning situation, i.e. a *pedagogical grammar* (PG). Such a grammar may reflect various *descriptive grammars* (DGs) but its defining characteristic is that the content is selected and organized so as to represent the learner's point of view (Noblitt, 1972). With such a grammar, it is hoped, an effective program of language teaching can be worked out. This paper is intended, therefore, to be a contribution toward that end. It is an attempt to describe the form a pedagogical grammar may take, with special reference to Pilipino, the Philippines developing national language.

The linguistic problems of the Philippines today are no longer limited to those inherent in using a second language as the medium of instruction. A number of factors should be mentioned that have an effect on language and education in the Philippines, but foremost among them is the new policy of the Department of Education and Culture, of using both Pilipino and English as media of instruction and subjects in all Philippine schools at all levels. This bilingual policy, it is believed, will hasten the use of the two languages throughout the nation. Besides, several leading educational policy makers feel that the use of the two languages will make the Filipinos bilingual-able to communicate in Pilipino as well as in English: with English helping out in regional communication problems, Pilipino will provide national identity as well as weld the entire nation.

This factor coupled with a school system in the process of rebuilding, a complex sociolinguistic situation, an emerging national language, Pilipino, seeking its role in the society as a language of wider communication transcending regional bounds, the felt need for improvements in language

teaching, and the appearance of new ideas promising more efficient language teaching, obviously constitutes a problem calling for well prepared instructional materials. The development of a national language in a developing country, such as the Philippines, which for the past seventy years has depended on English for its modernization, entails a great deal of work in both theoretical and practical fields. It should be noted that after more than thirty-four years of teaching Pilipino in the schools, there is still no adequate grammar for the use of second language learners. The variety of Pilipino most desirable for teaching is not well described in the various extant grammars **role** in the life of Southeast Asia. It is certainly in the best interest of the Republic of the Philippines to make possible the speedy learning and teaching of Pilipino by Filipinos. It is conceived that a better way to meet this demand for teaching and learning Pilipino as a second language is by promoting a long overdue interest in the language, that is, by preparing a grammar that will serve as a guide for textbook writers of Pilipino and at the same time a resource material for teachers. This grammar, it is hoped, will contribute appreciably towards the learning of a developing national language.

I would like to focus my remarks in this paper on the idea of a pedagogical grammar (PG) distinct from a descriptive grammar (DG) on the one hand and the language textbook on the other; on its nature and processes in its development.

At first glance there may be objection to complicating the teaching of languages by introducing a stage between a DG and textbook. However, we have seen that the development of linguistics and the description of languages has become more refined. Grammars have been written following different models of linguistic theory, and research studies concentrate on very limited aspects of a language. In addition, the other linguistic sources, in particular psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics, have contributed to a more differentiated picture of languages, language use, and language learning. If these many viewpoints are to be taken into account it becomes less and less possible to move straight from linguistic study to the composition of language courses and language teaching. Hence, the justification to consider the concept of a PG of Pilipino where the need is urgent.

Nature of PG

The various aspects of Pilipino PG needed and desirable for teaching is not well described in the various extant grammars. Yet Pilipino seems destined to play an increasingly important role in the life of Southeast Asia. It is certainly in the best interest of the Republic of the Philippines to make possible the speedy learning and teaching of Pilipino by Filipinos.

A PG consists of a selection of material derived from one or more descriptive grammars and other relevant sources and used as the basis for language teaching. It is presented according to principles which are entirely pragmatic and independent from the principles for the presentation of a descriptive grammar. Furthermore, a PG is a general description of the target language in that it is meant to be used by an average typical learner and teacher. Specific application or adaptation of a PG to particular types of learners and different kinds of goals needs to be investigated separately, and is not necessarily included in the central body of the PG.

With this general conception of the essence and aims of a PG, we turn to an examination of the contributions to the PG by various general source disciplines and the disciplines concerned with the elaboration of PGs, educational linguistics itself.

Contribution by the Source Disciplines

As the subject of second language education is language and, to some extent culture, important PG source disciplines are linguistics, psychology (psycholinguistics), sociology (sociolinguistic), and anthropology. In addition, as stated above, disciplines more generally relevant are educational theory and psychology. The findings of educational linguistics (Spolsky 1972), in the areas of contrastive analysis, error analysis, and utility studies are also relevant for content selection and organization in a PG

Linguistics

By producing a scientific description of a language, the linguist provides one of the principal bases for a pedagogical grammar. "Whether this is a foreign language or the learner's own language, a good description is the first essential," (Halliday et al., p.170)

The linguist's data are observations of language in use or intuitions about language. Finding recurrent elements and relations in his data, he evolves some generalizations about the language he is analyzing. The product of his work is a scientific description of the language, or a scientific grammar, which the curriculum worker can turn into a PG. Thus linguistic descriptions

are the major contribution of linguistic science to the teaching of foreign languages, and they are the foundation upon which to build valid PGs and, ultimately, sound teaching materials.

As a footnote to this discussion, one should consider that linguistics is by no means a science with definitive results. the past decade has seen a burgeoning of notions and insights, many of which may eventually find application in language learning. Thus, as we get more complete information as to how language is organized and functions, i.e. what the nature of language is, we also get clear notions of how language is acquired and how to facilitate language acquisition. One past example has been the realization that each language is a system in its own right, not an imperfect match to such model languages as Latin. Another past breakthrough has been the recognition of intonation as an essential part of the description of, say, English. More recently, transformational-generative grammar has made numerous new discoveries that have potential application to language learning and teaching, but utilizing these is still in its infancy.

Psychology and Psycholinguistics.

Psychology may contribute to a better understanding of such problems as learners' difficulty and sequencing of material, different learning styles, and linguistic attitudes. In particular, findings on language development (i.e. mother tongue acquisition) may be suggestive for a PG; so may be mental grammars (watt, 1970) once available.

However, the contribution of psychology to language learning has always been an issue, particularly the relevance of first language acquisition to second language learning. Potentially, there is a great contribution, but at the present time, psychological research specifically on second language acquisition is so scanty that we can not yet assess its impact on the development of a PG. A lot has been done on first, but not on second language acquisition.

A relevant contribution of psychology to a PG are the studies made on the characteristics of the learner as factors in success in second language learning, e.g. the learner's abilities, aptitudes, or attitudes. As Stern (1971)

points out, educational psychology is obviously highly relevant to such an intensive and complex learning task as learning a second language.

Sociology and Sociolinguistics

Long before sociologists began to appear in linguistic symposia and linguists began forging alliances with sociologists, language teachers have been aware of the importance of communicative skills. Stylistic choice is every bit as important for communication as grammatical choice, and appropriateness of subject matter and appropriateness of response need to be accounted for as much as grammatical principles. Almost universally, we now find language texts which pay at least lip-service to the notion that normal, everyday language is what should be presented. It is an encouraging development that a large portion of teaching material now produced is or attempts to be, in the format of dialogues typical of ones which are uttered by native speakers of the language in question.

Every language has rules of language use, which, just as much as the rules of language structure predetermine the course of a conversation and the form of each utterance. Or, as a number of linguists would now agree, these rules are part and parcel of the grammar. The writer of a PG must devise ways of presenting both kinds of rules and facilitating the student's acquisition of them. Thus, the explicit statements of language use as well as language structure found in a PG are the principal basis on which an author is to develop his pedagogical materials.

Educational Linguistic

Educational linguistics is essentially a subfield of linguistics, but with close ties to education, and covers the intersection of linguistics and its sub-disciplines with formal and informal education. Contrastive analysis, error analysis, and utility studies are important contributions by educational linguistics to PG.

Contextualization of PG

an important consideration in making decisions about content selection and organization in a PG pertains to contextualization, i.e. the application and adaptation of a PG to particular needs and types of learners

and goals (often determined by national educational interest).

Today, when education is being increasingly related to national goals, second language teaching is often quoted to exemplify national interest in education. It is such national interest which has been frequently applied as a criterion in deciding which language to teach, and with what intensity.

As an example, the role of Pilipino in Philippine schools comes to mind. A pervasive nationalizing trend favors the increasing use of a national language as the teaching medium. Pride in the possession of a national language as a unifying factor, and the awareness that it is necessary for good citizenship and participation in the nation's affairs are social factors determining language teaching goals and, hence, the selection of content in a PG.

In a PG, the definition of purpose is usually a short statement. Taking the Philippine setting as an example, objectives for the entire school population may be stated as:

(1) to understand, speak, read, and write in Pilipino; (2) to speak and sound like a native speaker of Pilipino; (3) though being speakers of different languages to unify through Pilipino; (4) to identify as Filipinos through Pilipino, (5) to develop a sense of pride in possessing a national language.

A description of general objectives for Filipinos learning Pilipino may be developed from the cumulative response to such inquiries as:

- (1) what kind of content knowledge should be acquired?
- (2) what kind of attitude is expected to be developed in the learner in regard to Pilipino?
- (3) what kind of competency is to be achieved in speaking, reading and writing Pilipino?
- (4) in what kinds of situations is the learner expected to function in the language?

While the above inquiries are by no means a full-scale indication of objectives, responses to these and other similar inquiries may lead to the formulation of the general objectives of teaching Pilipino to non-native speakers.

Summary and Conclusions

By way of conclusion I would like to offer the following statements

about the nature of a pedagogical grammar and its relevance to a developing national language:

1. A PG's primary concern is to describe what the learner of the language must acquire in order to attain a predetermined level of competence. It aims at the needs of the speakers of specific native languages. A PG does not aim to give a systematic account of a native speaker's idealized competence, but it provides a comparatively informal framework of definitions, prototype exercises and suggestions, and verbalized rules which may help a teacher to assist a learner to acquire knowledge of a language and fluency in its use (Allen, 1974). It provides the basis for the preparation of a pedagogical text.

2. A PG consists of a selection of material drawn from one or more descriptive grammars presented according to principles which are largely pragmatic and which have nothing to do with the principles of theoretical linguistics. Instead, it is organized in accordance with the principles of usefulness, difficulty of acquisition, and language learning. It relies heavily on findings of contrastive analysis and error analysis. PG's are validated in so far as they promote quick, useful, and successful learning.

3. In a PG, the presentation is oriented to the practical needs of a learner of the language for reference or to the producer of textbook materials. The order of presentation in a PG is dictated by the needs of the language learner. (1) Facts which are best learned or taught independently are placed apart in a PG even if they are normally treated together in a descriptive grammar, and further, facts are treated together if their presentation in textbook materials occurs in one place, even if these facts are normally treated in quite separate places in the DG. (2) The constraints of normal discourse and constraints of the learner's capabilities dictate the order of presentation in a PG. The presentation is optimally from simple to complex but this presentation must be tempered by the constraint of utility. Complex facts which are absolutely indispensable for the most basic communication belong first. An example of this is the English intonation of the verb *to be*, which must be presented from the earliest lessons. These also must be treated early in a PG. In a DG, these elements may come very late. (3) In a PG the same fact may be repeated several times with greater elaboration each time according to the learning

stage of the student acquiring the language. Certain features of the student's interlanguage (Selinker 1969) change in time as the student's perception of the grammar of the target language is altered in the presence of new data. For example, in teaching English questions, a PG might suggest in one section only the future tags without reference to tags of negative sentences, and confined only to one person, e.g. *You will go, won't you*. At a later stage, the formation of the tags with other persons may be described; at yet another stage, the formation of tags for another time; and so forth. In a DG the entire process of tag questions and also all other English grammatical processes which are analogous are described in one place.

(4) The differing objectives of the PG and DG lead to a differing selection of facts presented. In a DG the objective is to be exhaustive. In a PG the objective is to describe those facts which are needed for language learning. On the other hand, facts which go undescribed in a DG may well be prominently described in a PG. An example of this is word usage, idiomatic function, and other semantic features which may be ignored or given very little importance in DG.

5. The differing aims of the two grammars lead to differing degrees of emphasis. In a PG, facts which are of great communicative importance and which offer problems to the learner are treated elaborately, whereas these may be treated very succinctly (albeit exhaustively) in a DG. An example of this are the rules of question formation (the so-called question transformations, question insertion, etc. rules, which are amenable to a succinct treatment in a DG), but require a great deal of elaboration and breakdown in a PG. *Mutatis mutandis*, facts which require complex elaboration in a DG may well be treated succinctly or ignored in a PG if their communication function is low, or they offer little problem to the learner. An example of this are rules of lexical restriction which play an important role in modern DGs but offer no real problems to the learner. (No student will ever want to talk about "colorless green ideas sleeping furiously," and there is no need to include the fact of the non-occurrence of such sentences in a PG).

6. A PG, more than a DG, is written for the teacher, not for the theoretical linguist. Not only is the content of what is to be communicated

different in a PG and DG, but the terms of presentation are different. The DGs primary purpose is to account for everything that occurs or may occur in a language. The PG aims to explicate the facts which the learner of the language must know cognitively or habitually to produce speech. Thus, the PG may well have facts organized by semantic rubrics, i.e. in terms of "how to express X" rather than "what does X mean".

7. A PG is typically aimed at the needs of the speakers of a specific native language. A PG of English aimed at the needs of a Filipino looks different from one aimed at a speaker of Russian. Thus, a PG of English for Russian native speakers would treat the article in much greater elaboration than a PG for speakers of Pilipino. On the other hand, the English singular-plural ristriction needs little elaboration in a PG aimed at the needs of Russian speakers, whereas one aimed at Filipino needs requires a great deal of attention to these facts. Table 1 gives a synoptic summary of the differences between DGs and PGs.

This paper leads to the conclusion that the notion of PG is eminently useful, especially in a developing national language, (1) to clarify the distinction between grammars of different purposes, and (2) while in practice these purposes may sometimes merge in a descriptive grammar, pedagogical grammar and textbook nevertheless the conceptual distinction is helpful to work in applied linguistics — mainly because it provides a necessary bridge between different theoretical positions in linguistics and the inputs from other linguistic sciences and the concrete tasks of teaching in a particular setting.

TABLE I
DESCRIPTIVE AND PEDAGOGICAL GRAMMARS
DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR

Purpose	To give a systematic account of the (often idealized) native speaker's linguistic competence. To present the phonological, morphological, syntactic, and perhaps semantic facts of a language in a complete, consistent, and economical way, but not necessarily in a manner suitable for teaching. To provide a generalized logical explanation about the way language operates. To produce an objective account of language patterns and structures based upon verifiable information and replicable investigation.
Format and Content	Based on a theory of language. Follows the logical principles of the grammatical theory on which it is based. Serves as reference tool to developers of pedagogical grammars.
Basis of Description	Empirical and/or intuitive data about the spoken language, gathered, analyzed, and presented following the principles of one discipline, linguistics.
Style of presentation	Descriptive statements and formulas with examples.
Range	May account only for single competence of one speaker or all speakers of a given language (rarely, for multiple or variable competence of representative speakers).
Purpose	PEDAGOGICAL GRAMMAR To provide the means by which the student gains the ability to understand and produce sentences of a particular language. To provide a comparatively informal description and explanation of the phonology, morphology, syntax semantics, and non-linguistic cultural background of a target language in terms of how it is best learned. To provide a basis for a pedagogical text.
Format and Content	Organized in accordance with principles of usefulness, difficulty of acquisition, and language learning.
Basis of Description	Explicit and selective statements on the language. Descriptive grammars and research findings as far as available, from psychology, sociology, anthropology, educational linguistics (contrastive analysis, error analysis, and utility studies).
Style of presentation	Basis for analysis is the spoken and written language. Simple, non-technical statements with examples and model exercises.
Range	One language may have different pedagogical grammars for different learners.

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**THE RELATIONSHIP OF LANGUAGES OF ETHNIC GROUPS
AND NATIONAL LANGUAGES TO NATIONS**

Takuji Sasaki

First of all I would like to clarify and define the categories mentioned in my title. I take 'ethnic group' to refer to a substantial part of the population of a country which is not native to that country but which is historically well-established. I take 'national language' to be the legally accepted *lingua franca* of a nation, which, in most cases, is also the language spoken by the majority of the population. I take 'nation' to be a politically rather than geographically defined area.

Before broaching the main topic of my paper, which is the modernization of the Japanese language, I would like to deal at some length with the language of ethnic groups, national languages and nations, and also dialects. Nowadays there are numerous languages (approximately 3,500 recognized by linguists) on the earth. These numerous languages include national languages, languages of ethnic groups and independent languages which have developed within certain nations. For example, in geographical areas where topography is rugged and therefore limits communication, and where the population is thinly spread, several independent tribal languages may be extant, even within the same country. Papua New Guinea is a case in point.

However, when we think of language from the national view-point it is ideal to postulate one language per nation. Some countries are, in effect, bilingual or multilingual, in that they have more than one official or recognized language. Others have not yet decided upon a national language as defined in my introduction, because their political status of 'nation' has not yet been clarified. They are undergoing a process of development and the national language may well be thrown up from the ethnic groups which form the potential nation. The problem then arises, how should we define these languages. Are they in fact languages, or are they dialects? (cf. P. Sasaki, 1974).

The relationship between a language and a dialect is not a clearly defined one. By discussing this problem with reference to Southeast Asian languages and the modern development of the Japanese language, I hope to reach some conclusions.

According to Haugen (1966) there were three varieties, of Greek; namely, Ionic, Doric and Attic. They were functionally different. Their functional differences were of a stylistic nature.

Each one had a characteristic literary usage, e.g. Ionic for history, Doric for the choral lyric, and Attic for tragedy. These three were regarded as dialects of Greek. Of course, according to the rule of so-called normal linguistic divergence, these written varieties were derived from the *lingua franca* of the time. Later they were unified through the theory of linguistic convergence into Koine, the Athenian dialect, which was the basis of Greek culture and administration and which then became the national language. Here we are presented with the classic example of the relationship between a national language and dialect.

Thus language is an accepted 'single linguistic norm' or a 'group of related norms', and dialect is included in the latter. From the historical point of view, in language phenomena of 'dissolution' and 'unification' occur repeatedly, occasioning the generation of dialects. A national language can stand independently, but a dialect cannot. This is significant in my attempt to define the relationship between a national language and dialect. A dialect can only be engendered in the environment of a larger language family or a national language.

When we think of things in national terms, we naturally select one language that is a national language, and ideally, as I said before, there should be one national language per nation. Considering the above mentioned historical processes which contribute to the formation of a national language, in other words adopting a synchronic approach, a national language embraces different dialects.

For example, in Japan the national language includes the Okinawan dialect at one of its extremes.

In France, the accepted written standard of Paris assumed prominence in the immediate geographical area of the capital city and in the areas of higher social, commercial and academic intercourse. Other varieties, or dialects, of the language were relegated to far-flung geographical or limited social areas, from which they could not assume prominence.

However, in Provence, a large area both geographically and influentially, the predominant form of language (which is different in several respect from that of Paris) is, in fact, a dialect, according to the above definition. This form of language is not only spoken, but also

written. The form of language which I referred to previously as being restricted to a very small area and being unable to assume national prominence, is restricted to the spoken word and is termed 'patois' in French, *rigen* in Japanese.

In the case of provence, 'dialect' includes both the written and the spoken. 'Patois' refers to the spoken form alone. If we are to apply this terminology to the present Japanese language, then all forms must be defined as Patois.

Japan is a country which has a long and rich literary tradition. We have a very old anthology, called 'Manyoshu' in which we have poems written in the north-eastern Japanese dialect. We also have a few old literary texts written in old dialects from all regions, and analytical texts dealing with the dialects of the Japanese language. Perhaps there are hardly any languages which have more variant written styles than Japanese. In my 1972 paper I traced the development of the Japanese language. Historically, Japanese classical written style which we call *bungo* was used in the Noh narrative. This written style was also adopted by ancient historians, geographers, sociologist and folklorists to describe their subjects.

Nowadays even modern literature does not follow the contemporary spoken idiom of dialect (patois). A modern literary style and a contemporary spoken one exist independently of each other.

In other words, dialectical Japanese is now confined to the spoken rather than the written word. (See my paper which was read in 1974 at the Manila conference).

Today in Japan we have a common language, but a generation or 50 years ago, people from different language communities (i.e. different dialectal groups) could neither understand each other, nor make themselves understood, owing to semantic and lexical differences between their respective dialects. This phenomenon, which still exists today in modern Japanese, but to a much lesser extent, i.e. it does not preclude communication, seems to me to be similar to the case of English, which has such widely differing varieties as Australian, American, British, New Zealand, Irish English and so on.

In a big capital city like Tokyo one hears many different accents, and one can distinguish those which are not native to the city if one is a Tokyoite. However, comprehension is unaffected even though there are

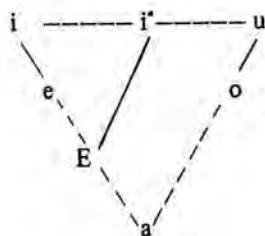
phonological differences. For example, it is said that the discerning speaker can identify 14 vowels in the Japanese dialects. (In fact there are only 5 vowels normally recognized). According to T. Miyana (1954) the *Tohoku* dialect (the dialect of the north-east district of Japan) has the following vowel system: [i, e, a, o, u]

Another example is the Okinawan dialect. In its vowel system it has a glottal plosive, according to Miyana (1954). The accent found in the Yaeyama area, where one of the Rynchu dialects (Okinawan dialects) is spoken, has an [i] sound so [tsuki] [moon] becomes [tsiki] ;

Other Yaeyama variants.

	(Yaeyama)	(Tokyo)	
1.	<i>Kari ya</i>	<i>kare wa</i> 'he (particle)'	<i>karee</i>
	<i>Funi ya</i>	<i>Fune wa</i> 'boat'	<i>Funee</i>
2.	<i>Fumu ya</i>	<i>Kumo wa</i> 'cloud'	<i>Fumoo</i>
3.	<i>Sari ya</i>	<i>Saru wa</i> 'monkey'	<i>Saree</i>
4.	<i>Aa ya</i>	<i>Awa wa</i> 'millet'	<i>Aaya</i>
5.	<i>Kan ya</i>	<i>Kami wa</i> (god)'	<i>KaNna</i>

Diagrammatically



i — e

i — E

U — o

(Miyana 1954)

In some cases the phonological variations in the provinces and beyond are so great as to themselves hinder communication, leaving aside the dialectal lexical variations. This was the case before the population was educated on a large scale, before mass media, and before the so-called standard language was established. (Sasaki, 1974)

Dialect occurs through divergence from a norm and becomes unified into a lesser number of more prominent language varieties through convergence.

When we consider the function, i.e. the social significance, of a national language or a dialect we cannot help but consider it in the context of the social unit of a nation. Within such a social unit there occurs a normative language. This language is considered 'correct language'. This definition is only used in a prescriptive sense. It is difficult to define 'correct' or 'incorrect' language structurally or functionally. Moreover, every dialect of variety is a perfectly autonomous linguistic code (reflecting the culture of its environment).

Thus every linguistic code has its culture, and it is complete in itself. But actually people do not want to deviate from a common code (a regional common dialect or a 'language' so to speak) which is spoken in the common society, whether it is a large or a small one. " 'The language' is more prestigious than the 'dialect' " (Haugen, 1966). We can therefore attempt to define a society as a social group which utilizes a normative linguistic code. This code reflects the manners, customs, intellectual sensibilities and the mode of life which typify the social group. We can assume that smaller social groups converge to form nations. The dialects of these smaller social groups relate to the language of the nation, i.e. the national language, in that they are a part of the national language and together form a language family.

The functional superiority or inferiority of a particular dialect or linguistic code is disregarded in descriptive linguistics, since the effectiveness of the dialect or code is only considered in its geographical or social environment, not in a national context. From the sociolinguistic point of view, a dialect or linguistic code which is functionally inferior in national terms is relegated to the vernacular level, while the functionally superior dialect or code assumes prominence, becomes the national

language and gives its users the sense of a 'national language' with which they identify in social and cultural terms.

It is ideal that the national language is only one in Japan now. There are a few bilingual or multilingual states. They have more than one official or national language. In such cases there exists more than one society (as defined before) within the nation. The people of such a nation are apt to lack spiritual unity or a feeling of solidarity and unity with each other, as one people or nation. Where the languages in such nations are regional or dialectical, rather than forming one national language, a feeling of nationalism is not easily generated. The strength of national feeling in any one nation is dependent upon the political, social and economic structure of the nation, its population's awareness of these structures and the awareness of how these structures differ from those of other nations. In those nations where a plurality of societies exists, the populations of these societies are affected by the cultures and languages of neighbouring countries.

The selection of a national language from several dialects is difficult where these dialects have equal prominence in their respective geographical and cultural regions. In the case of Japan where the dialectal variants are of a cognate variety, it is rather easy for them to be unified to produce a national language. However, in a bi - or multi-lingual country, where within each society there are several regional and/or social vernaculars, certain problems and restrictions arise concerning unification. Even if these vernaculars are cognate, the choice of one vernacular as a norm is likely to provoke resistance from other ethnic and/or social groups within the nation. The more firmly established the ethnic culture, the greater the resistance of the other groups. However, with the modernization of such a multilingual nation, linguistic unification would be achieved rapidly for the following reasons. Modernization would mean the achievement of political stability (covering the whole nation), industrialization and the development of the mass media. These advances in areas of great social and economic influence would break down ethnic and cultural barriers. Assuming that unification was then the natural hope and realization of the people, the greater differences between them would be minimized. It must not be forgotten that during this process of unification feelings will be hurt

because minority groups will feel that they are losing prestige. This causes serious language problems.

In the case of the Japanese standard language, the Tokyo dialect has become the nation wide language very gradually and therefore there have been no problems even if there was a very strong dialect region in Kansai (the middle west part of the main Japanese island).

In China and Soviet Russia, modernization of minority groups/races was carried out by teaching the national languages of Chinese and Russian respectively. The literary traditions were perpetuated by transliteration of the ancient dialectal forms into Chinese characters/Latinized orthography and Russian orthography. The national languages of both these countries were thus generated from regional vernaculars or dialects, but gave the standardized ethnic language.

At any rate, it is an important matter to choose a standard language. Where the aforementioned procedure can or does not take place, a new nationwide language is necessary. Moreover, it should be a neutral one (Kamei, 1965, Tanner, 1967).

In the newly independent countries English or French is used to reflect the culture and to educate people up to the higher levels of education. Together with the spread of the native national language, the language of the ex-suzerain as the national language, dependent on the country, however, is destined for extinction. However, so far as English is concerned, since English is broadly considered as an international language, the peoples of these countries have a strong desire to acquire English culture.

There are some countries, like Ghana, whose official language is English. However, this is the lingua franca of the educated people and the British native speakers only. It is also the standard written and spoken language in the schools and universities of Ghana. (See L.A. Boadi, 1971).

In such a nation where the national language, English, is not indigenous, there are often many varieties which develop from the influences of surrounding indigenous languages. (T. Suzuki coined the word 'Englic' for these kinds of English.).

These varieties of English, machine-translatable though they are, have limited functions. They cannot be used as media for written literature

but are confined to scientific and technical uses where information content is more important than style or imagery.

The other variety of English used in these new countries in West Africa is a creolized type. This is a colourful variety used for the business of daily life and is in fact the first, although not the national, language. (Boadi, Mafeni, Hancock, Jones, 1971).

According to L.A. Boadi, in Ghana Kru English, pidgin, is not considered as the first language, and a local language within a local group is used. Kru English is used 'between the educated master and his steward if they happen not to speak the same language; between labourers and artisans in a factory or workshop, and between buyers and sellers in the market. He also mentions that 'in places like Freetown, Sierra Leone, creolized English is used in the home as a first language, and very often between educated people.

In the newly independent African nations, there was no time for the creation of a national language through either the process of convergence, divergence, or that of modernization. These nations therefore adopted French or English as their official languages.

There are many countries where English is used in the national assembly. However, recently there has been a tendency to juxtapose the native lingua franca with English.

Nowadays, English has become increasingly important as an international lingua franca. However, it is doubtful whether contemporary English is the most valuable form for a world-wide language. This question has to be discussed from many points of view.

The reasons for the prominence of English as an international language are neither its simplicity or complexity, nor its naivete or sophistication. They are founded in the strong political and economic power which English-speaking countries have exerted throughout the world. The future status of English is uncertain. We may see it raised from simply that of a national or regional language, to that of an international language.

I would like to turn, for a moment, to the discussion of the relationships which hold between pidgin, creole, the national language and the nation.

Firstly, from a descriptive point of view we cannot identify many types of pidgin in the world at present, despite considerable intermarriage between racial types. Many languages were pidginized in their original state.

According to L. Todd (Todd, 1974) there are 4 theories of the origins of pidgin: the baby-talk theory, the independent parallel development theory, the nautical jargon theory and the monogenetic/relexification theory. In short 'a pidgin is a marginal language which arises to fulfil certain restricted communication needs among people who have no common language'. At that level of contact only a small vocabulary is necessary and the syntactic structure is less complex and less flexible than the structures of the languages which generated it, and some words are peculiar to the pidgin. People who use a pidgin have their indigenous language in addition to the pidgin. In the pidgin language one language is necessarily the core and a vocabulary is drawn almost exclusively from one language. (Turner, 1972).

Soon a few words will be understood on either side and an intermediary or pidgin language will be developed, usually with one language predominating according to the social relations and differences in technical advancement between the two groups.

(G.W. Turner, *The English Language in Australia and New Zealand*, Chap. 10, 1972)

A creole is a pidgin which takes the place of the mother tongue, so more complex expression can be made in the creole. This is already the same as an independent natural language and qualifies as a national language.

Among the so-called creoles, the European language-based ones viz. Lucitanised, Anglinised, Hispanised, Nederlandicised, and Gallicised, are in the majority. (They derive from Sabir.) (Todd, 1974)

There are many varieties in a language, and in English they can be exemplified thus 'dialects' and 'sociolects' which are generated through regional and social differences, 'dialects' which are affected by another language, this can be called 'Englic', and, the lastly, pidgin and creole English which have come into being where English and other languages have been in contact and been restructured into new varieties.

Taking English in the Philippines as an example : one hears the 'standardized English' from the mouths of announcers through the radio and television, and this belongs to the first category. One also recognizes the second and the third varieties of English, which are called 'Filipino English'. The second one is generally heard where the public is in touch with foreigners. There are some shades of difference in the accent from the strong Filipino accent up to English less coloured by Filipino.

The structure of this second variety, namely, its word order, and the selection of words is only slightly different but distinct from the so-called standard English. The third variety, however, although one cannot recognize it very often today, might have been used among the people of ethnic groups, especially between the Tagalog and the other ethnic language groups before Pilipino (Tagalog) had been spread so widely as it is today. One can see from the orthography and the structure used by these people that their previous oral tradition has been transliterated into written form, and one can consider this the third language variety as postulated above. From the basis of standard English, the structure of this third variety is greatly different, but it is nevertheless easily comprehensible.

One language which was once a trade jargon, Bazaar Malay, which is a non-European-based pidgin, has developed into a standard national language in Indonesia, according to R.A. Hall Jr. (Hall, 1972). Of course in this case there was a strong desire and political drive for Indonesia to become a modern state. The language on which economics and politics hinged therefore took prominence.

Another case is Neo-Melanesian. This language is also called New Guinea pidgin, descended from Beach-la-Mar, which is an offshoot of China coast pidgin English. It has a 7% English-based vocabulary, and this variety of pidgin is the lingua franca of Papua New Guinea, and of the British Solomon Islands. It is 'a structured language that can be described as a linguistic system'. (Turner, 1972). Now it is contending against English for the status of a national language. It is a dramatic encounter at a critical moment when one of the creole languages can attain the role of a national language. This means that even pidgins, when meeting the need of a social culture and coping with a modernization, are gradually able to gain the position of a national language, casting away the fear of decreolization. Moreover, its modernization

is supported by education.

Well, then, how has Japanese been modernized and/or is in the process of modernization now?

The Modernization of the Japanese Language.

How Japanese has attained the status of the cultural language today, and how the 'standard' language of today has developed were the themes of my papers at the last two consecutive conferences.

The modernization of a language is closely related to that of a nation. The modernization of the Japanese language has become conspicuous since the Meiji era (about 100 years ago), and this is something to do with Westernization or Europeanization of Japan. Strictly speaking, however, the modernization had been started earlier, since the time the Portuguese and after that the Dutch cultures arrived in Japan. These events especially influenced the native culture in those days; the effects were felt in the areas of religion, education, food, clothing, shelter, etc. The process began with the Jesuit missionaries sent to Japan with the great Portuguese trading ships. The most famous missionary was St. Francis Xavier (Francisco de Xavier, F. Yasu y Javier) (1506-52) who came to Kagoshima (the southernmost part of Kyushu Is., Japan) in 1549. Xavier at that time sailed out from Malacca, a Portuguese colony in Malaya, and came to Japan to extend his proselytising activities here. The Portuguese had a great many colonies in those days, among them were Ceylon; Goa, Malacca, and later Macao. 'At that time one Portuguese Pidgin or Creole language, the Creole lingua franca, was spoken all over the sea-route from Indonesia to Europe' (Falkhoff, 1966). We do not know whether St. Xavier preached in that language in Japan or not, but 'we know that in Goa, St. Francis Xavier preached for preference in that very language' (the Portuguese Creole, the lingua franca) (Valkhoff, 1966). Anyway, he was a descendant of a Basque, and he knew many languages.

There were about 400,000 Christians in Japan in those days, and the classic medical science and other studies were taught at the institutes to Japanese people. Culture and education therefore made remarkable progress although they were as yet very much locally based. Together with the development of food, clothing and shelter, they contributed to the Japanese culture. It is natural that there was contact between the two languages, Japanese and

Portuguese, and perhaps among missionaries or trade dealers. Japanese might have been spoken, however incompletely. Perhaps Japanese traders also spoke Portuguese or Pidgin Portuguese. Actually there remain words of Portuguese origin in Japanese. (*kenpeito*, *kasutera*, *kapitan*, *shabon*, *furasuko*, *pan*, etc). Also there were quite a few books which were translated into colloquial Japanese of those days were written in Romanized letters. Among them *Isopo Monogatari* (Aesop Fables) (1539) was well-known. There were also many books written in Japanese *kana* and *kanji* because Padre Alessandro Valignano, an Italian, imported a printing machine from Italy into Japan in 1590. So the Societas Jesu (S.J.) in Japan printed Latin textbooks for the Japanese and Japanese textbooks for foreigners, and at the same time they printed *kana* and *kanji*. *Isopo Monogatari* mentioned above, was of course printed by the S.J. and the S.J. printed many textbooks for the Portuguese people as well as for the Japanese people.

How about dictionaries and grammars? There were some elaborate dictionaries, among which the 'Latin - Portuguese - Japanese Dictionary' and the 'Japanese - Portuguese Dictionary' are famous. The Japanese grammar, the title of which is 'Arto da lingua de Japan' was written by a famous missionary called Joao Rodriguez, and was published in Nagasaki and also in Macao (Macau). It is available for us to study old colloquial styles of the Japanese language.

Another notable fact is that the S.J. decided to adopt the (o) sign for the bilabial sound (P). /pa/ /pi/ /pu/ /pe/ /po/. In Japanese there had been this sound to express a certain Chinese sound, but there had not been any formal orthographic way to express the sound before.

Thus the Portuguese culture flourished in the southern part of Japan in the latter part of the 16th century until the early 17th century. As the Shogunate feared Portuguese policy in those days (Boxer, 1972), they closed the country in 1639. Japan enjoyed peace for 215 years until 1853 when Commodore Perry of the U.S.A. opened the doors to Japan and this seclusionism was finished. The Shogunate had prohibited all things Catholic after they closed the country. Thus crypto-Christians appeared, who outwardly pretended to be Buddhists and inwardly were Catholic, remaining in certain island or out-of-the-way places.

The period of national isolation lasted a long time, for more than 200 years, so there was no contact or exchange with foreign countries except the

Netherlands. As Japan could not come into touch with Western civilization which had been gradually modernising during those days, Japan surely fell far behind Europe in this respect. However, during the period of seclusionism it was very pacific, therefore prosperity and peace went hand in hand. As the culture, that is, literature, art and education, made great progress during this period, the Jokugawa era, the foundation was steadily established for the Meiji cultural reformation. Yodo (the former name of Tokyo) was the world's largest city, which had a population of more than 1,000,000 at that time, and it possessed all the characteristics of Tokyo today.

From the time of the Meiji era (Meiji Restoration) (1868), when the influence of Europe was felt, there was improvement in institutions and technology, in food, clothing and shelter, and in amusement. There was change and progress in thought, religion, public entertainments and the arts. The administration, which was under the central government, first decentralised, along with the expansion of local administration. The government was beginning to be westernized, and a policy of national prosperity and defense was put into practice. The governmental industries were transferred to private enterprise following a policy of increased production, and in the middle of the Meiji era manual industries were promoted. From the educational aspect, the educational system was changed and the precepts of education in European countries were accepted by Japan. Western painting and western classical music flowered, but nevertheless the traditional arts retained their power. In the field of religion, Christianity affected educational culture, but there was no protection by the government. Ways of public life were changed. First the clothing of officials and military men were westernised and trousers were adopted. They then became the commoners' apparel. Hair styles underwent a change, western hats and shoes were adopted. Girls wore make-up and accessories. From the native point of view, traditional costume was on the increase, and clothing habits became semi-European with the appearance of *montsuki* and *hakama* (a kind of Japanese man's traditional kimono). Let us now consider food. The people's meat diet was increasing, and beef became liked by quite a few people. Particularly, *sukiyaki* was preferred among the meat dishes. Bread and fruit were taken more than usual, coffee and cigars became palatable. Table and chairs were used. Tableware was westernized, and European restaurants were

built. Some houses were changed to the western style. Brick and glass were used to build public structures. Gas-lamps became electric lamps. Annual functions from religious festivals to circuses underwent a sharp revival. All sorts of sports became popular.

It is natural that with the modernization of things, language is also modernized. In Japan, transcription or translation of Western literal culture gave impetus to the modernization of the Japanese language.

There have been two occasions on which the Japanese language has been greatly affected by a foreign culture in the past (cf Sasaki, 1972). In the sixth century a Buddhist culture was brought over from China, and in company with that Chinese characters were introduced into Japan. (There were no letters in Japan then.) This was the first epoch. Then the second epoch came. It was around the time that the Meiji Restoration began and the Japanese language made a gradual change in its vocabulary and rhetoric due to the inflow of a Western culture. At that time the business of translating flourished although there was no such work in the first contact with a Chinese culture.

Since the Meiji era, how has European culture been accepted into the Japanese language?

With the influx of many facets of Western culture, numerous lexical items from Western languages came into the Japanese vocabulary. Almost all these Western words were translated into *kango* (a set phrase in Chinese characters, the proper pronunciation of which we pronounce in the Japanese style). If Western words are translated into Japanese in *kana* (syllabary), they become very long because of the syllabic construction of *kana*. When one wants to make them short and also translate the abstract meaning, it is necessary to translate into *kanji* (Chinese characters) making the most of the ideographical characterers. *Kanji* serves as a kind of punctuation in *kanji-kana* = *majiri-bun* (or the mixed sentence of *kanji* and *kana* (syllabary) in Japanese, and at the same time expresses an abstract meaning. Long European words can be translated in only two *kanji* (a very difficult, even abstract, technical, scientific and cultural term can be expressed in a group of *kanji*, and most of the phrases consist of only two Chinese characters. Now phrases can also be coined.).

Owing to this, Japan made great and rapid strides in the fields of civilization, culture and education. This great progress was surprisingly founded on translation. Many Western cultures were translated into Japanese. Before the Meiji period when many cultures from Great Britain, France and Germany came in, that is, the latter part of the period of the Tokugawa seclusionism, the Dutch culture was "allowed" to infiltrate. The section of the community which studied and cultivated this culture, more particularly those engaged in the study and practice of Western medicine, began the business of translation. (cf. Sasaki, 1972) This means the study of Western science in the Edo (Yodo) era by means of the Dutch language (*Rangaku*, we call it) was not through the oral language but the written language. This process continued through the Meiji Restoration, when Dutch was replaced by English, German and French, especially English. The basic reason for this was that it was easier to absorb foreign culture in that manner, based on the spiritual world of ideas which Japan already had and which could be dated back about 1,000 years to the time Japan copied and then digested the Chinese culture, which is reflected in Japanese vocabulary.

First the style of the mixed sentence of translated *kango and kana*, which was a word-for-word translation, was a very funny, awkward one, but as it developed its own context, it became functionally acceptable. The oral Japanese as it used to be was a soft, verb-centered language, which had a feminine, elegant and flowing style.

Another important thing one should bear in mind is the big distinction between written language (or *bungo*) and oral language in Japanese. Every language has this difference to a greater or lesser degree, but in Japanese it is very marked. A little before the Meiji era, awareness that in Western countries the spoken and written languages did not differ much, provoked the Japanese to campaign for unification of the written and spoken language. (Sasaki, 1972).

The Japanese culture had therefore formerly been considered a dual one. It was based on the eyes or on the ears and the former basis was thought to be superior. Before long the movement for the identification or uniformity of the written and spoken language was accepted in the novel, where not only the oral language was much quoted, but also the style became colloquial. However, the official language still kept literary words and expressions.

The dual structure between the literary language and the translation culture on the one hand, and the oral language and traditional or conventional language culture on the other lasted up to the end of World War II, although later, translation from foreign literature was for certain peculiar, awkward, verbose and sometimes redundant expressions. Before the end of the war it seemed to suffer a retrogression rather than a development.

After World War II, when the class structure had been demolished and social equality had been attained, this dual structure eventually disappeared leaving a unified and harmonious whole. In other words, democratization occurred in the sphere of language.

Another significant fact which was recognizable after the end of the war, although the process had begun earlier, was the transcription of foreign words into *kana*. This phenomenon is particularly in vogue today on a commercial basis, and is used in its most extreme form in advertising. Those words are a stimulus to the general public even if they do not understand them and they could be considered a kind of decorative language.

After the war, the general public were not so well-informed in the areas of *kanji* and Chinese cultural background as they had been during the early Meiji period. The only way, therefore, of naturalizing English words was by using *kana*, particularly for new words, some of which had totally new concepts.

One of the characteristics of coining words is shortening the word construction.

For example: demonstration-----*demonstutereshen* ---- *demo*

Enterprise (name of an American carrier)

-----*entapuraizu* ---- *enpura*

after recording-----*afuta rekedingu*----*afuroko*

chloraethylene monomer (vynil chloride monomer) ----

---*enkabiniiru monoma* ---- *onbimonoma*

tape recorder ----*tepu rekoda*----*teroko* etc,

department store---- *depato*

apartment house+-*apato*

pro wrestling — *puroresu*

puncture — *panku*

printed sheet — *purinto*

mannerism — *mannerizumu* — *manneri*

We also have quasi-loan words.

night game — *naita* (nighter)

Stewardess (air hostess) — *ea garu* (air girl) (extinct already)

a tough guy who has fighting spirit — *faito man* (fight man)

steering wheel — *handoru* (handle)

air conditioner — *rumu kura/eakon* (room cooler)

white collar worker — *sarariman* (salary man)

part-time job — *arubaito* (Arbeit)

What is democratization in the Japanese language? It is marked as a 'sociolect' in Japanese. There used to be a distinction in usage and vocabulary in the Japanese language, between high rank and low rank, male and female. Nowadays, such distinctions are on the decline except in very restricted social areas where they are maintained for prejudicial reasons. The sociolects of Japanese are being unified and have come together under the name of Standard Japanese which is generally regarded as the Tokyo dialect and is prescribed as the language of formal education.

But everything has its limit. A common language cannot possibly be expected to express the abundant, subtle shades or senses of meaning in the culture of a country. Only dry, simply colored language like translation can be expected. Honorifics and politeness, which are characteristic of some languages, are a fundamental grammatical part of Japanese. However, today this usage is gradually being neglected, under the protect of democracy, because the relationship between 'upper' or 'higher' class and 'lower' class has been destroyed, a common *nouveau/riche* class has been established. According to their generation, sociolects develop among Tokyo people. A case in point is the student generation where a sociolect typified by agitational lexical items and accent has developed. It seems, ironically, that eventually the provincial people will be the ones who continue the tradition of Standard Japanese.

At this point, let us look at honorifics. Many languages have words of respect, polite words, but in Japanese there is an honorific form which is a structural norm. Taking *iku* (*yuku*) 'to go' for example:

To lower-ranking people or juniors or equals.

Watashi/Boku wa/ga iku yo (male/female usage)

Boku wa/ga iku zo (male)

Watashi iku wa ("wa" in rather high pitch) (female)

Watashi iku wa ("wa" in low pitch) (male/female (dialect))

Ore iku wai (male, crude)

(*Boku/watashi iku no* (male, female), etc.

(translation : I'll go)

About upper-ranking people or seniors to low-ranking people or juniors.

Kare (wa/ga) irassharu yo (male/female usage)

Kare irassharu wa (female)

Kare irassharu zo (male)

Kare irassharu da (male) etc.

(translation : He'll go)

To higher ranking people or seniors.

Watashi (wa/ga) iku no desu (male/female usage)

Boku iku desu (male)

Boku/watashi ikimasu (male/female)

Watashi/Boku mairimasu (female/male) etc.

(translation : I'll go)

About upper-ranking people or seniors to upper-ranking people or seniors.

Kare (wa/ga) irassaimasu (male/female)

Kare ikimasu (male/female)

Kare ga ikimasu yo/wa (male/female) etc.

(translation : He'll go)

To lower-ranking people or juniors or equals.

Kimi/Omae iku ka/kai ? (male)

Anta iku ka/kai (male)

Anta iku ? (male/female)

(translation : Are you going ?)

To higher-ranking people or seniors.

Anata irasshaimasu ka ? (female/male)

Irasshaimasu ka ? (female/male)

Irasshaimasu ? (female)

Irassharu ? (female) etc.

(translation : Are you going ?)

This structure makes Japanese very difficult. Japanese honorific structure is relative, not absolute as in Korean. In the Korean language if one wants to speak to higher-ranking people or seniors including one's parents, for instance, one ought to use honorific forms. However, in Japanese one does not need to use the honorific structure when one speaks about one's parents or one's relatives to others outside one's household or relations. This rule can be extended to one's colleagues in the same company, firm, office or organization.

In Japan there was primarily a form or style (a code) of Japanese culture and civilization at the time when Chinese words came, and there were many cases where one Japanese word corresponded with several words or characters of Chinese. The Japanese word had a broader meaning than the Chinese word. So several characters were transcribed as one Japanese lexeme, that is, in Japanese *kun* has many homophones with slightly different meanings. (Sasaki, 1972).

Japan did not have any letters before Chinese culture came. The Japanese created syllabaries (*kana*) out of Chinese characters owing to the inconvenience of using the characters which were entirely different structurally and phonemically from their own, and applied to the Japanese syllabic sounds (Japanese phonemes) that correspond to those sounds of the Chinese characters.

These are called *on*.

In Japanese, the accepted reading is both *kun* and *on*, and *kun* is steady reading of an interpretation.

Thus:

(on)	(kun)
<i>getsu</i>	<i>tsuki</i>
<i>nichi</i>	<i>hi</i>
<i>shun</i>	<i>haru</i>
<i>jo</i>	<i>no</i>

(according to English Romanization)

Despite the physical complexities and memorization problems of *kanji*, once they have been learned there is nothing more expressive. The instant one looks at written *kanji*, one is not only able to group the meaning of each individual word, but if a *kanji* phrase is used, and some of the *kanji* are

unfamiliar, one is able to deduce the precise meaning from context.

Finally, we have to look at the facts and problems of orthography in Japan today from a synchronic standpoint. The Japanese language is composed, as you know, of 'mixed sentences of *kanji* and *kana*', the former being ideographs which have a peculiar and characteristic function, the latter being syllables rather than phonemes. The letters or characters which constitute the orthography of any given language are conservative, in that they are relatively stable when compared with the phonological and phonemic variations which may be extant. However, those phonological and phonemic variations are usually restricted to the oral form and the orthographic transcription remains constant. The Japanese language is sensed visually rather than aurally and this seems quite logical when one considers that *kanji* is the orthographical norm.

In Japan, between 2 and 3 thousand *kanji* are used daily in reading and writing, whereas in China the number is around 6 thousand.

As it takes too much time to memorize all these characters, there has occurred the question of abolition of characters, of limiting their use, or of simplifying their strokes. Actually in China, only simplified characters have been promulgated for regular use. In Japan their numbers have been limited to some extent and they have been partially simplified. Now let us view the merits of *kanji*.

Thus in Japanese thousands of *kanji* have these two readings. What are the merits of this?

First, the many homophones and different *kanji* do not constitute a serious obstacle, because there are *kun*. Secondly, *kanji* are ideographs and they can be instantly understood. Thirdly, the method of transliterating the concept of foreign words is similar to that of many other countries, but in Japanese generally only two *kanji* are used if the *on* reading is utilized. Fourthly, the correspondence of *on* to *kun* within one character connects a high level abstract word with a daily word in one's mind. Fifthly, one cannot easily forget *kanji* once one has memorized them. *Kanji* are normatic letters and according to A. Yamadori *kanji* are like illustrations or pictures and are memorized in the opposite side of the brain from the side for phonetic/phonemic letters. *Kanji* appeal to one's sight strongly, so one does not get weary. According to Yamadori again, in the case of alexia when a

person cannot remember *kana*, he can remember *kanji*. Lastly, in mixed sentences of *kana and kanji*, *kanji* play the role of punctuation marks.

The last section deals with *kanji*, and there are also quite a number of defects, as well as merits. We must accept change in *kanji*. Were it not for that change and the admixture of *kana and kanji*, it would not be possible to print the present-day Japanese language speedily. This, however, could be achieved recently in Japan by means of a computer with a large memory bank.

To sum up, the modernization of the Japanese language has kept pace with the modernization of Japan herself. Thanks to the admixture of *kana and kanji*, Japan has become one of the most civilized modern countries.

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PROBLEMS OF INDONESIAN

Soepomo Poedjosoedarmo

Present situation

The development of Indonesian as the national language of the Republic of Indonesia has been a tremendous success. The important initial stages of instituting a national language have passed, smoothly, almost without obstacles. Thanks to the spirit of the farsighted youth leaders around the 1920's, Indonesian, originally Malay, was quickly accepted as a national language by the leaders of the would-be Indonesia. The process of pidginization was short lived, if it can be said to have occurred at all, and the process of standardization and intellectualization have been taking place without many obstacles. A group of distinguished writers known as the *Pujangga Baru* (new writers) and several normative grammar books and dictionaries quickly put Indonesian into order.

Intellectualization has continued to progress smoothly, and energetically, almost effortlessly. Thousands of technical terms have either been borrowed or translated from Dutch or English. Together with the loanwords some affixes like - *sasi*, - *is*, *non-* have been adopted. Meanwhile, indigenous Indonesian circumfixes such as *ke - an*, *pe - an*, and *per - an*, whose function is to derive a noun from some other part of speech like an adjective, verb, adverb or other class of noun, have become much more productive. Those circumfixes are needed in scientific discourse with all its abstraction and generalization. Furthermore, many high frequency verbs have developed new relational potentials, enabling them to be joined to new types of subjects, animate and inanimate, human and non-human. Such a development is necessary for Indonesian to be able to talk about processes, states, or conditions of abstract subjects, as is usually done in scientific discourse.

Now Indonesian has been firmly established as the language of official government affairs, of school and sciences, of communication between peoples of different language background throughout Indonesia. Its prestige has soared highly from a language which used to be mocked,¹ to a language which can be used as a sign of education and urban experience. Many rural people in Indonesia now speak Indonesian to show that they are educated or at least have been to a big city.

Reports from various regions show that in many areas in Indonesia some kind of diglossia prevails, Indonesian functioning as the *High* language

and the local regional language as the *Low* one.² Apart from the fact that Indonesian usually serves as the medium of communication for official government affairs, instruction in schools and lectures in universities, and for inter-ethnic relations it usually also functions as the vehicular means of communication for topics which are considered modern, and for a discourse in a setting which is thought to be urban, and when the audience is considered non-rural or educated. Thus modern commercial business administration, advertisements, films, modern songs, modern plays and dramas use Indonesian. The majority of newspapers and magazines also use Indonesian. Formal public speeches such as sermons in mosques and churches, funerals, circumcision and wedding speeches which are delivered in the cities, often use Indonesian instead of the more emotional regional language.

Regional languages usually serve as the communicative code among friends, neighbors, or members of one's own family, among people of one's own ethnic group, in a situation which is informal and emotional, or for a topic which is regarded as traditional. The details of functions between the national language and the regional varies from one region to another. However, the general rules are very much the same.

Now Indonesian is entering a stage of development which is rather sensitive. With the progress of Indonesia as a state and as a nation, Indonesian as the national language will naturally become more and more important. With the increase of efficiency and the general improvement of the government administration, with the ever-widening spread of educational opportunities, with the improvement of various means of transportation, with the intensification of mass communication media like radio, TV, newspaper and magazines, with more active social mobility, Indonesian is bound to be more and more important every day. Conversely, regional languages will become less and less important. Fergusson says that the relation between the H code and the L code in a diglossia speech community is usually fairly stable, but with the rapid changes that are taking place in Indonesia today, no one knows what the outcome will be. Indonesian is endangering the life of at least some of the regional languages.

Possible future.

There are at least three possibilities as to the future trend of this

diglossic situation in Indonesia which can be envisaged: 1) Indonesian eventually will replace the regional languages, 2) diglossia will be maintained, and 3) the regional languages will merge or converge with Indonesian. I will not venture to present an estimate as to the time needed to arrive at the final outcome. However, one thing is sure: if anything happens at all, it will take a very long time.

We can classify three types of regional languages in Indonesia: 1) small regional languages whose native speakers are but a few thousand people, 2) regional languages which are actually dialects of Malay, and 3) major regional languages which are spoken by a large number of native speakers. Examples of the first type of regional languages are Asmat and Dani in West Irian. Bahasa Melayu Banjar, Manado and Kupang are examples of the second type of regional language. Sundanese, Javanese, Balinese, Buginese, and Achenese are examples of major regional languages.

Assuming that we can direct ourselves to get what we want, we probably want to say that the third choice above is the most ideal alternative, that is that the regional languages merge with Indonesian. It is ideal if especially the major regional languages can merge with Indonesian, for in that case everybody will be happy: the national language will be rich, popular and effective, and no good values from the old traditions will be thrown out.

Simple Replacement

Simple replacement of the regional languages by Indonesian will likely result in an undesirable cultural void. Giving up one's tongue means giving up one's culture. The drastic uprooting of the old established tradition and its replacement by a new and foreign one may cause a serious identity crisis in the society. People will lose their self-confidence. They will always turn to others to see whether they do things right or not. They may always feel that something is wrong with them, otherwise their culture would not be eliminated and replaced by another. It will take them a long time to recover their self-confidence.

Since the national language is a language imbued with a modern and, business-like spirit, people who speak it as a native language will be possessed by an ambition to be modern and to get ahead in life. However, what is modern is a foreign thing, not rooted in their own culture. Such a yearning to

be modern will then fill the people's heart, and this will only lead them to unhappiness in life. People will kill themselves to get wealthy, to get ahead in life. They will spend all their time rat-racing and they will not even know how to enjoy their achievements.

They will regard their children primarily as an obligation or responsibility rather than as people to be loved. Such parents will adopt pets to replace children, because pets are cuddly and yet do not require extreme obligation.

This may seem to be very pessimistic day-dreaming, but it is what is happening in many parts of America. America is one of the most modern countries in the world with the highest standard of living. Americans come from all over the world, and most of them replace their language with English and reject their traditional culture. As a result, now many young Americans feel a cultural void, and they turn to drugs and juvenile delinquency in an attempt to create a culture. Many of the older generation visit psychiatrists and are very lonely. In nearly every American household pets are very important, and often more important than children.

The first group in America to suffer from a cultural void was the Indians. One by one the tribes lost their languages and their cultures, and they turn to alcoholism and refuse to work. Now many young Indians are trying to resurrect their cultures, but it may be already too late.

The second group to suffer from absence of culture and language was the Negroes. Since they came from many parts of Africa, they quickly lost their native languages. Since then they have never learned English the way the Whites regard as correct. Therefore, they have always been branded as stupid. Problems of alcoholism, drug abuse, juvenile delinquency, prostitution, and almost every imaginable social disorder, are rampant in Black communities.

Indeed, craving to be modern with the expense of losing one's culture can be a calamity

Diglossia

The second choice is maintaining diglossia. This is, of course, the most realistic, although it may not be most ideal. The practice of bilingualism or multilingualism in one country reduces the efficiency of people's communication. People who speak a language often have problems in

understanding others who speak another language. Misunderstanding can easily take place in a community having bilingualism or multilingualism.

Besides, bilingualism also may hinder children in their studies. Children whose mother tongue is not the one used in school have to learn two languages before they learn the other school subjects.

However, it seems that bilingualism or multilingualism is bound to be in Indonesia for a long time. We just have to live with it and try to get the most out of it.

To comfort ourselves we can consider the positives features, bilingualism or multilingualism like we have in Indonesia may, if we are lucky, encourage healthy competition among provinces in improving or ressurecting their cultures. Besides, learning two or more different languages from childhood may make our people less-ethnocentric, more cosmopolitan and may improve their language aptitude and intelligence in general.

Merger.

The most ideal type of ultimate relation between Indonesian and the regional languages would be the merger of the regional languages with Indonesian. Merger of the two types of languages would insure the benefit that one language for one country has, and at the same time avoid the creation of a cultural void.

The merger of the two types of languages would mean that specific words and idioms belonging to the regional cultures would be found within the lexicon of Indonesian. If necessary, at least in certain varieties of styles, specific sentence types and morphological elements could be included as well. In this way, specific elements of the cultures of the various ethnic groups would be preserved. Modernization could be selective, with the firmly rooted traditions as the base and involved in the transition. In this way, the happiness of the people would be better insured.

With the addition of words and idioms and other linguistic elements from the various regional languages, Indonesian will surely become a much richer language. It will be a better tool to communicate not only modern government affairs, sciences, and inter-ethnic needs, but regional cultures as well. Indonesian will become more effective and more efficient both as a

language of *ratio* and business and also as a language of feelings and family relation.

Finally, people from the various classes and areas will all be fond of Indonesian, because Indonesian will contain so many words and linguistic elements from their native tongue. To those people, Indonesian will no longer be a strange second language, but a language that they feel at home in, to express whatever they want to express. Indonesian will be their native tongue which they will love and care about.

The disadvantage a language suffers from adopting numerous loan-words is usually the presence of many competing forms. In fact, Indonesian *does* have such a problem nowadays. In the vocabulary level Indonesian has so many word pairs with identical or nearly identical meaning.

For example :

<i>harimau and macan</i>	'tiger'
<i>babi hutan - celeng</i>	'boar'
<i>lembu - sapi</i>	'cow, bull'
<i>dapat - bisa</i>	'can'
<i>seperti - kaya</i>	'like'
<i>mau - akan</i>	'will'
<i>penataran - upgrading</i>	'upgrading, program'
<i>daerah - wilayah,</i>	'area, region'
<i>kawasan</i>	

Competing forms, however, will settle by themselves in time. With the help of such a central agency as the *Pusat Pembinaan Dan Pengembangan Bahasa*, the existence of a center of Indonesian culture like the city of Jakarta, the core of formal Indonesian which is more or less already standard, the communication system which keeps improving everyday, further standardization will take place almost automatically.

One of the best techniques to encourage the merger of the various regional languages with the national language is first of all for the government, the national leaders, and the intellectuals to show a positive attitude of appreciation toward regional cultures. They should welcome or even encourage the lifting up of good regional cultures to the national level.

The government, the national leaders, the intellectuals should try to develop a good understanding of the various ethnic kinship systems, economic systems, religious beliefs, social systems, legal systems, arts, sciences etc. They should not mock the regional customs and traditions.

The difference between the national culture and regional cultures very much lies in the difference between the languages usually used to express or to convey them in the real life. Thus, a national culture is usually conveyed or talked about via Indonesian, while regional cultures usually make use of regional languages to express them. A positive attitude towards regional cultures therefore also means a positive attitude toward the languages that usually communicate them. Lifting up regional cultures to the national level means applying Indonesian as the language of communication toward the culture, along with the effort to spread the practice or the knowledge of the culture into the other regions. Trying to perform Javanese *wayang* in Indonesian means trying to lift *wayang* to the level of a national artistic form. Although many Javanese don't care for such modified forms of their traditional art, it has the advantage of being intelligible to Indonesian from other cultural areas. Teaching or discussing Balinese dance with Indonesian as the medium of instruction means trying to lift the Balinese dance to the level of national art.

In trying to do so, many regional words, idioms, and other linguistic elements will be used in Indonesian contexts. Gradually Indonesian will adopt those linguistic elements into its lexicon, syntax, morphology etc.

With the adoption of the regional words etc, the aspects of regional cultures symbolized by the words will be preserved in the national life.

If this happens, we, the linguist and the grammarians, should also show a positive attitude. We should not look down on, or mock or reject the regional words or idioms already adopted in Indonesian. We should not consider the regional language loanwords as pollution in the inventory of our national language. We should not be overly concerned with a "clean and/simple" Indonesian grammar. We should not be unhappy to see the existence of a few irregular forms in the phonological, and syntactic levels of our national language due to the entrance of elements from our regional languages.

The English language is at present the most widely spoken language in

the world. It has had a long history of borrowing words and forms from other languages. Just consider some of the sources that have enriched it in the last few centuries: *skunk*, *opposum*, *chipmunk*, *moose*, and *raccoon* were taken from North American Indian languages to name native North American animals. *Hickory*, *pecan*, and *squash*, native North American plants as well as *moccasin* and *saccotash* (the name of a dish which combines boiled corn and peas), from Indian languages. *Canoe*, *chocolate*, *hammock*, *potato*, *tapioca* and *tobacco* come from American Indians languages through Spanish or French. From Malay, English has borrowed *amuck*, *orangutan*, *sarong*, *rattan*, *bamboo*, *paddy*. From Javanese *batik*, and *gong*, from Tagalog *boondoks*, meaning (out in the) sticks', and *cashew*. From Polynesian languages English has borrowed *atoll*, *taboo*, *tattoo*. From the languages of India, *bandana*, *brahmin*, *bungalow*, *calico*, *chutney*, *curry*, *indigo*, *jungle*, *payama*, *rajah*, *sandal*. From African languages *chimpanzee*, *gorrilla*, *zebra* and also ultimately from African sources are *voodoo*, *yam*, *jupe*, and *banjo*. This is just a brief sampling. This borrowing has taken place freely and automatically because English speakers came in a contact with speakers of other languages, and wanted to communicate their new cultural experiences. No attempt has ever been made to legislate the development of English. But no lover of English would want to suggest abolishing the borrowed words. After all, less than half of the English vocabulary is native anglo-saxon.

Formulating the codification of our national language in Indonesian can have good result. Pursuing a standardization program for our national language is a must. However, if we are too rigid in spreading the formulation of Indonesian structure, the result will only be to discourage the growth of our national language.

Unwillingness on the part of our grammarians to recognize the existence of consonant clusters Cr--, Cl--, and the existence of /ə/ in the final syllable will only confuse our people. To tell our people to say *seteruktur* 'structure' instead of what they usually say *struktur*, *jamberet* 'snap' instead of the usual *jambret*, *sumbar* 'source' instead of the usual *sumber*, *santar* 'fast flowing' instead of usual *santer* is ridiculous.

A wish to see our national language clean and simple is understandable. But a wish to maintain the former Malay phonotatic pattern and syllable structure (C) V (C) and not allow the naturally acquired - (C) ə (C) # is

unrealistic. The greater part of our people know how to make consonant clusters and final syllables containing /a/. The greater part of our people know how to say *Problim* 'problem', *lemper* (name of food made of sticky rice) and *metode* 'method'. An attempt to prevent our national language from adopting form with C C V and C ə (C) # is therefore not justifiable. This is the same as refusing to recognize that Indonesian now has a phoneme (f), and a syllable pattern -/e/-/a/, etc.

Our grammarians should not be too concerned with the complexity of the present phonological rules of our national language. Certainly, we should not try to force our people to accept the old Malay rules of the Hang Tuah times or even the Proto-Malay-Polynesian times.

We should be more concerned with finding a way to make our national language able to function better in our society. We should try to see that our national language grows richer, stronger, and more able to be used as an instrument to express easily and efficiently without the expense of a cultural loss.

Regionalization

In order for our national language to become richer and better able to function effectively and efficiently, we should try to see that it will undergo colloquialization and regionalization in addition to the intellectualization which it already has. Indonesian should be made to develop in such a way that it can eventually function easily as a communicative code for all sorts of speech situations and for all sorts of human intents and emotions usual among our Indonesian people. The borrowing of words and expressions specific to regional languages should be encouraged by frequently expressing those specific things in the Indonesian language to audiences other than native speakers of their regional languages.

Some examples of Javanese words that Indonesian could profitably borrow follow. I use Javanese examples only because Javanese is the regional language which I myself know. Words belonging to various art forms, regional religious practice (*kebatinan*), batik making, agricultural life, political, social, kinship and linguistic terminology, for example, could be popularized in Indonesian.

In addition, such sentence particles as:

- kok* (Indicating surprise, often combined with irritation, about something that happened unexpectedly)
mbok (indicating gentle request or a soft swear)
lho (indicating surprise or a mild shock)
lha (pointing to something as mentioned in the sentence)
anu (indicating some hesitation)
wong (indicating the explanation for something not being as expected)
ding (indicating sudden retraction of what one has just said) etc.

which are useful to express subtle shades of speech intent can at least be adopted into colloquial Indonesian.

Another example of Javanese words that can be borrowed by Indonesian is the large group of attributive or adverbial words known in Javanese as *tembung sabawa*. These are mostly onomatopoeic words vividly describing how an action or a movement is done. For example:

- bleber* (a description of fast moving such as in running and flying);
(sem)prung (a description of an action of a sudden departure);
brug (a description of a heavy thing falling on the ground);
blak (a description of a sudden wide opening of something);
byur (a description of a sudden and heavy splash into water);
byuk (a description of a sudden mass gathering).

Very often such words are reduplicated:

oglak-aglik 'a wobbly and unstable position on top of something'

egal-egal 'a wobbly and swaying movement of a walk or a gait'

pringas-pringis 'a look in the face when somebody is in pain or in extreme embarrassment with the mouth moving up and down a little bit and the teeth slightly appear'

plintat-plintut 'a description of a sneaky and secretive movement'

kletat-kleter 'a description of a lazy and reluctant movement like the movement of a snail'

cetit-cetit 'a description of somebody having small feet and cute sandals walking attractively'

plirak-plirik 'a description of shifting eye stare.'

The effect of the use of those words is that the description intended becomes extremely vivid.

Javanese has a lot of words that vividly describe the look, the smell, the touch, the sound and the feeling of something. If Indonesian adopts or loan-translates some of them, it will be greatly enriched. As a consequence, people will find it easier to describe things with Indonesian. For example, to describe the look of a human build, there are such words as:

lencir 'attractively slim and tall'

cebol 'abnormally short and usually rather fat'.

depah 'stalky'

gagah 'stalwart'

degus 'stalwart and very good looking'

kongel 'having a short trunk and long legs'

kakkong 'having a long trunk and short legs'

kunting 'unable to achieve normal growth, though not bad looking'

kuntet 'not good looking and stunted'

longgor 'bigger and taller than normal for one's age'

pidekso 'wellbuilt and strong'.

For different facial features, Javanese has for example:

lancap 'a sharp feature, unusually quick tempered and bright'

luruh 'a calm and quiet feature, reflecting a patient character'

mbranyak 'a feature of an attractive, sharp and bright person'

njenggureng 'a facial feature that gives an impression like the face of a cat or a tiger; a frightening feature'; 'stern looking'

mrebawa 'a feature with charisma'

bengeb 'extremely chubby'

njemblek 'ugly feature with the lips drooping'.⁶

So regionalization of Indonesian may mean emotionalization as well, for in many Javanese words, for example, semantic features include consideration of the speaker's emotional state. To give an example, for the translation of English 'talkative' older Malay has *banyak cakap*. Javanese has *crigis*, *criwis*,

crewet, crawak, and braok, in which one of the semantic elements embedded is the agreeable or disagreeable feeling that the speaker has when saying the word.

Crigis is talkative characteristic to little children who have not learned the proper language etiquette.

criwis is talkative characteristic to cute little girls.

Crewet is plain talkative for grown-ups that we do not like.

Crawak is talkative with a disagreeably loud voice.

Braok is attributed to a person who is talkative, and when talking always tends to shout in an extremely loud voice.

This sort of refined impressionistic differentiation is sometimes very useful for people in certain profession. A young Javanese doctor once told me that his attempt to arrive at a correct diagnosis is often made easier by the very fine distinction of pains that the Javanese has. Thus, for example for a stomach ache or intestinal trouble a Javanese patient may report to his doctor the following type of pains:

senep

mules

liyer

sebah

njebebeg

mbeseseg

jemegrag

kemranyas

ngintir-intir

pating plirit

pating slengkring

suduken.

Each word indicates a particular symptom which helps the doctor pinpoint the diagnosis of his patient.

Therefore, regionalization of Indonesian may turn out to bring a lot of blessings: not only can our national language function better in communicating the daily needs of the regional people, but it can also improve its capability of being used as a tool of modern communication.

Borrowing from anywhere, however, should be limited to what is called

"felt need" borrowing. Forms borrowed should represent concepts that the national language lacks. Borrowing whose motive is for prestige, or borrowing as a result of uncontrolled habits of the regional speakers should be discouraged.

Furthermore, borrowing which will bring in values that our Indonesian community as a whole does not need should be avoided, too. For example, borrowing which will further make Indonesian have complex speech levels should be prevented.

There is a lot that regional languages can do to enrich Indonesian. However, the important thing is not so much for the regional languages to enrich Indonesian. It is especially intended for Indonesian to eventually accomodate and contain the communicative needs of all the regional peoples. In this way merger of regional languages with Indonesian will be able to take place.

NOTE:

1. In Kartini's time Malay had a low social stigma, at least in Java. It was used to address somebody of low social background. Among the educated and the higher ranking people either Javanese or Dutch was used. See. R.A. Kartini, 1964
2. For a discussion of Diglossia and the use of the High and the Low language, see Ferguson, 1959.
3. See Robertson, Cassidy, 1962
4. Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana, in Indonesia, is known to have such a stand.
5. *Kok* and *wong* (translated into *orang*) are already used in Jakarta Indonesian.
6. The *dalangs* (wayang players) have a lot of words to describe any different physical and non-physical features of men.

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**THE PILIPINO LANGUAGE : ITS ROLE IN
BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN THE PHILIPPINES**

AL. Q. Perez

Introduction

The last ten years, from 1965 up to 1975, saw a tremendous growth in the use of Pilipino – the national language – in Philippine society. The *Kabataang Pilipino* (Filipino youth) deliberately used Pilipino as an effective tool in discussing issues with their elders, teachers or professors, and leaders. Philippine activism was quite effective in gaining some adherents and attention because of its use of the Pilipino language.

The nationalistic ideas and crusade that burgeoned during the time of the *Kabataang Pilipino* came to be felt and recognized by their elders and leaders because of the use of an indigenous language to communicate with the people. Their challenges addressed to the Philippine educational system, socio-economic reforms and other institutions were clearly noticed because of the intensified use of Pilipino. Their campaigns for reform and revolution were carried on and echoed with vigour without any language barrier.

It was during the decade mentioned that Pilipino finally commanded the attention of some of the 'elite leaders of Philippine education' who, it would seem, refused to recognize the potentiality of the indigenous language in nation building. It was during that same decade when a new chapter in the history of the Pilipino language was written in so far as it acted as a catalyzer on Philippine society.

Thus, with the increasing role and significance of the Pilipino language in redirecting the Philippine way of life, the *Institute of National Language Board* (INLB), of which I am a member, recommended to the *National Board of Education* (NBE), the highest policy-making body in education of the government, a greater role which the Pilipino language should assume, especially in the Philippine educational system. As a result, in its session on August 7, 1973, the NBE finally approved Resolution No. 73-7 defining the use of English and Pilipino in the Philippine education system.

Purpose of the Paper

It is the purpose of this paper to discuss the role of the Pilipino language in the bilingual education of the Philippines. As stated, the NBE

defined the roles of English and Pilipino from elementary up to university level.

What is Bilingualism?

Bilingualism is not a new term in the Philippines, especially among the students and scholars of linguistics. In fact, generally Filipinos are bilinguals and there are some who are trilingual or even multilingual.

There are many definitions and connotations of bilingualism. However, in the Philippine setting, bilingualism refers to the use of two languages as media of instruction in all Philippine schools; especially the use of Pilipino and English complementarily.

Promulgated by the NBE, Resolution No.73-7 provides a formal step in the use of bilingual education in the Philippines, that is the use of the national language, Pilipino, and of English, a foreign but official language of the country, in all schools without exception. This resolution is known as the bilingual policy in the Philippines.

Below is the full text of the policy:

Resolved that English and Pilipino serve as media of instruction and be taught as subjects in the curriculum from Grade 1 to the university level in all schools, public and private; and

Resolved further, that the Department of Education and Culture be requested to prepare and submit for consideration and approval by the Board an implementing scheme or policy guidelines which should include:

- a. subject areas to be taught in English, in Pilipino, or in both languages;
- b. schedule of implementation;
- c. training program for teachers; and
- d. preparation of instructional materials

Approved by the
National Board of Education
August 7, 1973.

The members of the NBE took their cue from a speech of President Ferdinand E. Marcos (1973a) regarding the use of Pilipino and English in the schools. President Marcos said, in commenting on Article XV, Section 3 of the New Constitution of 1972:

It is clearly provided for that there shall be two official languages: Pilipino and English... Therefore, our government is committed to the policy of bilingualism: Pilipino and English. Pilipino for our national needs - as a unifying instrument and symbol of our country; and English, for our international relations.

(Speech of Pres. Ferdinand E. Marcos, "Pilipino in the Current Trends in Education and Culture," delivered at the closing ceremonies of the 9th National Conference Workshop of Pilipino Supervisors, Marikina School of Arts & Trades, Marikina, Rizal, May 7-11, 1973 INL translation)

Regarding the contemplated use of Pilipino in the schools, Pres. Marcos (1973a) said further:

I want to see the continued use of Pilipino in our schools, from the lowest grade up to the graduate level. The reports that I have received indicated this is what is happening. This is a good sign. I support, rather I urge the full use of Pilipino as medium of instruction in our schools and in other aspects of our life (INL translation)

Evidently, these statements furnished the motivation for the members of the NBE to formulate Resolution No. 73-7. With this important decision of the NBE, President Marcos (1973b) said:

I am pleased with the decision of the National Board of Education passed just seven days ago. This concerns the bilingual use of Pilipino and English as media of instruction, aside from being separate subjects from the elementary grades up... We might wish it were Pilipino alone but practical considerations demand that we should also train our youth in English for other particular needs. (INL translation)

The President went on to say: "I hope those concerned will formulate the necessary guidelines for the implementation of the new policy (the bilingual policy)."

On October 24, 1973, the INLB in its session drafted a resolution urging the Secretary of the Department of Education and Culture to implement as early as possible Resolution No. 73-7 as adopted by the NBE. The INLB resolution states:

That the Department of Education and Culture, be requested to take the necessary steps in implementing the policy as early as the beginning of school year 1974-75, and that the implementing order thereof be issued not later than the end of the second semester of school year 1973-74.

Again, on the occasion of the opening of the celebration of the 1974 National Language Week, President Marcos (1974) reiterated in his speech his desire for the implementation of the policy on bilingualism. He said:

... I am also asking the Department of Education and Culture that it should start the steps in implementing our new policy towards bilingualism in our schools - the use of Pilipino and English from the first grade of the primary up to the highest level of the university. (My translation)

The Implementing Guidelines

As requested by the NBE and the INLB, and in accordance with the reforms of the New Society 3 to revise the policies governing the Philippine education system, the DEC issued on June 19, 1974, Department Order (DO) No. 25, s. 1974, known as the "Implementing Guidelines for the Policy of Bilingual Education."

What is the Goal of Bilingual Education?

At this juncture, it is significant to note the goal of the bilingual education in the Philippines. Indeed, what is the objective of the bilingual education program?

The answer to this question is clearly enunciated in the DO issued by the DEC. The DO states:

In accordance with the provision of the 1972 Constitution and a declared policy of the National Board of Education on bilingualism in the schools, in order to develop a bilingual nation competent in the use of both English and Pilipino, the Department of Education and Culture hereby promulgate the following guidelines for the implementation of the policy. (Department Order No. 25, s. 1975)

What is Bilingual Education?

What then, is the meaning of bilingual education? It is but proper that the definition of this term be derived from the provisions of Department Order No. 25, which says:

Bilingual education is defined, as the separate use of Pilipino and English as media of instruction in definite areas, provided that additional Arabic shall be used in the areas where it is necessary.

It is explicitly indicated in the DO that Pilipino and English will be used separately as media of instruction in definite subjects in all the grades in the elementary and secondary levels, in order to achieve the goal of bilingualism.

It is also stated in the order that Arabic shall be used as medium of instruction in places where it is necessary. This refers to the Muslim area in the country, that is, in the southern part - in some areas of the island of Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago.

Schedule of Implementation

DO No. 25 presents two phases for the schedule of implementation of the bilingual education program for all levels in the elementary and secondary schools. The DO prescribes as follows:

Phase I:

School year 1974-1975 through
school year 1977-1978

This four-year period shall be a transition period in the use of Pilipino as medium of instruction for the following subjects: social studies/social science, work education, character education, health and physical education. Schools/school divisions in the Tagalog areas may begin to use Pilipino during the school year 1974-75 in the subjects name above. Schools/school divisions in all other areas shall develop plans for either an immediate or gradual shift to Pilipino as medium depending on the availability of teaching materials and teachers competent to teach in Pilipino. English shall remain as medium of instruction for all other courses.

At the start of the school year 1974-75, the schools/school divisions in the Tagalog areas, especially the public schools in the provinces of Nueva Ecija, Bulacan and Bataan of Central Luzon; Rizal, Laguna, Cavite, Batangas, Quezon, Oriental Mindoro, Occidental Mindoro and Palawan of the Southern Tagalog area and the Greater Manila area started the implementation of the policy. The Greater Manila area comprised four city divisions - Manila, Quezon City, Caloocan, and Pasay - and thirteen municipalities in the province of Rizal.

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Batangas, Quezon, Oriental Mindoro, Occidental Mindoro and Palawan of the Southern Tagalog area and the Greater Manila area started the implementation of the policy. The Greater Manila area comprised for city divisions -- Manila, Quezon City, Caloocan, and Pasay -- and thirteen Municipalities in the province of Rizal.

Some school divisions in the non-Tagalog areas also initiated the implementation of the policy, like Tarlac and Pampanga, Olongapo City and Camarines Sur. It will be noted that these places or areas are adjacent to the Tagalog-speaking areas and that some are linguistic melting pots.

Too, some school divisions in the Mindanao area, such as the provinces of North Davao, South Davao, and Eastern Davao and General Santos City in Southern Cotabato, initiated the implementation of the policy because Pilipino is the dominant language in these places. Besides, these areas are also polyglotic.

The second phase of the implementation states:

Phase II.

**School year 1978-79 through
school year 1981-82.**

During this period, the use of Pilipino in the subjects named: *social studies/social sciences, character education, work education, health education and physical education* shall be: (under-scoring supplied)

**a) Mandatory beginning school year 1978-79 in the following:
Schools/school divisions in the Tagalog areas and all other schools/school divisions that made the shift to Pilipino during the school year 1975-76....**

b) Mandatory in all other schools in accordance with the following schedule:

Primary: School year 1978-79

Intermediate: School year 1979-80

First & Second Year High School: School year 1980-81

Third & Fourth Year High School: School year 1981-82.

The use of English in all other subjects/courses in the elementary and secondary levels shall likewise be mandatory.

The second phase of this schedule is mandatory for the non-Tagalog areas.

What are the Subject Areas for Pilipino?

Aside from the teaching of Pilipino as a subject from the elementary

up to the secondary level, the subject areas that are to be taught in Pilipino as medium of instruction are the following: (1) social studies/social sciences, (2) character education, (3) work education, (4) health education, and (5) physical education.

The social sciences, refere to the courses that lend themselves to helping students understand and cherish the Philippine way of life, e.g., Philippine History, Philippine Government, Philippine Rural Life, Philippine Sociology, the Constitution, Taxation, and the like.

What are the Subject Areas for English?

On the other hand, the courses that are to be taught through the medium of English are the following: 1) English as a subject, 2) science, and 3) mathematics. These subjects will be taught from elementary up to university level.

Production of Instructional Materials

The DO says that the new textbooks as well as teaching guides for use in the subject areas to be taught in Pilipino shall be written only in Pilipino. And the new textbooks to be used in the subject areas to be taught in English shall be written only in English.

Specifically, the DO states:

New textbooks and other instructional materials shall be developed for English and Pilipino language courses/subjects aimed at developing competence in the use of these languages.

To pursue the task of preparing instructional materials, the DEC issued Department Order No. 20, s. 1973, designating the Educational Development Projects Implementing Task Force (EDPITAF) to undertake and coordinate the preparation of such materials. Further, the DEC issued Department Memorandum No. 31, s. 1975, stating among other things the designation of the following institutions as National Research and Development Centers (NRDC) in their respective areas of expertise.

INSTITUTIONS .

University of the Philippines
 Science Education Center (UP-SEC)
 Philippine Normal College
 Language Study Center (PNC-LSC)
 Bureau of Public Schools
 Social Studies Center (BPS-SSC)
 Philippine College of Arts
 and Trades (PCAT)

Central Luzon State University
 (CLSU) (in close coordination
 with the PCAT)

SUBJECT AREA

Science and
 Mathematics
 Languages

Social Studies

Practical Arts
 (Industrial Arts
 and Business Dis-
 tributive Arts)

Practical Arts
 (Agricultural,
 Fisheries and
 Homemaking Arts)

As designated, the UP-SEC-EDPITAF is preparing the textbooks, teaching guides, and the like, for science and mathematics. The PNC-LSC-EDPITAF is developing instructional materials for languages, that is, in English and Pilipino.

The PCAT-EDPITAF is preparing materials on practical arts, specifically for Industrial Arts and Distributive Arts. The CLSU-EDPITAF is constructing materials on practical arts, particularly on Agricultural, Fisheries and Homemaking Arts.

It should be made clear that the preparation of instructional materials is not confined alone to government agencies/ like the EDPITAF. Private educational publishers are also taking the lead in the production of textbooks, teachers' guides, and other teaching materials in answer to the teachers' needs in the field in the implementation of the bilingual policy.

In-Service Training for Teachers.

Regarding in-service training for the development of teachers' competence in the use of Pilipino, DO No. 25 states:

In-service training programs for the development of teachers' competence in the use of Pilipino as medium of instruction shall be organized on the national, regional, and local levels under the direction of the appropriate personnel of the Department of Education and Culture and its agencies and instrumentalities with the cooperation of teachers and colleges and universities.

On October 9, 1974, Atty. Pineda, the Director of INL, wrote the President of the Philippines requesting authority for the said agency to conduct in-service training on bilingualism and bilingual education. The letter states:

I have the honor to request authority for the Institute of National Language to conduct in-service training, seminars, institutes and other similar activities on bilingualism and bilingual education on national, regional and local levels. These activities are in line with the policy of the Administration to develop a bilingual nation competent in the use of both Pilipino and English.

Along this line the President of the *Pambansang Samahan sa Linggwistikang Pilipino, Ink. (PSLP)* an association the formation of which, according to Sibayan is "one of the most important developments in the teaching of Pilipino...."⁵ - wrote to the Secretary of the DEC requesting approval of a series of seminars on bilingualism for the benefit of non-Tagalog teachers of Social Studies, Work Education, Health Education, Physical Education and Pilipino⁶.

On 17 January 1975, in response to the request of the PSLP, the Secretary of the DEC issued Department Memorandum (DM) No.17, s. 1975, announcing the series of seminars on bilingual education for the non-Tagalog teachers in the outlying places of the Philippines.

The seminars were mainly sponsored by the PSLP. More than 6,000 teachers on the subject areas of Social Studies/Social Sciences, Work Education, Health Education, Physical Education, and Pilipino, as well as administrators of programs in Pilipino, were served in these seminars for a period of six months, from April up to September 1975. The areas that were covered geographically were: 1) Tuguegarao, Cagayan; 2) Baguio City; 3) Vigan, Ilocos Sur; 4) San Carlos City (Pangasinan); 5) Naga City; 6) Legaspi City; 7) Iloilo City; 8) Cadiz City; 9) Tacloban City; 10) Catbalogan, Samar; 11) Cebu City; and 12) Cagayan de Oro City.

The Linguistic Society of the Philippines sponsored two national seminars, also on bilingualism. The first one was held during the Summer of 1974 at the Ateneo University, and the second during the summer of

1975 at the Philippine Normal College. There are also on going seminars sponsored by different agencies of the DEC as well as by private schools in the different parts of the country, upgrading the competence of teachers in the use of Pilipino.

The Tertiary Level

Regarding the tertiary level, the DO No. 25 provides thus:

Tertiary institutions (collegiate and graduate levels) are given discretion to develop their own schedules of implementation, provided that by the school year 1984, all graduates of tertiary curricula should be able to pass examinations in English and/or Pilipino for the practice of their professions.

It was observed that the DO did not bear any provision or implementing guideline for the teaching of Pilipino and English as a language/subject at the collegiate and graduate levels. Hence, the members of the INLB through its Director, wrote the Secretary of the DEC and chairman of the NBE on 23 October 1975 7 strongly recommending that the DEC issue an order prescribing specific guidelines for the implementation of the policy on bilingual education in tertiary institutions, and submitted a model plan to that effect. The letter further states:

the Members of the Institute of National Language firmly believe that our nation will be truly and very much more a competent bilingual nation if Pilipino students are competent in the use of both English and Pilipino not only at the elementary and secondary levels but more so at the collegiate and graduate levels. The Members, therefore, earnestly request that the Department of Education and Culture issue a department order similar to the one we are hereby requesting at the earliest possible time.

In its session held on 12 November 1975, the National Board of Education approved the suggestion of the INLB to issue supplemental implementing guidelines for the tertiary institutions. And on 14 November, 1975, the DEC promulgated Department Order No. 50, s. 1975 the supplemental implementing guidelines for the policy on bilingual education for the tertiary level. A pertinent portion of the DO reads as follows:

Courses in English and Pilipino shall be offered in tertiary institutions as part of appropriate curricula pursuant to the policy of bilingual education; furthermore, by school year 1984, all graduates of tertiary institutions should be able to pass examinations in English and/or Pilipino for the practice of their professions.

The term "appropriate curricula" refers to the courses that should be taught in Pilipino and the courses that should be taught in English.

In addition, the DO states that the curricula "shall take effect beginning school year 1976-1977" as suggested by the INLB.

It should be noted that although there were no specific guidelines on the implementation of the bilingual policy for tertiary institutions prior to the issuance of DO No. 50, some institutions of higher learning, particularly the state institutions, e.g. the Philippine Normal College, the University of the Philippines, etc., started the implementation of DO No.25 immediately after its issuance by the DEC.

However, with the issuance of the supplemental guidelines affecting bilingual education from the elementary level up to the tertiary level, it can be rightfully said that Pilipino language is now definitely playing an important role in the Philippine educational system. And through bilingual education, Pilipino is achieving in the process, that prestige aspect in its development which is very vital to its further growth and acceptance as the common language of all Filipinos.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be stated that the inclusion of Pilipino as medium of instruction in the bilingual education of the people of the Philippines has set the necessary tempo for the advancement of the national language in its significant task as an instrument with which to attain common understanding and cohesion among the people and ultimately to enhance that invaluable phase of nation building.

NOTES

1. The Institute of National Language Board was reconstituted by President Ferdinand E. Marcos through Executive Order No.306, dated March 16, 1970. The members of the Board are: Dr. Juan L. Manuel - Pangasinan; Dr. Ernesto Constantino - Ilocano; Dr. Alejandro Q. Perez - Kapampangan; Dr. Clodoaldo H. Leocadio - Bicol; Dr. Lino Q. Arquiza - Cebuano; Dr. Nella G. Casambre - Hiligaynon; Dr. Lorenzo G. Cesar - Samar Leyte; and Dr. Mauyag M. Tamano - Maranao and Minority Cultural Languages.

2. National Board of Education - this is the highest policy making body on education of the Philippines. The current members are: Hon. Juan L. Manuel, chairman; Secretary of the Department of Education and Culture, Dr. Narciso Alibarracia, Undersecretary of

Education and Culture; Dr. Jaime C. Laya, Budget Commissioner; Dr. Gofre D. Corpuz, President, University of The Philippines; Gen. Florencio Medina, Chairman, National Science Development Board; Dr. Liceria B. Soriano, Director, Bureau of Elementary Education; Atty. Andres R. Asistin, Director, Bureau of Secondary Education; and Dr. Antonio G. Dumlao, Director, Bureau of Higher Education, members. The last three named are non-voting.

3. The New Society was launched upon the promulgation of Presidential Proclamation No. 1081 on September 21, 1972, declaring a state of martial law and aiming to carry out reforms of the Democratic Revolution of President Ferdinand E. Marcos.

4. The Pambansang Samahan sa Linggwistikang Pilipino, Inc. (PSLP) (National Association for Pilipino Linguistics, Inc.) was organized by Dr. Alejandro Q. Perez, on May 10, 1970. The objective of this association is to assist in the development and propagation of Pilipino and also to assist Pilipino teachers through linguistics.

5. Bonafacio P. Sibayan, "Language Teaching in the Philippines," *Parangal kay Cecilio Lopez*, Publication of the Linguistic Society of the Philippines, December 1973, pp. 283-291.

6. Department of Education and Culture, Department Memorandum No. 17., s. 1975. "Announcing the Series on Bilingual Education," February 10, 1975.

7. Letter of the Director and Chairman of the Institute of National Language, dated 23 October 1975, to the Secretary of the Department of Education and Culture requesting issuance of a Department Order providing specific guidelines for the implementation of the policy on bilingual education in tertiary institutions of learning.

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**THE ROLE OF THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE
IN FOSTERING NATIONAL IDENTITIES IN INDONESIA**

Jakub Isman

I. Bahasa Indonesia as the National Language

The motto of the Republic of Indonesia "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika" (Unity in Diversity) is a frank recognition of the fact that this united nation comprises diverse ethnolinguistic groups. The linguistic wealth of Indonesia is marked by the hundreds of languages (about 250 according to Alisjahbana, 1955) spoken throughout the archipelago, ranging from Javanese and Sundanese which are spoken by millions of people on the island of Java to many small languages which are spoken by only a few hundred thousand people such as Kerinci and Rejang on the island of Sumatra. The hundreds of speech communities very often coincide with ethnic groupings so that socio-cultural differences are added to the linguistic differences that exist.

The leaders of the Indonesian independence movement at the beginning of this century realized that the ethnolinguistic differences among their people could become very serious obstacles to their struggle for a united independent nation. Their efforts in bringing the different groups closer together included the provision of a means for inter-ethnic communication. The pioneers of the independent movement realized that the wisest thing to do would be to utilize the then widely used lingua franca of the archipelago, the Malay language, for inter-ethnic or "national" communication purposes.

On October 28, 1928 the youth of Indonesia pledged as follows:

- we, the sons and daughters of Indonesia, declare that we belong to one country, Indonesia;
- we, the sons and daughters of Indonesia, declare that we belong to one nation, Indonesia;
- we, the sons and daughters of Indonesia, declare that we will uphold the unifying language, Bahasa Indonesia.

This pledge shows the determination of the Indonesian youth of different ethno-linguistic origins to have one united country and nation, despite the diverse socio-cultural backgrounds, and to have one unifying national language despite the hundreds of existing ethnic languages.

When Indonesia achieved her independence in 1945, the legal status of Bahasa Indonesia as the official language of the new republic was confirmed by the 1945 Constitution as stated in article 36 as follows: "The language of the State shall be *Bahasa Indonesia*."

Since 1945 Bahasa Indonesia has undergone very significant and rapid development. It has become the only medium of instruction in schools and universities, with the exception of the first three grades of the Elementary School in some districts where local languages are still used. Bahasa Indonesia is the only language used in official business, official meetings and ceremonies, seminars and conferences, most books, journals, magazines, newspapers and other forms of publication. Radio and TV programmes, stage performances and motion pictures are in Bahasa Indonesia, and so are religious sermons.

What is *Bahasa Indonesia*? *Bahasa* means 'language' so that Bahasa Indonesia simply means 'the Indonesian language.' The "Congress on Bahasa Indonesia" held in Medan, North Sumatra in 1954 recognized that Bahasa Indonesia grew and developed from the Malay language and that the ethnic or local languages had enriched its growth and development. This means that Bahasa Indonesia is basically a more developed Malay, the lingua franca which for centuries has been used in the Indonesian archipelago as the medium of communication between foreigners and natives and among the natives of different linguistic and socio-cultural backgrounds. Malay was already recognized as a good and reputable language of the archipelago as early as the sixteenth century (Alisjahbana, 1933).

The emergence of Malay as the lingua franca of Indonesia and later its "transformation" into the national language of the country has been facilitated by some favourable factors. First, the dwelling places of the native speakers of the language were strategically located on both sides of the Strait of Malacca, the water gate used by European and West and South Asian traders, sailors and missionaries when entering the Indonesian archipelago. These foreigners were exposed to and started to learn the Malay language. Second, the Malays themselves often travelled and migrated to other parts of the archipelago. The other ethnic groups which came into contact with the Malay travellers and migrants were also exposed to and started to learn their language. Alisjahbana (1933) reports that for many centuries before the Youth Pledge of 1928 Malay had already been used as a medium of inter-ethnic communication among the different Indonesian groups such as between the Achenese and the Bataks, the Javanese and the Bugenese, the Sundanese and the people of Lampung.

It has been recognized that simplicity and flexibility are favourable factors in making some languages acceptable as international or national languages (see, for instance, Sapir, 1931 and Garvin and Mathiot, 1956). These two factors are present in the case of Malay. In the expansion of science and technology in Indonesia, for instance, Dutch had played an important role, and after World War II so has English. However, even in this field the two languages could not dominate. During the present decade Bahasa Indonesia is almost the only language used for science, technology and other academic fields, while Dutch has almost disappeared and English is limited to the use in reading materials in institutions of higher education.

Arabic had played a very important role in the expansion of Islam in the archipelago, but neither could it dominate over Malay. Malay, and later Bahasa Indonesia, continued to gain wider use in the religious life of the people so that nowadays almost all religious sermons and teachings in Indonesian mosques and schools are given in Bahasa Indonesia. The use of Arabic is only limited to the recitation of the Koranic verses, which must still be translated into Bahasa Indonesia for most people to understand, and to the books on Islamic studies used in schools and institutes specializing in this field. The success of Malay or Bahasa Indonesia even in the fields where Dutch, English and Arabic had played very important roles at the beginning of their expansion in this country is partly due to the simplicity and flexibility of the Indonesian *lingua franca*.

The analytic languages of Indonesia are relatively simple in many aspects if compared to the synthetic Indo-European and Semitic languages (Slametmuljana, 1959). Speakers of the ethnic languages find it easier to learn Malay which, still belongs to their family of languages, because they share common basic phonological, morphological and syntactic features and core vocabulary items.

Unlike Dutch and English, the Indonesian languages do not mark the verb for different tenses. The concept of time in Indonesian is expressed in terms of a lexical item preceding or following the verb. For the form *goes, going, went, gone, go*, for instance, we will find only one form *pergi* in Malay. Unlike Arabic, the Indonesian languages do not mark the noun for different cases, numbers, genders and definiteness. For instance, Arabic may have eight forms for the noun meaning *boy* in singular, while Malay has only one *anak*

lelaki. The Arabic forms are as follows: *wld* (root), *walad* (stem), *waladu*, (nominative, indefinite), *waladin* (genitive, indefinite), *waladan* (accusative, indefinite), *waladu* (nominative, definite), *waladi* (genitive, definite), *walada* (accusative, definite). The complexity of the Arabic inflectional system can be exemplified by Classical Arabic which can have as many as 21 possible inflectional categories for the regular fully-declined noun group. This group can be declined according to cases (nominative, genitive, accusative), numbers (singular, dual, plural), genders (masc. fem.) and definiteness (Altoma, 1969). There is no room to go into more detailed examples of the simplicity of Bahasa Indonesia compared to the three languages mentioned earlier, but from the above examples it is easy to understand why the speakers of the numerous ethnic languages prefer using Malay to using Indo-European languages or Arabic.

At different times in the history of Malay or Bahasa Indonesia; the Indonesians themselves felt that their lingua franca or national language was sometimes not efficient or effective enough for some special communication purposes. However, the problem could always be overcome mainly because of the flexibility of Bahasa Indonesia and the readiness of its diverse speakers to incorporate the necessary new words from foreign as well as ethnic languages in order to cope with the increasing needs of communication in the modern world. Any Indonesian or Malay dictionary would readily testify to the mixed origins of many words of Bahasa Indonesia. Examples of words originated from foreign languages are *kemeja* 'shirt' from Portuguese, *pensil* 'pencil' from English, *khobar* 'news' from Arabic, *gubernur* 'governor' from Dutch, *tauge* 'bean sprout' from Chinese, *bakti* 'devotion' from Sanskrit. Examples of words originated from ethnic languages are *bupati* 'district officer' from Javanese, *camat* 'sub-district officer' from Sundanese, *heboh* 'noisy' from Minangkabau.

As mentioned earlier, simplicity and flexibility, the favourable factors inherent in Malay, and the strategic dwelling places of its people and their habit and interest in travelling to and settling at different places in the archipelago have contributed to the wide use of Malay as a lingua franca and later the national language of Indonesia. But there are also factors inherent in other ethnic languages and groups that have also contributed to the transformation of Malay into Bahasa Indonesia. First, many ethnic languages

which are also simple are very small in terms of the number of speakers and are spoken in isolated places. these languages can never compete with Malay in making up a lingua franca. Second, the languages of large ethnic groups such as Javanese and Sundanese whose speakers are numerous have the disadvantage of having a complex system of language levels. An example from Javanese will be sufficient as an illustration. For the English sentence *Are you going to eat rice and cassava now* we will simply have one Malay sentence *Apakah saudara akan makan nasi dan ubi sekarang*. In Javanese, however, depending on the status of the speaker and the listener, or on the familiarity of their relationship, a speaker will have to choose one of several alternative levels as follows for the above sentence (Geertz, 1960):

Level

- 3a. Menapa panjenengan bade dahar sekul kaliyan kaspe samenika?
3. Menapa sampeyan bade neda sekul kaliyan kaspe samenika?
2. Napa sampeyan ajeng neda sekul lan kaspe saniki?
- 1a. Apa sampeyan arep neda sega lan kaspe saiki?
1. Apa kowe arep mangan sega lan kaspe saiki?

There are three main levels of speech in Javanese, namely *krama* (high), *madya* (middle), and *ngoko* (low). As has already been mentioned, the selection of the level to be used in a certain language encounter is determined by the status of the speaker and the listener and/or by the degree of familiarity of their relationship. In the above examples the level distinction is more refined. The high level is subdivided into *krama inggil* (upper high) and *krama biasa* (lower high); the low level is also sub-divided into *ngoko madya* (upper low) and *ngoko biasa* (lower low).

The complexity of learning a language with levels such as Javanese does not only lie in the problems of learning different linguistic codes but also in determining the socio-cultural context of any speech event and the status background of the speakers. This fact is a serious draw-back for any language in becoming a lingua franca. In addition to that, the levels may also be felt to indicating some degree of feudalism or undemocratic relation among people and thus become a serious obstacle to the adoption of the language as the national language of the democratic Republic of Indonesia.

It should also be mentioned that the acceptance of Malay as a lingua franca is also facilitated by the fact that the Malays do not constitute a

majority ethnic group as do the Javanese, for instance. The other ethnic groups do not have the "fear" of being dominated by the native speakers of Malay.

In concluding this part it should be pointed out again that the development of Malay as the lingua franca of Indonesia and its transformation into Bahasa Indonesia, the national language of the republic, had been interwoven with the development of the Indonesian state and nation. The use of Bahasa Indonesia by the different ethnic groups has never been forced by any group or agency. Its acceptance as the national language is voluntary. Therefore, the attitude of Indonesians towards Bahasa Indonesia has been very favourable. Regarding this fact, proceedings of the "Seminar on the National Language Policy" held in Jakarta in February, 1975, can best summarize the current views of Indonesians on the status and functions of Bahasa Indonesia (Lembaga Bahasa Nasional, 1975). The seminar concluded that Bahasa Indonesia has the status of a national language, a status which it has enjoyed since the Youth Pledge of 1928. Since 1945 it has also had the status of the official state language of Indonesia as stated in the constitution. The seminar also concluded that as a national language Bahasa Indonesia functions as (1) the symbol of national pride, (2) the symbol of national identity, (3) an instrument for uniting the diverse ethnolinguistic groups, and (4) a means of inter-cultural communication among the ethnic groups. As a state language Bahasa Indonesia functions as (1) the official language of the state, (2) the official language of instruction in educational institutions, (3) the official means of communication at the national level for planning, development and government activities, and (4) the official language in the development of culture, science and technology.

II. Bahasa Indonesia and National Identities

The *Pançasila*, the five basic principles of the state of Indonesia and its 1945 Constitution, is a formal statement of the basic values and norms which the Indonesian people have determined to live with

The five principles of Pancasila are as follows:

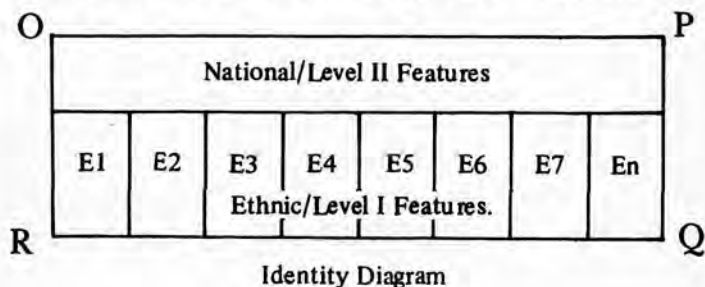
- (1) *Ke-Tuhanan Yang Maha Esa* (Belief in the One, Supreme God), (2) *Kemanusiaan yang adil dan beradab*. (Just and civilised humanity), (3) *Persatuan Indonesia* (The unity of Indonesia), (4) *Kerakyatan yang dipimpin*

oleh hikmat kebijaksanaan dalam permusyawaratan/perwakilan (Democracy which is guided by the inner wisdom in the unanimity arising out of deliberation amongst representatives), and (5) *Keadilan sosial bagi seluruh rakyat Indonesia* (Social justice for all the people of Indonesia).

The five basic principles depict, in broad terms, the ideals that the Indonesian people want to uphold. The ideal "Pancasila life" requires many changes on part of the diverse ethnic groups. It requires a long process of assimilation and adjustment. Before proceeding further, I would like to quote, for the benefit of later discussion, article 31 of the constitution as follows: "(1) Every citizen shall have the right to obtain an education, (2) The Government shall establish and conduct a national educational system which shall be regulated by statute." It is also necessary to quote article 32 of the constitution as follows: "The Government shall advance the national culture of Indonesia."

The national culture should be able to provide a national identity for the Indonesian people so that on the one hand it can be distinguished from other peoples, and on the other hand it can be tied together by the identities its members share in common. The advancement of a national culture does not necessarily mean the loss of ethnic cultures. In case some cultural features of a certain ethnic group are adopted as national ones, they still belong to that group even though at the same time they are shared by other ethnic groups. In case some new features are added to the national culture, they are at the same time added to the ethnic cultures because the national culture belongs to all the people.

In order to facilitate the discussion on national and ethnic identities, we can diagram the spheres of the socio-cultural and political lives of the Indonesians of different ethnolinguistic origins as follows (Cf. Isman, 1975):



Rectangle OPQR encloses all features that constitute national as well as ethnic identities. These features identify the nation as a socio-cultural and political entity which embraces all the ethnic groups but which at the same time distinguish them from other nations. In the above diagram these features are symbolized as level II features and level I features. Level II features are national identities and they include things such as Bahasa Indonesia, Indonesian literature, the national political system, national laws, the national flag, the national anthem, the national educational system, etc. Level I features which are found in rectangles E1 to En identify the different ethnic groups. They bind people belonging to the same ethnic group together and at the same time distinguish them from other ethnic groups. These features include things such as ethnic languages, the local literature, customary or "adat laws" of the ethnic groups, traditional local music and costumes, etc.

Some level I features can be potential in arousing interethnic conflicts. In order to avoid such conflicts it is very urgent to develop national tolerance (Slametmuljana, 1959). Without such tolerance the nation will be troubled by excessive ethnic pride and solidarity which will place ethnic interests above national ones. This can be very dangerous not only for nation building, but even for the very existence of the nation.

As has already been mentioned in part I, the Indonesian leaders have realized the potential danger of ethnic conflicts since the beginning of the independence movement in 1908. Therefore, various efforts have been made to unite the ethnic groups. One important and successful effort is marked by the voluntary acceptance of Bahasa Indonesia as the national language. As Slametmuljana (1959) points out, active social and cultural contacts have taken place between Bahasa Indonesia and the ethnic languages. The "spirit" of the national and the local languages have merged. Both sides have interests in each other and they, therefore, have influenced each other. The socio-cultural contacts have brought the ethnic identities closer to national identities. One of the supporting factors for the acceptance of Bahasa Indonesia as the national language is that the different ethnic groups are willing to "sacrifice" their ethno-linguistic pride because they realize the urgent needs for national unity.

Another important effort in uniting the ethnic groups is the formulation of the five basic principles of Pancasila mentioned earlier, which has taken into consideration the potential conflict sources among the ethnic groups. The five principles are actually abstracted from the ideals honoured by the ethnic groups. In light of the Identity Diagram, Pancasila, which is among the level II features, is a natural abstraction from level I features. For instance, the first principle, "Belief in the One, Supreme God" is accepted by all religious groups: Moslems, Christians, Buddhists, and others.

Articles 31 and 32 of the constitution are statements of the understanding of Indonesians of the need for a planned development of a national culture and a national educational system. Citizens of different ethnic origins are expected to gain common experiences through the same educational system, which constitutes an important medium for the advancement of a national culture and language.

Koentjaraningrat (1974) points out that the Indonesian national culture which involves the problem of personalities and identities of Indonesians as a nation, is not only an ideal thing for the future, but it is a live problem in the reality of today. The problems of culture involve the reasons and motivation for the development and growth of the nation. Koentjaraningrat distinguishes the concept of "Indonesian culture" from the concept of "Indonesian national culture."

In his opinion, the Indonesian culture is the totality of thoughts, activities, and products of the work of all Indonesians, irrespective of their ethnic origins. In the Identity Diagram presented earlier it includes all features in rectangle OPQR. A national culture, on the other hand, has to have some specific characteristics which are capable of arousing the feeling of pride in the people. This is important because a national culture should be able to provide an identity for its citizens. According to Koentjaraningrat, the specific characteristics of a national culture are manifested in only some limited features such as those of its language, traditional as well as contemporary arts, including dress styles, and ceremonial customs.

In light of the above assumptions, it is not important that the national cultural features be shared by *all* ethnic groups. However, these features should be of high quality so that the Indonesians of different ethnic groups are proud of them and thus can identify themselves with these features. To a

certain extent I agree with Koentjaraningrat. I want to add, however, that good cultural features will ultimately belong to all the people because these people want to be identified with them. Consequently, "being shared by all the ethnic groups" becomes a characteristic of national cultural features. In the Identity Diagram I have proposed to call the level II features as national cultural features. The number of these features can be added in two ways. First, a certain ethnic feature may have very high quality and thus becomes a source of pride for many Indonesian of different ethnic origins and it will ultimately be accepted by most of the people. In the Identity Diagram this feature will be "uplifted" from level I to level II. The acceptance of the Malay language as the basis for Bahasa Indonesia and the acceptance of "kebaya" (a type of Javanese women's dress) as a national dress are two good examples of how some ethnic cultural features have been uplifted to become national cultural features. Nowadays Malay or Bahasa Indonesia does not only identify the Malay ethnic group but all Indonesians. Likewise, "kebaya" does not only identify the Javanese group but the nation as well.

Another way of increasing the number of national cultural features is the deliberate creation of new features for the nation as whole, such as creating a national anthem and flag, writing novels and dramas in the national language.

Adding new features to the national culture and uplifting ethnic feature to becoming national ones are necessary activities in any effort of fostering national identities. One specific instance of these activities, namely the transformation of the Malay ethnic language into Bahasa Indonesia as a national language has been discussed earlier. This paper will further attempt to clarify the role of the national language in fostering national identities in general.

Language is specific to human beings and as such it is not found in other species. A human society cannot function without language because true social interaction must be carried on with the help of an effective means of communication. Among several communication systems, the language system is the most effective and efficient because with limited sound units, limited morphological and syntactic rules, and limited number of lexical items, human beings can create limitless number of sentences. Language has become an indispensable vehicle of social life.

From the anthropological point of view, language is the vehicle of culture. The transmission of cultural features across time and space boundaries is not possible without language. In the case of Indonesian cultural features in general, whether ethnic or national, their transmission from one generation to the next and their expansion from one place to other places is done through either the ethnic languages and/or the national language. Knowledge, science and technology cannot develop without language. In general, the whole process of thinking requires the help of language. As Vygotsky (1962) says, the meaning of a word represents such a close amalgam of thought and language that it is hard to tell whether it is a phenomenon of speech or the phenomenon of thought. He further asserts that thought undergoes many changes as it turns into speech. Thought does not merely find expression in speech; it finds its reality and form.

In light of the above discussion, language is extremely important for the development of the individual citizen; it is important for the total development of his life: personal, socio-cultural as well as political. The "business" of nation building in the "non-material" sense is actually the development of the individual citizen. Because language plays a vital role in the development of the individual, its role in nation building is also vital.

Fischer (1965) has also stressed the prominent role played by language in general, Bahasa Indonesia in particular, in the efforts of nation building in Indonesia. He says that a common language - not the environment of socialization - has been the most overriding factor in developing simultaneous loyalties to tribe, region and state which has diminished the cultural basis of political conflict in the nation. He is of the opinion that the national language and the medium of instruction is the basic political consideration related to schools and cultures within a country. In the case of Indonesia the national language which has been accepted as the language of instruction in the schools has become the bridge of acculturation among diverse ethnic groups. Therefore, Bahasa Indonesia has played a vital role in the "nationalization" of youth of diverse ethnolinguistic origins. In this light and in the light of its development since the early independence movement, Bahasa Indonesia has come to be regarded as synonymous with the very idea of the Indonesian state and nation. It has become the outstanding identifying characteristic of Indonesia and the Indonesians.

In what way can Bahasa Indonesia help foster other national identities? First, through its instrumental function as the medium of instruction in the schools and universities it enables the transmission of culture, knowledge, science and technology from the older generation to the younger and from one place to others. Through the humanities and social studies, the language of instruction can also provide common socio-cultural and political experiences for the youth. They recite the poems they all understand, they conduct discussions in the same language, they read novels and short stories together, they perform dramas, they take part in school elections, etc. Those experiences will bring the young people from different ethno-linguistic and religious groups closer to each other. When they use or hear words, technical terms or idiomatic expressions, they share the same meanings. Shared activities, lectures, reading materials, etc. contribute to common experiences which, in turn, become the foundation for mutual understanding and trust. Considering that the youngsters who are enrolled at schools and universities constitute a significant percentage of the total population of the country, the importance of the national language is tremendous.

Second, through its function as the means for interethnic communication, it makes the exchange of cultural features possible and it facilitates personal and social contacts among the members of different ethnic groups. This will make acculturation possible not only in the schools, but outside as well. People who reside in regions other than their ethnic one and couples of mixed marriages must have experienced the tremendous advantage of having a national language which provides them with a common medium of communication. The homes of mixed marriages and big metropolitan centres, such as Jakarta with the population coming from all parts of the country, have become the places where the national language is spoken at home as well as in the community at large. Here Bahasa Indonesia is used in formal as well as in familiar situations. In such homes and communities all aspects of the lives of the people have been identified with the national language.

Written communication in Indonesia is a very interesting phenomenon to study. As has been discussed earlier, the schools in many regions use Bahasa Indonesia as the medium of instruction from the first grade to the university. In these regions people learn to read and write for the first time in

Bahasa Indonesia. In some other regions the ethnic language is still used for the first two or three grades. This means that the early reading and writing activities are carried out in the ethnic language. However, for the rest of their years at school the students use the national language so that school experiences are still predominantly gained through the medium of Bahasa Indonesia. Therefore, most Indonesians will be more at ease when reading and writing in Bahasa Indonesia rather than in their respective ethnic languages. Reading materials in Bahasa Indonesia are very abundant in comparison to materials in the ethnic languages. Newspapers, popular magazines, journals, textbooks, poems, novels, short stories and other contemporary literary pieces are written in the national language. Leaflets, bulletins, advertisements, and announcements are also written in Bahasa Indonesia. And so are government documents, meeting records, and official letters.

In order to see how deeply written Bahasa Indonesia has penetrated the life of individual Indonesians, I have interviewed a sample of 22 people with the following composition of ethnic origins: 3 Javanese, 10 Minangkabau, 5 Kerinci, 2 Sundanese, and 2 Toba Batak. When asked about what languages they use in speaking and writing to their parents, their answers are as follows: (1) all interviewees use their respective ethnic languages all the time when speaking to their parents, and (2) when writing to them, some of the interviewees use either Bahasa Indonesia or the ethnic language all the time, while some others mix the two.

The Kerinci speakers being interviewed use Bahasa Indonesia all the time when writing letters to their parents, while the Batak interviewees use their ethnic language all the time. In terms of the average percentage, the former group use 100% Bahasa Indonesia, while the latter group use 100% Toba Batak in writing intimate personal letters. The Javanese interviewees use 50% Bahasa Indonesia and 50% their ethnic language. The Sundanese being interviewed used 85% Sundanese and 15% Bahasa Indonesia. The Minangkabau speakers interviewed use 90% Bahasa Indonesia and 10% the ethnic language when writing letters to their parents. When the language usage of the whole group of 22 people is considered together in terms of percentage, the score will be 51% for Bahasa Indonesia and 49% for the ethnic languages combined.

The above findings are far from being conclusive because of the small number of individuals and ethnic groups included in the sample. However, they have already shown a very significant trend of development for Bahasa Indonesia. It is no longer being used only in formal encounters, but it has started to be used in the most intimate and the "most ethnic" encounters, as exemplified by the language medium used in the letters sent to parents. Many parents would be seriously offended if their children *speak* in Bahasa Indonesia to them, but most of them would feel perfectly alright when they receive the children's letters *written* in Bahasa Indonesia. Two of the Kerinci informants report that even illiterate parents who do not speak fluent Bahasa Indonesia ask the help of other people either to read letters received from their far-a-way children or to write back to them in Bahasa Indonesia. Another important finding from the interviews should also be added here: When writing letters to nonrelatives all interviewees used Bahasa Indonesia almost all the time (very close to 100%).

Some assumptions can be made concerning the reasons why some ethnic groups such as the Minangkabau and Kerinci speakers seem to prefer the use of Bahasa Indonesia in writing letters even to their parents. First, the languages of the two ethnic groups are relatively much closer to Bahasa Indonesia and second, their initial experience in reading and writing is gained through Bahasa Indonesia. The languages of the other three ethnic groups - the Javanese, the Sundanese and the Batak - are not so close to Bahasa Indonesia. In addition, these groups have early experiences in reading and writing in their respective ethnic languages. The fact that they seem to prefer writing in the ethnic languages may be due to the above two factors. Further research is needed in order to throw more light on this matter.

The oral form of Bahasa Indonesia does not enjoy the same scope of use. It is limited to formal and official events, including instructions in the schools. Official meetings, ceremonies, conferences, seminars, discussions are all conducted in Bahasa Indonesia. Radio and TV programmes, motion pictures and contemporary stage performances are also in the national language. But in the homes and other familiar environments the ethnic languages are used. Exceptions are the homes of mixed marriages, as has been discussed earlier, and conversation among people of different ethnolinguistic backgrounds. In short, oral Bahasa Indonesia is used for *interethnic*

communication while the ethnic languages are used for *intraethnic* communications (see also Tanner, 1967). Unlike the oral language, written Bahasa Indonesia is used quite often for intraethnic communications as well.

III. Conclusions and Recommendations

Nation building involves the development and advancement of the individual citizens in all aspects of their lives: social, cultural, political and economic. The general role of a national language in fostering such development and advancement is obvious. It is hard to imagine any activity that does not need the help of language. Language use is involved in running factories, in teaching farmers to use fertilizers and to select the best seeds, in selling agricultural and other products, in making family planning accepted by people. Almost everything that can be added to the above list of activities requires the use of language in one way or the other.

The scope of this paper, however, is limited to the discussion of the role of the national language in fostering national identities in the people. The underlying assumption has been that for two decades after the proclamation of the Indonesian independence in 1945 the nation was troubled by many local uprisings and that the observation of the causes of these uprisings leads to one very important conclusion: there were still differences in the past in socio-cultural as well as political and economic views and interests among various groups - be it ethnic in nature, religious or political - that could not be resolved through consultation as recommended by the Pancasila and the constitution. In order to strengthen national unity and integration in the future, sources of inter-group conflicts should first be identified and then eliminated.

This paper suggests that for national unity and interethnic integration the diverse ethnic groups should undergo the process of assimilation and acculturation so that antagonistic differences among the ethnic, religious and political groups can be eliminated. "Non-antagonistic" differences can be left as they are for the enrichment of the Indonesian culture as a whole, as required by the motto *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*. In order to facilitate assimilation and acculturation, more intensive and more effective

communication among the groups as well as between the government and the people is urgently needed. Such communication requires a medium which is acceptable to and understood by those groups. Bahasa Indonesia, which had been used for centuries as a lingua franca in the Indonesian archipelago, and which was later adopted as the national language of the country, is the best choice available. Therefore, Bahasa Indonesia has been voluntarily accepted by the different groups, and it has been capable of playing a focal role in nation building through its use as a means of communication at the national, regional or ethnic, and personal levels, though with varying degrees of intensity and scope. Through such communication, socio-cultural and political features in any region or group are uplifted and become national features with which every Indonesian is willing to identify himself.

It can now be concluded that Bahasa Indonesia as the national language has played and will continue to play the vital role of an oral and written communication medium among diverse ethnolinguistic, religious and political groups. It is therefore an agent of acculturation and assimilation which will, in turn, eliminate dangerous intergroup and interpersonal conflicts. It will thus foster national identities for national unity and integration which are prerequisites of nation building.

Because of the vital and unique role of the national language in nation building, its development and advancement should be given high priority in the national development plan. The government of Indonesia has realized the need and necessity of such development and advancement. The establishment of the "National Center for Language Development" is a manifestation of such a realization. The second Five-Year Development Plan (Departemen Penerangan, 1974) states that the maintenance and development of Bahasa Indonesia and its literature are basically directed towards the goal of making the mass of the people proficient in using the national language as a medium of national communication among the Indonesians. Development of the national language should be viewed as an integral part of the development of the national culture in general. Concerning this, the Development Plan states that the main goal of the development of national culture, which serves as one of the foundations of nation building, is to strengthen national identities, national pride and national unity.

This paper supports the goals stated in the Plan for the development of

the national culture and language. In particular, it also supports the recommendations of the "Seminar on the National Language Policy" held in Jakarta early this year on the development priorities of Bahasa Indonesia (Lembaga Bahasa Nasional, 1975). Considering the status and functions of Bahasa Indonesia as stated at the end of part I of this paper, the Seminar recommends measures and activities which can be summarized as follows: Standardization of the national language is urgently needed in order to achieve accuracy, effectiveness and efficiency in communication. The standardization must include the codification of rules and the establishment of norms and guidelines in pronunciation, spelling, lexicon and grammar. First priority, however, must be given to the written language because it involves less varieties and styles. The Seminar further recommends that in order to facilitate standardization it is necessary to provide dictionaries, writing manuals, and guidelines for the coining of new words and the incorporation of loan words. It is also recommended that the development of the national language should be the shared responsibility of people of various groups, trades or professions: linguists, teachers, newsmen, radio and television announcers, writers, and intellectuals. Government and private schools and universities, other institutions and agencies and the people in general should also take part in the development effort.

In concluding this paper, one point should be stressed again. The development of a national language involves an intricate blend of activities. On the one hand it concerns the "instrument" of thought and feeling, the means of communication. The target of developmental activities in this case is the *system* of the national language. On the other hand, it concerns the *people* that use the language. The target of development in this case is the individual speakers. A good development plan should pay equal attention to both the language and the speakers. These activities should result in a more effective and more efficient national language which is used more frequently by more people in wider scopes. Then we can expect it to function with maximum results.

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**SOME INFORMATION ON THE DEVELOPMENT AND THE
ROLE OF THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE IN MALAYSIA**

Hassan Ahmad

I. Introduction

In this paper I shall attempt to discuss, as briefly as possible, some of the main language planning activities that have taken place in Malaysia in an effort to "develop and enrich the national language" as an instrument of national unity, as a language of government administration and as a vehicle of modern education, of advanced forms of scientific and technical discourse. To play all these extended roles, symbolic or otherwise, the language has to acquire a modern character, probably in the sense which Charles A. Ferguson indicated (1968) when he explained language modernization as "a development of intertranslatability with other languages in a wider range of topics and forms of discourse characteristic of industrialised, structurally differentiated 'modern' society".

The broad framework within which the language has been developing during the last eighteen years of our Independence (1957) is the *language policy* which defines Malay as the national and official language of the nation. From 1957 to 1967, there were in fact two official languages in the country, Malay (the national language) and English. This was because the Constitution of 1957 stated that "for a period of ten years after Merdeka Day (Independence Day) and thereafter until parliament otherwise provides, the English language may be used in both Houses of Parliament, in the Legislative Assembly of every State, and for all other official purposes". It also stated that English "shall continue to be used in all judicial proceedings for a period of ten years, and thereafter until Parliament otherwise provides". The ten-year period was meant to be "a wait and see period" to see if, at the end of it, the national language would be developing a capacity, not of course in the linguistic sense, but rather in the sociolinguistic, supralinguistic sense, to replace the full functions of the English language in the conduct of the administrative, economic and educational affairs of the new nation.

After ten years of massive efforts "to engineer consent or acceptance" (to borrow a term used by Joshua A. Fishman (1968) and to enrich the language per se, Parliament passed the National Language Act 1967, which declared the national language as the *sole* official language of the country, replacing English. But that was not the end of language planning. The displacement of English meant that the national

language would be required to play a bigger role in nation-building, a role for which English had its limitations. At this time, the idea that the national language should be called *Bahasa Malaysia* (the Language of Malaysia) to give it a symbolic, non-communal name was debated in public. The name soon became so popular in the press and among the people that the government finally gave it an official recognition. It reminds one of *Bahasa Indonesia*, which, as we all know, is based on Malay.

2. Why Malay was made the sole national and official language

One of the problems of language policy is the question of selection. In countries where there exists a great diversity of local or indigenous languages and where there is a real competition among these languages for some kind of national status, a decision as to what particular language is to be selected, from among the others, to become the sole national and official language of the country, especially after its independence from colonial rule, is often difficult, if not impossible to make. If the language situation is one in which the competition among the local languages involves minimal political challenges and pressures, such a decision might succeed. In the alternative, a policy of multilingualism might well be a safer decision.

In Malaysia there is a situation of a rather unique kind. Malaysia is one country where there had never been a common, nationwide, ethnic and cultural identity. We are a distinctly multiracial and polyglot society. We have three different major racial groups, the Malays, the Chinese and the Indians, who speak three different languages and have different cultural and historical backgrounds and traditions. The situation became worse under the British, when we were further kept separated by our different economic and occupational compartmentalisations. That was basically the position we found ourselves in on the eve of Independence. The Malaysian leaders fully recognized the urgent need to plan and create a national identity through some institutionalised national symbols that could lead to common mobilization and involvement above, beyond and probably at the expense of the pre-existing ethnic-cultural particularities. It was at this point that the national language concept was invoked as a unifying factor. The language policy was the result of this common

thinking. And there was no other choice but to select the Malay language to play this new role, for various reasons.

In the first place the Malay language had always been the language of the ruling bureaucracy. This historical and traditional status of the language was preserved throughout the length of the British rule, because the "colonial" language, English, alone could not be an effective means of reaching the indigenous populace, the "*rakyat*" of the Malay Sultans. In fact the British made it compulsory for every civil servant to know and learn the language to facilitate communication between the people and the British administrators. There thus never arose a competition among the local languages to vie for this national status. The competition was between Malay and English, the latter of course had the force of being the "colonial masters' language" to dominate Malay and restrict its growth in the administration and in other "public fields". But Malay still remained an official language, although only secondary to English. It was this language that was revived to take over the role of English as the sole official language after Independence.

Secondly, while Chinese and Tamil remained wholly confined to their own native speakers, Malay developed into a lingua franca, a common language used by the majority of the people to facilitate interracial communication. Thus although Malay is native to the Malays, who comprise about 45% of the total population, it is spoken or understood by a large majority of Malaysians of the other racial groups. This common language status of the language had no other rival. English was confined only to a small group of Malaysians.

There are other special qualities of the Malay language which made it an attractive, if not an inevitable choice as the sole national and official language of the country. The learning of the language is made simpler by the fact that it is written in the Romanised script (apart from the Jawi script, which is perhaps more difficult to learn) with which many Malaysians, especially those who know English, are familiar. The language does not suffer from dialectal inhibitions or local restrictions. There is a distinct standard Malay which has shown itself capable of adaptation and acceptability to lexical elaboration despite almost a century of English domination over it. Thus from the point of view of language planning, Malay can more easily be engineered or developed to play its new role effectively.

3. Language Planning

The underlying objective of the language policy is therefore to foster national unity and to create a Malaysian national identity through a common national and official language. This ideologisation of the language as a unifying factor also means that the language per se will have to be developed to meet the needs of the people with respect to the facilitation of communication intercommunally or interracially and especially in the conduct of government administration, education and other organised societal pursuits and "official functions" of the new nation.

The implementation of this national objective of the language policy has been carried out in two concomitant ways. First, the language it self had to be developed and enriched. The second method may be called the engineering of consent or acceptance method. Related to this is the question of "institutionalising" the language in all national affairs and government systems.

3.1 Development of the Language

Two main language development activities have been carried out. First, the expansion of the lexicon of the language to cover topics and to appear in a range of forms of discourse for which the language was not previously used. The second activity has been concerned with the reformation of the Romanised spelling system to enable the language to accommodate new lexical elements brought into it through external borrowing.

3.2 The Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka and Its Work on Lexical Expansion

New words and terms generally called the *istilah* (terminology) had to be consciously and deliberately coined, and to do this work the government established in 1956 a national literary and language planning agency called the *Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka*. In 1959, by an Act of Parliament, this agency, which was started as a government department, was transformed into a statutory body vested with the full authority to

carry out the following main functions, (a) to develop and enrich the national language; (b) to promote literary growth and creative talents and (c) to publish books in the national language.

The Dewan's terminology coining activities are based on the committee system. A subject committee comprising of experts, professionals and even practising laymen drawn from various sources, such as the universities, government departments and other related organisations, is set up within the Dewan to coin new words and terms in the particular subject or field of knowledge. One of the first lists of new terms coined consisted of some routine government administrative terms. It was finally published as a glossary of English Malay and Malay-English terms. This enabled the language to be immediately used "for official purposes", particularly in the public service administration, in place of English. The Dewan's Terminology Division, which was first set up in 1958, coordinates the work of all the terminology committees (there have been 27 such committees) which meet almost every week to go through prepared lists of selected terms in English and think out the "equivalents" in Bahasa Malaysia. The Dewan provides all the facilities, including defrayment to all members of the committees for their "hardships", and administers all terminology matters, such as the indexing of all the terms already coined, the processing and editing of completed lists of terms for publication in the form of terminology books and generally serving as an advisory centre, giving information and answering questions on all matters relating to the new terminology. In this way therefore there is a centralised authority which helps to control and coordinate all word-coining activities.

Since it started to carry out this complex language planning function the Dewan has managed to expand or enrich the lexicon of the language to such an extent that more than 125,000 "new terms", in more than 25 different fields of science, government administration and the humanities, have been coined, listed, classified and standardized. The effect of this lexical expansion or enrichment on growth of the language, especially during the significant period between 1957-1967, has been tremendous. The use of English "for official purposes", which especially means civil service, administrative purposes, was widely and effectively replaced by Bahasa Malaysia, and it was this growth that made it

possible for the language finally to be declared as the sole official language under the National Language Act, 1967. The new post-independent education policy which was based on the use of the national language as the main medium of instruction, produced effective results. when, for example, the first batch of Malay medium secondary students was admitted (1965) into the university of Malaya. The students received their instruction in the university almost entirely in Malay. Thus within a period of less than ten years after Independence, the Malay language, which before 1957 was only used as a medium of primary school - education - and no more, became an -acceptable- medium of instruction at the university level. All this was due to the lexical expansion - which, among - other - things, - gave - for higher - learning in vocabulary or sufficient semantic repertory to local authors sufficient for the use of secondary school students but also write books not only it. I shall say more about education and books in Bahasa Malaysia later on.

3.3 Word - Coining in Malaysia and Joint-Efforts with Indonesia

In have said that more than 125,000 "new words and terms" were coined in the language. The word "new" is misleading because most of the so-called new terms were in fact not new. More than 60% of the terms comprise ordinary Malay words which have been given extended meanings. They are thus generally called *istilahs*, that is, words and terms which express specialised concepts, ideas and things. Some of them have been internally created. There is a small percentage of independently coined words, for example, blends like "jabanah", meaning a sub-way which is a blend of the syllables of three words *jalan* (street, a way), *bawah* (under, bottom), *tanah* (land, earth). But a large number of the "new" terms are really those which have been coined by external borrowing, almost wholly from English. They are loan-words which make up most of the highly specialised, scientific and technical lexicon of the language.

In the early years of this word-coinig activity there was a certain amount of inclination towards purism, that is a tendency to adapt all new lexical items to what was popularly defined as "lidah Melayu" ("Malay tongue"). Thus loan-translations and the adoption of existing Malay words to express new meanings and concepts were preferred to loan words. But even loan-words were "purified"; for example, they were

usually formed by removing as much as possible of the visual shape of the source words. Such words as "radium" and "carbon" became "radiam" and "karban" in Malay, the popular view being that the *-ium* and *-on* elements in the English words were not suitable to "Malay tongue", either because they were not pronounceable or "not acceptable to the traditional structure of Malay words", whatever that was supposed to mean at the time. But there was another tendency which seemed to work to the other extreme and this was the coining of loan-words by literally "borrowing" the original pronunciation or sounds of the source words, and this was done with no apparent regard to the linguistic suitability of such transcriptions to the Malay language. Examples of such "words" are (or were) "institiut" (institute), "amecer" (amateur), "vokesyenel" (vocational) and "kolokesyen" (collocation).

The practical results of loan-translation, especially those which refer to some specialised concepts and ideas, were not always satisfactory partly because of the very general nationality, the vagueness, which the words often evoked in the minds of those who were already familiar with the specialised and established meanings attached to the source words in English. Gradually through current usage, resulting from the extended role repertoires, real or anticipatory of those to whom terminological practicabilities were more important than purism, loan-words became more preferred than loan-translations or "pure Malay words". Thus for example certain loan-translations such as "kajimanasia" ("the study of man"), and "kajimasyarakat" (the study of society") were replaced by loan-words "antropoloji" (anthropology) and "sosioloji" (sociology). As progress towards wider adoption of the language in the higher education system of the country became more real after 1970, especially with the setting up of the Universiti Kebangsaan (the national university), which introduced Bahasa Malaysia as its sole medium of instruction, a further expansion of the vocabulary, this time to cover even more advanced forms of scientific and technical discourse, was necessary. But in order to be practically and functionally effective as a vehicle of university education the language planners had to develop a more comprehensive word-coining formula, based not only on linguistic considerations but also on the practical need to recognize and accommodate any special, extra-linguistic peculiarities of advanced scientific terminology so as to give the language a more modern character.

This kind of formula was finally formulated and officially announced to the Malaysian public in August this year. As it happened, this formula, which has been published by Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka under the title *The General Formula For The Coining of Terminology In Bahasa Malaysia* (translation), is the "Malaysian version" of a common formula formulated jointly by government-appointed teams of Malaysian and Indonesian language planners after a series of six joint meetings which have taken place between the two countries from 1972. Under this common general formula, both countries are bound by the mutual agreement to adopt similar principles of coining new terms. Future efforts will concentrate on the formulation of special formulas, if necessary, for the coining of terms in specific areas or subjects. In fact, work on this has already started.

The formulation of this general formula is one of the most significant achievements of language planning in Malaysia. Apart from the positive effect it will have on the "coordination" between Bahasa Malaysia and Bahasa Indonesia, it promises to be the most authoritative reference to and guidance for the Malaysian, as I think it does for the Indonesian, present and future language planners in their continuous work to expand and modernise the terminology or the lexicon of the language. The formula will surely also help to minimize, if not completely check, inconsistencies in the use of the terms. But I think the most important thing about this formula is that it gives the language more flexibility in retaining special lexical or graphemic characteristics of the source words, that is, their visual shapes, where these are necessary to maintain an international look in Bahasa Malaysia terminology. This is reflected in one of the rules of coining which says that, "in the interest of consistency, foreign terms which are to be given special attention are terms in the English language which have become international. The transcription (or writing) of these terms, as far as possible, should be based on the spelling of such terms in the source language and their pronunciation adapted to the sound system of Bahasa Malaysia". Examples of terms coined under this rule are "*profesional*", and not "*profesyenel*" (from English "professional"), "*psikologi*" (from English "psychology") and not "*saikoloji*" as it used to be previous to this formula. In the case of "*psikologi*", the visual image of the English word is retained in the *psiko* of Bahasa Malaysia. The scientists say

that "logi" has become a meaningful form, representing a science of something, so that it is important to reflect this visual image in Bahasa Malaysia if the language is to acquire a "modern" character.

The Dewan Bahasa Dan Pustaka will continue to play its role as a coordinating agency. It is going through all the new lists of terms coined before the formula came into being in order to make the necessary changes and adjustments before they are finally published in book form. Many of the terms coined previously have already gone into current usage, especially in the schools and the textbooks, and efforts to adapt them to the general rules of the formula may have to be done gradually so as not to upset the status quo in any abrupt way. But the spelling of most of the loan-words can more easily be adapted to the new rules as such adaptation does not involve replacement of the terms with entirely new ones. Some loan-translations may have to be replaced by loan-words, especially if this is a more practical thing to do. The important thing this time is to ensure that the coining of new terms is done more systematically. The formula will be of assistance not only to members of the existing terminology committees of the Dewan Bahasa Dan Pustaka or those working at the various universities, but also to others outside the committees who may be actively involved in the usage of the language in some specialised fields or other. All the new terms coined by the various committees will be checked by the Dewan to ensure that no inconsistencies and variations are made. As usual the terms will then be published by the agency for distribution to the public through the book trade.

3.4. Reformation of the Spelling System

In the past spelling used to be regarded as a means of representing in graphemic form the "native sounds and word structures" of the Malay language. It was felt that the existing inventory of Malay phonemes or graphemes was a complete thing and that nothing foreign should be added to it. The system therefore became a closed one, and this caused a lot of difficulty in adapting it to the changes which were taking place in the language as a result of the lexical expansion, especially through extensive external borrowing from English which brought with it new elements into the language. The writing of new terms, especially technical loan-words, varied from one method to another. Those who believed that "consonant clusters" were not possible in Malay rejected the idea of introducing them in the spelling

system, while others preferred to adopt them for some reason or other. There were others who preferred to substitute what they regarded as foreign sounds with "native Malay sounds". All this led to inconsistencies in the spelling system, which created some difficulty in learning, reading and writing the language. It was to some extent a serious educational problem. Such state of affairs could even affect the image of Malay as the national language of the country. After many years of intermitant efforts, beginning as far back as the 1950's, a "reformed" spelling system was finally formulated. It was announced to the public in 1972 and in August this year, a more comprehensive document, containing detailed rules of writing, was published by the Dewan Bahasa Dan Pustaka under the title (translated) "General Spelling Guidance (Formula) for Bahasa Malaysia". This "Guidance" is again the result of joint Malaysian-Indonesia efforts, started as far back as 1959, to develop a common spelling system for both countries. Similar principles are thus adopted for Bahasa Indonesia.

The "Guidance" reflects the realities which the language has faced, is facing and will be facing in the future in the process of becoming a "modern" language. The rule stresses that in absorbing various elements of other languages, principally English, the "visual images" of the source words should be retained. The basic principle that loan-words should be adapted to the Malay spelling system is retained. In trying to preserve the visual images of the source (international) words in the Malay spelling system, the "Guidance" gives a comprehensive list of consonant clusters, 36 of them in initial positions and 17 others in final positions, which are to be adopted in the spelling. Thus even such novel and radical foreign consonant clusters as *bd-* (e.g. *bdelium*, *bdelotomi*), *cz-* (e.g. *czigani*), *ft-* from English *phth* - in "*ftalat*", "*ftisis*", "*ftinoid*"), *kn-* (e.g. *knebelit*), *pn-* (e.g. *pneumatika*) and *ps-* (e.g. *psikologi*) are included in the list. These consonants are to be retained in very specialised terms, such as in chemistry. The old method would have been either to "separate" the clusters by inserting vowels between the consonants, thus *ft* would have been *fit-* (*fitalat*), or by dropping one of the consonants, thus *pn-* would have become *n-* (*neumatika*). The schwa was also used to separate the consonants, for example, English "critic" and "drama" were transliterated as "*keritik*" and "*derama*" (and not *kritik* and *drama*). It is now the hope of everyone involved in the planning process that the reformed

spelling system would act as an effective means of modernization and standardization or uniformity.

4. The engineering of consent or acceptance

The development of the language per se is not enough. There must be corresponding efforts to ensure that the language is actively, and not passively, used in all the affairs of the nation. Codification is also important. There are two effective ways in which acceptance and codification of the language can be "engineered". One way is by "institutionalizing" the language in the education system of the nation and the other is by developing a literature (a body of written materials, such as books) through which the language can be widely spread and systematically codified.

4.1. The Development of the Language Through Education

The New National Education Policy which was introduced after 1957 has one important objective. It is to achieve national unity through the adoption of one common language as the main medium of instruction.

Before 1957 the function of Malay in education was only secondary to English. It was confined to the primary school level. After Independence, however, the situation completely changed. Within a period of less than ten years, in 1965, the first batch of Bahasa Malaysia-medium students entered the University of Malaya to pursue their degree courses in the language. In 1971, the Bahasa Malaysia-medium Universiti Kebangsaan (the National University) was established. Meanwhile, the University of Malaya, which is basically an English-medium university, was and is proceeding smoothly towards the final objective of making Bahasa Malaysia its main medium of instruction. There are three other universities in the country, the Science University (in Penang), the Agricultural University and the University of Technology. All these universities have their own plans to teach fully in Bahasa Malaysia. The target of the Education Policy is that by 1983 all first year university courses (in all disciplines) will be taught in Bahasa Malaysia.

At the basis of it, the policy is to convert all schools into Bahasa Malaysia stream. In 1970, all former primary English-stream schools began to teach all subjects in Bahasa Malaysia, so that by the end of this year (1975) all the six-year primary education (in what was formerly called the National

Type (English-medium) Primary schools will have been completely taught in Bahasa Malaysia. The process will continue from 1976 to cover all the five to seven years of secondary education. This conversion process will complete by 1981 or 1982. At the moment all students who sit for their terminal public examinations for the Malaysian Certificate of Education (the M.C.E.) and Sijil Pelajaran Malaysia (the latter is for students now studying in the Bahasa Malaysia medium schools, known as the National Schools) have to pass a language paper in Bahasa Malaysia. This is compulsory, for a failure in this paper means that the candidates will fail in the whole examinations.

The effect of this education policy, apart from enhancing the growth of the national language in the linguistic sense, is that its educational, social and economic values vis-a-vis those of English are greatly increased. This does seem to attract an increasing number of Malaysians, whose competence in the language is still poor, to learn the language through various means.

4.2. Bahasa Malaysia Book Development Programme

Books in Bahasa Malaysia are vital to the development of the nation and the language itself. In 1957 there were hardly any good books in the language worth talking about. After 1957 the serious shortage of books in Bahasa Malaysia became a real problem to teachers and students teaching and studying in the first ever Bahasa Malaysia-medium secondary classes established under the New Education Policy. In 1959 the Dewan Bahasa Dan Pustaka went into book publishing of school textbooks on a large scale. Books in all major subjects, including science, taught in the primary and secondary schools, were either acquired by original writing (by local authors) or by a "crash programme" of translating a series of selected English books into the language. Because all the books were either written or edited, or translated by the Dewan, there was no problem of using the right technical vocabulary as this was "coined" within the Dewan itself. To ensure that there was consistency and coordination in the use of technical terms in all the schools and all textbooks (the private publishers were also beginning to publish school textbooks in Bahasa Malaysia), the Ministry of Education through its Examination, Syndicate had to direct that only those terms coined by the Dewan's Terminology Committees would be regarded as "official". This authoritative method was necessary to ensure that the books that came out were not causing numerous "educational problems" by their

adoption of all kinds of terms.

So far the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka has published more than 1,300 titles of books in the following categories: school textbooks (55%), general books (30%), University books (10%) and various types of "language books" (5%). The *Kamus Dewan*, a general dictionary described as the most comprehensive one ever produced in the country, is an important record on the growth of the language in modern times. It is also an important codifying vehicle. At the moment the Dewan is preparing to publish over the next two to three years a total of 180 university books in Bahasa Malaysia (nearly all of them translations from English). Scientific Bahasa Malaysia is slowly being crystallized and codified in these books and in other writings of the Malaysian scholars and scientists who are now competent to use the language in higher education.

More emphasis is now given to the production of books for children and young people and for mass education. This is important to ensure that the new generation of Malaysians will continue to read in Bahasa Malaysia after school. At the moment there is a tendency for Malaysians to switch over to English or other languages in search of further mass education reading materials. The private sector publishing houses are also contributing their share in helping to alleviate this shortage of general books in Bahasa Malaysia.

5. The "Official Status" of the Language.

An "official language" may be simply defined as a language that is used by the government in the conduct of its administrative (or executive), legislative and judicial affairs. The effect of the National Language Act, 1967 is that the language must, according to the spirit of the Act, be used for all "official purposes". This is entirely true in the executive or administrative affairs, in the conduct of which Bahasa Malaysia is wholly used. This means that all official government correspondence (letters, etc.) minutes of meetings government circulars, orders and administrative regulations, reports and so on are written and conducted in the language.

In the legislative and judicial fields, the position is slightly different. In Parliamentary sessions, Bahasa Malaysia is the compulsory language, although the speaker may allow Members, at their request, to deliver their speeches in English if he is satisfied that such Members are genuinely incompetent to speak in Bahasa Malaysia. But the cases of Members of Parliament having to

make such a request are getting rarer. All Parliament Bills and those of the State Assemblies, Acts of Parliament and all subsidiary legislation issued by the Federal Government and all Ordinances promulgated by the King "shall be in the national language and in the English language, the former being authoritative unless the Yang Di-Pertuan Agung (i.e. the King) otherwise prescribes generally, or in respect of any particular law or class of laws" (National Language Act 1967).

The language of the courts "shall be in the national language or in the English language or partly provided that the court may.....order that the proceedings (other than the giving of evidence by a witness) shall be either wholly in the national language or wholly in the English language" (National Language Act 1967).

I think it is only a matter of time until the national language will be practically used in all legislative and judicial matters. Knowledge of the language and its spread in current usage is widening through the Education Policy. At the same time, a pass in Bahasa Malaysia is compulsory for every new recruit seeking employment in the government service and all serving civil servants, especially those whose native language is not Malay, are required to pass special examinations in the language. There is thus a firm and clear administration policy on the use of the language in the administrative field.

6. The need to up-grade language competence

As the language expands its functional role and range of vocabulary, and as the new terms and the spelling system undergo change, the ability of the users to keep track of the development and to use the language efficiently is accordingly put to test. The question of language competence thus arises. Malaysians have different linguistic backgrounds; those who also speak English sometimes tend to express meanings in Bahasa Malaysia through translation, thereby committing grammatical errors and introducing queer styles in the written language. Their insufficient in-depth exposure to and knowledge of the new methods of coining words and of writing them according to the planned rules often cause them some difficulty in choosing the right words and the right spelling.

There is therefore a need now to ensure that the users of the language, in particular those who are using it for some special purpose, for example in writing technical reports and minutes of meetings, are given some kind of "language development course" in order to up-grade their language competence and put them on the right track, as it were. The Dewan Bahasa Dan Pustaka is planning to start a special programme on this.

7. Conclusion

Bahasa Malaysia is thus fully committed to the whole process of nation-building. A nation has been defined as a group or congeries of people, either of diverse races or of common descent, language and history, inhabiting a territory defined politically. Malaysia is a nation of diverse races which is being built and united through common economic, political, cultural and educational systems, and through a common national and official language which per se has been and will continue to be developed to meet the communicative needs of a modern people and a modern society. In doing this we are mindful of the need to maintain continuous contacts with the world outside, and for this reason English, which is a useful international language, is retained in our educational system as a second (foreign) language to be learned by our students. Our young people are being sent overseas for advanced courses of studies and for such purposes they need a second language.

**THE MASS MEDIA AS AGENT OF NATIONAL LANGUAGE
DEVELOPMENT**

With particular reference to Indonesia

E. Sadtono

1. Introduction

"The pen is mightier than the sword" (Bulwer-Lytton). This is surely a worn-out cliché in journalism, politics, and government. But if we could use the point of the saying for our purpose in developing our respective national languages, we would certainly be thankful to him. We have learned from history that the pen of the journalist—let us expand it to the mass media—is the most powerful tool to influence society in general. For the purpose of developing our national languages, we can make use of the mass media to the full, that is to influence our society. At present I feel that the mass media people have not fully participated in the development of our national language (henceforth abbreviated as NL). Not that they are unwilling, but that they have not realized that their media can be used as a powerful instrument to develop the NL and that their media *have* in fact already influenced the public in using the NL.

The main reason I have chosen the mass media as the topic of my paper is that these media of communication, that is the paper, radio, and television, are the media that are continuously sought after by the majority of our population everyday. In addition, they are sought after by a people, regardless of sex, religion, age, socio-economic and educational groups. In other words, their area of influence encompasses almost the whole groupings of society.

Therefore, if we can co-operate with the men behind them and employ their tools, we will certainly have a tremendous power in our hand to use in developing our national language for the benefit of our own nation. In this regard George A. Miller (263) remarks that "when every word goes to millions of people, the man who controls the words is in a position to direct the beliefs and actions of millions. Or so it seems." However, we may not be overly optimistic in this regard, as Coffin (1941) warns us that mass media can influence people only in the direction that the people want to go, and that they select themselves what they want to know.

Before we proceed to discuss the influence of the mass media for the development of our NL, let us first define the key terms to be used in this paper. By the mass media is here meant the newspaper, the radio, and the

television. In Indonesia the TV is under complete control of the Government; in addition, there is also the State radio network beside numerous private commercial radio stations; but there is no Government newspaper. The national language as the medium of communication used here means that (a) it is the national language of the country, (b) it is the official medium of instruction used in schools, (c) it is the official language for communication at national level to be used for planning and execution of national development and running the government, (d) it is the official language for the development of culture and the exploitation of knowledge and modern technology. In addition, it functions as (a) the symbol of national unity, and (b) the symbol of national identity, as well as (c) a uniting medium for a society whose linguistic and socio-cultural backgrounds are diverse and pluralistic, and (d) a medium of communication between interregional cultures (*Bahasa dan Sastra*, 36). The mass media as agent of national language development here refers to the roles they play in the development, improvement, and dissemination of the national language. The national language here means the developing national language, that is one that still requires nurture, standardization, lexical as well as syntactical enrichment to meet the growing demand of modern ideas and technology.

2. The problems of our national language development

The main problems we encounter in developing our national language in Indonesia are dissemination, standardization, vocabulary as well as syntactical enrichment. Dissemination here refers to coverage, that is that our NL is not yet spoken and/or understood by all Indonesians. There are still millions of Indonesians, particularly in the outlying and rural areas who do not understand, let alone speak, our NL. To disseminate our NL, we need the mass media badly in addition to formal education. Standardization here includes oral as well as written language standardization. Lexical and grammatical enrichment is badly needed to meet the rising demands of new ideas and modern technology. The NL needs to be standardized so that its usage can more or less be uniform, correct, accurate, and efficient for nationwide communication. For this purpose there need to be rules as norms for spelling, vocabulary, grammar, and terminology.

In this regard, the written language may have to be standardized first, due to its more stable nature; in addition, its boundaries are more clearly defined than oral language. Standardization of the oral language may have to wait, due to its inherent difficulties and to the tremendous influence of the diverse native languages. However, the way to standard pronunciation will have to be paved as soon as our TV network covers the whole archipelago.

To solve the problems, collaboration between the journalist and the linguist is a must. The reasons are as follows:

The linguist referred to here is supposed to know the national language well in theory as well as in practice. However, if he wants to develop the NL, he has neither power nor instrument to disseminate his ideas thoroughly all over the country. On the other hand, the journalist has both power and the instrument in his hand to spread his ideas, though he may not be a language expert. It is he who possesses the tremendous influence over society; it is he who shapes, edits, and filters words from other people to be fed into the mouth of society. It would be ideal therefore if the two could work closely together to develop the NL.

The main reason we pick up the journalist — and not the novelist for example — is simply the fact that after formal schooling the majority of our population virtually does not touch books anymore.

They learn new words from the mass media. They never bother opening or buying books, let alone buying a textbook on language. But they do read newspapers or magazines, either to keep up with the latest developments or to relax. Therefore there is no other way to develop the NL quickly but making the best of the journalist's service to educate the people on the proper use of the NL.

The radio and television too play a crucial role in influencing our society. The majority of our people are still illiterate; but it does not follow that they do not speak or understand the NL. As an oral language, it is spoken and/or understood by many of the illiterates. Therefore, in order to improve their mastery of the NL, we have to make use of the radio and television network as best as we can.

A number of programs and technicalities can be worked out together by the linguist and the mass media people to achieve our objective, in the

development and standardization of the NL. The cooperation should deal with the question of how to develop, improve, enrich and popularize the NL in terms of vocabulary, grammar, and pronunciation.

3. The training of the journalist for the development of the NL

In a recent article in the *Berita Buana* (Nov. 17, 1975) on the standardization of the Indonesian press, Hidayat Supangkat mentions three of its weaknesses, one of which is the fact that the use of our NL (Bahasa Indonesia) by the press is still poor. This implies that the journalist's mastery of the NL is inadequate. Such a condition is undoubtedly detrimental to the growth of our NL. In terms of language, the journalist functions as the national language teacher for all the people all over the country. If the language mastery of the teacher himself is still poor, what can we expect of his students? It is therefore compulsory that the journalist be trained in the proper use of the NL. In addition, he should be kept up to date with the latest developments of the NL, and willing to assist the development of the NL. He should be made aware of his role as the national language teacher, i.e. that his language influences the majority of the population.

In the school of journalism, the curriculum should include the serious teaching of the NL, not just as a perfunctory subject. A course in general linguistics may be essential, as the journalist's profession demands a knowledge of linguistics.

A fair mastery of a foreign language, in this case English, will be advantageous to him, as it is a fact that a number of new ideas and terminology come through English nowadays. It is also a 'sad' truth that the knowledge of English will improve his own mastery of the NL (i.e. Bahasa Indonesia).

4. Joint-effort between the journalist and the linguist

Now that the journalist and the linguist each has his own professional organization — the Persatuan Wartawan Indonesia for the journalist and the Masyarakat Linguistik Indonesia for the Linguist — it would be ideal if

the two organizations could work together to launch programs to develop the NL.

The general principle for the cooperation should be the awareness that to develop, standardize, and popularize the NL is not very different from the work of an industrial company selling its product to the mass. It is not an easy task. Therefore, we have to work hard to apply the principles employed by the advertising experts to 'sell' our product. As we all know, the advertising experts also draw their knowledge from the psychologist, the sociologist, and the communication expert. We have to do the same.

For illustration, in order to sell a product, the advertising experts suggest that we attract the reader's (or the viewer's) attention, excite his curiosity, and induce him to read further. Having caught his attention, we then have to make him feel that it is to his advantage to buy it (in our case to use the NL). People buy a thing because it offers something they want for their own profit, pleasure, success, or well-being. Having caught his attention and roused his desire for our product, we now have to convince him that our product has special merits, and that it is in his interest to accept it. Finally, we still have to make him take action (in our case to use the NL or to adopt a new word, etc.).

a. Using the newspaper

The newspaper as such is already a language text which is read by millions. There are basically two ways by which we can employ it to develop our NL. The first is the covert technique, i.e. we teach the people to use the standardized NL through articles and news items printed in it. The crucial factor in this case is the journalist and the editor themselves, as it is their work which will become the model for the reader to imitate. Therefore, they should be excellent in the mastery of the NL.

The second is the overt technique, i.e. the newspaper has a special section on the NL. The section will deal with linguistic problems encountered by the reader. In addition, it should also introduce new terminology. The person in charge of this section should preferably be a linguist expert in the NL. In handling this section, he should always adhere

to the principles of advertisement. It should be short, simple, but interesting, as the majority of readers do not peruse newspaper articles. In addition, we should also remember that people select themselves what they would like to know. As a result, we have to make the language section so interesting that it is selected by the majority of the readers (cf. The Ann Landers column in the US or the Reader's Box in Indonesia). Through research probably we can discover which sections of the paper are mostly read by the majority of our population; then we can base the language section on the results of the research.

With the advent of the so-called "country press," the newspaper will have a paramount stake in the development of the NL among the country people. It is now high time for both the journalist and the linguist to begin plotting the language program in this direction.

b. Using the radio

The transistor radio today is probably the only mass medium that has penetrated deep into the country side. Therefore it is also an excellent teaching device to educate the urban and the rural masses to use the NL properly. It is a particularly useful instrument as most of our illiterate people do listen to the radio.

Programming to teach the NL by radio should of course be executed with utmost care. The principles of advertisement are applicable as well, that is the program should be interesting, simple, and short. People listen to the radio mostly for entertainment and relaxation, not for 'lessons' or 'speeches.' Therefore the lessons should be presented according to the tastes of the listeners, such as in the forms of skits, comedies, songs, etc. The overt technique may not work well in the radio program, as people hate to listen to 'lessons.'

c. Using the television

Television is the supreme teaching device if we can use it properly and wisely. It has many advantages over the newspaper and the radio, as it can be seen and heard simultaneously, and it is much more lively. As Indonesia is going to have TV-viewing possible all over the country next

year, we also have to consider the possibilities of employing it to standardize our NL. In using television to develop our NL, the principles of advertising are also applicable; probably much more so than in any other mass media.

The covert as well as the overt techniques can also be employed to teach the NL through television. In the covert technique every program in the NL should be carefully checked in terms of its language, i.e. whether it is advantageous or disadvantageous to the development of the NL (this is the advantage of having the TV network under the full control of the State).

In the overt technique, we can have a program teaching the NL to the people in general. The program should be interesting to the majority of the population. The success or failure of such a program depends to a great extent on the person who performs the task on the screen. He must be a linguist, a teacher, a salesman, and a charming actor simultaneously. In addition, we could also have 'language commercials' to teach our people to use the standard NL properly. As any other commercials, they should be interesting, easy to grasp, short, but frequently exposed, so that people will be able to learn them unconsciously. In other words, we should be able to persuade our 'customers' to buy our 'products.' In this case we combine the technique of sales promotion and brainwashing.

At present our urgent problem in Indonesia is the standardization of the pronunciation of the NL. By means of television, we might succeed in our objective of having a standard pronunciation of the NL in the near future. Since Indonesia is a developing country with a developing national language, at this stage it is impossible to have a standard pronunciation grow by itself; particularly as there are dozens of different pronunciations, we can employ the TV to popularize it. There are certain conditions to meet if we are to be successful, for example it should not smack of any single native language in the country, and the performer should possess a nice voice and charming personality, as after all we are selling our products. Ratings of our programs should also be conducted from time to time by a panel of expert judges and polls.

5. Conclusion.

To 'sell' our national language to our people is not an easy task. The

use of the mass media is probably the only short-cut to achieve our objective. Fortunately, the conditions to develop our NL in Indonesia are favorable. Firstly, there is only one national language to be developed. Secondly, we practically do not have to compete with any other 'company' trying to sell their 'product', though some pessimists say that English is becoming our rival language. Thirdly, the Government system allows us to determine language policy from the central authority. Through careful programming and friendly persuasion, we can be successful. In addition, some of the mass media (the television network and radio) are still under the control of the Government, whereas the commercial radios are under the tight control of the Government. There is no Government newspaper, but the press in general is very co-operative, particularly when it is concerned with national development. Thirdly, our people are relatively still 'obedient' to the Government. Therefore, Government decrees on language policy usually find no difficulty in their execution. In short, the prospect of successful national language development through the mass media in Indonesia is bright. In this regard, Punya Sloka Ray says that "success in language planning depends on the already existing network of social communication, that is on the established channels of commerce in material and intellectual goods." (Fishman, 763).

We may not, however, take everything for granted. We ought to remind ourselves from time to time of the warnings given by communication expert, i.e. that people do not often seek out the things they ought to learn. They look for more information about things they already know or believe. They select what they want to hear or read, and show no reluctance to disagree with it if it contradicts their own opinions.

According to Miller (269), mass media can succeed in communication on the following conditions. First, if they urge people to do what the people already wanted to do. Secondly, if, as in the case of advertisements, they try to direct into a particular channel action that people were sure to take in some form or other anyhow. Or thirdly, if they are followed up by personal contacts and discussions held face to face. Or, fourthly, if all channels are under the complete control of the propagandist (read 'the Government' for our purpose) and no counterarguments are over presented in any media. To

these, Punya Sloka Ray (Fishman, 764) again adds that any formal organized action by an acknowledged authority, such as a state or a learned society or an author, can be successful in its intention to encourage or discourage linguistic habits only if it correlates maximally to informal unorganized action on the part of numerous locally more accessible lesser authorities.

I think the ideas I have presented above are not too far-fetched to be feasible.

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**THE IMPACT OF COLONIALISM
IN
NATIONAL LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT**

Soenjono Dardjowidjojo

1. Introduction

If any present situation is a part of an historical *continuum*, the most logical thing for us to do is to make a careful study of the past events so that we can discard those considered to be detrimental to our ultimate aim and make the best use of those which will lead us to success. This is a principle understood by educated people, but in some cases I doubt very much if it is followed closely when a conflict of interest arises. No matter what theoretical outlook one may have on a particular matter, he will think twice about what he should do when his intellectual belief clashes with his own interest or the interest of his own group — be it of subnational, national or international scope.

This principle, along with other historical events which I will discuss below, constitute crucial factors which have determined or are determining the status of the national languages in several Asian countries such as India, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Indonesia. Language scholars generally believe that the success in Indonesia in solving the national language problem is primarily historical (Alisjahbana, 1956; Halim. p. 12; Harahap, 1947). To cast the net a little bit wider, it may not be entirely wrong to say that it may even have been accidental.

The historical circumstance refers to the fact that the presently called *bahasa Indonesia* was in the past *bahasa Melayu* which was used by traders from all corners of Southeast Asia as early as the fifth century. The golden age of the Sriwijaya kingdom in South Sumatra must have played a significant role in the making of *bahasa Melayu* as a trade language. This was further reinforced with the arrival of Islam in Malacca in the thirteenth century, at the time when Malacca was gradually becoming the trade center of the archipelagos. The spread of Islam carried *bahasa Melayu* to more islands in Indonesia. Therefore, the choice of this *lingua franca* as our national language was the best decision that our early nationalists could make. This is despite the fact that *bahasa Melayu* was not the language of the majority and not the language with the richest literary traditions.

The accidental circumstance alluded to above has reference to the fact that the conqueror's language, Dutch, was not a language with high

international potentialities as far as usage is concerned. This is certainly not true in India and Malaysia, and in the Philippines after the arrival of the Americans. Perhaps it would have been unfortunate for Indonesia to maintain Dutch after its independence.

While I must admit that these arguments are valid, they are valid only to a certain extent. I find it hard to believe that these are *the* major factors which have brought about the present situation. We can even argue here that if it were the *lingua franca* status of Malay which had been the major factor, we would have no answer to the question of why Malaysia has been less successful. Of course, I am fully aware of the circumstantial differences which exist in Malaysia and Indonesia, but are they strong enough to warrant the blame ?

I am even skeptical about labelling Dutch as having no international potentialities. I doubt very much that a country which had a colony as far East as Indonesia had no chance of making their language accepted at least as one of the international languages. Historical events could have very easily made Dutch the language of the world.

It is my firm belief that the crucial factors must be sought elsewhere, perhaps less from linguistics than from history. I postulate five factors which I will explore below.

2.1 Nature of Colonialism

There were four colonial powers related to our topic here: Britain, the Netherlands, the United States, and Spain. Since Spanish is not very significant in terms of our national language problems I will leave it out of our discussion.

Except for the Americans, the Dutch and the British arrived in the East more or less at the same time, either at the end of the sixteenth or the beginning of the seventeenth century. Since their decision to go East was prodded by the need for survival, their aim, at least initially, was also the same: to tap the natural resources. As time passed, however, a different style of colonialism began to emerge. The Dutch, on one hand, were "content with the economic exploitation of Indonesia", while Britain "took the line of offering the West to the East without compelling its acceptance" (Spear, p. 123).

The road to westernization was surely not without obstacles. Although the East India Act which approved English education for India was ratified by the British parliament in 1813, there was definitely opposition among the rulers in India in carrying out the policy. Administrators such as Warren Hastings, for instance, preferred to patronize Hindu and Moslem learning (McCully, p. 19). However, the sense of responsibility for whatever reason to educate the natives proved to be stronger than expected. This subtle westernization gained its momentum in 1829 when Lord William Bentinck arrived in India as Governor General. He immediately declared that English was the key to all improvements and that "general education is my panacea for the regeneration of India" (Spear p. 126). The effort to transform Indian society reached its peak when Thomas Babington Macaulay, then President of the Committee on Public Instruction, was successful in destroying the last Orientalist stronghold and declared that his duty is "to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern India in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect" (Chai, p. 277). Apart from the boomerang effect that this policy eventually had, at that time the British authority in England agreed with the view that if the Indians were bound to them by common ideals, their hold upon the Indian empire would be strengthened (McCully, p. 131).

While the British administrators in Malaysia were on the rather conservative side, the general policy with regard to Britishizing the natives was generally the same. In the word of Chai Hon-Chan, a well-noted Malay historian, what Thomas Macaulay said in India about English tastes, opinions, morals, and intellect "might have been written with reference to Malaya" (Chai, p. 277).

Just as in India, there was certainly objection among the British rulers in Malaysia to the educating of the natives. Swettenham of Perak, for instance, objected to the teaching of English, but the economic advantage which the natives gained from knowing English, and the precedent from India eventually made the penetration of English education inevitable. By 1900 one-fifth of the total number of students attended English schools (Chai, p. 252-272).

Although the motives of the Americans in the Philippines may have

been different, they nevertheless adopted a similar policy by giving the natives modern western education and by making English the basic "language of instruction and the medium of communication" (Asuncion Lande, p. 682).

If the acquisition of a foreign language is considered to be beneficial, Indonesia may have been unfortunate for not having had a chance to learn a foreign language well during the colonial period. The desire among several Dutch administrators to do what the British did in India is also documented. It is true that they started rather late, indeed, but as early as 1890 Kern and Hurgronje had already advocated the teaching of Dutch to the Indonesian natives (Sukaryaditisa, p. 98; van Niel, p. 30). The idea was "to create among Indonesians a sense of enlightened self interest which would enable them to understand what Western culture could do for them" (van Niel, p. 30). This attempt was later pursued further by people such as van Deventer, Abendanon, and Holle, but it did not really reach its real goal. The vital issues with the Netherlands under the so called "ethical policy" were less humanitarian and moral than financial (van Niel, p. 31).

We see here that the Dutch were very reluctant to initiate education for the natives. Although Western education had already been introduced in India in 1816 (McCully, p. 20), in Malaysia in 1882 (Roff, p. 30), and in the Philippines soon after the Americans arrived, western-type elementary education for the masses in Indonesian schools was not initiated until 1907 (van der Veur, p. 2). Junior and senior high schools were not introduced until 1914 and 1918 respectively. University education in its proper sense was not known until 1920.

It is obvious, therefore, that if the Netherlands had taken Kern's and Hurgronje's advice as Britain had taken that of Bentinck and Macaulay, Indonesia would have probably found it hard to prevent Dutch from overshadowing the development of the national language.

2.2 Attitude of The Nationalists

It is an historical fact that the birth of a nation is not the work of the masses, but rather the product of a small elite group who are active in the nationalist movement. These individuals steer, shape, and determine the

course of fate which normally bears a long lasting effect upon the future situation.

With regard to the choice of a national language, the problems that now exist may have been inherited from the decisions which our early leaders made. In the case of Indonesia, the decision to adopt Malay as our national language as early as 1928 was based on need and practicality by leaders whose vernacular languages were, in some cases, other than Malay. The Javanese who constituted forty-five percent of the whole population as compared to seventeen-and-a-half for all the other groups, excluding the Sundanese (Kennedy, pp. 23-66), had no quarrel over the choice.

This kind of situation does not seem to be true in the other countries referred to above. In the Philippines, for instance, Emilio Aguinaldo made Tagalog the official language in 1897, when he and his associates adopted a provisional constitution (Mahajani, p. 73). The need to have a national language was again expressed in 1936 by the Philippines Constitutional Assembly, and soon afterward Tagalog was chosen as the "core" language. Unfortunately, however, it remains a core even until today.

While to a certain extent I agree with Das Gupta who believes that "national development should emphasize the interaction between the act of deliberate building and the evolutionary growth of the social units leading to the successive stages of the integration of a nation" (Das Gupta, p. 6), I disagree with his view that the degree of conflicts generated by subnational loyalties is not a major factor. On the contrary, I feel that one of the major factors in establishing a national language in its true sense is this very subnational attachment. As Das Gupta himself pointed out, for India the fear of Hindi dominance, suspicion regarding Hindi future capabilities, concern for equal opportunities for the regional languages (Das Gupta, p. 50) constituted major obstacles. This situation is also true in the Philippines (Asuncion-Lande, p. 688) where, even until today, the leaders are still unwilling to make a subnational concession in order to obtain an eventual national harmony.

While linguistically the situation in Malaysia is different from what has just been described, from the political stand point it is very similar. At the second Congress of Malay Association held in Singapore on December 25-56, 1940, attended by forty-one delegates from eleven states, one of

the resolutions that came out was to make English more readily available to the Malays (Roff, p. 246). This was at the time when they were considering their national anthem.

In India the situation is also the same. In 1956 the Official Language Commission reported that only one percent of the total population had adequate English abilities (Bureau, p. 18), and yet many of the leaders protested the idea to reduce English and increase Hindi teaching. Even, Nehru himself has been quoted as saying "Hindi is the official language, but English will continue as long as the non-Hindi speakers want" (Bureau, p. 5). He further said that he did not want Parliament or the law to force the pace. (Bureau, p. 45).

It is, therefore, clear that it is the cream of the society which determines the course of history and that in some cases the seeds of westernization which have been planted have not stopped growing.

2.3. Approaches in The Past

Maybe because of the fact that during the colonial period Indonesia was never given the opportunity to taste the concept of democracy, the approach that we took regarding the national language issue can be considered "daring". The small elite group who formed the Budi Utomo Association in 1908 did indeed demand that Dutch be made more available for the natives. However, they soon realized that the unifying factor for the country could not possibly be Dutch. So, despite the fact that Malay was totally inadequate as a language for national communication, the young leaders went ahead and proclaimed it anyway as the language of the land. When Indonesia became independent in 1945, it was only a matter of course to make *bahasa Indonesia* the national language *whithout any rival*. Of course, problems immediately arose. I remember the day in 1959 when I visited the Ministry of Education where the receptionist spoke Dutch most of the time under a sign which read "Use Indonesian Language".

This radical approach is not followed in the other countries. In the Philippines, for instance, Executive Order No. 134 issued by President Quezon on December 30, 1937, declared that Tagalog would form the basis of the national language. In April, 1940, he authorized the printing of

dictionaries and grammars, and in June of that year the new language began to be taught in schools (Pascasio, p. 242). But then when the Philippines proclaimed its independence on July 4, 1946, instead of confirming the status of this language, Tagalog was made only *one* of the official languages of the new republic, with English still overshadowing it.

The situation is also similar in India. While Hindi had been adopted as the national language in 1917 (Bureau, p. 10), it failed to be the sole language when India became independent in 1950, again with English as the associate language to be used until 1965. In 1956 and 1957 two conventions were held in Madras and Calcutta to assess the progress of the national language, but instead of pushing Hindi further, the majority of the delegates urged the continuation of English indefinitely (Bureau, p. 3).

While the situation in Malaysia was similar in the past, I believe that the present policy to impose Malay to all its citizens will result in a quite different picture.

2.4. Authoritative Rule

While there was no authoritarian rule which was imposed in the adoption of *bahasa Indonesia* as a national language, there were other instances where a strong government measure was required in order to achieve a legitimate goal. The new spelling reform recently done by Indonesia and Malaysia is a case in point. Despite strong oppositions by some political leaders, linguists, and the public, and despite the little linguistic gain from the reform the determination by the two governments to back up their stand has been proven useful. Of course, for the first few months there were complaints which ranged from mere inconvenience to lack of economic or linguistic justifications, but it was just a matter of time until people began to feel that pronouncing the word "cara" as /cara/ is indeed the "correct" way.

The fact of history in the Philippines indicates that there were opportunities to "impose" Tagalog (or Pilipino) as the national language. This dates back to 1897, or at least to 1937, which I have mentioned above. President Quezon's decision to choose Tagalog was based on the recommendation submitted by a committee consisting of the world's leading linguists such as Leonard Bloomfield and Edward Sapir (Linguistic

Society of the Philippines. p. 10). It was very well-thought out indeed. When Quezon's proclamation was challenged by the non-Tagalog groups (Asuncion-Lande, p. 688), he silenced the opposition with his strong and effective leadership.

When the Japanese occupied the Philippines, they immediately prohibited the continuation of English – with Japanese as its replacement eventually. Tagalog was made the medium of instruction (Benitez, p. 430). This is the policy which the Japanese also adopted in Indonesia. Even if it were colonial pressure which played a role here, nevertheless the non-Tagalog leaders accepted the Japanese decision "unreservedly and with enthusiasm" (Asuncion-Lande, p. 685). I understand that after World War II Tagalog became a prestigious language among ordinary people because of its metropolitan "flavor." Movies, radio broadcasts, and newspapers were also booming in Tagalog.

The anti-Americanism in 1969 provided another opportunity for a vernacular to be the national language of the country, and yet the recent policy does not seem to encourage such an establishment. On the contrary, educators and linguists have been advocating bilingual education with English as the other language (Pascasio, p. 252). This idea was officially accepted by the government in June, 1974, when the Philippines National Board of Education approved bilingual education to begin from Grade I (*Bulletin Today*, May 30, 1974).

It looks, therefore, that the Philippines may not just have missed several opportunities, but may have lost altogether the momentum to adopt a national language in its true sense.

2.5 Ethnic Sense of Identity

I think it is only natural among human beings to feel more at home among people who share common ethnic identities. Within a single country this translates attachment to one's own ethnic group. The four countries discussed here share one thing in common, namely, the presence of several ethnic groups within each state. How these groups behave with respect to a certain event differs from one place to another depending on various factors. Perhaps because the matter of national identity in Indonesia has never been questioned by our ethnic groups, Indonesians who come from

different ethnic backgrounds feel that they are Indonesian first and Javanese (, Sundanese, Sumatranese, etc.) second. This is also true among foreign ethnic groups such as the Chinese and the Arabs. At least among our generation, the Chinese and the Arabs speak Indonesian and the vernacular of the region. Very few of them speak Chinese or Arabic.

Observing the Malaysian students in my classes, I feel that the above situation is not true. This is demonstrated first of all by their being in my Indonesian language classes, and secondly by their lack of ability to use the national language which their government has adopted. These highly educated students seem to be Malaysian Chinese or Malaysian Indian rather than Chinese Malaysian or Indian Malaysian.

While India and the Philippines do not have too great a problem with foreign ethnic groups, the resistance toward Hindi and Tagalog seems to spring from sheer political prejudice, closely knit social structure, or both. Obviously the problem in these countries is the reluctance on the part of the non-Hindi and non-Tagalog leaders to accept a language not their own to be the language of the nation. When a campaign was launched to urge the delegates to the national convention in 1971 to write the constitution in Pilipino, it failed totally because the only acceptable solution for the non-Tagalog leaders was to have a national language which would be called *Filipino* (not *Pilipino*) with grammar taken from Tagalog and lexicon from other Philippine languages (Sibayan, et al, p. 15). These leaders, and also those in India, seem to take the attitude that if we cannot have it, then they should not have it either. In fact when they do not object to the use of a foreign language, they are in a way saying that a foreign language is better than our own. At one point a noted Philippine scholar, Leonardo N. Mercado, remarked that since the Philippine leaders are not able (or willing) to make up their minds over the choice of a national language, and English is intrinsically foreign, the last resort for a neutral compromise is to select a language close to Filipino thought, namely, *bahasa Indonesia* (Mercado, p. 272). While I doubt very much that this will happen, it is interesting to note that in the interest of defending a subnational loyalty, one is willing to look at other alternatives which seem quite unlikely.

3. Conclusion

From the foregoing analysis we can draw several conclusions. First,

while I admit that the success in Indonesia in adopting a national language is partly historical, I believe that the real driving forces are the following:

- (1) The Nature of Colonialism. The persistence of the British and the Americans to impose western culture made English stick very tenaciously in the minds of the leaders. On the other hand, the reluctance of the Dutch to do the same turned out to be a blessing in disguise.
- (2) The Attitude of the Leaders. The not quite whole hearted support from the leaders to promote the establishment of the national languages in the three countries above definitely weakens the fighting spirit of the supporters.
- (3) The Approaches Taken. The "guts" among the Indonesian leaders to get rid of the rival language (Dutch) very early in the game was found to be extremely helpful.
- (4) The Authoritative Rule. Without trying to discredit the concept of democracy, I believe that certain authoritative measures from the government are needed to achieve a legitimate goal.
- (5) Ethnic Identities. Unless present leaders, including the linguists, are willing to view the national language problem from a national scope, and unless they are willing to sacrifice the interest of the subnational groups - which they may represent! for the sake of a national unity in the future, I doubt very much if a national language can be established.

The second conclusion pertains to the role of English in the three countries. I think that the observations made by McCully for India and by Mahajani for the Philippines are close to truth. After observing the various factors involved in the nationalist movement, they independently came more or less to the same conclusion: both countries wanted to break the tie of colonialism but at the same time showed conciliation and propitiation toward the rulers (McCully, p. 388; Mahajani, p. 341).

It is obvious that the problem in these countries is not so much to find a vernacular language acceptable to everybody, but more to eliminate the rivalry which English has successfully provided. The intellectual life of

a nation will progress only when its people are able to stop looking up to anything foreign and stop looking down on its own people and the cultural wealth which it possesses. As long as there is no real need to use a vernacular language, no vernacular language will be accepted and developed. As long as two languages are made official, there is bound to be a rejection of the one which belongs to an ethnic group within the country. And finally, as long as two languages are present, there is bound to be continuous friction. One cannot really expect to have a wife and a lover living under the same roof. If you want to save the marriage, one of them must eventually go.

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LANGUAGE AND NATION BUILDING: THE MALAYSIAN CASE

Raja Mukhtaruddin R.M. Dain

1. A General Background of the Linguistic Situation and Language Planning Processes in Malaysia.

The role of language as an instrument of national unity and nation building is greatly emphasised in Malaysia. This is because of the multitudinal nature of the Malaysian populace in terms of ethnicity, culture, religion and language. There are three main ethnic groups adopting different cultures, professing different religions, and speaking different languages. They are the indigenous Malaya group professing Islam and speaking the Malaya language, the Chinese immigrant group mainly professing Buddhism and speaking the Chinese language, and the Indian immigrant group mainly professing Hinduism and speaking the Tamil language. The two immigrant groups are relatively new communities to Malaysia. Their arrival was mainly at the turn of the present century. i.e. when the British colonial government's economic activities became more rigorous.

Apart from the above religions and languages, there is also Christianity professed by certain quarters of the population, and the English language diglossically spoken by the English educated group.

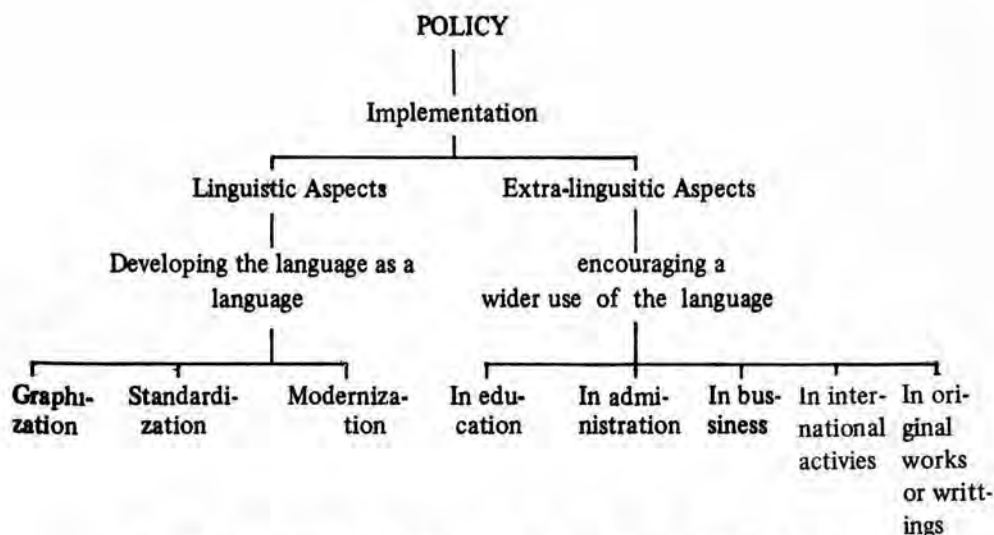
Being recent, and due to the colonial policy of divide-and-rule, the various ethnic groups were existing as separate entities during the colonial period. The Malays, the Chinese and the Indians, went to different schools using different language media and syllabi. There was no effort from the British to formulate a national education policy acceptable to all the communities. The British were only concerned with the western orientated secular education which they introduced through the medium of the English language up to tertiary level, and the Malay language up to only the primary level. As a result, when independence was achieved in 1957, national unity and nation building became urgent matters. It was strongly felt that a truly united Malaysian nation (previously Malaya) ought to be built, and the means, (perhaps the only means for Malaysia) was the national language. As early as 1956 a language agency, the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, was established, and a national education policy with the ultimate aim of uniting the various peoples through schools using Malay as the main medium of instruction, was formulated.

However Malaysia's monolingual policy has always come under fire

by those who believe in multilingualism. Though this policy was a result of pre-independence constitutional agreement between the various ethnic groups, it became an explosive communal issue in the course of time when the various political parties, under the banner of democracy, exploited it for vote catching in general elections. As a results of the politician's unscrupulous exploitation of this issue, together with other communal issues, the nation has had to face a bloody ethnic riot after the general election of 1969.¹ After the riot, it was necessary for the Government to enact a law on sensitive issues; one of which forbids any person or political party to question the status of Malay as the national and official language of Malaysia.

Since the riot, much rigorous planning has been done in the implementation of the language policy of making Malay the sole national and official language of Malaysia. The result, to-date, has been very encouraging. The language has been made the language of administration in all the government departments; its implementation as the main medium of instruction in the education system is progressing very well. By 1983, it is expected that all universities in the country will use the language as the medium of instruction. However, the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, established in 1970, is already using the language as its medium of instruction for all its courses, except language courses. As expressed by the Prime Minister during the University's last convocation, the success of the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia in making Malay its medium of instruction is a living testimony that the language is developed and capable of being made the instrument of higher learning.

However, the language planning processes must continue. The linguistic and socio-linguistic problems of Malaysia are numerous and subtle. These problems must be identified and tackled if language planning is to succeed. Planning needs evaluation and this has to be done from time to time. The result of the evaluation must be used as a feed-back to change the course of planning if necessary. Planning is only an *ikhtiar* the success of it depends on Allah. The following is a table showing the language planning processes in Malaysia:



From the above table it could be seen that Malaysia's language planning processes cover both linguistic and extralinguistic aspects. In terms of implementation, linguistically it means developing the language as a language, while extra linguistically it means encouraging a wider use of the language, especially after it has been, or while it is being, developed. The concept of development used here is that of Ferguson.²

The linguistic and socio-linguistic problems will centre around (a) formulation of the policy and its acceptance, (b) linguistic aspects of implementation, and (c) extra-linguistic aspects of implementation. In this paper, however, analysis is restricted only to the first problems.

2. Problems Centred Around the Formulation of Language Policy and Its Acceptance

Any policy formulated by the ruling party must be acceptable to the majority since it is to act as a mobilization resource for support. Malaysia which became a modern nation-state after independence, has had to consider this point seriously. Being a new nation-state it has, from the start, to maintain, strengthen, and establish a political system which has a jurisdiction over its population. This system has to be naturally and

effectively representative of the population. This could only be achieved if sources of legitimacy of the national system are the peoples's own culture, language and religion. In the case of Malaysia, at the time of independence, the Malays were the majority in term of citizenship and therefore it was only natural for the mobilizing groups to utilize (a) the Malay language, (b) Islam, and (c) special position of the Malays as resources to gain support of the majority³.

The Malay language was not only used by the indigenous group of Malaysia but also by the then new neighbouring nation-state Indonesia. Its use as the national language in Indonesia has to a great extent inspired the Malay intellectuals in the pre and post-independence days in adopting it as the national and official language. Thus as a mobilizational resource, loyalty to the Malay language has contributed to the maintaining, strengthening, and establishing the political system of the new nation state. Malay as the national and official language, makes the Malays more sentimentally committed to the nation, making it enter into their self-definition, and hence becomes a sacred object in its own right (if Allah so pleases) for which they are prepared to defend event at a high price.

Islam is more than just a religion to the Malays. It is an integral part of their identity: Melayu. The concept Malay or Melayu, as it concerns Malaysia, is not racial but cultural. Anyone, be he native pagan, immigrant Chinese or Indian, Caucasian or Negroid, could become a Malay or Melayu if he professes Islam, speaks the Malay language and lives the Malay way of life. This concept of Malay is constitutionally defined and hence the Malays are equally, or perhaps more, committed to the nation if Islam is given the national and official status. *See no. 10 in the footnotes.*

Loyalty of the Malays to the Malay language and Islam is indeed deep-rooted. The ethnicity and historicity of the Malay language are both rooted to Islam. The development and modernization of the Malay language at a certain period in history was mainly due to Islam.⁴ It was, and still is, the medium of Islamic teaching. Great works by the 16th and 17th century *ulamas* were written in the Malay language. However, in the propagation of Malay as the national and official language of the nation-state to-day, it has not been projected as an Islamic language. This is because the new nation-state is secular in nature, and Islam is merely the official religion,

not the state ideology.

The special position of the Malays was also an important resource for mobilizing Malay support utilized by the political leaders. The Malays, being the indigenous group, feel that they should continue to enjoy certain privileges set aside by the British colonial government. They feel that the economic prosperity of the country, the educational and social facilities provided, are being enjoyed mainly by the immigrant groups and the English educated group. This is especially so when, as a matter of fact, the majority of the Malays are demographically separated from the rest of the population. They, being rural, lacked the socio-economic facilities, and upon the achievement of independence they found themselves suffering from economic, educational and social backwardness in relation to the other groups. They became subordinate, and continue to be subordinate, economically and socially, to the immigrant groups and to the newly formed secularly western educated group as economic activities increased in tempo.

However the sources of loyalty or attachment towards the nation-state at the social-psychological level are not the same for the indigenous Malays as for the immigrant groups. The attachment of the Malays towards the nation-state is both sentimental and instrumental, while the attachment of the immigrant groups may be just instrumental. As mentioned earlier, the various ethnic groups were existing as separate entities during the colonial period. Each was well organized, having its own language community as well as its own schools. There was virtually no assimilation or enculturation into *Melayu* as happened in the earlier period prior to the coming of the West. As a result, these immigrant groups were easily exploited by unscrupulous politicians who turned the three resources the Malay language, Islam and special position of the Malays - into explosive communal issues. Despite the constitutional agreement, the politicians continue to fight for a multi-lingual policy. Though the Federal Constitution guarantees and safeguards the position of the other languages, the immigrant groups were aroused to feel that their rights are being violated if their languages are not recognised as official languages alongside the national language. They feel aggrieved, and the nature and intensity of their grievances are strongly affected when they also see that the national

language is a language that has never played the role of an instrument of higher learning in the secular sense, nor has it ever gained the status of an international language during the British period. They feel that their sense of group identity is being threatened - their languages being derogated, their cultural self-development and literary expression inhibited, and their educational efforts undermined. They also feel that, because their languages are not given official recognition, they are being discriminated against at the instrumental level- that their members are being denied equal opportunities, that they are excluded from full participation in the system, and that their socio-economic mobility is stymied.⁵ Hence their fight is not limited to just the status of their languages but also extended to the other fields such as education, economy and other social amenities. As a result, the various ethnic groups became more communal in their outlook, each fighting for its own interest. The formation and the alliance of three communal parties - UMNO for the Malays, MCA for the Chinese, MIC for the Indians - in the fight for independence, is a clear indication of these different interests. This situation of divided interest persisted until after independence and indeed, ultimately, led to the ethnic riot of 1969.

Viewing it from the standpoint of national unity and nation building, the 1969 incidence indicated that after twelve years of independence, the new nation-state was as divided as ever. However, this cannot be taken to mean that the national language has failed in its function as an instrument of national unity and nation building. Twelve years is too short a time to spread the use of a language to non-speakers. Besides, there were other factors which led to the riot - economic and social factors.

The 1969 incident has led the government to reevaluate the situation in the nation-state. The situation at the beginning of independence no longer existed in 1969. At the beginning, the majority of the citizen population was Malay. It had strong sentimental attachment to the nation state and as such the system could maintain its legitimacy even though it did not adequately meet the needs and interests of the population as a whole. By appealing to the common national identity of the Malays, the mobilizing leaders were able to get their loyalty in spite of internal divisions and inequities. However as the number of immigrants becoming citizens increased, the system was no longer genuinely representative and

reflective of the identity of the majority of the citizen-population. The citizen-immigrants as has been mentioned, placed little trust on the system for meeting their needs and protecting their interests. In this case then the type of nationalism in which the primary push was from nation to state became difficult. The political leaders had to rethink, and rethink they did, after which they introduced the *RUKUNEGARA*.

The five principles of the *RUKUNEGARA* - Belief in God, Loyalty to the King and country, Upholding the Constitution, Obedience of the law, and Good conduct are guidelines which if followed could develop a set of common values and traditions and a sense of duty that are tantamount to a national identity, even if the Malaysian population was diverse in its ethnic and cultural identification. The *RUKUNEGARA* thus transcends the ethnic barriers of language, culture and religion, and at the same time it provides a place for the original ethnic-cultural identities of the component groups to exist. In this case then the type of nationalism is one in which the primary push is from state to nation: an existing sociopolitical structure is used in the process of nation-building.⁵

Besides the *RUKUNEGARA* and the law on sensitive issues, the Government has also formulated a new economic policy which has two objectives: ini sebagai akibat dari perkembangannya yang bertahap-tahap, di

Besides the *RUKUNEGARA* and the law on sensitive issues, the Government has also formulated a new economic policy which has two objectives:

- (a) Eradication of poverty, irrespective of race,
- (b) Restructuring of society.

With the implementation of this policy it is hoped that the needs and interests of the population, irrespective of ethnic groups, are met. This is important because the socio-economic standing of the ethnic group has a direct correlation with its language. During the colonial period, Malaysia was being developed economically and was being made more centralized. The English language was used as the language of administration and higher education and thus it became the language of the dominant group - the English-educated. It took greater and greater importance, while Malay did not gain entry into the system. The English-educated Malays were bilingual, and formed a class of their own. They could participate fully in the

system. The non-English-educated on the other hand were the rural masses. They were relatively less developed economically and socially. As a result the Malay language was identified with this less developed Malay community. Hence, to the immigrant groups and the English-educated group, Malay was not an elite, an intellectual, language. The image of the language was thus low. However with the eradication of poverty and the restructuring of society through the new economic policy the position of the Malay indigenous group as well as that of the immigrant groups, it is hoped, would be enhanced. Economic grievances could perhaps be dispensed with, increasing the possibility for them to be more committed, sentimentally and instrumentally, to the nation-state. Malay the national language could therefore have a higher degree of vitality⁷ since the speakers are economically, and perhaps socially, better off than they were before.

Viewed from the standpoint of national development, the use of science and technology - the means of progress specified by the RUKUNEGARA - would become a natural phenomena. The secular education that is being provided by the state-nation would naturally disseminate values which are not necessarily based on religious ethics. Economic and theoretical values would be the dominant ones since technology is the result of the utilization of human knowledge for the exploitation of economic resources. However, "objective" human knowledge based on the mental capacity of the human being, and economic desire not controlled by religious ethics, could turn out to be threats to the well-being of human society. Materialism, either in the capitalistic or the socialistic sense, would emerge. This would pave the way for greed, arrogance, boastfulness, excessive speech, cursing, false promise, lying, slander, backbiting, strong anger, envy, love of the world love of wealth, miserliness, love of influence, pride⁸, etc., etc. These are all vices, which, if practised, would ruin society and humanity. There never would appear peace and harmony, truth and justice. The various ethnic groups would stay apart and if they came together at all it would be on the basis of greed, arrogance, boastfulness, etc., etc. A truly united Malaysian nation based on fear of, and hope for, Allah would never emerge, and there would never be a language of understanding and fraternity. On the other hand there would be fear and suspicion between the ethnic groups, exploitation and repression, corruption and subversion,

blackmailing and swindling, which would undoubtedly lead to the collapse of society.

Malaysia however has a way out of these threats. As mentioned earlier, the RUKUNEGARA provides a place for the original ethnic-cultural group identities of the component groups to exist. There is thus a leeway for Islam, the official religion, to emerge as the dominant value determiner in the Malaysian way of life. The Islamic belief in life after death provides an ethical value system far different from the secular. If this ethical value system is followed, then the chances are greater for vices like greed, arrogance, boastfulness etc., etc., as mentioned above, to disappear from society. There would then appear peace and harmony, truth and justice.* The various ethnic groups would then come together on the basis of understanding and fraternity. Malay, already an Islamic language, would regain its spirit. It will live a more meaningful life as the vehicle of Islamic *Weltanschauung*. From the point of view of scholarly commitment to truth, the Malaysian Muslim scholars would be in a better position to develop the Malay language meaningfully. As was mentioned earlier, the Malay language and Islam are integral parts of the Malay identity. The collocation of the word *bangsa* to *Melayu* as in *bangsa Melayu*, and its use in the slogan "*Bahasa Jiwa Bangsa*," indicate the closeness of connection between the language and its users. As the Malays (in Malaysia) are Muslims, the Malay language could, perhaps develop better if the slogan, for the present situation, is reversed to "*Bangsa Jiwa Bahasa*". A truly Muslim *Bangsa* will not only develop the Malay language, but will also put all its activities, including science and technology, into its proper Islamic perspective. Though it is difficult to prove, neither can it be denied that language dissects nature for its speakers. The language of Islam certainly dissects its environment Islamically, be it natural, technical or scientific.

The use of Malay as a vehicle of Islamic thought would indeed cause a dawning in the Malay Islamic intellectual activity. The essence of Islamic teaching, if properly intellectualised, would unveil truth before the people and make them accept Islam as the nation-state's ideology. Indeed, from the

*The writer, a Muslim, has the privilege to be committed to Islamic truth because the RUKUNEGARA and the Federation of Malaysia Constitution permit him to do so, secularly.

viewpoint of nation building, loyalties of people sentimentally and instrumentally committed to ideology of the nation-state are more lasting. Hence for the survival of the Malaysian nation, the adoption of an ideology, perhaps in the long run, should be planned. An ideology is the best resource for mobilizing support from the people, but could this happen now? The answer is, *Insyallah*, it could. In Malaysia Islam is the official religion, and the RUKUNEGARA permits the belief in Allah, so be it: Islam is the ideology, Allah the guidance, Muhammad the leader, the heart the determiner, the mind the tool, and Malay the instrument - the people the servants. *Insyallah*, Malaysia will be able to maintain, strengthen, and establish a system which will unite the various ethnic groups into one nation.

3. Conclusion

The formulation of a policy in a democratic system requires the support of the majority. When the voice of the majority is not respected, trouble normally starts. This has happened to Malaysia with the 1969 incidence and it led to a rethinking on the part of the political leaders. As a result the RUKUNEGARA and the new Economic Policy were formulated. Now it is left to the people to establish their united nation through the guidance of the RUKUNEGARA. This will perhaps require a very long time and would be mainly through the education policy. However for a lasting unity the attachment of the people to the nation state must be sentimental. This can only be developed if the nation-state has an ideology and the national language is the vehicle of that ideology.

Thus the thesis here is: language alone, divorced of the complete *Weltanschauung* of truth, is not an instrument which can be used for national unity and nation building.

Only Allah knows best.

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**BAHASA INDONESIA AS AN INDICATOR
OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT**

Irene Hilgers-Hesse

Every language has to incorporate political aims in its function as a medium of communication. Bahasa Indonesia which developed out of Malay at the time of the national independence movement gave rise to a certain revolutionary vital consciousness which found its expression in this newly conceived language. A group of young Indonesians, which was engaged socially and politically more than one would be in normal times, was convinced that a unitary national language was to be a main factor in their common effort to reach a well-defined goal—namely the independence of Indonesia. They testified to this in the oath of the youth of 1928 at which they proclaimed the unity of state and people as well as the unitary language Bahasa Indonesia. H.B. Jassin finds that this oath also constituted a political statement for the language. According to him, the renaming from Malay to Indonesian was not caused by distinctions of structure and vocabulary, but it had a purely political meaning. The possibility to be able to choose a local language among the numerous regional languages, the written language of which was already fairly well developed, as the basis for bahasa Indonesia, namely Malay, was a great relevance to the "experiment" as it was called by C.C. Berg. The guiding principles for the usage and the development of the language were determined at the Congress in Solo which took place in 1938. This language could already look back on a long tradition in the archipelago, and was already widely known. During the reign of Srivijaya on Sumatra, Malay was extraordinarily significant, doubtlessly also in a political way. Later, because of its contact with the Persian-Arabic literature which ensued from the influence of the Islamic religion, Malay obtained its marked classical form as a written language. Besides this distinct high form various low forms developed, such as Pasar Malay and the Malay dialects in each region and in Jakarta. This language was subject to a steady change because of its flexibility, even during colonial times, when it was exposed to Dutch influence. During these times one could find tendencies to associate, that is to combine local elements of language with western ones. The rational modes of reasoning of Europeans, and that modernizing and traditional groups from within led to serious tensions in the twenties and thirties, which also engulfed the sphere of language.

At that time we find the beginnings of an Indonesian literature which began to be formed in prose and poetry. Not only were restricted conceptual

fixations pronounced within the politically oriented literature, but there also existed a kind of engaged poetry which characterized the feeling of the then young generation. These works were published in the papers of the youth organizations Budi Utomo, Trikorodarmo and Jong Sumatranen Bond. One of these poets was Mohammad Yamin, who clearly announces in his poem *Kemegahan* on the beauty of the language which to him is the symbol of political unity. We read: "Berbui sayang malam dan siang

"Berbui sayang malam dan siang
Buian tergantung di tanah moyang.
Terlahir di bangsa, berbaham sendiri.
O, Intan di dada perawan"

Rocked with love at night and day
a cradle which stood in the land of our ancestors
Born in the people, with its own language
oh jewel, at the virginal breast.

It was the time of the great novels which reflected the far-reaching changes of the social structure of the Indonesian society of those days, novels such as *Siti Nurbaya* from Marah Rusli, 1920; *Salah Asuhan* from Abdul Muis, 1928; *Layar Terkembang* from Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana, 1937 and many others. In these novels the language was still filled with many Dutch loans which had not been assimilated, but the language already was a means for carrying out political and social-critical discussions.

A new era also began for the press, which then already pursued liberal tendencies, and from which later also party organs and nationally oriented journals emerged. An extremely strong influence of the press was exerted on the development of Bahasa Indonesia. New words and expressions borrowed from European or regional languages were introduced by journalists and generally spread rapidly, often becoming common knowledge within a short time. During the Japanese times in 1942, a language-commission was founded whose activities consisted of the collection of an initial number of about 6000 technical terms, whose lists were published after 1945. Thanks to this initiative the language became suitable for use in additional fields and increasingly became a national symbol. The rapidity of the expansion and extension of the language led to the fact that often no binding rules could be

formulated, a fact which till today leads to some uncertainties.

In the first constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, Indonesian was proclaimed the state language, *Bahasa Negara*, and thus became within this new system a constitutional element, and consequently was liable to political initiative.

Before 1942, Bahasa Indonesia had to be regarded mainly as a written language and the language of literature. After 1945 it took on the further functions of a spoken language. However the written language and the mass media, such as the press and radio, remained important. It was because of them that bahasa Indonesia was increasingly adopted by further parts of the population.

The oratorical language as elevated spoken language with its democratizing and didactic elements also contributed many stylistic and lexical elements to the picture of a modern unitary language which gradually became imminent. General phrases and metaphors of prominent politicians were intentionally picked up as popular elements and entered the receptive Bahasa. young authors and other intellectuals of that time strove for the preparation of progressive methods of education which contributed to the modernization of the social framework and which were intended to gradually lead to national unity, that is to independence. Out of all these components a new language-thinking or language-model developed which was tightly connected with the new political attitude. While abandoning the colonial system of rules which declared: "Dutch, Malay and the regional languages" one had to strive for the bilingual status, that is Malay-Indonesia and regional languages. This meant that completely new models had to be developed. Already at the beginning of the 20th century groups though small at first, had been formed which opposed the colonial-political system. A considerable intensification of these thoughts took place during the Japan occupation from 1942 to 1945.

Politicians are always interested in a mobilizing language, since it should always reach as many people as possible and stimulate them to advocate the views which they—the politicians—hold. However, not only politicians but also other professions such as teachers identified themselves with these nationally oriented goals within the framework of their educational methods.

These occurred for example in the Perguruan Kebangsaan Taman Siswa with the ideals of *tata tenteram* order and peace. In the lower school grades regional languages were still taught, but in the higher grades Indonesian was then represented, the teachers frequently teaching the old Standard Malay. In 1971 H.B. Jassin spoke of the "bold style of text books" which nevertheless carried a language-cultivating function, while journalists and authors—often teachers also were journalists and authors—had a creative, language-producing effect. To be sure, especially in the language of the press, of the authorities, and of the politicians, there emerged that which one might want to label political world-views. It is true that at first they were put forth by an intellectual elite, but they nevertheless were adopted in private circles. At the Seminar Politik Bahasa Nasional 1975 Anton M. Moeliono stated that Bahasa Indonesia represents the genuine, valid, in Indonesia *baku*, language and that it has a function of a unifier, a fact which is to be considered a strongly political element. Also in the conclusions of this conference it is said that the national Bahasa has the following functions:

as a symbol of national pride, then as a symbol of national identity, then as an instrument for the unification of various ethnic groups which have a different social, cultural and linguistic background. Finally one referred to the function of Bahasa Indonesia as a linking element of interregional cultural connections. In all these acknowledged functions Bahasa Indonesia fulfills the political task of a political authority empowered by the state.

National motivations gave rise to the confession of a common language which in the meantime received a number of special appellations containing national symbolism, such as *bahasa nasional*, *bahasa kesatuan*, *bahasa pergaulan*, *bahasa undang-undang*, *bahasa negara*, *bahasa pemerintahan*, etc. This process towards a unitary language was extraordinarily complicated, since those who used Bahasa Indonesia were allied with different social groups which formed a communication network. Gumpertz (Types, 31) expresses the following views on a linguistic group: "A social group which may be either monolingual or multilingual, held together by frequency of social interaction patterns and set off from the surrounding areas by weaknesses in the lines of communication." Within a group there are various code and subcode-systems which mark the differences of the types of speech. If the

prerequisites to the formation of a national language are given, then this can occur in a way as A.A. J Boenstedt defines it in his "Sprache und Politik in Indonesien" 1967 (21/22): "High differentiation and high mobility of the roles are reflected by a simplification of the code differences and the shaping of standard language, that is the linguistic loyalty is directed towards those signs which are used and understood by most groups (subcultures) or by a dominant group within the linguistic territory"

Groups are quite able to carry out language-creating functions with regard to the enlargement of the vocabulary or the phraseology. In the political realm it often happens that already known words are filled with a new semantic content in word combination, e.g. *lapisan masyarakat*, *partisipasi swasta*, *pembekuan harga*, *perundingan moneter*, *pertemuan puncak*. When introducing new loans one lately again considers the Arabic language, naturally above all for religious terms, and English more than Dutch for common scientific and technical terms. In the past the adoption of a complete cultural aspect was tied to the adoption of Dutch loans, today however this is no longer the case. European loans are only just accepted as words isolated from all cultural context. The shared usage of Arabic loans within the religious sphere for Muslims and Christians (such as *rasul*, *nabi*, *iman*, *khotbah*, *Malaikat*, *syaitan (setan)* perhaps contributes to a closer connection of these groups. During the process of its development out of Malay, the language was almost completely democratized. The honorific forms of speech typical for the court-life which were used in feudal times when addressing princes disappeared (forms such as *hamba*, *patik*) and were replaced by other personal pronouns or pronominal replacements. Also those words which expressed the authoritarian behavior of the princes towards their people were dropped, being considered out of date, or their meanings changed.

There exist tendencies to retranslate words or word groups from foreign languages into Bahasa Indonesia or into Javanese. Therefore one finds transpositions such as the following: *realita* becomes *kenyataan*; *fakta*, *kejadian*; *statement*, *pernyataan*; *aktivita*, *kegiatan*; *planning rencana*; *background* becomes *latar belakang*; *starting point*, *titik bertolak*; *interview*, *wawancara*; and *analogi* becomes *wawan sabda*. Experience will show which of these formations, coexisting today, will make its way. There are also forms

with an advanced process of assimilation in which Indonesian affixes are attached to loans, e.g. *telah diclearkan*.

All these facts are evidence of the tremendous dynamic and flexibility of Bahasa Indonesia which has the possibility to always fall back upon own resources.

The confirmation of Bahasa Indonesia as an indicator of the national development can be summarized as follows:

1—Because of its development during the times of the independence movement, bahasa Indonesia exhibits certain phenomena which are closely coupled with the national thinking of the population groups.

2—Due to the process of a language development out of a written language and Malay dialects, new language models arose which corresponded to the attitude of a new society.

3—The immense creativeness of Bahasa Indonesia is closely connected to the faculty to be able to draw from its own resources as well as to the considerable interlacing in the entire national development.

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PILIPINO AND THE PHILIPPINE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

Ponciano B.P. Pineda

Introduction

This paper is about the relationship of what is now known as the "democratic revolution" and Pilipino, the national language of the Philippines.

At the very beginning, I would like to suggest that a meaningful discussion of the contribution of language to nation-building should be done in the context of the political realities and in accordance with the national development plans of a country. It is most timely and appropriate to discuss its role in development and modernization if there is already full control of the peace and order situation in the country.

The New Society of the Philippines

The story of the New Society of the Philippines can be read in the two books written by President Ferdinand E. Marcos: *Today's Revolution: Democracy* (1971) and *Notes on the New Society of the Philippines* (1973). The first book provides the theoretical framework to the democratic revolution while the second book describes the events that led to the proclamation of martial law and the establishment of the New Society. It is in the second book where the steps already taken and those yet to be taken in the realization of the revolution are described.

In analyzing the forces operating in Philippine society, the President says that the real Philippine brand of democracy exists in what he calls a political culture which is populist, personalist and individualist in orientation. Politicians have a central and crucial role. Because democracy works through the politicians, who give what their constituents want to have, i.e., personal and community services, the people and the institutions weaken. The people vote the politicians in power and therefore participate in perpetrating them in office. The politicians who dispense favors while in office and in campaigning for office seek to retrieve investments by conniving with the "economic people" and by passing laws favorable to their mutual interests. Because of this vicious cycle, politicians cannot become innovators.

The President further clearly perceived that the defect in Philippine democracy was the conservative, personal, and simplistic ethic (the poverty

of social thought) characterized by the popularization of the notion that the poor continue to be poor because they are not industrious and lucky and that the rich are rich because they can amass wealth legitimately. The nature of the political culture constitutes the problem. This was, to me, the thing against which a revolution was being advocated.

Contrary to the expectations of many, the democratic revolution is not one that would entirely eliminate the ruling class in order to establish a new social order. Rather, the democratic revolution is one wherein the revolutionary classess are assimilated into the existing order. Human freedom, the stuff that permits the people to select and elect the politicians, is not destroyed in the revolution advocated by the President. Instead, it is preserved as this is what gives sustenance in carrying out the revolution to its desired end. Let me quote directly from the pertinent part of *Today's Revolution: Democracy*.

Our theory of the Democratic Revolution, is to my mind, much broader and more general, based, as it were, on the fundamental concept of human freedom. The theory is founded on the people's inherent right to revolution, recognized by a democratic government and denied by others, even those which have been established after the overthrow of an oppressive, anti-democratic regime. This is so because of the essentially revolutionary character of democratic thought, which holds human freedom to be the motive force of history (pp. 61-62).

The suspension of the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus on August 21, 1971, was brought about by the plot of the New People's Army to terrorize the city of Manila and eventually to overthrow the Republic. More than a year later, on September 21, 1972, martial law was declared.

One of the first steps taken after the proclamation of martial law was the revision of the political structure. Immediately, the President reinstituted the *barangay* system in the form of citizens assemblies. The aim of this act was to restore power to the people. Just about two weeks ago, the *sangguniang bayan* (local legislative bodies) were created in every province, city, and town. They will exercise the legislative function which was previously the job of provincial, city, and municipal boards. In effect, the creation of the *sangguniang bayan* was in response to the citizens' clamor for greater participation in government affairs and in the

administration and solution of local problems.

On the economic aspect, the development plan of the New Society was contained in *The Four-Year Development Plan, FY 1974-1977*. It had six objectives: (1) to promote social development, (2) to expand employment opportunity, (3) to attain a more equitable distribution of income and wealth, (4) to accelerate economic growth, (5) to promote regional development and industrialization, and (6) to maintain price stability.

The Development of a National Language

The development of a common national language was conceived by the framers of the 1934 Constitution to provide a link that would solidify the Filipino people upon attaining political independence from the United States of America. That desire was enshrined in the Charter for the Commonwealth and the Republic later.

The provision of the fundamental law became operational only after the establishment of the Institute of National Language in 1937. The Institute was charged with the duty of laying down the foundation and the guidelines for the development of a national language.

The Institute performed its functions in accordance with the law and in 1940, Commonwealth Act 570 was passed declaring the "Filipino national language" as one of the official languages effective July 4, 1946, the date set for Philippine independence.

During all those years the national language was a subject in fourth year high school. It was only in the early 50's that the national language was taught from grade one up to the secondary level. Institutions at the tertiary level did not include the language in their curricula except in education courses.

The national language, if it ever was used at all, was concentrated in the schools. As an official language, it was so only on paper but never in practice. Government officials, at least a few of them, came out in the open once or twice a year praising the national language either on Balagtas Day or on National Language Week.

This was the condition because the main language of instruction in

the schools has always been English. It was natural of course that the language of administration was solely in the language of a former colonial master. The school system was primarily responsible for such a condition. It naturally produced an intelligentsia and an aristocracy that could not part with the foreign language which molded their minds and hearts. It was only in the late 60's that the national language started to be felt as a potent instrument of dissent and youth activism. The language which asserted itself even without the much needed support from the government became the instrument that it was meant to be. Significantly, it is the same language that articulated the First Cry establishing the first republic in Asia in 1896.

It was not only the indifference on the part of officialdom that retarded the growth of the national language but also the deep-seated regionalism of the Filipinos that was exploited by the colonial administration under Spain and America. This regional feeling reached the boiling point in the Constitutional Convention of 1971. The delegates ignoring the language of protest passed a resolution recognizing only one language: English. The President could not accept the debacle of Pilipino. So in a speech delivered on August 19, 1972, a couple of weeks before the inception of the Crisis Government, the President said that the greatest honor that could be accorded the late President Manuel L. Quezon, Father of the National Language, was to uphold the national language which has already shown its worth as an instrument of national solidarity as proven by past events. The delegates got the message, and so when the sessions resumed a few days after the proclamation of martial law, they voted Pilipino, the national language, into the new charter. Not only that. They also promulgated the Constitution in the national language, Pilipino, and in English, the adopted foreign language, privileged Filipinos.

It is from this vantage point that the national language is playing its role in the New Society - a society brought about by what is now called the Democratic Revolution.

But the New Constitution contains a somewhat disturbing provision regarding the national language. Though it recognizes that English and Pilipino are official languages, it provides, nevertheless, that the "National

Assembly shall take steps toward the development and formal adoption of a common national language to be known as Filipino" (Art. XV, Sec. 3, Par. 2). Does it mean that Pilipino shall be given up in exchange for another national language? Does it imply that Pilipino is no longer the national language? If it is no longer such, does it mean therefore that there is no national language for the Philippines as long as the "common national language" is not yet developed and formally adopted?

Our position is that Pilipino continues to be the national language in spite of the silence of the pertinent provision of the Constitution. Nowhere is it stated that Pilipino ceases to be the national language, and there is no explicit statement as to what is the national language. Our conclusion is based on a pertinent part of Presidential Decree No. 1 on the Integrated Reorganization Plan of the government, which provides that the Institute of National Language shall continue to make studies of Philippine languages in order to enrich, develop, and propagate Pilipino as the national language. Because the Constitution has been ratified and is being enforced, as is the basis of arguments of those advocating that Filipino is the national language, all presidential decrees are part of the laws of the land and continue to be valid even after the lifting of martial law. This, then, is the basis why the Institute of National Language continues to serve the language needs, especially translation, of the different offices of the government and the private sector.

As in the previous years of his administration and as at present, the President further supported the official function of the national language by promulgating the following measures and enforcing previous ones.

1. Proclaiming the nationwide celebration of National Language Week, August 13-19 (Proclamation No. 186, Sept. 23, 1955; amending Proclamation No. 12, March 26, 1954).

2. Requiring the writing of all names of buildings and offices in Pilipino (Executive Order No. 96, October 24, 1967).

3. Requiring the use of Pilipino in administering the oaths of office of all government officials. Moreover, all departments, offices, agencies and instrumentalities of the government should use Pilipino in their letterheads, including its equivalent in English, and in all official titles or names of the said offices. Official translations should be done by the Institute of

National Language (Memorandum Circular No. 172, August 5, 1968).

4. Requiring the attendance of officials and employees of the government in seminars in Pilipino and other activities sponsored by the INL in selected language areas. The aim is to encourage the participation of citizens in the propagation of the national language (Memorandum Circular No. 199, August 5, 1968).

5. Instructing all departments, bureaus, offices and other agencies of the government to use the Pilipino language whenever possible in all official communications and transactions of the government (Executive Order No. 187, August 6, 1969).

6. Instructing all heads of departments, bureaus, and offices, including the local governments and government owned or controlled corporations to send at least four of their employees to attend seminars in Pilipino and the similar activities sponsored by the INL in designated places (Memorandum Circular No. 277, August 7, 1969). This reiterates the contents of Memorandum Circular No. 199, August 5, 1968.

7. Instructing all heads of departments, bureaus, offices, agencies and other instrumentalities of the government, including government-owned or controlled corporations to appoint at least one qualified employee whose sole function is to handle correspondence in Pilipino to be sent and/or to be received by the said office (Memorandum Circular 384, August 17, 1970, in relation to Executive Order No. 187, August 6, 1969).

8. Requiring all government offices to hold programs to celebrate the annual National Language Week because it is an important factor of true nationalism, aside from being an instrument in the direct, easy, and practical way of communication between the government and the ordinary citizens. It is also the handiest tool that can be used in social interaction of a major part of the nation (Memorandum Circular No. 448, July 29, 1971).

9. Proclaiming and directing the holding of the annual national celebration of Balagtas Day on April 2. Balagtas was a major Pilipino poet by whose *Florante at Laura* and other works, he antedated many national heroes in blazing the trail to Philippine nationalism (Proclamation No. 1249, April 1, 1974).

The President: The Democratic Revolution and the National Language

The restructuring of the political and economic systems of the Philippines in the New Society represents only 'a physical and external change. But the change would lose its significance if there is no complementary internal revolution that Apolinario Mabini, the Brains of the Philippine Revolution, spoke of. While a real and existing communication gap continues to separate the elite in government and society from the masses of the people, it will be hard to forge and implement the development plans envisioned to bring about progress. How will these plans designed by technocrats in the government be realized, if the people are ignorant of them? If national unity could be brought about by a national language, it is almost certain that the people will contribute their talents and skills to the realization of these goals. Where knowledge in any human endeavor can be easily and effectively disseminated in a language understood by all, in this case, a native national language, there should no longer be elitism and cultural feudalism. The revolutionary masses will truly be assimilated into the altered order and each will have a productive function. The national language will serve the role of disseminator in the reforms achieved through the democratization of power and wealth and knowledge culture.

The President fully believes in the effectiveness of Pilipino as an instrument of communication with the citizens. Declaring that the government is dedicated to the use of Pilipino and English, the President does what he says. He administers oaths of office in Pilipino to all appointed high ranking government officials. He receives in Pilipino all foreign envoys presenting their credentials to him: and he uses Pilipino in major portions of speeches to the nation, especially when directly talking to ordinary citizens.

He instructed the reorganized officials, from the cabinet members to the *barangay* leaders, to start using Pilipino in their speeches, especially in discussing public issues. He directed the authorities to translate into Pilipino all educational materials, whether printed or for broadcast, so that government information will be very effective, including all documents and forms to be used in the country. The President said that Pilipino should be the effective instrument of communication in all domains of human knowledge and activities, including science and technology. It should be the

standard bearer of reforms being implemented by the government toward the attainment of a more prosperous life for the citizens. He enjoined all officials and employees of the government, the mass media, business and trade, society, army, education and culture to promote the use of Pilipino.

In past referendums, when issues of national importance were submitted to the people for their decision, the questions were written also in Pilipino and translated into the major Philippine languages. Pamphlets coming from government and private offices were translated into Pilipino and the different languages. The certificates of land transfer given to the farmers under the program of agrarian reform were also translated into the national language after it was explained that their contents were better understood by the farmers. Even private banks and other financial institutions, which responded to the call of the government to democratize income and wealth by extending loans to farmers and small businessmen, now put out advertisements in the national language. Only recently, a private investment firm bought advertising space, covering almost a full page in an English newspaper, to launch the first set of financial instruments in Pilipino, and to announce the printing and distribution of a booklet containing a collection of financial terms in Pilipino. The firm's purpose was to mark "the beginning of an attempt to help promote the Pilipino identity while making more understandable the language of the financial world to a broader base of society." This, they claim, is in accordance with the national effort to broaden stock ownership and to encourage wider participation in productive investments.

The Armed Forces of the Philippines took a giant stride in promoting Pilipino by incorporating the national language into military commands and documents. An ad hoc committee was created to translate military terms and ranks into Pilipino. They also finished translating terms relating to military awards and decorations. Soldier-writers in the national language have been organized to form an association. They are given opportunities to attend seminars and workshops in order to develop their creative writing abilities and communication skills, because they deal directly with the people.

In literature, a newly organized association of Filipino writers in English, Pilipino, and the other Philippine language is collecting oral and

written Philippine literature and is translating into the national language. This is one other contribution to the enrichment of the national language, by assimilating words from the source Philippine languages and dialects.

The Bureau Directors Association, an association of government managers, declared its support of Pilipino by means of a resolution approved in its annual meeting in June, 1973. This was published in a news item:

Pilipino Supported

The use of Pilipino in educational and informative materials printed by the government has been urged by the Bureau Directors Association. The group passed a resolution recently explaining that communication can only be most effective if it is fully understood by the common folk. The association said it also was supporting the government's policy to develop a bilingual population competent in both English and Pilipino (Bulletin Today, July 3, 1973)

For the first time in the history of the national language movement, heads of bureaus and offices came out as a group in full support of Pilipino.

The Presiden himself realizes that educational reforms will be the work of not one generation alone but of several working together. The Filipino people, therefore, are asked to cast away their doubts and to strive to attain an internal revolution. They are also asked to follow and believe in the inspired leadership of the country.

At this juncture, allow me to discuss briefly one of the most significant changes under the new order. This is the policy of bilingual education, meaning education in the national language and in English. This is a radical departure from the American system of education in which English alone was the medium of instruction. The policy states that both Pilipino and English are media of instruction from Grade I in the elementary level up to the collegiate and university levels, aside from being language subjects. In accordance with the policy guidelines, starting school year 1974-1975, the following subjects shall be taught in Pilipino: social science/social studies, character education, work education, health education and physical education. Science, mathematics, and English language communication skills shall continue to be taught in English. By 1984 all graduates are expected to pass examinations in Pilipino and/or English for the practice of their professions. The shift spells tremendous difficulties in terms of teacher training and materials production, but the effects, the price for the future, are more tremendous in favor of genuine national growth

The rationale behind this new program is the objective of the government to develop citizens able to communicate in Filipino and English. The national language has at last come to be on equal footing with English in educating the Filipino people.

The Filipinos not involved in education may ask whether they have any part in the implementation of the policy. According to the President, yes... they do have a role to play. Besides asking for the cooperation of superintendents, supervisors, principals, and head of public and private institutions in implementation of bilingualism, he also asks all sectors, especially the parents, to unite in this movement, because a conducive environment plays a big role in attaining success.

During the opening of the Second Conference of Asian Languages in Manila on December 16, 1974, the President said:

I spoke earlier of the possibility in our respective countries of a cultural feudalism which bifurcates a nation between a foreign languagespeaking elite and the masses of the people speaking their own native languages. Just as we are determined to recast the feudal structure of our society through agrarian reform and through labor reform we are committed to the eradication of feudalism in culture. Our decision to broaden and strengthen the foundation of our national unity raises its implication for reforms in the field of language. The future Philippines should be one where the government and the people can communicate in a single medium easily mastered by the masses of the people, a language most identified with the struggles of the nation for independence and dignity, a language that will serve, like the flag itself, as a binding force for permanent national cohesion and solidarity at all levels of society.

Thus, it can also be said that language has much to do with the perpetuation of cultural feudalism, which is also a cause of the creation of classes in the Philippines. During the Spanish colonial times only the privileged few could study under the system, and though the friars studied the indigenous languages, producing thereby a lot of grammars and dictionaries, they did so only to revise the religious beliefs of the Filipinos. The ordinary native did not have a chance to study the language which properly belonged to the aristocracy. It was those who trained under the system, who mastered the Castilian language, and who identified with it, who became the big landlords and political kingpins. These are the same people upon whom the people became dependent.

The same pattern was instituted by the United States when she was expanding her imperialist visions upon acquiring the Islands by virtue of the

Treaty of Paris. An educational system solely in English replaced the Spanish. The so-called popular education presented to the Filipino opened to them new vistas and hope. They mastered the language and the culture brought about by the alien tongue. The Filipino became, thus, a new slave to another language and culture. Up to these times, and even in the days of the New Society, the pressure of foreign culture is deeply felt due to the onslaught of the mass media.

The two systems, primarily propelled by their respective languages (Spanish and English), created a social stratification that left a yawning gap between the government and the privileged few on the one hand and the masses of our people on the other.

Vision of the Future

We have placed our high hopes on bilingualism, especially the use of the national language. We are hoping that the education of the youth will become more realistic that learning will become more effective and permanent, that education will become truly democratic, that there will be an expansion of formal and informal education, that a truly Filipino education in substance and form will be developed, and that the development and propagation of the national language will be accelerated. In the total development of the country, we hope that the bond on national unity shall become stronger, that national self-reliance shall be developed, that communication between the government and the people shall be practical and effective, that Pilipino shall become the primary language of public administration, that the national culture shall flourish, that there shall be increased production of reading materials in Pilipino, authored and printed by Filipino creativity and craft, that there shall be a growth in social justice, that the nation shall be possessed of a native soul, and that the Filipinos shall be completely liberated from bondage in thought, spirit, and feeling.

If the showing of inspired leadership is any positive indication at all, and I hope it is, the future of the national language is assured. It will be on equal footing with English only for a time. Then it shall supervene and claim its rightful place in the minds and hearts of a people who have just been truly liberated from an enervating colonial past. When the language of government,

education and culture, science and technology shall also be the language of the people, which shall of course be Pilipino, then it can be said that we Filipinos have truly found our true selves and that we have succeeded in improving the quality of life of our people.

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LANGUAGE MODERNIZATION IN IRAN

Fereydun Badre'i

The Persian Language, which is the national, official and literary language of Iran, belongs to the Iranian group of Indo European languages, which include a considerable number of genetically related languages spread over the vast territory of Iran, Afganistan, the South-East Part of Soviet Central Asia, and over some parts of Pakistan, India, China, Turkey, Iraq and Syria. Also, some of the people speaking the Iranian languages live in Caucasus, and in some parts of the Georgian, Armenian and Soviet Azarbaijan Republics.¹

The Persian language is one of the most ancient written languages of the world. A wealth of literature has been created in it, and this is spread in many neighbouring countries which in different historical periods were parts of the vast Iranian Empire, so at times it has had great significance for neighbouring peoples. In this respect its role in the Near East has often been compared to that of French in 17th-19th century Europe.²

A study of various written materials over a period of more than 2500 years reveals that, though differing considerably, it represents one and the same language in different stages of development.

There are three periods in the history of the Persian language: Ancient, Middle, and Modern. Phonetically and grammatically the degree of evolution from Ancient Persian to Middle Persian is very great, but on the other hand Modern Persian remains quite close to Middle Persian. Phonetic development from Middle to Modern Persian is very slight. The grammatical structure has also undergone minor changes, chiefly in relation to verb morphology and syntax.³

The modern period in the history of the Persian language starts from the 9th. century. The first historical record which points to Persian as the language of the nation is also from this period. Mas'udi (d.345 A.H' 956 A.D.) the famous and eminent historian of Iran and Islam says: "The Persians are one nation....All these countries constituted a single kingdom, ruled by one king and the language is also one."⁴

1. Yu. A. Rubinchik. *The Modern Persian Language*. MOSCOW, "Nauka" Publication House 1971, p. 15.

2. V.S. Rostorgueva. *A Short Sketch of the Persian Grammar*. Mouton, 1969, p.1.

Since that time the Persian Language has been the literary, official, and national language of Iran. The status of the Persian Language as a national language, aside from being a historical fact, is supported by three factors which are necessary for the dominance of a language, that is:

1. Numerical superiority of its speakers:
2. The extent to which language is learned by the speakers of other vernaculars;
3. The use of the language for the publication of official texts of law and decrees, and as the medium of instruction in schools, and as the normal channel of communication.

The important fact, however, is that Iran, like many other countries of the world, is affected by western technology and scientific tradition. And there is no question that technology carries cultural concepts, values, fashions and modes of life with it. These new cultural phenomena should be given names and linguistic designations.

To match the new social and cultural life, the Persian lexicon has had to undergo extensive development and modernization. It was to the fulfilment of this objective that the first Iranian Academy was established in 1935. The activities of the first Academy were usually limited to finding or coining Persian substitutes for foreign terms. Many of the coined words are incorporated into the modern Persian vocabulary, and are successfully utilized. One of the weak points in the organization of the Academy was that most of the members were literary-biased scholars. Only a few scientists and technologists were involved. The first Academy continued its activities until 1948, and then became inactive.

As a result of the movement and the efforts specified above, scientific books and articles written during this period contain fewer loanwords and foreign terms.

The Academy was revived in 1970, this time under the name of the Iranian Academy of Language. The objectives of the new Academy as stated

3. G. Lazard, "The Rise of the New Persian Language", in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 4. *The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs*. Edited by R.N. Frye. Chapt. 19, pp. 596-597.

4. Sohaïl M. Afnan. *Persian Studies Concerning Dari Persian*. Beirut, Dar El-Mashreq Publishers, 1973, p.15.

in its foundation decree are:

- 1) to preserve the cultural esteem and grandeur of the Persian Language,
- 2) to develop the language to meet the ever-increasing scientific, technological, industrial and cultural needs of the country.
- 3) to study the ancient and modern Iranian languages and dialects, especially in order to promote the development of the modern language.

To achieve these objectives a number of measures and preliminary steps in certain areas have already been taken. The Academy chooses appropriate terms through the activities in and the cultivation of the following areas :

1. The establishment of committees of experts in various academic fields, with the cooperation of linguists, to choose appropriate Persian technical and scientific terminology for foreign terms. Around two hundred experts constitute the members of the committees in such fields and disciplines as army, economics, medicine, natural sciences, geography, cartography, law and administration, psychology and education, political science, sociology, mathematics, science and technology, fine arts, music, etc.

2. The publishing of a special publication under the title "What is your proposal?" to publicize the terms which the committees of the Academy are going to discuss, and to coin Persian equivalents for them with their proper meanings taken from authoritative dictionaries, and thus to receive pertinent suggestions and criticisms from other experts and interested individuals.

Aside from these measures, to fulfill its important task as efficiently as possible, the Academy has taken the following steps:

1. Description of the languages and the dialects of the area.

A project for the investigation of the Iranian dialects is being carried out in cooperation with the Iran Geographical Organization. The study covers more than 60,000 towns and villages in all parts of the country. Up to now more than six thousand villages have been studied from the dialectological point of view, and samples of the dialects have been gathered. It should be mentioned here that this project is a ten year program.

2. Compilation of concordances for individual Persian literary and scientific classical texts. In these concordances, which are accompanied by a

frequency list of words for each author, all the usages of the individual lexical items are given. Up to now concordances have been prepared for more than twenty texts. Recently this effort has been carried out by computer for the sake of accuracy and speed.

3. Preparation of a comprehensive synonym dictionary, and dictionaries in special subjects. Preliminary steps in these areas are being taken and the basic data for the first comprehensive Persian synonym dictionary has been collected.

4. Investigations in Old and Middle Persian. These studies, as stated above, are being carried out with the objective of selecting suitable terms from these languages and adopting and incorporating them into Modern Persian, after necessary modifications are made, of course. These modifications are compatible with the historical development of the Persian Language and the principles of its phonology.

5. Utilization of Persian lexical items which have migrated into other languages and become obsolete in Modern Persian. Six investigations are already in hand concerning Persian lexical items in Armenian, Georgian, Urdu, Panjabi, Bengali and Arabic.

Based on the information obtained through the above mentioned steps, and taking into view the sociological, psychological, cultural and above all, the national factors, the Iranian Academy of Language is going to modernize the Persian language, to give it the cultural esteem and grandeur it deserves, and to develop it to meet the ever increasing scientific, technological industrial and cultural needs of the country.

THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE MOVEMENT IN CHINA

Paul Jen-Kuei Li

Introduction

A national language can be regarded as ideal if it meets the following two requirements: (1) It has a long literary tradition that its people can read with enjoyment, and (2) It has the largest number of speakers in the nation. Mandarin, the national language of China, which was adopted in 1918, seems to meet the two requirements above.

Mandarin, the major Chinese dialect, has a very long vernacular literary tradition. Even the Chinese people without much formal education today can still enjoy reading the classic Chinese novels written hundreds of years ago, for example, *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (*san kuo yen yi*, appeared in 1,149 A.D.), *All-Men Are Brothers* (*shuei hu chuan*, about 1,530 A.D.), *Journey to the West* (*si yu chi*, about 1,550 A.D.), and *The Dream of the Red Chamber* (*hung lo meng*, about 1,760 A.D.).

According to the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1974, 15th edition, vol.4, pp.270-272), the speakers of Mandarin number 525,000,000, as compared with speakers of the other Chinese dialects: Wu 50,000,000, Cantonese 35,000,000, Hsiang 26,000,000, South Min 26,000,000, (including those in Taiwan), Hakka 20,000,000, Kan 15,000,000, Hweichow 7,000,000, and North Min 1,000,000. Also compare the numbers of speakers with other linguistic background in China (estimates given between 1955-65): Tai 11,140,000, Altaic 8,916,000, Tibeto-Burman 8,664,000 (including Lolo 3,260,000 and Tibetan 2,776,000), Turkic 4,545,000 (including Uighur 3,900,000), Miao-Yao 3,640,000, Manchu-Tungus 2,462,000, Mongolian 1,909,000. The total number of speakers of Mon-Khmer (Austro-Asiatic), Tadzhik (Indo-European) and Austronesian in China is less than 1,000,000.

It is clear, from the above figures, that the Han Chinese greatly outnumber the minority groups. The 53 minority groups, though spreading over approximately 60% of the total area of the country, number only about 37,000,000 altogether, or about 6% of the total population in China. Furthermore, they are heterogeneous in contrast with the relatively homogeneous mass of the Chinese people. For example, the Austronesian speakers that reside only in Taiwan number only 263,803 (in 1970), and actually speak more than ten different languages (not to mention the various dialects) that are mutually unintelligible even though they all belong to the same language family.

In short, Mandarin has by far the largest number of speakers in China and perhaps in the whole world. It is the native language of over 70% of the Chinese and is spoken as a second language by many of the native speakers of the other languages, both Chinese and non-Chinese, in China. It was said that by 1970 more than 90% of the Chinese people spoke or understood Mandarin.

Section 2 is a sketch of the geographical distribution of the major languages and dialects in China. Section 3 describes the national language movement in China. Section 4 gives the propagation of the national language in Taiwan after World War II. Section 5 states the author's concluding remarks on national language.

2. The Languages and Dialects in China

Prof. Li Fang Kuei (1937), a distinguished Chinese linguist, began his article "Languages and Dialects" by saying,

In the vast territory of the Chinese Republic are found not only many dialects but also many languages of diverse structures, spoken by peoples of different cultures and customs. This constitutes a problem in which students of politics and education have to be interested, because language is the only instrument by means of which knowledge and ideas are introduced and the organization and education of the masses may be carried on. The National Language Movement with its hope of linguistic unification, the simplification of Chinese writing, the Romanization Movement, the giving of an orthography to languages not having a writing of their own, the possibility of providing reading material as an aid to mass education, for speakers of languages and dialects very different from the National Language - all those are problems which require a thorough knowledge of the linguistic situation in China.

His statements still remain true today.

The following classification of languages and dialects in China, mostly based on Prof. Li's (1937) article, is tentative in nature:

The languages spoken in China belong to five different language families: (1) the Sino-Tibetan (also called Tibetan-Chinese, Indo-Chinese, or Sinitic), (2) the Altaic, (3) the Austro-Asiatic, (4) the Austronesian, and (5) the Indo-European.

2.1. Sino-Tibetan Family

There are four main branches in the Sino-Tibetan family: Chinese,

Kam-Tai, Miao-Yao and Tibeto-Burman. Of these, Chinese is the most important member in terms of population and political influence.

A. Chinese

The Chinese dialects can be divided into the following groups:

1. The Northern Mandarin group occupies a large area in North China (the provinces of Hopei, Shansi, Shensi, Kansu, Honan and Shantung) and extends into Sinkiang, Inner Mongolia, and Manchuria (9 provinces) in the north and into Hupeh, Anhwei, and Kiangsu in the south, covering 19 provinces out of the original 35 provinces in China. There are only four tones in this group. The Peking dialect, on which the Chinese National Language is based, is in this group. (See Map of China and Map of the Distribution of Languages and Dialects in China.).

2. The Eastern Mandarin group is spoken along the lower Yangtze river in the provinces of northern Kiangsu, central Anhwei, and parts of Hupeh and Kiangsi. It differs from the Northern Mandarin (1) in the preservation of the historical final -p, -t, -k as the glottal stop, and thus having developed one more tone than the standard Northern Mandarin, and (2) in the merger of the final -n and -ng as -ng for some words.

3. The Southwestern Mandarin group is spoken in Szechuan, Yunnan, Kweichow, in a large part of Hupeh and Hunan, and in a small part of Kwangsi. It differs from the Northern Mandarin (1) in the number of tones that varies from 4 to 6 and (2) in the merger of -n and -ng as -n.

Note that all types of Mandarin are mutually intelligible to each other, thus Mandarin has the widest and largest geographical distribution in the vast territory of China, covering 25 provinces out of the original 35.

4. The Wu dialect group is spoken in the southern part of Kiangsu, a large part of Chekiang, and a small eastern part of Kiangsi.

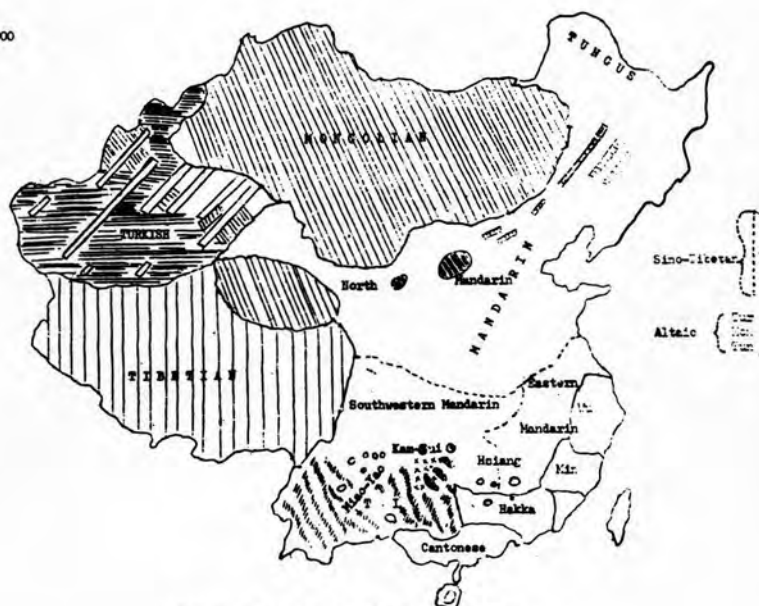
5. The Hakka group is spoken principally in Kiangsi and Kwangtung, and in parts of Taiwan, Hunan and Szechuan. Hakka people have also settled in Indo-China, Siam, Malay Peninsula, and the South Seas.

6. The Kan group is spoken in the area of the Kan river in Kiangsi. It is partly similar to Hakka and partly similar to the Southwestern Mandarin group. Some linguists group Kan and Hakka together.

7. The Min group can be subdivided into North Min and South Min.



1:25,000,000



Distribution of the Languages and Dialects in China

North Min is spoken in Fuchow area in the northern part of Fukien. South Min is spoken in the southern part of Fukien, in the eastern part of Kwantung, Taiwan, Hainan Island, and Leichow Peninsula.

8. The Cantonese group is spoken in the provinces of Kwangtung and Kwangsi.

9. The Hsiang group is spoken in the province of Hunan.

B. Kam-Tai

Prof. Li. F. K. proposed to include the Kam-Sui languages and Tai languages in one subgroup of the family.

The Kam-Sui languages are spoken in Southeastern Kweichow and in parts of Kwangsi, and can be further divided into four subgroups: (1) Kam, (2) Sui, (3) Mak, and (4) T'en. The Tai languages are spoken in a great part of Kweichow and Kwangsi and also in the southeastern part of Yunnan.

C. Miao - Yao

The relationship between Miao and Yao is fairly well established. The Miao group is spoken principally in the provinces of Hunan, Kweichow and Kwangsi. The Yao group is spoken principally in the provinces of Kwangtung and Kweichow, and is scattered in Kwangsi and Yunnan, all in the mountain regions.

D. Tibeto-Burman

This branch can be divided into four groups:

1. The Tibetan group is spoken principally in Tibet and Sikang, and extends into parts of Chinghai and Szechuan. There are three main groups of Tibetan dialects: The Western, the Central, and the Eastern.

2. Katchin of the Bodo-Naga-Katchin group is spoken in the northwestern border of Yunnan.

3. Speakers of the Burmese groups are mostly found outside China.

4. The Lolo group includes (a) Lolo in Yunnan, Kweichow, Szechuan and Sikang, (b) Moso in Yunnan and Sikang, (c) Minkia in Yunnan, and (d) the extinct language Si-Hia in Kansu.

2.2 Austro-Asiatic Family

The Mon-Khmer group spoken in China are the Palaung (or Puman), the Wa (or Kawa), and some other along the Yunnan-Burmese Border.

2.3 Altai Family

The Altai family of languages is spoken all along the northern territory of China from Chinese Turkestan through Mongolia to Manchuria. It consists of three main branches of languages: the Turkish, the Mongolian, and the Tungus:

A. Turkish

The Turkish branch is spoken in China in Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan), in the northwest corner of Mongolia (Tangnu Uriankhai), and in certain parts of Kansu. The Eastern dialects (Uighur), the Central dialects and the Western dialects are all represented in China, but not the Southern dialects.

B. Mongolian

The Mongolian language is centered in Mongolia and extends to Central Asia in the west, to Siberia in the north, and to the northern provinces in the south. The Mongolian languages have the following divisions:

1. The Khalkha group is spoken in outer Mongolia.
2. The Buriat group is spoken chiefly in Siberia, but also in certain parts in Northern Mongolia and in the western part of Heilungkiang.
3. The Kalmuch group is spoken in western Mongolia and in the northern part of Sinkiang.
4. The Southern (or Eastern) group is spoken in the provinces of Chahar, Suiyuan, Jehol, Ninghsia, and in some parts of Manchuria.
5. Some Mongolian dialects are spoken in Chinghai and Kansu.
6. Another group is spoken outside of China in Afghanistan.

C. Tungus

The Tungus branch is spoken in Eastern Siberia and Northern Manchuria. It consists of two groups:

1. The Southern group, including Manchu, Gold, Orch, Dahur, and Solon is spoken in the provinces of Heilungkiang and Kirin. A small group of Manchu speakers is found also in Ili in Sinkiang.
2. The Northern group, including Manegir and Birer, is spoken in Heilungkiang.

2.4 Austronesian Family

More than ten different languages of the Austronesian (Malayo-Polynesian) family are spoken principally in the mountain areas in Taiwan: Atayal, Sediq, Tsou, Kanakanavu, Saaroa, Saisiyat, Thao, Bunun, Rukai, Paiwan, Puyuma, Ami, Yami, Kuvalan, etc. Many others are already extinct. All these are generally referred to as the Formosan languages, to be distinguished from Taiwanese, which is a South Min dialect of the Chinese language.

2.5 Indo-European Family

In the Chinese territory only the Tadzhik (or Tadjik) language of the Iranian branch spoken in the southwestern corner of Sinkia belongs to the Indo-European family.

It goes without saying that a nation with such a diversity of languages and dialects needs a national language to hold all the peoples together, and the most appropriate choice of the national language is Mandarin in the broad sense, i.e. including the Northern, Southwestern, and Eastern Mandarin dialect groups.

3. The National Language Movement

The modern national language movement in China began in 1897, fourteen years before the establishment of the Republic of China. According to the Chinese linguist Li Chin-hsi (1934), *Outline of the History of the National Language Movement*, there were four main periods of the movement:

(1) The Period of "Ch'ie-yin" (before 1900)

In the late Ch'ing dynasty, Lu Chuang-chang invented 55 letters called "ch'ie-yin" to stand for initials and finals, substituting all the difficult Chinese characters.

(2) The Period of Simplification of Chinese Writing (1900-11)

It is a well known fact that the Chinese characters are too numerous (at least 7,000 in a common Chinese dictionary) and too difficult to learn and write. Aiming at simplifying the Chinese writing, some scholars such as Wang Chao employed only parts of Chinese characters to make "official letters", somewhat like the Japanese *kana*. In his alphabet, there were only 50 initials and 12 finals, totaling 62 letters. Wu Ju-lun in this period was the first scholar of the late Ch'ing dynasty to advocate "unification of the national language". Lau Nai-suan published his *Complete Tables of Phonetic Symbols* (*chien zu ch'uan p'u*) in Nanking in 1907. The next year he tried to persuade the Empress in power to make a public announcement of the writing system to the nation.

(3) The Period of Phonetic Alphabet and New Literature (1912-23).

In this period, the National Language Association of the Republic of China advocated vernacular literature, revised the school curriculum concerning the Chinese language, encouraged child literature, and pushed ahead the reform of the Chinese writing system.

The Preparatory Commission for National Language Unification under the Ministry of Education, announced for public use the Phonetic Letters (1918) and *Dictionary of official Pronunciation*, changed the course of classic Chinese ("kuo wen") to vernacular national Chinese ("kuo yu") in the school curriculum, edited the primary and high school textbooks and reference books for the national language, and set up the National Language Program.

The unification of reading pronunciation in China needs a little explanation. One such Conference was held in 1913. The participants were some experts appointed by the Ministry of Education, two representatives from each province picked by the chief administrator, one from Mongolia, one from Tibet, and one from overseas. The participants were to have had at least one of the following qualifications: (a) familiarity with phonology, (b) acquaintance with philology, (c) mastery of one or more foreign languages, and (d) knowledge of several dialects. The mission of the Conference was: (a) to decide on the "official pronunciation" for every character-word, (b) to analyse the sound elements of all words and come up with the total number of sound elements, and (c) to adopt letters, each standing for a sound

element. The so-called "official pronunciation" was decided by the majority of the votes of all the representatives from all over the country. It took them more than a month to decide on the official pronunciation of some 6,500 character-words. Since it was an artificial language, nobody could speak it. It was said that only the prominent Chinese linguist Prof. Chao Yuan Ren ever made an attempt to learn to speak it. A few years later (1924), the Peking dialect was chosen as the basis for the standard national pronunciation.

(4) The Period of Romanization and Phonetic Symbols (after 1924).

In the fourth period, there was a debate between classic Chinese and vernacular Chinese, and whether Chinese students should be required to read Chinese classics.

The Romanization movement in China took the following forms:

(a) The extremists such as Ch'ien Hsuan-t'ung advocated, in 1908-10 and in 1918-19, adoption of the international language "Esperanto" to supersede the Chinese language altogether. The proposal was not practical, so it ended up with nothing fruitful.

(b) Romanization of the Chinese characters was actually practised by the western Christian ministers early in the late Ming (first by Matteo Ricci in 1605) and Ch'ing dynasties (about 1,600-1,900 A.D.). It was then formally proposed by various Chinese scholars, including Chao Yuan Ren, in the early period of the Chinese Republic (1913-18).

(c) One problem of romanizing Chinese is that there are too many homonyms. Take the standard Peking dialect as an example; there are only some 400 different syllables plus the theoretically four possible tonal distinctions for each syllable. One way out of this problem is to treat compounds rather than monosyllables as grammatical units and write or spell them as such. This is the first step towards romanization of the Chinese characters. Such a discussion took place in the years 1922-25.

(d) The Commission of the Romanization of the National Language decided to adopt for Chinese writing the 26 Roman letters used internationally (1923).

(e) Several members of the Commission met and discussed many times to solve all the technical problems. They eventually (1926) submitted a pamphlet on how to romanize Chinese to the Ministry of Education, which announced it to the whole nation. Some reading materials in romanized

Chinese were published in the subsequent years.

In this period were also adopted the National Phonetic Symbols, formally called the National Phonetic Letters (*kuo yin tze mu*).

The Preparatory Commission for National Language Unification met in December 1924 to discuss revisions of the *Pronouncing Dictionary of National Language*, chaired by Wu Ching-heng. They decided on the Peking dialect as the standard pronunciation, but including some "alternative readings" based on historical and modern dialect variations. Ever since 1926, the Peking dialect has become the model of the standard national language and has gradually been spread to southeast China and elsewhere. Two years later, the National Phonetic Symbols (named the "first system"), and the Roman Letters of the National Language (named the "second system", e.g., b, p, m) were announced side by side in tables to the whole nation. Both systems were propagated in the subsequent years.

In 1932, the Ministry of Education announced the *Frequent Vocabulary of the National Language*, which contained 9,920 lexical items.

The national language policy in China was formulated by the Ministry of Education in 1944, to be implemented by each province. It had the following objectives:

- (a) To achieve standardization of the reading pronunciation of the character-words and unification of the pronunciation.
- (b) To make the whole nation speak the national language, which is also the standard language for foreigners learning Chinese.
- (c) To obtain a higher rate of literacy by means of "national Chinese characters with phonetic symbols" (i.e. each Chinese character is printed with its phonetic symbols on its side to help pronunciation).
- (d) To implement the national language policy in areas of other languages in the Chinese territory by means of the Chinese phonetic symbols.
- (e) To study efficient teaching methods of the national language.

4. Propagation of the National Language in Taiwan

The linguistic situation in Taiwan is different from the other parts of China in at least two respects. First, Taiwan was occupied by Japan for 50 years (1895-1945). The policy of the Japanese administration was set down

as below: "The primary job to do in Taiwan education is to make all the peoples in the territory learn Japanese as soon as possible." Step by step the Chinese language was discouraged and eventually prohibited in public and schools, whereas the Japanese language was the only official language allowed and encouraged not only in public but also in private families. The policy of the Japanese language was so successfully implemented that many formally educated Taiwanese felt more at ease communicating in Japanese than in their own mother tongue by the time Taiwan was returned to China in 1945.

Second, there were influxes of immigrants from Mainland China to Taiwan, particularly around 1949 when the Nationalist Government moved its capital to Taipei. They came from all parts of China, representing virtually all types of Chinese dialect groups, as well as the other language families in China. However, each group among the Mainlanders (the later immigrants to Taiwan) is relatively small. The majority of the speakers in Taiwan were the South Min dialect (estimated to be about 70%) and Hakka (about 10%).

When the Chinese Government took over Taiwan, few of the 6,000,000 people on the island could speak Mandarin. The national language movement was carried over from Mainland China and the similar policy was being implemented in Taiwan. In the early stage, people were encouraged to speak their own mother tongue, in which subjects were taught in school for a year before Mandarin was introduced. The Ministry of Education sent some members of the National Language Commission it had set up earlier to Taiwan to work on the national language program. New members were recruited and various language programs were set up to train elementary and high school teachers. At a later stage, the Mandarin crash program was also set up to help adults who had left school, and the instruction was free.

The Mandarin Daily (newspaper), an organ of the National Language Commission, has also been responsible for the propagation of the national language in Taiwan. It is printed in the type of "national Chinese character-words with phonetic symbols" (see Sect. 3 above) and sells 80,000 copies a day, reaching all corners of the Island. Another important feature of the newspaper is that it is written in simple Mandarin, in the completely vernacular and colloquial style, never in classic style. So even people without much formal education can read it with ease. The phonetic symbols on the side of the Chinese characters help people identify new character-words. In

addition to the daily news, various reading materials it has published in the book form have reached all levels of school. To take an example, the *Selected Writings of the Past and Present (ku chin wen hsuan)*, which appears once a week and goes along with the newspaper, has become extremely popular among high school and college students, adults having left school, and foreigners learning Mandarin, as they are the best reading materials for self-study.

Nowadays, television and radio have also become important media not only for transmission of knowledge and ideas but also for language instruction, linguistic unification, standardization of pronunciation, etc.

As it now stands, most people below middle age and a good number above middle age can speak and write Mandarin (in Chinese characters) in Taiwan, particularly in metropolitan areas. It seems amazing that so much can be achieved in such a short time. The success has much to do with the unique writing system of Chinese. The Chinese people, including those in Taiwan, have shared the same writing system (i.e. the same Chinese characters) and read the same literature for centuries, although different dialects may have quite different pronunciation for the same words. Furthermore, Mandarin is structurally close to South Min and Hakka, the two major dialects spoken in Taiwan, and it is not hard for people to transfer their speech habits from one dialect to another. Part of the success was of course, due to the hard work of all those who had been actively engaged in the national language program.

5. Remarks on National Language

A national language cannot sustain without literature. As Dr. Hu Shih (1918), a leading Chinese scholar, said, "Literature is a prerequisite to a national language. We must provide a language with literature in order to have a real national language. A national language without literature is lifeless and without much value; if so, it cannot be established and is not viable." He further remarked, "A national language is not created merely by a few linguists, nor with a few textbooks and dictionaries for the national language alone. To establish a national language, we must create sufficient valuable literature in the language. In so far as there is adequate vernacular literature in the language, a national language is naturally-born."

The term "national language," in a broad sense, includes all dialects.

The "standard" national language is actually only one of the dialects and is not superior to the other dialects.

Any effort to spread a national language should not involve suppression of the other dialects or languages in the country. To do so would cause unnecessary antagonism on the part of speakers of the other dialects and languages, and it would do harm to national unity. The so-called "sub-standard" dialects may die out, and languages of minority groups may become extinct in the course of time. But they should by no means be abolished by law. In other words, no legal measurement should be taken to discriminate against these speakers.

For speakers of the "sub-standard" dialects and other languages, the national language is to be learned as a second language and used when communicating with other speech communities. They should have all the rights, protected by law, to speak their own mother tongue as they wish. Furthermore, educators and psychologists have found that the best medium for teaching is the mother tongue of the learner.

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**SOME PROBLEMS IN THE COMPILATION
OF AN ENGLISH-MALAY DICTIONARY**

D.J. Prentice

Many of the papers presented at this conference stress the importance of language in the process of nation building; and one of the most important tools in this process is the dictionary. Whether it is a monolingual dictionary which represents the storehouse of a national or regional language, or a bilingual dictionary which forms a bridge between the regional language and the national language, or between one of them and an international language such as English, the dictionary has always played and will continue to play a vital role in language-development, and through that, in nation building.

This importance has been recognized in most of the countries taking part in this conference, especially in our host-country, where in 1974 the *Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa* organized a workshop with the express purpose of training a nucleus of lexicographers who would be able to start tackling the mammoth problem that Indonesia faces in this respect.

This paper attempts to describe (and suggest solutions for) some of the problems confronted by the staff of the English-Malay Dictionary Project at the Australian National University in Canberra, in their task of compiling a comprehensive, up-to-date English-Malay dictionary for English-speakers.

It is necessary first to define what is meant by the terms "English" and "Malay". In this context "English" refers to "Modern British English". The word "Malay" on the other hand is used as a convenient cover-term for Bahasa Indonesia and Bahasa Malaysia. It also, naturally, covers the language which is used as a national and/or official language in Singapore and Brunei, identical in all respects to Bahasa Malaysia. The dictionary does not embrace the local Malay dialects of the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra and Borneo, or the pidginized variants collectively known as "Bazaar Malay", or the creolized forms of Malay found in various seaport towns throughout the Archipelago (Baba Malay, Jakarta Malay, Manado Malay, etc). I should add here that the name of the Dictionary Project does not necessarily foreshadow the eventual title of the dictionary itself.

Since the dictionary embraces both Bahasa Malaysia (BM) and Bahasa Indonesia (BI), the question arises of how to treat the differences between them. The minor phonological differences, such as the pronunciation of word-final *a* and *r*, can be treated in a foreword. Lexical and morphological differences are marked by placing "M" before usages restricted to BM and "I"

before those restricted to BI. The absence of any such marker indicates a usage common to both countries. Some examples:

car, *n.* M kereta, motokar; I mobil, oto.

expert *n.* ahli, M pakar

back, *n. (of person)* belakang, I punggung.

anxious, *adj.* himbang, M khuatir, I khawatir.

academic, *adj.* M akademik, I akademis.

marry, *vi.* M (ber)kahwin, I kawin.

consent, *vi. (to st.)* - setuju, M persetujui.

This indication offers only a general guide, as many words marked as BM are current in parts of Sumatra, while many words marked as BI are current in parts of East Malaysia.

It is also important to determine for whom the dictionary is intended. Almost all the currently available English-Malay dictionaries are written for Malay-speakers who wish to understand English, whereas the A.N.U. dictionary is being written for people who speak English (as either first or second language) who wish to express themselves in Malay. This difference in orientation is crucial, and has many important consequences. For the first type of dictionary-user (the Malay-speaker who wishes to understand English), the following type of dictionary-entry is most useful :

rice /rais/, *kb.* padi, nasi, beras.

lend /lend/, *kkt.* (lent /lent/) meminjamkan, meminjami.

polygamy /poligami/, *kb.* sistem perkawinan antara seorang laki-laki dengan beberapa orang perempuan.

biblical /biblikel/, *ks.* berkenaan dengan Kitab Injil.

The Malay-speaking reader is provided with the following information for each English headword: its pronunciation (within oblique strokes); its part of speech (*kb.* = katabenda (noun), *kkt.* = katakerja transitif (transitive verb), *ks.* = katasifat (adjective); any irregular forms (as in the

entry *lend*) ; and its equivalent (s) or its definition in Malay.

This type of entry is not, however, very useful for the second type of dictionary-user (the English-speaker wishing to express himself in Malay). He does not need information about the pronunciation or irregular derivatives of the headword, or at least if he does, he is not likely to look for it in this dictionary. Nor does he really need information about the part of speech, except in order to distinguish homonyms (e.g. "box" as a noun and "box" as a verb); such homonyms are so frequent in English, however, that it is common practice to label the part of speech. Besides providing superfluous information, this type of dictionary-entry at the same time omits certain data about the Malay which it is essential for the English-speaker to know. In the first two entries (*rice* and *lend*) he needs to know whether *padi*, *nasi*, *beras* and *meminjamkan*, *meminjami* are completely synonymous. and if not, what the differences between them are. In the case of Malay verbs, he needs to know whether they are transitive or intransitive, as this distinction is crucial in Malay morphology and syntax. If a verb is transitive, it should be cited in a way that enables him to correctly formulate the so-called active and passive forms of the verb. As regards the entries *polygamy* and *biblical*, the Malay sections constitute definitions or explanations rather than actual equivalents. Obviously, one cannot repeat *sistem perkawinan antara seorang laki-laki dengan beberapa orang perempuan* (literally "a system of marriage between one man and several women") every time one wants to say "polygamy". Similarly *cerita-cerita yang berkenaan dengan Kitab Injil* (literally "stories pertaining to the Bible") would not be a very accurate translation of "biblical stories", (*cerita-cerita Kitab Injil* or *cerita-cerita dari Kitab Injil*).

In an English-Malay dictionary of the second type, therefore, the four entries *rice*, *lend*, *polygamy* and *biblical* would appear thus:-

rice, *n.* (cooked) *nasi*; (uncooked) *beras*; (plant, unhusked grain) *padi*.

lend, *vt.* -pinjamkan (st. kepada so.), -pinjami (so. st.).

polygamy, *n.* *poligami*

biblical, *adj.* (*n. cons. bible*).

(*n.* = noun; *vt.* = transitive verb; *st.* = something (*sesuatu*); *so.* = someone (*seseorang*); *adj.* = adjective, *n. cons.* = nominal construction)

Let us consider these four entries one by one:

In the second version, the difference between the three Malay words corresponding to the English word *rice* is pointed out. This is a fairly straight forward example of a phenomenon common to all bilingual dictionaries: different degrees of specialization between the source language and the target-language in certain sectors of the vocabulary. This phenomenon poses no real difficulty to the lexicographer once the semantic range of the words concerned is known, and need not concern us further.

A similar case occurs in the entry *lend*. Here, however, the difference is more grammatical than lexical, in that the object of the verb formed with *-kan* is "the thing lent" (Fillmore's Object case), while the object of the verb formed with *-i* is "the person to whom something is lent" (Fillmore's Dative case). Malay transitive verbs are differentiated from intransitive verbs by being written in their base-form, preceded by a hyphen, to indicate that they may take either the active prefixes, (*meN-*) or the passive prefix (*di-*). This obviates the possibility of confusion between active transitive verbs and some intransitive verbs which are also formed with *meN-* (e.g. *menulis* "to write (something)" and *menari* "to dance"). It also means that, with the assistance of a few simple rules provided in the introduction, the reader can supply for himself the different forms of the verb. This is not possible if, as in the previous version, transitive verbs are cited in their active forms, since the reader has no way of knowing whether *meminjamkan*, for example, derives from a base beginning with *p* or one beginning with *m*, or whether the passive form should be *dipinjamkan* or *diminjamkan*. The decision having been made to cite transitive verbs in their base forms, the preceding hyphen also serves to mark them off from the numerous intransitive verbs which consist of simple bases, with no derivational affixes. (e.g. *-pukul* "to beat" versus *pulang* "to go home").

Not all Malay transitive verbs conform to the rules, and the exceptions need to be pointed out to the non-Malay speaking reader. The most frequent exception is the irregular retention of initial *p, t, k* and *s* following the prefix *meN-*. This occurs mainly with borrowed words and

words which already contain (or are regarded as containing) a prefix. Thus *-periksa* "to examine" produces the regular active form *memeriksa*, while *-percaya* "to trust" produces the irregular *mempercaya*. This is noted in the dictionary by citing these verbs as *-periksa* and **-percaya*, the asterisk denoting retention of an initial sound which is usually lost in the presence of *meN-*. The situation is sometimes more complex. Thus the verbs *-ketepikan* and *-kesampingkan* meaning "put on one side" have regular active forms in BI (*mengetepikan* and *mengesampingkan*), but irregular forms in BM (*mengenepikan* and *mengenyampingkan*). Again, the active form of a certain verb meaning "to observe" is *memperhatikan* in both BM and BI, but BM has the additional and by no means rare forms *memerhati* and *memerhatikan*. These exceptions are noted in the dictionary as "*-ketepikan* (^M *mengenepikan*)", "*-kesampingkan* (^M *mengenyampingkan*)" and "*-perhatikan*, ^M *-perhati(kan)*" respectively.

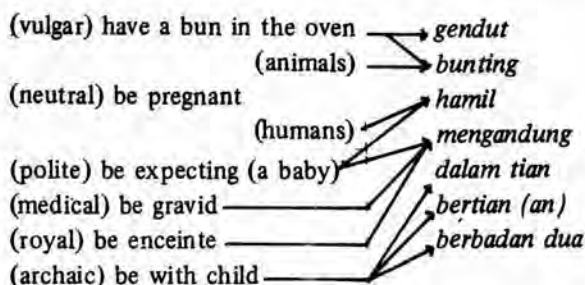
Turning now to the entry *polygamy*, we note that the long definition of the first version has been replaced by an equivalent technical term. Unfortunately, it is not always easy to find a universally accepted technical term as *poligami*. Both Malaysia and Indonesia have bodies which have been and still are very active in the coining of new technical terms, which are published from time to time in the form of "*kamus istilah*". However, these lists of terminologies do not always provide the lexicographer with the short-cut that he might expect. Although hundreds of thousands of terms have been coined or adapted in both countries, the mere fact of their having been decided upon by a committee of scholars is not enough for the lexicographer: he must first of all have evidence of the acceptance of the term by society at large, or at least by the community of experts in the field to which the term belongs. The problem is particularly acute in the BM terminology, which is in a state of flux, partly because of the ever increasing influence of BI in Malaysia, and partly because of a change of policy at the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, the body charged with the task of (among other things) coining technical terms. This body has moved away from the linguistic purism of the late 1950's and early 1960's towards a wider acceptance of modified international Graeco-Latin terminology. Such terms as *kajimanusia* "anthropology" (from *kaji* "study" and *manusia* "mankind" and *maun* herbivorous" (from the first

syllable of *makan* "eat" and the last syllable of *daun* leaf") seem likely to be replaced, although they have been used in books published by the Dewan Bahasa. In fact, *kajimania* was a successful, widely-accepted coinage, whereas *maun* certainly was not: I have yet to hear a Malay speaker utter the word *maun*, except under duress.

Another pitfall in the use of the various *kamus istilah*, is that they are often at variance with each other (given that the same word can be used as a technical term in more than one discipline). For example, the Dewan Bahasa's committee on engineering terminology translated "atmosphere" as *udarakasa* (from *udara* "air" and the last part of *angkasa* "space"), the geography committee chose *udara* and *lapisan udara* (literally "air-stratum"), and the physics committee hedged their bets and chose *udara*, *angkasa* and *udarakasa*. We can mention also the lack of precision in pinpointing the precise meaning of the foreign term being translated. It is not known, for example, whether any of the above words are equivalent to "atmosphere" in the sense of "unit of measurement used in physics". With the benefit of hindsight, one can say that the choice of a modification of the international term (such as *atmosfir* or *atmosfera*) would have saved a lot of money and not a little brain-fatigue. In outlining the dangers inherent in using the *kamus istilah* as lexicographical material, I have taken examples from those produced by the Dewan Bahasa, not because they are any worse than other *kamus istilah* in this respect, but merely because they are more easily available for study and analysis and because they are the ones with which I am most familiar.

There are other areas of vocabulary in which it is extremely difficult to find suitable equivalents. Colloquialisms can often not be accurately reflected in BM or BI, since the latter are predominantly used in written, official or literary styles; colloquial speech is more easily executed in the speaker's mother-tongue (either a dialect of Malay, or a regional language). As the national language permeates more and more thoroughly into every level of usage and is influenced more and more by other speech-forms, this problem will tend to disappear. At the moment, however, for words like "chap", "guy" and "bloke", one can do little else than supply the neutral word *orang*, while for "bird", "chick" or "sheila" one can only fall back on the overworked *gadis*, although the Jakarta *cewek* offers possibilities.

The problem of matching the connotations of words in different languages is an ever-present one for the compiler of a dictionary. Both English and Malay, for example, have a number of words or expressions which can be glossed as meaning "to be pregnant", each of which has a slightly different connotation from its fellows. The diagram on the following page lists some of the English words and shows how they might be linked to the various Malay words and expressions. Although the diagram shows a considerable degree of overlapping among the various terms, it almost certainly represents an over-simplification of the true picture.



Finally, the entry *biblical* brings us to a problem of a morphological and syntactic nature: that of word-classes discrepancy between the two languages. Both English and Malay have means of deriving nouns from verbs, English through such affixes as "-tion", "-ment" and so on, Malay through affixes like *ke-an*, *per-an* and *peN-an*. Likewise, nouns can also be derived from adjectives, by means of "-ness", "-ity", etc. in English and *ke-an* in Malay. However, while English shows a definite preference for using the nominal forms, especially in official contexts, Malay prefers to use the verbal form. Thus many English circumlocutions such as "he made a request for assistance", "he received a wound in the shoulder", "he gave his son a beating" and so on, cannot be translated literally without producing unidiomatic (not to say ungrammatical) Malay. Instead, Malay uses constructions which can be literally translated as "he requested assistance", "his shoulder was wounded" and "he beat his son", even though words meaning "request", "wound" and "beating" do exist. In these cases, the non-Malay speaking reader must be told to use a verbal

construction. English adjectives derived from nouns, such as *biblical* itself, have no equivalent in Malay (with the exception of some borrowings like *geografis* "geographical" and *duniawi* "worldly"). Instead, the underlying noun is simply used in attributive position, as in *ikan sungai* (*literally* "river-fish") for "riverine fish". Here, too, it is necessary to inform the reader that he must employ a nominal construction in Malay.

In conclusion, it must be said that there remain many other problems in English-Malay lexicography (onomatopoeic words, to name but one) which need to be explored and discussed, but which time prevents me from broaching here. It is hoped, however, that the preceding remarks may serve as a tentative foray into a little-studied facet of language-development in Asia. For the more the languages of the region take upon themselves the functions once carried out by the languages of the European colonialists, the more the speakers of the colonial languages will feel the need to meet Asian languages and cultures on their own ground.

TOLERANCE AND CONCERN

Notes on 'Hongkong English'

Siu - Kit Wong

I. With linguists pronouncing that

From a metaphysical point of view all known languages are equally 'adequate' in the sense of being fit for the purposes for which they are intended: roughly speaking, anything that can be said can be said in any language.....

(- Max Black, p.64, 1968)

and

It is wrong.... to consider the dialect form as a corrupt form of the standard. Indeed it is always wrong to consider dialects as corrupt forms.....

(- Frank Palmer, p.25, 1971)

with, that is, 'prescriptive grammar' confidently dismissed by the modernists and 'transformational-generative grammar' questioned by its own exponents, are we still in a position to agree with Auden when he declares in his poem, 'Words', that,

Syntactically, though, it must be clear;
One cannot change the subject half-way through,
Nor alter tenses to appease the ear.....?

is there still a mode of speech or language about which one might possibly have the effrontery to say,

....Enough! no more:

'Tis not so sweet now as it was before.....?

The answer to such rhetorical questions seems to be a simple - and, I think, facile - nay.

My intention is to delineate the variety of English used in Hong Kong, especially by persons I have most contact with, university undergraduates, and draw therefrom certain conclusions and inferences which might lead to - dare one say? - the 'improvement' of the language as could be pressed into service in the community to which I am ineluctably related.

'Hong Kong English' (HKE hereafter) is in several ways unique. Indeed I feel that it should be regarded as an English dialect, a 'variety' of English which carries its own peculiar characteristics, one which however 'odd' it may seem, is qualified to be regarded as English, in the same way that Cockney and Oxonian (or 'Oxfordy') English have a right to be regarded as varieties of English.

II. HKE can never aspire to be identifiable with 'standard English': it can never be expected to be as accurately expressive as the language spoken by educated persons in Oxford, Cambridge, or London; nor is it likely to be understood unerringly by the likes of Lord David Cecil, Professor John Bayley, or the Queen. But then that is neither the 'limitation' of HKE nor the fault of the distinguished persons alluded to; for, is it likely for anyone in the British Isles to communicate with everyone else in the same territories with total articulation and without danger of misunderstanding?

The linguistic situation in Hong Kong is far more complex than we are usually prepared to recognise. We speak, glibly, of a bilingual situation, eschewing that even less euphonious expression, 'multi-lingual' situation.

English is understood by a small minority of the population of Hong Kong and employed with real dexterity by a very low percentage of that minority. Those who have no 'competence' in English, those who have no reason to feel the need to acquire English to any extent, constitute at least eighty-five per cent of the population. Numerous persons live and make a living in this Crown Colony without having to know the letters of the English alphabet.

A separate and unrelated factor is at the same time actively at work but often ignored by many of those who seek to understand this supposedly 'bilingual situation'. In any meaningful discussion of the sociolinguistics of Hong Kong, one cannot afford to overlook political, and, in turn, broadly cultural differentials. With the international status of Great Britain declining steadily, with the justifiable strengthened sense of affiliation to a politically and militarily rejuvenated China, one witnesses a growing sense of identity with China among the Chinese in Hong Kong. One linguistic result is a diminishing respect for 'received' English.

And yet, the governing of Hong Kong continues to be conducted in English; the conferment of an 'official' status on the Chinese language in recent years is to my mind a politically wise gesture, but not substantially as monumental as the optimists imagine it to be. Education, especially tertiary education, if we are prepared to face the facts, continues, by and large, to be more readily available in English, HKE, that is. Business transactions, especially with overseas countries, are carried out in English. And it is still possible for a Britisher to live in Hong Kong without knowing a word of

Chinese - in a rarefied and unreal world that reminds one of Somerset Maugham.

III. I move on now to delineate *some* of the characteristics of HKE. But before I do that, I have to clarify a number of points. Firstly, I do not include in my review the varieties of English spoken and written by persons, of whatever nationality, who have not been born and bred in Hong Kong. Secondly, time has not permitted me to conduct a scientific survey for this paper: my remarks are based on observations made in my work as a university teacher and so refer largely to the English used by university undergraduates, although they are, I think, borne out by my day-to-day experience as a resident in Hong Kong. Thirdly, I concentrate on aberrations, distortions and limitations and may well convey a misleadingly unfavourable impression of HKE. I do know that there are citizens of Hong Kong whose English is, to use a description which can never be literally true, impeccable. But it is not my concern to deal with the exceptional; nor is it my business to determine the extent to which HKE approximates 'standard English'. Fourthly, my scheme is not to follow any particular linguistic school. My observations and such explanations as I feel it is within my competence to offer are 'commonsensical', and my procedure is dictated by considerations of convenience.

The most conspicuous weakness of HKE is its shabby and shaky grammar. By grammar I do not mean the kind of Latin-based rules that Bishop Robert Lowth of the eighteenth century or J.C. Nesfield of the late nineteenth century conceived. Nor have I in mind what those who think in terms of linguistic 'competence' and 'performance' assume to be a set of rules so internalized as to form the basis of a 'native' speaker's ability to speak and understand his own language (- cf. p.156, Palmer). By grammar I mean the recognised and expected formal and structural conventions in a language which enable the speaker or writer of a language to employ the language with minimum obscurity and ambiguity, and for a listener or reader to understand it in the sense intended by its user, in both cases within a given community. For instance, 'I goes', 'go' I, 'I is going' are ungrammatical because they defy convention; they *could*, however, conceivably become grammatical if a whole community, in practice, *invariably* used them and understood them without

having to make an extra effort. Again, to say 'school' when 'a school', 'the school' or 'school' is meant is to be ungrammatical in that it leads to *ambiguity*. By my definition some of the externalised normative rules in traditional grammar are still valid and useful. But to go back to the question of HKE, it is only those whose performance approaches zero who make mistakes of the first type. The second type of mistakes occurs far more frequently.

But grammar, however defined, requires not only small verbal units to bow to convention; it also permits only a limited, if uncountable, number of sentence shapes and contours, of syntactical formulae. It is only on rare occasions that I have come across undergraduate essays which contain no syntactical malformations of the kind that would baffle any reader without knowledge of Chinese. The 'although ... but' construction is a commonplace. Sentences containing 'until' are often misconstrued, with the indispensable 'not' being left out. Pronouns without antecedents are bandied about. On the other hand common-nouns are frequently repeated in places where an educated English writer would have recourse to pronouns.

But there are two types of grammatical weakness to which we in Hong Kong are particularly prone. The first is that errors are committed by many in the constructions of sentences involving subordinate units, phrases and clauses alike, most notably in cases in which what in traditional grammar are called 'adjectival clauses' are subsumed. The other weakness is one of omission. I do not have to dilate on the usefulness of the 'subjunctive mood' in English. 'If you failed to do this or that, you had better consider doing something else' — That, in HKE, fairly often assumes the form: 'If you fail to do this or that, you better consider doing something else' The purely hypothetical sense hardly ever occurs in typical HKE, and 'better' becomes a qualifier of the verb 'consider'.

Here I must pause and permit myself to indulge in a moment of speculation. Most of the weaknesses I have referred to seem to stem from the 'interference' of Chinese. All the Chinese dialects I know, or know of, are not inflectional. A person of Chinese parentage who has been brought up in a Chinese-speaking environment usually has considerable difficulty in getting all the English inflections right, especially in such emotionally tense situations as examinations or interviews for university admission. Even when one *knows*

that one should say, 'My father wishes ...', one does not always say it because of the vocal, the physical effort required for the articulation of the sibilant phoneme at the end of the word. In the examination room, it is so easy, in writing, to slip into 'wordsworth believe in pantheism. As for grammatical 'articles', they are there in Chinese, but they are not bound to the nouns as inextricably as they are in English. I am of the opinion that 'a school', 'the school' and 'schools' are disparate semantic items and not variant forms generated from 'school'. But the problem remains: in what way can we effectively establish their separateness in the minds of those who acquire the Chinese word for 'school' first and only subsequently come to be taught that the accompanying articles and the final 's' function as indicators of independent verbal units? I entertain some misgivings about the advisability of teaching a second language by encouraging the temporary suppression or suspension of the learner's first language. But equally I find it hard to believe that the teaching of a second language, particularly at an early stage, should be closely related to conscious comparisons with the learner's first language.

My sense of uncertainty is reduced when I move on to discuss the occurrence of wrong English constructions which can readily be diagnosed as transferences from Chinese constructions to 'English' ones. If we followed the translations of such words as 'although', 'but' and 'until' that most English-Chinese dictionaries offer, instead of observing how these words are actually used in English contexts, it would be impossible for us to shun the structural errors I referred to. A direct comparison of English sentences containing these words and Chinese sentences containing their equivalents could lead to a clear recognition that the surface resemblance between the English and the Chinese words is dangerously misleading. Similarly an awareness of the way a good native writer of Chinese repeats his nouns cheerfully instead of falling back on pronouns could help remove at least one type of ugliness which disfigures the English language used in Hong Kong.

On the outstanding issues I have to generalise boldly and allow myself to make impressionistic statements. Most of the complex sentences one writes in English could be envisaged as moving on different levels. The literally subordinate clause works on a lower level in comparison with the main sentence, 'My cousin will be in Hong Kong again next week.' My

impression of Chinese sentences is that usually they do not contain this sort of subordinate, almost parenthetical, elements, except in a consciously cultivated Anglicised style; on the whole, they move on, unit after unit, on the same level. It is for this reason that HKE, I think, limps along whenever subordinate constructions are introduced.

As for the 'subjunctive mood', the divergence between Chinese and English seems almost unbridgeable. There is no convenient and unambiguous way to indicate the 'purely hypothetical' in Chinese grammar. 'If you fail...' and 'If you failed...' would have to go into highly similar Chinese translations. We cannot complain about the Chinese language for that, but certainly should try and understand the rare occurrence of the 'subjunctive mood' in HKE.

The next peculiarity of HKE I propose to delve into is its vocabulary. Even a cursory reading of the tutorial essays submitted to me in any week would give one the impression that the English used is different from the English used in any other part of the world, not only 'because of the anomalies already discussed. A closer inspection would lead one to the conclusion, if only for the sake of convenient summary, that all is not well with the vocabulary employed. That the vocabulary is not sufficiently extensive is true, but to say that is neither interesting nor particularly useful. I wish to be more precise and analytical. The vocabulary of HKE is, to my mind, most seriously inadequate in two ways. The first is that it is dated; the second is that it contains a sizable number of words used and understood erroneously in ways that amount to a pattern, or several patterns.

Words that are absent from the vocabulary certainly the 'active' vocabulary - of HKE are, as I have implied, largely those that have either been coined or come into wider currency in British English relatively recently. This is a noteworthy phenomenon particularly because, by contrast, difficult words, words that a poorly educated Englishman would not know, are often used with surprising alacrity in HKE. Most of my pupils would understand, and sometimes use, words like 'tendentious', 'surreptitious', 'ameliorate', 'cascade', 'nullify', 'acumen', 'consortium', 'munificence' and 'tryst'. On the other hand, they would have to consult a dictionary when they come across expressions like a 'leader' (in a newspaper), 'by-line', 'trendy', 'in' (meaning fashionable).... Indeed, it is with the 'trendy' words that I have found it

easiest to 'floor' my pupils with such words as 'freak', 'grass', (a) 'happening', 'high', 'gay', 'dike', 'think' (as a noun, in, e.g., double-think), 'read' (as a noun, in, e.g., 'a good read'). Common colloquialisms, too, could be a source of bewilderment; for instance, 'booze' and 'grog' would be incomprehensible to many of my pupils.

Another whole category of words are more often than not misused or misunderstood in HKE. They go in pairs. Here are a few examples: take/bring, listen/hear, seek/find, lose/miss, doubt/wonder, replace/substitute, because/for, people/the people, arguable/disputable. I have deliberately excluded words that cause confusion wherever the English language is used, such as: anticipate/expect, deteriorate/degenerate, continual/continuous, male/masculine.

And, in HKE, there are sentences like. This translation *can reproduce* all the important qualities of the original 'when 'This translation *reproduces* all the important qualities of the original' is meant. The last but one becomes 'second last' .. 'This Thursday' and 'next Thursday' are seldom correctly used or understood, while 'Thursday week' seems to be non-existent.

Of course what I have provided is no more than examples, but they should serve my purpose well enough, the purpose being an attempt to suggest some of the peculiarities of HKE seen in terms of words and short phrases.

Translated into argument, the question is: in what way(s) could one be hampered in one's comprehension and expression by HKE?

The first series of examples I culled out should make it clear that the average undergraduate in Hong Kong could have some problem in trying to understand the language spoken in London. Without entering into a labyrinthine exploration for the cause of the state of affairs described, I would like to suggest that the teaching of English in Hong Kong is more bookish than is desirable, and insufficient attention is paid to current English as it is used in England. I further suspect that the limitations of HKE are not unrelated to the circumstance that English is not usually taught by persons who have had enough exposure to environments in which 'standard English' is

the currency of common parlance.

The other examples I offered were offered with a self-evident intention. The reason why the pairs of words listed are habitually mis-used is that each pair has one, and not two, obvious equivalents in Chinese. And one says 'This translation can reproduce....' because firstly, one does not have to draw a sharp distinction between 'can do something' and 'does do something' in certain Chinese contexts and secondly, the requirement to introduce certain verbs with a human agent as the grammatical subject is not so strong an imperative in Chinese as it is in English. This leads on to a simple corollary, that English had best be taught in a place like Hong Kong by persons with a sound knowledge of Chinese. And, perhaps, translation as discipline has claim to a more honoured position, not as an end in itself, but as a subsidiary activity in the teaching of English.

IV. I am no purist and do not subscribe to any rigid doctrine of linguistic correctness. But if communication is not the main function of language, I do not know what is. And communication does vary in efficacy. If a community did not have a well-developed language which enabled its members to communicate to themselves, to one another and to members of other communities sharing some form or other of the same language, clearly the community would have much to lose. Government, education, commerce, industry, and even defence could all be handicapped. In a community like the Colony of Hong Kong it would be unrealistic to speak of nation-building in the sense in which the expression is used at this Conference. But the quality of life of individual members of the Hong Kong community can, I believe, be affected by the quality of the languages used in daily discourse. I have refrained from discussing the varieties of Chinese used in Hong Kong, not because I consider them less important, but because the length of a Conference Paper places restrictions on what one could say. My reflections on HKE should however lead to some conclusion about the general linguistic situation in the British Colony that stands at the door-step of powerful China. It is, I deeply feel, a situation that should be viewed with tolerance and concern.

LANGUAGE, EDUCATION AND NATION BUILDING

Amran Halim

It has been said that language and nation building are intimately interrelated. Their interrelatedness is expressed in terms of the extent to which language contributes to nation building, i.e. to the development of national identity and national systems of values. It is also expressed in terms of the degree to which, and the way in which, language serves as a unifying factor that glues together communities with different social, cultural, ethnic and linguistic backgrounds into one unit called nation. On the other hand, the interrelatedness of language and nation building is expressed in terms of the degree to which, and the way in which, nation building can maintain not only the momentum of language development to suit national interests but also the acceptance of the notion that language and nation building are closely interlocking. The interlocking relations between language and nation building are assumed in this paper.

.Nonetheless, it may be interesting to look at the question of the relationship between language and nation building slightly further. Is there a one-to-one relationship between the two? Does successful nation building require that only one language be used in the nation? The answer is of course negative. If the answer were in the affirmative, nation building would be impossible. This is certainly true in the case of Indonesia, where besides the national language there are hundreds of vernacular languages used. Apart from these languages, there are also a number of foreign languages, including English, used in the country in varying degrees of intensity.

The various languages used in the country are accorded different positions relative to each other, and perform different functions so that they are not in competition in relation to either positions or functions. The notion that successful nation building requires that only one language be used in the nation – if the notion were really ever entertained – is not only politically explosive but also socially, culturally and linguistically unjustified. In fact, it is precisely because of the multilingual nature of its environments that *bahasa Indonesia*, the national language of the country, is characterized by features which define it, and which set it apart from Malay, out of which it has developed. Thus it is evident that the interlocking relations between language and nation building does not imply that successful nation building requires that the nation concerned uses only one language for all national purposes.

The main point of this paper is that the role played by language in relation to nation building is reinforced through education, both formal and non-formal. By language in this paper I mean the overall system of linguistic behavior recognized and accepted by the community in which it is used as an integral part of its social and cultural system (cf. Chomsky's "performance" rather than "competence", and "surface structure" rather than "deep structure"). One of the implications of this statement is that language is controlled or constrained by the larger social and cultural system. This view is consistent with the view that there are a number of alternative codes available to the members of a given community, and that the choice of one code rather than another is conditioned by social as well as cultural contexts. This is of course also true with the choice of one language rather than another in multilingual communities.

The interplay between language and nation building in multilingual communities is always fascinating and challenging to study, especially when there is a certain degree of competition among the languages (i.e. among speakers of the languages) concerned whereby each of these languages tries to obtain the position of being the one and only national language. It is also interesting to see, in the absence of any linguistic competition, how the national language of a multilingual nation is characterized by certain features of the various nonnational languages, and how it is used with a relatively high degree of linguistic tolerance. The degree of linguistic tolerance is evident in the choice and formulation of the norms in relation to the standardization of the national language. However, instead of pursuing further the interplay between the various languages and nation building in multilingual communities, I will limit my discussion to that between the national language and nation building.

The role of the national language in the life of a nation is multifaceted in the sense that it performs multifarious interrelated functions. It functions as a symbol of national pride or self-esteem and national identity. It may also function as a unifying factor which glues together a multilingual, multiethnic and multicultural nation. In its position as an official or state language, it serves as a means of conducting the official business of government for political, economic and sociocultural purposes. It may also function as the main medium of instruction in the national school system. I would like to

limit my attention to the first of these functions, i.e. as a symbol of national esteem and national identity.

A language which functions as a symbol of national esteem and national identity is by definition not just a language in the sense of being a means of communication in the community in which it is used. It is far beyond being a phonological, grammatical and semantic system. It represents the esteem of the nation concerned, and it is considered with heart and mind as a means of national identity by the nation concerned in ways which are sometimes linguistically unaccountable. It represents the nation's esteem to the extent that any down-grading of it by either fellow members of the nation or – more seriously – by members of other nations is taken to mean down-grading of the nation's political integrity, economic status, and sociocultural system of values. This is especially true with newly independent or developing nations. These nations, in their attempt to become members of the world community of nations on equal terms with the other established nations, do practically everything they can to modernize their languages in such a way and to such an extent that they have the necessary means of making effective use of the products of the development of modern science and technology for the sake of their own development and well-being. At the same time they also aim at contributing to the development of science and technology so that they may also belong to the "contributors' club" instead of only to the "recipients' club". In the modernization of their languages, these nations continue keeping their national esteem very close to heart, keeping intact their political, economic and sociocultural ideologies and ideals. This perhaps explains why national language development in developing nations is sometimes linguistically unaccountable.

As a symbol of national identity, the language concerned is also not just a system of sounds, words and grammar which enables it to fulfil the nation's communicative needs. It is to serve the nation in question in such a way and to such an extent that it gives the nation its distinct position, distinguishing it from other nations, in the same way its national flag gives it its distinct identification. It was precisely this objective that motivated the inclusion of *bahasa Indonesia* in the Indonesian three-point youth pledge of October 28, 1928, the other two points of the pledge being the recognition of Indonesia was the mother-land and the Indonesian nation the national entity. In its

decision to make a language its national language, its symbol of national identity, the nation in question may adopt one of the languages belonging to its linguistic repertoire as such, i.e. by keeping its traditional name, or by giving it a new name as in the case of Malaysia, the Philippines and Indonesia. This is again done in ways which are sometimes linguistically unaccountable in the sense that, for example, the Indonesians and the Malaysians adopt two different names for linguistically the same language.

Now, it appears to me that in order to serve effectively as a symbol of national esteem and national identity, the language chosen must fulfil at least two requirements. First, the language must be fully and wholeheartedly recognized by at least the majority of the national population as their symbol of national esteem and national identity. This recognition gives it the necessary special status in relation to the other languages in the nation's linguistic repertoire and in relation to the nation's other symbols of national esteem and national identity. However, recognition alone is not enough. The language must also fulfil the second requirement, i.e. the acceptance of the language as an integral part of the nation's political, economic and sociocultural ideology, ideals, and systems of values.

It is true that recognition and acceptance are intimately interrelated. The recognition by a nation that a given language is its national language and thereby serves as a symbol of its national esteem and national identity would probably and hopefully lead to its acceptance by the same nation. One of the implications of acceptance is the willingness of the nation to use the language and to develop it to suit national needs. Thus, recognition may very well motivate acceptance. The nation accepts the language as a symbol of its national esteem and national identity simply because it considers the language as a national symbol worth accepting, and this sense of worth is certainly a necessary ingredient of recognition. However, it does not necessarily follow that recognition and acceptance go together in reality. A given language may be recognized by the nation in question as its symbol of national esteem and national identity, but for all practical purposes the nation – at least certain social or other groups in the nation – might for various reasons use another language. This is very likely to happen in the cases where the recognition is strongly politically motivated, whereas economic and sociocultural

motivation is either rather weak or totally lacking. Thus, in order to succeed in serving the nation as its symbol of national esteem and national identity, the chosen language must satisfy the requirements of recognition and acceptance by the majority of the national community.

Assuming that the language is recognized and accepted by the nations as one of its national symbols, I would like to maintain that the role or the function played by the language is reinforced through formal as well as nonformal education. By reinforcement I mean not only the maintenance of recognition and acceptance, but also the fostering of recognition and acceptance throughout the national community within the present generation as well as in the coming generations.

Viewed in terms of generations of the national community, the reinforcement of the recognition and the acceptance of the national language as a national symbol may be regarded as consisting of two types:

- (1) reinforcement within the present generation and
- (2) reinforcement in the generations to come.

These two types of reinforcement differ in both kind and degree. In either case, the reinforcement is accomplished through education, formal as well as nonformal.

The reinforcement within the present generation is perhaps the more complex compared with that in the generations to come. This is due to the fact that the present generation, whose members are adult members including leaders of the national community, may lack the necessary training and background in the effective use of the language, and yet they, especially the leaders, are expected to serve as models in relation to the recognition and acceptance, and the use, of the national language. It is certainly too late for them to obtain the necessary training by going through further formal education. The best they can do is perhaps to take refresher courses or to help themselves in one way or other. For many members of the national community, this effort no doubt needs a lot of encouragement; they must be quite highly motivated. The motivation may be political, economic, or sociocultural. Whatever the motivation, it must certainly be high enough for them to admit, even only to themselves, that their use of the national language needs improvement.

One of the ways of reinforcing the role of the national language within

the present generation is by means of the effective use of the mass media. Radio and television programs specially designed for this purpose, or special "language corners" in newspapers and magazines would certainly help. However, this campaign necessitates careful planning and implementation of the programs, not only in terms of materials to be presented but also in terms of manpower. Poorly selected materials and insufficiently capable and convincing staff to run the campaign might very well cause results opposite to what is the intended outcome. In order to be effective, the mass media's careful planning and implementation of the programs should be reflected in the quality of the programs presented. Of course, the degree to which the personalities who handle the programs serve as model users of the national language is also a determining factor. How can they help you in the improvement of your use of the national language if they themselves, who are supposed to be models, show an unsatisfactory mastery of the language? Furthermore, the radio, the television, the newspapers and the magazines, in order to be effective, should demonstrate that their model use of the national language is not limited to the specially designed programs and "language corners" only. They should see to it that the same quality of the use of the national language applies also to all the daily activities performed by newscasters, interviewers and commentators and by reporters, editors and editorial writers.

Still another way of reinforcing the role of the national language is by widespread distribution of the products of literature and popular magazines in the national language at economically attractive prices. However, if it is true, in the case of Indonesia, that the reading habits of the general public are poor, then perhaps the first thing to do is to find ways of remedying the poor reading habits.

The reinforcement of the role of the national language in the generations to come starts with school children of today. This depends to a considerably high degree on the 4-M's: (1) manpower, (2) material, (3) management, and (4) money.

Each one of the members of teaching staffs must represent the manifestation of the recognition and acceptance of the national language as a symbol of national esteem and national identity in all their activities, within as well as outside the classroom situation. They must demonstrate that they

are highly professional in their own fields of teaching. They must also demonstrate that they are proud of their national language as evidenced by the extent and the quality of their use of it in all of their activities. A teacher of geography, for example, must be good not only in the teaching of geography but also in the use of the national language as a means of teaching geography.

The school child is exposed to the national language both as a school subject and as the medium of instruction, with or without the aid of the child's vernacular in the first two or three years of schooling (if it is other than the national language), whereby the other school subjects are presented and the whole business of the school is conducted. In either case, the material should be carefully planned and prepared. The teaching of the national language as a school subject is of course designed to enable the school child to have the necessary awareness of how the national language works in the life of the nation. The use of the national language as the medium of instruction is aimed at giving him the needed field exercise in the active use of the language apart from presenting the contents of the various school subjects. Thus, because of the different objectives, the materials needed must be prepared accordingly.

By management I mean not only the organizational and administrative process whereby the national language is presented to the school child both as a linguistic system and as a medium of instruction, but also the educational process whereby the learning and teaching of the national language may be integrated into the overall learning and socialization experience to which the school child is exposed. In order to reinforce the role of the national language effectively, the school must create an atmosphere conducive not only to the child's learning of the national language as a school subject and his practical ability to use it as a medium of learning, but also to his recognition and acceptance of the national language. The creation of this kind of atmosphere may be achieved by not limiting the teaching and the use of the language to the class-room situation only. The language must also be used intensively and extensively in all extracurricular activities such as school plays, student organizational activities, and school "wall papers".

In the secondary schools and in colleges, where certain foreign languages may also be taught along with the national language, the

educational effort to reinforce the role of the national language is very likely to be more complicated, because a certain atmosphere conducive to the learning of the foreign languages must also be somehow created. This atmosphere might very well disturb the atmosphere needed in the effort to reinforce the role of the national language. Therefore, the management must be such that the student does not give a greater recognition and acceptance value to the foreign language than to the national language.

The fourth element, money, is obviously necessary. The training and the recruitment or the needed manpower, the planning and preparation of highly effective learning and teaching materials, and the implementation of the school programs in relation to the reinforcement of the national language in the generations to come all require the availability of sufficiently large funding. Without the availability of the necessary funding there is not much that can reasonably be expected to come out of the school system.

In conclusion I would only say that the reinforcement of the role of the national language as a symbol of national esteem and national identity can be accomplished only through formal as well as nonformal education. It is a complex and expensive continuing process indeed. However, it is apparently the only way.

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LANGUAGE LOYALTY VERSUS LINGUISTIC DIVERSIFICATION

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IN a multilingual setting, such as Jakarta, the Indonesian capital, instances are readily observable of choice of language which is determined by considerations other than the requirements of the particular linguistic communication. A distinction will be made in this paper between the condition of language diversity i.e. the presence of diverse languages, different from one another in a speech community, and the process of linguistic diversification that includes the various functions and forms of a specific language. Within this context a further distinction will be made between in-group languages, out-group languages, and languages of specialized information.

In-group languages serve as the mode of basic face-to-face relationships among group members who wish to identify their common ethnic origin. In the Jakarta area, almost all of the major Indonesian regional languages are spoken among the urban population as a result of the appealing drift to the capital. Chinese is still widely used among the foreign-born Chinese population. Given the heterogeneous character of the metropolitan city, the Jakarta - Malay dialect has emerged as an important in-group language which has been readily adopted by younger generations of the migrated groups and by older people who want to be identified as Jakartans (or Jakartanese).

The out-group languages for bilinguals are Indonesian and English, which also serve as the sources of specialized information. English, as a world-language tends to be the primary channel for technical information about world culture.

It is not surprising that speakers from different cultural backgrounds are responsible for the great diversity of languages that may influence, positively and negatively, the process of diversification of the national language.

When for the purpose of this conference I use the term 'language loyalty', the name given by Weinreich (1953:99) to the desire of a speech community to preserve its language and, if necessary, to defend it as an intact entity against foreign interference, it is to be meant as one's attitude of preferential adherence to the national language, without alleviating the fact of one's natural and innate loyalty toward his mother-tongue.

Apparently, there seems to be a significant correlation of language loyalty and nationalism. However, a group's language loyalty and nationalistic aspirations do not necessarily have parallel goals. To the extent that the national language possesses unifying and separatist functions, as outlined by Garvin and Mathiot (1968 : 369 ff) with respect to a standard language, language loyalty conforms to the ideals of Indonesian identity. Jakarta people are however very tolerant in their attitude to the freedom of language choice in respect to the regional languages. On the one hand foreign encroachments in terms of English and Dutch interference through lexical and grammatical features in one's language usage are now scorned by a not insignificant part of the population. On the other hand a great permissiveness to the use of a mixed language with Indonesian and some regional language as its ingredients may be observed. Even a faulty use of the national language is widely tolerated; people have seldom been derided in public because of it.

In point of fact, language loyalty towards Indonesian, in the sense of feelings of defence, vis-a-vis the borrowing of elements on the lexical and grammatical levels from the major regional languages, seems not to get into a corner. This borrowing process a feature of "langue", characterized by being collective and systematic and distinct from interference, a feature of "parole", which is individual and contingent, is generally considered as an enrichment of the national language.

The reverse, however, does not hold. I have often heard complaints from people about their children's inability to speak their mother tongues properly. When asked what the alleged incompetence could be ascribed to, the answer usually narrowed down to their uncongenial sentiments in respect of their youngsters' leaning towards the use of Indonesian terms in their speech. Here, in-group language loyalty seems to be of a stronger nature in that less tolerance is shown in such circumstances.

Let us now return to the problem of Indonesian language loyalty among several groups living in Jakarta and see what are the variables that may either strengthen or weaken the favoring attitudes in the light of functional diversification of the national language. Motives will vary with membership in a particular sub-group and they seem to have a bearing on the questions of degree, function, alternation, and interference, that Mackey (1968: 555) has posed in connection with the concept of bilingualism. In other words,

monolinguals will have less problems with their loyalty on account of their "monogamous" bond with the single language they know.

Degree: How well do non-monolinguals know the languages they use? The majority of the city's population has a speaking knowledge of Indonesian but only a small minority can read some English. To the extent of people's relative proficiency in one of the foreign languages, greater loyalty may be expected among those Indonesian speakers with high sensitivity to criticism; they do not want to use an unfamiliar language on account of their feelings of insecurity. However, since competence in Indonesian among the population differs to a high degree, the exposure to new concepts of modern life through English sources of information tends to weaken language loyalty among various groups, who would rather adopt the ready-made foreign terms and expressions in their speech than coin their relevant Indonesian equivalents.

Function: What do non-monolinguals use their languages for? Indonesians of Chinese descent use Indonesian in order to be identified with the majority group. Generally they have been found at least as fluent in this language as other Indonesian, according to a recent study by Weldon. On the other hand, the business and industry sectors, comprising members of all ethnic groups show a preference to English names for their enterprises. The underlying motives are presumably prestige and status enhancement through their identification with "modern" culture, associated with considerations of monetary advantage which is expected from their foreign clients. A growing practice has been observed among them and among other educated circles of having even calling-cards printed in English. One may suspect that an incipient process is under way to give English equal status with Indonesian in these sectors, be it not by law then certainly in practice.

Alternation: To what extent do non-monolinguals alternate between their languages? As has been mentioned earlier, Indonesian or one of the regional languages is widely used for intimate communicative purposes. Public settings and official business require a shift from the regional language (or a foreign one) to Indonesian. Indonesian is also maintained in the field of science, where, however, due to the availability of English sources of specialized information, most readings done in the latter language. Task oriented behavior, such as services for the general public, induces language alternation depending on the person served.

Interference: How well do non-monolinguals keep their languages apart? This will in principle depend upon his emotional attachment towards the languages he knows and his level of aspiration to be competent in each of them. No specific sub-group has been discerned indicating a high degree of loyalty in this respect since interference is a widespread phenomenon.

Language loyalty in relation to the assumption that usage of the national language is inconsistent and the expansion of its vocabulary unsystematic, may in fact be reverted to a general trend of laxity. So far, many sub-groups have been tended to treat Indonesian rather as a symbol of unity than as a potential means of elaborated information. Still many people think that the problem of developing the national language in terms of functional diversification has been settled with its adoption as the official language in 1928.

In the process of language development, especially where specific names and technical terms in the various domains are concerned, the principle of consistency is indeed more important than the more concern for purity in the national language. An inconsistent language may ultimately affect language loyalty in that the former will eventually become second in importance to any other language that is more consistent.

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**ETHNIC LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND NATIONALISM :
A RESEARCH PROBLEM**

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1. This paper originated from a question that had been intriguing me for some time, namely what the relation is between ethnic language maintenance and nationalism in pluralistic nations. More specifically, the questions are:

- (1) is ethnic language maintenance in a plural society (like Indonesia) deleterious to nationalism, national unity and development?
- (2) what function does ethnic language (and culture) maintenance have in nation building?
- (3) is pluralism a transitional nationalistic state that is tolerated only in a country's development towards nationalism or is it something to be preserved to provide a multiple indigenous source for national development?

The majority of newly independent nations are pluralistic in culture and language, including those in Southeast Asia like Indonesia, the Philippines, Burma, Singapore and Malaysia. The country may or may not possess a language that is spoken by a large majority of the population. The linguistic fragmentation may be such that it sometimes results in the selection of a non-indigenous language as the official language or one of the official languages to serve as the language for government, education and other domains of high culture, thus making the nation exoglossic or part-exoglossic (Kloss, 1972:71).

It has been observed (Fishman, 1972:125) that in the new nations it seems to be more common for nationalism (territorial-political identity) to precede nationalism (socio-cultural identity). In the field of nation-building, pluralism tends to be associated with political instability, which gives a greater urgency to the search for national unity and identity. In this search for national identity, there seem to be three basic options open to the leaders of a new nation :

- (1) regressive identity: the revival of old traditions, where the search for identity is focussed on the past;
- (2) progressive identity: one that views the past as detrimental to progress; a new state and a new national identity is aspired to (examples are socialist and communist states); and
- (3) a non-ideological identity, which focusses its interest on pragmatism and development (as exemplified in Singapore by the

high-rise and low-cost housing flats, industrial development, the "Keep Singapore Clean and Green Campaign", etc).

Indonesia, which can boast of a proud past with the glory and high culture of kingdoms like Sriwijaya, Majapahit and Mataram, has lately endeavoured to combine this legacy with the more dynamic orientation of pragmatism, thus adopting the first and third approaches above.

In the establishment of a national identity, Indonesia can perhaps be considered fortunate. It established its national identity, at least ideologically and in actual name, long before independence, during a relatively peaceful time at the historic Youth Congress in 1928. The territory of the country that was still under Dutch colonial rule was to be called Indonesia, the people, the Indonesian Nation, and the language the Indonesian language (*bahasa Indonesia*). Thus, when independence was finally obtained in 1945, there was no problem at all about Indonesia's national identity, including its national language.

At independence in 1945, the national language, the still multifarious *bahasa Indonesia*, spoken by a small minority in ports and urban centres, was also pronounced to be the only official language and the sole medium of instruction beyond the first three grades. Today, 30 years later, Bahasa Indonesia, standardized to some degree in the natural but very slow manner of inter-communication through education and school grammars, the civil service, the mass media, etc. is spoken by a substantial part of the population in Indonesia. However, the majority of these people speak it as a second language, having acquired it after their own mother tongue or first language. These people retain proficiency in their first language and are bilingual or multilingual as the case may be. This pattern makes all urban centers in Indonesia multilingual.

In the larger cities (like Jakarta), a multiplicity of languages are spoken besides *Bahasa Indonesia*. The choice of the language one uses of course depends on the speech situation (i.e. one's interlocutor, the topic, the audience, the purpose, etc). Urban dwellers have been found to be less conservative than rural dwellers and are also more inclined to shift their language, but the various ethnic groups in the urban centres of Indonesia have generally managed to retain the use of their traditional language and customs when interacting among themselves. The question in this connection is: what

is the relationship of this phenomenon to the development of nationalism in Indonesia? Will this pattern of ethnic language maintenance be an obstacle to complete nationalism? To answer these questions we would need objective measures of language maintenance and of nationalism. However, the intuitive impression one gets is that in Indonesia one's nationalistic attitudes are not greatly affected by the retention of one's ethnic language and customs for appropriate functions. This needs scientific or objective support or disproof. This paper is a plea for such a project.

It has also been posited (Fishman, 1972: 132) that in order to make this kind of language retention possible, in many immigrant settings at least, a relatively large community of speakers is necessary. In the in-country migrant situation of Indonesia, where some communication with the area of origin is usually maintained, this does not seem to be true either; the key factor here may be "in-country", meaning within the boundaries *and* scope of a national unit.

2. We speak of language maintenance when a group of speakers of one language gets in contact with a group of speakers of another language, or more briefly expressed, when two (or more) languages are in contact. Contact situations like this may result in changes in one language or usually in both. This kind of change in one's speech is called interference (Weinreich, 1963), analogous to acculturation in culture contact. There are many examples in history of two languages coming in contact through migration or invasion. The immigrant or invaders' language may become so dominant that it displaces the indigenous language, the new language usually absorbing certain elements (mostly vocabulary items) of the older language. Examples are Anglo-Saxon displacing or dislocating the Celtic languages in Great Britain, the Indonesian languages replacing the older Negrito languages in the Indonesian archipelago.

On the other hand, there have also been cases of immigrant (invading) languages disappearing and the indigenous language being adopted by the new people. An example of wholesale contact of this sort is the Melanesian language sub-family, spoken by the descendants of the purportedly victorious people from the Southwest who must have been speaking another (an unrelated) language - at least, this is the explanation given to the un-Malayo-Polynesian physical characteristics/features of the Melanesian. In

Europe, the descendants of the invading Norsemen (Normans) wound up adopting the language and culture of the defeated Gauls.

These are the two extremes of the outcome of language contact. A more common result is the continued existence of the two language side by side, resulting in a number of the two peoples acquiring proficiency in the two languages; we then have a bilingual situation. If the situation shows a more common result is the continued existence of the two languages side by side, stable bilingualism, found in situations where the two languages have a fairly equal status or, more commonly, where the domains and functions of the two languages are clearly delineated or mutually supplementary. Modern examples of this, on an official language level, can be seen in Switzerland, Belgium, Finland and Singapore. Unstable bilingualism is usually found in the normal immigrant situation, where a small group of people/speakers enter an area of an established different language. In the immigrant situation of the U.S., the second generation is normally found to be more proficient in the second language, i.e. English, and/or the second language has a wider domain; and the third generation will have lost any practical proficiency in the ethnic language.

I have observed a comparable situation of Batak residents in Singapore. I have at one time or other had contact with 18 Toba Batak families who have resided in Singapore between 15 and 33 years (the figure 18 excludes one family who has been in Singapore for less than 9 years) All the parents are Batak, except in one case where the wife is Malay. The parents seem to normally speak Batak to each other, except the mixed couple who speak Malay/Indonesian to each other. The parents (adults) among themselves speak Batak except when there is a non-speaker of Batak (e.g. a speaker of Malay or English) taking part in the conversation. When asked, many parents say that they often speak Batak to their children, but from my observation very few of the older the children have any understanding of the language. None of them can comfortably though minimally speak it, although quite a few of them have visited the original homeland in Sumatra. The parents actually use practically only Malay or Indonesian to their children, with some of the better educated parents also using English; but somehow the effort is often made to give the impression of a Batak speaking family, presumably to "demonstrate" their Batak identity. This pattern of language use largely

agrees with the observations of two of the oldest Batak residents, one of whom happens to have remained single and has mixed quite frequently with all the families. The children among themselves use more English than Malay (the school goes among them go to English-medium schools), but Batak is never heard amidst this group. A few of the older children do speak some Batak to their parents, but very rarely. It seems reasonable to predict that the next generation will lose the Batak language except perhaps for certain standard ceremonial phrases.

3. One interesting question on language maintenance is the degree and pattern of language maintenance by ethnic groups *within the boundaries of one nation*, for example, the Javanese in North Sumatra, and the different ethnic groups in urban centres in Indonesia. Another related and equally interesting question is a comparison between the degrees and patterns of language maintenance (or language shift) of particular ethnic groups in two or more different places, e.g. of the Bataks in Medan and in Jakarta; of the Javanese in North Sumatra and in South Sumatra.

It should be noted here that the national language problem has not arisen in Indonesia. None of the "separatist" movements in Indonesia was based on language or had a genuine language element in it. The easy initial and continuing acceptance of *bahasa Melayu*, re-named *bahasa Indonesia*, as the national language may have been due to the fairly wide-spread use of the pre-Indonesian Malay language in the ports and urban centres of the country and perhaps, partly, to what an eminent Javanese educationist once (in jest) said to me, "the magnanimity and great tolerance" of the Javanese who comprised about 40% of the Indonesian people. However, it would do well to remember that differences *per se* need not be divisive. As noted by Fishman (1968:45), even conscious and ideologized language differences need not be divisive. At the national level this may result at most in a diglossic situation, where the (two) languages or language varieties are functionally quite separate, or where each language has its own well-defined functional domains.

Likewise, ethnic language maintenance is not necessarily disruptive. In fact, the revival of ethnic languages is often the result, and not the cause, of political separation or the expression of already existing social discontent. For example, the Landsmaal movement in Norway came after the separation

from Denmark, and the revival of Gaelic towards the end of the last century was the consequence of Irish discontent with the British (cf. Rustow, 1968:104); one of the most recent cases is the movement for the use of Welsh as a medium of instruction in Wales.

Nevertheless, it is an interesting question to ask whether Indonesia is still strictly on the level of nationalism or whether it has attained or approached nationalism. It seems to me that we cannot talk about absolute identity as even identical twins may on the micro-level show some socio-cultural differences. Granted this understanding, it seems safe to say that in general, the smaller the unit, the higher the level of socio-cultural similarity can be, and conversely the larger the unit the fewer the similarities. Since any complex socio-political unit, like a nation, is organized on different size-levels, it is to be expected that there will be degrees of similarity and difference between the members of the various units resulting perhaps in different (but not necessarily conflicting) types of socio-cultural identification or "loyalty". If this is accepted, the leaders of a nation, including its language planners, may take the position that maintenance of ethnic languages and cultures within one nation will not necessarily disrupt the development of a higher level of nationalism, but will on the contrary provide a continuing source of enrichment of the national cultural identity and language (cf. a similar position in Amran Halim, 1971:16).

In conclusion, the relationship between ethnic language maintenance and nationalism does to my mind deserve extensive and longitudinal study, in order to know and understand the living processes produced by the contact between Indonesian as the national language and the various ethnic languages, and how these processes impinge on feelings of nationalism. Such studies will also help provide governmental language agencies, like the National Centre for Language Development in Indonesia, with useful monitoring data in their language engineering and development projects.

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BAHASA INDONESIA AND THE INDONESIAN NATION

Harsja W. Bachtiar

Knowledge and understanding of the role and function of the national language in a multi-ethnic society, such as Indonesia, should be based on the acknowledgement of the inescapable fact that territorially based ethnic societies are essentially identifiable as individual nations:

The same historical circumstances which have separated social anthropology from sociology are perhaps mainly responsible for the refusal to recognize territorially based ethnic societies as nations. The term nation is usually reserved for population aggregates which are European, of European origin, or which exhibit social characteristics that are similar to those manifested by European societies. In this respect travelers, traders, explorers, colonial administrators and missionaries in the distant past were more generous for they frequently designated the territorially based ethnic societies they encountered outside Europe as nations in their written accounts. Analytical concepts, such as the concept of nation, should of course be applicable to comparable phenomena, wherever they are.

Failure to identify territorially based ethnic societies as nations may also be attributed to the rather wide-spread notion that nations, even European nations, did not come into existence before the nineteenth century when Europe was flooded by nationalist movements, resulting in what came to be known as nation-states. If this view is taken, a nation, to be identified as such, should indeed have the characteristics that are manifested by these modern European nations. However, it is here argued that nations have been in existence since human societies came into being, regardless of their primitiveness.

It is frequently suggested, if not forcefully asserted, that non-modern territorially based ethnic societies cannot be regarded as nations because their members do not have a sense of being part of a large society but consider themselves only as members of lineages, clans, or village communities. It is noted that there is no sustained intercommunication among the various local communities which together constitute a territorially based ethnic society. Obviously, so the argument goes, without the maintenance of social communication among the various constituent groups of a given indigenous societal community, the existence of a consciousness of being a nation, or national consciousness, is inconceivable. The argument receives support from findings which show that the perception of members of such village

communities did not go beyond the immediate surroundings of their village community, the valley they live in, or other natural barriers. This kind of limited perception is in stark contrast to the perception of members of modern nations where intercommunication is intense and where therefore the people concerned are conscious of being part of a large societal community, their nation.

The existence of a consciousness of being part of a given nation need not be dependent on an awareness of the relationship between the individual and the total society, between the village community and the nation as a whole. In the territorially based ethnic societies, the village communities are relatively self-sufficient subsystems where the needs of the individual inhabitants are satisfied by local resources. The division of labor is structured in such a way that all activities for the continuous flow of goods and services needed by the members of the village community are allocated among themselves, generally on the basis of kinship relations. The boundaries of the role system coincide with the territorial boundaries of the village community. Nearly the total cultural system of the entire territorially based ethnic society tends to be represented in the village community.

In other words, in nations such as represented by territorially based ethnic societies in the Indonesian archipelago, village communities constitute segmental components of the total societal community.

Each village community is basically functionally and structurally similar to the other village communities within the territory of the nation concerned. Therefore, these village communities are ordinarily not much dependent on each other, although some individuals in each village community do maintain relationships with members of neighboring villages.

Nevertheless, members of a given nation, a given societal community, do distinguish themselves very clearly from members of other nations, who are ordinarily regarded as aliens. In Tapanuli, North Sumatra, every member of the Batak societal community is a member of a patrilineal clan, a *Marga* with its own distinctive name. Thus, to be a member of the Batak societal community, the Batak nation, one has to be a member of one such a *marga*, a position which can only be acquired by birth or a public ceremony of admittance to membership in a particular *marga*. Members of the Minangkabau nation are divided into so-called matrilineal clans, known as *suku*, with

each person knowing exactly to which *suku* he belongs. Among the Javanese, person is always associated with a particular locality. If a person is a member of the traditional hereditary elite, the aristocratic *ningrat* class or the patrimonial *priyayi* class in addition to placement in accordance with geographical origin, his precise position in the network of kinship relations can be ascertained and accordingly also his rights and duties in specific social situations. All these affiliations determine whether or not a person is to be regarded as included as a full member of a given nation. A person who is not affiliated with any of the Batak *marga* is not a Batak and is therefore to be regarded as an outsider among members of the Batak nation.

When the nation is threatened, loyalty inherent in this membership can be mobilized by persons who are regarded as leaders of the nation but who in other circumstances may not be so regarded.

It is common knowledge that nations may cease to exist as such. Nations have been known to have disappeared as the result of physical annihilation by the spread of fatal diseases or systematic extermination by hostile human aggressors. Less brutal, because it does not involve the physical elimination of their members, is the disappearance of nations as the result of their absorption by larger or more dominant population aggregates. By adopting the cultural patterns of the larger society or the dominant group in society and discarding the cultural patterns transmitted by the parents and members of their generation, an entire nation may gradually be dissolved with the loss of its national identity. This phenomenon or the threat of the possibility of its occurrence is quite common and has continuously attracted the attention of many scholars and laymen.

However, the reverse may also occur. Almost imperceptibly if no special effort is made to examine the phenomenon, a new nation may come into existence.

'A nation,' Ernest Renan noted in his famous Sorbonne lecture, 'is a great solidarity, created by the sentiment of the sacrifices which have been made and of those which one is disposed to make in the future. It presupposes a past; but it resumes itself in the present by a tangible fact: the consent, the clearly expressed desire to continue life in common. The existence of a nation is a plebiscite of every day, as the existence of the

individual is a perpetual affirmation of life'.

The 'plebiscite of every day', the daily acts of commitment, indicate the extent to which the participating people belong to a particular societal community, because the mutual transactions between members of one social of community, such as a nation, tend to be more frequent and of more significance within their own community than within any other community.

It should also be acknowledged that there is an analytical distinction between nation and state, such that participation in activities as citizens of the state, including linguistic activities, need not necessarily mean participation in activities associated with membership of the nation; and vice versa. In other words, only some of the activities engaged in by a given concrete individual are the manifestation of membership of the state; only some of his activities are the manifestations of membership of the nation. Therefore, in sociological analysis, when an aggregate of individuals is referred to as a nation, or a state, only specific types of activities, performed by these individuals are being considered.

In old nations, most activities of their members are rooted in the membership of the nation concerned, while in the new nations, the range of activities associated with the nation concerned tend to be still limited. Concurrently, in old nations almost all social collectivities in the society where the nation manifests itself are integral components of the nation, the nation being composed of identifiable social collectivities, each involving membership.

Max Weber, eminent theorist in political sociology, defined the state in terms of the use of physical force. Weber conceived the state as a human community that successfully claims the monopoly of physical force within a given territory in the enforcement of its order. The state, he noted, is considered the sole source of the right to use violence.

In a sense, the exigency of a coercive organ in the form of agents authorized to use violence to protect the existence of the state is not surprising, for the state requires the performance of activities which might not be seen as beneficial to those who are expected to perform these activities. In the absence of a coercive organ, activities that are necessary for the maintenance of the state but felt to be contrary to the personal interests of those individuals who are expected to perform

these activities, may not be carried out.

Within the present theoretical framework the term state is essentially meant to refer to the totality of patterns of activities which are prescribed by a distinct body of rules and regulations, promulgated as legal norms, written or unwritten, which are sanctioned to enforce these norms on the inhabitants of a specific territory. In short, the state is the system of activities manifested by persons who perform activities in their roles of citizens as defined by the prevailing legal order.

It is essential to discriminate the legal system of the state from the normative system of the nation. The normative system of a nation need not be identical with the legal system of the state. The existence of a nation is not dependent on association with a particular legal system. This is precisely one of the main characteristics which differentiates the nation from the state. While the state loses its structure and therefore its whole presence when its legal system is removed, a nation can exist without specific legal norms, formally instituted to regulate the multivarious social relationships of its members. The normative system of a nation is not sustained by the use of force or the awareness that the government is in possession of coercive organs to be used when even it is deemed necessary. The normative system of a nation is primarily sustained by the sentiments of solidarity of its members who feel committed to lend support to it in their common interests.

The clusters of normative patterns find their actualization in concrete social activities in collectivities, such as families of a given nation, and the government, parliament, the judiciary courts, schools and universities of the state. These collectivities are comprised of individuals who perform activities in relation to each other in congruence with the clusters of normative patterns held to be applicable in the particular situations they are in. The persons who participate in the activities of a given collectivity are regarded as its members and, accordingly, have specific rights and duties in their association with the other members. There is, then, the idea of membership in a collectivity with the implication that some are members and others are not.

In the Indonesian archipelago where the new Indonesian nation has only recently come into being the majority of existing social collectivities

do not receive their form and structure from normative patterns derived from societal values which the new nation is associated with. Most of these collectivities are outside the newly emerging nation and so are the persons who are members of these collectivities in so far as they participate in activities prescribed by the normative patterns of these collectivities, collectivities which are integral parts of the still existing old nations.

Any person can, of course, be a member of collectivities which are integral parts of a given old nation and, at the same time, be a member of collectivities which are integral parts of the new nation. We would be interested then in knowing to which collectivities the person in question feels to be primarily committed to in situations of conflict of interest, i.e. in situations where the normative patterns of a collectivity he is a member of, but which is not considered to be part of the new nation, prescribe the performance of activities which are contrary to the normative patterns which are part of the normative system of the new nation.

Therefore, we may find a considerable part of the population not being members of any of the social collectivities which constitute the social manifestations of the new emerging nation.

These persons, being native to the land within the territorial boundaries of the new state, are by law to be considered as citizens of the state. They may, in fact, perform various activities which are expected of them in their role as citizens of the state, such as paying taxes and using the national currency. They may submit to the laws of the state because it is expedient to do so or because failure to conform to these laws would inevitably cause them to suffer the unpleasantness of contact with the coercive organs of the state, but they may still not be part of the new nation.

Societal values, social norms — including linguistic codes — and social collectivities are of course meaningless without concrete individuals to activate them, to bring them to life. Consequently, a mere assertion that a nation exists or is manifested by the total population of the territory of a given state, even when accompanied by a specification of certain

values and social norms described in great detail as being its cultural manifestations, cannot be taken to mean that the nation really does exist or, if it does exist, that it is manifested by all who by law are considered to be citizens of the state if the concrete individuals referred to have not truly internalized those elements which are the cultural components of the new nation.

It is not our intention to imply that these members of the new nation should only have internalized those values and norms that are associated with the nation concerned, for the human mind enables them to commit themselves also to other values and norms, perhaps conflicting values and norms. It is furthermore not our intention to imply that these individuals should not be in a position to deviate from, if not contradict, the values and norms of the nation in their actual activities.

We do suggest, however, that these individuals should be knowledgeable about what, in general terms, is expected of them as members of the new nation in given social situations and that they should be conscious of their commitment to the demands of the nation, regardless of whether they do in fact fulfill this commitment.

The population which has given rise to the formation of the Indonesian nation inhabits an archipelago consisting of 13,667 islands. The indigenous components of this population did not, until only a few decades ago, constitute one society but a number of different societal communities, each with its own territory, its own normative system (*adat*) to which its members were expected to conform in their social activities, and its own language which usually was not understood by members of the other societal communities in the same archipelago. Each of these societal communities fulfilled, and still fulfills, the requirements generally associated with the concept of nation and can therefore be considered to be an old nation to distinguish it from the new emerging Indonesian nation.

There is the Javanese nation with its home territory in Central and East Java. It constitutes the largest old nation in the archipelago with approximately 47% of the total population as its members. The language associated with the Javanese nation is the Javanese language which has its own script and a highly developed literature. The second largest old

nation is the Sundanese nation, a bit more than one-third of the Javanese nation in size, with West Java as its home territory and the Sundanese language as its language of communication. The Madurese, who have their home of origin on the island of Madura but also live as people native to the land in some areas of East Java, comprises the third largest old nation, being approximately half the size of the Sundanese nation. The Minangkabau nation in West Sumatra is more or less half the size of the Madurese nation. Furthermore, the following nations can also be noted, mentioned in descending order with respect to size: the Buginese nation in South Sulawesi (Celebes), the Batak nation in North Sumatra, the Balinese nation in Bali and Lombok, the Jakarta nation in Jakarta, the Malay nation in East Sumatra, the Acehese nation in North Sumatra, the Palembang nation in South Sumatra, the Sasak nation in Lombok, the Dayak nations in Kalimantan (Borneo), the Makassarese nation in South Sulawesi, the Toraja nation in South Sulawesi, the Manadoese nation in North Sulawesi, and a whole array of still smaller old nations.

Not to be forgotten are those people of Chinese, Arab and European descent - many the offspring (*peranakan*) of marriages with indigenous individuals - who have settled in various localities and claim their respective habitat as their home.

In the beginning of the present century no Indonesian nation was yet in existence. No normative pattern, linguistic form, social collectivity, or social role was and could be identified as the manifestation of the Indonesian nation.

The Malay language, which originated in the Riau region, East Sumatra, was in the beginning of the present century regarded as a convenient medium of communication which enabled many individuals to communicate across national boundaries - ethnic boundaries -, but was not associated with high priority loyalty to the total Malay speech community, a requirement for the existence of a nation. The Acehese *ulama*, the Minangkabau teacher, the Javanese government administrator, the Buginese captain, the Ambonese soldier and the Manadoese clerk spoke Malay in certain social situations without sentiments of solidarity with all those who used the Malay language. Each was a member of a

different nation.

The Malay language, which later became the foundation for the development of the Bahasa Indonesia, the national language of the newly emerging Indonesian nation, had, by then, already spread out among the linguistically diverse inhabitants to such an extent that, at least in every town, some people were able to communicate in this language.

Various versions had come into existence in the course of its historical spread. Various societal communities, or some sectors of their population, had their own set of social situations where Malay was used as medium of communication.

Variation among its local versions was increased even more by the natural tendency of the language to adjust itself to the local tongue so that pronunciation and intonation, not to speak of grammatical forms, tend to follow the patterns of the language of the local indigenous population. In the Moluccas and the Minahassa, where the influence of both the Dutch colonial government and Christian missionaries had been most intense, the Malay language, adapted to the local tongue, almost displaced the local indigenous languages.

The various local versions of the Malay language and the versions associated with particular categories of people have, in the course of time, lost their identification with the area of origin where in its original forms it is still an ethnic language, the language of the Malay nation in East Sumatra.

Not earlier than the second decade of the present century, did the increasingly larger, although relatively still very small, number of indigenous youths from the various old nations in the Indonesian archipelago who together obtained the opportunity to receive modern education in the Dutch introduced, and generally Dutch maintained, schools develop sentiments of solidarity across ethnic boundaries, across the boundaries of their respective old nations. They gradually identifies themselves with an entirely new societal community, the newly emerging Indonesian nation.

The new nation was manifested in the form of a rapidly developing and expanding new cultural system which is not associated with any of the old nations, a relatively new, rapidly growing language—Bahasa Indonesia—, new social collectivities, new social roles, and new self identities.

In the towns the graduates of the Dutch instituted schools found

employment in occupations for which they were trained. The occupations to which they were committed by virtue of their specialized training, frequently reinforced by contractual relations with the colonial government entered into at the beginning of their professional training, did not exist as the result of processes of differentiation within their own respective societal community but were instituted by alien authorities who shaped the relevant normative patterns and the mechanisms required to insure their proper observance. The essentially modern occupations that were open to these graduates were under the jurisdiction of an alien normative system comprised of written rules and regulations which were legitimized by the legal system instituted by the Dutch colonial government and its affiliated law enforcement agencies.

By accepting employment in the field of their profession, the graduates of the non-indigenous schools removed themselves from the network of rights and duties prescribed by the cultural system (*adat*) of their own nation of origin, at least for the duration of the performance of activities in the context of their occupation, particularly if those activities were carried out on specially designated work premises, physically separated from their homes, such as hospitals, government or business offices, schools, and the like. No claim could be made on them by persons who derived their authority from the prevailing ethnic cultures with which these graduates were affiliated so long as they were clearly under the jurisdiction of the normative system which exercised control over their occupational activities. While in office, the only authorities to whom they were subordinated were their superiors in the occupational structure in which they occupied a position.

The occupations of these modern educated persons, then, were mostly outside the institutions of the indigenous societal communities. They were to a great extent part of the institutions which gave structure to the Dutch established colonial society, the predecessor of the Indonesian Republic.

Even the language of communication among persons who participated in the performance of activities within the framework of these non-indigenous institutions was ordinarily not the local ethnic language but either Dutch or Malay, except when these activities involved communication with local inhabitants who only understood or preferred to speak their own native language.

The more native people who entered these non-indigenous occupations,

the more people who became temporarily socially dissociated from the existing indigenous societal communities, because they necessarily spent much less time to engaging in social intercourse with fellow members of their own respective old nation under conditions prescribed by their own national culture. The demands imposed on them by their occupations allowed them to participate in activities prescribed by their national culture of origin only in their leisure time, such as after office hours.

This particular social condition was certainly conducive to the formation of loyalties, or sentiments of solidarity, beyond the confines of the old ethnic ties. Some occupational activities actually increased the likelihood of alienation from the old nation of origin by removing the incumbents physically away from their own societal community to perform assignments in areas where the local inhabitants were of other ethnic origin. This particular social condition made possible the appearance of new loyalties, loyalties to the newly emerged Indonesian nation.

The institutionalization of the Malay language as the communicative symbolic system of the newly emerging Indonesian nation and its transformation into a relatively uniform linguistic code and repertoire did not occur without any difficulties. The Malay language had to compete with other languages for recognition as the dominant language. It had to compete, on the one hand, with the Dutch language, understood by large portions of the ethnically heterogeneous but very limited educated classes, and obviously much more in accord with modern requirements. On the other hand, it had to compete in each region, in the territory of each indigenous nation with the local language, which on the island of Java means in particular the Javanese language.

The Malay language suffered from serious weaknesses, particularly because it was not standardized and because it severely lacked a modern vocabulary required for effective communication among Western educated professional people, who, after all, set the tone in the new societal community. In practice, writings in the Malay language, published in newspapers and other periodicals in the first three decades of the present century, were liberally sprinkled with foreign words and expressions which

frequently exasperated the readers who were not familiar with the meaning of these alien symbols. In the periodical *SiswoGoepito* in 1928, a member of the politically active *Jong Java* youth association complained about the difficulties of communication in the association's meetings where the Dutch language of the more experienced elders was but little understood, Malay was only mastered by a small percentage of the participants, and the Javanese language had no meaning for non-Javanese members, and therefore proposed to have speeches presented in 'simple Dutch.' Such comments were not uncommon in this period.

On the other hand, the Malay language was the only indigenous language which could be utilized in the exchange of symbolically formulated information among people of different old nations in the Indonesian archipelago. It was a language known to the indigenous educated classes, at least to those who did not receive their entire formal education in schools maintained for European youngsters.

In some types of schools introduced by the Dutch for the indigenous children, instruction was given in the Malay language, or the language was taught as one of the principle subjects. Most of the text-books for the native schools were written in the Malay language, while teachers who did not know the local indigenous language but knew Malay, which many learned during their own formal training in school, had no choice but to teach in the Malay language, whether the regulations instructed them to do so or not. Likewise, the pupils themselves were frequently dependent on the use of this particular language whenever they wanted to communicate with fellow pupils who were not of the same ethnic origin, a necessity which was rather frequent in occurrence on the secondary school level. In the first decades of the present century not many secondary schools were available, and young people from various indigenous nations converged in the same schools.

School pupils of various nations were also taught the Malay language with the specific purpose of creating a category of educated people who could be employed as functionaries of agencies of the colonial government which, since the early days of its presence in the archipelago, employed the Malay language in communications with the indigenous population. Most of

the official regulations and instructions, intended for the indigenous population, were issued in the Malay language while official correspondence was similarly conducted in this language.

Then, native civil servants of the colonial government and military personnel were frequently transferred to carry out assignments in a succession of different locations. A physician working for the Department of Health could, for example, upon graduation from the Medical College in Jakarta be assigned to work first in Surabaya, where the local indigenous language is mainly Javanese; then in Bangli, where Balinese is spoken; then in Sampang, where Madurese is spoken; then, after another term in Surabaya, in Palembang, where Palembang Malay is spoken; afterwards to be assigned to Jakarta, where the local indigenous population speak Jakartan Malay. The example is, of course, an actual case.

Such transfers greatly advanced the institutionalization of the Malay language through the agency of those who were stationed in towns where the local inhabitants spoke an ethnic language other than their own. Not many had the facility to learn another language in addition to their own ethnic language, Malay, and, perhaps, also Dutch. They were bound to resort to the use of Malay, as were members of their respective family who accompanied them to the home areas of the other old nations.

In the religious sphere, the use of Malay was promoted by, among others, the large egalitarian Islamic associations such as the Muhammadiyah which, even in gatherings attended exclusively by Javanese participants, tended to employ the Malay language to avoid problems of social inequality inherent in the use of the social hierarchy oriented Javanese language. Christian missionaries also contributed to the spread of Malay because they propagated their religion in this language, the language they had learned before going into the field, the language in which, in most cases, their teaching material, including the Bible, was written. A growing literature on Islamic and Christian religious matters was produced by the faithful in the Malay language. In this manner, the thoughts of a Javanese or Sundanese religious thinker could be conveyed meaningfully to the interested Minangkabau or Makassarese reader.

The truly substantial contribution of the press and the radio to the dissemination and development of the Malay language could certainly not be overemphasized, although it must be admitted that in most cases pecuniary gains rather than idealism was the basis for choosing the Malay language as medium of communication for the first Malay language newspapers.

Conflict between the proponents of the Malay language and proponents of the Dutch language manifested itself on several occasions when decisions had to be made involving a choice between the two. This conflict became more serious with the emergence of an increasingly active and articulate Indonesian nationalistic intelligentsia whose members originated from a diversity of nations in the Indonesian archipelago. These intellectuals, came to consider the supra-ethnic Malay language as the appropriate common language of the native population in contradistinction to Dutch, which in this context was identified as an alien language, the language of what the indigenous population in the Indonesian archipelago regarded as an alien population group, the Dutch colonial class.

Not all Western educated native intellectuals shared the view of the Indonesian nation oriented intelligentsia. Part of the native Western educated class accepted the dominance of Western civilization in colonial society and sought, instead, to acquire the means to become the equals of Europeans. They adopted European cultural patterns, even the legal status of a European, which would lessen the gap between the colonized and the colonial class. They therefore gave preference to adoption of the Dutch language rather than the Malay language.

Even such prominent nationalist leaders as the physician R. Soetomo, now regarded as an Indonesian national hero, favored mastery of the Dutch language, if need be at the expense of Malay or the local indigenous language, because, so he argued, the Indonesians should be made the equals of the Dutch and this can only be attained if they possess whatever was required of an educated Dutchman. Consequently, intellectuals like Soetomo proposed the elimination of the teaching of Malay from the curriculum of the HIS, the elementary schools for the indigenous youths, who would then get more hours to learn the much desired Dutch language. Malay was to be retained only in the village schools not intended for future members of the native

educated elite.

Furthermore, opposition to the adoption and spread of the Malay language was mobilized by guardians of the cultural heritage of the various old nations in the archipelago who saw the development and dissemination of the Malay language as a threat to the preservation of their own respective much cherished national language and culture. They apprehensively pointed out that many of the young men who acquired a modern education gave much time to the study of an alien language but were indifferent with respect to their own native language. Adoption of the Malay language was, for example, regarded as questionable by many a Javanese who could not accept the idea of an Indonesian nation which would subordinate what they regarded to be the Javanese nation. What would be the position of the Javanese language, and with it the position of Javanese civilization, if all Javanese speak the Malay or Indonesian language, they asked emphatically.

The Dutch colonial class meanwhile became increasingly alarmed with the serious political implications of the spread of the Malay language for the persistence of the existing colonial society. The Malay language would separate the educated sections of the indigenous population from the Dutch colonial class in a way which would threaten the position of the Europeans in the archipelago. To prevent further development in this undesired direction, the native educated class was to be 'Europeanized' so that its members could share the benefits of being part of the colonial elite and, as a result, become more integrated in the existing colonial social structure.

Accordingly, the Malay language was to be removed from the curriculum of the HIS, the elementary schools of the native stream. Curiously, the plan received support from the native teachers' association, the *Perserikatan Goeroe Hindia Belanda* (PGHB) which, based on a referendum among its members held in 1926, decided to declare itself for the abolishment of the teaching of Malay in the HIS. The indigenous school teachers, therefore, also gave primacy to the Dutch language at the expense of the Malay language.

The native press, however, was almost entirely against the plan and demanded the retention of the Malay language in the HIS as an indigenous national language. Clearly, so it argued, the move to drop the Malay language from the curriculum of the HIS would alienate the future indigenous

educated persons from the masses who were in need of their leadership.

With the beginning of the school year 1930-1931 in all government operated HIS in Java, Madura, and areas where the language was taught as the local language, Malay was eliminated from the curriculum. In 1932 this measure was extended to cover all HIS and link-schools.

The younger proponents of the formation of a single Indonesian nation, conscious of the necessity of a common national language, sought to advance the institutionalization of the language as the national language of the indigenous population in the Indonesian archipelago by working for its formal adoption as such by persons who were or would soon be leaders of the various population aggregates. Between October 26 and 28, 1928, a youth congress was held in Jakarta, organized by a committee of student activists. This Second Congress of Indonesian Youth was attended by leaders of a number of indigenous youth associations, such as the predominantly Javanese *Jong Java*, the predominantly Minangkabau *Pemoeda Soematera*, the Sundanese *Sekar Roekoen*, the predominantly Menadonese *Jong Celebes*, The Batak *Jong Batak*, and the newly established *Pemoeda Indonesia* (Indonesian Youth) and their members who happened to be in the city.

At the end of this congress a proposal was made to pledge full commitment to the new nation by adopting a resolution to this effect. Thereupon the participants enthusiastically adopted the pledge that as young men and women of Indonesia they acknowledged that they had one country common to all, Indonesia; that they were members of one nation, the Indonesian nation; and that they would uphold the unifying language, the Indonesian language. At that time not all Malay language newspapers or periodicals reported on what is now regarded as a major historical event. Not all educated native persons supported these ideas. We may recall, for example, the fact that two years afterwards Dr. Soetomo advised the colonial Government to just eliminate the teaching of Malay from all schools in the Netherlands Indies. He was not the only one who entertained such a view.

The choice of Malay as the national language, hence to be known as Bahasa Indonesia, was predestined because it was the only indigenous language more or less known to all the youthful participants of the congress. Its acceptance was rendered easier by the fact that by then the language had already lost its identification with the old nation where it originated. The

Dutch language, although known to many of the participants, was regarded as unacceptable because, as indicated earlier, it was associated very closely with the foreign colonial class.

In conformity with the pledge made at the congress, increasingly more students and school pupils affiliated with a diversity of indigenous old nations brought about changes in their linguistic behavioral patterns by, for example, endeavoring to write in the Indonesian language, instead of in the Dutch language, for their periodicals and other communications.

A decade later, a concerted effort was made to mobilize as much influence as could be amassed to enforce the institutionalization of the Indonesian language, the Bahasa Indonesia. This deliberate effort, carried out by a group of intellectuals who had participated as student activists in the Second Youth Congress of 1928, was especially concerned with the development of Bahasa Indonesia. These intellectuals organized a 'Congress on the Indonesian Language' which, almost as a symbolic act, was convened in Surakarta, the principle center of Javanese society with its very old, rich and strong cultural tradition. The two most prominent and therefore very influential native scholars in philology, Prof. R.A. Hoesein Djajadiningrat and R.M.Ng. Poerbatjaraka, were recruited to serve as honorary chairman and chairman of the executive board of the congress.

Characteristically, most of the papers presented to the participants of the congress for discussion about selected language problems were the products of intellectuals whose native tongue was not very different from the Indonesian language: S.T. Alisjahbana, M.Yamin, K.S. Pamoentjak, Adi Ngoro, Sanoesi Pane and Amir Sjarifoeddin, the first four being Minangkabau persons and the two latter persons being Bataks. Also characteristic was the fact that one of the two principal Javanese speakers, the educator K.H. Dewantara, felt compelled to come to the defense of the Javanese language by emphasizing that it is imperative in education to give primacy to the mother tongue, the local vernacular, and that the Indonesian language should be given second place.

This 'Congress on the Indonesian Language,' which received much attention because of its clear political overtones, succeeded in fulfilling its intended function, for it was resolved to bring some order in the use of the Malay language by accepting common rules for spelling in accordance with the

rules proposed by the Dutch scholar Ch.H. van Ophuysen, to insist on the adoption of the Indonesian language as medium of communication in all representative councils which the Dutch colonial government had instituted, and to support all efforts to make the Indonesian language an official language to be employed also in government ordinances.

The gradual standardization of the several varieties of Malay and the creation of a rapidly growing body of newly created Indonesian words, new terms, resulted in a modern national language which resembles but is not identical with the Malay language proper as it is manifested, in particular by the former Malay royal courts in Riau, East Sumatra. It has, in fact, developed in a very short period, through the agency of a dedicated group of scholars, scientists, authors and journalists, into a new language, Bahasa Indonesia, the language of a rapidly enlarging new speech community, the Indonesian nation.

Nevertheless, although it is indisputable that an Indonesian nation has come into being and that Bahasa Indonesia has become its national language, it does not automatically follow that we should consider all Indonesian citizens to be already members of the new Indonesian nation and that all members of each and every old nation in the archipelago Bahasa Indonesia, let alone are able to use.

There are, therefore, two major sociological or socio-linguistic problems with respect to Bahasa Indonesia and the Indonesian nation within the framework of the more general problem of nation building, the strengthening of the Indonesian nation. One is the problem of the extent of mastery and use of Bahasa Indonesia by those individuals who can already be considered members of the Indonesian nation, and to what extent they are still committed to the linguistic forms of their respective old nation of origin. The other problems, which slightly overlaps with the first problem but is not really identical with it, is the problem of the extent of mastery and use of Bahasa Indonesia in each of the old nations, or societal communities, in the archipelago.

It should be clear that these two problems can not be clarified and explained on the basis of ideology or scientific theory. The two problems should clearly be clarified and explained on the basis of empirical information which has to be generated by scientific investigations.

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